

STRATIFICATION
IN
PORT NOLLOTH

By

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To

Michael, Tim, Reggie, Joseph,
Stanford, Jack

and

the people of Port Nolloth

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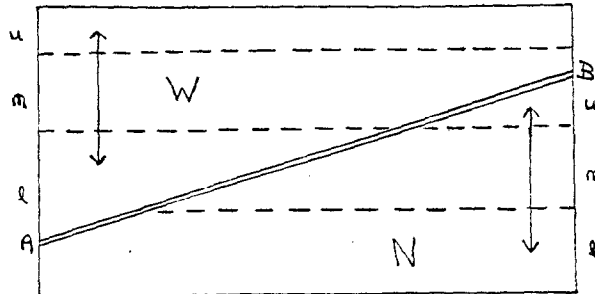
INTRODUCTION

The problem set in this project was to study stratification in Port Nolloth society. It was clear from the start that Port Nolloth society was highly stratified, and that the major strata were formed by the White, Coloured and African people in the town. As the study progressed, divisions within the major strata became apparent, and at once a terminological problem was raised: could the major strata be regarded as castes, with their sub-divisions as classes, or were the divisions of the same order, making the stratification system one of class and sub-class?

It became apparent, however, that the major strata and their sub-divisions were not of the same order, the main difference being that the former were endogamous groups of a rigid nature, whereas the latter allowed considerable social mobility. This suggested a system of stratification similar to that posited by van den Berghe for another South African town, where he considered that "the stratification system can be described as a dual hierarchy of closed castes sub-divided into open classes"(van den Berghe,1964:152).

This approach was first adopted by what Cox refers to as the "caste school of race relations" led by W. Lloyd Warner (see Cox,1948:489), and the caste and class principle was most usefully illustrated diagrammatically by Davis, Gardner and Gardner (1941:10) in their study of Negro and White relation-

ships in the south of the United States:



In the above figure, the segments W and N, representing the White and Negro castes respectively, are divided by the caste line AB. Dotted lines represent intra-caste stratification into upper (U), middle (M), and lower (L) classes. The double headed arrows signify sanctioned social mobility. Thus a Negro, for example, may rise to the upper class level of his caste, but may not transfer (unless he can pass as ^{White}) across the caste line. This is exactly the position which obtains in Port Nolloth, and shows the important distinction between the order of the divisions within the stratification system.

However, could the term 'caste' be used to denote the major strata in the society? Leach, for one, considers not. He notes some of the confusion that has surrounded the use of the term, particularly between its use as an ethnographic category, referring "exclusively to a system of social organisation peculiar to Hindu India" and as a sociological category where "it may denote almost any kind of class structure of exceptional rigidity" (Leach, 1960:1). While contending that the term should

not be used outside the Hindu context, he considers caste to be a structural and not a cultural phenomenon, and it is as a structural phenomenon that it is used in this study.

The definition of caste creates a further problem. Cox cites a number of attempts (Cox,1948:2f) and considers them to be cumulatively misleading. No single definition of caste would be valid even for the essays in Leach's volume on caste in various parts of Hindu India. However, a number of common characteristics of caste have become apparent through the various ethnographic studies, and the caste system in Port Nolloth appears to share many of these.

For example, Banks cites certain characteristics of caste in Jaffna, which he considers typical of most Hindu systems - a number of named endogamous strata, a concept of pollution, a system of interdependence, ranking of strata, and forms of customary behaviour symbolizing rank differences. (Leach,1960:61). All these characteristics are present to some degree in the caste hierarchy in Port Nolloth.

Some writers, perhaps to try to avoid conflict between caste as an ethnographic and sociological category, have used a category "colour-caste" to describe stratification systems based on race. (See Davis & Gardner,1941:15). However, it is not proposed to use this term in the present study. Although there are caste stereotypes based on colour in Port Nolloth - ideally a White person should be light-skinned, a Coloured person brown-skinned and an African black-skinned - many members of one caste

would, on physical grounds, be considered members of another caste were colour the only criterion. Thus there are brown-skinned Africans, light-skinned Coloured people, and brown-skinned Whites. These people are not able to pass from one caste to another and remain in their hereditary caste. For this reason it is felt that the term "colour-caste" would be misleading, and it will not be used in this study.

To sum up, it is contended that there are two orders of stratification in Port Nolloth society, and it has seemed useful to use the term caste to describe the major strata, in the belief that it can be used unambiguously to denote an important sociological category.

One of the most important contributions of functional theory is that any one aspect of society should not be studied in isolation from the total society. Thus the first three chapters of this study concern the background and history of Port Nolloth and provide a fairly detailed description of the three castes, in the belief that this is vital to a meaningful understanding of the problem of stratification in Port Nolloth. One of the most frequent criticisms of a functional approach is that it often fails to take cognizance of the dynamic aspect of society. Although the focus of this study is clearly on one particular period in Port Nolloth, some attempt has been made to show how the society has changed over time, and in the last chapter some possible future tendencies are discussed.

Leach makes an important point when he states that castes do

not exist in isolation, and that in fact they can only be recognized in contrast to other castes in any particular system. He stresses the importance of inter-caste relationships and interdependence in contrast to the more usual emphasis on caste separation. The fourth and fifth chapters of this study consider the caste hierarchy, caste integration and separation, and inter-caste attitudes, and chapter six discusses the role of myth in the caste hierarchy.

The second important aspect of the stratification system in Port Nolloth is stratification within castes. There is a high degree of intra-caste stratification in Port Nolloth, and this is dealt with in chapter seven. In the final chapter of the study stratification in Port Nolloth past and present is considered and the evident preoccupation with social stratification in the town is discussed. With this as a basis, possible future tendencies are considered.

CHAPTER 1

THE TOWN

PORT NOLLOTH is a small town on the west coast of South Africa, about 50 miles south of the Orange River, and 444 miles by road from Cape Town, the nearest city. It is in the district of Namaqualand, a part of the north-west Cape Province, sometimes known as Little Namaqualand to distinguish it from Great Namaqualand across the Orange River in South West Africa.

During its 114 year existence Port Nolloth has had a chequered history of booms and depressions. In 1854 Commander M.S. Nolloth of H.M.S. Frolic was sent to survey the Namaqualand coast and look for possible sites for harbours to serve the copper mines of the interior. Commander Nolloth found the most suitable site to be Robbe Baai, where a reef provided some protection and shelter, and in 1855 it was named Port Nolloth by the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, in honour of Commander Nolloth.

The early history of Port Nolloth is that of the copper mines of the interior, which had first been prospected in 1685 after an enterprising journey by Simon van der Stel, Governor of the Cape at that time. A most important event in Port Nolloth's history, and one which ensured its early development, was the building of a narrow-gauge railway from O'okiep to Port Nolloth in 1894 by the old Cape Copper Company.

Port Nolloth was now linked to the interior, and copper ore was transported to the coast, from where it was shipped to Cape Town by coaster. As a result of this development, officials and

labourers of the Cape Copper Company were stationed in Port Nolloth, and the area was surveyed and planned in 1895. Port Nolloth was granted a Village Management Board in 1929 and a Municipality in 1957.

In 1918 an event of more lasting significance was the arrival in Port Nolloth of Mr Andrew Ovenstone, and the subsequent establishment by him of a crayfish factory which is still there and is now the dominating industry in the town. The factory created more employment, but at this stage it was very small, and the town still depended on the copper mines for survival.

For a while Port Nolloth was secure, but the copper depression after the First World War caused the closure of the copper mines in the interior. This was nearly a mortal blow for the town, which lost much of its population (see Table 1) and employment opportunities in one blow. Old residents of the town recall this period as "the dark days" when poverty was everywhere, and husbands and fathers left to look for work and some never returned. The major source of employment was the small fishing factory, which was quite unable to absorb those who lost their employment.

The most spectacular period in Port Nolloth's history - as spectacular as it was short - occurred with the finding of diamonds on the coast a little to the north of the town in 1927. This precipitated the 1927 diamond rush which "turned Port Nolloth almost overnight into a notorious rendezvous for IDB (illicit diamond buying) and the toughest variety of crooks."

(Ovenstones, 1958). Port Nolloth was invaded by a variety of fortune-hunters, gamblers, prospectors and tradesmen, and for a short time the town boomed. Port Nolloth was the centre of activity, and hotels and shops rose creating a cosmopolitan town the like of which Namaqualand had not seen before.

But the diamond rush lasted only six months before State intervention established the State Alluvial Diggings (S.A.D.) at Alexander Bay, and there were no more quick fortunes to be made legally. Most of the fortune-hunters and tradesmen left, and in their place came poor Whites of Boer trekker stock to work at Alexander Bay. Most of these people had been living in abject poverty in the interior and had been a considerable problem for the State. The S.A.D. at Alexander Bay provided some solution to the problem, and caused significant changes in the White population of Port Nolloth which will be discussed later. After the diamond rush Port Nolloth experienced a quiet period, although the recession was not as severe as the first depression, mainly because the fishing industry was expanding and the S.A.D. at Alexander Bay brought more business to the town.

In 1937 American interests re-opened the copper mines, and the O'okiep Copper Company (OCC) replaced the Cape Copper Company at Port Nolloth. However, the railway line between Port Nolloth and O'okiep had been dismantled, and the OCC transported ore and other materials by road to Bitterfontein, and thence by rail to Cape Town. Thus the re-opening of the mines, while doing no harm to Port Nolloth, was not as important as it might have been had

the railway line still been in existence. At first the OCC retained ownership of the port facilities, but this was later sold to the Consolidated/^{Diamond}Mines of South West Africa (CDM) who were operating mines at Kleinsee to the south and Oranjemund to the north. With the take-over of the port by CDM, Port Nolloth's copper era passed for good; from then on its life-blood would be crayfish and diamonds.

Port Nolloth's history is reflected in its marked population changes over the years:

Table 1
Population (1)

<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>African</u>	<u>Total</u>
1891	274	581	-	855
1911	409	1,275	-	1,684
1921	151	702	3	856
1936	271	1,285	16	1,572
1951	458	1,146	339	1,943
1960	481	1,829	282	2,592
1968	400	3,000	290	3,690

The growth of the population from 1891 can be attributed to the expanding copper mines. The significant decrease in 1921 followed the closing of the mines and the subsequent slump. The rise in population in 1936 followed the discovery of diamonds and the expanding fishing industry. The total population has risen steadily since then with the development of the mining and fishing industries and the consequent flow of labour from the nearby reserves and interior.

The increased port activity and the establishment of Port Nolloth as District Headquarters of police contributed to the

(1) From Official Union Yearbook, No.19, 1938, Population Census, 1960, Vol.1. 1968 estimate based on 36% sample

increase in the White population after 1936. As the crayfish industry expanded, African migrants came to Port Nolloth in increasing numbers, particularly from Malawi. African migrant labour from outside South Africa was stopped by the government, and migrant labour within the country curtailed following the government's policy of withdrawing African labour from the Western Cape and environs. It is not expected that the African population in Port Nolloth will rise in the future - in fact officials of the Bantu Affairs Department predict that it will not be long before there will be no Africans in the area. At the moment two fishing companies have a combined quota of about 400 men whom they are allowed to bring on contract from the Transkei each year on twelve month contracts.

The White and African populations at the moment are relatively stable; not so the Coloured population. The majority of the Coloured people work in the fishing industries which operate for eight months of the year. Thus the work is seasonal, and income - mostly on commission - fluctuates considerably from season to season, and indeed from week to week. In good seasons more people will go to Port Nolloth to work; in bad seasons and in the closed season many will seek work elsewhere, or return to their homes in the interior. In 1968, for example, the season was bad and a number of men left for South West Africa, particularly Lüderitz, where the catches were reported to be good. However, more and more people are settling in Port Nolloth each year as they bring their families with them and erect houses. Even when men leave

because of the bad season to seek work elsewhere, women and children are generally left behind in Port Nolloth. The lack of employment in the Coloured reserves, as well as their general poverty, is likely to ensure a continuing flow of migrant workers to Port Nolloth who, like their predecessors, will usually settle more or less permanently in the town.

The Port Nolloth of the past was extremely isolated. Roads were gravel and very bad most of the way to Cape Town, and the only other method of communication was through the coasters which called regularly. Port Nolloth today is not quite so isolated. A fairly good road - gravel for all but 15 miles - joins the National Road from South West Africa to Cape Town at Steinkopf. The nearest rail head is at Bitterfontein 209 miles away. The railway was extended from Klaver to Bitterfontein in 1929. There is a bus service (which also carries mail) from Port Nolloth to Bitterfontein via Springbok three times a week. Port Nolloth has a small harbour, and two coasters arrive from Cape Town each week. The nearest airfields are at Alexander Bay - on a South African Airways route - about 45 miles to the north, and at Springbok, 90 miles to the east. Light aeroplanes sometimes land at Port Nolloth on a salt pan near the town.

Port Nolloth's climate is mild; the cold Benguela Current off the coast contributes to this and causes frequent morning mists. The mean annual temperature of Port Nolloth is about 57 degrees Fahrenheit, and variation is minimal. Wellington (1955) gives mean temperatures for the hottest and coldest months as 60 and 55 degrees Fahrenheit respectively. It is therefore considerably cooler

in Port Nolloth than in the interior. The town is fairly windy, and rainfall is minimal. Kotzé (1943) gives 2.37" per year as the average rainfall taken over the preceding fifty years.

The area around Port Nolloth is dry, sandy and unproductive. There is no cultivation in or near the town. The main problem is water, which is scarce and has a high mineral content. In 1968, however, a new water scheme was being constructed at a cost of over R140,000 to ensure a more plentiful supply of water in the future. As a result of the barren surroundings and the absence of grazing, few animals are kept. There are some donkeys used for transport, and a number of dogs and chickens. Nearly all food-stuffs have to be imported into the community, with consequent high prices.

The major economic activity in the town is the crayfish industry. There are three factories which operate for eight months each year. Their combined quotas allow them to pack 65,850 20 lb units each season, which means that they may catch up to 1.5 million crayfish each season. At the height of the season the factories employ a total of 1,200 people (out of a total population of 3,690), mainly as fishermen and factory-workers.

The second major employer of labour is the diamond company CDM, which owns the jetty, and which employs a team of stevedores and labourers for loading and unloading the coasters and storing their cargoes. Other employment opportunities are mainly in local commerce and domestic service.

In 1968 Port Nolloth had 11 general dealers, one furniture shop, three butchers, and four cafes. It has a District Head-

quarters of police, a Magistrate's Court, Post Office, bank, hotel, two garages, private hospital and one doctor, three schools, seven churches, three fishing factories, a diamond company, a shipping agency and a construction company. In 1967 four new businesses were started. The town has 100 houses occupied by Whites and 464 by Coloured people. The fishing factories have two compounds for Africans and one for Coloured migrants.

Port Nolloth is not an attractive town. It has been described as "an eyesore, a festering spot of ugliness on the most dreary stretch of coast you can find on the African seaboard" (Birkby, 1936:116). It is also a town which few of its inhabitants would like to regard as a permanent home. But it has survived "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" of the last century or more, and despite predictions to the contrary, is expanding. But it is by no means secure. It has survived the copper and diamond eras, and is now largely dependent on the fishing industry. As long as this industry continues all will be well; should it fail, Port Nolloth would experience a depression worse than anything it has experienced before.

This is the precarious position of the people in Port Nolloth.

CHAPTER 2THE PEOPLE - COLOURED

THE COLOURED PEOPLE of Port Nolloth are not a homogeneous group; they form a category created by the Population Registration Act (No.30 of 1950) which laid down that: "5.(1) Every person ... shall be classified ... as a white person, a coloured person, or a native, as the case may be ..." A Coloured person was defined negatively as "a person who is not a white person or a native" (v.Carstens,1966:appendix). Although there have been a number of attempts - mostly confusing - by the South African government to define a Coloured person, it is generally accepted that a Coloured person is a person of mixed descent. (1)

The Coloured people of Port Nolloth, then, are of mixed descent, and their origins are as varied as those of any other group of Coloured people to be found in South Africa. Port Nolloth, with its lack of water and unproductive soil, was not inhabited until the start of the copper mines in the interior. Before this, the population of the region was in the interior and consisted of Bushmen and Khoikhoi at first, the latter being an indigenous people of different tribes, the most important being the Nama but including Kora and others, who were known as Orlams to the tribes in the north.

As the Cape Dutch settlers - the Boers - moved north from the Cape, many took Khoikhoi women, and gave rise to a group of mixed

(1) For the origins of the Coloured people, see inter alia Marais (1939); Patterson (1953); Macmillan (1927); Theron and Swart (1964).

descent who became known as the Basters (a corruption of 'bastards'). Some Basters were absorbed into the Boer, and some into the Khoikhoi groups, but in general they were accepted by neither group and tended to intermarry. "These Basters," says Carstens, "who were the Voortrekkers of Little Namaqualand, were largely responsible for defeating and driving out the Bushmen." (Carstens, 1966:19). The Basters were later followed by White farmers who also trekked north.

Thus before the arrival of Europeans (2) in Port Nolloth, there were in the interior Khoikhoi, Basters and Whites, all living more or less the same precarious farming existence. They tended to be endogamous, but there was a certain amount of mixing, giving rise to numbers of people of mixed descent.

With the opening of the mines and the establishment of the O'okiep-Port Nolloth railway, there were employment opportunities in Port Nolloth for the first time, and some Coloured people who were unable to make a satisfactory living off the land moved there to work. The opening of the first crayfish factory also provided new employment opportunities, and speeded up a steady migration of Coloured people from the reserves to the town. In Port Nolloth there was considerable mixing between the Coloured people and Europeans who had been drawn by the mining or fishing industries. Notable among these groups were the Cornish miners of the old Cape Copper Company, many of whom mixed freely with the local Coloured

(2) The word is used in its correct sense of 'people from Europe' and not as it is sometimes used in South Africa to denote White South Africans.

population. Another group to mix with Coloured people in Port Nolloth were St Helenans who were brought to work in the fishing factories. The last surviving St Helenan in Port Nolloth explained that "we came over because the country people (i.e. Coloured people) were lazy. The biggest part of their living was ploughing and they used to go and plough whenever it rained." Most of the St Helenans, who were partly of British descent, later left to work in the interior.

In 1907 there was an addition to the Coloured population when a group of Nama refugees arrived in Port Nolloth. They had fled from the Bondelzwart Wars (against the Germans in South West Africa the previous year) and arrived destitute in Port Nolloth where they were cared for by the local inhabitants. The descendants of these refugees still live on the outskirts of the town.

The expansion of the fishing industry and the diamond rush of 1927 brought an increasing variety of people of various origins into Port Nolloth, some of whom married into the Coloured community. However, when the mines closed and the State took over the diamond fields, most of the newcomers, particularly the Europeans, left Port Nolloth - and their descendants - to seek work elsewhere. With the advent of the Boer descendants racial prejudice and discrimination, already prevalent elsewhere, increased, and mixing dropped sharply. Racial mixing between White and Coloured was finally made illegal by the Mixed Marriages Act No.55 of 1949, and later the Immorality Act No.23 of 1957, although it did not stop entirely.

From 1936 increasing numbers of African migrants came to work

in Port Nolloth. At first these migrants came mainly from the Ambo and Nyasa tribes of South West Africa and Malawi respectively. New government policy, however, resulted in the repatriation of nearly all these men, and from then on African migrant labour was drawn from the Transkei. In general, the indigenous Coloured people of Namaqualand who have not come into close contact with Africans fear them (v.Carstens,1966:186) and this is also the case in Port Nolloth, although not to the same extent. There has been considerable African-Coloured mixing in Port Nolloth, especially among the poorer section of the Coloured people.

Thus the Coloured people of Port Nolloth are of very varied origin indeed, and can count among their ancestors Khoikhoi, Boers, Basters, Europeans (there are Coloured families in Port Nolloth today descended from Cornishmen, Germans, Italians and Norwegians, to mention just a few), St Helenans, and Africans from South West Africa, Malawi and the Transkei.

Migration

The development of industry in Namaqualand and the impoverishment of the rural areas has caused a steady stream of workers to leave the reserves and farms to seek work in the towns. The 1951 census showed approximately 25% of the total Namaqualand Coloured population to be in the major Namaqualand towns offering employment (Springbok, Port Nolloth, Alexander Bay, Kleinsee, Nababeep, O'ekiep and Hondeklipbaai) and in 1960 the figure had risen to nearly 32%. (Population Census,1960,Vol.1).

The Coloured population of Port Nolloth (v.Table 1,p.3) shows, apart from the post-war copper slump period, a steady increase as

more and more people leave the land to work in the town. Some are migrants, but most have settled in Port Nolloth more or less permanently.

In a random sample of 168 houses, (3) representing 30% of all Coloured houses in Port Nolloth, it was found that no less than 80.3% of all household heads, their wives and other adult lodgers, were not born in Port Nolloth. Nearly all these 'foreigners' said that they had come to Port Nolloth to look for work, and very few had left families behind; they had either brought them with them or married in Port Nolloth. The usual procedure for a man is to come to Port Nolloth and, as soon as he has a job and accommodation, to bring his family after him. That it is a fairly permanent move once it is made is reflected in the fact that the average length of residence in Port Nolloth by these 'foreigners' at the time of the survey was 14 years.

The table below gives an indication of the relative importance of the various home areas of Port Nolloth's adult Coloured population, with the proviso that the table does not show the real significance of the Richtersveld. Nearly all the people who were born in the Loeriesfontein district are Basters who later trekked with their families and settled in the Eksteenfontein area of the Richtersveld, which they now regard as their home.

(3) Unless otherwise specified, all figures that follow in the text are drawn from the 30% sample mentioned, which was used in the survey conducted by the writer in the middle of 1968. (See Appendix).

Table 2Birthplaces of Coloured Adults in the Sample

Port Nolloth	20	%
Steinkopf	17	
Richtersveld	6	
Loeriesfontein & district	8	
O'okiep & district	10	61 (near)
Komaggas	8	
Concordia	5	13 (marginal)
Kakamas & district	11	
Hondeklipbaai & district	2	
Other Cape areas	12	
South West Africa	1	26 (far)
	<u>100</u>	

Of the places mentioned in Table 2, Steinkopf and O'okiep and district are the most easily accessible from Port Nolloth, as they are on a public transport route. The reserves of the Richtersveld, Komaggas and Concordia can also be reached fairly easily with transport, and by Namaqualand standards are not far away. People who have left these places to work will generally have retained some links with their home area, and will return on visits. The other areas in the table are generally too far away to allow for this sort of contact.

It is mainly the people who come from more distant areas who are known in Port Nolloth as inkommers, literally 'those who have come in'. The word should refer to all who have come to settle in Port Nolloth from other parts, but it is not generally used of those who have come from nearby areas, for example Steinkopf or the Richtersveld.

One woman informant denied that she was an inkommer although she had been born in Steinkopf, and said "Port Nolloth and Steinkopf are the same." This attitude was found quite often, and a

settled there (4) and re-named the place Eksteenfontein after a minister who had helped them to get the land. They were joined by other Basters, particularly from the Loeriesfontein district, who had trekked away towards Steinkopf for similar reasons. After years of intermarriage this group is almost entirely indistinguishable from Whites as far as skin colour and hair form is concerned. Their lives are similar to those of the early Boer trekkers, and at Eksteenfontein they depend on sheep and goats for a livelihood. The area is very poor, and many of the younger people have gone to Port Nolloth to earn a living, where they tend to keep apart from other Coloured people (see Chapter 6) who call them half-naastjies (half-castes), which is regarded as a term of abuse. The term Baster is also disliked and is not generally used by anybody in Port Nolloth.

Most Basters in Port Nolloth have come directly from Eksteenfontein, although a few have come from the Loeriesfontein district. This group started coming into Port Nolloth in numbers in about 1950.

Another minority group within the Coloured community is the Nama, of Khoikhoi descent, who include the Bondelzwart refugees already mentioned. This group tends to live apart from the rest of the Coloured community, and can only really be distinguished from other Coloured people by their separate residential area - Namastraat - although a few of the people can still speak the Nama

(4) The Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves and Settlements of 1947 recommended that the "half-castes of Bosluis" be granted land near Steinkopf.

language, and most of the old people have distinctly Khoikhoi physical features.

Residential Areas

Of the 670 houses in Port Nolloth in 1968, Coloured people occupied 570. Coloured housing can be divided into two basic types - housing provided by the various companies for their employees, and housing erected privately. Companies have provided about 150 out of the 570 houses, and one fishing factory has a compound for migrant fishermen.

Table 3
Coloured houses by areas (5)

Hillbrow	10	Boomstraat	34
Rainbow City	24	Paraffinstraat	225
White City	12	Houmoed-Bult	92
New City	10	Bloukamp	45
Central Area	13	Namastraat	<u>24</u>
Diamond City	54		<u>420</u>
Hickson Barracks	15	Total number	
Ovenstone Barracks	<u>12</u>	of houses	570
	<u>150</u>		

John Ovenstone Ltd own Hillbrow, Rainbow City, and the Ovenstone Barracks, as well as some houses in the central area; Hickson's own White City, Hickson's Barracks, and what will be called New City (the newest of the housing schemes, as yet un-named); and Consolidated Diamond Mines own Diamond City.

The companies can house only a limited number of people: in fact, only 26% of the total Coloured population. They tend to house their senior, and long-service employees first, and 44% of the occupants of the fishing company houses were not fishermen but factory operatives, mechanics, carpenters and the like. The

(5) See map, p.24

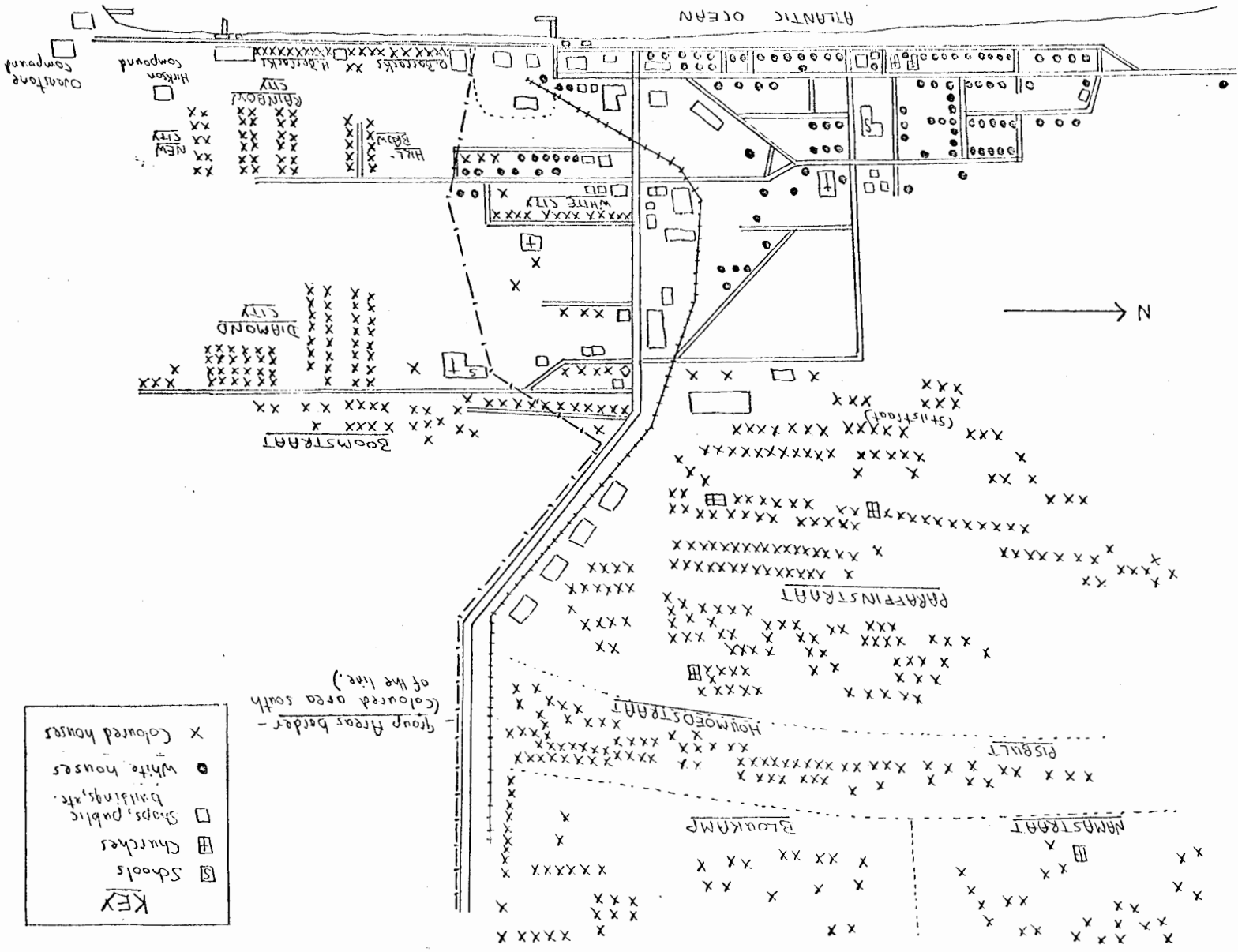
mining company, however, is able to house nearly all its employees, and in addition provides accommodation for six teachers who were unable to get suitable housing elsewhere.

Of the Ovenstone's housing, which is all rent-free, Hillbrow is the best, and is occupied mainly by skippers and other senior employees. The houses have six rooms, with water and sanitation provided. Rainbow City houses have four rooms and sanitation. No water is laid on but the houses are served by communal taps nearby. Ovenstone's Barracks have the same facilities as Rainbow City, except that each house has a tap in the back yard.

Hickson's housing is also rent-free. White City houses have four rooms and sanitation. No water is provided, but a company lorry fills 44 gallon petrol drums for the occupants regularly. New City houses have similar facilities, except that they are smaller and have only three rooms. Hickson's Barracks are also similar, but the number of rooms varies from two to four.

CDM housing is the best in Fort Nolloth, and occupants pay rent of R1-50 per month. The houses have four rooms plus a bathroom, and have water, sanitation and gas stoves. Two bottles of gas are allowed free each month. The housing scheme also has a clinic with a full-time qualified sister-midwife. A company doctor and dentist visit regularly, and attention and medicines are free.

Boomstraat is an interstitial area between the housing estates and the squatters' lokasie on the other side of the main road which divides the town (see map). It is a mixed area of



squatters and those who own their own land. Most of the houses are of wood and iron, sinkhuise, but there are also a few of brick, muurhuise, and asbestos, asbeshuise. The cost of materials is very high in Port Nolloth, and very few Coloured people who erect their own houses can afford anything better than a sinkhuis.

The greater part of the coloured population - 67% - lives in what is called the lokasie, which is a large area about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, consisting almost entirely of sinkhuise. All the people in this area are squatters and are living there illegally, although their presence is allowed by the authorities - they are vital to the economy of the town and there is nowhere else for them to live. The Municipality charges a ground rent of R2 per house per year, something which has caused a great deal of discontent among the residents of the area who say they get nothing for their money, and point out that the Municipality makes in the region of R800 per year out of them. (6) The area has no water - the 386 houses are served by one tap which is open on three afternoons a week. Residents have to queue for water, and their 44 gallon drums when filled - at a cost of 8c each - have to be rolled home, often up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles across the sand. Donkey carts charge 50c to transport a drum. Some companies try to alleviate the situation by sending water lorries from time to time, and a new water scheme was being constructed in 1968, but it was not certain whether water would be laid on to the lokasie. There is no

(6) A municipal official stated in an interview that the R2 rental was "to keep order".

sanitation in the area, and the Municipality charges R1-10 per month to clean latrines. However, this service is not available to the whole lokasie, on the grounds that the lorry would stick in the sand. Residents point out that the water lorries manage to cross the area without sticking. There is also no refuse removal and residents have to bury their own refuse, often creating a health hazard in the area.

Table 4

Distribution of Coloured population

<u>Area</u>	<u>%</u>
Paraffinstraat	43
Houmoed-Bult	15
Bloukamp	5
Namakroek	4
Boomstraat	7
City areas	<u>26</u>
Total in sample	<u>100</u>

From the above table it can be seen that Paraffinstraat (which includes Stilstraat, see map, page 24) is the largest (and fastest-growing) area - it is here that newcomers tend to settle when they first come to town, as it is the nearest squatters' area to the town. Paraffinstraat can be divided into different areas according to a number of criteria, and this will be discussed later. However, it can be said that the part of the area nearest to town is the most-settled and best-off part of the lokasie. As one moves further away from the town the area gets poorer and poorer.

