

**COMMUNAL SPACE CONSTRUCTION:
THE RISE AND FALL OF CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT**

Dianne Scott

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geographical and
Environmental Sciences at the University of Natal, Durban.**

December, 1994

ABSTRACT

This study documents the emergence of an Indian cultural enclave located on the periphery of the colonial town of Durban, its subsequent rise to a flourishing communal space by the mid-twentieth century, and its decline in the apartheid era. The focus on change and transformation locates the research question within the broad ambit of historical geography.

Clairwood and District grew into a densely-populated informal living space with all facilities and institutions built by the community. Based on a cultural inheritance in the form of language, the extended family system and religious beliefs, the Indian settlers and their descendants developed an elaborate network of kinship and communal relationships which formed the moral and social framework for the process of communal space construction.

Entering the colony of Natal predominantly as indentured labour, the Indians were from the outset ostracized and subjugated by the white settlers and perceived as an alien temporary group. This identity was henceforth embodied in discriminatory legislation which marginalized the Indians in South Africa and resulted in their neglect and spatial containment.

Parallel to the organic process of Indian communal space construction occurring in southern Durban was the sustained policy of land-use transformation embarked upon by the Durban municipality. The goal of this policy was to create a 'productive zone' south of Durban within an explicit racial zoning plan. The application of this goal resulted in a clash between the dominant white culture and the subordinate Indian culture as each sought to retain control of the southern corridor and define its land-use and identity.

After a protracted struggle the Durban municipality succeeded in imposing a formal industrial landscape upon the communal living space with the exception of the small node in Clairwood itself which has remained a residential enclave. This vestige of the former flourishing residential area of Clairwood and District suffers from industrial penetration and a physically degraded environment. However, it retains a sense of place of the former vibrant community. Clairwood is currently undergoing a process of revitalization under the auspices of the Durban municipality with a subsequent redefinition of identity. The study documents the cultural meanings that have been produced in a unique urban landscape in a South African city revealing the need to uncover the historical geographies of minority groups as a source of identity and a resource for future urban reconstruction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Work began on this thesis in 1985 in the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences at the University of Natal, Durban under the supervision of Jeff McCarthy. When Jeff left the University, I was to be without his expert guidance. I would therefore like to thank him for agreeing to continue supervising the thesis in the years after he left the University of Natal, Durban. It has been his confidence that the thesis would be completed that has encouraged me to continue and complete the research. Not only have I benefitted from his incisive insights into seemingly insoluble problems, but his enjoyment of the academic process of research and humorous commentary thereon, has buoyed up many a despondant moment.

I am deeply grateful also to my family, Ant, Kirst and Dyl who have tolerated someone engaged in protracted research with a tendency to disrupt household routines. My achievement is theirs too. Thank you also to the many other family members and friends who have always encouraged me, Charles, Beth, Maurice, Wendy, Chris, Santie, Linda, Carol, Ron, Dulcie, Sandy, Bulelwa, Fiona and many others. This work is dedicated to the memory of my mother who made me believe in myself. Thanks also go to the Education Foundation for the support given to me in the final stages.

I would not have been able to produce the thesis without the technical assistance of many friends. I am very grateful for the fine quality illustrations and maps which Jenny McDowell and Hem Hurrpersad of the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences have created for me. Thanks also go to Brendon Hatcher for the high quality layout incorporating illustrations.

The gathering together of varied strands of information about Clairwood and District has necessitated consulting many people. My thanks go to all who those people connected with the larger Clairwood District who have given their time and enthusiasm to tell me about their experiences. In the process they have become part of the Clairwood story. Assistance has also been obtained from many patient curators of knowledge in libraries, and archives, particularly in the City Estates Department of the Durban Corporation and the Deeds Office in Pietermaritzburg.

The financial assistance of CSD is gratefully acknowledged.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, other than where acknowledged in the text, is entirely my own work and has not been submitted to any other University.

.....

Dianne Scott

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1	An overview of the thesis.....	1
1.2	Relevance of the research question.....	4
1.3	The source of the research problem and the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the study.....	5
1.4	Structure of the thesis.....	13

CHAPTER 2: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN AS 'ALIEN' IN COLONIAL NATAL

2.1	Introduction.....	19
2.2	The transmission of European categories of racial and social order into the colonial context of Natal.....	21
2.2.1	The history of the idea of race.....	21
2.2.2	British conceptions of social and urban order.....	23
2.3	Early definitions of Indians as aliens in colonial Natal.....	26
2.3.1	The context of Indian immigration.....	26
2.3.2	Indentured labour: the law vs reality.....	28
2.3.3	'Free Indians': a product of the indenture contract.....	31
2.3.4	The arrival of the 'passenger' Indians: a challenge to the economic, political and spatial dominance of the 'centre'.....	34
2.4	Conclusion.....	36

CHAPTER 3: CITIZENSHIP AND JUSTICE

3.1	Introduction.....	41
3.2	The role of law in the social construction of class.....	43
3.3	Anti-Indian legislation prior to Responsible Government 1860-1893: the thin veil of equality.....	45

3.4	Anti-Indian legislation in the period of Responsible Government in the Colony of Natal: 1893-1910.....	48
3.4.1	Changing economic and political conditions in the colony of Natal.....	48
3.4.2	The temporary status of Indians in Natal: ideology vs reality.....	50
3.4.3	The curtailment of Indian trading rights.....	51
3.4.4	The removal of Indian political rights	53
3.5	The emergence of organized Indian resistance.....	54
3.6	Anti-Indian Legislation in the period 1910-1950.....	57
3.6.1	Introduction.....	57
3.6.2	The national government flexes its muscles: initial attempts at securing white domination.....	60
3.6.3	Remove or separate: repatriation or segregation as a means of controlling Indo-European relations.....	61
3.6.4	The intensification of conflict over space at the local level in the 1920's and 1930's.....	64
3.6.5	The intensification of conflict over the issue of 'Indian Penetration' and the emergence of 'Racial Zoning' as a solution to conflicts over space.....	67
3.6.6	The containment of Indian access to space via the application of town planning ideology and legislation at a local level.....	73
3.7	Conclusion.....	75

CHAPTER 4: SEGREGATION AND SETTLEMENT IN DURBAN

4.1	Introduction.....	86
4.2	Indian and African urbanization compared.....	87
4.2.1	The emergence of a 'black' urban periphery.....	88
4.2.2	The destination and pace of urban migration.....	89
4.2.3	Different routes to community formation and family structure: the Indian as pioneer.....	91
4.2.4	The making of urban cultures: the emergence of an Indian cultural hearth.....	95
4.2.5	Conclusion.....	97

4.3	Settlement patterns in Durban prior to the Group Areas Act.....	98
4.3.1	Inner city ethnic enclaves in Durban.....	106
4.3.2	The 'black belt' of Durban.....	111
4.3.3	From the segregated to the apartheid City.....	117
4.6	Conclusion.....	120

CHAPTER 5: THE SPATIAL CO-ORDINATES OF CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT: THE EMERGENCE OF A SENSE OF PLACE

5.1	Introduction.....	125
5.2	The creation of colonial spatial co-ordinates and opportunities for early Indian settlement in southern Durban.....	127
5.3	Early white settlement south of Durban: the naming of places.....	135
5.4	The transformation of the landscape of southern Durban: the writing of an informal text.....	137
5.5	Conclusion	152

CHAPTER 6: COMMUNAL SPACE CONSTRUCTION IN CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT

6.1	Introduction.....	159
6.2	The intentions behind settlement.....	162
6.3	Market gardening: the material foundations of a 'free' life in southern Durban.....	163
6.3.1	Access to land.....	164
6.3.2	Market gardening: the route to urban life.....	169
6.4	Surviving on the frontier of the system.....	175
6.4.1	The context of marginalization.....	175
6.4.2	The creation of meaning and continuity: the role of religion.....	176
6.4.3	The re-instatement of the family as an institution.....	187
6.4.3	Language as the basis of community and identity.....	191
6.4.4	Communal associations: providing services for all.....	192
6.5	Conclusion.....	200

CHAPTER 7: THE EROSION OF COMMUNAL BONDS IN CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT: THE ROLES OF POVERTY, WORK AND EDUCATION

7.1	Introduction.....	210
7.2	Processes of change in southern Durban: the role of poverty, work and education.....	211
7.3	Deteriorating material circumstances in Clairwood and District : over crowding, squalor and a lack of facilities.....	214
7.4	The lure of a regular wage: the proletarianization of the southern Durban Indian labour force.....	217
7.5	Secularization of Indian life: the role of education.....	223
7.6	Conclusion.....	231

CHAPTER 8: LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR AN INDUSTRIAL ZONE : INTERVENTION BY THE DCC IN SOUTHERN DURBAN

8.1	Introduction.....	235
8.2	The emergence of southern Durban as an industrial core.....	237
8.3	The Natal Chamber of Industries and the DCC: facilitators of industrial expansion.....	240
8.4	'Looking south': the expansion of Durban's municipal boundaries.....	242
8.5	From vision to plan: a framework for industrialization and racial zoning.....	244
8.6	Roads and drains and canals: infrastructural development in southern Durban prior to 1950.....	255
8.7	The development of planned industrial areas in southern Durban: the 'garden estates'.....	262
8.8	The development of the Merebank/Wentworth Housing Schemes: planned labour reservoirs	263
8.9	The Southwards wave of post-war industrial expansion.....	267
8.10	Conclusion.....	270

CHAPTER 9: THE APPLICATION OF TOWN PLANNING LEGISLATION BY THE DCC FOR THE CREATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL ZONE IN CLAIRWOOD

9.1	Introduction.....	278
9.2	The legal status of Clairwood in the context of town planning legislation.....	282
9.3	Thirty years of struggle: the DCC's efforts to zone Clairwood as an industrial zone.....	285
9.4	The challenge to communal space: alternative strategies to diminish the residential character of Clairwood.....	296
9.5	Conclusion	307

CHAPTER 10: REMOVALS IN THE SOUTHERN DURBAN CORRIDOR: 1963-1975

10.1	Introduction.....	315
10.2	The responsibility for removals in southern Durban: the role of the Durban Corporation.....	317
10.3	The development of removal procedures: numbering, mapping and surveying.....	320
10.4	A destination for removees: the provision of alternative accommodation.....	325
10.5	Profile of a shack population	326
10.6	The phasing of removals in southern Durban.....	328
10.6.1	The Merebank shack settlement.....	328
10.6.2	The Amanzimnyama shack settlement.....	331
10.6.3	The Woodville and Brickyard shack settlements.....	332
10.6.4	The construction of the Southern Freeway: the removal of families from expropriated properties.....	333
10.6.5	Ad hoc removals: the Trent Road shack settlement.....	336
10.6.6	The Bayhead shack settlement: the local state as agent for the clearing of shacks on Railways property.....	336
10.6.7	An exception to the rule: the seinenetting community.....	341
10.6.8	The 'Jacobs Elevated Crossing' removals.....	341

10.6.9 Spiralling in to the heart: the commencement of removals in Clairwood.....	342
10.6.10 The removal of coloured families: The Bluff Swamps shack settlement and the Merebank Buffer Strip	345
10.7 To rent or shift shack?.....	346
10.8 The adjustment to formal housing schemes	349
10.9 Conclusion.....	350

CHAPTER 11: THE PERSISTENCE OF PLACE-BASED CULTURAL IDENTITY: SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS.....	364
--	------------

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	372
--------------------------	------------

APPENDICES.....	385
------------------------	------------

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
4.1 The Physical Site of Durban, 1950.....	99
4.2 African Settlement in Durban, 1946.....	101
4.3 Indian Landownership in Durban, 1946.....	103
4.4 Map of Durban showing the Added Areas incorporated into Durban c 1932.....	104
4.5 Indian Settlement in Durban, 1946.....	108
4.6 Declared Slum Zones in Durban c 1939.....	110
4.7 Group Areas Proclamations in Durban c 1958.....	119
5.1 The Old Borough of Durban, 1860.....	126
5.2 The Spatial Co-ordinates of Southern Durban.....	133
5.3 Clairwood and District as perceived by its residents.....	148
6.1 Land Purchases in Clairwood in the early 20th century.....	166
7.1 Floorplan of Seinenettters Shack No SN1 at Bayhead, 1963.....	215
7.2 Landuse in Clairwood, 1946.....	218
7.3 Indian per Capita Income by census tract, 1951.....	220
7.4 The Number of Indian Schools in Natal, 1949.....	225
7.4 Admissions to the South Coast Madressa, 1947-1989.....	229
7.5 Admissions to Clairwood Boys Primary School, 1903-1988.....	230
8.1 Durban Bayhead Development Commission map showing planned development of the Bayhead area.....	248
8.2 The 1944 Racial Zoning Plan of the DCC submitted to the Durban Post-War Development Committee.....	251
8.3 The 1951 Racial Zoning Plan of the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee submitted to the National post-war commission.....	253
8.4 Infrastructural development in southern Durban - 1930-1960.....	257
8.5 Industrial estates and housing schemes developed in southern Durban from 1930 to 1960.....	264
8.6 Industrial development in Clairwood c 1940 and 1959.....	268
8.7 Industry in the Durban area, 1959.....	269
✓ 9.1 The Landuse of Durban c 1953.....	280
9.2 The Clairwood Concept Plan.....	294

9.3	Location of Bulk Produce Market, the proposed abattoir in Clairwood and the Southern Freeway c 1967-1971.....	299
9.4	Shacks on the Bulk Market Site, Clairwood, 1968.....	300
9.5	The penetration of industry into Clairwood, 1970.....	304
✓9.6	Landuse of Durban, 1973.....	306
10.1	Location of shack clearance schemes in Southern Durban.....	330
10.2	Stages of Removal in the Bayhead Shack Clearance Scheme, 1968.....	338

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES	PAGE
7.1 The Population of Southern Durban, 1922.....	214
10.1 The Phasing and Location of 'priority' Shack Clearance schemes.....	329
10.2 Removals in Southern Durban, 1963 - 1974.....	329
10.3 The Ratio of Tenants to Sub-tenants in the NR2 Scheme.....	334
10.4 The Racial Structure of Families in the NR2 Scheme.....	334
10.5 The Housing of Removees from the NR2 Scheme.....	334
10.6 Schedule of Families removed from Clairwood 1969-1970 by Race and Area.....	343
10.7 Income of affected families surveyed on the Bulk Sales Market site in 1968.....	345
10.8 Decline in Baptisms at Saint Louis Church, Clairwood.....	352

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
4.1 Aerial photograph of Southern Durban, 1931.....	105
5.1 <i>Durban Bay from Claremont</i> painted in 1892 by Cathcart William Methven.....	129
5.2 <i>Durban. Port Natal</i> c 1847.....	130
5.3 C J Cato's <i>Chart of Port Natal</i> , 1852.....	131
5.4 Map of Port Natal 1836 by J L Leeb.....	132
5.5 An Indian shack in Clairwood, 1928.....	139
5.6 Indian seinenettors house at Fynnlands, 1959.....	141
5.7 Umbilo Temple prior to the 1903 and 1905 floods.....	142
5.8 A typical home in the 'Railway' Flats', Wentworth.....	144
5.9 Looking south down South Coast Road, Rosburgh, 1933.....	145
5.10 Seinenettors repairing nets and boats at the Fynnlands fishing village, 1940.....	146
5.11 Large catch of fish brought in by Indian seinenettors, Addington Beach, 1940.....	147
5.12 Aerial photograph of Clairwood, Montclair and surrounding shack areas, 1931.....	150
5.13 Sir Kurma Reddy.....	151
6.1 Indian woman hawking fruit and vegetables.....	170
6.2 The Indian fresh produce market in Victoria Street c 1910.....	172
6.3 Indian women collecting water at communal taps, Durban.....	174
6.4 Woman praying at private shrine.....	178
6.5 The Shree Parasathie Temple, Merebank, 1951 and 1977.....	179
6.6 The Shree Subramoniar Temple, Sirdar Road, Clairwood.....	180
6.7 View of temple compound, Shree Subramoniar Temple, Sirdar Road, Clairwood....	181
6.8 Fire Walking Ceremony at the Umbilo Temple, 1930.....	182
6.9 The Shree Murugar Alayam, Jacobs Road, Clairwood.....	183
6.10 Indian dancers dressed for the Thero Kuthu.....	186
6.11 An Indian Family, Durban c 1900.....	188
6.12 The first group of Indian midwives trained by the City Health Department, Durban.....	190
6.13 The Shreet Subramoniar Temple Kavady Sungum, 1966.....	195
7.1 Indian protest for improved secondary education, Victoria Street, Durban, 1950.....	227
8.1 Aerial photograph showing canalization of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers.....	259

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	PAGE
1	Poster advertising FireWalking Ceremony at the Shree Murugar Alayam, Jacobs Rd Temple, Clairwood, 7/5/81.....385
2	Poster advertising Thaiposam Kavady Festival, Old Umbilo Temple, Rossburgh, 12/1/62.....386
3	History of the Shree Parasathie Temple, Merebank, and founding Committee of Trustees.....387
4	Letter from Non-European Railway Passengers Association to the SAR requesting permission to worship at the Umbilo Temple.....388
5	Pioneers of Clairwood: The Persadh Brother and A R Ramith.....389
6	Pioneers of Clairwood: The Dharmalingam Family.....390
7	Pioneers of Clairwood: Mr R P Das and Mr K L Ganesh.....391
8	The 'March of Progress" 1903-1953 - The History of Indian Schools in Clairwood.....392
9	The First Platoon School Staff, Clairwood, Natal, 1940.....393
10	History of the Merebank Sanathan Dharma Woonathee Sabha.....394
11	The Merebank Government-Aided School, 1940 and 1970.....395
12	Survey Sheets from Bluff Swamps and NR2 Removal Schemes.....396/7
13	Poster advertising a "Save Our Homes" Rally, 20/9/1964.....398
14	Funeral Notice of former Clairwood resident (Daily News, 10/8/1994).....399

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 An overview of the thesis

The Clairwood of today is the former heart of a much larger Indian residential area located to the south of Durban between the Berea and Bluff ridges. It lay initially outside the boundaries of the Borough of Durban and was incorporated into Durban in 1932. From small beginnings this place grew into a densely populated and flourishing Indian cultural enclave. Clairwood and District, as it was known to its residents, reached an estimated population of over 50 000 by the early 1960's and was different to large parts of the white inner zone of Durban and the African shack settlements. It was a communally constructed space - all the facilities and communal institutions having been built by the local community. The heart of the area was a small node of privately-owned Indian land in Clairwood where both the shopping district and most of the social, religious and educational facilities were established. Surrounding this grew an extensive sprawling area of informal settlement which included large tracts of market gardens. Rejected by the white settlers of Durban as a swampy, lowlying backwater, the southern Durban corridor was an attractive locale for the early Indian pioneers, providing cheap fertile land for market gardening and an absence of municipal controls. Based on the extended family and a cultural inheritance in the form of vernacular Indian languages, religious beliefs - mainly Hinduism - the Indian settlers developed an elaborate network of kinship and communal relationships which formed the moral and social framework for the process of communal space construction.

Entering the colony of Natal predominantly as indentured labour, the Indians were from the outset ostracized and subjugated by the white settlers. Prevalent in the nineteenth century, particularly in the colonial context, was the imperialist notion of white superiority over other races, and this led to the construction of the social identity of the Indians in Natal as temporary aliens who were outsiders in the colonial social order. In order to maintain their social, political and economic advantage the white settlers in colonial Natal in general, and Durban in particular, systematically created a body of legislation which served to marginalize the Indian population. This legislation was reproduced and elaborated in the post-colonial period.

The effect of this process of colonialism was to create densely populated, segregated pockets of Indian settlement largely on the periphery of the towns. Furthermore, the conception of the Indian as a temporary citizen led to the neglect to provide housing and facilities in Indian residential areas. The result of this process was the emergence of Indian residential areas in the 'black belt' around Durban such as Clairwood and its surrounding informal shack settlements. Systematically underdeveloped and neglected, the Indian population suffered from low levels of housing quality, health and education as well as economic hardship, poverty and unemployment. This neglect by the municipal authorities persisted into the Union and apartheid eras. The effect of this process was the production of a squalid and unhealthy living environment which was identified by the authorities as a 'problem'.

Parallel to the organic process of Indian communal space construction occurring in southern Durban from the late nineteenth century up until the 1950's, was the concerted and explicit process of land-use transformation embarked upon by the Durban municipality. The goal of this process was threefold. Firstly, the Durban City Council conceived of the southern Durban corridor as the natural line of industrial expansion from Maydon Wharf and Congella to the south, and therefore aimed to create a 'productive zone' south of the Bay. After obtaining control over southern Durban via incorporation, the Council embarked upon an ongoing programme of infrastructural development for this purpose, which also included the preparation of land for housing schemes and industrial estates. In addition, an explicit racial plan for Durban and the southern corridor formed a framework for the conceptualization of a zonal urban structure. While the industrial zone formed the core of the southern area, it was to be surrounded by residential areas and housing schemes to provide labour.

The second goal of the municipal land-use transformation process was to rid the city of Durban of an informal residential zone housing shack dwellings and characterized by high densities and insanitary living conditions. Thirdly, and most importantly, was the goal of creating a racially segregated city. These three imperatives were woven together as a guiding ethos for the Durban City Council's treatment of Clairwood and District over the period from the 1920's up until the 1990's and fed into national segregatory initiatives.

With the advent of Union, the Durban City Council lost many of its powers as it now fell into the lowest rung in a three-tier hierarchical government structure. However, local goals could be achieved via the application of technical town planning and health by-laws and implemented via the local bureaucracy through administrative and technical procedures, and it was through these channels that intervention in southern Durban occurred.

When the racial segregation of space became the purview of the national state with the promulgation of the Group Areas Act, the Durban City Council had to rely entirely on planning and technical procedures in order to achieve its goal of industrializing and zoning the southern Durban corridor. In addition to implementing many infrastructural development schemes, the Council proceeded in 1956 to apply for a reclassification of the Clairwood residential area to an industrial zone. Clairwood was the last remaining island of Indian privately-owned land in the southern corridor. This protracted process culminated in 1986 when the Council was finally barred from pursuing this goal any further by the national government and Clairwood, although much reduced in size and degraded in condition, was finally proclaimed a residential area. During the process of this application many other strategies were implemented to reduce the residential component and character of the area and force residents to relocate either by expropriating their properties or by creating a climate of uncertainty about the future. Also occurring simultaneously with this process was the systematic removal of thousands of Indian families from the shack areas in the surrounding 'District' of Clairwood, by terminating their leases on Council property. This removal process dovetailed with infrastructural developments and the provision of alternative housing in the large-scale public housing schemes provided for to accomplish racial segregation via the Group Areas Act.

The outcome of the Council's explicit, co-ordinated and determined efforts to industrialize the southern corridor of Durban and create a racially purified and formalized space, was the decline and demise of the formerly flourishing community resident in Clairwood and District. With thousands of people removed and further thousands voluntarily relocating due to the decline and industrial penetration of the area, most of the social networks and communal associations ceased to exist. However, due to the intervention of the national state, a small vestige of the former Clairwood and District remains today, albeit surrounded and penetrated by industrial activity. The current process of reinstating Clairwood as a residential area after many decades of neglect has been synthesized into a municipal Structure Plan. The conceptualization of a future Clairwood

is in terms of planning zones and functions and both the creation of the identity of the area and the organic process of communal construction, has been taken over by the state. Although Clairwood still exists as a place its meaning has been redefined through the lengthy process of struggle between the community and the municipality. It remains as a powerful symbol of Indian identity in the memory of both residents and ex-residents.

1.2 Relevance of the research question

The historical geography of the Clairwood District of Durban informs us about a specific area in a particular city. As such it is a strictly localized and particular account of a unique place - its rise and its fall. But more generally speaking, it illuminates the urban dramas of the segregated and apartheid city in South Africa, at the time of increasing repression and racial oppression, and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and racial capitalism. It also presents an hitherto unwritten historical geography of a minority black subject group in a white dominated society. Marginalized and neglected like their African counterparts, the Indian settlers and their descendants who made the Clairwood District of Durban their home, employed culturally specific strategies for constructing a place-based community and surviving on the margins of the city and society. In this way the historically significant place of Clairwood came into being to take its place in the urban history of South Africa alongside other culturally specific heartlands, such as Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District 6 in Cape Town.

But like these other heartlands Clairwood and District too was destroyed through the forces of racial capitalism which ushered in industrialization, secularization and proletarianization. Thus while the historical geography of Clairwood and District is unique in a culturally specific way, it has resonance with the fate of other communally created spaces in South African urban history. However, the contestation of space by the residents of Clairwood and District was significantly culturally unique.

Gauging the full importance of the historical geography of Clairwood and District, means, therefore bearing in mind that the physical and social landscape was 'written' initially in the colonial period, and even when Natal became part of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the process of discrimination continued to impact on the landscape resulting in the spatial segregation, concentration and neglect the people of Clairwood and District.

Colonialism and industrial capitalism, which emerged in the 1920's, continued to transform the physical and social landscape of Clairwood and District throughout the Union and apartheid era and intersected with the specific actions of the local authority to bring about the decline of this place.

However, the landscape also tells the story of the courage, dedication and selfless struggle of a group of people to create a community based on a system of moral beliefs providing an identity and refuge in a hostile society. The research thus provides a probe into the historical and geographic stratifications of a dated culture recording something of the daily life, the problems, the successes and the suffering of people who pioneered and created a home for themselves and their descendants in the specific area of Clairwood and District in Durban from the late nineteenth century up to the 1990's.

1.3 The source of the research problem and the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the study

The research question relates to a specific place or area, and sets out to understand broadly the changes that have occurred in the physical and social landscape over the last century in southern Durban resulting in the predominance of industrial, transport and commercial uses that prevail today. The focus on change and transformation in a specific locality locates the research question within the genre of historical geography.

The approach adopted is an interpretation of the ideologies or cultural practices that emerged in a specific historical and geographical context. History is a "dynamic process in which cultures are actively forged by real men and women" and geography is construed as the dynamic context for the "processes and practices that give shape and form to culture" (Jackson, 1989, 48). The historical geography presented here is thus not in the mould of an empirical narrative describing the sequential unfolding of events in the history of Clairwood and District but is a product of an attempt to probe the landscape and its history from different angles and with various tools.

Although not explicitly post-modernist in epistemology, the research agenda of this thesis has been, over the past few years influenced by the changes in geographical and social scientific thought due to post-modernist critiques (Gregory, 1987; Ley, 1987, 1989; Dear, 1988; Soja, 1989; Jameson, 1989; Harvey, 1987, 1989; Crush, 1993). Critiques of humanism and historical

materialism as modernist 'metanarratives' have been considered, and it is the consequent belief that the historical geography of Clairwood and District cannot be couched within a single theoretical framework.

The thesis draws on a range of theories. Those derived within a materialist paradigm deal with the local state and the law, and 'cultural politics', while concepts from the humanist paradigm relate to conceptions of place, landscape, human agency and experience. The approach adopted thus tends to be eclectic. Concepts and theories from a variety of sources have been combined when considered appropriate. Thus there is no universal philosophical or theoretical 'metanarrative' employed as a guiding framework for explanation. Rather a loose collective of related ideas of relevance to the research question are employed. Each set of ideas provides an entry point to the process of a 'reconstructing' an historical geography of Clairwood and District.

Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991) note that modernist metanarratives are insensitive to 'the differences between different peoples and different places', whilst a post-modernist approach is alive to the 'subtleties' of the anthropological notion of 'local knowledge'. Methodologically, the existence of a multiplicity of local orders upsets the possibility of applying general theories within a modernist approach. Echoing this concern with the local, Michel Foucault, urges the move away from a 'total history' towards a 'general history' which focuses on the particular, the local and the specific rather than on the general and the eternal (in Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).

A methodological corollary of this belief in the integrity of local knowledge, is that the historical geography presented here does not presume to speak for the subjects of the research and an interpretive, interactive methodology has been attempted.¹ There is thus an openness to represent 'otherness' and 'difference' and the 'crisis of representation' associated with this methodology is problematized (Barnes and Duncan, 1991). An awareness of difference and the complex and chaotic nature of social reality creates the need to 'write' human geography in such a way as not to impose too much order on the reality to be revealed (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). Scientific methodology and historical narratives themselves impose different types of order on the text and Gregory (1987) stresses that we need to adopt various 'textual strategies' in order to

capture the differences, complexities, nuances and absences that make up complex social reality. Thus the thesis presents different textual strategies ranging from the employment of theoretical concepts, the interpretation of meaning via textual analysis² and at times an empirical description.

'Writing worlds' involves the creation of fiction and 'there are no end of ways in which they can be made' (Gregory, 1989, 19). Gregory (1989) calls for representations that are made from 'multiple voices and multiple perspectives' shattering the conventional tradition of the single voice sitting on the outside observing and recording what occurs 'within' (Gregory, 1989).

An attempt has been made to create a text chronicling the transformation of southern Durban and the rise and fall of Clairwood and District but it does not presume to provide a total synthesis of this process. It is acknowledged that a 'host of different logics' are interwoven in the complex socio-spatial phenomenon of the city (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991) only some of which are apparent to researchers and are able to be recorded simultaneously.

It might be possible to characterize the text that is aimed at here as a 'collage of incompatible source materials' (Taylor, in Harvey, 1989, 49) based on the primary documentary³ and experiential⁴ texts and words and the secondary sources that have been encountered in the research process. The theoretical paradigms selected to give meaning to the empirical sources gathered together are themselves 'texts' intersecting with the official texts and those produced by the subordinate community. This text will become another of a series of texts intersecting with the 'texts' that readers use to access meaning from it. Harvey (1989) notes that this characteristic of post-modernist research (deconstruction) deprioritizes the authority of the cultural producer and breaks the 'power of the author' allowing for popular participation and democratic determinations of cultural values. It is the intention to critique the text in a postscript in order to understand to what extent the mapping of social life from a cultural island, 'from which to journey out and analyze other cultures' (Clifford, 1988), has been avoided. In short, an assessment will be made of how successful the attempt to break from a traditional mode of representation has been.

In focussing on a local and specific community, the goal of the research is to interpret the symbolic meaning of Clairwood and District to both the dominant white culture and subordinate Indian resident culture through time. It is assumed that it is in the engagement with specific localities that social groups and communities create symbolic meanings invested in place. Fur-

thermore, the goal is to examine the clash between these two opposed systems of meaning and the social relations embodied in them, and how the resulting social and physical transformation of the place Clairwood has in turn resulted in the remapping of the meaning of the area for the Indian community. While the specific focus of the research is thus on the cultural meanings of different social groupings and how these have become encoded in the landscape in the creation of place, it has been necessary to examine the larger political, social and economic context of the society in which this process has historically occurred.

As the research commenced in the mid-eighties, the intention at this time was to frame the research question within the humanistic paradigm⁵ focussing on the 'humanity of the researched' (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991, 11) and attempt an interpretation of historical changes in the 'sense of place' of the Clairwood area. The concern was to trace how the 'meaning' of the place had changed with the large-scale removal of Indian families out of the area. Methodologically, the traditional humanistic engagement with the subjectivity of the researcher in the creation of meaning, was of central importance. Early data collection adopted an oral history methodology with the accent on hermeneutic interpretation and an interactive interviewing techniques.⁶

In the South African context, the emergence of a small humanist genre in South African human geography (Adam, 1975; Western, 1978, Pirie, 1982; Hart and Pirie, 1984) provided the seed bed for the original research questions posed in the thesis. South African humanist geographers were beginning to see the need for an understanding of the 'contexts' within which meanings were being created. Western's (1981) detailed description of apartheid legislation and the operation of its institutions, as a precedent to his exploration of the effects of this ideology on spatial restructuring, pointed to the need for a grounding of meanings in the political and economic realities within which they come into being. These shifts in human geography and the emerging theoretical dialogue between the 'twin focal elements of agency and structure' (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991) impacted on the research question in the latter half of the 1980's, by pointing to the need to explain the social and power relations of the Indian community with other groups in South African society and their strategies for challenging the status quo.

Furthermore, the high level of conflict in the transformation process of southern Durban which had not revealed itself historically in overt resistance strategies but was very apparent at a personal and emotional level in the interviews, begged the examination of other players in the field. It became evident that

the Durban City Council at a local level had been highly instrumental in the process of transformation of southern Durban and was seen by the inhabitants of the area, past and present, as the main actor responsible for the conflict (Scott, 1987). The changing political economy of Durban and the role of the local authority in the community's history therefore needed to be accounted for in order to materially ground the emergence of local conceptions and responses. For this reason a framework of concepts for explaining the constitution and function of the state, and particularly the local state was interrogated (Clark and Dear, 1981, 1984; Dear, 1981).

The theme of 'anti-elitism' in Southern African historiography in the mid-1980's (Crush and Rogerson, 1983) was also a strand woven through research at this time on the social and economic history of the 'black majority' by a range of social scientists, "focussing on the intricate and variable patterns of African resistance, collaboration and response" (Crush, 1984, 129). Within this intellectual milieu, and faced with little in the way of an historical geography of Indian communities in Durban, the focus on an Indian minority group constituted a relevant research topic. While geographical research on Indian areas has focussed on the central Grey Street area (Rajah, 1981) on Indian farming communities (Halliday, 1940, 1942; Greyling, 1969; Watts, 1971) and more recently on Clairwood itself (Robinson, 1984), most research into Indian history and social life is framed either within traditional narrative histories (Hattersley, 1949; Calpin, 1949; Palmer, 1956; Pachai, 1979b; Bhana and Pachai, 1984; Brain, 1985), or more latterly within sociological (Ginwala, 1972; Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr, 1979; Ramasar, 1989), or economic perspectives (Tayal, 1978; Swan, 1984; Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985; Freund, 1994) which pay scant attention to geographical relationships and landscapes.

Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958); Davies (1976) and latterly Maharaj (1992) have provided evidence that the Durban City Council's segregatory policies and actions towards the Indian population in particular formed the model for the Group Areas Act of 1950. These policies were dealt with, however, without reflection on the human experiences thereof. It was for these reasons that the **terra incognitae** of the southern corridor of Durban as a place appropriated by an Indian community, imbued with meaning, and later redefined and transformed by the local authority, was chosen as the broad realm of study.

In addition to engaging with local state theory, the cultural geography of the late 1980's provided a broad conceptual umbrella to understand how the subordinate Indian community created a place in the southern corridor both 'materially and imaginatively' (Williams, 1973) and later contested local state policies which sought to redefine the area.

A humanistically informed social geography "alert to the ways in which communities of people intersubjectively build up an understanding of how their local world's work" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991) began in the mid-eighties to link this intersubjectivity to the culture of the particular people in a particular place.⁷ An important input into the fusion of social and cultural geography was the contribution of anthropologist, Clifford Geertz (1973, 1983) who regards culture 'as a series of signs and symbols which convey meaning' to those who sustain the culture and to the 'outside' researcher seeking to interpret the culture (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). Thus culture, defined anthropologically, is a system of locally established meaning and knowledge through which particular people in particular places, 'make' and 'remake' their lives (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). There are many cultures, each one providing a different way or form in which groups 'handle' the raw material of their social and material existence (Jackson, 1989). The term community is used here to refer to a particular group of people in a particular place who utilize a locally established system of meaning to order their lives. Of particular importance to this study, therefore, is the contention that culture is not only socially constructed but also spatially constituted and spatially expressed (Jackson, 1989). This has resonance with Raymond Williams' (1973) notion of the 'structure of feeling' - a complex concept used to refer to a "particular quality of social experience and relationship . . . which gives the sense of a generation or period" (Jackson, 1991, 222).

Jackson (1989) defines cultures as 'maps of meaning' through which people make sense of the world. These 'maps of meaning' are not only carried around in people's heads but are socially constituted through patterns of social organization. In one sense, then, culture is semiotic⁸ in that it conveys meaning which is indistinguishable from the way or manner in which it is communicated. It is necessary to take cognizance therefore of not only 'what things are said', but also 'how things are said' and in what people- and place-specific contexts they are said (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). The Indian settlers who pioneered Clairwood and District and their descendants, created maps of meaning in the land-

scape which were to become imbued with great emotional significance both to residents and ex-residents and the larger Indian population of Durban and later used as a resource in their contestation of space.

Of central importance to the notion of culture, according to a review of the literature by the Institute of British Geographers, is the need to examine different moral assumptions and their justification that particular people in particular places make about good/bad, right/wrong, just/unjust and worthy/unworthy (IBG, 1991). These basic assumptions form the moral framework and basis for the social construction of different human groupings and their systems of meaning. Everyday moralities decide the character of the group; the codes that they live by, particularly their dealings with others; and the limits of who belongs and who is excluded from the group (IBG, 1991). Moral assumptions determine a code for living and hence contribute to a sense of group identity - a sense of 'we' and 'they'. These concepts were useful in understanding the codes employed by the Durban City Council in their creation of policies which were institutionalized via maps for the transformation of southern Durban. Similarly, the moral framework of religion provided an alternative code by which the Indian community of southern Durban constructed and reproduced their communal space and lived in it.

On the other hand, cultural geography provides for an understanding of inequality and conflict by emphasizing the plurality of cultures and the multiplicity of landscapes with which those cultures are implicated (Jackson, 1989). An assumption of a 'plurality of cultures' implies the existence of a hierarchy of cultures ranked in relation to relations of dominance and subordination in society (Jackson, 1989). Human geographers have for long been interested in social and spatial differentiation and have investigated how many social groups have strong associations with particular concrete spaces and places (IBG, 1991). It is only since the late eighties that they began to explore the various material and ideological processes through which groups become differentiated and inequalities between them produced and reproduced (Gregory and Urry, 1985; IBG, 1991). Dominant ideologies determine which groups in society are most 'deserving' and 'valuable' (IBG, 1991). These geographers have traced the processes whereby concrete spaces or places are part of the maintenance of inequalities between different social groups.

Anderson (1987, 1988) provides evidence of the 'remarkable force and material effect' of society's cognitive categories in differentiating and segregating cultural groups. Conceptual schemas with their own vocabulary and moral judgments serve to confer an inferior status on subordinate 'outsider' groups serving to affirm mainstream identity and privilege. Furthermore, the 'power of definition' of dominant groups applies not only to the power to define the status of other social groupings but to rank and give status to spatial regions (Sibley, 1981; Anderson, 1987).

Culture is therefore a terrain within which cultures enter into a struggle to establish an ideology for the distribution of the goods and resources of society. Ideology, through culture, thus represents the interests of the ruling class as the interests of the whole of society (Jackson, 1989). Of central importance to the thesis is the notion that ideologies operate practically to promote certain meanings in preference to a range of other options, according to the interests of a dominant social groups in particular geo-historical contexts. Ideology is thus, according to Gregory (1978), an 'unexamined discourse' and is often what is known as 'commonsense' - beyond debate, and in this way becomes institutionalized and routinized in practice. The white officials and residents of Durban in both the colonial and post-colonial period accepted the western norms of racial segregation, sanitation and physical order as prime ordering principles in the construction of the urban order and it is useful to examine these assumptions as cultural constructions which were repeatedly prioritized in policy decisions regarding urban development.

Linked with the important concept of ideology is the concept of hegemony. Cultural geography employs the concept of hegemony to mean "the power of a dominant class to persuade subordinate classes to accept its moral, political and cultural values as the 'natural order'" (Jackson, 1989, 53), noting however, that hegemony is never fully achieved and is always contested. Thus the concepts of 'centring' and 'othering' (Ogborn, 1992) are useful ideas for probing the spatial strategies of the dominant white group as it sought to marginalize the Indians in Durban. The concepts of ideology and hegemony have not been explicitly applied in the thesis but rather form an underlying conceptual foundation for the empirical interpretation.

In the production of culture, it is necessary to examine the relationship between the ruling culture, i.e. the mainstream and minority or oppositional culture. The contest between cultures, anchored in particular people and particular places, identifies the 'winners' and 'losers' of society and legitimizes their respective fates (IBG, 1991).

Whilst there is a tendency in economic interpretations of society to maintain that local cultures are being eliminated by the globalizing tendencies of capital accumulation (Peet, 1986), cultural geographers actively support the notion that subordinate local cultures resist and subvert these tendencies by frequently appropriating material sources from the dominant culture and transforming them symbolically into items of protest and insubordination (Sibley, 1986; Jackson, 1989). In any society any number of distinctively local cultures

serve as the resources for handling daily life, and may also become oppositional and resistant to the structured inequalities blighting the lives led by so many social groups of the 'wrong' class, gender, race, sexuality, age, health and so on (IBG, 1991, 7).

