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Controls and constraints: Land,
labour and mobility in Namaqualand

by

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CONTROLS AND CONSTRAINTS: LAND, LABOUR AND MOBILITY
IN NAMAQUALAND

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Introduction

Despite its mineral wealth, Little Namaqualand has been and still is a relatively isolated and insignificant part of South Africa. Its significance for present purposes, however, lies in the fact that several analytical issues of general importance can be discussed within a limited regional compass. One such issue concerns the way in which social differentiation - in particular, systematic racial stereotyping and classification - emerged from the processes of accumulation and impoverishment involved in the course of colonial settlement and the subsequent growth of agricultural and mining industries. Further debate about whether capitalism adapted to or created the racial order in South Africa (Johnstone, 1976; Greenberg, 1980) will prove increasingly sterile unless future studies pay close attention to regional details of the

issues involved (Bozzoli, 1980).

This paper will, with this intention, provide a broad overview of the main lines of change in Namaqualand since the early nineteenth century. These include the growth of differentiation in the nineteenth century countryside between White-owned farming areas and 'Coloured' reserves; the demise of the White trekboer; the brief rise and rapid decline of generalised peasant production in the reserves; and resistance to proletarianisation in those reserves. They also include the growth of the mining industry; the development of differentiated patterns of involvement of local people in that industry; the impact of the closure of the mines and their re-opening after 1940; changes in agriculture; and changing conditions in the urban areas.

Recent anthropological research in Namaqualand has focused on the development over time of social boundaries within the region's population, and has examined the processes of differentiation, accumulation and impoverishment which comprise the core of this development at the micro level. This overview will draw on this research, and will attempt to provide some insights into the way in which macro processes of change were experienced on the ground.

Land

In the period between 1795 and 1847 the boundary of the Cape Colony shifted in several stages to the Orange River, thus including by the latter date the whole region of Little Namaqualand as Crown land. The boundary was shifted to maintain a semblance of control over the expansionary movements of colonials

and of indigenous people displaced from areas further to the south, and over their relationships with the existing inhabitants of the region (Sharp, 1977:21-52). Prior to the mid-19th century, the intruders were mainly pastoralists who also engaged in hunting, trade and prospecting - activities which threatened the resources available to the existing inhabitants (Luyt, 1981:72-85). There was great scope for unrest near the frontier at the hands of unruly and disaffected intruders and a resentful autochthonous population.

Within the next fifty years large tracts of individually-owned farmland and reserve areas were carved out of this territory. The purpose of this section is to examine how these apportionments were made, and which people gained access to them.

Individual title to land was initially granted to a wider range of people than was the case after the creation of the mission reserves in the mid-nineteenth century. During the period of Dutch administration individual land grants were made to such people as Adam Kok I and the Nama chief Wildschut, in part in an attempt to gain some measure of control over the frontier zone (Luyt, 1981:78) The British administration subsequently introduced tighter control over the issuing of titles to land in the form of the quitrent system (Duly, 1968), but this did not, of itself, reduce the range of people who received titles. For example, the farm Springbokfontein - on which the first mining town of Springbok was later built - was given out under the quitrent system to one Jacobus 'Bastard' Cloete (as the title deed records) in 1850 (Smalberger, 1975:49; Sharp, 1977:34).

In general quitrent farms were issued from the south progressively

northwards, mainly in the better-watered, mountainous regions. But even by the end of the nineteenth century large parts of the less-favoured areas within the region - the Sandveld and Bushmanland - were still Crown land.

The reserves began as mission stations of the Rhenish Mission Society of Germany, and land was acquired in various ways. Lilyfontain began on land granted by the Dutch to an indigenous 'tribe' in the eighteenth century; Komaggas was established on Crown land within the Cape Colony in 1831; while Steinkopf, Concordia, the Richtersveld and Pella (in Bushmanland) started just beyond the colonial boundary, and were incorporated when the boundary was extended to the Orange River in 1847.

In their early stages the reserves consisted of a central mission village and surrounding 'zones of occupation' which were not precisely defined nor exclusively used by mission adherents, as unattached trekboers roamed within these zones as well. Mission journals record, for example, that the children of farmers of Dutch congregations made use of mission schools (Leipoldt's diary, Monthly Reports, Rhenish Mission Society, 1840).

