

TOWARDS A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

STRATEGY FOR NAMAQUALAND

JANEEN MARY DUNNE

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ABSTRACT

Initiated by the Second Carnegie Conference on Poverty in South Africa, this study analyses the causes and extent of underdevelopment and poverty in Namaqualand and outlines a possible approach to redress these problems.

Namaqualand is shown to be a sparsely populated area, the physical characteristics of which are both a fundamental cause of underdevelopment and a constraint on future development. It is argued that competition for land and other resources is an important cause of poverty in the region. The processes by which the indigenous population was forced into uninhabitable areas, and mission stations were established to reserve land for local people, are traced. The contradictory role of missionaries is analysed as well as Government and other's efforts to coerce the region's inhabitants into wage labour.

Relevant literature is reviewed to elucidate underdevelopment and the scope for future development. The conclusion drawn is that no body of theory adequately explains Namaqualand's underdevelopment or offers workable solutions. An eclectic approach is adopted.

The present socio-economic characteristics of the population and the state of development in the major economic sectors are described. It is evident that there is little economic diversification. Namaqualand's inhabitants depend heavily on economic activities vulnerable to marked fluctuations. Employment opportunities are limited. Living standards are constrained by poor education, physical and social mobility.

Current development projects and strategies are listed and analyzed. Initiatives taken by various development agents are found to have been retarded by the constraints already mentioned. It is concluded that they lack co-ordination and do not form part of a clearly formulated development strategy.

A development proposal encompassing distinct strategies is presented. These are:

- (i) to enhance economic mobility
- (ii) to improve the quality of life
- (iii) to exploit development potential

The ways in which these strategies complement one another are outlined, and government's role emphasized. It is argued that efforts should be concentrated on activities in which Namaqualand appears to have a comparative advantage. The need for applied research into appropriate projects and techniques is stressed as is community involvement in all phases. Close co-operation between development agents is essential.

Finally in an addendum some constraints and parallels between Namaqualand and some smaller black homelands in South Africa are drawn. Statutory influx control has not determined Namaqualand's low population mobility. Emigration is possible and should constitute a vital element of any development strategy for the region. The effect on the rest of South Africa would be negligible compared to the black homeland's surplus population. At the same time the need for local government initiatives and for the transfer of public resources into such regions is stressed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Objectives

In April 1984 the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa was held. The intention of the inquiry was to "generate and integrate research on poverty-related issues" and it was hoped that amongst other things it would "stimulate policy discussions on the design and implementation of strategies to aid development and alleviate poverty".

Several case studies covering economic activity or socio-economic activity characteristics on individual towns, villages or communities were present, though little on Namaqualand was covered. In addition several studies covering homeland regions like Kwazulu, Transkei, Qwa Qwa were presented and again very little on Namaqualand. As a result of this lack of research on Namaqualand, the area was identified as one requiring further research. The author was commissioned by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit in August 1984 to undertake research in order to formulate development strategies for the area. This thesis arose out of that research.

In line with other regional, rural and urban case studies prepared within the framework of the Carnegie Inquiry the focus of the research was to fall on three aspects viz:

- to understand the reasons for the present relative underdevelopment of the region and in particular the people living in the region;
- to assess objectively, the potential of the region as well as current development constraints pertaining to the region and its people; and

- to design a feasible development strategy which might become the basis for action by relevant agents of development and change.

The decision to take the region as a whole as the object of the study rather than a specific Coloured Rural Area or locality in Namaqualand was based on a number of factors:

- (i) Any micro-development strategy is unlikely to succeed unless the entire region's history and economic development is understood.
- (ii) It soon became evident that there was little detailed analysis of economic underdevelopment in Namaqualand and hence it was research for the region as a whole that was primarily needed.
- (iii) In addition, little of the literature on Namaqualand attempted to explain the region's underdevelopment and only one or two studies addressed the question of development strategies (be they integrated national, regional or local).

1.2 Data Sources and Fieldwork

The data sources tapped were varied but often limited. No broadly based sample research or indepth fieldwork on single issues was conducted but considerable time was spent in the region and elsewhere to explore primary and secondary data. Finally all available statistical data was investigated, chiefly the population, agriculture and fishing census. Information published in these census' and other sources had very little useful material on Namaqualand.

As part of the fieldwork, informal structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with Government, company, trade union, and church officials based in the area; visiting development projects; studying development plans; and gathering unpublished data from local sources such as the Mining Commissioners' Office and the Divisional Council.

In Cape Town useful information was obtained from archival material, and discussions held with officials from the responsible Government departments and groups concerned with development in the area, including World Vision and the Red Cross.

Finally all the available publications, dissertations and articles researching the area were reviewed and discussions were held with some of the researchers. This literature is reviewed in Chapter 4.

Looking at the material available and information generated as a whole the greatest shortcomings seem to be in the field of micro-studies (apart from the work of the UCT anthropologists), community or household behaviour as well as case analyses of development efforts.

1.3 Approach and Sequence

The thesis consists of six core chapters, introduced by the present chapter and concluded by some comments of a more general comparative nature.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide the reader with a physical and historical perspective of the region. In Chapter 2 we summarize the physical characteristics of the region which have played and may play an important role in the region's development; in Chapter 3 it is shown how competition for Namaqualand's resources shaped the racial patterns of development in the region from the early days of black-white contact and settlement. In Chapter 4 various theoretical frameworks for understanding the region's historical underdevelopment and for formulating strategies for future development are evaluated, and an eclectic approach for the present study outlined. We return to these theoretical conclusions in Chapter 7 when considering alternative strategies.

The next two Chapters constitute the empirical base for evaluation of the current development pattern in the region and

the welfare and poverty profile of the population. Chapter 5 presents available data on labour supply, employment and income, as well as, education, housing and health. Whereas Chapter 6 reviews current activities in each of the major sectors.

These five Chapters make possible the identification and categorization of major constraints to the development process, which is done in Chapter 7. This Chapter also includes a critical assessment of current development projects and strategies, paving the way for formulation of an integrated three-pronged development strategy which is outlined in the final section of this chapter.

In an addendum we touch on a few comparative perspectives, in particular the parallel and contrasts between Namaqualand and 'black states'. The applicability of the proposed strategy to these 'black states' and other Coloured Rural Areas is considered.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NAMAQUALAND

More than in most other regions of South Africa, Namaqualand's physical characteristics constitute a fundamental constraint upon the development path and future development potential of the area. To the same extent the low population density, 1.31 people per square kilometre on average, already reflects these constraints.

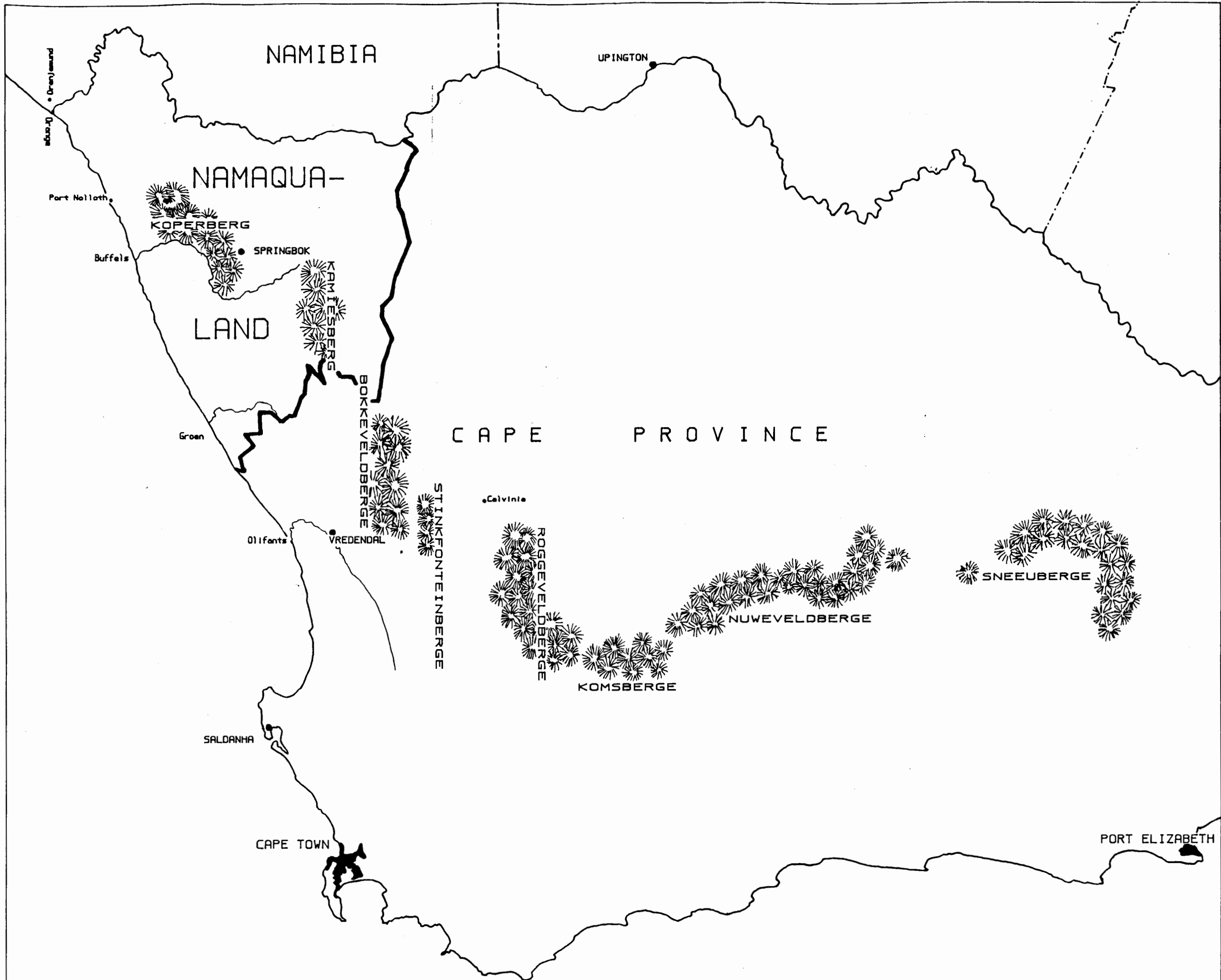
It is the purpose of this Chapter to briefly summarize those physical characteristics which have played an important role in determining past and present development in the area, and are likely to have an important influence on any future development efforts.

2.1 Geographic Boundaries and Conurbations

Namaqualand, a sparsely populated semi-desert area of 47 700 square kilometres¹ is the most northerly magisterial district of the Western Cape. It is bounded by the Orange River in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the west, part of Great Bushmanland in the east and an arbitrary east-west boundary just north of Bitterfontein (see Map 1).

This vast area consists of fourteen small urban settlements, six "Coloured Rural Areas", vast stretches of white owned farmland and mining company property. Table 1 gives some indication of the roles played by these urban settlements in the local economy (see Map 2).

Map 1.



NAMAQUALAND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT IN REGIONAL CONTEXT

Frank Stewart Sept. '86

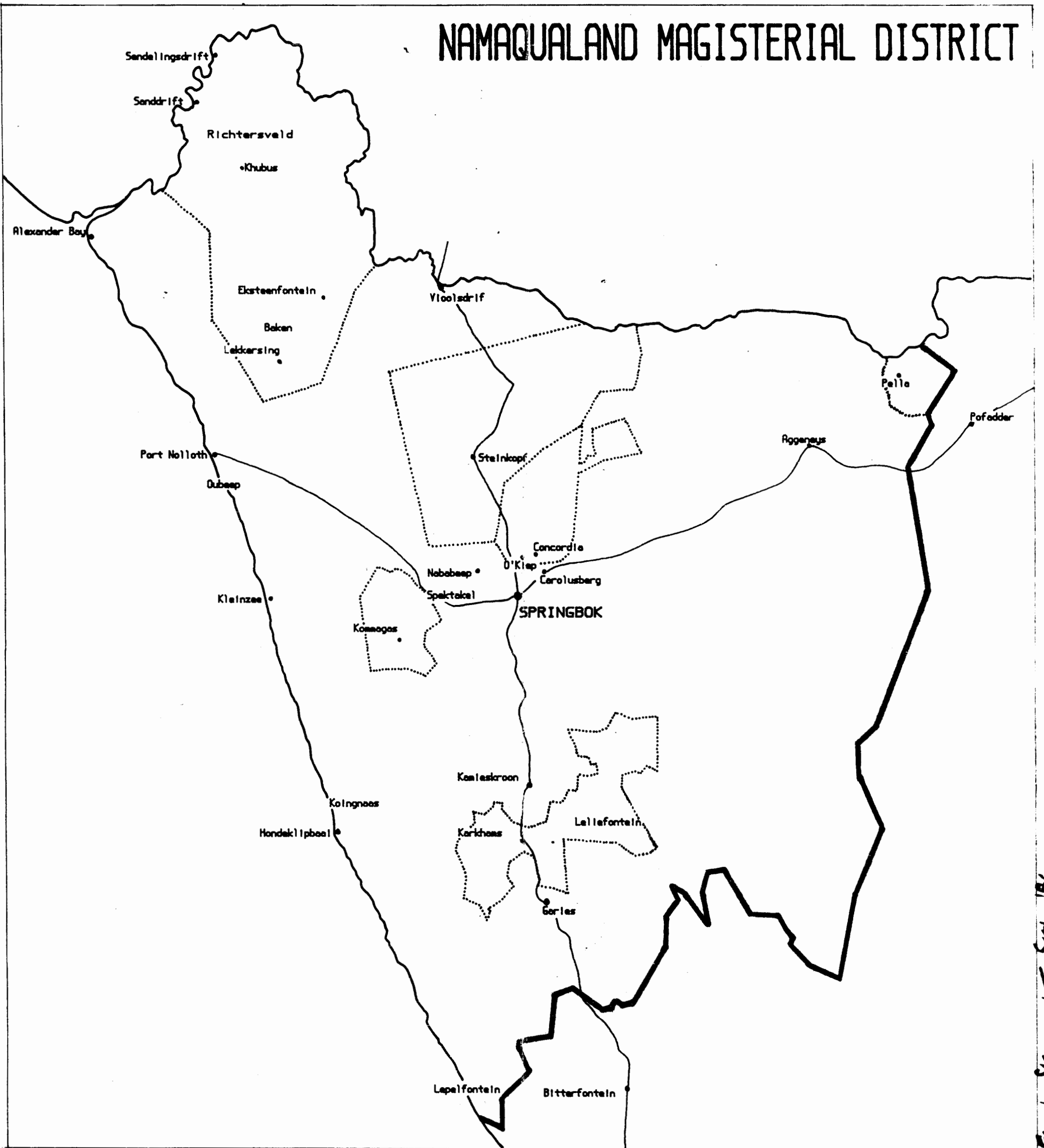
Table 1 Settlements in Namaqualand

<u>Settlement or Town</u>	<u>Economic Base of Settlement</u>
Aggeneys	- Mining settlement of Black Mountain Mineral Development Company
Alexander Bay	- Mining settlement of State Alluvial Diggings
Carolusberg	- Mining settlement of O'okiep Copper Company
Garies	- Centre of farming community.
Hondeklip Bay	- Fishing Village; fish and crayfish processing.
Kamieskroon	- Farming community
Kleinzee	- Mining settlement of Anglo-American Corporation/De Beers.
Koingnaas	- Diamond Mining
Nababeep	- Mining Settlement of O'okiep Copper Company.
O'okiep	- Mining Settlement of O'okiep Copper Company.
Port Nolloth	- Fishing village; canning and tourism.
Spektakel	- Mining settlement of O'okiep Copper Company
Springbok	- Major centre of Namaqualand; mining, industrial, agriculture, commerce, education, communication and administration.
Violsdrif	- Farming community, transport outpost to Namibia.

Table 2 shows the size and population for the six "Coloured Rural Areas" which are located in the district of Namaqualand, ranked in order of surface area (see Map 2).

Map 2.

NAMAQUALAND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT



Frank Stammers Sep. '86

Map 3.

Table 2 Coloured Rural Areas - Size and Population - 1985

<u>Name of Area</u>	<u>Size in Hectares¹</u>		<u>Population 1985²</u>	
		%		%
Richtersveld	513 919	42.5	2 328	11.3
Steinkopf	329 301	27.2	5 725	27.9
Leliefontein	192 720	15.9	4 385	21.3
Concordia	63 383	5.2	3 439	16.8
Komaggas	62 604	5.2	3 129	15.3
Pella	48 277	4.0	1 509	7.4
Total	1210 204	100.0	20 515	100.0

Source: Annual Report of Department of Internal Affairs,
1 July 1983 - 30 June 1984.

: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok

These six areas comprise 70 percent of all "Coloured Rural Areas" (CRA) and 25.3 percent of the total land area of Namaqualand (see Appendix A, Map 2 and Map 3). The remaining area consists of land held by the state and mining companies, town and village allotment areas as well as state owned farms.

Compared to the other 17 CRA's those in Namaqualand in 1984 were amongst the largest though they have the lowest population densities (See Appendix B).

2.2 Geophysical Characteristics²

Geophysically Namaqualand belongs to the Western Cape Physiography. The Western Cape is divided into two main regions, viz. the plateau with its escarpment, and the marginal areas towards the coast.

The plateau has an average altitude higher than 914 m. It can be further divided into three physiological regions (see Map 4) viz:

the Kalahari Basin,

the Cape Middleveld and,
the South African Highveld.

The border between the plateau and the marginal area is the edge of the plateau, also known as the Great Escarpment. The escarpment is formed (from east to west) by the Sneeuberg, Nuweveld mountains, Kamsberg, Roggeveld Mountains, Bokkeveldberg and Koperberg (running west of Springbok up to Sendelingsdrif on the Orange River) (see Map 1).

The marginal areas consist of eroded slopes below the escarpment, a broad coastal plain and a folded zone in the South i.e. - the Eastern Cape Uplands
- the Southern Cape
- the Western Plateau Slopes

Namaqualand falls within the Cape Middleveld and the Western Plateau slopes (See Map 4).

The "Western Plateau slopes" is a desert region, often referred to as the transition Namib. It consists of two sections, viz. a strip, 35 - 50 kilometres wide, covered with sand (the Sandveld) and a rocky outcrop (the Hardeveld) stretching to the interior up to the escarpment. Both sections are sparsely covered. In the Sandveld succulents obtain their moisture from the foggy weather; the vegetation becomes increasingly depleted as one moves north towards the Orange River. With its sandy soil and wind erosion quite unsuitable for grain growing it is almost exclusively a small stock farming area. The bush and shrub vegetation of the Hardeveld on the other hand has excellent feeding value and is also a small stock farming area with some meat production (see Map 4).

The Cape Middleveld can again be divided into several areas Namaqualand falls within the following:

- (i) the little Namaqua - Bushmanland Plain;
here the Karoo beds have been removed leaving a rocky area,

Map 4.

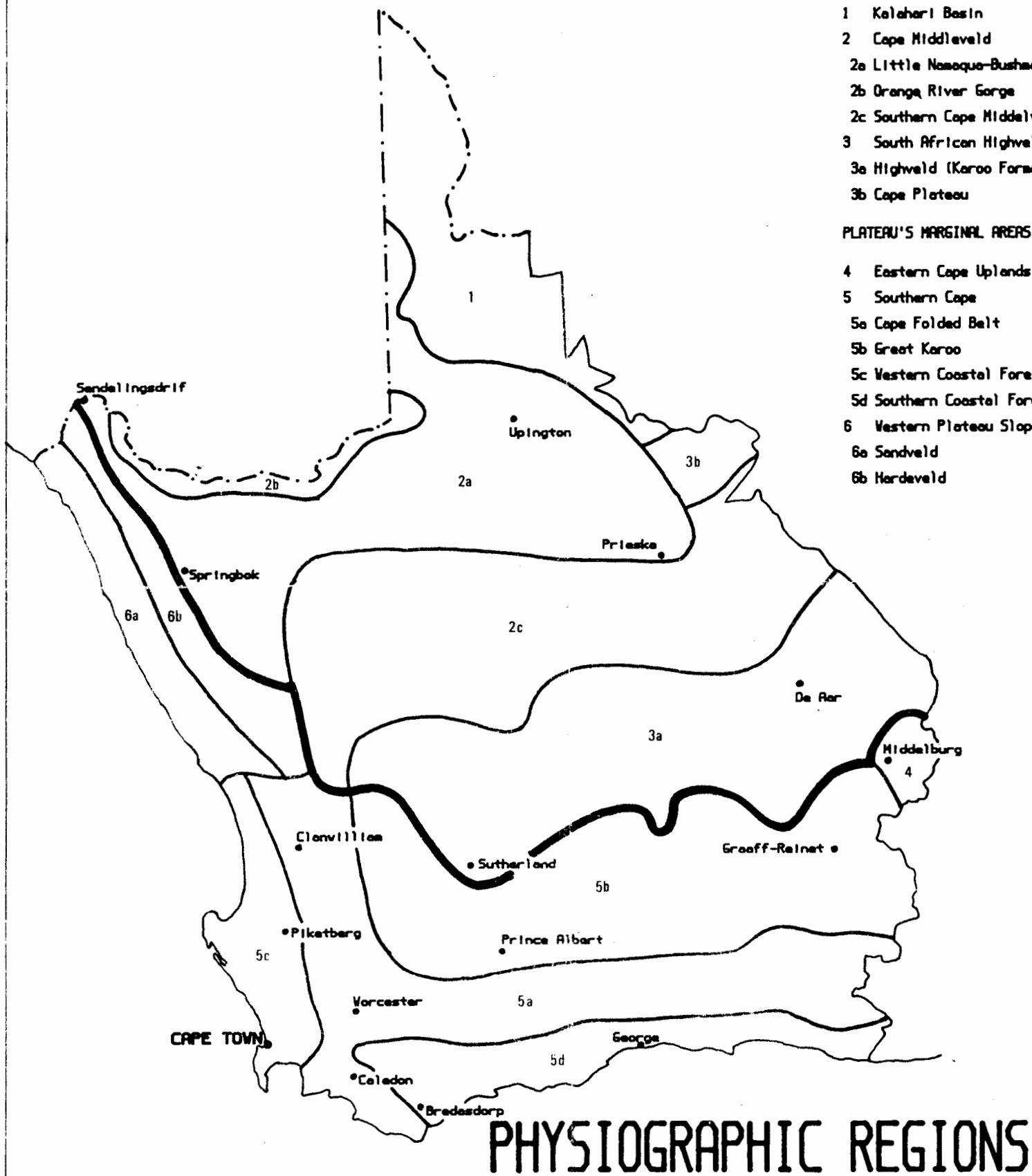
KEY

PLATEAU

- 1 Kalahari Basin
- 2 Cape Middleveld
 - 2a Little Namaqua-Bushmanland Plain
 - 2b Orange River Gorge
 - 2c Southern Cape Middleveld
- 3 South African Highveld
 - 3a Highveld (Karoo Formation)
 - 3b Cape Plateau

PLATEAU'S MARGINAL AREAS

- 4 Eastern Cape Uplands
- 5 Southern Cape
 - 5a Cape Folded Belt
 - 5b Great Karoo
 - 5c Western Coastal Foreland
 - 5d Southern Coastal Foreland
- 6 Western Plateau Slopes
 - 6a Sandveld
 - 6b Herdeveld



PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS

Farouk Shammur Sept. '86

- (ii) the Orange River Gorge;
the landscape is rugged with small patches of irrigable land; and,
- (iii) the Southern Cape Middleveld;
there is little sand accumulation, the surface is level, river courses have a small gradient, the soil is clayey and brackish (see Map 4).

Namaqualand has a desert climate with the temperatures fluctuating widely on a seasonal and daily basis. The Kamiesberg (approx. 1 700m) forms a dividing line between the winter rainfall region in the west and the summer rainfall region in the east. In the west rainfall is erratic (50 - 75 mm p.a.) with moisture occurring in the form of fog and sea mist due to the cold Benguela current. In the east rainfall is somewhat higher ranging between 150 and 300 mm p.a. In both the Namaqua - Bushmanland plain and in the Orange River Gorge rainfall is approx. 50 mm p.a. with summer temperatures in the Gorge as high as 49 degrees celsius.

Four major mountain ranges (see Map 1) characterize the topography of Namaqualand viz. the Koedoes, Stinkfontein and Kliphoog Mountains in the north and the Kamiesberg in the centre.

The major rivers in the Namaqualand are the Orange River in the North, the Olifants River (near Vanrhysdorp), the Buffels River (which reaches the sea near Kleinzee on the Sandveld) and the Swartdoring River (see Map 1). The bulk of Namaqualand's river water is obtained from the Orange and Buffels Rivers. In other river valleys, the water only flows for short times following rains. Occasionally water flowing from these rivers may reach the Atlantic. As a result, water for local consumption has to be drawn from boreholes and is often brackish.

Some further geographic characteristics of the "Coloured Rural Areas" are given in Appendix C.

2.3 Physical Infrastructure

2.3.1 Water

The most important economic constraint facing Namaqualand is the limited water supply, due to the erratic rainfall and the lack of perennial rivers. The availability of water varies sharply from area to area depending on the nature of the soil's drainage and the geology. Good water supplies are almost always accompanied by increased agricultural production.

In the urban areas as well as in Steinkopf and Concordia, water is obtained from the Orange River irrigation scheme. A new project started in the Vioolsdrif region in 1983 and scheduled to be completed in 1990, has been abandoned due to financial difficulties. In the rural areas household water is usually obtained from boreholes, though many of these have become exhausted, in particular in the Richtersveld and Leliefontein. In Leliefontein many boreholes have been sunk unsuccessfully as water is often brackish and thus undrinkable.

Boreholes, wells and springs also supply water for the livestock, but often the boreholes are thinly spread so that animals have to walk long distances (e.g. in Richtersveld, Leliefontein and Steinkopf). Existing sources are also rapidly being exhausted.

In recent years, purified water has been made available in some rural areas, like Concordia and Steinkopf and subsidies are paid for the supply of drinking water from the Orange River to Concordia, Steinkopf and Pella.

The mines obtain their water from the Orange and Buffels Rivers.

2.3.2 Transport and Communications

Namaqualand has three major tar roads (see Map 1):

- the National road from Cape Town to Namibia.
- the road from Steinkopf to Port Nolloth.
- the road from Springbok to Aughrabies.

All other roads are dust and gravel, the majority are in bad condition, with little drainage and inadequate plant cover. As a result, when it rains roads are washed away. There are few connecting roads and public transport facilities linking the rural areas with major through roads. The only public transport services existing in Namaqualand are Jowell's buses and a bus service operating in Concordia and Komaggas. Thus local inhabitants are dependent on either their own transport or private taxis to obtain supplies and dispose of surplus produce.

Unsatisfactory communication links with other areas have in the past hindered or delayed the exploitation of Namaqualand's minerals. In 1919 this bottleneck was stated as the major reason for the closure of the copper mines and in 1937 it was one of the constraints that needed to be overcome before the O'okiep Copper Company could re-open. A narrow gauge line between O'okiep and Port Nolloth opened in 1876 and was abandoned in 1942 with the introduction of road and motor transport and the opening of the Cape Town - Bitterfontein line.

In 1964 the Department of Planning stated that the exploitation of known and existing mineral resources of the North Western Cape was completely dependent on the introduction of an efficient system of transport, in particular a link between Namaqualand and the Witwatersrand industrial complex. (Regional Survey of the Western Cape 1964 : 88) To establish local industries, based on some of the larger mineral deposits, would require a suitable transport system and transport tariffs that would not discourage processing industries.

Little has been done to solve this problem in the past. In

the 1930's the South African Railways provided a railway/road bus transport service from Bitterfontein to Nababeep, carrying smeltered copper and copper ore. This proved unsatisfactory and in 1941 the company was obliged to take out a private contract to transport copper to Port Nolloth from where it was then shipped. The company contracted was Jowells. Today this company has a virtual monopoly over transport facilities in Namaqualand, having recently taken over the last remaining independent transport contractors. Jowells obtains about 75 percent of it's revenue from De Beers, O'okiep Copper Mines, and Gold Fields, being responsible for the transportation of explosives, coal, minerals, refrigerated goods, petrol and diesel, as well as passengers (Argus, 18 July 1984). In addition, Jowells controls Namaqua-air, the local airline operating on a daily basis between Springbok and Cape Town as well as scheduled flights between Springbok and Upington.

Some conflict exists between Jowells and private taxis operating in and from the rural areas. Jowells monopolistic attitude is best illustrated by the following statement made by Mr Uys, Public Relations Officer of Jowells, in July 1984, "We believe we are the railways of Namaqualand; we try to protect our transport services as much as possible from other people who want to come in and take over the best part" (Argus, 18 July 1984).

The regular South Africa Transport Services rail service from Cape Town for passengers and goods ends at Bitterfontein some 350 kilometres south of the most distant rural area, the Richtersveld (see Map 1). The rail service to Bitterfontein was completed in 1927 after 70 years of construction in four major stages:-

1857 - 1877	Cape Town	-	Malmesbury
1877 - 1901	Malmesbury	-	Moorreesburg
1901 - 1915	Moorreesburg	-	Klawer
1915 - 1927	Klawer	-	Bitterfontein

In contrast, it took a mere ten years to develop the Nakop - Luderitz and Nakop - Windhoek - Walvis Bay lines.

The other major rail line passing near Namaqualand is the Sishen - Saldahna line (see Map 1) which runs across the Knersvlakte, north of Vanrhynsdorp. It took three years to complete this line of 860 kilometres. It was constructed as a single purpose line for transport of Iscor's products to the harbour at Saldahna Bay. In 1977 control was transferred from Iscor to the SAR and it was to be used as a multi-purpose line in the national interest. Requests to convey products of individual companies were to be to the government for consideration. So far not much diversification has occurred.

2.3.3 Electricity Supply

Electricity is supplied to all the urban centres in Namaqualand whereas the rural areas have inadequate or not supply.

In 1979 three of the rural areas; Richtersveld, Komaggas and Leliefontein had no electricity supply at all. In Concordia and Steinkopf streets were sparsely lit. According to a survey conducted by Redlinghuis, in 1978, about 97 percent of the 474 households had no electricity. Due to the remoteness and low population densities it would, in fact be very expensive to link these areas to the national grid. In 1979 it was estimated that the cost of putting electricity in at Concordia would be in the region of R78 000 (Redlinghuis 1980 : 170).

In November 1984 a respondent in the area pointed out to this researcher that after years of unsuccessful requests for electrification and the installation of telephones, these services suddenly appeared in places from which no requests had been submitted. It was suggested that this development was linked to the build up of military strength in Namaqualand, pending the removal of South African troops from Namibia (see Section 7.1).

2.4

Conclusion

The remoteness of the area, poor transport and communication links, low population densities and the arid climate can probably be regarded as the most important fundamental causes of Namaqualand's economic underdevelopment and isolation. As will be shown in Chapter 7 these physical constraints on Namaqualand's development potential should play a crucial role in the living standard of the people in this region. In essence, these factors more than anything else necessitate the emphasis on increased mobility of the population, which will be shown to be a likely element in a comprehensive development strategy.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION³

Prior to European expansion in South and South West Africa (Namibia) two areas were known as Namaqualand. "Great Namaqualand" stretched from the Orange River north to the Swakop, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean and the Kalahari desert, whereas "Little Namaqualand", by 1874, covered the area currently known as the magisterial district of Namaqualand.

As background to an understanding of the socio-economic development and underdevelopment of the people and communities in the Namaqualand region, this Chapter reviews early settlement patterns in the South Western Cape, with particular emphasis on the competition for land and the effects of white expansionism on the ecological and development equilibrium of the indigenous groups. This will be followed by an analysis of the role of mission stations, and the government's response to land disputes - the implication of which was the transition of the mission stations towards "Coloured rural reserves". We look briefly at subsequent political and legal developments in the area and conclude the chapter with a historical perspective of economic activity.

3.1 Early History of Namaqualand's Population

On arrival of the Europeans in Southern Africa, towards the end of the 15th century, the coastal region between the Swakop River in the West and the Fish River was inhabited by the Khoi Khoi (pastoralists, often referred to as Hottentots) and the mountains of the Western and Eastern Cape were occupied by hunter-gatherers - the San (Bushmen) (see Map 6).

According to Elphick the Khoi Khoi origins are to be found in the acquisition of stock by several hunting bands (consisting

of Central "Bush" speakers) in or near Northern Botswana. The growing pastoral society expanded eastwards (i.e. into Matabeleland and the Transvaal) and from here along the tributaries of the Orange River (the Riet, Modder, Vet, Vaal and Harts) where the group split into two:- the Namaqua who advanced westwards and ancestors of the Cape Khoi Khoi who moved south to the coast. The Namaquas travelled along the Orange River until the Atlantic Ocean where they split into two, the one group, spreading south over Little Namaqualand to the south western Cape and the other north into Great Namaqualand (modern Namibia). In the coastal areas of the south east Cape Province, Bantu pressure caused the Khoi Khoi to move westwards to the south western Cape. This group and the southern flank of the Namaqua met near the Olifants River (approx. 100 - 200 kilometres north of Cape Town) (Elphick 1977 : 10 - 22) (see Map 5).

The San (hunter-gatherers) were scattered throughout much of sub-equatorial Africa before the Christian era. Being hunter-gatherers, they moved constantly but in circumscribed areas.

Luyt points out that Western Cape historiography draws a distinction between the San and Khoi Khoi although the arrival of the Khoi Khoi pastoralists in the Western Cape resulted in a complex interaction between the two. (Luyt 1981 : 34) He suggests that it is probable that one of the first forms of co-operation between the San and the Khoi Khoi was bartering of hunter-aborigine goods (animal skins) with pastoral goods (milk). These trade links led to "an incorporation of aborigines as an occupational (i.e. hunting) class in Khoi Khoi society" (Luyt 1981 : 41).

The San were employed by the Khoi Khoi as messengers, soldiers, herdsmen, spies and simultaneously gained knowledge of pastoralism and stock. A gradual blurring of distinction between the two groups resulted from this economic interaction as well as inter-marriage. Eventually, the term "San" became

identified with the poorer people, irrespective of racial origin or those with little stock. Luyt also points out that it was not a wholesale fusion: some San were forced to the interior of Southern Africa before being absorbed into pastoralism, but there were also dispossessed pastoralists (Khoi Khoi) who went into the interior (Luyt 1981 : 46).

3.2 The Scramble for Land

By the end of the 19th Century, the Khoi Khoi north and south of the Lower Orange were (generally) known as the Nama and those north and south of the Middle Orange, as the Kora. Some were long-established inhabitants of the area (e.g. participants in the initial southward trek, who never reached the South Western Cape) while others had retreated from the Cape during the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

The overriding factor causing movement of the Khoi Khoi northwards towards Namaqualand was the acquisition and occupation of their land by the Dutch. The two Khoi Khoi Dutch wars (1658 - 1660) and 1673 - 1677) were initiated to acquire stock and land. Fleming (1956 : 136) suggests that in their actual location, natural boundaries may have played as important a role in keeping them a safe distance from the expanding colonists.

Elphick divides this acquisition and occupation of land into three phases, identified in terms of various European agents who were prominent in their relationship with Khoi Khoi, i.e. the traders (up to 1652), the freeburghers (approx. 1657 - 1700) and the trekboers, (1700 - 1770).

Following their independence from Spain in 1572 the Dutch, together with the English, dominated the Atlantic and Indian trade routes. In 1602 the Verenigde Oostendische Campagne (VOC) (Dutch East India Company) was formed and it (the VOC) became instrumental in colonizing the Cape half a century later.

Prior to the formation of the VOC and its arrival in the Cape in 1652, contact in the form of trade existed between the Khoi Khoi and the Europeans.

In 1647 a VOC merchantman (Haarlem) was wrecked off Table Bay, and some of the crew settled temporarily in the Cape. When they returned to Holland in 1648 their optimistic report of the area impressed the Heren XVII so much that it was decided to establish a VOC settlement at the Cape. Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape in 1652, his task being to oversee this establishment. As the Khoi Khoi were an immediate source of cattle and sheep, he was given strict instructions to maintain a good relationship between them and the settlers.

After some resistance the Khoi Khoi in and around the present site of Cape Town, ceded their land to the Dutch Settlers. It appears evident that the Dutch took advantage of the Khoi Khoi's lack of political sophistication in ceding/purchasing the land. In 1672 the Dutch "bought" Table Bay, Hout Bay and Saldanha Bay from a Khoi Khoi leader for 800 pounds. In fact, the latter received goods to the value of only three pounds for this transaction. In a separate transaction, the Hottentots-Holland district was bought for about 800 pounds but goods to the value of only seven pounds were transferred (Luyt 1981 : 69). Both Marais and Luyt suggest that the Khoi Khoi believed that they were not alienating these lands but were receiving tribute from the Dutch for use of the land. The Khoi Khoi "believed that they have given or sold to the white man the right to share their land ... and found instead that the white man did not share, he possessed and excluded" (Marais 1957 : 6).

Having been dispossessed of their land, the Khoi Khoi moved towards the interior, travelling along the southern and eastern coast, returning at intervals to trade with the settlers. When their advance in the east was retarded by Xhosas and others, they returned to the Cape in an attempt to drive out the Dutch. Their attempts failed. A smallpox

epidemic followed in 1713 during which "the very names of the best known tribes were blotted out by the fell disease. They no longer appeared in the records as organised communities but as a broken spirited remnant of a race, all whose feelings of nationality and clanship had been crushed out by the great calamity" (Marais 1957 : 6).

Whilst prior to the arrival of the Dutch the Khoi Khoi had traded their surplus with other inhabitants, the rise in demand brought about by the Dutch settlement upset the delicate balance. The Khoi Khoi were unable to match that demand, as a result the Dutch simply enforced trade. This led to the Khoi Khoi repossessing their animals which gave rise to para-military retaliation. Commandos were sent out to capture indigenous people and enserf them as "labourers" slaves - others who managed to move away from the Dutch sphere of influence headed north-west towards Namaqualand.

At the VOC settlement itself, the relationship between officials and labourers had become strained, Van Riebeeck had been unable to induce satisfactory standards of diligence and therefore suggested that cultivation be turned over to a number of freeburghers (i.e. no longer VOC servants but subject to its sovereignty).

In addition it was hoped that the freeburghers would reduce the colony's dependence on East Indian imports and on trade with the Khoi Khoi through the sale of meat and grain to the company at fixed prices. By 21 February 1657 arrangements for granting land to freeburghers was complete. The freeburghers were supposed to restrict themselves to cultivation and livestock raising but given low produce prices, labour difficulties, lack of investment funds and small plots, mixed intensive agriculture was difficult. Agriculture became more extensive, stock were released onto open veld and increasingly more freeburghers became pastoralists. Their demand for land increased and they entered into extensive trade with the Khoi Khoi. The VOC was unable to restrict trade or implement a

controlled system of land allocation and as a result the spread of independent freeburgher pastoralism continued. In addition, control became even more difficult with their rapid growth in numbers (9 in 1657; 105 in 1660; 259 in 1679; 1334 in 1700.) (Luyt 1981 : 66).

The establishment of freeburghers led to friction as the Khoi Khoi became aware that the whites were in the Cape permanently and could extend themselves. Cut off from their land and water sources, the inevitable result was the first Khoi Khoi Dutch war (1659). From then on, the company's impact on the Khoi Khoi continued and they became less determined to recognize Khoi Khoi independence, the largest impact being of a military nature. The second Khoi Khoi Dutch war left the Khoi Khoi with very little livestock and as a result, they were forced into labour under the freeburghers where remuneration was neither regular nor uniform.

The colony's boundaries, de facto if not de jure, were extended by freeburgher movement and by the possibilities offered by trade and hunting. The VOC's tight credit facilities led to the concentration of cultivation in the hands of wealthy freeburghers. Many small producers unable to survive, turned to pastoralism and hence the emergence of "trekboers".

The trekboers had a significant impact on Khoi Khoi movement away from white settlements. Prior to the 1730's white expansion had been along the coastal areas but by 1730 their movement had taken an inland course, eastwards over the Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, Nuweveld, Sneeuberg and then northwards, applying for and being granted "ordonnantien" (leenings - land rights) (see Map 6).

By 1730 leenings had been granted to the boers as far north as Clanwilliam often in advance of colonial boundaries. By 1750 some had crossed the Karoo and settled in the Kamiesberg. The colonial boundary was then fixed at the Olifants River. Some

trekboers were even granted leenings in Namaqualand, though only on a temporary basis (see Map 6).

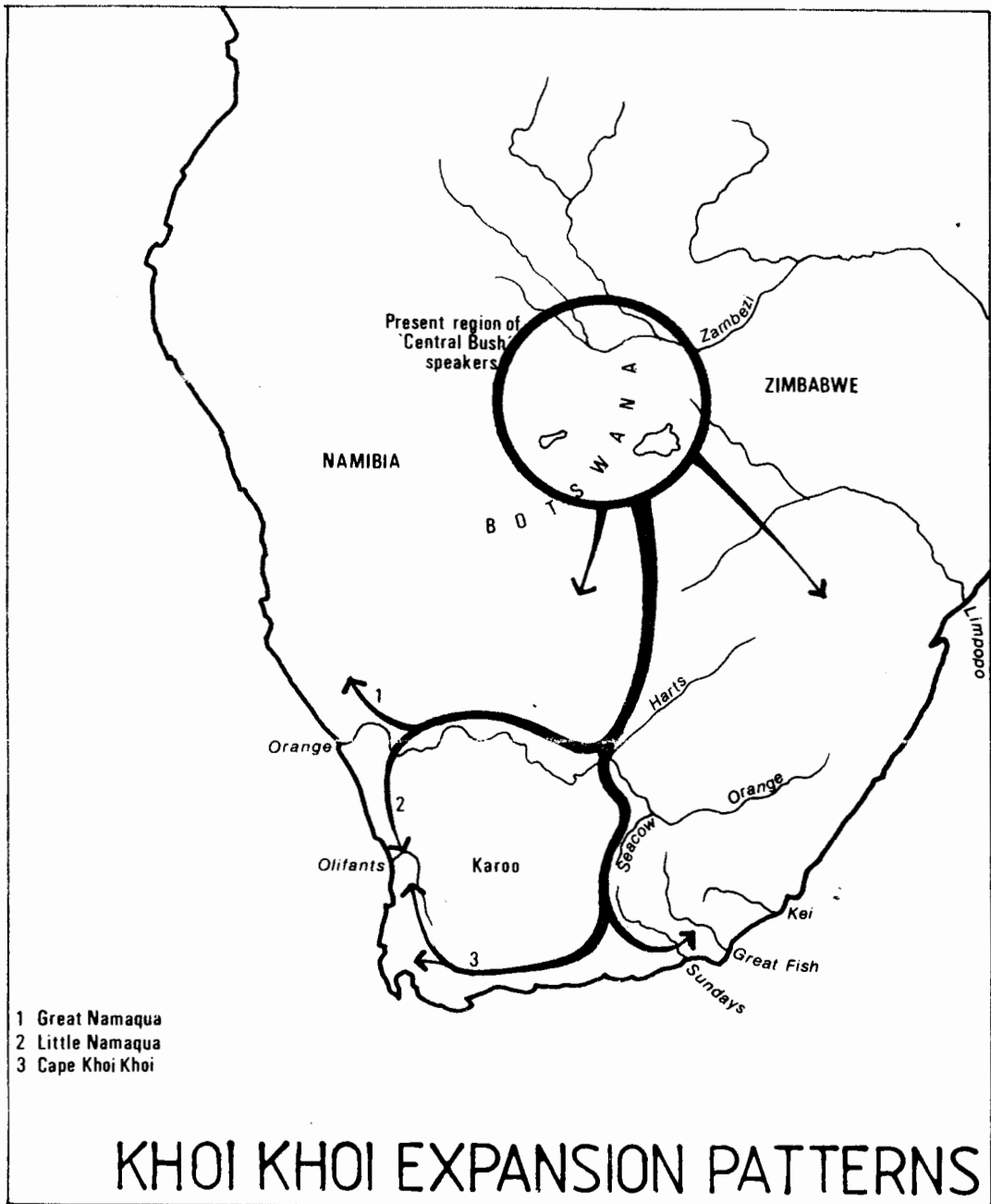
Redlinghuis states that by 1753, 24 farms had been registered north of the Olifants River and occupation of farms in the Kamiesberg took place in 1761. (Redlinghuis 1981 : 95) In 1776, 70 years before Sir Harry Smith extended the Cape northern boundary to the Gariep⁴, a trekboer was granted land on its banks (see Map 6). As a result, by the middle of the 18th century, few independent Khoi Khoi groupings were left. In 1726 only a few isolated families remained within 100 kilometers of Cape Town and by the end of the 18th century, it was only in a few areas (along the Orange River, in Leliefontein, in Komaggas and near Springbok) that the Khoi Khoi had any chance of survival within the colony. In addition, their economic and political structures had disappeared and their traditional culture was eroded.

The factors outlined above, as well as pushing the Khoi Khoi into the north, played a role in breaking down certain conditions that, if present, would have ensured the Khoi Khoi's survival and economic, political and cultural independence.

These conditions included:-

- (i) secure possession of livestock. Elphick suggests that possession of cattle was necessary for the Khoi Khoi's continuing independence and self esteem. The most significant factor that eroded the Khoi-Khoi's possession of cattle was trade with the VOC. This was replaced by war and theft when increased demands by the VOC were resisted by the Khoi Khoi. In addition, their lifestyle may have led to economic failure i.e. private ownership, ritual consumption, political instability and threat of hunters. Elphick (1977 : 173 - 174) also suggests that the Dutch presence had certain negative influences on the Khoi Khoi (e.g. sickness, loss of grazing, recruitment of Khoi Khoi labour.)

Map 5.



KHOI KHOI EXPANSION PATTERNS

08, 1st Semester
Frank Stewart

- (ii) secure and exclusive occupation of traditional pastures.
- (iii) retention of traditional culture (see Section 3.3).
- (iv) maintenance of satisfactory living standards without losing manpower to the colony and
- (v) freedom to make economic and political decisions without European dictation.

As regards (iv) and (v), the colony absorbed labour from the Khoi Khoi economy and they were subjugated to Dutch overrule and law (Elphick 1977 : 237).

3.3 The Role of Mission Stations

Since colonization in 1652, Christianity had been important in the Cape. One of the first Catechists wrote of the Hottentots. "They are so accustomed to run wild that they cannot place themselves in subjection to us so there seems to be little hope for this people ... in the meantime I shall consider it my bounden duty to employ all possible means to deliver them out of the hands and bonds of Satan" (Luyt 1981 : 87).