Behind Paraffinstraat and a little further from the town lies a low hill, the Bult, which can be divided into two sections. The northern part is a very poor area and is referred to as 'die Bult'

or more often derisively as 'Pisbult'. The southern end of the area is better-off and compares with the better areas of Paraffinstraat. The inhabitants of this part do not like the name Pisbult and prefer to their area as Houmoedstraat. This is a fairly new name, and is not as yet generally used by the rest of the population.

Behind the Bult is Bloukamp, which used to be a thickly-populated area when African migrants were still allowed unrestricted entry into Port Nolloth. When foreign Africans were deported and Transkeian migrants accommodated in compounds, the population of Bloukamp fell sharply, and today it is inhabited mainly by older people who prefer a quieter life some distance away from the town. It is also a poor area.

Behind Bloukamp and a little to the north lies Namakroek, also known as Namastraat. This is the home of those of Nama descent, and particularly of the refugees from the Bondelzwart Wars. In a survey of adults in the area, it was found that 50% were born in the Richtersveld and to the north, and 30% in Port Nolloth. It appears that nearly all those of Nama descent who come to Port Nolloth settle in Namastraat. Non-Nama are not allowed to settle by the local inhabitants.

The people in this area (4% of the Coloured population) preserve some aspects of Khoikhoi culture. About 62% of the adults can speak the Nama language, although only two people in the area are literate in it. Their children cannot speak the language, although most understand a few words. Namastraat residents live in sinkhuise, but many of them have tried to preserve the hemispherical matjieshuis, mat house, style used by Khoikhoi in the

interior. Many also have the traditional cooking-huts next to their houses. Two families still practise female puberty rites, where a girl on reaching puberty is secluded for two to three weeks to prevent illness, and is then brought back into society during a dance by relatives ("Hulle is uitgedans"), after which a feast is held. (7)

The position of the people living in the lokasie is somewhat precarious. Group Areas, under Act No.41 of 1950 as amended, were declared in the town on October 13th, 1967 (see map, page 24) with the result that just under half of the total Coloured population is now living in a proclaimed White area. Thus all the lokasie-dwellers will have to move eventually, as will the residents of White City and parts of Boomstraat. The proclamation caused considerable bitterness among Coloured people, particularly over White City, as it is pointed out that a handful of White residents near White City have been protected at the expense of the Coloured residents of the area. It is also pointed out that the line dividing the White from the Coloured area has been so drawn that no White residents will have to move.

Nobody has been instructed to move yet, and Coloured leaders have been given unofficial assurances that no-one will be moved before adequate alternative housing is available. No restriction has as yet been put on newcomers, so Paraffinstraat is likely to expand, despite the fact that it is now officially a White area. The Municipality is at present planning economic and sub-economic

(7) For an account of traditional female initiation rites
v. Schapera, 1930:272.

housing estates for Coloured people, but as the ground has still to be obtained from the State, and plans then have to go through a number of government departments, it is not likely that any houses will be erected for some time. The lokasie, then, is likely to remain for the foreseeable future.

There is an average of six people per house in the Coloured area of Port Nolloth as a whole. The average number of rooms per house is 3.4, including kitchens. As there are very few houses without kitchens, there is an overall average of about 2.5 people per living room. This figure includes the statistics for the housing estates where houses are relatively large and boarders are not allowed. The lokasie area is considerably overcrowded in some parts.

Of all the houses occupied by Coloured people, 1% have electricity, and 17% have water taps on their premises. A further 5% have water nearby, and 72% are at some distance from taps, and have to use 44 gallon drums to transport and store their water. As far as luxuries are concerned, 60% of the homes have radios, 25% record players, and 5% motor-cars or trucks.

Just over 30% of all Coloured homes have people living in them who are not members of a nuclear family. Of these extra lodgers, 10% are parents of the household head or his wife, 57% are other relatives, and 33% are non-related boarders. The average number of children per household is 3.3.

Language

The Coloured people in Port Nolloth are almost entirely Afrikaans-speaking, and there are very few people who cannot speak

the language, which is also the medium of instruction in schools. The second language is English, and most people have a smattering of it although there are few who are fluent in it and fewer still who use it as a first language. (8) English is taught in schools, heard on the radio and also read in magazines. As already mentioned, a small number of people, nearly all living in Namastraat, have some knowledge of the Nama language or Namataal as it is known.

Whereas Afrikaans and English are taught in schools, heard on the radio and at film shows, and read in books and magazines, Nama is used only by a few adults and is found printed only in a handful of Bibles and hymnbooks which only two people in the whole community are able to read. It is thus a dying language in Port Nolloth. A few Nama words, however, are incorporated into a dialect of Afrikaans which is spoken by less-educated members of the Coloured community. The dialect is distinguished not only by vocabulary (English, Afrikaans and Nama words are used), but also by a pronunciation very different from that of standard Afrikaans.

An example of this came in the form of a news report in the dialect which was read at a youth concert. The example is quoted from the script:

Dialect: Die meeshoring hat verlede oond 'n kwaai verkoue opgedoen nadat deet die hele oond so gegaigai (Nama) het.

Afrikaans: Die mishoring het gisteraand 'n kwaai verkoue opgedoen nadat dit die hele aand so geraas het.

English: The foghorn picked up a bad cold last night after it had made such a noise the whole night.

(8) For a discussion of English as a high-status language, see Chapter 7.

Religion

Religion plays an important part in the lives of the Coloured people in Port Nolloth, who belong to a variety of denominations. The oldest of these are the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches which served the first European residents in Port Nolloth. The N.G. Sendingkerk (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) and the Christelike Evangelie Sendingkerk van Suid Afrika (Christian Gospel Mission Church of South Africa) followed later, and a more recent protestant church is the Calvynse Protestantse Kerk (Calvin Protestant Church). There are also three fairly recent churches which are called the Apostoliese kerke by local inhabitants, 'apostolic churches': The Apostoliese Geloofsending (Apostolic Faith Mission), the Christen Gemeentes (Christian Assemblies) and the Volle Evangelie Kerk van God (Full Gospel Church of God). These last three churches are more accurately called pentecostal in that they all emphasise "charismatic Christianity" and are "mostly led by laymen." (9)

The Roman Catholic Church in Port Nolloth is a mission consisting of a church, school and convent house. There is a resident priest and three nuns of the order of the Oblates of St Francis de Sales. Teachers at the school act as church officials where needed, and the church has a welfare society, a women's group and a youth organisation.

The Anglican Church has no resident minister, but a priest

(9) The Pentecostal Movement, in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.

visits the community once or twice a month. Services are taken in the absence of the priest by a sub-deacon and a catechist, both Coloured men. The congregation elects its own officers, and is represented on the Church Council of the Parish of Namaqualand, which links all Anglicans in the area. The church has a women's association, a mothers' union, and branches of the Church Lads' and Girls' Brigade. There is also a Sunday School. The church meets in a wood and iron building which was formerly the Anglican school, and which was forced to close down by the government. A new church will be built when a Group Areas permit is obtained.

The N.G. Sendingkerk has a resident minister, who also serves the Richtersveld and other nearby areas. (10) In other parts of Namaqualand this church took over from the Rhenish Mission Society which had taken over in turn from the London Mission Society (v.Carstens, 1966:21f), but these changes took place before the church came to Port Nolloth.

The structure of the church is the same as described by Carstens for Steinkopf (*ibid*:150f). The dominie or leraar, teacher, is assisted by two evangeliste, evangelists, five ouderlinge, elders, and five diakens, deacons; although there are more ouderlinge and diakens in the Richtersveld, which is also part of the same congregation. The congregation is part of a Ring which includes congregations of Steinkopf, Concordia and Springbok. The Kerkraad, Church Council, which controls the activities of the

(10) Late in 1968 the Kerkraad decided to dispense with the services of the two evangeliste and to appoint a second minister to work in the northern parts of the Richtersveld.

church, has representatives from Port Nolloth and the Richtersveld and other areas.

The N.G. Sendingkerk in Port Nolloth meets in the government school, which they rent out to the Coloured Affairs Department. The church is negotiating to sell the buildings to the Department, and plans to use the money to build a church. They have a youth organisation, women's association, an orchestra and church choir, a men's choir and a Sunday School. The Port Nolloth congregation has contact mainly with the congregations in Lekkersing and Eksteenfontein in the Richtersveld, and very occasionally with congregations at Kuboes, Khais, Alexander Bay and Grootmist, all of which form the congregation as a whole. There is also some contact with the Steinkopf congregation.

The Christelike Evangelie Sendingkerk van Suid Afrika is a protestant church situated in Namastraat, and is often referred to as the Namakerk. Most of its members - about 100 people - come from Namastraat. The church was founded in South Africa in 1912 by a Coloured man, 'Bishop' Dunn, and later split over a leadership dispute into the Christelike Evangelie Sendingkerk and the United Gospel Churches. In Port Nolloth the church was founded by Bishop Dunn before 1930, although the precise date is uncertain. The doctrine of the church does not differ markedly from that of the N.G. Sendingkerk, and its hierarchy is the same. It has a full-time minister, who is referred to as 'Erwaarde', an evangelist, ouderlinge and diakens. It is said that many of the Bondelzwart refugees became Anglicans when they came to Port Nolloth, but that they changed to a church which gave them

exclusive attention and which allowed them to use the Nama language in services.

The Calvinse Protestantse Kerk is represented in Port Nolloth by a number of people from the reserve of Komaggas. The founder of the Calvinse Kerk was invited to Komaggas to establish a church there in 1950, as Carstens says, "because they did not want to be ministered to by the N.G. Sendingkerk and also because they disliked the personality of the resident missionary." (Carstens:1966:219). The church was founded in opposition to the take-over of the Rhenish Mission by the N.G. Sendingkerk, which was regarded as being dominated by Whites. The Calvinse Kerk now has the largest membership in the Komaggas reserve and has a full-time Coloured minister. The church was established in Port Nolloth in 1964 when an ouderling came to the town from Komaggas to work. Services are held in his house, and he and two diakens look after a congregation of just under 30 members. Most people from Komaggas work for Hicksons, and live in New City or the Barracks, and services are held in New City. For sacraments and special services, a lorry is hired to take the congregation back to Komaggas. A Hickson's lorry also provides free transport to Komaggas for one week-end each month. In Port Nolloth the ouderling takes services and runs a Sunday School; the minister visits infrequently.

Finally, there are three pentecostal churches, all in Parafinstraat.

The Apostoliese Geloofsending was the first of the pentecostal churches to come to Port Nolloth, and has been in the town for

over fifteen years. Nationally, the church is divided into three sections - for Whites, Coloureds and Africans. The Coloured section has its headquarters in Cape Town. There is no full-time minister - a Pastor visits occasionally - and services are conducted by an ouderling, who is assisted by two diakens and a Kerkraad of six. The congregation numbers about 50 people. In common with the other two pentecostal churches in Port Nolloth, members must give a tenth of their salary to the church and are not allowed to smoke, drink, dance, play games, attend the cinema, or take part in other similar activities. Services in these churches are held more often than in the other churches already mentioned.

The Christen Gemeentes began in Port Nolloth in 1964 when an ouderling of the church came to work from Kakamas. Again, the church is nationally divided into "European, Asiatic, Coloured, and Bantu" sections. The section for Coloured people is based in Upington. The church's hierarchy is laid down according to a scriptural text, and there are apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, all with slightly different functions, as well as ouderlinge and diakens. There are three ouderlinge in Port Nolloth - one in charge - and two diakens. The Kerkraad consists of four members. Most of the members of this church come from Kakamas and its environs, and they are usually referred to by non-members as 'wederdopers'. One of the major differences between this church and the other two pentecostal churches is that their baptism involves total immersion once (grootdoop,

onderdompeldoop) whereas the other two insist that according to scripture it should be three times. The Congregation is about 74 strong, and there is a women's association and a Sunday School.

The Volle Evangelie Kerk van God has been in Port Nolloth for about ten years. Its origin coincides with the arrival of the new wave of Basters in 1950. Some of the Basters who trekked from Loeriesfontein were members of this church, and brought it with them to Port Nolloth. At first they met in private houses, but as more joined they were able to build a church. At present the total membership of the church is about 100, all Basters or of Baster descent. They have a Kerkraad and an ouderling who organises services vice the Pastor who visits only occasionally. There is a women's prayer circle and a youth choir. This church has a reputation for being open only to those who are light-skinned, although in theory it is open to all. A senior member of the church said it was possible for, say, a White or African to join, but in practice it was most unlikely, and had never happened.

There is not a great deal of inter-church contact in Port Nolloth - in fact there is antagonism between certain of the churches. There is contact between youth groups of the Anglican and N.G. Sendingkerk churches, and the dominie of the latter has married members of the Namakerk, whose minister is not a marriage officer. There is no contact between the Roman Catholic Church and other churches. There is also no contact between the three pentecostal churches and the others. There is, however, some contact among the pentecostal churches, which are largely similar.

Congregations occasionally visit each other's churches, especially if one has a particularly good preacher visiting it. The constitution of the Christen Gemeentes, for example, states that it is "eager to have fellowship with pentecostal movements on a mutual basis" but it lays down that it is the duty of its members to give preference to their own church. The position is much the same for the other two churches.

Some leaders of non-pentecostal churches in Port Nolloth - particularly the N.G. Sendingkerk - are concerned about the increasing membership of the pentecostal churches at the expense of their own congregations. N.G. Sendingkerk leaders have tried to explain the phenomenon by attributing it to the greater scope allowed in the pentecostal churches to individual participation in services, and also to the emotion and variety in the services. A case was cited of a Volle Evangelie Kerk member saying to an N.G. Sendingkerk member that "your church is too cold". Another factor mentioned specifically of the Volle Evangelie Kerk was that its assumed superiority over other churches was attractive to Basters who considered themselves superior to other Coloured people.

Although the reasons cited above are certainly important factors, there are perhaps deeper reasons to be found. Lanternari has pointed out that the struggle of early Christianity against the Jewish priesthood and the Roman Empire "could be fought on religious grounds only if the existing values of that society were rejected and others of purely spiritual and non-worldly significance were adopted in their stead" (Lanternari,

1963:312). By and large the Coloured community of Port Nolloth is frustrated economically and politically, and turning to the pentecostal churches can be seen as a result of this, a form of escapism. For those who find their normal lives almost unbearably hard, the 'retreat from the world' required by these churches allows them to escape, albeit temporarily. The members of these churches do not drink, smoke, dance, read magazines, play games, go to the cinema or take part in other such activities. They have as little contact as possible with those who are not members of their congregations. Instead they go to church, and concern themselves with things of "purely spiritual and non-worldly significance."

Another point is that the movement, testimony and emotion of the services can also serve as an outlet for the tensions and frustrations of everyday life. "The heart depressed by drudgery, hardship, forlornness, craves not merely moral guidance but exhilaration and ecstasy" (Niebuhr, 1929:262). Informality and emotion are important factors. Niebuhr says of the religion of "the untutored and economically disfranchised classes" that emotional fervour is a common mark. He continues with an explanation which has particular relevance to the present case:

"Where the power of abstract thought has not been highly developed and where inhibitions on emotional expression have not been set up by a system of polite conventions, religion must and will be expressed in emotional terms. Under these circumstances spontaneity and energy of religious feeling rather than conformity to an abstract creed are regarded as the tests of religious genuineness. Hence also the formality of ritual is displaced in such groups by an informality which gives opportunity for the expression of emotional faith and for a simple, often crude, symbolism. An intellectually trained and

distances from Port Nolloth. They carry ice, and crayfish are frozen immediately ^{after} they are caught. In addition to the deck-hands, who man the dinghies, the Ovenstone trawlers carry a skipper, driver (engineer), mate, bosun and cook. The skipper, driver and cook do not fish. On the Hickson trawlers, which are smaller than the Ovenstone ones, there are deck-hands, skippers and drivers. Only the skippers do not fish.

Skollybakkie fishermen are paid on commission, and earn between 5c and 7c per crayfish, depending on size. Hickson deck-hands are paid at the same rate, and their skippers are paid R1-25 commission per 100 crayfish caught by the boat. Hickson drivers are paid R10 per month, plus their catch. Ovenstone deck-hands are paid by the basket of crayfish - holding about 50 crayfish. They get R1-25 per basket, bosuns and mates get 10c commission on every basket caught by the boat plus their personal catches, and the cook receives 21c commission per basket. The drivers get 40c per basket, and skippers 80c per basket plus a standing salary of R80 per month.

It is almost impossible to state the income of fishermen, as their catches vary enormously and weekly catches can bring them in anything from R2 to R100. Skippers do best of all, and during a poor season in 1967 one of the top skippers earned R5,000 in the year, which he said was very poor.

The fishing factories also employ large numbers of shore staff - labourers, drivers, mechanics, carpenters, boatbuilders, electricians among others. Labourers are paid from R7 to R14 per week; more skilled men can earn up to R25 per week and more. At

the height of the season all these wages increase considerably with overtime.

Table 5
Occupations - men

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Fishing:</u>		
fishermen	99	
skilled labour	9	
unskilled labour	<u>11</u>	
	119	55
<u>Local industry:</u>		
skilled, semi-skilled	18	
unskilled	<u>47</u>	
	65	30
<u>Self-employed and professional:</u>		
	11	5
<u>Pensioners:</u>		
	10	5
<u>Unemployed:</u>		
	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Total:</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>100</u>

The figures in the above table are drawn from the 30% sample of the Coloured population. The survey was done at the end of a very poor season, and shows only 55% of the male workers employed in the fishing industry. During the season, and particularly during a good one, this figure would be much higher, and there would be little or no unemployment. Correspondingly, the figure for those employed in local industry is probably a little higher than normal, as at the time of the survey many fishermen had left the sea to look for shore jobs. Most of the men in this category work for CDM, with a few working for a construction firm, garages, petrol depots, local shops, etc. Most of the skilled or semi-skilled men are carpenters, mechanics or drivers. Only two Coloured men in the community are self-employed - a tailor and the

owner of a transport business. Professional men include teachers, ministers of religion, an accountant and a few clerical workers.

Table 6
Occupations - women

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Fishing factories:	58	26
Domestic service:	18	8
Local industry:	15	7
Housewives:	119	54
Pensioners:	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>221</u>	<u>100</u>

The above figures, again based on the sample, show that just over 40% of the women of working age are employed in one form or another. Most of the women who work are employed in the fishing factories where crayfish tails are separated from the bodies, washed, graded and packed. Only women are used by the factories for this process, and over 200 are thus employed. They work on a piece-work basis, and the work is part-time except perhaps during the height of the season, thus allowing the women some time for household chores.

A small number of women are employed in local industry and as domestic servants. The latter is not a very popular job as pay is low and hours are long. Most domestics are paid R10-R15 per month, plus food and 'extras' such as old clothing. When the season is good many domestics will leave to work in the factories where in an outstanding season they can earn up to R30 per week. Employers wishing to retain their domestics then have to raise wages, and women can earn from R20-R32 per month.

But the average Coloured housewife's life in Port Nolloth is not an easy one, and 54% of the women in the sample did not

have the time to work. They were occupied with raising children, fetching water and wood - both extremely time-consuming activities - and other chores.

The crayfishing season lasts only eight months of the year - for the rest of the time the fish factories are closed, or run on a skeleton staff - and this causes a number of problems in the community. Employees of the fish factories earn full wages for at most eight months of the year, but even these fluctuate considerably as they depend on the size of the catches. For four months of the year there is no work in Port Nolloth for most of the fishermen, and many of the shore employees are employed part-time. Shore employees, including the part-time women factory workers, are eligible for unemployment insurance during the off season, but fishermen are not as they are classified as casual workers.

A form of subsistence allowance, generally called a 'sub', has been instituted by the factories. During the off season, registered employees without employment are paid R2 per week, and women R1-50 per week. The factories try to find occasional jobs for employees to augment this, but most families earn from R2 to R3-50 per week during this time. Ovenstones deduct money advanced as subs from wages in the following season; the other two factories do not deduct.

Very few families budget for the off season. The cost of living is relatively high in Port Nolloth as most goods have to be imported from the interior, and many families contend that if the season is poor it is impossible to save. The result is that

for four months in each year many families have only their subs to support them, plus any odd jobs they can find, and these are very few.

A further problem is that many fishermen spend a great deal of money on drink, and drinking continues in the off season. To try to counteract this, one factory, instead of paying a R2 sub in cash, paid a R1-50 voucher for a general dealer and a 50c voucher for a butcher. This left people without certain necessities that could not be obtained at one of the two shops - for example clothing, transport, doctor, medicine, wood, etc. Thus for four months of the year at least there is considerable poverty in Fort Nolloth, and much unemployment and boredom.

Although Port Nolloth fishermen are paid less per crayfish than almost anywhere else on the west coast, they can earn considerable sums of money in a good season. The extreme fluctuation in salaries (11) causes problems. Most Port Nolloth fishermen - migrant target-workers excepted - adopt a 'live for today' approach. For example, a fisherman who earns, say, R50 in one week will usually relax and celebrate his good fortune, as often as not in the bar. He will not consider going back to sea for the next few days, or until he again needs money.

This attitude is detrimental to the fisherman and to the company which employs him but as he is a casual worker it is very difficult to force him to go to work if he does not want to. If

(11) This fluctuation can perhaps be shown best by the fact that one factory has paid out sums varying from R11,000 to R85,000 per month in wages to a similar number of staff over the last two or three years.

he lives in a company house he can be threatened with eviction if he does not work, but any other threat of dismissal is ineffectual, as during the season dismissed fishermen can sign up with another company.

It is also difficult to get fishermen to go to sea when conditions do not look favourable. The sub system operates in weeks when nothing is earned, and occasionally fishermen will calculate that to stay on shore and get R2 for doing nothing is a better proposition than going to sea in bad conditions when the chances are that catches will be very small indeed. Again, skippers and factory officials have difficulty in counteracting absenteeism, although one method used is to refuse to pay out subs if some men have gone to sea and brought back catches. It is for this reason that African labour is often preferred to Coloured labour: the Africans are under contract and have to work when they are told to.

The apparent unwillingness of Coloured fishermen to maximise their incomes by working as much as possible during the season is explained by some people in Port Nolloth as an 'inherent weakness' in the Coloured people. This attitude can be refuted by reference to the large number of Coloured people who do not conform to the pattern cited above, but it is nevertheless a characteristic of many fishermen in Port Nolloth that they do not act to their best economic advantage, and some explanation should be attempted. Firstly, most fishermen come from the interior where they or their parents lived hand-to-mouth existences in subsistence farming. It is argued that people with this background are generally unfamiliar with the workings of a cash economy when

they come to Port Nolloth. They are accustomed to poverty, and accept the off-season fatalistically. Poverty for them is the norm, and in times of plenty the attitude is "eat, drink and be merry ..."

The above explanations, or parts of them, have been offered by people living in Port Nolloth. But other factors^{should} also be taken into account. One may ask whether the rewards to be obtained by hard and consistent work are worth while to the average Coloured fisherman. No matter how successful he is at fishing, this will not bring him political rights, freedom from discrimination, the right to bargain for higher wages (12), or any measure of independence - he is still subject to the same constraints. He cannot get better schooling for his children, or even get a much better house, and there is little or no scope for promotion and few long-term prospects. This situation can cause a sense of frustration and hopelessness which is not conducive to consistent work.

A number of measures have been mooted to try to overcome this problem, but thus far none have been accepted by all the companies. (13) Standing wages for fishermen have been suggested,

(12) A Fishermen's Union in Port Nolloth about twenty years ago led strikes for better wages. There was conflict between pro- and anti- Union fishermen, and the Union ceased operating. There is no trade union activity in Port Nolloth.

(13) The crayfish industry is closely controlled by the State, which will only approve changes in wages, etc, if they have been agreed upon by all the factories in the area.

but companies say that this would encourage laziness as fishermen would have an assured income without having to work hard while at sea. Another suggested incentive which has not found general approval is the payment of bonuses at the end of the season based on catches and regular work during the season. (14)

Education

The first schools for Coloured people in Port Nolloth were run by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and later by the N.G. Sendingkerk. The latter was handed over to government control, and the Anglican school was summarily closed by a government order and staff and pupils were moved to the government school. At present there are two schools for Coloured children in Port Nolloth - the government and Roman Catholic schools, with a total enrolment of just under 700 children.

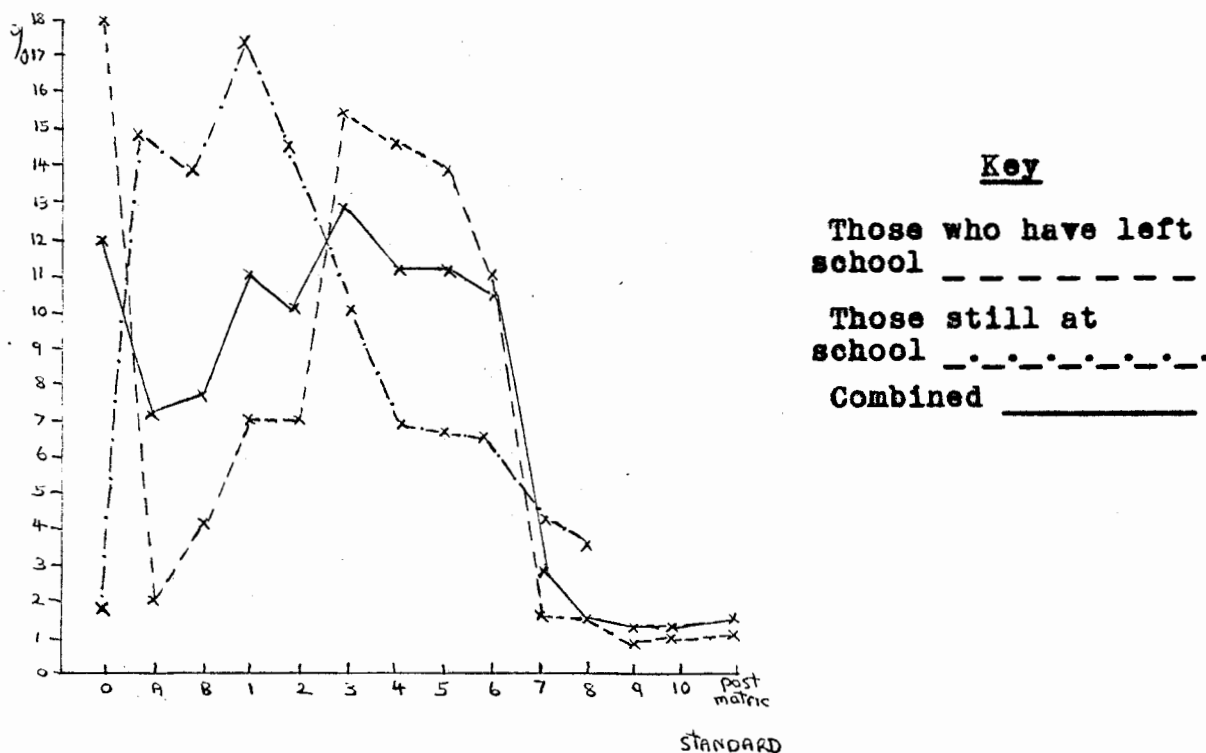
Table 7

<u>School</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Pupils</u>	<u>Staff-pupil ratio</u>
Government	11	406	1:37
Catholic	7	290	1:41

The Roman Catholic school has classes from Sub A to Standard 5, and the government school from Sub A to Standard 6. Pupils who go beyond Standard 6 have to leave Port Nolloth, and the nearest high school is at Steinkopf. This makes education beyond Standard 6 expensive, even if bursaries are obtained, and is one of the reasons why the number of people who have gone beyond Standard 6 is so small.

(14) This system is used effectively at the factory at Hondeklipbaai, south of Port Nolloth.

Table 8
Coloured Education Levels



The graph above shows the large number of people past school-going age who have had no schooling at all. These are nearly all older people who were brought up on the reserves in the interior where there were no schools at the time, (15) or where they had to tend herds and had no opportunity to go to school. Although Coloured education is not compulsory, (16) a very small proportion of children are not at school - and most of these are absent because of ill health. Thus nearly all children in Port Nolloth get some education, and numbers begin to fall off at about Standard 3,

(15) Even today there are only three small schools in the more than 600,000 morgen of the Richtersveld area.

(16) Compulsory education for Coloured pupils has not been introduced despite requests; the present system is that once a child has registered in a particular year, he is obliged to complete the academic year.

dropping sharply after Standard 6. About 17.5% of the Port Nolloth Coloured population had passed Standard 5 in 1968, as compared with a national figure of 19.4% in 1965. (17)

According to local teachers, one of the biggest problems is that there are very few opportunities in Port Nolloth for those who study beyond Standard 6. Most available occupations do not require much more than this, unless one wishes to become a teacher, which is an expensive and lengthy business requiring matriculation plus two years of teacher training, although it is possible for female students to do their two years of training after Standard 8. Education is regarded as important, but mainly to become literate, and is not as important as it is, for example, in Cape Town, where within certain limits there are opportunities commensurate with educational qualifications.

Another problem is caused by the crayfish industry. As soon as they are physically capable - often in their early teens - there is the temptation for boys to leave school and go to sea. In a good season when friends are making good money, the temptation is particularly strong, and immediate rewards are more attractive than the classroom and promises of future benefits.

Girls tend to stay a little longer in school than the boys, but again there are not many incentives to study further. Most boys become fishermen; most girls become housewives, and, if they work, go to the factories or into domestic service.

The shortage of qualified teachers is a problem throughout Namaqualand, and particularly in the remoter areas. Most of Port

Nolloth's teachers have been imported from elsewhere, and there are no substitutes available in the area - for example, when two women teachers became pregnant in 1968 and had to take leave, there were no qualified teachers available, and unqualified people had to be temporarily employed.

Table 9
Teacher Qualifications, 1968

<u>Qualification</u>	<u>Govt. school</u>	<u>R.C. school</u>	<u>Total</u>
Matriculation plus 2 years teacher-training	4	1	5
Matriculation	1	2	3
Standard 9		1	1
Standard 8 plus 2 years teacher- training	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>18</u>

The future of the Roman Catholic school is not secure, as it is now in a White Group Area, following the Group Areas Proclamation. It is possible that the school will be closed and staff and pupils transferred to the government school, as happened with the Anglican school. However, the government school in 1968 did not have enough classrooms for its pupils, and was running a two shift system with some classes going to school in the mornings, and some in the afternoons. The Coloured Affairs Department, which controls the school, was negotiating for land and there were signs that the situation would be improved in the future.

One advantage of having only one primary school in the area would be that the total enrolment would then most likely be enough to make the town eligible for a secondary school, which would

ensure a better education for many more Coloured children.

Kinship

In the reserves and rural areas of the interior, from which much of Port Nolloth's Coloured population originally came, kinship organisation was of prime importance. For the Nama this was particularly so (18) and only slightly less so for the Bas-ters, with their emphasis on lineage organisation. (19) In these societies kinship played a vital role in daily life - for example, kin co-operated in farming, there was domestic co-operation, and religious and political leadership depended largely on kin.

With this background of a kin-based society, it may at first seem a little surprising that kinship does not play nearly such an important part in Port Nolloth Coloured society. There are, however, a number of reasons for this. Port Nolloth society is too large and diverse for kinship organisation to be a satisfactory means of ordering social relationships. Whereas social relationships, following Sorokin (1941), were primarily familistic - based on kinship and affinity - and compulsory, the larger-scale society of Port Nolloth has resulted in a decline in the importance of familistic relationships and a rise in the importance of contractual relationships.

For example, economic relationships in the interior were largely kin-based, with kin co-operating in sowing, reaping and tending herds, but in Port Nolloth with its greater variety of

(18) v. Schapera, 1930, part III.

(19) v. Carstens, op.cit. 101, 120.

economic opportunities, economic relationships are entered into on a largely voluntary, contractual basis, choice being made according to interests, ability, and the like. Children can much more easily become economically independent and hence mobile, and kinship organisation loses its economic importance in town. The same has happened in the field of religion, where Port Nolloth has a number of denominations, and choice is largely a voluntary matter where kinship need not be a dominant factor. (20) In this and other fields the importance of kinship has declined.