At the same time a threat to these communities grew as individual trekboers were increasingly granted portions of Crown lands as farms. Missionaries sought to gain Tickets of Occupation for mission lands from the colonial government and achieved this for Komaggas, Steinkopf and Concordia by 1874. However the land granted was much smaller than the original zone of occupation, and this loss of land began to reduce large numbers of mission inhabitants to increasing poverty, whilst not precluding them from all access to land. Access to mission reserve land was guaranteed to those who achieved

burgherskap, citizenship, through a system of community organisation introduced by the missionaries (Sharp, 1977:93-209).

The Tickets of Occupation were issued by a colonial administration under considerable pressure from philanthropists in England (MacMillan, 1927:55-62). They were designed to preserve some measure of access to land for the indigenous population, but also had the effect of introducing an institutionalised form of racial classification into what had been a fluid situation. The Ticket for Komaggas, for example, specified that inhabitants of the reserve should be 'Aborigines or Bastards of aboriginal descent' (C2-1888: Appendix to ... Reports of Select Committees). This meant that those who entered the reserves permanently thereafter were regarded -
1
irrespective of their origins - as being people of this description.

Despite this, the three categories of people on the land in Namaqualand - individual landowners, trekboers and mission-dwellers - were by no means discrete during the nineteenth century. People moved between these categories, and systematic relationships also developed between categories. From time to time individual landowners were forced to become trekboers, and trekboers entered the reserves, sometimes permanently. The latter was particularly true of trekboers who initially entered 'bywoner' relationships with people in the reserves.

In these relationships, the trekboers made formal requests to the *burgerrade*, the controlling councils in the reserves, to hire grazing on the

1. See Boonzaier (1984) for a twentieth century instance of this process.

commonage on the *burgers'* terms or to enter ploughing arrangements with reserve-members who were the senior partners (Sharp, 1977:131-2). This form of 'bywoner-ship', which persisted into the early 20th century, is a striking indication that the racial contours of pre-capitalist agriculture in Namaqualand were neither totally nor firmly fixed.

In the same period, however, the association between different forms of access to land and perceived racial classifications had begun to harden to the point at which movement between categories implied a change in racial identity for those involved in the process. The White trekboer, therefore, who settled in a reserve became by association an 'aboriginal' or person of mixed descent, and this perception was often confirmed in the next generation as a result of local marriage. Conversely those who managed to acquire the resources to gain individual title had also to win acceptance as 'Boers'; after the creation of the reserves it became less and less acceptable, to the authorities and to local colonists, to have people who were not white as individual land-owners. One is therefore dealing with a period in which social boundaries were still flexible in certain situations and could be manipulated by individuals; in other contexts however the boundaries were discernibly hardening. These contradictory tendencies around the turn of the century were a mark of the very uneven transition to capitalist agriculture in the region.

Labour and Mobility

Towards the end of the 19th century, some of the wealthier land-owners were

employing wage labour on their lands. They were also complaining bitterly about the shortage of such labour, which had driven wage rates higher than those in the Western Cape (Luyt, 1981:143). They advocated the break-up of the communal reserves, to force the poor in these areas into wage labour on farms and to free additional land in the more favoured parts of the region for purchase (Sharp, 1984). They did not, clearly, wish to make use of the various and still-common forms of partnership with Reserve-dwellers to secure labour for their own lands. The reason for this lay in the existence, after the 1860s, of growing markets for agricultural produce provided by the new mining towns in the region and by the transport link to Cape Town via the port at Hondeklip Bay (Smalberger, 1975:81).

The mechanisms for the hardening of perceptions about race and status were, therefore, not simply the issuing of legal Tickets of Occupation, but also involved the development of the mining industry in the area and the manner in which this affected local agriculture.

The Cape colonists had known of the existence of copper deposits in Namaqualand since the seventeenth century, but the first significant mine opened in Springbok in 1852 (Smalberger, 1975:70). There was an initial scramble for claims, deposits and working capital, and two companies - which grew to be major employers of labour - survived: the Cape Copper Company, which operated mines in Springbok, Nababeep and O'okiep, and the Namaqua Copper Company, which mined on land claimed by the Concordia Mission station (Sharp, 1977:37-8). It was ruled at this stage that neither mission stations nor their inhabitants had any rights to mineral deposits in the territories they claimed. This ruling was formalised later in the 1909 Mission Stations

and Communal Reserves Act.