In conclusion, one of the conceptual frameworks implicitly employed here is that of 'cultural politics' which assumes a plurality of cultures, the clash between which leads to the existence of a cultural dominance and its subsequent contestation by subordinate cultures. Linked to this is the notion of landscapes as cultural products or 'texts' produced by cultural groups. These concepts form a broad framework for interpreting the conflict between the resident Indian population of Clairwood and District and the local authority over the use and meaning of space in southern Durban.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide a broad context for understanding the process of communal space construction in the specific area of Clairwood and District and its subsequent demise.

Chapter 2 sets out to review the social construction of anti-Indian racist ideology and contextualizes British conceptions of the Indian as an alien in the political economy of colonial and post-colonial Natal. The chapter provides an overview of the terms of the indenture contract which served to define the status of the indentured Indian immigrants in colonial Natal. The termination of contracts and the emergence of a class of 'free' ex-indentured Indians and their subsequent position in the social order, is presented. Although the majority of Indian immigrants entered Natal via this route, the arrival of the "passenger Indians" and their impact on the economy of the colony is also dealt with.

The institutionalization of anti-Indian ideology in legislation and the power of such legislation in defining the status of Indians in South African society is presented in Chapter 3. Whilst the early Indian immigrants posed little threat to the white settlers of colonial Natal and were defined and treated as a temporary alien group, it was the merchants who immigrated as passenger Indians that began to emerge as a challenge to white economic supremacy in the colony. As part of the British Empire all citizens were in law accorded equal rights. However, the colonial government and the local authority of Durban created legislation that in form appeared to treat all citizens equally, but in content served to disadvantage Indians in the economic, social and political spheres.

These attempts at discrimination became more transparent during the phase of Responsible Government after 1893 when legislation was introduced to severely curtail Indian trading and political rights and to force repatriation. It was in this period that Indian resistance to discrimination emerged and Indian political parties first came into being primarily under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The chapter then proceeds to examine the embellishment and elaboration of anti-Indian legislation in the Union period when the main impetus was on introducing spatially segregatory statutes. In addition to general racially discriminant legislation affecting all spheres of life, specific legislation within Durban itself resulted in the confinement of Indians in a broad 'black belt' on the periphery of the town. Due to neglect of Indian housing and facilities, these areas began to emerge as overcrowded and insanitary living environments.

The 'Indian Question' became a national issue in the 1920's with Indian and British intervention on behalf of the South African Indians. Despite various attempts to reach informal agreements regulating repatriation and Indian land ownership, Indo-European conflict reached its peak in the 1940's over the issue of 'Indian Penetration'. The outcome of the Commissions of Enquiry were the pegging of Indian land ownership and occupation. Chapter 3 documents this process and the shift in Indian politics towards a more radical form of opposition.

In order to contextualize Indian settlement patterns in Durban, Chapter 4 presents a comparison between Indian and African urbanization in the first half of the twentieth century. Strategies of migration, community formation and types of family structures are compared resulting in the conclusion that Indian urbanization was a considerably different process to that of African urbanization although there are some commonalities.

The effects of anti-Indian legislation on Indian settlement and living environments in Durban is analyzed revealing the peripheral status of this sector of the population in the social and spatial ordering of urban society in the pre-apartheid era. The conditions in both the inner city enclaves and the peripheral shack settlements are outlined. The chapter concludes with a description of how the patterns of segregation prior to 1950 provided a model for racial segregation via the Group Areas Act.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide an interpretation of the construction of the communal space of Clairwood and District. Chapter 5 begins with an overview of the colonial spatial co-ordinates which the Indian settlers encountered when they first settled in the southern Durban corridor. These landmarks and names were created by the white colonial settlers, a small number of whom settled to the south of Durban. The chapter proceeds to document and account for early Indian settlement in Clairmont (later renamed Clairwood) and the surrounding districts.

In order to understand the motivations of the early Indian settlers, Chapter 6 commences with an account of what their intentions might have been. This is followed by an overview of the market gardening activities engaged in by the settlers, as this formed the material base of the early Indian community. The chapter proceeds to describe the cultural resources that the Indian community utilized in the process of communal space construction. The importance of religion, language, the extended family and communal associations is revealed as well as the impact of these institutions on the landscape. The final outcome of this process was the emergence of a flourishing place-based community with a unique character and identity.

Having described the creation of the Indian communal space of Clairwood and District, Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10 deal with various aspects of the decline and degradation of this area. Chapter 7 examines the impact of work, poverty and education on the communal bonds of the Clairwood community via an examination of the process of proletarianization and the secularization of Indian life through the introduction of a 'western' education system. Set against this process is the impact of discrimination which persisted right up until the apartheid era and served to segregate and concentrate the Clairwood Indian community and degrade their living environment through neglect.

While these processes served insidiously to reduce the cohesion of the Clairwood community, the concerted and explicit goals of the Durban City Council to industrialize the southern corridor of Durban and create a 'productive zone' surrounded by residential zones for labour, hastened the demise of this traditional community. Chapter 8 examines the early attempts by the Durban City Council to lay the foundations for the industrial corridor it aimed to construct. The outlines of the early industrial landscape in Durban are sketched as a preview to a discussion of the influence of the Natal Chamber of Industry in motivating for a southern industrial zone. The chapter examines the Durban City Council's success in obtaining control over the southern corridor of Durban via the incorporation of this area, amongst others, into the Borough of Durban. Once this was achieved, the Council set about planning the industrialization process via a series of maps which then became the tools for the transformation of the landscape. The chapter concludes with an outline of the series of infrastructural development programmes instituted by the Council to prepare the southern corridor for its role as the industrial core of Durban.

Chapter 9 focuses specifically on the small area of Clairwood itself and examines the town planning procedures adopted by the Durban City Council in order to obtain an industrial zoning for the area. As the last remaining island of privately-owned Indian land in the southern corridor, the Council fought a long and determined battle to remove the Indian residents via a rezoning procedure. While this did not succeed the Council adopted many other parallel strategies to introduce non-residential land-uses into the area, and to prevent any further residential development or improvement. The net effect was the gradual 'slumming' of the area and the relocation of thousands of families either voluntarily or through expropriations for infrastructural or non-residential development projects.

Parallel to the application for an industrial rezoning was the removal of thousands of shack-dwellers leasing state land in the southern corridor. Chapter 10 provides an insight into the bureaucratic procedures developed by the City Estates Department of the Durban Corporation in clearing the shack settlements and relocating the occupants in the formal housing scheme of Chatsworth. The individual shack clearance schemes are dealt with indicating the phasing of the removals, the problems encountered in various areas and the strategies utilized by the bureaucrats in carrying out their task. The problems faced by shack dwellers, either that of poorer families remaining in the informal housing environment as long as possible, or the problems encountered in the new formal housing schemes are also discussed. The chapter also reveals the demographic characteristics of the shack dwellers.

The outcome of the struggle for Clairwood is analyzed in the concluding Chapter 11. The subordination of local cultural definitions of place and the redefinition of the meaning of Clairwood in technical town planning concepts is outlined. The possibilities for the persistence of a minority place-based cultural grouping in the face of discrimination and industrialization is discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research in relation to South African urban geography and the prospects for further related research.

Endnotes

1. The major form of analysis in the post-positivistic social sciences is an interpretive method (Sayer, 1984; Clark, 1989). Interpretation can be defined as making meaning out of the narrative obtained from data collection, and presenting it in a persuasive argument (Sayer, 1989). Pioneered in social anthropology by Geertz (1973; 1988) ethnographic methods have influenced methodology in urban and social geography (Cornwall, 1984; Ley, 1988). Sayer's (1989) characterization of interpretive method as a 'geohistorical synthesis' is an appropriate term to describe the methodology used in this thesis.
2. The treatment of maps as texts has enabled the meaning of these spatial summaries of local authority policies to be interpreted.
3. The primary documentary texts consulted were predominantly obtained from the Land Records and Inspectorate Files of the City Estates Department (Durban Corporation) and the Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg; community records (brochures, school admission registers, church baptism registers; newspapers (Don African Library and Killie Campbell Library)); government publications (Mayor's Minutes, Provincial and National Government Publications and legislation) and organizational records (Chamber of Industry Annual Reports).
4. A series of interviews which are listed in the bibliography, were conducted between 1986 and 1994, the transcription of which form the text used for documenting experiential data.
5. Human geographers, and other social scientists, had by the early 1970's become increasingly dissatisfied with the restrictions of positivism (Gregory, 1978; Harvey, 1973; Ley and Samuels, 1978; Cox, 1981a). It is broadly recognized that the range of attempts to formulate alternative ways of understanding the world could be categorized within two major philosophical paradigms. These are the Marxist approach which is concerned with the deeper economic, social and political structures that condition social life, and the humanist approach which has as its central premise the priority of human beings as conscious agents in fashioning human existence (Johnstone, 1983; Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).
6. It was out of such early attempts to engage interactively that a video titled "Hangin' up the Nets: The History of the Durban Bay Fishing Community" (Media Resource Centre, University of Natal, VHS, 35 minutes) was produced in collaboration with Costa Criticos from the Education Department. Collaborative production methods were utilized and the video is structured by a narrative format.
7. This 'new cultural geography' is not interested in the material artifacts and technologies of primitive tribes as in the tradition of Carl Sauer, but rather in the conceptual modes of thinking and living (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).

8. According to the semiotician, 'society is a system of signs', and all social action and artifacts, ranging from literary texts to physical elements in the urban landscape, are seen as part of a system of signs (Duncan, 1987).

CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN AS 'ALIEN' IN COLONIAL NATAL

2.1 Introduction

The aim of Chapter 2 is to provide an overview of the cultural tradition amongst the white settlers which provided them with a set of mental constructs for conceptualizing Indian immigrants in Natal colonial society. The chapter examines how imperial conceptions of white racial superiority fed into a unique local racial definition of the subordinate Indian group, as temporary aliens, which in turn served to marginalize the latter in colonial and post-colonial society.

The production of social and racial categories falls within the realm of 'cultural politics' and it is here that meanings and social definitions are negotiated, and relations of dominance and subordination defined and contested. Ogborn's (1992) use of the terms 'centring' and 'othering' to describe the strategies adopted by social groups in defining themselves and others is instructive here. He notes that marginalization is productive for those who 'remove others to the margins' and that, ironically, the recognition of the 'other' or of marginal groups is crucial to the definition of the centre. It is in the construction of the 'centre' through oppositions and dualisms of various kinds, that 'radical instabilities' are introduced, since it is the structure of the 'centre' that is a constant site of contradictions. The construction of the 'centre' is always an 'incomplete project' striving for, but never achieving, closure or centrality (Ogborn, 1992). It is this insecurity on the part of the 'centre' that is the source of the violence that occurs in the marginalization process.

The racial definition and classification of Indians as a temporary and inferior social group formed the basis of policies and legislation by means of which the local authority marginalized Indian settlers in the emerging node of Durban. In addition to the racialization of space which began to occur as a result of these strategies, the chapter further illustrates the employment of additional overlapping conceptual categories which were employed to order and control urban space according to western conceptions of urban order. The social construction of space thus provides a conceptual framework within which to interpret the changing political economy and urban growth patterns in Durban.

While an economic lens is indispensable for the analysis of problems in human geography, it is the belief here that the importance of non-class based cultural identities has been neglected. Thus the major emphasis in Chapter 2 on the historical creation and institutionalization of conceptual categories for defining the status of Indians and controlling all aspects of Indian life in Durban and Natal. The focussing of a 'moral lens' turns attention away from economic imperatives towards the ideas and beliefs that underlie the actions of social groups in their contestation of space. Hence, our focus here is on the 'everyday morality' of a particular group of people in a particular place, and the moral assumptions and supporting arguments made about what is good or bad, right or wrong, worthy or unworthy about another group in society (IBG, 1991). Moral assumptions such as these are crucially bound up with the 'social construction' of racial and social groupings, and it is the examination of such concerns that may modify economic interpretations of social and economic inequalities (IBG, 1991).

Chapter 2 thus serves to provide a cultural context for the analysis in this thesis of the contestation of space in southern Durban between the local authority and the resident Indian community regarding the use of land. This conflict is thus interpreted as a clash of cultures where antagonistic structures of meaning with regard to the existing structure of the local social and urban fabric, its future state, and the possibilities of achieving this state resulted in conflict (Eyles and Evans, 1987). The way in which the local authority in Durban interpreted and evaluated the Indian occupation of southern Durban, and their long-term goals of transforming the area, were grounded in broad conceptions of the Indian immigrants. These were inherited through imperialism and evolved through the specific local relations between white settlers and the immigrant Indian community. Chapter 2 thus provides the broad conceptual categories which informed local authority perspectives, policies and actions with regard to the specific issue of land-use in southern Durban.

Section 2.2 commences with a discussion of the inheritance of racial categories from the imperial discourse. Thereafter Section 2.3 provides an overview of the specific context under which the Indians entered Natal, the constitution of the Indians as a social group via the indentured labour contract, and their subsequent emergence in Natal society as an indentured labour class. The conditions pertaining to Indian life under this contract, and resistance to it, are also analysed.

Section 2.3 further provides an overview of the establishment of a 'free' Indian class whereby Indian immigrants upon the termination of their contracts of indenture opted to remain as settlers in the colony. The entry of passenger Indians during the period of British rule up until 1894 when Responsible Government was granted is then discussed. The spatial and political implications of these events and strategies of marginalization that emerged as a response to this class of immigrants conclude this section.

2.2 The transmission of European categories of racial and social order into the colonial context of Natal

2.2.1 The history of the idea of race

The conceptualization of the Indian immigrants as a temporary, alien and inferior class was not unique to the colony of Natal. Throughout the colonial world, the European settlers, and particularly the British, created social orders based on concepts of white sovereignty. Vernon (1973) claims that within the western dual mode of conceptualizing reality, certain overlapping categories of experience become terms of approbation and are 'culturally approved' within the dominant culture. Vernon's ideas form a useful framework for examining such a set of mental categories that evolved in Natal, and other colonial contexts, for dealing with the experience of white settlers living among the indigenous African people and later the immigrant Indian community.

The institutionalization of white dominance and the legitimacy of white norms and standards, inherited from a western context, served to structure socio-spatial relations in Natal and is evident in the labyrinth of legislation that emerged in the colonial and post-colonial period. This legislation explicitly defined which categories of economic activity, urban form, family and communal structure, religious affiliation, health and social behaviour were deemed acceptable and appropriate and hence 'legitimate', and which were inappropriate and hence illegitimate. Thus Section 2.2 sets out to trace the historical emergence of general dualistic categories in western thought that had been transferred to colonial contexts, specifically Natal, to become the foundation for defining social relations and their physical contexts.

Anderson's (1987, 1988) research on cultural hegemony in Vancouver, Canada, provides a useful historical prologue to the tracing of race definitions in colonial Natal. She maintains that well before the birth of colonialism and capitalism, Europeans have used dualistic cognitive categories for distinguishing between themselves and others. The European worldview has from early on differentiated between 'East' and 'West', Christian and heathen, civilized and uncivilized (Anderson, 1987). This system of knowledge became elaborated and developed through the Middle Ages when the initial ethnocentrism of social differentiation began to become colour sensitive (Anderson, 1987). However, the conception of a large social group with particular unique physical attributes as a race only became possible with changing modes of viewing the world that materialized in the late eighteenth century.¹ In addition, the scientific discovery, in the West, of geological time formed the basis for the belief that human history was a "kind of natural progression from barbarism to civilization", with the consequent assumption that the white race of European origin was 'ahead' of other races (Anderson, 1987, 585).

This imperial sense of history as a series of unfolding events appealed to the logic of cause and effect (Carter, 1987) and seemed to demonstrate the emergence of order from chaos. It was this logic that underscored and legitimated the civilizing and imperialistic initiatives of western Europe as it sought to impose its order upon, and economically and culturally dominate the 'other' parts of the globe. The 'centre', i.e. the West, was apprehended as the positive, dominant and independent force, while the 'margins' were negatively defined in terms of the 'centre'. The conceptual identity of the West was thus delineated through its difference from the 'other' cultures. Edward Said (1978) in his interpretation of Orientalism, proposes that Europeans and Americans have developed specific tropes for visualizing Eastern and Arab cultures. The Orient thus appears as a 'theatre' which is viewed from a privileged standpoint (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) with the domination inherent in this position the result of conferring a discrete identity on the 'other'.² A worldview which assumes such a detached status allowed for the typification and classification of the world's races and social groups and provided a foundation for the European 'historical bloc' to rise to hegemony as a unified white 'centre' with conceptual control over the definition and status of the 'other' world cultures and races. Racial differentiation became an important criterion in the definition of the 'other' and the basis for strategies aimed at maintaining western cultural and economic dominance in multi-cultural contexts.

From the late eighteenth century, it was British imperialism that consolidated all the 'we/they distinctions' into a rigid ideological structure (Anderson, 1987). This system of thought included biological determinism explaining the relationship between phenotype, culture and civilizing capacity as a natural phenomenon and evaluating the white race³ as the supreme biological and cultural group (Anderson, 1988).⁴ This hegemony was globally extended in colonial contexts with more or less force where inherited social and racial definitions were actively reproduced by local politicians and officials (Anderson, 1988) as they sought to establish their dominance and obtain the privileges associated therewith.⁵

This ideology was however contradictory with the moral philosophy of equality between all members of the British Empire. It was the conflict between this philosophy and the transparent inequalities based on concepts of white superiority and racism that was at the root of the ensuing racial conflict in Natal, and other British territories in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The notion of white supremacy and particularly British supremacy, was inherited through the imperial process by the white settlers and officials in colonial Natal. This formed the basis of early definitions of the Indian immigrants as inferior. These social constructs became intensified and elaborated through local experiences and expressed spatially through the implementation of policies via racial legislation. Associated with this racial dualism, and the consequent racialization of space, were another set of interconnected concepts defining the appropriate social and urban order which the dominant white group found most desirable.

2.2.2 British conceptions of social and urban order

Superimposed upon the racially dichotomous mode of conceptualizing urban society was a set of standards as to what constituted 'order' and 'disorder' in British parlance. These were derived from early urban administration ideology that had evolved to cope with the emerging industrial towns in Britain (Rich, 1980).⁶ Such standards defined the 'regular ways of doing things' (Clark and Dear, 1984) according to the then prevailing norms of western European society. Thus the normative definition of formal urban space overlapped with a mutually exclusive set of racial categories derived from imperial impulses of racial superiority. In the colonial context, class-conscious English society became even more divided from the indigenous populations and "social distances were translated wherever possible into physical distance" (Christopher, 1988a,8).

The institutionalization of white dominance and the legitimacy of white norms and standards with regard to the structuring of socio-spatial relations is evident in the imposition of a massive bureaucracy for implementing the labyrinth of legislation that emerged in the colonial and post-colonial period in Natal (Christopher, 1988b). Such legislation explicitly defined which categories of economic activity, urban form, family structure, and behaviour were deemed appropriate, and hence 'legitimate', and those which were inappropriate and hence 'illegitimate' (Cooper, 1983). The social relations in informal and illegal urban spaces did not constitute the order defined by the state hegemony, and portrayed the 'wrong kind of city' (Cooper, 1983). Colonial administrations sought to order society and to change it based on preconceived British ideas and within a general segregationist approach (Christopher, 1988b). The medicalization of social life (Anderson, 1988), or what Swanson (1968) refers to as the 'sanitation syndrome' is an example of where standards of health and sanitation have been superimposed over racial categories to serve as a powerful set of norms for controlling or removing living and working environments that did not conform to western standards (Swanson, 1977; 1983).

The 'sanitation syndrome' is

a metaphor of disease and infection (which) became an almost universal currency for the conception and discussion of race questions and social policy (Swanson, 1976,172)

In British colonies, the municipal charters and institutions of the early towns embodied democratic conceptions of society (Swanson, 1968). In Natal it was only when the Africans began to freely occupy the towns that attitudes and policies sought to control the consequences of this process for the maintenance of social order. Durban, as the major economic node of the colony, began to attract increasing numbers of Africans and ex-indentured Indian labourers and passenger Indians.⁷ It was here in Durban, that municipal authorities envisaged problems of control which demanded recognition and action (Swanson, 1968).

In early municipal history in Natal, local authorities were relatively autonomous from the central government (Purcell, 1974), albeit in the role of 'grand inhibitor' (Rich, 1978). The chief functions of local administration lay in the sphere of public health, policing and licensing.⁸ Laws regulating these spheres were evolved in a piecemeal fashion and consisted of a myriad of minor enactments to administer the urban realm. The magistrate, policeman⁹ and sanitary officials¹⁰ were the key actors in the implementation of controls to maintain 'civilized society' within which African

and Indian urban residents were regarded as an anomaly¹¹ (Swanson, 1976; Rich, 1978). The public officers served to ameliorate problems of 'public health, sanitation, overcrowding and slum clearance, public order and security'¹² (Swanson, 1968,33-34).

Africans were considered a great threat, and were conceived of as 'dangerous', 'criminally inclined', 'unsupervised' and living in slums (Swanson, 1976,165). Indians were however conceived of as 'dirty', and a threat to health and sanitation (Swanson, 1976,165). For example, Durban's Mayor in 1891, called for an 'Indian Quarter' for the "isolation of...our social leprosy".¹³ Obviously, these ideas were inherited by successive generations of officials from their predecessors (Anderson, 1987).

In colonial societies, the preoccupation with 'racial infections' in the urban realm, and sanitary issues, served as an ideological justification for social and spatial separation. In Durban, public and official expressions regarding Indians were laced with the language, imagery and rhetoric of this metaphor. This was the accepted vocabulary for characterizing the Indian residential and business areas and in this way "identity and place were inextricably conflated" (Anderson, 1987,587). Hence the bias of the municipal authorities attention to sanitary matters, because of their preoccupation with the race idea.

While it was the police who dealt with the control of Africans to ensure reliable cheap labour, it was the sanitary officials and medical officers in their efforts to maintain public health that advanced the cause of spatial segregation of Indian and African residential areas (Swanson, 1976).¹⁴ The segregation of Indians took place thirty years earlier than that of urban Africans (Maharaj, 1992).

The Mayor's Minutes, from as early as 1871, reflect municipal protests about 'insanitary' Indian dwellings and 'unclean habits', with attempts to pass legislation to segregate Indians outside the Borough. As early as the 1880's, there emerged a 'crusade' for the removal of 'hovels' from the Western Vlei in Durban, resulting in the relocation of many Indians to locations outside the borough boundaries (Henderson, 1904,307). In 1891, the outbreak of cholera amongst some Indian immigrants led to an attempt to create a 'Coolie Location', but this plan was shelved (Henderson, 1904). A further attempt at racial segregation in the form of an Asiatic Bazaar was suggested by the city fathers, but Henderson (1904) noted they were of the opinion that "until legislation is

obtained the municipality could not effect their goals".¹⁵ Rather, the same result was achieved in an ad hoc fashion by "administrative action through the implementation of local health and licensing by-laws" (Pachai 1979a,21). Maharaj (1992,176) notes that although these attempts at explicit segregation failed, "the principle of separate residential locations for different race groups was ensconced".

The overlapping of the categories of white, formal and legal, and those of black, informal and illegal has made the contestation of space and the social relations that constitute space, one of the central political struggles in South African urban history (Bonner et al, 1989,2). It was within these broad inherited categories that specific definitions of the Indian in colonial Natal emerged as a response to local experience.

2.3 Early definitions of Indians as aliens in colonial Natal

2.3.1 The context of Indian immigration

In order to understand the social construction of Indian identity in early Natal society and the specific mode in which it was reproduced, it is necessary to overview both the local political economy and the form of municipal administration that pertained in that period.

It was in 1856, when the colony of Natal became a British possession governed through a lieutenant governor and elected legislative council, that British concepts of social order and civic life were ushered in through legal statutes implanted from the mother country. Considerable powers were however retained by the Crown ensuring that local institutions implemented British moral and legal principles (Palmer, 1956; Huttenback, 1966).¹⁶ Political office thus provided the critical means through which the dominant white settler group legitimized its intellectual control, "evolving and legitimizing the rules and framework within which social life (was) structured" (Anderson, 1988,131).

At a local level, Durban became a municipality with an elected town council in terms of the Municipal Ordinance of 1854. The municipal constitution was derived from British municipal traditions and formed the basis for democratic popular local government. This legislation allowed Durban and other municipalities to formulate by-laws for urban administration in order to control

social relations between the dominant and subject groups at a local level. Citizens were defined by the franchise¹⁷ which provided for class-based access to political rights and privileges and contained no explicit racial restrictions.

The major town and prime economic node in the colony of Natal was Durban, established by the white settler group within urban traditions derived from Britain. Durban represented a typical colonial town created in a region with no indigenous urban tradition (Fair and Browett, 1979). The white settlers dominated over the indigenous Africans who were drawn into the urban economy in a dependent position. From the outset, towns were considered the domain of whites. No provision was made for blacks in the ordering of urban space (Christopher, 1988a) despite the fact that the British colonial government adopted a moral code declaring “equality of all subjects of the Crown in all parts of the Empire” (Huttenback, 1966,273), and did not therefore sanction racial segregation (Worger, 1983).¹⁸ In order to maintain their dominance, the white colonists had to respond to competition over access to land, resources and opportunities, and in doing so, entered into conflictual relationships with both the African, and later the Indian group in the colony (Wylie, 1986).

As early as 1854, the reserve system for Africans had been created to avert potential conflict between the white settlers and the indigenous African population, and to control African location within the colony. These steps were adopted in the belief that the African had no place in the towns and were there only in a temporary capacity to provide labour (Swanson, 1968). It was in these reserves that the rural economy was based up until the 1870’s, and entirely dependent upon African production (Slater, 1975).¹⁹

In addition, settler agriculture in the early period was in a state of stagnation and, despite the creation of reservoirs of African labour in the reserves, there existed a shortage of suitable labour in all sectors of the rural economy (Burrows, 1943; Bundy, 1979). With a demand for dependable labour led by the settler sugar plantations (Burrows, 1943; Bundy, 1979), and a desire to stimulate the ailing settler agricultural sector, Sir George Grey set in motion the passing of a Bill in Britain in 1859 allowing Indian immigration into the colony.²⁰

It was this group, consisting of Indian labourers and traders, who, from 1860, immigrated to the colony and became part of the social, economic and political structure of colonial society in Natal, as a 'stranger' class in a dependent position (Wylie, 1986). Prior to 1913²¹, there emerged three legal categories of Indians in Natal - indentured, 'free' and 'free' passenger Indians.

2.3.2 Indentured labour: the law vs reality

Despite the equality afforded the indigenous population in terms of the imperial code of equality throughout the British Empire, social constructions of this group as being inferior to the white settlers had already resulted in the reserve system. Yet the colonists realized the necessity for labour in the emerging settler rural economy and the inevitable interdependence between blacks and whites in the economic sphere. It was the shortage of dependable labour in the white settler commercial agricultural sector that precipitated the importation of Indian indentured labour into the colony. It was this system and the conditions of the indenture contract that placed Indians in colonial society in an inferior and temporary position and led to their exploitation and poor living conditions.

The terms of indenture, negotiated by Britain and India, were codified in Natal Law 14 of 1859 (Huttenback, 1966) and are briefly as follows:

1. Each labourer was to receive a free passage from India.
2. Wages were set at 10 shillings p.m. with rations and quarters.
3. The period of indenture was initially 3 years but this was extended to 5 years.
4. Labourers were to be free from corporal punishment.
5. Medical services were to be provided.
6. 40 women had to accompany every 100 men.
7. A proportion of higher ranking immigrants were to be included in each party.
8. At the end of 10 years residence in the colony, labourers had the choice of a) a free return passage to India b) reindenturing for 5 further years, or c) accepting a piece of Crown land to the value of the return passage (Calpin, 1949).

Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature since it is entered into not under the common law of the country, but under a special statute devised for the particular situation (Polak, 1909). The migrants from India abandoned the "forms and rules" traditional in their mother country and became subject to the contract law in their new home. It was in their norms of family organization that they continued to "observe the customs of the Indian culture" and in doing so found themselves in conflict with the com-

mon law (Simons, 1949,46). Armed with inherited conceptual categories of white social and cultural superiority transmitted through the process of imperialism, and reproduced in the contract itself, the white dominant group used this legal mechanism to maintain their dominance by socially constructing the identity of, and thereby marginalizing, the Indian immigrant group.

Strategies of marginalization are of necessity productive to the 'centre' (Ogborn, 1992). The growing settler commercial economy was highly dependent on the cheap predominantly male labour provided through the indenture system.²² Scrutiny of the conditions of contract reveal a set of minimum provisions that, rather than ensure 'fair treatment' of the labour, were intended only to ensure labour reproduction and the maintenance of productivity. Shelter,²³ rations, medical services, freedom from corporal punishment and the inclusion of women²⁴ were provided for this purpose. The tendency was to treat the labourer as a "commercial entity to be worked to its fullest capacity" (Polak, 1909,21-22).

It is also clear that the intention of the contract was to provide for temporary labour, which when the contract was completed would return to India. However, the legal provision to remain in the colony as an option is contradictory to this goal, its inclusion merely an economic measure, as government land was free as opposed to the cost of the return passage (Brain, 1985).²⁵ It was this basic contradiction in the policy that was to lead to over one hundred years of contestation over Indian permanency in South African society.

Without the protection of individual written contracts the maltreatment of labourers and their families began to become apparent due to the inability and unwillingness of employers to provide decent living conditions (Palmer, 1956; Brain, 1985). The Natal Law of 1859 provided for the appointment of an Indian Immigration Agent to prevent the worst excesses of exploitation of labour. However, the Natal variant, the 'Coolie Agent', did not have adequate power and was more concerned with the interests of the sugar planters (Palmer, 1956,4).

From the earliest arrival of Indians in Natal, the complex legal contracts controlling the employment of labour were a "sham" (Thompson, 1975). On close inspection, they amounted to allowing what Polak (1909) termed "temporary slavery". The first repatriated labourers to return to India after ten years in the colony reported gross maltreatment with regard to poor living conditions, lack of medical services, neglect to pay wages and floggings (Palmer, 1956; Choonoo, 1967).²⁶

Meer (1969, 11) notes that exploitation and maltreatment of Indian contract labour was the norm and it was "only instances of gross maltreatment that came to public notice." It was thus initially through the conditions of the contract of indenture that Indian immigrants were placed in a dependent and marginalized position, and that their identity as a low-class labouring temporary stratum in Natal society became confirmed.

As members of the British Empire the early Indian immigrants were 'equal before the law'. However, the stipulations of the contract of indenture placed them outside the law where they had no political means of redressing their grievances and were trapped. Often there was a situation of deplorable physical deprivation, and where they had to endure a degraded life, particularly the women (Meer, 1969, 12). The terms of contract were "systematically and severely abused" "contributing directly to their exploitation and the abnormally high rates of death and disease (Tayal, 1978, 527).²⁷

Defined legally as 'labour units' with little social, cultural and family life, the Indian came to be identified as marginal in colonial society. Apart from exploitation of indentured labour in the work context, many minor insults and humiliations were endured in public life. Exclusion from tram-cars, public baths, the bathing enclosures, hotels, public lavatories, and other public facilities, all contributed to the humiliation and bitterness of the Indians (Polak, 1909). The term 'coolie', which means labourer, was applied as a blanket term to all Indians irrespective of their occupational status (Polak, 1909).

With no political representation (Meer, 1969) and the absence of organized Indian political resistance in the period prior to Responsible Government, resistance occurred locally at an individual or community level. But the protests of indentured labourers represented no challenge to the system since an elaborate network of restrictions existed to prevent politicization (Tayal, 1978, 547). To escape the abuses of the legal contract many people were forced to abscond,²⁸ become vagabonds (Palmer, 1956) and if apprehended, become prisoners. Either way, this made them into criminals. The ultimate resistance in some cases to the repressive labour conditions was suicide.²⁹

From the earliest arrival of indentured labour the Indian Government was dissatisfied with the treatment of Indian immigrants in Natal and halted immigration pending improved conditions (Huttenback, 1966). This led to the Coolie Commission of 1872, which substantiated Indian grievances. Since no institutional mechanism existed to represent them and take action on their behalf, a Protector of Indian Immigrants was appointed and Indian immigration recommenced.³⁰ Between 1874 and 1886, 30 000 workers entered Natal (Burrows, 1943). Apart from access to a part-time medical officer,³¹ and the institutionalization of a Protector's Court to which all workers were to have access, all the previous conditions of the contract of indenture pertained (Palmer, 1956). The Protector's Court was ineffectual and soon ceased to exist. The redressing of grievances was once more relegated to the Magistrate's Court, where, due to inadequate interpreters and "lack of a defence" (Simons, 1949,69), full access to a forum for mediation between the influential employers and their labourers, was denied.

The lack of representation in the legislature; the inability to utilize the courts as a legal channel to challenge exploitation and maltreatment; the use of police harassment to uphold the contract of indenture; and the atomization of labour on isolated farms, rendered the Indian labourers politically impotent (Palmer, 1956; Swan, 1984).

The simple European notion of the 'coolie' was not so innocent. The body of ideas about 'coolies', grew out of and came to structure a politically divisive system of racial discourse that justified the domination people of Indian origin in colonial Natal. The conditions that these early immigrants endured as a direct result of the indenture contract, and the very terms of the contract itself, were constructed through the global process of imperial conceptual control which served to refashion and elaborate imperial conceptions of the 'other' through specific experiences at the local level (Anderson, 1988).

2.3.3 'Free Indians': a product of the indenture contract

Since many of the original indentured labourers had decided not to reindenture or become repatriated on the termination of their contracts, there emerged from the 1870's a growing number of ex-indentured Indians who became settlers in the colony. The term 'free' which was applied to this class of Indian, implied that they had escaped the bondage of indenture on the one hand, and on the other were relatively free to engage in economic and social practices that had been denied them whilst under indenture.

The colony of Natal was a close-knit commercial and agricultural community dominated by white settler capital focussed on the port function of Durban (Swanson, 1976).³² In the post-1870 period, Indians began to play an increasingly important role in the colony's economy (Brain, 1985), and the economic interdependence of whites, Indians and Africans was becoming evident. Urban growth in Natal was dramatic (Swanson, 1976). Trade was reviving and there was a rising demand for Indian labour (Palmer, 1956). Therefore at this stage, repatriation was not encouraged and those Indians who were willing to stay were offered a free grant of Crown land to remain and offer their labour on the open market.

Fifty two percent of indentured labourers chose to become 'free' labour after their terms of indenture expired, and entered the economy of the colony in various capacities (Swan, 1984). Some of these people migrated out of Natal, while others took up occupations in the urban economy as traders, hawkers or shopkeepers. The majority, however, engaged in small-scale horticultural or agricultural activities on leased land on the less strategically located peripheries of the towns (Bundy, 1979)³³ which were not in demand by whites. With a rural or semi-rural background and a good knowledge of the money economy, they were soon very successful in providing fresh produce for the urban markets (Bundy, 1979).³⁴ The resident magistrate of Umlazi reported that on the smallholdings at Clairmont³⁵ and along the South Coast railway line, the Indian farmers 'entirely shut out European production' (Brain, 1985, 212). The more prosperous farmers and petty producers were able to purchase land, usually in the peripheral areas.³⁶ The Surveyor General, in his report of 1869 stated that no Crown land for Indians was available 'near any of the proclaimed townships' (in Rajah, 1981, 134).³⁷ This prevented ex-indentured Indians taking up their Crown grants in or near the white dominated Borough of Durban which further contributed to their marginalisation in urban space. The acquisition of property in private ownership by Indians, however, continued steadily but slowly until the post-Union period, when there was a rapid increase in the area of Indian owned land (Christopher, 1969).

Once free from their indentures, the 'free' Indians were responsible for their own housing. Those with no capital or security of tenure, set up structures of an impermanent nature. The Indian shack areas on the periphery of Durban were characterized by a congestion of unplanned shacks and shanties interspersed by some substantial homes (Bagwandeem, 1983). These low-income shack areas, intermingled with small-scale agriculture and a host of unregulated informal productive activities were typical of

colonial African towns (Davies, 1976). This emergent urban structure reflected the marginal economic and political status of Indians and Africans in the colony (Bagwandeem, 1983) where cities became centres of 'political domination over a potentially hostile periphery' (Cooper, in McCarthy, 1986). The critical shortage of Indian housing in the period from 1920 to the 1950's had its roots in the colonial period due to municipal neglect in the provision of land and housing for the Indian population.

Together with the increasing numbers of Natal-born Indians, the off-spring of ex-indentured labourers, the supply of free labour in the colony grew rapidly. Repatriation to India was not sufficient to offset the growth of the Natal Indian population and by 1904, Natal-born Indians constituted 22% of the total Indian population in Natal (Burrows, 1943). It was the indentured labour, however, that fuelled the growth of the emerging commercial economy of Natal (Swan, 1984). In order to maintain this source of cheap labour it was therefore necessary to continue the immigration policy (Burrows, 1943).

Such conditions made it inevitable that an Indian community would become established in Natal as successive inflows of new indentured labour 'filled the gaps' as previous generations of indentured labourers became free (Calpin, 1949). In 1891, the Indian population of Natal stood at 35 763 (Calpin, 1949,10). Faced with such large numbers of ex-indentured Indians the colonial government passed Act 25 of 1891 which finally removed the right of ex-indentured Indians to claim a piece of Crown land in lieu of a passage to India (Rajah, 1981). This action essentially represented a breach of the original legal terms of contract, and severely undermined the logic of the rule of law (Thompson, 1975).

Up until the early 1890's white colonists had no objection to the presence of the Indians in the colony and regarded them largely as docile labourers of low caste who could be exploited and then repatriated when they had rendered the required services (Calpin, 1949; Palmer, 1956; Rajah, 1981). This accommodatory approach (Bagwandeem, 1983) to Indians existed because of the relatively small numbers of immigrants, and the fact that they were poor and illiterate, and consequently posed no threat to white dominance. Thus despite the growing settled 'free' Indian communities on the peripheries of towns, the attitudes of racial superiority over subject classes by the dominant colonial whites remained little more than a set of conceptual categories.

2.3.4 The arrival of the 'passenger' Indians: a challenge to the economic, political and spatial dominance of the 'centre'

In addition to the continued immigration of indentured labour, the stream of Indians into the colony was supplemented by another group of 'passenger Indians' who entered the colony (Palmer, 1956) under normal immigration laws to trade. It is documented that Aboobaker Amod was the first Indian trader in Durban, soon followed by other traders and their accountants from the same district in India (Bhana, 1985). It was the introduction of the indentured Indians that made inevitable the development of Indian trade and the arrival of the Indian trader. Between June 1874 and May 1875, 5974 such immigrants arrived (Huttenback, 1966). These 'Arab' traders³⁸ chiefly imported rice from India, as well as a variety of other foodstuffs, such as spices.³⁹ Other staple items on the Indian diet such as ghee, dholl, tamarinds and tumeric were imported and traded. More speciality items such as coconuts, dried and salted fish, pickles, betel-nuts and confectionery formed part of what became known as 'coolie stores' (Bhana, 1985). Traditional clothing, finery, perfume, brassware, furniture, books and musical instruments also entered the colony of Natal for the Indian trade.

Initially the passenger Indians set up trading stores which catered for the needs of the local Indian population (Piper, 1975). Within a decade of their arrival, this trade had expanded to supply a wide range of imported goods required by African and White residents in all parts of the country (Padayachee and Morrell, 1991). This was a result of the trade expertise and capital, and the initiative and drive of this merchant class.

While initially, it was the 'free' Indians that dominated Indian trade, by 1885, this situation had changed, and of the 66 Indian stores in Durban, 40 were large, permanent 'Arab' stores (Bhana, 1985), which gave credit to the smaller traders, stocked a wide variety of goods and also advertised in Indian newspapers.

The Indian hawker and pedlar, usually from an ex-indentured background, made their appearance, serving poorer classes in district towns (Bhana and Pachai, 1984). It was particularly in the supplying of local markets with vegetables that this class of trader became proficient.

In Durban, the expansion of Indian commercial activity, both spatially into the white dominated West Street commercial zone, and economically into the markets of the white traders, brought the Indian traders into direct competition with the dominant commercial interests in the town. They began to acquire properties, particularly in Durban (Rajah, 1981) and by 1884, Durban had 64 Indian stores and 118 Indian owned properties.⁴⁰

In addition, land was purchased by Indians on the Bluff, Clairwood, Cato Manor and Overport, outside the Borough boundaries where land prices and rates were lower and fewer regulations existed governing housing and land-use. Although subtle attempts to exclude Indians from gaining access to ownership and occupation of land in the white Borough of Durban were undertaken by the colonial government, land was not a major issue in the period up to the early 1890's.⁴¹

The Indian merchant class came to be feared as economic competition to established white commercial capital which had the monopoly over commerce in the colony (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977). Bhana (1985) maintains that it was not the large white traders that initially objected to the Indian trader, but rather the smaller white traders in the country districts. This gave rise to the first public expression of anti-Indian sentiments in the colony which were framed within the system of racial discourse inherited via imperialism (Piper, 1975; Wylie, 1986). The grievances of the white merchants were levied at the low standard of living and 'dirty' living and working conditions of the Indian traders, the long hours that they were prepared to work, the undercutting of white trade by up to 30%, and their inability to keep accounts (Palmer, 1956; Rajah, 1981).⁴² This racial prejudice was also underlain by a fear of the growing numbers of Indians settling permanently in the colony.