This is not to suggest that kinship plays no part at all in Port Nolloth Coloured society. In some spheres it is still important; however, the emphasis appears to have moved to a much narrower range of kin than was formerly the case. Thus in many instances it is only the nuclear family that is important. It has been pointed out by Marwick (1958) that in modern society an increased load is likely to fall on the nuclear family as a functional substitute for wider kin groups. It has also been suggested that this is likely to be marked when a community is stratified or ethnically divided to any degree. (21) Although this would appear to be valid for many families in Port Nolloth, there is nevertheless considerable domestic co-operation between a wider range of kin than just the nuclear family.

(20) This is well shown in some Bosluis Baster families, traditionally Dutch Reformed, who have members who have joined the Volle Evangelie Kerk. This is often a cause of friction between close kin.

(21) v. A.M. Rose (ed), 1958.

For example, it is not uncommon for close kin (siblings, first cousins) to co-operate in house-building, and sometimes to erect semi-detached houses which save labour and materials that are scarce in the area. But the main form of domestic co-operation is among women, and is similar to that reported by Young and Wilmot (1957) for East London as far as the mother-daughter-sister tie is concerned. This is particularly so in the lokasie area where houses are erected haphazardly and their density ensures that close kin need not be far away.

This change from the broader, corporate kin groups may be interpreted as a change in the level of kinship that is active. Barić (in Freedman, 1967) postulates two levels of kinship in Yugoslav society: corporate groups, and a substratum of a recognised set of kin outside the nuclear family. Her theory is that although the former may decline in importance as a result of the processes of social change, it does not follow that the latter must also decline; in fact, she contends that the second level increased in importance in Yugoslavia as the first declined.

In Port Nolloth the corporate kin group level is only important for those who maintain close ties with their homes in the interior, particularly the Basters with their strong sense of group identity. Unlike most other Coloured people in Port Nolloth, many Baster families plan to return to Eksteenfontein in the future, and maintain close links with the corporate groups there. For the rest of the population corporate kin groups are not important, but at the same time it is clear that a voluntary network of kin outside the nuclear family exists and is important. Some indication of

this is given by the fact that no fewer than 20% of all Coloured homes have kin who are not part of the nuclear family staying with them, and that in a number of cases close kin also live nearby.

Large numbers of kin are now drawn together only at funerals, when all kin are expected to attend. There were, for example, two funerals in 1968 - one of a man of Nama descent at Lekkersing in the Richtersveld, and the other of a Baster pioneer at Eksteenfontein - which drew large numbers of kin from Port Nolloth and further afield. Both were old men with large families, many of whom had gone to work in Port Nolloth. In Port Nolloth close and distant kin - often at considerable expense - made arrangements to attend the funerals.

These occasions are about the only ones where large numbers of kin can meet, and this is important. Before the Eksteenfontein funeral, for example, there was almost a festival atmosphere as kin greeted each other. A young man in Port Nolloth told me he was sad that his grandfather had died, but that he was also very happy as it gave him an opportunity to go home to Eksteenfontein and see his parents and relatives.

Other than on these special occasions, kinship is important only in some spheres of everyday life, and then only when close kin live nearby.

Leadership

As will be fully explained later, the Coloured people of Port Nolloth are largely under the political and economic control of the White group, and White leaders will therefore also have authority over Coloured people. However, there is scope for

Coloured leadership of various types at various levels of society.

As Carstens did in his Steinkopf study (Carstens, 1966:193) we may distinguish between natural and official leadership, corresponding broadly to De Jouvenel's concepts of dux and rex respectively (De Jouvenel, 1957). Although these categories are not necessarily absolute or mutually exclusive, they are useful for purposes of analysis. Official leadership - which is exercised by virtue of a particular status in an institution - is largely in the hands of the Whites, and most Coloured leaders could be regarded as natural leaders.

In fact, official leaders in Port Nolloth's Coloured community are restricted to those in positions of authority in their work - skippers, foremen and the like - and to the institutions of church and school. Exercising bureaucratic and, in some cases, legal authority (22) within their respective organisations are ministers, ouderlinge and other church officials, school principals and teachers. It should be pointed out that the ouderling's role as a leader has added importance in Port Nolloth in view of the absence of resident ministers in many churches.

Natural leaders will lead such groups as adult cliques, children's play groups, sports clubs and the like, and their authority is charismatic and/or bureaucratic.

However, there are some official leaders in Port Nolloth whose authority extends beyond that implicit in their positions in specific institutions from which they derive positions of leadership. Thus, for example, the dominie of the N.G. Sendingkerk and the

(22) Used in the Weberian sense. For Weber's definitions of authority types see Gerth and Mills (1947) and Weber (ed Secher) (1962).

Port Nolloth, and the lack of communication. Very few Coloured people, for example, read newspapers (which reach the town two or three days after publication) or books. (23) Radios are used by most people only for music and serials or commercial services. Thus the removal of Coloured representatives from Parliament hardly caused a ripple of comment: few people were in fact aware that it had happened.

The Coloured people are informed, however, on a local level where they are affected by government legislation - for example Group Areas, beach apartheid and the like. All discriminatory legislation is disliked, but accepted fatalistically.

Those who take most interest are the better-educated people, and particularly those who have lived in urban areas. They will read newspapers and to some extent follow national events, but political involvement is minimal. There are a few members in the town of the Federal Coloured People's Party which stresses Coloured unity and tends to collaborate with the government; as far as it is known, there are no members of any other political parties.

Very few Coloured people express support for the government, and those few who do are all older people. A Coloured leader explained this by saying that the old people had been brought up to respect all White people, and this would include the government. The majority of Coloured people, while not supporting the government, have differing political views, ranging from weak disagreement to a handful who refuse to recognise the jurisdiction of the South African government. They contend that the greater part of Namaqualand was ceded to the Coloured people during the reign of

(23) A library for Coloured people was discontinued because large numbers of books were never returned. Several hundred books now stand idle in the government school.

Queen Victoria, and that this was never revoked. (24)

The great majority of the Coloured people's political aspirations are short-term. They would like long-term political equality with Whites, but are mainly interested in improving their lot in Port Nolloth with better housing and other facilities. However much they may dislike the government, they feel it is in their interests to co-operate, if that co-operation is likely to improve their present situation.

A point of view held by some Coloured leaders, and the only positive plan come across in the town, was that the Coloured people should build themselves up to a position where they would be able to bargain with the Whites. One leader said that there was a gulf between the Coloured élite and the ordinary people. The élite should infiltrate the ordinary people and assist them to reach a stage on a par with the Whites. This should be done by the Coloured people themselves with as little help as possible, and the process would be made easier if separate development were carried to its logical conclusion and the Coloured people were given a measure of autonomy. Once a sense of self-respect had been built up and Coloured people saw that they could equal the Whites, they would be in a position to bargain for equal rights in the country.

The general feeling was that an immediate breaking-down of racial barriers was preferable but impracticable at this stage. Another interesting point was that the position of the African majority in South Africa was never taken into account politically, and the whole emphasis was on White-Coloured political

(24) Namaqualand was annexed by the British Government, and the boundary of the Cape Colony extended to the Orange River on 17th December 1847. Local inhabitants were not granted land rights - in April 1877 John X. Merriman stated: "I am not prepared to alienate a large tract of Crown land for the benefit of a few thriftless nomads." (Report on Coloured Mission Stations, Reserves & Settlements, 1947).

relationships. (25)

More Coloured people take an interest in politics on a local level. As there is no racial restriction on voters for the Town Council, some 90 Coloured people qualify as voters. (26) As will be explained later, the Coloured vote is very important to candidates, and in recent years candidates have been canvassing the Coloured voters, with the result that they have become more aware of local politics.

Leisure Activity

There is a considerable amount of formal and informal leisure activity among the Coloured people, although facilities are poor. The Coloured people have been given a small stretch of beach-front about one and a half miles south of the town. They have a small hall owned by one of the fishing companies (the large Town Hall is for Whites only) which is used for dances, meetings, and occasional concerts and games evenings. There are two large interleading classrooms in the government school used for concerts and film shows, and there is a netball field, a rugby field, and a football field, the last three being of a very low standard.

As far as sport is concerned, there is a rugby club - the Jesters - which plays infrequent matches in a league competition against other Namaqualand towns, involving a lot of travelling. There are three local Coloured football teams, the Rangers, Sea

(25) There is no evidence in Port Nolloth to confirm Kuper's view of an increasing alliance of political interests between Coloureds and Africans. See Kuper, 1965:50.

(26) To qualify as a voter, one must own property to the value of R400 or occupy premises valued at R300 or more.

Stones, and Good Hopes. All three draw their members from the lokasi area; Rangers generally come from Paraffinstraat, Good Hopes from the Houmoedstraat and Bult area, and Sea Stones from Bloukamp and beyond. These teams play each other, two African teams from Ovenstones and Hicksons, and occasionally visiting teams from the interior. There is an informal cricket club which occasionally plays on the salt pan. The only organised women's activity is a netball team - the Dreadnoughts - which plays infrequent matches in a league.

There is considerable interest in sport, but facilities are poor (the building of four large petrol depots in the lokasi removed a number of playing fields) and money is lacking. Most clubs have chairmen, secretaries, treasurers, and playing captains, and tend to centre round one or two leaders. Port Nolloth had a Coloured Sports Union some years ago, but it failed as individual clubs were suspicious of Union control and did not want to fall under the Coloured Affairs Department, which was behind the Union.

There is also much interest in music, and Port Nolloth has one dance band which plays regularly. The N.G. Sendingkerk has a string orchestra, and the Anglican Church a boys' band. Some of the churches also have choirs.

The two schools occasionally put on plays and operettas, but have no organised sport for their children. The N.G. Sendingkerk and Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches run youth groups. In 1967, at the instigation of Ovenstones, a Sea Scout movement was started, but failed through the apathy of the appointed leaders.

Informal leisure activities include film shows held twice a week at the government school, and a weekly dance. There is little swimming as the water is very cold, and there is some fishing for harders off the jetty or the beach. Men play kerim, a form of snooker played on a wooden board with plastic discs, cards and dominoes. One of the most important leisure activities for men is drinking (see below). In the off season there is much visiting and gossiping among the men - which is also the main leisure activity of the women. Children play a variety of games, generally in small groups of five to ten, and some of these are seasonal, particularly kite-flying and marbles.

Listening to the radio is a popular activity for all, and about 60% of all Coloured homes have radios. About 25% of the homes have record-players. Radios and record-players are used almost entirely for listening to popular music. As has already been mentioned, there is no library, and reading is confined to newspapers (very few readers), magazines and picture-story books.

Drinking to excess is regarded by nearly all Whites and a significant number of Coloured people as the biggest single problem confronting the Coloured people in Port Nolloth. The only bar in the town is well-patronised at all times - in season and out.

Excessive drinking is not confined to the population of Port Nolloth. Cilliers (1963:35-6) records some of the unfavourable social consequences among the Coloured people generally as "poverty, unemployment, family dis-organisation, the impairment of health, immorality, etc" as well as crime. While it is not

disputed that such consequences may result from drinking to excess, it may be asked whether some of the factors mentioned may not also be causes of the problem.

Drinking in Port Nolloth results in great hardship to many. This was dramatised in a short play during a youth concert held by the N.G. Sendingkerk. It was entitled "King Wine-bottle" and opened with a poorly-dressed woman lamenting that it was pay-day and her husband would be drunk again. The husband then entered swaying and singing and demanding the house-keeping money. The woman refused. The husband then became cross and said it was his money as he had worked for it. The woman asked how she was to buy food, and the husband said that that was her problem not his. He wanted to get drunk. He became violent, the children were involved and upset, and eventually he snatched the money and went off, leaving his family crying bitterly. In the end he came back, and when he saw the misery he had caused he also broke down. The scene ended with the reading of an adaptation of a psalm warning against the misery that drink can cause.

This has been described in some detail because it mentions nearly all the important factors: using housekeeping money to buy drink, drinking on pay-day, conflict between husband and wife, involvement of children, violence, family disruption, etc.

Some people in Port Nolloth explain drinking to excess as yet another manifestation of the inherent weakness of the Coloured people, and yet again ignore the very sizeable numbers of Coloured people who abstain (including nearly all the members of the pentecostal churches, and most of the more devout members of the other

churches) or who drink in moderation. As there is no scientific evidence to support this view, explanations must clearly be sought elsewhere.

"I don't blame them for getting drunk," said a White manager in Port Nolloth talking about Coloured fishermen. "If I lived like them I'd probably do the same." This explanation was that fishing is a physically exhausting occupation, and when on shore after a hard day, or days, at sea, the fishermen want to relax. The only place they can relax in is the bar. This, it was pointed out, was particularly relevant where a man lived in an uncomfortable one- or two-room shack on the sand-dunes of the lokasie; in fact drinking is a bigger problem there than in the housing estates. Again, in the off season with nothing to do, a card game in the bar, or drinking with friends, is a way of killing time. Thus Cillers' consequences, poverty and unemployment, can in Port Nolloth at least, be equally considered as causes, and the situation becomes a vicious circle.

The general sense of frustration of the Coloured people has been discussed earlier (see pp.38,45). As has often been pointed out, the Coloured people are a Western group whose aspirations are the same as those of the White population, yet many of these aspirations are denied to them. It is not surprising that a state of anomie may arise in this situation. As Merton points out:

"It is only when a system of cultural value extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large, while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely denies access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behaviour ensues on a large scale." (Merton, 1949:146)

In Port Nolloth the dislocation between culturally prescribed goals and 'institutional avenues' for attaining them, can result in deviant behaviour, in this case drinking to excess. Whereas some people innovate, substituting new goals and means of attaining them (for example the members of the pentecostal churches), others reject without substitution, and retreat into heavy drinking.

CHAPTER 3THE PEOPLE - WHITE AND AFRICANTHE WHITES

COMMANDER NOLLOTH VISITED Port Nolloth in 1854. After that, the first White people to live there for any period were the Cornish miners who landed prior to prospecting in the interior, and the first Whites to settle in the area did so towards the end of the nineteenth century. Until 1918 the population was mainly British and concerned with the copper mining industry, but Andrew Ovenstone arrived in that year to start the crayfishing industry and brought a number of different nationalities in his wake.

The diamond rush of 1927 turned Port Nolloth further into a cosmopolitan settlement of British, Dutch, German, Italian, Scandinavian and many other nationalities. But after the closing of the copper mines and the State take-over of the diamond fields there were no more quick fortunes to be made, and most of these people from overseas left for good, some deserting Coloured wives and families in the process.

The White population of Port Nolloth began to change. Whites living in poverty in the interior had been causing the government some concern during the twenties and thirties. (28) The Alexander Bay State Alluvial Diggings just north of Port Nolloth were opened by the government specifically to help them. Expansion of the fishing industry and the re-opening of the copper

(28) For an account of the poor White problem in Namaqualand during this period, see P.W. Kotzé (1943).

mines in 1937 offered additional employment in Port Nolloth, and numbers of poor Whites took the place of the departing Europeans. They were unsophisticated descendants of Boer trekkers, lacking in education.

By and large these newcomers could not replace those who had left at the managerial and other skilled levels. The biggest employers in Port Nolloth were all concerns based in the cities, and it was from these centres that managers and other skilled personnel came. This process continued as industry expanded.

Port Nolloth's White population is still similarly constituted. There is a small settled population mainly descended from the poor White immigrants, many of whom are involved in local commerce and farming. The managers and senior staff of the larger companies are nearly all on transfer from other centres, as are the State employees of the post office, magistrate's court, and police force. Much of the White population in Port Nolloth - including nearly all State employees - are therefore temporary residents.

The change in population brought many other changes in the community. The English spoken by the first residents was replaced by the Afrikaans of the newcomers, and today most Whites in Port Nolloth are Afrikaans-speaking. A knowledge of Afrikaans is essential to get on in the town, and there are very few people who cannot speak it. English is now used by a small number of 'imported' employees from the cities, but the White population as a whole has a poor command of it.

In Port Nolloth's early days most Whites belonged to the

Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist churches, but this has changed, and most Whites now belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, which has a resident dominie and a structure similar to that of the Sendingkerk, including an active women's organisation and youth group. The Methodist Church disappeared with the departing Europeans, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches have now almost entirely Coloured congregations. Whites take no part in their organisations and, except for a few Roman Catholics, rarely attend services. The only other denomination of any significance is a small group of people belonging to the New Apostolic Church. They are Afrikaans-speaking and are sometimes contemptuously referred to as 'die handeklappers', the hand-clappers, by members of the Dutch Reformed Church, from which most of the New Apostolics have come. The group meets in private houses and is led by a local businessman.

Another important change has occurred in the field of politics. The newcomers changed what had been a fairly tolerant class system into a rigid caste system based on the policies of Afrikaner nationalism. Today it is mainly the Afrikaans-speaking Whites who take an interest in national politics, and almost without exception they support the National Party and its policies. There are very few Whites who do not support the government in some measure at least, and those who do not are generally loth to express their opinions. There appears to be no organised, regular political activity among Whites, other than a branch of the Rapportryers which draws its membership from Alexander Bay, Port Nolloth and environs. However, few Port Nolloth residents

belong to this organisation, a notable exception being the chief of police. In general there is little discussion of national politics, although people keep themselves informed of national events through press and radio.

A great deal more attention is given to the local politics of the Town Council. There are elections every two years (29) and interest is sustained. Allowing for personal differences, there are broadly speaking two groups interested in the Town Council - a group representing the alien businesses in the town and usually led by one or more of the managers or senior employees, and a group representing the permanent residents, generally led by one or more of the shopkeepers. There has been keen competition for some time between these two groups, but at the moment the balance of power is held by the alien group, despite a damaging internal power struggle which took place a few years ago.

As mentioned during the discussion of leadership in the Coloured community, most of the official leaders in the town are Whites, and their authority often extends over the whole community. In this category particularly are the senior government officials. The senior administrative officer in the town is the magistrate, and the other important official is the police chief, who is also District Commandant of Namaqualand. Other leaders are the managers of the larger companies, ministers of religion, fishing inspectors, policemen and school teachers.

(29) Of the six man council, two are elected for two years and four for four years. There will be four vacancies in 1970 and two in 1972.

Natural leaders appear in adult cliques, sports clubs, children's play groups, and the like. Natural leadership in adult cliques is manifested particularly in Town Council elections. Unlike the Coloured community, however, important official leaders do not exercise authority beyond the specific institutions they head. For example, a former magistrate, as an official leader par excellence, was a subordinate member of an influential adult clique and accepted the authority of a natural leader, one of the factory managers. This caused considerable comment and disquiet amongst people in Port Nolloth, as it was feared that the submission of an important official leader to the charismatic authority of a natural leader in certain unofficial spheres might reach a point where, to use Weber's phrase, this authority might be 'routinised', so that the natural leader would exercise his authority through the official leader in the latter's sphere of influence. There was some evidence that this did, in fact, happen.

Many of the older people in Port Nolloth who were brought up in the interior received, like the older Coloured people, little or no education, as opportunities for education were few and far between. Most other Whites have had some schooling; only one or two professional men have had any university training. The government primary school in Port Nolloth, which has classes from Sub A to Standard 5, has about 100 pupils each year, and is Afrikaans-medium. The nearest high school is at Springbok, but many children, especially those of the temporary residents - go to school elsewhere, particularly in Cape Town. According to the local headmaster there are few opportunities and prospects for

school-leavers in the area (one of the main reasons being that the larger employers import their skilled personnel). The headmaster has a few school-leavers apprenticed each year as carpenters and electricians at the State Alluvial Diggings.

Nevertheless there is a variety of White-held occupations in the town. In the business and professional category there are managers, accountants, teachers, a doctor, shopkeepers, farmers as well as senior State employees such as a magistrate, senior police officers, postmaster, lighthouse keepers, and fishing inspectors. Most men in this category are aliens; permanent residents are mainly shopkeepers or farmers, or hold lower positions.

Other skilled workers are clerks, mechanics and policemen, and there are a number of semi-skilled workers such as crane-drivers, foremen, unqualified mechanics, barmen and the like. Very few women work, but there are one or two shop assistants, typists, teachers and a nurse. Nearly all White men of working age are in employment, and there are a few old-age pensioners.

Leisure activity is very important to the White population and there is a considerable amount of organised sport. A cricket club plays in the Namaqualand Union, and a police rugby team, a badminton club for men and women, and a women's netball club all play in leagues. There is a small golf course on the nearby salt pan. Late in 1968 a jukskei club was formed. Other informal games are billiards, darts, table tennis and cards.

As with the Coloured people, drinking is an important leisure activity, particularly at week-ends. Women do not drink much in public, although they will sometimes accompany their husbands to

the lounge of the hotel, particularly on special occasions. Women play cards, and spend much time visiting and gossiping.

Films are shown regularly in the Town Hall, which is also the venue for regular fund-raising dances held by sports clubs and the hospital committee. There are also occasional social evenings, bazaars, and competition evenings, held mostly by the Dutch Reformed Church. The bar and lounge of the hotel are well-patronised, and its good food draws many people for meals. The hotel is also used for parties and meetings of sports clubs.

McDougall's Bay, a large enclosed lagoon about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles by road to the south of Port Nolloth, is a popular recreational centre for Whites, and a large number of beach cottages have been erected there by Port Nolloth residents and people from all over Namaqualand. It is a favourite week-end resort for swimming, fishing, boating, water-skiing, braai-ing and drinking, and many Port Nolloth residents spend most of their week-ends there when the weather is fine.

Other leisure activities are reading (there is a library in the town run by the Provincial Administration) and listening to the radio. Most families have transport, and this allows them to leave Port Nolloth, for example to shop in Springbok, or visit friends elsewhere. Many families can also afford an annual holiday away from Port Nolloth.

The main White residential area, sometimes called 'Voorstraat' by the Coloured people, lies near the beach-front and to the north of the main road (see map, page 24). There are also some White-occupied houses south of the road, and near the White

City housing estate. The majority of the hundred White houses are owned by the larger companies in the town and are generally rent-free to employees. Most of the houses are of brick, a few of asbestos and wood and iron. Nearly all White-owned houses have sanitation, electricity, water and refuse-removal. Rates are calculated at 1.625c in the rand.

Following the Group Areas Proclamation, the official White area lies north of the line shown on the map on page 24. This includes a number of Coloured-occupied houses in the central area, including the White City estate. There are no White-occupied houses in the official Coloured area.

THE AFRICANS

The first official record of Africans living in Port Nolloth is in the Population Census of 1921, which gave the African population as three people. However, by the time of the 1951 Census there were officially 339 Africans in Port Nolloth. Africans were attracted to the town by the fishing industry. The migrant workers came first from South West Africa, mainly from the Ambo tribe, and later from what was then Nyasaland (now Malawi). Some migrants came also from the Transkei and other parts of South Africa.

Of these, the men from Nyasaland had the best reputation as fishermen and hard workers, and were generally successful. As their success story reached Nyasaland more and more Nyasa came to work in Port Nolloth.

However, African migrant labour from outside South Africa was stepped by the government, and nearly all foreign Africans were repatriated. The fishing companies then turned to the Transkei for migrant labour and in 1968 they had a combined quota of about 400 men. Government policy is to remove all African labour from the area, and no permanent residents are allowed - from the 1968-9 season all labourers were to be on twelve month contracts.

Table 10

Tribal Affiliation in Port Nolloth (30)

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Mpondo	53	37	Thembu	2	1.4
Xhosa	45	31.5	Malawian	2	1.4
Mfengu	13	9.1	Swazi	1	0.7
Bhaca	12	8.4	Sotho	1	0.7
Zulu	7	4.9	Tswana	1	0.7
Hlubi	5	3.5	Ndebele	1	0.7
			<u>Total</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>100</u>

The above table of tribal affiliation in the largest compound shows the predominance of Mpondo and Xhosa in the town, with Mfengu and Bhaca being the important minority groups. The table also shows the small number of foreign Africans, notably two Nyasa, who have special permission to stay in Port Nolloth because of their particular services to one of the factories. In 1968, however, it appeared that this permission was about to be withdrawn and the men repatriated to Malawi.

African migrant workers in Port Nolloth come from many different districts in the Transkei, and other parts of South Africa. The number of districts will decrease, however, as all migrants will be on contract from 1968 and will be signed up in a

(30) Information from pass books of all workers in the largest compound in the town.

few specific districts.

Table 11
Home Districts of African Migrants in
Port Nolloth (31)

<u>Districts</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Libode	48	21.0	
Umtata, Umziakulu	31 each	13.6	
Tsolo	27	<u>12.0</u>	60.2
Tsomo	14	6.0	
Qumba	12	5.1	
Mount Frere	9	4.0	
Idutywa, Elliotdale, Mount Fletcher, Nggeleni, Ngqamakwe	3 each	1.3	
Harding	4	2.0	
Cofimvaba, East London, Queenstown, Lady Frere, Springbok	2 each	1.0	
Barberton, Bethel, Burghersdorp, Butterworth, Cala, De Aar, Eng- cobo, Eshowe, Keiskammahoe, Kentane, Kimberley, Komgha, Kop- pies, Lusikisiki, Mahlabatini, Middeldrif, Ndwedwe, Pieter- maritzburg, Port Shepstone, Sterkspruit, Taungs, Umzinto, Vredendal, Wepener, Whittlesea, Willowdale, Winburg, Zululand	<u>1</u> each	<u>0.4</u>	<u>39.8</u>
Total	<u>228</u>		<u>100</u>

As previously mentioned, nearly all African workers in Port Nolloth are migrants who spend part of each year at home in the Transkei. Exceptions are the small number of foreign Africans, and a smaller number of elderly men who qualify to remain in the area permanently through length of service or continuous employment in the town.

Most of the Africans in Port Nolloth are experienced migrants who have worked in other places. Only about 3% of the men came to Port Nolloth as their first job; 40% came

(31) Figures obtained from pass books and survey (see foot-
note 32).

after working on the mines on the Reef (32), and most men have had mining experience at one time or another. In the sample 50% of the men were working their first season at Port Nolloth on a twelve month contract, and 50% had been to Port Nolloth before. Of this latter group, the average length of service in the town was 8.75 years. This shows a hard core of regular workers, and suggests that conditions in Port Nolloth, within the context of the migrant labour system, compare favourably with conditions elsewhere.

Nearly all the men, then, have permanent homes in the Transkei, and 67.5% of the men in the sample were married. Of these, 86% had children to support as well as their wives. Of the sample, 96% wrote home regularly, sent money home, and went home on holiday.

Most Africans in Port Nolloth work for from eight to twelve months before going on holiday. Most of them are target workers, and in 1968 when a number were discharged from the fishing factories after a poor season, they found extra employment in the interior to finish their twelve month contracts and earn a little more money. As can be seen from the table below, most men reckon to go home for from four to six months before going to work again, although there is a significant minority who work for a year and then spend a year at home.

(32) These statistics, and all those following in this chapter, are based on a 30% sample of the two African compounds in Port Nolloth.

Table 12African migrants - periods at home

<u>Period</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1 to 3 months	12	15.8
4 to 6 months	44	57.9
7 to 9 months	8	10.5
10 to 12 months	<u>12</u>	<u>15.8</u>
Total	<u>76</u>	<u>100</u>

Money is sent home in varying amounts, but most men try to send fixed sums every month or every two months. In general, it appears that the older men tend to send more than the younger men. The following table is worked out on a monthly basis, and gives some idea of the amounts sent home, although they must necessarily vary with the state of the season. The figures are based on what informants said they averaged each month. In 1968 they were probably sending a little less than the figures quoted, as catches were low and there was very little over-time to increase wages.

Table 13African migrants - money sent home

<u>R per month</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
R30 or more	2	2.6
R25-29	2	2.6
R20-24	18	23.7
R15-19	14	18.4
R10-14	20	26.3
R5-9	14	18.4
R4 or less	<u>6</u>	<u>8.0</u>
Total	<u>76</u>	<u>100</u>

Based on the 30% sample of both compounds, the average age of the migrants in Port Nolloth is 31.5 years. Of the men interviewed, 57.5% were first or only sons in their families, 12.5% were second sons, 15% were younger sons and 15% youngest sons.

Of these men, 89% lived on reserves, 10% in towns and 1% on farms.

The following table gives the numbers owning land or stock. Of those who had only livestock and no land, most grazed their animals on their parents' land.

Table 14

African migrants - land & stock

		<u>2</u>
Men with land and stock	23	29
Men with land only	12	15
Men with stock only	10	13
Men with parents who have land and stock	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>
	63	79
Men without land or stock and with no claims	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>
Total	<u>80</u>	<u>100</u>

This suggests that this type of employment attracts men who have responsibilities as land-owners and eldest or only sons, as it allows up to six months at home.

When Africans first came to Port Nolloth to work, most of them settled in Bloukamp towards the back of the lokasie (see map, page 24) where they squatted in wood and iron shacks. When repatriation began, nearly all Africans were forced to move from the lokasie and the two employers of African labour had to build compounds.

The John Ovenstone compound, according to the men who live in it, compares favourably with migrant accommodation almost anywhere in South Africa. It has 16 rooms which can each accommodate 14 men, although policy is not to fill any room to

capacity. There is a large dining-room which can be used as a hall, a communal kitchen, changing rooms, ablution block, and a one-room detention cell (which has been used twice in the last four years). The compound is kept spotlessly clean by a full-time cleaning staff. Men sleep on double-decker beds with no privacy, and have minimal locker space for their possessions. Each room has a central coal stove for heating. Bedding is not provided, although $1\frac{1}{2}$ " felt strips are sold as mattresses for R5.25.

Food is not supplied, but there are two large cooking ranges which are kept permanently stoked to allow individuals/^{or groups} to do their cooking. An offer to supply the men with meals if they agreed to a salary deduction each month was refused, and it was pointed out by African leaders that amounts spent on food varied with individuals from R1 to R15 per month. Each man has a locker in the kitchen to store food and utensils.

An effort has been made by the present compound manager to make the compound as attractive as possible. Gravel chips have been laid to keep sand and dust to a minimum, paths have been paved, and grass, flowers and shrubs planted. There is 24-hour supervision of the compound by a roster of security watchmen.

The Hickson compound does not present the same facilities. It has nine large rooms which can house up to 20 men each. Each room has a central heater. There are two small dining rooms, insufficient for the normal complement of 120 men, and a small coal range. Most of the men use primus stoves which they provide themselves. They also provide their own food and fuel.

Kitchen lockers are each shared by two men. The company provides beds and mattresses. The compound has one cleaner-supervisor and is not as well kept as the Ovenstone compound; it is more exposed to the weather and very sandy.

Nearly all Africans in Port Nolloth - apart from a few elderly pensioners - officially live in one of the two compounds. This is not strictly supervised, however, and there are a number of men who spend most of their time in the lokasie. One or two have their own houses there and have formed semi-permanent liaisons with Coloured women. At the end of the 1967-8 season a number of men stayed behind illegally in the lokasie. Most of these were rounded up some weeks later by the Bantu Affairs Department and 'deported' back to the Transkei. Deportations were at State expense, and it was reported that women were given the option of leaving with their men or staying in Port Nolloth.

Xhosa is used exclusively in the compounds and is the first language of nearly all the men: in the sample of 80, four men did not use Xhosa as their home language (two Sesotho, one Zulu and one Swazi). Of the men in the sample, a total of 45% had some knowledge of English or Afrikaans or both languages. Of these English was the best known, although when dealing with Afrikaans-speaking Whites in the town nearly all Africans try to speak a little Afrikaans, as they say they are often met with hostility if they speak English. The following table gives the figures for languages spoken:

Table 15African migrants - languages

First language:	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Xhosa	76	95
Other	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>80</u>	<u>100</u>
Second languages:		
English	16	20
Afrikaans	9	11
Both	11	14
No second language	<u>44</u>	<u>55</u>
Total	<u>80</u>	<u>100</u>

Religious services are held every Sunday in both compounds, and are interdenominational. Africans do not normally attend churches in Port Nolloth, although some Anglicans and Catholics will attend those churches occasionally at the festivals of Christmas and Easter.

Most men in the compounds attend services, and there are a number of people who lead services by preaching, praying or hymn-singing. The compounds are only very occasionally visited by ministers of religion or itinerant lay preachers, and the ministers who regularly serve Whites and Coloureds in the town appear to have no contact with African members of their churches.