In addition to formidable problems of transportation in view of the terrain and its isolation, the mines in Namaqualand also faced labour problems until the end of the century. Firstly, there was a shortage of skilled labour, and miners were brought in from Cornwall, where the tin mines were in decline. In addition, some St Helenans who had come to the west coast as fishermen at the end of the century, moved to the interior and were employed as semi-skilled workers on the mines. As far as unskilled labour was concerned, the mines initially had great difficulty in recruiting local people, particularly those in reserves who had protected access to land. The latter clung to the diminishing possibilities offered by the reserves for subsistence agriculture, and used the influence of the missionaries to ward off attacks from within the reserves (from wealthier peasants) and from outside (from land-owners and miners) on the communal land tenure system.² The companies were initially obliged to import African labour from as far afield as Mocambique.

These solutions to the practical problem of recruiting labour began to establish an increasingly widely-accepted correlation between categories of employment and perceived social differences in terms of geographical origins and physical appearance. In the late 19th century, local people were increasingly forced into wage-labour on the mines by problems of drought, indebtedness, and land shortage as the result of the creation of finite reserve territories, and the continued issuing of private titles in what had

2. See G60-1890: Report on the lands in Namaqualand set aside for the occupation of natives and others, by S.Melvill, Second Assistant Surveyor General.

formerly been Crown land. The reserves in Namaqualand were surveyed and defined prior to the passing of the 1909 Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, which also transferred secular control of these areas from the missionaries to the state. They came to comprise about 26% of the land area of the region (Klinghardt, 1982:10).

People in the reserves were the first to be forced into wage-labour, but by the end of the century trekboers were also drawn into the process. Having at first possessed the means to resist proletarianisation, local people later found themselves at a disadvantage when forced into wage labour, because they lacked the requisite skills. This meant that many White trekboers were unemployable; employers were reluctant to hire them for what was seen as 'kaffir work', and in any event many were too proud to accept this even when offered. People from the reserves were however deemed to be employable, but were suited only to the most menial occupations. Their lack of skills thus confirmed the status accorded by the Tickets of Occupation.

In the early stages of the twentieth century the pressures on reserve-dwellers increased. The 1909 Act imposed a tax on adult males in the reserves to force many of them to seek work on the mines. On the other hand, some White land-owners found their farms too small to be viable, and were themselves similarly vulnerable to drought and indebtedness. Given their problems of entering unskilled wage-labour, this was one of the processes contributing to the Poor White problem, studied in the 1920s by the original Carnegie Commission (Grosskopf, 1932). As observers such as Heese (1938) pointed out, many Whites were little better-off than people in the reserves, and were certainly disadvantaged with respect to cultural facilities such as

schools.

In 1918 the larger of the two copper companies was forced to close because of problems with shipping at the close of the war, which affected both the supply of inputs such as coke and the export of copper, and because of a prohibition on the import of copper regulus into the United Kingdom. Closure had widespread consequences. Loss of employment and markets destroyed material differentiation in the reserves built up over the previous sixty years, reducing those who remained in these areas to a common denominator of poverty (Sharp, 1984). Great impoverishment was also noted in towns such as Port Nolloth which, as the terminus of the railway-line from O'okiep, was very dependent on the mines. Many people - including most Africans and others who had been attracted to the mines from outside the region - left to seek work elsewhere in the interior. The beginning of the fishing industry in 1918 in Port Nolloth did not initially provide sufficient employment to counteract the depression. Diamonds were discovered along the West Coast in 1927 and ushered in a brief boom period before the state intervened to establish the State Alluvial Diggings at Alexander Bay. This curtailed opportunities for private entrepreneurs, and was designed to provide a source of employment exclusively for Poor Whites in the region.

The depression lasted throughout the thirties in Namaqualand. In 1939 an American consortium purchased the assets of the defunct copper companies and gradually expanded production (Smalberger, 1975:123-126). Until the end of the 1960s employment opportunities grew in copper and diamond mining and in the fishing industry. This period of growth resulted in low unemployment rates generally, a modest prosperity for most, and a resurgence of the material

differentiation within the reserve population which had begun in the nineteenth century. It also resulted in the return of managerial and skilled personnel from outside the region, as well as the importation of a significant number of African migrants, mainly from the Eastern Cape.