Only with the colony's expansion, did missionary work emerge as significant, however the first mission station was established in Soetmelksvallei in 1737 but was moved to Baviaanskloof in the same year in an attempt to disassociate the missions from the VOC. Work ceased here in 1742 and was resumed again in 1792. It remained an isolated undertaking until in 1799 when the London Missionary Society (LMS) began work in South Africa with the formation of the South African Missionary Society. In 1806 it was renamed Genadendal (see Map 3). Two missionaries, under the auspices of the newly formed society, established a settlement at Blyde Vooruitzichts Fontein. Though it was unsuccessful it was important "for it was by means of that mission that these tribes, and their condition became known to the Christian World" (Luyt 1981 : 89).

In 1811, five German missionaries arrived in Cape Town under the protection of the LMS . Three settled at Silwerfontein from where one later moved on to Kommas (Pella), one settled immediately at Kommas and the other (Schemelen) proceeded north eastwards of Byzondermeid (Steinkopf) to Bethesda. In 1812 Schmelen was sent on an exploratory journey into Namibia, establishing a station in 1814 and in 1815 was ordered to Byzondermeid (Steinkopf) to establish a mission station. He remained there till 1817, then moved onto Bethanie and finally Komaggas where he established a mission station in 1829.

Schmelen on his journey to Steinkopf was accompanied by Barnabas Shaw (a Wesleyan missionary) who was persuaded by a group of indigenous inhabitants to return to Leliefontein as their missionary; he succeeded in 1824, in persuading the government to put Leliefontein under missionary control in an attempt to deter boer encroachment.

Conflict between missionaries and indigenous inhabitants was rife and by 1819 most of the station at Pella had been destroyed with only a small but powerful group of Khōwesan Namaqua remaining. Whilst the LMS work was diminishing their pioneering efforts had nevertheless opened the way for the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS).

The first member of this society arrived at Komaggas in 1840 and by 1843 were in control over Komaggas. Simultaneously the RMS arrived at Kookfontein, a part of Steinkopf. Up until 1870 Concordia had also been a part of Steinkopf, but at this time it was established as a separate station and reserve, although its boundaries were only defined in 1912. Pella had been abandoned in 1825 receiving irregular visits from Steinkopf missionaries. An attempt in 1849 to settle the people was unsuccessful. Prior to 1884, all missionary work done at Richtersveld was carried out by visiting missionaries from Steinkopf but in that year a black evangelist of the RMS was sent up from Wupperthal. In 1893 he was appointed minister, thus becoming the first black minister of the RMS.

It was only in 1909, following the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act that the Richtersveld Reserve came into being, with its border only being defined in 1947.

Since 1936 Komaggas has been run by the Dutch Reformed Church as is Steinkopf and Concordia, whereas Leliefontein is run by the Methodists and Pella by the Catholics.

The role of the missionaries was a contradictory one including phases of co-operation and conflict between the missionaries and the government on one hand and the missionaries and reserve inhabitants on the other hand.

The Khoi Khoi Dutch wars, emergence of the trekboers and subsequent extension of the colony's boundaries (Saldanha in 1670, Stellenbosch in 1679, Drakenstein in 1700) (Redlinghuis 1981 : 83) meant that by a "system of crowding out" the Khoi Khoi were pushed further away from the good sites into the less suitable, more isolated areas. However Redlinghuis also suggests that the Khoi Khoi might even have been moved from these areas had it not been for the missionaries. The government had made numerous attempts to "stabilize" the Namaqualand territory by granting land grants. The missionaries played an important role in this phase, as they provided a link for the Namaqualand inhabitants in their struggle to keep their land when threatened by boer encroachment and, later by the expansion of the mines. Missionary protest against colonial extension was only lodged in 1842, but their work had begun earlier. When the Cape boundary was extended in 1847, no provision had been made for reserving ground or other rights for inhabitants. Requests by inhabitants and missionaries resulted in "tickets of occupation" being given, with any further extension excluded (see Section 3.4).

In order to allow their spiritual and secular work to continue unperturbed, the missionaries attempted to reduce the Khoi Khoi's mobility and force them to remain permanently on the land. To a certain extent the Khoi Khoi's nomadic lifestyle

had been broken down by the emergence and northward expansion of the trekboer. Nevertheless their nomadism represented a stumbling block to the missionaries, who therefore attempted to settle their pastoral flock, spread Christianity and obtain finances to expand their institutions. In some places they were not successful in eliminating nomadism as boer encroachment did not represent a serious or direct threat, whereas in others (like Leliefontein and Komaggas) they were successful as the inhabitants perceived a need for missionary protection.

Cultivation in Leliefontein and Komaggas took place due to the favourable natural conditions and outside employment opportunities were limited as a result of which a large percentage of peasant producers could be supported.

The missionaries in their work were looking for material and ideological allegiance, which sometimes led to conflict with "traditional" leaders unable or unwilling to participate in education and other upliftment. Relations were further complicated by the existence of disunity about traditional leadership. Colonial authorities disturbed by the missionaries' apparent lack of control appointed "tribal" captains as salaried field cornets. Resistance to their appointment occurred where authority extended beyond that of the captains.

Government and employers of Khoi Khoi believed that "Christians must work for the conversion of the heathen" thus appreciating that the stations could add stability to the social order of the colony. In addition they were valued as fixed locations from which the Khoi Khoi could emerge to work for farmers. At the same time, however they represented a threat as labourers could desert employers and find confidants for their grievances (Elphick 1979 : 224 - 228).

For the above it should be clear that it is difficult to give an overall assessment of the role and impact of the

missionaries. Undoubtedly the Khoi Khoi were already in an isolated and unsuitable territory prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Besides there were undeniable positive aspects of missionary work in Namaqualand. Yet on balance one can conclude that their overall effect was negative.

Elphick (1979 : 228) sums it up as follows:-

"Yet the mission establishments also served to mute protest. Unable to alter the course of labour relations at the Cape, the mission stations became palliatives that sweetened the bitter pill of social subordination for the Khoi Khoi. On the station a family could live in domestic peace, somewhat sheltered from the harsh conditions of life outside, while it acquired cultural attributes of the dominant colonial society. On a small and crude scale, the mission Khoi Khoi were anticipating the lives of millions of Africans in the reserve system of a future industrialized South Africa."

3.4 Government Response to Land Disputes

Boer encroachment beyond northern colonial boundaries continued in the late 18th and early 19th century with boers obtaining grants for land beyond colonial borders and paying taxes so as to claim colonial protection. In addition boers from further south seasonally pastured their live stock in Namaqualand and along the Gariep River without colonial authority. Indigenous inhabitants found it difficult to register land claims in the colony and (see Section 3.2 and 3.3 were pushed further north.

In 1823 Thompson, following his journey through Namaqualand, wrote, "it is a great hardship in regard to this class of people that they hitherto have been systematically prevented from acquiring landed property in the colony. In consequence of this, they are generally driven entirely beyond the boundary and tempted to become the outlaws and robbers for if any of them occupy and improve a vacant spot within the

limits, they are always liable to be dispossessed by some boer obtaining a grant of it from the government who thus reaps the fruit of all improvements and industry" (Luyt 1981 : 118).

This process was a source of conflict for the colonial authorities and they were forced to resort to a policy of granting land and Staffs of Office to "loyal" leaders beyond the colony's boundaries (Luyt 1981 : 78). The policy was an attempt to establish a buffer zone between the colony and unsettled areas.

Staff of Office was issued to Adam Kok (he and his Griqua followers occupied Kamiesberg) and to Kido Witbooi (situated north of Adam Kok and south of the Orange from the Richtersveld to Pella). But movement of these two groups (amongst others) and the development and recognition of their authority, pushed the weaker groups even further into trans-Orangia in the east and into the north western regions.

Luyt suggests that the inhabitants were aware that the boers were usurping their lands with the sanction (even if tacit) of the colonial authorities and were wary of the effects of the proposed extension of the colonial boundary to the Orange River.

When in 1842, the Steinkopf population protested against this extension, the government stated that they had no intention of extension or interference with rights of inhabitants beyond the boundary. As this had in fact occurred (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3) the authorities credibility was reduced, and was reduced even further when the Namaqua boers were granted farms permanently.

In 1843 (November) Komaggas' population was granted a "ticket of occupation" which allowed for prosecution of non-occupiers. The mining companies (in particular) were not happy with this as they wished to graze their stock on the institutions' land and thus further tickets did not contain this clause.

The boundary of the Cape Colony shifted gradually to the Orange River between 1795 and 1847, and by 1847 included the whole of little Namaqualand as Crown land. Little Namaqualand coincided with what is now the magisterial district of Namaqualand. These extensions were intended to maintain control over the expansionary movements of colonials and the indigenous population.

In 1847 when the boundary was extended no government representative was appointed, and the territory was effectively controlled by missionaries and chiefs. No legal sanction existed for exercising this authority and as a result, it became more difficult to prevent boer and trader encroachment on their "recognized" but ungranted land. The chiefs and missionaries were thus forced to request annexation and Tickets of Occupation. By these Tickets of Occupation, the community was guaranteed communal ownership of tracts and land. An additional threat was expropriation of land by whites seeking to exploit Namaqualand's mineral resources. The question of mineral wealth applied particularly to Steinkopf, Concordia and the Richtersveld where the opening of copper deposits had brought white sellers and the threat of expropriation by mining companies. The Government's reply to this request was that Tickets of Occupation could not be granted and under no circumstances would they "countenance any encroachments on the land occupied by the institutions on the part of any farmer or others" (Luyt 1981 : 123).

The Government was faced with a dual problem:-

- (i) it was reluctant to issue mining leases if this would result in conflict with indigenous inhabitants.
- (ii) it did not want to grant permanent land rights to the indigenous inhabitants as it had done at Komaggas in 1843.

A tentative solution was arrived at in September 1853 when the Government empowered itself to issue mining leases on ungranted Crown lands - such a lease was issued to the Namaqua

Mining Company (formerly Concordia Consortium) (see Section 3.6.1) for land in Steinkopf. But attempts to start mining were frustrated by missionaries and inhabitants who, in terms of the Governments' response to their request in 1847 denied the right of the Government to grant mineral leases on their land and in addition succeeded in forcing the company to pay monies for commencement of operations. When the company requested a refund from the Government for this payment they were refused. The Government stated that such land was Crown Land, over which the inhabitants had no rights. The only promise the Government had given inhabitants was to protect them from encroachments of the nature which the terms of the lease included. When the matter was investigated further by Brecher in 1853, he received a letter from the Colonial Secretary informing him that "as mining was not one of the purposes to which the land was appropriated by the natives prior to the extension of the colonial boundary no Ticket of Occupation issued after that time could recognize any right in respect of the part of the natives, much less their power to alienate any such privilege by lease, sale or otherwise" (Luyt 1981 : 126).

The Government's policy towards land disputes can therefore be summed up as follows:

- (i) it recognized the indigenous population's right to use the land but,
- (ii) it denied them the right to mine in the area.

Members of the missionary institutions received "compensation" for use by mining companies of land and water. The principle of compensation in fact, meant that the demand of companies to be allowed to appropriate land within the institutions was acceded to.

Tickets of Occupation of the nature mentioned earlier (i.e. land but no mineral rights) were issued to Leliefontein in May 1854 and Steinkopf in December 1874. Sharp and West (1985 : 4) suggest that the granting of Tickets of Occupation implied an awareness on the part of the mines of the Reserve's value

as a labour pool. Often the land granted was smaller and reduced many inhabitants to poverty whilst not precluding access to land.

Despite the constraints on subsistence agriculture imposed by the whites through the increasing expropriation of land, absorption of inhabitants into the mining industry was small except when drought made cultivation difficult. Towards the end of the 19th century, complaints were received both from wealthy peasants against their poorer colleagues rights to commonage and arable units and from farmers and mine workers about labour shortages. A number of wealthy Komaggas peasants addressed a petition to Sir Philip Wodehouse stating reserve retrogression arose because of "exclusion of enterprising people who :... would introduce competition, a spirit of enterprise and consequently create trade" (Luyt 1981 : 158).

The colonial authorities did not take action immediately, because they did not wish to break up the Reserves, thereby disrupting colonial control and alienating the Rhenish missionaries who were an important source of control.

Various individuals and select committees were detailed to investigate the situation, the most important being the Select Committee on Namaqualand Mission Land and Reserves in 1896. This committee favoured "individual tenure with power to alienate" (Luyt 1981 : 160). Charles Scully, a Springbok magistrate and proponent of Act 29 of 1909, maintained that given the fluctuations experienced by agriculture and mining, these industries would be unable to support a large, standing labour force on a permanent basis and would best be served by retention of the reserve system. "My idea is to leave the locations as they are in as far as tenure goes, and to put regulations in force, which will act like a sieve and eliminate the idle and lazy from amongst them ... the residue ... would be taxed and in order to be able to pay that tax they would have to go out to work ... I would not force every man. If a man can obtain his tax money by his own industry

without going to work for others I would not force him. But if the tax were imposed, I believe that rather than sell stock to pay it, a man would go to work" (Luyt 1981 : 160).

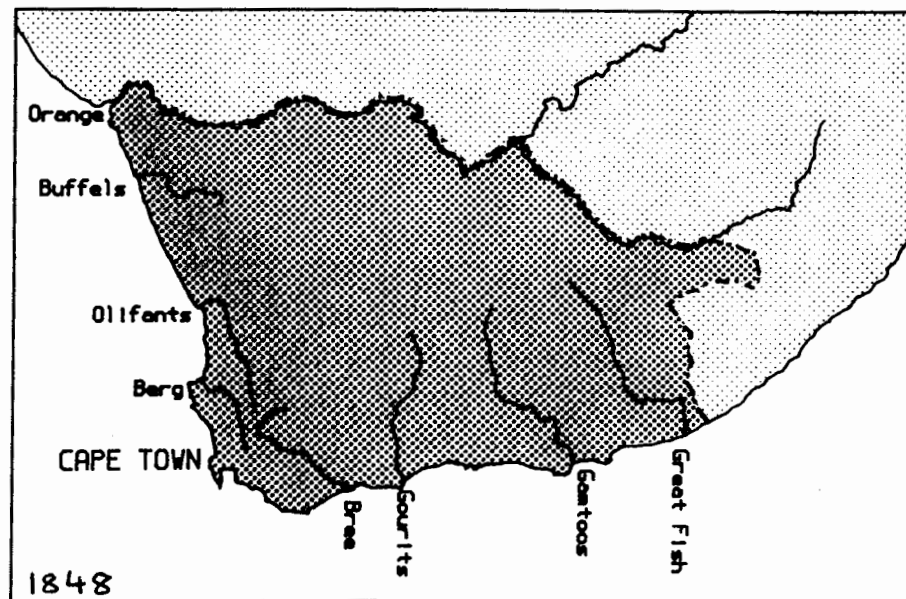
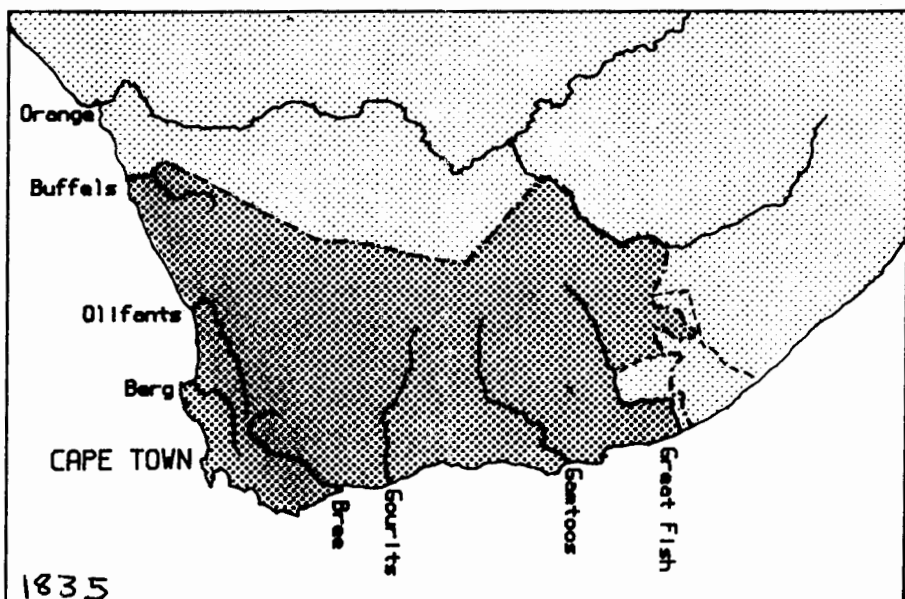
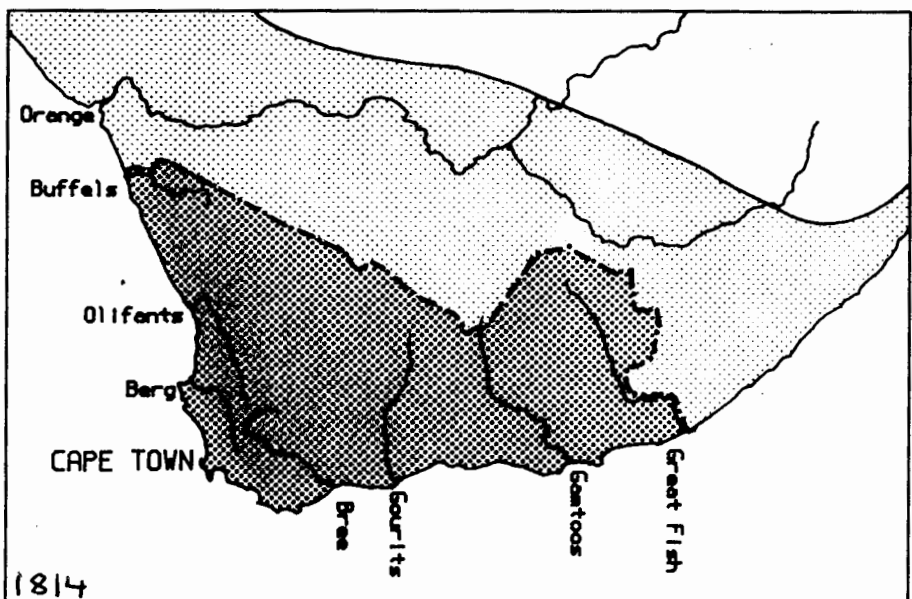
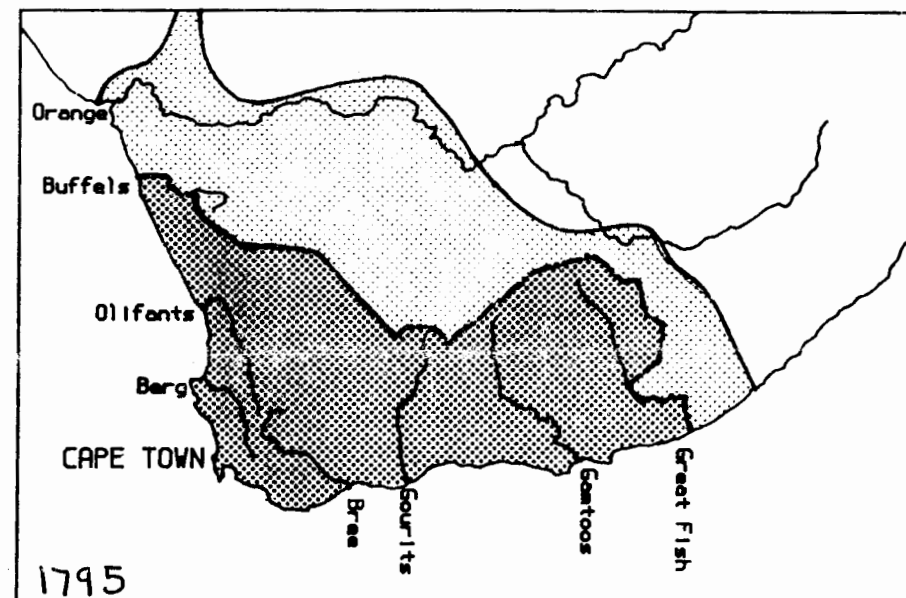
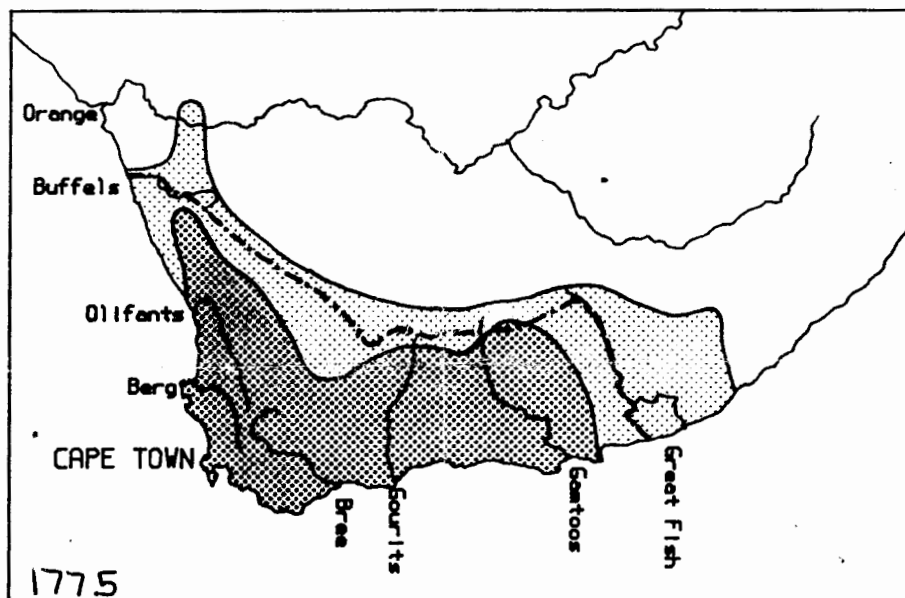
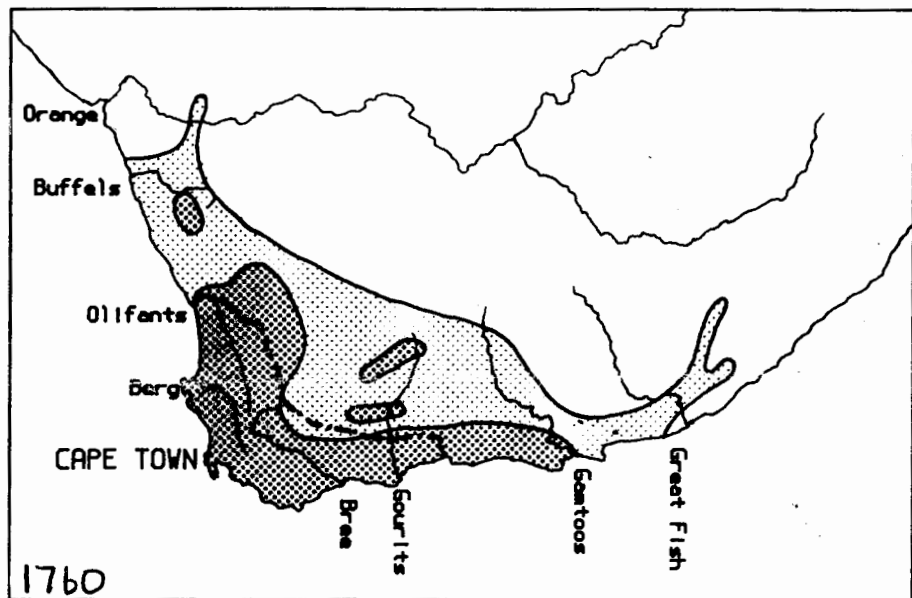
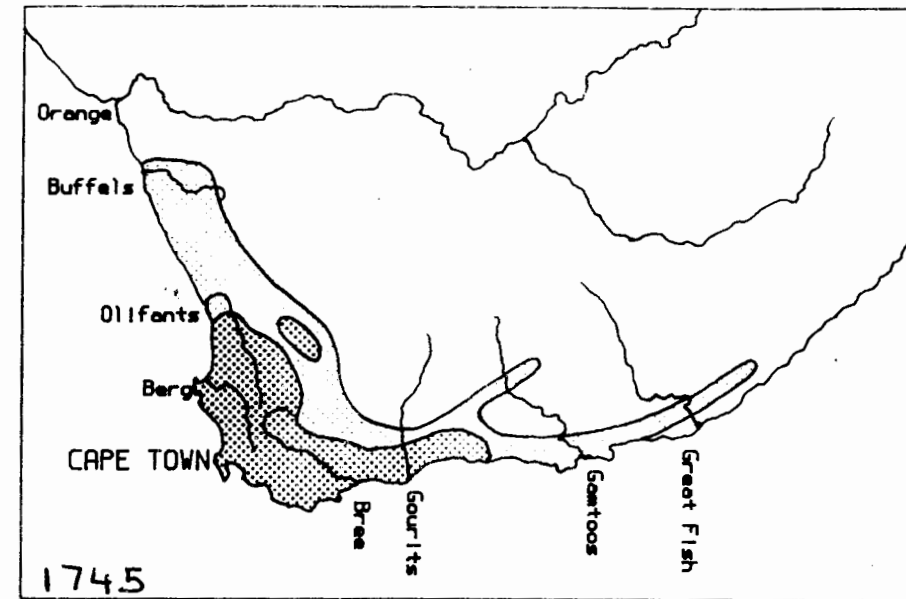
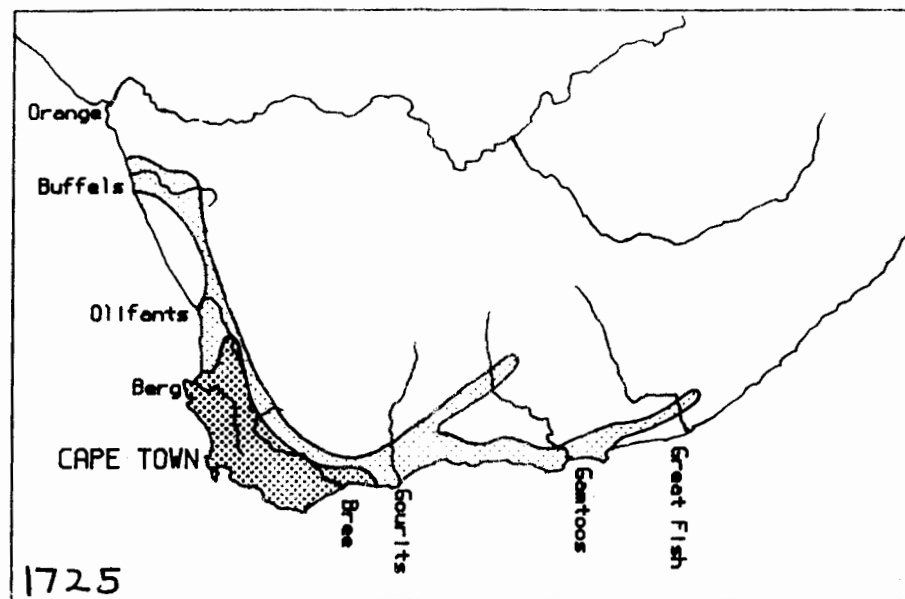
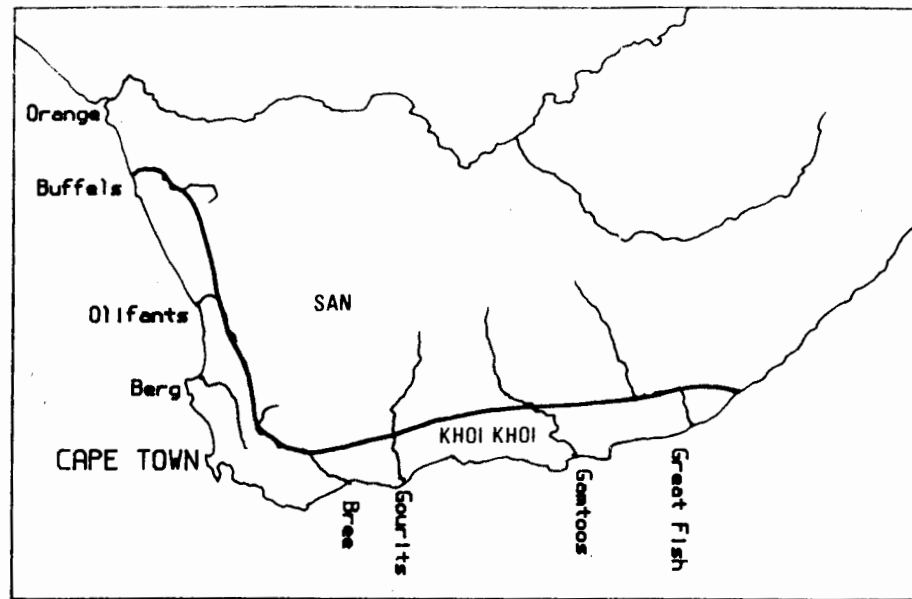
Luyt highlights the following as major stumbling blocks to 'bourgeois' development:

- (i) no legal provision existed for obliging those occupying land in an unproductive manner to vacate the land and enter the service of others.
- (ii) no provisions for preventing sub-division and joint ownership.
- (iii) taxation not being strictly enforced.

The Select Committee of 1896 recognized these constraints and the solution, as they saw it, was to invoke Act 29 of 1909, which made provision for eventual changes but which embodied the principles that the communal system be retained, that a head tax on adult males in the Reserve areas be imposed and that no further sub-division of arable land take place. In addition vagrancy was outlawed. The aim of these measures was to decrease pressure on the land by forcing sub-subsistence peasants onto the labour market. Their imposition was to be controlled indirectly by the Department of Native Affairs via local management. A Raad (Board of Management) was to be established with some members being nominated by inhabitants and the rest by the Government. The chairman of the Raad was the magistrate of the district in which the board was elected. The Raad was responsible for land distribution and acted as a court of law. Prior to this Act, the Raad had had similar functions but was presided over by the missionaries. Inhabitants elected members and they consisted of corporals (responsible for temporal affairs) and elders (religion and morals affairs). In effect what the Act did was to separate church and secular administration, and take the role of civil administration away from the missionaries.

Immediately following the formulation of Act 29 of 1909 there was some resistance by poorer reserve inhabitants who were

Map 6.



EXPANSION PATTERN OF THE CAPE COLONY

anxious to maintain their "burgherskap" given their increasing dependence on the wage labour market. At Komaggas, Steinkopf and Concordia, an attorney was hired to contest the legality of the Act. Inhabitants were reluctant to assist in any of the preliminary steps for fear that it would prejudice their case. In Komaggas in 1913, meetings held to inform the residents about the Act and to elect a board were boycotted. Few residents were prepared to offer themselves but the new provisions were ignored and the residents continued to manage their own affairs.

In Leliefontein, only six members made themselves available for nomination; having been nominated they formed a Board of Management, but an 'opposition' leader of an opposition Raad was elected. The resistance by the "Tegen-de-nieuw-wetters" could not be overcome by peaceful means and "the South African Mounted Rifles were called in to enforce the provision of Act 29 and clear away any signs of resistance" (Luyt 1981 : 166/7).

3.5 'Separate Development' and the Coloured Rural Areas

For the next fifty years, few changes were advocated, so the communal land tenure system remained largely unchanged. This is attributed not so much to the resistance in the Reserves but to factors that "induced an official inertia to the Namaqualand region as a whole" (Sharp 1984 : 8).

The factors included the following:-

- (i) as the mines experienced decline, so the copper district and Reserves become insignificant.
- (ii) with few employment opportunities, the Reserve population was reduced to a general level of impoverishment accompanied by a lower level of internal protest.
- (iii) O'okiep Copper Company (O.C.C.) was content with the communal system as the cost of maintaining its labour force was reduced; it did not have to provide housing

and other infrastructural services for workers recruited from the Reserves (Sharp 1984 : 8 - 10).

A more general, political factor was the Government's hesitation in clarifying the status and future dispensation of the "coloured" people.

The only notable change was when the population of the Coloured Rural Areas (Reserves) were recognised as not being "native". They were therefore removed from the control of the Department of Native Affairs and placed under that of Social Welfare in 1944 (Kotze. D. 1985 : 19).

At present the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the Administration of the House of Representatives administers Namaqualand and the other 17 Coloured Rural Areas under the provisions of the Rural Coloured Areas Law, 1979. A chronological history of changes in administration is given in Appendix D.

The Coloured Persons Settlement Act (Act No. 7/1946) provides the legal basis for the reservation of new Coloured areas, and the Rural Coloured Areas Act (Act No. 24/1963) made provisions for the incorporation of land already occupied by coloured communities and consolidated previous measures. (Further provisions of these Acts are contained in Appendix E). The latter gave notice of the Government's intention to pursue a particular development course and provided for the introduction of settlement schemes, whereby the Reserves would be planned into various zones, signalling an end to communal land tenure. In effect, the Coloured Rural Areas in Namaqualand and elsewhere were being seen as Rural Group Areas where coloureds could get title to farm land and practice commercial agriculture. Most important was the division between residential and agricultural zones and the stipulation that previous commonage be made available only to bona fide farmers. The meaning of "bona fide" farmer was not made clear but in practice it seems to have referred to people who were

full-time farmers as opposed to those who pursued other occupations at the same time as farming.

The proposals were an attempt to stimulate agricultural entrepreneurship, increase production, prevent overgrazing and soil erosion and establish a group of full time farmers who would use agricultural extension services and be able, through individual title, to offer surety for loans to improve land. As yet no transfer of title to economic units has been granted to individuals despite provision for it in the Act.

Sharp argues that in making room for entrepreneurs, many inhabitants will lose access to agricultural resources and their political status as members of a particular reserve community. This will have both political and economic consequences. We look further at this in Section 7.1.

3.6 Development of Export Industries

3.6.1 Copper Mining⁵

Copper was the first metal to which the Europeans attention was directed after the Dutch had established themselves at the Cape. The Nama tribes of Hottentots had used copper to make tools, weapons and ornaments which were bartered with other tribes. Numerous expeditions were despatched from Cape Town during the early years of the settlement to try and locate the copper mountains of Namaqualand. In August 1685, Van der Stel himself organized an expedition consisting of 15 wagons, a boat, 2 cannons, 56 whites, a number of Hottentots and slaves to Namaqualand. On the 21st October 1685 the party reached Koperberg (Copper Mountain). They sunk three shallow prospect shafts which yielded rich ore in large quantities. It was only some 200 years later before the mines were worked. Until then primitive transport and copper's limited market value made exploitation unprofitable.

The first undertaking to commence mining in Namaqualand was

the South African Mining Company.⁶ Its formation took place in 1846 and had been stimulated by an expedition undertaken by Sir James Alexander⁷ in 1836/7. "The Company simply appears to fade out of existence for a few years without being formally dissolved" (Smalberger 1969 : 29) and recommenced operations in 1854. A few years later copper deposits were found on a farm (Melkboschkuil) at Springbokfontein (now Springbok) "where just above the homestead a great lump of many thousands of tons of fine ore stuck out of the mountainside in full view like a huge vein" (Smalberger 1969 : 30).

In December 1847 Sir Harry Smith had extended the boundaries of the colony up to the Orange River and therefore Springbokfontein then fell within the sphere of the Cape Government. The farm had at this time not yet been granted to the occupying family, the Cloetes, this was eventually done on 21st January 1850. The government did not retain mineral rights. Smalberger points out that this might have been the case had they known of the existence of copper deposits. On 16th March 1850, a purchase price of fifty Pounds was paid by Phillips and King, a Cape Mercantile firm, to the Cloetes. A deed of sale for the portion purchased (10 morgen) was completed on 28th October 1850. Through this document, the mineral rights of the entire farm were obtained by Phillips and King. In addition, they also acquired building and grazing rights for any construction and stock necessary for the working of the mines.

On 13th September 1853 a proclamation was published making provision for ascertaining and developing mineral resources existing on government lands in Namaqualand. Following its publication "the Cape and especially Cape Town, indulged in a mania of speculation" (Smalberger 1969 : 33).

Additional stimulatory factors mentioned by Smalberger included the following:

- (i) Overblown expectations of ore volumes as

illustrated in the following passage written by Blancheton, Consul for France at the Cape. "When we reflect that the numerous copper mines recently discovered in Namaqualand extend, almost without interruption over a surface of from 8,000 to 9,000 square miles, at all degrees of depth, and that the ore is found everywhere at the surface, so that it may be collected the greater part of the time above the ground, we may come to the conclusion that this country is destined to produce annually more copper than all the mines in the world united" (Smalberger 1969 : 35).

- (ii) Rumours of gold deposits (a certain Mr Nicholls, employee of Phillips and King, had claimed a reward for discovering gold in Namaqualand).
- (iii) The belief that English capital would purchase localities where copper was known to be deposited, at any price.

At the same time English mining journalists warned against investment in the Namaqualand Companies because of:

- insecure and short leasing periods;
- lack of knowledge of the country;
- employment of competent agents - many of whom knew nothing of mining or labour previous to their arrival at the scene of operations;
- unfavourable monetary conditions for foreign investment. By October 1855 the bank rate was fixed at five and a half percent.

Indiscriminate speculation continued. No controls existed over the setting up of companies. At the height of the boom late in 1854 when most companies had been formed, capital was raised on vague information only, like the following:

"HENKRIES MINING COMPANY PROSPECTUS

The proprietors of certain Mine Centres, to be leased from the Colonial Government, and which have been applied for on the selection of Mr J.A. Bam, Jnr., who has personally visited

Namaqualand, and brought to town with him samples of surface ore, gathered from these Centres, propose to form a Company to be called the "Henkries Mining Company" (Smalberger 1969 : 42).

The boom continued well into early 1855 experiencing two major peaks. The first in early 1854 when rumours of gold deposits in Namaqualand sent the copper price spiralling upwards, only to fall when it became apparent that no gold had been discovered. The second occurred in late 1854 when the majority of companies were formed; 22 were formed in the period July 1854 - January 1855.

When in late 1855 it appeared certain that most companies would fail, the formation of an Amalgamated Mining Company⁸ was suggested. These plans, however did not materialize and almost all the companies went into liquidation. By 1857 only three survived - Phillips and King, the Namaqua Mining Company (formed in 1853) and the South African Mining Company⁹. The latter disappeared shortly after the boom, the Namaqua Mining Company finally emerged in 1888 as the Namaqua Copper Company and Phillips and King was bought in 1862 by the Cape of Good Hope Copper Mining Company¹⁰ (see Appendix F).

Smalberger points out that the stagnation in trade following the boom years could in part be attributed to these injudicious investments in mining ventures, though it was also related to stock disease which checked agricultural production.

During the first few years of mining activity in Namaqualand, the chief product was high-grade sorted ore. The ore was taken to the Orange River, sent in barges to Alexander Bay and shipped to Swansea, Wales where it was milled, smeltered and refined. By 1870 smelting was done at the Springbok and O'okiep reduction works¹¹, regulus¹² was produced and shipped to England for conversion and refining.

Transport was the crucial factor determining the development of Namaqualand's copper industry. High transport costs had

already prohibited exploitation of copper ore deposits from 1685 to 1852 when the first tons were shipped and thereafter inhibited any further development. Even after the boom of the 1850's transport facilities were inadequate.

Proposals to construct a railway/tramway were hampered by the lack of capital and the inability to raise it on the one hand and the government's negative attitude on the other. Raising of capital proved difficult since there was no stability of tenure on mining leases. No railway line or main road had been constructed by the government and no divisional council existed in Namaqualand until 1861, thus individuals were forced to maintain the roads in their private capacities. At the same time pressure was exerted by miners, farmers and others in Namaqualand on government to improve transport facilities.

On a broader basis it was argued that Namaqualand's isolation from the rest of the colony also meant that its copper made no significant influence on the colony's development, despite the fact that copper was the colony's second most important export product. It was felt that benefits from capital application would accrue if a railway line was constructed over the worst part of the road to the coast. As a result of these pressures the government appointed a select committee of the House of Assembly to examine the problem.

Two views as to possible routes emerged:-

- (i) Springbok to Hondeklip Bay
- (ii) Springbok to Port Nolloth

The former would have been the shortest route though the most expensive to establish and maintain. Proponents of this route felt the situation of impoverished farmers would be improved as they could earn a living by riding copper ores. The proponents of the Port Nolloth route felt that if the mining industry was strengthened by the establishment of efficient and inexpensive transport, local markets would result and

therefore agricultural development would be stimulated. In addition the road to Port Nolloth passed indications of copper whereas that to Hondeklip Bay passed none. The government believing that the Hondeklip Bay road would improve Hondeklip Bay's economic situation and knowing that Namaqualand's agricultural potential was limited, continued to build a road along this route. Before its completion, the Cape Copper Mining Company obtained permission in 1869 to build a rail line to Port Nolloth.

The narrow guage railway line between O'okiep and Port Nolloth opened in 1876 replacing barge transport. The new Hondeklip Bay road was by that time used for copper transport only and eventually became redundant. The construction of the railway enabled transport of large deposits of ore thus increasing exports. At the same time it altered the position of Hondeklip Bay and Port Nolloth. Hondeklip Bay's decline can be illustrated by the fact that in 1862 it became a separate magisterial district which then was incorporated into Namaqualand in 1877, whereas Port Nolloth was declared a separate magisterial district in 1874 and still is one today. Some changes in the relative positions of the two towns are illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Copper Production 1868 - 1873

	O'okiep to Port Nolloth		O'okiep to Hondeklip Bay	
	Up Transport ¹ (tons)	Down Transport ² (tons)	Up Transport ¹ (tons)	Down Transport ² (tons)
1868	316	367	222	1 820
1869	831	1 484	500	2 891
1870	1 361	2 478	915	3 172
1871	1 088	7 461	286	1 567
1872	1 791	7 611	157	1 163
1873	3 402	10 424	-	1 183

1) Goods, fuel and storage.

2) Ore and regulus

3) 1 ton = 2,310 lbs

Source: Smalberger 1969 : 122

Port Nolloth had been surveyed in 1854 by a Capt. M.S. Nolloth who concluded that it provided a practical harbour for shipment of copper ore. The town was laid out and was dominated by the copper companies. The size of the reef was such that only small vessels could enter the harbour.

For 68 years the narrow gauge railway was the main outlet to the sea. In 1886 steam engines had replaced mule and horse tractors, making the railway a financial burden because of the high cost of imported coal. Mules were, however, retained for passenger traffic until 1896. By 1944 Port Nolloth had been abandoned as a shipping port, the railway was scrapped and ores were taken by road to Bitterfontein (the railhead) and transported by train to Cape Town and shipped overseas, for the final refining process.

In 1888 the Cape Copper Mining Company altered its name to the Cape Copper Company. The First World War brought prosperity to the mines but production ceased altogether in 1919 owing to the post war slump and shipping problems which affected the supply of coke and export of copper. The company's low production can in part be attributed to a failure to introduce more economic processes for the treatment of poorer grade ores. Since 1836 and up to the time of closure of operations, the copper industry had been the largest industrial undertaking in the area. The poverty and distress caused by the mines' closure will be examined in depth in a later section but the following letter written in 1919 to the Editor of the Cape Times illustrates the situation:-

"Sir, - Only a small fraction of your readers can picture the extent of the calamity due to the sudden closing down of the Cape Copper Company. Three large villages are affected - O'okiep, which has seven stores; NababEEP, with eight stores; and Port Nolloth, which is larger than either of these. With the exception of the Fish Canning Co., and the Wireless, Lighthouse and the Customs staff at Port Nolloth, every living person except the postmaster depends upon the company for his daily bread.

On Friday, 23rd May, all day men dismissed at once, weekly men a week's notice, monthly a month, contract men three months.

Daily men means coloured labour, about 1,000. Paid daily, their wage was daily spent on today's or yesterday's food. Their wage had recently been reduced to 3s. per day, and before the crisis some families were actually starving. Weekly men include a few white men and more St. Helenas, a very worthy class, holding positions of some trust at very low wages. There are very few contract men. Some of the officials and all the remaining staff of white men will be paid one month's wage on June 1, and dismissed to take care of themselves.

Since retrenchment, following the fall of the O'okiep mine about nine years ago, all wages have been on a low scale. The provision of good houses, no rates and some privileges made life possible, and even comfortable. But, for men with families to maintain, there was little margin for saving. Those who desired advanced education for their children had to economise closely to pay boarding and school fees in Cape Town. During the rise in prices due to the War there was no war bonus to help employees of the company.

Now all these families are to sell up and depart. Sell up! To whom can they sell? Depart! Whither? Obviously to Cape Town. We are their neighbours, though so far away. Klaver, the railhead, is distant 180 miles of difficult road. The only other exit is by ship from Port Nolloth to Cape Town. The transport of a family without much baggage would swallow up all of a month's wages. And what prospect is there for many families arriving in Cape Town almost penniless at this juncture?

It is difficult to understand what possible excuse can exculpate the directors of a company with such tremendous responsibilities, from what looks to be a criminal betrayal of a people who served them well. To discuss that would be beside the mark, in our ignorance of the facts.....

I am, etc.,

T.G. Le Mesurier (Smalberger 1969 : 135 - 137).

In 1927 the properties of the Cape Copper Company were optioned to an American Concern, The American Metals Corporation and formed the South African Copper Company Limited (see Appendix F). Their plans for building a large concentration plant were stopped when the recession caused the price of copper to decrease in 1930.

In 1937, the assets and liabilities of the South African Copper Company were taken over by the O'okiep Copper Company

Limited. Newmont Mining Corporation held 67 percent of the share issue. In 1939 the O'okiep Copper Company acquired the mineral leases held by the Namaqua Copper Company and thus came to own all the copper mines and important prospects in the district. For the first two years, prior to production in 1939 new machinery was installed. Operating under normal capacity, approximately 2 500 people could be employed permanently. In 1938 a total of 595 labourers were employed, 461 of them were unskilled non-whites from the surrounding area, many of whom had been retrenched previously (Kotze. P. 1943 : 136).

By 1945, a mine and mill at NababEEP¹³ and O'okiep¹⁴ had been completed, the NababEEP smelter had started production and a power plant at O'okiep was completed. Subsequent developments are outlined in Appendix F.

In November 1984 Gold Fields of South Africa took over management of the O'okiep Copper Company, being one of the major shareholders (41%) and Newmont Mining the other (40%). At present some 1 500 000 tons of ore are produced from five mines annually and 21 000 tons of blister copper¹⁵, produced at the NababEEP smelter, is exported.

3.6.2 Diamond Mining

Diamonds were first discovered in Namaqualand in 1926 by a Capt. Jack Carstens, the son of a Port Nolloth shopkeeper. He found them in a coastal tract of land stretching from the Orange River in the north to the southern boundary of Port Nolloth. Soon prospectors, option buyers and diamond buyers flocked to the coast constituting the beginning of a "diamond rush" with claims being pegged mainly in and around Alexander Bay.

For 17 500 Pounds, a wealthy prospector, Hans Merensky, secured control over what was known as the "oyster line" around the shores of the Bay, having previously discovered

that diamonds were associated with beds of gravel. This area was to become the worlds richest diamond area, yielding 2762 diamonds (4 308.9 carats) in one month only.