The following table gives religious affiliation, based on the sample of the compounds:

Table 16African migrants - religious affiliation

	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Methodist	31	Church of Zion	3
Anglican	21	New Apostolic	1
Bantu Presbyterian	9	N.G. Sendingkerk	1
Baptist	9	Moravian	1
Roman Catholic	6	Order of Ethiopia	1
Church of Africa	5	No affiliation	<u>9</u>
Church of Christ	3	Total	<u>100</u>

As will be seen in the table below, a large number - 36% - of all African migrants in Port Nolloth have had no education at all. The available figures show the expected drops after lower primary (Std 2) and higher primary (Std 6) levels.

Table 17

<u>African migrants - education</u>			
<u>Standard</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>%</u>
8	2.5	2	13.75
7	2.5	1	7.5
6	13.75	Sub B	2.5
5	8.75	Sub A	2.5
4	6.25	No educa-	
3	3.75	tion	<u>36.25</u>
		Total	<u>100</u>

As already noted, all African migrants in Port Nolloth work for the two fishing factories. They are recruited from certain parts of the Transkei, and from 1968 all workers had to sign a twelve month contract although the fishing season lasts only eight months and most men are retained for that period only. The recruiting policies of the two companies differ. The Hicks manager usually travels to the Transkei himself and selects his labour force, giving preference to those who are experienced fishermen. The John Ovenstone policy is to delegate the recruiting to a senior African employee, who is paid 50c per man on the man's arrival in Port Nolloth, and a further 50c for each man who completes his contract. This policy is not regarded as completely satisfactory by a number of people in Port Nolloth, and there is some evidence that there is - or was - corruption and acceptance of bribes, which involved the loss to the factory of experienced fishermen who could not afford a bribe.

Nearly all men recruited in the Transkei are signed up as fishermen, although a number never go to sea. Of the Ovenstone complement of some 200 men, about 80 work on land as security men, cleaners, factory hands, boat cleaners, transport labourers and jetty hands. Of the 120 Hicksons men, only about 15 work in the factory, the rest being at sea.

African fishermen are paid the same rates as Coloured fishermen, and the same 'sub' system operates - R2 per week, deductible at Ovenstones and non-deductible at Hicksons. Most of Hicksons shore labourers are paid R14 per week plus over-time. The Ovenstone men are paid on various scales: security watchmen get R13 per week, factory hands and cleaners R9 per week, jetty hands and labourers R7 to R7-96 per week, transport workers R5-05 per week. The most highly paid African is the jetty foreman who earns R20 per week after 26 years' service, and has a free house. All the preceding figures can often be doubled, at least, with over-time during a good season.

According to the men in the compounds, Port Nolloth in a good season offers about the best employment within the migrant labour system that they know. Salaries are higher than almost anywhere else, accommodation compares favourably with that elsewhere, and in a good eight month season they can earn enough to spend four months each year at home with their families.

The whole aim of these men is to save enough to support their families; Port Nolloth migrants do not have to lay out sums on lodging or transport to and from work, and as there is very little to spend money on, saving is easier than in the urban

areas. Most migrant workers have savings accounts at the local bank, and the bank manager at Port Nolloth reported that Africans were "the best savers in town". (33)

Thus in good seasons African migrants do well. In poor ones they were formerly able to leave and seek work elsewhere, but the position changed at the end of 1968 with the introduction by the government of a regulation requiring all Africans to be on contract. A large number of migrants are not happy with this situation; the handling of labour problems in the 1967-8 season largely confirmed their fears.

The 1967-8 season was very poor, and towards the end of it there were lengthy periods when very little was earned by the fishermen, many of whom were living on R2 per week subs. This was considered inadequate to procure food and other necessities in Port Nolloth, let alone to send money home to the Transkei. For men who were not on contract the position was clear-cut: those who did not have adequate standing wages and could afford the fare, went home. The position was not so easy for those on contract.

The managers of both factories were asked by migrants on various occasions to release them from their contracts. The policy of Hicksons was that the manager would refuse formally to release the men from their contracts but make it clear that, where the men felt they had to leave, no action would be taken

(33) It is the policy of John Owenstone to pay their labourers through the local bank, the purpose being to acquaint them with the workings of the bank and the facilities offered, in the hope that this will increase general saving.

against them. As a result a number of men left, with no ill feelings against the company concerned. (34)

At Ovenstones the manager refused to release the men, saying he could not afford to take the chance, should the season improve in the last month or so, of being left without much of his African labour force. Things did not improve, and later a large body of Ovenstone migrants went to the magistrate's office to petition him. The magistrate was away, but the police chief addressed the men. He said that they were on contract and had to stay; if they left they would be prosecuted for desertion. A magistrate from Springbok arrived later, heard the complaints and the testimony of the company involved, and ruled that the men should stay until the end of the season. (35)

After this most of the men stayed, but there were some who continued to receive appeals from their families in the Transkei to send money urgently. When it became clear that they would not be released from their contracts, some of these men deserted and went home. The manager of the factory immediately laid

(34) This is the policy of the factory at Hondeklipbaai, which sent its African labour force home early. The manager of the factory said it was short-sighted to keep migrants against their wishes, particularly as it is important to get experienced fishermen to return.

(35) A senior official of the Bantu Affairs Department later said that this was irregular, and if his department had been informed the company would almost certainly have been instructed to send the men home, and pay their fares.

charges against them. (36) His reasoning was that a firm example had to be made to prevent desertion on a large scale. The charges against the men were later withdrawn in the manager's absence, but there was at least one case in 1968 when a man was prosecuted and brought back from the Transkei to stand trial. He was found guilty, and as he was unable to pay the fine, was imprisoned for three weeks. On his release he was ordered to return to the company to finish his contract, but when he arrived at the factory he was told to leave the premises at once. He was thus left destitute in the town, but was helped by friends until a sympathetic White with contacts in the Bantu Affairs Department managed to get him a job in the interior.

The short-term objectives of this policy were to ensure a sufficient labour force should the season suddenly improve (which experts said was most unlikely) and also to show that firm action would be taken against deserters, thus hoping to avoid large-scale desertions and maintain discipline. However, the policy had certain long-term effects of which the company in question was apparently unaware.

When they learned that the contract system was to be compulsory for all, many migrants feared that if the contracts were strictly enforced it would be risky to work in Port Nolloth, as there was no guarantee that any particular season would be good,

(36) When a charge is laid for desertion, the police have to trace the deserter, usually back to the Transkei. If found he has to be brought to Port Nolloth at State expense to stand trial. If found guilty he must complete his contract after paying a fine or undergoing imprisonment. If not guilty, it is not known whether the State would pay for a return fare to the Transkei.

and they might lose their right to leave if they were not earning enough. In the case of Hicksons, the men saw that they would be able to leave, but worst fears were confirmed by the policy of Ovenstones. A number of experienced fishermen who had been coming regularly to Port Nolloth announced that they would not return for the 1968-9 season because it was no longer worth the risk.

Although only one factory adopted this policy, it affected all African migrants in the town as the news of the prosecutions spread rapidly. Many people in the fishing industry were concerned that Port Nolloth would get a bad name at the recruiting centres and that experienced fishermen would be lost to both factories. (37)

Leadership

As with the Coloured group, most official leaders of the African migrants in Port Nolloth - employers, supervisors, government officials - are Whites. The only official African leaders are those who have been placed in authority in their work - foremen, usually called "boss boys", one or two bosuns and mates on trawlers and, in the case of Ovenstones, security watchmen.

The security watchmen are particularly interesting. Ovenstones normally employ nine men who work eight-hour shifts guarding the security gate at the entrance to the factory, the

(37) It is in every company's interest to have as many experienced fishermen as possible. Crayfishing is a skilled occupation, taking some weeks to master adequately and years to become expert in. Each new man costs himself and his employer time and money until he reaches a reasonable standard of proficiency.

factory area and the compound. The watchmen are given the power to stop and search people suspected of theft and to see that company regulations are kept. They are told by the manager of the factory that all people within the factory area fall under their jurisdiction, no matter who they are, and he has shown that he is prepared to support them.

In the compound itself there is always one watchman on duty to supervise cleaning and to see that the routine of the compound runs smoothly. There is a detention cell in the compound, and watchmen have the power of arrest and detention, provided that the compound or factory manager is informed immediately. Watchmen are selected by the company for their education (they should ideally be able to speak English and Afrikaans, and be able to read and write), intelligence and general qualities of leadership. The watchmen are accepted as leaders by most men in the compound; in any event many of them are also natural leaders in other spheres.

There are also elected leaders in the Ovenstone compound. One room is occupied by the watchmen, but all the others are associated with specific areas in the Transkei, and accommodate groups of 'home-boys', or abakhaya. (38) At the beginning of each season an election is held in each room to elect a room leader, who will settle disputes, supervise the general running

(38) For a description of home-boy activities in Langa, Cape Town, which are very similar to those in Port Nolloth, see Wilson & Mafeje, 1963:47ff.

of the room, and call meetings to discuss any important matters.

Disputes may be settled on a number of levels. If the parties concerned cannot agree, the room leader may arbitrate; if this is impossible the matter will be brought before the watchmen, who say, however, that they prefer to let rooms settle their own affairs if this can be done. If the watchmen cannot arbitrate, the matter may be taken to the White compound manager, and then to the factory manager. Further appeals are unusual, and would have to go beyond the confines of the factory - as happened when dissatisfied migrants petitioned the local magistrate.

The position at Hicksons is different. There is one man who supervises the compound and sometimes settles disputes. The larger rooms are not as conducive to abakhaya groups, and there are no room leaders. There is also no compound manager, and appeals would go directly to the factory manager.

There are a number of natural leaders in both compounds in the field of religion and leisure activity. As previously mentioned, religious services are conducted by a number of self-appointed lay preachers. Both compounds have football teams and choirs with captains, trainers, treasurers and the like. Other activities - such as boxing and tribal dancing - take place from year to year when there are suitable leaders available. For example, boxing was popular in the 1966-7 season, but was discontinued in 1967-8 when the trainer did not return to Port Nolloth.

Leisure Activity

Both compounds have football clubs. The Ovenstone team is

called the Black Lions, and at the height of the season two sides can usually be fielded. Most of the equipment is provided by the company. The club has a captain, vice-captain and treasurer. The annual subscription is 75c, and with non-playing supporters the club had a total membership in 1968 of over 30. The Hickson team is the Flying Tigers, and is similarly organised. Subscriptions are 50c, and the 1968 membership was about 22 people. These two clubs compete against each other and against local Coloured teams.

The only other organised activity in 1968 was choir singing. Ovenstones had a 16 man choir plus trainer, and Hicksons had two somewhat smaller choirs and trainers. There is always keen competition between the choirs, and concerts are given regularly. Many of the concerts are held to raise funds - mainly to assist men who may be in difficulty.

In the compounds there is considerable informal leisure activity. Music is very popular, and there are a number of men who play autoharps, guitars, mouth-organs and accordians or concertinas. Ball-room and tribal dancing is also popular among various groups.

Men also play cards, draughts, dominoes and snakes and ladders. Some do knitting and wire work, and there are a few photographers. Letter-writing is an almost universal leisure activity, and illiterates will dictate letters to literate friends. A few men read newspapers and magazines.

Despite this activity in the compound, life is restricted there, and there are no African women in the town. There is

considerable inter-compound visiting, and many - perhaps most - of the African migrants spend some time in the lokasie, particularly the back of Paraffinstraat and the Bult areas. As mentioned, a number of men have houses here, and there is a great deal of visiting. Permanent, semi-permanent and ephemeral liaisons exist between African men and Coloured women in this area. There are also a few shebeens, which are frequented because liquor is frowned upon in the compounds, and Africans are not allowed into the non-White bar. Most drinking is therefore done in the lokasie, which is popular as a source of social contact, women, and alcohol.



1. Diamond City, clinic in foreground



2. Houmoedstraat



3. Volle Evangelie Kerk van God, Paraffinstraat



4. Ovenstone's African compound



5. Swinging a skollybakkie ashore



6. Women factory workers



7. White badminton in the Town Hall



8. Coloured soccer in Paraffinstraat



9. A skipper of Italian descent



10. An old Nama woman and the Namakerk leader



11. Coloured children near Rainbow City



12. Hotel workers from Eksteenfontein



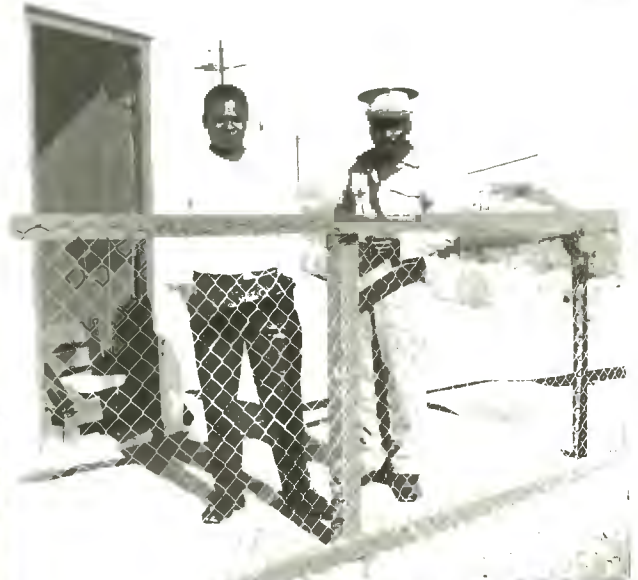
13. Rolling water to
Paraffinstraat



14. An old Bloukamp couple



15. The Black Lions



16. African watchmen

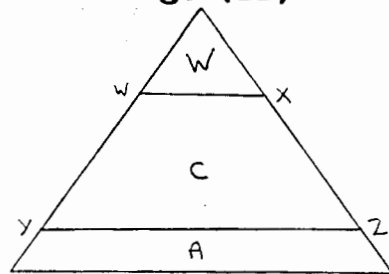
CHAPTER 4THE CASTE HIERARCHY

THE CASTE HIERARCHY in Port Nolloth is formed by the White, Coloured and African castes, which are named groups, largely endogamous. Endogamy is enforced by law between the White and non-White castes, and by convention between most members of the Coloured and African castes. This is reinforced by a pollution concept: Whites believe that they will pollute their stock by mixing with African or Coloured people, and Coloured people feel similarly about mixing with Africans. Africans regard mixing with White and Coloured people in the same way.

The three castes are ranked hierarchically, with the White caste being dominant, and recognised as such by the other castes. Most of Port Nolloth's population would rank the castes in hierarchical order as: White, Coloured and African. Different classes within castes, however, often see the position slightly differently. This is discussed below.

The White caste sees the caste hierarchy quite simply as ranked in the order mentioned above. This view can best be illustrated diagrammatically:

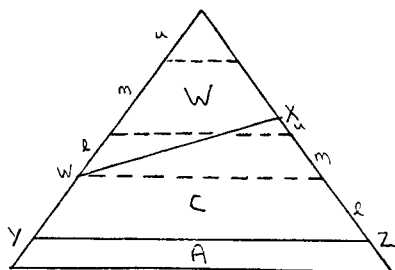
fig. (11)



The segments C, W and A (and in the figures following in this chapter) represent the Coloured, White and African castes, and the lines WX and YZ represent the caste lines dividing them. Thus the Whites see themselves as occupying the apex of the pyramid, the Coloured people the middle and the Africans the bottom. Whites are aware of class stratification within their own caste, and may be aware of stratification in other castes. But they will regard a White person occupying a low position in the White caste as superior to, for example, a Coloured person occupying a high position in his caste.

This view is not shared by the Coloured people, or at least not by those occupying the higher strata of their own caste. While an upper-class Coloured person will still recognise the barrier of the caste line, he will consider himself superior to a White person of low class in the White caste. In representing the Coloured caste's view of the hierarchy diagrammatically, the horizontal caste lines in fig. (ii) are no longer accurate, and the concept of "social skewness" (Davis, Gardner & Gardner, 1941) has to be introduced, in which the angle of the caste line can vary:

fig.(iii)

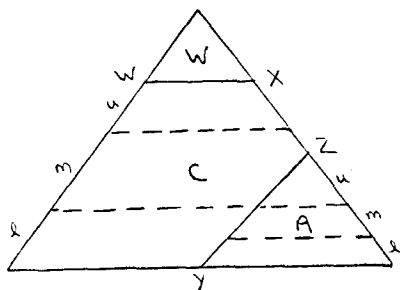


In the above diagram, dotted lines stratify castes,

theoretically for the moment, into upper (u), middle (m) and lower (l) classes. Thus the Coloured caste will consider itself superior as a whole to the African caste below it in the hierarchy, and inferior to the White caste, except in some cases, where Coloured people in the upper strata of their own caste will consider themselves superior or equal to Whites who occupy the lower strata of their caste.

The African caste is also stratified, and upper-class Africans will see themselves as superior to lower-class Coloured people. At the same time, Africans in Port Nolloth have little knowledge of White caste stratification, and will see themselves as inferior to that caste. Their view of the hierarchy can be shown by the following diagram:

fig.(iv)

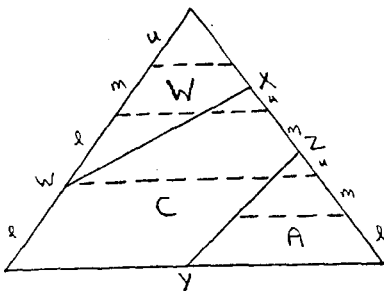


From the three preceding diagrams, we can see that each caste has at least one 'horizontal' view of another caste, and that this is more likely to be so the further apart the castes are in the hierarchy. Thus Whites and Africans have almost no knowledge of internal stratification in each other's caste. Coloured people, occupying the centre position in the hierarchy, recognise some stratification in the castes above and below them, but mainly in the White caste, as they tend to identify

with the White caste rather than the African caste. The Coloured and African castes occupy an inferior position under the White caste, but to preserve their second position in the hierarchy, most Coloured people distance themselves as much as possible from Africans; from their view the caste line is, and must remain, 'horizontal'.

We can now arrive at an observer's view of the caste hierarchy in Port Nolloth by adjusting caste lines and showing intra-caste stratification lines:

fig.(v)



Despite minor variations in attitude, it is generally accepted in Port Nolloth that the White caste is dominant. Although it is a minority group, it has almost complete effective control of power in the town, and employs a number of methods to ensure its supremacy in the caste hierarchy. As previously mentioned, nearly all positions of official leadership in the town are held by members of the White caste, giving almost complete economic and political control, including the use of force.

Except in the case of Town Council elections, which will be considered later, neither of the non-White castes has any political power, and both are very much under the control of White-

run state agencies (39), both in Port Nolloth and Springbok, the administrative capital of Namaqualand. Together with the all-White Town Council, these agencies have control over a great many aspects of life in Port Nolloth. In theory this control extends over all castes equally, but in practice it is much more rigid over the non-White castes, and this is one of the mechanisms used to ensure White caste supremacy. Thus, for example, the State has decided where different castes shall live, and what beaches they shall use. In practice these decisions have been made with the interests of the White caste solely in mind: the Group Areas decision means that just under half of the total Coloured population will have to move, whereas not one person in the White minority is affected by the proclamation; in the allocation of beaches the White caste has the use of the best beaches near the town, involving a much larger area than that allocated to the non-White castes.

The White caste also has a monopoly of the use of force in the community, both legal and conventional, and double standards are often applied. The White police force is extremely strict in prosecuting drunkenness among non-White castes, and often uses force when arresting men. Drunkenness is usually punished by a R15 admission of guilt fine, or by a short term of imprisonment. Coloured people complain that police sometimes enter

(39) There is a Coloured Affairs Department and a Bantu Affairs Department at Springbok. The magistrate represents these (and all other State departments not otherwise represented) in Port Nolloth.

their bar to make arrests, and that they may be arrested even when they are going home quietly without causing any trouble, arguing that in such cases leniency could be exercised. It is noted that great leniency is often exercised by the police in dealing with drunkenness among Whites. A number of cases of White drunkenness were observed in the presence of police without any action on their part, and one case was observed of police taking an offender home after the hotel manager had asked that he be removed. On the other hand, some Coloured leaders have said that they often fear to go out at night because they might be arrested for drunkenness, even if not drunk. In cases like this, they say, the policeman's word is usually taken by the magistrate, and it saves time to pay the admission of guilt fine. An upper class Coloured man said that he had been arrested for drunkenness one night when returning from a dance and that his plea that he was sober was ignored. He was released only when he insisted that a doctor be called to verify his condition.

The use of force by the police appears to be fairly common. Young policemen, for example, discussed using force on Coloured people in the writer's presence. "We like it when they get drunk," said one, "because it is always self-defence when we hit them." This statement prefaced a number of descriptions of how various policemen had beaten up Coloured people. During the period of fieldwork a case was pending where an African migrant was prosecuting a policeman for unprovoked assault. This case caused some discussion in the town and is worthy of further consideration.

The incident took place when a number of African watchmen were passing the local police station. They greeted a young constable standing outside and were ignored. As the men passed, the policeman shouted "Come here!" One of the men asked if he was being referred to, and when the policeman said he was, he asked what he had done wrong. At this point the evidence differed. The policeman said that he had asked the African to produce his pass for identification and, when he could not produce it, had arrested him. (40) The African allegedly resisted arrest, but went quietly when a second policeman came out of the station, after being called by a passing White man. He was taken into the station and while being searched, according to the policeman, tried to escape. The station door was then shut to prevent his escape, and the man was later locked up and charged with resisting arrest and failure to produce a pass. When this story came up in court a second policeman confirmed it insofar as he had been involved.

The African's story, corroborated by his friends, was that the policeman had come up to him, shouted at him, kicked him in the stomach, taken him by the throat and marched him to the police station, where he was knocked to the ground by a blow to the face. At this point his friends tried to enter the police station, but the door was shut on them.

(40) With the knowledge and consent of the police, Africans of the factory to which the watchmen belonged wear numbered wristbands for identification and their pass books are kept for safe-keeping by the company.

When the case came to court, the police brought two witnesses whose testimony did not agree, and the policemen were evasive under questioning by the advocate engaged by the defendant. It was also made known that a charge of assault had been laid against the policeman.

In questioning the African, the magistrate asked if he had been 'cheeky' to the policeman. The concept involved here is one of insubordination on the part of a member of a subordinate caste towards a member of a superordinate one. The implication was that if insubordination had occurred (although this would not have been illegal) it would to some extent have explained the policeman's action. When in the end the African was found not guilty and discharged, the magistrate took pains to inform the Africans sitting in the court that this was in no way to be taken as carte blanche for them to resist arrest or ignore the authority of the police. He was also very careful in his judgment not to condemn the police in any way - the nearest he got was, "It is obvious that the entire truth has not been told here today." He said that the incident was most unfortunate and had caused some ill feeling; he hoped that there would now be better relations between Africans and the police.

Young policemen in court were very annoyed by the decision, declaring that the Africans had cooked up a story together and were obviously lying as they all said the same thing. Later a message was sent by the policeman to the African involved telling him that he had better go round in company from then on, otherwise he would 'get him'.

In this way an embarrassing incident for the White caste was handled as satisfactorily as possible under the circumstances. To have convicted the African would have been a gross miscarriage of justice, but to have condemned police action would in their view have attacked their dominant position in the hierarchy. Face was saved by the magistrate in his admonition to the Africans present to obey the law, and by the young policeman in his threatening message. (41)

Force or threat of force, sanctioned not by law but by convention in the White caste, is also used occasionally in dealings with non-Whites. An interesting incident occurred in Port Nolloth during the period of fieldwork when a car containing a young couple stopped at a garage. The driver got out and minutes later was seen to be threatening a young Coloured man who was standing nearby. He was held by the throat and walked backwards, hit once in the face, and then allowed to escape. At the same time a car passed and its White driver saw the incident. He stopped his car in the middle of the road, and although he could not have known what the dispute was about, he chased the Coloured man, swore at him, and threw stones.

The young man escaped and his two assailants got into their cars and drove off. The petrol attendant at the garage said that the man was a friend of his who had come to keep him company (during a slack period on a late Sunday afternoon) and had done

(41) The assault charge was later withdrawn as the African wished to return to the Transkei and did not want to wait. The policeman was transferred to unpleasant wire patrol in a desert area, which his colleagues regarded as a punishment.

nothing to warrant the treatment he had received. When asked why the White man had acted like this, he said of one of them: "Maybe it's because he is a White man - it's White man's law."

There are two interesting points about this case, apart from the use of force. The first is that a member of the dominant caste was immediately prepared to assist another member in attempting to beat up a member of a subordinate caste, without knowing anything about the dispute. The second point of interest is that no charge of assault was laid - the Coloured men involved said that it was not worth laying a charge for three reasons. They doubted that the police would co-operate; if the matter did get to court any story produced by the Whites would be accepted by the magistrate; and in the unlikely event of a conviction, the Whites would find some method of retaliating.

Coloured leaders said that this sort of treatment was fairly common, and they had learned that not much could be done about it; they had little confidence in the police or the courts. (42)

Members of the White caste learn of their privileged position at an early age. For example, a six year old White girl was walking with a 49 year old African servant when she said that she felt sick. He replied jokingly that they had better go to see the doctor, and she said that he couldn't take her. He asked why not, and she said: "Because you are a kaffir."

(42) A recent example of the police attitude was cited: a Coloured woman went to lay a charge against a Coloured man who had raped her daughter; she was thrown out and police took details only after a strong complaint by a Coloured leader.

Again, a Coloured child wrote in an essay: "The White children throw stones at you in the street and hit you if you just look at them. They also set dogs on you to frighten you." A Coloured leader mentioned a case where a Coloured child had fought a White child and come off better. An elder brother of the Coloured child was summoned by the father of the White child and beaten up in retaliation.

The use of force in these cases could in theory have been prosecuted by law. That no prosecutions follow is a clear indication (as it is meant to be) to the non-White castes of the superiority of the White caste in the hierarchy.

If actual use of force is a clear indication of superiority, threats or show of force are often more effective. Thus a Coloured man who had visited me one night was followed home by a police van showing no lights, which then stopped some time outside his house; I saw a police van driving dangerously between spectators at a Coloured rugby match to the extent that it worried the organisers, and so on. There does not appear to be a great deal of direct intimidation by police and government officials, however, although there are cases of this. When a number of Coloured men were nominated for positions on a Coloured Advisory Council, for example, the nominees were summoned to the local police station and asked a number of questions, including whether they supported the government. (43) A prominent

(43) In practice, there are very few people in Port Nolloth's Coloured community who would be prepared to tell the police that they did not support the government. The most rigid opponents of the government would not admit this, and thereby be labelled as potential troublemakers who should be carefully watched.

Coloured leader who was also nominated said after this that a colleague of his had been requested to "listen to what I say and how I say it, and then to report." He had also been told that he was being checked by the security police. It is interesting to note that these people knew that they were being checked upon, which is part of the intimidation process. There is considerable fear in the non-White castes of being watched by White officials; this caused me considerable trouble in the early period of field-work when African and Coloured people thought that I was a security policeman or other government official.

Nominations for membership of the Coloured Advisory Council were another case of the White caste controlling the activities of a non-White caste and thereby confirming their superordinate position. Permission was obtained by the Town Clerk from the Provincial Administration to constitute an advisory council in a letter which stated: "As a first step to eventual self-government it is necessary to give consideration to the establishing of advisory councils in those towns where it can be justified. It appears to the Administrator that the Coloured Group Area under the control of your council has reached a stage where such a committee can be profitably established."

The regulations for the establishment of advisory committees laid down that members could be nominated by the Town Council and the Provincial Administration, but also allowed for some members to be elected by general Coloured franchise, within the discretion of the White authorities. At a general meeting held by the Mayor and Town Clerk of Port Nolloth to inform the Coloured

community of future plans concerning them, it was made known that all members would be nominated.

A Coloured leader then asked whether it would not be possible for Coloured people to elect some representatives. The phrasing of the question was interesting, as it went out of its way not to annoy the dominant caste: "In connection with the advisory council which the Town Clerk has explained, as I understand it one person is appointed by the Town Council, and the others by the Provincial Administration. Now perhaps I am going a bit ahead, and I hope you don't misunderstand me, but will there also be an opportunity for our people to choose perhaps one or two members of this advisory council themselves? So that we know for sure that the people of Port Nolloth, the Coloured community, want those people on that council; and usually when people choose their own representatives there is better co-operation than when the people are appointed. I hope you understand that I am not trying to catch you out - it is just for information." This question drew great applause, and the Town Clerk answered: "You will choose all your members yourselves the day you get self-government; maybe it is wrong, maybe it is right, but the aim of the Administration in appointing a Coloured Advisory Committee is to teach people to be able eventually to do those jobs. It will happen later that I will have to resign as secretary. I can only assist for a certain period until a secretary from the committee can take over himself. You follow then: we must arrange things first. Nominations have been made in the town by people who know the Coloureds very well. And

these nominations are now being sifted in Cape Town."

Initial interest in the committee lapsed after this, and people became suspicious when probable nominees were questioned by the police. As far as is known, no Coloured people were consulted about possible nominations - among those consulted by the Coloured Affairs Department were the Town Council, White ministers, employers and police.

The White caste has economic as well as political control in Port Nolloth. Very few members of the non-White castes in employment are not employed directly by Whites. Non-Whites have no bargaining powers, and most are involved in the fishing industry, which is tightly controlled. African migrants under contract are particularly rigidly controlled by the terms of their contracts and by various labour laws. Apart from measures taken in the 1968 season to deal with unwilling African workers (see pages 83-84 ff), the manager of one factory threatened to have any man who refused to go to sea imprisoned. While the season was bad in Port Nolloth, Coloured fishermen who had gone to work in South West Africa (at Lüderitz or Walvis Bay) reported that they were doing very well. Consequently a large number of Port Nolloth fishermen left for South West Africa, once they had received permission from the local magistrate. It was generally known that permission was a formality if a man had a job waiting for him in S.W.A., but after many fishermen had left, would-be migrants found that they could no longer get permits. This had apparently been arranged unofficially between the magistrate and a factory manager who was very concerned about losing good

fishermen. The manager's stated view was that the men were not only leaving his factory, but also deserting their wives and families, who then came to him for assistance. He admitted that the Coloured Affairs Department was not happy about this restriction of movement. (44)

Coupled with this economic restriction is the right to dismiss arbitrarily. One factory in particular had a reputation for dismissing fishermen on trivial grounds, particularly in the case where orders were questioned. Although men thus dismissed were nearly always able to get jobs at one of the other factories (in fact, the manager of one factory said that he had been able to get a number of expert fishermen in this way) a major problem is loss of accommodation. Company housing provides another method of control over non-White employees. Men occupying company housing are generally loth to criticise or try to improve their lot for fear of losing their accommodation, which is important in view of the severe shortage of housing in the town. (45) Fear of losing their houses was particularly strong in skippers and other senior employees of the largest fishing company, which provides some of the best housing for Coloured people in the town.

(44) A number of determined migrants obtained permission to go to work in South West Africa from the magistrate at Springbok, where the situation was normal.

(45) A large number of people interviewed in the lokasie said that they preferred to live there in an inferior house which was their own, rather than face the insecurity of 'the baas's house', from which they could be ejected at any time, and which they would have to leave if the breadwinner ever wanted to change his job.

In the 1967-8 season many skippers were dissatisfied with their lot, but would not complain to the management. As one skipper said: "I can always get a job, but where do I get a house like this?" Instances were cited where employees had clashed with the management and had been ejected from their houses, or been threatened with ejection. Loss of housing was also sometimes

used as a threat against those who were reluctant to go to sea.

Double standards often emphasise the superiority of the White caste in the hierarchy. The use of force has already been discussed, as well as double standards in prosecutions for drunkenness. The same applies to minor offences under the law. Coloured informants pointed out that they would be prosecuted for minor traffic offences while Whites could break the rules with impunity. The more influential Whites in the town appear to expect to be above the law as far as minor offences are concerned. For example, a senior manager told a group of friends in the bar one evening that he had been approached by a new policeman who had had the cheek to warn him for having a faulty light on his car. The group agreed that the man was new in Port Nolloth, and would "soon learn."

Treatment in court is another instance of double standards. Whites are usually treated courteously, and are often invited to sit down if the case is to be a long one. Non-Whites are treated rudely and curtly, and addressed by their first names. No non-White was ever invited to sit down while I was in court, no matter how long the case.