Local Whites also benefited enormously from opportunities for employment, training and advancement. The mines provided many with the chance to escape the consequences of uneconomic farming, while allowing some to pursue an interest in agriculture by investing some of their earnings in land they had retained. As Whites moved off the land in the region, those who remained were able to increase the size of their land-holdings to take advantage of economies of scale.

These benefits did not accrue to the same degree to those local people who had by this stage (after 1950) been formally classified as 'Coloured', despite the fact that Namaqualand fell within the designated Coloured Labour Preference Area. No new permanent African residents have been allowed since the middle 1950s, and apart from a handful of people who acquired permanent residence before this period, Africans have been allowed into Namaqualand only as part of carefully regulated migrant quotas. Nonetheless, the African population of Namaqualand increased from just over 3000 in 1951, before the Preference Area policy, to over 5000 in 1960. This figure has remained at over 5000 into the 1980s.

Although the number of Africans in the area has increased, there has been a

3. Sources: Population Census, 1951 (vol.1), 1960 (vol.1) and 1980 Population Census Sample Tabulation, 02-80-01.

marked shift in the distribution of employment opportunities. Hardly any Africans are employed in local agriculture, which is not in any event labour-intensive, or in the fishing industry which collapsed in the early 1970s. Changes in the copper-mining industry around Springbok, discussed below, resulted in a dramatic fall in the number of Africans employed after 1975. In 1975, the O'okiep Copper Company employed 2300 migrant workers; this had dropped to 600 by 1982.⁴ This decline has been more than offset, however, by rapid increase in employment opportunities in new mining ventures - such as at Aggenys - and construction work. A considerable number of employment opportunities which should arguably be available to people classified 'Coloured' in terms of the Labour Preference policy, are therefore occupied by Africans. In 1980 the 5300 Africans in Namaqualand comprised over one third of the economically-active male population (excluding Whites). The proportion becomes even higher when 'Coloured' male unemployment is taken into account.

The fact that Namaqualand falls within the Coloured Labour Preference Area does not mean that Coloured labour has free mobility within the region. The major employers - the mining concerns - are situated on private land, and do not permit people not in their employ or running essential services to live on their property. This has had the effect that the retired, retrenched or unemployed have to live elsewhere, unless their children work on the mines. In addition many Coloured workers are reluctant to live in tied company housing as this restricts their mobility further, and provides the employer with an extra hold over the employee. Some mine employees have taken the risk

4. Personal communication, Personnel Manager, OCC, January 1983.

of erecting their own houses on OCC land, for example; this is permitted on the understanding that an employee who leaves may receive no reimbursement for the house left behind.

A similar situation also obtains with company housing in Port Nolloth, provided by both the fishing and diamond industries (West, 1971). Housing is provided at nominal rent, but ties workers to their employers. This has been highlighted at times of crisis, where falling diamond prices or a bad fishing season have led to reduced earnings, and some workers have felt unable to seek alternative employment elsewhere for fear of losing their accommodation in a region where housing is at a premium (West, 1984).

The coastal diamond mines in Namaqualand have very strict regulations against unauthorised entry, and workseekers are recruited from outside. Only a fraction of these workers are provided with family housing, and a large proportion of the Coloured labour force is consequently compelled to migrate, leaving families elsewhere. This has in turn created problems in some towns, where squatter communities have increased through the influx of dependants of absent migrants.

As far as employment in agriculture is concerned, the number of farm labourers has always been low, and farmers do not seem to have had problems of labour supply despite generally poor working conditions: there have been few places for dissatisfied workers to go. In addition, changes in farming methods in recent times, involving the use of camps for animals, plus the decrease in the number of farmers in the region, have led to a diminished need for labour. Farm workers in Namaqualand were subject to the stringent

provisions of the Masters and Servants Act until its repeal in 1974. The repeal, however, is likely to have had minimal effect on both farmers and workers (Bundy, 1975).

Although residents have been free to leave reserve areas, rules pertaining to immigration have been strict for 120 years, as the communal tenure system has afforded existing members the power to control entry by outsiders. It is only since the 1960s that the state has introduced legislation to make it possible for reserves to be divided up and allocated to '*bona fide* farmers' on the basis of individual tenure. The decision on whether to accept this new system has been left to the management councils of the individual reserves. The measure has been accepted in some reserves, with considerable opposition, and rejected outright in others. It is worthwhile noting that the needs of the mining industry have changed over the period.