Merensky's warning to the Prime Minister of an inflow of "fortune seekers" resulted in the Government taking action to avoid a situation similar to the Lichtenberg rush. On 22nd February 1927 all prospecting for, and mining of diamonds on the Namaqualand coast was prohibited, pending the passing of a new diamond control bill. In terms of this banning, the Hans Merensky Association had to halt its operations. Up to this point they had mined, in one month, 6 890 diamonds (12 549 carats) at a value of 153 000 Pounds. To prevent unlimited expansion and therefore a collapse in the market value of diamonds Ernest Oppenheimer bought the entire output of the Namaqualand fields and placed the stones on the world market in an orderly manner. In addition he purchased his way into the Merensky Association, becoming the dominant diamond personality on the Diamond Coast.

The Government's solution to the problem of operating the coastal alluvial fields was to proclaim the coast a State diggings except for six discoverers' rights on distinct geological deposits. Merensky and Oppenheimer succeeded in buying up the other discoverers' rights and became sole controllers of Alexander Bay with an obligation to sell their production to the Government. Work resumed at the State Diggings and areas belonging to the Merensky association on the 1st May 1928.

The state Diggings was a major source of employment for whites in the region. Kotze argues that the diggings were intended specifically to offer employment to "poor whites" from the Springbok and Vanrhynsdorp area. No-one outside of these two districts was given the opportunity to seek employment here (Kotze. P. 1943 : 134).

Conditions of employment were attractive and included free

board and lodging. Only employees were accommodated on the mine by the State Alluvial Diggings and were permitted to leave the camp every two weeks (at the end of which they received their wages). Entertainment and recreation was provided for employees. There were two major categories of employees - permanent administrative staff (13 in 1938) and temporary labourers (492 in 1938). The majority of the employees were single (379 or 77%) and were expected by the State to send money home to their families. If they failed to do so, the parents were entitled to complain to the company; in the event of this occurring, the amounts were deducted from the employees salary and forwarded to the family (Kotze. P. 1943 : 135).

On the other hand the non-State diggings did not provide as much and as regular work as the State. They were essentially a business undertaking limited in its operations by the imposition of a quota. Once the quota had been fulfilled, operations closed for the year. As a result work was normally available for four to six months in a year. Wages included board and lodging. Employees remained on the camps and were allowed 24 days annual leave (12 days every six months). In 1938 there was a total of 236 employees, 170 of them white, 200 temporary labourers and 36 permanent staff.

With the formation of State diggings in 1928 public resentment to this and the Merensky association's monopoly was substantial. An abortive attempt to raid one mine was made by "would be diggers" and illicit diamond dealers. This was the start of what became known as the "Namaqualand rebellion".

Diggers threatened to invade Merensky's mines and the State diggings unless the Government made public diggings available. By this stage the condition of many of the diggers and their families was deplorable. These threats were met, not by public diggings, but by increased policing, employment on roadworks and railways and the establishment of a poverty relief fund. The offer of employment was intended to divert

people's attention from the diggings and in addition provided the State with the personnel to increase policing.

The objectors' strength was decreased by the substantial friction that existed between the two groups in Namaqualand, i.e. the diggers from the area and those from the Lichtenburg fields. Tension was further increased by police. As a result, the day of the proposed invasion, (28th December 1928) the two parties met. Deliberation occurred and no raid was undertaken. The rebellion was halted and it was agreed to send a deputation to the minister of mines on the 25th January.

Arising from this a welfare officer was appointed by the Government to provide relief but no public diggings were made available. Kotze suggests that another factor that may have had an effect on the government decision to provide relief work was that elections for Parliament were taking place at that time and both candidates advocated compensation to inhabitants for the loss of digging rights. He points out that in 1929 an unlimited number of people were given relief work. Anyone who requested employment was given it. Relief work continued until the end of 1939 fluctuating when drought, soil erosion or failed harvest caused increased demands.

The continued exploitation of diamonds at Alexander Bay by the State was investigated in 1980 by a Commission consisting of members of the departments of the Prime Minister, Health, Welfare and Pensions, Finance and Mineral and Energy Affairs.

The government had previously declared that the public sector should not enter a field that could be served adequately by the private sector. The brief of the commission was to decide whether the State Alluvial diggings was a case in question.

The commission's finding was that it could not be served by a private sector and according to it, a number of special conditions justified this exception:

- (i) the strategic importance of the diggings

location.

(ii) various socio-economic reasons:

- (a) continued employment of semi-skilled and skilled labourers from Namaqualand, Richtersveld and surrounding environment, especially the old who could not earn equivalent amounts in the private sector.
- (b) provision of employment opportunities for "coloureds" from neighbouring areas.
- (c) maintenance of an apprentice training centre at Alexander Bay (the only one in Namaqualand for diamond workers).
- (d) provision of medical and health services to Alexander Bay, Port Nolloth and vicinity including the Richtersveld¹⁶ (Dept. of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Annual Report 1980 : 14).

3.6.3 Fishing

Ignoring the fishing activities of the indigenous inhabitants, one can start the industry's history from Van Riebeeck's landing. Development was slow and Van Riebeeck's efforts to export train oil and sealskins met with little success. The Dutch East India Company was anxious not to engage in fishing to the detriment of agriculture. In addition, smallness of the market prevented growth of the industry. By the end of the 18th century fishing was still a small scale industry, confined to Table Bay and False Bay.

In the 19th century, as the interior was opened up with the discovery of diamonds and gold, the colony expanded northwards and settlers began to see profits in fishing. Harbours were developed on the West Coast at Saldahna Bay, St Helena Bay, Paternoster, Berg River Mouth, Lamberts Bay, Hondeklip Bay and Port Nolloth. Trading between the West Coast and Cape Town increased and fishing leases and sights were bought.

The demand for South African exports was stimulated by World War 1. The food industry increased its output as did crayfish

canners (rock lobsters) and by 1916 two companies which were to have a major influence on the Namaqualand fishing industry had established themselves in the Cape. They were "John Ovenstones Ltd" and "Hicksons and Sons".

Despite hold ups in operations caused by strikes by fishermen (for increased wages) and lack of tin plate (used to can the fish), the industry flourished and by 1917, 14 million crayfish had been exported to Europe and 15 canneries had been established in the Cape (Lees : 42 - 43).

In 1918 the original Ovenstone Company opened a factory at Port Nolloth. The opening was seen as timeous as the drastic copper price reduction had caused the mines in Namaqualand to close down and the fishing industry became the sole support of Port Nolloth (Lees : 43).

The Director of the Fisheries Advisory Board (Gilchrist) reported in 1925 that the crayfish industry had grown but that it was experiencing a decline due to a currency depreciation and that serious signs of overfishing were evident. Despite this the Namaqualand Canning Company was started at Hondeklip Bay - a small bay behind a dangerous reef, once the port for the O'okiep copper mines. It was now deserted and inhabited by Coloured settlers from Cape Town and Namaqualand, many of whom were descendants of Cornish miners. A condensing plant was installed and supplies shipped from Saldahna Bay. By 1929, a second cannery had been established by Hicksons at Port Nolloth (Lees : 71 - 72).

The Wall Street Crash in 1929 had a negative effect on the fishing industry - crayfish canners decreased their output by 20 percent. One company particularly badly effected was the Namaqua Canning Company whose output was reduced to half. Wages and prices continued to decrease until 1932 when the factory closed down for a month during the fishing season. The company had by then been in existence for six years and shareholders had received hardly any dividend on funds

invested (Lees : 76 - 77).

"Everywhere the depression meant unemployment and overproduction" (Lees : 77). Scharmberg (founder of Hondekliip Bay) reported that if South Africa remained on the gold standard, the outlook was bleak. Nevertheless the canneries kept going, some better than others.

In December 1932, South Africa went off the gold standard. the resultant devaluation led to an increased demand for gold and a revival of imports. The fishing industry, amongst others, flourished and Namaqua Canning Company reported a profit and paid a dividend of ten percent.

Prices had fluctuated radically and attempts were made in the 1930's to stabilize prices. In 1938 the Crayfish Canners Distributors (Pty) Ltd was established as the central selling organization. This proved unsuccessful. As some canners had not entered the agreement, no unified front existed. The body had few powers and became merely a forum for discussion.

In 1934 the French Government imposed import quotas on crayfish which lead to a need for equitable distribution of the quota amongst South African canners. For this reason, the Crayfish Export Control Act (No. 50 of 1934) was passed in 1934 and extended by Act 41 of 1935 remaining in force until 1940. The quota was distributed between the South Africa companies as follows:

- 5 companies (including Ovenstones) - 35 929 cases
- 3 companies (including Hicksons and Namaqua Canning Company - 7 537 cases.

On account of the small quota allocated to the Namaqua Canning Company they were forced to amalgamate with the North Bay Canning Company in 1938 (Lees : 79 - 87).

The Second World War (like the First World War) had a negative effect on the fishing industry - managers and shareholders

left to fight. When France collapsed the industry lost its most important market. This was alleviated to a certain extent by the demand for canned crayfish as a cheap high-protein foodstuff in the United Kingdom (Lees : 101).

At about this time the United States began to emerge as a profitable market for frozen crayfish. Ovenstones began freezing and by 1939, Port Nolloth was flourishing - the copper mines had re-opened, the diamond boom had begun and the fishing industry was revitalized.

In addition, Ovenstones expanded by conducting experimental working in trawling at Port Nolloth for bait for crayfish and together with a former director of Irvine and Johnson, floated National Trawling and Fishing Industries Ltd which was sold to Imperial Cold Storage some years later.

In 1945 Hicksons was taken over by Irvine and Johnson and between 1948 and 1957 a series of amalgamations took place which led to the formation of the Oceana Group comprising some 30 companies including Lamberts Bay Canning Company, Seafare, S.A. Sea Products and United Fish Canneries (Lees : 126 - 206).

It is these three groups (Ovenstones, Hicksons and Oceana) that control Namaqualand's fishing industry today. This is the subject of discussion in Chapter 4.

3.7

Conclusion

Our discussion in this chapter revealed the key role played by the region's natural resources - land, minerals and fish - for its economic development during the past 150 years. The "scramble" for the control of these resources - and the outcome of this struggle - largely shaped the racial pattern of development, including the distribution of wealth, income and economic opportunities.

As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6 this past pattern has

changed very little during the more recent past, which explains the present inequality in the living standards amongst the races. It follows logically that an effective development strategy will, above all, have to address these underlying forces of inequality.

CHAPTER 4

NAMAQUALAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In looking at Namaqualand as an "underdeveloped area" we need to understand the causes of underdevelopment before proposing a development strategy.

The purpose of this chapter is first, to consider some general explanations of development/underdevelopment; second, to survey the literature on Namaqualand so as to situate it within the various theoretical frameworks; and third, to critically analyse these frameworks, identifying those that best explain Namaqualand's underdevelopment.

4.1 Explaining Underdevelopment - Alternative Approaches

"Much of South Africa's history revolves about the transition of a majority of her people - the rural African population - from their pre-colonial existence as pastoralist-cultivators to their contemporary status: that of sub-subsistence rural dwellers, manifestly unable to support themselves by agriculture and dependent for survival upon wages earned in 'white' industrial regions or on 'white' farms" (Bundy 1972 : 369).

Two major paradigms have dominated the underdevelopment debate and have been used to explain underdevelopment in South Africa. The paradigms could be characterized as the modernization or diffusion model, on the one hand and dependency theory on the other. In the former, the solution to underdevelopment rests on the growth of the capitalist economy and in the second, on fundamental economic transformation (the elimination of private ownership of the means of production) (Fair 1982 : 37).

The modernization model views underdevelopment as an initial state or condition from which one can escape. "It assumes that 'all societies begin from a common baseline of traditional underdevelopment' and undergo 'a unilinear

transformation along a development continuum of economic and social change from traditional to modern" (Browett 1980 in Fair 1982 : 6). In this view growth and development are used synonymously and development is measured to the extent that society conforms to American society (this Western economy is seen as the epitome of developed society).

The classic application of this line of thinking is Rostow's theory of stages of economic growth (see Appendix G). Hobart Houghton (1964) in his book, "The South African Economy" typifies this conventional view and argues that one cannot do better than accept Rostow's five stages of growth to illustrate South Africa's experience.

In Rostow's model 'take off' is characterized by the existence of a dual economy (modern and traditional economy existing independently). Over time diffusion of growth/development impulses takes place and the dual economy is eliminated and replaced by a modern economy. In South Africa this did not occur in all areas and the "dual economy" persisted. The existence of this dual economy is used by modernists to explain South Africa's underdevelopment. Developed areas are said to be the result of white settlers transferring their enterprise, initiative and skills to indigenous societies. Underdevelopment represents remnants of these societies which failed to adapt their economy to the modern world. Obstacles to development stem from the nature of the African society (e.g. traditional social structure, peasant conservatism) - these are so deeply rooted that they resist "enlightenment and economic rationality" (Bundy 1972 : 370) (i.e. dualism results because the black population failed/fails to adapt to the modern world). Migrant labour is seen as a voluntary choice. The "lifeboat" function of white developed areas and the failure of initiative on the part of reserve inhabitants is emphasized.

Critics of the modernization theory evolved an alternative paradigm which takes into account political, economic factors

and historical processes. Proponents of this paradigm assert that the dual economy (an a-historical modernization theory concept) becomes merely a justification for the inequality and exploitation that is necessary to maintain capitalist growth. They do not view underdevelopment as the stagnation of traditional societies, rather, it is seen as an active process resulting from capitalist production. The 'modern' and 'traditional' economies are interlinked to such an extent that development in some areas leads to underdevelopment in others - Frank's "development of underdevelopment". A clash of interest did and does occur between capitalists (bourgeoisie), working class (proletariat) and peasantry.

Dependency theory offered a new definition of development - the earlier definition being, that development meant reduction in poverty, unemployment and inequality. Writers in the dependency school introduced the criterion of "self-reliance". Development required a decrease in the dependence of the country on the economies of developed capitalist countries.

Bundy, one of the main proponents of dependency theory as an explanation for the underdevelopment of the 'Native reserves' in South Africa argues that the initial response of African peasant cultivation to mineral discoveries from the 1870's onwards was a positive one. In many regions the peasantry marketed an agricultural surplus and hence competed with the whites. Starting in the 1880's legislative measures were introduced in an attempt to reduce peasants competition, make more land available for commercial farming by whites, and generate a supply of labour for white farms and the mines at an 'acceptable' wage rate, e.g. Natives Land Act of 1913. This Act made it illegal for blacks to farm what are presently regarded as 'white rural areas', which cover more than 80% of South Africa's surface area. Taxes and rents were raised and squatting was controlled. The two alternatives facing peasants in 'white' rural areas, were either to move to a 'Native reserve' (most of which were already overcrowded) or

to sell their labour to a white employer. Subsequent legislation, manifesting the policy of apartheid/separate development has been designed to reinforce the supply of such 'cheap' black labour to farms, factories and mines.

Bundy (1972 : 243) concludes that the underdevelopment sector of the South African economy is not "separate" from the developed sector (i.e. there is no dual economy). The two are integrated and have aided the development of the peripheral black homelands, "primarily by undermining their productive capacity and their self-sufficiency by draining them of their able-bodied labour through the encouragement of the migrant labour system". Bundy concludes that "the structural underdevelopment of the peasantry was the other side of the coin of capitalist development in South Africa".

The liberal interpretation of South African history and modern economic events "sees much of the ills of past and present-day South Africa in the anti-progressive attitudes towards race-relations of Afrikaans and conservative English-speaking South Africans in the nineteenth century. This has led to the present policy of apartheid and the philosophy of separation of the races breeds harmony whereas integration creates discord. Liberal thinking sees these political attitudes based on race as having developed in the face of economic and social realities that, in fact, as the South African economy grew, people of all racial groups were thrown together on mines, on farms, in factories and in homes and that integrationist and not segregationist policies provide solutions to South Africa's problems" (Fair 1982 : 72 - 73).

In addition to these two bodies of theory, conventional regional economic analysis may also be used to explain underdevelopment. This analysis deals with locational aspects - "the where of economic development" (Friedmann 1966 : 5). It reflects the existence of geographic and spatial inequalities and stresses the importance of regional disparities in national growth.

'Market forces' inability to lead to regional income equalization, evidence of lagging regions and disequilibrium factor movements led to the development of this branch of neo-classical economic theory.

Regional development defines specific regions but tries to avoid setting water-tight artificial boundaries and studies the relations of the region to other areas, in particular how it is affected by government policy.

In his earlier work, John Friedmann, one of the chief exponents of regional economic analysis, translates Rostows 'stages of growth' into spatial terms and sketches a simple model showing how a nation's economic space is changed by several historical transitions from early settlement to full industrialization. The result is a dualistic structure comprising a "centre/core" of rapid intensive development on the one hand, and a "periphery" whose economy is imperfectly related to the centre, which is either stagnant or declining, on the other. The core-periphery hypothesis is used as an explanation of the cause and effect of economic transformation. The behavior of the two "regions" is controlled by implicit structural relationships. The core-periphery relationship is essentially colonial, and displacement from periphery to core of factors of production occurs. If the periphery remains agricultural, trade tends to favour the centre. This inequality leads to political pressure to reverse the flow of resources. If such redistribution is unprincipled it may retard progress at the centre.

Spatial equilibrium models lead one to expect that discrepancy in rates of return to factors and economic growth between core and periphery will not widen but converge. Friedmann suggests that historical evidence does not support this and regional convergence may not even occur. For example, despite industrialization in the U.S.A. and Europe these advanced economies are still plagued by depressed and backward

regions. Numerous reasons are given as to why convergence does not occur and includes heterogeneity of the population, amongst others.¹⁷

In attempting to gain an understanding of the structural form of relationship in an economy and to find a set of optimal planning regions, regional economists need to define a non-symmetrical set of planning regions varying in character and extent. Friedmann identifies five such regions:

- core regions - high growth potential
- upward transitional regions - natural resources and location relative to core regions suggest greatly intensified use of resources.
- resource frontier regions - new settlements where virgin territory is occupied and made productive.
- downward transitional areas - old established settlements whose rural economies are stagnant; those whose peculiar resource combinations suggest less intensive development than in the past; areas which are declining because of their ageing industrial structure or loss of it's primary resource base (mining areas).
- special problem regions - peculiar because of their resources or location, and which demand a specialized development approach.

Some authors may use culture/ethnicity to explain underdevelopment. On the one hand there are those such as Maddison who in explaining the Japanese growth experience argues that "the Japanese administration machine was efficient and centralized, there was a strong sense of national unity, a highly sophisticated cultural background undamaged by colonialism, absence of major internal conflicts between social groups on the basis of caste, tribe or religion, a fair balance between progress of different regions, and strong leadership from bureaucratic authoritarian elite" (Maddison 1969 : 78). And on the other hand those such as Vogt, who wrote about the American Indians: "All American Indian

populations have also been undergoing a process of increasing involvement with our white American socio-cultural system But what is interesting is that, despite all these pressures for change, there are still basically Indian systems of social structure and culture persisting with variable vigour" (E.Z. Vogt in Prucha 1971 : 100/101). The Indians represented an anomaly in American history, they were not absorbed or assimilated, they did not disintegrate or disappear as predicted by those who called them the "Vanishing American" - on the contrary they became strongly attached to their culture and developed new and effective ways of making themselves heard (Prucha 1971 : 1).

4.2 Writings on Namaqualand

A wide range of literature on Namaqualand exists and includes descriptive, historical and analytical studies. In this section we focus on historical and analytical books, dissertations, journal articles and more recent publications. We attempt to identify (where it exists) or develop the theoretical framework within which the author has viewed Namaqualand. A further object is to pinpoint any strategies for development which have been recommended.

Jan S. Marais in his book "The Cape Coloured People 1652 - 1937" devotes a chapter to Namaqualand¹⁸. The book was published in 1957 at which time Marais was a Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand. Marais' book is "essentially a study of racial relations" (Marais 1957 : vii) of the relations between the Europeans and non-Europeans and is devoted almost exclusively to the Cape Colony. In writing the book Marais hoped that his results would be of significance and interest wherever race and colour problems were studied. The chapter is a historical analysis of the movement of indigenous inhabitants and the development of Namaqualand.

He himself does not develop a theoretical framework but in

outlining retrogression in the reserves in the late nineteenth century he presents various viewpoints as to its causes. The causes can be divided into three categories:

(1) Accidental historical and natural causes:

- the decline in the copper industry
- persistent drought
- Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) and the Native Wars in German South West Africa (1904-1906) which resulted in severe stock loss for indigenous inhabitants.

(2) Ethnic characteristics:

Some blamed retrogression on the missionary's weak character and the lazy, apathetic reserve inhabitants: "For this system to work properly it was necessary that the missionary in charge should be a man of strong character and with some knowledge of agriculture and pastoralism - qualities not necessarily to be found in a man whose main work was considered to be for the preparation of his charge for the next world Even such a man cannot always cope successfully with the prejudices of people who are inherently indolent, apathetic and non-progressive; and when the missionary is, as must often be the case, a weak man, the downward course of the institution over which he presides for any time is certain" (Marais 1957 : 78/9).

(3) Structural causes:

The retrogression was attributed to reserve administration¹⁹ on the one hand and to the communal land tenure on the other. Melville²⁰ in 1890, wrote, "The communistic kind of life prevailing at the institutions tends to increase and intensify the indolent and improvident habits inherent in the race. People too lazy to work for wages or to cultivate their ground can always make sure of getting enough to eat by sponging on their more industrious neighbours or by begging for food from the missionaries, and people

of this stamp abound. This system quite a recognized one - of sharing ones food and even other kinds of property, with others, tends not only to increase the number of the lazy and thriftless, but acts also as a drag on the progress of those anxious to better themselves by habits of industry and thrift (Marais 1957 : 81/82)."

P.W. Kotze's doctoral thesis in the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Stellenbosch written in June 1942, was published as a book in 1943. The book and thesis bore the same title "Namaqualand - 'n sosiologiese studie van in geïsoleerde gemeenskap" and represented a complete survey of many facets of community life in Namaqualand.

No development strategy is proposed though Kotze wrote in his forward "Die hoop word gekoester dat die bevindinge van hierdie studie sal bydra tot die daarstel van 'n omvattende rehabilitatiewe plan vir die verarmde deel van die Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap" (Kotze. P. 1943). In addition no theoretical framework is developed. It is merely a presentation of socio-economic data, e.g. population, housing, land ownership, farm size, etc. and an illustration of how Namaqualand's physical and infrastructural isolation adversely affected and does affect Namaqualand's development.

The book, "The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve" is a shortened and revised version of a doctoral thesis written by Peter Carstens and accepted by the University of Cape Town in 1962. The book was published in 1966, at which time Carstens was an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto.

Based on fieldwork carried out between November 1951 and December 1960 it is an analysis of the social structure of the Steinkopf Community. Primarily it is an ethnographic study though comparison is made with four other reserves (Concordia, Komaggas, Leliefontein and Richtersveld). Carstens' attempts to describe and analyse some of the processes of social change

in the area. Change is seen as an adaptation to new phenomena (i.e. to new ideas, laws, situations, social relationships) and adaptation implies reorganization or modification of existing social relationships.

The general features of social change he outlines are:

- (i) the gradual change from social and cultural autonomy to dependence on the outside world (from an isolated to a peasant community).
- (ii) population distribution size and pattern changes - population has increased and tended to congregate in settlements,
- (iii) an increase in the variety of social groups (i.e. a relatively simple social structure has evolved into a more complex one).

These have been initiated by:

- (i) change in the population composition²¹,
- (ii) changes in the pattern of economic activity²²,
- (iii) coercion - an example being the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act - which imposed alien laws and inhibited emancipation from the pattern of oscillating rural-urban migration because people were captured in a reserve situation.

Carstens mentions that the Namaqualand Reserves social organization resembles that of the contemporary North American Indian Reserves, but does not develop this theme. The parallel (he suggests) is explained by similarities in the systems of administration.

Aubrey Relinghuis' doctoral thesis submitted in 1981 to the Department of Geography, University of the Western Cape, begins by briefly outlining a number of theoretical approaches to rural development. The approaches covered include early theories developed by sociologists (e.g. Durkheim, Wilson, Talcott, Parsons), modernization theory, dependency theory, Friedmann's core-periphery model and recent developments on the latter, amongst others,

Redlinghuis finds that two of these theories go some way towards explaining underdevelopment in Namaqualand.

- (i) he draws a parallel between Namaqualand and Friedmann's downward transitional area (d.t.a.) and critically analyzes the strategy Friedmann advocates for a d.t.a.,
- (ii) he identifies two themes, which flow directly out of the modernization theory, as a point of theoretical departure. The two themes are:
 - (a) identifying cultural and social constraints which give an explanation of why certain groups oppose change and are conservative in their attitude to development,
 - (b) a need exists to identify cultural and social factors that enhance development.

For the purpose of his research Redlinghuis concentrates on (a) as it appears to be more applicable in explaining Namaqualand's development background and problems.

Redlinghuis emphasizes the need to take into account internal and external factors (technical, ideological, economic, structural and cultural) when one wants to explain different reactions to the same event. He outlines prerequisites for development in rural areas, i.e. economic, infrastructural, political and community development. He identifies goals of rural development and outlines two approaches to development:

- (i) improvement approach - advocates no radical change in the traditional society and legal system and is aimed at improving peasant agricultural methods and production.
- (ii) transformation approach - advocates radical structural changes.

In addition he emphasizes the need to pay attention to spatial problems, historical development and physical, demographic, socio-political and cultural variables.

Redlinghuis himself does not develop a strategy but he does evaluate the "Government strategy" and Friedmann's strategy for d.t.a. and adds certain factors.

In 1981 Derek Luyt, a student in the Department of Sociology at U.C.T., wrote an honours dissertation which looks at the historical development of Namaqualand up until 1913 (the year he identifies as a watershed in the "bourgeois" revolution). The study focuses on the Reserves of Namaqualand in the broad transition to capitalism and the process of class formation and struggle in the area. His study uses Marxian analysis.

Luyt examines the beginning of the processes whereby a significant proportion of Namaqualand's population lost access to the means of production (land) and to "the basest means of subsistence" (i.e. wild game, seeds, roots) and in addition outlines how the Khoi Khoi's stock of cattle was depleted (through trade, war and plunder).

He suggests that the missionaries played a contradictory role in the process of primitive accumulation²³. Their role was integral to the "Government's stabilization policy"²⁴ but at the same time they helped the inhabitants in their struggle to keep possession of their land. They assisted in the formulation of a progressive peasant class (similar to the Russian 'kulaks') by encouraging independent peasant production which led to an increase in the size of land-holdings by certain individuals, but were simultaneously forced to recognize the majority of the reserve inhabitants struggle to keep possession of their land so as to maintain the allegiance of these people to the mission. This contradictory role led to tension which erupted into open defiance and opposition to the passing of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act.

Two other important aspects of primitive accumulation were the advent of mining capital and of merchant and 'usurers' capital.²⁵ The former speeded up and transformed the process, substantial areas of land were expropriated from inhabitants and granted to mining companies. Land dispossession and loss of the means of subsistence made inhabitants susceptible to merchant and government agents of usurer capital - the former

advanced commodities and the latter grain on credit. As credit was granted inhabitants became increasingly indebted and were forced to repay debts in the form of labour (e.g. at harvesting time) or sell produce at prices fixed by traders.

Luyt suggests that capitalist development conditioned the emergence of a land-based semi-proletariat. The stock-farming activities of the indigenous population had been restricted by penetration of Afrikaner stock-farmers. This together with the local market created by the opening of the mines meant access to arable land became a crucial aspect of their existence. In addition the insecure and non-permanent employment on the mines and farms meant "the reserve inhabitants were reluctant to sever their connections with the soil, since it was this soil that offered them the only possibility of security in the event of them being unable to find or retain employment" (Luyt 1981 : 144). Mining and agriculture therefore experienced difficulty in obtaining cheap local labour and their hostility to rules governing admission to and residence in the reserves, was understandable (see Section 3.4). The hostility is clearly illustrated in the following quote, "Whilst the copper mining industry is often crippled for want of labour, whilst the crops of the farmers often stand unreaped until the grain drops out of the ear, the Leliefontein tract abounds in lazy, idle scamps who lead a life of disreputable lotos eating, and keep body and soul together by the exercise of the least possible exertion" (Luyt 1981 : 45)²⁶.

"What was needed, then, by the bourgeoisie of Namaqualand was some way of forcing the people who clung so stubbornly to the land out of the reserves and into the service of the mining and agricultural capitalists. At the same time, such a step was also in the interests of the nascent capitalist class within the reserves, the kulaks, since it would throw open to them land hitherto occupied by semi-proletarians" (Luyt 1981 : 148).

Luyt shows that primitive accumulation resulted in a large relative surplus population who had no subsistence means and no recourse to permanent wage labour (i.e. large number of criminals, prostitutes, orphans, pauper children and vagrants).

He argues that the existence of the "semi-proletarians" adversely affected employers, 'kulaks' and small scale capitalists. All three wanted the semi-proletarians off their land for their own reasons: either to meet labour requirements (employer's needs) or to increase access to land ('kulaks' and small scale capitalists).

In 1909 the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act (No. 29 of 1909) was passed. In effect it legally sanctioned the 'kulak' class, as access to 'sub-economic' units on a permanent basis was prevented, and met the 'Namaqualand bourgeoisie' needs.

The semi-proletarians resisted the new provisions and any attempts to install Boards of Management, who were appointed partly to implement this policy, (see Section 3.4) as a result of which the South African Mounted Rifles were called in to enforce the Act and overcome any resistance - Luyt's "bourgeois revolution" (not complete in the sense that complete access to land was not denied but made more difficult).

Recent anthropological research²⁷, by U.C.T. anthropologists, has focused on the development over time of social boundaries in the regions population. It has examined the process of differentiation (particularly racial stereotyping and classification) which emerged from the twin processes of primitive accumulation and impoverishment associated with colonial settlement, and the growth of commercial agriculture and the mining industry. Emile Boonzaier argues that it is futile to view poverty as a separate or isolated phenomenon. The interplay between race and class is part of the process of impoverishment of large sections of the Southern African

population and is integral to any study of poverty in Namaqualand (Boonzaier 1984 : 5,9).

John Sharp and Martin West in their macro study and Emile Boonzaier in his micro study²⁸ suggest that in the early nineteenth century there was a significant degree of social and racial integration between landowners, trekboers and indigenous Khoi Khoi. Reasons suggested for this integration include:

- (i) sparse population
- (ii) general availability of land
- (iii) absence of strong political groups amongst the indigenous population
- (iv) geographic isolation minimized official influence
- (v) mutual dependence in the harsh environment
- (vi) the Khoi Khoi did not check colonists migration northwards as their numbers were relatively small and dispersed.

Clearly defined social boundaries were absent initially, however, over time these boundaries became less flexible and movement between groups implied a change in racial identity. A system of social and racial categorization began to emerge - the former from development of the mining industry, and the latter from the depression, re-opening of the mines and apartheid legislation in the 1950's.

The introduction of economic farming units led to increased differentiation even within individual race groups. Amongst coloured inhabitants there is division between those with units and those without, and between small and large stock owners.

West in his micro study²⁹ emphasized that vulnerability of people to fluctuating economic conditions is an important aspect of poverty and stresses the need to ascertain factors which affect vulnerability such as skills levels, the number and age of bread-winners in a family and restrictive

legislation. Inhabitants with access to capital or with skills or secure employment are relatively mobile and able to survive recessions whereas those without are tied to Namaqualand and become increasingly vulnerable to impoverishment.

Geoff Klinghardt, a social anthropologist at the South African Museum, in a paper presented to a Rural Areas Symposium at the University of the Western Cape in 1979 summarizes some critiques of the homelands policy³⁰ of the National Party Government and then considers their relevance to the Namaqualand situation. Critiques range from radical attacks (Magubane 1975) to liberal condemnations (Wilson 1962).

The liberal view posits that the Reserves (Bantustans, Black States) are modernized anachronisms and are founded and maintained to facilitate the governments enforced separation policy - a policy based on assumed racial and cultural differences. Wilson puts forward a number of reasons³¹ as to why the existence of the Reserves was incompatible with the idea of a free, equal and integrated society. She rejects "the Reserve policy" on the basis that colour was/is an unacceptable criterion to justify discrimination and separation.

Liberal proponents have been criticized by Molteno for concentrating on the "fraudulent" aspects of the policy. As a result, he argues, the policy is not taken seriously and is inexplicable unless accounted for in terms of "some distorted vision on the part of the National Party ideologies" (Klinghardt 1979 : 3)

Molteno, Magubane and Bundy see the development of the Reserves as a strategy for the continued domination by the 'colonial' elite. Two prime motives for their founding and existence are the needs by the elite for labour and for political domination.

Molteno takes Bundy's argument³² further and suggests that the decline in the peasantry's independence was an inevitable consequence of increasing economic and political controls by the elite over the indigenous population. By the 1960's, he continues, the Government found it necessary to channel the masses growing political aspirations in a direction that reduced political threats to the prevailing system.

Molteno distinguishes between:

- (i) 'Reserve strategy' - class levelling and creation of proletariat
- (ii) 'Bantustan strategy' - political aspects take precedence over the economic aspects.

The reserves in addition to being pools of labour, became instruments for channeling black nationalistic aspirations into institutions which on the surface offered local autonomy and the possibility of self-determination. "The policy of maintaining the Reserves is based on a wholly rational calculation for the continued domination of the population of South Africa by 'white' capitalism in both political and economic terms" (Klinghardt 1979 : 5).

Klinghardt suggests that the arguments of Bundy and Molteno can be applied to Namaqualand and that the Coloured Rural Areas existed for the same reasons as the Reserves, but warns against applying the argument without regard for local circumstances. In the context of Namaqualand there was never any legal restraint on the mobility of the inhabitants. Furthermore, the local mines would be affected but not forced to close if the Rural Areas were deproclaimed. He poses two questions:

- (i) why have the Coloured Rural Areas continued to exist?
- (ii) what factors increased the inhabitants resilience to disintegrative forces?

Klinghardt answers the questions in the following ways: First the Coloured Reserves " ... represent an extreme

expression of the sense of community manifested in urban localities, because, unlike the inhabitants of the latter, the Reserve dweller possess a formal, communal title to the land they occupy, formal institutions of local citizenship (burgherskap) which implies that there are jural restrictions upon membership of the Reserve Communities" (Sharp 1977 : 4). Second, environmental conditions (lack of water and infrastructure) have prevented the formation of urban areas and therefore of wider identities. Third, the working population tended to move between urban and rural areas thus being only partly influenced by urban ideas and attitudes. Fourth, Coloured Reserve communities are seen as units and perceived as advantageous social, political and residential loci because:

- (i) rights of occupation are a safeguard against the insecurity that comes with living in white areas, and
- (ii) in the face of retrenchment, lack of employment and retirement, they offer security.

Finally people in the Coloured Reserves have little in common with other "Coloured" people in the area.

Klinghardt ends by arguing that these areas are not only instruments for domination by a ruling elite by white capitalism but has brought into question the notion of a single "coloured" identity.

We can conclude that these descriptions and analyses are inadequate for our purpose in so far as they lack indepth economic analysis and largely fail to address strategies for development.

Marais, Kotze and Carstens in fact do not seek to analyze the causes of Namaqualand's underdevelopment in depth, and do not base their analyses on any specific body of economic theory. Nor are their studies strategy-orientated. In Marais' well known and perceptive writings on the 'Cape Coloured' the focus is not primarily on Namaqualand. Though descriptive rather than analytical a number of causes of underdevelopment in

Namaqualand are suggested by Marais, i.e. historical, natural, structural and ethnic causes. Carstens micro-study of Steinkopf represents an attempt to describe and analyse social change (loss of independence, formation of settlements and complex social structures) which he attributes to ethnic and economic factors. Kotze's book is purely descriptive, identifying the characteristics of the area - no attempt is made to analyze problems.

The anthropological research though not analytical in the economic sense, can be linked to the dependency school of thought. Klinghardt, in linking the formation of the 'Coloured Rural Areas' to the dependency theory, warns against applying it rigidly without regard to local circumstances. On the one hand, like the Bantustans, they are seen as a strategy for the continued domination by the colonial elite; on the other, he argues that environmental factors have played a more prominent role than in the Bantustans and that no legal restrictions have been placed on inhabitants' mobility. Recent anthropological research consisting mainly of micro studies of the Namaqualand population is essentially social rather than economic analysis. Like Carstens, social change (racial stereotyping and classification, formation of social boundaries) is attributed to economic factors. Impoverishment of Namaqualand is associated with the process of 'primitive accumulation' of capital by white traders, farmers and mine-owners.

Redlinghuis' thesis, whilst largely descriptive does pay some attention to economic analysis. The theories used to help explain Namaqualand's lack of growth are implicitly neoclassical. He outlines some goals and prerequisites for development, and various factors which influence the actual pattern of development, e.g. spatial and historical factors. In addition he discusses, but does not prescribe any strategies for development.

The only author who explicitly discusses Namaqualand's

underdevelopment in economic terms, is Luyt. In his study, a Marxian analysis, he sets out to show how the indigenous population were stripped of the means of production and thus became increasingly dependent on the mines and farms for their survival. But, no less than Redlinghuis, Luyt avoids the question of a development strategy for the area.

4.3 In Search of an Integrated Development Strategy

No single body of theory seems adequate both to explain Namaqualand's underdevelopment and to offer practicable development prescriptions. Yet several approaches do contribute to our understanding of the problems and are thus relevant to this study. These contributions now need to be identified.

The applicability of the modernization theory in explaining Namaqualand's underdevelopment is limited. It is evident from Section 4.1 above that modernization theory can be criticized for giving insufficient emphasis to historical factors. We should not view underdevelopment as an initial condition from which Namaqualand has failed to escape but rather as a situation into which the region has steadily slid as a consequence of the development of capitalism in the sub-continent.

Class conflict over production and consumption play no role in modernization theory but, as emphasized by Luyt, this was not so in Namaqualand. A clash of interest existed in many stages of Namaqualand's development, i.e. between invaders and indigenous inhabitants, between indigenous inhabitants themselves, between trekboers and missionaries, and later between what Luyt refers to as the bourgeoisie, proletariat and peasantry.

The central tenet of modernization theory is that development occurs through the expansion of markets and the diffusion of technology and wealth from more to less developed areas (often

referred to as the 'trickle down' effect). In our study, it will become evident that large scale development of mining has led to some 'trickle down' and that a section of the population has benefitted, though insignificantly, but relative to the time period and to the standard of living of the greater part of the population.

On the credit side, a virtue of modernization theory is that it is strategy-orientated, and that the strategies presented do not presuppose fundamental changes in the structure of the economy. However, while this tends to make such strategies more feasible it does not remove doubts based on past experiences that they will be effective in fundamentally improving the situation of the population.

In contrast, dependency theory can be criticized on the grounds that it leads one into a "theoretical cul de sac." "What we are left with, is a barren analytic approach which can explain what has happened in the past ... but which, as yet, offers few, if any, insights as to how changes can be implemented in the structures it has interpreted. In brief it provides an understanding of the basic structural causes of the contradictions within capitalism but does little to generate proposals for their elimination" (Fair 1982 : 34).

A number of difficulties are encountered in strategies recommended by dependency theorists for overcoming underdevelopment. The strategy involves the development of self-reliance, delinking of the underdevelopment economy from the developed and transformation from capitalism to socialism. Such a strategy can at best be expected to bear fruit in the long term. The social and economic infrastructure and the distribution of skills and wealth amongst the population cannot be rearranged overnight. In addition, the disappearance of capitalism does not necessitate the disappearance of demographic and geographic realities. Namaqualand's problems are not being produced solely by capitalism.

Regional economics, though a-historical in its approach, is of relevance in explaining certain aspects of Namaqualand's underdevelopment. This branch of neo-classical theory emphasizes geographical and physical obstacles which are largely ignored by dependency theory. In this approach each region would require it's own development strategy depending on it's classification. It will become evident later that it is difficult to state categorically that Namaqualand's economy is stagnant or on the decline. Rather it is subject to fluctuations and the overall standard of living is poor due to both location and structure. It is possible therefore to classify Namaqualand either as a 'downward transitional area' ('depressed/backward area') or as a 'special problem region'.

'Backward regions' are characterized by their heavy dependence on mining. Fluctuations in the price of the minerals concerned or the exhaustion of ore-reserves may lead to destruction of their chief means of livelihood. As a result 'ghost towns' may take the place of once flourishing mining towns. There are also cases where mining operations were superimposed on the other activities of a rural community but have vanished leaving little trace of their existence.

To a certain degree this has occurred in Namaqualand. Mining activities were introduced and inhabitants were coerced in various ways to leave their subsistence way of life and sell their labour to the mines. The dependence on the mines has meant that inhabitants' vulnerability to fluctuations in mining activity has increased. At it's peak, copper mining in the region employed about 5 000 people. Today, only about half that number have jobs. Gamsberg has zinc deposits but due to the low world zinc price in recent years, these have not been mined. In addition the lack of transport and road facilities has made exploitation of some pegmatite deposits non-viable.

Furthermore, Namaqualand shares the characteristics of many remote mining areas: access to the region is difficult, it has

no agricultural potential given the poor soil, frequent drought and insufficient reliable water supplies; and as a result, it is thinly populated.

Namaqualand owes its industry and commerce almost entirely to the presence of exhaustible mineral deposits. Without economically exploitable minerals there would be little economic activity other than extensive pastoral and subsistence farming. Namaqualand has attracted other industries particularly in the services sector, but how viable these would be if mining declined or disappeared is difficult to predict. The vulnerability of Namaqualand's population is made worse by the fact that inhabitants' isolation and lack of education makes it difficult for most to acquire the skills or enterprise needed to adapt and survive in urban life.

Given that the regional problem is viewed as a spatial misallocation of the demand for and supply of labour, regional economics advocates that policy makers will need to decide whether it is better to try and move jobs to workseekers or workseekers to jobs, or to some extent both. In addition if location and structure explain relative stagnation, measures to improve the "industrial mix" will need to be introduced and regional infrastructure will need to be improved. These policies may be mutually substitutable, to a limited extent. Infrastructure improvements may lead to an increased demand for labour in Namaqualand, just as changing the industrial mix (despite infrastructural disadvantages) may be beneficial.

In the absence of new mineral discoveries or much improved mining technology and mineral prices, the stimulus for industrial growth will probably have to come from infrastructural development, e.g. in rail transport. This would generate jobs in construction, have a local multiplier effect (though the 'leakages' back into the wider economy would be substantial) and fulfill some of the preconditions for other self-sustaining economic activities, such as pegmatite mining. But for such infrastructural investment to

be initiated, it would need to be approved by political decision-makers in competition with the many other uses to which the necessary public funds could be put. Whether the relatively small population of this vast area carries sufficient political importance is open to doubt. What might tilt the scale significantly in Namaqualand's favour is military necessity.

Ethnicity clearly played a role in resistance of North American 'Indians' to assimilation in the market economy, but the extent to which this can be used to explain Namaqualand's underdevelopment has not been explored by anthropologists. It is sufficient to say that ethnicity can play a role in preventing the implementation of strategies and can be a constraint on development. It is vital therefore that policy makers be aware of the attitudes, norms, values and aspirations of the communities for whom development is planned. Experience suggests that, ideally planning should be initiated 'from below' rather than 'from above'. Projects planned on this 'organic' basis can be assured of the greatest degree of community support since they are likely to fulfill the most intensely felt local needs. Regrettably the prerequisites for such a process - a high level of community awareness and organization and a matching level of responsiveness on the part of planning authorities to local communities' desires - do not appear to be fulfilled at present.

Six parallel themes are evident in the historical writings about indians and whites in America, and about the Khoi Khoi and whites in South Africa:

- (1) On arrival of the Europeans in the Cape and on the American Coast, they encountered groups of indigenous hunter-gatherers and pastoralists organised by family relationships into clans. As farming became ever more important in providing an economic base for the European settlers, the relationship between them and the indigenous inhabitants changed. As potential

trading partners, the "tribesmen" were necessary and valuable but in farming they became an obstacle as they occupied the land.

- (2) Dispossession of land occurred as whites pushed westwards (in America) and northwards (in South Africa) in search of land to settle on and natural resources to exploit.
- (3) In both instances missionaries played a role in Christianizing and "civilizing" the indigenous inhabitants. Initially or unwittingly the missionaries were important agents for changing the American Indian and Khoi Khoi ways into patterns of white society.
- (4) The formation of reserves: in America a "reservation policy" was adopted to coerce the Indians onto the reservations thus destroying their hunting habitats and forcing them to adopt the "arts and habits of civilization" (Lyman-Taylor 1973 : 72). In Namaqualand the reserves have their origin in the mission stations and the indigenous inhabitants struggle to keep their land when threatened by 'boer' encroachment.
- (5) The warfare between the Indians and the Anglo-Americans and that between the Khoi Khoi and the Dutch.
- (6) The persistent and concerted effort on the parts of both settler governments to change the traditional way of life of the indigenous population. In Namaqualand the motive was primarily to fulfill labour needs whereas in America it was in some instances "an attack upon cultural ways that came from men of a 'humanitarian' outlook who sought to benefit the Indians" (Prucha 1971 : 2) and in others a racial policy. Today, insofar as racial provisions are embodied in law, they are intended to be to the advantage of Indians, whereas in South Africa race is entrenched in legislation to the undoubted detriment of the majority of it's people, of whom the descendants of the Khoi Khoi form one part.

Some major events in the history of American Indian policy are given in Appendix H. The policies applied during and following the "Indian Reorganization Act" (Howard-Wheeler Act) in 1934 may be helpful in devising a development strategy in Namaqualand. In terms of these the needs of both of those Indians who wanted to be assimilated into broader American society and of those who wished to remain within the reservations were accommodated. In addition the Indians' own outlook and needs were canvassed and were not disregarded in planning policy.

We can conclude from this overview that no single approach provides the tools with which we can derive a comprehensive and practicable development strategy for a region like Namaqualand. It is already obvious that an integrated approach will have to incorporate elements of each of the theories discussed, adapted to the particular historical, socio-economic and institutional framework of the region.

We return to this aspect in Chapter 7 when we summarise the full spectrum of development constraints and critically review current development policies and projects.

CHAPTER 5

CONTEMPORARY NAMAQUALAND: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Against the background for our historical and theoretical overview we now focus on socio-economic characteristics of present-day Namaqualand. In particular this Chapter reviews present trends in the population, labour supply, employment and income as well as education, housing and health sphere. The data was obtained from various sources including company reports, reports and census material of the Department of Statistics, a survey carried out by Redlinghuis in June/July 1978, Divisional Council Statistics and Annual Reports of the Department of Internal Affairs.