With an improvement in their standard of living and education which accompanied the rising prosperity of the ex-indentured 'free' Indians and the merchant class, the Indian community began to exert political pressure for 'democratic rights and privileges' (Bagwandeem, 1983,2). Demands began to be made for Indian representation on the Legislative Council (Palmer, 1956). The biggest cause for concern, amongst the whites, however, was economic rivalry with the Indian merchants commanding an increasing proportion of the colony's trade. As a consequence, Indo-European tensions in the colony in the 1890's were investigated by the Wragg Commission which enquired into the continuation of immigration and the degree of permanency of Indians in the colony, as well as the conditions of the Indian merchants.

2.4 Conclusion

While the early Colonial Government in Natal was intent on managing the nascent economy of the young colony - the importation of indentured Indian labour being part of this strategy - it is also clear that it was engaged in building and maintaining 'white' European society "in all its symbolic and institutional dimensions" (Anderson, 1988,130). As the dominant group, it was in their power and interest to identify the Indians as temporary, inferior aliens in the colonial social and political order. Armed with inherited racial concepts of 'white sovereignty', and dichotomous categories for conceptualizing an appropriate social and urban order, the white settlers and officials constructed a language of ideas by means of which Indian status, privileges and living conditions were determined in the colony of Natal.

From the outset, white colonists had regarded Indian migrant labour as a temporary solution to the labour shortage in the emerging economy of Natal, whilst the Indian government regarded them as permanent immigrants (Rajah, 1981). It is hard to understand how the Natal Government and white colonists 'misinterpreted' the conditions of indenture, since they explicitly and legally allowed for ex-indentured Indians to remain and even obtain free land grants (Palmer, 1956). This attitude on the part of white officials and the white public, became known in Britain as the 'sucked orange policy' (Palmer, 1956) and it was clear that the only acceptable definition of the immigrant Indian to white settlers and the commercial sector, was that of an inferior, economically useful labour unit. Any other reality was to be legislated against despite the interdependence of white, Indian and African in the growing economy.⁴³

The dominant discourse of the 'centre' never achieves closure. The successful and prosperous passenger Indians did not fit the common conception of the Indian as a low-status, unskilled labourer in a dependent position in the colonial economy (Rajah, 1981) and, with a few of the wealthier Indian traders qualifying for the parliamentary franchise, ⁴⁴ there was fear that these elements of the 'margin' would make inroads into the 'centre' - which was the domain of the white settlers. To prevent this and create a distance between the 'centre' and the 'margins' in colonial society, more forceful legislation became necessary after 1890 in order to clearly resolve the 'terms of their association' (Swanson, 1976).⁴⁵

The philosophy of separation ushered in through the dominant European influence in colonial Natal, became entrenched in the social consciousness of the white settler, rigidly classifying themselves as 'us' - the insiders, and the Indians, and Africans as 'them' - the aliens and outsiders. It was this form of

racial consciousness that became expressed in the socio-spatial organization and the institutional framework of the colony, and became elaborated and reworked with changing political, social and economic conditions.

Endnotes

1. Benedict Anderson (1983) claims that the possibility of imagining a community only came about with the emergence of the idea of 'homogeneous, empty time' in the eighteenth century. This allowed for a new way of conceptualizing simultaneity and ushered in the possibility of apprehending social differentiation at a societal level.
2. The other crucial characteristic of an 'imperial history' (Carter, 1987), is that a portrayal of events in objective space and time is accomplished through an 'all-seeing spectator' who provides a narrative from a selective viewpoint.
3. Racist practices are linked with a wider set of practices relating to 'white supremacy' - a set of social relations "encapsulating the attitudes, ideologies and policies associated with the rise of blatant forms of white or European domination over 'non-white' populations" (Smith, 1989,8).
4. Smith (1989,5) defines racism as the adoption of "physical criteria as a form of legitimation for the policies and practices whose consequences have differentially dispensed material resources and political rights according to physical criteria".
5. Smith (1989, 110-111) notes the persistence of stereotypes concerning the "cultural backwardness and moral inferiority of 'coloured colonials'" in contemporary British race relations.
6. In the nineteenth century, the growth of cities everywhere created "conditions of extreme poverty, disorder and demoralization" (Swanson, 1968,32). Urban administrations thus faced the problems of controlling and improving these conditions within established patterns of thought but "with inadequate institutions and inchoate policies" (Swanson, 1968,32).
7. The Indian population became concentrated in Natal and the coastal belt surrounding Durban in particular due to restrictions placed on their residence in the Orange Free State and Transvaal Republic. In 1891, the Orange Free State proclaimed that no Indian could own or occupy land within the Republic. Transvaal Law No. 3 of 1885, forbade Indians from owning fixed property except in special streets, wards and locations, while Ordinance 17 of 1905, allowed local authorities to create 'Asiatic Bazaars' for the occupation of Indians (Webb, 1949,206-7).
8. These were laid down in the Municipal Law of 1856, amended in 1871, which was fashioned on British municipal legal codes.
9. The Durban Corporation took over the municipal police force on 1/10/1861 which had been created under the Municipal Ordinance of 1854 (Henderson, 1904,336).
10. By 1903 a permanent Medical Officer of Health (MOH) was appointed who created a Public Health Department. The first MOH was a British doctor who was instrumental in incorporating into the Municipal Ordinance, the provisions of two British Acts passed in the 1890's regarding the notification and prevention of infectious diseases (Henderson, 1904,301).

11. African urbanization was considered a 'distortion of natural order', and therefore essentially illegitimate (Swanson, 1976). The system of pass laws and barracks for African togt workers, which emerged in the 1870's, culminated in the 'Durban System' of administration (Swanson, 1976) which aimed to contain and control the movement of African labour in urban areas, and to regulate their living conditions in the towns.
12. For example, the curfew law of 1878 passed by the municipalities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, which controlled the movement of Indians after 9.00 p.m. if not in possession of a pass (Pachai, 1979a).
13. Mayor's Minute, 1891
14. The 1904 Native Location Act, together with the 1908 Native Beer Act, ushered in a system of compulsory containment of Africans in barracks, compounds and hostels. Residential locations for Africans outside the Borough boundaries were only introduced in the 1930's.
15. Whilst the spatial segregation of Indian trade and residence was legally provided for in the Transvaal Law No 3 and had been the norm since 1885, specific legislation was not enacted in Natal before 1910 to this end.
16. Hattersley (1940,109) comments on the link between the Colony and Britain: "After 1856, Natal ceased to be technically a Crown colony. Nevertheless, she remained in great measure subject to the prerogative. The Governor received formal instructions for his guidance on his appointment, and supplementary instructions from time to time...but no advice could provide against every contingency and cable communication with London was not available until the 'eighties'".
17. In terms of the early constitution, any man over 21 years old, who owned property worth fifty Pounds, or rented it for ten Pounds, qualified for a parliamentary vote (Pachai, 1979a).
18. However, prior to the arrival of Indian immigrants in Natal in 1860, Theophilus Shepstone's Native Policy had led to the creation of the reserve system for Africans in 1846-47, issuing in the "sentiment, policy and practice" of racial segregation (Bundy, 1979; Swanson, 1976,160).
19. It is not the intention here to explore the conceptual categories that provided the basis for policy formation with regard to Africans, except to note that they had in common with the Indian the status of an inferior subject group.
20. This occurred despite much controversy within the settler community regarding the importation of Indian labour and the embryonic nature of sugar cultivation in the colony (Brain, 1985).
21. The passing of Act 28 of 1913 signalled the end of Indian immigration to Natal.
22. Although indentured labour was mostly assigned to the sugar plantations, it was also in great demand as domestic labour and in Colonial and municipal government departments, and in the Natal Railway Company (Brain, 1985).
23. Henderson (1904) reports that as early as 1864, barracks were built in Durban for indentured Indian labour. The most well known and longest established were the Magazine Barracks in Somtseu Road, Durban, which were built by the Durban Corporation in 1914 to house indentured labour and later municipal employees (University of Natal, 1952).
24. Kalideen (pers. comm. 18/9/92) points out that many of the women that entered Natal via the indenture system were recruited from the streets of Bombay and other Indian cities and then arbitrarily assigned to males on arrival.

25. The right of ex-indentured labourers, in terms of the contract of indenture, to a piece of Crown land was only gained after 10 years of residence in the colony. A small number of ex-indentured Indian labourers took up this right and land was granted in the Umzinto and Verulam areas prior to the retraction of this option in 1891 (Brain, 1985).
26. Employers fined Indian labourers illegally so that "the labourer frequently owed the employer money at the end of each month" (Huttenback, 1966,276).
27. See Polak (1909) for detailed descriptions of actual cases of abuse.
28. Every Indian immigrant was considered a "presumptive deserter" having to prove he or she was discharged or on leave (Polak, 1909,27).
29. A significant feature of the indentured labour system was the "enormously high suicide rate", for example 551 per million in the period from 1904 to 1908 (cited in Polak, 1909,26).
30. This was implemented through Natal Laws 12 of 1872, and 19 of 1874 (Huttenback, 1966) and the Natal Government henceforth contributed 10 000 Pounds per annum towards the expense of importation of labour which previously was the onus of the employers (Palmer, 1956).
31. Medical services were paid for by subscription by employers.
32. The Natal Harbour Board was constituted in 1878 to deal with all matters related to the harbour and shipping (Henderson, 1904,96).
33. Most of the land occupied was leased from white speculators who had bought up large tracts of land in the peri-urban areas of Durban. Victoria County, to the north of Durban was the main area of Indian 'squatting' (Christopher, 1969,246). Other growing areas were along the flats south of the harbour; the western fringe of the Borough in Cato Manor, Sydenham and Mayville; from Umbilo to Umgeni Rivers outside the Borough and in Springfield (Department of Economics, 1949,218).
34. By 1911, about 50% of the Indian population over 15 years of age was engaged in agriculture (Meer, 1969,34).
35. After Union in 1910, the original name of Clairmont in Durban was changed to Clairwood in 1911 due to confusion with Clairmont in Cape Town.
36. By 1894 the population of Durban was 4129 Europeans; 2252 Africans; and 1860 Indians (Henderson, 1904,83).
37. The predilection for ownership of property is a basic cultural heritage amongst Indians (Meer, 1969; Bagwandeem, 1983). The Indian peasant makes tremendous sacrifices to obtain land even "selling his labour as an urban proletariat to support it" (Meer, 1969,42). This attitude to land was retained by the Indian immigrants to Natal, who have shown historically that relative to their earnings, they have acquired considerable properties.
38. This term was generally incorrectly used to refer to free or passenger Indians who immigrated from Mauritius, and from the districts of Surat and Bombay, Gujrat and Saurashtra in India. Another important group were the Memons from Porbander. They were predominantly Gujarati-speaking Muslims and Hindus (Bhana, 1985).
39. For example, cumin seeds, coriander seeds, chillies, garlic and black pepper (Bhana, 1985).
40. Mayor's Minute, 1884.
41. In the nineteenth century, in the Cape Colony, Orange Free State and Transvaal, the major legal restrictions pertaining to Indians were related to land acquisition.

42. The Insolvency Law No 47 of 1887, required the keeping of accounts in English (Polak, 1909).
43. The Wragg Commission's findings with regard to the major grievance of the white colonists, i.e. the conditions of Indian traders, revealed that these were most satisfactory and the Commission came out in strong favour of the beneficial role played by the Indian capitalist class in the colonial economy (Rajah, 1981).
44. Several attempts were made in 1880 and 1881 to remove this franchise but these attempts were repulsed by the governor and Colonial Office (Huttenback, 1966).
45. The temporary status of Indians in Natal was akin to the policy of African migrant labour which had evolved in the colony in the nineteenth century. In terms of this the African should withdraw to the rural reserves when their services to whites had been terminated. In 1891, policies to license and house urban African togt labour emerged to control this cheap source of unskilled labour and spatially contain it (Swanson,1976).

CHAPTER 3

CITIZENSHIP AND JUSTICE

3.1 Introduction

In order to understand the settlement of an Indian community in southern Durban in the late 1860's, and its virtual removal and destruction a hundred years later, this chapter outlines the emergence of the body of anti-Indian legislation both in the colonial period and subsequent to the Union of South Africa in 1910. The early legislation, although framed within British constitutional principles, served to marginalize Indians in colonial society by creating special provisions controlling their conditions, or devising mechanisms within 'non-racial' legislation which negated them as citizens and prevented their full participation in colonial social, economic and political life. It was this body of legislation which was elaborated through the first half of the twentieth century and ultimately served to facilitate the demise of the Durban Indian community in Clairwood.

Although none of the early colonial legislation was blatantly segregatory in nature, some of the provisions resulted in the spatial segregation of Indians within the towns of the colony. It was specifically the legislation promulgated after Union which spatially segregated Indians from the white settler class within Natal's towns.

The British settlers who established the colony of Natal created a social order based on the concept of white sovereignty. Thus long before the decision was made to import indentured Indian labour, Indians, along with the indigenous Africans and any other cultural and racial groups originating outside Europe, were defined as being outsiders in the emergent social order. When the demand for labour in the 1860's prompted importation of Indian indentured labour, it was these definitions of Indians as outsiders that became expressed, through the colonial government, in the contract of indenture. This particular legal mechanism not only controlled Indian immigration, but provided the basis for their subsequent exploitation, maltreatment and poor living conditions.

The initial mental constructs of Indians as temporary, low-class outsiders were continually reproduced and transformed through local interaction and daily experience, and found concrete expression in a growing body of social norms and legal statutes. These formed an evolving system of institutionalized

strategies by means of which the dominant white group sought to maintain their power at the 'centre' and keep Indians at the margins of the local social order. Although local definitions that emerged in the context of Durban are important and provided the major source of conceptual categories for dealing with the Indian group in colonial Natal, it is necessary to examine the relationship between local initiatives in the marginalizing process, and those derived from the colonial government. Thus both municipal and colonial legislation are examined.

In response to Indian protests regarding discriminatory legislation, Britain and India intervened on behalf of South African Indians and the 'Indian Question' was elevated to an international issue. Prompted by international criticism, the South African government initiated a number of commissions of enquiry and attempted to placate both the whites and Indians through the medium of voluntary agreements. In spite of such attempts to diffuse conflict, the local authority of Durban continued with its policy of urban segregation. Thus the Union period is characterized at the local level by the continued neglect of Indian living conditions and the gradual spatial segregation of this group predominantly into peripheral urban areas.

Section 3.2 turns to a theoretical examination of the role of the law as an important functional tool of the state in ensuring the reproduction of the dominant classes.

Section 3.3 examines the definition of the early Indian immigrants as labour units, defined by the legal contract of indenture. Up until the granting of Responsible Government in 1893, the contract of indenture served to define the marginal and temporary status of ex-indentured Indians in Natal, despite the fact that by this stage substantial numbers of ex-indentured Indians and passenger Indians had become permanent settlers in the colony.

Section 3.4 focuses on the changing circumstances and context in Natal during the period of Responsible Government after 1893 and up until Union in 1910, when legislation became explicitly more anti-Indian at both the local and colonial level. The strategies of the dominant white settler group are analyzed in order to understand how local and colonial legislation was formulated to curtail Indian economic

competition. This included both the three pound tax and the immigration laws. The more specific legislation against the ascendancy of the Indian merchant class into the economic and political life of the colony via licensing, sanitation and franchise removal legislation is also discussed.

Section 3.5 discusses the emergence of individual, collective and institutionalized Indian resistance in the period of Responsible Government and the strategies that were adopted to contest the dominant definitions of the Indian social group, and defend and extend Indian rights.

Section 3.6 examines the evolution of anti-Indian legislation in the post-Union period up until the promulgation of the Group Areas Act. Much of the legislation in this period focussed on segregating whites from Indians in Durban and other Natal towns by preventing their access to centrally located and white-owned land. Although Indian resistance to the discriminatory and segregatory statutes of the Union period was initially largely passive, and compromise and accommodation formed the basis of resistance strategies, the blatant and coercive segregatory legislation of the 1940's stimulated a more radical response and the reorganization of Indian political groupings.

3.2 The role of law in the social construction of class

In addition to the administration and enforcement functions of local government, Dear (1981) proposes that the legal apparatus is an important functional part of the 'enabling' executive apparatus ensuring the reproduction of both the state and the wider social formation. Of particular interest to spatial analysts in the South African context, where spatial outcomes have explicit racial connotations, is the way in which laws "are conceived, enacted, and implemented" (Dear, 1981, 1196). It is in this context that legislation has evolved to both define the rights of different groups of people and the status and quality of various types of spaces in society. For this reason it is useful theoretically to examine the legal apparatus of the state and the application of the rule of law as a function of the state to maintain the status quo.

The rule of law is a body of rules and procedures that apply "logical criteria with reference to standards of universality and equity", ideally providing equality for all before the law (Thompson, 1975, 262).¹ As a system of rules and procedures, law evolves, and is the outcome of "the political and economic development of a particular social formation" (Worger, 1983, 52). In a conflictual society, law has an

instrumental function of mediating and reinforcing existing class relations (Thompson, 1975) and recreating the structure of power. The law, as a function of the local authority can be thought of as a “definition of actual...practice” (Thompson, 1975,261), endorsed by norms transmitted through the community and their opposing sets of norms in conflict. Swanson (1968,40) contends that it is not surprising that, from the very outset of colonial rule, the whites, who had the power to act, used the local legal apparatus to define and recreate their ‘own way of life’ to serve their own immediate interests.

In particular historical contexts, the logical criteria applied in order to universalize and regularize the application of law were not extended to certain categories of people, while other categories were debarred from access to parts of the logic (Thompson, 1975,262). For example, in the nineteenth century, in western society, women, children, the insane and blacks lay outside the provisions of the law, or had specific legal stipulations devised to apply to their conditions. It will become clear as the chapter proceeds that in the colonial and post-colonial context of Natal, it was in general the blacks, and of specific interest here, the Indians, who were debarred from the logic of the law and had special legal provisions created to order their social and political lives. Equality before the law was therefore a sham, especially when transplanted to the colonial context with its gross class inequalities, where it became the instrument of imperialism (Thompson, 1975).

In addition to its ‘pliant instrumental functions’ law exists in its own right as ideology (Thompson, 1975,262), serving and legitimizing class power. In order to be effective, the law must ‘seem to be just’ (Thompson, 1975) and show an independence from gross manipulation.² It is at the ideological level of appearance that the

values and conceptions of the appropriate form of society are given expression through a utopian set of rules and standards... and ‘utopia’ is defined by reaction and negation - against what actually exists, for what could be (Clark and Dear, 1984,110).

Thus, once enacted, laws embodying the vision of the desired future state of society become the general rules and standards of society. The present is negated by the very definition of an alternative future as embodied in the laws (Clark and Dear, 1984). The dominant group, in using the legal apparatus to ‘centre’ itself, introduces instabilities by legislating against those conditions ‘of the present’ in which the marginal groups contest their power for a utopian ‘future’.

Laws regulating the construction of space constituted an important means of establishing the hegemonic order in the colonial period in Africa (Cooper, 1983). They were framed within the utopian vision of a racially segregated urban colonial society. In Natal, as the contradictions inherent in the body of racially discriminatory legislation which represented the utopian order of the white 'centre' increased, so resistance and contestation from the margins became more articulate. Protest by the Indian community against anti-Indian legislation vaulted 'the Indian Question' from a local to a national and international arena. In this inequitable context, it was with a degree of force that the logic of the law was supported. Despite the emerging dissent over the application of the rule of law, there were always those who vehemently believed in their own procedures and the justice of their policies particularly at the local level where laws articulated local consciousness and lived experience (Thompson, 1975).³

3.3 Anti-Indian legislation prior to Responsible Government 1860-1893: the thin veil of equality

The Natal colonial government, through the adoption and amendment of British legal statutes and procedures, placed the immigrant Indian class in the category of temporary contract labour exempt from the benefits and obligations of colonial citizens. Thus in the early period of Indian immigration into Natal, the legal status of Indians was defined in relation to the contract of indenture rather than the franchise.

The state form⁴ inherited in the British colony of Natal created, from the start, a class-based system of power relations through which the white settler class dominated over the indigenous African class and later the Indian immigrants. It was the franchise which served as the legal contract, embodying the state form, and transforming socio-economic, gender or race differences into the legal relations of individual, equal citizens.⁵

The system of class-based privileges and rights via the franchise, as the embodiment of the state form, was transplanted to the colony of Natal from the 1835 Municipal Corporations Act in Britain (Duncan and Goodwin, 1982). When initially transferred to the British colonies in South Africa this legislation ushered in the seeds of a democratic conception of society and popular government (Swanson, 1968).⁶ Exactly who was defined as a citizen, with access to political power, was embodied in the franchise, which originally qualified a small group of male proper-

tied or taxed individuals. The adult male franchise in southern African British colonies was originally without racial distinction and Swanson (1968) suggests that there was little racial prejudice in the early towns.

The rights accorded to citizens, furthermore, can only be defined contextually in terms of social relations and expectations of moral concern derived out of a particular social context (Clark and Dear, 1984). In a context of economic and racial inequality such as existed in colonial Natal, the process of defining social obligations and rights was inevitably biased in favour of the dominant groups, and state legal mechanisms became “caught in the web of inequality” (Clark and Dear, 1984, 115). Robinson (1992, 23) hypothesizes that the construction of urban space in pre-apartheid South Africa “both reflected and impacted upon... the constitution of citizenship relationships” with “differential citizenship” emerging out of everyday direct experiences. Thus those owning and occupying strategically located urban land were dominant in the political and social hierarchy.

One of the predominant features of the structure of the British Empire was the policy of decentralization and a strong inclination towards self-government and indirect rule (Christopher, 1988b). Even before Natal was granted Responsible Government in 1893, and was still subject to the Crown, a high level of autonomy was beginning to emerge in the colony’s dealings with the indigenous people. Based on the cultural baggage of the immigrants, attitudes and policies began to emerge to deal with local problems (Swanson, 1968). The state structure in the colonial context soon evolved as an embodiment of race-class relations and legal provisions evolved excluding the subject groups from qualifying for the franchise.

It was into this context that Indians immigrated to Natal under contracts of indenture. The terms of indenture⁷ were expressly aimed at obtaining cheap unskilled labour through the pegging of a low minimum wage. The indentured class were thus implicitly excluded from qualifying for the franchise, and furthermore, the explicit provision for their return to India defined them as temporary ‘citizens’.⁸ Thus the contract of indenture was a special contract devised for a particular situation (Polak, 1909). It placed the migrants outside the common laws and placed them under contract law (Simons, 1949). This legal mechanism was implemented by the dominant settler group to maintain their dominance by socially constructing the identity of the immigrant Indians, and ensuring their position as temporary residents unable to qualify for the franchise.

By 1893, the Local Government Act in Britain had defined the franchise as one of near-universal male suffrage (Duncan and Goodwin, 1982). However, while the franchise in Britain became more universal towards the twentieth century, the dominant white group in Natal sought to marginalize other race groups even further by removing their political rights via denial of the franchise to blacks who qualified. Subsequently, by the turn of the century woman, blacks, and free and indentured Indian immigrants were excluded from the definition of citizenship.

And so it was that the definition of citizenship of the colony of Natal became more limited, both at an executive and municipal level, as increasing numbers of Africans and Indians became resident in the towns competing with whites for space and privilege. These race-based definitions were altered by the dominant whites in response to their experiences in dealing with the black 'outsiders'. This was particularly so in the towns, where concentrations of Africans began to present problems of control revealing the social and spatial implications of the basic laws. Smith (1989) uses the term 'experiential or common-sense racism' to account for procedural norms that form the basis of everyday actions but also legitimize more purposive racist practices. It was the "proximity of Zulu power, and the overwhelming numbers of Africans in Natal itself (that) supplied an element of insecurity" (Swanson, 1968,33) and 'common-sense racism' fuelled strategies to secure white domination.

The municipal functions⁹ that were in place in Southern Africa at that time determined the possible responses of the municipalities. Swanson (1968,33) notes that public authorities were essentially a "grand inhibitor", the main functions being that of maintaining public health and policing. Restrictive police powers formed the main solution to urban problems as there were no provisions for local government to be proactive as a provider of social services (Swanson, 1968). With no rights and privileges afforded by citizenship, and occupying the position of subject group in the social order, Africans and Indians were not provided with basic facilities by early municipalities. The indigenous African population and later the immigrant ex-indentured Indians were considered temporary residents and excluded from the organized structure of the towns which were conceived as the domain of the 'White Man' (Christopher, 1988a). However these groups were essential in resolving the labour problem in the nascent economy of the colony of Natal and their spatial location in the urban areas was thus contained or marginalized.

The resulting urban problems arising from the increasing numbers of urban poor, living in overcrowded slum conditions with poor health and sanitation, were conceived of in terms of racial categories thus defining the black areas as 'problems' in the urban order. The town councillors and their officials, 'realized local consciousness' by taking restrictive steps to implement policies via legislation to deal with the increasing number of 'strangers' in the towns - the "Asiatic menace" and the "native Social Pest" - who seemed to "threaten the standards and even the existence of civic life" (Swanson, 1968,34).¹⁰ It was only after Responsible Government was granted to the colony of Natal that such policies could be effected through the promulgation of restrictive legislation.

3.4 Anti-Indian legislation in the period of Responsible Government in the Colony of Natal: 1893-1910

3.4.1 Changing economic and political conditions in the colony of Natal

The definition of Indians as an alien, temporary labour force with no legal rights and privileges had been legitimized through the indenture contract. This opened the door for subsequent abuse and exploitation of the Indian immigrants, and through this experience their inferior and 'alien' status in the colony had become established and reproduced. This broad definition was applied to all Indian immigrants irrespective of their economic health or educational qualifications. The increasing numbers of Indians electing to settle in the colony and the economic challenge of the prosperous Indian merchants precipitated a demand by the white community to curtail their presence and activities. It was the change in political circumstances that provided the colonial government with the opportunity to realize these sentiments.

In 1893 Natal obtained Responsible Government¹¹ which granted greater autonomy to the colonial government (Huttenback, 1966). The local and colonial government acted swiftly to ensure that the white settler class remained dominant in the colony and relentlessly and unbendingly introduced "bitter racial overtones into Indo-European relations which ultimately made the local 'Indian Question' not only a national issue but an international issue" (Bagwandeem, 1983,9). Within the colonial context, the Indian immigrants were an 'anomaly' and were thus defined as a problem (Marris, 1979). The term 'Indian Question' reveals the conceptions on the part of the white settler class of a problem to which there was not yet a solution (Grest, 1985).

The attempt by the dominant white settler group to achieve 'closure' or 'centrality' in the definition of the social order in the colony was thus very much an 'incomplete project' (Ogborn, 1992). It is the contention here that it was this insecurity on the part of the white 'centre' that led to the highly inequitable legal restrictions ushered in during the period before Union based on negative definitions of Indian social and economic circumstances and cultural norms. In addition, concerted attempts were made to undermine the status of Indians by the legal entrenchment of their temporary status, the logical conclusion of which was repatriation.

It was during this period of greater political autonomy that the evolution of a set of legal controls, which were "incomplete, differentially applied and permissive" (Davies, 1976, 13), was set in motion, entrenching colonial socio-spatial relationships. These controls were adapted by local governments, in 'highly innovative ways' (McCarthy, 1986) towards the formation of modern racial capitalism of the twentieth century. Maharaj (1992) contends that this is particularly the case in Durban with regard to the creation of a set of municipal controls to contain and curtail Indian land occupation and ownership.

The British Government condoned the legal restrictions on all aspects of Indian life that were enacted during this period on condition that its legal and moral position in the Empire was not compromised (Pachai, 1979a). Thus the enactment of the racially discriminative legislation was at first thinly veiled in a rhetoric of universal applicability, whilst ideologically informed by the racial prejudices of the local white settler population.¹² The legislative enactments were technically based on the principle of equality for all citizens, but included qualifying clauses that exempted the application of the logic of the law to certain categories of people. Hence the emergence of 'differential citizenship' (Robinson, 1992).

In the 1890's, the political economy underwent far-reaching changes. The 'Mineral Revolution' began to transform the economy of southern Africa (Freund, 1994). In Natal, capitalist growth in the white commercial and agricultural sectors rose significantly and the port of Durban greatly expanded its entrepot function for the newly developing gold and coal mining areas (Bundy, 1979). Prospects were vastly improved for both small and large-scale entrepreneurs (Freund, 1994).

Defining the marginal players in this economy and legislating to maintain their dependent position, was productive to the dominant white group. Hence the emergence in the pre-Union period of restrictive trade legislation. The attitude of whites was one of 'perpetual dominance' and 'employer paternalism'. With regard to the urban areas, the belief grew that the towns were the white people's domain (Fair and Browett, 1979) and that western standards with regard to economic activities and residential environments in these areas must be maintained. Huttenback (1966,280), notes that the municipalities, unhindered by the courts and the colonial government, looked on the law as a "mandate to remove Indians from their midst". These ideas slowly began, albeit via non-segregatory legislation, to imprint on the physical landscape of Durban and other Natal towns and were to affect all aspects of Indian social, political and economic life (Piper, 1975).

3.4.2 The temporary status of Indians in Natal: ideology vs reality

The contract of indenture provided for the return of labourers to India at the completion of their contracts. This legal contract thus introduced and entrenched the concept of the Indian as a category of people introduced into the colony specifically for labour purposes and residing temporarily in the colony. It was however, the clause in the contract that legally allowed labourers to choose to remain as permanent immigrants or return to India, that set up a contradiction between the dominant ideology, and the realities of colonial life. In order to negate the reality of growing settled Indian communities, the Wragg Commission recommended an alteration to immigration laws.

It was legislated that on completion of a contract of indentured labour, the labourer had to return to India.¹³ Those labourers who remained were compelled by law to pay a three pound 'residence tax'¹⁴ which represented 'a fine' for not proceeding to India (Calpin, 1949). The tax was a mechanism to either repatriate Indians to India when they were no longer needed, or force them back into indenture (Brain, 1985; Swan, 1984), and placed severe economic hardship on ex-indentured Indians engaged in work other than contract labour (Swan, 1984).¹⁵ In this last phase of indenture, the three pound tax served to negate the 'free' status of ex-indenture, and re-indenture became the choice of most labourers rather than a return passage to India (Freund, 1994).¹⁶

It was thus a criminal offence not to return to India or pay the tax (Calpin, 1949), and defaulters were imprisoned. The three pound tax had the function of recreating the "structure of authority" by defining the Indian immigrant as an 'illegitimate' part of the emerging colonial economy other than in the role of contract labour (Worger, 1983,52).

The legislation imposing the three pound tax was a highly inequitable statute since it was specifically aimed at that category of citizens exempt from the logic of universality in the application of the rule of law. It therefore represented a category of legislation for 'non-citizens'.

By 1910, the three pound tax, coupled with the post-war depression, resulted in an increase in the number of repatriates to India; a decrease in the amount of money accumulated by them; and a concomitant increase in the number of Indians indenturing to avoid payment of the stringent tax (Brain, 1985).

Essentially, anti-Indian agitation in Natal was based on the notion that indentured and passenger Indians had no permanent place in the colony. In 1897, protests by the white residents of Durban against the immigration of free Indians, triggered off by Gandhi's return to Natal, eventually led to a ban on their immigration into the colony and the cancellation of the state subsidy of 10 000 Pounds for importing indentured labour (Palmer, 1956).

In addition to the attempts to prevent Indian settlement in the colony policies to restrict their trading and political rights were aggressively pursued.

3.4.3 The curtailment of Indian trading rights

Implicit conceptions of Indians as having a low and temporary status in the colony of Natal since their arrival in 1860 were explicitly expressed and formalized into legislation aimed at controlling Indian economic and political power.

The initial attempt to control Indian trade was via the Dealers' License Amendment Act of 1897. It gave the local government the power to refuse trading licenses and disallow appeals to a court of law regarding trading licenses (Wylie, 1986). Appeals could be lodged but the final decision lay with the municipalities. The purpose of the law was to prevent as many Indians from trading

as possible, and this was achieved by allowing the municipal licensing officer to use his discretion in the granting of licenses. Refusal of applications could be pronounced on a number of grounds, especially if the applicant was an 'Arab' (Bhana, 1985).

Whilst outwardly avoiding any form of 'class legislation',¹⁷ this Act nevertheless operated in practice against the Indian store-keepers and served to harass them (Name, in Polak, 1909,8). One third on Natal's traders were Indian and while the Act of 1897 failed to eliminate this competition it did curtail and regulate it (Bhana, 1985). It was particularly the ex-indentured Indian traders that suffered most as they did not have the resources to meet the sanitary and accounting requirements to qualify for a license.

The administration of trading licenses in Durban both restricted access to economic opportunity and was spatially segregatory as it compelled traders to move to the west of the central business district away from the white trading area of the town. Many bitter disputes resulting in litigation ensued from trading restrictions.¹⁸ In December 1909, the Dealers' Licenses Act of 1897 was amended and the right to appeal to the Supreme Court against the rejection of license applications allowed.

Another strategy for dealing with the problem of Indian trader competition was the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act, also of 1897, which set out to prevent the entry of further passenger Indians into the colony. Although not explicitly racial in character, this piece of legislation required that immigrants passed a simple English literacy test and hence discriminated against most Indian immigrants who could not write in English.

From the turn of the century anti-Indian agitation increased, with hostility aimed particularly at the 'Arab' traders. At a Select Committee hearing for the Shops Regulation Act Amendment Bill in 1905, municipal officials and white traders voiced antagonism towards Indian traders. It was noted that 92 out of 318 wholesale businesses were in Indian hands; over 20% of all retail stores were owned by Indians and almost all the 'Kaffir' eating houses were also Indian owned (Bhana, 1985). Suggestions were made regarding the creation of an 'Indian Bazaar' and although this did not come to fruition, the Mayor of Durban proclaimed that Indian stores were no longer allowed to locate in West Street (Bhana, 1985).

With Union on the horizon, the Natal Government attempted to solve the problem of Indian economic competition by proposing a Bill to curtail the issue of new trading licenses to Indians, and a further Bill to terminate all Indian trading licenses by the end of 1918 (Bhana, 1985). In so doing, it was intended to phase out Indian trading competition altogether. Linked with this was a third Bill, the Indian Immigration Prevention Bill which would serve to terminate the importation of indentured labour in June 1911 (Bhana, 1985). With much opposition from industries and commercial agriculture this Bill was withdrawn, and the anti-trading Bills disallowed by the British Government resulting in the appointment of the Indian Immigration Commission in 1908.

3.4.4 The removal of Indian political rights

As well as curbing the potential economic power of the Indian merchants, a few of whom had become very prosperous and qualified for the franchise, legislation was introduced aimed at removing political power. This was enacted by means of Act 8 of 1896 despite objections from the Imperial government.¹⁹ The right of Indians to parliamentary franchise was withdrawn, effectively preventing access to representation at government level.

Despite the greater autonomy of the colonial government during the period of Responsible Government, there was a reluctance to institute formal racial segregation via legislation and to formulate laws which were racially discriminatory. The 1896 Act preventing parliamentary representation did not specify that Indians could not vote but rather, “refused voting rights to people who came from countries where parliamentary institutions were not in force” (Palmer, 1956,7). At the municipal level, explicit racial terms were avoided and attempts to disenfranchise Indians were undertaken via the Municipal Laws Consolidation Bill, Section 22 (c), whereby the municipal franchise was removed from those who were politically disenfranchised. Polak (1909, Part 1,64) states that this action represented a “cunningly devised trick”, and the Bill was protested by the governments of Britain and India.

It was against the increasing constraints placed on their economic, social and political lives through colonial and municipal legislation, that Indian resistance began to emerge in the late nineteenth century.

3.5 The emergence of organized Indian resistance

The period from 1893 to 1914 was the most turbulent in the history of the South African Indians (Maharaj, 1992). In 1894, when Mohandas Gandhi entered the colony as a lawyer to represent the interests of 'a wealthy merchant', the Indians were not a cohesive community. The largest group of Indians was still the indentured labourers, 60 to 70% of whom worked on the sugar plantations. The records of the Protector of Indian Immigrants show that overwork, malnourishment and a degraded living environment still formed the basic existence of this class (Swan, 1984).

Spatial confinement on the farms prevented labourers from organizing protests about breaches of contract and gaining access to the courts (Swan, 1984). In terms of settler ideology, agitators were a category of people who resisted formal controls (La Hausse, 1982), even when they protested against breaches of contract. In event of agitation, labourers could be transferred to other employers as a final 'divisive mechanism' for atomizing the workforce (Swan, 1984). These spatial controls weakened the ability for co-ordinated resistance. Apart from formal controls, an 'elaborate layer' of informal controls were used to extract surplus value from workers (Swan, 1984).²⁰ Through the entire period of indentured labour, from 1860 to 1911, workers felt a profound sense of grievance about their treatment and their living conditions, but resistance was individualistic and related to specific gross breaches of contract (Swan, 1984). The indentured labour class was politically impotent and had no influence over their conditions (Meer, 1969).

The indentured and ex-indentured Indians were largely ostracized by the Gujarati speaking Muslim merchant class, and linked only by exploitative patron-client relationships (Meer, 1969; Swan, 1984). This class of immigrants made every effort to set themselves apart from the indentured class (Maharaj, 1992). They were also ostracized by the emerging educated elite, who were mainly the Natal-born offspring of indentured labourers. By dint of their western education, the educated elite occupied a relatively higher position in the occupational hierarchy (Swan, 1984). The middle class groups, not subject to the same treatment as indentured labour were separate from the underclasses and each adopted a different strategy of resistance to the dominant white class.

The merchant elite formed the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) on 22/8/1894 under Gandhi's leadership (Pachai, 1979a).²¹ The NIC was an organization serving the Indian-born traders, and initially assumed an accommodatory position in relation to emerging white opposition to their trading activities and subsequent trade restrictions. The chief strategies employed by the wealthier merchant class at this stage was to challenge the dominant classes by recourse to legal institutional mechanisms and procedures.²² Occasionally this body would petition for the rights of workers but their interests were largely devoted to promoting the Indian bourgeoisie (Ginwala, 1974).

The more political 'young colonials' concurrently established the Natal Colonial-Born Indian Association (NCBIA) in opposition to the elitism of the NIC. Their objectives were to upgrade and maintain Indian culture and community, and seek harmony in the colony through the redressing of grievances (Pachai, 1979a). The immediate goal however, was to retain the franchise and repeal the three pound tax. As the end of the colonial period drew near, it was the young colonial-born Indian class that reorientated themselves towards the vast constituency of indentured labour (Swan, 1984).²³

Organized Indian resistance reflected the determination with which Indians responded to the curtailment of their rights (Bhana and Pachai, 1984). Spearheaded by Gandhi, and involving a range of spokesmen, the Indian voice was mobilized, articulated and heard. These challenges took the form of the writing and distribution of detailed petitions and pamphlets²⁴ relating to specific issues which pointed out the prejudicial nature of particular pieces of legislation (Pachai, 1979a).

By 1903 Gandhi started The Indian Opinion as an Indian mouthpiece (Pachai, 1979a) and located himself from 1904 at the Phoenix settlement outside Durban. It was from here that he waged his campaign of passive resistance from 1907 to 1914, which focussed mainly on Indian grievances in Natal and the Transvaal (Pachai, 1979a).²⁵ The African Chronicle in turn reflected the interests of the indentured and colonial-born Indian (Bhana and Pachai, 1984). Indian Views was founded later in 1914. These papers were political in origin and served to champion the Indian's campaign for full citizenship (Hellman, 1949).

The laying of evidence before commissions of enquiry and challenging legal decisions through the courts as attempts to expose inequalities, were the chief political strategies employed at this time. Legislation barring access to the courts as a forum for mediating between the ruling and subject classes, served greatly to contain, harass and grieve the Indian population, particularly the merchant class at whom it was aimed. As courts serve to protect the rights of individuals within the law, a lack of access to them revealed blatantly that the Indians fell outside the rule of law.²⁶

The vast majority of poor illiterate indentured Indians could not fight for their rights due to a lack of access to courts.²⁷ It was this that led the Indian community to feel a great sense of legal injustice, and directed their campaigns beyond merely attacking the legal apparatus and system of laws, to an explicit recognition of the gross manipulation and inequality embodied in colonial social relations (Thompson, 1975).