Since 1975 there have been several sudden, mass retrenchments of labour on O'okiep Copper Company mines, caused mainly by sharp downward movement in the world copper price but also by local technical difficulties in relation to profitable copper deposits. The retrenchments have had disastrous consequences for workers in all racial categories. African migrants have been summarily returned to their areas of origin, mainly the eastern Cape districts; White workers have been given brief notice to vacate tied company housing, and in many cases were forced out of the district altogether to seek alternative employment and housing. Coloured employees have faced many of the same problems as their White counterparts, but have had greater difficulty finding alternative work because discriminatory employment practices afforded them fewer skills which were marketable elsewhere.

In the course of making these retrenchments, the copper mines have also effected a marked change in the racial composition of their labour force. 'Coloured' workers have been substituted for Africans and Whites in a much reduced total complement, as the following table indicates:

Table 1: Employment in the OCC

Year	Whites	Coloureds	Africans	Total
1974	1036	1996	2080	5102
1975	1000	1300	2300	4600
1982	555	1800	600	2955

Source:

The available figures hide several large fluctuations in the number of 'Coloured' workers specifically: in the round of retrenchments in 1977, for instance, just under 400 'Coloured' workers, along with 190 Whites and 500 Africans, lost their jobs (*Die Burger*, 5/7/1977). This means that the number of 'Coloured' workers employed in fact doubled between 1978 and 1982, whereas at one point in the period the number of Whites employed dropped below 500.

A major brake on this process of substitution was the representation, in the 1970s, of White wage workers by the powerful Mine Workers Union. But its influence was broken during a disastrous 'illegal' strike in 1979; the strike began in Nababeep, spread briefly across the country, and was the result of national as well as local events. In Namaqualand it was caused by the bitterness of the Union and its members at the decline in the number of White employees on the copper mines, and was precipitated by a particular instance in which 'Coloured' personnel were temporarily substituted for White workers

who had gone on leave. Because due conciliation procedures had not been followed, the strike was technically illegal, and the OCC took the opportunity to fire the strikers. It stated that it would consider only individual applications for re-engagement. Most workers were forced to break ranks with the Union in order to save their jobs and houses. Mine Workers Union representation has dropped from 750 in 1974 to under 100 in 1983.

The diminution in African employment on the copper mines is clearly related to the decline in the number of White workers employed, although the one is not necessarily a direct result of the other. The OCC has derived a number of benefits from the increase in the proportion of 'Coloured' workers in its labour force. It has a labour force which is much more tied to the region, at least in the short term: opportunities for 'Coloured' mineworkers, with or without skills, are few on mines in the other provinces. Even those with skills cannot be fitted comfortably into the racial order on the gold and other mines.

The fact that the process of substitution has resulted in a labour force more tied to the region has two further consequences. First, it means that the workers will be more inclined to acquiesce in the face of sudden retrenchments, which seem likely to continue. In this connection it is worth mentioning that since the early 1970s 'Coloured' workers have been represented on the mines by a TUCSA-affiliated union which is far less powerful and militant than was the Mine Workers Union, particularly in the last years of its dominance (during the 1979 strike, police investigated claims that its members had committed industrial sabotage on OCC property). Second, it means that the company has a labour force composed of people who are not White and

can, therefore, be paid less for doing the same work than the White workers were. At the same time its labour force is not made up of migrant workers to the same extent as before, so that it is worth providing training facilities to upgrade the skills of those who remain.

In general terms, the problems faced by the copper mines in Namaqualand - fluctuating prices for its product, the necessity of incurring large development costs to reach rich ore bodies to replace marginal mines which have become uneconomic - have resulted in the need for a smaller labour force which is more highly trained to operate in an increasingly mechanised industry. The OCC has moved towards a labour force with these characteristics by adroit use of the substance and the ostensible spirit of the Coloured Labour Preference policy. There are certainly some advantages in these changes for local 'Coloured' workers and their dependants, particularly in the shape of higher wages for some, increased access to training facilities and the rezoning of substantial numbers of company houses for use by Coloured employees. But it must be remembered that, as past events have shown, few jobs in the copper industry are secure, and that there are now fewer employment opportunities available to workers generally.

