TOWARDS A REGIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY  
FOR NAMAQUALAND  

Janeen Dunne  

Saldu Working Paper No. 75  

Cape Town  
October 1988
This paper represents a shortened and updated version of an M.A. thesis (with the same title) submitted in 1986.
SOUTHERN AFRICA LABOUR AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT

TOWARDS A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR NAMAQUALAND

Janeen Dunne

Saldru Working Paper No. 75

Cape Town  October 1988
This paper represents a shortened and updated version of an M.A. thesis (with the same title) submitted in 1986.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my grateful thanks to
- Dudley Horner and Wolfgang Thomas for their guidance and advice.
- The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (Saldru) for their financial support.
- Lala Steyn from Surplus Peoples Project for sharing her experiences.
- To the numerous people (in Namaqualand and Cape Town) whom I encountered and interviewed while writing the thesis from which this paper has developed.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>(iv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>(iv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Graphs</td>
<td>(iv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NAMAQUALAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Geographic Boundaries and Conurbations</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Geographic Characteristics</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Physical Infrastructure</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Water</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Transport and Communications</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.3 Electricity Supply</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Conclusion</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Early History of Namaqualand's Population</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 The Scramble for Land</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 The Role of Mission Stations</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Government Response to Land Disputes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 'Separate Development' and the Coloured Rural Areas</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. NAMAQUALAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Explaining Underdevelopment - Alternative Approaches</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Writings on Namaqualand</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 In Search of an Integrated Development Strategy</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. CONTEMPORARY NAMAQUALAND : SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Demographic Trends</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 Urban-Rural Concentration</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2 Racial Composition</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.3 Sexual and Age Composition</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Educational Trends</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Employment Trends</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1 Manpower- and Labour Supply</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2 Sexual Composition of Manpower and Labour Supply</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3 Industry and Occupational Distribution</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4 Income Status

5.5 Housing

5.5.1 Coloured Rural Areas (CRA)

5.5.2 Divisional Council Areas

5.5.3 Company Property

5.6 Social Welfare and Community Development

5.7 Health and Health Care Facilities

6. CONTEMPORARY NAMAQUALAND: MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS

6.1 The Regional Economy

6.2 Commerce and General Government

6.3 Mining in Namaqualand

6.3.1 Namaqualand's Minor Mineral Resources

6.3.2 Major Mining Activities

6.3.2.1 Copper Production and Employment

6.3.2.2 Diamond Mining

   (i) Production

   (ii) Employment

6.4 Agriculture in Namaqualand

6.4.1 Crop Production

6.4.2 Farm Employment and Remuneration

6.5 The Fishing Industry

6.5.1 Production and Employment

6.6 Conclusion

7. TOWARDS A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR NAMAQUALAND

7.1 Constraints to Development in Namaqualand

7.1.1 Limitations of Nature

7.1.2 Economic Contraints

7.1.3 Socio-Cultural Constraints

7.1.4 Political and Institutional Constraints

    7.1.4.1 Land Tenure

    7.1.4.2 Apartheid Legislation

    7.1.4.3 Local Government

    7.1.4.4 Church and Community Groups

    7.1.4.5 Company Housing
7.2 Current Development Policy and Strategies in Namaqualand

7.2.1 Government Strategies and Policy Action

7.2.1.1 Central Government

7.2.1.2 Local Authorities

7.2.1.3 Namaqualand Regional Development Association

7.2.2 External Development Stimulators

7.2.2.1 World Vision

(i) Namaqualand Development Project

(ii) Orange River Development Scheme

7.2.2.2 Red Cross

7.2.2.3 Operation Hunger

7.2.2.4 Small Business Development Corporation

7.2.2.5 Others

7.2.3 Local Actors Affecting the Development Process

7.2.3.1 Trade Unions

7.2.3.2 Community Organisation and Response to Central Government Development Policy

7.2.3.3 Churches

7.3 Elements of a three-pronged Development Strategy for the People of Namaqualand

7.3.1 The Enhancement of Outward Mobility

7.3.2 Improvement in the Quality of Life

7.3.3 Utilizing Local Development Potential

7.3.4 Community Involvement

7.3.5 Co-ordination of Development Efforts

7.3.6 Resources for Development

FOOTNOTES

APPENDICES

BIBLIOGRAPHY
(iv)

LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Coloured Rural Areas - Size and Population - 1985</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>1985 Population - Racial and Sexual Composition</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Urban-Rural Distribution by Race - 1985</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Changing Population Structure</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Population, Manpower and Labour Supply - 1985</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Distribution of Economically Active Population by Industry and Race - 1985</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Distribution of Economically Active Population by Occupation and Race - 1985</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Income Distribution by Race Group - 1980</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Earners and Non-Earners - 1980</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10</td>
<td>Housing - 1985</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11</td>
<td>Sectoral Distribution of GGP and Remuneration</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 12</td>
<td>GGP and Remuneration Growth Rates for Key Sectors 1975 - 1983</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13</td>
<td>Economically Active in Namaqualand</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 14</td>
<td>Racial Composition of OCC Labour Force 1946-1985</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 15</td>
<td>Diamond Production - De Beers and SAD 1970-1985</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 16</td>
<td>Percentage Output Contributed to De Beers and SAD</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 17</td>
<td>Employment at SAD - 1970-1985</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 18</td>
<td>Farm Employment 1952-1981</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 19</td>
<td>Farm Remuneration and Employment - 1981</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 20</td>
<td>Development Constraints in Namaqualand</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 21</td>
<td>Erven Surveyed and Economic Units Demarcating Coloured Rural Areas - 1986</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 22</td>
<td>Elements of a Three-Pronged Development Strategy</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map 1</th>
<th>Namaqualand Magisterial District in Regional Context</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Map 2</td>
<td>Namaqualand Magisterial District</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 3</td>
<td>Distribution of Coloured Rural Areas in South Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LIST OF GRAPHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graph 1</th>
<th>OCC Employment 1946-1984</th>
<th>52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graph 2</td>
<td>Rock Lobster Production - Hicksons and Ovenstones 1930-1970</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.

INTRODUCTION

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

Several case studies covering economic activity or socio-economic characteristics, on individual towns, villages, communities or homeland regions were presented, though hardly anything covered Namaqualand. As a result the author was encouraged by the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit to undertake thesis orientated research focussing on development strategies for the area. The project was started in August 1984 and the thesis was completed in September 1986.

Three central goals determined the approach to and structure of the research:
- an attempt to understand the reasons for the relative underdevelopment of the region and, in particular the often desolate condition of the people living in the area;
- an assessment of the economic potential of the region taking into account development constraints pertaining to both the region and its people; and thirdly,
- the search for a feasible development strategy for Namaqualand bearing in mind the need for action by a number of 'agents' of development and change.

The whole of Namaqualand was taken as the object of the study rather than the 'Coloured Rural Areas' or any particular part of Namaqualand. This was done for the following reasons:
1) Much of the data/material available on Namaqualand was felt to be fragmented and in need of systematic assessment.
2) Any micro-development strategy is unlikely to succeed unless it is structured in a way appropriate to the whole region's history and overall economic development.
3) There exists hardly any detailed analysis of economic underdevelopment of the whole of Namaqualand.
Little of the available literature on Namaqualand has addressed the questions of development strategies, be they integrated national, regional or local.

This report is essentially a condensation and update of the dissertation completed in 1986. It also follows the same basic structure. Preceding an empirical overview we outline the historical background of Namaqualand - a sparsely populated region rich in conflicts centering around land and mineral resources owned or controlled by sections of South Africa's 'coloured' and white communities. Notwithstanding fundamental differences between the Coloured Rural Areas of Namaqualand and South Africa's 'Homelands' the roots of poverty in both areas show remarkable similarities. This enabled us in the second part of the study to apply some of the more conventional models of underdevelopment in an attempt to understand the causes of present-day poverty amongst Namaqualand's coloured population.

As in the case of the Homelands, the dependency approach towards underdevelopment proved to be a valuable tool in explaining Namaqualand's past, yet it was less useful for the design of development strategies. As a result we were compelled to fall back on a more eclectic approach with respect to the future structuring of development efforts.

The two central chapters of the study summarising socio-economic data and trends in the different economic sectors follow conventional lines. In the revision some new data has been added, though the empirical picture is still unsatisfactory. At the same time it seems important in reading these sections that we bear in mind the small overall population of Namaqualand - viz. a mere 60 - 65 000 people, constituting a labour force of less than 24 000. Thus whilst the poverty can often be viewed as unbearable and the underlying development potential as not insignificant, it is crucial to remember that the scarcity of South Africa's financial and managerial resources, the much larger size of poverty stricken populations in other parts of the country and the remoteness of Namaqualand preclude disproportionate development efforts. In fact this raises the question of whether the 'development' of Namaqualand's coloured population should not be viewed from the perspective of raising social welfare standards within a neglected, marginalised group rather than the more comprehensive 'regional development'.
It is in this context that some attention was given in the initial study to parallels with the U.S. Indians and neglected minority groups in other countries.

Given the lapse of two years since the completion of the dissertation some comment on the concluding chapter on a feasible strategy is necessary.

1) All over Namaqualand the system of land ownership remains a key obstacle to rational grassroots development, both in rural and urban areas. In the 'white' farming and urban residential areas coloured (or black) people are still not allowed to own land, even though whites in rural and urban areas have been drifting away during past years. In the CRA the traditional system of communal land tenure has been in need of some change in order to facilitate agricultural development. Unfortunately government and the local Management Boards decided (without proper consultation of the people) to radically change the past system to one of individual ownership of relatively large tracts of land. As could be expected this strategy caused a storm of protest, leading eventually to legal action. Only recently has the Supreme Court outruled this strategy in Leliefontein and Steinkopf and those evicted from the land have begun moving back. It remains to be seen whether government legislates to reinstate unit farms or not.

2) Whilst the population of Namaqualand shows a small annual increase there can be little doubt about the outward orientation of much of the younger groups. Perhaps, therefore, improvements in the living standards of the people of Namaqualand is not entirely dependent upon developments inside Namaqualand.

3) During the past years mining prospects have hardly improved in the area, given declining world market prices and or demand. At the same time the devaluation of the rand, may, during the last few years, have improved the opportunities of small scale, lower grade mines.

4) Government has increased its efforts to improve the rural and urban infrastructure in Namaqualand, although average standards are still below 'basic needs' and many facilities are lagging severely. In addition the effectiveness or functioning of local management bodies in the CRA has
not improved over the past few years. Even state officials have become disillusioned about the boards significance in the development process. Though it seems difficult to radically change this structure while the second tier 'own affairs' system persist all over South Africa.

5) During recent years, there has been a visible increase in the debate about appropriate grassroots orientated development strategies for the communities and people of Namaqualand. Government departments, academics, aid/donor agencies, church bodies, parastatal organisations (e.g. SBDC) and community leaders are participating in this ongoing debate. However it will be shown later that not only are there gaps in the present strategies but the implementation of them often does not go beyond initial (pilot scheme) experimentation. In particular in the rural areas scattered development efforts have not yet interacted sufficiently to create a breakthrough.
2. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NAMAQUALAND

More than most other regions of South Africa, Namaqualand's physical characteristics constitute a fundamental constraint upon the development path and future development potential of the area. To the same extent the low population density, of 1,26 people per square kilometre on average, already reflects these constraints.

2.1 Geographic Boundaries and Conurbations

Namaqualand is a sparsely populated semi desert area (47,700 square kilometres) with a population of 60,234. It is located in the north-western corner of South Africa stretching just above Bitterfontein in the south to the Orange River in the north (see Map 1).

Fourteen small urban settlements (whose role in the local economy is outlined in Appendix A), land held by the state and mining companies, other town and village allotments and state owned farms comprises 74.7 per cent of the total land area of Namaqualand. The remaining 25.3 per cent consists of six 'Coloured Rural Areas' (CRA). These CRA comprise 70 per cent of all CRA (see Appendix B).

Details regarding Namaqualand's CRA are given in Table 1. Compared to the other 17 CRA those in Namaqualand in 1985 were amongst the largest though they have the lowest population densities (see Appendix C).

Table 1: Coloured Rural Areas - Size and Population - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Area</th>
<th>Size in Hectares</th>
<th>Population 1985¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richtersveld</td>
<td>513 919</td>
<td>2 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinkopf</td>
<td>329 301</td>
<td>6 636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leliefontein</td>
<td>192 720</td>
<td>4 825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>63 383</td>
<td>8 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komaggas</td>
<td>62 604</td>
<td>3 554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>48 277</td>
<td>1 820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1210 204</strong></td>
<td><strong>27 164</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. A discrepancy of 6 649 occurs between the figures given by the Divisional Council (see Table 2) and those given by the House of Representatives.

MAP NO. 3

DISTRIBUTION OF 'COLOURED' RURAL AREAS IN S.A.

KEY
1 - Mier 13 - Mamre
2 - Rietfontein 14 - Pniel
3 - Eksteenkuil 15 - Genadendal
4 - Pella 16 - Askraal
5 - Richtersveld 17 - Suurbraak
6 - Steinkopf 18 - Zoar
7 - Concordia 19 - Friemersheim
8 - Komaggas 20 - Haarlem
9 - Leliefontein 21 - Krantzhoek
10 - Rietpoort 22 - Emon
11 - Ebenezer 23 - Thaba Patchoa
12 - Saron 24 - Oppermansgronde
2.2 Geophysical Characteristics

Namaqualand's landscape is varied ranging from sand to rocky outcrops to rugged landscapes with small patches of irrigable land to areas where soil is clayey and brackish. Some sections are sparsely covered and unsuitable for grain growing and in others the bush and shrub vegetation has excellent feeding value.

Namaqualand has a desert climate with the temperatures fluctuating widely on a seasonal and daily basis. The Kamiesberg (approx. 1700m) forms a dividing line between the winter rainfall region in the west and the summer rainfall region in the east. In the west rainfall is erratic (50 - 75mm p.a.) with moisture occurring in the form of fog and sea mist due to the cold Benguela current. In the east rainfall is somewhat higher ranging between 150 and 300mm p.a.

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

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

2.3 Physical Infrastructure

2.3.1 Water

The most important economic constraint facing Namaqualand is the limited water supply, due to the erratic rainfall and the lack of perennial rivers. The availability of water varies sharply from area to area depending on the nature of the soil's drainage and the geology. Good water supplies are almost always accompanied by increased agricultural production. In the urban areas as well as in Steinkopf and Concordia, water is obtained from the Orange River Irrigation Scheme.
Boreholes, wells and springs supply water for rural households and their livestock. Water is often brackish and undrinkable and the boreholes are thinly spread so that animals have to walk long distances (e.g. in Richtersveld, Leliefontein and Steinkopf). In addition many have become, or are rapidly being, exhausted.

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

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

2.3.2 Transport and Communications
Namaqualand has three major tar roads (see Map 1). All other roads are dust and gravel, the majority are in bad condition, with little drainage and inadequate plant cover. As a result, when it rains roads are washed away. There are few connecting roads and public transport facilities linking the rural areas with major through roads. The only public transport services offered in Namaqualand are Jowell's buses and a bus service operating in Concordia and Komaggas. Thus local inhabitants are dependent on either their own transport or private taxis to obtain supplies and dispose of surplus produce.

Unsatisfactory communication links with other areas have in the past hindered or delayed the exploitation of Namaqualand's minerals. Little has been done to solve this problem in the past. An unsatisfactory railway/road bus transport service from Bitterfontein to Nababeep carrying smelted copper and copper ore was contracted out to Jowell's in 1941. Today this company has a virtual monopoly over transport facilities in Namaqualand, having recently taken over the last remaining independent transport contractors. Jowell's obtains about 75 per cent of its revenue from De Beers, O'okiep Copper Mines, and Gold Fields, being responsible for the transportation of explosives, coal, minerals, refrigerated goods, petrol and diesel, as well as passengers (Argus, 18 July 1984). In addition, Jowell's controls Namaqua-air, the local airline operating on a daily basis between Springbok and Cape Town as well as scheduled flights between Springbok and Upington.
It is possible that deregulation may occur and, if it does, have some effect on Jowell’s monopoly of transport facilities in Namaqualand but without specific details further comment is difficult.

The regular South African Transport Services rail service from Cape Town for passengers and goods ends at Bitterfontein some 350 kilometres south of the most distant rural area, the Richtersveld (see Map 1). The rail service to Bitterfontein was completed in 1927 after 70 years of construction in four major stages. In contrast it took a mere ten years to develop the Nakop-Luderitz and Nakop-Windhoek-Walvis Bay lines.

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

2.3.3 Electricity Supply

Electricity is supplied to all the urban areas in Namaqualand and in recent years electrification in the rural areas has increased. The extent of the supply and whether this is regarded as adequate or inadequate by residents in these areas was not established. It has been suggested that this development was linked to the build up of military strength in Namaqualand, pending the removal of South African troops from Namibia.

2.4 Conclusion

The remoteness of the area, poor transport and communication links, low population densities and the arid climate can probably be regarded as the most important fundamental causes of Namaqualand’s economic under-development and isolation. As will be shown in Section 7 these physical constraints on Namaqualand’s development potential should play a crucial role in the living standards of the people in this region. In essence, these factors more than anything else necessitate the emphasis on increased mobility of the population, which will be shown to be a likely element in a comprehensive development strategy.
3. **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION**

As background to an understanding of the socio-economic development and underdevelopment of the people and communities in the Namaqualand region, settlement patterns in the South Western Cape, with particular emphasis on the competition for land and the effects of white expansionism on the ecological and development equilibrium of the indigenous groups are reviewed. This is followed by an analysis of the role of mission stations, and the government's response to land disputes - the implications of which was the transition of the mission stations towards 'Coloured Rural Reserves'. Subsequent political and legal developments in the area are briefly looked at.

3.1 Early History of Namaqualand's Population

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

The growing pastoral society expanded eastwards and split into various groups with one group (ancestors of the Cape Khoi Khoi) moving south to the coast and another (the Namaquas) spreading south over Little Namaqualand to the South Western Cape. In the coastal areas of the south east Cape Province, Bantu pressure caused the Khoi Khoi to move westwards to the South Western Cape. This group and the Namaquas met near the Olifants River (approximately 100-200 kilometres north of Cape Town). (Elphick 1977 : 10-22).

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

3.2 The Scramble for Land

The overriding factor causing movement of the Khoi Khoi northwards
towards Namaqualand was the acquisition and occupation of their land by the Dutch. Elphick divides this acquisition and occupation of land into three phases, identified in terms of various European agents who were prominent in their relationship with Khoi Khoi, i.e. the traders (up to 1652), the freeburghers (approx. 1657-1700) and the trekboers, (1700-1770).

With the formation of the VOC in 1602 and the arrival of the Dutch in the Cape in 1652, the Khoi Khoi found themselves unable to meet the Dutch settlement's trade demands. As a result the Dutch simply enforced trade, many indigenous people were enserfed and others headed north and went to Namaqualand.

At the VOC settlement itself, cultivation was turned over to a number of freeburghers (i.e. no longer VOC servants but subject to its sovereignty). They were supposed to restrict themselves to cultivation and livestock raising but intensive agriculture proved difficult. Agriculture became more extensive and increasingly more freeburghers became pastoralists (trekboers).

Pastoralism experienced rapid growth due to the VOC's inability to restrict land or implement a controlled system of land allocation. In addition, cultivation tended to be concentrated in the hands of wealthy freeburghers and many small producers unable to survive turned to pastoralism.

3.3 The Role of Mission Stations

Since colonization in 1652, Christianity had been important in the Cape. Only with the colony's expansion, did missionary work emerge as significant. A chronological history of the Namaqualand mission stations is given in Appendix D.

The role of the missionaries was a contradictory one including phases of co-operation and conflict between the missionaries and the government on one hand and the missionaries and reserve inhabitants on the other.
As seen earlier, by a system of 'crowding out' the Khoi Khoi were pushed further away from the good sites into the less suitable, more isolated areas. However Redlinghuis also suggests that the Khoi Khoi might even have been moved from these areas had it not been for the missionaries. The government had made numerous attempts to 'stabilise' the Namaqualand territory by granting land grants. The missionaries played an important role in this phase, as they provided a link for the Namaqualand inhabitants in their struggle to keep their land when threatened by boer encroachment and, later by the expansion of the mines. Missionary protest against colonial extension was only lodged in 1842, but their work had begun earlier. When the Cape boundary was extended in 1847, no provision had been made for reserving ground or other rights for inhabitants. Requests by inhabitants and missionaries resulted in 'tickets of occupation' being given, with any further extension excluded (see Section 3.4).

In order to allow their spiritual and secular work to continue unimpeded, the missionaries attempted to reduce the Khoi Khoi's mobility and force them to remain permanently on the land. Although the emergence and expansion of the trekboer had partly eroded the Khoi Khoi's nomadic lifestyle, it still represented a stumbling block to the missionaries. They therefore attempted to settle the Khoi Khoi's pastoral flock, spread Christianity and expand their institutions. They were most successful in areas where boer encroachment represented a serious or direct threat (e.g. Leliefontein and Kommagas).

The missionaries in their work were looking for material and ideological allegiance, which sometimes led to conflict with 'traditional' leaders unable or unwilling to participate in education and other upliftment. Relations were further complicated by the existence of disunity about traditional leadership.