Double sexual standards are also in evidence. The

Immorality Act of 1957 prohibits sexual relations between Whites and non-Whites, and while there is no evidence to suggest that there are any liaisons between White women and non-White men, the opposite does seem to occur. At a dance held for Coloured people by one of the churches, for example, three White men arrived in a large car and caused considerable embarrassment. One of the organisers said that the men had come to look for prostitutes, and that this had happened before. The men were asked to leave, and did so reluctantly after they had been mocked by a number of onlookers. It was clear that they had been drinking.

A former government employee who had spent much of his time working in the lokasie said that he knew of a number of cases involving White men who had visited Coloured prostitutes in the area. He had worked with the police on occasions, and said that the police were aware of this. Occasionally they would catch a White man in the lokasie, but these cases, although clearly contravening the law, were never prosecuted. He said the police were very embarrassed when this happened, and that they did not prosecute because they did not want to hurt the wives and families of the men concerned.

This situation has been observed elsewhere in South Africa, as well as in the south of the United States, where it has been documented by such writers as Dollard (1937) and Davis, Gardner & Gardner (1941). Dollard sees this as a "sexual gain" on the part of the White caste: "In simplest terms, we mean by a 'sexual gain' the fact that white men, by virtue of their caste position, have access to two classes of women, those of the

white and Negro castes. The same condition is somewhat true of the Negro women except that they are the objects of the gain rather than the choosers..." (Dollard, 1937:135) In addition to White men taking advantage of their supremacy in the hierarchy, the situation, as van den Berghe points out, "debases, . . . the women of the subordinate group to the status of pleasure instruments for the males of the ruling group." (van den Berghe, 1965:20)

One of the few instances where the White caste does not have completely effective control over a non-White caste is in the Town Council election. To qualify as a voter, a person must own property to the value of R400 or occupy premises valued at R800 or more. There is no racial restriction, and consequently some 90 Coloured people qualify as voters, out of a total voters' roll of 211 - that is, just over 40% of the voters are Coloured people.

The White candidates (46) for election are aware of the importance of the Coloured vote, and as they cannot force Coloured people to vote for them they have to influence them in other ways. Shopkeeper candidates, for example, may allow credit in the hope of gaining votes where otherwise they would not, and large employers may try to exert pressure on their employees. It is a source of mixed amusement and scorn in the Coloured electorate that at election time Whites with an interest in the election become polite and more considerate in their dealings with

(46) Although candidates are not in theory restricted to the White caste, in practice there are no Coloured candidates. Possible Coloured candidates fear retribution from members of the White caste if they stand for election, and thus challenge White supremacy in the field of local politics. There is also a feeling among some that they would not be able to match the skill and knowledge of the Whites, even if they were elected.

Coloured people. But the power of the White caste is such that the more influential members can have great influence on Coloured voters. It was a complaint of Coloured leaders in Port Nolloth that the average Coloured voter was not convinced that his vote would be secret, and that these voters would often vote for their employers or for their shopkeepers, regardless of personal preferences, for fear of some retaliation, if they did not vote for them. Another method of pressurising Coloured voters is for Whites to transport them to the polls and try to influence them en route. It was also felt that accepting a lift from a candidate or one of his supporters implied an obligation to vote for that candidate. (47)

In the 1968 elections only two candidates approached the Coloured electorate directly. Other candidates sent out circulars and relied on informal canvassing of any Coloured people with whom they might come in contact. Canvassing constitutes a problem for those White candidates who normally discriminate against Coloured people, or have as little to do with them as possible. It is embarrassing as members of the dominant caste to have to solicit votes from people in a subordinate caste whom one considers as servants. Generally these people are not prepared to canvass even Coloured leaders. (48) It is interesting to note

(47) A favourite story told by some Coloured leaders is that, although they had their own cars, they once accepted a lift to the polls from a White candidate who drove them there and back. He never found out that none of them voted for him.

(48) To my knowledge there has never been any door-to-door canvassing of Coloured people by the White candidates.

that although White candidates know that they can attract support by personal canvassing, most are not prepared to lose face in their own caste by doing this, preferring to forfeit valuable votes.

There are a few instances where the Whites have chosen not to exercise their powers or privileges. Although the beach nearest the town has been reserved for Whites only, it is rarely used by them. Coloured children use it quite often in warm weather, and a few Coloured men are wont to fish from the beach at weekends - both activities being illegal in terms of the proclamation. There have been no complaints from Whites, however, and although White and Coloured children will sometimes use the beach at the same time, Coloured children voluntarily keep to one end of it, away from the White children. In answer to a question about this at the Coloured meeting mentioned earlier, the Town Clerk said that no action would be taken if there were no complaints from Whites, but he made it clear that regulations would be enforced if necessary.

In the case of the lokasi-dwellers, the Town Council has the power to move them all, as it is technically illegal for them to be there, but in practice this has not been done, although officially no new houses may be erected there. An undertaking was given by the mayor in 1968 that, whatever the law stated, no people would be moved unless there was alternative accommodation available to them.

Caste separation

In keeping with government policy, there is a good deal of

separation between castes in Port Nolloth. This can best be seen in the residential areas: a proclamation under the Group Areas Act lays down specific areas where White, Coloured and African people may live in Port Nolloth, and forbids a member of one caste to live in an area reserved for another caste. But, in general, separation is more strictly enforced between the White caste and the non-White castes, and for many administrative purposes the latter form one entity. Thus in many instances 'separate facilities' refers to separation between non-White and White castes - this is the case with beach apartheid, the Post Office, police station and magistrate's offices, public transport, and similar facilities.

While segregation in these spheres is officially required, and is indicated by notices and marked separate entrances, there are some facilities that are segregated by convention; for example, the local bank employs a Coloured man as a second teller, and it is accepted that all non-White customers will go to him and all White customers to the White teller, although there are no notices to this effect. I caused some consternation in the bank when I went to the Coloured teller's counter. Although he was free and there was a queue at the White teller's counter, a bank official suggested that I join the White queue, but made no protest when I did not. Similarly, the municipal offices have two counters, one approached through the main door and one through a small, unmarked side door. Again there are no notices, but non-Whites use the side door. (49) Most shops are used by

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all castes, but some cafés are patronised almost exclusively by Coloured people. In the 'mixed' cafés it is accepted that the chairs and tables provided are for white people only. (50)

There is complete separation between the white and non-white castes in leisure activity: organised sport, swimming, dancing, concerts, drinking, etc. There are separate sports fields and halls, although the Town Hall is far superior to the small wood-and-iron recreation hall which is made available to the Coloured community by a fishing company. At the Coloured public meeting a Coloured leader asked if the Coloured community could hire the Town Hall. The Town Clerk replied that this was not allowed as it was in a white Group Area, but that they could always try to get a special permit. (51) Visiting entertainers play before members of one caste only, and as most of the entertainers are white, non-whites are unable to see most of the live entertainment which comes to Port Nolloth.

With very few exceptions (the main one being the Roman Catholic Church) churches are attended by one caste only. Although there are white, Coloured and African members of the Anglican Church in Port Nolloth, only Coloured people attend services. Very occasionally, at major festivals, members of other castes may attend a service. The only specifically segregated

(50) There are no facilities in Port Nolloth for Coloured people to eat out. Some visiting members of a rugby team once asked permission to eat in a church hall as there was nowhere else to go.

(51) Before Group Areas were declared, a Coloured teacher tried to hire the Town Hall for a dance. The application was refused, no reasons being given.

all castes, but some cafés are patronised almost exclusively by Coloured people. In the 'mixed' cafés it is accepted that the chairs and tables provided are for White people only. (50)

There is complete separation between the White and non-White castes in leisure activity: organised sport, swimming, dancing, concerts, drinking, etc. There are separate sports fields and halls, although the Town Hall is far superior to the small wood-and-iron recreation hall which is made available to the Coloured community by a fishing company. At the Coloured public meeting a Coloured leader asked if the Coloured community could hire the Town Hall. The Town Clerk replied that this was not allowed as it was in a White Group Area, but that they could always try to get a special permit. (51) Visiting entertainers play before members of one caste only, and as most of the entertainers are White, non-Whites are unable to see most of the live entertainment which comes to Port Nolloth.

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church, however, is the Dutch Reformed Church (for Whites) which has a 'daughter church', the Dutch Reformed Mission Church for Coloured people. Although they are branches of the same church, there is no contact between them. When a Coloured man arrived to head the Mission Church, he received a letter from the White congregation which welcomed him, said that he might call on them if he needed help, and then warned him that he should look after his congregation in his area, and that they would do the same for theirs. One or two of the pentecostal churches which are organised nationally have provision in their constitutions for separate churches for the different castes, but this is not enforced in Port Nolloth: in theory a member of any caste may join, although in practice it is only non-Whites who do so.

Separation of castes is tending to increase as the government policy of enforced segregation is carried out. The latest manifestation of this was the Group Areas and beach apartheid proclamations. The next step was to be the development of a Coloured area, parallel to the White area, with a Coloured Council and duplicate facilities. The Town Clerk promised at the public meeting: "There will be a place for your own post office later on, for public places, a police station, your own library, and so on. Provision is being made for all these places, even though we are not building them now." Coloured people were noticeably sceptical of this promise of complete separation between Coloured and White castes, (52) as it was considered

(52) Official government policy is eventually to remove all Africans from Port Nolloth, including temporary migrant workers. This is opposed by employers of Africans.

highly impracticable. A woman exclaimed in the midst of the meeting: "We Coloureds just stay oppressed!" Scepticism increased when it was made clear that the Coloured Council to be constituted would be entirely advisory. As the Town Clerk said: "I hope you realise now what powers your council really has - you can go with any complaint to your council, and then they come to me and my council, and then we go through the whole matter." It was also feared that when the Coloured council came into being, this would be used as a pretext by Whites to remove Coloured voters from the voters' roll for Town Council elections.

It is important to note that segregation between White and non-White is largely enforced by the dominant White caste, and applied to informal social relations and leisure activity. This segregation is also discriminatory, the best (and sometimes only) facilities being reserved for Whites only, based on the premise of the overall superiority of the White caste.

Although separation of Coloured and African castes on an official level is limited mainly to residential area, there is nevertheless considerable segregation between these castes, and particularly between the middle and upper classes of the Coloured caste and the African caste as a whole. The pattern of segregation is similar to that between the White and non-White castes: it is largely discriminatory and based on a premise of Coloured superiority over Africans.

Thus the whole pattern of segregation of castes in Port Nolloth - as in the rest of South Africa - is designed to maintain the existing caste hierarchy. By segregating and discriminating,

Whites maintain their supremacy. They are emulated by Coloured people, who in their attempts to maintain and consolidate their second position in the hierarchy, stay close to the White caste and as far away from the African caste at the bottom of the hierarchy as possible, discriminating against them in turn.

Caste integration

Despite the forces of legislation and public opinion in favour of caste segregation, and the government's theoretical model of complete social separation of castes, in practice the three castes in Port Nolloth are mutually dependent. That much integration is condoned is evidence that it is in the interests of the White caste and is not considered to threaten the Whites' position in the hierarchy. Those cases that are considered a threat are condemned, and action is usually taken to make the position clear. For example any possibility of White-Coloured social contact received a sharp setback when a former magistrate and a factory manager attended a Coloured beauty contest as judges. This was "reported to Pretoria" by the chief of police. The same police chief reprimanded a White minister for attending part of a wedding reception for a Coloured couple he had married.

Integration in Port Nolloth is most marked in the economic sphere, economic co-operation among all castes being a sine qua non for the continued existence of the town. Nearly all this contact is restricted to the stereotyped patterns of the master-servant relationship, however.

Where there is no formal segregation - for example in shops - preference is given to Whites. They are served first. As the

hierarchy is thus informally maintained, there is little objection to the resultant intercaste contact. As van den Berghe notes: "Few Whites object to interracial contact, no matter how intimate, so long as the non-Whites 'stay in their place'. Where there is no legal provision for segregation, the 'customary' colour-bar sets in to prevent egalitarian contact. Where such contact is unavoidable, the Whites expect and receive preferential treatment, such as being served first in shops. In other words, the potentially equal relationship of co-customer is made unequal by racial discrimination." (van den Berghe, 1965:143) This is the position in Port Nolloth in shops and some government departments, such as the Post Office, where separate counters are served by one White clerk, and non-Whites have to wait until all Whites have been attended to.

The implementation of apartheid itself causes integration. In order to carry out the policy of segregation of castes, government departments - some of them created specifically for the purpose - are used: the Coloured Affairs and Bantu Affairs Departments, the Department of Community Development, and the police force, to mention a few. All these departments are controlled and staffed largely by Whites. In implementing legislation designed to segregate, there is ever-increasing contact between White and non-White, although this contact is admittedly broadly within the master-servant relationship.

We shall now consider specific instances of intercaste contact in Port Nolloth, starting with White-Coloured contact. With very few exceptions, nearly all Coloured people in employment/by ^{are employed}

Whites, and work in daily contact with them. This close, and in the case of domestic servants, intimate contact is accepted by Whites, as it in fact reinforces their superordinate position in the hierarchy. Where superiority is in doubt, or challenged, White disapproval is swift. An example of this was the appointment of a Coloured man to the position of accountant in a large fishing factory. White employees were upset about the appointment, a particular grievance being that a Coloured man would now know what they each earned. The appointment also created an unusual situation in the factory office, where a Coloured man now held the senior position, and was therefore presumably in some sort of authority over secretaries and clerks, most of whom were White.

The conflict was partly resolved by compromise. The accountant was not formally given that title, inaccurately suggesting that the position was temporary. He was very careful not to give orders which would cause dissension, and the White office staff did their part by not causing trouble, and accepting orders. Tension was also released by play-acting: the Coloured man would jokingly act subserviently towards the senior woman secretary, calling her 'nooi' (regarded as a term of subservience) and she would call him 'hottie' (abbreviation of hottentot). This play-acting of the normal roles prescribed by society in an abnormal situation was accepted as long as it took place within the office where all understood the rules of the game. However, when a young White clerk called the accountant 'hottie' in front of a White visitor to the factory, the accountant took extreme offence, and

reprimanded the clerk. This strained the situation in the office for some weeks before things returned to normal.

In the field of business, the only tailor in the area, a Coloured man, serves both White and Coloured people. White and Coloured shop assistants serve all castes, with the proviso already mentioned that Whites receive preferential treatment. In the field of industry the castes are mutually dependent, but in local commerce it is the Coloured caste, through its greater numbers, which largely supports White shopkeepers. Many Coloured people realise this, and are annoyed at the high prices in the town, but Coloured people have not been successful in obtaining trading licences from the Town Council, which usually has a number of White shopkeepers serving on it. Shopkeepers have to re-cuse themselves when it comes to votes on trading licences; this usually means that the Town Clerk has to take the decision as the Council falls below quorum, and shopkeepers can bring pressure to bear on him.

Coloured leaders show great interest in starting businesses in Port Nolloth, but say that it is very difficult to go into business as a Coloured person because of discrimination. (53) The most recent example cited was that of the Coloured tailor who had to move his premises in the White area, and had a first option on a new site near by. He applied for a licence but was refused. He tried again after getting legal advice that he could legally

(53) A group of upper-class Coloured men in Port Nolloth have formed a savings club into which they pay R10 per month, with the aim of starting a shop in the new Coloured area. It has been kept secret from Whites to avoid trouble.

be given the site, and was again refused on the grounds that Group Areas were soon to be declared. The site was then given to a White man, and the tailor was granted special permission to use a broken-down wood-and-iron shack in which to conduct his business.

After the declaration of Group Areas, Coloured leaders were told that the Coloured area was going to be planned, and that there would be provision for all facilities. They regarded a shopping area as of major importance, and were suspicious of the reluctance of White leaders on this point. Coloured leaders understood this reluctance, although they did not agree with it, as they reasoned that well-run Coloured shops would draw most Coloured customers and constitute a severe blow to White traders, probably putting some of them out of business.

It was for this reason, coupled with a general dislike of shopkeepers as exploiters of Coloured people, that Coloured leaders opposed the candidatures of shopkeepers in the 1968 Town Council elections. This opposition was particularly marked as 1968 was the first year in which it seemed that shopkeepers could impede Coloured progress within their newly-proclaimed area. It was noted with concern that the 1967-8 Council of six members had no fewer than four shopkeepers on it. Three of the places were up for election in 1968, and of the three men remaining in office, two were shopkeepers. There were also two shopkeepers among the five candidates for the remaining three positions, and if they were elected shopkeepers would again be in the majority on the Council.

With this in mind, Coloured leaders started canvassing for the first time. Although they discussed the merits of candidates, their basic message to the Coloured electorate was that they did not want any shopkeepers on the Council at all as they were likely to hinder Coloured progress. In the election neither shopkeeper was elected, a result which must in part be attributed to this attitude.

The Town Council elections and the events leading up to them are a good example of caste interaction, despite the government-inspired tendency towards separation. A brief account of the 1968 elections will show this. At the outset, most of the candidates and their supporters realised that the Coloured vote was important. The White electorate was split into various factions, but the Coloured electorate was more unified, and it was realised that their leaders would be able to swing most of the votes.

Two of the five candidates were determined to contact Coloured leaders and try to win their support. But they were hampered in this desire by their positions in the cast hierarchy - it would not be 'right' for members of a superordinate caste to go cap in hand to a subordinate caste's members and ask for support directly. An intermediary was required, and the fieldworker - White, but not really an accepted member of the superordinate caste because of close contact with the other castes - was their choice. I was therefore approached by the junior - in terms of White status - of the two candidates who were campaigning together, and asked to arrange an interview

with Coloured leaders.

The interview took place in a Coloured leader's home, where the candidate made a plea for support on the grounds that he was a friend of the Coloured people, and had always been one, even if he had been too busy during his twelve month stay in Port Nolloth to be able to show this. But by and large the candidate impressed Coloured leaders as being sincere, and they promised him their votes. (Their support had more or less been decided beforehand, as if they were not going to vote for the two shopkeepers, they would have to support the only other three candidates) The other candidate of the partnership addressed a general Coloured meeting, at which he made certain promises. At one point in the meeting he said that he was only giving his own opinion as he might not be back on the council in a week or two. This prompted a shout from the back of the hall: "Don't worry, sir, you'll be elected."

Other candidates were most annoyed about the meeting, but they were not prepared to make personal contact with Coloured people. Their canvassing was limited to occasional contact with Coloured people in the ordinary course of events - for example, a shopkeeper would drop a word or two to his customers, an employer would speak to an employee. But to preserve the hierarchical pattern, this canvassing had to be clearly from a superior to an inferior - not the best way of gaining votes. One Coloured man described a candidate's method of canvassing by saying: "He now says 'Come here, Piet' instead of 'Hey, you!'"

About the only contact these candidates had with Coloured

leaders was when one telephoned with an offer of transport to the election (a tacit request for support) and when a supporter of another visited a prominent Coloured leader and asked for a nomination for his candidate. (54) Just before the election, the three candidates who had not contacted Coloured people issued a small pamphlet asking for support. The pamphlet was delivered to the homes of most Coloured voters by the Coloured employee of one of the candidates. It was badly-produced and nearly illegible, and many voters seemed to have difficulty in deciding which candidates were asking for support, as all five candidates were mentioned by name. On the day before the election, one of the other candidates, who felt his position to be in jeopardy as he had been warned that he had little White support, made a final effort to gain Coloured votes by addressing a small gathering of Coloured leaders who were attending a meeting of a welfare organization.

On the day of the election White candidates offered transport to all voters who wanted it. As already mentioned, neither shopkeeper was elected, and the two men who had approached the Coloured electorate personally were placed first and second in the poll. As soon as the result was made known, Coloured leaders telephoned to congratulate the two candidates, who promised them some sort of present. The next day a case of brandy and beer was delivered to a prominent leader by one candidate, and the

(54) The leader signed the nomination form (not made public, therefore the request was another tacit approach for support) although he had no intention of supporting the candidate, and in fact campaigned vigorously against him. He said he signed on the grounds that he would have laid himself open to unnecessary trouble had he refused.

other provided cold drinks for a Coloured Sunday School picnic. Coloured leaders were particularly pleased at the results not only because two shopkeepers had been eliminated, but because they felt that the two candidates they had helped would acknowledge some debt to the Coloured community, and therefore be well-disposed towards it. After the election things returned to normal, but the fact remains that Town Council elections cause considerable intercaste contact every two years.

Another field of intercaste contact has already been mentioned - liaisons between White men and Coloured women. As this is illegal, and also strikes at the heart of the caste hierarchical order in Port Nolloth, it is extremely difficult to get any information on the subject. It is fairly certain, however, that these liaisons are ephemeral. In recent years there has been only one case of a permanent liaison in Port Nolloth, and it occurred when a White diamond prospector who had fallen on hard times went to live in a Coloured area with a Coloured woman. This was done openly, and it could be expected that such a flaunting of the norms of the White caste would cause severe censure. The action taken by the White caste - through the police force - was to get a Coloured leader to sign a document stating that the man lived with Coloured people and was to all intents and purposes a Coloured person, and to use this document to have the man re-classified as Coloured. (55) Although

(55) The first leader asked to sign refused, and asked the policeman: "Why should we take your rubbish?" Another Coloured leader was then found who was prepared to sign.

this was done, and the man is now officially a Coloured person, many people in the town - including most of the Coloured population - know his ancestry. Many Coloured people regard the situation with considerable scorn.

As previously mentioned, most churches in Port Nolloth are attended by members of one caste only. The main exception is the Roman Catholic Church, which is situated in a White area, but has mainly Coloured members. The church has a White priest, White and Coloured nuns, and a small group of White parishioners who attend church regularly. The Anglican Church is the only other church in Port Nolloth which has White and Coloured members, but in practice White Anglicans hardly ever attend services. The church is in a Coloured area and some Whites feel it would be courting official disapproval to go there. Furthermore the White Anglican priest is not resident - he visits the community about once a month. For the rest of the time services are conducted by Coloured men, and Whites are reluctant to attend church in the absence of the priest.

The Dutch Reformed Church has two branches, one for Coloured and one for White people. There is no contact between the churches, but until 1969 there were White leaders in the Coloured Mission in Port Nolloth. The present minister of the Mission Church is a Coloured man who replaced a White, but only after there had been opposition on the church council to the appointment of a Coloured man. Serving under this minister were two evangelists, one White and one Coloured, both of whom were discharged in late 1968 to make way for a second minister.

Although the local church is now run entirely by Coloured people, Whites are still represented in the upper hierarchy of the church as a national body.

As far as government departments are concerned, there is considerable contact between Coloured leaders - mainly teachers - and White officials of the Coloured Affairs Department, which is based in Springbok. Coloured Affairs Department officials are in almost daily contact with school principals, who have to keep the Department informed of school activities, as well as having to gain departmental approval for a wide range of decisions. The control of the Coloured Affairs Department is such that school principals have to spend most of their time doing administrative work set by the Department, and have little time for teaching. The Department conducts regular subject inspections at schools, and as nearly all inspectors are White, this brings a number of White officials into contact with Coloured teachers and pupils.

In the case of Coloured-African contact, official policy is far less strict, and there is considerable contact between the two castes. This occurs not only in the economic sphere, where all three castes are mutually dependent, but in many other spheres, one of the most significant being leisure activity. This can be attributed in part to two factors: the first is that the Whites, with their major interest in separating their caste from others, have allowed and in some cases forced contact between Coloured people and Africans. The second point is that there are few Africans in Port Nolloth, and no African women

are allowed at all; Africans are therefore forced to look outside their fairly narrow circle for wider social contact and relaxation, and they turn to the lower classes of the Coloured community, who are the only people in the town who will have anything to do with them.

Most integration between African and Coloured people occurs in the economy, specifically in the fishing industry. Although the members of the two-man skollybakkies are nearly all of one caste, trawler crews are mixed, and Coloured and African fishermen work, eat and sleep side by side. These mixed crews are under the control of Coloured skippers, and Coloured men hold most positions of authority on the boats, although a few of the lower positions are held by Africans. At one of the factories an African foreman has control of the jetty and gives orders to both Coloured and African labourers, and the same factory has a squad of African watchmen who have the power to stop and search anybody on the premises, and also enforce company regulations.

Many Africans spend much of their leisure time in the lokasie, and some have erected their own houses there illegally. Africans living in the compounds visit these houses regularly, as well as some houses owned by Coloured people. There are a number of liaisons between African men and Coloured women, some of which are permanent or semi-permanent, being broken when the men have to return to the Transkei at the end of their contracts, and being resumed in the next season. At the end of the 1967-8 season a number of men were found to be staying with Coloured women in the lokasie (v. page 79) and were 'deported'. One or

two of the African-occupied houses are run as shebeens where alcohol and dagga are obtainable, being patronised by Coloured people and Africans.

One of the results of African-Coloured liaisons is that there are children in Port Nolloth of distinctly African appearance. Africans are not allowed in the Coloured schools, but if Coloured women present these children and certify that they are their mothers, the children are reluctantly admitted by school principals, who in common with the majority of the Coloured community strongly disapprove of these unions which they consider debase Coloured stock.

A few Africans attend church in the lokasie, mainly the Christen Gemeentes, and most of these are old permanent residents who qualify to stay in Port Nolloth through length of residence or continuous employment. The only formal marriages between Coloured women and African men are in this group of old residents, who have been largely assimilated into the Coloured community.

Football is another important leisure activity, and the two African teams compete regularly against the different Coloured teams in the lokasie. Football is played mainly by lower-class Coloured people, unlike rugby which is played by upper-class Coloured people. The Coloured rugby team in Port Nolloth will sometimes select an upper-class African; this occurs infrequently when there is difficulty in making up a team, although the African in question is one of the best players in the town. The team has no objection to playing against visiting teams which contain Africans.

Contact between Africans and Whites is extremely limited. Africans work only for the two largest fishing factories, and come into contact with Whites there. The only Africans who have any control over Whites - however limited - are the watchmen at one factory, who may refuse entry to unidentified Whites, and stop and search entrants. With two exceptions, no Africans work as domestic servants, so there is no close contact with Whites in the town. Africans also come into contact with Whites as customers in certain shops and at the bank, at the post office and in court, in dealings with the police, and occasionally with the Bantu Affairs Department.

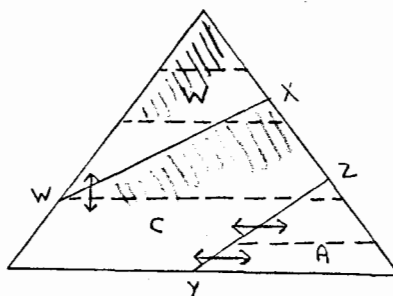
Thus Port Nolloth society comprises a hierarchy of three castes in which the dominant caste has decreed that the castes shall be separated as far as possible, and is powerful enough to enforce its decree without the consent of the other castes; but, as has been described, members of all three castes work and trade together.

To exist as a viable entity, a society must be integrated to some degree. This important functionalist hypothesis, which can be used without necessarily resorting to the extreme functionalist model of perfect societal integration, was tested and found accurate in Port Nolloth society, which was seen to be held together first and foremost by the demands of the economy: the castes are economically interdependent, with the Whites needing the labour force and consumer power of the Coloured and African people, who in turn need White capital and managerial, technological and entrepreneurial skills.

In theory the non-White castes, who resent their subordinate position in the hierarchy, could use their economic power to disrupt Port Nolloth society, but in practice this is unlikely to occur soon, if at all, because of the second important cohesive force in the society: the political control of the Whites, with their command of force in the community which can be used to make the non-White castes act as the Whites deem fit.

In terms of material self-interest, economic integration is necessary in Port Nolloth; but, except for the African caste, social integration is not. It is interesting to note that such social caste interaction as exists is generally restricted to members at the bottom of a superordinate caste and members of the lower strata of the subordinate caste next below. There are no cases of social contact between members of castes that are not adjacent in the hierarchy. Social contact between castes can be represented diagrammatically:

fig.(vi)



Here, double-headed arrows show areas of social contact across caste lines. Between the White and Coloured castes, this denotes mainly sexual liaisons; between Coloured and African castes it denotes the variety of contact already mentioned. The

shaded areas denote rigid opinion against any social contact with the subordinate caste next below.

Despite the instances of intercaste social contact cited, the great majority of the members of the White and Coloured castes are firmly opposed to any social contact with members of subordinate castes. It is these areas of rigid opinion, particularly in the White caste with its supremely powerful position, that preserve the Port Nolloth caste hierarchy in its present form.

CHAPTER 5THE CASTE HIERARCHY (CONTINUED): CASTE ATTITUDES

CASTE ATTITUDES, in relation to other castes, maintain the existing caste hierarchy. As the previous chapter has shown, the caste lines in Port Nolloth are rigid in relation to social contact, with the result that a member of one caste has limited first-hand knowledge of other castes in the town. Thus, while a person will have at least some idea of stratification within his own caste, other castes appear largely homogeneous units, and attitudes to these castes are nearly always based broadly on this principle of homogeneity.

MacCrone defines an attitude in this context as "a kind of permanent orientation on the part of the individual, so that the appropriate response to the specific object or situation, is already provided for in advance." (MacCrone, 1957:143) In Port Nolloth there is, with minor variations, a permanent orientation on the part of a group, in this case a caste, towards groups of a similar order. Thus the White caste, for example, will have a set of responses in relation to, say, the Coloured caste, based on a stereotyped conception of that caste.

Maquet defines stereotypes of specific castes as providing "a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallised and form a simple picture." (Maquet, 1961:146) The White caste in Port Nolloth has such a 'simple picture' of the Coloured caste based on what it considers are general characteristics. Some of these

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characteristics are a result of the segregatory laws enforced in the society, as Kuper points out: "the many racial laws in South Africa shape an image which is compounded of unfavourable qualities - unfitness as a marriage partner, neighbour, and so on." (Kuper, 1965:36) These attributes are then absorbed into the stereotype the White caste has of the Coloured caste, and can be changed only by personal experience of the Coloured caste, through social contact, which is prevented by the same laws which have helped to shape the stereotype.

Thus we have, to use Durkheim's phrase, a 'conscience collective' in the White caste, embodying stereotypes of the other two castes and a set of fixed attitudes based on them. The situation is also a circular one: the segregatory laws prevent individual modification of the attitudinal patterns and indeed help to shape them; at the same time the stereotype thus maintained serves as justification for the attitudes and the discriminatory laws that exist.

The simple stereotypes that the White caste has of the other two castes, therefore, justify their supreme position in the hierarchy. Their view of the castes as being inferior justifies inferior treatment. White attitudes have a further influence on the other castes: the Whites' explicit belief in their inferiority breeds a feeling of inferiority in many; White racialism breeds a counter-racialism which is expressed in antagonism towards other castes.

Since social contact between castes is proscribed, formation of individual caste attitudes must be largely derived from

the 'conscience collective' of the individual's caste. Examples abound of very young children showing no racial prejudice at first, but changing later. Lasker explains this: "The five year old has no experiences directly making him aware of the 'inferiority' of others, except in regard to mental or physical inferiority of other children with whom he is in personal contact. He will hurl stones or shout epithets in situations that seem to exhibit contempt, but these actions will either reflect attitudes picked up from others, or a momentary emotion soon to be forgotten" (Lasker, 1929:6). In the two cases cited in the previous chapter of White children attacking Coloured children, and of a small girl saying an African man was not fit to take her to the doctor, it is clear that the children were most unlikely to have had personal experiences justifying their attitudes: these attitudes must have been learned from the attitudes prevalent within their own caste. Lasker cites some of the more important ways in which this comes about: absorption of adult attitudes (particularly of parents), the influence of institutions (children in Port Nolloth see segregation in practice), and the learning of attitudes in school (particularly from history text-books which recount initial racial clashes in South Africa).

It is therefore well-nigh impossible for children growing up not to absorb the attitudes of their castes, and not to come to believe in them as their field of experience is so proscribed. Personal experiences which might serve to modify the attitudes they have learned are limited to relations with non-White servants. This is often a source of conflict between the child's

attitude and the caste attitude. As the child grows older, however, the caste attitude is likely to prevail.

With this brief introduction, we now examine caste attitudes in Port Nolloth in some detail.

Coloured caste attitudes

As a member of the White caste, (56) it was difficult for the fieldworker to elucidate Coloured caste attitudes towards the White caste. These opinions were not freely expressed, particularly as most people were antagonistic towards Whites and felt that retribution might follow. As one woman said: "If I say what I think (about the Whites) I will go to jail." However, as I became better known in the community, and my bona fides were accepted, opinions came more readily, and could be tested as friendships were formed.