Such political activity on the part of Indian organizations greatly increased white hostility since it was realized that sophisticated means of resistance and protest could be employed to advance the Indian cause (Pachai, 1979a). The first decade of this century was marked by a severe wave of agitation on the part of both the dominant whites against the presence of the growing Indian population²⁸ and their trading rights. White agitation was matched by counter-agitation on the part of Indians in response to repressive legislation and breaches of contract (Calpin, 1949). The NIC representing the Indian merchants proposed three resolutions in response to the anti-trading Bills of 1908. They attacked the Bills as being "the worst type of class legislation enacted in the history of the British Empire" (cited in Bhana, 1985,251), and requested the Viceroy of India to intercede. Furthermore they demanded the curtailment of all indentured labour to Natal (Bhana, 1985). This action met with some success and attempts by the Natal Government to prevent Indian trading were frustrated.

The Indian Government, disturbed by such Indo-European tensions and the maltreatment of Indians, put pressure on the Colonial Government to rectify the situation. In addition to India's intervention, the Imperial Government also demanded a solution to the conflict. The Colonial Government sought nu-

merous legislative strategies for coping with the 'Indian Question' (Calpin, 1949) which was to become an international issue (Swan, 1984). By this stage the Indians had emerged as an articulate urban proletariat, and the Indian political position initiated by Gandhi became 'intellectualized' (Meer, 1969,39).

The removal of the imperial influence with the Act of Union in 1910 however, severely weakened the position of the Indian, as further legislative strategies were devised by the new national South African government, provincial authorities and local municipalities to marginalize and spatially contain Indian development.

3.6 Anti-Indian Legislation in the period 1910-1950

3.6.1 Introduction

While the previous sections have dealt with the inheritance of imperial impulses of racial ideology and their application in the formulation of anti-Indian legislation in the colonial period in Natal, this section examines the evolution of local, provincial and national legislation in the Union of South Africa with specific reference to Indians. The solution to the conflict between the dominant whites and the Indians that was proposed by the government throughout this latter period was the "repatriation of Indians to India, and failing that, segregation" (Corbett, 1947,38). These policies were motivated and acted upon against the backdrop of a general neglect of Indian health, housing and social services.

The colony of Natal was dominated by Durban which was the major urban node influencing the politics and space-economy of the region. At Union in 1910, Natal became one of four provinces and Durban a less significant pole of influence. On the one hand, this change meant that the local authority in Durban was now relatively free from the constraints of imperial policies against racial discrimination. On the other hand, it became less autonomous as the bottom tier of a hierarchical system of government and became constrained constitutionally, legislatively and financially by the central state (Clark and Dear, 1981). Despite its loss of autonomy, the local authority in Durban sought to "further and maintain an impression of its own position as a legitimate and autonomous actor within the space-economy... and as an efficacious social agent" (Blomley, 1988,201), which it did right up until 1950.

By 1910, the numbers of Indians and Africans in Natal had risen significantly. According to the census of 1911, the Indian population in the Borough of Durban was 19 900 while that of whites was 32 900. The Indian population of Natal numbered 133 439, with 98 100 whites. This number of Indians in Natal, represented a 20% increase over the previous seven years.²⁹ The majority of the Indian population in Natal was concentrated in and around the Borough of Durban and extended along the North coast and South coast.

Based on social and racial categories and notions of an appropriate urban order inherited from British imperial conceptions, the Durban municipality in particular, and the Natal colonial government in general, had constructed a range of laws to contain and restrict the subject groups. Constrained by the imperial government, the local and colonial state were impotent in achieving spatial segregation and veiled the discriminatory legislation in a language of technically universal statutes. Alternatively, the ideology of difference was implemented via the application of western health standards. It is the contention here that the local authority continued to act as a vehicle for local consciousness in the Union period, and was therefore at times an obstacle to the central government in its dealing with the 'Indian Question'. At other times it acted as an 'agent' or laboratory initiating and constructing policies and legislation to legitimate the central state (McCarthy, 1986; Duncan and Goodwin, 1982; Maharaj, 1992).

In a context of legally defined economic and racial inequality in Natal, the process of defining social obligations and rights was inevitably biased in favour of the dominant white group. It will be shown that while blanket legislation discriminating against all blacks emerged in the Union period, specific legislation framed to spatially segregate urban Indians developed as a response to local Indo-European relations in the social context of Durban.

The social obligation and rights accorded the Indian group in this context were minimal, legitimized by the continued definition of the Indians as temporary aliens in the social order. Thus the allocation of resources for Indian housing, education and social facilities were kept to the barest minimum and very little provision was made to cater for the needs of this group. This lack of proactive planning on their behalf has been termed 'benign neglect'. Parallel to this neglect were the constant attempts, before the second World War, to both legally and by informal agreement repatriate the Indian immigrants.³⁰

The discriminatory nature of the pre-1940's legislation was transparent and couched in racial terms. It was so blatant that local Indian resistance protested the general unethical and immoral nature of the discriminatory legislation rather than taking issue with the specific details of the statutes.³¹

However, it became necessary from the 1940's to adopt another language within which to couch discriminatory legislation in order to diffuse the state's crisis of legitimacy. The local state thus turned to a scientifically based town planning rationale, administered through the state bureaucracy, to achieve discriminatory ends and provide the ideological justification for a set of legal statutes that did not "seem to be just" (Thompson, 1975). Definitions of an appropriate western social and urban order were voiced in the neutral and authoritative language of the science of town planning. Town planning further provided the conceptual and technical tools for the manipulation of the spatial order which could be achieved administratively through local authority functions (Dear and Clark, 1981). An important tool to emerge was the zoning map which served as a blueprint for forward planning. This statutory document defined social relationships and instituted spatial control based on the questionable belief that land use zoning determines social relationships.³²

Pachai (1979a) notes that Indian politics in the pre-apartheid period was characterized by accommodatory and co-operative manoeuvres in the fear of further repressive legislation. This response can be construed as a product of "continued domination, politically as well as ideologically" (Dunleavy, 1977,215). Indian resistance was "articulated at different times by different political organizations (which) ...differed in terms of their strategies" (Maharaj, 1992,231). It was only towards the end of this period that a more radical brand of Indian politics came into being. Although relatively passive resistance strategies characterized Indian resistance movements within South Africa, on an international platform, vociferous opposition by Britain and India and later the United Nations, to the racially discriminatory nature of the legislation was countered by the national government of South Africa which defined the issue as a domestic affair. Its refusal to be influenced is indicative of the strength of the structural forces tying anti-Indian legislation to the general development of racial, segregatory policy for the continuance of white domination.

3.6.2 *The national government flexes its muscles: initial attempts at securing white domination*

The year 1910 marked a significant alteration in the course of anti-Indian legislation with the Union Government under Smuts attempting to frame a national policy to deal with Indo-European conflict, particularly in Natal. The restraining influences of the British government now had little impact on policies and legislation relating to South African Indians (Huttenback, 1966). Smuts attempted to 'simplify and minimize' the 'Indian Question' and accepted Gandhi as the national spokesman for the Indians (Palmer, 1956).

The Union government elaborated upon the colonial immigration restrictions of Natal by introducing the outwardly non-discriminatory Immigration Regulation Act (No 22 of 1913). This Act served to restrict movement nationally between the provinces, and effectively barred the immigration of Indians through the technical qualification of an English language test (Huttenback, 1966).³³ In addition, the three pound tax was retained as a measure to encourage repatriation or further indenture. This led to 1913 Natal Indian strike³⁴ led by Gandhi, as the head of the new Natal Indian Organization (NIO)³⁵. It began with the 'Great March' of mineworkers from the Northern Natal coalfields to the Transvaal which deliberately violated the immigration laws (Palmer, 1956). The strike was joined by labourers on the sugar plantations unifying Indian political resistance (Swan, 1984) and leading to heightened conflict³⁶ and a deterioration of Indo-European relations. This "massive civil disobedience campaign" had a great impact in India and Great Britain and the Union government appointed the Solomon Commission³⁷ to provide recommendations for government action (Huttenback, 1966).

The subsequent Smuts-Gandhi Agreement gave rise to the Indians Relief Act (22 of 1914) which did serve to redress certain grievances, but it provided for no alteration of legislation restricting rights of residence, trade and ownership of land (Calpin, 1949; Huttenback, 1966). However, the three pound tax was abolished and all Indian marriages were recognized as legal (Huttenback, 1966; Pachai, 1979a). With the removal of the economic lever of the three pound tax to force repatriation or re-indenture, the Indians Relief Act introduced the policy of voluntary repatriation. These concessions and the reduction of anti-Indian agitation during the War, served to diffuse Euro-Indian conflict.

The early Union period also saw the emergence of national legislation introduced by the Pact Government of 1924, aimed at regulating black employment, health and housing. Firstly, legislation was promulgated protecting the white working class in the emerging industrial economy of the Union of South Africa³⁸ via legislated economic repression (Corbett, 1947). Through this legislation Indians were effectively barred from traditional avenues of employment in the Railways and civil service (Brain, 1985) and Indian and coloured groups were placed in a marginal or intermediate position in the class structure, institutionalizing race-class divisions in South African society (Davies, 1976). In the 1920's, this legislation did not greatly affect the predominantly unskilled Indian labour force but it artificially blocked future movement into skilled occupations (Corbett, 1947). Secondly, in the sphere of reproduction, the national government began to take on health and housing responsibilities³⁹ which had previously been the functions of local authorities.⁴⁰ Indian social services were thus becoming increasingly dependent on national financial assistance.

3.6.3. Remove or separate: repatriation or segregation as a means of controlling Indo-European relations

The early post-Union period was one of rapid increase in Indian land acquisition due to the prosperity of the Indian community.⁴¹ With increasing propinquity in urban areas, particularly Durban, the greater visibility of Indians "heightened race consciousness and prejudice and served to increase white attempts to preserve and strengthen the class structure as a means of maintaining racial privilege" (Davies, 1976,12). There was a call from whites for a national policy restricting land acquisition (Pachai, 1979b). Up until this time, blatant racial legislation to effect segregation had been impossible. However, the freedom from British control, saw the piece-meal introduction of segregatory controls by local governments in the early twentieth century and their consideration by the national government.

The Durban Town Council surveyed the extent of Indian 'encroachment' in land ownership in Durban (Rajah, 1981), and subsequently a national commission, the Lange Commission of 1920-1921,⁴² was instituted to investigate Indian trading and land acquisition. The Commission noted the strong prejudice of whites in South Africa "against living in the immediate vicinity of any coloured races" (Calpin, 1949,45). It was proposed that Indians should be confined to the coastal belt in Natal, from 30-50 kilometres inland, as well as having areas allocated in towns for voluntary segregation (Calpin, 1949; Palmer, 1956). To complement the proposal of segregation, voluntary repatriation was mooted (Maharaj, 1992).⁴³

In addition, the Lange Commission Report recorded that despite the stringent restrictive trading policy,⁴⁴ Indians were trading in Natal on an 'intensive scale' and their 'competition was most keenly felt in the rural towns' (Corbett, 1947).⁴⁵

The Smuts government prepared a Bill based on the recommendations of the Lange Commission - the Class Areas Bill of 1923⁴⁶ - providing for compulsory trading and residential segregation for Indians. The following classic statement by Dr D F Malan at the introduction of the Class Areas Bill crystallizes the mood and perceptions of white South Africans towards Indians: "They are an alien element in the population" and the solution to the 'Indian question' is "a very considerable reduction of the Indian population of this country" (cited in Pachai, 1979a, 39). The Bill was not passed as the Smuts government lost the national election. However, the new government introduced the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill in 1925 which constituted a further attempt to segregate Indians but also included the issue of Indian landownership (Maharaj, 1992).

After a lull in Indian politics after Gandhi's departure, the threat of discriminatory trade and residence legislation being applied nationally led to the formation of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) in May 1923, with subsequent delegations to the Indian and South African governments (Pachai, 1979a). It was due to this action that the Indian government became stimulated to officially oppose the Bill. Locally the NIC protested the principle of racial segregation upon which the Bill was based, as well as the loss of security of tenure for Indians as the Bill allowed for the deproclamation of Indian land (Maharaj, 1992).

This Bill stimulated 'violent agitation' in South Africa,⁴⁷ India⁴⁸ and Britain prompting the first Round Table Conference in 1926 (Palmer, 1956)⁴⁹ which diffused the heightened conflict and terminated the Class Areas Bill. This culminated in The Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which was an international conference involving the Indian and South African governments. Non-statutory agreement was reached on two basic issues. Firstly, consensus was obtained over a voluntary repatriation scheme for Indians (Rajah, 1981). The second issue addressed the grievances of Indians particularly in Durban, where Indian residential environments were in a neglected state. The South African government agreed to raise the standard of living of the Indians remaining in South Africa to conform to western standards of life (Pachai, 1979a).

The South African government appointed the Executive Committee of the Central Housing Board, under Thornton, to enquire into the question of Indian housing and sanitation (Bagwandeem, 1983). A Provincial Committee, under Dyson, (Special Report 174 of 1928) was initiated to investigate Indian education in Natal. It recommended the extension of government schools in centres of large population and the extension of government-aided schools. The Grants-in-Aid system was changed to a system whereby teacher's salaries became subsidized, and the building of an Indian Teacher Training College was sponsored by Mr. Sastri (Corbett, 1947).⁵⁰

The Cape Town Agreement therefore represented a compromise and a turning point in South African politics (Pachai, 1979a) and Indians felt a degree of security for the first time, although legally their permanent status was already established.

However, the Agreement was not accepted by the Natal Provincial Council which had to bear the financial burden of the proposed upliftment programme, and had not been consulted (Corbett, 1947). Furthermore, the attitudes of Natalians towards Indians and fear of competition had not significantly altered resulting in the eventual failure of the Cape Town Agreement. Nevertheless, the Areas Reservation Bill was withdrawn as a result of the Cape Town Agreement (Maharaj, 1992) and national segregatory legislation affecting Indian land occupation and ownership was only introduced again twenty years later in the mid 1940's.

In 1932 a second Round Table Conference, between South Africa and India, met to discuss Indian emigration to alternative destinations as an extension to the Cape Town Agreement (Corbett, 1947). The SAIC resisted this proposal since the majority of Indians were by now South African-born and westernized. Nevertheless, their collaboration in the Conference was a stance typical of Indian politics in the period from 1915-1945 (Corbett, 1947; Pachai, 1979a).

Local initiatives in Durban to curb Indian land purchases had led to action by the national government culminating in the Class Areas Bill and the Areas Reservation Bill which proposed full blown spatial containment of Indians in Natal. Strong rejection of these Bills both locally and internationally by Britain and India led to their failure and the emergence of a series of non-statutory conferences and agreements in the 1920's at an international level. The South African government promised upliftment of Indian living conditions, but was mainly using these promises as leverage for large scale repatriation of the 'temporary' Indian community in South Africa.

3.6.4 *The intensification of conflict over space at the local level in the 1920's and 1930's*

The local authority's autonomy in dealing with health and housing issues was considerably reduced by the 1920's and since national legislation provided only enabling mechanisms and limited finance, a period of 'benign neglect' was ushered in at the local level as a means of coping with urban issues (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). The ideology of segregation in the name of sanitation and health regulation no longer had much currency in this period because of the decreasing inability of the local authority to legislate in this sphere.

By the 1920's the whites in Durban occupied the more strategic locations⁵¹, while the vast majority of poor Indians had filtered into the urban periphery in locations rejected by whites as undesirable or unsuitable for development (Davies, 1976, 15).⁵² The structure of Durban could thus be characterized as that of a "zonal colonial city, hemmed in by a discontinuous but strongly developed zone of sub-standard dwellings occupied by the subject classes" (Davies, 1976, 15).

By the 1920's Indian housing conditions in Durban were extremely bad (Burrows, 1949). Overcrowding⁵³ and insanitary living conditions were endemic for the bulk of the Indian population. In addition, the provision of Indian education facilities at this time was totally neglected and was no better than in 1911, with the Natal Provincial Council following a 'restrictive policy' towards the upliftment of Indian education (Corbett, 1947).

The Town Council's actions regarding two areas of Indian occupation that were of concern as it sought to maintain white social and spatial dominance were the mixed zones and slums of the Old Borough, and the peripheral shack areas.

A limited area of overlap and ethnic mixing existed in the older formal inner city residential areas at the foot of the Berea, where Indian merchants had purchased land in close proximity to the Indian trading area focussed on Grey Street.⁵⁴ In these older parts of the city slum conditions had developed constituting an 'anomaly' (Marris, 1979) in the white core. This problem was solved by the application of local health by-laws and the removal of these residents to the periphery, or by the construction of controlled living spaces in the form of barracks. Indians were however, further spatially contained in this enclave due to the promulgation of Land Alienation Ordinance (14 of 1922) which excluded Indians from the right to purchase municipally owned land in Durban (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977). This ordinance, requested by the Durban

Town Council, also empowered this body to insert racial restrictions into title deeds or leases of Borough land (Corbett, 1947).⁵⁵ This engendered fierce opposition from Indians who were unable to acquire land in the Glenwood, Morningside and other newly developing areas in Durban (Calpin, 1949). The national government sanctioned these racial restrictions on land sales. Land available to Indians for purchase and development was confined to the older established areas, such as the Grey Street complex, which were already overcrowded (Maharaj, 1992). In 1925, the Municipal franchise for Indians was withdrawn⁵⁶ preventing political opposition to local land allocation and other discriminatory policies (Corbett, 1947).⁵⁷

The spatial structure of Durban, whilst retaining a white core, with a small number of ethnic enclaves, and a 'black belt' of shacks, began to expand with the development of white residential areas beyond the 'black belt' such as Westville, Durban North and Montclair (Maylam, 1983a). However, it was the peripheral shack areas and their associated problems that focussed municipal attention over the next thirty years.

The slum conditions in the Borough of Durban were bad - but in the periphery they were 'acute'.⁵⁸ Much of the land here was leasehold with no security of tenure and high density 'shackfarming' occurred (Corbett, 1947). The Special Report of the Director of Census No 39, notes that 30,918 Asiatics were concentrated here in appalling conditions exacerbated by the extended family system (in Corbett, 1947).

The national Thornton Commission of 1928 investigating the conditions of Indians, castigated the Council for the appalling Indian housing conditions and "its laggardness in providing housing for Indians" (Bagwandeem, 1983,21). The Commission recommended that housing be provided in the Eastern Vlei in the Old Borough. A sum of 50 000 Pounds was voted in terms of the Housing Act, half for public housing for Indians and half for loans to Indians for independent home building on freehold land. A final recommendation was that the Borough boundaries be expanded to extend municipal administration to the local health board areas (Bagwandeem, 1983).

The Council's responses to the proposals of the national Commission reveal the persistence of local ideologies and variations in discretion in interpretation and implementation of national initiatives. The Council was quick to veto the notion of Indian housing in the Eastern Vlei, and after much delay instituted a housing loan scheme in 1932. In 1938 one hundred houses were built for Indians in Cato

Manor ten years after the Thornton Report.⁵⁹ Acting on demands from the Chamber of Industries for additional industrial land to the south of Durban, and prompted by the Thornton Commission to extend its control over peripheral areas, the 'Added Areas' around the periphery of Durban were included in the Borough on 1 August 1932⁶⁰ (Corbett, 1947; Bagwandeen, 1983).

The inclusion of the 'Added Areas' into the Borough of Durban resulted in a significant change in the racial structure of the Borough.⁶¹ The incorporation of these areas allowed for comprehensive social control⁶² over insanitary conditions and an increase in land available for public housing. However, the overriding rationale for extending the area of the Borough was the anticipation of industrial development and the need to acquire control over land-use and land consolidation for this purpose (McCarthy, 1986; Torr, 1987). These two goals were not unrelated since concepts of public health "served to defend and entrench existing property relations in urban areas" (Torr, 1988,36).

The Indian population in Natal was, by the 1930's, still concentrated in the Durban area⁶³ and it was here that urbanization of Indians had begun to accelerate.⁶⁴ It was in the peripheral areas that the vast majority of Indians and Africans had located. Durban was not alone in this problem as the 1930's in South African towns was a period of unprecedented shack growth in peripheral areas due to the crisis in available working class houses (Parnell, 1988). The inclusion of the 'Added Areas' in the Durban Borough vaulted Indian housing to the prime position in the city's problems.⁶⁵

In the early 1930's the Public Health Committee of the Borough Council advocated slum clearance under the Public Health Act (36 of 1919) (McCarthy and Smit, 1988).⁶⁶ It was however, the Slums Act (53 of 1934) that provided local authorities with wider powers for preventing overcrowding and insanitary conditions and gave local authorities leverage over coloured and Indian communities⁶⁷ focussing on race as a critical instrument of urban partition and land-use change⁶⁸ (Parnell, 1988, 112).⁶⁹

Initially, the call for slum demolition and relocation⁷⁰ in Durban focussed on the cleansing of the inner city ethnic enclaves. However, it was also applied to certain peripheral areas, particularly Cato Manor, Springfield, Mayville and parts of southern Durban (University of Natal, 1952). The reluctance of the Borough Council to initiate the building of alternative formal low-cost housing was intensified when the Cato Manor and Springfield Schemes of 1938⁷¹ were boycotted.⁷² The negative response to public

housing provision was used as a justification by the DCC for refusing to initiate further Indian housing programmes in the late 1930's and early 1940's (Bagwandeem, 1983) and contributed to the perpetuation of the policy of 'deliberate neglect' (Kuper Watts and Davies, 1958, 147).⁷³

The growth of peripheral shack areas; the lack of provision of land for building houses; the difficult procedures and stringent requirements for obtaining building loans; and the failure of the Cato Manor Indian Housing Scheme in the 1930's, combined to contribute to a worsening position of the Indians with regard to land and housing (Palmer, 1956; Bagwandeem, 1983; Torr, 1987).

3.6.5 The intensification of conflict over the issue of 'Indian Penetration' and the emergence of 'Racial Zoning' as a solution to conflicts over space

The 1940's witnessed a massive increase in peripheral shack development, the major area being Cato Manor where Indian landlords 'shackfarmed' and a high density African shack settlement was emerging (Maylam, 1983a). The southern area of Durban also attracted many of the urban poor (Maylam, 1983b).

In a survey commissioned by the NIC in August 1944, it was revealed that the southern area of Durban, broadly known as Clairwood, was the most densely populated Indian shack area in Durban (University of Natal, 1952; Burrows, 1943; Bagwandeem, 1983)⁷⁴ and that this area was in a 'neglected state'. The contradiction of this situation was that the DCC owned a large portion of the land on which the shacks were built, and leased⁷⁵ this land to the shack owners. The policy of the DCC regarding Indian housing was criticized at national level and by Indian leaders as being criminally negligent and grossly unequal to that provided for whites (Bagwandeem, 1983, 44).

It was in this context in the 1940's that the issue of 'Indian Penetration' in the inner city area of Durban emerged.⁷⁶ The word 'penetration', in referring to the movement of people into an area, has connotations of being an undesirable and is therefore a disapproving term, since the process of 'penetration' "contradicts the requirements of society" (Marris, 1979, 420). It represented an anomalous process of Indian land acquisition in the context of a white dominated city in which the dominant group had laid claim to strategic centrally located residential land.

Over the previous twenty years at the national level, efforts had been made to avoid segregatory legislation with regard to Indians in South Africa in order to reduce international tensions with India (Palmer, 1956). The Lawrence Committee of 1940 followed in this vein and proposed that voluntary segregation take place. However, the engagement of the NIA in the Lawrence Committee revealed some disagreement as to whether Indians should be dissuaded from acquiring property. Maharaj (1992) notes that the NIC was highly critical of the NIA's participation in this committee as this was in itself a way of accepting segregation. Either way, the accommodatory position of the NIA to accept voluntary control "was dictated by fear of legislative control" (Calpin, 1949, 151). The NIA had some success in persuading Indians not to purchase properties in white areas, but found it extremely hard to do so because there was no alternative land or housing provided by the DCC for Indians (Maharaj, 1992).

Compromise and accommodation were the strategies of Indian political organizations for dealing with the issue of penetration. It was this position that was criticized by a radical group within the NIA - the Nationalist Bloc - which challenged the accommodatory position of both NIC and NIA (See Fig 4.2 in Maharaj, 1992, 192).

The DCC took little interest in the Lawrence Committee's promptings with regard to the shortage of Indian housing and continued to urge the government to introduce national legislation to contain Indian penetration into white areas. Calpin (1949, 153) believes that the failure of the Lawrence Committee due to the withdrawal of the DCC was a "turning point in the affairs of Natal Indians". Continued agitation by the DCC stimulated the appointment by the government of the Broome Commission⁷⁷ to investigate what was known as 'Indian Penetration'.⁷⁸

The Commission's findings focussed on Durban, which was the epicentre of white agitation (Rajah, 1981), since it was here that there were no statutory restrictions on the ownership of land. It was discovered that only 512 'penetrations' had occurred between 1927 and 1940 and these were largely in the Old Borough of Durban contiguous to the central city Indian enclaves (Calpin, 1949). It was also noted that white agitation against Indians was much exaggerated. The Commission however, provided little account of the lack of provision of housing, land and facilities for the Indian population (Maharaj, 1992). Agitation continued⁷⁹ and a Second Commission of Indian Penetration was appointed.⁸⁰

This enquiry confined itself to a specific portion of the inner city of Durban, and reported a rapid increase⁸¹ of property purchases by Indians. This offered the government sufficient cause to introduce the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act or the 'Pegging Act' in 1943 (Calpin, 1949; Rajah, 1981). Although not discriminatory in form, it was discriminatory in fact, since it laid down that "no Asiatic could buy or occupy a house in Durban previously owned or occupied by a European" and vice versa.

The 'Pegging Act' was an interim measure imposed for three years. The Smuts government viewed the 1943 Act as a breathing space to negotiate and settle the Indian question by consultation.⁸² The Nationalist Party supported the Act, but maintained that it was a "half-baked measure" (Calpin, 1949, 174) and that national segregation should be instituted. At the Provincial level, the Administrator of Natal rejected the Pegging Act since it forestalled the Provincial Executive Committee's Town Planning Scheme which would have effected permanent legislation to deal with racial zoning. The Pegging Act also had international implications since India and South Africa were fighting "shoulder to shoulder in the same war" (Calpin, 1949, 180).

Political resistance up until this period had been regionally focussed since each province had different restrictive regulations regarding Indians. The NIA and the NIC represented different interests and were largely unco-ordinated in their representation of Indian grievances. The intensity of anti-Indian agitation in the 1940's and the fear of further comprehensive restrictions on Indian land acquisition and residential location, led to a new period in Indian politics, that of integration. The NIC and NIA amalgamated, invoking the principle of universal democracy, for which the Second World War was being fought (Calpin, 1949; Meer, 1969; Pachai, 1979a) and resistance replaced collaboration as a political strategy.

The third Broome Commission, that is, the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, was instituted to investigate the serious charges of neglect lodged by Indian representatives against the DCC. Before the Commission could complete its task the controversial Pretoria Agreement was entered into on the 18th April, 1944 by the NIC, the Natal Provincial Council, and the central government, sidestepping the DCC. This agreement was a desperate attempt by the Smuts government to avoid racial legislation and reduce racial mixing and conflict by instituting a system of individual permits for the exchange of land between the races via a provincial ordinance.⁸³

The Pretoria Agreement caused a major wave of anti-Indian protest.⁸⁴ The DCC maintained that the draft Ordinance did not afford enough control, and requested that the promulgation of the Ordinance be postponed until the reports of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission and Natal Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission were published which would “vindicate its point of view” (Bagwandeem, 1983,226).

The Provincial Council of Natal presented the draft Occupation Control Ordinance⁸⁵ which appeared to restore the rights of Indians which the Pegging Act had removed. The agitation surrounding the Ordinance led the Provincial Council to refer it to a Select Committee.⁸⁶ White opinion flatly rejected the Pretoria Agreement and the select Committee redrafted the Ordinance, which became the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance (26 of 1944) to prevent Indian acquisition or occupation of predominantly white residential property in all Natal boroughs and townships.

The NIC objected to the control of residential occupation which was the key of the Pretoria Agreement (Bagwandeem, 1983). The NIC also saw with foreboding that the Natal Housing Board Ordinance; the Provincial and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance; and the Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949) were inter-related with the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance and acted in concert to statutorily restrict and contain Indians in Natal. Indian leaders challenged the Province’s breach of the Pretoria Agreement in the form of the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance. The NIC in a letter of protest to the Administrator noted that the Ordinance “destroy(ed) in a large measure the confidence of the Indian community in (his) sense of justice and fairplay” (Bagwandeem, 1983,236).

The failure of the Pretoria Agreement through its subversion by the Natal Provincial Council; the sharp reaction of India to both the ‘Pegging Act’ and the contraventions of the Pretoria Agreement; along with the violent anti-Indian reaction by whites to India’s intervention, resulted in escalating enmity and the beginning of a serious rift between South Africa and India (Calpin, 1949; Bagwandeem, 1983).

In 1946, the Pegging Act was re-enacted on a permanent basis as the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (26 of 1946),^{87 88} and was to apply to the whole of Natal. This Act became known as the ‘Ghetto Act’ since it contained schedules of areas in which Indians were to have rights to land ownership and occupation.

Indian resistance took the form of belligerent protest against the Pegging Act, both at home and abroad. Criticism from within the Indian community of the accommodationist approach of Indian leaders, led to the emergence of a more radical group of confrontationists, who rejected any attempt to compromise the basic rights of Indians to live anywhere in the city (Bagwandeem, 1983). The moderate Indian politicians withdrew from the NIC due to these radical responses, and formed the more moderate Natal Indian Organization (NIO) in May 1947 (Pachai, 1979a). By 1948, the moderates had combined nationally to form the South African Indian Organization (SAIO), while the radicals took over the SAIC (Maharaj, 1992). It was the SAIO that the government liased with as being representative of Indian opinion, while the leaders of the SAIC were banned. The passive resistance campaign, commencing in 1946, had considerable impact on world opinion (Pachai, 1979a).

An international judicial forum was sought to mediate between the South African government and the Indians. In 1946, the Indian government withdrew its High Commissioner, broke off trade relations with South Africa, and placed the issue of the treatment of South African Indians onto the agenda of the United Nations. Thus the 1946 Pegging Act resulted in the final severance of Indo-European and Indo-South African relations (Corbett, 1947; Hellman, 1949). Like the Cape Town Agreement, the Pretoria Agreement had failed because of the overwhelming public demand by whites in Durban for segregation from Indians (Corbett, 1947).

United Nations debates over the 'Indian Question' during 1946-1947, centred on the "denial of human rights and fundamental freedom" by the South African government to the Indian community (Webb, 1949,211). The South African government refused to co-operate in the discussions, maintaining that it was a question of domestic jurisdiction and should be referred to the International Court. Contrary to this stand, the Indian delegation insisted that it was a political rather than a legal matter (Palmer, 1956). The 'Indian Question' debated at the United Nations ended without a concrete opinion but was debated thereafter for another decade or more (Pachai, 1979a).

Pachai (1979a, 51) states that Indian politics took recourse to international forums, such as the United Nations, because there was "an absence of opportunity to influence change through the media of accepted political practices and institutions" in South Africa. The final attempt to seek 'outside remedies' came in 1950 when the third Round Table Conference, with South Africa, India and Pakistan,

initiated by the SAIO, attempted to resolve the issue of Indian grievances. With the introduction of the Group Areas Bill in April 1950, the conference was called off and international forums were from that time never used again as a medium to bring about change in the position of South African Indians (Pachai, 1979a).

The endeavours of Indians to acquire and occupy property in the 1940's stimulated intense anti-Indian agitation by whites in Durban, which consequently led to the first legislative attempts to control Indian acquisition and occupation of land (Palmer, 1956), and catapulted the 'Indian Question' into the national and international arena. The English-speaking community in the inner areas of Durban, in their adamant rejection of residential mixing, played a key role in the origins of the system of apartheid in South Africa (Davies, 1976; Swanson, 1976, Maharaj, 1992). The DCC, acting as a vehicle for white demands at the local level, whilst stimulating national commissions of enquiry, international agreements and finally segregatory legislation, had little autonomy in steering or framing the actual legislative outcomes of these demands. In this sense the local authority can be seen as a laboratory for national legislation as it is at the local level that consciousness is crystallized into policy and action.

The middle tier of the state, the Provincial Council of Natal, was also instrumental in contributing to the emergence of segregatory legislation in the form of a network of inter-related ordinances framed within the administrative functions of provincial government. Acting at times in concert with local initiatives and at other times on directives in accordance with national government policies, the provincial tier contributed to the complexity and ad hoc nature of the process of defining Indian rights and maintaining white dominance within constitutionally defined state mechanisms. Since the enabling legislation for actual segregatory policies is framed provincially, the evolution of local-provincial state relations indicates close co-operation and mutual support between these levels of government throughout the Union period. It was only at the end of the period that provincial participation in the Pretoria Agreement to the exclusion of local authority representatives wrested the 'power of definition' finally from the local authority to the upper tiers of government.

3.6.6 The containment of Indian access to space via the application of town planning ideology and legislation at a local level.

It is necessary to examine the antecedents of technicist physical planning in South Africa and Natal, and the municipal structures that were created to implement the planning function, in order to understand the application of planning ideology to conflicts arising from competition for urban space.

The 1919 Public Health Act provided the first relatively comprehensive town planning regulations to meet the needs of rapid urban development.⁸⁹ Thereafter, the Financial Relations Act (Act 46 of 1925) delegated the Provinces, inter alia, the authority to legislate with regard to town planning matters. In Natal, this resulted in the promulgation of the Townships and Town Planning Ordinance (10 of 1934).

The format of the town planning scheme adopted in Natal and the other provinces consisted of two parts, namely a scheme map and scheme clauses.⁹⁰ Town planning systems that have evolved in South Africa were closely modelled on British planning concepts (Patricios, 1975)⁹¹ and consequently inherited both functionalist⁹² and social reformist planning philosophies that were prevalent at that time. The first provincial ordinances regulating physical planning were based predominantly on functionalist principles which assumed that the manipulation of physical space would result in the solution of social problems. Hence the predominance of the scheme map as an important functional and ideological tool.

The point of tangency between town planning concerns and legislation relating to African administration and Indian land acquisition is that they are both restrictive and serve to constrain urban problems, such as disease, overcrowding and pollution, by physically segregating the sources of the problems from the elite groups (McCarthy and Smit, 1988). With the failure and uncertainty of non-statutory agreements to ensure voluntary segregation, and the pressing need on the part of whites to obtain dominance via urban control and containment, town planning ideology provided an alternative discourse for rationalizing segregation and manipulating space.

The groundwork for the philosophy of the 'planned city' was laid in the 1940's. The 'planned city' philosophy represented a shift in planning ideology from the 'minimalist planning' in South Africa during the 1930's, towards 'proactive state intervention' (McCarthy and Smit, 1988). Although instituted through legislation controlling the spatial and technical aspects of urban administration, this philosophy

evinced an 'antagonism towards informal settlement'; a support for the principle of rigid separation of 'non-complementary land-uses' (McCarthy and Smit, 1988); and the introduction of formal standards to regulate the use and form of the built environment.

Towards the end of World War II, the Prime Minister requested that each province submit a plan for post-war reconstruction. Natal appointed a Post-War and Reconstruction Committee which had as one of its tasks to plan the future residential layouts for the Province (Calpin, 1949). The Durban Post-War Development Committee presented a report to the Commission in 1943 which included a Racial Zoning Plan prepared by the Durban City Valuator and Estates Manager (University of Natal, 1952). The valuation of properties is a sensitive political issue and it was the Estates Department⁹³ which was intimately involved in the issue of 'Indian Penetration' in the 1940's technically recording and mapping the alleged loss of value of properties in white areas where 'penetration' was occurring. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Estates Manager⁹⁴, played a crucial role in the drawing up of future residential plans for the city in 1943 and subsequently, the Province's recommendations to the Prime Minister in 1944. The recommendations of the Commission, known as the Barnes Report of 1944, embraced the principle of "racial zones radiating outwards from the city centre to permit expansion of residential areas in Durban" (University of Natal, 1952,406).

The municipal response to the geographically expanding city of Durban in the 1940's, underlined by the intense and transparent conflict on the lower slopes of the Berea between whites and Indians over land acquisition, turned from its attempts to promote specific racial legislation such as the 'Pegging Act' and the 'Ghetto Act', towards general technicist solutions that incorporated both co-ordinated and controlled urban development and racial segmentation at a city-wide scale. Racial zoning as a technically efficient and instrumentalist approach was thus adopted as planning policy. The rapid development of Natal in the post-war years necessitated a revision of the 1934 Ordinance and with the promulgation of Natal Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949)⁹⁵ physical planning now took its place along with the departments regulating housing, water and health.

The Durban Town Planning Scheme subsequently came into operation in 'course of preparation'⁹⁶ in 1953. The formulation of a town planning scheme is essentially a 'negative approach'. With the growth of Durban, 'positive' or forward planning was considered necessary in various parts of the city. In order to remove uncertainty and provide a co-ordinated blueprint for the city of Durban, the Administrator advised the DCC in 1963 to prepare 'An Outline Plan of the City',⁹⁷ which would provide a blueprint for the location and density of residential areas, civic and government facilities, and commercial and industrial areas.⁹⁸

It was the Barnes Report of 1943, in addition to influencing provincial and national planning ideology, that culminated in the 'Outline Plan for the City' in 1963. With these two 'plans' for guiding reconstruction and development in Durban, the ascendancy of the Nationalist Government and its promulgation and implementation of the Group Areas Act (41 of 1950), provided the legislative machinery for the implementation of the racially zoned plan in the local context.⁹⁹

It was the political, economic and spatial competition of the Indian population of Durban which presented the DCC with a unique local problem to which its responses evolved historically. The ascendancy of town planning ideology in western thought provided an alternative discourse through which an efficient and racially zoned city provided an apparently scientifically neutral and objective rationale for separating the race groups. The concept of segregation of races embodied in the Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission's recommendations was sanctioned on the grounds of "the scientific basis of modern town and country planning" (Calpin, 1949,205). This however, did not minimize the enormity of the insult to the Indians nor negate the obvious immorality of this policy, as judged from universal standards of humanity.

3.7 Conclusion

In the absence of organized Indian politics in the colonial period prior to Responsible Government, the colonial government "failed to live up to its fundamental responsibility to provide the protection" for Indians, as required by law (Pachai, 1979a). Inherited social and racial definitions were introduced into the colonial context of Natal through imperialism and it was this ideology that resulted in the provision of a special legal contract of indenture for the immigration and treatment of Indians in Natal. Under this contract the Indian was defined as a temporary, low status labourer entitled to a set of minimum rights which afforded a very basic existence and led to gross exploitation. Although the immigrants brought

with them a rich inheritance of cultural and religious traditions and ranged widely in their social and occupational status they were all defined as low-caste 'coolies'. No recognition was given to their cultural, community, family or social norms which were severely compromised through the indenture contract.

The legally 'free' Indians were subsequently neglected by the local authority in Durban with regard to land and housing provision and marginalized in both social and physical space. The perpetuation of the definition of Indian immigrants as temporary residents and the continual efforts to bring about repatriation, in this early period, were a forerunner to the Immigration Laws which were to become a heightened political issue.

In this early period, the franchise was not an issue since the early immigrants did not qualify. It was in the face of increasing trade rivalry between Indian and white traders that the Indian franchise was to come under question (Pachai, 1979a). It was only the pressure from Britain and India that prevented explicit racial legislation against Indians in the colonial period up to 1893. However, the British government did not have a decisive effect on racial policy in the colony since those laws that it disallowed at the colonial level could often be affected through municipal administration procedures. The British Government could only insist on 'form' rather than 'substance' in colonial legislation (Huttenback, 1966,291), and so the colonial government, with greater autonomy after the granting of Responsible Government, responded with technically non-discriminatory legislation in the following two decades.

The growth of the Indian population in Natal and the rapidly growing settled communities that were emerging on the periphery of Durban were making the notion of a permanent Indian class a reality. Evidence shows that the purchase of land where possible, was a high priority amongst the Indian communities although legal measures existed at a local level to spatially contain land purchases and occupation to areas outside the Borough.