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

From the above it should be clear that it is difficult to give an overall assessment of the role and impact of the missionaries. Undoubtedly the Khoi Khoi were already in an isolated and unsuitable territory prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Besides there were undeniable positive aspects of missionary work in Namaqualand. Yet on balance one can conclude that their overall effect was negative. Elphick (1979: 228) sums it up as follows:

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

3.4 Government Response to Land Disputes

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

This process was a source of conflict for the colonial authorities and they were forced to resort to a policy of granting land and Staffs of Office to 'loyal' leaders beyond the colony's boundaries (Luyt 1981: 78). The policy was an attempt to establish a buffer zone between the colony and unsettled areas.
But movement of these 'loyal' leaders and their followers, and the development and recognition of their authority, pushed the weaker groups even further into trans-Orangia in the east and into the north western regions.

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

In 1847 when the boundary was extended no government representative was appointed, and the territory was effectively controlled by missionaries and chiefs. No legal sanction existed for exercising this authority and as a result, it became more difficult to prevent boer and trader encroachment on their 'recognised' but ungranted land.

An additional threat was expropriation of land by whites seeking to exploit Namaqualand's mineral resources. The question of mineral wealth applied particularly to Steinkopf, Concordia and the Richtersveld where the opening of copper deposits had brought white sellers and the threat of expropriation by mining companies.

The chiefs and missionaries were thus forced to request annexation and Tickets of Occupation. The government's initial response was refusal of Tickets of Occupation but they simultaneously stated that under no circumstances would 'they countenance any encroachments on the land occupied by the institutions ... on the part of any farmer or others'. (Luyt 1981: 123).

But by 1874 the government had granted Tickets of Occupation to Kommagas, Leliefontein and Steinkopf. These Tickets of Occupation recognised the indigenous population's right to use the land but, denied them the right to mine in the area.
Members of the missionary institutions received 'compensation' for use by mining companies of land and water. The principle of compensation in fact, meant that the demand of companies to be allowed to appropriate land within the institutions was acceded to. Sharp and West (1985: 4) suggest that the granting of Tickets of Occupation implied an awareness on the part of the mines of the Reserve's value as a labour pool. Often the land granted was smaller and reduced many inhabitants to poverty whilst not precluding access to land.

Despite the restraints on subsistence agriculture imposed by the whites through the increasing expropriation of land, absorption of inhabitants into the mining industry was small except when drought made cultivation difficult. Towards the end of the 19th century, complaints were received both from wealthy peasants against their poorer colleagues rights to commonage and arable units and from farmers and mine workers about labour shortages.

The colonial authorities did not take action immediately because they did not wish to break up the Reserves, thereby disrupting colonial control and alienating the Khenish missionaries who were an important source of control. Various individuals and select committees were detailed to investigate the situation, the most important being the Select Committee on Namaqualand Mission Land and Reserves in 1896. The Select Committee of 1896 recognised the following as constraints to 'bourgeois' development:

(i) no legal provision existed for obliging those occupying land in an unproductive manner to vacate the land and enter the service of others;

(ii) no provisions for preventing sub-division and joint ownership;

(iii) taxation not being strictly enforced.

The solution as they saw it was to invoke Act 29 of 1909 in terms of which the communal system was retained and which stipulated that no further sub-division of arable land could occur, although eventual changes could take place. An annual tax on adult males was imposed and vagrancy was outlawed.
The aim of these measures was to decrease pressure on the land by forcing sub-subsistence peasants onto the labour market. The imposition was to be controlled indirectly by the Department of Native Affairs via local government. In effect what the Act did was to separate church and secular administration, and take the role of civil administration away from the missionaries.

There was some resistance to the formation of the Act by the poorer reserve inhabitants who were anxious to maintain their 'burgherskap' given their increasing dependence on the wage labour market.

In Komnagas, Steinkopf and Concordia an attorney was hired to contest the legality of the Act. In Komnagas elections for the Raad were boycotted and in Leliefontein people went so far as to elect an opposition Raad called the 'Tegen-de-nieu-wetters'. When resistance was not overcome peacefully the South African Mounted Rifles were called in to enforce the Act and clear away any signs of resistance (Luyt 1981: 166/7).

3.5 'Separate Development' and the Coloured Rural Areas

The gap left by the 1909 Act for eventual changes to take place was filled by Act 24 of 1963 (the Rural Coloured Areas Act). For fifty years the communal land tenure system had remained unchanged, this was attributed not so much to the resistance in the Reserves but to factors that 'induced an official inertia to the Namaqualand region as a whole'. (Sharp 1984: 8).

The factors included the following:

(i) as the mines experienced decline, so the copper district and Reserves become insignificant.

(ii) With few employment opportunities, the Reserve population was reduced to a general level of impoverishment accompanied by a lower level of internal protest.

(iii) O'okiep Copper Company (OCC) was content with the communal system as the cost of maintaining its labour force was reduced; it did not have to provide housing and other infrastructural services for workers recruited from the Reserves. (Sharp 1984: 8-10).
A more general, political factor was the government's hesitation in clarifying the status and future dispensation of the 'coloured' people. The only notable change was when the population of the Coloured Rural Areas (Reserves) were recognised as not being 'native'. They were therefore removed from the control of the Department of Native Affairs and placed under that of Social Welfare in 1944. (Kotze, D. 1985 : 19).

At present the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the Administration of the House of Representatives administers Namakuland and the other 17 Coloured Rural Areas under the provisions of the Rural Coloured Areas Law, 1979. (The law amended Act 24 of 1963 and has subsequently been amended by the Rural Coloured Areas Amendment Act 46 of 1983).

The Coloured Persons Settlement Act (Act No. 7/1946) provides the legal basis for the reservation of new Coloured areas, and the Rural Coloured Areas Act (Act No. 24/1963) made provisions for the incorporation of land already occupied by coloured communities and consolidated previous measures. The latter gave notice of the government's intention to pursue a particular development course and provided for the introduction of settlement schemes, whereby the Reserves would be planned into various zones, signalling an end to communal land tenure. The Act and its political and economic consequences is looked at further in Section 7.1.4.1.
4. NAMAQUALAND'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In looking at Namaqualand as an 'underdeveloped area' we need to understand the cause of underdevelopment before proposing a development strategy. Some general explanations of development/underdevelopment are considered, the literature on Namaqualand surveyed so as to situate it within the various theoretical frameworks, these are then critically analysed identifying those that best explain Namaqualand's underdevelopment.

4.1 Explaining Underdevelopment - Alternative Approaches

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

Two major paradigms have dominated the underdevelopment debate and have been used to explain underdevelopment in South Africa, i.e. modernisation on the one hand and dependency theory on the other. In addition to these two bodies of theory, conventional regional economic analysis may also be used to explain underdevelopment. This analysis deals with locational aspects - 'the where of economic development' (Friedman 1966: 5). It reflects the existence of geographic and spatial inequalities and stresses the importance of regional disparities in national growth. Regional development defines specific regions but tries to avoid setting water-tight artificial boundaries and studies the relations of the region to other areas, in particular how it is affected by government policy.

Some authors may use culture/ethnicity to explain underdevelopment. On the one hand there are those such as Maddison who in explaining the Japanese growth experience argue that 'the Japanese administration machine was efficient and centralised, there was a strong sense of national unity, a highly sophisticated cultural background undamaged by colonialism, absence of major internal conflicts between social groups on the basis of caste, tribe or religion, a fair balance between
progress of different regions, and strong leadership from bureaucratic authoritarian elite' (Maddison 1969: 78). And on the other hand those such as Vogt, who wrote about the American Indians: 'All American Indian populations have also been undergoing a process of increasing involvement with our white American socio-cultural system ... But what is interesting ... is that, despite all these pressures for change, there are still basically Indian systems of social structures and culture persisting with variable vigour' (E.Z. Vogt in Prucha 1971: 100-101).

The Indians represented an anomaly in American history, they were not absorbed or assimilated, they did not disintegrate or disappear as predicted by those who called them the 'Vanishing American' - on the contrary they became strongly attached to their culture and developed new and effective ways of making themselves heard. (Prucha 1971: 1).

4.2 Writings on Namaqualand

A wide range of literature on Namaqualand exists and includes descriptive, historical and analytical studies. Historical and analytical books, dissertations, journal articles and more recent publications are focussed on in this section. We attempt to identify (where it exists) or develop the theoretical framework within which the author has viewed Namaqualand. A further object is to pinpoint any strategies for development which had been recommended. It was concluded that these descriptions and analyses were inadequate for our purpose in so far as they lacked indepth economic analysis and largely failed to address strategies for development.

Marais (1957), 7 Kotze (1943), 8 and Carstens (1962), 9 in fact do not seek to analyse the causes of Namaqualand's underdevelopment in depth, and do not base their analyses on any specific body of economic theory. Nor are their studies strategy-orientated. In Marais' well known and perceptive writings 'The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937' the focus is not primarily on Namaqualand. Though descriptive rather than analytical a number of causes of underdevelopment in Namaqualand are suggested by Marais, i.e. historical, natural structural and ethnic causes. Carstens micro-study of Steinkopf represents an attempt to describe and analyse social change (loss of independence, formation of settlements and complex social structures) which he attributes to ethnic and economic factors.
Kotze's book is purely descriptive, identifying the characteristics of the area - no attempt is made to analyse problems.

The anthropological research (1984)\(^{10}\) though not analytical in the economic sense, can be linked to the dependency school of thought. Klinghardt, in linking the formation of the 'Coloured Rural Areas' to the dependency theory, warns against applying it rigidly without regard to local circumstances. On the one hand, like the Bantustans, they are seen as a strategy for the continued domination by the colonial elite; on the other, he argues that the environmental factors have played a more prominent role than in the Bantustans and that no legal restrictions have been placed on inhabitants' mobility. Recent anthropological research consisting mainly of micro studies of the Namaqualand population is essentially social rather than economic analysis. Like Carstens, social change (racial stereotyping and classification, formation of social boundaries) is attributed to economic factors. Impoverishment of Namaqualand is associated with the process of 'primitive accumulation' of capital by white traders, farmers and mine-owners.

Redlinghuis' thesis (1981)\(^{11}\) whilst largely descriptive does pay some attention to economic analysis. The theories used to help explain Namaqualand's lack of growth are implicitly neoclassical. He outlines some goals and prerequisites for development, and various factors which influence the actual pattern of development, e.g. spatial and historical factors. In addition he discusses, but does not prescribe any strategies for development.

The only author who explicitly discusses Namaqualand's underdevelopment in economic terms, is Luyt (1981)\(^{12}\). In his study, a Marxian analysis, he sets out to show how the indigenous population were stripped of the means of production and thus became increasingly dependent on the mines and farms for their survival. But, no less than Redlinghuis, Luyt avoids the question of a development strategy for the area.

4.3 In Search of an Integrated Development Strategy

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

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

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

The central tenet of modernisation theory is that development occurs through the expansion of markets and the diffusion of technology and wealth from more to less developed areas (often referred to as the 'trickle down' effect). In our study, it will become evident that large scale development of mining has led to some 'trickle down' and that a section of the population has benefitted, though insignificantly relative to the time period and to the standard of living of the greater part of the population.

On the credit side, a virtue of modernisation theory is that it is strategy-orientated, and that the strategies presented do not presuppose fundamental changes in the structure of the economy. However, while this tends to make such strategies more feasible it does not remove doubts based on past experiences that they will be effective in fundamentally improving the situation of the population.
In contrast, dependence theory can be criticised on the grounds that it leads one into a 'theoretical cul de sac'. 'What we are left with, is a barren analytic approach which can explain what has happened in the past ... but which, as yet, offers few, if any, insights as to how changes can be implemented in the structures it has interpreted. In brief it provides an understanding of the basic structural causes of the contradictions within capitalism but does little to generate proposals for their elimination.' (Fair 1982: 34).

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

Regional economics, though a-historical in its approach, is of relevance in explaining certain aspects of Namaqualand's underdevelopment. This branch of neo-classical theory emphasises geographical and physical obstacles which are largely ignored by dependency theory.

In this approach each region would require its own development strategy depending on its classification. It will become evident later that it is difficult to state categorically that Namaqualand's economy is stagnant or on the decline. Rather it is subject to fluctuations and the overall standard of living is poor due to both location and structure. It is possible therefore to classify Namaqualand either as a 'downward transitional area' ("depressed/backward area") or as a 'special problem region'.
'Backward regions' are characterised by their heavy dependence on mining. Fluctuations in the price of the minerals concerned or the exhaustion of ore-reserves may lead to destruction of their chief means of livelihood. As a result 'ghost towns' may take the place of once flourishing mining towns. There are also cases where mining operations were superimposed on the other activities of a rural community but have vanished leaving little trace of their existence.

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

Furthermore, Namaqualand shares the characteristics of many remote mining areas: access to the region is difficult, it has no agricultural potential given the poor soil, frequent drought and insufficient reliable water supplies; and as a result, it is thinly populated.

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

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

In the absence of new mineral discoveries or much improved mining technology and mineral prices, the stimulus for industrial growth will probably have to come from infrastructural development, e.g. in rail transport. This would generate jobs in construction, have a local multiplier effect (though the 'leakages' back into the wider economy would be substantial) and fulfill some of the preconditions for other self-sustaining economic activities, such as pegmatite mining. But for such infrastructural investment to be initiated, it would need to be approved by political decision-makers in competition with the many other uses to which the necessary public funds could be put. Whether the relatively small population of this vast area carries sufficient political importance is open to doubt. What might tilt the scale significantly in Namaqualand's favour is military necessity.

Ethnicity clearly played a role in the resistance of North American 'Indians' to assimilation in the market economy, but the extent to which this can be used to explain Namaqualand's underdevelopment has not been explored by anthropologists. It is sufficient to say that ethnicity can play a role in preventing the implementation of strategies and can be a constraint on development. It is vital therefore that policy makers be aware of the attitudes, norms, values and aspirations of the communities for whom development is planned. Experience suggests that, ideally, planning should be initiated 'from below' rather than 'from above'. Projects planned on this 'organic' basis can be assured of the greatest degree of community support since they are likely to fulfill the most intensely felt local needs. Regrettably the prerequisites for such a process - a high level of community awareness and organisation and a matching level of responsiveness on the part of planning authorities to local communities' desires - do not appear to be fulfilled at present.
Six parallel themes are evident in the historical writings about Indians and whites in America and about the Khoi Khoi and whites in South Africa (see Appendix E). As a result some major events in the history of American Indian policy may be helpful in devising a development strategy in Namaqualand, particularly the policies applied during and following the 'Indian Reorganisation Act' (Howard-Wheeler Act) in 1943. In terms of these the needs of both of those Indians who wanted to be assimilated into broader American society and of those who wished to remain within the reservations were accommodated. In addition the Indians' own outlook and needs were canvassed and were not disregarded in planning policy.

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

We return to this aspect in Section 7 when we summarise the full spectrum of development constraints and critically review current development policies and projects.
Against the background of the historical and theoretical overview we now focus on socio-economic characteristics of present-day Namaqualand. In particular this Section reviews present trends in the population, labour supply, employment and income as well as education, housing and health sphere. 13

5.1 Demographic Trends

5.1.1 Urban-Rural Concentration

The population in Namaqualand is small and if we consider the total surface area, density is low at 1.26 persons per square kilometre in 1985. Namaqualand's urban population tends to be concentrated in four major centres (Garies, Springbok, Kamieskroon and Port Nolloth – the four municipalities) with 35% (8 561) of the urban population (24 811) living in Springbok itself (see Table 2 and Map 2).

Namaqualand's population is predominantly rural with 59% (35 423) living in the rural areas and 41% (24 811) living in the urban areas in 1985 (see Tables 2 and 3). Eighty-one per cent of the black population are resident in rural areas which seems to imply that the majority of them are employed by mines based in the rural areas. Fifty-nine per cent of the coloured population live in the rural areas with 71% (20 380) of the rural population (28 789) living in the CRA.

5.1.2 Racial Composition

Namaqualand is occupied mainly by the group classified as 'coloured'. In 1985 they represented approximately 80% of Namaqualand's population (which was then approximately 2% of South Africa's total coloured population).
Table 2: 1985 Population - Racial and Sexual Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Municipalities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springbok</td>
<td>4 140</td>
<td>4 421</td>
<td>8 561</td>
<td>6 193</td>
<td>2 315</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Nolloth</td>
<td>1 364</td>
<td>1 475</td>
<td>2 839</td>
<td>2 419</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garies</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>1 160</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamieskroon</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>6 267</td>
<td>6 847</td>
<td>13 114</td>
<td>9 788</td>
<td>3 207</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>O.C.C. Towns</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nababeep</td>
<td>2 813</td>
<td>3 039</td>
<td>5 852</td>
<td>4 952</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'okiep</td>
<td>2 335</td>
<td>2 427</td>
<td>4 762</td>
<td>4 438</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolusberg</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1 083</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5 888</td>
<td>5 809</td>
<td>11 697</td>
<td>9 784</td>
<td>1 489</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Total</strong></td>
<td>12 155</td>
<td>12 656</td>
<td>24 811</td>
<td>19 572</td>
<td>4 696</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured Rural Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinkopf</td>
<td>2 727</td>
<td>2 998</td>
<td>5 725</td>
<td>5 722</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kommagas</td>
<td>1 530</td>
<td>1 599</td>
<td>3 129</td>
<td>3 084</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>1 509</td>
<td>1 483</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>1 616</td>
<td>1 823</td>
<td>3 439</td>
<td>3 439</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richtersveld</td>
<td>1 233</td>
<td>1 091</td>
<td>2 324</td>
<td>2 263</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leliefontein</td>
<td>2 013</td>
<td>2 376</td>
<td>4 385</td>
<td>4 389</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9 811</td>
<td>10 704</td>
<td>20 515</td>
<td>20 380</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kleinzee</td>
<td>1 627</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>2 374</td>
<td>957</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koingnaas</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondeklop Bay</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vioolsdrif</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggeneys</td>
<td>1 903</td>
<td>1 132</td>
<td>3 035</td>
<td>1 560</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spektakel</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Bay</td>
<td>1 934</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>2 630</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>1 207</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepelsfontein</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Farms</td>
<td>2 681</td>
<td>1 857</td>
<td>4 538</td>
<td>3 297</td>
<td>1 201</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9 485</td>
<td>5 423</td>
<td>14 908</td>
<td>8 409</td>
<td>4 170</td>
<td>2 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rural Total</strong></td>
<td>19 296</td>
<td>16 127</td>
<td>35 423</td>
<td>28 789</td>
<td>4 305</td>
<td>2 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Total</strong></td>
<td>12 155</td>
<td>12 656</td>
<td>24 811</td>
<td>19 572</td>
<td>4 696</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>31 451</td>
<td>28 783</td>
<td>60 234</td>
<td>48 361</td>
<td>9 001</td>
<td>2 872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Note: Enumeration technique not defined.
Table 3: Urban - Rural Distribution by Race - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>CRA</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>48 361</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9 001</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 872</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60 234</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from Table 2.

Information relating to the group classified 'Indian' in the census has been excluded as their number is so small (8 in 1985 and 13 in 1980) as to be insignificant.

The black population is small representing only 5% of total population (see Table 3). This may be partly explained by the fact that until October 1984, the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP) was applicable in Namakaland. Its implementation in Namakaland restricted blacks resident in the area mainly to contract labour in the copper or diamond industry. Most of them were resident in mining hostels near Kleinzee, Alexander Bay, Carolusberg and Aggeneys (see Map 2). In 1980 approximately 77% of the local black population were Xhosa speaking, i.e. migrants from the Ciskei and Transkei.

The remaining 15% of the population consists of whites, of whom half are resident in urban areas (see Table 3).

In Table 4 the changing structure of Namakaland's population is shown. Leaving aside possible fluctuations due to census inaccuracies, the breakdown clearly shows the effect of the CLPP as well as the gradual exodus of whites, leaving the coloured group as the increasingly dominant group in the area. The table also reveals the rising trend in urbanisation, which would in fact have been even more distinct, if the migrants accommodated near some of the mines in rural areas (e.g. Kleinzee, Alexander Bay) were not classified 'rural'.
Table 4: Changing Population Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Coloured %</th>
<th>White %</th>
<th>Black %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Census figures.
2. Divisional Council figures.

: Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

5.1.3 Sexual and Age Composition

If we look at each race category for 1985, the male:female spread is even (i.e. 50%) except in the case of the black population where males predominate significantly (i.e. 99%) due to the migrant labour system on the mines. The age distribution of Namaqualand's population indicates that the community is relatively young with only 20% of the total population over the age of 45. No less than 50% of coloured people are below the age of 20 which is in sharp contrast to the proportion amongst whites (36%) and blacks (2%).

5.2 Educational Trends

The educational level of the population is low with 57% of the total population having 'some' education, though not higher than Standard 6, and 24% of the population having none. With 54% of the population (32 314) above the age of 20 it is unlikely that the educational levels will improve significantly. The general low level can be explained by the fact that, according to the 1985 census, 87% of the coloured population and 91% of the
black population have no education, or have not been educated further than the Standard 6 level. In contrast 54% of the white population obtained at least Standard 7 or higher. 14

A suggested reason for the low level of educational status of the coloured population is that in 1985 there were only 5 secondary schools (state and state aided non primary schools) serving 5 843 pupils in the Springbok district. As a result schools are overpopulated (1 169 pupils per school in 1985) and the pupil teacher ratio is at a high rate 29:1. The 100 state and state aided primary schools catered for 18 447 pupils, i.e. about 184 pupils per school and 25 pupils per teacher. 15 An additional factor which may explain the low education status is that the secondary schools are not distributed throughout the area but concentrated in the Springbok area, and as a result distance and cost may prevent attendance.