The strongest opinions held are about the Afrikaans-speaking Whites, who now form the great majority of Whites in Port Nolloth, and as I was English-speaking, people were eventually willing to discuss the Afrikaner section of the White caste. This raises a major division in Coloured attitudes towards the Whites: nearly everybody distinguishes between English- and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Whites are called 'base' or 'witmense' or 'blankes', but Afrikaners are specifically called 'boere', the term usually being pejorative. In a basic dichotomy, Coloured people see English-speaking Whites and foreigners

(56) It should be remembered that the fieldworker was a White, English-speaking South African. This was taken into account in the study of caste attitudes.

as generally tolerant, cultured, educated and well-mannered. The stereotype of the boer is ill-mannered, rough, ill-educated and intolerant. These stereotypes can only be modified by personal contact, which as we have shown is restricted by law and convention.

An early illustration of this dichotomy occurred at a Coloured Sunday School picnic I attended, when I was sitting with two young male teachers. One asked me if I was a foreigner, and I said no, I was a South African. The other explained: "He is another sort of South African - he doesn't believe in this apartheid business." The other then replied: "Yes, I've always said an Englishman is better (than an Afrikaner)."

This attitude has an historical base: the local myth states that the first settlers in Port Nolloth (mostly European, or of European descent) showed no colour-prejudice. Black, white and brown lived fairly harmoniously side by side, and there was inter-marriage and social contact on a class rather than a caste level. (One Coloured man said proudly: "My father used to dance with the Whites"; and many others refer with pride to their European ancestry.)

This changed with the advent of poor White Afrikaner farmers from the interior, who settled in the area and gradually took control. These immigrants came with a tradition of discrimination against African and Coloured people, which had been learned in their contact with more primitive peoples in the interior. Although many of the Coloured people they encountered in Port Nolloth were sophisticated, urbanised people, they were unable

to adapt their attitudes to a new situation, and continued to discriminate as before.

As the Afrikaners took control, the Coloured people were increasingly 'put in their place'. A 72 year old woman, who had lived all her life in Port Nolloth, described the process: "More and more Dutch people came, and we were put on one side. The first Dutch people were friends of the Coloured people, but not any more. They shove us back, and yet we've done nothing to them. They are so spiteful to us." Thus as the new caste system hardened, the Afrikaner became known as the man who discriminated, and the European (typified by the Englishman) who subsequently left the town, was remembered for his tolerance. As another Coloured leader said: "We used to get on well with the English - we don't know these boere."

In this change it was the more sophisticated Coloured people who lost most, and they particularly resented being discriminated against by people they regarded as inferior to them. A man with a Coloured mother and a German father expressed the opinion of many in his category: "My father was just as good a man, perhaps better, than many Whites in this town. And yet they call me a hottentot. I am not." Education is very important as regards status in the Coloured community, and this is another source of annoyance. A Coloured school-teacher: "The English were reasonable, we could respect them for their learning, but how can we respect the boere? Most of them only have Sub A or maybe Standard 1."

Apart from education, religion is another important field

where upper class Coloured people see themselves as superior to the boere. There are numerous, thriving Coloured churches in Port Nolloth, while the Dutch Reformed Church, as the only major all-White church, is often pointed to by Coloured leaders as having very small congregations. As a leader of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church said: "The boere are spiritually very low." Whites, according to some leaders, have little respect for their church or its leaders. A Coloured teacher remarked on this: "The boere have little respect for a dominie - not like our people."

It is thus very important to note that in what are perhaps the two most important spheres in at least upper class Coloured life, and to some extent in the Coloured community generally, that is, education and religion, many Coloured people consider themselves superior to members of the superordinate White caste. This has an important effect on their attitudes, as will be discussed later.

One Coloured leader said he thought he could understand the racialism shown by the Afrikaner immigrants. He said they felt inferior when they met Coloured people who were not only better than their servants on the farms, but sometimes better than they themselves. They reacted harshly against this as they were not able to adapt their attitudes. He also pointed out that the biggest racialists were the poorest, "low Whites" who were closest to many of the Coloured people. A man in this position, he said, "is frightened that he is not a proper White," and therefore discriminates all the more to preserve his privileged position.

Upper class Coloured people contend that even those Afrikaners who try to appear tolerant give themselves away. A Coloured school-teacher said that he was often treated better because of his position, but the treatment was not convincing: "You are a teacher, and they try to give a good impression, but they can't. They still look down on you." An upper class Coloured employee of a large factory gave another example of this attitude. He said he went one day to the house of an off-duty White engineer on company business. He knocked on the front door and was admitted. The engineer was friendly and said that he was not like other Whites in the town - the Coloured man was free to come in the front door, he did not mind. The Coloured man told this story as a joke, as he said the White man was filthy and he had a chicken roosting on his bed and a goat in the kitchen. He said the White man was a sort he wouldn't have within yards of his back-door. Another example took place at the Coloured general meeting already referred to. The Town Clerk started his speech politely, and called the audience "ladies and gentlemen", but soon dropped into the low form of address, using 'jy' and 'julle' instead of the polite 'u'. This was regarded as very bad manners by upper class Coloured people, who also saw it as evidence of the man's attitude towards Coloured people. "The boere always give themselves away," said one man afterwards.

Bad behaviour is often cited to confirm the stereotype of the boer, just as Whites do to confirm their stereotype of the Coloured people. The attitudes of the White police (who are mainly Afrikaners) are perhaps most frequently mentioned.

Coloured people regard young policemen as the lowest of their caste - as an elderly Coloured resident said: "Some of the young policemen here are proper pigs." Violence, swearing, and general rudeness are often cited.

Coloured people are usually suspicious of Whites, and particularly of Afrikaners. An upper class Coloured man referred to an occasion where he and his wife had stopped to help a bus that had broken down. He was unable to help, and when he tried to leave, the occupants of the bus (White rugby players) began making passes at his wife through the window of his car, and then lifted the back wheels so he could not drive away. When he eventually started moving, they stood in a line across the road and tried to stop him. The man broke them up by driving straight at them at speed. This story was told in the company of a few Coloured people, who then told of similar instances. It was agreed that Afrikaners could not be trusted. The group concurred with a woman who said: "A person cannot trust the boere ... some of them are like wild animals." This distrust spreads over a wide field. Discussing promises made by Whites before the Town Council elections, a Coloured man had the agreement of a number of leaders when he said that the promises could not be believed: "It doesn't matter how good a White man looks, he remains a White man. We know what he represents."

Lower class Coloured people never have close contact with Whites and do not share some of the specific views stated above, but there is a general feeling that the Whites oppose them and their interests. Referring to many Coloured problems, one lower

class man said: "The Whites work against us. There are very few who feel badly about our troubles." Another man in similar circumstances was more specific: "The Whites laugh at us when we are in trouble." However, a number of lower class Coloured people became evasive when asked about the White caste, and said that they had very little to do with them, or that they had no complaints. But people in some of the poorest areas were more outspoken, complaining about bad treatment by police, government officials, shopkeepers and employers.

The many differences between the White and Coloured castes, the domination of the former, and opinions on this were perhaps best expressed in an essay set to the senior class of the local government school (Standard 6) on "The people in my community." The children were asked to remember that there were White, Coloured and African people in the community and were told that the best essays would win prizes; they did not know that the fieldworker would be reading the essays. Extracts from these essays follow, and give some good indications of prevalent caste attitudes, as they come from a cross-section of the Coloured community.

Essay 1

On Saturday morning we visited a Coloured couple who live in poverty. There we saw how badly the Whites treat some of us Coloured people...Then we walked down a White street and saw how the Whites live in luxury. Their houses are of brick with glass doors, and they have bathrooms, fridges, and everything a person can think of.

Essay 2

The Coloured people have been living in poverty for some years. Only a few people in my area are not living in poverty. The Whites live in luxury. The Whites

build the most beautiful houses for themselves. They work in offices because they are educated. The Coloured people who work for the Whites get paid very little - their pay is too little to buy food...White children throw stones at you in the street, and hit you if you just look at them. They also set dogs on you to frighten you.

Essay 3

The Whites have been educated to work in offices; if they want a little water or anything else, they just have to ask a Coloured or a Bantu. The Coloured people who work for the Whites earn so little money that they barely have enough to buy food and clothes...When Whites get sick, the doctor is called and they go and lie in the hospital, but the Coloureds only have pills and medicines given, and must go and lie in their own houses.

Essay 4

The Whites live in areas, and the Coloured people in locations. The Whites live well, and are an exemplary ('voorbeeldige') nation, while the Coloured people must work hard to remain alive...There is also a holiday resort two miles outside our town, which is controlled by the Whites...Some of the Whites are very bad to the Coloured people.

Essay 5

The Whites in my community like to be clean, neat and healthy, and visit the doctor at least three times a week. The Whites also have a large school, and are very fond of it. The Whites are a civilised sort of people.

Essay 6

Here in this little fishing town Port Nolloth the Whites are mostly civilised, but others don't want to see you, and call you by the unseemly ('ongepas') word 'hot-not'. There is also a Jewish man...who goes to his shop at any time. He will try anything to get money in his hands, even if it is after hours.

Essay 7

The Whites and the Coloured people can't sit round the fire together - they just want to fight as soon as they run into each other. The Whites want the Coloured people to bow under them.

Essay 8

The Whites work well with the Coloured people and Bantus. That is surely why most Coloured people and Bantus call them 'baas'. The Whites do not work as hard as other nations. You practically never hear of Whites making trouble. They live well together, and make a good

living. The Whites live in their own residential area, and have Coloured people as servants.

Essay 9

The Whites live in the front streets of Port Nolloth and live luxuriously. The Whites think they are more cultured than the Coloured people just because the Coloured people are dark-skinned and they are lighter. The Whites are given all the comforts. They have the best houses built for them, which even have electricity.

Despite the range of attitudes apparent from the above extracts, certain views were repeated in many essays: the inequality between White and Coloured people and the bad treatment of Coloured people by Whites. Essays 1, 2 and 9 were some of the many noting the material differences between White and Coloured people. Essays 5, 6 and 8 were interesting because they showed a subordinate attitude towards the White caste (with Essay 5 clearly being inaccurate) which is prevalent among lower class Coloured people, while essays 7 and 9 expressed some measure of antagonism towards Whites. Essay 6 was unusual in that it contained the only mention of Jews in all the essays.

There are very few Jews indeed in Port Nolloth, but according to the local myth there were many in the early days of the town. Port Nolloth Coloured people distinguish between Jews and other Whites, and although they are regarded as being more tolerant than Afrikaners, there is also a stereotype of them (as shown in essay 6) as being avaricious and cunning. When a shopkeeper in Port Nolloth, who is rightly or wrongly thought to be of Jewish descent, did something rather cleverly in his own interests, a prominent Coloured leader said: "His Jewish blood is coming out." Most Jews in the town have reportedly been in local commerce, and have thus held occupations which the

Coloured people hold in disfavour anyway (v. page 119 ff).

As has already been shown, certain aspects of the social structure of Port Nolloth have been changed over the years by immigrant Whites who, with their assumed superiority over the other castes, have arranged the society very much to their own advantage, and have relegated all non-White caste members to a subordinate position. This was done without their consent, and the Coloured people, who form the majority in the town, have had to accommodate themselves to these new circumstances. A similar position obtained for the Negro in the south of the United States and Dollard (1937:253) has postulated five "Negro accommodation attitudes" which could be applied to the Port Nolloth situation.

The attitudes are:

1. The Negro may be aggressive towards the White caste;
2. The Negro may suppress aggression and supplant it with passive accommodative attitudes;
3. The Negro may give up competition for White caste values and accept other forms of gratification;
4. The Negro may compete for the values of White society, raise his class within the Negro caste, and manage his aggression by domination of others within his own caste and suppression of individual impulses; and
5. The Negro may turn aggression towards Whites into aggression towards individuals in his own group.

In the context of the Port Nolloth situation, attitudes 1 and 2 should be discussed together. As has been shown in the previous chapter, any aggressive attitudes on the part of the Coloured caste towards the White caste would be met by severe White repression, and there are consequently few if any opportunities to show aggression safely. Where these opportunities

occur, it is only a few upper class Coloured leaders who feel strong enough to take them.

One Coloured leader in particular takes these opportunities as calculated risks to show fellow-leaders that Coloured people can stand up to Whites. He cited examples of berating a White travelling salesman, who had been rude to his wife, in the presence of his colleagues, and then turning him off the property; on other occasions he threatened the police for not taking down a charge laid by a Coloured woman, and reprimanded a White minister for trespassing. He had also risked his job by having altercations with White government officials, feeling that this was justified to "show my people that we can stand on our own feet."

Aggression can be shown in differing ways. One elderly man in Port Nolloth has achieved considerable status by refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the South African government. (57) He has a carefully documented case which he bases on the contention that a large part of the Namaqualand area (he can cite the beacons demarcating it) was given to the Coloured people during the reign of Queen Victoria, and that this has never been revoked. The South African government has no power over him, he reasons, and he put this into practice some years ago when he built a shop without submitting plans to the Town

(57) The people of the Komaggas reserve hold the same opinion, and are much respected by Coloured people in other parts of Namaqualand for their firm stand against the government. Until recently they had refused all aid from the State, and had formed their own church (Calvin Protestant, see page 34) rather than join the "boerekerk". Many stories are told about the 'wild Komaggassers', the favourite being that they once stoned a Deputy Minister of State who visited them.

Council, buying the land or applying for a trading licence. The Town Council ordered him to demolish the building but he refused. After a number of warnings the police were called in and they demolished the shop. At the Coloured public meeting the man asked the Mayor and Town Clerk why he had to buy land that was already his, and explained his case. Neither official was able to answer, and they asked the man to come and see them privately when they would be able to discuss the matter fully.

Aggression can also be channelled into a desire to better or equal Whites on their own ground. Thus a Coloured leader confessed to me that he would like a large, modern car to 'show the boere', although a small car was more practical for him. A small welfare organisation was started during the period of fieldwork, which ran a shop selling basic nutritional items at cost. While not discounting a genuine desire to help their own people, one noted also a real desire to hurt White shopkeepers in the town. As previously mentioned, a number of Coloured leaders had started a savings organisation with the purpose of starting a Coloured-run shop in the Coloured area, and again of affecting White shopkeepers.

Another manifestation of aggression is a desire to see White South Africa beaten in anything. Sport is a particularly good example, as rugby is a national White sport, and Coloured people realise that Afrikaners particularly attach much importance to winning. During the period of fieldwork, a British Isles rugby team was touring South Africa, and played a number of test matches. British players quickly became heroes, especially to

small children, and there was intense speculation before test matches that South Africa would be beaten, and depression when this did not occur. Only once did I hear a Coloured man support the South African team, and that caused lively argument. The same man said that he actually supported the British team but had pretended otherwise to stimulate argument. During one test match Coloured people booed the South African team, particularly when they were taking kicks at goal. This caused considerable irate correspondence in an Afrikaans newspaper, and pleased Coloured people in Port Nolloth. One Coloured leader said that he knew this was bad manners, but that when they were at a test match feeling was strong, and with the knowledge that they were not permitted to represent their country "you just can't help yourself." He mentioned this as one occasion where Coloured people could register a protest with impunity.

At an international conference of churches in the Netherlands, at which the Dutch Reformed Church was represented, there was the possibility of the D.R.C. being censured for supporting government race policies in South Africa. Mission church leaders read newspapers eagerly for news of the conference, and were bitterly disappointed when the D.R.C. was not censured. Mission church leaders are antagonistic towards the D.R.C. and consider them hypocrites, as they preach Christian ethics of brotherhood and loving one's neighbour, and practise segregation. (58)

(58) As an example of this, a Mission Church leader tells of an experiment in another town where they sent a visiting Coloured man, who would not be known, to sit at the back of the White D.R.C. When challenged by an elder, the man said he had merely come to church. He was led to the door and told to go to the Coloured church. Mission Church leaders considered it a negation of Christian principles to refuse any person admission to a church.

As it is dangerous for the Coloured caste to show their aggression towards Whites openly, much of it is limited to talk. I was present on a couple of occasions where a small group of Coloured leaders jokingly discussed what they would do if the Coloured people ever came to power in the land. They discussed how many White slaves they would have and what they would do with certain prominent Whites in the town, whom they disliked. Among others, a manager, shopkeeper and policeman were mentioned as being first in line for harsh treatment, while all other Whites would be killed off. While the discussions were jocular, there was underlying antagonism apparent, and it was interesting to note who were the most disliked Whites in the town.

Opportunities for protest are few and antagonism is usually expressed only within the Coloured caste. One Coloured leader is admired for his poetry which he writes to express his frustration and protest at the social order around him. Two examples of this follow. The first is a plea from a Coloured man to the leader of the first White settlers in South Africa. The poet makes a plea for fair treatment from the Whites, as the Coloured people owe their origin partly to them. The poet ends with a wry comment that the Coloured people might not be descended from the Whites, but then how did he get his light skin and hair?

The second poem is a protest against the encroachment of Whites on land formerly occupied by Coloured people. The poem is addressed to Queen Victoria, who is alleged to have given the land to the Coloured people (see page 144).

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck
Wat het jy hier kom soek?
Vars groente, vrugte, vleis.
Maar met die nedersetting
Het die Kleurling ook verrys.

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
Is ek nie jou fout nie?
Kaffer, Hotnot, Europeaan,
'n Mengelmoes van alles
Ook van Maleier, almal saam.

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
Waar's jou vader's plig?
Wat word nou van my?
~~Met~~ ek maar geduldig wag,
Nog altyd stiefkind bly?

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
As ek dan verkeerd is
Vergewe dan vir my,
Maar kom dan by die ligte
vel
En blonde kop verby.

Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria,
Waar is jy nou?
Hierdie morgies grond,
Hierdie reservaat
Is gekry by jou.

Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria,
Hoeveel morg was dit?
Was die grond so groot?
Of het dit met die jare
Al kleiner hier geword?

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
What did you come and seek here?
Fresh vegetables, fruit, fish.
But with the settlement
The Coloured also rose.

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
Am I not your fault?
Kaffir, Hottentot, European,
A mixture of all
Also of Malay, all together.

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
Where's your duty as a father?
What becomes of me now?
Must I just wait patiently,
Always remain a stepchild?

Jan van Riebeeck, Jan van
Riebeeck,
If I am wrong then
Forgive me
But then explain this light
skin
And blonde head.

Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria,
Where are you now?
These few morgen of ground,
This reserve
Was obtained from you.

Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria,
How many morgen was it?
Was the ground so large?
Or has it with the years
Become even smaller here?

However aggressive Coloured people may feel, this aggression is nearly always suppressed when in direct contact with the dominant White caste. This is Dollard's second accommodation attitude, where aggression is suppressed and supplanted with "passive accommodative attitudes." Coloured people are well aware that opposition does not pay, and no matter how strongly they

feel, they adopt mostly passive attitudes when dealing with Whites. Thus one of the nominees for the Coloured Advisory Council told the police, when questioned, that he had nothing against the government; in fact, he is a bitter opponent of it (see page 101). And senior employees of one of the fishing companies who were highly antagonistic towards the policy of the management remained silent when they were given the opportunity to air their views.

Many informants evaded the question of their attitudes towards the White caste by saying that they had little contact with Whites, or that they didn't have any views on the subject. Most Coloured people, although dissatisfied with their lot, see no way of improving it, and have come to accept their inferior position fatalistically - as a woman said philosophically: "We are under the Whites, we must bend under them."

Some Coloured people, although being passive towards Whites, nevertheless manage to get some satisfaction out of deceiving them, or ensuring that they act in certain ways. Thus a Coloured teacher used to explain how he got special service from a White garage owner by flattering him, calling him "oubaas" and acting subserviently. He said it amused him that "most Whites don't know why we do it." A number of Coloured leaders used the same technique when dealing with members of the Town Council. I was present one day when a Coloured leader, who had been antagonising certain government officials to the point where he was in danger of being dismissed, made a speech in front of many of these officials which returned him to favour. He and

other leaders laughed afterwards that the White officials could be so stupid as to be influenced by one short speech, which he made with the specific intent of being returned to favour so that he could continue his campaign to "uplift our people" from a strengthened position.

It should be mentioned at this stage that there is a small minority of Coloured people in Port Nolloth who support the South African government, and accept the inferior status of Coloured people as being justified. These people are all elderly. A young Coloured leader explained this by saying that in the old days Coloured people were brought up to believe in the superiority of the White people, and were taught to respect them. His father, he said, had also held this view, but the young people had seen that they could match the Whites, given the necessary opportunities. They were therefore not prepared to believe in the innate superiority of the Whites. The old people who did so had nearly all been brought up in the country and had had no education. They had never been to cities and seen urbanised Coloured people. These people are contemptuously regarded by many Coloured people for their ultra-passive attitudes towards the Whites. It was this group, for example, which opposed the appointment of a Coloured man as dominie of the local Mission Church as they wanted a White minister.

Dollard's third accommodation attitude is the giving up of competition for White caste values and the acceptance of other forms of gratification. This is clearly seen in the resort to alcohol (see page 61f) and to some extent to the pentecostal

churches (see page 38f). On the other hand, the Coloured person may compete for white values within his own caste. This is Dollard's fourth attitude, and he contends that by doing this the Negro can raise his class within his caste, and manage his aggression by domination of others within his caste. There are a number of people in Port Nolloth who conform to this pattern, particularly certain Bastards, and some Coloured people who have come to Port Nolloth from the cities. These people consider themselves superior to the rural Coloured people, and appear preoccupied with White caste values. In some ways their treatment of other Coloured people resembles that of the Whites. One man told me proudly that many Coloured people would come to his back door if they wanted to see him. Another told a Coloured leader that he should not wash his car himself - he should get a 'boy' (a White word for any non-White male) to do it for him.

Dollard's final accommodation attitude is the turning of aggression towards Whites into aggression towards individuals in their own group. Although there is discrimination within the Coloured caste, inspired by White discrimination, the presence of a third caste constitutes an important difference between the South African situation and that in the south of the United States. By the very nature of the caste hierarchy, Coloured people are able to transfer their aggression towards the superordinate group to a subordinate group (see below).

To sum up, most Coloured people are, if not hostile, at least suspicious of Whites. This applies particularly to

Afrikaners, who are regarded as hostile unless proved otherwise. Indeed it is doubtful if an Afrikaner could ever be completely accepted in the Coloured community as being friendly - the best that could be expected would be a sort of armed neutrality. Mainly as a result of Port Nolloth's fairly integrated past, Coloured people are more inclined to accept English-speaking Whites, but will still be initially suspicious.

Coloured people admire and respect White achievements and skills, and they respect Whites with education, general knowledge, special skills, overseas experience, wealth, and the like. This is counterbalanced by hostility, and sometimes contempt, for those Whites who discriminate and are intolerant. Although this hostility is often suppressed, it is never far below the surface.

The attitudes of Coloured people towards Africans can be classified into two groups: those of the majority who have had practically no contact with Africans, and those of a minority, nearly all in the lokasie, who have had some contact. The stereotype of the African is held by the former group. The African is seen as strange, often violent, backward and frightening, and he is discriminated against.

In the survey most Coloured people thought that Africans should be prevented from living in Coloured areas, and should be kept in their compounds. This view was based on three major complaints. Perhaps the most important was the mixing of African men with Coloured women. A number of people expressed

their disapproval of the number of children in the lokasie of obviously African descent. It is quite clear that most Coloured people regard this as debasing Coloured stock, although not many are prepared to state this view in as many words. Instead, other views are given: "There are too many Bantu children running around here who don't know their own fathers," said one man. Another complained: "We don't know what group the children belong to," although there was no such complaint about Coloured children who looked White. Many others made vague statements that it was 'not right' for Africans to live among Coloured people: "The Bantu like to live with the Coloured people - it's not right." Another person saw this as a source of trouble: "I hear Paraffinstraat is so difficult - it's because the Bantu and Coloured people live together there." He described African-Coloured liaisons as "always a shock - we don't know that sort of thing."

The other two major complaints about Africans are that they are responsible for much of the violence in the lokasie, and that they traffic in dagga and run shebeens which are sources of drunkenness and violence. These complaints appear to be considerably exaggerated to an observer, but it is important to note that they are believed to be justified by many Coloured people. This conflict between myth and reality will be discussed later.

African competition with Coloured people was cited by a number of people as a further ground for complaint. A fisherman described very carefully how an African could live more

cheaply than a Coloured man - "they only eat porridge" - and was therefore prepared to work for less than the Coloured man.

(59) Another man contended that because Africans could live frugally, they were able to save and could better afford Coloured wives. He thought that the security offered by Africans was attractive to some Coloured women. African frugality was therefore disliked because it was responsible for low wages, and also resulted (although this point was greatly exaggerated) in a potential loss of women in the Coloured caste.

Many Coloured people say that they are afraid of Africans, and this is based on the strangeness of the African. It is this strangeness that is at the base of attitudes which are adverse. The first factor is physical - Africans are physically different from Coloured people and are a different colour. Over and over, Coloured people in Port Nolloth pointed out that Africans had a different culture and traditions and spoke a different language. As one woman said: "Their nature is different from ours - I just see danger with them." Many people said they were also worried by the language factor - it disturbed them that they could not understand what Africans were saying.

Africans are thus seen as foreigners in Port Nolloth - they are physically different, and different in culture and language. Nothing is known about these people, except, as a teacher pointed out, what has been learned in school - and this

(59) African competition with Coloured people in the unskilled labour market is referred to by Müller(1968):23f.

is restricted to details of the early wars between Africans and Whites. From what is taught in school, Coloured children see Africans as backward and hostile. To some extent this is modified by knowledge - no matter how limited - of Africans in Port Nolloth. The same teacher said that the people of Steinkopf, for example, who had minimal contact with Africans were even more frightened of them than anyone in Port Nolloth (v.Carstens, 1966:186).

A prominent Coloured leader, in discussing his political views, showed his belief in the backwardness of Africans. Although he had nothing in theory against Africans sharing the political rights he would like Coloured people to have, he said that the Africans were too far behind the Coloured people: "They are too different, they have a different language and different customs. There is no common ground between us." He thought that contact - typified in Coloured-African liaisons - did not 'advance' the Coloured people (60) whereas the Coloured were advanced by contacts with White people. Africans would therefore remain in an inferior position, unless they were able to progress. He was sceptical about the ability of the Africans to progress to the level of the Coloured people.

Africans are called "Bantu", "naturelle", "swart mense" or "kaffers", only the last being used derogatively, and its fairly extensive use is indicative of the attitude of most Coloured

(60) Carstens (op.cit. p.138) gives a similar attitude for Steinkopf, where the Raad wanted "to protect the community from the infiltration of 'primitive blood' which was detrimental to the stock."

people towards Africans in Port Nolloth; Coloured leaders admit that most Coloured people discriminate against Africans in the same way as Whites discriminate against them.

The principal of one of the Coloured schools said that he realised that the Coloured people saw the African caste as a homogeneous entity. In an attempt to remedy this in some measure I was asked to give a talk on Port Nolloth's African population to the staff of the school. In another effort to teach their children more about the town and its people, classes were taken on conducted tours of the town. One of the results of this was that children saw the African compounds for the first time. As previously mentioned, one compound is beautifully kept, with paved paths, flowers, a small lawn, and neatly-painted buildings. This made a big impression on many of the children, who found that the people they looked down on were actually living in better conditions than many of them. Several of the essays referred to earlier mentioned this. A typical one noted that "The Bantu and Whites here in our area live in luxury..."

As has been mentioned, the set of attitudes prevalent in one caste can only be modified by personal experience, or by education. Modification of attitudes through education is limited by the limitations of teachers, who share these attitudes. However, since the caste line between the Coloured and African castes is not as rigidly maintained as that between the Coloured and White castes, Coloured people have more opportunities of modifying their attitudes towards Africans by

personal contact than of modifying them towards Whites.

Most contact is in the economy, where African and Coloured fishermen work closely together on the trawlers. Some of the leisure time is also spent together, particularly in shebeens and houses in the lokasie. It is from this base that the African-Coloured liaisons are formed. Coloured people in the area can then see these liaisons in action, so to speak, and this can modify their views. A Coloured woman living next door to such a couple said that she had been against these liaisons, but remarked of the African man next door: "Even if he is black he is a good husband, and he looks after her - not like the Whites; they aren't interested." Another woman in the area said she had heard that Africans made faithful husbands, and pointed to a near-by house inhabited by an African man and a Coloured woman: she said it was one of the best kept houses in the area and had recently been freshly painted.

In these cases the liaisons appeared permanent, and were marked by the good conduct of the African men. The attitudes cited above represent a departure from the normal attitude. An upper-class Coloured man described how quickly these changes in attitude could occur after some personal contact. He described a friend of his, whose sister had married an African; this friend turned to the African one day while they were part of a group of men chatting at a fish factory and said laughingly: "You know, ten years ago you were a boggy-man ('bangmaak ding') and today you are my brother-in-law."

Those people who are in contact with Africans at work are

aware of other favourable attributes. The skippers of most of the trawlers agree that they prefer African crews on their boats, as the Africans work harder than the Coloured men and are also easier to control. Africans are also regarded as thrifty (although this is sometimes regarded as an adverse quality) and persevering - as a Coloured man remarked to some friends: "I must say, what a black man does, he does very well."

The children's essays previously discussed showed very little knowledge of the African people in Port Nolloth. Apart from the number who mentioned that the Africans lived in luxury compared with some Coloured people, the connection of Africans with violence and drinking was mentioned consistently. Very few children expressed views that might be classed as original or based on personal contact. One child remarked on differing standards of dress - "When one sees them in the town, some of the natives are well-dressed and some are dirty." Another drew attention to racial epithets - "The Coloured man likes to say 'kaffir' and they must be called 'natives'; the Whites call the Coloured people 'hotnots' on the other hand." Only one child expressed an original opinion: "Some natives have difficulty in making a living because they are not fluent in English or Afrikaans, and talk their own language...They bank regularly and keep themselves very clean."

The Africans who are at present in Port Nolloth are often compared unfavourably with their predecessors - mainly Ambo and Nyasa men - who were mostly repatriated some years ago. Their

period of residence coincided with Port Nolloth's mythical 'golden age' which will be considered in detail in the next chapter, and they are held up almost as paragons by many of Port Nolloth's Coloured people. As one man said: "There were proper black people here then. Not like today. They were clean kaffirs." And a woman describing some old Africans in her area also compared them to the newcomers: "The old ones are very pleasant, but then they have been here for a very long time. The new young ones are wild - they are bad."

White caste attitudes

White people in Port Nolloth have limited contact with Coloured people. They consider that most with whom they come in contact verify their general view of them as weak, lazy, spendthrift and steeped in alcohol. Justifying this view, most Whites will point to the Coloured fishermen who flock to the bar when they are not working and say: "All they are interested in is earning money to buy a bottle of wine." They will quote factory managers, as well as personal experience, to show that Coloured people are lazy and unwilling to work, that they are always trying to borrow money and are unable to save, and that they are weak and unable to discipline themselves.

This unfavourable stereotype justifies the inferior position of the Coloured people in the hierarchy and is therefore convenient. Most Whites are not concerned with explaining, but many of those who do attempt an explanation cite the primitive background of the Coloured people, emphasising their Khoikhoi origins: the usual term for Coloured people in the town is 'hot-not'. This is a term of abuse and is greatly resented by

Coloured people, particularly those who are not of immediate Khoikhoi descent.

Some, perhaps most, do not consider that the Coloured people are able to progress beyond their present stage. "They will never become civilised," a young White man stated, and justified this by pointing out that the Coloured people who had come to the towns had shown themselves unable to use money or limit their consumption of alcohol, and had not improved with the years. Not all Whites share this view, however. A shopkeeper, for example, said that the Coloured people were backward when compared with the Whites, but that there was no reason why in theory they should not be able to catch up.

Another popular view is that the Coloured people are child-like, and this casts the Whites in a paternalistic role. "The Coloured people are like children," a teacher said, contending that the Whites should exercise paternalistic control over their expenditure, which was as things should be, as "we Whites have 100,000 years of civilisation behind us, and the Coloured people only 300 years."

Very few Whites produce explanations which are linked to the social conditions under which the Coloured people live. One employer attributed 'laziness' to undernourishment, and another thought that the prevalence of alcoholism was due to a lack of recreational facilities, adequate housing and the like. These were clearly minority views, however: most Whites consider that all the unfavourable attributes of the Coloured people are inherent in them and not subject to change.