As the living and educational standards of the Indian traders grew with increasing prosperity, they began individually to challenge the racial and social categories of the dominant class. However, without leadership and organization, unified resistance strategies were not yet possible. It was however, in the period before Union that organized Indian resistance emerged with the formation of the NIC and the

NCBIA, both of which were to merge in the 1930's to form the major Indian opposition to the discriminatory initiatives against Indians of the Durban City Council and the national government in the pre-apartheid era.

The DCC had departed from the property-based liberalism of British colonial rule with its moral philosophy of equality for all male, propertied citizens before the law, to differential justice based on racial prejudice, by removing the municipal franchise for Indians. The early conceptions of Indians and Africans as being 'culturally and ethnically alien' (Swanson, 1968,23) and the differences between black and white were so profound that different 'ideals of justice' were proposed based on the premise that different races had separate, not common, destinies (Swanson, 1968). While the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 had promoted the ideal of westernization as a means of assimilating Indians into South African society, whites in general and the Durban City Council in particular, did not believe that this was possible (Corbett, 1947,107). Corbett (1947) maintains that westernization merely served to marginalize the Indian since the weakening of traditional customs, coupled with the alienation of the Indian from the dominant white 'western' group, had a destabilizing effect.

From the 1920's, Durban was faced with a rapidly growing Indian shack population living in deprived and insanitary housing, which reached a peak in the early 1940's. In unco-ordinated and covert ways, the geographical location of Indians in the urban area had been contained in the periphery of Durban producing a high degree of racial and ethnic segregation. From the 1920's when the scale of the Indian housing problem increased dramatically in magnitude with the incorporation of the 'Added Areas' in 1932, the local authority, empowered by national health legislation, responded to the problems with restrictive action aimed at social control and spatial containment.

Although legally having the right to remain in South Africa, the impermanent status of Indians persisted through until the 1940's in the DCC's policy of refusing to be a "provider of social services or instrument of social construction" (Swanson, 1968) for the Indian population of Durban.¹⁰⁰ Despite the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which promised upliftment for the Indian population, by 1944 the Indian housing problem in Durban was most acute and Indians remained socially and economically depressed (Corbett, 1947).

The practices of the local authority were thus at variance with central government policy of upgrading the living conditions of Indians as proposed in the Cape Town Agreement of 1926. It was only pressure from central government in response to international pressure regarding the treatment of Indians that led to the DCC reluctantly instituting small scale housing schemes and a system of housing loans. However, it was national legislation in the form of the Slums Act of 1934 that provided greater powers at the local level for implementing the policy of segregation through inhibition. The degree of autonomy of the local authority was therefore dependent on relations between the local authority and the central government.

The DCC continued to express the strong antagonistic sentiments of the local white residents towards Indians challenging the national government's attempts to compromise and co-operate over Indian grievances. This led to conflicts between the local and national government in the implementation of non-statutory agreements made at an international level. Local opposition led repeatedly to the failure of such non-statutory agreements. It was specifically in relation to the issue of residential proximity to Indians that the local authority became vociferous leading to the preoccupation in the Union period with the spatial issues of Indian location, land acquisition and occupation.

Whilst the national government had taken up the cudgels of the local authority with the promulgation of blatant segregatory legislation restricting Indian land acquisition and occupation in Durban, the local authority acting in parallel began to formulate an alternative strategy for universally applicable racial zoning through the existing town planning mechanisms. When the national government finally, under the helm of the Nationalist Party, promulgated the Group Areas Act introducing national racial segregation and spatial partitioning, the local authority was provided with both the legislative machinery and financial allocations to implement the policies that it had espoused since the early 1940's.

Although strategies of Indian resistance throughout the Union period were accommodatory, it was the 'Ghetto Act' of 1946 that led to the more radical elements of the NIC changing the contours of Indian resistance. A massive passive resistance campaign commenced in protest against the Act by this organization. However, the majority of voiceless Indian tenants living in shacks in the periphery were not represented by these actions nor were they represented by the more accommodatory stance of the NIO and its national wing the SAIO. Maharaj (1992) notes that Indian politics, despite the shift to a more radical stance in the post-1945 period, was largely class based during this period.

The effect of segregatory legislation in its many guises and the neglect of Indian housing and facilities led to the settlement of Indians in Durban in specific parts of the city where their densities increased and living environments deteriorated through the first half of the twentieth century.

Endnotes

1. The application of the rule of law requires the necessity of officers of the law, i.e. the police, to enforce the law, and courts to protect the rights of individuals within the law (Hay, in Worger, 1983,52).
2. The contradictory essence of the rule of law, is that "the rulers are prisoners of their own rhetoric... they played the games of power according to the rules which suited them but they could not break those rules or the whole game would be over" (Thompson, 1975,260).
3. The ruling classes, while creating law to uphold their interests, paradoxically are inhibited by their own rules against the exercise of 'unmediated force' (Thompson, 1975). Therefore cases in which the ruling powers are defeated serve to consolidate power and enhance its legitimacy (Thompson, 1975).
4. A crucial distinction is made between the state as a thing, i.e. 'state apparatus', and the state as a social relation, i.e. 'state form' (See Dear, 1981; Duncan and Goodwin, 1982; Clark and Dear, 1984).
5. This idea is derived from the notion of the sovereignty of the individual which is the ideal of capitalism. Smith (1989,179) defines citizenship in the formal sense, "as the availability of political as well as social and legal rights".
6. Swanson (1968) notes that the terms of application of these early municipal charters were universal creating a legal equality among their subjects.
7. These were set out in Natal Law 14 of 1859, and are detailed in Chapter 2.
8. The contradictory option of obtaining a land grant and settling in Natal was a provision of the terms purely to save the colonial government the expense of the return passage, rather than an inducement to remain in the colony.
9. In addition to state form, the state has certain functions, often termed local government, which refer to a set of physical institutions through which state power is mediated (Dear, 1981; Clark and Dear, 1984).
10. Swanson (1968) discusses in detail the development of a 'urban native administration system' in Durban which later became a model for other large urban areas in South Africa in achieving racial segregation.
11. Responsible Government entailed a change in the locus and composition of power in the state (Bundy, 1979). Natal now became ruled by elected representatives of the white colonists, the majority of whom had interests which demanded labour (Slater, 1975).
12. Legislation to control and contain African labour in 'white towns' had emerged prior to the granting of Responsible Government in 1893.

13. This only applied to those labourers whose contracts expired after 1895.
14. The three pound tax was introduced via Act 17 of 1895.
15. A petition, dated 10/7/1909, from various Indian organizations and individuals to the Secretary for the Colonies in London, recorded that about two thousand Indians "owing to the fear of prosecution for failure to pay this tax...and unable to endure the prospect of goal life and semi-starvation, were induced to proceed to Lobito Bay (in the present Angola). Many of them died here, and the remainder who eventually came back to Natal were deported to India (cited in Bhana and Pachai, 1984,106).
16. In a petition submitted to the Legislative Council by Gandhi regarding the 1894 Immigration Bill on 8/8/1894, he states that an Indian returning to India would be "comparatively a stranger in his mother land...and to find work in India would be almost impossible". Such an Indian would be compelled to return under indenture "and thus his whole life would be spent in bondage" (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 232-242, in Bhana and Pachai, 1984,54).
17. This term was used to describe racial legislation and was used in both the colonial period and the Union period up until the 1940's.
18. See Polak (1909, 9-19), Bhana and Pachai (1984), and Wylie (1986) for examples of the application of the Dealers License Amendment Act of 1897.
19. The British Government communicated that " a measure of this sweeping nature is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as open to the very gravest of objection" (Polak, 1909,Part 1,61).
20. The condoning and even encouragement of palliatives, such as alcohol abuse and usury, as well as harsher forms of corporal punishment and the punitive system of task work served to further control labour and prevent resistance (Swan, 1984).
21. The doctrine of satyagraha, or passive resistance, espoused by Gandhi, provided the framework of Indian resistance during the period of heightened conflict at the beginning of the century.
22. The NIC was the forerunner of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) formed in 1920 (Hellman, 1949).
23. It was only later in the 1930's that a more radical politics emerged challenging the NIC and resulting in the merger of the NIC and the Colonial Born Indian Association to form the Natal Indian Association (Maharaj, 1992).
24. The Second Report of the Natal Indian Congress of 1899 noted that from 1896-1899 20,000 "pamphlets, copies of memorials and letters have been written and distributed" (in Bhana and Pachai, 1984,92).
25. Gandhi assumed national leadership of Indian politics in Southern Africa. The specific focus of his resistance campaign was the education provisions of the immigration law; the three pound tax and the legal status of Indian married women (Pachai, 1979a).
26. Hellman (1949) notes that "there was a tendency to adjust the legal system to the realities of a society whose structural arrangements and customary practices involve an implicit denial of the validity of egalitarian doctrines" in issues concerning the status of Africans and Indians.

27. Evidence of such a lack of access to the law as a means of seeking redress to grievances abounds (See Polak, 1909; Bhana and Pachai, 1984).
28. By 1893, the number of Indians in the colony was 46000, which for the first time exceeded the white population of 45000 (Pachai, 1979a).
29. Interprovincial movement of Indians was curtailed after 1913, concentrating the Indian population in Natal, while the Orange Free State had since 1891 prohibited Indians from owning or occupying land, which effectively excluded them from this state (Burrows, 1943; Calpin, 1949; Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977).
30. It was these very issues that were debated at the Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923 (Corbett, 1947). The opposition of India to the repression of South African Indians strained the unity of the Commonwealth and increased tension at an international level.
31. Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman (1985) note that in the 1940's Indian political organizations prioritized their political demands against the segregatory policies of the state on ethical grounds, rather than become involved in specific worker politics or trade union issues.
32. Chapter 9 deals with the application of such town planning legislation to achieve the local authorities triple goals of racial zoning, industrialization and sanitary cleansing of the southern corridor of Durban.
33. Furthermore, in March of 1913, the Cape Supreme Court created a national precedent by ruling that only Christian marriages amongst Indians were accepted as legal in South Africa in order to prevent Indians bringing more than one wife and children into the country. This effectively defined customary Indian marriages as 'illegal' which blatantly challenged the ethics of Indian religious customs and was a contradiction of the 'othering' process as it legislated against cultural difference.
34. See Swan (1984) for a detailed account of the strike.
35. The Indian community in Natal was split at the crucial moment in 1913. Both the NIC and the Colonial Born Indian Association rejected Gandhi's stand on the immigration issue.
36. This took the form of severe police retribution, and the imprisonment of thousands of indentured Indians (Huttenback, 1966),
37. The Indian Inquiry Commission
38. The Mines and Works Act (1911 and 1918) protected white workers in nineteen occupational categories and served to entrench 'territorial, commercial and industrial segregation' for the defence of the dominant white group by instituting the job colour bar (Calpin, 1949,54). This was reinforced by the 1922 Apprenticeship Act which set down minimum educational requirements and had the effect of excluding the majority of Indians from becoming skilled artisans (Corbett, 1947). The Minimum Wages Act (27 of 1925), and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 (The 'Colour Bar' Act) further promoted the 'civilized labour policy' of the Nationalist Labour Coalition Government of 1924.
39. The 1919 Health Act took over the control of health and sanitary conditions in urban areas making the local Medical Officer of Health directly responsible to the Minister of Health. The 1920 Housing Act, which gave local authorities the power to solve housing problems, led to the formation of the Central Housing Board, which was formed to regulate and finance housing implemented by local authorities.
40. The Municipal Ordinance of 1924, sets out the amendments to municipal functions (Henderson, 1904; Purcell, 1974).

41. In 1910, 4018 Indians owned land in Durban County, and the major land purchases were still to come (Christopher, 1969,336). Corbett (1947) notes that in 1921, the majority of agricultural land held by Indians in Natal lay in the coastal belt (79,96%) and numbered 2575 holdings.
42. The Asiatic Enquiry Commission (U.G. 4 of 1921).
43. Compulsory repatriation would be too costly for the government so the repatriation system was improved with a bonus payable to all repatriates (Corbett, 1947). Under the Indian Relief Act, from 1914-1926, 21780 Indians, predominantly labourers, returned to India.
44. For example, of the licenses granted and refused by the Licensing Officer of Natal from 1909-1919, 1392 were granted and 117 refused to Europeans, while 874 were granted and 1152 refused to Indians (Corbett, 1947).
45. Indians represented little threat at this stage to white skilled labour in Natal. Special Report 39 (quoted in Corbett, 1947) noted that in 1921, 20669 Indians over 15 years of age were engaged in agriculture; 5710 in commerce and 6460 in industry.
46. The Bill created an enabling mechanism for local authorities to set aside 'Class Areas' within the coastal belt in which trade and residence would be restricted to a particular class. Although the Bill was technically non-racial, it was aimed at Indians.
47. The Bill represented a severe blow to the 'izzat'(honour) of all Indians.
48. Joint membership of the British Empire gave India the opportunity to challenge South Africa's Indian policy (Pachai, 1979a).
49. The delegation from India proposed that the sanitary and housing conditions of Indians be uplifted, in terms of the Public Health Act of 1919.
50. The Broome Commission of 1938, reported that these recommendations had to a large extent been carried out, with the major impact occurring in primary education.
51. Areas such as the Berea Ridge, Bluff, Montclair, Hillary, Sea View, Sherwood, Morningside, Glenwood and other areas of high land (Bagwandeem, 1983).
52. The low-lying flats and steep valley sides in areas such as Clairwood, Cato Manor, Mayville, Sydenham, Clare Estate, Sea Cow Lake, Riverside and Prospect Hall (Bagwandeem, 1983).
53. For example, there were an average of 9.52 Asiatics per dwelling as against 5.55 for whites. (1921 Census Report, Part IX, Table XV, in Corbett, 1947).
54. Indian land purchases in this area had accelerated due to the sense of security engendered by the Cape Town Agreement (Rajah, 1981)
55. In 1923, a similar Ordinance (5 of 1923) was passed making these restrictions applicable to all Natal towns.
56. Ordinance 3 of 1925.
57. In the same year the Natal Provincial Council passed the Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance and the Townships Franchise Ordinance, further curbing Indian economic opportunities (Pachai, 1979a)

58. A survey undertaken by the Medical Officer of Health of Durban in 1924, declared that of the dwellings unfit for human habitation, 86% were occupied by Asiatics; 7% by Coloureds; 6% by Europeans and 1% by Africans (Bagwandeem, 1983,17).
59. The Cato Manor Scheme was only initiated when threats to withdraw the 25 000 Pounds loan from the National Housing Commission were made by the central government (Bagwandeem, 1983,23). Furthermore, the initiation of the housing loan programme was prompted by the National Housing Commission.
60. This was achieved via the Durban Borough and Loan Ordinance of 1931.
61. Fifty one thousand Indians, 21 000 Africans and 20 000 Europeans were added to Durban's population (University of Natal, 1952).
62. The Health Committees administering peri-urban areas were created in terms of the 1919 Public Health Act, but being financially weak, they lacked effective control (Torr, 1987).
63. In 1936, 183 661 Indians lived in Natal, 47% of whom were under the age of 15 years. Of these, 80% lived in the Natal coastal belt; 16% in towns on the main line to Johannesburg; and 2% in the coal mining towns. Durban itself had an Indian population of 80,486 (Calpin, 1949).The high growth rate was sustained by a large natural increase (Burrows, 1943; University of Natal, 1952).
64. About 62% of the Indian population was urbanized by 1936 (Burrows, 1943).
65. The 1936 Housing Survey reported that insanitary conditions, overcrowding and the impermanent nature of housing characterized the peripheral zones (University of Natal, 1952). Shortly after incorporation, 23% of the population in the peripheral areas was found to be inadequately housed and 70% of the dwellings declared unsatisfactory, were occupied by Indians (University of Natal, 1952,297).
66. In the first two years after incorporation, 1120 dwellings were demolished, mostly occupied by Indians in the Added Areas. In the subsequent two years another 784 were removed (University of Natal, 1952).
67. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 provided the machinery for segregating urban Africans
68. Parnell (1988) provides evidence that different modes of application of the Slums Act were evident, depending on the motives of the local authority.
69. The procedure of slum clearance via the Slums Act is activated by the local Medical Officer of Health who informs the local authority, which in turn informs the Slums Clearance Court of the offending dwelling, which declares the premises a slum. No compensation is allowed for buildings in the Slums Act, and the Court is not under any obligation to find alternative premises (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977).
70. Although the Slums Act and the Public Health Act stipulated that alternative housing should be provided, many slum dwellers were either absorbed into the existing shack areas intensifying the problem of overcrowding, or they moved to the far periphery and re-established shacks where controls were less stringent (University of Natal, 1952).
71. The motivation of the DCC for the building of the Cato Manor Scheme was to house Indians displaced from inner-city slums in Mayville and Riverside (Bagwandeem, 1983,31).

72. The poor housing quality, inaccessibility and fear of segregation played a part in Indian resistance to public housing (Bagwandeem, 1983,34). However, Burrows (1953) notes that it was also extreme poverty that prevented the majority of Indians from committing themselves to the Council Housing Scheme by Indians (Bagwandeem, 1983).
73. The provision of African housing was the preserve of the local authority in Durban until the 1950's. Lamontville was built in 1934 and Chesterville in 1943. These programmes were financed by the Native Revenue Account which operated autonomously from municipal revenue accounts (McCarthy, 1986).
74. The southern shack area of Durban comprised the Karim Lane area and the low lying land between the Bluff and Berea as far south as Merebank (University of Natal, 1952,353-4).
75. The terms of this form of tenure are known as 'tenancy-at-will'. The lessee pays a small charge for occupation and erects his own house. A written contract is entered into and tenants may be evicted at short notice if the land is required for other purposes (University of Natal, 1952).
76. This term used by the DCC in the 1940's "is an apt expression of ruling conceptions of a complex set of social relations involving land, housing, social services and local franchise rights" (Grest, 1985,16).
77. U.G. 39-41 of 1941
78. The extent to which Indians had acquired or occupied land for residential or trading purposes in predominantly white areas of Natal and the Transvaal.
79. Whilst the Commission explained the penetration as a common urban phenomenon relating to urban development in cities, the DCC explained it as a 'psychological phenomenon' whereby "Indian influx was the cause of a European exodus" (Calpin, 1949,165).
80. U.G. 28 of 1946
81. There were 326 penetrations between 1940 and 1943.
82. Smuts (in Calpin, 1949,176) stated that the Indians "are our people born here, they have no other country, and we must be fair and just to them".
83. This ordinance would deproclaim Durban from the restrictions of the Pegging Act (Calpin, 1949).
84. The white English-speaking electorate, through the Durban Joint Wards Committee, even appealed to the Nationalist party in the Orange Free State to assist them against the Indians, indicating the high level of racial prejudice at this stage (Daily News, 10/7/1944).
85. The Ordinance provided for a Licensing Board to control the exchange of land between whites and Indians.
86. The DCC sponsored a mass meeting against the draft Ordinance to give voice to white opposition to Indian intrusion in residential spaces (Bagwandeem, 1983).
87. Under the Act, controlled and uncontrolled areas were created, limiting Indian acquisition and occupation of properties to the latter areas (University of Natal, 1952).
88. The Land Tenure Advisory Board was appointed to control property transactions and consisted of five members, two of whom were to be Indian. No Indians were appointed (University of Natal, 1952).

89. Local authorities were hereby empowered to determine physical layouts, density of development and land-use zoning (McCarthy and Smit, 1988) through building by-laws.
90. Town planning Schemes are a form of blueprint planning. Their purpose is to co-ordinate the physical implications of urban development efficiently, and act as a means of development control, through their various land-use and intensity of use provisions. Apart from minor amendments, the current urban development control system which was established in the early twentieth century is still based on the original concepts (Faccio, 1975).
91. Prominent public officials in Natal who had been educated in Britain influenced the nature of town planning in Natal.
92. The functionalist school aimed to create cities as centres of efficient production by manipulating the physical environment of cities to achieve order (Scott, 1981).
93. In Durban, prior to the emergence of a separate town planning department, the administration of land records, valuation of property, and control of municipal acquisition and expropriation of land for infrastructural and housing developments, were carried out by the Estates Office.
94. He was a surveyor by profession.
95. It also provided for the appointment of the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (NTRPC) and the introduction of regional planning (Scott, 1981).
96. This proviso, in terms of the Natal Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949), was introduced to circumvent the expense of paying out compensation to those parties whose location conflicts with zoning regulations of the Town Planning Scheme.
97. City of Durban, City Engineer's Report on the Planning of the Bluff, 1967, City Engineer, Durban.
98. op cit.
99. A number of housing and expropriation ordinances were passed in the late 1940's to give the Provincial Council the powers to implement the racial zoning plans with the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance as part of this comprehensive legislative apparatus (Calpin, 1949; Pachai, 1979a).
100. The provision of housing and services for Africans, as a means of social control, reflects a degree of social construction at the municipal level albeit financed from the autonomous Native Revenue Account (Swanson, 1968).

CHAPTER 4

SEGREGATION AND SETTLEMENT IN DURBAN

4.1 Introduction

Although it is clear from a variety of sources that spatial segregation along racial lines was entrenched in Natal's towns by the time of Union (Davies, 1976; Christopher, 1988), the legislation aimed at constraining Indian social, political and economic development in this period, was not explicitly segregatory in intent. It is the goal of chapter 4 specifically to examine the settlement of Indians in Durban prior to the apartheid era. Thus the process of Indian urbanization and Indian settlement patterns are of central importance here. However, as the urbanization and segregation of Indians in urban areas in South African history has not been unique, the chapter situates this process within the larger process of African urbanization throughout the twentieth century.

Section 4.2 differentiates between Indian and the larger scale process of African urbanization. The settlement of Indian communities in urban areas, and in southern Durban in particular, was part of a larger drift of rural people towards the city in the twentieth century. However, it is the contention of this chapter that Indian urbanization was different from African urbanization, not only in terms of its scale and duration, but particularly in terms of its community organization, and its mode of appropriation and occupation of space.

In order to understand Indian segregation and settlement in Durban, section 4.3 presents a description of black settlement patterns with particular emphasis on the location of Indian communities. Both the black inner city enclaves and peripheral settlements are examined. The understanding of segregation and settlement in a South African context must be accompanied by an overview of the controls exercised by the dominant whites in their goal to achieve segregation from the subject classes. Thus the restrictive legislation applied to contain and control both the development of slums in the inner city and shack growth in the periphery, are overviewed. The section concludes with an introductory discussion of the emergence of the comprehensive segregatory mechanisms of the apartheid era.

4.2 Indian and African urbanization compared

The literature since the early 1980's, (e.g. van Onselen, 1982; Crush and Rogerson, 1983; Cooper, 1983; Bozzoli, 1987; Crush, 1992) focussing on urbanization and urban history in southern Africa, has dealt almost exclusively with African urbanization, and has centred around the theme of "the attempts of black urban communities to create and defend illegal space" (Bonner and Lodge, 1989,2). Inherent in this process, and also well documented, is the development of state urban policy at the local and national level to constrain this process and ultimately to relocate such communities and 'quarantine' them in peripheral urban locations where they could be more effectively administered and controlled (Stadler, 1979; Lodge, 1981; Maylam, 1983; Robertson, 1987; Sapire, 1989;).

Although Indian urbanization has not been of the same scale or duration as that of African urbanization, it nevertheless has been part of the larger movement of people towards the city occurring throughout southern Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As part of this process, Indians and Africans were united in their political and economic disabilities (Lodge, 1981), suffering alike under the segregatory policies imposed on them by the dominant whites whose belief it was that their cultural and material interests must always be prioritized (Freund, 1994).

However, a cursory glance at the literature on Indian social history and political resistance (Pachai, 1979b; Bagwandeem, 1983; Swan, 1984; Beall, 1990; Maharaj, 1992) provides a number of indicators that perhaps the Indian experience of urbanization, community formation, defence of urban space and response to removals, was significantly different to that of Africans. It is thus suggested at the outset that it is valid to focus on 'Indian urbanization', 'Indian community formation' and 'Indian removals', since these processes have a specificity which begs further investigation and merits differentiation from the larger processes of African urbanization and urban experience.

It is further posited here that an understanding of the cultural and ethnic 'baggage' brought with Africans and Indians in their journey to the city and their quest for urban space, along with the circumstances under which this journey was made, greatly informs an understanding of different strategies adopted by these communities in community formation, and for gaining access to and defending urban space. This in turn is related to the evolution of differential urban containment policies that emerged to control and regulate the lives of Africans and Indians in the urban context. It is therefore the intention to

examine in what way Indian urbanization, urban community formation, and subsequently Indian removals from relatively central locations to the periphery, differed from the experiences of African communities and in what way they were similar.

In proposing some specificity in the way in which Indians came to the city and made a place for themselves and were subsequently removed, it is therefore intended in the following chapters to construct a text or narrative to reveal in the telling both the context-independent and context-dependent structures and conditions that gave rise to the succession of events as they played themselves out in the southern corridor of Durban in the twentieth century.

4.2.1 The emergence of a 'black' urban periphery

Africans and Indians, in Natal particularly, had been moving into the towns and cities since the late nineteenth century and establishing communities in inner-city ethnic enclaves and peripheral shack settlements (Stadler, 1979; Rajah, 1981; Western, 1981; Maylam, 1983; Christopher, 1988a; Edwards, 1989; Parnell, 1991). However, it was before and during the Second World War that an unprecedented cityward movement began (Sapire, 1989). This resulted in what Maylam, (1983), terms a distinct 'black belt' surrounding municipal areas, in addition to the mixed-race pockets of slumyards, freehold townships, compounds and locations, already scattered throughout the urban fabric.

Although residential segregation was evident in all four provinces by the time of Union, it differed in degrees dependent on the differing constitutions and political histories of the four colonies (Christopher, 1988a). Based on these early origins, a segregated urban form in South African towns and cities continued to evolve, and Davies (1976) characterizes this form with its 'white' core and 'black' periphery, as typical of a colonial socio-spatial structure. Essentially, it was the white settlers who "accommodated other groups into structures they regarded as being established for White society" (Christopher, 1988a, 152).

Within this general urban pattern, 'highly specific local conditions' existed in every municipal area, resulting in the evolution of 'regionally diverse' patterns of black urban community development and unique attempts by local authorities to control their rapidly growing black populations (Sapire, 1989; Parnell, 1991).

From the colonial period, until the 1970's, the African labourer was not conceptualized as a permanent member of urban society, but only as a 'temporary sojourner' (Swanson, 1968). This influenced the kinds of legal spaces that were created to accommodate African men and women in the city in order that they might be disciplined into providing the correct kind of labour force for an industrial economy. Thus emerged the male-only compounds and later, single-sex hostels. However, there were also illegal spaces which had begun to emerge in all towns from the late nineteenth century, and served at certain stages to reproduce portions of the labour force cheaply. These spaces were largely on the periphery, and provided the context for social, economic and political activities that were antithetical to creating a workforce imbued with the work ethic and values of the industrial economy (Cooper, 1983). Furthermore they acted as a stepping stone for new migrants in "their free fall towards full proletarianization" (Bonner and Lodge, 1989,3), and were generally characterized by transient populations of a heterogeneous nature (Lodge, 1981).

4.2.2 The destination and pace of urban migration

Whilst all towns in South Africa were the destination of African migrants, it was only the Natal towns, particularly Durban and Pietermaritzburg, that experienced a significant influx of Indian migrants from the rural areas.¹ Of particular interest here, are the 'highly specific conditions' that existed in the Borough of Durban in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that determined the locus of Indian migration and the emergence of Indian communities in the urban social fabric, and the evolving municipal measures to contain this community.

Sapire (1989) notes that African urbanization on the Witwatersrand occurred at a 'comparatively leisurely pace' at the turn of the century, and only increased in tempo with the industrial and commercial expansion during the First World War. Informal shack settlements within the municipal areas and on the peripheries of the larger municipalities, although reaching their zenith in the 1940's to 1950's, had also begun to emerge as early as the 1920's (Maasdorp, 1975; Maylam, 1983a).

Indian urbanization was also initially a slow but steady process commencing in 1870 when the first indentured labourers completed their contracts and were free to enter the urban economy of the colony. The growth of the Durban Indian population was further stimulated by a number of 'passenger' Indians

who immigrated voluntarily into the colony. The successive in-migration of Indians, released from their indentures, to Durban led to the formation of informal shack settlements around the periphery of the city.

As an interim phase before the emergence of shack settlements, the large numbers of 'free' Indians and their families, that moved to the periphery of Durban, undertook small-scale market gardening for the urban market, while others engaged in small-scale productive activities thus avoiding the proletarianization that Africans experienced on first entering the city (Bonner and Lodge, 1989). However, with the onset of industrialization in the 1920's, increasing numbers of descendants of the pioneer Indian migrants left family enterprises to enter the labour market and the tempo of urbanization increased. This led to the decrease in informal market gardening and petty productive activities in both the southern and northern periphery of Durban and the increase in the area of informal residential land-use.²

It is important to note that from the nineteenth century, the informal activities engaged in by the Indian settlers, being predominantly agricultural and petty-productive³, were not defined by the white settler class as being 'illegal'. Even Indian hawkers informally hawking fresh produce, flowers and fish, were accepted as their goods were in demand by the white residents of Durban. Thus independent activity on the part of the Indian flourished as long as it was financially viable. These informal traders and producers were not subject to harassment and punishment due to the nature of their activities and thus their proletarianization was not hastened through measures adopted by the local authority. Furthermore, unemployed Indians were not subject to labour and influx control regulations which demanded their expulsion from the urban realm. Rather he or she could retreat into the security of the extended family until further employment opportunities presented themselves (Ramasar, 1989).

The continued urbanization of a predominantly rural Indian population, coupled with the high rate of natural increase of the this population,⁴ resulted in the intensification of the peripheral informal settlements which grew in size and density especially in the 1940's and 1950's. In 1921, only 21.3% of Natal's Indian population was urbanized, while by 1936, this figure had risen to 61.6% (Burrows, 1943). By the 1990's, the Indian community exhibited the highest level of urbanization in South Africa.⁵

The further influx of Africans into the urban areas during the Second World War was a response to the increasing failure of the reserves to provide subsistence, and the rise in urban incomes accompanying economic expansion in the post-war period (Stadler, 1979). The great demand for labour by the industrial sector during this period led to a laxity in the application of the influx control regulations and the subsequent increase in African urbanization and mushrooming of illegal spaces. The critical shortage of municipal working class housing in South African cities (Torr, 1987) throughout the first half of the twentieth century gave rise to a rapid expansion of the shack settlements both in area and in density as the tempo of African urbanization increased. This resulted in a variety of responses from the local authority in its attempt to control the growth, the illegal activities and the insanitary conditions prevailing in these areas (Sapire, 1989).

Parallel to the accelerating urbanization of Africans in the 1940's was the concomitant intensification of densities in Indian formal and informal residential areas and a consequent deterioration in living environments, particularly in the peripheral areas of Durban (University of Natal, 1952). The persistent policy of the Durban City Council since the colonial period, was to neglect Indian housing and facility provision due to the conception of Indians as temporary 'aliens'. This policy was responsible for the vast backlog in Indian housing forcing urban migrants either to squat on municipal land or to move into existing formal and informal residential areas usually in out-houses and backrooms.

4.2.3 Different routes to community formation and family structure: the Indian as pioneer

The evolution of influx control measures aimed specifically to control and contain African urbanization, served to create particular kinds of urban African communities. Firstly, male migrants were prioritized, resulting in unique male-only domains within the cities and towns. Secondly, women were largely prevented access to urban places, resulting in illegal female occupation of informal areas within towns. These stringent measures served to prevent traditional African families relocating to the cities and towns, and promoted the development of alternative family forms largely consisting of matriarchal families. Alternatively, influx control measures did not apply to Indians migrating to the cities and towns, and so the traditional rural family groupings of the indentured labour class, merely relocated into the urban context without disruption. In fact, the freedom afforded by the termination of indenture contracts allowed for the reformation of family life that had been distorted through the indenture process (Beall, 1980).

The progressive underdevelopment of the rural hinterland during the colonial period (Bundy, 1979), coupled with the demand for labour for the emerging urban industrial sector stimulated the urban-ward migration of Africans in the first two decades of the century. Bozzoli (1983) suggests that it was also because of the capacity of African societies to subordinate women's labour that allowed them to give up male migrant labour.

The development of an urbanization policy by the national government in the early 1920's was thus a response to African urbanization. Such policy was based on the imperative of securing the requisite wage labour supply under conditions of social and political control (Maylam, 1983). Migrant labour was to be limited to 'useful labour units only' (Eales, 1989), and these should be male. African urbanization, therefore involved the proletarianisation of the majority of urban Africans other than those involved in informal and illegal activities.⁶

Although municipal authorities had evolved local systems of 'native' administration in the colonial period, it was not until the 1920's that the scale of African urbanization and its ubiquitous occurrence, prompted the national government to create a policy for controlling this process.

The Stallard Doctrine of 1922, conceptualized African urbanward movement as permissible but solely to serve the needs of Whites (Eales, 1989). This policy, although dealt with differentially and experimentally at the local level for some time, became nationally institutionalized into law in 1923 in the form of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.⁷ The strict influx control of Africans permissible under the 1923 Act constituted a labour-coercive system. By means of this law and its amendments, local authorities could "expel large numbers of unemployed Africans" (La Hausse, 1989,47). Furthermore, as it was not gender-inclusive, it permitted only male labourers to legally enter the urban nodes.

African women had been entering the urban areas in relatively small numbers due to the unavailability of urban employment opportunities and the pressures of 'chiefly' patriarchal systems.⁸ With the lack of employment and accommodation, those women that entered the city carved out a 'tenuous existence' for themselves, along with other illegal residents and the unemployed, in the informal or illegal spaces of cities (Eales, 1989; La Hausse, 1989,25). Employing their traditional skills at beer-brewing, or engaging in prostitution or illegal hawking, African women lived on the "outer, and frequently criminal, fringes of the urban social order" under the continual threat of eviction from the city, or harassment from the

police (La Hausse, 1989,25). The concentration of women in these spaces therefore reflected their relative inability to gain access to formal space which was created almost exclusively for regular male participants in wage labour. Unemployed male migrants and those engaged in informal, illegal activities also concentrated in the illegal spaces of the town, engaging in, amongst other illegal activities, gangsterism and gambling. It was in these illegal spaces, that a high incidence of crime and anti-social behaviour prevailed (Edwards, 1989). Living in the shadow of the law, and constantly subject to harassment, the communities in the informal settlements were transient in character. The lack of security of tenure afforded little possibility of social cohesion and vitality (Lodge, 1981).

Influx control as a strategy to constrain and contain African urbanization can thus be perceived as a space-making and space defining mechanism. It linked legal urban migrants to the legal formal spaces of the urban areas, and as the male migrant labour unit was prioritized, the types of legal spaces consisted predominantly of single male accommodation in barracks and compounds. The underprovision of similar accommodation for female migrants and family housing represented the gender bias of influx control policies. The presence of Africans, and particularly females, in 'illegal spaces' in the city, on the other hand, was a reflection of the failure of the influx control system to stabilize labour.⁹

In addition to placing severe constraints on entry into, and residence within, the urban fabric, the 1923 Urban Areas Act and its amendments systematically undermined the emergence of African households in urban areas, because of its prioritization of the migrant male worker. It is important therefore to understand that the existence of these powerful control mechanisms over African urbanization, led to the emergence of a particular kind of community formation and household form. The 1930 Amendment to the 1923 Urban Areas Act withheld the right of women to enter the urban area without a permit (La Hausse, 1989).¹⁰ Furthermore, the extension of influx control to women was an attempt to restrict family settlement and the spread of slums or illegal settlements (Eales, 1989). Christopher (1988a,166) notes that the male dominance and imbalance in urban areas "negates any appearance of social normality".

Although some contemporary urban African families may remain patriarchal and represent a continuity of rural patterns, most of them are matrifocal, as a result of the historical process of influx control. Many women have developed alternative and viable independent family forms (Bozzoli, 1983).

The increasing elaboration of the system of influx control served as a highly coercive and repressive system for controlling African access to urban space and employment; it militated against the formation of African households and contributed to the emergence of many heterogeneous communities, few of which exhibited great cohesion or developed historical roots. The exception was probably Sophiatown, an old established inner city African community in Johannesburg, which provides evidence of the emergence of a vital African community with strong communal and historical roots based on the legitimacy of freehold tenure (Lodge, 1979). The political economy of racial capitalism had thus produced an urbanization strategy which 'transformed and fixed the meaning of (urban) space and time in social life' (Harvey, 1985) for urban Africans and rigorously defined the limits of social and family life and consciousness.

Unlike their African counterparts, the Indian urban migrants were not subject to the coercive strictures of influx control regulations. Whole families were able to move freely into the urban fabric and thus maintain their existing traditional extended family composition. Furthermore, the informal activities of the Indian communities were perceived as beneficial to the white residents and therefore not overly penalized. The Indian hawker provided a welcome service in white neighbourhoods. Neither was Indian unemployment defined as threatening to white stability as the unemployed were sheltered by the extended family (Ramasar, 1989). Most important, however, was the conversion of the illegal occupation of urban space by Indian families, to tenancies-at-will, by the municipality, on whose land this predominantly occurred (University of Natal, 1952). In this way Indian occupation of urban space was legalized, providing a degree of security that was in no way provided in African informal settlements.

However, their choice of destination was limited by the lack of provision of both land and housing for low-income Indian families in Natal towns in general, and Durban in particular, and the interlocking set of local bylaws which served to relegate Indian settlement to the periphery, outside the Borough. Nevertheless, the absence of stringent and divisive influx control regulations applying to Indians, which determined the pace, legality, and form of African urbanization, and substantially controlled and determined their location and quality of life in the urban places, led Indians to enter the towns as pioneers, rather than presumptive criminals. Although suffering under the same yoke as the African subject group, the Indians were relatively less constrained and could employ their energies and creativity into community building rather than mere survival and evasion of the law.

4.2.4 The making of urban cultures: the emergence of an Indian cultural hearth

In their passage to the towns, both Indian and African migrants brought with them a set of established cultural traditions. However, as these two groups were subject to differential controls regulating their entry into, and settlement in, urban places, their ethnic and cultural traditions were reproduced and transformed in a very different manner.

Although the focus in recent research has been centred on the political structures and movements within African urban communities, very little evidence exists of the culture, family and other social relationships (Bonner and Lodge, 1989). However, it is known that “Zulu speakers in Natal and Zululand did share a language, a common culture, a remembrance of an autonomous statehood and a tradition of resistance to white rule” (La Hausse, 1989,46).

Historical contributions to the literature have revealed that although the cultures that emerged in urban African communities varied greatly and were transient, they seem to have been characterized by attempts to “create cultural alternatives to everyday coercion and control” (Bonner and Lodge, 1989,3), centred on the shebeen and other illegal or informal activities. The cultural forms that emerged at various times and places display a “rich and subversive language of protest” (Bonner and Lodge, 1989,3). These cultural forms expressed in a variety of ways constituted an ‘alternative culture’ - creating and reproducing a subversive ethos which was antithetical to the creation of a disciplined work force (Eales, 1989). Whether expressed passively or actively, the oppositional culture involves not only the reproduction of ethnic identity and culture, but its transformation and even manufacture as a form of accommodation and adjustment to alien urban contexts (Bonner and Lodge, 1989; Eales, 1989; Edwards, 1989; Nasson, 1989).

Edwards (1989) contends that the ‘defensive culture’ that was created by the Cato Manor African shack community in the 1940’s, was a means of defending the uncontrolled space that it had established and was expressed in the extensive informal economy and its ‘multitude of co-operatives and stokvels’. The equally robust and boisterous ‘coloured’ working class area of District 6 in Cape Town was also characterized by a defensive culture and matched Sophiatown in its deep sense of identity, coherence and place (Nasson, 1989,5).

The African communities that emerged in the illegal spaces of the pre-apartheid South African city, relied on illegal and informal activities and housing processes as means of coping materially with the realities of urban life. Furthermore, they utilized and transformed their indigenous cultures to create popular cultures of resistance against the political and economic structures through which their daily existence was constituted. The undertaking of illegal informal activities and the illegal occupation of space were part of the struggle to liberate space from its various forms of domination, to liberate time for free use and to create systems of value independent of purely material values (Harvey, 1985).

The early pioneer Indian families also initially established themselves mainly as squatters, in informal urban living environments. However, despite the difficult conditions, the early Indian communities were subject to far less spatial and social control than their African counterparts. Therefore the Indian communities that grew up in the peripheral areas of Durban were more stable, and social cohesion became possible based on a rich network of social ties focussed on the extended family (Freund, 1994). United by a common cultural and religious heritage, the predominant group being Hindu, and regulated by a set of ethnic and religious norms, these communities developed a clearly identifiable culture and identity (Scott, 1992). Although a variety of religious sects and languages are evident, the permeation of all aspects of life by religion helped to shape the lives and consciousness of the Indian people. Through religious festivals and daily worship, the local community identity was affirmed and celebrated. Peripheralized by the mainstream society and in urban space, this culturally unified community evolved a high level of cooperation and reciprocity despite some differences in religious and language affiliation. Although derived largely from their inherited Indian culture, Freund (1994) notes the emergence of a 'creole culture' which incorporated elements of Indian and British culture.