5.3 Employment Trends

5.3.1 Manpower and Labour Supply 16

From Table 5 it is evident that Namaqualand's manpower and labour supply expressed as a percentage of total population do not differ significantly from the RSA and the Cape Peninsula (as revealed by the 1985 Census). The one exception being the black population whose figures in both cases are significantly higher, this is explained by the fact that most blacks are only in Namaqualand by virtue of the fact that they are migrant workers (i.e. a permanent resident black population is virtually non-existent).
Table 5: Population, Manpower and Labour Supply - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985 Population</td>
<td>47 454</td>
<td>9 187</td>
<td>2 885</td>
<td>59 526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manpower:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13 204</td>
<td>2 909</td>
<td>2 841</td>
<td>18 954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13 513</td>
<td>2 888</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16 420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 717</td>
<td>5 797</td>
<td>2 860</td>
<td>35 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pop.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S.A.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Supply:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10 823</td>
<td>2 668</td>
<td>2 844</td>
<td>16 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4 675</td>
<td>1 066</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5 748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 498</td>
<td>3 734</td>
<td>2 851</td>
<td>22 083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total pop.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S.A.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFPR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.S.A.</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. LFPR refers to the labour force participation rate which is calculated as follows:
   \[ \text{Labour Supply} \div \text{Manpower} \]

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

3. Cape refers to Cape Peninsula.


5.3.2 Sexual Composition of Manpower and Labour Supply

The predominance of males in the manpower (54%) and labour supply (74%) may be explained by the fact that most blacks in Namaqualand are male migrants and the figures may thus be distorted. If one abstracts the black population from these figures one finds that the proportion of males in the manpower (50%) is more closely related to the figures for the Peninsula (48%) and South Africa as a whole (50%). As regards labour supply, male predominance (70%) is still higher than for the other two areas (59% for the Peninsula and 63% for South Africa) and may be explained by the fact that few employment opportunities exist for women in Namaqualand (particularly coloured women) as well as a desire for leisure and household commitments.
5.3.3 Industry and Occupational Distribution

It is evident from Table 6 that five sectors (mining, construction, community services, agriculture and commerce) accounted for 85% of the economically active population. The mining sector alone accounts for 40% of Namaqualand's economically active population. The high proportion of economically active involved in the service industries may be explained by the fact that many whites and coloured are employed as teachers, civil servants, nurses, doctors, etc. The low proportion of economically active population involved in construction (6%), in agriculture (12%) and commerce (9%) suggests that these three sectors are not major employment generators. Construction, agriculture and mining are insecure forms of employment as they are prone to cyclical changes in the macro-economy.

Namaqualand's dependence on mining is illustrated by the fact that 29% of the economically active population are involved in mining (see Table 7). Very little employment is generated in professional, administrative and clerical occupations (19% of the economically active population occupies these three sectors.

Table 6: Distribution of Economically Active Population by Industry and Race - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and Water</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Catering and</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing &amp; Real Estate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Classifiable</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>15 498</td>
<td>3 734</td>
<td>2 851</td>
<td>22 083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

.. Indicates less than 0.5%.

Table 7: Distribution of Economically Active Population by Occupation and Race - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional &amp; Technical Worker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative &amp; Managerial Worker</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Worker</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm &amp; Factory Worker</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Classifiable</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>15 498</td>
<td>3 734</td>
<td>2 851</td>
<td>22 083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. .. Indicates less than 0.5%


5.4 Income Status

No income data is available for 1985 but from the 1980 Census it is evident that low levels of income are dominant in Namaqualand, particularly amongst the black and coloured population with 91% and 74% respectively earning R200 or less per month in 1980 (see Table 8). In the case of the coloureds 64% of the population is dependent on income generated by the remaining 36% of the population (see Table 9).

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

The weighted average income for the coloured population in 1980 is R149
per month. At least 49% of the population earned less than this. When one compares this with the HSL\(^{17}\) for 1980 for South Africa of approximately R224, one can begin to obtain a picture of the abject poverty in Namaqualand.

Table 8: Income Distribution by Race Group - 1980\(^1\)

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

1. Those not earning income have been excluded and the distribution is expressed as a percentage of total income earners.
2. .. indicates less than 0,5%.

**Source:** Department of Statistics. Income by Statistical Region and District. Report No. 02-80-09.
Table 9: Earners and Non-Earners - 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Earners</th>
<th>Non-Earners</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49 438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5 571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66 403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.5 Housing

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

5.5.1 Coloured Rural Areas (CRA)

The majority of the houses in the six CRA (54%) are classified as sub-standard. The Divisional Council in classifying a house as standard or sub-standard considers whether ventilation, light and living space is sufficient, i.e. the classification refers to construction rather than to facilities (water, electricity or a toilet system). From Table 10 it is evident that the variation in each area is significant, in Concordia 72% are classified standard whereas in Kommas 55% are and in Richtersveld only 36%. Many inhabitants reside in 'sinkhuise' and 'matjeshuisie'. Matjeshuise are particularly evident in Steinkopf and in many instances are used as cooking areas.

Redlinghuis' survey in 1979 revealed that houses are small, containing only a bedroom, kitchen and outside toilet. The degree of overcrowding resulting from the above becomes evident when one looks at Table 10 which shows that most households exceed five persons.
Table 10: Housing - 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Number of Houses</th>
<th>Standard %</th>
<th>Average No. of persons per household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured Rural Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinkopf</td>
<td>4836</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leliefontein</td>
<td>4469</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>2974</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kommugas</td>
<td>2895</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richtersveld</td>
<td>2703</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>1684</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>19561</td>
<td>3861</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Divisional Council Areas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'okiep</td>
<td>4251</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nababeep</td>
<td>4026</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Nolloth</td>
<td>2605</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggeneys</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garies</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolusberg</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vioolsdrif</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamieskroon</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondeklip Bay</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15015</td>
<td>2948</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1. Health Inspector for the CRA - Springbok.
2. Divisional Council Offices - Springbok.

Registered occupiers in the town areas of the CRA are able to purchase the property on which their house presently stands or land on which a house can be built. This is covered in more detail in Section 7.2.1.1.

Only 14% of the households in the CRA have water in the house. The majority of the others are dependent on central taps (33%) or taps on their property (45%). Eighteen per cent of the households have no piped water distribution and are dependent on boreholes, etc. Similarly,
only 4% of the households in the CRA have internal flush toilets; the majority have buckets on the property or in their area.

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

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

5.5.2 Divisional Council Areas

Housing structures in these areas appear to be worse than those in the CRA, with 72% of the houses classified as sub-standard, as with the CRAs variation is significant (see Table 10). Household size is again five or more persons. No information regarding the size of houses was obtained. Of the households in these areas 55% have water in their houses or on their properties - with 45% of them making use of central taps, boreholes, tanks etc. No water distribution exists in Vioolsdrift. Of the households 46% have flush toilets (in the house, on the property or for the community) and 46% make use of the bucket system - the remaining 8% have no toilet available to them.

5.5.3 Company Property

In the areas in which mines operate family housing is provided to some but not all coloured employees and single quarters to black migrant labourers. At the De Beers Namaqualand mines, O.C.C. and Black Mountain, employees are provided with housing at a nominal rent.
Of the 842 houses (387 coloured, 455 whites) owned by O.C.C. in O'okiep and Nababeep - 69% (585) are occupied by employees (363 by coloureds, 222 by whites), 9% by pensioners and the remainder (22%) are leased or vacant.

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

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

Married employees (white and coloured) are housed in houses in well developed villages. 300 houses, park homes and flats are available for white employees and 237 houses for coloured employees. Houses are allocated according to the seniority of the person concerned (it was not made clear whether seniority was measured in terms of age or job). An exception may be made if the family has more than four children. House rental is nominal, electric cookers and air conditioners are supplied in all houses and a refrigerator in coloured houses. In addition coloured employees may rent the balance of the furniture at a nominal rate (R5,00 per month in 1982). Black and coloured employees housed on a single basis are given accommodation and food at no charge. There are 170 rooms available for the former and 116 rooms for the latter (36 of these are females, the remaining 80 are for male employees).

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

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

A significant number of people have links with the church but only 40% are actively involved. The church is perceived as playing an important role, but as a welfare organisation as opposed to an initiator of community development.

The absence of recreational facilities is ascribed to the fact that:

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

The high unemployment rate has many direct consequences - one being cash-flow problems. These problems force people to purchase goods on credit which are generally 10-20% higher than cash purchases. This is further exacerbated by the fact that in Namaqualand prices are already significantly higher than in most metropolitan centres. Irregularities concerning receipt of pensions were reported, e.g. shopkeepers holding pension books, collecting the pension and retaining a substantial amount of it to cover the purchaser's account, and farmers employing pensioners and paying their pension as a salary. However, it was generally not possible to confirm the validity of such reports. Uncertainty as to income (due to high unemployment and dependence on seasonal employment) and the inability to manage money may have caused these cash flow problems.
Other social problems that are common and effect a large number of people include alcoholism, marital problems and the predominance of unmarried mothers. In many of the latter cases, the children become the responsibility of the grandparents with the mother being employed or seeking work elsewhere. Many mothers appear to be in their late teens. Demands for maintenance from the father are seldom successful as positive identification of the father is difficult.

Amongst children, the rate of mental retardation was high. Reasons given for this included inbreeding, malnutrition and poor medical facilities for the delivery of children and for post-natal care. Child health is examined in more depth in the following section.

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

5.7 Health and Health Care Facilities

In 1981 a health profile of the area was developed by the Institute of Child Health and various individuals by assessing the health status of 528 school entrants (children registered in their first year at primary school) in the Nababeep, O'icketp and Springbok triangle. Dental caries and respiratory problems appeared to be the commonest health problem whereas the most severe appeared to be malnutrition in its acute and chronic forms. This was evidenced by the number of malnourished (52%) and mentally retarded children (38%). By 1985 it appeared as if the situation had not changed with Operation Hunger reporting that 51% of the school children in the triangle were suffering from first degree malnutrition" (Cape Times, 4 July 1985).

The severity of the problem is envisaged when one considers that in 1981 the feeding scheme (for primary school children) catered for 5 500 children, by 1985 it had reached 8 875 and today (March 1988) 12 000 children are fed per day.

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

A visit to Namaqualand by the Child Health Unit in 1984 yielded evidence of some chronic illnesses (such as rheumatic and other heart diseases, cerebral palsy and other development problems) but the lack of clinical facilities and the cost of transportation to the major centres inhibits servicing these diseases. From Leliefontein, a trip to the general practitioner in Springbok or Garies takes approximately four hours (round trip) and the transport cost ranges from R45-R60 depending on the distance travelled.

The CRA do have clinics which provide a nurse and basic health services, and doctors do visit the area though on an irregular basis. Health care facilities do exist but substantial sums of money are often required to make use of them compared with the use of facilities at home, for example in 1984 a hospital delivery by a G.P. in Garies cost R173 as opposed to a home delivery by a registered midwife for R20. There are public hospitals in Garies, Port Nolloth and Springbok and mine hospitals at Kleinzee (54 beds), Nababeep (85 beds), Aggeneys (22 beds) - though it is not clear whether the latter are available only to mine employees. The health inspector for the CRA gave the following as some of the major causes of death in the rural areas: heart disease, cancer, pneumonia, gastro-enteritis, and tuberculosis.

At present an old age home exists in Steinkopf and plans are under way to convert the Santa clinic in Bergsig (a coloured township on the outskirts of Springbok) into an old age home that will house approximately 98 people (8 flats, 70 mobile elderly people and 12 geriatrics) at a cost of two-thirds of their pension - the rest to be subsidised by the state. It is anticipated that a total of 22 people will be employed in the old age home (which will be run under the auspices of the Methodist Homes for the Aged).
6. CONTEMPORARY NAMAQUALAND: MAIN ECONOMIC SECTORS

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

6.1 The Regional Economy

The economic base of Namaqualand has been linked to mining since the discovery of diamonds (1926) and copper (1852). There appears to be little diversification, with mining remaining the dominant activity, despite metal price fluctuations and the fact that its contribution to GGP has decreased significantly in the five year period 1978-1983 (i.e. from 85% to 67%). As a result of the community's dependence on mining (40% of Namaqualand's economically active population are employed in the mining sector) significant unemployment and impoverishment result in periods of decline (see Section 5.3.3).

Abstracting from mining's contribution to GGP a clearer picture emerges of major sectors in the economy. From Table 11 we can identify the following: agriculture, commerce, general government, and to a lesser extent, construction and transport. Agriculture, commerce and general government's contribution to GGP in 1978 and 1983 and remuneration in 1978 was less than 50% (see Table 11).

It is clear from Table 12 that mining underwent significant growth in the three year period, 1975-1978, its annual growth rate being 27.4%. In addition it was the major contributor to the growth evident in GGP (i.e. 21.7% for the same period). Since 1978, however, GGP has declined significantly (at an annual rate of 14.4%) this has occurred as a result of the declining agricultural growth rate (-7.5%) and that of the mining sector (-18.6%). Explanations for these declining growth rates are looked at in Section 6.4 and Section 6.3 respectively. It is worth noting that remuneration to mining had a negative growth rate in the period 1975-1978 despite the positive GGP growth rate. Two other sectors showed a positive remuneration growth rate (general government and agriculture) although the remuneration growth rate for Namaqualand as a whole was negative.
Table 11: Sectoral Distribution of GGP and Remuneration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1978 GGP</th>
<th>1978 Remuneration</th>
<th>1983 GGP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas &amp; Water</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Catering &amp; Accommodation</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financing &amp; Real Estate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Government</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R'0002</td>
<td>35702</td>
<td>21728</td>
<td>72576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. .. indicates less than 0.5%.
2. GGP is given at nominal values.


Table 12: GGP and Remuneration Growth Rates\(^22\) for Key Sectors 1975-1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Average Annual Growth Rate 1975-1978</th>
<th>1978-1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GGP %</td>
<td>Remuneration %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>-6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce, Catering &amp; Accommodation</td>
<td>-4.0</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Communication</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Government</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: As per Table 11.

In 1983 Namaqualand's GGP (R217 994 000) as a percentage of National GGP was small (0,2%) and GGP per capita was low (R3561,82)\(^23\). Remuneration figures for 1983 were not available but the 1978 data shows that remuneration was low i.e. only 19% of GGP and R788,62 per person.\(^24\)
We proceed in the sub-sections that follow to provide a rudimentary picture of commerce and general government and a detailed analysis of mining and agriculture.

6.2 Commerce and General Government

The Namaqualand telephone directory, data on business licences issued and papers presented at a conference at the University of the Western Cape in 1979, allow us to establish a rudimentary picture of economic activity in the area (apart from mining and agriculture). From Table 13 it is evident that small businesses are predominant amongst Namaqualand's non-mining activities.

Table 13: Economic Activity in Namaqualand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small Businesses</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Departments</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Government Organisations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Includes state and state-aided schools (see Appendix F).
3. Includes airways, banks and building societies (see Appendix F).


A breakdown of the business licences issued by the Namaqualand municipality was not available, however a breakdown of the licences issued by the Namaqualand Divisional Council was made available and this shows clearly that little specialisation occurs with 55% being 'General Dealerships' (see Appendix G). It is also evident that little commercial activity takes place in the rural areas with 71% of the licences being issued in the urban areas.

A number of government departments are present in Namaqualand ranging from the army to schools to the municipality. A list of the departments present, as stated earlier, was compiled from the Karoo and Namaqualand telephone
directory and may not be entirely accurate (see Appendix F). Non-government economic activity in Namaqualand includes financial institutions, schools, churches, general practitioners, lawyers, accountants, etc. Only the financial institutions and schools are reflected in Table 13.

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

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

6.3 Mining in Namaqualand

6.3.1 Namaqualand's Minor Mineral Resources

A fairly wide variety of minerals occur in Namaqualand. Some of these have been or are in the process of being exploited to a large extent, e.g. diamonds and copper. In addition to these large deposits, Namaqualand has other minerals which occur in small quantities mainly in the Pegmatite Belt. This extends from beyond Goodhouse (in the east) to Groendocrn (in the west) and lies approximately 100 kilometres north of Springbok, mainly within the Steinkopf area. The Blesberg Pegmatite is the largest and best known mineralised pegmatite and has been in continuous production since 1951. The quantity and variety of minerals that have been produced from here has fluctuated due to changing market periods. Minerals that have been produced in sizeable quantities include beryl (most of the beryl produced in South Africa comes from here), spodumene, muscovite, tantalite, columbite, bismuth and feldspar.
Numerous other minerals, which are used by modern industry, have been recovered in smaller quantities from the Namaqualand Pegmatite Belt. Although they yield adequate returns for individual prospectors, exploitation by companies may for many reasons (e.g. mineral distribution is erratic) not be economical.

Most of the mining operations in the Pegmatite Belt range in size from one man operations to small mining companies with limited capital. As at March 1986 the Mining Commissioners Office, in Springbok had issued the following:

1) Valid prospecting leases 49
2) Valid prospecting permits 3 175
3) Transport permits 42
4) Mining leases 46

Data contained in 2) relates to permits and not claims - the number of claims would be higher (each person is entitled to ten claims per permit). In some instances a prospector may contract out some of his claims.

The mining commissioner suggests that the number of transport permits is significantly lower than the number of permits and leases issued (3 224 in total - (1 + 2 added)) as low metal/mineral prices, transport (inadequate and expensive), lack of water and other facilities make commercial prospecting difficult and unprofitable. Many permit/lease holders may retain their claim only working it when prices make it more profitable. As a result mining is characterised by intense periods linked to high prices separated by periods of small scale activity and lower prices.

There are four minor mining activities which are worth mentioning:

1) George E. Swanson Enterprises (Pty) Ltd. is a large mineral trading organisation headquartered in Springbok. It is the only outlet at which prospectors can sell minerals removed from their claims. Other aspects of their work include exploration programmes for mineral commodities (e.g. uranium, tungsten, diamonds - sea and alluvial), consulting, gemstone manufacture and land development.

2) Black Mountain Mineral Development Company (Pty) Ltd. is a joint venture between Phelps Dodge of America and Gold Fields of South Africa (who have a 51% interest). Copper, lead and zinc concentrates are obtained from three mineralised areas in the vicinity of Aggeneys (see Map 2). No production figures were obtained but the concentrator is designed to
process 1 125 000 tons of copper, lead, zinc ore per year (3 384 tons per day). In 1982 Black Mountain Development employed 1 527 people (30% being coloured, 18% being white and 52% black).

3) The Trans Hex Group (a Rembrandt subsidiary) is involved in diamond mining in Namakuland — its activities include exploration and mining. Employment at Trans Hex's Namakuland mines in February 1986 totalled 565 (88% being coloured and 12% being white. No blacks are employed). No production data for 1987 was available. In 1981 87 958 carats were recovered.

4) In 1977 a validation study of a zinc deposit at Gamsberg (80 kilometres from O'okiep in the Northern Cape) was begun. The project was expected to cost R170 million and yield an output of 350 000 tons of zinc concentrates a year. The project owned by Anglo American Corporation (45%) and by Newmont Mining and O'okiep Copper (27.5% each) was deferred in 1978 due to the depressed state of the zinc market. Viability studies (based on world-wide zinc production costs) showed that the mine would be competitive but as costs were high and vulnerable to further increases it was decided to put the project 'on ice' until the zinc market was strengthened.

6.3.2 Major Mining Activities

6.3.2.1 Copper Production and Employment

The O'okiep copper district covers an area of 15 000 km² and includes the township of Springbok and the mining centres of Nababeep, O'okiep and Carolusberg. Within this area 22 mines have been found containing from half a million tons to 15 million tons of ore. A number of smaller deposits have also been mined. Two mills (situated at Carolusberg and Spektakel) and a smelter (at Nababeep) are operated by O.C.C. In addition to handling concentrates from the company's two mills, the smelter treats concentrates from Otjihose Mine (Tsumeb Corporation Limited). The molten copper is cast into bars of blister copper each weighing 850 - 900 kilograms. The bars are sent by road to Bitterfontein, from there to Cape Town by rail and then exported overseas.

Historically the O.C.C. has been one of the Republic's most important producers of copper ore, though production has fluctuated considerably.
An expedition organised by Van der Stel in 1685 located the copper mountains in Namaqualand, and sunk prospect shafts which yielded large quantities of rich ore. It was only some 200 years later before the mines were worked. Until then primitive transport and copper’s limited market value made exploration unprofitable. By 1932 some 299 000 tons of copper metal had been produced in the O'okiep copper district, with 20% of this coming from O'okiep alone. The recession in the 1930s caused operations to cease and production by the O.C.C. only commenced again in 1940.

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

In 1969 it was anticipated that at existing production rates, the mines had a remaining life of ten years, but mining continued in the area some 18 years later. A mining official consulted would not disclose future production possibilities but did mention that in 1983 it was thought that Spektakel mine would close, exploration yielded more ore bodies and the mine stayed open. Copper resources are said to be infinite, with those at Carolusberg (the deep ore mine) relatively untouched, the future of copper mining therefore depends on metal prices and the rand-dollar value rather than production capacity.

Historical employment data is plotted on Graph 1, which shows clearly the fluctuations in employment, with major reductions taking place from 1970 onwards. In the 14 years period, 1970-1984, the size of the labour force decreased by 57% (from 5 108 employees to 2 183). The prime cause of the retrenchments appears to have been low metal prices. In 1977 when closure of two of O.C.C.'s six mines resulted in the retrenchment of approximately 34% of the mining force, the general manager of the company, Mr. T.P. Philip stated, 'The price of copper on the international market is the all determining factor, and with it as low as it is there is no alternative but to pay off part of our working force' (Cape Times, 4 July 1977). Sharp and West (1984) suggest that retrenchments may also have been necessitated by local technical difficulties experienced in exploiting profitable
copper deposits and the large development costs required to reach these ore bodies (i.e. the need for a smaller labour force which is trained to operate in an increasingly mechanised industry has arisen).