5.1 Demographic Trends

5.1.1 Urban-Rural Concentration

The population in Namaqualand is small and if we consider the total surface area, density is low at 1.31 persons per square kilometre. Namaqualand's urban population tends to be concentrated in four major centres (Garies, Springbok, Kamieskroon and Port Nolloth - the four municipalities) with 35% (8 561) of the urban population (24 811) living in Springbok itself (see Map 2 and Tables 6 and 7).

Table 4. 1980 Population - Racial and Sexual Composition

Area	Male	Female	Total	Coloured	White	Black
<u>Urban</u>						
<u>Municipalities</u>						
Springbok	3 952	4 017	7 969	5 628	2 307	34
Port Nolloth	1 422	1 578	3 000	2 547	447	6
Garies	566	643	1 209	802	406	1
Kamieskroon	355	463	818	597	221	-
<u>Total</u>	<u>6 295</u>	<u>6 701</u>	<u>12 996</u>	<u>9 574</u>	<u>3 381</u>	<u>41</u>
<u>O.C.C. Towns</u>						
Nababeep	3 189	3 395	6 584	5 314	1 253	17
O'okiep	2 387	2 525	4 912	4 540	371	1
Carolusberg	1 168	409	1 577	267	520	790
<u>Total</u>	<u>6 744</u>	<u>6 329</u>	<u>13 073</u>	<u>10 121</u>	<u>2 144</u>	<u>808</u>
<u>Urban Total</u>	<u>13 039</u>	<u>13 030</u>	<u>26 069</u>	<u>19 695</u>	<u>5 525</u>	<u>849</u>
<u>Coloured Rural</u>						
<u>Areas</u>						
Steinkopf	2 473	2 721	5 194	4 977	71	146
Kommagas	1 422	1 536	2 958	2 925	33	-
Pella	824	898	1 722	1 677	45	-
Concordia	1 520	1 778	3 298	3 298	-	-
Richtersveld	1 310	1 160	2 470	2 368	92	10
Leliefontein	2 002	2 306	4 308	4 306	2	-
<u>Total</u>	<u>9 551</u>	<u>10 399</u>	<u>19 950</u>	<u>19 551</u>	<u>243</u>	<u>156</u>
<u>Other Areas</u>						
Kleinzee	2 364	789	3 153	1 204	955	994
Koingnaas	792	150	942	734	143	65
Hondeklip Bay	264	200	464	380	69	15
Violsdrif	379	424	803	649	145	9
Aggeneys	2 186	916	3 102	1 334	767	1 001
Spektakel	100	-	100	71	-	29
Alexander Bay	1 635	628	2 263	482	1 090	691
Lepelsfontein	107	104	211	211	-	-
<u>White Farms</u>	<u>3 673</u>	<u>1 956</u>	<u>5 629</u>	<u>3 428</u>	<u>1 611</u>	<u>590</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>11 500</u>	<u>5 167</u>	<u>16 667</u>	<u>8 493</u>	<u>4 780</u>	<u>3 394</u>
<u>Rural Total</u>	<u>21 051</u>	<u>15 566</u>	<u>36 617</u>	<u>28 044</u>	<u>5 023</u>	<u>3 550</u>
<u>Urban Total</u>	<u>13 039</u>	<u>13 030</u>	<u>26 069</u>	<u>19 695</u>	<u>5 525</u>	<u>849</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>34 090</u>	<u>28 596</u>	<u>62 686</u>	<u>47 739</u>	<u>10 548</u>	<u>4 399</u>

Source: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Note: Enumeration technique not defined.

Table 5. 1985 Population - Racial and Sexual Composition

Area	Male	Female	Total	Coloured	White	Black
<u>Urban</u>						
<u>Municipalities</u>						
Springbok	4 140	4 421	8 561	6 193	2 315	53
Port Nolloth	1 364	1 475	2 839	2 419	354	66
Garies	512	648	1 160	754	406	-
<u>Kamieskroon</u>	<u>251</u>	<u>303</u>	<u>554</u>	<u>422</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>-</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>6 267</u>	<u>6 847</u>	<u>13 114</u>	<u>9 788</u>	<u>3 207</u>	<u>119</u>
<u>O.C.C. Towns</u>						
Nababeep	2 813	3 039	5 852	4 952	893	7
O'okiep	2 335	2 427	4 762	4 438	315	9
<u>Carolusberg</u>	<u>740</u>	<u>343</u>	<u>1 083</u>	<u>394</u>	<u>281</u>	<u>408</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>5 888</u>	<u>5 809</u>	<u>11 697</u>	<u>9 784</u>	<u>1 489</u>	<u>424</u>
<u>Urban Total</u>	<u>12 155</u>	<u>12 656</u>	<u>24 811</u>	<u>19 572</u>	<u>4 696</u>	<u>543</u>
<u>Coloured Rural</u>						
<u>Areas</u>						
Steinkopf	2 727	2 998	5 725	5 722	3	-
Kommagas	1 530	1 599	3 129	3 084	45	-
Pella	692	817	1 509	1 483	26	-
Concordia	1 616	1 823	3 439	3 439	-	-
Richtersveld	1 233	1 091	2 328	2 263	61	-
<u>Leliefontein</u>	<u>2 013</u>	<u>2 376</u>	<u>4 385</u>	<u>4 389</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>9 811</u>	<u>10 704</u>	<u>20 515</u>	<u>20 380</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>-</u>
<u>Other Areas</u>						
Kleinzee	1 627	747	2 374	957	795	622
Koingnaas	560	268	828	828	-	-
Hondeklip Bay	186	174	360	302	49	9
Violsdrif	370	424	794	649	145	-
Aggeneys	1 903	1 132	3 035	1 560	757	718
Spektakel	128	11	139	123	16	-
Alexander Bay	1 934	696	2 630	483	1 207	940
Lepelsfontein	96	114	210	210	-	-
<u>White Farms</u>	<u>2 681</u>	<u>1 857</u>	<u>4 538</u>	<u>3 297</u>	<u>1 201</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>9 485</u>	<u>5 423</u>	<u>14 908</u>	<u>8 409</u>	<u>4 170</u>	<u>2 329</u>
<u>Rural Total</u>	<u>19 296</u>	<u>16 127</u>	<u>35 423</u>	<u>28 789</u>	<u>4 305</u>	<u>2 329</u>
<u>Urban Total</u>	<u>12 155</u>	<u>12 656</u>	<u>24 811</u>	<u>19 572</u>	<u>4 696</u>	<u>543</u>
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>31 451</u>	<u>28 783</u>	<u>60 234</u>	<u>48 361</u>	<u>9 001</u>	<u>2 872</u>

Source: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Table 6. Namaqualand's Population 1904 - 1985

Year	Urban	Rural	Total	Coloured	White	Black
1904	6 717	13 324	20 041	14 327	5 004	710
1911	6 497	16 712	23 209	16 957	5 489	763
1921	3 500	17 967	21 467	15 139	6 134	194
1936	5 115	20 731	25 846	17 234	8 335	277
1946	7 625	22 491	30 116	19 439	8 478	2 199
1951	10 229	22 404	32 633	21 018	8 500	3 115
1960	17 122	26 702	43 824	27 888	10 773	5 163
1970	24 436	31 573	56 009	39 785	11 373	4 851
1980 ¹	-	-	66 403	49 438	11 394	5 571
1980 ²	26 069	36 617	62 686	47 739	10 548	4 399
1985 ²	24 811	35 423	60 234	48 361	9 001	2 872

1) Census figures

2) Divisional Council figures.

Source: Department of Statistics. Population of South Africa 1904 - 1970. Report No. 02-05-12.

: Department of Statistics. Geographical distribution of the Population with a review for 1951 - 1980. Report No. 02-80-13.

: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Note: A divergence exists in the figures obtained for the 1980 population by the Divisional Council and the Population Census - insufficient data on enumeration techniques exists to be able to explain this difference.

Table 7. Population Distribution - 1985

Place	Percentage
Urban: Municipalities	22
O.C.C. Mining Towns	19
Rural: CRA	34
Other	25
TOTAL	100
Number	60 234

Source: Derived from Table 4.

Namaqualand's population is predominantly rural with 59% (35 423) living in the rural areas and 41% (24 811) living in the urban areas in 1985 (see Tables 6 and 8). 81% of the black population are resident in rural areas which implies that the majority of them are employed by mines based in the rural areas. 59% of the coloured population live in the rural areas with 72% (20 515) of the rural population (28 789) living in the CRA.

Table 8. Urban - Rural Distribution by Race - 1985

Race	Urban	CRA	Rural	Total	Number
Coloured	41	42	17	100	48 361
White	52	2	46	100	9 001
Black	19	-	81	100	2 872
Total	41	34	25	100	60 234

Source: Derived from Table 4.

5.1.2 Racial Composition

Namaqualand is occupied mainly by the group classified as "coloured" with 80% of the population belonging to this group (see Table 9). In 1980 they represented approximately 76% of Namaqualand's population which was then approximately 2% of South Africa's total coloured population.

Information relating to the group classified "Indian" in the census has been excluded as their number is so small (4 in 1985 and 13 in 1980) as to be insignificant.

The black population is small representing only 5% of total population (see Table 6). This may be partly explained by the fact that until October 1984, the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) was applicable in Namaqualand. The CLPP is a term associated with a particular National Party Policy of Influx Control and apartheid in the Western Cape, aimed to promote the interests of the "coloured people" (Goldin 1983). The Bantu Labour Act of 1964 made statutory provision for enforcement and administration of this policy. The policy meant that black labour was to be regulated through labour bureaux machinery. Western Cape employers were obliged to give preference to coloured labourers. The black component of industrial and commercial enterprises in the Western Cape was officially "frozen" with the initial intention to decrease it in subsequent years. Black contract labourers were limited to 12 months and employment of additional contract labourers required ministerial approval.

The implementation of the CLPP in Namaqualand restricted blacks resident in the area mainly to contract labour in the copper or diamond industry. Most of them were resident in mining hostels near Kleinsee, Alexander Bay, Carolusberg and Aggeneys (see Map 2). In 1980 approximately 77% of the local black population were Xhosa speaking, i.e. migrants from the Ciskei and Transkei.

The remaining 15% of the population consist of whites, of whom about half are resident in urban areas (see Tables 8 and 9).

Table 9. Racial Composition of Population - 1985

Race	Urban %	Rural %	Total %
Coloured	79	81	80
White	19	12	15
Black	2	7	5
Total	100	100	100
Number	24 811	35 423	60 234

Source: Derived from Table 4.

In Table 10 the changing structure of Namaqualand's population is shown. Leaving aside possible fluctuations due to census inaccuracies, the breakdown clearly shows the effect of the CLPP as well as the gradual exodus of whites, leaving the coloured group as the increasingly dominant group in the area. The table also reveals the rising trend in urbanization, which would in fact have been even more distinct, if the migrants accommodated near some of the mines in rural areas (e.g. Kleinzee, Alexander Bay) were not classified "rural".

Table 10. Changing Population Structure

Census Year	Urban %	Rural %	Total %	Coloured %	White %	Black %
1904	34	66	100	71	25	4
1936	21	79	100	67	32	1
1936	25	75	100	65	28	7
1946	39	61	100	64	24	12
1970	44	56	100	71	20	9
1980	-	-	100	76	17	7
1985	41	59	100	80	15	5

Source: Derived from Table 6.

5.1.3

Age Composition

The age distribution of Namaqualand's population is shown in Table 11 below and indicates that the community is relatively young with only 17% of the total population over the age of 45. No less than 53% of coloured people are below the age of 20 which is in sharp contrast to the proportion amongst whites (37%) and blacks (3%).

Redlinghuis (1981 : 120) in his thesis suggests that as more than 50% of household heads in the coloured rural areas are older than 50 years, one is dealing with an "old" community where the young people have left due to lack of local employment opportunities. The age breakdown and the presence of large numbers of unemployed young people in the CRA questions this deduction. By basing his deduction on the age of household heads Redlinghuis has in fact ignored the extended family as an important aspect of rural population structure.

Table 11. Age Distribution - 1980

Race	0-15 %	15-19 %	20-44 %	45-54 %	54-74 %	75 %	Total %	Number
Coloured	41	12	32	6	7	2	100	49 438
White	29	6	41	10	11	2	100	11 394
Black	1	2	80	13	4	0	100	5 571
Total	36	10	38	7	8	2	100	66 403

Source: Department of Statistics. Age by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-04

The above data can be further analysed on the basis of functional age groups.

Table 12. Population Shares in Namaqualand 1960 - 1980

Age Groups	Coloured		White		Black		Total	
	1960 %	1980 %	1960 %	1980 %	1960 %	1980 %	1960 %	1980 %
0-4	18	14	15	10	2	0.3	15	12
5-14	27	27	23	20	2	0.6	24	24
20-19	10	12	8	6	5	2.0	9	10
19-64	40	42	49	58	90	96.6	48	49
64+	5	5	5	6	1	0.5	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Department of Statistics. Age Distribution of Population. Population Census 1960 Vol. 7, No. 1.

: Department of Statistics. Age by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-04

- (1) Pre-school Children (0-4): In the 20 years between 1960 and 1980 pre-school children as a proportion of total population by race group dropped. The decline was particularly sharp amongst whites.
- (2) Scholars (5-14) and Young People (15-19): Only minor changes took place, though in different directions amongst coloured people, whites and Africans. Most pronounced is the decline of whites, which can be linked to lower birth rates and an exodus of young people in search of jobs elsewhere.
- (3) The Potential Economically Active population: Between 1960 and 1980 this age group increased by 58% (25 088 to 39 651) with their share of population increasing by 2% to 59%. The most significant change being in the white population where the share increased by 7% from 57% in 1960 to 64% in 1980. In the figures above the age group 15-64 has been reduced to 15-60 for women. It follows from these percentages and the increasing total population that Namaqualand's potential labour force is increasing. This has important implications when one considers the lack of employment opportunities that exist in the area.
- (4) People of a Pensionable Age: In the Namaqualand district the proportion of elderly people has remained relatively constant (4% in 1960 and 5% in 1980). The white and black population showed a change whereas the coloured population's share remained at 5%. This may suggest that as far as the coloured population is concerned, the youth are not leaving the area and one needs to investigate further their reasons for lack of mobility.

5.1.4 Sexual Composition

In the 5 year period 1980 - 1985 the male population has

decreased slightly (approx. 3 000) whereas the female population remained relatively constant (see Tables 6 and 7). Males as a percentage of the population have decreased by 2% from 54% in 1980 to 52% in 1985. If we look at each race category for 1985, the male-female spread is even, except in the case of the black population where males predominate significantly due to the migrant labour system on the mines (most of which are located in rural areas).

Table 13. Sexual Composition of the Population - 1980 and 1985

Year	1980		1985	
	Male %	Number %	Male %	Number %
Coloured			50	48 361
White			50	9 001
Black			99	2 872
Total	54	62 666	52	60 234
Urban	50	26 049	49	24 811
CRA	48	19 950	48	20 515
Other				
Rural	69	16 667	64	14 908
Areas				

Source: Derived from Table 5.

5.2

Educational Trends

The educational level of the population is low with 55% of the total population having "some" education, though not higher than Standard 6, and 29% of the population having none. With 54% of the population (35 934) above the age of 20 it is unlikely that the educational levels will improve significantly. The low level overall can be explained by the fact that, according to the 1980 Census, 91% of the coloured

population and 92% of the black population have no education or have not been educated further than the Standard 6 level (see Table 14). In contrast half of the white population obtained at least Standard 7 or higher.

A suggested reason for the low level of educational status of the coloured population is that in 1980 there were only four secondary schools (state and state aided non primary schools) serving 5 044 pupils in the Springbok district. As a result schools are overpopulated (1 261 pupils per school in 1980) and the teacher pupil ratio is at a high rate of 37:1. The 147 state and state-aided primary schools catered for 25 949 pupils, i.e. about 177 pupils per school and 26 pupils per teacher³³.

An additional factor which may explain the low education status is that the secondary schools (increased to five by 1983) are not distributed throughout the area but concentrated in the Springbok area, as a result distance and cost may prevent attendance.

In his survey in 1978 of the CRA population Redlinghuis did not collect data on household educational status, but found that of the 318 household heads employed, 65% had received no schooling of all.

Table 14. Educational Status of the Population - 1980

Race	None %	Std6 %	Std7-Std8 %	Std9 %	Total %	Number %
Coloured	31	60	6	3	100	49 438
White	17	32	22	28	100	11 394
Black	36	56	6	2	100	5 571
Total	29	55	9	7	100	66 403

Source: Department of Statistics. Level of Education by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-07.

5.3 Employment Trends

5.3.1 Manpower and Labour Supply³⁴

From Table 15 it is evident that Namaqualand's manpower and labour supply expressed as a percentage of total population do not differ significantly from the R.S.A. and the Cape Peninsula (as revealed by the 1980 Census). The one exception being the black population whose figures in both cases are significantly higher, this is explained by the fact that most blacks are only in Namaqualand by virtue of the fact that they are migrant workers (i.e. a permanent resident black population is virtually non-existent).

Table 15 Population, Manpower and Labour Supply - 1980

		Coloured	White	Black	Total
1980 Pop- ulation		49 438	11 394	5 571	66403
Manpower	Male	14 042	3 830	5 471	23 342
	Female	12 879	3 410	19	16 327
	Total	26 921	7 240	5 490	39 651
	% ttl pop ²	54	64	99	60
	Cape ³	61	66	72	64
	R.S.A.	58	64	57	58
Labour Supply	Male	11 766	3 564	5 471	20 801
	Female	3 835	1 161	6	5 002
	Total	15 601	4 725	5 477	25 803
	% ttl. pop.	32	41	98	39
	Cape	38	41	51	41
	R.S.A.	35	42	33	35
LFPR ¹ (%)	Male	84	93	100	89
	Female	30	34	32	31
	Total	58	65	100	65
	Cape	63	62	71	64
	R.S.A.	61	65	58	60

1) LFPR refers to the labour force participation rate which is calculated as follows:
$$\frac{\text{Labour Supply}}{\text{Manpower}}$$

2) % ttl. pop. refers to total as a percentage of total population.

3) Cape refers to Cape Peninsula.

Source: Department of Statistics. Occupation by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-05.

: Department of Statistics. Age by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-04.

5.3.2 Sexual Composition of Manpower and Labour Supply

The predominance of males in the manpower and labour supply evident in Table 16 may be explained by the fact that most blacks in Namaqualand are male migrants and the figures may thus be distorted. If one abstracts the black population from these figures one finds that the proportion of males in the manpower (53%) is more closely related to the figures for the Peninsula and South Africa as a whole. As regards labour supply, male predominance (75%) is still higher than for the other two areas and may be explained by the fact that few employment opportunities exist for women in Namaqualand (particularly coloured women) as well as a desire for leisure and household commitments.

Table 16. Sexual Composition of Manpower and Labour Supply - 1980.

Sex	Manpower			Labour Supply		
	Namaqua- land	Cape Peninsula	R S A	Namaqua- land	Cape Peninsula	R S A
Male	59	51	52	81	63	68
Female	41	49	48	19	37	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	39651	1124868	14069520	25803	719258	8433958

Source: Derived from Table 15.

5.3.3 Industry and Occupational Distribution

It is evident from Table 17 that five sectors (mining, construction, community services, agriculture and commerce) accounted for 89% of the economically active population. Mining alone accounts for 45% of Namaqualand's economically

active population. The high proportion of economically active involved in the service industries may be explained by the fact that many whites and coloured are employed as teachers, civil servants, nurses, doctors, etc.

The low proportion of economically active population involved in agriculture (9%) and commerce (8%) suggests that these two sectors are not major employment generators.

Construction appears to be an important generator of employment but as with agriculture and mining it is insecure employment being prone to cyclical changes in the macro-economy.

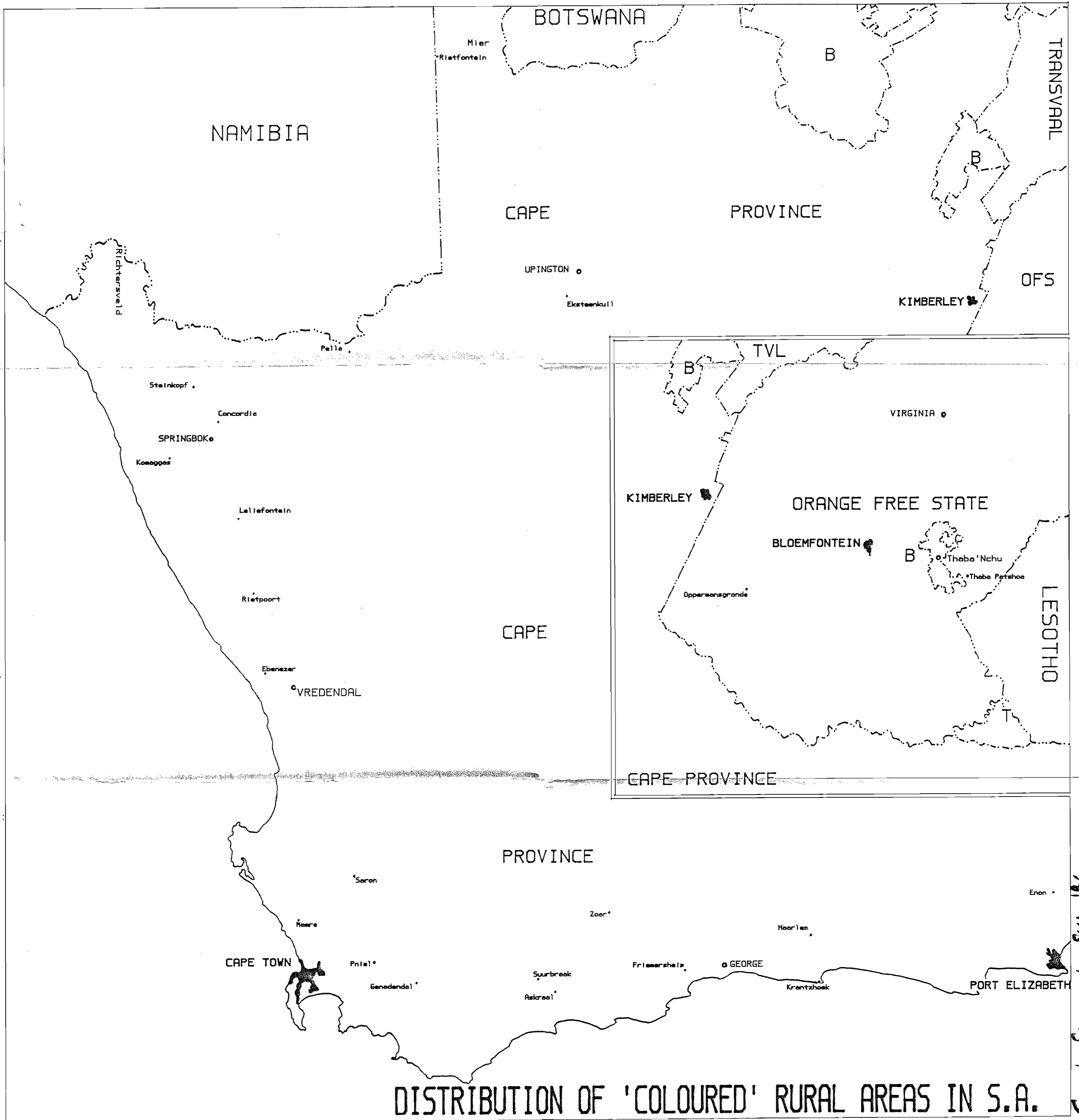
Namaqualand's dependence on mining is illustrated further in Table 18 where 54% of the economically active population are involved in production occupations. Very little employment is generated in professional, administrative and clerical occupations (14% of the economically active population occupies these three sectors).

Table 17. Distribution of Economically Active Population by Industry and Race - 1980

Race	Coloured %	White %	Black %	Total %
<u>Industry</u>				
Agriculture	11	11	1	9
Mining	35	44	72	45
Manufacturing	3	2	..1	1
Electricity and Water	1	1	1	1
Construction	10	5	25	12
Commerce, Catering and Accommodation	8	13	..	8
Transport and Communication	3	4	..	3
Financing and Real Estate	..	4	..	1
Services	20	15	1	15
Not Classifiable	9	1	..	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	15 601	4 725	5 477	25 803

1) .. indicates less than 0.5%

Source: Department of Statistics. Industry by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-08



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Table 18. Distribution of Economically Active Population by Occupation and Race - 1980

Race	Coloured %	White %	Black %	Total %
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professional and Technical Worker	6	17	2	7
Administrative and Managerial Worker	..	3	..	1
Clerical	5	17	1	6
Sales worker	3	7	..	3
Service worker	17	7	8	14
Farm and Factory Worker	12	12	3	10
Production worker and labourer	48	35	86	54
Not Classifiable	9	2	..	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	15 601	4 725	5 477	25 803

1) .. indicates less than 0.5%

Source: Department of Statistics. Occupation by
Statistical Region and District. Report No.
02-80-05

5.4

Income Status

It is evident from Table 19 that low levels of income are dominant in Namaqualand, particularly amongst the black and coloured populations with 91% and 74% respectively earning R200 or less per month in 1980. In the case of the coloureds 64% of the population is dependent on income generated by the remaining 36% of the population (see Table 20).

Income received by whites is substantially larger than that of coloureds and blacks with 79% of them earning more than R200 per month (as opposed to 23% and 8% respectively).

The weighted average income for the coloured population in 1980 is R149 per month. At least 49% of the population earned less than this. When one compares this with the HSL35 for 1980 for South Africa of approximately R224, one can begin to obtain a picture of the abject poverty in Namaqualand.

The 1980 Census does not give data on income earned by CRA residents but the 1978 survey conducted by Redlinghuis in 1978 produced data showing low levels of income (see Table 21) - with 75% of the respondents earning R150 or less per month. More than 90% of the respondents indicated that no additional income sources were available to them. The majority of the respondents indicated that their income did not cover total expenditure and just less than 50% had received no salary increase in the previous three years (Redlinghuis 1979 : 126 - 127).

Table 19. Income Distribution by Race Group - 1980¹

Income (R)	Coloured %	White %	Black %
2-229	6		..2
300-599	10	9	..
600-1199	33		38
1200-2399	25	10	53
2400-3599	13	10	6
3600-5999	8	18	2
6000-8399	1	17	0
8400-11999	-	17	0
12000-17999	1	12	-
18000+	-	5	-
Unknown	3	2	1
Total	100	100	100
Number	17 971	5 465	5 485

1) Those not earning income have been excluded and the distribution is expressed as a percentage of total income earners.

2) .. indicates less than 0.5%.

Source: Department of Statistics. Income by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-09.

Table 20. Earners and Non-Earners - 1980.

Race	Earners %	Non-Earners %	Total %	Number
Coloured	36	64	100	49 438
White	48	52	100	11 394
Black	98	2	100	5 571
Total	44	56	100	66 403

Source: Department of Statistics. Income by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-09

Table 21. Income Distribution in Coloured Rural Areas

Income (R)	%
None	23
0-43	35
44-100	7
101-150	9
150-200	9
201-300	6
301-400	1

Source: Redlinghuis 1981

5.5 Housing

No comprehensive data regarding housing in Namaqualand has been available. As a result it has been necessary to rely on a number of secondary sources to provide an overall picture of housing in the area. These include data obtained from the Divisional Council, the health inspector for the CRA, company reports and company personnel and individuals, all of which relates only to coloured housing.

5.5.1 Coloured Rural Areas (CRA)

The majority of the houses in the six CRA (54%) are classified as sub-standard. The Divisional Council in classifying a house as standard or sub-standard considers whether ventilation, light and living space is sufficient, i.e. the classification refers to construction rather than to facilities (i.e. is there water, electricity or a toilet system). From Table 23 it is evident that the variation in each area is significant, in Concordia 72% are classified standard whereas in Kommagas 55% are and Richtersveld only 36%. Many inhabitants reside in "sinkhuise" and "matjieshuise". Matjieshuise are particularly evident in Steinkopf and in many instances are used as cooking areas.

Redlinghuis' survey in 1979 revealed that houses are small, containing only a bedroom, kitchen and outside toilet.

Table 22. Number of Bedrooms per House

Bedroom Number	%	Number
1	47	223
2	39	183
3+	14	69
Total	100	474

Source: Redlinghuis 1981.

The degree of overcrowding resulting from the above becomes evident when one looks at Table 23 which shows that most households exceed five persons.

Table 23. Housing in Coloured Rural Areas - 1985

Areas	Pop- ulation	No. of Houses	Standard %	Average no. of persons per household
Steinkopf	4 836	902	37	5.4
Leliefontein	4 469	1 010	36	4.4
Concordia	2 974	591	72	5.2
Kommagas	2 895	583	55	5.0
Richtersveld	2 703	448	36	6.0
Pella	1 684	327	51	5.2
Total	19 561	3 861	46	5.1

Source: Health Inspector for the CRA - Springbok.

Registered occupiers in the town areas of the CRA are able to

purchase the property on which their house presently stands or land on which a house can be built. This is covered in more detail in Section 7.2.1.1.

Only 4% of the households in the CRA have water in the house. The majority of the others are dependent on central taps (33%) or taps on their property (45%) (see Table 24). 18% of the households have no piped water distribution and are dependent on boreholes etc. Similarly only 4% of the households in the CRA have inside toilets (flushable); the majority having buckets on their property or in their area.

Infrastructural development (water, electricity, sanitation, roads, storm water facilities) falls under the responsibility of the Department of Internal Affairs. These facilities are however only provided to towns in the CRA, i.e. Karaghams, Leliefontein town, Steinkopf town, Concordia town, Eksteenfontein, Kuboes, Lekkersing and Sandrif (see Map 2). As a result Kommagas, whose management board has refused a survey, will not be provided with these facilities until a survey has been completed.

Areas not falling within the surveyed area e.g. Nou Rivier, Kneis (in Leliefontein) are also not provided with these facilities. Concordia and Steinkopf obtain their water via the Springbok Water Board (Orange River project) and boreholes provide water to Leliefontein, Kommagas and Richtersveld (with one exception Sandrif, where water is obtained on a pro-rata basis from a private company (Trans Hex) mining in the area). Pella obtains its water from the Pelladrif water scheme.

5.5.2 Divisional Council Areas³⁶

Housing structures in these areas appear to be even worse than those in the CRA (see Table 25). Household size is again five or more persons. No information regarding the size of houses was obtained.

55% of the households in these areas have water in their houses or on their properties - with 45% of them making use of central taps, boreholes, tanks etc. No water distribution exists in Violsdrif (See Table 26).

46% of the households have flushable toilets (in the house, on the property or for the community) and 46% make use of the bucket system - the remaining 8% have no toilet available to them.

Table 24. Housing Infrastructure, Coloured Rural Areas - 1985

Houses		Water Distribution				Sanitation				
Area		No	Central	In	On	Total	Bucket	Outside	Inside	Total
		Distrib-	tap	house	Property		only	(flush)		
		tion								
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Steinkopf	902	13	6	8	73	100	7	83	10	100
Leliefontein	1 010	23	63	1	13	100	33	66	1	100
Concordia	591	30	4	7	59	100	14	81	6	100
Kommagas	583	16	53	..1	31	100	17	83	..	100
Richtersveld	448	13	31	1	55	100	27	73	..	100
Pella	327	9	39	5	47	100	22	73	5	100
Total		18	33	4	45	100	20	76	4	100
Number	3 861	707	1285	151	1718	3861	768	2937	156	3861

1) .. indicates less than 0.5%.

Source: As per Table 23.

Table 25. Divisional Council Housing - 1985

Place	Population	Houses	Standard %	Sub- Standard %	Total %	Persons per Household
O'okiep	4 251	850	16	84	100	5.0
Nababeep	4 026	816	17	83	100	5.0
Port Nolloth	2 605	515	-	100	100	5.1
Aggeneys	1 286	259	100	-	100	5.0
Garies	761	131	100	-	100	5.8
Carolusberg	652	102	77	23	100	6.4
Violsdrif	644	131	-	100	100	4.9
Kamieskroon	421	80	97	3	100	5.3
Hondeklip Bay	369	64	100	-	100	5.8
Total			28	72	100	5.1
Number	15 015	2 948	839	2 109		

Source: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Table 26. Housing Infrastructure, Divisional Council Areas - 1985

Place	Houses	Sanitation						Water distribution				
		Inside	Outside	None	Total	Flush	Bucket	None	Central Tap	Inside	On Property	Total
O'okiep	850	28	66	6	100	31	63	-	67	22	11	100
Nababeep	816	25	70	5	100	31	64	-	65	26	9	100
Port Nolloth	515	98	2	-	100	98	2	-	2	98	-	100
Aggeneys	259	100	-	-	100	100	-	-	-	100	-	100
Garies	131	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	100	100
Carolusberg	102	68	25	7	100	84	9	-	28	72	-	100
Vioolsdrif	131	-	11	89	100	-	11	100	-	-	-	100
Kamieskroon	80	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	100	100
Hondeklip Bay	64	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	-	-	100	100
Total		42	50	8	100	46	46	4	41	41	13	100
Number	2 948	1 271	1 462	215		1 369	1 364	131	1 206	1 235	376	2 948

Source: As per Table 26.

5.5.3 Company Property

In the areas in which mines operate family housing is provided to some but not all coloured employees and single quarters for black migrant labourers. At the De Beers Namaqualand mines, O.C.C. and Black Mountain, employees are provided with housing at a nominal rent.

Of the 842 houses (387 coloured, 455 whites) owned by O.C.C. in O'okiep and Nababeep - 69% (585) are occupied by employees (363 by coloureds, 222 by whites), 9% by pensioners and the remainder (22%) are leased or vacant.

O'okiep town is owned by O.C.C. and it is understood that it is to be handed over to the Divisional Council who will then be responsible for the provision and maintenance of water, electricity, roads and sanitation. Building and houses belonging to O.C.C. will remain their property for 30 years - at the end of which they will become Divisional Council property. It is not known when the take-over will be effected (O.C.C. Official - March 1986).

A report by Black Mountain in 1982 suggests that 3 500 people are resident in Aggeney's (including persons attached to non-mine contractors and auxiliary services).

Married employees (white and coloured) are housed in houses in well developed villages. 300 houses, park homes and flats are available for white employees and 237 houses for coloured employees. Houses are allocated according to the seniority of the person concerned (it was not made clear whether seniority was measured in terms of age or job). An exception may be made if the family has more than four children. House rental is nominal, electric cookers and air conditioners are supplied in all houses and a refrigerator in coloured houses. In addition coloured employees may rent the balance of the furniture at a nominal rate (R5.00 per month in 1982).

Black (170 rooms) and coloured employees (116 rooms, 36 for females, the remainder for males) housed on a single basis are given accommodation and food at no charge.

Namaqualand mines division of De Beers (whose full production employment is approximately 3 600) provides free accommodation for some employees and their families in Kleinsee (approx. 500 houses and flats) and Koingnaas (120 houses). A limited number of flats are made available for visiting wives of black employees.

5.6 Social Welfare and Community Development

As with any impoverished community there are a number of "social problems" evident in the Namaqualand community.

A factor that contributes significantly to current social problems is the lack of recreational facilities in different parts of Namaqualand. If playing fields existed they were not of a high standard and had no vegetation coverage. In addition cultural facilities were lacking; few schools taught music and libraries are rare. In most places no satisfactory community centre exists and people, because of their conservative religious attitudes are reluctant to use their church hall for secular activities. Some recreational facilities are provided for company employees by the mines but they have been criticized for their lack of concern for the social well being of their employees families.

Redlinghuis' survey revealed that involvement in extra-mural activities ranged from sport, church and cultural youth organisations. It was evident that a significant number of respondents (80%) had links with the church but only 40% were actively involved. The church is perceived as playing an important role, but as a welfare organisation as opposed to an initiator of community development.

The absence of recreational facilities is ascribed to the fact

that:

- (i) a shortage of leaders/initiators in extra-mural activities exists,
- (ii) a financially poor community is not in a position to fund these activities.

The high unemployment rate has many direct consequences - one being cashflow problems. Cashflow problems which force people to purchase goods on credit. Prices of goods purchased on credit are generally 10 - 20% higher than for cash purchases and this is further exacerbated by the fact that in Namaqualand prices are already significantly higher than in most metropolitan centres. Irregularities concerning receipt of pensions were reported, e.g. shopkeepers holding pension books, collecting the pension and retaining a substantial amount of it to cover the purchasers account and farmers employing pensioners and paying their pension as a salary. However, it was generally not possible to confirm the validity of such reports. Uncertainty as to income (due to high unemployment and dependence on seasonal employment) and the inability to manage money may have caused these problems.

Other social problems that are common and affect a large number of people include alcoholism, marital problems and the predominance of unmarried mothers. In many of the latter cases, the children become the responsibility of the grandparents with the mother being employed or seeking work elsewhere. Many mothers appear to be in their late teens. Demands for maintenance from the father are seldom successful as positive identification of the father is difficult.

Amongst children, the rate of mental retardation was high. Three reasons were given for this:

- (i) inbreeding,
- (ii) malnutrition
- (iii) poor medical facilities for the delivery of children and for post-natal care.

Child health is examined in more depth later.

Certain factors have inhibited attempts at community development. These factors are identified and examined further in Section 7.1.

5.7 Health and Health Care Facilities

As little census data on health statistics is available this section draws on data obtained from newspapers and on analysis of child health and health care facilities carried out in the area by the Institute of Child Health and various individuals.

The health status of 528 school entrants (children registered in their first year at primary school) in the Nababeep, O'okiep and Springbok triangle was assessed to develop a health profile of the area.

Dental caries and respiratory tract problems appeared to be the commonest health problem whereas the most severe appeared to be malnutrition in its acute and chronic forms. This was evidenced by the number of malnourished (52%) and mentally retarded children (38%)³⁷ (see Table 27).

Table 27. Malnutrition³⁸ amongst Namaqualand children

Condition	Percentage
Normal	30
Acute malnutrition	32
Chronic malnutrition	20
Nutritional dwarfs	18
Total	100
Number	528

Source: Child Health Unit of the University of Cape Town and South African Red Cross Society - School Entrants Survey.

By 1985 it appeared as if the situation had not changed with Operation Hunger reporting that 51% of the school children in the triangle were suffering from first degree malnutrition (Cape Times, 4 July 1985). The severity of the problem is envisaged when one considers that in 1981 the feeding scheme (for primary school children) catered for 5 500 children, by 1985 it had reached 8875 and today (August 1986) 11 800 children are fed per day. In Witbank (an area not covered by the analysis) many children arrive not having had breakfast. Severe cases of malnutrition are reported here with many families surviving off a diet of brown bread and "brak" water - e.g. an eighteen month old baby weighing less than 3 kilograms - the weight of a normal seven month old baby. (Argus, 9 November 1984). A resident minister (see Appendix M) in Leliefontein during the course of an informal interview stated that the cafe which serves four villages receives fresh vegetables and milk once a week, these have to be ordered in advance by the purchaser and often are not of a good quality. With no electricity refrigeration as a form of storage is impossible.

The same minister stated that in a place like Garies for example, an average of one or two children per family is mentally retarded. No facilities exist to cope with the problem of mental retardation. Children attend a normal school and because of education policy they remain in a standard for a maximum of two years and are then automatically promoted to the next standard - he quoted a case of a retarded child being 18 in Standard 4. As young adults they are given responsibilities until their retardation prevents them from fulfilling them and they then become "useless". As no suitable centres exist, they cannot be provided with any form of occupational therapy.

A visit to Namaqualand by the Child Health Unit in 1984 yielded evidence of some chronic illnesses (such as rheumatic and other heart diseases, cerebral palsy and other development problems) but the lack of clinical facilities and the cost of

transportation to the major centres inhibits servicing of these diseases. In Leliefontein a trip to the general practitioner in Springbok or Garies takes approximately four hours (round trip) and the transport cost ranges from R45 - R60 depending on the distance travelled.

Table 28 showing maternity costs emphasises that despite the fact that health care facilities exist, substantial amounts of money are often required to make use of them as compared to amounts required to make use of facilities at home.

Table 28. Maternity Costs

Treatment	Price (Rands)
Ante-natal care at hospital (Garies)	85
Hospital delivery by a G.P. (Garies)	173
Home delivery by a registered midwife	20
Traditional birth attendant	no charge (donation)

Source: Whittaker and Archer 1984 : 10 - 11.

The CRA do have clinics which provide a nurse and basic health services and doctors do visit the area though on an irregular basis. There are public hospitals in Garies, Port Nolloth and Springbok and mine hospitals at Kleinzee (54 beds), Nababeep (85 beds), Aggeneys (22 beds) - though it was not clear whether the latter are available only to mine employees. The health inspector for the CRA stated the following as some of the major causes of death in the rural areas:- heart disease, cancer, pneumonia, gastro-enteritis, and tuberculosis.

At present an old age home exists in Steinkopf and plans are underway to convert the Santa clinic in Bergsig (a coloured township on the outskirts of Springbok) into an old age home that will house approximately 98 people (8 flats, 70 mobile elderly people and 12 geriatrics) at a cost of two third of

their pension - the rest to be subsidized by the state. It is anticipated that a total of 22 people will be employed in the old age home (which will be run under the auspices of the Methodist Homes for the Aged).

CHAPTER 6CONTEMPORARY NAMAQUALAND: MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS

In this Chapter a broad overview of the regional economy is presented and employment and production activities in Namaqualand's main economic sectors, i.e. mining, agriculture and fishing are outlined. This together with the historical perspective and socio-economic profile presented in preceding Chapters enables us to categorize constraints to development.

6.1 The Regional Economy

The economic base of Namaqualand has been linked to mining since the discovery of diamonds (1926) and copper (1852). There appears to be little diversification with mining remaining the dominant activity and it's contribution to Gross Geographic Product (GGP)³⁹ ranging from 78 - 86% during the ten year period 1968 - 1978. (see Table 29).

Despite metal price fluctuations and a decline in mining, no other activity appears to have taken its place. As a result of the community's dependence on mining, significant unemployment and impoverishment results in decline periods.

Mining in 1978 accounted for 86% of GGP, 58% of remuneration (see Table 30) and 45% of the economically active population in 1980 (see Table 17, Section 5.3.3).

It is worth noting that despite the significant increase in mining's contribution to GGP in the period 1972 - 1978 (a total of 8%) remuneration⁴⁰ to employees decreased by 11%.

In general, in all other sectors apart from mining remuneration increased/decreased as the sectors' contribution to GGP increased/decreased.

Table 29. Sectoral Distribution of GGP and Remuneration

Sector	1968		1972		1978	
	GGP %	Remun- eration %	GGP %	Remun- eration %	GGP %	Remun- eration %
Agriculture	4	5	6	5	3	6
Mining	82	63	78	66	86	55
Manufacturing	1	3	1	..1	..	1
Construction	2	5	2	5	1	5
Commerce, Catering and Accommodation	4	7	4	7	3	8
Transport and Communication	1	2	1	2	2	7
Financing and Real Estate	2	1	2	1	1	2
General Government	3	11	4	10	3	12
Other	1	3	1	3	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
R'000 ²	61 304	18 669	71 885	25 658	248 691	48 329

1) .. indicates less than 0.5%.

2) At nominal values.

Source: Department of Statistics. GGP at factor incomes by Magisterial District 1972. Report 09-14-03.

: Department of Statistics. GGP at factor incomes by Magisterial District 1978. Report 09-14-04.

Abstracting from mining's contribution to GGP a clearer picture emerges of major sectors in the economy. From Table 30 we can identify the following:- agriculture, commerce, general government, and to a lesser extent, construction and transport.

Agriculture, commerce and general government's contribution to GGP and remuneration in 1978 was less than 50% in each case (see Table 30).

Table 30. Sectoral Distribution of GGP and Remuneration

Sector	1968		1972		1978	
	GGP %	Remun- eration %	GGP %	Remun- eration %	GGP %	Remun- eration %
Agriculture	20	14	28	14	21	14
Manufacturing	8	7	2	2	2	3
Construction	11	14	9	13	8	9
Commerce, Catering and Accommodation	21	17	19	20	19	17
Transport and Communication	6	6	6	6	17	16
Financing and Real Estate	9	5	11	4	9	5
Services	1	1	2	2	2	1
General Government	19	29	18	30	17	27
Other	5	7	5	9	5	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
R'000 ¹	10 808	6 908	15 657	8 827	35 702	21 728

1) At nominal values.

2) Mining has been excluded; electricity and water less than 0.5%

Source: As per Table 29.

The annual growth rate of GGP in the three years 1975 - 1978 is 21.7%, with mining being the major contributor, it's annual

growth rate was 27.4%. All the other major sectors identified, with the exception of general government, showed a negative growth rate. As pointed out earlier remuneration to mining has had a negative growth rate despite the positive GGP growth rate. Three other sectors showed a positive remuneration growth rate - general government, agriculture and commerce though the remuneration growth rate for Namaqualand as a whole was negative. For the 10 year period 1968 - 1978 the GGP growth rate was 6% per annum.

Table 31. GGP and Remuneration Growth⁴¹ Rates for Key Sectors
- 1975 - 1979

Sector	Average Annual Growth GGP %	Average Annual Growth Remuneration %
Agriculture	-0.5	4.9
Mining	27.4	-6.3
Construction	-1.4	-1.4
Commerce, Catering and Accommodation	-4.0	-0.3
Transport and Communication	-0.1	-0.4
General Government	5.6	5.2
Total	21.7	-2.8

Source: As per Table 29.

In 1978 Namaqualand's GGP (R248 691 000) as a percentage of national GGP was small (0.7%) and GGP per capita was low (R4.06 per person)⁴². Remuneration in Namaqualand (R48 329 000) in 1978 was low, i.e. 19% of GGP and only R0.79 per person⁴³.

We proceed in the sub-sections that follow to provide a rudimentary picture of commerce and general government and a

detailed analysis of mining (particularly copper and diamonds) and agriculture.

6.2 Commerce and General Government

The Namaqualand telephone directory, data on business licences issued and papers presented at a conference at UWC in 1979 allow us to establish a rudimentary picture of economic activity in the area (apart from mining and agriculture).

From Table 32 it is evident that small business' are predominant amongst Namaqualand's non-mining activities.

Table 32. Economic Activity in Namaqualand

Type of Activity	Number	%
Small Business'	449	65
Government departments ¹	226	33
Non-government organisations ²	16	2
Total	691	100

1) Incl. state and state aided schools

2) Incl. airways, banks and building societies

Source: Derived from Appendix I and J.

The Namaqualand Municipality issues business licences to applicants in the Springbok CBD and the Divisional Council is responsible for those issued on the outskirts of Springbok in the CRA, mining and other smaller towns.