Through the investment of communal resources and initiative, a wide array of communal facilities and institutions became established in Indian residential areas in the Durban area, focussed around the religious dimension of social life. The significance of such communally created space was overlain with intricate networks of kinship, religious, social and cultural networks within the community, which were directly place-related (Cox, 1981; Mollenkopf, 1981).

African communities thus transformed their indigenous culture into an 'oppositional culture' or 'defensive culture', to defend themselves and survive under a set of highly repressive labour, spatial, social and political controls. In contrast, the Indian communities, although discriminated against and neglected by the mainstream white group, turned inwards, and were able to consolidate over time, a cultural 'hearth', focussed on place, religion and the family. This relative stability enabled them to establish a unique identity as a subject group.

4.2.5 Conclusion

The steady urbanization of blacks, including Indians and Africans, from the nineteenth century; their settlement on the urban periphery; and their segregation from the white residents located in the strategically more advantageous parts of Durban, formed the major characteristics of the urbanization process that moulded the residential structure of Durban throughout the twentieth century.

This pattern of settlement - a white core and a black periphery - found resonance in other towns and cities of South Africa and was part of the larger socio-spatial patterning of urban places in colonial societies.

However, while part of a larger process, urbanization in Durban differed in that it exhibited a concentration of Indian settlers moving into the city upon expiry of their indentures. Thus Durban portrayed a locally specific situation where a significantly different cultural group, under different circumstances from their African counterparts established themselves on the urban periphery in a culturally unique way.

Subject to a differential set of legal constraints the Indian settlers moved freely into the city, and although legally barred from locating in central locations, easily made their way to peripheral areas where settlements were established and land was purchased. In addition, these settlers moved as families, and based on their religious, family and cultural traditions established closely knit and stable communities. This pattern differed significantly from the African migrants, who were mainly male, whose residence was linked to their employment; and who were highly restricted in where they could locate and were barred from purchasing urban land. This resulted in large 'illegal' settlements of unemployed men and women locating on the periphery. In addition, the African settlements were characterized by illegal beer-brewing, prostitution, gangs and generally a range of activities which did not conform to the white

norms of acceptable behaviour. These communities were thus perceived as 'dangerous' and measures were taken to control both the settlement and activities therein. Due to the harsh controls and harassment suffered by these communities, there emerged 'defensive' cultures which represented a threat to the ruling white class. Furthermore, due to influx control measures the family structures were largely matriarchal and the communities characterized by transient populations.

Alternatively, the Indian sector of the population were not feared by the whites and although not desired as neighbours, were largely peripheralized both socially and spatially.

Due to their subordination within the political and economic structures of South African society, the destruction of black communities has been the 'rule rather than the exception' and is a peculiarly South African problem (Bonner and Lodge, 1989). Both African and Indian communities occupying illegal or informal space have been subjected to the same forces of racial capitalism and were 'dispossessed', relocated and suffered communal disruption. While African communities were subject to these forces in varying degrees throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century due to the definition of their presence in the urban place as 'unnatural' and illegal, the Indian communities only began to suffer relocation on a large scale in the apartheid era.

Based on different perceptions, Indians and Africans were treated differently during the removal process. As will be highlighted in later chapters, the Indians were moved gradually and often by the local authority. In the southern Durban region, the local authority played a critical role in clearing the area for industrial purposes.

The following section outlines the general settlement patterns in Durban in order to provide a context for the examination of the settlement and removals of Indians in southern Durban.

4.3 Settlement patterns in Durban prior to the Group Areas Act

The early settlement pattern in Durban was determined by trade, the port and residence (Davies, 1963). Situated on the Bay of Natal, which was sheltered by the Point sand spit and Berea Ridge to the West and the Bluff ridge to the East, Durban as a settlement grew up as an early collection of houses, and later businesses on the northern shore of the Bay (See Fig 4.1). In the mid-nineteenth century, a grid town plan was established and routes to the North, South and West radiated out from

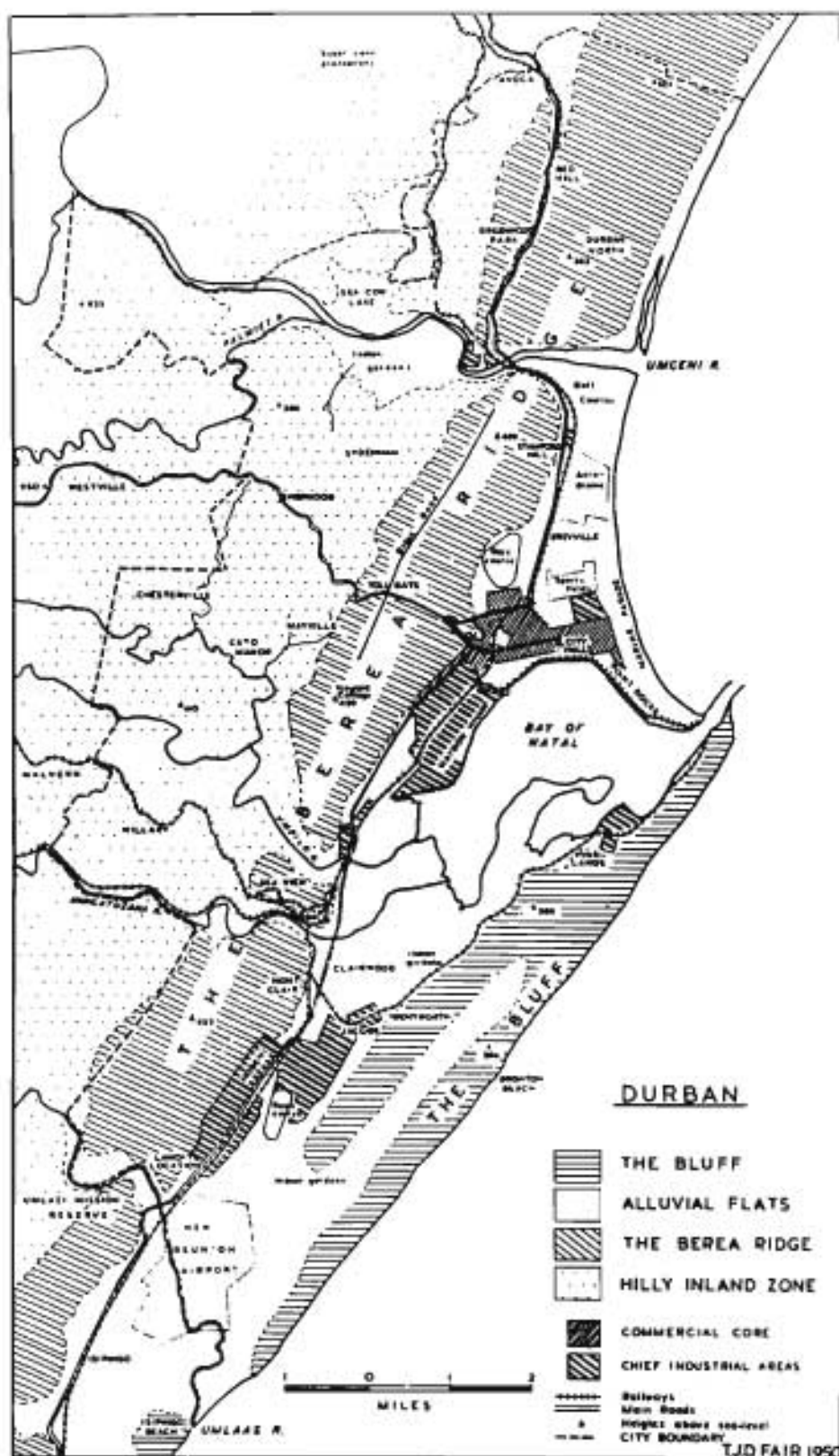


Fig 4.1: The Physical Site of Durban, 1950
Source: University of Natal, 1952

the small urban node. Davies (1963) points out that the future settlement of Durban was influenced by the proclamation of the Inanda and Umlazi African reserves, the survey of the farm grants surrounding the early settlement and the proclamation of the Old Borough of Durban in 1854.¹¹

Although *laissez faire* attitudes existed with regard to spatial development, segregation was a feature of Durban from its earliest formation. As Durban was a white town, constructed by British settlers, the most important segregation trend was the "selective development of European residence upon the most desirable land" including, particularly the elevated land, sea-facing aspects and waterfront locations (Davies, 1963,35).

Other groups, notably, Africans and Indians were either brought in forcibly e.g. the indentured labourers, or through economic pressures and opportunities e.g. African migrant workers and Indian immigrants (Christopher, 1988a). In contrast, the location of black residents occurred in the less desirable and strategic locations, either on low-lying, less accessible or peripheral lands (Davies, 1963). Although Natal originally inherited the British colonial tradition of a colour-blind franchise, by 1869, Africans had no franchise and entered Durban as temporary dwellers living in either barracks or outbuildings. Christopher (1988a) notes that by Union in 1910, Africans were settled throughout the Borough of Durban by 1910 consisted of almost entirely (93.9%) male workers. Fig 4.2 indicates this degree of integration of Africans throughout the Borough. The municipal and Railway compounds, as well as various commercial and industrial firms' compounds, housed Africans in barracks, while the majority were accommodated on their employer's properties. This was purely functional, with no social or political integration into white society by the middle of the century.

While no strict segregatory regulations prevailed quartering Africans into specific areas of Durban, the same was not true of Indians, who were denied the franchise in the 1890's, and were formally discriminated against (Christopher, 1988a). Indentured Indian workers were housed in municipal, railways or private barracks, and by 1910, distinct Indian enclaves of residence and business had emerged in the Old Borough.

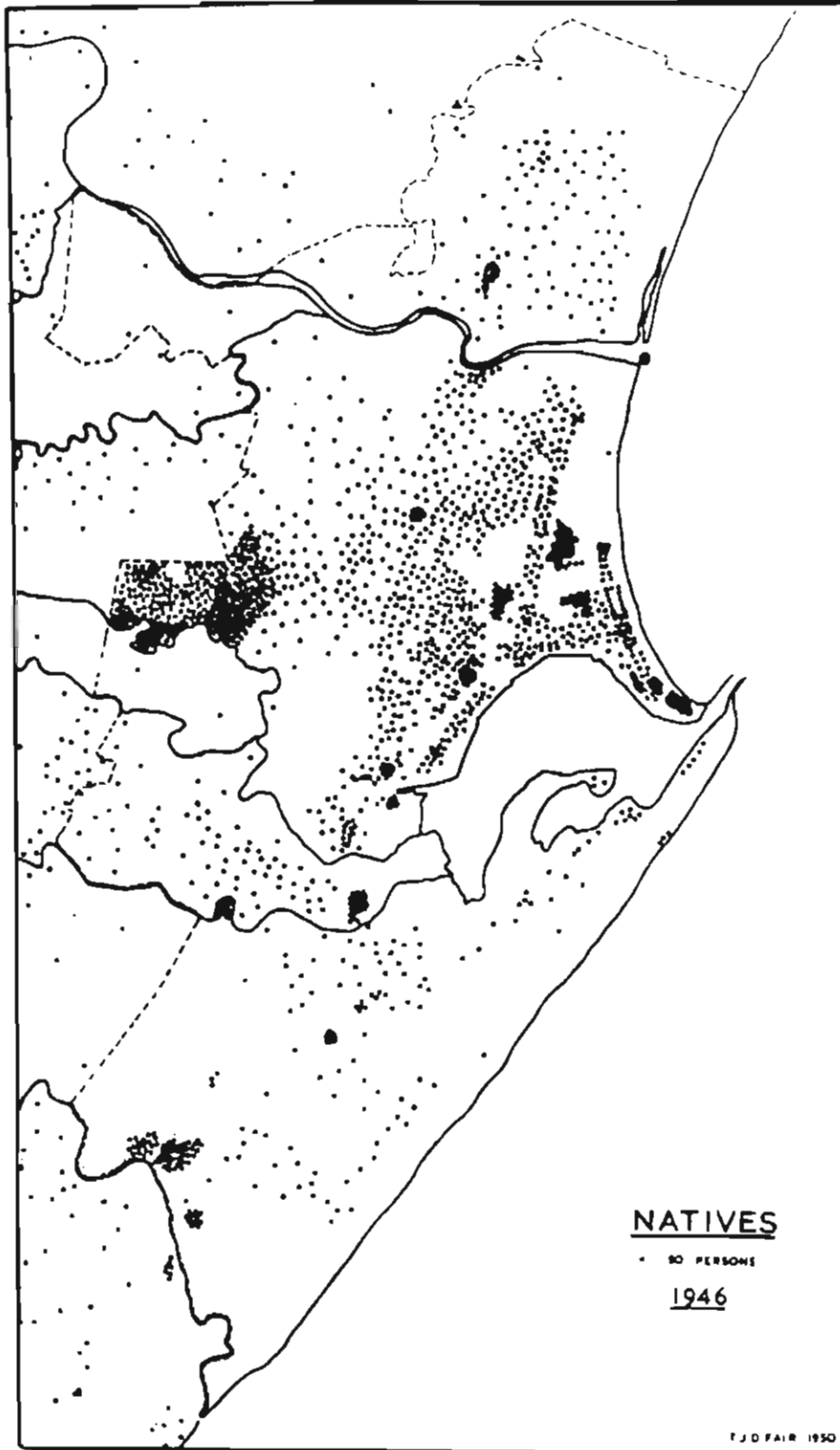


Fig 4.2: African Settlement in Durban, 1946
Source: University of Natal, 1952

In the outer areas, surrounding the Old Borough, early nodes of informal settlement provided a chance of economic survival for low income and unemployed African and Indian families, and African women who had moved to the town. This pattern of settlement was established from the 1860's. However, due to the legislation preventing Africans from owning land in urban areas, land purchases by blacks in the periphery were mainly made by Indians. Thus Fig 4.3 indicates the extent of Indian land ownership.

It is interesting to note that the Indians in Natal were significantly more segregated from whites than any other group in other regions of the country (Christopher, 1988a).

In 1932, the 13 square miles of the Old Borough was extended to 70 square miles when the peripheral zone of the city, known as the Added Areas was incorporated within the Borough (See Fig 4.4). The first aerial photographs of Durban, taken to document the extent of the area over which the Durban City Council had control, were taken in 1931 (See Plate 4.1). These photographs reveal the existence of substantial informal settlement to the south, west and north of the Old Borough. It was the Borough Boundaries Commission of 1930, that first documented the existence of the 'black belt', and proposed the inclusion of these informal areas into the Borough of Durban, in order that they might be controlled.

The settlement of blacks in Durban has therefore always been subject to a range of constraints. While entry into the urban areas by Africans was controlled by influx control legislation, Indians were not legally controlled regarding their migration to the towns. Furthermore, Indians were 'free' to purchase land subject to certain economic and title deed restrictions, while Africans were not able to do so. Fiercely discriminated against, the Indians became quartered into inner city enclaves, or else settled on the periphery, where originally few restrictions and low rates applied. The lack of formal housing and neglect by the Durban City Council, led to the increase in population densities in these areas with time.

Africans also settled in the Old Borough, but in highly controlled locations, such as barracks, domestic quarters or compounds. The periphery of Durban provided a less regulated space where urbanizing Africans could build their own shacks and support themselves via informal activities, particularly after World War II.



Fig 4.3 Indian Landownership in Durban, 1946
Source: University of Natal, 1952



Plate 4.1: Aerial Photograph of Southern Durban, 1931
Source: Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department, Durban.

This section sets out to examine in particular, Indian settlement in Durban prior to removals via the Group Areas Act. The inner city enclaves of Indian settlement and the measures taken to segregate and control these pockets of settlement are examined. In addition, the peripheral areas which emerged after Union are examined. The largest of the settlements in the 'black belt' was Cato Manor, to the west of Durban which was predominantly African. This area is contrasted with Indian settlement in southern Durban. The different measures adopted by the City Council in controlling the growth of each of these informal areas and the poor living conditions that prevailed are also dealt with.

4.3.1 Inner city ethnic enclaves in Durban

Prior to the emergence of the 'black belt', however, there existed from the late nineteenth century, and even much earlier in the older cities of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, growing inner-city mixed race areas in all the larger cities of South Africa (Davies, 1976; Robinson, 1992).¹²

Indian traders, who immigrated to Natal to seek trading opportunities amongst the increasingly substantial number of indentured Indians in the Province, concentrated in central Durban and sought locations in the central area. However, due to antagonism resulting from increasing trade competition with the whites and racial prejudice, they were confined to the north-western area of the Central Business District through the exercise of strict trading laws (Wylie, 1986).

The Dealer's Act No 18 of 1897, gave the Municipal Licensing Officer the power to control Indian trade and the occupation of land to be used for trade. The law effectively linked sanitary concerns with trade by insisting upon sanitary premises. The application of this Act, more stringently and in a blatantly discriminatory manner had the effect of containing trade in the 'Grey Street Complex' by 1910 (Rajah, 1981,49) which was when the Victoria Street Indian market was built in this area (Wylie, 1986). The Chairman of the Durban Chamber of Commerce provided justification for his motivation to refuse Indian merchants trading licenses on the grounds that "equality of opportunity could only be given with equality of living standards" (Meer, 1969,24). Superintendent Alexander of the Police, in fact, strongly recommended in his Report on the Indian population of the Borough in 1889, that "no licenses be given to Indians for any building in either of our three main streets" (Henderson, 1904,139)

Spatial segregation and removals in the Old Borough of Durban was thus ideologically justified in terms of sanitation issues and although not yet formally and comprehensively instituted, was desired by the white settler class.¹³ This was expressed by the Mayor of Durban in 1903:

it would be an advantage to Indians themselves if their business premises and habitations were congregated in a special area (Swanson, 1976).

The laws invoked in reaction to the insanitary conditions and slum environments of the town, served to define a 'utopian vision' of a civilized white western society, and in turn define and negate its antithesis (Clark and Dear, 1984). This provided the basis for legislating against the overcrowded and insanitary living conditions in the inner-city Indian enclaves. This action resulted in a separate central Indian business area and a dual business heart for Durban. It was around the Grey Street complex that Indian traders settled and as their numbers increased, they expanded northwards and westwards into the Greyville and Botanic Gardens areas. Many of these traders were prosperous and bought property in the vicinity of their shops. Fig 4.3 indicates that by the early 1950's the enclave of land to the northwest of the central area of Durban and extending along the northern route (Umgeni Road) was owned by Indians. Fig 4.5 indicates the distribution of Indian population in 1946 as surveyed in the Durban Housing Survey (University of Natal, 1952) clearly indicating the Indian occupation of the inner city enclaves.¹⁴

It was in these central enclaves that attention became focussed on "Durban's slums ... the breeding grounds of disease, crime and despair, made more dangerous by ignorance and neglect" (University of Natal, 1952,341). During the 1930's, legislation was passed to control overcrowded and insanitary slum areas in the inner areas of South African towns and cities.

Whilst the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act provided for the removal of Africans from designated 'white' inner city areas, it was the application of the 1934 Slums Act, which enabled municipalities to effectively deal with the Indian and 'coloured' communities resident in these areas.

Empirical evidence of slum clearance projects undertaken via the application of the Slums Act of 1934, indicates that 'major initiatives' regulating the location of blacks in South African cities, prior to the promulgation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, were implemented by local authorities (Parnell, 1988). Furthermore, it is important to note that the goal of such removals was not simply the upgrading of the residents' living conditions as implied by the application of the Slums Act. Removal of slum conditions was consistently coupled with the goals of commercial and industrial expansion into older inner-city residential zones, and racial segregation (Parnell,

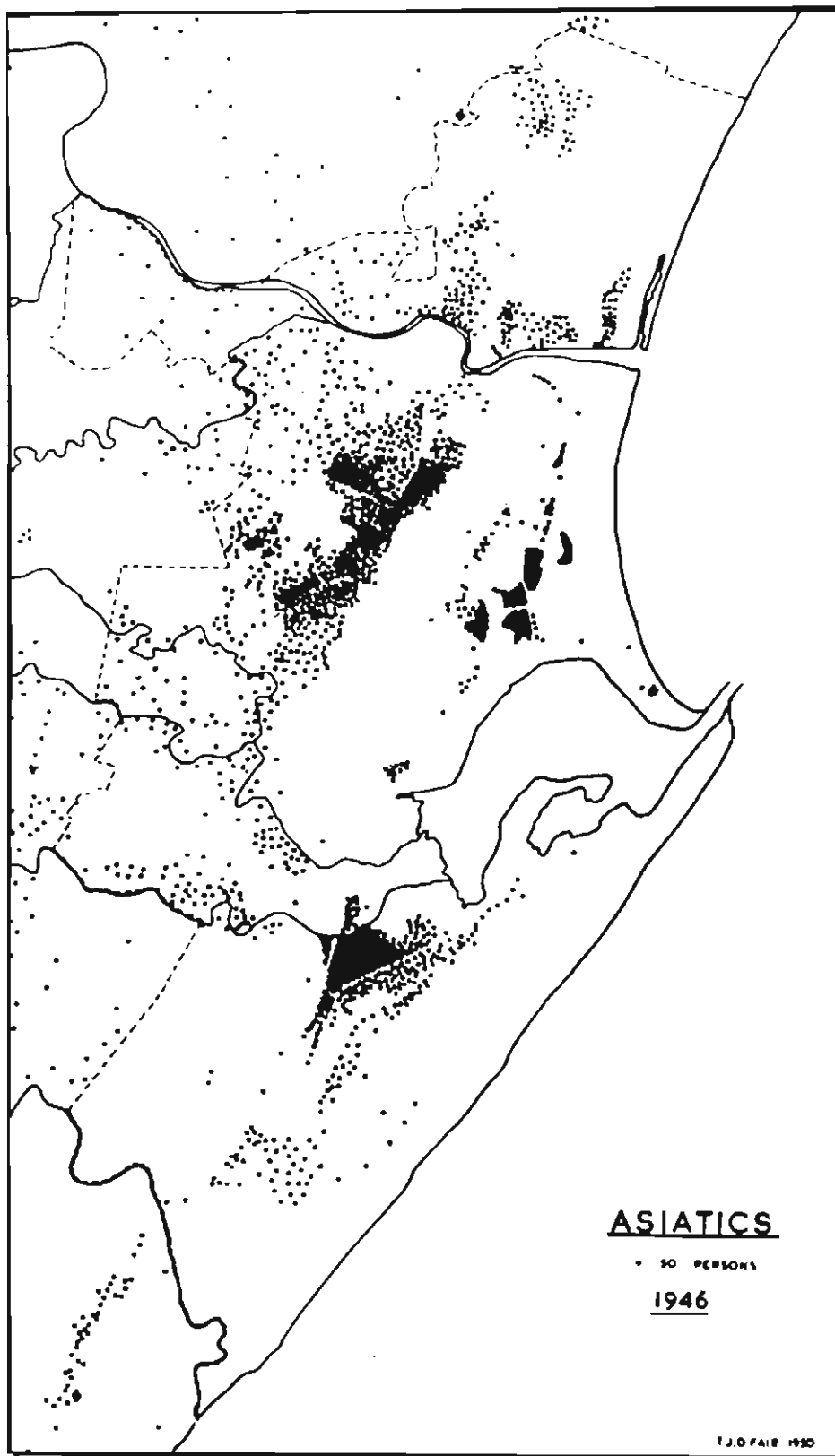


Fig 4.5: Indian Settlement in Durban, 1946
Source: University of Natal, 1952

1988). Thus local authorities implemented slum clearance projects in diverse ways in response to the necessities of local and national economic conditions, and the specificities of local circumstances (Sapire, 1989).¹⁵

Slum clearance of individual properties in the inner areas of Durban was also undertaken through the procedures of the Slums Act, but not on the scale witnessed in Johannesburg (University of Natal, 1952). Section 32 of the Slums Act provided for the definition of 'zones' in the city as 'insanitary', problem areas in which the local authority may have the right to "control, inspect and license premises" (University of Natal, 1952). Within this framework, The Regulations for the Control and Inspection of Premises in defined Zones (1939) (City of Durban)¹⁶ was promulgated with the intention of creating a simpler and more efficient way of clearing up areas in the Old Borough of Durban, than was possible under the Slums Act (University of Natal, 1952).

Immediately following the promulgation of this legislation, the DCC zoned seven congested zones in the Old Borough of Durban. These areas lay between the 'white CBD' and the Berea, and consisted of old buildings, once occupied by whites and now by Indians and coloureds (University of Natal, 1952,345). Fig 4.6 maps the slum zones declared in Durban in the late 1930's, showing that they were situated around the Indian business district and extending in patches northwards into Greyville and southwards adjacent to the industrial harbour area.¹⁷

Whilst it was possible to upgrade the water supplies, sanitation and drainage in defined zones via this legislation, the basic lack of alternative housing, a requirement of the Slums Act, prevented the application of these provincial regulations for the purposes of reducing overcrowding and slum housing conditions.¹⁸

In inner Durban, from the late 1930's and early forties, Indian ownership and occupation of housing spread out of the inner-city enclaves and 'penetrated' the white residential areas on the lower slopes of the Berea (Russell, 1946). It was this gradual integration of the races, that fuelled fierce anti-Indian sentiments, and finally led to national legislation curtailing the Indian purchase of white property (Maharaj, 1992). These events in Durban laid the foundation and stimulated the formulation of the universal racial zoning proposals of the Group Areas Act.

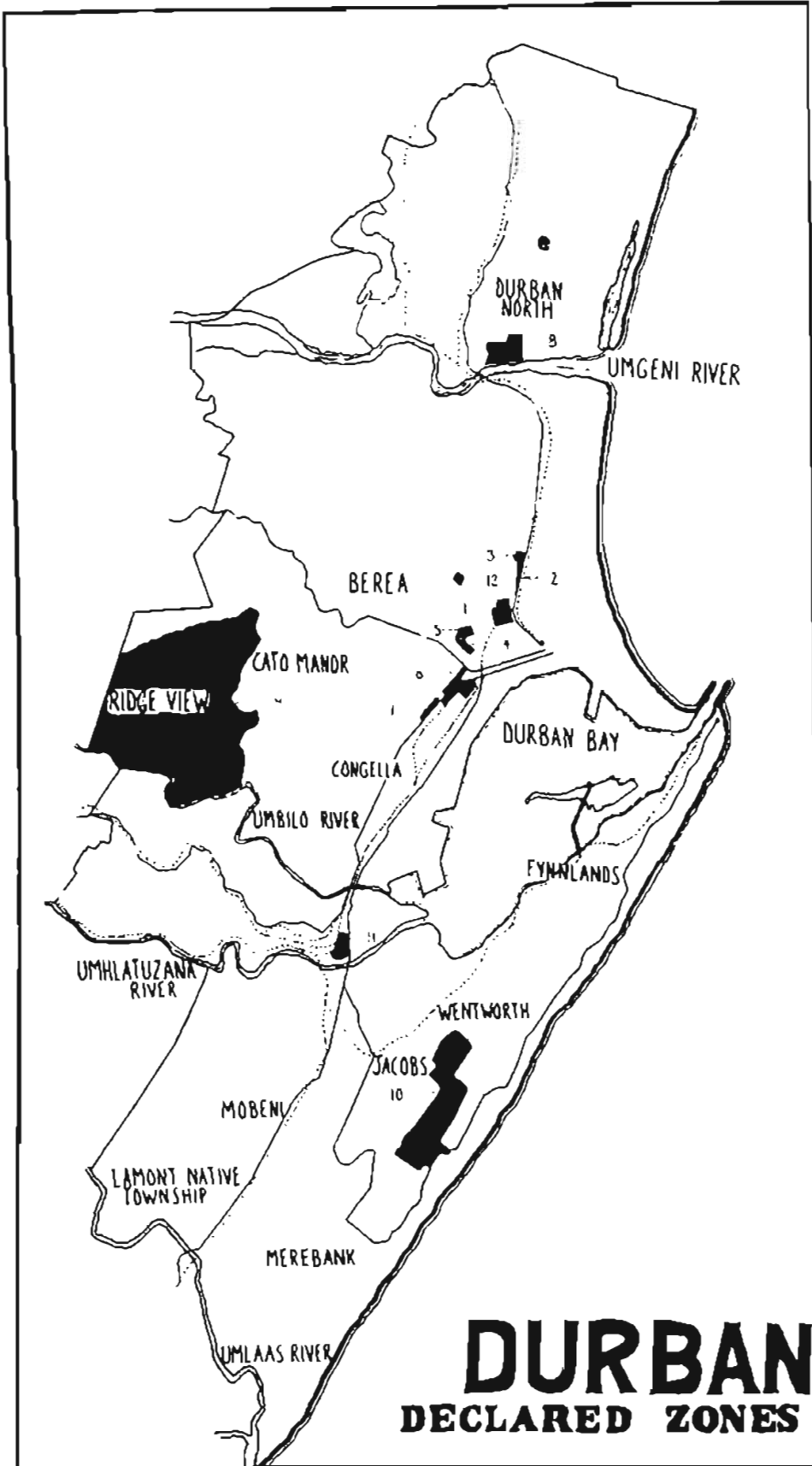


Fig 4.6: Declared Slum Zones in Durban, 1939
 Source: University of Natal, 1952

It was with the passing of the Group Areas Act that the inner city Indian areas of Durban were finally designated white areas. Only the residential flats above the shops in Grey Street managed to slip through the net of the Group Areas removals and remain a residential enclave (Rajah, 1981).

4.3.2 *The 'black belt' of Durban*

The 'black belt' of informal settlement around Durban was a direct result of the lack of provision of housing for blacks by the local authority, coupled with legislation designed to prevent Africans from purchasing land and settling in the white towns, and to prevent Indians from purchasing central land outside specific Indian areas. While Indians began to settle around nodes on the periphery in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was only after industrialization in the 1920's that Africans began to settle in these areas in significant numbers. Davies (1976) notes that with the inclusion of the 'Added Areas' - i.e. the periphery - to the Borough of Durban in 1932, Durban's population increased dramatically. The Indian land ownership map of 1951 (See Fig 4.3) reveals a marked ring of Indian settlement around the Old Borough with significant purchases of land by Indians by this stage. Fig 4. 5 further graphically illustrates the encirclement of the Old Borough by Indian settlement by 1946.

It is instructive to compare two of the most prominent nodes of settlement within the 'black belt', notably Cato Manor and the southern corridor of Durban¹⁹ in order to reveal the differential response of the DCC to African and Indian informal settlements.

Various sources document the rapid increase in number and density of population in Cato Manor from the 1930's (Maasdorp and Humphreys, 1977). The Health Enquiry Commission indicated that in 1932, at the time of incorporation, there were only a few shacks in Booth and Blackhurst Road in Cato Manor, but this figure had rocketed to 3000 'hovels' by 1944. Fig 4.5 indicates that Cato Manor to the West of Durban was a 'Declared Zone' in terms of the Slums Act (University of Natal, 1952,351). In this zone, a survey undertaken by the University of Natal indicates that large numbers of Africans were living

in seriously overcrowded shacks and under primitive conditions, which tempt typhoid fever, dysentery, typhus and tuberculosis... (and) acute amoebic dysentery is widespread (University of Natal, 1952,356).

In the 1940's, Cato Manor had emerged as the largest predominantly African shack settlement in Durban as African urbanization had increased rapidly after the Second World War. Fig 4.6 indicates the classification of Cato Manor as the largest slum zone by this stage.

The creation of the formal townships of Lamontville in 1934 (Torr, 1987) and Chesterville in 1946, (Maylam, 1983a) (See Fig 4.6) funded through the 'Durban System' of 'native' administration, were grossly inadequate to house the urban African population. By 1948, approximately 27 000 Africans were reported to be living in the peripheral shack areas, particularly Cato Manor, "under grossly insanitary conditions" (University of Natal, 1952,347). Fig 4.2 graphically indicates the concentration of Africans in the peripheral area of Cato Manor to the west of the town.

The Durban Health Enquiry Commission of 1944 - the Wadley Commission - concluded that the slum areas of Durban, including both Cato Manor and southern Durban, with their "ill-constructed, dilapidated, unhygienic hovels" which were grossly overcrowded with unsatisfactory water supplies, drainage and sanitation, were a grave threat to the health of Durban (University of Natal, 1952,343). Despite the curtailment of African entry into Durban via the 1923 Natives (Urban Area) Act and its amendments, the number of Africans in Cato Manor had almost doubled by 1950, with a further deterioration of the general situation. Attracted by the increased demand for labour in industry, and unable to sustain themselves in the rural areas, there was a large increase in the urbanward movement of Africans after the war. The lack of formal accommodation and the inability to lease land close to the central urban area, led the Africans to Cato Manor. Here Indian landowners rented out parcels of land cheaply and shacks could be erected at low cost. A protracted battle ensued between the DCC and landlords to force the latter to provide water and basic sanitation, but to little avail.

Edwards (1989) notes that in the late 1940's, the situation in the Cato Manor shack settlement had become far more complex, with tenants sub-letting on a larger scale,²⁰ and so increasing the density of settlement in this area.

So rapid was the growth of the African shack settlement at Cato Manor that in the Mayor's Minute of 1948, the following statement was made:

Unless concerted measures, including necessary legislation, are taken to stop shack building, and gradually to eliminate the existing settlements, the time is not far distant when the Howard University College will be lapped by a very large shack area against which it will stand as a monument to the failure of modern civilization to find an answer to the problem of Native housing" (University of Natal, 1952,361).

Cato Manor thus represented a 'danger' to the future well-being of Durban. It was here that 'easily made supplies of shimiyane²¹ were in demand undermining the formation of stable and healthy homes (University of Natal, 1952). Furthermore, it was perceived that widespread sexual promiscuity was the standard of social behaviour of urban Africans, and that "children ... and boys spend much of their time in games of chance with dice and cards" (University of Natal, 1952,373). It was the common conception that older youths 'won't work' and were drawn into gangs, interspersed with visits to the 'skokiaan queen'.²² The Medical Officer of Health for Durban in his 1950 report noted that the shack settlements were going to 'crack-up' - physically, with epidemics, and 'emotionally' with repeated disturbances such as the political race riots of 1949.²³ Maylam (1983a) notes that the DCC was preoccupied with African shacks and their control and/or demolition, and paid little attention to the large Indian settlements to the south. Cato Manor was a 'threat' to white safety, a health hazard and a centre of crime and vice (Maylam, 1983a). The perception and control of the Indian shack settlements by the Durban City Council was of a very different kind.

Historically, Durban's 'black belt' (Maylam, 1983a), consisted of a large population of predominantly low-income Indians living as tenants on both privately-owned and state land in acutely poor living environments.²⁴ The largest concentration of this community lay to the south of the city, in a large area focussed on the historically Indian node of Clairwood (University of Natal, 1952; Maylam, 1983a).²⁵ (See Fig 4.4)²⁶ This area had become the focus of Indian urbanization since the turn of the century, when indentured Indians on completing their contracts, moved to the urban areas to seek opportunities in other sectors of the urban economy (Swan, 1984). The cheapest solution to the problem of gaining access to urban land, lay in locating in the peripheral areas of the city. This location was highly suitable for combining residential land-use with small-scale agricultural or petty productive activities, due to the lack of restrictive municipal regulations, and the ample supply of flat alluvial land. It was the in Clairwood area that the early pioneer families first located, the more successful of whom purchased properties in the emerging node of Clairwood.

Clairwood, was focussed on what was originally an outspan node to the south of Durban which grew into a flourishing commercial area, becoming the second largest Indian trading area in Durban to the centrally located Grey Street area (Rajah, 1981). The residential component of Clairwood and District grew up around this node and was considered by the local population as a communal space with the node of Clairwood itself as the 'heart.' It was here that the major religious, educational, commercial and social institutions of the local community were located. A further stabilizing factor was that much land in Clairwood was held in private tenure by Indian land-owners (Scott, 1987). Although the surrounding shack settlements were established on property leased from the state, they were nevertheless considered part of the area and had strong communal links with the older core (Scott, 1988).

Long periods of residence by Indian families in the southern area of Durban, their self-sufficiency in social, religious and cultural spheres and the stability of this community gave rise to a population which presented no threat to the municipality in terms of a 'dangerous class'. As early as 1903, the Indian Opinion²⁷ noted that the Indian was acknowledged in the colony as loyal, sober, industrious and law-abiding and an orderly member of society.

Even though informal economic activities, illegal building practices and insanitary conditions prevailed in the 'slums' of southern Durban, they were of small concern to the municipal authorities compared with the perception of the problems emerging in the African shack settlement at Cato Manor.

Up until the Group Areas Act, the Durban City Council faced the same problem as other local authorities in South Africa, that of a narrow fiscal base, and the antipathy of both white ratepayers and industrial capital towards the subsidization of permanent housing for Africans, Indians and coloureds (Sapire, 1989). It was this factor, combined with the policy of the DCC of absolute neglect of Indian housing and living conditions, that had led to the 'making' of the Indian slums of Durban.

The burgeoning of informal settlements on the peripheries of cities in the 1940's, was envisaged by local authorities as a problem that could only be solved by the construction of formal controlled accommodation. A pre-war programme of "gradual slum clearance and re-housing (which) was integrated with a scheme of reserving certain areas for Europeans, Indians, Coloured and

Natives” (University of Natal, 1952,343)²⁸ had been planned in Durban. However, the interruption of the war; the problem of clearing up the Added Areas; the shortage of staff, materials and land; as well as objections by ratepayers regarding the financing of the programme, caused considerable delays.

By 1943, three outer areas were defined as slum zones, namely the northern bank of the Umgeni, Cato Manor, and Happy Valley on the Bluff. Karim Lane in the South Coast Junction was declared a slum in 1944 (Department of Economics, 1952). It is most interesting to observe in Fig 4.6 of the Declared Slum Zones, that Happy Valley - an African shack settlement on the Bluff - was declared as a slum, and yet very little else of the southern area was likewise classified, apart from Karim Lane which was required for industry. Yet, the same poor environmental conditions existed throughout most of these area.

Despite the generally poor environmental conditions in the ‘black belt’, Cato Manor, a predominantly African ‘slum’ became of increasing concern to the municipal authorities. This was due to the unregulated and illegal nature of the social and economic activities characterizing this area, and the emergence of political and social groupings which were antithetical to what was considered the ‘right kind of urban order’ (Edwards, 1989).

Although the DCC sought to alleviate the problem of slums and shacks through a formal housing policy, in the mid-1940’s,²⁹ the seriousness of the health problems in Cato Manor, forced the Council into a compromising position. Unable to demolish shacks without the provision of alternative accommodation (Maylam, 1983a,421) and recognizing their inability to provide accommodation, the DCC took measures to provide temporary sanitary improvements in these areas, “even if only as a palliative” (University of Natal, 1952,347).

Council strategy was aimed at concentrating and controlling shack development in Cato Manor by the surveying and ‘pegging’ of shacks to prevent the incursion of further shackdwellers into various areas, and legislating that all landowners upon whose land the shackdwellers were resident, be forced to supply adequate water and sanitary services (Maylam, 1983b). These strategies failed, since shack building activities soon transferred to areas outside the control of the DCC. Stadler (1979) notes the same process of ‘shack-shifting’ in Johannesburg.

The Cato Manor Emergency Camp of 1952, was an interim measure aimed at alleviating the insanitary conditions that prevailed in this vast shack settlement west of the city³⁰ (Maylam, 1983b).³¹ Stadler (1979,37) in describing the removal process in Johannesburg, aptly crystallizes the major features of early attempts to control peripheral shack development in South African cities:

...like the birds in a cornfield (the shack dwellers) move from one part of the field to another, but eventually they were netted and caged, first in the emergency camp, and eventually absorbed into the housing schemes developed by local and central government.

Slum clearance and the subsequent removal of slum dwellers in three suburbs of Johannesburg in the 1930's, by the Johannesburg City Council, via the application of the Slums Act, was undertaken for the purposes of industrial expansion, the eradication of insanitary conditions and the enforcement of residential segregation (Parnell, 1988). Similarly, segregation in Brakpan in the 1920's was called for due to the overcrowding and insanitary conditions in the African informal areas, and white working class fears of a permanent and competitive African workforce (Sapire, 1989).

Both Sapire (1989) and Parnell (1988) document municipal concerns with the high level of crime in the African slum areas and the necessity to control the 'dangerous classes'. Parnell (1988) notes that Prospect Township had been for many years a menace to the Health and Police Departments of the Borough, whilst Sapire (1989) stresses the Brakpan Municipality's view that formal accommodation in a 'native location' would provide the Africans with the opportunity to become 'civilized' and reform their criminal tendencies.