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

(i) African migrants were repatriated to the Transkei as their contracts expired.

(ii) White and coloured employees were forced out of the district altogether to seek alternative employment and housing.

(iii) It was anticipated that commerce and business in Springbok would be adversely affected as the monthly wage bill of the retrenched miners 'has always been the oil on the wheels of Namaqualand's business'. In addition the remaining employed miners 'will spend as little as possible and further heighten our economic crisis because of widespread insecurity'. (Cape Times, 4 July 1977).

The latter point resulted in an action committee comprising miners, businessmen, government officials and churchmen being formed. The committee hoped to hold meetings with potential employees and to persuade them to absorb retrenched miners and thus prevent an exodus of Namaqualand's population and the 'inevitable economic crisis Namaqualand would face' (Cape Times, 5 July 1977).

Many white miners received alternative offers of employment as a result the real source of the committee's concern was the re-employment and future of coloured miners. The degree to which the committee was successful is unknown, but by September 1977 it was largely inactive and a charity sub-committee was providing assistance to families in need.

From Table 14 it is evident that, as Sharp and West (1984) illustrated, a change in racial composition of the labour force accompanied these retrenchments. The total complement had been reduced but coloured workers were substituted for black migrants and whites.
Graph 1  O.C.C. Employment 1946 - 1984

1) No data was obtained for 1953 and it has thus been excluded from the graph.
Table 14: Racial Composition of O.C.C. Labour Force 1946-1985

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

Source: O.C.C. Unpublished figures.

A major brake on this process of substitution was the representation of white wage workers by the Mine Workers Union (MWU). The union's influence was reduced in 1977 following an illegal strike which was regarded as part of the MWU's national campaign for the retention of job reservation. Today the union is still operating and is exclusively white with a membership of approximately 150 (in 1974 it was approximately 750).

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

In June 1982, in terms of a Finance Bill published in Cape Town, the government became guarantee to a R40 million loan raised by O.C.C. with Barclays Bank. The loan was to be used to develop an ore body at Carolusberg, which would extend the life of O.C.C. by a further ten or twelve years. It was reputed that government intervention was linked to the importance of copper mining for social and economic stability in the O'okiep-Nababeep area. Had the government not passed the legislation O.C.C. would have had to close its mines entirely by 1985 (Argus, 3 June 1982).
The vulnerability of Namaqualand's copper mining community was demonstrated when in 1983, despite government intervention in 1982, further retrenchments were announced by O.C.C. The intended retrenchment of 1,000 to 1,500 workers by the end of 1984 was part of a series of austerity moves due to the depressed state of the world copper market which caused the company to sustain losses. It is not known whether the predicted retrenchment took place as by mid-1984 plans were underway for Gold Fields of South Africa to take over the mine following restructuring of the O'okiep debt.28

The employment figures obtained for 1984 suggest that 672 workers (as opposed to the planned 1,000–1,500) were retrenched. A company official suggested that retrenchment by O.C.C. (under Newmont Mining) may have occurred in the 1983/1984 period and with the Gold Fields take over workers were reinstated bringing employment to the 1984 figure of approximately 2,183. Previous employment policy (under Newmont Mining) involved retrenchment when prices were low and re-employment if metal prices increased (necessitating a production increase). Under Gold Fields the policy is said to be one of maintaining a constant labour force, increasing productivity if prices are high (i.e. increased shifts) and vice versa.

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

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

Despite the positive aspects (i.e. iii and iv) of a small and predominantly coloured labour force, copper remains an insecure employment opportunity.

In 1982 when the R40 million loan was obtained by O.C.C. it was stated that the legislation and loan had averted an economic disaster in Namaqualand. Two years later O.C.C. was once again bailed out, this time by a
55

major mining house: The question one must ask is, "does this lead to economic and social stability or is it not time to reduce the population's dependence on the copper industry by allowing it to collapse and simultaneously use the skills we possess to assist the Namaqualand community in identifying their needs and resources and to develop these resources so as to facilitate long term development and elimination of impoverishment?". In Section 7 we identify major constraints to development, we analyse these in detail, and suggest ways to reduce their inhibiting effect. It is only once these constraints are removed that one can begin to talk about development, dignity, initiative and responsibility.

6.3.2.2 Diamond Mining

The West Coast diamond mining area consists of four parts, in this Section we examine in detail the activities of two parts, namely State Alluvial Diggings (SAD) and De Beers' Namaqualand Mines Division. Smaller companies and private individuals prospect in this area but as their contribution is minor they were excluded or covered in Section 6.3.3.

(1) Production

The Namaqualand Mines Division consists of three complexes (the Buffels-marine, Buffels-inland and Koingnaas complexes). Operations at the Buffels-marine complex began in the late 1920s and those at Koingnaas some 40 years later (late 1960s). The declining importance of the Buffels-marine complex to De Beers output and the growth of the Koingnaas complex is evident when one considers that the former accounted for 61% of the output and the latter for 38% in 1979, whereas in 1986 the former accounted for 29% and the latter for 68%.

Table 15 outlines total combined production of the two major companies for the 15 year period 1970-1985 and in addition reflects each individual company's contribution to the total combined production, while Table 16 reflects the two companies contribution to Namaqualand's diamond output.

From Table 15 it is evident that production has fluctuated significantly over the years. The combined output of De Beers and SAD has increased by 16% (140 519 carats) over the 15 years. Production reached a peak in 1979 with the De Beers mines accounting for 87% of Namaqualand's output (see Table 16) and the Namaqualand mines accounting for 23% of South Africa's output.29
Table 15: Diamond Production - De Beers and SAD 1970-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>De Beers¹ %</th>
<th>SAD² %</th>
<th>Total³ carats recovered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>878 574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>715 974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>654 570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>730 683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>972 069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1 115 667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1 209 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 359 379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 397 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 839 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 573 376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 339 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1 088 704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1 022 969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 019 866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 019 093</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 16: Percentage Output Contributed by De Beers and SAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Companies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Beers %</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD %</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Namaqualand %</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Namaqualand (carats)</td>
<td>1689385</td>
<td>1945042</td>
<td>1291252</td>
<td>1301783</td>
<td>119736</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: As per Table 15.


It is clear from both tables that De Beers are the major diamond producers in the area, though their contribution to Namaqualand's output and that of South Africa has shown a significant decline since 1979. These fluctuations can be attributed to various factors, the major ones being the world market price of diamonds and the average stone size. These two factors appear to be interrelated, i.e. when the average stone size is small, the price is low.

To increase the average size of stones, production is sometimes reduced as was the case with De Beers in 1970, 1971 and 1972 when output was decreased at three mines. Since then and up until 1979 De Beers production increased rapidly.

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

(i) low grade areas were being mined and hence less carats were recovered;
(ii) lower world market prices in 1981 lead to the closure of a mine (only in operation for one year). In addition production was reduced at numerous mines.
(iii) In 1982 an additional mine was closed for rehabilitation. Since the reopening of two mines (closed in 1981 and 1982) in 1983 production has increased by 4%.
Little information is available about SAD's production trends. By 1979 these diggings had been in operation for 50 years and efforts had to be made to prevent 'over-mining' of profitable areas at the expense of the eventual life and future export earnings of the mines. In addition SAD wanted to be in a position to expand production, 'with no delay, as diamond prices increased. To facilitate this, machinery was replaced and workshop equipment and space expanded. To raise and administer funds for new equipment the state (i.e. the Treasury) approved the establishment of a 'trading account' for the diggings, effective from 1st April 1980. The trading account removed the Diggings' Boards' responsibility for this task. In addition an expansion programme of R20 million per year in 1980 and 1981 was supposed to open up marginal recovery areas.

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

(ii) Employment

Employment figures shown in Table 17 for SAD are annual averages and thus do not accurately reflect fluctuations. Despite the production decrease over the 15 year period, employment increased though not significantly. Most remarkable about the trends shown in Table 17 is the constant racial composition of the labour force, suggesting a rigid enforcement of racial job categories.

The decline in employment from 1 784 employees in 1974 to an all-time low of 1 608 employees in 1977 may be explained by the closure of operations at Buchuberg, and increased mechanisation of sweeping operations. Between 1975 and 1977 production actually increased despite decreased employment. The Department of Mines attributes this to the implementation of additional shifts.

Over all its years of operation the Diggings has experienced a shortage of qualified white artisans. This has happened even though they operate a local training centre which provides training in seven areas for approximately 50 artisans with about ten qualifying annually.
Until 1980 there were no training facilities for black and coloured employees. The majority of black employees are recruited from Transkei and employed on a contract basis. In its 1980 Report the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs puts the re-employment rate at 90%.

Table 17: Employment at SAD - 1970-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>1686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>1745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>1784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>1666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>1751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>1816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1053</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


No historical employment data is available for De Beers Namaqualand Mines Division. An information booklet made available in 1986 states that during full production the company employs 3 600 people with approximately 750 employed at the Koingnaas complex and the remainder at Buffels-marine and Buffels-inland complexes.
The history of Namaqualand agriculture is one of drought and isolation. The farmer and agricultural expert face a range of problems, not the least of such problems is transport and communications (see Section 2.3.2). The most pressing problem facing farmers in Namaqualand is insufficient water and it is probably the most serious limiting factor in agricultural expansion. This factor has prevented provision of sufficient stock watering points, which in turn has made grazing control methods based on a system of fenced camps virtually impossible. In addition serious problems are encountered with grazing scarcity. The nature of the climate and vegetation are such that most of the area can only be successfully devoted to extensive small stock farming provided precautionary drought measures are taken.

Drought farming is thus a way of life in Namaqualand and its inhabitants have adapted to the increasing severity of the situation in a number of ways (e.g. karakul pelt production was increased and wool production decreased and cash crops were replaced with stockfeed). An indication of the severity of the drought and veld deterioration from overgrazing is the limited ability of the land to support dense concentration of stock i.e. a reduction in its carrying capacity. In the space of ten years the carrying capacity of land in Namaqualand has been reduced by half, (i.e. from 5.70 ha. in 1974 to 10.34 ha. in 1984) - this has two probable consequences; increasing farm size and reduction in stock. The latter did occur in Namaqualand with livestock decreasing by 44% (from 804 786 to 448 530) in the ten year period 1974-1984.

6.4.1 Crop Production

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

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

At no point in time did the area planted to agricultural crops represent more than one percent of the total area designated as farmland (in 1981 the percentage area planted was 0.5%). In addition yields are insignificant (less than one ton per hectare) in every year for which data is available. This seems to suggest that the population cannot rely on agriculture alone as an income source and employment generator.

No sales statistics are given in the 1981 census and sales data was thus drawn from the 1978 census which reveals that the 'average' net income generated by Namaqualand farmers in that year was R1 929,35 (R3 196 in 1984 prices),36 which lends support to the suggestion made above that agriculture alone is insufficient to provide even a subsistence income for most farming families. In addition it has been shown in Section 6.1 that agriculture's contribution to GDP in 1978 was not significant (only 3%). In making this comment it is also necessary to point out that data obtained from one year is not sufficient to draw a firm conclusion and we must also note that in 1978 Namaqualand was in the midst of a drought and this may explain the low average.

In 1978 livestock and poultry represented a significant proportion of sales value (87%) while crops and horticulture were minor contributors,37 and it was evident that smaller farms appeared to be more productive (in terms of average sales value per hectare) as opposed to the larger units.38

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

For the census years studied very few actually recorded employment and remuneration and appeared to begin doing so only from 1952/3. Although data is limited we can formulate a historical and current (1981) picture of farm employment in Namaqualand.

From Table 18 it appears that for the 28 year period, total farm employment increased at an annual rate of 1.1% though average employment per farm remained low and relatively constant despite the fact that average farm size has decreased and the negative effect years of drought may have had on the economic viability of agriculture. The positive employment growth rate appears out of keeping with the tendencies in the rest of the country where the absolute level of farm employment (and hence the growth rate) has declined. This discrepancy may be explained on one hand by the fact that farming techniques in Namaqualand are not yet as capital intensive as other parts of South Africa. It is not within the scope of this paper to investigate the discrepancy and it is sufficient merely to note that employment opportunities in agriculture are extremely limited. The limited employment opportunities in agriculture can be seen more clearly when one considers that in this vast area in 1981 only 44% of the farm labour force was employed on a regular basis (i.e. on average only three employees per farm had steady employment). Even though percentage changes in the racial composition of the labour force (see Table 18) are large, insignificant numbers of people are involved and as a result the percentage changes should not be viewed as major structural changes.

As far as regular employees are concerned the average annual wage (see Table 19) for the year (with the exception of white labourers) is low, especially when one considers the household subsistence level of R231 per month (i.e. R2 772 per year) for 'coloured' people in Cape Town in 1981 as a guideline. It is possible that these wages may be higher and closer to the HSL if some items presently excluded, are included, e.g. housing.

Only coloureds appear to be employed as domestics on farms in Namaqualand.
Table 18: Farm Employment 1952-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farm Size</th>
<th>Farm Number</th>
<th>Employment (Total)</th>
<th>Employment per farm</th>
<th>Racial Composition¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Black %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952/3</td>
<td>8 430</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>1 837</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957/8</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>2 832</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962/3</td>
<td>8 198</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>1 292</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/8</td>
<td>7 814</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>2 457</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/3</td>
<td>6 235</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>3 201</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>6 373</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>3 082</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>6 796</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>2 499</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Expressed as a percentage of total employment.
2) Casual employment figures were not given in 1962/3 hence the low average.

Source: See footnote 40.

Table 19: Farm Remuneration and Employment - 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Employed</th>
<th>Average¹ annual total wage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>Namaqualand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 112</td>
<td>2 048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 017</td>
<td>1 905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7 782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1 653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1 278</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>1 259</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Average annual total wage was calculated as follows:
   (Wages and salaries) plus (value of rations)
   Number of employees

Source: As per Table 18.
The number of black and coloured labourers employed on a casual basis exceeds those employed on a regular basis, thus the farmer is able to incur relatively low labour costs (compare casual and regular employees' wages in Table 19). If this is the only salary casual labourers receive (i.e. they are not employed as seasonal labourers elsewhere), one wonders how they manage to support themselves let alone any family they might have. In addition it helps one to understand further why reserve inhabitants resisted the development proposals advocated in Act 24 of 1963 and why so much emphasis is placed on land as a form of security in times of insecure and poorly paid employment (see Section 7.1.4.1).

6.5 The Fishing Industry

Two centres in Namaqualand form the basis for the fishing industry - Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay (see Map 2). Four companies can be said to dominate the industry: Hicksons Canning Company, Ovenstones (Pty) Ltd., Port Nolloth Fisheries (all at Port Nolloth) and Oceana (at Hondeklip Bay). Activities at Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay are primarily concerned with rock lobster fishing and these two areas fall within what is referred to as the 'West Coast rock lobster fishery' which stretches from Saldahna Bay to the Orange River in the north.

The nature of the fishing industry, i.e. being seasonal means that 'permanent' employment is offered for only eight months (1st November - 30th June). Out of season, employees are paid an 'off season' subsistence allowance and attempts are made to provide people with employment in the factory on a fortnightly basis, e.g. maintenance, cleaning, etc. A subsistence allowance is also paid to employees during bad weather periods. Many employees are reluctant to go out if conditions are not good but they may lose this allowance if boats go out and fish are caught while they have remained at home. The consequences of this 'seasonality' are discussed in detail in Section 7.1.

6.5.1 Production and Employment

Little detailed data on production and employment within the fishing industry
is available but what has been gathered from various sources provides the reader with a historical trend. Though the employment figures are not derived from the same source they provide us with some idea of the fishing industry as an employment generator.

The early 1960s saw a boom in the fishing industry with employment increasing by approximately 106% in the three year period 1962-1965. However the boom was short-lived and the late 1960s early 1970s saw a collapse in the industry, with employment decreasing by 83% in the period 1965-1972, and by 15% from 1972-1985. In the last ten years employment has remained relatively stable (at 2 800) and with an economically active population of 22 083 in 1985 (see Table 6), the fishing industry does not offer much hope for employment.

Yet another indication of the decline in the industry is the 59% reduction in registered fishing boats in the Port Nolloth/Hondeklip Bay area in the sixteen year period 1967-1983.

As is evident in Graph 2, production of canned and frozen rock lobster at Ovenstones increased up to 1955 but was followed by a steep decline which occurred despite increased fishing efforts. Since then production by the two companies has fluctuated.

Graph 2
Rock Lobster Production 1930-1970

Source: Pollock: 3.
Initially all catches occurred in the Port Nolloth Bay itself but as catches decreased further fishing efforts were shifted from the northern to the southern grounds. By 1978/1979 84% of the harvest was south of St. Helena Bay. This trend in movement was checked by the Sea Management Association (catch restrictions were applied to certain areas) and as a result the contribution made by the southern Grounds decreased to 75% in 1981/1982. The displacement south and decline in the industry has had a depressing effect on the economy of these communities.

The parties affected significantly by the decline were the casual employees (those whose salary was tied to catch). Senior employees with their skills had opportunities to be absorbed into parent companies or find alternative employment. Even fewer options existed for migrant labourers who were bound by contracts irrespective of wages. Many requests to be withdrawn from contracts were refused. In some cases it was done to ensure there was sufficient employment if the season improved, but a long term effect companies were unaware of, took place, i.e. migrants fearing enforcement of contracts did not return to Port Nolloth. This factor led to a decline in Port Nolloth’s black population, in 1985 they constituted 2% of the population as opposed to 8% in 1968.

An additional effect of the decline has been that Hicksons and Ovenstones have decided to run their operations jointly and, in addition, pack for Port Nolloth Fisheries. As a result, by 1985, only one of the original three factories was operative, 220 people were employed and 48 vessels were used.

It seems unlikely that fishing activities in Namaqualand will increase radically. In the past measures have been introduced (many are still effective today) to facilitate a stock build up or assist the industry, e.g. closed season, minimum size limits, control over public fishing, quota’s etc., but the stocks have been depleted and the situation has not been alleviated.

A fishing company employee suggested (his personal point of view) that the decline may be partly explained by overfishing of the area (excessively large quantities were fished in the early years and as a result little remains) and damming (when the Orange River flooded into the sea, many
rock lobsters were found along the shore - today, with damming, little surface inflow into the sea occurs and the catch appears to have decreased).

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

6.6 Conclusion

From this section and the preceding four, it is clear that the most important single constraint to Namaqualand's development is the nature of the environment and the physical isolation of the region. The population is predominantly rural, relatively young and sparsely distributed over a vast area. The history of the region is one of underdevelopment for most of the population, whose location in the CRA is chiefly the result of the 'scramble' for resources in Namaqualand. There is relatively little economic diversification and the inhabitants are largely dependent, for employment, on activities that are particularly vulnerable to fluctuations caused either by the climate or by market prices. Agricultural employment is limited and land has come to be regarded as a form of security rather than as a productive asset. Notable constraints on the living standards of the population include, amongst others, lack of education and limited physical mobility, many of which lead to limited social mobility.

In the following section these and further constraints identified are categorised and a strategy outlined which addresses these constraints.
7. TOWARDS A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR NAMAIQUALAND

In this section we focus first on the development constraints, present strategies and policies are then briefly reviewed, showing major gaps as well as an overall lack of clear purpose in the strategies. Finally a three pronged strategy for the people of Namqualand is presented, indicating the major elements of each of these strategies.

7.1 Constraints to Development in Namqualand

Namaqualand’s physical isolation has inhibited the mobility and economic activity of its inhabitants. Numerous factors which have exacerbated this immobility and rendered the population vulnerable to impoverishment are identified in Table 20 under four major headings: Limitations of nature; economic constraints; socio-cultural constraints; political and institutional constraints. We discuss the consequences of some of these and expand on those that require further explanation.

7.1.1 Limitations of Nature

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

7.1.2 Economic Constraints

Fishing is by its very nature vulnerable to variations in the size of the catch and in world market conditions. Fluctuations in the world copper price and therefore production levels has made this branch of mining an insecure source of employment in the past. Only the diamond industry has been relatively stable, partly because much of its work force is involved with support functions that continue irrespective of mining activities and partly because De Beers' near monopoly has enabled it to reduce fluctuations in prices, output and employment.
Table 20: Development Constraints in Namaqualand

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

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

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

D. Political and Institutional Constraints
1. Restrictive land tenure system.
2. Racial discrimination.
3. Passive and sectional local authorities.
In addition little diversification has taken place and employees have gained few skills which are readily marketable in other industries. This reduces the possibility of obtaining employment outside of the area. Inadequate financial resources (arising from insecure and limited employment opportunities) restrict the coloured population's opportunities to improve their lifestyle or their children's education. This further reduces the likelihood of obtaining employment outside the region.

Inadequate infrastructure and physical isolation has meant:

(i) economic activity has not been attracted to the area;
(ii) current business and economic activity in Namaqualand is adversely affected, i.e. markets and urban centres are not easily accessible, transport costs are high.
(iii) Both (i) and (ii) have resulted in limited employment opportunities (85% of the economically active population is dependent on five sectors).
(iv) Consumers are adversely affected by high transport costs that are passed on as high prices. This is exacerbated by the high mark-ups needed to finance sales on credit. Access to fresh produce is limited with detrimental consequences for nutrition.
(v) Geographic mobility is inhibited.

7.1.3 Socio-cultural Constraints

The occupational immobility explained in the previous paragraph causes most coloured Namaqualanders to be locality bound. Attitudes may also contribute to immobility. Low aspirations, apathy and a reluctance to change seem typical of the area.