Conflict arises, of course, in relation to those Coloured people who clearly do not conform to the White stereotype of the Coloured people. In most cases these people - mainly teachers, ministers of religion and other educated men - have little contact with Whites, but where they do, a change in attitude results. Thus, for example, a school principal cannot be treated like a drunken fisherman. Whites usually refer to these people as being the exceptions that prove the rule. A White official, discussing an upper class Coloured man with whom he often came in contact through his work, said: "I don't think of X as a Coloured man any more - he is just a person to me." Another White man said of the same man apologetically: "I can't make him use the back door, or give him the maid's cup." In both cases the Whites were taking the man in question right out of the Coloured group, treating him as a rare exception, and emphasising their normal attitudes towards Coloured people (the 'back door' and 'maid's cup'). This attitude will be treated more fully in the next chapter.

Another reaction to the conflict posed by Coloured people not conforming to their stereotype is strong antagonism, sometimes expressed in violence by lower class Whites. This antagonism, so often aroused, is expressed towards 'cheekiness' on the part of Coloured people. A Coloured person is 'cheeky' when a White considers that he is acting in any way above that station in life to which he has been assigned by the Whites. Whites regard this as an offence which should be punished

according to its gravity. (61) Punishment may be severe or light. In a court case mentioned earlier where it was alleged that White policemen had beaten up an African, the magistrate asked whether the man had been 'cheeky', giving the impression that if this had occurred, it would to some extent at least have explained the actions of the police. On the other hand reaction may be mild: a former magistrate in Port Nolloth was discussing an upper class Coloured man who he thought was "getting above himself." With the approval of his friends he said that this was one Coloured man he would not allow to sit down in his presence - whenever he came to see him he had to remain standing throughout the interview. In this way the magistrate emphasised more strongly the desired relationship between them.

A minority of White people are not generally antagonistic towards the Coloured people. These are mainly English-speaking people born in other parts of South Africa, who regard the Coloured people as capable of advancement, and in some cases compare Coloured attributes favourably with their White counterparts. Thus one White man said: "The Coloured people are much more attached to their churches and schools than we are." Another pointed out that the Coloured people were better organised as far as entertainment and leisure activity were concerned and also praised Coloured women who had to work to support their families while their men spent their money on alcohol.

(61) There is a close parallel in the concept of the 'uppity nigger' in the south of the United States. See for examples Dollard, 1937:314-62.

These views are generally not well received by the majority of Whites in the town, however, and are not often aired in public. Although I did not air my views in White society, my close association with Coloured people annoyed many, and was only partly condoned because it was understood that it had something to do with 'research'. On two occasions this antagonism was voiced by lower class Whites, who referred to me as 'a communist' or 'a kafferboetie'. Part of the argument was that I could not possibly understand the Coloured people, as I had not had a life-time of contact with them like they had. An attempt to suggest that one understood any aspect of Coloured life was regarded as unreasonable.

The majority of Whites in the town, then, 'understand' the Coloured people, and have a clear and unfavourable stereotype of them, which justifies their respective positions in the caste hierarchy. Anything - whether caused by Coloured people or Whites - which in any way threatens to alter this satisfying picture of the Coloured person as a weak and primitive 'hotnot' is met with suspicion and often open aggression.

While contact between Whites and Coloured people may be limited, contact between Whites and Africans is even more so. Most Africans in Port Nolloth live in the compounds far away from the White residential area, and only a small number of Whites come into contact with them in the factories, shops, bank, post office and similar institutions. Contact is further limited by difficulties in communication - in the survey of African migrants in the town only 25% had any sort of knowledge

of Afrikaans, which is the dominant language in the town, and 55% were unable to communicate in either Afrikaans or English.

In this situation a stereotype may exist almost unchallenged. Although there are few Africans in Port Nolloth, most Whites consider them dangerous, or at least part of a group that is dangerous in South Africa. Most Whites know of violent disturbances in other parts of Africa, and consider that South Africa's African population is capable of similar violence if not held in check. Apart from one man who was convinced that 'they' (never specified, but almost certainly communists) send agitators into the Port Nolloth compounds where there are caches of illegal weapons, not many people regard Port Nolloth Africans as an immediate danger in the town. The potential danger, however, is recognised.

The White stereotype of the African is primitive, incapable of advancement, and alien. The latter attribute is derived in much the same way as with the Coloured people: the African is physically different, speaks a different language, and has a different culture and traditions. All of this is foreign to the Whites and because it is not understood it is feared, and the African is regarded as an alien. Some Whites (particularly women) say that they are afraid of Africans: a White teacher, for example, said that he would not mind having an African servant, but that his wife was so frightened of Africans that she would not have one in the house, or anywhere near her.

The usual word for an African in the town is 'kaffer', which, like 'hotnot', is a term of abuse. It is felt that Africans are primitive, and therefore are satisfied with inferior

conditions and treatment; in fact, the observer sometimes gets the impression that Africans are not really regarded as people - as when a young policeman told a magistrate that he had kicked an African in the stomach, using the word in Afrikaans which refers only to an animal's stomach (pens).

Those few Whites who come into regular contact with Africans, while retaining their view of the African caste as inferior, nearly all mention that Africans have certain favourable attributes. Thus the manager of a factory said: "We have far less trouble with Africans than with Coloured people," and this was endorsed by other employees. He also said that Africans did not drink much, were easier to control because they controlled themselves in their compound and because they were target workers who were aiming to save money and not spend it. This was confirmed by a bank manager, who said that Africans were far better savers than either Whites or Coloured people. A shopkeeper said that he found Africans good customers, and was impressed by their concern for quality in their purchases and their willingness to pay higher prices than many Coloured people, who preferred cheaper, flashy goods. The only major complaint levelled against Africans was that some were involved in running shebeens in the lokasie and also in selling dagga.

As far as could be ascertained, only one White man in the community could speak Xhosa and was in daily contact with Africans. His view of Port Nolloth Africans, based on personal experience, differed considerably from the general views held by Whites in the town. He saw the Africans as a hard-working and

some upper class Coloured people, particularly those attached to the factory which also employed Africans, were treated respectfully, and almost as Whites. Thus an upper class Coloured man would be referred to as 'meneer', and if he had to take an African with him on company business their difference in status would be emphasised by the African being made to sit in the rear of the vehicle, and not up with the Coloured man.

The watchmen in one factory, on the other hand, did not show subservience to any Coloured people. One example of this occurred on an evening when a Coloured skipper - of fairly high status in the company - brought his trawler to the company jetty and the watchmen on duty saw that there was a woman on board in contravention of company regulations. The senior African watchman immediately told the skipper to get the woman off the trawler. The skipper refused and said that he would not take orders from an African. He had been drinking, and drew a knife threateningly. The watchman immediately removed the knife, breaking the skipper's arm in the process. The skipper was removed to hospital and the woman left the trawler. The interesting point about this incident was that not only did the company manager support the African's action, but also that an African was prepared to take action against a senior, upper class Coloured employee of the company.

African attitudes towards Whites were almost impossible to elucidate, and in any case it has been mentioned already that White-African contact is minimal. The fieldwork did show, however, a good deal of African suspicion towards Whites. When I

first visited an African compound, I was told afterwards, it caused extreme suspicion, especially when it was made known that I wanted to ask a few questions. The White compound manager (the only White man in the town with any rapport at all with Africans) was asked at once whether I was a security policeman, or some other government official. Although this was denied, and the compound leaders gave me their support, there were still men who refused to have anything to do with me.

The only definite opinions about whites were given by a group of watchmen who agreed that white treatment of Africans varied from good to bad, but that most Whites were rude to Africans. Another complaint was that Whites in the town were antagonistic towards English-speaking Africans, particularly in shops, where they said Afrikaans-speaking assistants would always make them wait until last.

Although not a great deal was said on the subject, it was clear that the Africans in the town realised that Whites were responsible for the contract labour system, with the separation from families and other hardships involved.

CHAPTER 6THE CASTE HIERARCHY (CONTINUED): THE ROLE OF MYTH

WE HAVE SEEN that Port Nolloth society embodies a clear system of stratification involving the hierarchical ranking of castes and caste members. It has also been shown that a member of one caste will not necessarily agree with his ranking in the hierarchy as determined by a member of another caste. This conflict arises through a divergence in the ideologies of the two castes, and shows an important difference in basic values and resultant attitudes.

Talcott Parsons has introduced a useful concept into the study of social stratification: that of the scale of stratification, which he distinguishes from the system of stratification. "There is, in any given social system, an actual system of ranking in terms of moral evaluation. But this implies in some sense an integrated set of standards according to which the evaluations are, or are supposed to be, made. Since a set of standards constitutes a normative pattern, the actual system will not correspond to the pattern." (Parsons, 1949:167) This 'normative pattern' is called the scale of stratification, and consists of the standards applied in ranking which in turn are based on the general values of the individual or group.

Clearly there is variety within the scale of stratification. As Parsons points out: "The content of the scale, the specific standards and criteria by which individuals are

judged, is not uniform for all social systems but varies within a wide range." (op.cit. p.170) In Port Nolloth society it has been shown that there are broad caste attitudes towards other castes, based on common ideology, The significant variation is in ideologies, the most basic being that a White person in Port Nolloth will consider himself superior to a Coloured person, and the Coloured person in question will probably not share the same view in toto. There is thus an important divergence in ranking, evaluation and basic values between the Coloured and White castes, which often results in a situation of personal conflict, particularly in the actor category.

The conflict arises, for example, in specific situations involving the interaction of members of more than one caste, where there is a dislocation between personal definitions of the situation, (63) and the socially defined situation. Thus, in a hypothetical example, a Coloured school teacher might get into an argument with a White shopkeeper over goods sold. In terms of a social definition and of the expectations of the shopkeeper in his role as a member of the dominant White caste, the Coloured man would be required to confine his part in the argument to the strict limits imposed by his role as a member of a subordinate caste. This position would conflict with the personal definition of the situation, where the Coloured man sees himself purely in the role of customer, entitled to the

(63) Derived from W.I. Thomas' concept of the definition of the situation. See Timasheff, 1957:147.

same service as any other customer. Thomas saw three interacting elements in any given social situation: "objective conditions, which include socially enforced rules of behaviour; pre-existing attitudes of the individual and the group; the definition of the actor himself." (Timasheff, 1957:149) In our hypothetical situation the objective conditions imposed, and the pre-existing attitudes of the White protagonist, force the Coloured man to sublimate his personal definition of the situation, and he acts out the responses expected of him in the particular situation.

We have already seen that the dominant White caste in Port Nolloth can bring powerful pressures to bear on individuals to ensure conformity with the norms they impose: thus the Coloured man in our example would nearly always have no choice in the matter and would play out the role of a subordinate, as expected of him. His role is, as Berger points out, "a typified response to a typified expectation" (Berger, 1966:112) and is in a sense play-acting. It is useful to view this type of role-playing in terms of the concept of "role distance" as expounded by Goffman (op.cit. p.156). It is contended that this phenomenon will occur in any strongly coercive situation, but the view should possibly be modified to include any coercive situation where the personal definition of the situation is negated by the socially defined situation. In these cases the actor maintains a mental distance between himself and the role he is being forced to play.

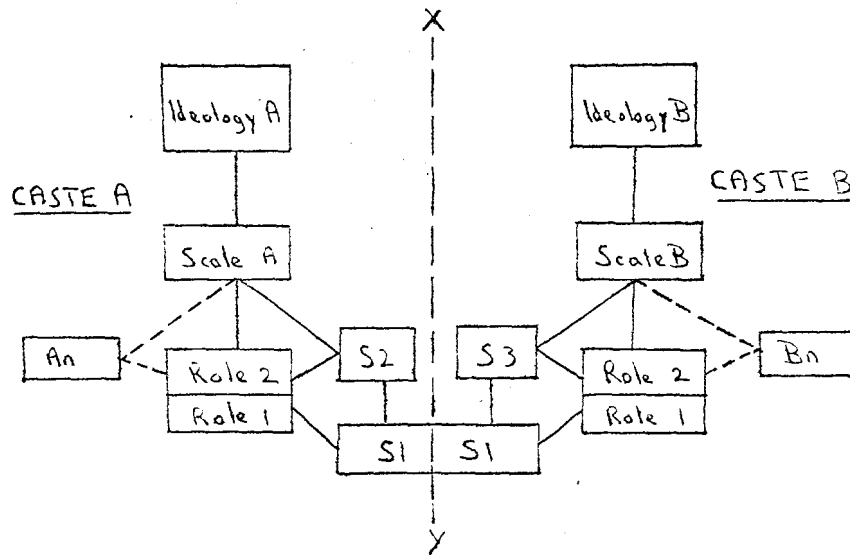
Berger contends that role distance "is the only way by

which human dignity can be maintained within the self-awareness of people in such situations." (loc.cit.) This view, however, is open to question. Many Coloured people in Port Nolloth, for example, find having to play the role of an inferior, however many mental reservations they are able to make about it, deeply humiliating. One type of situation that does not involve this is where there is an intentional element of duplicity on the part of the Coloured actor. There are a number of cases in Port Nolloth of Coloured people, and particularly Coloured leaders, who in their dealings with some Whites play out slightly exaggerated subservient roles mixed with flattery to achieve certain specific ends, and derive considerable personal satisfaction from being able to manipulate their masters in some way.

Despite such mechanisms as role distance, the basic conflict remains. As Berger points out, there is a psychological need for consistency of self-image, and this is largely denied to the subordinate castes in Port Nolloth. But while the personal definition of a situation by a Coloured actor usually has to be sublimated when the situation involves also a White actor, there is no such necessity when describing the given situation to one's own caste, and a re-interpretation of the situation to conform to self-image can result. This phenomenon can perhaps best be described with the aid of a diagram.

The following diagram, fig.(vii), represents a situation, S_1 , involving members of two castes, A and B. Both members play out their roles in the situation (role 1) but when it comes to

an interpretation of the situation to a fellow caste-member (An, Bn) the situation can be re-interpreted in terms of each member's scale of stratification which in turn is based on his ideology. It is thus theoretically possible for two different interpretations (S_2, S_3) to result. Conflict between the two interpretations is minimised by the dividing caste line XY.



In practice, however, re-interpretation of a given situation is likely to occur only on one side of the caste line, usually by the member of the subordinate caste involved who will have had to sublimate his personal definition. Re-interpretation is likely to occur where the situation has run contrary to the pattern required by the ideology and scale of the individual concerned. The importance of these reinterpretations, where they occur, is that although the re-defined situation is mythical, it is often real for the individual as it represents what ought to have happened, and is consistent

with the individual's self-image.

A few examples should indicate the functioning of this phenomenon more clearly. A group of skippers working for one of the fishing companies had been complaining for some time about their conditions of work and their treatment by the company. They opposed company policy in certain respects, and considered that they, as professionals, knew more about some aspects of the fishing industry than did the factory manager. The more outspoken of the skippers said that they were going to set matters right when they got the opportunity. When a skippers' meeting was held, the senior skipper started to put their case, but was very firmly put down by the manager, who threatened him with dismissal, after which he acquiesced. Once out of the meeting, however, the same skipper re-interpreted the situation and told members of his own caste that he had forcefully put his case to the manager. The caste line dividing the manager from the skipper ensured that the real situation was not made known.

The above case is an extreme one, involving the actual distortion of events; more common is a re-interpretation of meanings and intentions. Thus when a young Coloured man was assaulted by a white man in front of some witnesses, there was no question of laying a charge because of the likelihood of retaliation if a charge were laid, as well as the difficulties that might be encountered with magistrate and police. The Coloured man, then, could not lay a charge because of his inferior position in the caste hierarchy, but to admit this would

conflict with his personal scale of stratification, on which he did not rank himself as inferior to his assailant. The result was a re-interpretation of the motives behind his failure to lay a charge: he would not be able to afford to hire a lawyer, a case would take a long time and he might have difficulty in getting off work. He thus rationalised the situation to conform with his own ideology.

One of the few instances of simultaneous re-interpretation of a situation by members of two castes is in the case already cited of the senior Coloured accountant and his White fellow office workers (see page 117). The play-acting referred to was interpreted in two different ways. The Coloured accountant described it as just a joke between himself and the office staff, although it was highly likely that he realised that the White staff did not really view it in this light, and were able to express their assumed superiority in the form of a joking relationship. By the same token, the White staff were content, in a difficult situation for them, to set out their superiority without being sure that the Coloured man accepted this. Thus the situation was concrete, but the Whites interpreted it in terms of their scale of stratification where the Coloured man occupied an inferior position: at the same time the Coloured man saw the situation in terms of his own scale of stratification where he was equal or superior to his fellow White workers.

In another situation, already mentioned, an African was acquitted on a charge of resisting arrest and failure to produce a pass (see page 97). The African had laid a charge of assault

against the policeman who had charged him. It was clear from the evidence that there was no justification for the charges against the African, and the evidence of the police and other state witnesses conflicted. After the acquittal, young policemen present were very angry. According to their ideology and scale of stratification the police should have come out on top in any situation involving Africans, who fall at the bottom of their scale of stratification. The situation thus conflicted with their personal definitions, and was re-interpreted to remove the conflict: it was quite clear, the policemen said (going against all the evidence), that the African and his friends had conspired to cook up the story that had got him off. If the story were not fabricated, they reasoned, how else had they all got it right?

In the above situation, and in all others of similar type, reality is distorted to conform with ideology, and in many cases to bolster dignity and self-respect. As Berger points out (op. cit. p.130), ideology serves a vested interest in society, and ideologies can often "distort social reality in order to come out where it is functional for them to do so." The mythical situations thus formed can assume reality as they are not usually challenged because of the dividing caste line. It is also important to note the sincerity of those whom the observer might regard as practising wilful deception. Berger explains the sincerity of those who use ideologies to distort social reality: "It should be stressed again in this connexion that commonly the people putting forth these propositions are perfectly

sincere. The moral effort to lie deliberately is beyond most people. It is much easier to deceive oneself. It is, therefore, important to keep the concept of ideology distinct from notions of lying, deception, propaganda or legerdemain. The liar, by definition, knows that he is lying. The ideologist does not." (Op.cit. p.131)

The role of myth in Port Nolloth society is much wider than its application to specific situations, however. Its major role is clearly in the maintenance of the caste hierarchy itself, with its implicit assumption that status, ability, intelligence and many other factors are immutably ascribed by birth. As has been shown, the racial myth was imposed, and is perpetuated, by the dominant White caste, and "White caste members are always quick to point to evidence which in their view justifies the myth of innate White superiority and non-White inferiority.

The evidence produced by Whites to sustain the myth is, of course, highly selective: that which fits the ideology is used, that which conflicts is discarded or ignored. For example, a White man in Port Nolloth was told an anecdote about a Coloured fisherman who had caused his fellow workers much amusement by trying to row a boat that was still tied to the jetty. The White man referred to the fisherman's stupidity as "typical, just typical": he was prepared to accept a single act as evidence of inferiority and able to ignore the obvious professional competence of most of the fishermen in the town.

There are occasions in Port Nolloth in which Whites are

involved in situations that conflict with the myth: they may come into regular contact with an intelligent, educated Coloured man who cannot be treated as an inferior, or they may have a domestic servant who shows none of the expected qualities that justify discrimination. In many cases these situations are regular, and Whites can come to terms with them. For example, an employer may state that a domestic servant is 'the only one in the area', or is 'not at all like the others'. This sort of rationalisation conveniently allows good treatment of the servant and continued discrimination against other non-Whites to exist concurrently without conflict.

A similar rationalisation can be brought about by ceasing to regard an upper class Coloured man as a representative of his caste. In the preceding chapter a white official was quoted as saying that he could no longer regard a particular Coloured man as Coloured: he was just a person. Again this allowed conflicting attitudes to co-exist.

Rationalisation of this type is not restricted to relationships between the White and Coloured castes. For example, a Coloured leader was discussing his political views and said that Africans were inferior to Coloured people, and could not therefore expect the same rights. However, when he was asked whether this view of Africans held for two upper class Africans with whom he came into regular contact, he admitted that it did not. He said that the Africans referred to were his 'brothers', but that they were exceptions.

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ships involving members of the White caste can be classified in the master-servant category. Relationships of near-equality are maintained between some Whites and upper-class Coloured people, particularly Coloured teachers, nurses, ministers, businessmen and other professionals. But for these relationships to remain viable care is required on both sides. The Coloured person must never presume too far in the relationship, and the White must not show prejudice. These relationships have been described as of near-equality because certain aspects of a normal equal relationship are proscribed: for example the Coloured man would never be allowed to call the White man by his first name (although the converse often occurs) or to visit him in his home. Thus although the relationship is not specifically in the master-servant category it is also not an equal relationship but a compromise between the two. This type of compromise is about as far as intercaste relationships are allowed to go when Whites are involved.

We have now seen that the maintenance of the myth which sustains the caste hierarchy in Port Nolloth depends on the individuals within the caste hierarchy realising the roles expected of them in various situations, and then playing them out. In other words, the maintenance of the existing hierarchy requires in some measure the consent of individual members of the castes involved, although in many cases this consent is obtained by force or threat of force.

Thus equilibrium is maintained in Port Nolloth through individuals 'knowing their place' and acting accordingly. As

long as everyone plays according to the White-imposed rules the myth can be perpetuated without conflict. However, it sometimes happens that the rules are broken and the myth is threatened, and when this happens reaction varies with degree. For instance, when a White audience in Port Nolloth was confronted with an articulate and educated Negro actor in a position of authority, the scene met with general disbelieving laughter. But a Coloured man refusing to accept a position of inferiority may be viewed much more seriously by Whites.

It was the contention of some Coloured leaders that, as long as it was not taken too far, Coloured people could rebel against their position; one leader in particular said that he tried to do this regularly to show his fellow caste members that it could be done. He said he was even able to eject a White salesman from his premises without retribution. Where breaking of the rules occurs it causes resentment, but Whites are only likely to take action where they consider their superiority to be threatened. Members of subordinate castes are aware that at a certain point White power is likely to be used to restore the status quo, and they modify their behaviour accordingly. Thus a dubious statement was made by an upper-class Coloured man who said that in his work he would occasionally meet Whites who did not know him who would call him 'hotnot' or treat him disparagingly. He said he would take the man to task at once: "I check him and he won't do it again." Such action would most likely result in retribution, and it appeared that the informant was re-interpreting situations in terms of his own scale of stratification.

As far as the Coloured caste is concerned, a myth has formed around Port Nolloth's past which is important to them. It is believed that before the advent of the poor White Afrikaners the town was integrated, with equal opportunities for all. The limited evidence available suggests that this was only partly true. It seems that a class system existed, and although this allowed social mobility, in fact most non-Whites occupied the lower classes. With the passage of time and the imposition of a much more rigid system of stratification, most Coloured people only remember the positive aspects of the old system - particularly those descendants of mixed marriages or of Coloured people who were successfully mobile. The myth of Port Nolloth's 'golden age' bolsters the view of many Coloured people that they can equal the Whites, as they were once able to do.

This in various contexts in Port Nolloth society myths exist which conform to ideology; and the normative behaviour of individual caste members, based on these myths, avoids or ignores conflicts apparent to an observer, and maintains the equilibrium of the society.

CHAPTER 7STRATIFICATION WITHIN CASTES

A CHARACTERISTIC of a caste system is that members of one caste usually have a very limited idea of stratification within other castes. The simplified view of other castes as homogeneous entities is common to all castes in Port Nolloth, but is of particular importance to the White caste, as it is consistent with their view of the caste hierarchy. A knowledge of stratification within, say, the Coloured caste would complicate the convenient view of that caste as undifferentiatedly inferior.

In fact, the high degree of stratification within the three castes in Port Nolloth complicates the system of stratification as a whole, and conflicts with the simple pattern on which the caste hierarchy is based. Much of the resentment felt by Coloured people, for example, is based on this conflict: they are aware of stratification within their own caste and resent their treatment by Whites, which is based on a view of their caste as unstratified.

A discussion of intra-caste stratification is necessary for a satisfactory understanding of the complexities of the caste hierarchy in Port Nolloth, as it exposes a fundamental inconsistency in the theory on which the hierarchy has been built. Stratification within each caste will be treated in turn below.

The Coloured caste

Basic factors in differentiation are age and sex. Old

people are shown considerable respect; the term used for them, 'groot mense', implies that they are people of importance. Separation of the sexes is not as important as was reported for Steinkopf by Carstens (op.cit. p.76) - for example there is no rigid separation on formal occasions - but can still be seen in some cases. Children's play groups are separated, husbands and wives are not often seen in public together. Separation of the sexes is marked among the Basters who have come from Eksteenfontein, where strict separation is still maintained.

Although nearly all Coloured people are fluent in Afrikaans, there are two small groups who do not use it as a first language. There is a dwindling number of people who are Nama-speaking, and who keep very much to themselves, and there is a small group of English speakers. The latter comprises some old people who were brought up in Port Nolloth when the town was predominantly English-speaking, and some immigrants from the cities. A number of members of this group consider English to be a higher-status language than Afrikaans, and take every opportunity they can of speaking it. In a small welfare committee this was taken to extremes by two immigrants from Cape Town who, although English was their first language, were fully bilingual. They insisted on speaking English at committee meetings although the other members were more at home in Afrikaans. One of them said to another member: "Why don't you speak English so that we can all understand?" - giving the impression that he was not at home in Afrikaans. In so doing

he unwittingly brought ridicule upon himself, as the other members realised he was trying to use English as a status symbol. In general, English speakers have an urban background and tend to keep separate from the Afrikaans speakers, who mostly have a rural background. They will mix only with high status Afrikaans speakers with an urban background.

As a direct result of the imposed hierarchy of castes which is based largely on physical characteristics, these are of prime importance in the stratification of the Coloured caste. Five major physical groups are distinguished by most Coloured people in Port Nolloth: Nama, negroid, Baster, half-caste European, and a residual category of 'ordinary' Coloured people. These five groups tend to keep separate, and there is considerable discrimination against any group that is darker, and therefore considered more primitive.

The Nama people are seen by the others as fairly dark-skinned and with Khoikhoi physical features. They come lowest on the status scale and are followed closely by those of negroid appearance. As mentioned previously, there is considerable prejudice against Africans, and mixing with them is regarded as lowering standards and polluting Coloured stock. Coloured people of negroid appearance are consequently viewed with some hostility, almost as traitors to their caste.

The Basters have been mentioned as descendants of Boer-Khoikhoi unions, and they are distinguished from other half-castes, who are mainly descendants of the early European settlers. Although the groups are physically similar - light-

skinned with Caucasoid features - they are very different culturally. The Basters are rural-orientated people, and are regarded as primitive and uneducated by the urbanised half-castes.

Those who do not fall into the above four categories form a residual category, which is sometimes referred to by Coloured people in Port Nolloth as 'ordinary people'. There is a wide variation of physical features, although most in this group are fairly dark-skinned, and many have a crinkly hair-form.

The half-castes are uniformly of high status in the Coloured caste, and the Basters consider themselves to be so because of their light skins and straight hair. Darker-skinned, urbanised people do not accept this, and regard the Basters with some scorn. Their names for them - 'amper base' or 'halwe base' - refer to their being almost Whites. Their assumption of superiority on the grounds of colour annoys many Coloured people. As one said: "They want to be counted with the white man, but they are not. They think they are better than the rest of us, but they are not." Another point of friction is that although the Basters are not strictly endogamous, it is known that they will not allow their children to marry dark-skinned Coloured people. Some Coloured people are antagonistic towards the Basters because of their physical appearance. One woman commented: "In the past there weren't that sort of people who look like White people. They came in. We don't know them."

There is also hostility between the Nama people and the Basters, although it is largely latent as there is little or

no contact between the groups. Apart from colour discrimination, the Nama people resent the infiltration of Basters into the Richtersveld reserve and their expansion at the expense of the Nama. As a Nama woman said: "There are hardly any more brown people in Eksteenfontein. My husband had to leave because of them."

A number of groups in Port Nolloth have been formed through a common place of origin. Port Nolloth residents, who call themselves 'Port Nolloth-naars', accept - other things being equal - people from certain known areas near-by. Thus people from Steinkopf, the Lekkersing and Kuboes areas of the Richtersveld, and from the area around O'okiep, are not regarded as foreigners in Port Nolloth. People from the reserves of Concordia and Komaggas, which are slightly further away, are in a marginal position. Komaggas people, however, form a definite group which maintains ties with the reserve through regular visiting and membership of the Calvin Protestant Church of Komaggas. A further cohesive force is that most men from Komaggas work for Hickson's fishing factory, and live in New City and the Hickson's Barracks. The factory provides a lorry once a month to take people back to the reserve for a week-end.

People from all other areas, including Eksteenfontein in the Richtersveld, are regarded as foreigners, and are referred to by the local population as 'inkommers' (see page 19). There is some hostility towards 'inkommers', particularly those from Kakamas. Kakamas men are contracted by the smallest fishing factory and live in barracks at the factory. They are without

their wives and families, and go to the lokasie for relaxation, where they have a reputation as trouble-makers and knife-wielders. From available evidence this seems to be at least partly justified although one young man from Kakamas complained bitterly that it was the Africans who caused all the trouble, and that he did not feel safe when he went out, as young Port Nolloth men were very hostile.

Some people - for example the 'Komaggas trouble-makers' - remain inkommers in Port Nolloth for as long as they stay there; others are assimilated at once, or over a period. Those who remain inkommers are those who retain their group identity, and who refuse to conform with the general norms of the Coloured community: for example the Komaggas people with their violence, or the Eksteenfontein Basters with their colour prejudice. A person who would otherwise be an inkommer may be assimilated immediately if he has ties - particularly of kin - established in the community when he arrives. Others are assimilated if they are so willing, and conform with the norms of the society in which they find themselves.

Residential area is another important factor in the formation of social groups in Port Nolloth. There are clearly-defined residential areas (see p. 22) which coincide with economic strata in the community. The poorest people live in the lokasie: in Bloukamp, the Bult and the lower end of Paraffinstraat, and in Namastraat. Most of the inhabitants of the top end of Paraffinstraat and in parts of Houmoedstraat are better off than those in other parts of the lokasie. The

inhabitants of the housing estates are better off than the lokasie-dwellers, mainly because they all have steady jobs with the companies which employ them, many of which are senior positions. The Boomstraat area is interstitial and contains lokasie-type houses as well as permanent homes (of brick or asbestos) which have been built on land bought from the municipality.

Residential area is a status indicator, and the only bar to mobility in this sphere is financial standing. If a man can increase his earnings and save at the same time he may rise through the various types of housing and residential areas. An ideal case is as follows: a newcomer to the town will usually board in the lokasie until he is able to erect a wood and iron shack of his own. The next step is the acquisition, through purchase or rental, of one of the more permanent structures at the top of Paraffinstraat. The next step is to be allocated a company house, (64) and the final one is to buy land in Boomstraat and erect a permanent house, preferably of brick. In practice only one or two people have reached the final stage, while a number aspire towards it. Most people fall out at some stage, and others are content with company housing, or do not want to settle permanently in Port Nolloth.

In the groups formed by residential area the primary distinction is between city-dwellers and lokasie-dwellers. There

(64) One does not necessarily have to be employed by a company to have a company house: in 1968 six teachers were living in company houses because they could not find other suitable accommodation.

is not a great deal of contact between the two areas, and city-dwellers look upon the lokasie as a place of discomfort and violence. Many city-dwellers who were interviewed had little knowledge of the different areas within the lokasie and were scornful of its inhabitants. This feeling was largely reciprocated by people in the lokasie, who deride city-dwellers for living in White-controlled houses. An old woman living in Bloukamp described the feelings of many in the area: "The city people imagine they are better than the others. They don't greet you. We live in 'cardboard' houses, we don't count. And they are not even their houses. They belong to the boss!"

In the lokasie itself, the people of Namastraat keep very much to themselves, as do the people of Bloukamp, who are mainly elderly and prefer the quiet away from the town. There is some contact between the Bult and the poorer end of Paraffinstraat, and between Houmoedstraat and the better end of Paraffinstraat, but minimal contact between these two groupings. Paraffinstraters do not visit the Bult and areas beyond, as they say this is where the Africans and other troublemakers live. On the other hand, residents of these areas view Paraffinstraat as a den of iniquity where "the people can't sleep," and say that they go there as little as possible. These conflicting views suggest that there is little contact between the areas, as they are based on hearsay rather than fact.