A breakdown of the 214 business licences issued in the Springbok area for 1986 (as at March 1986) by the Namaqualand municipality was not available, however a breakdown of the 235 licences issued by the Namaqualand Divisional Council was made

available and this shows clearly (see Appendix J) that little specialization occurs with 55% being "General Dealerships". Some of these general dealerships may be in the form of co-operatives (particularly in the CRA). Balie (UWC 1979) stated that the establishment of these co-operatives arose out of the needs and predicaments of the local rural community. With a number of individuals pooling resources to purchase stock, transport costs were decreased and a wider range of stock could be purchased. To a certain extent this prevented outflow of money from CRA but not entirely as bordering white farm owners would transport some people monthly to urban areas (particularly at the end of the month and on pension days).

From Table 33 it is evident that little commercial activity takes place in the rural areas with 71% of the licences being issued in the urban areas.

Table 33. Area Distribution of Business Licences Issued - 1986.

Area	%
<u>Urban Areas</u>	
Municipalities	53
O.C.C. Mining Towns	18
<u>Rural Areas</u>	
Coloured Rural Areas	12
Other Rural Areas	17
Total	100
Number	449

Source: Derived from Appendix K.

A number of government departments are present in Namaqualand ranging from the army to schools to the municipality. A list

of the departments present is given in Appendix I. As stated earlier the list was compiled from the telephone directory and may not be entirely accurate. Non-government economic activity in Namaqualand includes financial institutions, schools, churches, general practitioners, lawyers, accountants, etc. Only the financial institutions and schools are reflected in Table 32.

As the business' are small (from observation) it would appear that they were not significant employment generators (particularly in the outlying areas). In Springbok itself, and perhaps O'okiep, Nababeep and Port Nolloth, they are larger and thus offer more employment possibilities. White owned business' tended to be large and therefore employment generators whereas those owned by "coloureds" were family concerns mainly employing family at no additional cost.

Redlinghuis (1981) suggested that income generating possibilities of commercial activities are low and fluctuate from area to area depending on the inhabitants financial position, the extent of "credit" sales, the severity of the drought and proximity of shops to residential areas. Respondents to Redlinghuis' survey suggested that many of the business' in the coloured townships and rural areas were small monopolies run by wealthier inhabitants, particularly board members.

6.3 Mining in Namaqualand

6.3.1 Namaqualand's Minor Mineral Resources

A fairly wide variety of minerals occur in Namaqualand. Some of these have been or are in the process of being exploited to a large extent, e.g. diamonds and copper. In addition to these large deposits, Namaqualand has other minerals which occur in small quantities mainly in the pegmatite belt.

Pegmatites are "mineral associations crystallized in situ,

decidedly more coarse grained than similar mineral associations in the form of ordinary rocks and differing from these in having a more irregular fabric of mineral aggregates" (Mineral Resources of South Africa, 1976, : 183).

South Africa's pegmatites are of importance as they cover large areas. Knowledge is known of their structure and mineralization but not much of the potential reserves of economically valuable minerals in them. Modern industry uses many of the minerals found in pegmatites.

For a relatively small recovery of minerals large tonnages have to be removed as they are complex in shape, size and continuity and their economic mineral distribution is erratic. In addition significant knowledge of their behaviour is necessary if operations are to be economic. They are sparsely mineralized and exploitation by companies may not be economical, though they yield adequate returns for individual prospectors.

The Pegmatite Belt of the North Western Cape (see Map 7) can be divided into two sections, the eastern and the western. The western section known as the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt, is of importance to us. The belt extends from beyond Goodhouse (in the east) to Groendoorn (in the west) and lies approximately 100 kilometres north of Springbok, mainly within the Steinkopf area.

Two distinctive types of pegmatite occur within the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt, namely homogeneous⁴⁴ and heterogenous⁴⁵ pegmatites. It is the latter that are exploited for economic minerals.

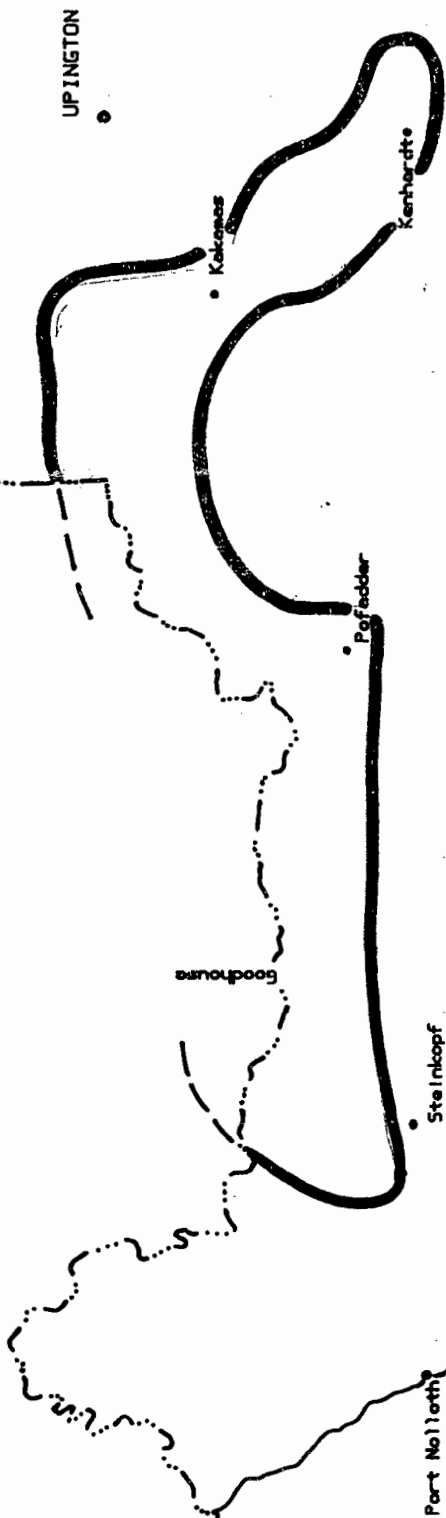
The extent and variety of minerals was first recognized in the mid 1920's when bismuth was mined from the Blesberg Pegmatite, which lies about halfway between Steinkopf and Vioolsdrif. During the second world war there was a demand for strategic minerals and many prospectors, fortune hunters and small time

Map 7.

Frank Stewart Nov. 86

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PEGMATITE BELT



miners were attracted to the area. The following minerals were mined from the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt in this period: beryllium, lithium, tantalum, columbite and tungsten (for their uses, see Appendix L).

The Blesberg Pegmatite is the largest and best known mineralized pegmatite and has been in continuous production since 1951. The quantity and variety of minerals that have been produced from here has fluctuated due to changing market periods. Minerals that have been produced in sizeable quantities include beryl (most of the beryl produced in South Africa comes from here), spodumene, muscovite, tantalite, columbite, bismuth and feldspar (see Appendix L).

Numerous other minerals have been recovered in smaller quantities from the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt. Appendix L illustrates more fully the type, use, location and economic importance of Namaqualand's mineral resources.

Most of the mining operations in the pegmatite belt range in size from one man operations to small mining companies with limited capital. The operators and small mines move from pegmatite to pegmatite, producing a variety of minerals whose prices fluctuate as market conditions vary, as a result mining is characterized by intense periods linked to high prices separated by periods of small scale activity and lower prices.

Before proceeding into an indepth analysis of major mining activities in Namaqualand, we look briefly at the mining laws applicable to the area and the operators of some smaller mining concerns.

6.3.2 Mining Laws

The principal laws governing prospecting and mining in South Africa are:

The Mines and Works Act No. 27 of 1956 - concerned mainly with

the safety, health and welfare of persons employed in mining and the protection of property and the public against mining and prospecting operations hazards.

The Precious Stones Act No. 73 of 1964 - provides for the regulation and control of prospecting, mining for and dealing in precious stones.⁴⁶

The Mining Rights Act No. 20 of 1967 - regulates prospecting and mining for precious metals⁴⁷, base minerals⁴⁸, and natural oil⁴⁹.

The Atomic Energy Act No. 90 of 1967 - controls prospecting and mining for and processing, possession and disposal etc, of source material⁵⁰. To prospect and mine for source material, written permission of the Minister of Mines is required under the provision of this Act, once obtained the provisions of the Mining Rights Act No. 20 of 1967 becomes applicable.

Of importance to our study of economic activity are the Precious Stone and Mining Rights Act.

6.3.2.1 Mining Rights Act No. 2 of 1967

Prospecting for base minerals and precious metals on State and private land⁵¹ is only permitted if a prospecting permit or lease is held. Permits for prospecting (subject to certain provisions) on State land can be issued to coloureds in Namaqualand and on private land if ownership is vested in a coloured persons or a company where the coloureds have controlling interest. A fee of R2 is charged and each permit is valid for twelve months and may be renewed. The area pegged should be rectangular in shape and not exceed 630 square metres. No prospector may peg or hold more than ten prospecting areas (claims) at one time.

As far as private land is concerned - no prospecting permit or any form of prospecting right under the Mining Rights Act is

required to prospect base minerals but a prospecting permit is required for precious metals. The permit is renewable but, in the case of a nominee is not renewable beyond the expiry date of permission to prospect granted by the holder of the right to precious metals (Section 7 of the Mining Rights Act).

An owner or lessee⁵² of unproclaimed alienated state land⁵³ has exclusive right to prospect on that land as long as a prospecting licence (permit) is obtained (Section 12 of the Mining Rights Act).

When state land is not open to public prospecting or an owner/lessee of alienated state land is not entitled to a permit, the Minister of Mines may grant a prospecting lease to any applicant or tenderer whose financial resources/arrangements for prospecting are satisfactory. The holder of such a lease is required to pay a surface rent, to the mining commissioner, which if it is a CRA, is paid to the Board of Management, if no board exists, or if it is not a CRA, it is paid into the State Revenue fund. In addition the lease holder may be required to pay compensation⁵⁴. Such a lease is not transferable unless the Minister's written permission is obtained.

Holders of permits or leases are required to obtain written permission from the mining commissioner to remove ore, precious metals or base minerals from their claim (apart from quantities for sampling). In Namaqualand this is referred to as a "transport permit". Twenty-one percent of the prospector's gross income (income after transport costs from the prospecting area to the sale point have been deducted) is payable to the State Revenue fund via the mining commissioner by holders of permits and leases (Section 21 of the Mining Rights Act).

If following prospecting operations, workable quantities of metals, minerals and oils are found to exist, a mining lease may be obtained provided technical and financial resources are

found to be satisfactory by the minister (Section 25 of the Mining Rights Act).

In the event of a mining lease being granted on State or alienated state land, the holder is required in addition to taxation to pay surface rent (50c per hectare per month) and a share of the profits/royalty to the State. If the lease covers land in a CRA, the rent is paid to the Management Board.

The following data was obtained from the Mining Commissioner's office in Springbok.

1. Valid prospecting leases	49
2. Valid prospecting permits (as at March 1986)	
Concordia	117
Pella	130
Kommagas	11
Leiliefontein	246
Richtersveld	357
Violsdrif	1 137
Steinkopf	1 023
Hondeklip Bay	40
No pegging	114
<hr/>	
Total	3 175
3. Transport permits	42
4. Mining leases	46

The high number of permits issued in Steinkopf and Violsdrif South Commonage is explained by the fact that these two areas fall within the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt which has significant resources (see Section 6.3.1). Data contained in (2) relates to permits and not claims - the number of claims would be higher (each person is entitled to ten claims per permit) In some instances a prospector may contract out

some of his claims.

The mining commissioner suggests that the number of transport permits is significantly lower than the number of permits and leases issued (3 224 in total (1 + 2 added)) as low metal/mineral prices, transport (inadequate and expensive), lack of water and other facilities makes commercial prospecting difficult and unprofitable. Many permit/lease holders may retain their claim only working it when prices make it more profitable.

6.3.2.2 Precious Stones Act No. 73 of 1964

The Minister of Mines may grant a prospecting lease in respect of State land to any applicant or tenderer whose financial resources or financial arrangements for prospecting appear satisfactory.

The lease is not transferable and the holder may be required to pay surface rent, a share of precious stones proceeds and compensation. In the event of the lease being on a CRA, the applicant becomes a contractor of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) and the share of proceeds is paid by the mining commissioner to the SBDC. 20% of the SBDC's profits are paid to the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture and is spent on development works and services in the CRA (Section 4 of the Precious Stones Act). Prospectors on alienated State land or private land require a permit (valid for a maximum of 12 months and costing R1 per month) - in the event of the holder being an individual person (as opposed to a company) a current diggers certificate must be held (Section 5 and 6 of the Precious Stones Act).

If the holder of such a permit wishes to remove precious stones, he must hold a prospecting and digging agreement and may be required to pay surface rent, compensation and a share of the profits (royalty etc) (Section 20 of the Precious Stones Act).

6.3.3 Minor Mining Activities

6.3.3.1 George E. Swanson Enterprises (Pty) Ltd

The Swanson Organisation is headquartered in Springbok and was one of the first independent exploration groups to start in Namaqualand in the late 1930's.

Swanson Enterprises is a large mineral trading organisation of pegmatite minerals and semi-precious stones. It is the only outlet at which prospectors can sell minerals removed from their claims. In addition they have and do enter into joint ventures with multi-national groups and have participated in exploration programmes for many mineral commodities, e.g. uranium, tungsten, diamonds (sea and alluvial). At present they are involved with an international consortium prospecting for diamonds in deep water areas along the North Coast. Other aspects of their work include consulting, gemstone manufacture and land development.

6.3.3.2 Black Mountain Mineral Development Company (Pty) Ltd

Black Mountain Mineral Development Company (Pty) Ltd is a joint adventure Phelps Dodge of America and Gold Fields of South Africa (they have a 51% interest).

IN 1970 Phelps Dodge initiated a feasibility study on opening up an exploration company in South Africa, with particular regard to the North-Western Cape. Exploratory drilling took place at Aggeneys (1970/1971), Broken Hill (1972) and Big Syncline (1973) and sampling drives and feasibility studies between 1974 and 1977. In 1977 it was decided to exploit the potential of the area by underground mining and Gold Fields was chosen as the partner in the venture. Production at the mine began in early 1980.

The three mineralized areas on the property where Black Mountain Mineral Development Company (Pty) Ltd owns the

mineral rights are Black Mountain (originally Zwartberg), Broken Hill (originally referred to as Noeniepoort se Kop or Big Copper Hill) and Big Syncline (the Aggeneysberge) (see Map 8).

Copper, lead and zinc concentrates are obtained from ore bodies in these three areas. Trucks haul the concentrates over a sand road to Loop 10 (approximately 170 kilometre) which is the halfway point on the Sishen-Saldahna iron-ore railway. Zinc concentrates are railed north via Sishen to Zincor and lead and copper concentrates south to Saldahna Bay. The latter are then shipped to North America, the Far East and Europe, those to Europe are shipped on a more regular basis. The concentrates are sold on a contract basis, though some lead concentrate is available for spot sales.

No production figures were obtained but the concentrator is designed to process 1 125 000 tons of copper, lead, zinc and ore per year (3 384 tons per day), producing an average per day of 86 tons copper concentrate, 408 tons lead concentrate and 120 tons zinc concentrate (Black Mountain Mineral Development Company Report - 1982 : 33).

Table 34 and Table 35 give the employment complement for 1982.

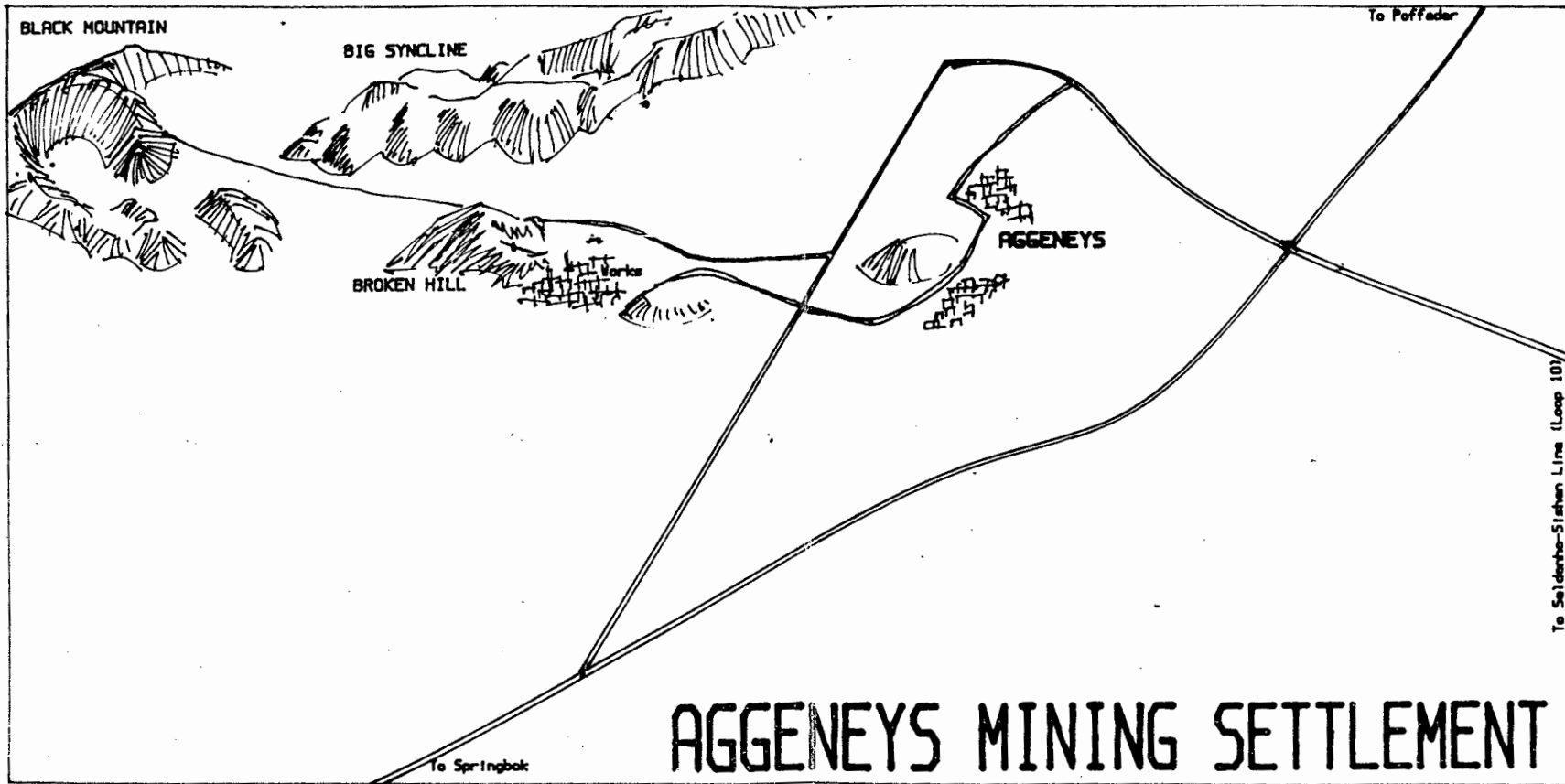
Table 34. Black Mountain Mineral Development - Employment Pattern by Department - 1982

Department	Number	Percentage
Mining	406	27
Mining Services	99	6
Engineering	464	30
Concentrator	192	13
Administration	366	24
Total	1 527	100

Source: Black Mountain Mineral Development Company Report - 1982.

Map 8.





Fritz Stummert Sept. '86

Table 35. Racial Composition of Black Mountain Mineral Development's Labour Force - 1982.

Race	Number	Percentage
Coloured	449	30
White	278	18
Black	800	52
Total	1 527	100

Source: Black Mountain Mineral Development Company Report - 1982.

White employees are recruited predominantly from the Gold Fields Groups' gold mines. In 1982 they filled management, supervisory, technical and senior administrative positions. It is said that over time these positions will be filled by local inhabitants as their training and experience levels increase.

Coloured employees are recruited locally (from Pella) as certificated miners underground, operators, drivers, artisans and in supervisory and administrative positions. It is regarded as a stable section of the labour force as they are recruited locally and large numbers are permanently housed on the property with their families and are therefore suited to longer term training programmes.

Black employees are recruited through TEBA - The Employment Bureau of Africa on a contract basis (predominantly from the Transkei for twelve months) as operators, drivers and in junior supervisory, technical and manual positions.

6.3.3.3 Trans Hex Group Ltd

The Trans Hex Group (a Rembrandt subsidiary) is involved in diamond mining in Namaqualand - its activities include

exploration and mining.

Exploration is carried out in two areas - the Namex property in the Richtersveld and offshore of the West Coast.

The Namex property was bought and acquired by Trans Hex in December 1984 from Ochta Holdings (Pty) Ltd who had been involved in mining, polishing and marketing of polished and rough diamonds. Their mining activities consisted of (amongst others) the Namex Alluvial deposits on the left bank of the Orange River, approximately 100 kilometres from Alexander Bay (near Sendlingsdrif). Exploration and mining programmes were carried out on a 24 hour basis. These mines formed Ochta's main source of income.

Business was conducted in terms of a contract agreement held with the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) over a mining lease area of approximately 69 500 hectares. In addition a prospecting lease was held by Namex for base minerals and precious minerals over the same area.

The main reasons for Trans Hex's offer and subsequent purchase of Namex were:

- (i) Buffelsbank Diamante Ltd (a Trans Hex subsidiary) had been and is engaged in exploration work and mining operations on a property (Baken) along the Orange River (near Sanddrif) contiguous to Namex alluvial deposits.
- (ii) Substantial gravel deposits on the property were unexplored.
- (iii) a well developed infrastructure of housing, power, water, and processing plant existed.

The Namex area's current ore reserves were said to be doubtful but it was regarded as having good medium and long term potential and Trans Hex were of the opinion that the two properties could be effectively managed and mined on a combined project. As reserves were doubtful activities are exclusively limited to exploration programmes to establish and

improve the ore reserves.

Under the Terra Marina Mining Company Ltd - six shallow and deep water sea concessions are held. No results for 1985 but data obtained for previous years is given in Table 36.

Table 36. Trans Hex Diamond Production 1978 - 1981

Year	Carats Recovered		
	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81
Sea Concessions	8 092	45 495	32 798
Hondeklip Bay	12 200	9 800	11 800
Kommagas	40 000	38 000	43 000
Total	60 292	93 295	87 598

Source: Pre-listing Statement Trans Hex Group Limited.

Mining and mine development is conducted at Baken, Kommagas (both by Buffelsbank Diamonds Ltd) and Hondeklip Bay (by Brazil Diamonds (Pty) Ltd).

The Baken property is situated on the left bank of the Orange River in the Richtersveld (near Sanddrif and contiguous to Namex alluvial deposits). Buffelsbank has a contract agreement with the SBDC for this property, which is similar to that held by Ochta for the Namex property. No production data is available but the 1985 Company report states that diamonds produced here are of a good quality (on average larger than 1,0 carat per stone). Five years reserves have been proven.

Near Hondeklip Bay, mine development and exploration is carried out on:

- the State farm - Hondeklip (lease covers 2 126 hectares)
- the farm - Brazil (lease covers 5 834 hectares)
- Spuugrivier Outspan (lease covers 734 hectares)

- a farm adjacent to Hondeklip - Avontuur.

Leases for the first three areas include contiguous seaward unalienated State land.

Activities at Kommagas (prospecting lease for precious stones extends over 63 000 hectares), where prospecting commenced in 1965 and mining in 1968, are to be terminated during 1986 - the final closure date is still to be determined. It was not established whether the prospecting lease for precious metals and base minerals held by Trans Hex over 32 305 hectares of Kommagas is still valid and whether work is being done in this regard.

Data on production at Kommagas and Hondeklip Bay is contained in Table 36.

Employment (as at February 1986) at Trans Hex's Namaqualand mines was as follows:

Coloureds	495
<u>Whites</u>	<u>70</u>
Total	565

No blacks are employed and these figures include mining, administrative and clerical staff - no further figures were made available. A union did not exist at the time of writing but negotiations with NUM have taken place and a recognition agreement is to be signed in the near future.

6.3.3.4 Gamsberg Zinc Project

In 1977 a validation study of a zinc deposit at Gamsberg (80 kilometres from O'okiep in the Northern Cape) was begun. The project was expected to cost R170 million and yield an output of 350 000 tons of zinc concentrates a year. The project owned by Anglo American Corporation (45%) and by Newmont Mining and O'okiep Copper (27.5% each) was deferred in 1978 due to the depressed state of the zinc market. Viability studies (based on world-wide zinc production costs) showed

that the mine would be competitive but as costs were high and vulnerable to further increases it was decided to put the project "on ice" until the zinc market strengthened.3.2.3.4

6.3.4 Major Mining Activities

6.3.4.1 Copper Production and Employment

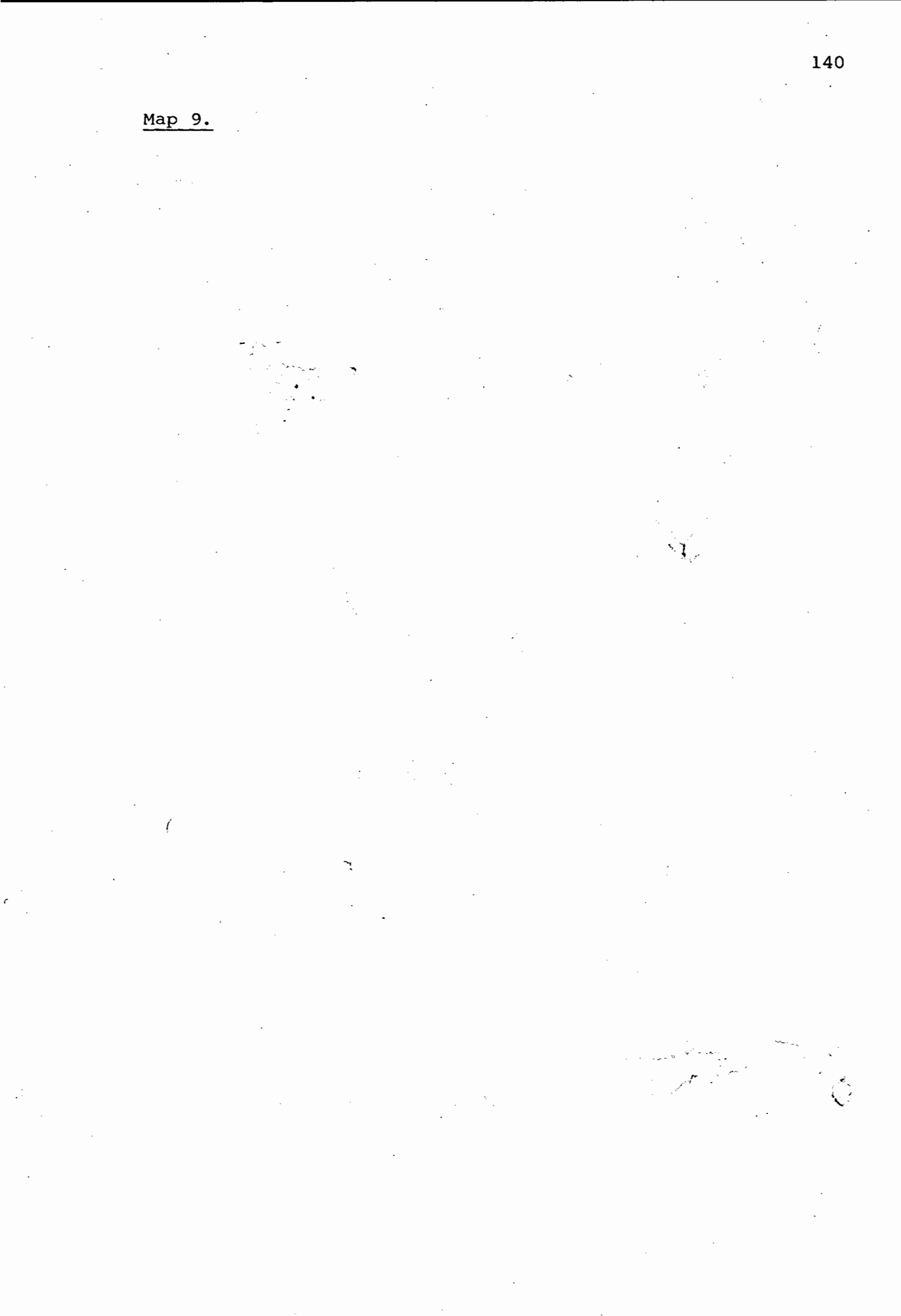
The O'okiep copper district (see Map 9) covers an area of 15 000 km² and includes the township of Springbok and the mining centres of Nababeep, O'okiep and Carolusberg. Within this area 22 mines have been found containing from half a million tons to 15 million tons of ore. A number of smaller deposits have also been mined.

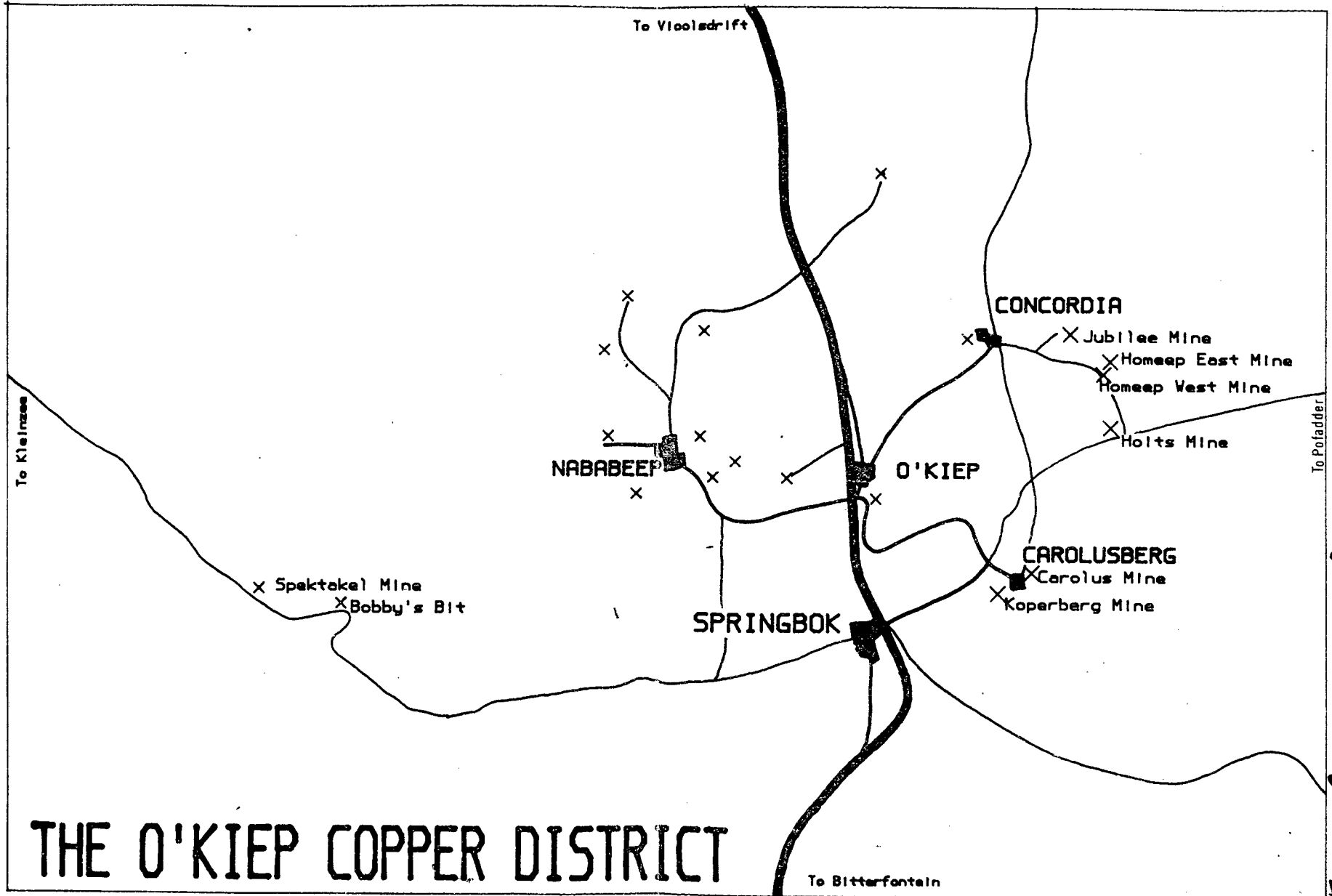
Historically, the O.C.C. has been one of the Republic's most important producers of copper ore. By 1932 some 299 000 tons of copper metal had been produced in the O'okiep copper district, with more than 61 010 of this coming from the O'okiep area alone.

The recession in copper prices in the 1930's caused operations to cease and production by the O.C.C. only commenced again in 1940 (see Section 3.6.1). When operations recommenced a proven ore-reserve of 9 000 000 tons at 2,45 percent copper existed and mining was confined to four mines.

The Second World War had created an urgent demand for copper and the new company's production schedule was speeded up. By 1945 the modern mill and smelter at Nababeep had been built and both were in operation; a few years later, O'okiep was once again in full production (see Section 3.6.1).

Table 37 illustrates production figures for the period 1940 to 1972.

Map 9.



THE O'KIEP COPPER DISTRICT

Farouk Stammers Sep. '86

Table 37. Copper Production 1940 - 1972

Year	Blister Copper Production (Tons)	Copper Sales (Rand)
July 1940 - June 1945	58 097	6 260 280
July 1945 - June 1950	88 160	18 136 456
July 1950 - June 1955	155 542	60 624 674
July 1955 - June 1960	159 691	78 089 590
July 1960 - June 1965	191 733	97 771 869
July 1965 - Dec. 1967	97 454	83 771 354
1968	37 591	35 938 581
1969	33 925	34 691 270
1970	35 845	32 806 792
1971	34 493	24 807 158
1972	36 938	28 141 982
	889 469	501 040 006

Source: Mineral Resources of the Republic of South Africa - 1976.

Detailed information on production after 1972 was not made available to the writer but what information was obtained is presented in the Tables and paragraphs that follow.

In 1985 ore production amounted to 1 632 960 tons (see Table 38) and came from five mines. Ore is despatched to one of the two operating mills taking into account accessibility and the mill's capacity (see Table 39). Production strategy revolves around mining areas subservient to the mills, each one having one or two producing mines with the balance coming from smaller deposits with limited lives and production potential.

Table 38. O.C.C. Ore production 1985

Mine	Metric tons	Percentage
Spektakel Mine	300 830	18
Bobby's Bit	10 630	1
Spektakel Mines	311 460	19
Carolusberg Deep Ore	1 146 360	70
Hoits Mine	160 590	10
Koperberg West	14 550	1
Carolusberg Mines	1 321 500	81
Total	1 632 960	100

Source: O'okiep Copper Company Limited - Information Booklet 1985.

Table 39. Mill Capacity and Present Rate - 1985

Mill	Capacity	Present Rate
NababEEP	90 000 t/mnth	closed down
Carolusberg	120 000 t/mnth	120 000 t/mnth
Spektakel	40 000 t/mnth	25 000 t/mnth
Total	250 000 t/mnth	145 000 t/mnth

Source: O'okiep Copper Company Limited Information Booklet 1985.

The two mills operated by O.C.C. are sited at Carolusberg and Spektakel. The O'okiep mill plant which had operated at O'okiep from 1945 to 1975 was dismantled and re-erected at Spektakel (operations commenced during October 1980). The NababEEP mill started in 1949 and was closed in 1981 due to the depressed copper market. The mill at Carolusberg began

it's operation in 1963. Total tonnage milled in the years 1940 - 1985 is given in Table 41.

Table 40. Tonnage Milled - O.C.C. 1940 - 1985

Mine	Ore Milled (kt)	Copper in Concentrates (kt)
Nababeep	31 803	514
O'okiep	15 196	291
Carolusberg	27 717	351
Spektakel	1 975	27
Total	76 691	1 184

Source: O'okiep Copper Company Limited - Information Booklet 1985.

In addition to handling concentrates from the Company's two mills, the smelter treats concentrates from Otjihose Mine (Tsumeb Corporation Limited). The smelter operates on a 24 hour day, seven days a week basis, smelting being a continuous operation. Concentrates are brought from their respective mills by road transport (over 160 kilometres of road have been built and are maintained) to the smelter. The molten copper is cast into bars of blister copper each weighing between 850 - 900 kilograms. The bars are sent by road to Bitterfontein, from there to Cape Town by rail and are then exported overseas.

In 1969 it was anticipated that at existing production rates, the mines had a remaining life of ten years, but mining continues in the area some 16 years later. A mining official consulted would not disclose future production possibilities but did mention that in 1983 it was thought that Spektakel mine would close, exploration yielded more ore bodies and the mine stayed open. Copper resources are said to be infinite, with those at Carolusberg (the deep ore mine) relatively

Table 41 O.C.C. Employment 1946 - 1985

Year	Total	Coloured	White	Black
1946	1599	336	308	955
1947	2034	418	363	1253
1948	2199	503	403	1293
1949	2828	747	494	1587
1950	2839	777	505	1557
1951	3020	723	545	1752
1952	3754	821	596	2337
1953	no data	no data	no data	no data
1954	4092	791	682	2619
1955	4113	811	692	2610
1956	4454	931	808	2715
1957	4692	988	860	2844
1958	3896	908	778	2210
1959	4394	1111	836	2447
1960	4250	1125	885	2240
1961	4228	1115	875	2238
1962	4329	1086	899	2344
1963	4510	1172	913	2125
1964	4388	1404	919	2065
1965	4558	1535	944	2079
1966	4789	1574	991	2224
1967	4927	1671	996	2260
1968	4731	1555	966	2210
1969	4388	1404	919	2065
1970	5108	1868	1059	2181
1971	4991	1855	1025	2111
1972	5112	1996	1036	2080
1973	5093	2089	986	2018
1974	4406	1784	868	1754
1975	3136	1449	688	999
1976	3560	1584	714	1304
1977	2355	1245	507	603
1978	2341	1541	488	315
1979	2872	1912	536	424
1980	3142	1898	591	653
1981	2906	1724	529	653
1982	2982	1840	534	608
1983	2855	1799	470	586
1984	2183	1432	333	418

Source: O.C.C. Unpublished Figures

untouched, the future of copper mining therefore depends on metal prices and the rand-dollar value rather than production capacity.

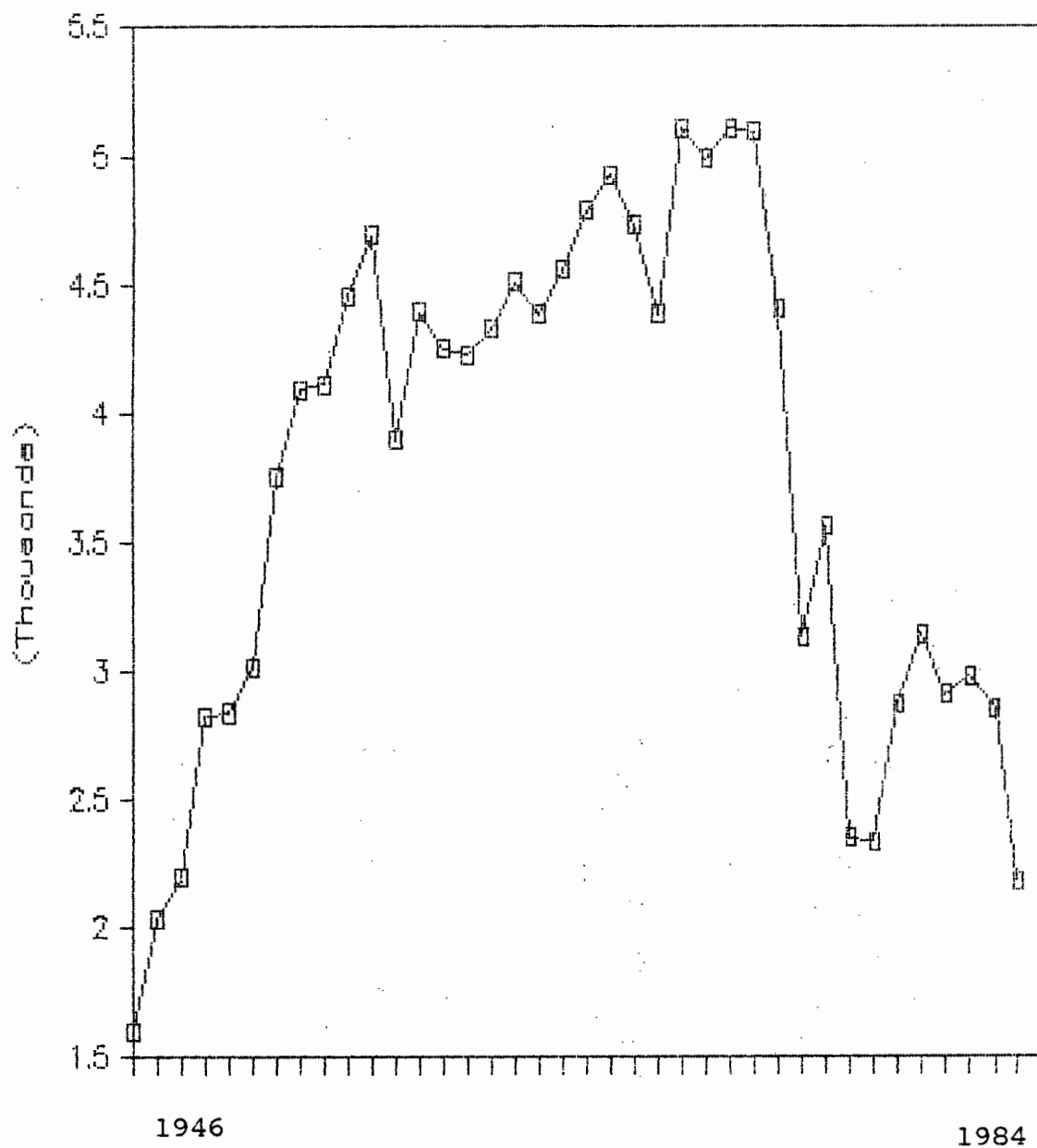
Historical employment data is shown in Table 41 and plotted on Graph 1. This graph together with Tables 41 and 42 show clearly the fluctuations in employment with major reductions taking place from 1970 onwards. In the 14 year period, 1970 - 1984 the size of the labour force decreased by 57%.

Table 42. Changes in O.C.C. Labour Force

Period	Net Change %
1946-50	78
1950-55	45
1955-60	3
1960-65	7
1965-70	12
1970-75	-39 ¹
1975-80	0.2
1980-85	-31
1945-71	220
1971-85	-57

Source: Derived from Table 41.

The prime cause of the retrenchments appears to have been low metal prices. In 1977 when closure of two of O.C.C.'s six mines resulted in the retrenchment of approximately 34% of the mining force, the general manager of the company, Mr T.P. Philip stated, "The price of copper on the international market is the all determining factor, and with it as low as it is there is no alternative but to pay off part of our working force" (Cape Times, 4 July 1977).



Graph 1 O.C.C. Employment 1946 - 1984

- 1) No data was obtained for 1953 and it has thus been excluded from the graph.

The repercussions of the 1977 retrenchment were numerous and included the following:

- (i) African migrants were repatriated to the Transkei as their contracts expired.
- (ii) White and coloured employees were forced out of the district altogether to seek alternative employment and housing.
- (iii) It was anticipated that commerce and business in Springbok would be adversely affected as the monthly wage bill of the retrenched miners "has always been the oil on the wheels of Namaqualand business". In addition the remaining employed miners "will spend as little as possible and further heighten our economic crisis because of widespread insecurity" (Cape Times, 4 July 1977).

It was the latter point and the need to provide a link to jobless miners that an action committee comprising miners, businessmen, government officials and churchmen was formed following these retrenchments. The committee hoped to hold meetings with potential employees in an attempt to exert pressure on them to absorb retrenched miners and thus prevent an exodus of Namaqualand's population and the "inevitable economic crisis Namaqualand would face" (Cape Times, 5 July 1977).

Many white miners received offers of employment following their retrenchment and as a result the real source of the committees concern was the re-employment and future of the coloured miners.

The degree to which the committee was successful is unknown but by September 1977 it was largely inactive and a charity sub-committee was providing assistance to families in need.

Sharp and West (1984) suggest that retrenchments may also have been necessitated by local technical difficulties experienced in exploiting profitable copper deposits and the large

development costs required to reach these ore bodies (i.e. the need for a smaller labour force which is trained to operate in an increasingly mechanized industry has arisen).

From Table 43 it is evident that, as Sharp and West (1984) illustrated, a change in racial composition of the labour force accompanied these retrenchments. The total complement had been reduced but coloured workers were substituted for black migrants and whites.

Table 43. Racial Composition of O.C.C. Labour Force 1946 - 1985

Year	Coloured %	White %	Black %	Total %
1946	21	19	60	100
1950	27	18	55	100
1955	20	17	63	100
1960	26	21	53	100
1965	34	21	45	100
1970	37	21	42	100
1975	46	22	32	100
1980	60	19	21	100
1984	66	15	19	100

Source: Derived from Table 41.

A major brake on this process of substitution was the representation of white wage workers by the Mine Workers Union (MWU).

The influence of the MWU was reduced in 1979, when growing dissatisfaction with the declining white labour force and increasing substitution of coloureds for whites caused the miners to strike. The transfer of the company's entire coloured complement to the group's mine in Concordia was requested and objection to the employment of three particular

coloured men at NababEEP and Rietberg was lodged. The strike (together with others in South Africa by the MWU) was regarded as part of MWU's national campaign for the retention of job reservation. At MWU's congress in the first half of 1979 it was reported that the union was to resist black job advancement even if it meant a repetition of the 1922 miner's rebellion (Argus, 9 March 1979).

As correct conciliation procedures had not been followed, the strike was regarded as illegal and O.C.C. dismissed the strikers specifying that each miner would have to reapply individually for this job. No guarantee of re-employment existed and the managing director at the time stated that miners who did return to work "do so on our terms" and the company would then consider whether or not accrued benefits would be restored, partially or totally (Cape Times, 16 March 1979). In addition miners were warned that if the strike continued they may be evicted from their company houses so as to make room for those who replaced them. The latter factor is believed to have hastened the end of the strike with many workers breaking rank with the union so as to secure their houses and employment.

Today the union is still in operation and is exclusively white with a membership of approximately 150 (in 1974 it was approx. 750). Another union, the Engineering Industrial Workers Union of South Africa is operative at O.C.C., catering mainly for coloured persons. It's present membership is approximately 1 650 and the union has a closed-shop and in-house agreement with the company.

By 1981 three low-grade ore mines had been closed temporarily and it was hoped to re-open these three in early 1982 but due to copper prices being lower than ever the re-opening never occurred.

In June 1982, in terms of a Finance Bill published in Cape Town, the Government became guarantee to a R40 million loan

raised by O.C.C. with Barclays Bank. The loan was to be used to develop a deep ore body at Carolusberg, which would extend the life of O.C.C. by a further ten or twelve years. In terms of the legislation, if the loan was unredeemed by March 1987, the Government would take cession of the banks claim for any outstanding portion of the loan.