Given that political rights are limited, that there is little freedom from discrimination, that their ability to bargain for wages is minimal and that they are subject to a number of constraints (poor schooling, housing, little promotional scope and unencouraging long term prospects) one can begin to understand the frustration and sense of hopelessness that prevails amongst Namaqualanders.
A survey by Redlinghuis in 1979 revealed that respondents were reluctant to leave and would not encourage people to move to the area. Familiarity facilitates survival. In addition they felt that the rural areas, given the limited employment opportunities, did not hold worthwhile prospects for future generations.

Immobility may also be explained by the 'sense of community' that prevails amongst inhabitants in the CRA. The CRA represents an extreme sense of community manifested in urban localities, because, unlike the latter, the Reserve dwellers possess a formal communal title to the land they occupy, formal institutions of local government and a notion of local citizenship (burgerskap) which implies that there are juridical restrictions upon membership of the Reserve communities' (Sharpe 1977: 4). As a result the Reserve communities see themselves as advantageous as social, political and residential loci. The question one needs to ask then is, given the change in the communal land tenure and the resultant loss of land as a form of social security, will this community identity continue to prevail and thus inhibit mobility or will mobility now begin to increase?

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

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

7.1.4 Political and Institutional Constraints

7.1.4.1 Land Tenure

The development proposals (see Section 3.5) for the Namaqualand CRA embodied in the 1963 Act, (subsequently amended by the Coloured Rural Areas Act, 1979) it was argued would stimulate agricultural entrepreneurship, increase production, prevent overgrazing and soil erosion, and establish
a group of full time farmers who would use agricultural extension services and be able through individual title, to offer surety for loans to improve land. But these alone cannot justify its implementation and need to be considered against the widespread dissatisfaction and further impoverishment it has caused.

The proposals took no account of the insecurity outlined in Section 7.1.3. Sharp believes this oversight did not occur by default but was a plan to '... establish the identity of a whole group and to foster a middle class which would willingly bear this identity. The Act made provision for this middle class to gain a rural, agricultural dimension by opening access to 1.7 million hectares of land locked up in the 23 "coloured" Reserves in Africa' (Sharp 1984: 27). In effect the CRA in Namaqualand and elsewhere were being seen as Rural Group Areas where coloureds could get title to farm land and practice commercial agriculture. Most important was the division between residential and agricultural zones and the stipulation that previous commonage be made available only to bona fide farmers.

Using the definition of bona fide farmer to make a clear distinction between farmer and non-farmer has been criticized as not being very practicable in this area. For some years Namaqualand's inhabitants have been dependent on agricultural activities and unrestricted right of access to land. Sharp (1984) states that this dependence provided a medium of reciprocity which allowed people to seek and give assistance without begging. Through 'burglerskap' reserve agriculture provided a shield against increased impoverishment. It did not ensure a living income, nor did it encourage investment, but it did ensure the right to keep animals and use arable land if one chose to do so. This was particularly important if employment was insecure (i.e. land was regarded as social security).

Those community members who were not 'bona fide' farmers retained grazing rights in the villages to which commonage was attached (see Section 7.2.1) but lost sowing rights and were therefore deprived of an important and often the only income source.

D. Whittaker (a lecturer in the Department of Community Health) suggests that the dispossession and deprivation of inhabitants livelihood may lead to a deterioration in the nutritional status (referring specially to Leliefontein) of people and therefore increase illness' associated with under-nutrition.
'I recognise that this area is a fragile environment and that sound management of the area is ecologically imperative. I understand that overgrazing must be checked and the resources of this area must be conserved by judicious management. But I would urge that the commission explore all possible ways of protecting Leliefontein which will not impoverish those people who depend on it for their survival' (Submission to the Commission of Inquiry into the Leliefontein Area - Namaqualand: letter dated 6 October 1986).

To qualify to rent a unit significant assets or large herds were needed and in addition leases (payable a year in advance) were high. This resulted in the wealthier inhabitants ... investing their capital or livestock and farms whilst the majority of inhabitants with their small herds have been deprived of access to their seasonal pastures' (Submission to the Commission of Inquiry by Lita Webly - a UCT researcher - undated : 2-3).

With regard to the Department's argument justifying the systems implementation (i.e. that the land was severley depleted by the communal semi-nomadic arrangement) Webly states "The historical information suggests quite the opposite. Since rainfall is very sporadic and extensive droughts are common in Namaqualand, seasonal movements are a vital aspect of the effective utilisation of the land" (ibid. : 3).

Webly warned that because Leliefontein families had been denied access to their winter grazing lands the common area left for them to graze their stock has been seriously depleted and in addition: 'herders have suffered heavy stock losses during the last winter and this has obviously exacerbated the economic hardships experienced by the inhabitants' (ibid : 3). In Steinkopf movement has been necessitated by rainfall patterns, the winter rainfall area (west) is used for dryland sowing and stock is moved between this and the summer rainfall area (east). Communal land is situated in the winter rainfall area and individual farms in the summer rainfall area, as a result movement cannot occur and the majority of the community have no access to summer rainfall grazing. In the Richtersveld movement is necessitated by sporadic rainfall and is restricted by the implementation of economic units.

Fiona Archer (a Stellenbosch student) in her submission to the Commission stated that the Leliefontein community was being divided by conflict over
whether to apply for plots or not. In addition the community which was largely dependent on firewood for their energy supply was suffering a severe shortage on the land available to them.

A major disadvantage was that the total number of units available was small (134) thus restricting the number of farmers. Insufficient provision was made for smaller stock owners who did not qualify for economic units. The areas of commonage set aside were inadequate in terms of size and though originally overgrazed (being close to settlements) had been further overgrazed through overcrowding. Stock found grazing on privately hired land was often impounded and subsequently sold as the owner could not afford the fees or cost of transporting the stock home. With regard to Leliefontein the Department's Agricultural Officer stated that the 47 units would accommodate not more than 150 people and he had 'no idea of what would happen to the others'. (City Press, 28 October 1986). In the Richtersveld even leaseholders complained that units were divided resulting in uneven distribution of water and seasonal grazing.

Redlinghuis emphasised that such a system would not immediately lead to a commercial system of agriculture and that the latter would remain subsistence-orientated for some time to come. He stressed the need for intensive technical and educational services which took into account the literacy level of the people and their attitudes which have been moulded by years of isolation.

7.1.4.2 Apartheid Legislation

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

South African society is unique in that there is a wide range of formal restrictions on black advancement and mobility. It is not the purpose of this study to give a detailed description of the relevant laws and regulations but merely to identify those which have an effect on Namaqualand's population.
In terms of the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 the establishment of commercial enterprises by coloured people in white group areas and vice versa is prohibited. Some areas have been declared open to all racial groups for business (free trade zones) but such is not the case in Namaqualand. Encouragement has been given to small business through the formation of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) but the effect of this is difficult to gauge. In addition the exclusion of coloured businessmen from white areas, means that they are less able to achieve economies of scale. The income potential customers is lower and they are further disadvantaged by competition from white establishments who may have a wider range of goods and thus able to offer lower prices. An additional limitation placed on coloured people by the Group Areas Act is that they are unable to use cultural and recreational facilities in the white areas of Namaqualand, e.g. the library, swimming pool, restaurants and hotels.

In Port Nolloth until the late 1970s the only 'formal' housing available to coloured people was that provided by the diamond and fishing industries for some of their workers. Others erected houses in a large squatter area paying a small fee for minimal services and reasonable security of tenure. Port Nolloth, therefore, was the one town where a family could erect informal housing while breadwinners looked for work. Housing options were curtailed with a declaration in 1967 placing the squatter area in Port Nolloth within the 'white zone', and the introduction in 1982 of Section 3c of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 1967. These two Acts constituted a form of influx control for Namaqualand people and ensured that Port Nolloth did not provide accommodation for those seeking employment there or for the dependents of migrant workers seeking jobs elsewhere (Sharp and West 1984: 18-20).

Various industrial legislation has:

(i) created racial barriers to entry to many skilled trades;  
(ii) led to a racially rigid structure of the labour force and prevented employees using members of different racial groups, as separate facilities along racial lines had to be provided;
(iii) prohibited discrimination/differentiation on the grounds of race and colour - though the motive appears to be to safeguard the under-cutting of white wages by members of other racial groups rather than racial discrimination.

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

Other less visible and glaring aspects of racial discrimination could be mentioned as factors restricting the upward social and occupational mobility of the local black population, but the above examples can suffice for our purpose. The main point is that these constraints work in addition to all the other development impediments existing in this arid, resource poor and isolated area, i.e. they tend to accentuate the other limitations. Since even whites in this area experience these impediments, it is understandable if they fall back on racial discrimination as a protective device on their part, resulting in tighter applications of these discriminatory measures. The fact that the local coloured and African population lacks grassroot organisation and community leadership further strengthens the dominant position of the white community.

7.1.4.3 Local Government

Local government bodies are important institutions in the overall political structure, allowing for interaction between citizens and government and permitting local areas to determine what services and amenities are to be provided, i.e. acting as agents of development. In Namaqualand it can be argued that the Management Boards have failed as development agents.
Management Boards exist in five of Namaqualand's CRAs and an advisory board in one - namely Pella. Although the boards' powers and functions cover a wide range of services and they may enforce regulations, their real power is in respect of the admission of people to the area and the need for its permission to hold public meetings. Their income is derived from property rates, service fees and local taxes. D. Kotze (1985) argues that revenue collection is a problem and local taxation as a basis for income is extremely restricted and as a result the boards are not in a position financially to undertake physical and social infrastructural development.

During the course of field work, numerous allegations were made as to misappropriation of public funds by Management Boards, it was not possible to substantiate these claims and the matter needs to be investigated further.

Election of board members are usually unopposed and polls low. Reasons for this include the following:

(i) The vote is restricted to registered occupiers (i.e. one person per household). The Theron Commission reported that only 13.8% of the 23 CRAs population were registered voters.

(ii) Often the majority of board members are pensioners (Redlinghuis 1981: 198) and as a result, inhabitants question the board's ability to handle local authority affairs and plan for the future development of the area.

(iii) Satisfaction and self-interest occurs amongst board members (Redlinghuis 1981: 198).

(iv) Members of the board tend to be older, more established members of higher levels of the social spectrum and are perceived as 'conservative'. As a result many younger members of the community are unwilling to identify with the board in any way.

(v) The perceived inability by the board to lobby for substantial changes in the community's circumstances leads to general apathy and lack of interest in the boards' activities.

(vi) Personnel are often untrained and incompetent.
(vii) Because they often fail to take the initiative in development works they are viewed as puppets of the central government.

(viii) Serving exclusively coloured areas the boards are inevitably part of the separate structures which characterise the government's policy of separate development and as a result the more educated section of the population is inclined to adopt an attitude of apathy and even hostility to the boards.

(ix) They are criticised for their 'lack of innovative thinking, and smothering of local initiative and association' (Kotze, D. 1985: 33).

Kotze, D. (1985) suggests that the new dispensation brought with it changes which led to uncertainty amongst field administration officials as to tasks, jurisdiction and responsibilities. The establishment of new departments of the House of Representatives has meant that 'uncertainty crept into the relationship between the regional representatives and field staff who now work for three different departments' (Kotze, D. 1985: 20). This has been exacerbated because each department has its own regional arrangements. Under the Coloured Representative Council Policy decisions on the CRA were not taken unless field and regional staff had been consulted. The new dispensation (tricameral parliament) brought with it new policy-makers' inputs and some decisions on local problems are not made without consulting local staff and Management Boards.

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

Despite these shortcomings, the Department continues to transfer power to the boards.
7.1.4.4 Church and Community Groups

The church and community groups in themselves are not constraints per se but a number of factors affect their operations. There is disagreement among leaders within the churches as to whether the church should be involved in secular activities - this exists both within individual denominations and on a regional level. In many instances church leaders' spiritual responsibilities are onerous covering a number of parishes, not necessarily in one vicinity. As a result the minister is absent from his residential parish much of the time, while out-of-the-way communities receive infrequent visits and it therefore becomes difficult for ministers to coordinate development efforts. This is further hindered by inadequate infrastructure, i.e. poor telephone services, roads and public transport serving these areas.

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

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

Projects initiated by the church and other community organisations are hindered by the fact that there is little unity within the community, despite the broader 'sense of community identity' prevalent in the CRA. People are used to working for and by themselves and are generally reluctant to work together. They are used to handouts and seem to have little knowledge or concern for community development. In many instances community
projects are initiated by church ministers, or organisations (e.g. World Vision, Red Cross, Operation Hunger) who are regarded as outsiders and find it difficult to establish trust. There is a critical need for self-awareness and self-initiated action within local communities. The community must analyse its situation, problems and needs and decide as a whole what measures to take. Possible ways of helping to bring this about will be discussed in Section 7.3.

7.1.4.5 Company Housing

Searching for employment and accommodation in Namaqualand is restricted further by a number of informal restrictions. Many towns appear to have some de facto method of controlling immigration (e.g. limiting the number of houses built for coloured people and/or preventing squatting on the outskirts of towns) (Sharp and West 1984:19). In addition, the major employers (mining concerns) are situated on private land and in most cases do not allow non-employees to live on their property. As a result, retired, retrenched and unemployed persons have to live elsewhere (unless their children are employed on the mine). One could argue that this is generally the case in any area where land is owned by a private company and ask why the situation should be any different in Namaqualand. The answer is that large companies, like OCC, own significant lands in and around the centres of economic activity (e.g. O'okiep and Nababeep). Non-company land and housing in these centres is therefore limited and thus restricts mobility. The situation may be alleviated if the proposed take-over of O'okiep by the Divisional Council is effected.

Employees provided with company housing find their mobility is further restricted as accommodation is dependent on continuous employment. Housing is provided to some employees (in terms of the company's housing policy) at nominal rents. Housing which was built for whites in O'okiep and Nababeep has been made available to skilled coloured workers, due mainly to the progressive substitution of skilled coloured labour for white labour. When falling prices or bad seasons (fishing) have reduced workers' earnings, workers have been reluctant to seek alternative employment as it would mean eviction from their houses in a region where housing is difficult to come by.
This short overview of development constraints illustrates quite clearly the interrelated chain of factors impeding development. No wonder, therefore, that the literature often refers to this as a 'vicious circle' resulting in a 'culture of poverty'. In Namaqualand nature plays a particularly strong constraining role, both directly in the form of resource scarcity, locational remoteness and ruggedness of the area, and indirectly in its effect upon economic activities and socio-cultural behaviour patterns. In addition, discriminatory laws and practices further impede development opportunities, whereas the lack of broader based grassroot organisations and leaders makes it even more difficult to overcome these institutional constraints. To put this diversity of constraints into an overall perspective Table 20 lists the relevant factors.

It should be clear from this discussion that any successful development strategy for the people in the region has to address the full set of constraints. Treatment of mere symptoms cannot result in the 'breakthrough' required for a sustained improvement in the quality of life of the people of Namaqualand and the more effective utilisation of the region's resource base.

7.2 Current Development Policy and Strategies in Namaqualand

Three distinct levels (agents of development), though they are interrelated, can be identified as operating in Namaqualand. These levels are reviewed below and a broad evaluation of their effectiveness is made at the end of this section.

7.2.1 Government Strategies and Policy Action

7.2.1.1 Central Government

Central Government development policy as carried out by the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture \(^ {52} \) and as expressed in Act 24 of 1963 (see Section 3.5), adopts a sectoral, 'top-down' approach with no integrated rural development plan for one of the areas (Kotze, D. 1985 : 10). The plan included to a limited extent changes in the system of land use (transformation) and attempted to encourage farmers to become more market
orientated through improved technical services and thus increase their commercial production (improvement). Infrastructural improvements also form part of the plan.

The three larger CRA (Steinkopf, Richtersveld and Leliefontein) were divided into a total of 134 economic units, the average size varying from area to area\(^{53}\) (see Table 21). The remaining three areas were said to be too small to divide into economically viable units and thus remained 'community grazing'. Concerted and sustained resistance by the inhabitants in areas such as Kommagas discouraged such a division (see Section 7.2.3.2).

By late 1986, 55 units had been hired to individual farmers and 37 to partnerships (a total of 46 farmers) at varying rentals. The remaining 42 were demarcated by the Department as commercial grazing areas for village residents owning livestock.

Table 21: Erven Surveyed and Economic Units Demarcating Coloured Rural Areas - 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Residential and Business Erven</th>
<th>Economic Units</th>
<th>Average size of Economic Units (hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steinkopf</td>
<td>1 497</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kommagas</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>survey being conducted</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richtersveld</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leliefontein</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 843</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture - Cape Town.

In terms of the Act an individual may hold a maximum of three erven; an economic farming unit and two other erven for residence and non-agricultural business. Economic farming units are leased, but title to residential erven is almost automatic and requires payment for a nominal sum. Title to a business erf requires payment, usually substantially higher than that paid
for residential erven. Provision was made in the Act for transfer of title of economic units to individuals. Until purchasing conditions were finalised it was intended that units be hired for a maximum period of five years at the end of which the contract may be renewed.

Action taken by residents of Leliefontein and Steinkopf opposed to the system has resulted in a Supreme Court decision to set aside the subdivision and restore the status quo in respect of land use before the division (i.e., communal grazing). This is covered in some detail in Section 7.2.3.2. It remains to be seen whether the Richtersveld brings forward similar action and whether the government legislates to reinstate unit farms. If the latter does not occur it implies rethinking on the part of the state as regards development policy.

The main focus of the original agricultural development plan was a change in land usage patterns but it did include the following:

(a) Installation of irrigation facilities along the Orange River - the land was to be hired or sold for intensive farming and for planting lucerne with the intention of establishing a fodder bank.

(b) Creation of a nature reserve in the Richtersveld (approximately 188 000 hectares) to be developed and controlled by the National Parks Board with the Management Board deriving revenue from entrance and camping fees. Some objections had been raised by inhabitants of the reserve area as the land in question was being used for grazing. For this reason the department is contemplating offering land outside of the CRA as compensation. Many residents feel that for the government the nature reserve has more to do with creating a security buffer than with the protection of plants (SPP Fact Sheet No. 4 - January 1988).

(c) An extension to the Henkries date plantation which has already occurred.

(d) Establishment of an agricultural college at Upington for coloured people - this was rejected and students have been accommodated at the agricultural training centre in Kromkhe. 
A report by an economist on the agricultural, mining and tourist potential of Namaqualand (particularly Steinkopf and Concordia) commissioned by the Department in 1986 has been received but no follow-up has taken place. The Deputy Director indicated that other plans (particularly aimed at Richtersveld) were being considered but he was not in a position to elaborate further.

The second phase of the development plan included provision of infrastructure (water, electricity, sanitation, roads and storm water drains) but only to villages which had been surveyed by the Department.

Social welfare work is concerned mainly with the processing of applications for pensions and with feeding schemes. Medical services are restricted to clinics and to preventative medical and family planning services.

Development of Namaqualand's Coloured Rural Areas can be criticised both in terms of the policies adopted and in terms of the administration of the policy. Many of these have been addressed in Section 7.1.4.1 and a few additional criticisms are addressed here.

The suitability of the 'improvement approach' to development adopted can be questioned. Such an approach is generally thought to achieve best results in a densely populated area where climate and soil are favourable, a market assured and farmers receptive to ideas. Regrettably few of these characteristics are to be found in Namaqualand (Redlinghuis 1981: 222).

As outlined in Section 7.1.4.1 the system represented a radical change in land use and an end to a traditional way of life and it meant that land could no longer be regarded as a form of social security. In addition it limited inhabitants' mobility and represented a financial constraint (fears of higher taxes were expressed). Although facilities for low interest loans exist, it is questionable whether farmers with little credit-worthiness in isolated and drought stricken Namaqualand would be granted such loans. This is a limiting factor as improved technical services will be of little benefit if capital for implements, etc., is unavailable.

It has also been argued that the system was formulated too hastily and that extensive research on rangeland quality and management should have occurred before land use patterns were altered (UCT Botany's Department's submission to the Commission of Enquiry).
The Deputy Director outlined a number of current and potential difficulties with the system, and issues that need to be addressed in the future. These include:

(i) the question of payment for a business erf, which has been used for this purpose for many years but only recently surveyed - how does one justify the distinction made (discrimination applied) when a registered occupier applying for a title to a business erf obtains it at little cost whereas a registered occupier applying for a business erf recently demarcated and surveyed is required to pay a substantial amount?

(ii) The fact that applications have to be screened by the Management Board, which gives the board the power to determine who obtains title - this may lead to entrenchment of the existing distribution of power and wealth in the community.

(iii) The incidence of individuals having title to two erven but leaving the second unused while many requests for residential erven cannot be granted.

(iv) The lack of procedure to deal with the sale of erven and buildings by registered occupiers.

(v) The uncertainty over the future of these areas - whether they will remain 'land holdings of last resort' or will be made available for sale on the market and title given to the highest bidder.

Agricultural and village development expenditure is funded from three sources; the mineral fund, the Department and the board.

Prior to the establishment of the SBDC in 1931 monies received (in the form of royalties) from mining and prospecting in the CRAs formed part of the Coloured Development Corporation's (CDC) capital. It was referred to as the diamond fund and was not specifically allocated for development in CRAs. The CDC was criticised for not doing enough for economic and business development in CRAs.
In 1981 when the SBDC took over the diamond royalties, a special 'Rural Development Fund', earmarked for development support in all CRAs, was created. Fifty per cent of the royalties received (after subtracting a diamond tax of 10%) were due in-income tax payments and a further 20% represented a voluntary donation to the Coloured Department.