There are already reports of widespread unemployment in the copper district, and of the fact that many school-leavers cannot find local employment. This means that in time more workers are likely to be forced into long-distance labour migration, and that their dependants will face the problems outlined above in securing somewhere to live within Namaqualand.

White Namaqualanders have not emerged unscathed from recent events. In

addition to those who have experienced retrenchment on the mines, many farmers have been hard hit by the recent drought years. Numbers of stock farmers, particularly those in the drought-stricken Bushmanland, have had to abandon their land (leaving their farmworkers to face utter destitution) and try for alternative avenues of employment. Since the mid-1970s potentially the most profitable farming area in the region has been the irrigation settlement on the Orange River at Vioolsdrift, but it requires large capital inputs to realise this potential. Some of the most successful entrepreneurs in the settlement are, indeed, people who have come into the region recently from the outside, bringing capital resources with them.

Urban Areas

The pressures outlined above have resulted in a number of White mineworkers and farmers leaving the district. The same pressures affected local 'Coloured' people, but as indicated above it was very much more difficult for them to leave Namaqualand. The poor of the reserves are now under threat through the new land tenure system, and others are being compelled to leave mine property. There is thus an increasing tendency for people to look to the non-mining towns for employment and places to stay. The focus of attention is on these urban areas to accommodate those moving temporarily or permanently from the rural areas. Most towns in the area appear to have some *de facto*

5. After the 1977 retrenchments, for example, the Dutch Reformed Church was instrumental in placing Whites in new employment on the gold-fields.

method of controlling in-migration. This has usually been by limiting the number of houses built for 'Coloured' people (either by local authorities or industry) according to need and available resources and by preventing squatting on the outskirts of towns.

Residence on White-owned farms, and on mining property is tightly-controlled, and access to the reserves is becoming more difficult, even for former members of these communities, as a result of the development plans introduced in the 1960s (Sharp,1984). This has led to restricted options for the poor, the retrenched and the unemployed in the region. Prior to the late 1970s the possibility existed of moving into urban squatter areas, notably those outside Springbok and Port Nolloth. Administrative action was taken to prevent further squatting around Springbok by increasing the availability of municipal housing and preventing the erection of further shacks.

The same policy was followed in Port Nolloth, but with less success because of the very high proportion of the 'Coloured' population living in the existing squatter area. The proclamation of Group Areas in Port Nolloth in 1968 placed all squatters in a 'White area', and plans were launched to re-house people in a municipal estate. By 1983, when funds dried up, there was insufficient accommodation in the new estate, and many people remained in the squatter area. Despite the failure of the fishing industry in the early 1970s and the consequent loss of employment opportunities in Port Nolloth, the local 'Coloured' population has remained constant because regional pressures have pushed people into the town to replace those who have left (West,1984). This situation was a major factor leading to the request by the local authorities to have the town proclaimed under Section 3(c) of the Prevention

of Illegal Squatting Act of 1976. The proclamation prevents 'Coloured' people from outside Port Nolloth from taking employment there without first acquiring approved housing. By implication this also makes it more difficult for people to use Port Nolloth, and the other urban areas in Namaqualand to which the Act has been applied, as a staging-post in their search for employment, or as refuge for dependants in the case of migrants.

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century vulnerability to impoverishment in Namaqualand was not simply a function of racial categorisations. This paper has shown that throughout the nineteenth century and indeed into the twentieth, there was considerable scope - given the material and social conditions of the region - for situational redefinitions of racial perceptions. The hardening of racial perceptions into a system of social categorisation emerged from the development of the mining industry and changes in local agriculture. We have been concerned to indicate that these developments did not of themselves determine the tendency towards racial stereotyping, which were the product of the processes of primitive accumulation in the frontier area.

The system of racial categorisation in Namaqualand emerged from the depression years, was strengthened by the re-opening of the mines after 1940, and was finally consolidated by apartheid legislation in the 1950s. The recent period appears to indicate a growing flexibility in contrast to the rigidity of the forties and fifties. In some ways this is a superficial appearance

since as far as most people are concerned, the racial boundaries are unchanged. The major change has been the increasing differentiation within each racial category of the local population; the flexibility has been experienced by the few in both categories who have access to land, capital or secure employment. Those who do not have access to these, and who are tied to the Namaqualand region, have by the same processes been made increasingly vulnerable to impoverishment.

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