It was reputed that Government intervention was linked to the importance of Copper Mining for social and economic stability in the O'okiep - Nababeep area. Had the Government not passed the legislation O.C.C. would have had to close it's mines entirely by 1985 (Argus, 3 June 1982).

The vulnerability of Namaqualand's copper mining community was demonstrated when in 1983, despite Government intervention in 1982, further retrenchments were announced by O.C.C. The intended retrenchment of 1 000 to 1 500 workers by the end of 1984 were part of a series of austerity moves due to the depressed state of the world copper market which caused the company to sustain losses. The "austerity moves" included:

- (i) suspension of development at Hoits Mine;
- (ii) curtailment of development at Spektakel and Carolusberg Deep Mines;
- (iii) mine production to continue at Spektakel and Moits only until developed reserves exhausted (anticipated to be April/December 1984); and
- (iv) reduction in production at Carolusberg.

It is not known whether the predicted retrenchment took place as by mid-1984 plans were underway for Gold Fields of South Africa to take over the mine following restructuring of O'okiep debt. The debt restructuring saw a capital infusion (of not less than R20 million) arranged by Newmont Mining Corporation and Gold Fields. In addition, the Government assumed O'okiep indebtedness to Barclays Bank (the loan raised to develop Carolusberg Deep), the final maturity date being extended by three years to January 1991.

The employment figures obtained for 1984 suggest that 672 workers were retrenched (See Appendix L). A company official suggested that retrenchment by O.C.C. (under Newmont Mining) may have occurred in the 1983/1984 period and with the Gold Fields take over workers were reinstated bringing employment to the 1984 figure of approximately 2 183.

Previous employment policy (under Newmont Mining) involved retrenchment when prices were low and re-employment if metal prices increase (necessitating a production increase). Under Gold Fields the policy is said to be one of maintaining a constant labour force, increasing productivity if prices are high (i.e. increased shifts) and vice versa.

The process of substitution referred to earlier has resulted in a labour force which is tied to the region. Sharp and West (1984) identify further consequences (positive and negative) of this process:

- (i) workers are more inclined to acquiesce in the face of sudden retrenchment;
- (ii) the labour force is composed of people who are not white and can therefore be paid less for the same work;
- (iii) the migrant complement is reduced and training to upgrade skills becomes more feasible; and
- (iv) rezoning of company houses for coloured employees.

Despite the positive aspects of a small and predominantly coloured labour force, copper remains an insecure employment opportunity.

In 1982 when the R40 million loan was obtained by O.C.C. it was stated that the legislation and loan had averted an economic disaster in Namaqualand. Two years later O.C.C. was once again baled out, this time by a major mining house. The question one must ask is, 'does this lead to economic and social stability or is it not time to reduce the population dependence on the copper industry by allowing it to collapse and simultaneously use the skills we possess to assist the

Namaqualand community in identifying their needs and resources and to develop these resources so as to facilitate long term development and elimination of impoverishment. In Chapter 7 we identify major constraints to development, analyze these in detail, suggesting ways to reduce their inhibiting effect. It is only once these constraints are removed that one can begin to talk about development, dignity, initiative and responsibility.

6.3.4.2 Diamond Mining

The West Coast diamond mining area consists of four parts:-

- (i) the lower Orange River deposits (Consolidated Diamond Mining - De Beers Namibia Operations),
- (ii) deposits between the Orange River and Port Nolloth (State Alluvial Diggings - SAD),
- (iii) deposits south of Port Nolloth (De Beers Mines - Namaqualand Mines Division) and,
- (iv) numerous sea concessions.

In this section we examine in detail the activities of the SAD and the Namaqualand Mines Division. Smaller companies and private individuals prospect in this area but as their contribution is minor they were excluded or covered in Section 6.3.3.

(i) Production

The Namaqualand Mines Division consists of three complexes:

- (i) the Buffels-Marine Complex, being the largest includes seven farms⁵⁵ and stretches 40 kilometres north of the Buffels River mouth,
- (ii) the Buffels-inland complex, 40 kilometres north east of Kleinzee and includes two farms⁵⁶,
- (iii) the Koingnaas-complex situated 65 kilometres south of Kleinzee and includes five farms⁵⁷.

The location of De Beers' Namaqualand mines and those of SAD are shown on Map 10.

Operations at the Buffels-marine complex began in the late 1920's and those at Koingnaas some 40 years later (late 1960's). Table 44 gives some indication of the declining importance of the Buffels-marine complex to De Beers output and the growth of the Koingnaas complex.

Table 44. Output Distribution of De Beers' Mine Complexes

Year	1979	1980	1982	1983	1984
<u>Complex</u>					
Buffels-marine	% 61	53	30	25	31
Buffels-inland	% 38	44	66	72	66
Koingnaas	% 1	3	5	3	4
<hr/>					
Total (carats)	1699691	1434262	951216	883260	908617

Source: Diamond News and SA Jeweller, June 1981 (Vol. 44: 9), June 1984 (Vol. 47: 9), June 1985 (Vol 48: 9).

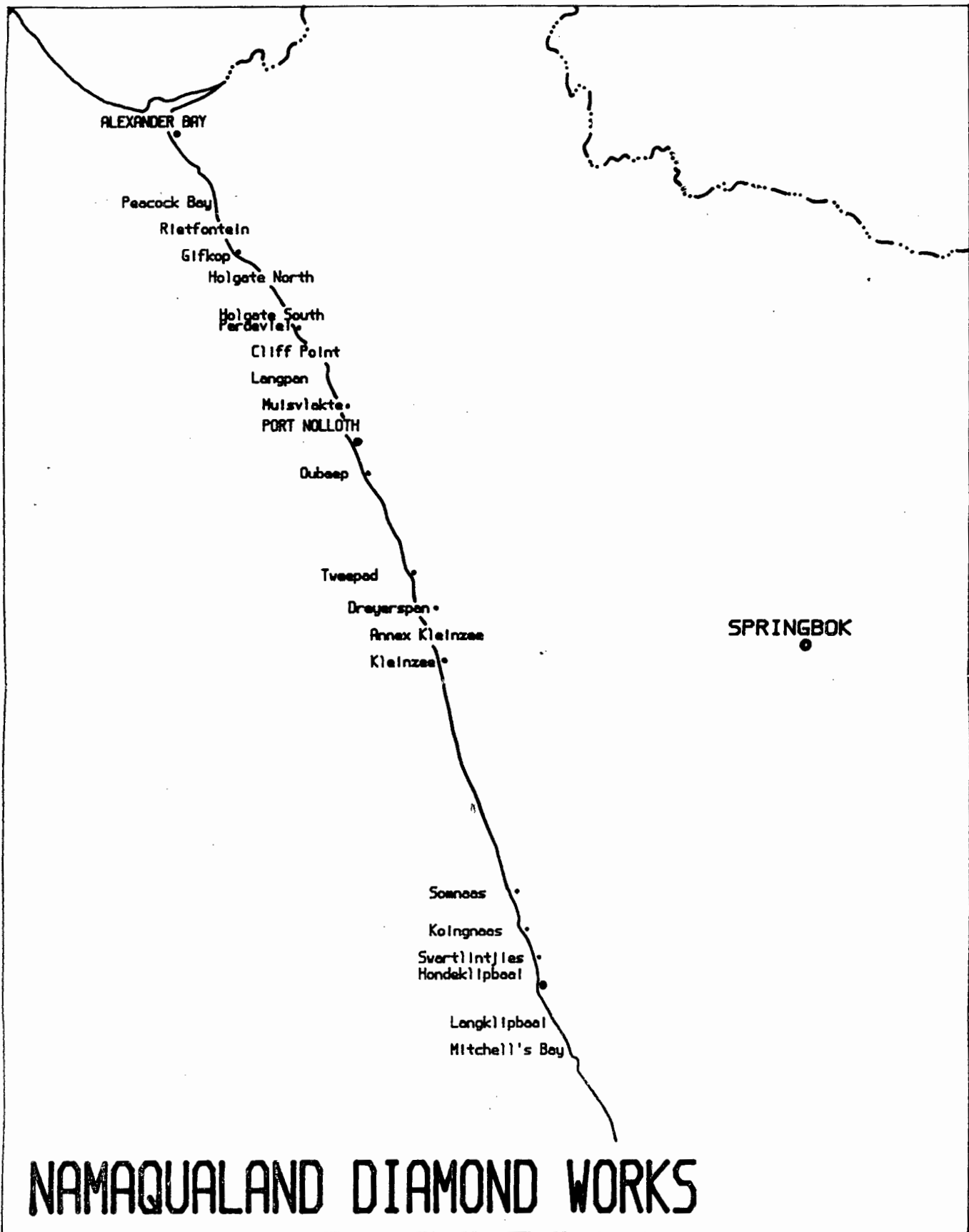
Table 45 outlines total combined production of the two major companies for the 15 year period 1970 - 1985 and in addition reflects each individual company's contribution to the total combined production.

Table 46 reflects the two companies contribution to Namaqualand's diamond output and South Africa's diamond output.

From Table 45 it is evident that production has fluctuated significantly over the years. The combined output of De Beers and SAD has increased by 16% (140 519 carats) over the 15 years. Production reached a peak in 1979 with the De Beers mines accounting for 87% of Namaqualand's output and the Namaqualand mines accounting for 23% of South Africa's output (see Table 46).

Map 10.





Park Steiner Sep. '86

Table 45. Diamond Production - De Beers and SAD 1970 - 1985

Year	De Beers ¹ %	SAD ² %	Total ³ (carats recovered)
1970	72	28	878 574
1971	71	29	715 974
1972	74	26	654 570
1973	73	27	730 683
1974	80	20	972 069
1975	84	16	1 115 667
1976	85	15	1 209 357
1977	86	14	1 359 379
1978	88	12	1 397 203
1979	92	8	1 839 400
1980	91	9	1 573 376
1981	91	9	1 339 482
1982	87	13	1 088 704
1983	86	14	1 022 969
1984	89	11	1 019 866
1985	90	10	1 019 093

- 1) De Beers production expressed as a percentage of total combined production.
- 2) SAD production expressed as a percentage of total combined production.
- 3) De Beers and SAD production added.

Source: Department of Mines, Annual Reports 1970 - 1980
: Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Annual Reports 1980 - 1985.
: De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd, Annual Reports 1970 - 1985.

Table 46. Percentage Output Contributed by De Beers and SAD.

Year	1978	1979	1983	1984	1985
<u>Companies</u>					
De Beers	% 62	87	68	70	77
SAD	% 9	7	11	9	8
Other Namaqualand	% 29	6	21	21	15
<u>Total Namaqualand</u>					
(carats)	1689385	1945042	1291252	1301783	119736
<u>De Beers</u>					
De Beers	% 16	20	9	9	-
SAD	% 2	2	1	1	-
Other Namaqualand	% 8	1	3	3	-
Rest of SA	% 74	77	87	87	-
<u>Total SA</u>					
(carats)	7726605	8384332	10311778	10118910	-

Source: Department of Mines Annual Reports 1978 - 1979
: Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Annual Reports 1983 - 1985.
: De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd, Annual Reports 1978 - 1979, 1983 - 1985.
: Diamond News and SA Jeweller, May 1985 (Vol. 48: 8), May 1986 (Vol. 49: 8).

It is clear from both tables that De Beers are the major diamond producers in the area, though their contribution to Namaqualand's output and that of South Africa has shown a significant decline since 1979.

Actual production figures for De Beers and SAD are given in

footnote 58.

These fluctuations can be attributed to various factors, the major ones being the world market price of diamonds and the average stone size. These two factors appear to be interrelated, i.e. when the average stone size is small, the price is low.

To increase the average size of stones production is sometimes reduced as was the case with De Beers in 1970, 1971 and 1972 when output was decreased at Koingnaas, Langhoogte and Dreyers Pan mines⁵⁹. Up until 1979 De Beers' production increased rapidly. This can be attributed to the following factors:-

- (i) return to earlier capacity at Koingnaas, Dreyers Pan and Langhoogte in 1973,
- (ii) introduction of double shifts (1975) and treble shifts (1976) at the Dreyers Pan Mine,
- (iii) plant improvements at these mines in 1977,
- (iv) 210 000 more carats recovered at Koingnaas and a new mine opened at the Mitchells Bay⁶⁰ in 1979,
- (v) availability of Escom electricity from the end of 1978 facilitated increased output resulting from major mechanical changes.

The 48% decrease in production from 1979 to 1983 is explained by the following:

- (i) low grade areas were being mined and hence less carats were recovered,
- (ii) lower world market prices lead to the closure of the Tweepad⁶¹ mine (only in operation since 1980) in 1981. In addition production was reduced at the Koingnaas-complex and Annex Kleinzee⁶².
- (iii) in 1982 Annex Kleinzee was closed for rehabilitation.

Since the reopening of the Tweepad mine (end 1982) and Annex Kleinzee (1984) production has increased (4%).

Little information is available about SAD's production trends.

By 1979 these diggings had been in operation for 50 years and efforts had to be made to prevent "over-mining" of profitable areas at the expense of the eventual life and future export earnings of the mines. In addition SAD wanted to be in a position to expand production, with no delay, as diamond prices increased.

To facilitate this machinery was replaced and workshop equipment and space expanded. To raise and administer funds for new equipment the State (i.e. the Treasury) approved the establishment of a "trading account" for the diggings, effective from 1st April 1980. The trading account removed the Diggings' Boards' responsibility for this task. In addition an expansion programme of R20 million per year in 1980 and 1981 was supposed to open up marginal recovery areas.

Despite these measures production at SAD has not increased, it remained close to 130 000 carats from 1979 to 1983 and decreased by 20% from 1983 to 1985.

(ii) Employment

Employment figures shown in Table 47 for SAD are annual averages and thus do not accurately reflect fluctuations. Despite the production decrease over the 15 year period, employment increased though not significantly. Most remarkable about the trends shown in Table 47 is the constant racial composition of the labour force, suggesting a rigid enforcement of racial job categories.

The decline in employment from 1784 employees in 1974 to an all-time low of 1608 employees in 1977 may be explained by the closure of operations at Buchuberg, and increased mechanization of sweeping operations.

Between 1975 and 1977 production actually increased despite

decreased employment. The Department of Mines attributes this to the implementation of additional shifts.

Over all it's years of operation the Diggings has experienced a shortage of qualified white artisans. This has happened even though they operate a local training centre which provides training in seven areas for approximately 50 artisans with about ten qualifying annually.

Until 1980 there were no training facilities for black and coloured employees. The majority of black employees are recruited from Transkei and employed on a contract basis. In it's 1980 Report the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs puts the re-employment rate at 90%.

No historical employment data is available for De Beers Namaqualand Mines Division. An information booklet made available in 1986 states that during full production the company employs 3 600 people with approximately 750 employed at the Koingnaas complex and the remainder at Buffels-marine and Buffels-inland complexes.

Table 47. Employment at SAD - 1970 - 1985

Year	White	Coloured	Black	Total
1970	462	243	904	1 609
1971	483	272	931	1 686
1972	473	270	937	1 680
1973	491	242	1 012	1 745
1974	489	230	1 065	1 784
1975	467	278	925	1 670
1976	454	290	878	1 622
1977	465	278	865	1 608
1978	476	294	896	1 666
1979	495	342	914	1 751
1980	503	339	974	1 816
1981	524	293	1 060	1 877
1982	522	300	1 053	1 905
1983	548	304	1 026	1 878
1984	551	319	1 011	1 881
1985	535	338	993	1 866

Source: Department of Mines, Annual Reports 1970 - 1980.

: Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Annual Reports 1980 - 1985.

6.4 Agriculture in Namaqualand

The history of Namaqualand agriculture is one of drought and isolation. The farmer and agricultural expert face a range of problems, not the least of such problems is transport and communications (see Section 2.3.2). The most pressing problem facing farmers in Namaqualand is insufficient water and it is probably the most serious limiting factor in agricultural expansion. This factor has prevented provision of sufficient stock watering points, which in turn has made grazing control methods based on a system of fenced camps virtually impossible. In addition serious problems are encountered with grazing scarcity. The nature of the climate and vegetation

are such that most of the area can only be successfully devoted to extensive small stock farming provided precautionary drought measures are taken.

Some indication of the frequency and severity of droughts in Namaqualand is as follows:

- the drought in the late 1950's persisted for three years (unbroken) and at the end of it only one-tenth of Namaqualand's stock remained. In one year in Rietpoort, for example, with its population of 1 500 no harvest occurred. There was no wheat yield, in a good year, fields would have yielded 6 000 bags. Drinking water was rationed to two buckets per day per family.
- The 1975 - 1983 drought was said to be the worst in memory since 1933. In 1979 one farmer reported that of his 300 sheep, 150 died in 8 months. February in Namaqualand normally sees the production of about 300 pelts, in 1979 none were produced. Another Karakul farmer reported that he had lost 520 lambs in 10 months. In addition it was costing the government R1 million per month (1985 prices) to subsidize feed transport in the magisterial district. Children of 7/8 years had never seen rain.

Drought farming is thus a way of life in Namaqualand and its inhabitants have adapted to the increasing severity of the situation in a number of ways:

- (i) Karakul pelt production was increased and wool production decreased. The Karakul is well adapted to conditions in Namaqualand as it is almost "drought resistant" and has the advantage of allowing lambs to be slaughtered for their pelts during dry seasons and droughts, thus giving the farmer a cash return and making it possible to save the ewes. In 1970, 70 to 75% of the sheep population were Karakul (Farmers Weekly, 30 December 1970), by 1974 they represented 92% of the total sheep population and in 1984 - 98 %.

- (ii) cash crops were replaced with stockfeed. The Department of Agriculture in the 1970's encouraged planting of fodder crops in order to stabilize stock farming. An additional factor influencing this tendency is that fodder costs are prohibitively high. This is caused by high transport cost despite special rebates or transport subsidies that may exist as distances from major fodder producing areas are great.

In 1983 in the Hardeveld (see Map 4) the smallest farmers were spending R1 500 per month on fodder and another R6 000. With the nation wide drought a premium was placed on fodder and therefore its price and availability. During this time Hardeveld farmers were on phase 4 of the Government's drought relief programme (direct subsidy of 60% (R3,00 per month per head) for a maximum of 1 200 stud ewes and were about to enter phase 5, i.e. a 70% subsidy (R4,00 per month per head)) (Cape Times, 27 April 1983).

- (iii) Many farmers reduced their stock or abandoned their farms. In addition there was a tendency amongst the more fortunate landowners to become "weekend farmers". As reported by the chairman of the farmers union branch " ... But lots of farms are empty they aren't leaving the land. They work and at weekends they go back to their farms" (Cape Times, 27 April 1983).

The extent of the drought is indicated in the rainfall figures obtained for some periods, for Namaqualand as a whole Garies and Springbok (see Table 48).

Table 48 Rainfall in Namaqualand 1965 - 1982

	Springbok	Garies	Namaqualand
	(mm)	(mm)	(mm)
1965/66	98.5	72.1	-
1966/67	234.7 ¹	200.5	-
1967/68	107.4	117.8	-
1968/69	115.0	84.0	-
1969/70	89.7	83.4	-
1971	-	-	-
1972	-	-	-
1973	-	-	-
1974	-	-	206
1975	-	-	135
1976	-	-	238
1977	-	-	68
1978	-	-	27
1979	-	-	53
1980	-	-	129
1981	-	-	203
1982	-	-	153

1) 100mm fell in two days

Source: Farmers Weekly, December 30, 1970
: Argus, 27 April 1983.

6.4.1 Livestock and Carrying Capacity

An indication of the severity of the drought and veld deterioration from overgrazing is the limited ability of the land to support dense concentrations of stock i.e. a reduction in it's carrying capacity (see Table 49).

In the space of 10 years the carrying capacity of land in Namaqualand has been reduced by half - this has two probable consequences:-

- (i) reduction in stock,
- (ii) increasing farm size.

It is obvious from Table 50 that in the 10 year period, livestock has decreased considerably (a 44% reduction) and in addition a change in the percentage distribution has occurred; in 1974 sheep constituted 77% of livestock as opposed to 70% in 1984.

Table 49 Carrying Capacity 1974 - 1984

Year	Carrying Capacity ¹ (hectares)
1974	5.70
1975	5.58
1976	5.52
1977	6.59
1978	6.37
1979	7.35
1980	8.87
1981	9.19
1982	8.90
1983	9.67
1984	10.34

1) No. of hectares per small livestock unit.

Source: Department of Agriculture - Springbok

Table 50 Livestock 1974 - 1984

Year	Cattle	Horses	Sheep		Other ¹	Total
			Wool	Non-wool		
1974	12 517	3 830	49 233	569 963	169 243	804 786
1975	9 954	3 380	64 539	581 884	165 738	825 495
1976	10 120	2 650	64 539	581 884	175 831	835 024
1977	10 231	3 439	22 199	433 342	230 103	699 314
1978	9 960	2 926	20 617	431 755	257 019	722 277 ²
1979	1 043	434	21 430	426 958	167 262	617 127
1980	7 580	2 422	17 665	360 803	132 299	520 769
1981	7 043	2 560	18 297	352 319	121 756	501 975
1982	5 748	3 623	4 580	370 782	132 998	517 731
1983	6 033	3 663	6 063	304 432	157 647	477 838
1984	6 405	4 017	5 947	309 516	122 645	448 530
% Change over						
10 years ³	-49	+5	-88	-46	-28	-44

1) Other includes pigs, goats.

2) The Agricultural census only records data up to 1978. 1978 is the only year in which the two data sources overlap, it appears that there may be an under-enumeration of 184 447 head of livestock on the part of the census when totals (i.e. of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs) from the two sources are compared.

3) - indicates a decrease.

+ indicates an increase.

Source: Department of Agriculture - Springbok

6.4.2 Crop Production

Agricultural activity in Namaqualand consists of small stock and mixed-crop farming. The range of production is extremely diverse: wheat, barley, rye and oats being the major products both in terms of area planted and yield. Data was collected at five year intervals from the period 1918 - 1978 from the annual Agricultural Census which collects data pertaining to coloured, asian and white farmers.

From Table 51 it is evident that no trend emerges in crop yields and production fluctuates considerably from year to year. The fluctuations may be explained by an inconsistency in census data (i.e. some years' data on specific crops is available and in others not) and may also have arisen due to variations in climatic conditions.

It is interesting to note that at no point in time did the area planted to agricultural crops represent more than one percent of the total area designated as farmland (see Table 51). In addition yields are insignificant (less than 1 ton per hectare) in every year for which data is available. This seems to suggest that the population cannot rely on agriculture alone as an income source and employment generator.

Table 51 Crop Production

Year	Farm area hectares	Area planted ¹ %	Yield tons	Yield per hectare planted
1918	-	-	2 929	0.22
1923	2427798	0.81	3 894	0.19
1928	-	-	326	0.05
1934	-	-	2 800	0.16
1937/8	3174323	0.88	2 584	0.09
1948/9	4365596	0.47	2 308	0.11
1952/3	4678683	0.35	4 851	0.29
1957/8	4707008	0.56	3 656	0.13
1962/3	4852929	0.48	6 417	0.27
1967/8	4133771	-	4 886	-
1972/3	3391640	0.46	3 645	0.23
1978	3275500	0.80	6 396	0.23

1) Area planted is expressed as a percentage of the total hectarage designated as farm land.

Source: See footnote 63.

In 1978 "average" net income generated by Namaqualand farmers was R1 929⁶⁴ (R3 196 in 1984 prices⁶⁵) which lends support to the suggestion made above that agriculture alone is insufficient to provide even a subsistence income for most farming families. In addition it has been shown in Section 6.1 that agriculture's contribution to GGP in 1978 was not significant (only 3%). In making this comment it is also necessary to point out that data obtained for one year is not sufficient to draw a firm conclusion and we must also note that in 1978 Namaqualand was in the midst of a drought and this may explain the low average.

From Table 52 it is evident that in 1978 smaller farms appeared to be more productive (in terms of average sales value per hectare) as opposed to the larger units.

Table 52 Sales Statistics - 1978

Size Group	Number	Total hectare	Sales	
			Ttl Value (R)	Average Value per hectare (R)
1-4	0	0	0	0
5-19	26	304	222838	733
20-99	23	1053	110172	104
100-299	16	3449	639519	185
300-499	15	6261	8527	1
500-999	44	33622	972108	28
1000-1999	81	119301	398864	3
2000-4999	140	475992	1027687	2
5000+over	169	2635518	2936597	1
Total	514	3275500	6316312	2

Source: Department of Statistics. Census of Agriculture and Pastoral Production, 1978. Report No. 06-01-14:

In 1978 livestock and poultry represented a significant proportion of sales value (87%) while crops and horticulture were minor contributions.⁶⁶

Factors contributing to the "non-viability" of agriculture include the already highlighted inadequate water supply, drought threat and grazing scarcity. As regards farmers in the CRA, it has been postulated that the question of community land ownership has inhibited agricultural development, we examine this in more detail in Chapter 7. In addition extension services where they exist are not widely known (amongst the inhabitants) and are presented on an irregular basis.

6.4.3 Farm Employment and Remuneration

For the census years studied very few actually recorded employment and remunerations and appeared to begin doing so

only from 1952/3. Though data is limited we can formulate a historical and current (1978) picture of farm employment in Namaqualand.

From Table 53 it appears that for the 25 year period, total farm employment increased significantly (i.e. an employment growth rate of 2.09 %) but average employment per farm is low and has remained relatively constant despite the fact that average farm size has decreased and the negative effects years of drought may have had on the economic viability of agriculture. The high employment growth rate appears out of keeping with the tendencies in the rest of the country where the absolute level of farm employment (and hence the growth rate) has declined. This discrepancy may be explained on one hand by the fact that data is scattered, erratic and unreliable or on the other, by the fact that farming techniques in Namaqualand are not yet as capital intensive as other parts of South Africa. It is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate the discrepancy and it is sufficient merely to note that employment opportunities in agriculture are extremely limited. The limited employment opportunities in agriculture can be seen more clearly when one considers that in this vast area in 1978 only 45%⁶⁷ of the farm labour force was employed on a regular basis (i.e. on average only three employees per farm had steady employment).

The change in the racial composition of the labour force (see Table 53), i.e. the fact that black migrants have been substituted for local coloured residents, may be linked to the change in racial composition that occurred at O.C.C. Mines (see Table 43 in Section 6.3.4.1). The percentage of whites in the labour force has remained low and unchanged.

Table 53 Farm Employment 1952 - 1978

Year	Farm Size	Farm Number	Employment (Total)	Employment per farm %	Black %	Racial Composition ¹	
						White %	Coloured
1952/3	8 430	555	1 837	4	1	2	97
1957/8	266	508	2 832	6	5	2	93
1962/3	8 198	592	1 292	2	4	1	95
1967/8	7 814	529	2 457	5	6	1	93
1972/3	6 235	544	3 201	6	16	1	83
1978	6 373	514	3 082	6	14	2	84

1) Expressed as a percentage of total employment.

2) Casual employment figures were not given in 1962/3 hence the low average.

Source: See footnote 63.

As far as regular employees are concerned the average annual wage (see Table 54) for the year (with the exception of white labourers) is higher than that received by farm labourers in South Africa as a whole. Nevertheless they are low especially when one considers the household subsistence level of R166 per month for "coloured" people in Cape Town in 1978 as a guideline. The average monthly total wage received by different categories of coloured farm labourers is as follows:

Regular	-	R114 per month
Casual	-	R 15 per month
Domestic	-	R 28 per month

It is possible that these wages may be higher and close to the 1978 HSL if some items presently excluded, are included, e.g. housing.

Only coloureds appear to be employed as domestics on farms in Namaqualand and their annual average wage is again higher, but not significantly, than farm domestic workers in South Africa.

The number of black and coloured labourers employed on a casual basis exceeds those employed on a regular basis, thus the farmer is able to incur relatively low labour costs (compare casual and regular employees wages in Table 54). If this is the only salary casual labourers receive (i.e. they are not employed as seasonal labourers elsewhere), one wonders how they manage to support themselves let alone any family they might have. In addition it helps one to understand further why reserve inhabitants resisted the development proposals advocated in Act 24 of 1963 and why so much emphasis is placed on land as a form of security in times of insecure and poorly paid employment (see Section 7.1.4.1).

Table 54 Farm Remuneration and Employment 1978

	Number employed	Average ¹ annual total wage	
		Namaqualand	South Africa
	Regular		
Total	1 393	1 361	618
Coloured	1 157	1 365	727
White	71	3 308	4 923
Black	165	505	480
	Casual		
Total	1 553	157	176
Coloured	1 276	179	189
White	4	360	1 482
Black	273	48	171
	Domestic		
Total	136	341	240
Coloured	136	341	301
White	-	-	-
Black	-	-	228

1) The average annual wage was calculated by determining and then adding together the average annual monthly wage and average annual value of rations.

Source: As per Table 52.

6.5 The Fishing Industry

Two centres in Namaqualand form the basis for the fishing industry - Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay (see Map 2). Four companies can be said to dominate the industry: Hicksons Canning Company, Ovenstones (Pty) Ltd, Port Nolloth Fisheries (all at Port Nolloth) and Oceana (at Hondeklip Bay). The history of all except Port Nolloth Fisheries has been covered in Section 3.6.3. Port Nolloth Fisheries, a much smaller concern, entered the industry in 1958 and is owned by a private individual in the area.

The term "fishing" covers many occupations, some of which are tenuously related to each other. South African fishing includes shoal, tuna and hand line fishing, trek-netting, coastal (for soles) and ocean (for stockfish) trawling, whaling, rock lobster and allied marine activities (e.g. seaweed collecting). Activities at Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay are primarily concerned with rock lobster fishing and these two areas fall within what is referred to as the "West Coast rock lobster fishery" which stretches from Saldahna Bay to the Orange River in the north.

Port Nolloth's development as a town has been closely linked to the fishing industry, following the closure of O.C.C.'s main mining operations in the early 1920's and the increasing control placed on the diamond industry in the later 1920's. The town experienced a steady growth until the late 1960's when the fishing industry began to decline (see Table 55).

8% of Port Nolloth's population in 1969 consisted of migrant labourers from the Transkei employed on a nine month contract by the fishing industry (West 1984 : 5).

Table 55 Port Nolloth's Population 1921 - 1985

Year	Population
1921	856
1936	1 572
1951	1 943
1960	2 592
1968	3 690
1970	2 853
1980	3 169
1985	2 839

Source: West 1984

: Divisional Council - Springbok.

In the early years migrants were mainly recruited from the Transkei but did come from many parts of Southern Africa. "An operation involving the work of some Native boys (sic) who can unload at the rate of one thousand six hundred rock lobsters per hour. These Natives (sic) are mainly Xhosas (sic) but include quite a number of Zulus, Basutos and others from Nyasaland" (Gill : 32).

A change in Government policy implied repatriation of Owambo's and members of Nyasa tribes and so migrant labour was increasingly drawn from the Transkei.

The nature of the fishing industry, i.e. being seasonal means that "permanent" employment is offered for only eight months (1st November - 30th June). Out of season, employees are paid an "off season" subsistence and allowance and attempts are made to provide people with employment in the factory on a fortnightly basis, e.g. maintenance, cleaning, etc. A subsistence allowance is also paid to employees during bad weather periods. Many employees are reluctant to go out if conditions are not good but they may lose this allowance if boats go out and fish are caught while they have remained at

home.

The consequences of this "seasonality" are discussed in detail in Section 7.1.

6.5.1 Production and Employment

Little detailed data on production and employment within the fishing industry is available but what has been gathered from various sources provides the reader with a historical trend.

The early 1960's saw a boom in the fishing industry which is clearly seen if we look at Table 56. Though the figures for 1962 and 1965 are not derived from the same source they provide us with some idea of the fishing industry as an employment generator. Employment increased by approximately 106% in the three year period but the boom was shortlived and the late 60's/ early 70's saw a collapse in the industry with employment decreasing by 83% in the period 1965 - 1972 and by 15% from 1972 - 1985. In the last ten years employment has remained relatively stable and with an economically active population of 25 803 in 1980 (see Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), the fishing industry does not offer much hope for employment.

The decline in fishing boats⁶⁸ registered in the Port Nolloth/Hondeklip Bay area is yet another indication of the decline in the industry (see Table 57). An Ovenstone Company Official interviewed stated that the number of boats operated by the three companies based in Port Nolloth (Ovenstones, Hicksons and Port Nolloth Fisheries) had decreased by 83% (from 265 to 46) in the twenty year period (1965 - 1985).

Table 56 Fishing Industry Employment 1962 - 1985

Year	Employment		Total
	Boats	Factory	
1962/3			728 ¹
1965	1 134	365	1 499
1972	160	100	260
1985	140	80	220

1) Includes Hondeklip whereas employment figures for 1965, 1972 and 1985 refer only to Port Nolloth.

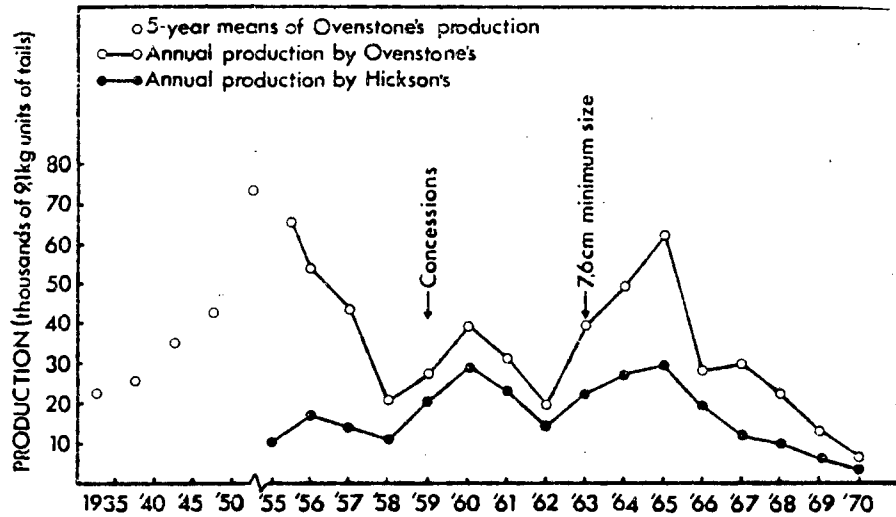
Source: Company Official, Ovenstone Pty Ltd
: Department of Statistics, Census of the Fishing Industry, 1962 - 63, Special Report No. 299.

Table 57 Registered Commercial Fishing Vessels 1967 - 1983

Year	Number
1967	765
1970	764
1973	740
1976	466
1979	-
1982	325
1983	315

Source: Annual Reports of the Director of Sea Fisheries for the Calender Year 1970 - 1983. (Report No, 38 - 51).

Production figures of canned and frozen rock lobster from two Port Nolloth companies, Ovenstones (1930 - 1970) and Hicksons (1952 - 1970) are given in Graph 2.



Graph 1 : Rock Lobster Production 1930-1970

Source : Pollock : 3

Production at Ovenstones increased up to approximately 1955 but was followed by a steep decline which occurred despite increased fishing efforts.

In 1959 concessions were granted to both firms to catch and process rock lobster below the minimum size limit - as a result the decline was temporarily halted. In 1961/1962 these concessions were partially withdrawn and production decreased. In 1963 the minimum size limit was reduced and production increased but this was shortlived as accumulated stocks were so depleted that catches and production decreased. In 1970 the large minimum size limit was re-imposed and operations virtually ceased (Pollock 1982 : 31 - 33).

Initially all catches occurred in the Port Nolloth Bay itself but as stocks decreased, the fleets expanded and the area under exploitation extended.

As catches decreased further, fishing efforts were shifted from the northern to the southern grounds. Catches in the Port Nolloth, Lamberts Bay and Doring Bay areas were poor and in 1978/1979, 84% of the harvest was south of St Helena Bay (see Table 58). This trend in movement of northern vessels to southern groups was checked by the Sea Management Association (cash restrictions were applied to certain areas) and as a result the contribution made by the southern grounds decreased to 75% in 1981/82. The displacement south and decline in the industry has had a depressing effect on the economy of these communities.

Table 58 Percentage Distribution of West Coast Rock Lobster Production.

Season	Percentage from Southern Grounds
1974/75	57
1975/76	58
1976/77	54
1977/78	89
1978/79	84
1979/80	91
1980/81	78
1981/82	75

Source: Annual Reports of the Director of Sea Fisheries, 1978 (Report No. 46) and 1982 (Report No. 50).

The parties affected significantly by the decline were the casual employees (those whose salary was tied to catch and not the regular employees). Senior employees with their skills had opportunities to be absorbed into parent companies or find alternative employment.

Even fewer options existed for migrant labourers who were bound by contracts irrespective of wages. Many requests to be withdrawn from contracts were refused. In some cases it was done to ensure there was sufficient employment if the season improved but a long term effect companies were unaware of, took place, i.e. migrants fearing enforcement of contracts did not return to Port Nolloth.

This factor lead to a decline in Port Nolloth's black population, in 1985 they constituted 2% of the population as opposed to 8% in 1968.

An additional effect of the decline has been that Hicksons and

Ovenstones have decided to run their operations jointly and in addition, pack for Port Nolloth Fisheries. As a result only one of the original three factories is operative, 220 people are employed and 48 vessels used.

It seems unlikely that fishing activities in Namaqualand will increase radically. In the past measures have been (many are still effective today) to enable a stock build up or assist the industry, e.g. closed season, minimum size limits, control over public fishing, quota's, etc. but the stocks have been depleted and the situation has not been alleviated. A fishing company employee (see Appendix M) suggested from his personal point of view that the following two factors may partly explain the decline:

- (i) overfishing of the area - excessively large quantities were fished in the early years and as a result little remains,
- (ii) when the Orange River flowed into the sea, many rock lobsters were found along the shore in muddy water - today damming has taken place, little inflow into the sea occurs and the catch appears to have decreased.

It therefore seems unlikely that the fishing industry offers much hope as an employment generator in the area or as a contributor to Namaqualand's development.

6.6 Conclusion

From this Chapter and the preceding four, it is clear that the most important single constraint to Namaqualand's development is the nature of the environment and the physical isolation of the region. The population is predominantly rural, relatively young and sparsely distributed over a vast area. The history of the region is one of underdevelopment for most of the population, whose location in the CRA is chiefly the result of the 'scramble' for resources in Namaqualand.

There is relatively little economic diversification and the

inhabitants are largely dependent for employment on activities that are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations caused either by the climate or by market prices. Agricultural employment is limited and land has come to be regarded as a form of security rather than as a productive asset. Notable constraints on the living standards of the population include, amongst others, lack of education and limited physical mobility, manner of which lead to limited social mobility.

In the following Chapter these and further constraints identified are categorized and a strategy outlined which addresses these constraints.

Table 59. Development Constraints in NamaqualandA. Limitations of Nature

1. Physical isolation from major centres
2. Low and erratic rainfall, periodic drought.
3. Limited water supply (few perennial rivers, brackish water).
4. Desert climate - hot and dry.
5. Sandy soil, subject to wind and water erosion.

B. Economic Constraints

1. Limited grazing capacity and virtually no crop potential.
2. Mineral deposits low grade and inaccessible.
3. High transport cost to markets and suppliers.
4. Economic activities highly seasonal and lacking diversification.
5. Local community immobile and poorly skilled.
6. Weak bargaining position of local labour.
7. Low income levels and lack of capital amongst the local households.

C. Socio-cultural Constraints

1. Culture of poverty syndrome: low education status, low income, low aspirational level, locality bound and reluctant to change.
2. Poor housing, recreational and health service standards.
3. Inadequate educational facilities.
4. Strong community identity.
5. Poverty related social problems: alcoholism, malnutrition, migrant labour, juvenile pregnancies and mental retardation.

D. Political and Institutional Constraints

1. Restrictive land tenure system.
2. Racial discrimination.
3. Passive and sectional local authorities.
4. Community disunity.

self-explanatory; in this section we discuss the consequences of some of these factors and expand on those that require further explanation.

7.1.1 Limitations of Nature

Agricultural development in Namaqualand has been adversely affected by "limitations of nature" and as a result the number of farmers in the region has decreased and many farmers have become "weekend farmers". In addition "coloured" agriculture, which is mainly subsistence orientated, is negatively influenced by overgrazing, their lack of capital, marketing difficulties, irregular (and often unsuitable) extension services and frequent drought. These factors together with changes in farming techniques (use of camps) and employment requirements (permanent to temporary) has led to a diminished need for labour and low average farm employment.

7.1.2 Economic Constraints

Fishing is by it's very nature vulnerable to variations in the size of the catch and in world market conditions. Fluctuations in the world copper price and therefore production levels has made this branch of mining an insecure source of employment in the past. Only the diamond industry has been relatively stable, partly because much of it's work force is involved with support functions that continue irrespective of mining activities and partly because De Beers' near monopoly has enabled it to reduce fluctuations in prices, output and employment.

In addition little diversification has taken place and employees have gained few skills which are readily marketable in other industries. This reduces the possibility of obtaining employment outside of the area. Inadequate financial resources (arising from insecure and limited employment opportunities) restricts the coloured population's opportunities to improve their lifestyle or their children's education. This further

reduces the likelihood of obtaining employment outside the region.

Inadequate infrastructure and physical isolation has meant:

- (i) economic activity has not been attracted to the area,
- (ii) current business and economic activity in Namaqualand is adversely affected, i.e. markets and urban centres are not easily accessible, transport costs are high.
- (iii) Both (i) and (ii) have resulted in limited employment opportunities (89% of the population is dependent on five sectors).
- (iv) Consumers are adversely affected by high transport costs that are passed on as high prices. This is exacerbated by the high mark-ups needed to finance sales on credit. Access to fresh produce is limited with detrimental consequences for nutrition.
- (v) Geographic mobility is inhibited.

7.1.3 Socio-cultural Constraints

The occupational immobility explained in the previous paragraph causes most coloured Namaqualanders to be locality bound. Attitudes may also contribute to immobility. Low aspirations, apathy and a reluctance to change seem typical of the area. Over the years these characteristics have become entrenched as is evident in the following two statements taken in 1939 and 1979:

"Ek sal sover as Vanrynsdorp gaan as julle vir my dieselfde werk wil gee maar om my geheel uit weg to stuur stem ek nie in nie" (Kotze. P. 1943 : 27). "Omdat ons gewond is aan die lewens omstandighede is hier 'n toekoms vir ons, maar dat buite persone dit moeilik sal vind" (Redlinghuis 1981 : 131).

An "inherent weakness" of the coloured people is said to be that they do not act to the best economic advantage. West in 'Divided Community' suggests that this attitude may arise for the following reasons:

- (i) coming from the interior they are used to subsistence farming and are unfamiliar with the workings of a cash economy,
- (ii) poverty is the norm and their attitude is "eat, drink and be merry",
- (iii) one can ask whether the rewards for work are worthwhile given that political rights are limited, there is little freedom from discrimination and their ability to bargain for higher wages is minimal,
- (iv) they are subject to a number of constraints - poor schooling, housing, little promotional scope and unencouraging long term prospects.

Given these, one can begin to understand the frustration that prevails, the sense of hopelessness and the inconsistent work patterns.

Redlinghuis' survey in 1979 revealed that 87% of the respondents were reluctant to leave and 84% would not encourage people to move into the area. Familiarity facilitates survival. 55% of the respondents felt that the rural areas did not hold worthwhile prospects for future generations given the limited employment opportunities.

In addition it is possible that the "sense of community" which prevails amongst inhabitants in the CRA may explain immobility. The CRA "represent an extreme sense of community manifested in urban localities, because, unlike the latter, the Reserve dwellers possess a formal communal title to the land they occupy, formal institutions of local government and a nation of local citizenship (burgerskap) which implies that there are jural restrictions upon membership of the Reserve communities" (Sharp 1977 : 4). As a result the reserve communities see themselves as advantageous as social, political and residential loci. The question one needs to ask then is, given the change in the communal land tenure and the resultant loss of land as a form of social security, will this community identity continue to prevail and thus inhibit mobility or will mobility now begin to increase.

Education facilities for coloureds in Namaqualand (apart from being segregated) are inferior as compared to those for whites. Actual levels of education achieved are low and post-school training is virtually non-existent. All these factors affect upward mobility of the population.

Social problems and poor health services were discussed at some length in Sections 5.6 and 5.7. It is difficult to determine which is cause and which is effect, i.e. are malnutrition, mental retardation and other social problems the result of a poverty-stricken situation or do they cause poverty? Mutual reinforcement delineates one aspect of the much discussed 'vicious circle of poverty'.

7.1.4 Political and Institutional Constraints

7.1.4.1 Land Tenure

The development proposals (see Section 3.5) for the Namaqualand CRA embodied in the 1963 Act took no account of this situation of insecurity. Sharp believes that this oversight did not occur by default but was a plan to "establish the identity of a whole population group and to foster a middle class which would willingly bear this identity" (Sharp 1984 : 27).

The introduction of economic units meant community members who were not "bona-fide" farmers only retained rights in villages to which a commonage is attached. Capital outlay and initial physical infrastructure for water, electricity and sanitation services is/will be provided by the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture and maintained/administered by the boards. While these services may improve the quality of life, the burden of the service fees may be too much for many people in these poverty-stricken areas to bear (Kotze. D. 1985 : 11). Sharp (1984) states that agricultural activities and the unrestricted right of access to land provided a medium of reciprocity which allowed people to seek and give assistance without begging. The significance attached to agriculture was

linked to "burgherskap". Through "burgherskap" reserve agriculture provided a shield against increased impoverishment, but it did not ensure a living income from agriculture, nor did it encourage people to invest in agriculture. However it did ensure a right to keep animals and to use arable land if one chose to do so. This was particularly important if employment was insecure (i.e. land was regarded as social security). In addition the Act implied separation of 'coloureds' from other racial groups and differentiation between town dwellers and bona-fide farmers. The reserve inhabitants dissatisfaction has been viewed by the government as a desire to return to peasant agriculture and not as a need to maintain a system which prevented increasing vulnerability to impoverishment.

On the other hand, there are advantages to an individual tenure system, i.e.: it facilitates better control over livestock numbers and grazing; extension services may become more effective; it provides an opportunity for an individual to purchase his unit and thereby to be able to offer the collateral security necessary to borrow capital for improvements. In Namaqualand allocations of individual allotments are made for a trial period of five years, after which, if the requirements have been satisfied, the land can be bought (see Section 7.2).

A major disadvantage is that the total number of units available is small (134) thus restricting the number of farmers. A loan (8% interest per annum) is made available to those purchasing land in 'white' areas as long as the Department regards it as being economically viable. Given the lack of capital and therefore creditworthiness of most coloured people in Namaqualand, it is unlikely that many would be able to make use of this opportunity.