In 1984 the Department voiced dissatisfaction at the fact that only 20 per cent of the SBDC's income from this source was allotted to them directly and that the SBDC funds were spread out over all 23 CRAs and not limited specifically for those in Namaqualand. After negotiations the following agreement was reached:

i) the diamond tax of 10 per cent was to remain;

ii) the Department could request Treasury that the 50 per cent income tax on net royalties might be repaid to the Department and earmarked for rural development;

iii) the voluntary contribution of 20 per cent of the net royalties was to continue;

iv) SBDC would thus keep 27 per cent of the gross royalties, earmarked for development support in all rural areas, though with special attention to Namaqualand's CRAs.

The justification given by the SBDC for retaining the 27 per cent is three-fold:

i) it is used to assist projects in the CRAs which normally would not qualify for assistance when compared with other requests received;

ii) it may be used to finance agricultural projects in the CRAs which is not normally done by SBDC;

iii) the interest rate at which the loan is made to CRAs is lower than the normal rate charged by the SBDC (i.e. 10 per cent as compared to 14-17 per cent).

Monies constituting the diamond fund are obtained from two areas viz. Kommagas and Richtersveld. It is felt by the boards of these two areas that their residents have special claim to the money. Periodic consultation should take place with the SBDC and the Department to ensure development action is effectively integrated.

Since 1982, the SBDC's Regional Development Fund has grown to R7 million. This constitutes net assets of about R1 million, bad debts written off of about R1½ million, and capital available for projects of about R4½ million. It is anticipated that in future, at best, about R1 million (net) can be received annually including repayments on loans and interest on outstanding investments.
Little intensive research into local authorities was conducted by the author though one proposal was brought to the author’s attention. The proposal, written by the chairman of the Steinkopf board of management, concerns the development potential of mining, tourism and agriculture in Steinkopf itself. The proposal emphasises the need for technical training, expertise and capital and identifies a number of projects which would create employment opportunities in the Steinkopf area. The projects are identified under three headings:

(i) agriculture - the establishment of an abattoir and feedlot, the subdivision of economic units into smallholdings and the provision of infrastructure by the state at irrigation plots along the Orange River were suggested.

(ii) Mining - pegmatite mineral exploitation, erection of a feldspar and mica mill, a dynamite depot, diamond prospecting and drilling (in the Koa River Valley) and the establishment of a diamond cutting works and copper processing plant were mentioned.

(iii) Tourism - a number of tourist attractions were proposed which include a caravan park, nature reserve, a botanical garden, a holiday resort on the Orange River and tourist shops.

To date substantial progress has not been made. SBDC are considering a request for finances for the abattoir, Stellenbosch University has offered assistance to the proposed botanical garden and monies obtained from the state’s Werkverskaffingsfond has enabled construction on the caravan park, mineral museum and botanical garden to take place.

The proposal, though displaying initiative, falls short in that very few of the strategies have been substantially investigated to establish their economic viability. Moreover they are aimed specifically at improving the lot of Steinkopf inhabitants rather than the wider Namaqualand community. As with many of the agents (local, external and government) operating in the area, little co-ordination and discussion has taken place. The proposal therefore better represents suggestions that still need thorough investigation. Inter alia, goals still need to be identified and an order of priority attached to them.
7.2.1.3 Namaqualand Regional Development Association

Nine development regions have been demarcated in South Africa and for each region a Regional Development Advisory Committee (RDAC) has been established. In Namaqualand it is known as the Namaqualand Regional Development Association and advises the cabinet on development for the region concerned. The Association's operation is divided by economic sector with a sub-committee responsible for each. The present chairperson stated that in the past the Association's focus had been on infrastructural development but today focussed on social development (i.e. advancing education, creating employment, increasing participation in community activities and strengthening community organisations). The Chairperson was of the opinion that the government had overlooked the potential of the coloured population and had focussed inordinately on the black population in other areas. Namaqualand's strategic importance - since it borders on Namibia was stressed, and it was emphasised that if the government wished to exploit Namaqualand's strategic importance it would need to win the support and confidence of the population. This could be achieved through the creation of employment opportunities.

It was suggested that parts of Namaqualand (e.g. Steinkopf) be made eligible for assistance in terms of the government's decentralisation programme thus encouraging industrial development. The attractions of the area include cheap industrial sites, a low wage, stable abundant labour force, adequate electricity and water and close proximity to Namibia. It was felt that the latter would facilitate imports and exports and might encourage German-based companies to set up in the region (Chairperson's point of view).

7.2.2 External Development Stimulators

7.2.2.1 World Vision

World Vision can be described as a 'Christian humanitarian aid organising working in developing countries in programmes of child and family development, community development, emergency relief and rehabilitation, and leadership enhancement' (World Vision pamphlet).
Projects are run in partnership with local Christian churches or missionaries. The basic unit with which World Vision works is the community and development is seen as a planned activity with a definite time limitation for World Vision's participation.

In 1986 two community development projects were being given support by World Vision in Namaqualand, namely the 'Namaqualand Development Project' and the 'Orange River Development Scheme'. A project co-ordinator (resident in Namaqualand until recently) was appointed by World Vision and as the title suggests co-ordinates activities in the area. It was not possible to establish contact with the project co-ordinator, as a result an accurate and complete update was not possible. What follows is a description of projects in 1986 and an update where possible.

(i) Namaqualand Development Project

In 1986 funding (R1 000 per month) was provided by World Vision to cover materials required and food given to children attending five creches/playgroups in Namaqualand. In addition assistance was given to a sewing project (consisting of eight women) in Concordia. World Vision's initial contribution was to provide two sewing machines, but this was changed to monthly funding (approximately R100 per month). Articles were sold and income returned to the group, though it was hoped that eventually individuals would be able to retain money for articles sold.

(ii) Orange River Development Scheme

Two projects fell under this scheme:
1) Gemsbok Development Co-operative situated some 140 kilometres, north east of Springbok at Goodhouse along the banks of the Orange River. Eighty-five hectares of land was hired from the Steinkopf Management Board.

2) Dryfsand Community Project situated some 200 kilometres north east of Steinkopf and comprises a community of some 50-60 families situated on and around land belonging to the Sendingkerk. Some ten hectares were to be used for vegetable and fruit farming with any marketable surplus being sold to the local community and in the future to neighbouring villages.
In December 1986 World Vision abruptly terminated its involvement with the Gemsbok Co-operative as they were unsuccessful in guiding the community into co-operating and running the project effectively. In July 1986 a spokesman for World Vision identified a number of problems that were being experienced with the project. It is possible that these may have contributed to its failure, they are outlined below:
(a) a lack of agricultural expertise;
(b) transport - resulting from the location and terrain;
(c) lack of knowledge and understanding as to the concept of co-operatives and community development;
(d) inexperience of functioning as a group - for several generations Namaqualanders have worked to satisfy their individual needs and have been dependent on handouts. Some farmers withdrew from the project in its initial stages as they were unable to understand that its success depended on their making sacrifices (especially as regards profits) and that self-sufficiency and prosperity are long term goals;
(e) apathy - this may have arisen because the community themselves did not request the project. As mentioned earlier the capacity for self-awareness and analysis is a crucial element in the development;
(f) financial constraints - funding was required for members living expenses until self-sufficiency is achieved and for equipment, seed, etc.

When World Vision withdrew all but five of the members left the area, leaving crops unharvested and rotting and large debts (+ R60 000). SBDC have subsequently become involved in the project. (See Section 7.2.2.4).

A fundamental difference between the Dryfsand and the Gemsbok project was that the former was a project for a resident community, whereas the latter was intended to be a co-operative involving people who would be prepared to live in the area and participate in the project.

In 1986 two Namaqualanders were employed as project workers at Dryfsand and funding by World Vision amounted to R1 000 per year. This together with profits generated was used to pay the project workers and purchase seed, implements, etc. Problems similar to those evident at Goodhouse
were experienced but World Vision felt the project was important, as it facilitated effective land utilisation, acquisition of skills and provision of food, employment and income. In addition it enabled people to function as a community taking responsibility and attempting to overcome problems.

7.2.2.2 Red Cross

Red Cross, an international, voluntary relief organisation endeavours to prevent and alleviate human suffering and promote mutual understanding and co-operation amongst people. Its services cover a wide spectrum and include emergency services, health services, social services (e.g. creches, social workers) and education and training. Red Cross' major involvement in Namaqualand is with school feeding schemes and the project (which began in 1983) caters for approximately 12 000 pupils per day.

Red Cross is responsible for introducing schools to the scheme and transporting the food, while Operation Hunger raises finance and purchases the food. The success of the project depends on community involvement as parents and teachers are entirely responsible for the distribution of food at the schools. Children are provided with fortified soup in winter and in summer (and on occasions a slice of bread).

Two other projects with which Red Cross is involved are a pre-school at O'okiep and self-help schemes. The pre-school, begun in 1984, caters for five-year olds only with pupils remaining at the school for a year before going on to primary school. At present the school has 70 pupils and employs four people. The self-help scheme was initiated in 1987 and at present consists of one knitting group, though it is hoped to increase this to six in the future. In 1988 the Red Cross will offer home education courses and begin to disseminate information on its activities and thereby hopes to attract more involvement, particularly from the youth.

7.2.2.3 Operation Hunger

Until recently Operation Hunger's involvement in Namaqualand was concerned primarily with feeding schemes (see section 7.2.2.2). However in 1985/86 Operation Hunger commissioned an Israeli professor (from the Desert
Research Institute) to conduct a feasibility study of Namaqualand's development potential. A substantial report was written covering five major areas:

i) Dryland farming.
ii) Irrigation farming on the Orange River.
iii) Small scale farming.
iv) Development of botanical garden and plant reserve.
v) An agricultural training centre.

By January 1987 money had been raised from the Anglo American Group Chairman's Fund on the basis of this report. In November 1987 Operation Hunger embarked on an agricultural project in the Steinkopf area, covering three aspects of the report (i.e. i), iii) and iv), having spent the previous months familiarising themselves with the area and developing a relationship founded on mutual trust and understanding. A development officer has been appointed whose responsibility (at present) will be coordination of the agricultural project. The project involves 10 groups of farmers whose membership varies from 3 to 5 farmers per group.

It is planned to plant cash crops and Operation Hunger will assist with training, market structures and, in the early stage, provision of seed, fertilizer, fencing, etc. In addition land has been hired from the Steinkopf board (in terms of a ten-year contract), it is to be used to establish an agricultural centre and store vehicles/equipment. Members of the community will be able to attend training programmes here and learn to use and maintain vehicles/equipment which may be hired from the centre.

Future plans include expansion of the agricultural project (i.e. more groups), provision of additional skills training at the centre, extension of agricultural work along the Orange River (i.e. irrigation farming) and the development of small scale mining.

7.2.2.4 The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) 59

The main focus of SBDC's activities in South Africa has been the stimulation of business development in urban areas and towns but as indicated earlier, for historical reasons some support is given to business development in the CRAs as well.
The SBDC is one of several development agents in Namaqualand and despite the existence of the diamond fund (see Section 7.2.1.1) it views its role as being limited. In general the record of SBDC financed projects has not been entirely satisfactory, with high rates of bad debts and a high dependence on ongoing financial support. SBDC feels that many proposals are not realistic and are unlikely to show significant returns (which makes loan repayments difficult). As a result the Corporation recently prepared a broad strategy paper outlining a more comprehensive plan which also tries to put its own role into perspective. The following are some of the underlying principles:

- concerted efforts to establish development needs (as perceived by the community);
- effective communication and consultation with other development agents in the area;
- a more regionally and sectorally more balanced application of funds;
- critical evaluation of project proposals and project alternatives;
- greater awareness of available alternative finance sources;
- greater focus on development needs in Namaqualand as a whole.
(At present too many projects are limited to Steinkopf, while more serious needs exist in Richtersveld and Leliefontein).

The strategy paper also suggests the need for the formation of a Namaqualand Development Corporation involving the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, the Development Bank, SBDC and S.A. Development Trust. Such a body might co-ordinate some of the larger projects which SBDC currently funds, but which exceed its scope (e.g. exploitation of low grade minerals and milling and larger irrigation projects). It might also mobilise further funds for development. Its establishment if it ever materialises would not necessarily guarantee that appropriate projects would be identified, planned or implemented nor that grassroot support would necessarily be sought.

To date the SBDC has been involved with the following projects in Namaqualand:

(i) Goodhouse irrigation agriculture: Significant funds were employed to establish about eight farming units along the Orange River. More detailed research is required to establish the basis on which such a project can be run successfully. In the interim the SBDC hopes to strengthen contact with other organisations doing research/pilot projects with respect to land utilisation in the CRAs (e.g. Operation Hunger).
(ii) Co-operatives: SBDC has been instrumental in the establishment of an agricultural co-operative (Goodhouse Co-operative) in Steinkopf and is financially assisting the Kooperatiewe Handelsvereniging in Steinkopf. Recently both these organisations experienced financial difficulties and the SBDC was forced to work towards a rationalisation of their activities.

(iii) The Steinkopf abattoir: This has been renovated and upgraded. It has been suggested that this be extended to include a fodder bank and fodder kraal but this would require significant capital. The SBDC has called for a feasibility study to assess the viability of such a project.

(iv) Infrastructural development: In Richtersveld and Komugas the SBDC is willing to consider the financing of infrastructure related to business development, if no other financing can be arranged.

Other possibilities for future involvement suggested in the strategy paper include bridging financing for small builders, mini-loans to informal sector enterprises, training sessions and the distribution of appropriate training material for local residents and local authorities.

In essence the SBDC has expressed its willingness to become more actively involved in the relatively remote and thinly populated areas of Namaqualand offering more than its normal spread of financial and other services. It remains an open question whether SBDC can mobilise appropriate staff to implement such programmes and whether local communities - those in control and/or those in need will actually request or effectively utilise such support. Closer analysis of the amounts involved in the diamond fund clearly indicate its limited scope. 61

7.2.2.5 Others

Two other organisations, namely the Rural Foundation and the Rural Fulfilment Foundation have begun work in Namaqualand. Contact was not made with the respective organisations, though it was established that the former focuses primarily on farm workers and that the latter has embarked on what they refer to as the Namaqualand Development Project (NDP). NDP centres on Ieliefontein as the focal point for development and the following aspects are addressed in their development plan:

(i) Demographic survey - to ascertain socio-economic conditions, community needs and funds needed for development.
(ii) Education - additional classes (Std. 9 and 10), staff, classroom and hostel facilities are suggested.

(iii) Health and nutrition - preventive health programmes and clinics need to be developed.

(iv) Agriculture.

(v) Industry and infrastructure.

The extent to which the plan has been implemented and progress made is not known.

The main shortcomings of the projects undertaken by external agencies is that they do not form part of an integrated strategy. Few of the organisations have 'pooled their resources'. Furthermore, in many instances projects are limited to pilot status, and continuity is not maintained. Most fundamentally, they tend to tackle symptoms of the regions' problems on a 'top-down' basis rather than the roots of the issue on a 'bottom-up' basis. But it may be hard for individual welfare agencies, who have to 'show results', to do otherwise.

7.2.3 Local Actors Affecting the Development Process

7.2.3.1 Trade Unions

Four Cosatu affiliated trade unions have branches and have organised workers in Namaqualand. They are:

(i) **Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU)** which has had a significant influence in the area and have had a long standing recognition agreement with Jowells Transport Services. They were the first independent trade union to begin operations in the area four years ago and by June 1987 had 250 members.

(ii) **Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (CCAWUSA)** began organising at a number of shops in Springbok in May 1987 and were involved in recognition negotiations with Multisave in June 1987.

(iii) **National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)** began its operations in the area in June 1984 and since then has played a catalyst role in the progressive labour movement. By June 1987 it had recognition agreements on 10 mines in the region and had 5 400 signed up members.

(iv) Members for the **Food and Allied Workers Union** were being recruited by NUM in June 1987. (South, 18-23 June 1987).
The unions are of the opinion that their role, apart from dealing with problems related to wages and working conditions, is to politicise the population, and to work with local communities tackling community issues. They feel that this could best be done by forming 'steering committees' consisting of union and community members. These committees would initially organise their activities around issues of importance to the broader coloured community (for example rents and water supplies). The formation of committees could be encouraged if their success in other areas was made known, and support could be obtained by canvassing opinions on local issues (for example, consulting spouses before beginning wage negotiations).

Union organisers and members expressed the view that union activity in Namaqualand had had a positive effect as employees had learnt that they were not powerless in the work situation and could influence housing, wage policy and dismissals. They felt that some politicisation had already occurred and that the unions' successes helped in recruiting members where they had already agreed on a recognition agreement and in canvassing support where a less militant and less active union was operative.

Although it is beyond the scope of their operations, some members of trade unions gave their personal opinions on factors to be taken into account and needs to be addressed when considering Namaqualand's development. These included the creation of employment opportunities, provision of public transport and recreation facilities, establishment of workers and community advice offices throughout the region, investigation into the potential for small-scale mining and cottage industry development.

Priority should be given to creating opportunities for employment locally, as the population was reluctant to move because of their sense of community, the freedom they experienced in Namaqualand, and the problems encountered in seeking employment and accommodation outside the region.

An issue which needed to be addressed was the possibility of military development in Namaqualand, given its strategic importance. Such development would represent a potential benefit in terms of employment, but one would need to consider the political implications of militarisation.
7.2.3.2 Community Organisation and Response to Central Government Development Policy

Opposition to the system envisaged in Act 24 of 1963 was more intense in some reserves than others. In Kommagas the community refused to accept the proposals. Raad members sympathetic to the plans were voted out and the superintendent was frequently told that his presence in the area was no longer wanted. In the late 1970s he was posted to Steinkopf. In the 1980s the government dropped plans for Kommagas, Concordia and Pella, saying the reserves were too small to be divided.

In the three other rural areas, the response varied but the underlying rationale behind their opposition to this system of land tenure was not that the land was important as an income source but that it acted as protection against impoverishment in times of unemployment.

In Leliefontein the system was implemented in 1985 without discussion with residents, which caused resentment and bitterness. In addition residents were concerned that plots had been hired to 'inkomers' and that the residents in seven smaller settlements (buitestasies) would be forced to move to the two recognised towns of Garags and Leliefontein. They believed such a move would leave them exposed to total impoverishment due to lack of work and lack of access to land.

Since the system's implementation, residents have refused to accept it and have tried various means to oppose it. Numerous appeals (and a petition in 1982) were made to the local Management Board requesting that the plans be set aside for, amongst others, the following reasons.

'(Ons as bewoners (was) nie geraadpleeg of erken deur die Leliefontein Bestuursraad in haar besluit oor die hele aangeleentheid nie ... ons (kan) nie toesien en stilbly wanneer die gebeid net aan 42 of 49 okkupeerders uitgedeel word en die ander 820 kom nie in aanmerking nie ... ons sien in die nuwe bedeling die agteruitgang en later die onmootlikheid om hier te bestaan as gevolg van arbiedsonkostes, inflasie en die bekende swak reënval waaroor Namakwaland bekend is.' (SPP Press Briefing, August 1987).
These complaints (which remain the same today) were not properly addressed by the Board and the system was implemented despite the fact that the majority of residents at a meeting held in late 1985 voted against it. In addition many discussions were held with officials of the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture. Requests (by representatives of the Leliefontein Reserve) made at these meetings to abolish the system were ignored.

Having had little success with local and central government, residents instructed an attorney to bring a court action requesting the Supreme Court nullify the economic units. Act No. 1 of 1979 states an investigation is mandatory before common land can be divided. No investigation took place in Leliefontein - hence the court application. On the residents behalf the attorney requested the appointment of an independent Commission of Inquiry. A four man commission was appointed in September 1986. On 29 September the attorney settled the case without the clients' permission. Leliefontein residents' subsequent reaction is discussed in more detail in the course of this section.

Commission hearings began in Leliefontein on 26 September 1986. Until mid-November the commissioners listened to objections and comments to/on the desirability of the government's scheme. (Many of these have been discussed in Section 7.1.4.1).

The Leliefontein community hoped that the commission would reverse what many regarded as an arbitrary decision to divide their traditional communal land and sell it as economic units, but simultaneously feared that the Leliefontein area would be treated as a test case; if the commission were to endorse the subdivision of land it was felt that a vast region of Namaqualand would in time be privatized.

This fear seems to have been endorsed in a statement made by Mr. J. Boshoff deputy director (agriculture in the Department of Local Government, Agriculture and Housing): 'The report of the commission could be the yardstick of what happens elsewhere'. (Argus, 1 November 1986).

Some researchers working in Leliefontein felt it was unlikely that the
government would abandon the system. 'My impression is that the commission will only consider the question of compensating those who have to move, rather than returning the land'. (Fiona Archer in Argus 1st November 1986).

The commissioners report was made public late in 1987 and residents were shocked by its findings and blatant racism. The report recommended that the land not be returned to the people and stated, 'The division of land into farming units is an inalienable right of all those residents who are concerned about the development of the area ...' It does not deny that residents rejected the system but explained this away by labelling them as backward and traditional. Their inability to accept this system is due to their 'inherently weak character ... including their laziness and alcoholic tendencies'.

Subsequent to the attorney's withdrawal of the case on 29 September 1986, residents instructed the Legal Resources Centre to make application to the Supreme Court for an order declaring that residents were wrongfully deprived of their land and ordering Minister Curry to restore it to them. The application was granted by the Supreme Court in July 1987. The case was first heard in March 1988 and on 21 April 1988 Mr. Justice Tebbutt of the Cape Town Supreme Court, ordered that the subdivision be set aside, that the use of rights as they existed before the subdivision and letting of the units be restored, and that the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture pay the costs.