It is proposed here that the Indian community in Durban presented a threefold threat to the dominant whites. Firstly, with economic competition in a local economy which was up until the 1920's, based on commercial capitalism. Secondly, as subjects of the British Empire in the colonial period, the Indians demanded political equality, which persisted at a national level giving rise to sharp political competition in Durban where the majority of Indians were settled. Thirdly, the rapidly increasing Indian urban population represented a threat to the white occupation of strategic spaces in the city. Coupled with this competition and an enduring antagonism on the part of the whites towards the Indian population, who were considered as an alien stranger class, residential segregation and slum clearance of Indian informal areas was undertaken to secure white dominance of urban space, to remove insanitary conditions and to allow for industrial expansion. At no time was the segregation of Indians in Durban linked to the white fears of the criminality and immorality associated with African slum areas.

4.3.3 From the segregated to the apartheid City

Settlement in Durban has from the very earliest period been characterized by racial segregation originating in imperial conceptions of white dominance, and developed and transformed by colonial policies. Historically, Durban shows evidence of the highest segregation indices in the country, and “rhetoric and reality” very practically coincided by 1910 (Christopher, 1988,168), particularly between Indians and whites. Although permissively applied in a series of ad hoc policies, segregation had resulted in the emergence of a marked spatial pattern of racial separation in the Borough of Durban by the mid-century. The inner urban areas were predominantly white with an emerging peripheral black belt. However, the towns of Natal and South Africa were to become radically altered through the national policy of segregation that was ushered in during the apartheid era (Christopher, 1988a).

In order to achieve and maintain segregation in the first half of the century, various removal strategies were implemented in both the inner city and periphery of Durban. Initially, before the expansion of the Old Borough, attention was focussed on the inner city enclaves which impinged on the white residential areas of the Berea and the worst ‘slums’ in these areas were eradicated via sanitary legislation. By 1946, legislation was in place to prevent Indians buying land in parts of the inner city other than those already designated for Indians.

Upon the expansion of Durban, the periphery became important as an area of industrial and residential expansion. Attempts were then made to contain and control the spread of informal settlements that were already well established in the ‘black belt’ and a policy to remove this population was institutionalized.

Lodge (1981,93), contends that 1948 was a turning point in the removal process which became from henceforth a “much wider social process in which many old-established inner-city African communities were uprooted and reconstructed under the supervision of the authorities”. Relocation of vast numbers

of Africans, Indians and coloureds from both inner-city areas and peripheral shack settlements formed the basis of the transformation of the South African city from a 'segregated city' to an 'apartheid city' (Davies, 1976). Fig 4.7 shows the partition of Durban into Group Areas in 1958.

It is important to note at this juncture that apartheid removals were prefigured by and based on local segregatory initiatives that had already commenced in the 1930's and 1940's (McCarthy, 1986; Parnell, 1988; Maharaj, 1992). However, the greatly increased scale of removals and their implementation as part of a comprehensive national strategy was only made possible by the promulgation of national legislation and the availability of financial resources from the national government. Concomitant with, and a necessary condition for removals, was the construction of large-scale state-administered townships as the racially segregated destinations of persons disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950.

Although the removals of Africans dominated the transition from 'segregated' to 'apartheid' city (Platsky and Walker, 1985; Surplus People's Project, 1983), in the late fifties and 1960's, large numbers of Indian and 'coloured' people were also subjected to the upheavals and social disorientation resulting from this process. Forced removals undertaken in the implementation of apartheid policy commenced in the 1950's until the official curtailment of this process with the introduction of the new urbanization policy instituted in 1986.³²

It is within this larger context of segregatory legislation and racial zoning that the removal of approximately 40 000 people from the southern corridor of Durban must be viewed. Although contributing to the national government's goal of creating a racially zoned city,³³ the majority of removals³⁴ were undertaken by the local authority with the express goal of providing land for industrial purposes³⁵ and related infrastructural improvements³⁶ and were enabled by provincial and local legislation rather than the Group Areas Act of 1950.

However, the outcome of the removal programme instituted and implemented by the local authority in Durban formed part of the larger process of removals in terms of the Group Areas Act and led to an apartheid city which very closely resembles the Racial Zoning Plan proposed by the Durban City Engineer's Department in 1944.

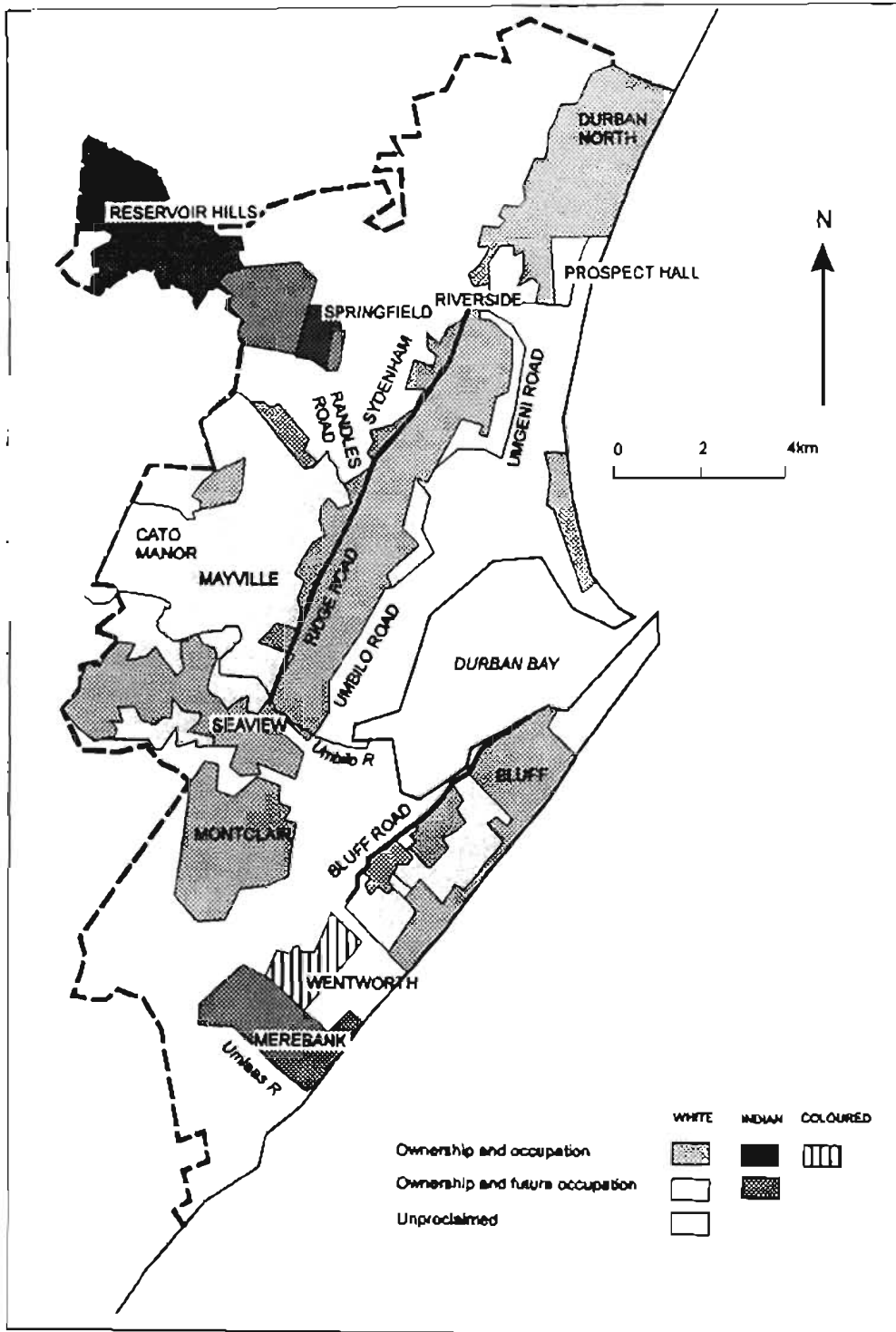


Fig 4.7: Group Areas Proclamations in Durban, 1958
 Source: Maharaj, 1992

4.6 Conclusion

African urbanization throughout the twentieth century was an ongoing process, accelerating towards the middle of the century in response to the decreasing ability of the African reserves to support their rural populations, and the demands of the growing industrial economy. It is also evident that urbanization in southern Africa has been dominated by the movement of Africans from the pre-capitalist hinterlands to the urban nodes of capitalist production. The underdevelopment of the reserves created the preconditions for an urbanward movement of very large numbers of men and women who were unable to survive in these impoverished localities. The African male migrant was given priority of access to urban areas in state urban policy to fulfil the labour requirements of the growing industrial economy. Consequently, from very early in the century, women were constrained from entering the urban economy because their presence would lead to a permanent social base in the city.

Despite the existence of a vast network of interlocking restrictions governing the entry of African men and women into the city, these controls were unable to 'stem the flow' and control the repeated surges of African immigrants to the towns. Bonner and Lodge (1989,2) note that these migrants "seeped into every pocket of unprotected illegal space engendering fears among the white working class and middle class urban dwellers that they were being 'swamped in an engulfing tide'".

Sapire (1989,141) with reference to African urbanization and patterns of settlement, contends that the 'pace, timing and nature' of this process "varied regionally according to local patterns of economic development, both in the towns and their immediate hinterlands". Furthermore, she proposes that the emergence of urban segregatory mechanisms too was a product of local politics, labour needs and the geography of land ownership, rather than 'overall government policy' (Sapire, 1989). The pattern of Indian settlement in Durban and the related segregatory measures created by the municipal authority of Durban have resonance with the notion of the regional specificity of both black urban settlement patterns and the evolution of measures of segregation. Just as Brakpan's "economic, social and political characteristics determined the nature and contours of African settlement" in the town, so in Durban, the policies of the local authority towards the Indian community, and the reliance on an emerging industrial sector focussed around the port gave rise to the evolution of specific local policies of racial zoning and patterns of Indian settlement in the Durban area (Sapire, 1989,141).

Legislation was also based on restrictive clauses that favoured European norms and standards, particularly with regard to sanitation, health and settlement density, and served to penalize and illegitimise non-western practices.

The Indians were conceptualized as a temporary and separate community and separate spaces were created for their occupation preferably distant from the dominant white urban core and contained in specific areas. The visible signs of such differences, the poverty, poor housing and insanitary living conditions were used as ideological justifications for such separation, achieved through licensing and sanitary laws enforced by local police forces.

Able to purchase land freely until the 1940's, the Indian community in Durban had established itself firmly in the inner city enclaves and in a broad belt around what was the Old Borough of Durban. Despite attempts to remove many families from both these zones via the Slums Act, the general pattern remained as such. From the 1940's, the population density in the peripheral areas intensified due to both in-migration and natural increase, and conditions deteriorated, as access to space and facilities became more difficult.

The growth of the inner-city enclaves of Indian settlement westwards into the white residential areas of the lower Berea slopes, sparked off a major controversy which fuelled the DCC to institute a Racial Zoning Plan to segregate the race groups throughout Durban. It was this conflict over space in inner Durban, and the measures that were adopted to deal with 'Indian Penetration' into the lower Berea, that formed the blueprint for apartheid legislation. This legislation had the effect of acting retrogressively to simplify and racially cleanse the city to produce a city of distinct and exclusive racial zones with no integration.

It is necessary however, to examine the early settlement of an Indian community in southern Durban, which occurred long before Durban reached this stage of institutionalized and comprehensive racial segregation. Chapter 5 and 6 focus on the early pioneer Indian settlers who made their way to southern Durban to make a better life for themselves upon the termination of their indentures.

The paucity of concrete research on specific Indian communities inspires an interest in such unexamined geographies and histories. The story of the southern Durban Indian community awaits to be told. Informed by the geohistorical analysis of the underlying structures of African urbanization, community formation and removals, the aim is to 'construct a text' which will link the specific and intimate details of this specific locale to the 'impersonal systems that abstractly affect the local community' (Sayer, 1989,272) and are integrally constitutive of life within the locality.

The empirical problem addressed here is firstly, to construct an account or narrative of the emergence of a particular historical community and how the structural disabilities suffered by Indians in their experiences of indenture and gaining access to this strategic urban space was expressed in the process of urban community formation. The narrative seeks to account for the creation of an informal Indian area in Durban which was characterized as a slum but whose configuration was an expression of the historical and cultural contingencies brought to bear via the imprint of Indian cultural and social inheritance. The second part of the story, recounted in Chapters 7-9, presents the process of decline and eventual removal of the majority of the Indian community in southern Durban, the means and ends of which were tailored to control and cope with a community which had expressed its defence of space in a culturally specific manner.

Endnotes

1. Small numbers of Indian migrants moved into the towns in the hinterland of Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, before Union in 1910 (Bhana and Pachai, 1984).
2. The demise of independent Indian sugar farming by the 1960's contributed to the urbanward movement of Indians throughout the twentieth century (Freund 1994).
3. Examples of these small scale productive activities include the activities of the cigar-maker, the silversmith, the tailor, and the cabinet-maker.
4. Despite emigration and repatriation, the Indian population growth rate in 1936, was 37 per 1000 birth rate as against the white rate of 20 per 1000 (Burrows, 1943).
5. Daily News, 9/11/1993.
6. van Onselen (1982) documents cases of the small minority of migrants who were initially able to undertake various independent operations.
7. Although aiming to systematize and regulate labour allocation on a country-wide basis, the implementation of this law was left to the specific interests of individual local authorities.
8. Within these systems women were subordinate to men and subject to a wide range of ideological and material controls within the rural homestead (Bozzoli, 1983).

9. Eales (1989) maintains that the desire of the Johannesburg Council to clear slums was not because they housed illegal residents, nor that they were insanitary and characterized by criminality, but rather that the slums were antithetical to the notion of a disciplined labour force.
10. However, this was not rigorously enforced by local authorities but had been introduced because of the increasing competition that African women posed to the municipal beerhalls, and the conception that African women were inherently immoral.
11. The boundaries of the Old Borough were the Umgeni River to the north, Ridge Road to the west and the Umbilo River to the south.
12. District 6 and Mowbray in Cape Town (Western, 1981); the Greyville area of Durban (Rajah, 1981), and Sophiatown in Johannesburg (Lodge, 1981) are but a few of the older historically significant ethnic cores.
13. When the bubonic plague reached Durban in 1903, Henderson (1904, 116), reports that the Public Health Act made it possible "to order the demolition of the hovels in Bamboo Square which had for so many years been a serious menace to the public health of the borough".
14. Although the Mayors of the three largest Boroughs in the colony unsuccessfully petitioned the Colonial Secretary for legislation to curb the purchase of urban property by Indians, there was no formal institutionalized containment of Indians spatially until after World War I (Palmer, 1956; Rajah, 1981).
15. Parnell (1988) documents the existence of mixed race inner-city slums in Johannesburg in the 1920's and 1930's and the variety of strategies employed in their removal.
16. Provincial Notice 546 of 1939.
17. The zones indicated in Fig 4.6 are:
 - Z1- The Alice Street-Carlisle Street neighbourhood (a portion of the Indian CBD).
 - Z2- Ascot Street and Raleigh Street to the railway (the area known as Block AK)
 - Z3- Kent Road to Stamford Hill Road and its junction with Umgeni Road (lower Berea slopes).
 - Z4 - The Lancers Road - Wills Road area.
 - Z5 - Warwick Ave, Leathern and Old Dutch Road (adjacent the Indian CBD).
 - Z6 - Canada Road - Gale Street neighbourhood.
 - Z7 - Umbilo Road - Dalton Road area.
18. In addition to Slum Clearance Zoning under the Slums Act, a number of other legislative measures existed that the local authority of Durban could apply through its various apparatuses, to control buildings unfit for habitation, namely, the Durban Public Health By-Laws; the Local Government Ordinance (21 of 1942); and the Durban Extended Powers Ordinance (21 of 1949). War Measure 31 of 1944 gave powers to the courts to undertake similar measures (University of Natal, 1952).
19. This area was known as 'South Coast Junction' as it was originally a Health Board area of that name. Later it became known as Clairwood and District.
20. Edwards (1989) gives the example of the area of Newtown, which developed in 1948, where 887 Africans lived in 640 rooms in 112 shacks.
21. African beer
22. Women who run illegal beer taverns.

23. In 1949, racial rioting between Africans and Indians occurred centred on Cato Manor, but also affecting other parts of Durban. The outcome was the death of 87 Africans, 50 Indians and 1 White (Maylam, 1983a).
24. In other South African cities, prior to 1950, Indian residents were primarily located in the inner city areas.
25. Prior to incorporation into Durban in 1931, southern Durban had been administered by the South Coast Junction Local Health Committee (Torr, 1987).
26. The inland-facing slopes of the Berea Ridge at Springfield, Brickfield, Puntans Hill, Overport, Sydenham and Mayville, as well as along the Umgeni River, formed a band of concentrated Indian settlement.
27. Indian Opinion, 25/6/1903.
28. The emergence and implementation of Durban's Race Zoning Policy are detailed in Chapter 8.
29. The MOH's report to the Durban Health Enquiry Commission of 1944 (the Wadley Commission) stated that, had the DCC strictly prevented the erection of illegal dwellings as it had resolved to do so in April, 1935, then basic sanitary protection and control would have been established before the war-time influx of Africans (University of Natal, 1952).
30. In August 1951, the DCC obtained the government's approval to expropriate 450 acres in Cato Manor for the emergency camp, where "municipally provided services were to be installed - communal water points, water-borne sewerage, rubbish removal service, roads, and street lighting" (University of Natal, 1952,383).
31. The rapid expansion of shack populations in both Durban and Johannesburg in the late 1940's, elicited similar responses from the local state in the construction of 'emergency camps'. The Moroko and Jabavu emergency 'breeze block' camps were constructed in the south-west of Johannesburg (Stadler, 1979). Such ad hoc measures were instituted by these two large local authorities indicating their inability to cope financially with the shack problem via a long term plan.
32. However, many resource and infrastructural development projects since then have caused the removal of blacks in a manner which links these removals to politically based forced removals since the affected communities are usually black and have been highly disadvantaged materially and spiritually in the process (Scott and Diab, 1989).
33. It must be remembered that the national policy of racial zoning had its origin in the policies and strategies of the local state in Durban regarding the segregation of whites and Indians on the Berea in Durban (See Chapter 3).
34. Removals in southern Durban forms the content of Chapter 10.
35. The process of rezoning of land for industrial purposes is expanded upon in Chapter 9.
36. The improvement of infrastructure in southern Durban is described in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5

THE SPATIAL CO-ORDINATES OF CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT: THE EMERGENCE OF A SENSE OF PLACE

5.1 Introduction

Places are physical locations that must possess significance for people (Cosgrove, 1989). The goal of this chapter is to show what significance southern Durban had for the white colonists living in Durban in the colonial era, and how they accordingly appropriated and charted this zone in colonial space. The chapter then proceeds to portray how the Indian settlers who pioneered southern Durban took possession of Clairwood and District, and created their own unique place. As a subject group in colonial society, they were to settle in a space that had already been subjected to the ordering system of the dominant group in that society. It is revealed here that the Indian settlers rewrote the text¹ in their own cultural grammar and within the material constraints imposed upon such a subject group. Chapter 5 thus provides a prelude to Chapter 6 which focuses on the emergence of an Indian community to the south of Durban.

As part of the colony of Natal, southern Durban lay adjacent to the main town of the colony but suffered from severe physical disabilities deterring white settlement and economic activities. It was thus viewed from the 'outside' by the colonial officials and settlers, whose attention was focussed on affairs and events within the Borough boundaries. The 'Old' Borough boundaries extended from the Umgeni River in the north, along the Berea Ridge in the West, to the Umbilo River in the south, with the Indian Ocean to the east (See Fig 5.1). Chapter 5, therefore commences with a portrayal of southern Durban from the white settlers' perspective, that is, as part of the surrounding landscape of Durban - "something seen, viewed from beyond it" (Cosgrove, 1989,104).

The 'landscape' of southern Durban is interpreted here as a 'pictorial image', drawn on colonial maps, painted on canvas, inscribed on deeds in the Deeds Office, and evident in the place names. This text was the product of a particular British colonial 'way of seeing and representing'. The images of the landscape of southern Durban created by the British settlers in the nineteenth century reconstituted southern Durban to suit the needs of a colonial society seeking to establish itself and take control in an alien and threatening context. The problem of establishing political

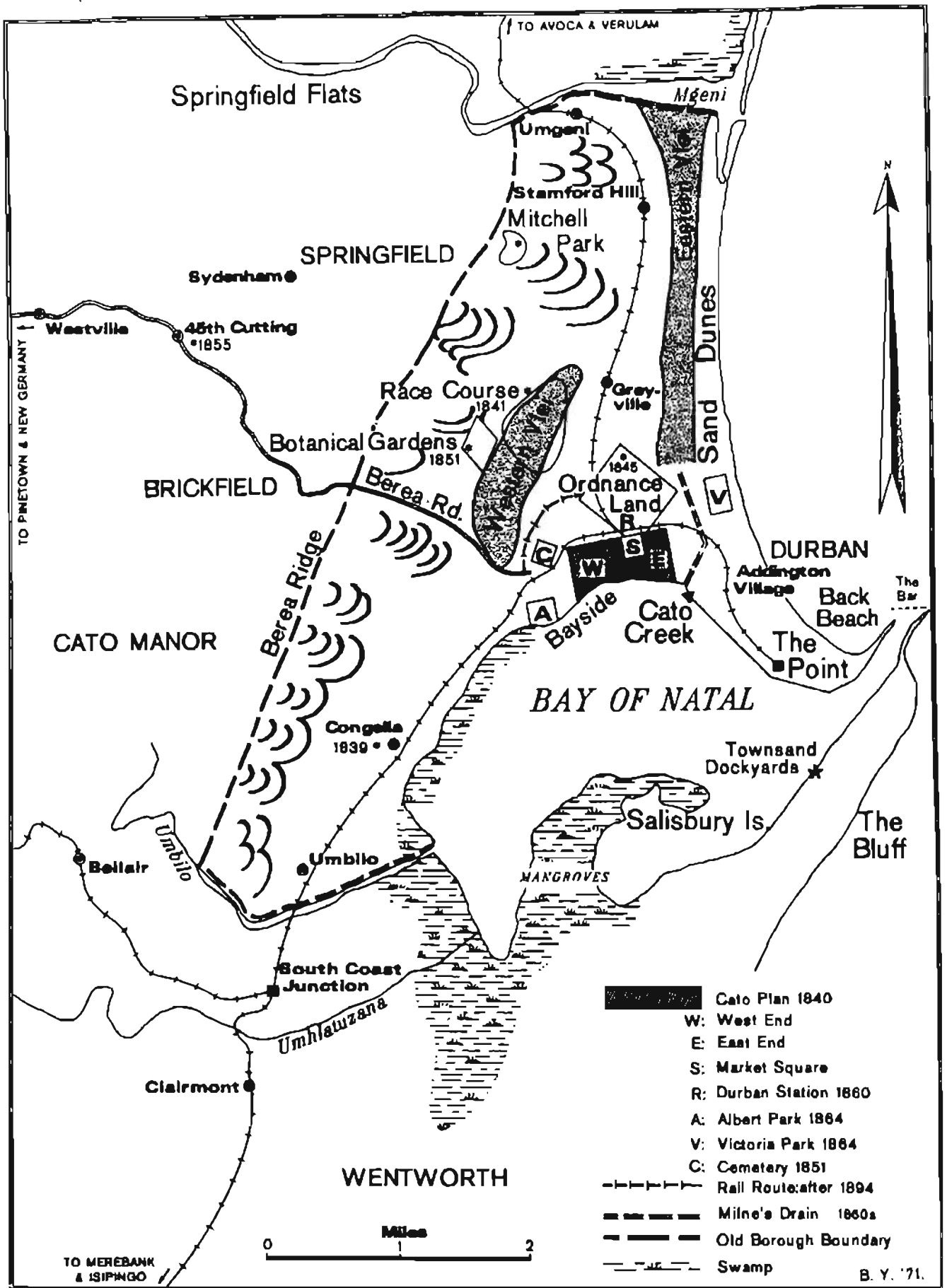


Fig 5.1: The Old Borough of Durban, 1860

Source: Young, 1972

legitimacy in a very different cultural and political milieu required a concerted effort on the part of the British settlers in gaining control over space. The cadastral surveys of the area enabling white farmers to occupy and farm the land, the names of landmarks and routes, and the maps of southern Durban, are texts which portray the appropriation and compartmentalization of colonial space by the white British settlers. As it lay outside the core area of the Borough of Durban, southern Durban existed as an image of being peripheral, unwanted and unimportant - a 'back' area in colonial space (Grant, 1992). This is reflected in the images created of it in the texts produced by the British colonists.

Before analyzing the challenge that the Indian settlers posed to the British spatial definition of southern Durban, and the consequent alterations and reinterpretations they wrought on this space, it is useful to examine the landscape image of southern Durban produced by the dominant white society as it was this very image that allowed ex-indentured Indians to settle this space and make it a place of their own. Section 5.2 outlines the pre-existing spatial co-ordinates in southern Durban which provided the physical setting for Indian settlement. This is followed by Section 5.3 which examines early white settlement in this zone and the naming of the landscape.

Section 5.4 details the early creation of place in southern Durban by examining the informal spatial forms that emerged through which the culture and intentions of the Indian settlers were declared.

5.2 The creation of colonial spatial co-ordinates and opportunities for early Indian settlement in southern Durban

The Indians settlers whose destination was southern Durban were in the main, 'free' peasant settlers who upon arrival, set out to create a meaningful place according to their culturally defined values and intentions, and within the set of constraints and opportunities that presented themselves.

The creation of this settlement involved firstly, a journey to get there, a process of settling down and then the active making of place, based on culturally derived intentions. It was in the southern Durban corridor, an area known as the South Coast Junction or alternatively Clairwood and District,² that the largest Indian settlement outside of India became established in the first half of the twentieth century.

This section sets out to describe the pattern of existing spatial co-ordinates which had been set in place by the early white settlers within which the Indian settlers made active spatial choices, and the natural advantages and disadvantages of the locality.

In the late nineteenth century, southern Durban was very much peripheral to the existing white-dominated urban and commercial node of Durban focussed on the northern fringes of Durban Bay. Plate 5.1 shows a painting titled Durban Bay from Claremont painted in 1892 by Cathcart William Methven,³ an architect, surveyor and Engineer-in-Chief of the Natal Harbour Board.⁴ As a prominent personality in early Durban cultural circles⁵ Methven actively participated in the construction of cultural definitions of what constituted an appropriate urban order from an Edwardian perspective and can be assumed to represent both public and official perspectives of the white community of the time. The landscape of southern Durban represented by Methven has a moral dimension, in that it composes and organizes space according to how it 'should be' or 'should appear'.

The landscape depicts a romantic and grandiose view across what was then a natural bay, from the periphery focussing in on the small town of Durban with its clearly visible and exaggerated Town Hall.⁶ Although painted from Claremont, there is a deliberate absence of human settlement, harbour activity or transport lines, the beginnings of which had been established by 1892, and the bayhead lands stand uninhabited and sombre. The perspective is one of looking in at the centre from the periphery. The southern part of the bay from where he views the town is thus relegated to a 'back' region (Grant, 1992). It is empty, wild and socially meaningless, providing only a backdrop against which the all-important and powerful British urban order can be viewed. The authority of this view or image, renders it representative of the dominant definition of the locational and political status of the southern lands. Most landscapes of this period portrayed views of the village of Durban painted from the vantage point of the Berea Ridge, excluding any reference to areas outside the Borough boundaries (See Plate 5.2).

Similarly, early maps of Durban either depict only the Old Borough or show a void south of the Bay. Fig 5.1 shows the Old Borough in relation to southern Durban which is depicted as little other than mangrove swamps. The absence of southern Durban on colonial maps thus negates this space altogether from the colonial urban order. C J Cato's Chart of Port Natal of 1852



Plate 5.1: *Durban Bay from Clairmont* painted in 1892 by Cathcart William Methven
Source: 100 Years of Pictorial Art in Durban, 1892 - 1992, Durban Art Gallery



Plate 5.2: *Durban, Port Natal, 1847*
 Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

(Plate 5.3) presents a picture of southern Durban, dotted with isolated trees, graphic outcrops of rocks and with descriptive comments recording his impressions. Mangrove swamps, the South Coast Road “to Umcamaziu” (Umkomaas), and the “rocks and heavy surf” off the Bluff are commented on. Thus there is a sense that southern Durban is just an empty space that is passed through on journeys between more important places.⁷ Plate 5.4, showing a map of Port Natal c1836, indicates an interpretation of the southern land as empty, other than as a source of useful resources for the colonists, i.e. “good wood”, or “prospect hill” where a view of Durban could be attained (Harley, 1988).

This peripheral status of southern Durban in civic affairs was to endure for another seventy years, until the pressures for flat industrial land were to force the Town Council and public officials to look south and redefine its status. In addition, southern Durban had by that time already been redefined and appropriated by the Indian community, who had created a different landscape from what the city fathers thought there ‘should be’.

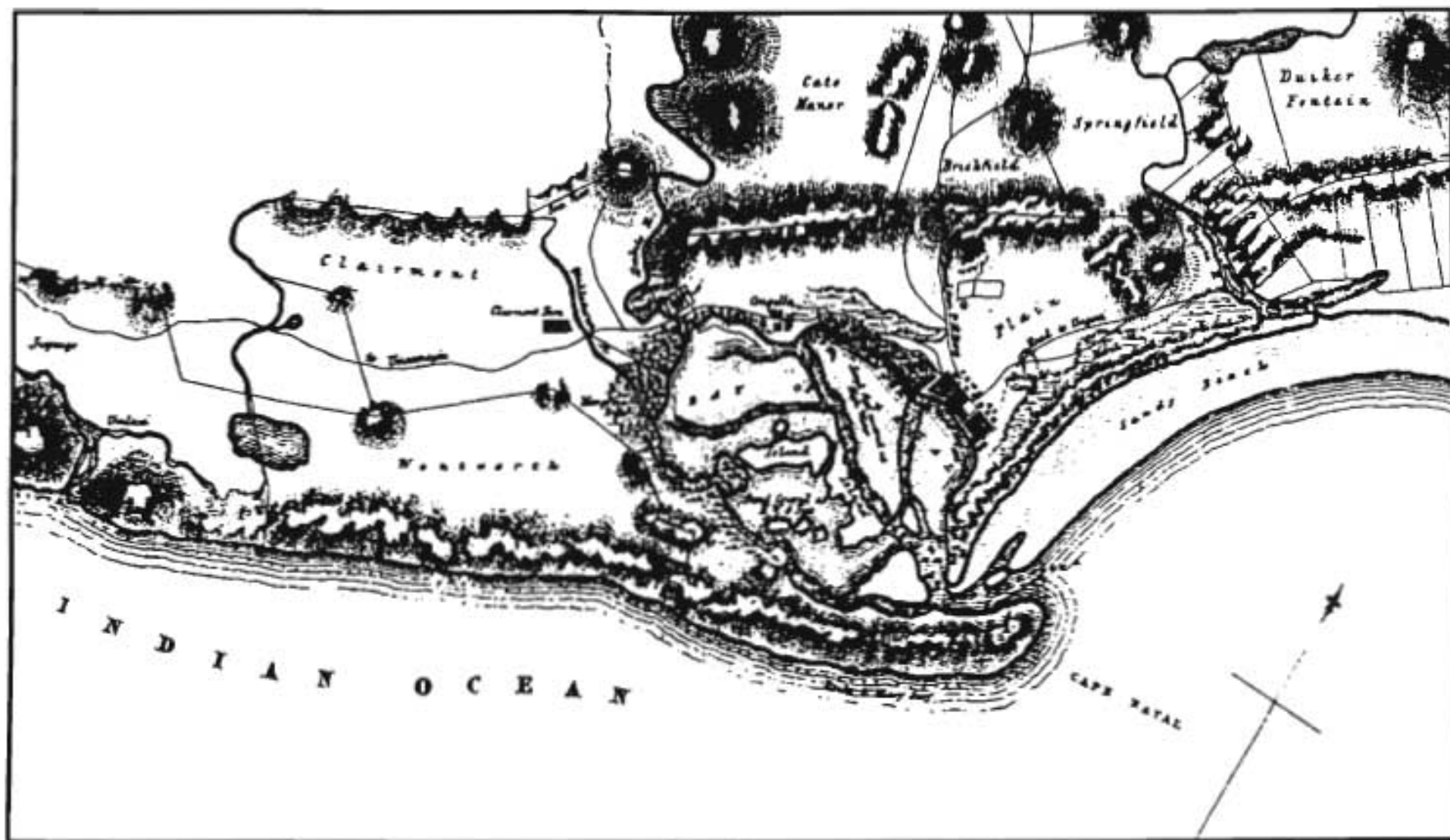


Plate 5.3: C J Cato's Chart of Port Natal, 1852
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban



Plate 5.4: Map of Port Natal by J L Leeb
 Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

Despite this peripheral status in relation to the town of Durban, the spatial co-ordinates of southern Durban had been mapped and registered in the Deeds Office, and so it existed as an 'historical space' (Carter, 1987) within the colony of Natal (See Fig 5.2). The African reserve of Umlazi to the south of Durban was proclaimed in 1847,⁸ and the original farm grants around Durban had been registered in the period 1853-1857⁹ providing the cadastral framework within which future development was to occur.¹⁰

Southern Durban was crossed by routes serving the port and linking it to crop-producing areas to the south. Thus southern Durban benefitted from the proximity of the South Coast Road and railway,¹¹ and later the Bluff Railway (See Fig 5.2) which was built in 1903 to service the coaling wharf at Wests and provide a passenger service.¹² Southern Durban was thus a landscape that was viewed from a horse and cart or later a train, when passing through from Durban to the south coast. However, despite these developments, the southern Durban corridor itself was an area of difficult environment and therefore remained relatively uninhabited by white settlers as the Bay lay between it and the heart of Durban. The inland shores of the Bluff and Bayhead were characterized by large areas of impenetrable mangroves making access by boat from the north also difficult (See Plates 5.3 and 5.4).

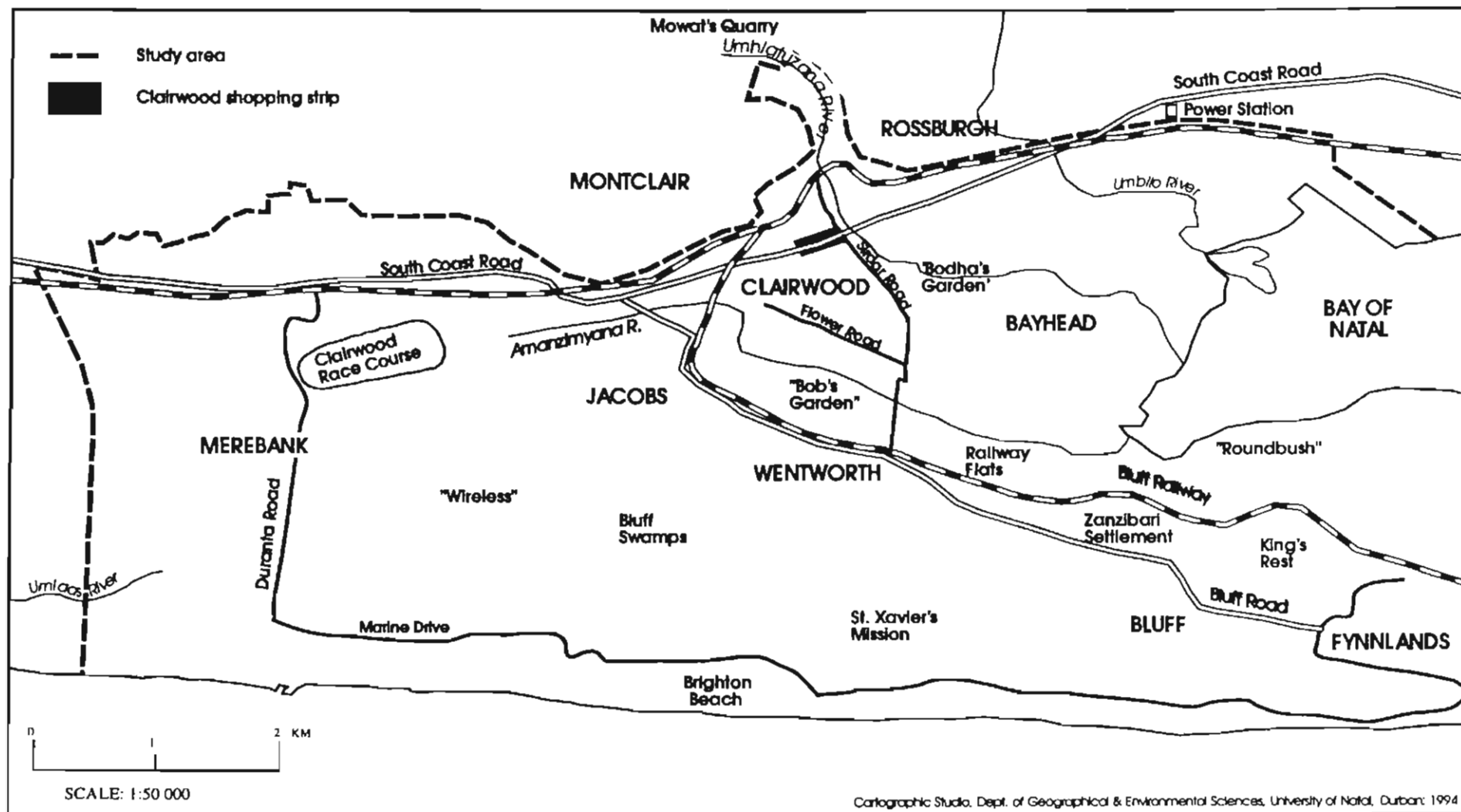


Fig 5.2: The Spatial Co-ordinates of Southern Durban

Southern Durban was also peripheral in the sense that it lay outside the southern Borough boundary which was the Umbilo River. The area was thus exempt from the stringent municipal controls that existed over building, land occupation and land-use as well as from the imposition of rates and taxes. Swanson (1964) notes the preoccupation of the Town Council of Durban during the period 1870 to 1910 with raising money to provide basic urban facilities specifically for the Old Borough,¹³ and improving access to the harbour.¹⁴ Part and parcel of these developments was the creation of a system of rules and norms, applicable within the Borough boundaries for regulating urban development and settlement (Rich, 1978; Swanson, 1964). Southern Durban fell outside the ambit of control of the Town Council. Thus the early settlement patterns and building types that began to appear on the periphery of the town were of a different order and presented a more informal and less patterned image than developments occurring within the Borough boundaries.

The landscape in the town of Durban was produced by the dominant British settlers and articulated their social, political and technical power in their thrust towards urban order and control. Accepting the analogy of landscape as text (Butler-Adam, 1986; Barnes and Duncan, 1991), it could be said that it was the same authors who created the patterned urban order in the town - the 'centre', and the spatial co-ordinates of the relatively informal 'void' - the 'periphery' as well as the maps on which these were portrayed.

Undesirable for white habitation due to its distant location from the nexus of white urban activities and its unhealthy swampy and mosquito-infested character,¹⁵ the early white settlers and public officials paid little attention to Durban south of the Umbilo River, particularly the low-lying areas.¹⁶ Thus, in addition to its image as being far away, difficult to reach and remote, southern Durban was also unhealthy, dangerous and difficult to develop. These negative connotations were clearly part of the white settlers' visual image of southern Durban as an unhealthy, low-lying swamp. Although the elevated bluff on the seaward side of the bay contrasted with this image, the swamps still had to be negotiated to reach this more favourable location. The negative image of the southern Durban landscape led the white settlers to ignore the slow influx of Indian settlers into these lands until these very settlers had written over the original text and created their own image - their own 'culturally produced model of how the environment should look' (Duncan, 1989) which contradicted the white cultural and political paradigm of what 'should be'.

5.3 Early white settlement south of Durban: the naming of places

Despite the negative image of southern Durban that the white settlers had painted, the area south of Durban was not without some white settlement. The extremity of the Bluff was Crown land,¹⁷ and being elevated it was the site where the first lighthouse became operational in 1867.¹⁸ The earliest white settlers locating on the elevated Bluff lands¹⁹ were two of the original British party to arrive in Durban - namely Henry Fynn and Lieutenant King of the British navy, the former giving his name to Fynnlands and the latter on his death to Kings's Rest (See Fig 5.2). However, only nine white families had settled in southern Durban by 1900²⁰ in addition to the St Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Mission²¹ which was founded at Brighton Beach on 55 hectares in 1880 (Brain, 1980).