7.1.4.2 Apartheid Legislation

South African society is unique in that there is a wide range of formal restrictions on black advancement and mobility. It

is not the purpose of this study to give a detailed description of the relevant laws and regulations but merely to outline their effects on Namaqualand's population.

"All legislation which affects mobility, either geographical or vertical has effects on poverty. The general principle is that any law, statutory regulation, institutional action or prejudice which restricts mobility decreases potential production and incomes, and increases the relative poverty of those discriminated against" (Van der Horst 1984 : 1).

Until recently Namaqualand fell within the Coloured Labour Preference area but this has not meant that coloured labour has enjoyed free mobility - there have been a number of restrictions, formal and informal, that have inhibited mobility (geographical, and occupational). We look at formal restrictions first.

The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 imposed controls over inter-racial property transactions and changes in occupation. This Act principally affected coloured and indian populations as africans were subjected to segregation in terms of other legislation. In terms of the Act the establishment of commercial enterprises by coloureds in white group areas and vice versa is prohibited. Some areas have been declared open to all racial groups for business (free trade zones), but such is not the case in Namaqualand. Encouragement has been given to small business through the formation of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) but the effect of this is difficult to gauge. In addition the exclusion of coloured businessmen from white areas, means that they are less able to achieve economies of scale. The income of potential customers is lower and they are further disadvantaged by competition from white establishments who may have a wider range of goods and thus able to offer lower prices. An additional limitation placed on coloured people by the Group Areas Act is that they are unable to use cultural and recreational facilities in the white areas of Namaqualand, e.g. the library, swimming pool, restaurants and hotels.

In Port Nolloth until the late 1970's the only 'formal' housing available to coloured people was that provided by the diamond and fishing industries for some of their workers. Others erected houses in a large squatter area paying a small fee for minimal services and reasonable security of tenure. Port Nolloth therefore was the one town where a family could erect informal housing while breadwinners looked for work. In 1967 a declaration in terms of the Group Areas Act placed the squatter area in Port Nolloth within the 'white zone'. Only in 1977 did a building programme begin and by 1983 only 400 houses had been built. This together with the fear of eviction for non-payment of rent kept people in the squatter areas. Housing options were further curtailed with the introduction in 1982 of Section 3c of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1967 in terms of which the houses vacated (voluntarily) by the squatters were demolished. These two Acts constituted a form of influx control for Namaqualand people and ensured that Port Nolloth did not provide accommodation for those seeking employment there or for the dependents of migrant workers seeking jobs elsewhere (Sharp and West 1984 : 18 - 20).

Van der Horst points out that vertical mobility of blacks has recently tended to be restricted by the statutory sanction of industrial agreements rather than by simple direct legislative action. The effect of these measures has been to exclude people from remunerative employment and crowd and depress wages in unregulated sections of the market (Van der Horst 1984 : 6 - 7).

The Factories Act (certain sections have been superseded by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act), Apprenticeship Act No. 26 of 1922 (now Labour Relations Amendment 57 of 1981) the Industrial Conciliation Act, No 11 of 1924 and the Wage Act, No. 27 of 1925 form the statutory framework of policy and contain a provision prohibiting differentiation or discrimination on the grounds of race and colour. Van der Horst suggests that this provision was to safeguard the undercutting of white wages by members of other racial groups

rather than to prevent racial discrimination (Van der Horst in Van der Merwe and Groenewald 1976 : 147).

Statutory regulations in terms of the Factories, Machinery and Building Act led to a racially rigid structure of the labour force and prevented employees using members of different racial groups as separate facilities, along racial lines had to be provided. Although these are no longer compulsory their integration has to be discussed with the work force (Van der Horst 1984 : 7).

In addition the Apprenticeship Act created a racial barrier to entry to many skilled trades. In recent years though, coloureds have been able to enter into some forms of apprenticeship.

Beinart (in Van der Merwe and Groenewald 1976 : 105) states that coloureds have achieved some occupational mobility but that this has not led to equality in either qualifications and incomes between coloureds and whites. The increase in mobility has been closely related to the changing needs of the dominant white interest groups and to the public and private sectors demands for a more sophisticated labour force. The growth of a "coloured entrepreneurial group" he argues, has been established in a controlled way so as to prevent coloureds competing with whites in the political and economic sphere and has taken place within the parameters of the Government's apartheid policy.

Other less visible and glaring aspects of racial discrimination could be mentioned as factors restricting the upward social and occupational mobility of the local black population, but the above examples can suffice for our purpose. The main point is that these constraints work in addition to all the other development impediments existing in this arid, resource poor and isolated area, i.e. they tend to accentuate the other limitations. Besides, since even whites in this area experience these impediments, facing in many ways a harsher

environment than whites in other parts of the county, it is understandable if they fall back on racial discrimination as a protective device on their part, resulting in tighter applications of these discriminatory measures. The fact that the local coloured and african population lacks grassroot organisation and community leadership further strengthens the dominant position of the white community.

7.1.4.3 Local Government

Local government bodies are important institutions in the overall political structure, allowing for interaction between citizens and government and permitting local areas to determine what services and amenities are to be provided, i.e. acting as agents of development. In Namaqualand it can be argued that the management boards have failed as development agents.

Management boards exist in five of Namaqualand's CRA and an advisory board in one - namely Pella. The establishment, powers and functions of advisory and management boards are regulated by Law No. 1 of 1979 of the Coloured Persons Representative Council. An advisory board consists of at least six elected members and a board of management of at least ten elected members with an additional person appointed by the designated member⁶⁹ and recommended by the society⁷⁰. An advisory board operates along the same lines as a management board, but its decisions have to be ratified by the Department before they can be implemented.

The boards' powers and functions cover a wide range of services and they are empowered to enforce numerous regulations. The real power of the boards is in respect of the admission of people to its area and the need for its permission to hold public meetings. The boards' income is derived from property rates, local taxes and fees for services rendered. Kotze, D. (1985) argues that revenue collection is a problem and that boards are not in a position financially to undertake the development of physical and social infrastructure. In addition

to this, the area is characterized by properties of low rateable value, limited home ownership and the absence of trade and industry on a significant scale. As a result the basis for income through local taxation is extremely restricted. An additional factor which needs to be investigated further is the possible misappropriation of public funds by management boards. During the course of field work, numerous allegations were made in this regard but it was not possible to substantiate these claims.

Management board members, apart from the designated member and a member nominated by the church are elected by 'registered occupiers'⁷¹ every three to four years. Only half of the boards are replaced at each election so as to ensure continuity. Elections are usually unopposed and polls low. Reasons for this include the following:

- (i) The vote is restricted to registered occupiers of an erf or property in the reserve in terms of Act No. 1 of 1979 and whose names appear on the management board's prescribed register of registered occupiers. The Theron Commission reported that an average of only 13.8% of the population who lived in all 23 of the CRA's were registered voters. This was due to the large number of people who worked elsewhere and because only registered occupiers (i.e. one person per household) could register as voters. Restricting the vote also restricts recruitment of board members.
- (ii) Often the majority of board members are pensioners (Redlinghuis 1981: 198) and as a result, inhabitants question the board's ability to handle local authority affairs and plan for the future development of the area.
- (iii) Satisfaction of self-interest occurs amongst board members (Redlinghuis 1981 : 198).
- (iv) Members of the board tend to be older, more established members of higher levels of the social spectrum and are perceived as "conservative". As a result many younger members of the community are unwilling to identify with the board in any way.

- (v) The perceived inability of the boards to lobby for substantial change in the community's circumstances leads to general apathy and lack of interest in the boards' activities.
- (vi) Personnel are often untrained and incompetent.
- (vii) Because they often fail to take the initiative in development works they are viewed as puppets of the central government.
- (viii) Serving exclusively coloured areas the boards are inevitably part of the separate structures which characterize the government's policy of separate development and as a result the more educated section of the population is inclined to adopt an attitude of apathy and even hostility to the boards.
- (ix) They are criticised for their "lack of innovative thinking, and smothering of local initiative and association" (Kotze. D. 1985 : 33). In Steinkopf and in Leliefontein, for example, where local associations took an interest in board matters (the Rate Payers' Association in Steinkopf and the Patriots Vereniging in Leliefontein), they were perceived by the boards as hostile to themselves and as a result recognition was refused.

In the same paper Kotze raises a number of other issues. He suggests that the new dispensation brought with it changes which led to uncertainty amongst field administration officials as to tasks, jurisdiction and responsibilities. One example he quotes is that of the regional representative who from 1970 was not only the head of field administration, but also the only channel of liaison between head office and officials in the region, and controller of all officials in the region. In addition he liaised with the management boards through superintendents⁷² and conducted all correspondence relating to CRA in the region. The establishment of new departments of the House of Representatives has meant that "uncertainty crept into the relationship between the regional representative and field staff who now work for three different departments" (Kotze. D.

1985 : 20). This has been made worse by the fact that each department has its own regional arrangements: in Namaqualand the Department of Health and Welfare has its regional office in Vredendal, while the Department of Education and Culture is based in Upington and the Department of Local Government, Housing and Education has no regional office.

Under the Coloured Representative Council policy decisions on the CRA were not taken unless field and regional staff had been consulted. The new dispensation (tricameral parliament) brought with it new policy-makers' inputs and some decisions on local problems are now made without consulting local staff and management boards.

The boards' poor financial position, their lack of expertise (they are unable to employ professional qualified staff) and limited educational background means that they are often unable to assess resources and needs adequately and plan independently for any sector of development. This has led to contradictions in their functioning: on the one hand they have wide statutory powers and on the other low executive capacity, performing merely as agents of the Department rather than as local government bodies.

Despite these shortcomings, the Department continues to transfer power to the boards.

7.1.4.4 Church and Community Groups

The church and community groups in themselves are not constraints per se but a number of factors affect their operations. There is disagreement among leaders within the churches as to whether the church should be involved in secular activities - this exists both within individual denominations and on a regional level. A regional council of churches has been established and a ministers fraternal - we look at the operations of these in Sections 7.2 and 7.3. In many instances church leaders' spiritual responsibilities are onerous covering

a number of parishes, not necessarily in one vicinity. As a result the minister is absent from his residential parish much of the time, while out-of-the-way communities receive infrequent visits and it therefore becomes difficult for ministers to co-ordinate development efforts. This is further hindered by inadequate infrastructure, i.e. poor telephone services, roads and public transport serving these areas.

In recent years the church has begun to play a more active role in the community but its attempts are hindered by the community's conservatism especially as regards politics. Many believe that the church should not have a political role.

Politicization has proved difficult. There are few grassroots movements interested in concentrating people and both the police and mining concerns oppose it. The latter refers particularly to the O.C.C. prior to the take-over by Gold Fields. One respondent stated that if people needed and wanted to develop awareness they were often too scared to get involved for fear of retaliation by the company (O'okiep - November 1984). Community groups have been established to deal with grievances but members often lose interest when they are unsuccessful. Prior to the Gold Fields takeover, control was asserted by O.C.C. over the formation and activities of community organizations to which it was opposed. The degree to which similar control will be exercised by O.C.C. under Gold Fields is unknown - the company itself states that there is control but that negotiation will take place prior to any action (see Appendix M).

Projects initiated by the church and other community organizations are hindered by the fact that there is little unity within the community, despite the broader "sense of community identity" prevalent in the CRA. People are used to working for and by themselves and are generally reluctant to work together. They are used to handouts and seem to have little knowledge or concern for community development. In many instances community projects are initiated by church ministers,

or organizations (e.g. World Vision, Red Cross, Operation Hunger) who are regarded as outsiders and find it difficult to establish trust. There is a critical need for self-awareness and self-initiated action within local communities. That is the community needs to analyse its situation, problems and needs and decide as a whole what measures to take. Possible ways of helping to bring this about will be discussed in Section 7.3.

7.1.4.5 Company Housing

Searching for employment and accommodation in Namaqualand is restricted further by a number of informal restrictions. Many towns appear to have some de facto method of controlling immigration (e.g. limiting the number of houses built for coloured people and/or preventing squatting on the outskirts of towns) (Sharp and West 1984 : 18 - 19).

In addition, the major employers (mining concerns) are situated on private land and in most cases do not allow non-employees to live on their property. As a result, retired, retrenched and unemployed persons have to live elsewhere (unless their children are employed on the mine). One could argue that this is generally the case in any area where land is owned by a private company and ask why the situation should be any different in Namaqualand. The answer is that large companies, like O.C.C., own significant lands in and around the centres of economic activity (e.g. O'okiep and Nababeep). Non-company land and housing in these centres is therefore limited and thus restricts mobility. The situation may be alleviated if the proposed take-over of O'okiep by the divisional council is effected.

Employees provided with company housing find their mobility is further restricted as accommodation is dependent on continuous employment. Housing is provided to some employees (in terms of the company's housing policy) at nominal rents. Housing which was built for whites in O'okiep and Nababeep has been made

available to skilled coloured workers, due mainly to the progressive substitution of skilled coloured labour for white labour. When falling prices or bad seasons (fishing) have reduced workers' earnings, workers have been reluctant to seek alternative employment as it would mean eviction from their houses in a region where housing is difficult to come by.

This short overview of development constraints illustrates quite clearly the interrelated chain of development impeding factors. No wonder, therefore, that the literature often refers to this as a "vicious circle" resulting in a "culture of poverty". In Namaqualand nature plays a particularly strong constraining role, both directly in the form of resource scarcity, locational remoteness and ruggedness of the area and indirectly in it's effect upon economic activities and socio-cultural behaviour patterns. In addition, discriminatory laws and practices further impede development opportunities, whereas the lack of broader based grassroot organisations and leaders makes the overcoming of these institutional constraints even more difficult. To put this diversity of constraints into an overall perspective Table 59 lists all the relevant factors.

It should be clear from this discussion that any successful development strategy for the people in the region has to address the full set of constraints. Mere doctoring of a few elements cannot result in the 'breakthrough' required for a sustained improvement in the quality of life of the people of Namaqualand and the more effective utilisation of the region's resource base.

7.2 Current development policy and strategies in Namaqualand

Having briefly reviewed the complex set of closely interrelated development constraints we can now summarise the present approach towards development in this region. To do this systematically we can distinguish three distinct levels or agents of development (see Table 60), although they are

interrelated:

- (i) Government strategies and policy action.
 - (ii) External development stimulators.
 - (iii) Local factors affecting the development process.
- Each one of these three levels will be reviewed, leading to some overall evaluations of their effectiveness at the end of this section.

7.2.1 Government Strategies and Policy Action

7.2.1.1 Central Government

Central Government development policy as carried out by the Department of Local Government Housing and Agriculture and as expressed in Act 24 of 1963 (see Section 3.5), adopts a sectoral, 'top-down' approach with no integrated rural development plan for one of the areas (Kotze. D. 1985 : 10). Limited elements of what Redlinghuis calls the 'transformation' and the 'improvement' approaches are included (Redlinghuis 1981 : 22). The former refers to the planned change in the system of land use (transformation) and the latter to plans to encourage farmers to become more market orientated through improved technical services and thus to increase their commercial production (improvement). In addition infrastructural improvement is planned. Though mainly concerned with the improvement of agricultural information, this does form part of a programme of community development.

Table 60 Development Agents in Namaqualand

Level	Government	External	Local
Agent	Central Government	World Vision	Trade Unions
	Local Authorities	Red Cross	Churches
	Regional Development Advisory Committee	Operation Hunger	

The main focus of development efforts is in the field of agriculture. Villages are being established as part of a betterment programme to introduce economic units into agriculture and eliminate communal overgrazing.

Except for areas designated as villages (see Table 61) the three larger CRA (Steinkopf, Richtersveld and Leliefontein) have been divided into economic units, the average size varying from area to area (see Table 61). The size of the units depends on their carrying capacity (as specified in the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act, No. 43 of 1983). The remaining three areas were too small to divide into economically viable units and have thus remained "community grazing". Concerted and sustained resistance by the inhabitants in areas such as Kommagas discouraged such a division.

Units were fenced off and advertized by the boards of management and the Department. Applications could be made by inhabitants for economic units. Only the applications of 'bona fide' farmers and registered occupiers were considered, though other factors were also taken into account, e.g. financial standing. A spokesman at the Department's office in Springbok said that bona fide referred to an owner of 500 (or more) head of small stock, but some uncertainty as to the exact meaning of bona fide farmer exists. Little interest was generated after the first advertisement and three further requests for applications were made. To date 92 of 134 demarcated units (see Table 62) have been hired (to individuals or under joint ownership)⁷³ at varying rentals. The remaining 42 have been demarcated by the Department as communal grazing areas for village residents owning livestock. It is intended eventually to phase this out and make these units available for rental and purchase.

Table 61 Erven Surveyed and Economic Units Demarcating,
Coloured Rural Areas - 1986

Area	Residential and business erven	Economic units	Average size of economic units (hectares)
Steinkopf	1 497	43	7 200
Kommagas	473	-	-
Pella	no survey	-	-
Concordia	906	-	-
Richtersveld	292	44	6 700
Leliefontein	675	47	3 500
Total	3 843	134	

Source: Deputy Director, Department of Local Government,
Housing and Agriculture - Cape Town.

Table 62 Allocation of Demarcated Economic Units, Coloured
Rural Areas - 1986.

Area	Steinkopf		Richtersveld		Leliefontein		Total	
	Units	Farm	Units	Farm	Units	Farm	Units	Farm ¹
Joint owner- ship	0	0	21	46	16	-	37	46
Communal	16	79	9	38	17	-	42	117
Individual	27	27	14	14	14	14	55	55
Total	43	106	44	98	47	14	134	218

1 : Farm refers to farmers.

Source: Deputy Director, Department of Local Government,
Housing and Agriculture - Cape Town.

Lessors are informed of the carrying capacity and warned that non-compliance may result in the lease being terminated. Loans at a subsidized rate (8% interest per annum) are made available for installing fences, water points and for land conservation. In addition a 30% subsidy on the capital cost of fencing is available to the lessor (deducted from loans granted). These facilities are available only if the unit has been planned by the Department.

Act 24 of 1963 (Rural Coloured Areas Act) made provision for the transfer of title to economic units to individuals, but such transfer has not taken place in Namaqualand. The Department is in the process of fixing purchase conditions and until such time as these are finalised, units will be hired for a maximum period of five years, at the end of which the contract may be renewed. It is intended that only registered occupiers will have the option to purchase a unit and purchase will be subject to the board of management's approval. In addition they may insist that units be sold back to the board rather than directly to another individual. Bywoners and people with a small number of livestock (i.e. not bona fide farmers) do not qualify for a unit and are required to live in villages where title to an erf may be obtained and occupants have a right to graze animals on the village commonage.

Once an area has been surveyed, inhabitants registered as occupying an erf, i.e. registered occupiers may make an application to the management board for title to that erf and/or another. If the application is granted, title is obtained by payment of a nominal sum (less than the market value of the land and determined on a pro-rata basis from survey costs). An individual may hold a maximum of three erven; an economic farming unit and two other erven for residence and non-agricultural business. Economic farming units are leased, but title to residential erven is almost automatic. Title to a business erf requires payment, usually substantially higher than that paid for residential erven. At present, in most of Namaqualand's CRA, requests for erven

exceed the actual number surveyed (Deputy Director, Local Government, Housing and Agriculture - July 1986).

The main focus of the agricultural development plan was a change in land usage patterns but it did include the following:

- (a) Installation of irrigation facilities along the Orange River - the land was to be used for two purposes: for hire or sale for intensive farming to establish self-sufficient communities, and for planting lucerne with the intention of establishing a fodder bank.
- (b) Creation of a nature reserve in the Richtersveld (approximately 188 000 hectares), to be developed by the State but controlled by the board of management who would derive revenue from the entrance and camping fees.
- (c) Establishment of a small stock centre at Leliefontein to improve the quality of stock in the region.
- (d) Increase the size of the date plantation in Henkries, at present 28 hectares of plantation with 20 permanent and 30 seasonal employees, thus increasing employment to 100 seasonal and 30 permanent employees with all income (net of costs) accruing to the board of management.
- (e) Establishment of an agricultural college at Upington for coloured people.

By March 1986 some progress had been made on these schemes. It was still planned to develop the Richtersveld as a nature reserve and land had been set aside but little else had taken place. The date plantation had been extended and lucerne planted, but plans for a small stock centre had been shelved. Rather than establishing a new agricultural college, it had been decided that students would be accommodated at a training centre at Khromree near Cape Town. In addition, an economist had been appointed to investigate the agriculture, mining and tourist potential of Namaqualand concentrating particularly on Steinkopf and Concordia.

The second phase of the development plan included provision of infrastructure (water, electricity, sanitation, roads and

storm water drains) but only to villages which have been surveyed by the Department. In Kommagas, the board of management is been opposed to the Government plan as incorporated in Act 24 of 1963 and has not allowed the area to be surveyed. No infrastructural development has therefore been allowed to take place.

Social welfare work is concerned mainly with the processing of applications for pensions and with feeding schemes. Medical services are restricted to clinics and to preventative medical and family planning services.

Development of Namaqualand's Coloured Rural Areas can be criticized both in terms of the policies adopted and in terms of the administration of policy.

Redlinghuis has questioned the suitability of the "improvement approach" to development in Namaqualand (Redlinghuis 1981 : 222). Such an approach is generally thought to achieve best results in a densely populated area where climate and soil are favourable, a market assured and farmers receptive to ideas. Such is not the case in Namaqualand. Regrettably few of these characteristics are to be found.

The allocation of individual units has represented a radical change in land use and an end to a traditional way of life where land was utilized communally and where trekking played a major role. As argued in Section 4.1 the division of land into fixed units has meant that land can no longer be regarded as a form of social security (i.e. the right to agricultural land can no longer be retained while working elsewhere). The introduction of economic units is seen as a limitation on inhabitants' mobility and a financial constraint - inhabitants feared higher taxes (Redlinghuis 1981 : 235).

However one of the advantages of the gradual conversion of communal farming areas to individual tenure is that it may

ensure better control over livestock numbers and grazing. Extension services may become more effective as they are geared to individual farmers responsible for their own piece of land.

Though there are facilities for low-interest loan it is questionable whether farmers with little credit-worthiness in isolated and drought stricken Namaqualand will be granted such loans. This is a limiting factor as improved technical services will be of little benefit if capital for implements, etc, is unavailable.

Boonzaier suggests that the introduction of economic units has accentuated differentiation within the region. He argues that access to land under a communal system is determined by individual herd size and that in Namaqualand this has entrenched differentiation between small and large stock-owners (Boonzaier 1984 : 18).

Redlinghuis emphasized that such a system will not immediately lead to the commercial system of agriculture and that the latter will remain subsistence-orientated for some time to come. He stresses the need for intensive technical and educational services which take into account the literacy level of the people and their attitudes which have been moulded by years of isolation.

Individual ownership, if it evolves, will provide a sounder financial basis for the farmers. In addition such a system facilitates the removal of the inefficient farmer from the land and offers more hope that scientific farming practices will be employed and agricultural subsidies show better returns. Its chief disadvantage is that, in a situation in which relatively few economic units are available, it increases stratification within the community.

Kotze criticizes the Department's development approach as being "a reaction to needs as they arise" (Kotze. D. 1985 :

10) and in addition is "not guided by comprehensive plans or co-ordinating policy guidelines" (Kotze. D. 1985 : 11).

The Deputy Director outlined a number of current and potential difficulties with the system, and issues that need to be addressed in the future. These include:

- (i) the question of payment for a business erf, which has been used for this purpose for many years but only recently surveyed - how does one justify the distinction made (discrimination applied) when a registered occupier applying for title to a business erf obtains it at little cost whereas a registered occupier applying for a business erf recently demarcated and surveyed is required to pay a substantial amount?
- (ii) the fact that applications have to be screened by the management board, which gives the board the power to determine who obtains title - this may lead to entrenchment of the existing distribution of power and wealth in the community.
- (iii) the incidence of individuals having title to two erven but leaving the second unused while many requests for residential erven cannot be granted.
- (iv) the lack of procedure to deal with the sale of erven and building by registered occupiers.
- (v) the uncertainty over the future of these areas - whether they will remain "land holdings of last resort" or will be made available for sale on the market and title given to the highest bidder.

Agricultural and village development expenditure is funded from three sources:

- (i) the mineral fund: in all the CRA, the mineral rights are reserved by the State, however, the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) has been given the right to arrange prospecting and mining of precious stones in these areas on a contract basis (see Section 6.3.2.2). The organization mining in these areas pays the SBDC a

royalty and the board of management a hiring fee. In turn the SBDC pays 20 percent of its profits to the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture. The money is placed in a special trust account (with a commercial bank) and is referred to as the Mineral Fund. Dissatisfaction has arisen in Namaqualand as regards the SBDC's appropriation and distribution of monies received from mining and prospecting in the area because 20 percent of the SBDC's income from this source is paid to the Department, and because these funds are spread out over all 23 CRA's and not used specifically for those in Namaqualand. According to Minister D. Curry the matter is being investigated and it is hoped that the system will be adjusted.

- (ii) the Department: a development budget is compiled each year by the Department and the board concerned. Subsidies are received from the Department (under the provisions of Law No. 1 of 1979).
- (iii) the board: "the board contributes 10% of the amount appropriated for the development budget, but not exceeding 10% of it's income from tax (Kotze. D. 1985 : 11).

7.2.1.2 Local Authorities

Little intensive research into local authorities was conducted by the author though one proposal was brought to the author's attention. The proposal, written by the chairman of the Steinkopf board of management, concerns the development potential of mining, tourism and agriculture in Steinkopf itself. The proposal emphasizes the need for technical training, expertize and capital and identifies a number of projects which would create employment opportunities in the Steinkopf area. The projects are examined under three broad headings: agriculture, mining, and tourism.

(i) Agriculture

With the area being suitable for sheep and goat farming it is suggested that an abattoir be developed. Though requiring significant amounts of physical and human capital, its establishment is seen as potentially beneficial in a number of ways:

- (i) it would create employment,
- (ii) it would enable meat to be supplied directly to neighbouring towns and mining communities not via district abattoirs,
- (iii) it could lead to other industries being established, i.e.
 - (a) tannery
 - (b) shoe factory
 - (c) leather works
 - (d) spinning and weaving factory.
 - (e) meat packaging factory
 - (f) canning factory
 - (g) waste product processing

In addition the establishment of a feedlot in Steinkopf is envisaged, for upgrading local slaughter stock.

Irrigation plots along the Orange River are available and the proposal suggests the provision of infrastructure (i.e. levelling of ground, building of canals, electric pump systems) by the State at these sites. The proposal suggests introduction of milk cows and poultry to small holdings established here and emphasizes the need for training in irrigation farming and labour-intensive projects. The proposal makes specific mention of the following areas:

- (i) The Koa Valley, only 15 kilometres from the river, and irrigable from Aggeneys to Henkries.
- (ii) Garganap - Witbank farms⁷⁴ - approximately 4 000 hectares is suitable, it is said, to provide a viable living for 160 households (i.e. 25 hectares per household) assuming an average labour force of four

family members and two wage labourers per unit. A canal and weir exist at present and could be improved so as to eliminate the pumping of water.

- (iii) Vioolsdrift - the report suggests that the area to the south be surveyed and made available to farmers.

The proposal points out that 129 000 hectares of Steinkopf is held in reserve by the state and suggests this be made available for farming. At present 134 units of approximately 7 200 hectares have been demarcated by the Department. It is suggested that some economic units be divided into five approximately equal farms (smallholdings), thus increasing the number of farmers to be settled. The proposal gives income estimates for economic units and smallholdings though the method of calculation is not clear.

(ii) Mining

The proposal suggests exploitation of minerals in the pegmatite belt (see Section 6.3.1) the erection of a mill for processing of feldspar and mica (at present unmilled mica fetches about R50 per ton which increases to about R700 per ton after milling), dynamite depot, and a central purchasing point (from which minerals can be sold to mining houses and mills).

The ancient Koa River Valley is cited as having the best potential for diamonds in the Steinkopf reserve. A detailed prospecting and drilling programme, a diamond cutting works and a copper processing plant are also suggested.

No substantial investigation into the economic viability of mining is included in the report.

(iii) Tourism

The following tourist attractions are proposed:

- A caravan park at Klipfontein (open to all races).

- A holiday resort on the Orange River.
- Two nature reserves - one at Steinkopf itself and the other on land currently held in reserve by the state.
- Tourist shops selling gemstone ornaments, semi-precious stones, leather articles, etc.
- A botanical garden near to Steinkopf Village.

The proposal has been submitted to various bodies for assessment and possible funding. These include mining companies, other businesses, World Vision, Anglo American Chairman's Fund. The Faculty of Agriculture at Stellenbosch University has agreed to assist in establishing a nursery in the botanical garden and some mine companies have agreed to donate or loan equipment to the museum. Work has begun on construction of the caravan park, mineral museum and botanical garden. According to the chairman of the board, an amount of R8,00 per person per day has recently been obtained from the State for employment creation (Werkverskaffingsfond) and has been used to pay local inhabitants a wage of R5,00 per day to work on these three projects and to purchase materials required (R3,00 per day). This flow of funds is to be terminated by the State in September 1986 and it is possible that the three projects will come to a standstill.

Little progress has been made on other projects though. A mining co-operative consisting of individuals with prospecting claims, has been formed to exploit and develop small mines and permission has been given to the existing abattoir to increase its daily slaughter from 15 to 45 small stock in a ratio of 1 large stock unit to one small stock unit.

The proposal, though displaying initiative, falls short in that very few of the strategies have been substantially investigated to establish their economic viability. Moreover they are aimed specifically at improving the lot of Steinkopf inhabitants rather than the wider Namaqualand community. As with many of the agents (local, external and government) operating in the area, little co-ordination and discussion has

taken place. The proposal therefore better represents suggestions that still need thorough investigation. Interalia, goals still need to be identified and an order of priority attached to them.

7.2.1.3 Namaqualand Regional Development Association

Nine development regions have been demarcated in South Africa and for each region a Regional Development Advisory Committee (RDAC) has been established. The purpose of the committee is to advise the cabinet on development for the region concerned. The region of relevance to this study is Region A (Western Cape) consisting of nine sub-regions, one being Namaqualand.

The branch operative in Namaqualand is known as the Namaqualand Regional Development Association. Membership of the association is open to any organisation, business, local government, cultural association, youth organisation, school and church in the area. A yearly congress is held at which an executive committee is elected and the region's development is discussed.

The association's operation is divided by economic sector with a sub-committee responsible for each. There are five such sectors:

- mining and infrastructure;
- agriculture;
- industry and commerce;
- community development;
- tourism.

The present chairperson (see Appendix M) stated that in the past the Association's focus had been on infrastructural development, e.g. it was instrumental in having the main road from Cape Town tarred beyond Klawer, water piped from the Orange River to Kleinzee and Koingnaas, and in obtaining radio and television transmission. The present focus is on

social development. By this the chairperson envisaged the following:

- (i) increasing participation in community activities by Namaqualand's inhabitants (especially the coloured population). In this regard, he felt that some progress had been made: until four years ago the Association was a white institution but recently, it has opened its doors to all races;
- (ii) advancing education - the Association had assisted with successful requests for the establishment of two coloured schools and hostels and it was hoped that high schools would also be built at Garies and Port Nolloth. In addition the Association was attempting to have a technical college established that would cater for all skills and not just mining (as does the college at Nababeep);
- (iii) strengthening community organisations - attempts to establish local community committees had been made. The focus would be on social, cultural and educational development;
- (iv) creating employment - employment was seen as a crucial prerequisite for (iii). It was suggested that parts of Namaqualand (e.g. Steinkopf) be made eligible for assistance in terms of the government's decentralization programme thus encouraging industrial development. The attractions of the area include cheap industrial sites, a low wage, stable, abundant labour force, adequate electricity and water and close proximity to Namibia. It was felt that the latter would facilitate imports and exports and might encourage German-based companies to set up in the region (Chairperson's point of view).

The Chairperson was of the opinion, that the Government had overlooked the potential of the coloured population and had focussed inordinately on the black population in other areas. Namaqualand's strategic importance - since it borders on Namibia - was stressed, and it was emphasized that if the

Government wished to exploit Namaqualand's strategic importance it would need to win the support and confidence of the population. This could be achieved through the creation of employment opportunities.

7.2.2 External Development Stimulators

7.2.2.1 World Vision

World Vision can be described as a "Christian humanitarian aid organization working in developing countries in programmes of child and family development, community development, emergency relief and rehabilitation, and leadership enhancement" (World Vision pamphlet)

Projects are run in partnership with local Christian church or missions and amounts invested in projects vary from R5 000 to R15 000 with each project operating on a five year planning cycle, reviewed annually, as it is planned to enable communities to become self-supporting.

The basic unit with which World Vision works is the community and development is seen as a planned activity with a definite time limitation for World Vision's participation. However, the process should be a continuing one with replication throughout communities of a region or country.

Development projects are required to be culturally sensitive, technologically appropriate and not wealth-orientated. In addition they should be non-paternalistic with the people wanting change but needing outside assistance. The local community is also required to provide the project leadership and establish goals and time-tables.

Two community development projects are given support by World Vision in Namaqualand, namely the 'Namaqualand Development Project' and the 'Orange River Development Scheme'. A project co-ordinator (resident in Namaqualand until recently)

was appointed by World Vision and as the title suggests co-ordinates activities in the area.

(i) Namaqualand Development Project

Funding (R1 000 per month) is provided for five creches/playgroups by World Vision. Funding was first provided at the end of 1984 and is used to cover materials required and food given to children attending the schools. In addition, since June 1985 World Vision has funded (at a rate of approximately R100 per month) a sewing project initiated by the Sendingkerk minister in Concordia and his wife. The group consists of approximately eight women who meet once or twice weekly. At present articles are sold and the income is returned to the group though it is hoped that, once established, individuals will retain money from articles sold. World Vision's initial contribution was to provide two sewing machines, but this has changed to the monthly funding, referred to earlier, which is used to purchase materials, implements etc. Until recently the group received instruction but as the position is unpaid the instructor was unable to remain indefinitely. Some difficulty is being experienced in finding a replacement.

(ii) Orange River Development Scheme

Two projects fall under this scheme:

- (1) Gemsbok Development Co-operative,
- (2) Dryfsand Community Farm.

Gemsbok Development Co-operative

The project is situated some 140 kilometers, north east of Springbok at Goodhouse along the banks of the Orange River. Two pieces of land (one 25 ha and the other 60 ha) are hired from Steinkopf Board of Management. Ten farmers are involved in the project. The farmers, originally resident in Steinkopf, used to hire land on an individual basis in the Goodhouse

area. World Vision's involvement resulted in the farmers moving to the area, giving up their individual plots and hiring the two pieces of land referred to earlier on a collective basis.

A constitution for the co-operative has been drawn up by the group but not yet formally adopted. To assist the group in its initial endeavours, a steering committee consisting of the project co-ordinator (referred to earlier), other members of World Vision and members of the co-operative has been established. At present the project receives funding (approximately R120 000 per year) from World Vision. The money is used to purchase fuel, seed, food for the members and their families, and to cover maintenance costs.

Vegetable crops, e.g. pumpkin, butternuts, squash, potatoes, sweet potatoes and sweet melon, have been planted and distributed amongst the co-operative members and any surplus is sold locally. It is hoped that in the longer term that 'exotic' crops (e.g. olives and macadamia nuts) will be produced for sale in other parts of the Republic.

The Gemsbok project functions as a co-operative and is organized on co-operative principles⁷⁵.

The aims of the project can be listed as follows:

- (a) to assist members to become independent and self sufficient and to this end to train them in all aspects of production and marketing and in the principles of co-operatives,
- (b) to play a leading role in Namaqualand's development by investigating local development opportunities and helping Namaqualanders to exploit these.
- (c) to expand employment opportunities in Namaqualand,
- (d) to obtain and disseminate information about agriculture, marketing and co-operatives,
- (e) to develop a community at Goodhouse, involved in the activities of the community.

In addition the co-operative is able to purchase/hire fixed and movable property, appoint people to assist in achieving the above aims and to raise funds necessary to fulfill these aims (Gemsbok Ontwikkelings - Vereniging Grondwet).

Though the project is presently experiencing a number of problems, World Vision perceives it as important and relevant. It's importance lies in its potential as an employment generator and food supplier and in the skills acquired - agricultural, organizational and administrative. In addition participants learn to utilize the land more effectively and to function as a community despite the problems that often arise. It is relevant because Namaqualanders can identify with the project, given their agricultural background and because it represents a pilot study on which other organizations (and World Vision) can base their involvement in the region particularly on the Orange River in other pockets where water is available.

Problems encountered include the following:

- (a) a lack of agricultural expertise,
- (b) transport - resulting from the location and terrain,
- (c) lack of knowledge and understanding as to the concept of co-operatives and community development,
- (d) inexperience of functioning as a group - for several generations Namaqualanders have worked to satisfy their individual needs and have been dependent on handouts. This is particularly important bearing in mind that initially the success of the venture will require that the greatest part of farmers' profits be ploughed back into the project and there will have to be other short term sacrifices, self-sufficiency and prosperity are long term goals. Not appreciating this, some farmers have already withdrawn from the project,
- (e) apathy - the project co-ordinator suggested that this may arise because the community themselves did not request the project. He therefore emphasizes the need for the community to analyze its situation and problems in future

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and on that basis to decide on appropriate action. As mentioned earlier the capacity for self-awareness and analysis is a crucial element in the development process, (f) financial constraints - i.e. funding is required for members' living expenses until self sufficiency is achieved and for equipment, seed, etc. In addition, funding is necessary to build houses and community facilities for current and future members of the co-operative.

Dryfsand Community Project

Dryfsand is situated near the Orange River some 200 kilometres north west of Steinkopf and comprises a community of some 50 - 60 families. These families are situated on and around land belonging to the Sendingkerk. A number of the residents are employed by Trans Hex at the Ochta diamond mine (see Section 6.3.3.3).

A fundamental difference between this and the Gemsbok project is that the former is a project for a resident community whereas the latter is intended to be a co-operative involving people who are prepared to live in the area and participate in the project.

Some ten hectares are used for vegetable farming and it is hoped to plant fruit orchards eventually. Two Namaqualanders are employed as project workers at Dryfsand. World Vision's financial contribution to the project is of the order of R1 000 per year. This with profits generated, is used to pay the two project workers and to purchase seed, implements, etc. The project workers' responsibilities include co-ordination and transfer of expertise. At present four women are employed but as the profit generated is still small they are paid only on a "food-for-work" basis. A marketable surplus has been generated and sold to the community. It is hoped that once marketing problems are overcome neighbouring villages will be supplied with food.

Problems similar to those evident at Goodhouse have been experienced at Dryfsand but it is felt that the project is important because it facilitates effective land utilization and acquisition of skills and provides food, employment and income. It also enables local people to learn to function as a community, taking responsibility and attempting to overcome problems.

Literature on co-operatives as a development tool illustrate that they can and do lead to individual and organisational development but that there are a number of constraints that affect their ability to bring about structural changes in the community. At the level of individual development participants can:

- (i) gain an understanding of their position in relation to the wider society and are therefore in a better position to attempt to change the oppressive conditions under which they live,
- (ii) develop concern for others outside the co-operative,
- (iii) gain new political and inter-personal skills and self-confidence,
- (iv) provide maternal security for themselves and their families.

This individual development gives support to and receives support from organisational development (Collins and Collins).

To ensure participation projects need to be kept small, so as to encourage involvement, and they need to start from the level of local inhabitants' understanding. Where feelings of helplessness, apathy and inferiority exist, participation may be difficult to encourage. In addition it may be difficult to achieve a fine balance between guidance and democracy (Kaplan).

7.2.2.2 Red Cross

Red Cross, an international, voluntary relief organisation endeavours to prevent and alleviate human suffering and promote mutual understanding and co-operation amongst people.

Its services cover a wide spectrum and include the following:

- (i) emergency services, i.e. disaster relief, civil defence, air mercy service, road ambulance and hunger relief
 - (ii) health services, i.e. primary health, general and geriatric clinics, medical loan depots and home aid services
 - (iii) social services, i.e. institutional care, service centres and housing for the aged, creches, child sanctuary, social workers, social relief, extensive school feeding schemes, help and projects.
 - (iv) education and training, i.e. first aid, health education and youth clubs.
- (Red Cross pamphlet).

Red Cross' major involvement in Namaqualand is with school feeding schemes. 50 primary schools in Namaqualand have a feeding scheme and the project (which began in 1983) caters for 11 800 pupils per day (see Section 5.7). When they started, both Operation Hunger and Red Cross were providing similar schemes. To prevent duplication, it was decided that Red Cross would be responsible for introducing schools to the scheme and transporting the food, while Operation Hunger would raise finance and purchase the food. The success of the project depends on community involvement as parents and teachers are entirely responsible for the distribution of food at the schools. Children are provided with fortified soup in winter (and on occasions a slice of bread) and in summer a milk-based drink and a fortified biscuit.

Two other projects with which Red Cross is involved are a pre-school at O'okiep and a family feeding scheme. The pre-school, begun in 1984, caters for five year olds only, with pupils remaining at the school for a year before moving on to primary school. At present the school has 55 pupils. The family feeding scheme is co-ordinated by the methodist minister in Bergsig. Food provided by Operation Hunger is brought to Namaqualand by Red Cross and distributed to needy

families in outlying areas. Participating communities are limited to a monthly supply of 1 000 x 12.5 kg bags of mealie meal and 80 x 25 kg bags of soup powder. By November 1985, 1 899 families were provided with food in this manner.

7.2.2.3 Operation Hunger

Until recently Operation Hunger's involvement in Namaqualand was concerned primarily with feeding schemes (see Section 7.2.2.2).

However in 1985/1986 Operation Hunger commissioned an Israeli professor (from the Desert Research Institute) to conduct a feasibility study of Namaqualand's development potential. A substantial report was written covering five major areas:

- Dryland farming
- Irrigation farming on the Orange River
- Small scale farming
- Development of a botanical garden and plant reserve
- An agricultural training centre.

A spokesman for the organisation stated that the report had been submitted to various sources for possible sponsorship of suggested projects. As the report is not available to the public little is known of its contents and of Operation Hunger's intentions. This is a pity as the report should be essential reading for any organisations wishing to implement development projects or any individual involved in research into the area's development potential. This would avoid overlap that may arise and facilitate the co-ordination that is a prerequisite for successful development.

The main shortcomings of the projects undertaken by external agencies is that they do not form part of an integrated strategy. Few of the organisations have "pooled their resources". Furthermore, in many instances projects are limited to pilot status, and continuity is uncertain. Most fundamentally, they tend to tackle symptoms of the regions'

problems on a 'top-down' basis rather than the roots of the issue on a 'bottom-up' basis. But it may be hard for individual welfare agencies, who have to 'show results', to do otherwise.

7.2.3 Local Actors Affecting the Development Process

7.2.3.1 Trade Unions

Two trade unions, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the General Workers Union (GWU) have branches and have organised workers in Namaqualand. Both unions are relatively new to the region, but by March 1986 NUM had signed recognition agreements with De Beers and Trans Hex and were negotiating with O'okiep Copper Company, while GWU had secured recognition from Jowell's Transport.

The two unions, who co-operate closely, are of the opinion that their role, apart from dealing with problems related to wages and working conditions, is to politicize the population, and to work with local communities tackling community issues. By politicization, they understand making workers aware of the situation they are in, and of how they came to be in that situation and helping them to find solutions to the problem. They felt that this could best be done by forming "steering committees" consisting of union and community members in towns, villages and company housing areas. These committees would initially not be concerned with industrial relations issues and would organize their activities around issues of importance to the broader coloured community (for example rents and water supplies). The formation of communities could be encouraged if their success in other areas was made known, and support could be obtained if by canvassing opinions on local issues (for example, consulting spouses before beginning wage negotiations).

Union organizers and members expressed the view that union

activity in Namaqualand had had a positive effect as employees had learnt that they were not powerless in the work situation and could influence housing, wage policy and dismissals. They felt that some politicization had already occurred and that the unions' successes helped in recruiting members where they had already agreed on a recognition agreement and in canvassing support where a less militant and less active union was operative.

Though beyond the scope of their operations, some members of trade unions gave their personal opinions on factors to be taken into account and needs to be addressed when considering Namaqualand's development. The creation of employment opportunities was of prime importance to them as to a lesser extent, were the provision of public transport and recreation facilities and the establishment of workers' and community advice offices throughout the region. Regarding public transport and recreational facilities, it was suggested that more buses be available for public hire and that halls, sport fields, parks, etc., be provided, particularly in Springbok. Springbok was emphasized as many Namaqualanders go there monthly to shop, and few such facilities are presently available.

They also suggested that the potential for cottage industries and small scale mining development be investigated. The latter had been inhibited by ignorance, i.e. many people were unaware that they could apply for prospecting leases/permits, of the procedure to follow and of the nature and location of markets for minerals and semi-precious stones. Priority should be given to creating opportunities for employment locally, as the population was reluctant to move because of their sense of community, the freedom they experienced in Namaqualand, and the problems encountered in seeking employment and accommodation outside the region.

An issue which needed to be addressed was the possibility of military development in Namaqualand, given its strategic

importance. Members of the trade union were ambivalent towards such development, realizing on one hand, the potential benefit in terms of employment, and on the other, the political implications of militarization.

7.2.3.2 Churches

Many churches are operative in Namaqualand and attempt in their own way to tackle the problems experienced amongst the communities with which they work. Constraints facing the church in these attempts were outlined in Section 7.1.4.4. An indepth study of individual church projects was not conducted but during the course of informal interviews with ministers it became evident that many of these projects are directed at small groups and their potential to contribute to the region's development is minimal, in addition little inter-church co-ordination has taken place and little use has been made of structures which facilitate co-ordination and which make resources available to the church (e.g. finances and training).

Two such organizations exist; the ministers fraternal and the Regional Council of Churches. The ministers fraternal was established in the late 1970's and early 1980's and consists of individual ministers from churches throughout the region. The fraternal was established so as to facilitate a joint response to problems (e.g. mass retrenchments in the 1970's from O.C.C.) to keep members informed of activities, needs, etc., occurring outside of their area of operation and to co-ordinate development efforts. Though some communication does take place, meetings are seldom held and often poorly attended as distance and time prove to be a problem. In addition little joint response or co-ordinated development has taken place. Recent inactivity may to some extent be the result of the formation of the Regional Council of Churches. Ministers in the area therefore need to determine whether the organizations perform the same function, which then implies elimination of one, or whether they have specific roles which

do not overlap, if this is the case roles need to be identified and clearly spelt out.

It is not possible in this paper to outline in detail the operation and structure of the Regional Council and its exact relationship to the South African Council of Churches. A brief overview of its structure is presented and it thus becomes clear that the development potential of this organization has not been fully utilized in Namaqualand.