The court stated that of the 17 grounds on which the application was based, one was sufficient to invalidate the subdivision and letting of the land and did not find it necessary to investigate the other 16. The Coloured Rural Areas Act 1979 (which amended Act 24 of 1963) stipulated that before an area could be subdivided a plan had to be drawn up where there had to be provision for one or more residential areas, a town commonage, areas for cemeteries, an agricultural area and an outer commonage for the exclusive use of bona fide farmers.

When the plan for Leliefontein was drawn up these provisions were disregarded and in addition it was not lawful in terms of the Act to subdivide the outer commonage. The applicants were therefore, according to Mr. Justice Tebbutt, entitled to the legal relief for which they applied.
As was the case with Leliefontein, Steinkopf residents objected primarily to the fact that they were not consulted. Various committees were formed to facilitate opposition to the system and local, regional and central authorities were petitioned. The present raad was sympathetic to complaints and opposed the way in which the system was implemented, but not to it as a solution for land conservation. A similar application to that granted to Leliefontein residents was made by Steinkopf residents. On 26 May 1988 after a short Supreme Court action Steinkopf residents won the right to return to communal land taken from them, subdivided and leased to individual farmers.

The court order (made with consent between the parties), set aside the subdivision, restored the status quo in respect of land use and ordered Minister Curry to pay costs.

In 1981 the Richtersveld Raad (dominated by residents from the Southern Richtersveld) accepted the system without consulting the community. The southern part was duly divided and units hired out. Koboes residents who were totally opposed to the system broke away from Richtersveld in December 1986, to form the Northern Richtersveld. Residents and the raad have consistently refused to accept the system or apply for units despite pressure exerted on them by the central and regional government.

7.2.3.3 Churches

Many churches are operative in Namaqualand and attempt in their own way to tackle the problems of the communities with which they work. Constraints facing the church in these attempts were outlined in Section 7.1.4.4. An indepth study of individual church projects was not conducted but during the course of informal interviews with ministers it became evident that many of these projects are directed at small groups and their potential to contribute to the region's development is minimal, in addition little interchurch co-ordination has taken place and little use has been made of structures (i.e. the ministers fraternal and the Regional Council of Churches) which facilitate co-ordination and which make resources available to the church (e.g. finance and training).

Our review of the activities of the three agents of development in Namaqualand at present leads us to a few general conclusions:
Government, i.e. the Central Government, the relevant 'coloured' own affairs department and other regional bodies like the RDACs and local authorities has attempted various steps which on the whole, could lead to some development stimulation. However it still lacks a clearly formulated integrated strategy for the development and upliftment of Namaqualand's population.

Outside agencies have started a number of potentially promising and structurally progressive development projects. Most of these are, however, still in their early stages and it is an open question whether the necessary funds will eventually be forthcoming to make these projects a permanent feature. Unless this happens the demonstration effects of their efforts (on Government and local communities) is limited.

Locally based development agencies or grassroot bodies exist, but are also very weak and without significant leverage.

The overall lack of development potential of the region and the relatively small population dampen the efforts of all three agents. This also sets fairly narrow limits to the amounts of 'development aid' that can be expected to 'pour into' the region, given the far higher population densities and development pressures existing elsewhere in South Africa.

Better co-ordination of the efforts of these three agents could improve their performance.

In the light of these conclusions, we proceed in the next section to examine an alternative but appropriate development approach for the region.
Table 22: Elements of a Three-pronged Development Strategy

(A) Facilitate Outward Mobility

1. Improve education (directed at preprimary, primary secondary, technical, adult and community).

2. Improve labour market access
   - vocational guidance and information (school and post school)
   - information on local and external employment opportunities
   - streamline recruitment facilities.

3. Remove barriers to mobility
   - intensify local and external communication links
   - improve physical access.

4. Improve health standards (education-potential of children and labour market entrants is increased, culture of poverty syndrome is broken)

(B) Improve Quality of Life

1. Remove racial discrimination
   - utilize joint facilities
   - land reform (urban and rural)
   - future of CRA

2. Expand infrastructure
   - physical (transport and housing)
   - social (health, nutrition, recreational, UIF, social care)
   - administrative2 (GPO, magistrate, etc.).

(C) Utilize Development Potential

1. Agricultural Development
   - dryland agriculture
   - irrigation agriculture
   - agricultural co-operatives
   - small farming loans
   - drought survival strategies

2. Tourism

3. Mining
   - small mine development
   - reduce constraints to existing mining activity

4. Industry
   - assess potential of small industry potential

5. Commercial
   - promote local small business'
   - improve distribution of essential services

6. Community (Urban and Rural)
   - training/project development/leadership development
   - mobilize and co-ordinate development efforts by all relevant groups (interagency co-operation)
   - activate different groups

7. Administrative and Other Services
   - handling of military build up5

Notes: 1. Has dual function: (i) facilitates outward mobility, (ii) improves quality of life, (iii) increases competitiveness of local population.
2. Will assist in achieving 3 in (A).
3. Concentrate on real potential areas, applied research into appropriate strategies.
4. See 2 in (B).
5. Potential - employment and infrastructure
   Danger - dependency and political aspect.
7.3 Elements of a Three-Pronged Development Strategy for the People of Namaqualand

It has been clear from our analysis of the development constraints and present development efforts in Namaqualand that the potential for future development is limited and that further development strategies should view the region as an integrated part of South Africa's overall development.

Three fundamental goals of a comprehensive development strategy for Namaqualand can be identified:

(i) facilitation of higher mobility of the local population, given the present extremely restricted mobility;

(ii) improvement in the quality of life of those resident in the area, with the emphasis on the satisfaction of 'basic needs' and the improvement of those factors which will enhance the population mobility and improve the development potential;

(iii) the utilisation and activisation of the region's inherent development potential - however limited it may be.

Each of these goals implies a range of interrelated development strategies, resulting in an appropriate set of specific policies, projects and programmes. Table 22 summarises the framework of a three-pronged development strategy for the area. The underlying emphasis being on increasing the population's interregional mobility. The policies suggested are merely recognised social development policies applied to Namaqualand's particular physical, socio-political environment.

A detailed discussion of the strategy would exceed the scope of this study but some comments about each of the three strategy elements are made below. In addition the preconditions for successful policy implementation are addressed broadly.

7.3.1 The Enhancement of Outward Mobility

The motive for this goal flows directly from our analysis of the current development dilemma in Namaqualand. Opposition to this goal is possible and could come from both the conservative and traditional local inhabitants
(inside as well as outside of the CRA) and some of the more progressive agents. Both views need some comment.

For the local people who cannot get out of the region this goal constitutes a threat as it may increase the emigration of the more dynamic members of the local society. This 'drain' is seen as a possible forerunner to a further decline in local development efforts and may reduce the local population's bargaining power.

Progressive development agents may be reluctant to support a policy that may lead to a greater neglect of the area and in addition they may be concerned that local families would be forced into alien patterns of development.

A third group in support of 'local' development rather than outmigration includes those with a political interest in the future of a strong community in the area, i.e. the Coloured Labour Party, local community leaders in the rural areas and the National Party in the Greater Western Cape and Namaqualand.

These reservations can be met if we look at the combined effect of the three strategy elements. Many aspects of the first element as well as those included in the second element would improve the quality of life of people still resident in the area. If implemented effectively such a strategy would not result in less local development, but a gradual alignment of local basic needs standards with those achieved elsewhere.

Adopting this goal determines our attitude to the future of the CRA. Before changes take place in the present ownership, residents should be able to settle and buy/lease land elsewhere in Namaqualand or outside the region. In this way the 'reserves' would lose their artificial function as landholdings of last resort. Co-operative rural schemes inside and outside the 'reserves' should act as an attraction for those who wish to remain in agriculture but cannot find land inside the CRA. Once this is happening, the transformation of communal land ownership to freehold (where and if it is desired) can take place.
7.3.2 Improvement in the Quality of Life

The elements of this strategy are self-evident but what needs to be stressed is the wider responsibility of the Central Government for achievement of these goals. One cannot expect the inhabitants of this region, just because they stay in a remote and sparsely populated part of South Africa, to accept grossly inadequate standards or to find their own 'upliftment'. The existence of distinct subregions (like the CRA) are often used as excuses for the application of differential standards and the limitation of funds, even with regard to the supply of basic needs. The limited funds available to the CRA administrations, the neglect of rural roads are examples of this attitude.

There are two ways to address the problem:

(i) clear and acceptable standards for basic facilities (all over South Africa) have to be established.
   On this basis communities can apply for and mobilise the necessary funds, or
(ii) the political leverage of these remote communities has to be strengthened.

It is possible that both processes may already be underway.

7.3.3 Utilizing Local Development Potential

This goal should not be seen as a contradiction to the first goal. The aim is not to 'create' local development, but rather to link efforts closely with those economic activities where Namaqualand has some comparative advantage. The extent of such efforts will depend on the inherent development potential. The 'potential' for Namaqualand should not be seen in development of all sectors, but rather the deliberate development of a few more dynamic growth aspects. These may be relatively esoteric: like particular types of tourism, some fishing, a few mines and some processing of livestock products - but that may be sufficient, given the small population and assuming a power sharing of resources.
7.3.4 **Community Involvement**

Without any doubt stress has to be placed on the involvement of local communities. Yet, in the light of the undemocratic nature of some of the community leadership, the extreme conservatism of some leaders and their supporters and the extremely fragmented community structure, special emphasis should be given to new ways of bridging communities and supporting progressive leadership. In addition steps should be taken to bridge the racial gap wherever feasible.

7.3.5 **Co-ordination of Development Efforts**

A successful overall approach requires active co-operation between the different development agents. This applies to administrative and political bodies (parties, town councils, rural administration) as much as to different socio-economic groups and enterprises (agricultural bodies, transport organisations, mines, etc.) and church bodies as well as other grassroot organisations and outside agencies. Whether Namaqualand needs an integrated regional administration to co-ordinate such efforts and/or whether more effective and legitimate political representation of all groups is a prerequisite for the latter cannot be considered here.

7.3.6 **Resources for Development**

It has been shown quite clearly in earlier sections that the local communities of Namaqualand have insufficient resources to achieve any substantial level of development. To mobilise such additional resources is a responsibility that falls upon local and external institutions. Again we cannot consider all the possibilities of tapping such potential resources. A few examples should suffice:

- Utilizing resources from Regional Council of Churches to aid local community groups.
- Greater subsidies from Central Government to the various local authorities.
- A greater local reinvestment of prospecting and mining royalties of the mines.
- More social reinvestment by the larger mining companies.
- Externally financed research (by universities and/or other development agents) into appropriate, more detailed development policies and projects.
- Project aid by outside bodies.
- The direct supply of certain services by outside bodies.

Whilst the lack of funds is severe, the relatively small size of the local population and the diversity of potential aid agents gives some hope that significant progress could be made.
FOOTNOTES


2. The general reference used in Section 2.2 was a Regional Survey of the Western Cape compiled by the Department of Planning in 1964.

3. Viz: - The National Road from Cape Town to Namibia
   - the road from Steinkopf to Port Nolloth
   - the road from Springbok to Aughrabies.

4. 1857 - 1877 Cape Town - Malmesbury
   1877 - 1901 Malmesbury - Moorreesburg
   1901 - 1915 Moorreesburg - Klawer
   1915 - 1927 Klawer - Bitterfontein.

5. The main texts used in writing Section 3.1 - 3.3 were those written by Elphick, Luyt and Redlinghuis (see bibliography).

6. Luyt points out that Western Cape historiography draws a distinction between the San and Khoi Khoi although the arrival of the Khoi pastoralites in the Western Cape resulted in a complex interaction between the two (Luyt 1981: 34). As a result of this interaction a gradual blurring of distinction between the two groups resulted and eventually the term 'San' became identified with the poorer people, irrespective of racial origin or those with little stock.

7. 'The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937' written by J.S. Marais (a Professor of History at the University of the Witwatersrand) and published in 1957.

8. P.W. Kotze's doctoral thesis in the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Stellenbosch 'Namaqualand - 'n Sosiolgiese Studiee van 'n GeisoleerdeGemeenskap' was written in 1942 and published as a book in 1943.

9. 'The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve' is a shortened and revised version of a doctoral thesis written by Peter Carstens and accepted by the University of Cape Town in 1962.

    Geoff Klinghardt, a social anthropologist at the South African Museum, presented a paper to the Rural Areas Symposium held at the University of the Western Cape in 1979, in which he summarised the critiques of the homeland's policy and considered their relevance to the Namaqualand situation.

11. Aubrey Redlinghuis' doctoral thesis submitted to the Department of Geography, University of the Western Cape, in 1981 was entitled 'Die Ontwikkelings Potensiaal van Vyf Landelike Gebiede in Namakwaland'.

12. Derek Luyt's honours dissertation in the Department of Sociology at U.C.T. written in 1981 was titled 'The Transition to Capitalism in the Namaqualand Reserves'.

13. Data for this section was obtained from various sources including company reports and census material of the Department of Statistics, a survey carried out by Redlinghuis in June/July 1978, Divisional Council Statistics and Annual Reports of the Department of Internal Affairs.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Std 6</th>
<th>Std 7-8</th>
<th>Std 9-</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47 454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>59 526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


15. At the secondary schools there are 204 teachers and 749 at the primary schools. The data source was: Supplementary Information to the 1985 Annual Report of the Administration: House of Representatives (Department of Education and Culture).

16. Manpower (or potentially economically active population) represents the portion of the population that falls within the age group 15-64. Labour supply refers to the section of the potentially active population, that is able, willing or interested to participate in the labour supply (shown in the South African census figures as economically active population).


18. Areas for which the Divisional Council had information, i.e. those specified in Table 10.
19. **Malnutrition amongst Namaqualand's Children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutritional dwarfs</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

If we add the percentage given in the above table classified as having acute and chronic malnutrition we arrive at a figure for those classified as malnourished (52%), similarly if we add percentages given for those suffering from chronic malnutrition and being classified as nutritional dwarfs, we arrive at a figure for those classified as retarded (38%).

The categories of malnutrition specified in the above table are defined as follows:
- Acute malnutrition - malnourished but not retarded
- Chronic malnutrition - malnourished and retarded
- Nutritional dwarfs - retarded but not malnourished.

20. **GGP** is defined as the remuneration received by the production factors, land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship for their participation within a defined area (Department of Statistics. Report No. 09-14-05).

21. Remuneration is defined as gross cash salaries and wages including vacation and other bonuses, remuneration in kind (food, accommodation etc.) and employers contribution to staff funds (pension, medical funds etc.) and to social security funds (Department of Statistics. Report No. 09-14-05).

22. In calculating growth rates real values at 1982 prices were used. Price indices were obtained from Saldru Fact Sheet No. 3a, 'Consumer Price Indexes 1971-1984'.

23. **GGP per capita 1983**

\[
\text{GGP per capita 1983} = \frac{\text{GGP (1983)}}{\text{Population (1983)}} = \frac{R217994000}{61203} = R3561.82
\]

1983 population was estimated as follows:

\[
\text{Estimated urban population 1983} = (\text{Urban 1980}) \times (1 + \text{urban growth rate})^n \]

\[
= 25307
\]
Estimated rural population 1983 = \((\text{Rural 1980}) \times (1 + \text{rural growth rate})^n\)

\[
= 35896
\]

Estimated 1983 = 61203

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>26069</td>
<td>35423</td>
<td>-0.98%</td>
<td>36617</td>
<td>-0.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>24811</td>
<td>35423</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\[
= \frac{R48329000}{61823} = R788.62
\]

25. Area Distribution of Business Licences Issued - 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipalities</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.C.C. Mining Towns</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Areas</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured Rural Areas</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Rural Areas</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divisional Council - Springbok.

26. The municipality issues licences to applicants in the Springbok CBD (214 in 1986) and the Divisional Council to those in the CRA, mining and other smaller towns (235 in 1986).

27. In terms of the legislation, if the loan was unredeemed by March 1987, the government would take cession of the bank's claim for any outstanding portion of the loan.

28. The debt restructuring saw a capital infusion (of not less than R20 million) arranged by Newmont Mining Corporation and Gold Fields. In addition, the government assumed O'okiep's indebtedness to Barclays Bank, the final maturity date being extended by three years to January 1991.

29. In 1979 total diamond production by South Africa amounted to 8384332 carats and that for Namakuland being 1945052 carats (i.e. 23% of total South African production).
30. Actual production figures for De Beers and SAD (1970-1985) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>De Beers</th>
<th>SAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carats recovered</td>
<td>Carats recovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>636 871</td>
<td>241 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>505 191</td>
<td>210 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>487 103</td>
<td>167 467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>532 820</td>
<td>197 863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>777 967</td>
<td>194 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>941 511</td>
<td>174 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1 026 905</td>
<td>182 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1 162 752</td>
<td>196 627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1 224 952</td>
<td>172 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1 699 691</td>
<td>139 709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1 434 262</td>
<td>139 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1 214 077</td>
<td>125 405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>951 216</td>
<td>137 488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>883 260</td>
<td>139 709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>908 617</td>
<td>98 620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>920 473</td>
<td>111 249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. In 1970, 70 to 75% of the sheep population were karakul (Farmers Weekly, 30 December 1970), by 1974 they represented 92% of the total sheep population and in 1984, 98%.

32. Figures obtained from Department of Agriculture Springbok.
33. Livestock 1974-1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Other 1</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>Non-wool</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>12 517</td>
<td>3 830</td>
<td>49 233</td>
<td>569 963</td>
<td>169 243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>9 954</td>
<td>3 380</td>
<td>64 539</td>
<td>581 884</td>
<td>165 738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>10 120</td>
<td>2 650</td>
<td>64 539</td>
<td>581 884</td>
<td>175 831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>10 231</td>
<td>3 439</td>
<td>22 199</td>
<td>433 342</td>
<td>230 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>9 960</td>
<td>2 926</td>
<td>20 617</td>
<td>431 755</td>
<td>257 019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1 043</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>21 430</td>
<td>426 958</td>
<td>167 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>7 580</td>
<td>2 422</td>
<td>17 665</td>
<td>360 803</td>
<td>132 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>7 043</td>
<td>2 560</td>
<td>18 297</td>
<td>352 319</td>
<td>121 756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>5 748</td>
<td>3 623</td>
<td>4 580</td>
<td>370 782</td>
<td>132 998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>6 033</td>
<td>3 663</td>
<td>6 063</td>
<td>304 432</td>
<td>157 647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>6 405</td>
<td>4 017</td>
<td>5 947</td>
<td>309 516</td>
<td>122 645</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% change over 10 years

1 Other includes pigs, goats.
2 The Agricultural census only records data up to 1981, it appears that there may be an under-enumeration of 135 642 (in 1981) head of livestock on the part of the census when totals (i.e. of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs) from the two sources are compared.
3 - indicates a decrease.
+ indicates an increase.
Source: Department of Agriculture - Springbok.

34. Crop Production - 1918-1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yield (tons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>2929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>2800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937/8</td>
<td>2584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948/9</td>
<td>2308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952/3</td>
<td>4851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957/8</td>
<td>3656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962/3</td>
<td>6417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967/8</td>
<td>4886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/3</td>
<td>3645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>6396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>11603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
35. The 1978 Agricultural and Pastoral Production Census (Report No. 06-01-14) gives total sales value and total expenditure (including salaries, wages and rations) as R6 316 312 and R5 324 790 respectively and the number of farms as 514. As a result a simple calculation reveals an average net income per farm of R1 929.

36. In calculating the real value of net income at 1984 prices, price indices were obtained from Saldru Fact Sheet No. 3a 'Consumer Price Indexes 1971-1984'.

37. The distribution of sales given by the 1978 census (Report No. 06-01-14) referred to in footnote was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>479 887</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>307 964</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>2 859 943</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>2 668 528</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6 316 312</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. **Sales Statistics - 1978**

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

39. In the 1981 Census (Report No. 06-01-17) the following employment figures were given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>1,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>1,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,499</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. See Bibliography, Central Statistical Agricultural Census


The average monthly total wage received by different categories of farm labourers is as follows:

- Regular: R171 per month
- Casual: R12 per month
- Domestic: R37 per month.

42. Licences are issued for trawlers, motor boats, dinghies and skiboats.

In Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay licences are predominantly issued for dinghies and motor boats.

43. A spokesman at the Department's office in Springbok said that bona fide referred to an owner of 500 (or more) head of small stock but some uncertainty as to the exact meaning of bona fide farmer exists.

44. For example in Steinkopf individual farms had approximately 200,000 hectares used by 27 farmers while the remaining 16 (which were farmed jointly) had 98,000 hectares for about 40 farmers (Press Briefing - August 1987 - Surplus Peoples Project).

45. This Act imposed controls over inter-racial property transactions and changes in occupation, and principally affected coloured and Indian populations as Africans were subjected to segregation in terms of other legislation.

46. This was a result of the Apprenticeship Act, though in recent years coloured people have been able to enter into some forms of Apprenticeship.

47. As a result of statutory regulations in terms of the Factories, Machinery and Building Act. Separate facilities are no longer compulsory but their integration has to be discussed with the workforce (Van der Horst 1984: 7).

48. The Factories Act (certain sections have been superseded by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act), Apprenticeship Act No. 26 of 1922 (now Labour Relations Amendment Act 57 of 1981), the Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 11 of 1924 and the Wage Act, No. 27 of 1925 form the statutory framework of policy and contain a provision prohibiting differentiation.