Education is a factor that cuts across other groupings within the Coloured caste. Most Coloured people in Port Nolloth have great respect for educated people: thus school

teachers are referred to as 'maester'. A school principal and a minister of religion, who both have dark skins and crinkly hair, are treated respectfully by all Coloured people, including Basters. At the appointment of the minister a few years ago Basters were annoyed because of his physical features, and are reported to have said that a 'hottentot' had come to the church. But by his superior education and other qualifications this man became accepted fairly quickly by Basters, who now consult him regularly with problems and requests. The same happened to the school principal who was discriminated against at first, but later accepted by all sections of the Coloured community.

Religious affiliation cuts across many of the groups previously mentioned, but is also a cohesive force in two cases: most Nama people belong to the Namakerk, and nearly all those from Komaggas are members of the Calvin Protestant Church which has strong ties with the reserve. In these two churches place of origin is an unwritten entrance qualification.

The Volle Evangelie Kerk has a name for accepting only Basters and light-skinned half-castes, and its members are nearly all Basters. Other Coloured people are hostile towards this church because of its racial attitude. A dark-skinned half-caste complained that "dark people can't go and join there." This differed from the view of a dark-skinned man with straight hair who in an interesting argument contended that he would be welcome in the Volle Evangelie Kerk because of his high status in the community and his straight hair. The other

men present were unanimous that his dark skin would disqualify him immediately. The man said he would test this by asking to join, but never did so.

Not all Basters belong to the Volle Evangelie Kerk, however. Nearly all the Basters in the Richtersveld belong to the N.G. Sendingkerk, and although some of their relatives in Port Nolloth have joined the V.E.K., many have remained N.G.; this has caused a major split in the Baster community. V.E.K. members contend that membership of their church is a pre-requisite for salvation and constantly attack fellow-Basters, causing hostility between the two groups. At the funeral of a prominent Baster, this hostility flared up. Descendants from both denominations came to the funeral, and V.E.K. members annoyed the others by fainting and trying to sing their own hymns at the service conducted by the Sendingkerk dominie, who preached a sermon indirectly admonishing the V.E.K. members for not following the good example their grandfathers had set them.

The other two pentecostal churches, the Christian Assemblies and the Old Apostolic Church, cater for other Coloured people. The Christian Assemblies congregation consists mainly of people from Kakamas and environs. The three pentecostal churches share a doctrine which demands a 'withdrawal from the world' and their members tend to have as little to do with the 'unconverted' as possible.

Religious affiliation is not as important in social groupings in the other three denominations - Anglican, Roman Catholic and N.G. Sendingkerk. These churches have no doctrine of

separation, and membership does not preclude membership of groups based on other criteria, except in the case of some Roman Catholics who tend to interact mainly with other Catholics. What Catholic separation there is, is facilitated by the existence of a separate school for Catholic children, which tends to separate Catholics from non-Catholics at an early age.

Occupation is an important factor in the formation of certain social groups. The major dichotomy is between men who work on land, 'walmense', and those who go to sea, 'seemense'. Men in the fishing industry are first divided into primary groups according to which factory they work for, and then into groups according to specific occupation. The fishing hierarchy on the trawlers is: skipper, mate, driver, bosun and deckhand. At sea there is keen rivalry, but on land the skippers of the two largest factories form two close-knit groups, sometimes incorporating a few senior mates and drivers, which have very little to do with any other Coloured people. Coloured leaders organising anything from religious groups to sports teams say that they never approach fishermen, as they keep to themselves and are not interested in any community activities.

As skippers form one group, so do mates and drivers, and deckhands. Deckhands also keep separate from skollybakkie-men, whom they regard as doing inferior work. On shore these groups visit the bar together, or gossip. In the case of the senior employees - skippers, mates and drivers - there is a further bond as they live in the same housing estates. Many wives of fishermen are also involved in the industry as part-time

factory workers. Workers in the same factory form separate groups, but husbands and wives do not always work for the same factory.

Basters tend to group together in certain occupations. The men almost without exception do not work on the sea, although their women work in the fishing factories where they group together in certain types of work. There is hostility between these women and the other factory workers. One woman described how she and her friends were treated by Baster women in the factory: "Even White people won't talk to you as they do. They turn their noses up and won't have anything to do with us - we are too poor and low." Other Baster women have gone to work in the hotel, and again there is some friction between them and the other women on the staff. One of these, a dark-skinned woman whose mother was Coloured and father Italian, described the conflict. The Baster women "think they are White and call us 'hotnots'." She replied by calling the women 'half-naatjies', another term of abuse, at which the Baster would reply that she also was of mixed blood. Religion was another cause of friction, as the Baster women in the hotel were nearly all Volle Evangelie Kerk members who call the others heathens.

Most of the Baster men work for Consolidated Diamond Mines, mainly as stevedores and general labourers, and a few work in the hotel. Again there is some hostility between them and the other Coloured employees. Much of the hostility is latent - particularly where Basters have organised themselves into self-contained occupational groups involving minimal contact with

other Coloured people - but it flares up from time to time. (65)

Cutting across most of these categories is the economic factor. In the preceding discussion of the caste hierarchy three broad social classes - upper, middle and lower - were postulated without discussion. These classes are largely economically determined; the upper class is a small élite consisting of professional men and senior company employees, the middle class comprises the majority of the population, and there is a sizeable lower class of people living in poverty. A rough estimate based on the sample would place approximately 10% of families in the upper class, 55% in the middle class and 35% in the lower class.

Skippers are classified as upper class by the other upper-class Coloured people, although they have nothing to do with them, because they are not community-minded and most drink fairly heavily. They are placed in this category purely because of their economic status, and form a distinct élite group on their own: they achieve general social status mainly in the eyes of those connected with the fishing industry. With the exception of skippers' wives, upper-class women do not work unless they are professionals - for example nurses or teachers.

All upper-class people are urbanised, and many come from the cities. The group includes nearly all those who use English as a first language, and no Nama speakers. They all live either in company housing or in good houses on their own land. The houses are well furnished and neatly kept. Leisure activity is largely confined to visiting, reading and listening to

(65) The fieldwork took place in a poor season, when latent

the radio, and occasional drives (most people in this category have cars or vans). No upper-class people belong to any of the pentecostal churches, and most profess membership of the Anglican, Roman Catholic or N.G. churches.

The middle class is a much broader category with considerable variation. The men hold mainly unskilled jobs, and a high proportion of women work in the fishing factories. Middle-class people live in company housing and in the better houses in the lokasie. Furnishing is simple, and most houses are neatly kept. In their leisure time visiting, gossiping and listening to the radio are all important. Many men spend much time in the bar drinking and playing cards. Soccer and kerim are popular games. Religion is very important to this class, and a high proportion of them are regular church-goers. Middle-class people belong to all denominations. Although most middle-class people have had little schooling they set great store by education, and are keen for their children to go as far as possible.

The lower class is fairly large in Port Nolloth. The men are mainly casual fishermen, and nearly all the women work to support their families as alcoholism is very high in this group, and most of the men are unreliable workers. Families live in wood and iron shacks in the poorest parts of the lokasie. Most of the houses are badly constructed and filthy; furnishings are minimal. The people have little or no education, religion is not important for many, and there are a number of illegitimate

hostilities were likely to be exacerbated by poverty. Nevertheless, it is not considered that the hostility mentioned in this chapter has been exaggerated.

children and unmarried couples. Leisure activity is much the same as for the middle class, but drinking is much more important.

The two major factors in stratification within the Coloured caste are clearly economic status and physical characteristics. The important difference between the caste hierarchy as a whole and stratification in the Coloured caste is that, in the latter, physical characteristics do not preclude social mobility, although they do in certain cases make it more difficult. Thus a dark-skinned Coloured man can achieve the highest social status within his caste, while a light skin will not preclude another from sinking to the bottom of the social scale.

However, scales of stratification vary among individuals and groups within the Coloured caste, and opinions may vary about ranking in the system of stratification. The Basters rate a light skin and straight hair very highly on their scale, half-castes may rate European ancestry highly on theirs, and others may rate financial standing or standard of education more highly. Thus a light-skinned Baster will rate himself above a dark-skinned half-caste of Italian origin, and vice versa. Variation in stratification scales is the source of many of the tensions apparent within the Coloured caste in Port Nolloth.

Despite these variations there are certain clearly defined groups within the caste that are acknowledged by all. Of these the Baster and Nama groups are perhaps the clearest as most

members are physically visible; and identification is made easier by the fact that members of these groups tend to live in the same area (Nama in Namastraat, most Basters in Diamond City), share religious affiliation and work at the same jobs. The clearest occupational groups are those formed by the skippers, and the clearest religious groups those of the pentecostal churches. Other groups vary with circumstances and personal opinions.

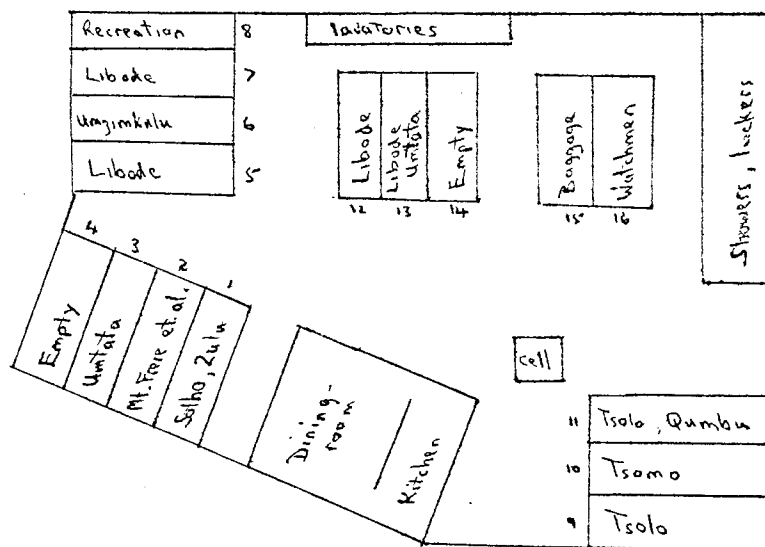
The African Caste

No African women are allowed in Port Nolloth, so that sex differentiation is not a factor in African caste stratification in the town. Age is important, and older men are shown respect, irrespective of social class. Educated men are also shown respect, and throughout the survey anyone with eight or more years schooling would be introduced as 'an educated man' who would be able to answer questions.

The African caste is also divided by local affiliation (twelve different tribes were represented in one compound) and home district. The latter is particularly important, and in the biggest compound each room has ties with one, sometimes two, districts in the Transkei. When the migrants arrive at the start of the season they arrange their own accommodation by home district, and home-boy groups, abakhaya, are formed (see page 86). The following diagram, fig.vii, shows the affiliation of the various rooms in the largest compound towards the end of the 1968 season. The only room not to be associated with a particular district is no.16, which is the quarters of

the watchmen, who as senior employees have voluntarily formed a group on their own.

fig.(vii)



Cutting across tribal affiliation and home district are a number of social classes. The major division is between the rural people, amaqaba, and the urbanised people, who differ radically in customs, values and interests. Religious affiliation is not important in Port Nolloth, but there is a distinction between pagan amaqaba and Christian converts, amagqoboka.

The amaqaba in Port Nolloth are men with little or no schooling. They are nearly all pagan, although it is said that some of the older men may become religious, and they are known for their good manners. As a group they are suspicious of modern things, and stick as much as possible to their tribal ways. In Port Nolloth they do not go out much, and disapprove of the urbanised Africans, particularly as regards their dress, mixing with Coloured people, and spending money on luxuries.

There are a number of divisions within the urbanised class.

Those of highest status are the ooscuse-me, who are so called by the others. The average uscuse-me has some years of schooling - usually not less than eight - and is able to read and write in English (or occasionally Afrikaans) as well as his home language. He spends a fairly high proportion of his wages on clothes and food. He may or may not be religious (if he is he will usually belong to the Anglican, Methodist or Bantu Presbyterian churches), is well-mannered and considered a 'modern person'.

Most of the men in Port Nolloth fall into the ikhaba category. Most ikhaba are aged between 20 and 30, and have little schooling. Their dress is not as good as that of the ooscuse-me; neither are their manners, and they are inclined to fight among themselves. Some of them may be religious.

Another urban category refers to older men, amatopi, who are old-fashioned without being amaqaba. They wear Western clothes, but these are out of date and often shabby. They have some education, although not as much as an uscuse-me, and are usually religious.

A final urban category is not tolerated in Port Nolloth - the ooMac. These are defined as young men in their late teens or early twenties, who are 'city types'. They have some education and no religion. Their dress is modish and up to the minute, they swagger in the streets, and drink and fight. They show no respect for their elders and are rude to them. The senior men in Port Nolloth say that any uMac, or potential uMac, who comes to Port Nolloth is quickly brought into line by his elders.

Leadership in the compound is in the hands of the watchmen and of the room leaders, the latter being more in a position of primus inter pares. Men who violate the norms of their caste are usually brought before a room meeting under the chairmanship of the leader and, if found guilty, admonished or fined. (Fines are used to buy something for the room. Alcohol is occasionally bought.) In this way oomac can be held in check, as can other delinquents.

A further division is based on the migrant status itself. The ideal migrant works steadily, preferably at the same job, saves hard, and goes home regularly. Some men have a reputation for changing jobs frequently - sometimes more than once a year - and for going home very often. These men are called amagoduka in Port Nolloth, and are not regarded by the senior men as reliable workers. The amatshipa, however, form a worse category in the eyes of the rest of the compound. These men, once away from home and at work, do not write home or send money. Often they do not go home on visits. If amatshipa cannot be brought into line by the existing machinery they are ostracised by the others.

There is also a division between the men who visit the lokasie and those who don't. The latter are mainly the older amaqaba and some of the ooscuse-me, who disapprove strongly of drinking and womanising in the lokasie, but can do nothing about it. There are also lines of cleavage in other forms of leisure activity: soccer teams are formed, for example, mainly from the upper classes; choir membership cuts across most

categories. Upper class Africans will participate in ball-room dancing but not the tribal dancing of the amagaba, which is regarded as 'primitive'.

In the larger compound an interesting élite group has formed which has no parallel in the other compound. The core of this group consists of five young watchmen between the ages of 24 and 29 whose length of service with the company varies between five and nine years. All are fluent in English and have between a Std 6 and a Std 8 education. All but one are married. They come from different home districts and they belong to different denominations. All are keen participants in organised leisure activity (particularly soccer and choir-singing) and it is this group which provides leadership and organisational ability in these activities.

In general leisure activity this group is sometimes augmented by other young men of more or less the same age and educational level, for example in the soccer club, to form the driving force behind it. Where extra players are needed, members of this group recruit among men from their own district.

In the general administration of the compound, the same core of five watchmen provide the main leadership, and are joined by another four watchmen and one or two senior 'boss boys' in the factory. Of the four watchmen who are not members of the élite group, it is interesting to note that they all do not measure up to the norms of the group in one or more important ways: for example only one is a 'joiner', two are of low education with a poor command of English, and three are aged

between 35 and 44. On the occasions when the watchmen act together it is nearly always one of the élite group who takes the initiative. One of the few exceptions to this is where a watchman has to deal with an elderly igaba; in this case one of the older watchmen would be more readily listened to than a young man, whether of the élite group or not.

As suggested in the discussion of the caste hierarchy, three broad social classes exist within the African caste. These approximate broadly to the oosouse-me (upper class), ikhaba and amatopi (middle class), and amagaba (lower class) divisions, with the middle class being by far the largest. The major factors which can cut across these divisions are age and home district. Less important are tribal affiliation and degree of adherence to migrant norms.

Unlike the Coloured caste, there does not appear to be much tension between the different groups in the African caste. The major division is between the rural and urbanised people, and although the former disapprove of much that the latter do, there is no open hostility. In fact there is much co-operation and mutual aid - a man in trouble is likely to receive assistance from members of all groups within his caste. The status of Africans in Port Nolloth as a minority group at the bottom of the caste hierarchy and the common situation of being far from their homes and in alien territory are powerful cohesive factors which reduce potential tensions between the various groups within the African caste.

The White caste

Age and sex divisions are not as important in the White caste as they are in the other two castes, but the language division, which is linked to other cultural factors, is of prime importance. The basic division in the White caste in Port Nolloth is between English and Afrikaans speakers. All the former are urban people and hold senior positions; many of the latter are rural-orientated, and dominate local commerce and the lower positions in the various companies in the town.

The Afrikaans group is basically conservative. Most of its members belong to the Dutch Reformed Church. They support the government and the policy of separate development. The English group does not have close ties with any church (many are agnostics) and is not as conservative as the Afrikaans group. Most of its members support the government's race policies without supporting the National Party: their main interest lies in business and local politics.

Members of the English group are not able to become members of the Afrikaans group under any circumstances. Afrikaners are admitted to the English group, however, under certain circumstances which will be discussed later. The separation of the language groups is based on underlying mutual suspicion. Many of the Afrikaners are descendants of Boer trekkers with grievances against the English, some of which are still remembered. English speakers are also suspect politically, and in some cases are resented in Port Nolloth because of their economic power and dominant position in local politics. At the

same time English speakers resent Afrikaner dominance of government agencies and many look down on Afrikaners as being rather simple, ill-educated people. The difference in language prevents tensions from becoming open and at the same time maintains them. During the period of fieldwork tensions were clearest in the campaign for the Town Council, where an English-dominated group opposed an Afrikaans one. This is discussed below.

Place of origin also has an important bearing on White caste stratification. The White population can be divided into two groups, which I have called alien and local. Nearly all English speakers are aliens, and nearly all local people are Afrikaans, but as a result of the number of government agency posts in Port Nolloth there are a number of Afrikaans aliens. Some of these are assimilated in the local group, some have ties with the English group, and some remain independent. The best example of the last category is the police force. The police are almost entirely Afrikaans, but apart from attending the Dutch Reformed Church most keep to themselves and do not have a great deal to do with local Afrikaners.

Three broad social classes are also evident in the White caste, based largely on economic status. The upper class is almost entirely alien and consists of professional men, managers and other senior employees, who are both English and Afrikaans speaking; the middle class is the largest group, and is both alien and local and mainly Afrikaans speaking, consisting mainly of the lower echelon employees of the various companies but

including shopkeepers and some of the managers of the smaller companies; the lower class is small, Afrikaans-speaking, consists exclusively of local people with little or no education, and includes a number of old-age pensioners.

There is a small but dominant upper class élite group in Port Nolloth which centres around an influential manager. The group is English-speaking, but is not closed to Afrikaners if they are prepared to use English when with the group: in fact at the time of the survey four out of the seven members were Afrikaans-speaking. Through its various members and their affiliations the group had some control over the Town Council, the hotel and bar, the largest fishing factory, the magistrate's court, the company controlling the harbour and the implementation of the fishing regulations. Other lesser spheres of control were over the hospital board and the local cricket club.

The activities of the group are primarily social, but this does not stop it informally exercising considerable influence in many spheres in the town. Members meet regularly in the bar after work, and often stay late. Many parties are given which include wives, and there are often week-end gatherings at McDougall's Bay. These regular meetings of a small, close-knit group of influential people result in a set of common attitudes on various matters which have great effect in the town.

This élite group has formed around a charismatic leader, who dominates the other members and wields considerable power in the town. The group is open to all influential people in

the town who are prepared to use English, spend considerable sums on entertainment, and acknowledge the authority of the leader. Three or four potential members in Port Nolloth are not prepared to accept the élite group leader's authority, and have therefore not joined the group. They are hostile to the group, but have not formed an 'opposition' and content themselves with ridiculing the members for being under the domination of the leader and for spending large amounts of money on entertainment - particularly two young couples on the periphery of the group who have to spend above their incomes to keep 'in'.

The leader of the group has a number of company houses in his patronage which can be rented to Whites in the town. During the survey a fishing inspector and the local doctor occupied houses at the pleasure of the leader. It was well-known that this concession could be (and sometimes was) withdrawn if the occupant displeased the leader. In addition to this system of patronage, the leader was manager of a large company which was in a position to help the town if the manager so desired, and was also able to wield power through various offices held by himself and other members of his group.

This élite group is clearly the most powerful in Port Nolloth. It is resented by local people because it is alien and influential. About the only way in which it can be challenged with any chance of success is in Town Council elections, and it is in this sphere that underlying tensions become apparent. In the 1968 elections there were two categories of candidates

standing for election: two members of the élite group (a third with a chance of success was not allowed to stand by his company) and three members of the local group, two of whom were shopkeepers. (66)

The campaign of the local group was specifically against the élite group and its leader, who was standing for election. They pointed out that the leader had sufficient power without being on the Town Council (where, if elected, he was likely to become mayor) and that the second member of the élite group was merely a yes-man. Various rumours were spread about the élite group and its leader, who was finally elected mainly on the strength of Coloured support which had been gained by his group, and which had been ignored or alienated by the locals.

An important feature of White groups in Port Nolloth is that it is difficult for an outsider to gain membership. Their close-knit nature was commented on by a number of visitors or temporary residents in the town, both English- and Afrikaans-speaking. For example, a married man staying in the town (without his wife) as a relief for a manager of a small company who was on leave for a month complained that he had been invited out only twice during his stay, and then only for drinks before supper. A visiting American was never invited out during his

(66) Shopkeepers are most important as leaders of the local group. Their interest in the Town Council appears to be founded on the fact that when the alien group is in power, as it has no interest in local commerce, it is freer in granting trading licences than most shopkeepers like. A major reason for seeking election is therefore to control and protect their own interests. In 1967 a shopkeeper gained election, applied for a licence and received it, and then did not stand for re-election.

stay of several weeks, and an Afrikaans couple staying in the hotel for a few months described the population as "very unfriendly."

An alien who was an accepted member of the élite group attributed this to the fact that he had known a member of the group very well before: "Once you are accepted by one, they all accept you. But it's like most small towns - they take a very long time to get to know you." The élite group accepts people immediately if they are important, and particularly if they are likely to be able to help the group. The local groups are more rigid: even a man as important as a new magistrate was treated warily for some time. And if a newcomer does not conform to the norms of the society he is never accepted. The best that can happen is that he will become tolerated over the years. Thus a shop-keeper of over thirty years' residence is still not accepted because of his religion; the wife of a senior employee is not accepted because she disregards the accepted norm for women by speaking her mind and acting independently of her husband; a professional man is not accepted because he is not prepared to join the associations expected of him, and so on.

CHAPTER 8CONCLUSION

THE MOST IMPORTANT change in Port Nolloth's social structure has been in the system of stratification: from a class to a caste system. For an understanding of contemporary Port Nolloth society the apparent rigidity of the caste hierarchy to members of the subordinate castes must be appreciated: many have seen the system rigidify over the years, and can see no possibility of its being eased in any way. They realise that the caste system is externally sanctioned, and can be maintained by force if deemed necessary by the government.

The rigidity of the caste hierarchy is seen as denying any hope of a lifting of the limit which it imposes on potential social mobility. It is this artificial limit which is a direct cause of a state of disequilibrium (Wilson, 1945:125ff) in the society. Socially mobile individuals or groups in a subordinate caste may raise their status to a point where, in terms of their scale of stratification, they may equal or better individuals or groups in a superordinate caste. Members of the latter, in terms of their own scale of stratification, will not acknowledge equality. The existing caste line will be maintained, thus causing a state of disequilibrium in those affected in the subordinate caste.

Thus a subordinate caste may imitate and then equal the style of life of a superordinate caste without gaining recognition or acceptance. This process of imitation is clearly taking place within certain sections of the Coloured caste in

Port Nolloth, and is akin to the process of sanskritization associated with social change in India (Srinivas, 1962, 1967) where lower castes tried to raise their status within the hierarchy. Srinivas suggests that this was a guarded process: "the dominant caste...stimulated in lower castes a desire to imitate the dominant caste's own prestigious style of life. The lower castes had to go about this task with circumspection - any attempt to rush things was likely to meet with swift reprisals. They had to avoid imitating in matters likely to upset the dominant caste too much, and their chances of success were much better if they slowly inched their way towards their goal." (Srinivas, 1967:17) The same attitude is held by the White caste in Port Nolloth, but the major difference between the two situations is that in Port Nolloth, in the short term at least, the goal can never be reached.

The caste system prevents upward mobility beyond a certain point, and it appears that the result is the intensification of intra-caste stratification, particularly in the Coloured caste. Thus while an individual has his upward mobility limited by the caste line, there is no barrier to his separating himself from other groups within his own caste: an upper class Coloured man will not gain recognition from the White caste, but he can at least emphasise his position in his own caste by having as little as possible to do with others in lower positions. This separation may be based on any of a number of criteria, for example colour, economic status, education, etc.

These are the criteria that singly or collectively are

prerequisites for membership of the dominant caste, other things being equal. However, other things are not equal: a Baster cannot be a White although he looks like one, a skipper cannot be a White although he earns more than many Whites, and a Coloured teacher cannot be a White although he has a better education than most Whites in the town. It is ⁱⁿ these circumstances, it is contended, that intra-caste stratification is intensified as individuals and groups strive for recognition by voluntarily segregating themselves from the rest of their caste.

G.H. Mees has suggested that fission is an important feature of a caste system: "A society which is subjected to a caste system consists of a number of sub-divisions or castes which are exclusively endogamous, which show a strong tendency to be socially exclusive, which perpetuate themselves hereditarily, which are hierarchically superposed on a basis supposedly cultural, and which by the working of these four tendencies within the social field of their own delimitations, may split up into more and more castes indefinitely." (Mees, 1935 quoted in Cox, 1948:5) This process of fission exists in Port Nolloth's Coloured caste, and can be seen in the existence of the various groups mentioned in the previous chapter - particularly the Basters, half-castes and skippers.

A further interesting aspect of the caste hierarchy is the relationship between the two subordinate castes. Those members of the Coloured caste who openly advocate the abolition

of the caste line between the White and Coloured castes do not at the same time favour the abolition of the caste line between the Coloured and African castes. A parallel can be drawn here between this situation and that in India where newly-rich castes pressed for higher status for themselves and not for the abolition of the caste system (Srinivas, 1962:70). Most Coloured people who were interviewed considered the African caste to be inferior and wanted segregation between African and Coloured people. This appears to be an extension of the intra-caste stratification already mentioned. Denied upward mobility beyond a certain point, members of the Coloured caste emphasise not only the divisions within their own caste, but the division between themselves and members of the lowest caste. This attitude is not reciprocated by the African caste, which, as it is at the bottom of the hierarchy, can look only upwards. In addition, Africans as temporary residents in Port Nolloth for only part of the year have their attention focused on their homes, and are not greatly concerned with Port Nolloth's caste structure except insofar as it affects opportunity of employment.

The imposition of a caste system in Port Nolloth has caused, and is causing, more rigid divisions in the society; this is likely to be exacerbated by government plans to establish a Coloured area with a Coloured council, Coloured shopping centre and other facilities. The promise of this has already led to the beginnings of 'Coloured Power' groups who sense an opportunity to hit back at the dominant White caste. While

this may serve to unify some of the Coloured groups, it will certainly deepen the gulf between the two castes.

This gulf between the castes is not yet final - evidenced by the acceptance of a White fieldworker by most members of the non-White castes as one example - and there are pressures, mainly economic, working against a complete break. Nevertheless, while the caste system is maintained in its present form and plans go forward for increased segregation of the castes, existing tensions, hostilities and divisions in Port Nolloth society are likely to increase and become more serious, to the lasting detriment of all people in the town.

APPENDIXMETHOD OF FIELDWORK

Preliminary visits were paid to the fieldwork area in May and July 1967 during which an initial impression of the town was formed and various leaders were met and interviewed. Practical knowledge of the fishing industry was gained during two weeks at the end of November 1967 as a fisherman. Intensive fieldwork was carried out between May and September 1968.

One of the first problems encountered was accommodation in the town. Although a number of Coloured families offered accommodation, this would have been illegal in terms of the Group Areas Act. No Whites in the town were willing or able to accommodate me, and I therefore stayed initially in the hotel. However, there were advantages in this arrangement. The decision to study Coloured and African people in Port Nolloth immediately alienated me from a large proportion of Whites in Port Nolloth. As the hotel was a major social centre for Whites, my being in residence there enabled me to observe much White behaviour that would otherwise have been inaccessible to me. Moreover the hotel was a neutral residence, whereas lodging with a White family would have been risking my independent observer status in view of the number of White cliques in the town; and the situation of the building enabled me to move between it and the non-White areas without having to walk through the main White residential area.

In view of the size and diversity of the Coloured population it was decided not to rely solely on the normal anthropological fieldwork technique of largely informal participant observation. A simple questionnaire was drawn up and administered to a random sample of 30% of the Coloured population. The sample was based on a map of the town on which all houses were plotted, made at the beginning of the study. Details of the questionnaire appear below.

Initial suspicion was expected from informants, and almost a month was spent in getting myself known in the community. During this period I met as many people as possible and explained my work. I was fortunate in making friends with a number of Coloured and African leaders, and this helped towards my general acceptance in the community. During my stay in the town I attended church services (and played the organ at one church), coached the local Coloured rugby team and refereed matches, and attended as many important occasions as possible. I also helped in the organisation and running of a small welfare organisation which sold basic, cost-price food to Coloured people.

In this way initial suspicions were allayed, and I was able to start visiting houses to administer the questionnaire. As will be seen, the questions asked formally were non-contentious, and were used not only to provide basic statistics but to lead into the more important informal questioning on social categories recognised, attitudes towards various groups and the like. Nearly all research was conducted in

Afrikaans among the Coloured people, and in English among the Africans.

Contact with Africans was more difficult, but again was managed with the help of African leaders who were approached through a compound manager. My purpose was explained and then discussed in the compounds. As a result very few Africans were unwilling to answer the questionnaire. Slightly different statistics were required for Africans, and a separate questionnaire was used. Fieldwork coincided with the end of the fishing season, and most Africans went home before much work could be done. Most of the information was obtained from the group, mainly watchmen, who remained in the town.

My close contact with non-White people in the town unfortunately prevented my doing any serious work among the Whites. Whites were suspicious of my presence in the town (some believing me to have political motives) and disapproved strongly of my relationship with non-Whites. It was therefore impossible to establish any rapport with the White population as a whole, and most information was gained from casual meetings and observation, particularly in the hotel and bar.

Despite problems of suspicion, a number of good informants were found in all sections of the community, and these were informally and repeatedly interviewed. The use of a questionnaire not only ensured that a satisfactory cross-section of the Coloured community was interviewed, but also continually brought good informants to light.

Questionnaires

A. Coloured people (Interviewees were told that the contents would remain confidential and that names could be withheld if so desired).

1. Occupants of the household: name, relationship to household head, sex, age, place of birth, years in Port Nolloth, years education, occupation, religion, languages.
2. (a) Where did the parents, siblings and children of the home head live?
(b) Last place of residence.
3. Does the home head hold any land in the reserves? If so is it cultivated? How often is it visited? Does he have stock? A house?
4. Have any siblings or children left Port Nolloth? Name, relationship to home head, age, new place of residence, reason for leaving/new occupation.
5. Occupation, employment history: name, type of work, year begun, wage, year ended, wage.
6. Fishermen. Father's occupation. Have you ever done any other sort of work? Time spent at sea. Weeks lost per season. Value of good week's work, bad week's work. Type of employment. Are you satisfied with present category? Do you have any other income during the off season other than a company retainer? Do you remain in Port Nolloth during the off season? If not, where do you go and why?
7. Housing. Type of tenure (company-owned, rent from White/non-White, shared with lodgers, sole owner/occupier, other). Are you satisfied with your present house or would you prefer a house in one of the other categories? Reasons.
8. Housing: Number of rooms. Number of people. Sanitation. Water. Hot water. Power for light/heat. Garden. Radio. Gramophone. Transport.
9. Family leisure at home.
10. Leisure activities outside the home.
11. Categories recognised.

/B. African migrants...

B. African migrants

1. Name.
 2. Age.
 3. Are you married? If so for how long? Children?
 4. Languages spoken. Home/other.
 5. Education.
 6. Religion.
 7. Home district.
 8. Work history. How long have you been doing this job? Previous employment. Length of contract. How often do you return home? Occupation in Port Nolloth.
 9. Home. Do you have land and/or stock? Position in family. Do you communicate with your home?
 10. Money sent home. Quantity. Frequency. Method.
 11. Club affiliations.
 12. Earnings.
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