In terms of the structure of both the SACC and the Regional Council divisions/sub-committees should be established to deal with specific areas of need identified as priorities in the region by the Council. These divisions could include the following; Inter-church Aid which works to provide for the development and advancement of under-developed communities and persons; home and family life which provides counselling services on family planning, marriage problems, sex education amongst others. Individuals would then be appointed to co-ordinate the activities of these divisions and ensure that the activities of the Council would be directed towards the goals/objectives of these divisions. Once established funds would be provided to the Council from the SACC to carry out their activities and in addition expertize and knowledge would be provided in the form of conferences and workshops where an inter-change of experience occurs and training is provided.

In Namaqualand despite the fact that moves have been underway to establish such a council since approximately 1983, little progress has been made, a Council has been established but has not been officially recognized by the SACC (this was due to take place in August 1986 and at the time of writing the author was unable to establish whether this had taken place) and little attention has been given to identifying the needs of the area, establishing a priority list of these needs and formulating the necessary division. As a result an important source of resources required for development in Namaqualand has been ignored.

Our review of the activities of the three agents of development in Namaqualand at present leads us to a few general conclusions:

- Government, i.e. the Central Government, the relevant "coloured" own affairs department and other regional bodies like the RDAC's and local authorities has attempted various steps which on the whole, could lead to some development stimulation. However it still lacks a clearly formulated integrated strategy for the development and upliftment of Namaqualand's population.
- Outside agencies have started a number of potentially promising and progressive (in their structure) development projects. Most of these are, however, still in their early stages and it is an open question whether the necessary funds will eventually be forthcoming to make these projects a permanent feature. Unless this happens the demonstration effects of their efforts (on Government and local communities) is limited.
- Locally based development agencies or grassroot bodies exist, but are also very weak and without significant leverage.
- The overall lack of development potential of the region and the relatively small population dampen the efforts of all three agents. This also sets fairly narrow limits to the amounts of "development aid" that can be expected to "pour into" the region, given the far higher population densities and development pressures existing elsewhere in South Africa.
- Better co-ordination of the efforts of these three agents could improve their performance.

In the light of these conclusions, we proceed in the next section to examine an alternative but appropriate development approach for the region.

7.3 Elements of a Three-Pronged Development Strategy for the People of Namaqualand

It has been clear from our analysis of the development constraints and present development efforts with respect to Namaqualand that the potential for future development is limited and that further development strategies should view the region as an integrated part of South Africa's overall development. This latter conclusion should be linked to another important principle of development; viz. that "Development is for people" - and not the other way around. However attached the inhabitants of the region may be to their environment, the main goal of all development efforts should be to improve the quality of life and the upliftment opportunities of the people where ever they would eventually want to stay. Thus, one of the fundamental goals of a comprehensive development strategy for Namaqualand should be the facilitation of higher mobility of the local population, given the extremely restricted present mobility. Related to this is the second, equally fundamental goal, viz. the improvement in the quality of life of those resident in the area, with the emphasis initially falling on the satisfaction of "basic needs" and the improvement of those spheres which also enhance the mobility of the population and improve the development potential. This brings us to the third fundamental goal of an overall development strategy, viz. the utilisation and activation of the region's inherent development potential - however limited it may be.

Each of these goals implies a range of interrelated development strategies, resulting in an appropriate set of specific policies, projects and programmes. Table 63 summarizes the framework and some details of such a three-pronged development strategy for the area. In the light of earlier chapters, many aspects are self-explanatory. On the other hand a detailed discussion of all the possible policies and likely issues would exceed the scope of this study. As indicated in the three parts of

Table 63, the policies suggested are, in fact, nothing else than recognized social development policies applied to Namaqualand's particular physical, socio-economic and socio-political environment, with the underlying emphasis being on increasing the population's interregional mobility.

Whilst the individual strategies will not be discussed in any detail we still have to address some broader issues of the strategy and the preconditions for it's successful implementation. We start with some comments about each of the three strategy elements, followed by a few aspects more directly related to policy implementation.

7.3.1 The Enhancement of Outward Mobility

The motive underlying this goal and the related strategy follows directly from our analysis of the current development dilemma in Namaqualand. The acceptance of this goal may not be without opposition. This could come from both the conservative and traditional local inhabitants (inside as well as outside of the CRA) and some of the more progressive agents. Both views need some comment.

For the local people who cannot get out of the region, either because they are too old or too scared of the risks involved in starting anew elsewhere, steps that might increase the population's outward mobility constitute a threat, in as much as it might increase the emigration, in particular of the relatively more dynamic members of the local society. This selective "drain" of the area is seen as a possible forerunner to a further decline in local development efforts. Less local leadership will further reduce the local population's bargaining power. At the same time the strong social and cultural ties which seem to bind together the local communities, though in many ways a consequence of the isolation, poverty and interdependence and possibly even a constraint to local development efforts, cannot be ignored. The freedom of people to reside where they prefer, is a

fundamental aspect of the quality of life.

The latter point brings us closer to the reasons why progressive development agents might be reluctant to support a policy that explicitly facilitates the outward migration of people in this area. Not only do they fear that this will lead to an even greater neglect of the area, but they may also be concerned that local families are forced into alien patterns of development.

A third group in support of 'local' development rather than outmigration includes those with a political interest in the future of a strong community in the area, i.e. the Coloured Labour Party, local community leaders in the rural areas and the National Party in the Greater Western Cape and Namaqualand.

All these reservations can be met if we look at the combined effect of the three strategy elements. Much of the content of the first element as well as all the policies included in the second element would improve the quality of life of people still resident in the area. If implemented effectively such a strategy would not result in less local development, but a gradual alignment of local basic needs standards with those achieved elsewhere.

This approach also determines our attitude to the future of the CRA. Before changes take place in the present ownership, residents of these areas should be able to settle and buy/lease land elsewhere in Namaqualand or outside the region. In this way the 'reserves' would lose their artificial function as landholdings of last resort, sought after by future pensioners and others unable to obtain land elsewhere. Secondly co-operative rural schemes inside and outside the 'reserves' should act as an attraction for those inhabitants who wish to remain in agriculture but cannot find land inside the CRA. Once this has happened or is taking place in a visible way, the transformation of communal land

ownership into freehold (where it is desired) can take place. This step may seem easier if the incorporation of coloured community leaders into multi-racial structures outside the CRA occurs at more or less the same time, thus reducing the importance and standing of these areas as vehicles for the expression of some degree of autonomous leadership.

7.3.2 Improvement in the Quality of Life

Most of the elements of this strategy are self evident. What only needs to be stressed here is the wider responsibility of the Central Government for achievement of these goals. One cannot expect that the inhabitants of this region, just because they stay in a remote part of South Africa and in a sparsely populated area, have to accept grossly inadequate standards or have to fund their own "upliftment". Whilst the white communities in Namaqualand and, to a far more limited extent, the coloured communities in the urban parts of the area, experience the benefits of such interregional redistribution of income, coloured rural communities in the area are still grossly neglected. The existence of distinct subregions (like the CRA) are often used as excuses for the application of differential standards and the limitation of funds, even with regard to the supply of basic needs. The limited funds available to the CRA administrations, the neglect of rural roads and the current 'state of the CRA' are examples of this attitude.

This dilemma can be solved in either of two ways: There have to be clear and acceptable standards established for basic facilities (all over South Africa), on the basis of which these communities can apply for and mobilize the necessary funds, or the political leverage of these remote communities has to be strengthened. It is likely that both processes are already underway, even though visible results are slow.

7.3.3 Utilizing Local Development Potential

This goal should not be seen as a contradiction to the first goal. It is not suggested to 'create' local development, but rather to link efforts closely with those economic activities with respect to which Namaqualand has some comparative advantage. The extent of such efforts will depend on the inherent development potential, e.g. the discovery of minerals, the tourism appeal of the area, etc., and the resources available locally and through transfers, project aid or private investments from outside sources. The 'potential' for Namaqualand should not be seen in development of all sectors, but rather the deliberate development of a few more dynamic growth aspects. These may be relatively esoteric : like particular types of tourism, some fishing, a few mines and some processing of livestock products - but that may be sufficient, given the small population and assuming a power sharing of resources.

7.3.4 Community Involvement

In the particular context of Namaqualand and its historical and socio-cultural characteristics community involvement needs some further qualification. Without any doubt stress has to be placed, in all phases and projects related to local development, on the involvement of local communities. Yet, in the light of the undemocratic nature of some of the community leadership, the extreme conservatism of some leaders and their supporters and the extremely fragmented community structure, special emphasis should be given to new ways of bridging communities and supporting progressive leadership. In addition steps should be taken to bridge the racial gap wherever feasible. Conditionality clauses attached to aid packages benefitting both black and white communities may be one way of encouraging this.

7.3.5 Co-ordination of Development Efforts

It follows from our three-pronged strategy as well as the critical appraisal of current efforts, that a successful overall approach presupposes active co-operation between the different development agents. This applies to administrative and political bodies (parties, town councils, rural administration) as much as to different socio-economic groups and enterprises (agricultural bodies, transport organisations, mines, etc) and church bodies as well as other grassroot organisations and outside agencies. Whether Namaqualand needs an integrated regional administration to co-ordinate such efforts and/or whether more effective and legitimate political representations of all groups is a prerequisite for the latter cannot be considered here.

7.3.6 Resources for Development

It has been shown quite clearly in earlier chapters that the local communities of Namaqualand have insufficient resources to achieve any substantial level of development.

To mobilize such additional resources is a responsibility that falls upon local and external institutions. Again we cannot consider all the possibilities of tapping such potential resources. A few examples should suffice:

- Utilizing resources from Regional Council of Churches to aid local community groups.
- Greater subsidies from Central Government to the various local authorities.
- A greater local reinvestment of prospecting and mining royalties of the mines (through the SBDC or Government).
- More social reinvestment by the larger mining companies.
- Redistribution of "white" local revenues (especially in the urban areas) to the benefit all racial groups.
- Externally financed research (by universities and/or other development agents) into appropriate, more

detailed development policies and projects.

- Project aid by outside bodies.
- The direct supply of certain services by outside bodies.

Whilst the lack of funds is severe, the relatively small size of the local population and the diversity of potential aid agents gives some hope that significant progress could be made.

Table 63 Elements of a Three-pronged Development Strategy(A) Facilitate Outward Mobility¹

- 1) Improve education (direct at preprimary, primary, secondary, technical, adult and community)
- 2) Improve labour market access
 - vocational guidance and information (school and post school)
 - information on local and external employment opportunities
 - streamline recruitment facilities
- 3) Remove barriers to mobility
 - intensify local and external communication links
 - improve physical access
- 4) Improve health standards (education potential of children and labour market entrants is increased, culture of poverty syndrome is broken)

(B) Improve Quality of Life

- 1) Remove racial discrimination
 - utilize joint facilities
 - land reform (urban and rural)
 - future of CRA
- 2) Expand infrastructure
 - physical (transport and housing)
 - social (health, nutrition, recreational, UIF, social care)
 - administrative² (G.P.O., magistrate, etc.)

(C) Utilize Development Potential³

- 1) Agricultural Development
 - dryland agriculture
 - irrigation agriculture
 - agricultural co-operatives
 - small farming loans
 - drought survival strategies
- 2) Tourism
- 3) Mining
 - small mine development
 - reduce constraints to existing mining activity
- 4) Industry
 - assess potential of small industry potential
- 5) Commercial
 - promote local small business'
 - improve distribution of essential services

Table 63 continued

- 6) Community (Urban and Rural)
 - training/project development/leadership development
 - mobilize and co-ordinate development efforts by all relevant groups (interagency co-operation)
 - youth involvement
 - activate different groups
- 7) Administrative and Other Services⁴
 - handling of military build up⁵

Notes:

- (1) Has dual function:
 - (i) facilitates outward mobility
 - (ii) improves quality of life
 - (iii) increases competitiveness of local population
- (2) Will assist in achieving 3 in A
- (3) Concentrate on real potential areas, applied research into appropriate strategies
- (4) See 2 in B
- (5) Potential - employment and infrastructure
Danger - dependency and political aspect.

ADDENDUM

The value of the conclusions could be amplified if further research was undertaken to determine their applicability and the ways in which they could be adapted for use in other underdeveloped regions in South Africa.

In Chapter 4 it was shown that a number of parallels can be drawn between the reasons for the formation of the CRA, on one hand and the 'black states' on the other. Amongst prime motives for their creation were the needs for an adequate supply of low-wage labour and for political domination by the colonial elite. In both instances, the decline in the peasantry's independence was an inevitable consequence of dispossession and increasing political and economic control by the elite over the indigenous population. But unlike the 'black states' there has been no legal restraint on the mobility of Namaqualand's inhabitants. Coloured people have remained in a number of other rural areas and these regions have continued to exist as 'Coloured Rural Areas' for the following reasons (some of which may be common to 'black states':

- (i) there is a strong sense of community in the CRA,
- (ii) the physical characteristics of the CRA have inhibited the formulation of urban complexes which normally loosen community bonds,
- (iii) only a relatively small part of the population of the CRA migrates to and from the larger urban complexes - the influence of the latter is therefore limited.
- (iv) the CRA are perceived as advantageous residential, social and political bases, and offer security in times of sickness, unemployment and old age.

Other parallels and contrasts can be drawn between Namaqualand and the 'black states'. These include:

Parallels:

- distance from major population and development centres

- inadequate infrastructure
- traditional and local leadership
- poor resource base
- dependence on migrant work and state social security
- dependence of local economy on a small range of economic activities
- overpopulation relative to resources
- competition for land

Contrasts:

- no separate political authority in Namaqualand - communication and negotiation therefore direct with central government
- few legislative restrictions on migration from Namaqualand
- physical infrastructure less inadequate than in most 'black states' except perhaps for more remote CRA
- relatively small sparse population in Namaqualand
- Namaqualand's agricultural development potential more limited than in most 'black states'.

It is therefore appears that the three-pronged strategy outlined in Chapter 7 has more potential for success in Namaqualand than in the 'black states'. Population-wise the dimensions of the problem are less unmanageable and Namaqualand's development potential in agriculture (though limited), mining and tourism gives it some advantages. Nevertheless the preceding analysis suggests that a similar strategy may be appropriate in some of the 'black states'.

Though it may be possible to draw a parallel with the historical development of other CRA, the applicability of the strategy for Namaqualand to these areas is limited given that they are much smaller (the CRA in Namaqualand represent 70% of all CRA - see Section 2.1 and Appendix B) and are isolated pockets within a broader region. They should therefore form part of a strategy designed for that region. Certain aspects of the strategy may be applicable such as improving the quality of life, whereas the need to enhance outward mobility

may not be as great.

As far as individual development efforts are concerned, our study confirms many of the lessons learnt in other areas, both inside South Africa and internationally. These are that such efforts should be co-ordinated and integrated: that human resource potential should be mobilized and developed; that more equitable access to and distribution of resources is essential and that for sustainability, the active support and participation of the population at all stages is a prerequisite.

It is to be hoped that further research in these fields will be undertaken.

Notes

- 1 R.S.A. Department of Surveys and Mapping - Mowbray, Cape Town 1979.
- 2 The general reference used in Section 2.2 was a Regional Survey of the Western Cape compiled by the Department of Planning in 1964.
- 3 The main texts used in writing Section 3.1 - 3.3 were those written by Elphick, Luyt and Redlinghuis (see bibliography).
- 4 The Orange River was known to the Hottentots and Bushmen as the Nu Gariep - which meant "Great River" hence texts refer on occasions to the "Gariep" or "Groote Rivier".
- 5 The historical analysis of Namaqualand's copper industry was written relying heavily on Smalberger's thesis "Aspects of Copper Mining in Namaqualand" (see bibliography).
- 6 The South African Mining Company was also the first public mining company to be formed in South Africa (Smalberger 1969 : V).
- 7 The expedition was conducted under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. He found rich deposits of copper ore in Southern Namaqualand and close to the Orange River's banks in the north (Smalberger 1969 : 5).
- 8 It was hoped that by forming such a company, capital sunk in various concerns could be salvaged (Smalberger 1969 : 57).
- 9 The South African Mining Company had recommenced its operations in 1854 (Smalberger 1969 : 160).

- 10 The Cape of Good Hope Copper Mining Company was commonly known as the Cape Copper Mining Company.
- 11 By 1867 the Springbok Reduction Works was fully operational and regulus was being obtained. By 1870 a second reduction works was constructed at O'okiep. The Springbok Reduction works closed in the early 1870's (Smalberger 1969 : 99 and 189).
- 12 "regulus" - purer or metallic part of mineral separated from impure metallic product obtained when ores are smeltered.
- 13 NababEEP is derived from the Hottentot language and means "the water behind the hill".
- 14 The name O'okiep is derived from the Hottentot word "Ugieb" meaning "the great brack".
- 15 "blister copper" - almost pure copper.
- 16 The special conditions are those expressed by the commission and not the author.
- 17 Reasons for non-convergence include:
- (i) failure of diminishing returns to set in at the centre,
 - (ii) failure to perceive peripheral investment opportunities,
 - (iii) export demand for goods produced at the centre,
 - (iv) coincidence of centre with the national market,
 - (v) location of subsidiary services at the centre,
 - (vi) heterogeneity of the population,
 - (vii) periphery's inability to adjust to socio-economic changes at the centre.

(Friedmann 1966 : 14-17)

- 18 Chapter 3 in Marais' book is entitled "Colonisation of the North-West.
- 19 Prior to 1909 the reserves were administered by a Raad with Corporals attending temporal affairs and elders attending religion and morals, with the church being predominant. The Raad acted as a court of law and collected taxes. It distributed land (which belonged to the community) to heads of families - this land was inheritable and divisible with the Raad's permission. Communal grazing was provided.
- 20 Melville - the Government Agent at Griquatown.
- 21 Baster Pioneers to the Khoi Khoi community brought guns, spoke Dutch, were familiar with Christianity and regarded themselves as superior. The missionaries introduced cultivation, the plough, formal education, Western medicine and their own customs. Jewish pedlars brought a great variety of Western commodities and stimulated the use of money. Explorers, prospectors, Dutch peasantry, trekboers, doctors, surveyors and government officials also brought changes.
- 22 Changes occurred because of population increases, migratory labour, external trade (with the opening of the copper and diamond mines), growth of the fishing industry, increasing urbanization due to industrialization, interaction with the outside world (through the church) and schools.
- 23 Luyt (1981 : 26) defines primitive accumulation as the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production.

- 24 In an attempt to stabilize the Namaqualand territory (freeburghers had spread beyond the limits of colonial control which caused conflict) the colonial government gave expedient land grants.
- 25 An Usurer is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as a money lender, especially one who charges an excessive interest.
- 26 The quote was made in 1892 by C. Scully.
- 27 Macro-study : Sharp J. and West M. (1984)
Micro-study : Boonzaier E. (1984)
West M. (1984)
- 28 See footnote 27.
- 29 See footnote 27.
- 30 Klinghardt suggest that the existence of the rural areas in Namaqualand represents a situation analogous to that of various black homelands and therefore analytical models appropriate for the study of the homelands may be useful in understanding aspects of the rural areas.
- 31 The reasons advocated by Wilson include:
- (1) cultural preservation through isolation leads to stagnation. Further the formation of communities on "traditional" principles is impeded by the migrant labour system and imposition of limits on the availability of land,
 - (2) partitioning of groups leads to political, social and economic poverty,
 - (3) reserves impede rather than stimulate economic development, as large numbers of people are expected to subsist on inadequate land size and because of the migrant system's justification of low wages on the assumption that families are self sufficient.

- 32 The emergence and decline of an African peasantry - African Affairs 1972 - Vol. 71.
- 33 Data obtained from Department of Internal Affairs Annual Report, 1 July 1980 - 30 June 1981.
- 34 Manpower (or potentially economically active population) represents that portion of the population that falls within the age group 15 - 64. Labour Supply refers to that section of the potentially active population that is able, willing or interested to participate in the labour supply (shown in the South African census figures as "economically active population").
- 35 Household Subsistence Level November 1980 - SAIRR - Survey of Race Relations 1981.
- 36 Areas for which the divisional council had information - i.e. those specified on Tables 25 and 26.
- 37 If we add the percentages given in Table 27 of those classified as having acute and chronic malnutrition we arrived at a figure for those classified as malnourished (53%), similarly if we add percentages given for those suffering from chronic malnutrition and being classified as nutritional dwarfs, we arrive at a figure for those classified as retarded (38%).
- 38 The categories of malnutrition specified in Table 27 are defined as follows:
Acute malnutrition - malnourished but not retarded
Chronic malnutrition - malnourished and retarded
Nutritional dwarfs - retarded but not malnourished.
- 39 GGP is defined as the remuneration received by the production factors, land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship for their participation within a defined area (Department of Statistics. Report No. 09-14-05).

- 40 Remuneration is defined as gross cash salaries and wages including vacation and other bonuses, remuneration in kind (food, accommodation etc) and employers contribution to staff funds (pension, medical funds etc) and to social security funds (Department of Statistics. Report No. 09-14-05).
- 41 In calculating growth rates real values at 1982 prices were used. Price indices were obtained from Saldrú Fact Sheet No. 3A, "Consumer Price Indexes 1971 - 1984".
- 42 GGP per capita₁₉₇₈ = $\frac{\text{GGP}(1978)}{\text{Population}(1978)} = \frac{248\ 691}{61\ 283} = 4.06$

(i) 1978 population was estimated as follows:

Estimated urban population 1978 =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{PV} && (1 + \text{urban growth rate})^n \\ & (\text{urban } 1970) && 100 \\ & && = 25\ 716 \end{aligned}$$

Estimated rural population 1978 =

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{PV} && (1 + \text{rural growth rate})^n \\ & (\text{rural } 1970) && 100 \\ & && = 35\ 567 \end{aligned}$$

Estimated 1978 population = 61 283

1970 urban population	24 436	urban growth rate
		(1970 - 1980) = 0.64
1970 rural population	24 436	rural growth rate
		(1970 - 1980) = 1.50
1980 urban population	26 055	n = 8 years 1970 - 1980
1980 rural population	56 624	

- 43 Remuneration per capita = $\frac{\text{remuneration}(1978)}{\text{population}(1978)}$
 $= \frac{48\ 329}{61\ 283} = 0.79$

- 44 Homogenous pegmatites are bodies consisting predominantly of quartz feldspar and mica and cannot be subdivided into zones of contrasting mineralogy and texture.
- 45 Heterogenous pegmatites have a degree of systematic arrangement in their mineral constituents.
- 45 Precious stones - diamonds, rubies and sapphires.
- 47 Precious metals - gold silver, platinum, iridium and any other metals of the platinum group including ores of these metals.
- 48 Base minerals - all other metals and minerals with the exception of precious stones and natural oil.
- 49 Natural oil - liquid/solid hydrocarbon or combustible gas existing in a natural condition in the earth's crust.
- 50 Source material - uranium, thorium and any substance containing uranium and thorium above specified concentration limits.
- 51 Under the Precious Stones Act, 1964 (Act No. 73 of 1964) all land in the Republic is divided, for prospecting purposes, into three categories, namely:
- (a) State land - land (other than land held by a lessee) which is owned by the State and in respect of which the State is also the holder of the right to the precious or base mineral or natural oil in question.
 - (b) Private land - land in respect of which the State is not the holder of the right to the precious metals, base minerals or natural oils.

- (c) Alienated State land - land is privately owned or held by a lessee and in the title deeds or lease there is a reservation to the State of the right to base minerals, precious metals and natural oil.
- 52 The Precious Stones Act, 1964 defines lessee as a person to whom the land in question has been allotted under the land settlement laws and who has exercised the right to purchase the land.
- 53 Unproclaimed land refers to land not proclaimed as a public digging for precious metals, base minerals and natural oil. For a definition of alienated state land see footnote 19.
- 54 The Mining Rights Act defines compensation as "the payment by the holder of the lease to any person entitled to the use of the surface of the land included in the lease area, who suffers any surface damage or any damage to crops or improvements on such land caused by the exercise by the holder of the lease of his rights under the lease".
- 55 Farms included in the Buffels-marine complex include: Kleinzee, Sandkop, Annex Kleinzee, Dreyers Pan, Kareedoornvlei, Tweepad and Oubeep.
- 56 Farms included in the Buffels-inland complex include: Langhoogte and Nuttabooi.
- 57 Farms included in the Koingnaas complex include: Somnaas, Koingnaas, Swartlintjies, Langklip and Mitchells Bay.

58 Actual production figures for De Beers and SAD (1970 - 1985) are as follows:

Year	De Beers Carats Recovered	S.A.D. Carats Recovered
1970	636 871	241 883
1971	505 191	210 783
1972	487 103	167 467
1973	532 820	197 863
1974	777 967	194 102
1975	941 511	174 156
1976	1 026 905	182 452
1977	1 162 752	196 627
1978	1 224 952	172 251
1979	1 699 691	139 709
1980	1 434 262	139 114
1981	1 214 077	125 405
1982	951 216	137 488
1983	883 260	139 709
1984	908 617	98 620
1985	920 473	111 249

59 See footnote 55,56 and 57 above.

60 See footnote 57 above.

61 See footnote 55 above.

62 See footnote 55 above.

63 See Bibliography Central Statistical Services:
Agricultural Census

Source: Department of Mines Annual Report 1970 - 1983.
: De Beers Consolidated Report 1970 - 1980.

64 The 1978 Agricultural and Pastoral Production Census (Report No. 06-01-14) gives total sales value and total expenditure (including salaries, wages and rations) as R6 316 312 and R5 324 790 respectively and the number of farms as 514. As a result a simple calculation reveals an average net income per far of R1 929.

65 In calculating the real value of net income at 1984 prices, price indices were obtained from Saldru FAct Sheet No. 3a "Consumer Price Indexes 1971 - 1984".

66 The distribution of sales given by the 1978 census (Report No. 06-01-14) referred to in footnote was as follows:

Crops	479 877
Horticulture	307 964
Livestock	2 859 943
Poultry	<u>2 668 528</u>
Total	6 316 312

67 In 1978 the census (Report No. 06-01-14) referred to in footnote 64 gave the following employment figures:

Regular	1 393
Casual	1 553
Domestic	<u>136</u>
Total	3 082

68 Licences are issued for trawlers, motor boats, dinghies and skiboats. In Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay licences are predominantly issued for dinghies and motor boats.

69 "designated member" refers to the member designated under section 17 (6)(b) of the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act, 1964 (Act 49 of 1964) enacted by Parliament to exercise and perform the powers, functions and duties incidental to rural areas, settlements and agriculture for coloureds. (Law 1 of 1979: Rural Coloured Areas Law 1979 : 4).

- 70 "society" means any mission society or religious body which prior to the application of the Act of 1909 to any area held land in such area in trust for the Coloured inhabitants thereof or was the owner of land on which a mission station for Coloured Persons existed and to which the provisions of the Act of 1909 applied on the fixed date in terms of section 27 of the Act (Law 1 of 1979: Rural Coloured Areas Law 1979 : 5).
- 71 "registered occupier" refers to the person who has been admitted as a registered occupier of an erf or property in that area in terms of Act 24 of 1963, or of this Law or any repealed law and whose name appears in the prescribed register of registered occupiers.
- 72 Superintendents were appointed in each area and restored directly under the regional representative. The superintendents had certain control functions vis-a-vis the management boards, e.g. supervision of councillors, controlling of financial statements, minutes of meetings, etc.
- 73 In terms of Law No. 1 of 1979 (Rural Coloured Areas Law, 1979) no erf or property may be held in joint ownership or subdivided without the written consent of the designated member (Section 38).
- 74 Garganap and Witbank farms are situated on State land and until approximately five years ago were leased to white farmers. The area was overgrazed by the farmers and as a result their lease was terminated. The land is still owned by the State but was given to the Department with the instructions that they were to allow the land to rejuvenate (approximately five years) after which it could be leased to coloured farmers.

- 75 The Gemsbok project is organised around the following co-operative principles:
- (a) It is to be owned by its members,
 - (b) It is to be run democratically with each member having an equal say in the decision-making process,
 - (c) Where possible, members should contribute share capital to the project and receive limited interest on that capital,
 - (d) Net profit is to be distributed on a basis proportional to work carried out by members,
 - (e) Profit undistributed may be used for:
 - (i) Reserve funds
 - (ii) Community work
 - (iii) Paying back external capital grants
 - (f) All ventures should work to the benefit of each other as well as the community,
 - (g) Education is to be a priority. This includes the training of members in co-operative management and the development of their sense of community awareness and responsibility,
 - (h) Economic viability is to be the primary criterion on which ventures are to be evaluated.

(Gemsbok Ontwikkelings - Vereniging Grondwet and Kaplan 1984)

APPENDICES

Appendix A Statistics in respect of "Coloured Rural Areas"

Area	Extent ¹ (in hectares)
Concordia	63 383
Ebenezer	18 287
Eksteenskuil	2 013
Enon	10 262
Friemersheim	191
Genadendal	4 821
Haarlem ²	1 416
Komaggas	62 604
Kranshoek	245
Leliefontein	192 720
Mamre	7 952
Mier	398 789
Oppermansgronde	34 186
Pella	48 277
Pniël	57
Richtersveld	513 919
Rietpoort	15 092
Saron	3 152
Slang River ³	1 124
Steinkopf	329 301
Suurbraak	4 790
Thaba Patchoa	3 625
Zoar	5 883
Total	1 722 089

1) All figures have been rounded up to the nearest hectare

2) Also known as Anhalt

3) Previously Askraal

Source: Annual Report of the Department of Internal Affairs,
1 July 1983 - 30 June 1984.

Appendix B Ranking of "Coloured Rural Areas" in respect of population, size, density¹

Area	Population	Size	Density
Concordia ⁴	1	5	14
Ebenezer	15	9	16
Eksteenskuil	17	18	8
Enon	21	11	17
Friemersheim	23	22	3
Genadendal	4	14	5
Haarlem ²	18	19	7
Komaggas ⁴	8	6	19
Kranshoek	20	21	2
Leliefontein ⁴	5	4	21
Mamre	6	12	9
Mier	7	2	15
Oppermansgronde	13	8	17
Pella ⁴	14	7	20
Pniël	16	23	1
Richtersveld ⁴	9	1	23
Rietpoort	11	10	12
Saron	2	17	4
Slang River ³	19	20	6
Steinkopf ⁴	3	3	22
Suurbraak	12	15	10
Thaba Patchoa	22	16	13
Zoar	10	13	11

1) The rural areas in Namaqualand have been compared to the other 17 and the categories ranked 1 to 23, with 1 representing largest surface area, population and density (whatever the case may be) and 23 representing the smallest in each category.

2) also known as Anhalt

3) Previously Askraal

4) Namaqualand Coloured Rural Areas

Source: Annual Report of the Department of Internal Affairs,
1 July 1983 - 30 June 1984.

Appendix C Physiography of five "Coloured Rural Areas" in Namaqualand

Area	Description
Richtersveld	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Winter rainfall - Orange River (perennial) on its northern border - Mountainous with deep kloofs in the east and flat with dunes in the west - Vegetation - Namaqualand Karooveld
Steinkopf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no perennial rivers; beds flow after rains - mountainous (Iskosis range runs from north to south) - shrublike vegetation and bushveld
Leliefontein	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - regular rainfall in Kharkams area - mountainous (Kamiesberg) with little flat area - Buffels River (perennial) runs through the area - sand dunes
Concordia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no perennial rivers - infrequent rain, periodic droughts - largely flat with some mountainous ridges - Vegetation - Namaqualand Karooveld - stony in the west
Komaggas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no perennial rivers - infrequent rains - when occur damages land and roads - bare veld, scarce vegetation - erosion due to windstorms, driftsand and overgrazing - vegetation has low nutritional value

Appendix D. Chronological History of the Administration of Namaqualand's Coloured Rural Areas.

1800's

- 1909 Function as Mission stations
 - Tickets of Occupation granted to:
 - Komaggas - 9th November 1843
 - Leliefontein - 24th May 1854
 - Pella - 9th June 1881¹
 - Steinkopf - 1st March 1905 (including Concordia)
 - Richtersveld - came into being with 1909 Act - borders defined 1947

- 1913
 - Act 29 of 1909 first applied.
 - Rural Coloured areas came under direct control of state (by Department of Native Affairs via the local magistrates)

- 1944
 - Areas transferred from control of Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Social Welfare.

- 1952
 - Coloured Affairs Section established within Department of Internal Affairs (link created between Coloured communities and Government agencies).

- 1958
 - Department of Coloured Affairs established (functions include administration, education and welfare services in rural Coloured areas).

- 1970
 - Coloured Representative Council (CRC) receives legislative powers.
 - Functions of Coloured Affairs Department transferred to the Administration for Coloured Affairs.

1979 - Rural Coloured Areas Law of 1979 (Law No. 1 of 1979) passed - legal basis for administration of areas.

Late 70's - CRC - defunct
- Administration of areas transferred to Department of Internal Affairs.

1984 - New Constitutional dispensation (Tricameral Parliament).
- Administration of the House of Representatives established.
- Rural Coloured Areas administered by Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the Administration of the House of Representatives.

1 Pella was administered directly by the mission station until 1973.

Sources: Kotze. D. 1985
Sharp and West 1985
Sharp 1985

Appendix E. Act No. 7/1946 and Act No. 24/1963

Act No. 24/1963 made provision for the reservation of any rural area as an "incorporated area" for occupation and ownership by coloured persons, provided that in terms of which section 4(1), such an area

- consists of State land, or
- had been "granted, transferred or set aside" before the implementation of Act 31/1961, "for occupation or ownership of Coloured persons or was on that date a traditional or locally recognized Coloured area, and which is occupied or owned mainly by Coloured persons", or
- contained a mission station for Coloured persons (a category of land taken over from the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, as amended - an Act which was also repealed by Act No. 24/1963).

In addition to rural land reserved under Act No. 24/1963, there is also provision in Act No. 7/1946 for the reservation of "Coloured persons settlement areas" by

- declaring State land as such,
- purchasing private land for this purpose, and
- exchanging State land for any private land (Sections 2 & 3).

This land is disposed of or allotted under the provisions of the Land Settlement Act 1912 (sections 2, 3, & 5). Only Coloured persons and the State may hold rights or an interest in land in a settlement area, and only the lessees and owners of land and their immediate family members may live in a settlement area. Any other person needs official permission to live there (Sections 6 & 7 of Act No. 7/1946).

The following types of land are now included in the coloured rural areas (Act No. 7/1946 and section 4, Act 24/1963):

- State land, registered in the name of the government (Section 2, Act 7/1946 and Section 4, Act 24/1963),
- State land, acquired from private persons and then registered in the name of the government (Section 3, Act 7/1946),
- mission stations registered in the name of a church or denominational society (Section 4, Act 24/1963),
- private land, registered in the name of individuals and companies, in residential areas and in agricultural closer settlements (Section 9, 21 and 44 Act 24/1963, and Section 8, 14 and 35 of Law 1/1979).
- "Estate erven" where administration of estates is delayed as a result of historical factors, such as the situation which evolves out of a 'fidei commissum' stipulation in a will and which, although there are claimants to ownership, has not been transferred to any person, and which are then sold by public auction and the proceedings paid into the Guardians Fund of the Master of the Supreme Court (Section 7 of Act 24/1963 and Section 6 of Law 1/1979).

Source: Kotze. D. 1985.

Appendix F Chronological History of Namaqualand's Copper Industry

- 1685 - Commander Simon van der Stel (late Governor of the Cape) led an expedition to the site of the present mines.
- 1864 - Formation of the South African Mining Company.
- 1850 - Phillips and King purchase and initiate mining operations at Springbokfontein (now Springbok).
- 1853 - Namaqua Mining Company formed - Copper boom begins.
- 1855 - Copper boom ends - three companies remained: Phillips and King, Namaqua Mining Company, the South African Mining Company.
- 1862 - Phillips and King bought by the Cape of Good Hope Copper Mining Company (Cape Copper Company).
- 1853 - - Namaqua Mining Company collapses due to
1886 excessive transport costs and mismanagement.
- Concordia Copper Company formed to exploit Namaqua Mining Company's Concordia deposits.
- Concordia Copper Company formed into the Namaqua United Company.
- 1888 - Namaqua United Company in liquidation.
- Namaqua Copper Company is formed.
- Cape Copper Mining Company alters it's name to Cape Copper Company Limited.
- 1919 - Cape Copper Company closes down it's mines.
- 1921 - Namaqua Copper company production at a standstill.

- 1927 - The American Metals Corporation purchases Cape Copper Company and the South African Copper Company Limited is formed.
- 1930 - Namaqua Copper Company's smelting operations cease.
- 1931 - Namaqua Copper Company's operations cease.
- 1937 - O'okiep Copper Company Limited is incorporated. Done by purchasing all assets and liabilities of the South African Copper Company.
- 1939 - Assets of the Namaqua Copper Company purchased by O'okiep.
- 1940 - Rehabilitation of NababEEP South Mine started in 1937 and mine, mill and smelter started production in 1940.
- 1945 - Mine, mill and power plant completed at O'okiep.
- 1963 - Carolusberg Mine and Mill came into production.
- 1975 - Closure of O'okiep Mill.
- 1979 - Sinking of Carolusberg No. 2 Shaft commenced.
- 1980 - Spektakel Mill commenced production.
- 1981 - NababEEP Mill operations suspended.
- 1983 - Carolusberg Deep Ore commenced production.
- 1984 - Gold Fields of South Africa took over management of the O'okiep Copper Company.

Source: O'okiep Copper Company Limited Information Booklet - 1985.

J. Smalberger 1969.

Appendix G Rostow's Stages of Growth

- (1) Traditional Society: attitudes to the physical world are pre Newtonian. Hierarchical social structure, little vertical mobility.
- (2) Preconditions for take-off: blocks and resistance to growth are overcome. Political power group emerging with modernization as a goal. Stimulus is exogenous - induced by advanced countries in the form of invasions (literal or figurative). Characterized by dual economy (modern and traditional) existing independently but side by side. Overtime diffusion of growth/development impulses and dual is transformed to modern economy.
- (3) Take-off: rapid economic growth, new technology.
- (4) Drive to maturity: living period of sustained growth.
- (5) Age of high mass consumption: characteristic of economics of most advanced countries - high standard of living for all.

Source: Fair 1982.

Appendix H. Some major events in the History of American Indian Policy

- 1789 - - Indian tribes dealt with by treaty, as separate
1871 nations.

- 1819 - Fund created by the Congress for the
 "Civilization of Indians".

- 1824 - Bureau of Indian Affairs created.

- 1830 - Indian Removal Act passed by the Congress. In
 terms of this Act Indians were moved from their
 homes, east of the Mississippi to lands west of
 the river. As a result new areas for settlement
 by pioneers and immigrants became available.

- 1850's - Government introduces policy to set aside
 reservations for Indian tribes.

- 1887 - The General Allotment or Dawes Severalty Act
 makes the allotment of land to individual
 Indians and the breaking up of tribal
 landholdings official policy.

- 1924 - Citizenship granted to all Indians - a majority
 were already citizens due to treaties or earlier
 blanket grants to particular groups. (Indians
 did not gain the right to vote in all states
 until 1948).

- 1928 - 'Meriam Report' published, recommending various
 reforms and changes of policy in Indian Affairs.

- 1934 - Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act)
 reverses trend to break up tribal governments
 and landholdings typical of Allotment Period
 (1887 - 1931) and provides for tribal self
 government.

- Indian credit program launched.
 - Secretary of Interior by means of John O'Mally Act, allowed to contract with States, territories and other agencies to provide services for Indians.
- 1943
- Bureau of Indian Affairs calls for preparation of development programs by each tribe to "facilitate the Federal Government in discharging it's obligations to the Indian ..." (beginning of 'Termination Policy').
- 1953
- Resolution passed (HCR 108) calling for termination of special services of Bureau of Indian Affairs to specified tribes and in particular States.
- 1958
- Modification of termination policy - termination proceedings are slowed down but not completely stopped.
- 1968
- President Lyndon B. Johnson suggests termination be replaced by self determination.
- 1970
- President R. Nixon suggests Indian future be determined by Indian Acts and decisions and calls for resolutions reversing termination outlined in HCR 108.

Source: Lyman Tyler 1973
Prucha 1971
McNickle 1970

Appendix I. Government and Non-government Economic Activity.

Department	Number of Offices
<u>Government</u>	
Post Office	11
Hospital	4
Police	9
Magistrate	3
Provincial Administration	4
Municipality	4
Divisional Council	1
Divisional Council Clinics	5
Management Boards (CRA)	7
Western Cape Administration Board	1
Internal Affairs	3
Escom	3
Weather Bureau	1
Environmental Affairs (Dept. of Fisheries)	1
SATS - harbour master	1
Agriculture and Water Supply	1
Nature Conservation	1
Water Board	1
Health and Welfare	1
Mining Commissioner	1
Defence Force	3
Other Clinics	6
State Schools	22
State-aided Schools	129
<u>Non-government</u>	
Airways	2
Financial Institutions	14
Total	242

Source: Karoo and Namaqualand telephone directory 1984/1985.
Department of Internal Affairs Annual Report 1983 -
1984.

Appendix J. Business Licences issued by the Divisional Council 1985/1986.

<u>Type of Licence</u>	<u>Number issued</u>
General Dealer	129
Butcher	16
Barber or hairdresser	2
Baker	7
Creche and afterschool care	8
Mining service	4
Motor garage	9
Pharmacist	1
Dealer in bones and used goods	5
Offensive trades	4
Home industry	3
Place of entertainment and service	7
Physical culture or health centre	1
Aerated or mineral water dealer	2
Funeral undertaker	1
Passenger transport undertaking	6
Accommodation establishments	2
Cartage contractor	1
Dairy shop	3
Workshop	2
Dealer or speculator in livestock or produce	4
Laundry or dry cleaner	1
Kennels or pet boarding establishment	1
Hawker	16
Total	235

Source: Divisional Council - Springbok

Appendix L. Namaqualand's Mineral Resources

Resource	Use	Location and exploitation potential
A. <u>Non-metallic Minerals</u>		
Gypsum	Manufacture of cement and building requirements	Vanrynsdorp. Exploitation not viable due to distance from railway and low value of gypsum
Limestone	Manufacture of cement, agricultural lime, industrial use.	Along the Orange River, west and south of Violsdrif. Excellent quality but exploitation hindered by transport costs.
Barytes	Industrial use	Aggeneys, Zuurwater, Stinkfontein. Too small to warrant exploitation.
Kieselguhr	Filter aid, filler in plastics, paper and flattening agent in plants, thermal insulation, etc	Port Nolloth and West Coast - deposits - small, of scientific interest and not economic interest
Phosphate rock	Important in agriculture as phosphate fertilizers	Richtersveld - little hope for commercial development
Sillimanite	Used in manufacture of high grade refractories and ceramics.	Pella - production on "large" sale. South and west of Pella, low economic importance. Steinkopf and Leliefontein (approx. 2 500 000 tons of ore, 20-30% sillimanite).
Quartzite	Dimension stone (i.e. for buildings foundations, paving, etc)	Richtersveld (Lekkersing) Transport is difficult rock is brittle and facilities are far (approx. 320km away). Resources are limited by weathering, disturbance of rock (faulting and folding) and thickness of slab.

Resource	Use	Location and exploitation potential
Mica (muscovite)	Sheet mica - manufacture of electric and electronic apparatus and electrical house- hold appliances Ground mica (processed scrap and flake mica) - heat insulation and other industrial uses.	Found in pegmatites - associated with feldspar, beryl and other minerals. Profitable if exploited with these. Steinkopf - mined for itself - waste mica sold locally. Ground - exported
Feldspar	Glass and ceramic industries quantities at one mine.	In pegmatite belt. Only found in economic
Occurences of asbestos, salt kaolin (clay) are found in Namaqualand.		

B. Base metallic
minerals

Molybdenum	Alloying element, used in manufacture of a variety of products, in paints and pigments, electrical and electronic components etc.	Small quantities in Namaqualand copper district.
Titanium	Metallurgical purposes	Kamiesberge and Rietberg (north of Springbok).
Manganese	Metallurgical purposes	Gamsberg, Aggeneys, Zuurwater and near Garies.
Thorium (found in the mineral monazite amongst others)	Radio-active element used in the generation of nuclear power	Garies (in a radio-active iron-ore body containing many minerals including Monazite).
Beryl	hardening agent moderator in atomic reaction, and as a phosphor.	Noumas pegmatites in Steinkopfs.

Resource	Use	Location and exploitation potential
Bismuth	Used in the pharmaceutical field and a number of specialized applications.	Namaqualand is one of the most promising areas for bismuth production. Found in pegmatites and extracted as a by-product of other economic - minerals beryl, tantalite - columbite, espodumene and lepidolite.
Tungsten (or wolfram found in wolframite and scheelite	Important and specific applications in the production of metal working machinery, construction and mining machinery, etc. Many uses in modern technology and may be important if not critical in future.	Copper district and a narrow belt from Violsdrif to Kakamas along the Orange River.
<u>C. Gemstones</u>		
Amazonite (amazonstone)		Noumas pegmatite in Steinkopf
Smoky Quartz (coarse crystal- line variety)	Steinkopf	Noumas pegmatite in
Rose quartz (coarse crystal- line variety)		Near Goodhouse
Lace quartz (fine crystal- line variety)		Near Springbok.
Tourmaline		In Namaqualand's pegmatites
Amethyst (coarse crystal- line variety)		South of Goodhouse

Appendix M Interviews Conducted¹

Government

- Minster D. Curry - Department of Local Government, Housing and
Agriculture (Cape Town)
- Mr J. Boschhoff - Deputy Director Local Government, Housing and
Agriculture (Cape Town)
- Mr T. Smuts - Agricultural Technical Officer, Department of
Internal Affairs (Springbok)
- Mr J. Stone - Regional Development Association (Springbok)

Mining Commissioners' Office (Springbok)
Divisional Council (Springbok)
Municipality (Springbok)
Department of Health and Welfare (Springbok)
Chairman Steinkopf Board of Management

External Agents

- World Vision - Alan Kaplan (Cape Town)
- Red Cross - Hilary Morris (Cape Town)
- Western Province Council of Churches - Leslie Liddell and Peter
Mentoor (Cape Town)
- Red Cross Child Health Unit - Prof. M. Kibel (Cape Town)

Local Agents

Various members of the Ministers Fraternal (Namaqualand)
Chairmen of the Regional Council of Churches (Springbok)
NUM Organizer (Springbok)
GWU Members (Springbok)
Engineering Industrial Workers Union Member (Springbok)

Other

O'okiep Copper Company Official (Springbok)
Ovenstones (Pty) Ltd (Cape Town)

Local Geologist (Springbok)

Social Worker (Bergsig)

Notes:

- 1) Refers to telephonic and personal interviews.
- 2) Where names have not been given this is either because the person wishes to remain anonymous or because more than one person was consulted.

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