49. This is due to limited home ownership, properties having a low rateable value and the lack of significant trade and industrial development.
50. 'Registered occupier' refers to the person who has been admitted as a
registered occupier of an erf or property in that area in terms of
Act 24 of 1963, or of Law 1 of 1979 or any repealed law and whose
name appears in the present register of registered occupiers.

51. In Namaqualand, the Department of Health and Welfare has its regional
office in Vredendal, while the Department of Education and Culture
is based in Upington, and the Department of Local Government, Housing
and Agriculture has no registered office.

52. Referred to as the Department throughout Section 7.2.

53. The size of the units depended on their carrying capacity (as specified
in the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act, No. 43 of 1983).
Persons were informed of the carrying capacity and warned that non­
compliance might result in the lease being terminated.

54. Deputy Director refers to the Deputy Director of the Department of
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

55. Loans at a subsidised rate (8% interest per annum) are made available to
those purchasing land in 'white' areas as long as it is regarded as
being 'economically viable' by the Department, and for installing
fences, water points and land conservation. In addition a 30% subsidy on the capital cost of fencing was available to the lessor
(deducted from loans granted). These facilities are only granted
if the unit had been planned by the Department.

56. The mineral fund: in all the CRA, the mineral rights are reserved by
the state, however, the Small Business Development Corporation
(SBDC) has been given the right to arrange prospecting and mining
of precious stones in these areas on a contract basis. The
organisation mining in these areas pays the SBDC a royalty and the
board of management a hiring fee. In turn the SBDC pays 20 per­
cent of its profits (after tax) to the Department of Local Govern­
ment, Housing and Agriculture. The money is placed in a special
trust account (with a commercial bank) and is referred to as the
Mineral Fund.

57. The percentage retained by SBDC is calculated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gross royalties</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diamond tax</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income tax (50% of 90%)</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary contribution</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20% of 90%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBDC retains</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. There are five such sectors, namely mining and infrastructure;
agriculture; industry and commerce; community development and
tourism.

59. Information gathered for this section was obtained from a paper titled
'RSOK - Betrokkenheid by die ondersteuning van ekonomiese ont­
wikkeling in die landelike gebiede van Namakwaland' and conversations
with the author Wolfgang Thomas (Regional Director SBDC Western Cape).
60. SBDC's involvement in this project followed World Vision's withdrawal from the Gemsbok Development Co-operative (see Section 7.2.2.1).

61. For example, for the irrigation of 300 hectares of lucerne along the Orange River, about R2 - 3 million is required; a similar amount would be needed for the establishment of a low grade ore in Steinkopf.

62. Surplus Peoples Project (an anti-removals action-orientated research and resource organisation) assisted community members in their opposition to the privatisation scheme and have subsequently appointed someone to conduct research on alternatives to the privatisation development plan.
## APPENDIX A

### SETTLEMENTS IN NAMAQUALAND

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Extent (in hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>63 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebenezer</td>
<td>18 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eksteenskuil</td>
<td>2 013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enon</td>
<td>10 262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friemersheim</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genadendal</td>
<td>4 821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haarlem</td>
<td>1 416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konaggas</td>
<td>62 604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kranshoek</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leliefontein</td>
<td>192 720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamre</td>
<td>7 952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mier</td>
<td>398 789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppermansgronde</td>
<td>34 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>48 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pniël</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richtersveld</td>
<td>513 919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rietpoort</td>
<td>15 092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saron</td>
<td>3 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slang River</td>
<td>1 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinkopf</td>
<td>329 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suurbraak</td>
<td>4 790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaba Patchoa</td>
<td>3 625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoar</td>
<td>5 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 722 089</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) All figures have been rounded up to the nearest hectare.
2) Also known as Anhalt.
3) Previously Askraal.

APPENDIX C

RANKING OF 'COLOURED RURAL AREAS' IN RESPECT OF SIZE, POPULATION AND DENSITY¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Extent²</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Concordia 63383</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ebenezer 18297</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eksteenskuil 2013</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Enon 10262</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Friemersheim 191</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Genadendal 4821</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Haarlem 1416</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Komaggas 62604</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kranshoek 245</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Leliefontein 192720</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mamre 7952</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mier 398789</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Oppermansgronde 34186</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Pella 48277*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pniël 57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Richtersveld 513919</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Rietpoort 15092</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Saron 3152</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Slang River 1124</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Steinkopf 329301</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Suurbraak 4790</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Thaba Patchoa 3625</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Zoar 5883</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1722089

1. The rural areas in Namaqualand have been compared to the other 17 and the categories ranked 1 to 23, with 1 representing largest surface area, population and density (whatever the case may be) and 23 representing the smallest in each category.

2. Also known as Anhalt.

3. Previously Askraal.


APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF NAMAQUALAND MISSION STATIONS

1811 - Five German missionaries arrived in Cape Town under the protection of the LMS.
     - One German missionary settles at Kommas (Pella).

1815 - Schmelen (one of the five German missionaries) establishes Steinkopf (included Concordia).

1824 - Wesleyan missionary persuades government to put Leliefontein under missionary control.

1829 - Schmelen establishes Kommagas.

1840 - LMS pioneering efforts diminishing.
     - Member of RMS arrives at Kommagas.

1843 - Kommagas and Steinkopf under RMS control.

1849 - Attempts to resettle people at Pella (abandoned in 1825) unsuccessful.

1870 - Concordia established as separate station and reserve.

1884 - RMS evangelist sent to Richtersveld.
     - Mission Stations and Coomunal Reserves Act formed.

1909 - Richtersveld Reserve comes into being in terms of the above Act.

1912 - Concordia's boundaries defined Steenkopf and Concordia.

1936 - Kommagas - run by DRC
     - Leliefontein - run by Methodists
     - Pella - run by Catholics.
1. On arrival of the Europeans in the Cape and on the American Coast, they encountered groups of indigenous hunter-gatherers and pastoralists organised by family relationships into clans. As farming became ever more important in providing an economic base for the European settlers, the relationship between them and the indigenous inhabitants changed. As potential trading partners, the 'tribesmen' were necessary and valuable but in farming they became an obstacle as they occupied the land.

2. Dispossession of land occurred as whites pushed westwards (in America) and northwards (in South Africa) in search of land to settle on and natural resources to exploit.

3. In both instances missionaries played a role in Christianising and 'civilizing' the indigenous inhabitants. Initially or unwittingly the missionaries were important agents for changing the American Indian and Khoi Khoi ways into patterns of white society.

4. The formation of reserves: in America a 'reservation policy' was adopted to coerce the Indians onto the reservations thus destroying their hunting habitats and forcing them to adopt the 'arts and habits of civilization' (Lyman-Taylor 1973: 72). In Namaqualand the reserves have their origin in the mission stations and the indigenous inhabitants struggle to keep their land when threatened by 'boer' encroachment.

5. The warfare between the Indians and the Anglo-Americans and that between the Khoi Khoi and the Dutch.

6. The persistent and concerted effort on the parts of both settler governments to change the traditional way of life of the indigenous population. In Namaqualand the motive was primarily to fulfill labour needs whereas in America it was in some instances 'an attack upon cultural ways that came from men of a "humanitarian" outlook who sought to benefit the Indians' (Prucha 1971: 2) and in others a racial policy. Today, insofar as racial provisions are embodied in law, they are intended to be to the advantage of Indians, whereas in South Africa race is entrenched in legislation to the undoubted detriment of the majority of its people, of whom the descendants of the Khoi Khoi form one part.
## APPENDIX F

**GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number of Offices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Office</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magistrates</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Administration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisional Council</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisional Council Clinics</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Boards (CRA)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape Administration Board</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Affairs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iscom</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather Bureau</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs (Dept. of Fisheries)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATS - harbour master</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and Water Supply</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature Conservation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Board</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Welfare</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Commissioner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence Force</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Clinics</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Schools</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State-aided Schools</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-government</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airways</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Institutions</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>242</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Karoo and Namaqualand telephone directory 1984/1985.

APPENDIX G

BUSINESS LICENCES ISSUED BY THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL 1985/1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Licence</th>
<th>Number issued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Dealer</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber or Hairdresser</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creche and afterschool care</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Service</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Garage</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealer in bones and used goods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive trades</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Industry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of entertainment and service</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical culture or health centre</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aerated or mineral water dealer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral Undertaker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger transport undertaking</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation establishments</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartage Contractor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy shop</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshop</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealer or speculator in livestock</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or produce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry or dry cleaner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennels or pet boarding establishment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawker</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>235</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Divisional Council - Springbok.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Books, Articles and Other Published Material

Armstrong, H. and Taylor, J.
1978 "Regional Economic Policy and it's analysis".

Barrat, J., Collier, D., Glaser, K. and Männning, M.

Boonzaier, E.A.
1984 "Economic Differentiation and Racism in
    Namaqualand - A Case Study". CCP, Cape Town.

Brookfield, H.
1975 "Interdependent Development". Methuen, London.

Brown, A.J. and Burrows, E.M.
1977 "Regional Economic Problems". George Allen and
    Unwin Ltd, London.

Bundy, C.
1972 "The Emergence and Decline of the South African

Carstens, J.
1962 "Fortune Through my Fingers". Timmins, Cape Town.

Carstens, P.
1966 "Social Structure of a Cape-Coloured Reserve".
    Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Clout, M.D.
1975 "Regional development in Western Europe".
    John Wiley and Sons, London.

Collins, R. and Collins, A.
1984 "Do Workers Co-operatives Work?" CCP, Cape Town.

Cornelissen, A.
1965 "Namaqualand Copper Industry". Privately Printed.

Curre, L.C.
1913 "Notes on Namaqualand Bushmen". Trans. R. Soc.
    of South Africa, Vol III.

Dinnerstein, L., Nicols, R.L. and Reimers, D.M.
1979 "Natives and Strangers. Ethnic Groups and the
    Building of America". Oxford University Press,
    New York.

Dowdle, K.
1955 "A Bibliography of Namaqualand". University
    School of Librarianship, Cape Town.


Green, L.G. 1940  "So Few are Free". Timmins, Cape Town.

1948  "To the Rivers End". Timmins, Cape Town.

Grasskopf, J.F. 1932  "Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus". Pro Ecclesia Drukkery, Stellenbosch.

Hanekom, T.N.  

Hansen, N.H.  

Hocking, A.  
"Kaias and Cocopans - the Story of Mining in South Africa's Northern Cape". Hollards, Johannesburg.

Holland, S.  

Jooste, C.J.  

Kaplan, A.  
1984  "Wupperthal - Thoughts and Projections on Rural Development". CCP, Cape Town.

Kolbe, P.  
1731  "The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope (a particular account of the several nations of Hottentots ....)". Inuys, London.

Kotze, P.J.  
1943  "Namakwaland - 'n Sosiologiese Studie van 'n Geisoleerde Gemeenskap". Nasionale Pers Beperk, Kaapstad.

Lansing, J. and Mueller, E.  

Lees, R.  
"Fishing for Fortunes". Purnell, Cape Town.

Lemon, A. and Pollock, A.C.  

Leppan, M.D.  
1928  "The Agricultural Development of Arid and Semi-Arid Regions with Special Reference to South Africa". CNA, Johannesburg.
Lohmann, K.  
1937  "Regional Planning". Edward Brothers, Inc.; Michigan.

Lyman Tyler, S.  

Maddison, A.  

Marais, J.S.  

McNickle, D.  

Moffat, H.R.  

Nourse, H.  

Onijemelukiwe, C.C.  

O'okiep Copper Company  

Pollock, D.E.  

Power, J.  

Prucha, F.P.  

Richardson, H.W.  
Robinson, E.A.G.  

Roxborough, I.  

Schapera, I.  

Scully, C.  
1915  "Lodges in the Wilderness". Jenkins, London.

Sharp, J.S.  
1984  "Rural Development Schemes and the Struggle against Impoverishment in the Namaqualand Reserves". CCP, Cape Town.

Sharp, J.S. and West, M.E.  
1984  "Land, Labour and Mobility in Namaqualand". CCP, Cape Town.

Stilwell, F.J.B.  

Van der Horst, S.  
1984  "The Relation of Industrial Legislation and Statutory Regulations to Poverty". CCP, Cape Town.

Van der Merwe, H.W. and Groenewald, C.J. (ed)  

Van der Merwe, K.  

West, M.E.  


Whittaker, D.E. and Archer, F.M.  

Wilson, M. and Thompson, L.  
Wilson, T. 1964 "Policies for Regional Development". Cunningham and Sons Ltd, Alva.


2. Government Publications

(a) Central Statistical Services

Agriculture


Agricultural Census No. 23. 1948-49. Special Reports No. 1; No. 2; No. 3.

Agricultural Census No. 27. 1952-53. Special Reports No. 1; No. 2; No. 3; No. 4; No. 5.


Fishing

Census of Fisheries, 1960-61 in South Africa and South West Africa (Special Report No. 258).

Census of Fisheries, 1961-62 in South Africa and South West Africa (Special Report No. 268).

Census of Fisheries, 1962-63 in South Africa and South West Africa (Special Report No. 299).

Census of Fisheries, 1963-64 (Report No. 06-03-01).


Report on the Census of Fisheries, 1979 (Report No. 06-03-03).

Population

Population of South Africa 1904-70 (Report No. 02-05-12).

Age by Statistical Region and District (Report No. 02-85-04).

Occupation by Statistical Region and District (Report No. 02-85-05).

Level of Education by Statistical Region and District (Report No. 02-80-07).

Industry by Statistical Region and District (Report No. 02-85-08).

Income by Statistical Region and District (Report No. 02-80-09).


National Accounts

Gross Geographic Product at Factor Incomes by Managerial District 1978 (Report No. 09-14-05).

(b) Commissions


(c) **Departmental Reports**

**Department of Environmental Affairs**

Regional Survey of the Western Cape - 1964.


**Department of Internal Affairs**

Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, Annual Reports 1971 - 1974.

Department of Coloured Rehoboth and Nama Relations, Annual Reports 1975 - 1979.


Supplementary information to the Annual Report of the Administration: House of Representatives - Department of Education and Culture.

Ditto: - Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

**Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs**


3. **Thesis / Honours Papers**

Carter, C.E.

Helman, C.

Luyt, D.

Redlinghuis, A.C.

Sharp, J.S.
Smalberger, J.M.

Trollip, J.

4. Unpublished Conference and Seminar Papers

Balie, A.
1979  "Handelsprobleme in the Landelike Gebiede van Namakwaland". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Boonzaier, E.
1979  "Race and Class: The Applicability of these Concepts in the Namaqualand Rural Coloured Areas". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Carter, C.E.

Curry, D.M.G.
1979  "Die Toekoms van die Landelike Gebede". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Goldin, I.

Grobbelaar, W.S.
1979  "Landbou Ontwikkeling in Landelike Gebede". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Hendrie, D.

Klinghardt, G.D.
1979  "Why do Rural Coloured Areas Exist?" Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Kotze, D.A.
1985  "Field Administration and Local Government in the "Rural Coloured Areas" of South Africa. Working Document in Rural Community Development, Department of Development Administration and Politics, Unisa, Pretoria.

NDMF Cape Western Region
Pedro, F.  
1979  
"Die Rol van die Kerk in die Gemeenskap Ontwikkelingsproses in die Landelike Gebiede". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Uys, D.  
1979  
"Bestuursprobleme in 'n Landelike Gebied: Richtersveld". Rural Areas Symposium, April 1979, UWC.

Webley, L.  
1985  

Weirso, H.  
1984  
"The Development of Underdevelopment in Rural Areas with Specific Reference to Genadendal".

5. Company Reports, Newspapers and Other Publications

Argus, Cape Town  
1950 - June 1988

Black Mountain Mineral Development Company (Pty) Ltd - Information Booklet.

Cape Times, Cape Town  
1945 - June 1988

City Press, Johannesburg  
October 1986

Coal, Gold and Base Minerals - Southern Africa, Vol. 28 (No's 1-12); 1980, Vol. 29 (No's 1-12); 1981.


De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd - "Diamante in die Sand - die Verhaal van die Namakwalandse Myn Afdeling van De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited".

Diamond News and South African Jeweller: January 1980; Vol. 43(4); May 1986; Vol. 49 (8).

Farmers Weekly:  
Vol. 80; 10 Jan 1951  
Vol. 81; 5 Sept 1951  
Vol. 82; 12 Sept 1951  
Vol. 93; 2 Oct 1957  
Vol. 94; 22 Jan 1958  
Vol. 119; 30 Dec 1970

New Nation, Johannesburg  
November 1986

O'okiep Copper Company Ltd - Information Booklet, 1985
South, Cape Town
Sunday Times Extra, Johannesburg
October 1986.
Trans Hex Group Ltd - Fifth Annual Report.
Trans Hex Group Ltd - Pre-Listing Statement.

6. Miscellaneous

Bulpin, T.V.

Cloete, C.E.
1986 "Development Potential of Mining, Tourism and Agriculture of Steinkopf.

Child Health Unit
"Namaqualand and School Entrants Survey".

Jeppe, B.

Kibel, M.A.

Persverklaning deur die inwoners van Leliefontein en Steinkopf.
19 August 1987.

Press Statement of the Leliefontein Community.

Red Cross - Promotional Material.

SABC Series.
"Copper and Namaqualand - A Short History of Copper Mining in Namaqualand".

Springbok Munisipaliteit
1984 "Springbok ............ Namaqualand".

Summary Judgement
"Gert Bekeur and three others vs. The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture; the Leliefontein Management Board and P.M. Links and others". 26 April 1988.

Surplus Peoples Project
Namaqualand - "Dis ons gebied, maar nie meer ons gebied nie". July 1986.


SPP Fact Sheet No. 4. January 1988.

"Hondeklipbaai" (undated)
Press Statement: "Communal Land restored to residents of Leliefontein." (Undated).

Thomas, W.H.
"KSOK - Betrakkenheid by die indersteuning van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die landlike gebiede van Namakwaland", April 1988.

West, M.E. and Sharp, J.S.
"Influx Control in Namaqualand". (Undated).

World Vision - Promotional Material.

7. Commission of Enquiry Submissions

"Verslag aan Kommisee van ondersoek in Leliefontein". Fiona Archer, October 1986.

"Submission to the Committee of Enquiry with respect to the proposed changes in the pattern of land ownership in Leliefontein." Prof. E.J. Moll, Department of Botany, University of Cape Town; Dr. R.M. Cowling, FRD, CSIR, Cape Town; Dr. B. McKenzie, Department of Botany, University of the Western Cape; Mr. C. Milton Taylor, Department of Botany, University of Stellenbosch. (Undated).

"Traditional Land Use in the Leliefontein Reserve". Lita Webly. (Undated).

"Submission to the Commission of Inquiry into the Leliefontein Area - Namaqualand". D.E. Whittaker, October 1986.


SPP Fact Sheet No. 4. January 1988.

"Hondeklipbaai" (undated)
Press Statement: "Communal Land restored to residents of Leliefontein." (Undated).

Thomas, W.H.
"KSOK - Betrakkenheid by die ondersteuning van ekonomiese ontwikkeling in die landlike gebiede van Namakwaland", April 1988.

West, M.E. and Sharp, J.S.
"Influx Control in Namaqualand". (Undated).

World Vision - Promotional Material.

7. Commission of Enquiry Submissions

"Verslag aan Kommisee van ondersoek in Leliefontein". Fiona Archer, October 1986.

"Submission to the Committee of Enquiry with respect to the proposed changes in the pattern of land ownership in Leliefontein." Prof. E.J. Moll, Department of Botany, University of Cape Town; Dr. R.M. Cowling, FRD, CSIR, Cape Town; Dr. B. McKenzie, Department of Botany, University of the Western Cape; Mr. C. Milton Taylor, Department of Botany, University of Stellenbosch. (Undated).

"Traditional Land Use in the Leliefontein Reserve". Lita Webly. (Undated).

"Submission to the Commission of Inquiry into the Leliefontein Area - Namaqualand". D.E. Whittaker, October 1986.
To anybody interested in what is happening in Southern Africa at the present time, it is clear that an understanding of changes taking place in the field of labour is crucial. The whole debate about the political implications of economic growth, for example, revolves very largely around different assessments of the role of black workers in the mines and factories of the Republic. Many of the questions with which people involved in Southern Africa are now concerned relate, in one way or another, to the field generally set aside for labour economists to cultivate. The impact of trade unions; the causes of unemployment; the economic consequences of different educational policies; the determination of wage structures; the economics of discrimination; all these and more are matters with which labour economists have been wrestling over the years in various parts of the world.

At the same time there are many who would argue that these issues are far wider than can be contained within the narrow context of 'labour economics'. These issues, it is pointed out, go to the heart of the whole nature of development. In recent studies, commissioned by the International Labour Office, of development problems in Colombia, Sri Lanka, and Kenya, for example, leading scholars have identified the three crucial issues facing these countries as being poverty, unemployment, and the distribution of income. Thus the distinction between labour and development studies is becoming more blurred as economists come face to face with problems of real life in the Third World.

It is here too that an increasing number of people are coming to see that study of the political economy of South Africa must not be done on the assumption that the problems there are absolutely different from those facing other parts of the world. Indeed it can be argued that far from being an isolated, special case, South Africa is a model of the whole world containing within it all the divisions and tensions (black/white; rich/poor; migrant/nonmigrant; capitalist west/third-world; etc.) that may be seen in global perspective. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the economy of Southern Africa (for the political and economic boundaries are singularly out of line with each other) is one of the most fascinating in the world. It is one on which far more research work needs to be done, and about which further understanding of the forces at work is urgently required. It is in order to attempt to contribute to such an understanding that Saldu is issuing these working papers.