Christopher (1969) records that by 1900, due to the expansion of the town, there were three prongs of land radiating from Durban where sub-division was beginning to occur, one of which was occurring at Wentworth²² and the Bluff²³, where land values were rising. This is clearly indicated on the 1906 Seccadanari map titled the New map of the Borough of Durban and Suburbs (Haswell, n.d.), where only three blocks of land had been subdivided by 1906 on the Bluff for residential use leaving the rest of this area cadastrally divided by farm boundaries.²⁴

The early names given to places in the southern area provided the 'spatial and conceptual coordinates' within which settlement of the area by the early white and Indian settlers could occur (Carter, 1987). The names functioned originally to constitute and differentiate portions of the southern area and served the territorial ambitions of the British settlers by recreating an English landscape (Duncan, 1989). The language of the present took meaning from the language of the past (Carter, 1987) and many places were named for their literal similarity with landscape elements in the 'home country'. The naming of the Bluff and Merebank²⁵ reveal the association of these areas with physical features previously experienced in the mother country.

Very shortly after Natal was constituted as a British colony, a Land Commission was appointed to demarcate and register farms in order to 'people' the land and bring it under British control (Greyling, 1969). Localities within the southern corridor were therefore named either after the family that originally farmed in the area, - such as Jacobs - or after the names of the original farms - Wentworth²⁶ and Clairmont²⁷ Estate (See Fig 5.2).

Although the physical landscape and the tropical climate of southern Durban did not lend itself to the creation of an exact replica of the 'landscape of home' (Duncan, 1989,192), a romanticized image of England influenced the naming of places. Brighton Beach reveals the sentimental association of an early settler with the seaside resort in England (See Fig 5.2).²⁸ Romantic images of past British exploits on the high seas conjured up the naming of Treasure Beach on the Bluff, which is so named as it was believed that the ship Grosvenor had been wrecked along the coast at that spot.²⁹

So before the Indians began to be released from their indentures in 1870 and commenced their search for urban land to the south, "a cultural network of names, allusions, puns and coincidences" provided a conceptual space in which to move, settle and possess the place (Carter, 1987,7). However, it was a set of cultural allusions which had no meaning for them other than as spatial referents.

The predominantly English names reveal the territorial ambitions of the early white settlers and possession depended on 'civilizing the landscape, bringing it into orderly being' (Carter,1987,59). Naming words were thus forms of spatial punctuation transforming space into something that could be inhabited and known (Carter, 1987). Naming rendered what was 'yonder' to a central position - 'there' became 'here'. This activity was particularly relevant since the white settlers were "surrounded, it seemed by a sea of barbarians" (Swanson, 1964,220) and throughout the nineteenth century pressed the Colonial Office to assimilate and 'civilize' the native population (Swanson, 1964,223).

The descriptive names created a new space where experiences and meanings could accrue. The appropriation of pre-existing Zulu names in the area, such as those of the Isipingo, Umlaas, Umhlatuzana, Umbilo and Amanzimnyama rivers, commemorated the colonizers rather than the local inhabitants and served to 'authenticate their passage' into the new territory (Carter, 1987, 66). The Zulu names provided new information which the settlers could add to their spatial co-ordinates (See Fig 5.2 and Plate 5.3).

The transport node of Rossburgh on the South Coast Road was also the focus of small-scale settlement and some early industrial development (Young, 1972).³⁰ Industries had been developed by the turn of the century, at Isipingo, Wentworth, Coedmore and Merebank to process agricultural products and raw materials (Young, 1972), avoiding the alluvial flats between the Bluff and Berea ridges which were prone to periodic flooding by the Umlaas, Umbilo, Umhlatuzana and Amanzimnyama rivers. The vast areas of swampy land at the head of the Bay owned largely by the Crown and later the South African Railways and Harbours, were thus not suitable for industrial and harbour purposes without major capital expenditure on reclamation and canalization, and represented a 'wasteland'. Figure 5.1 shows the extent of swampy alluvial flats at the head of Durban Bay.

Alienated as Crown land or in the form of farm grants the alluvial flats were however, neglected, unwanted and largely disregarded by the white settlers. Apart from the growing of sugar at Isipingo, the fertile southern corridor lay unutilized.

5.4 The transformation of the landscape of southern Durban: the writing of an informal text.

Largely illiterate, the Indian families that settled in southern Durban left no journals recording their movement from the country to the town. Very little documentary evidence exists as to how and why they chose this locality, how they experienced the transition to an urban life, and what image they had of the place they were creating. However, there is evidence that an informal culturally unique landscape began to emerge in the southern Durban corridor towards the latter half of the nineteenth century (City of Durban, 1967b).

This landscape was ignored by the dominant white settler group. The Indian as a 'stranger, alien' group exists in the pages of colonial history as a 'social and political construction', as a result of a body of rules regarding labor legislation, and as a personification of a social anomaly (Carter, 1987). The Indian presence in the southern corridor represented a spatial uncertainty, and it was only in the 1920's that this presence was acknowledged in the Borough Boundaries Commission as being an anomaly in the urban order, and therefore in need of control. Thus in the early maps there are 'silences' with regard to the representation of Indians (Harley, 1991).

Spatial choice involves the devising of a strategy, the employment of existing cultural resources and skills to maximize opportunities available. The blueprints for settlement in southern Durban had been written by the early white settlers establishing transport routes and nodes, a land tenure system, and a pattern of land occupation which indicated that certain areas were undesirable for their use. Large tracts of swampy, flood-prone and therefore cheap land existed to the south and was available for those willing to endure the disabilities inherent in them. Little competition for land in this locale in the 1870's and 1880's, coupled with the absence of municipal restrictions provided a space where the processes of segregation and racial prejudice were less keenly felt.

Thus the position of the Indians as a subject group in a marginal position in the social order was the cause of their being located in peripheral geographical locations - the margins of the town - and contributed to the informal landscapes which they created.³¹ Thus the very choice of southern Durban as a place to settle was symbolic of the Indian status in the colonial order. It was the reclassification of southern Durban as a space 'outside' the Borough, to an 'Added Area' 'inside' the Borough, through incorporation in 1931, that triggered off a wide range of state initiatives to rewrite the text and create a series of maps to legitimize the Borough's control over the area.

The Indians began to settle in the southern Durban corridor and put their distinctive stamp on the landscape. The landscape they created was essentially an informal one - 'written in pencil', and easy to erase by those with a more permanent ink.³² With insecure tenure, insubstantial housing and few resources, the market gardening community did not create any permanent substantial landmarks on the alluvial flats. Housing was largely wood and iron, and from small beginnings houses were expanded to include the additions of the extended family. Plate 5.5 depicts a wood and iron house c 1928 in Clairwood and is typical of the informal dwellings built at this time. The arrangement of houses was organic and small paths connected the maze of small homes

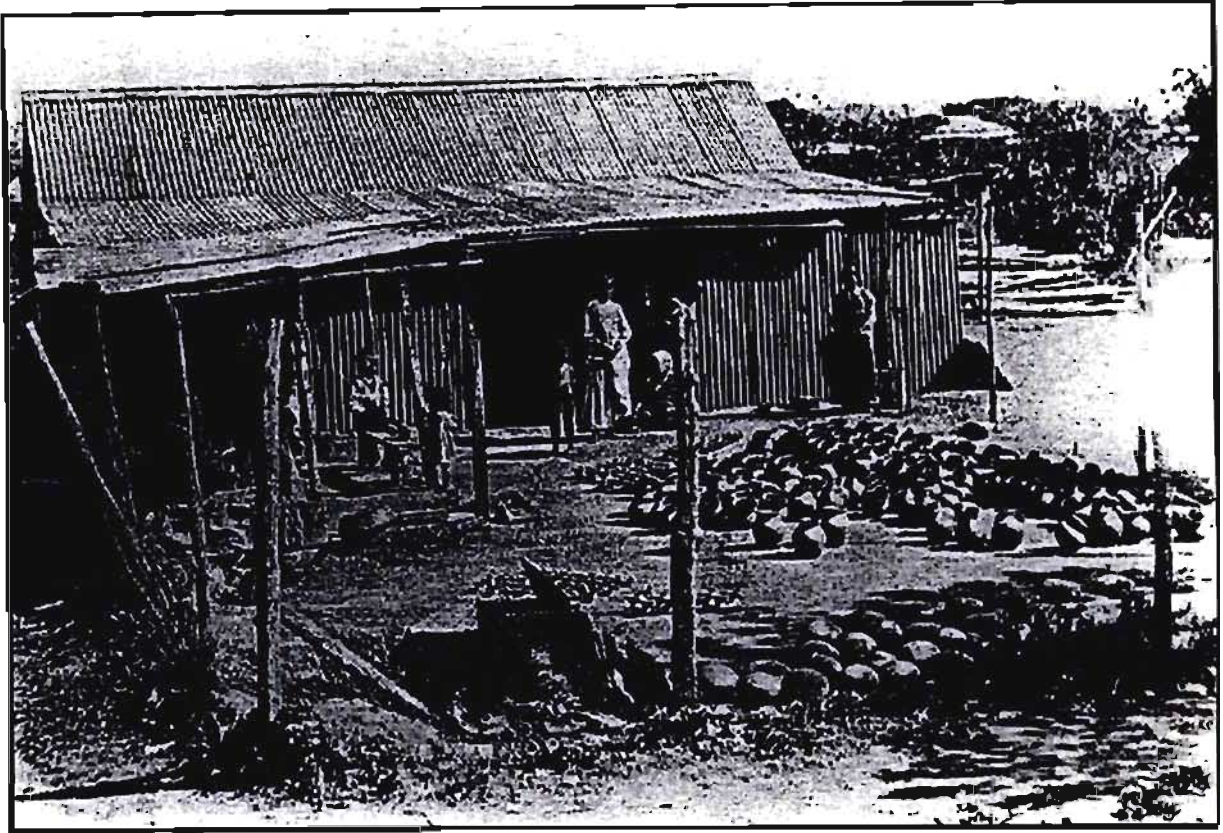


Plate 5.5: An Indian shack in Clairwood, 1928

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

rubbing shoulders with each other. All roads were dirt except for Sirdar Road which was tarred in 1936.³³ Aerial photography taken in 1931 shows the organic settlement pattern in the shack areas along the lower course of the Amanzimnyama River and in Bayhead (See Plate 4.1).

However, the intensive use of small pockets of land, the variety of crops, and the informal, inorganic layouts gave rise to the distinctive pattern of a colourful mosaic spreading across the low-lying flats (See Plate 4.1). Framed by the formal cadastrally surveyed residential plots of Clairwood, the Bluff, Montclair and Umbilo, the informal market gardening areas of the southern Durban corridor provided a stark contrast. The main market gardening areas were the Bayhead including Bodha's Gardens along the Umhlatuzana River,³⁴ along the Amanzimnyama River ("Railway Flats", Bob's Place and South of Clairwood), and in Merebank with patches of gardens along the Umhlatuzana River towards Mowat's Quarry,³⁵ and on the inland facing slopes and valleys of the Bluff.³⁶ (See Fig 5.2).

This landscape evolved in response to the lack of material resources available to the Indian settlers, their need to become independent producers and their communal living patterns. The landscape became more compact as densities in the area increased due to the lack of land for Indian settlement and the neglect of the City Council in Indian housing provision. This, coupled with high growth rates, resulted eventually in an overpopulated and insanitary informal settlement. Even the more substantial brick and tile homes on private property became overcrowded and outbuildings began to appear in most backyards by the 1940's.³⁷ Both homes on privately-owned land and leased land had numerous sub-tenants. Brownie Pillay, a seinenetter, commented that when the fishing community was moved from the Railways land at Fynnlands to the Bayhead shack settlement in 1963, they had a big house of 6 bedrooms housing "some subtenants - they were very good people. When we moved to Chatsworth they had to move with us" (Brownie Pillay, 8/1989).

Although humble, the insubstantial wood and iron homes of the early settlers were a symbol of 'security and prestige' (Kuper, 1960). The Indian homes erected on the alluvial flats represented the main economic and emotional investment of the settlers and their subsequent generations albeit without security of tenure. Kuper (1960) and Meer (1969) have noted the great importance of land and the home to the Indian people. This importance as a social focus was even greater in the context of colonial and post-colonial Natal because of the political restrictions placed on Indians, as a subject group, preventing them from moving around freely. The home therefore served as a retreat, a haven in a hostile environment and it was, and is, common for Indian homes to remain in the family for up to three generations.³⁸ Kuper (1960) also notes that the Indian home is also of great importance because of the general inability to afford outside pleasures. It formed the focus of the family-centred activities and had to accommodate a large extended family. Plate 5.6 shows a large wood and iron seinenetter's house at the Fynnlands fishing village on the Bay (See Fig 5.2). The extensions on the right of the house reveal the necessity for extra space to accommodate the large extended family that lived in it.³⁹ Furthermore, the Indian home is never an isolated dwelling, but is integrated within the street, the neighbourhood and into the wider community (Kuper, 1960).

Mr Medan Nepal whose family lived in a wood and iron shack in Bayhead on land leased from the Railways, lived in this area from the early 1930's until the 1960's. Like the other 500 homes in the area, it was built by the family:

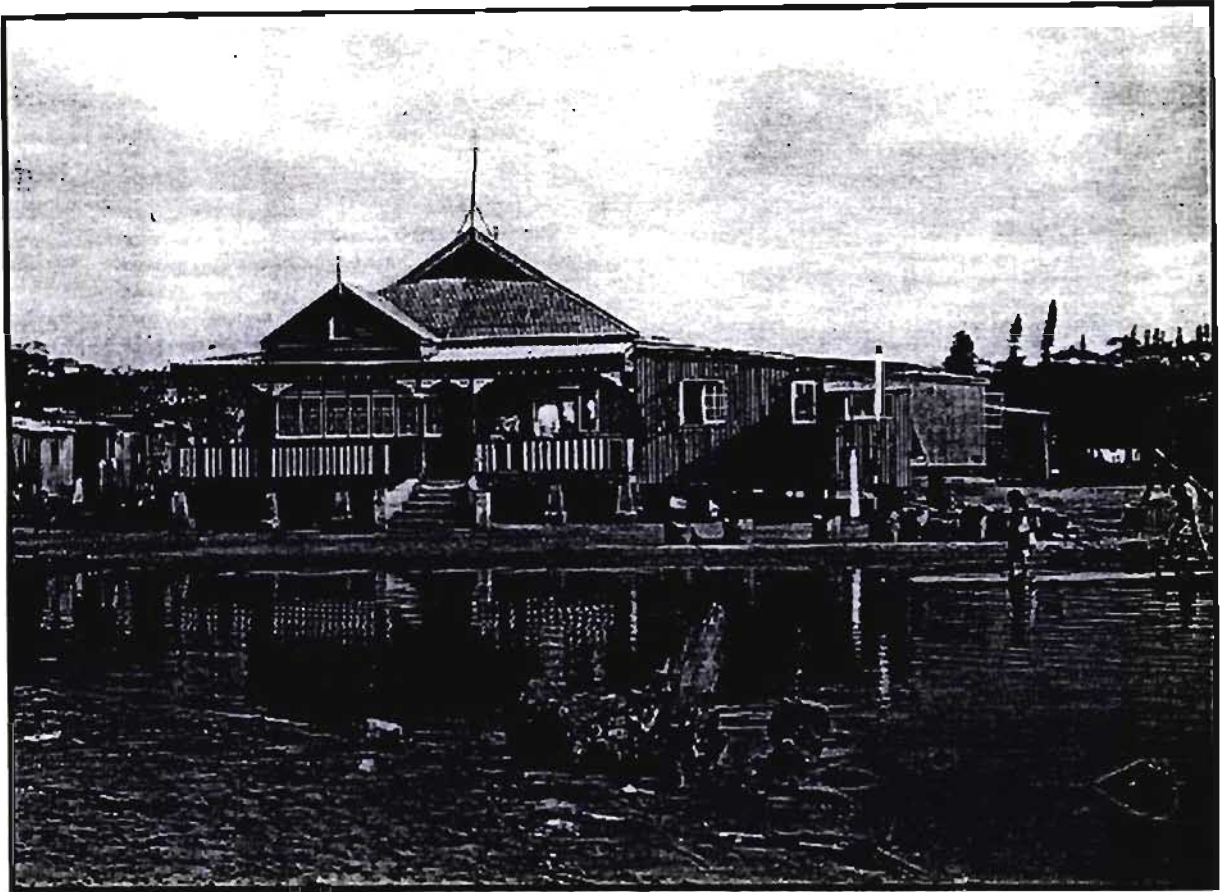


Plate 5.6: Indian seinenetter's house at Fynnlands, 1959

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

...the houses were built by ourselves, and of course you know our fireplace was all with cowdung and all that, you know, built up with cowdung. We used the floor for cooking - the fire used to be lit up... we didn't have any modern equipments in those days (Nepaul, 27/01/1987).

Other than residential land-use, there is evidence of the use of land for religious purposes at various locations in southern Durban, punctuating the landscape with public temples and creating the co-ordinates of a sacred space. The earliest activity recorded was the erection in 1869, of the first Hindu temple south of Durban on the banks of the Umbilo River to serve the small community of approximately 2000 people who had settled around Clairmont.⁴⁰ Its initial wattle and daub construction mirrored that of the homes that were being built with any material that could be obtained and with little reference to municipal building by-laws and codes of construction. With growth and prosperity, the major temples became substantial buildings on freehold land by the 1920's (Plate 5.7 portrays the Umbilo Temple prior to being washed away in the 1903 and 1905 floods). While whole communities were removed in the 1960's many of these temples remain as signposts or symbols of past communities.

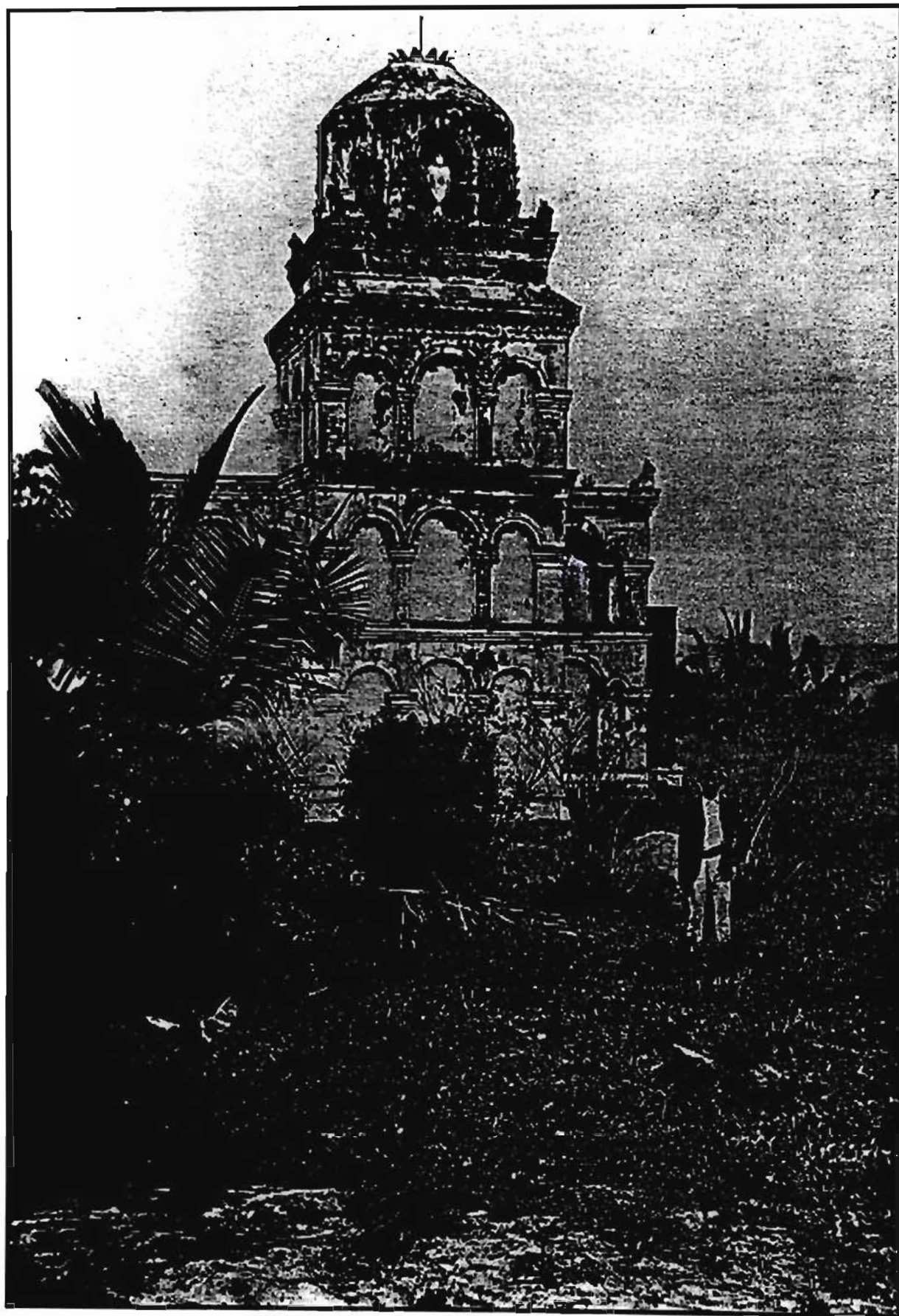


Plate 5.7: Umbilo Temple prior the the 1903 and 1905 floods
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

Dotted throughout the southern corridor, small informal community schools sprung up in response to the need for education amongst the children of the ex-indentured settlers. The existence of small private Indian schools at Isipingo and Clairmont by 1885 (Davies, 1963) indicates that ex-indentured Indians had already established themselves in the southern corridor and that the numbers of children was sufficient to have supported these schools. The early schools were small wood and iron buildings, run privately by underqualified teachers, and usually contracted by churches and temples. The St. Aidan's Mission ran a private school in a wood and iron hall in the early 1890's.⁴¹ By the 1920's, with rapid population growth, the demand for schooling increased and the growing numbers of informal local schools formed part of the emerging informal settlement south of Durban. Not being large buildings, the schools were indistinguishable from the surrounding shacks. Ernest Veerasamy recalls the emergence of the Wentworth Indian School.

In 1932 the Vathier, with the approval of my father (the sirdar of the 'Railway Flats') built a shed adjoining his house and started a 'Night School' for young men...during the day he taught Tamil to a mixed class of boys and girls. The following year, the demand for education increased and the young men persuaded Mr S K Moodley the "Indian Sirdar" of the Falkirk Iron Factory (Defy Industries)⁴² to come up with twenty Pounds mainly from his co-workers at the factory. Mr Moodley enticed his brother...to erect a single-roomed wood and iron structure with voluntary help. Thus was born the Wentworth Indian School, popularly known as "the Cabbage School".^{43 44}

The commercial node that had emerged at Clairmont (later Clairwood), in the late nineteenth century, consisted of family businesses supplying basic commodities and services to the emerging southern Durban community,⁴⁵ for example, the Goodwill Supply Store established in 1923, and the Hygienic Hairdressing and Shaving Saloon.⁴⁶ Limsons Butchery, which now includes a discount store and supermarket was established in 1883 by the present owner's grandfather. The stores operated from a row of buildings in South Coast Road with flats upstairs in which the owners lived,⁴⁷ and extended out onto the pavements in bazaar style. By the 1940's and 50's, the small core of shops had expanded in extent running from Sirdar Road to Blamey Road. South Coast Road had become very congested as it consisted of only a single narrow dirt road which was the major southbound axis out of Durban.

It is reported that the first shop on the Bluff was opened by an Indian shopkeeper at the corner of Bluff and Lighthouse Road in 1880.⁴⁸ This tradition continued with the small family run 'tearooms' supplying basic commodities throughout the southern corridor of Durban and on the Bluff. Mr Mansoor's (18/9/1991) father had about sixteen cafes in the 1930's because "that was the only license they (the Durban City Council) would give us".

Although residents from the “Railway Flats”, (See Plate 5.8) Merebank and Wentworth had to travel to Clairmont to purchase items such as building materials or clothing, daily requirements such as fish, vegetables and milk were available from small local stores and cafes. Most Clairwood residents would walk to “Main Street” (South Coast Road) to do their weekly shopping at the Clairwood shopping strip (See Fig 5.2), but also often go into Durban to shop at the central market.⁴⁹ In Clairwood, local storekeepers or butchers would give their Clairwood clients credit.⁵⁰ When Clairwood began growing, some of the stores in the Grey Street trading area in central Durban established branches in Clairwood e.g. Dominion Outfitters.⁵¹ Plate 5.9 depicts the view south down ‘Main Street’ in 1933.



Plate 5.8: A typical home in the 'Railway Flats', Wentworth
Source: Poovalingum, 1990

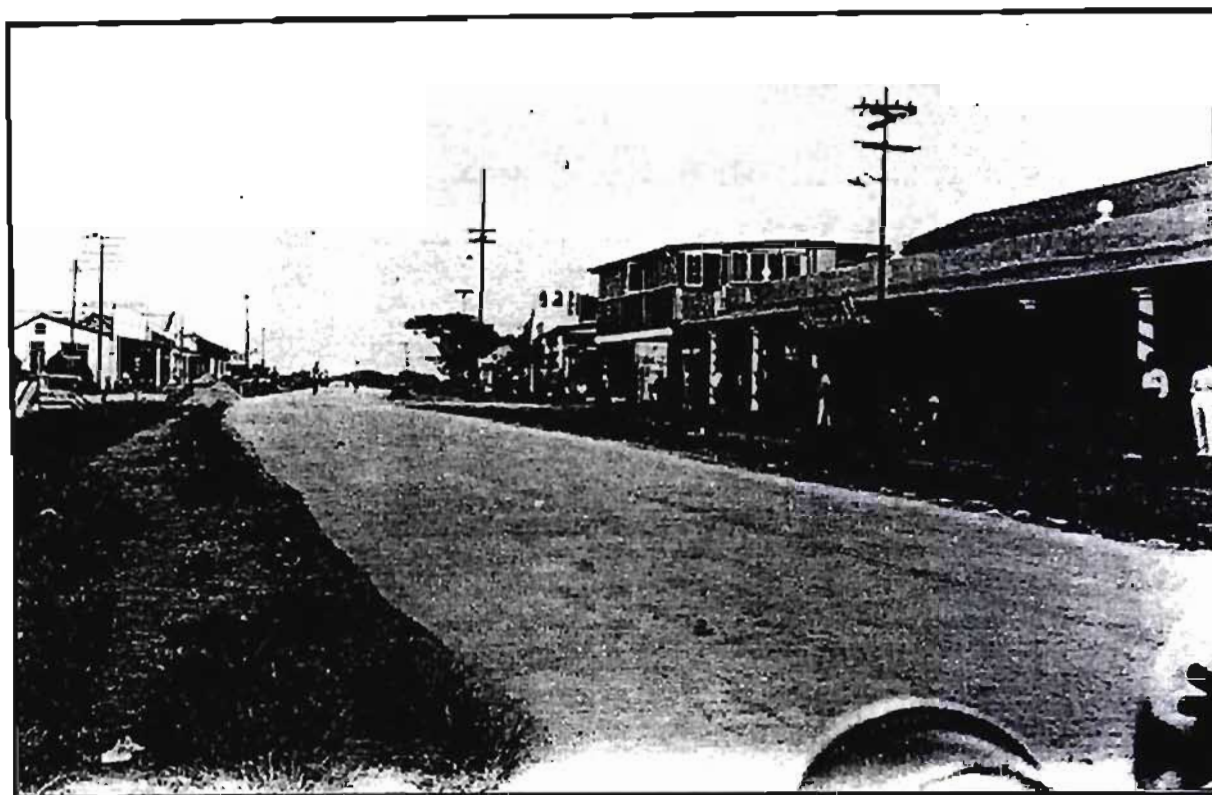


Plate 5.9: Looking south down South Coast Road, Rossburgh, 1933
 Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

At certain nodes throughout the southern corridor specialized groups of people formed concentrations of informal settlement. The most unusual of these was the Zanzibaris of King's Rest. In 1884, about 200 African freed slaves from East Africa were off-loaded by the British navy at Durban. Being Muslim and believed to be from Zanzibar,⁵² these people were accommodated on 43 acres of land at King's Rest purchased for them by the Muslim community of Durban⁵³ (Patel, 1990) (See Fig 5.2). The aerial photograph in Plate 4.1 shows portion of the large block of informal settlement on the bay-facing slope of the Bluff adjacent to the formal residential area surrounding it. This node of Muslim Africans was joined by Muslim Indians who together established an informal settlement and built a mosque⁵⁴ and cemetery (Patel, 1990). An ex-resident of this area commented about life here in the early twentieth century:

There was no need for the ladies to work and earn a wage... everything we needed was at our fingertips. Everyone owned fowls and fished in the Bay. The crabs and fish were also plentiful. The vegetables we needed, we grew ourselves. We made a profit on the (avocado) pear trees. There was one shop on the Trust land that was owned by Mr Yusuf Essop. He allowed us to buy on credit (Subject C, in Patel, 1990, 7).

Further north a small group of free Indians and their families settled on Salisbury Island in the 1870's from where they fished with seinenets from small rowing boats. Being close to the harbour mouth, the seinnetters established a shed at Addington Beach, from where they operated their main fishing activities. By 1887, the community numbered 218 people and a small school had been established.⁵⁵ From here they were moved in 1900, at the outbreak of plague to a site leased from the South African Railways at Fynnlands (See Fig 5.2 and Plate 5.10). This community, apart from its bonds of kinship, language and religion, were bound together by the occupation of fishing,⁵⁶ the skills for which they had brought with them from India.⁵⁷ Plate 5.10 shows the boatbuilding and net repairing activities of the seinnetters. An example of the large catches netted by the seinnetters up until the 1940's is illustrated in Plate 5.11.

A relatively larger node that developed in the early 1900's was that of Merebank⁵⁸ forming the focus of an independent community (Juggernath, 4/11/1987). Although at some distance from the core area of Clairmont, it was linked through clientage to the Indian commercial businesses to this area. Here another set of 'pioneers' settled and set about creating the facilities and networks that were to serve this



Plate 5.10: Seinenetters repairing nets and boats at the Fynnlands fishing village, 1940

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban



Plate 5.11: Large catch of fish brought in by seinetters, Addington Beach, 1940

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

community. Market gardening formed a large part of the local economy of this area, especially along the fertile flats adjacent to the Umlaas River and thus formed a continuation of the informal settlement in the Bayhead and Amanzimnyama areas. The Juggernath's joint family was one such family which settled in Merebank in 1914 and undertook market gardening and produced milk for local consumption.⁵⁹ This enabled them to purchase an acre of ground in Duranta Road, Wentworth. Large plots of land were also purchased or leased on the sea-facing slopes of the Bluff and market gardening practiced there.⁶⁰ Thus informal residential and agricultural activities were also occurring on private land within cadastrally sub-divided zones of the southern corridor

In order to experience and communicate the act of settling, boundaries were brought into being (Carter, 1987). A symbolic zone, differentiated from the surrounding elevated zones south of Durban, was gradually established within which the strategy of making a home and achieving a better life could be accomplished (Fig 5.3 portrays the extent of Clairwood and District in the 1950's, as perceived by the residents).⁶¹ Within this zone, the informal residential and market gardening presented a landscape with a distinctly contrasting denser texture to that of the adjacent white residential areas of the Bluff,

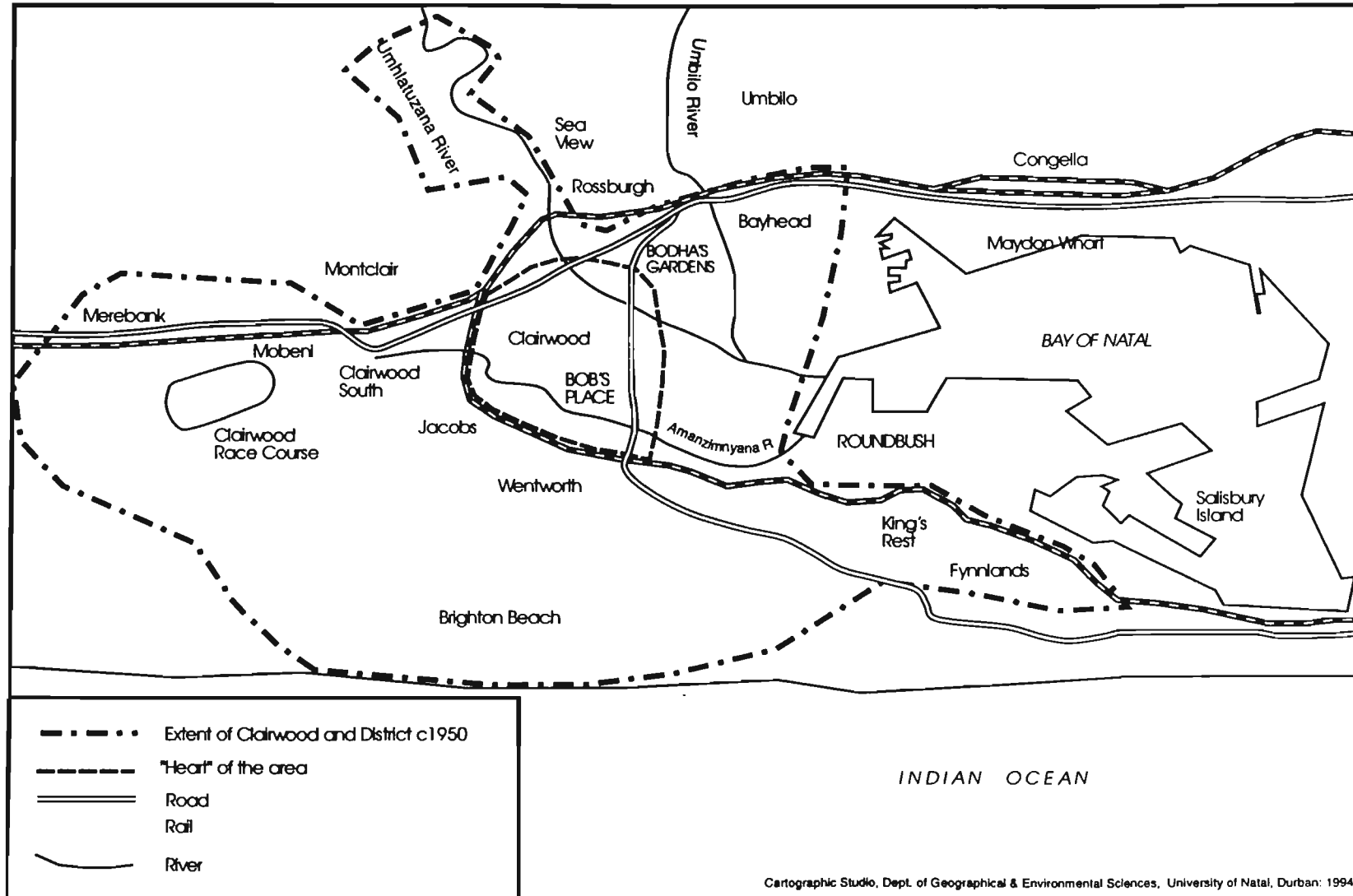


Fig 5.3: Clairwood and District as perceived by its residents

Wentworth, and Montclair and those in the Old Borough of Durban (See Plate 5.12). While Clairwood and District was unplanned, densely settled and consisted of a maze of shanties, houses, market gardens, winding dirt paths and roads, the surrounding areas were geometrically ordered, with tarred roads, orderly gardens, large plots and brick and tile houses. The density of settlement revealed the large numbers of people living in Clairwood and District, while the generally poor conditions and insubstantial dwellings were indicative of the poverty of most of the residents and the neglect by the DCC (See Plate 5.12).

In the act of settlement “it was not only a dwelling place which had to be built but a language of place as well” (Carter, 1987, 151). Consequently, the natural environment of the locale had to be transformed into a cultural object. The unusually high tides in the Bay, the tangled barriers of the mangrove swamps, and the flooding of the rivers could be understood and known from the security of the home turf. From this secure vantage point of the home and the fence, stories could be told and journeys relived (Carter, 1987).

Although the major landmarks of southern Durban had been laid down in the colonial period by the early British settlers, the Indian settlers in southern Durban added to this vocabulary by naming in English the objects, places and localities within their symbolic zone. Naming was a mode of knowing and ‘possessing’ the place in which they experienced their existence (Carter, 1987). Possession was achieved by grammatical association - thus the “Railway Flats” described both the owners of the land, the South African Railways and Harbours, and its topography. Similarly, “Wireless” was an area in Jacobs, between Merebank and Clairwood, which was also one of the shack areas⁶² and received its name because of the high wireless mast in this area (B. Maharaj, 27/10/1987). “Bob’s Place” and “Bodha’s Gardens” were both market gardening areas, the former at Wentworth where a white farmer from the area used to bring his cows to graze, and the latter named after the sirdar of Natal Chemical Syndicate who controlled the leases of their land in the vicinity of the present Coca Cola factory north of Edwin Swales Drive (Fig 5.2).⁶³

“Roundbush”, a round expanse of mangrove swamp adjacent to Bayhead where firewood was gathered was literally named by describing its appearance⁶⁴ - its nickname a device for taming the thick and unknown bush and constituting it as an object of daily life (Carter, 1987) (See Fig 5.2).



Plate 5.12: Aerial photograph of Clairwood, Montclair and surrounding shack areas, 1931
Source: Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department, Durban.

The significance of important people, whether local community leaders or influential international figures was also commemorated in the landscape via the naming of the roads of Clairwood. Dayal, Persadh, Archary, Sigamoney and Maharaj roads honour early pioneer families, while Sir Kurma Reddy Road is named after a campaigner for the rights of South African Indians (See Plate 5.13). Associations with the local natural environment and crops grown by the market gardeners are expressed in the names of Pine, Cherry and Flower Roads. In addition to the formal naming of roads, many colloquial terms were added to the vocabulary of place, such as "Cabbage School" - a banal name for a school standing in the middle of cabbage fields in the Wentworth shack settlement. "Hot water stream" was the name given by the Bayhead shackdwellers to the junction of the stream of hot water effluent from the Congella Power Station that poured into the Umbilo River, as it was here that they took advantage of this sometimes to wash their clothes (See Fig 5.2 showing location of power station in relation to Umbilo River).⁶⁵ Perhaps the most revealing name is that of the main through road of Clairwood which is named "Sirdar Road" - the name aptly encapsulating deference for the rank of an Indian overseer appointed by his colonial masters to control and supervise fellow Indians. Whether named in deference to this rank by the Indian settlers or given by early white settlers is not known.



Plate 5.13: Sir Kurma Reddy

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

The landscape was informal, much like the other parts of the Added Areas, and consisted of a dense concentration of dwellings intermingled with patches of garden, shops, temples, schools and community halls, and surrounded by an invisible symbolic boundary demarcating the “inside” from the “outside” world. Within this boundary Clairwood and District was differentiated into a series of named localities, either by the use of pre-existing colonial names which had been appropriated into local spatial terminology, or by the colloquial names given to particular elements or places. Furthermore, this space was a sacred space with religious symbols in the form of private shrines or public temples anchoring religious and social life to the specific locality. Clairwood and District had, by the mid-century become “utterly personalized and particularized” (Cox, 1981b,433), the meaning of the place having been created by the Indian settlers and their descendants as they sought to re-create a cultural identity in the face of racial prejudice and neglect by the dominant whites. Clairwood and District was a product of its people who materially and spiritually created a place over a the time span of a century providing an anchor for the resident community and an emotional and spiritual hearth for all Indians.

5.5 Conclusion

The white British settlers who founded the town of Durban on the shores of the Bay of Natal, paid scant attention to the ‘wasteland’ of the southern Durban corridor. However, the area formed part of the colony of Natal and as such was appropriated and mapped in colonial space. The area was subdivided into farms for British settlers, the goal of which was to settle the land and thereby domesticate the ‘wild’ interior of the colony and bring it under British political and cultural control. This process involved the construction of infrastructure - roads and railways - to serve the distant farming areas, the surveying of farms via a cadastral ordering system, the naming of places and the mapping of space even prior to its occupation by settlers.

It was the creation of such minimal spatial co-ordinates in southern Durban by the dominant British settlers that provided a spatial framework for the Indian ‘pioneers’ who first settled in this locality and wrote their own story on the landscape.

In settling the southern corridor, the gaining of access to land was crucial and wherever possible, and with great sacrifice, land was purchased by Indian settlers. Small nodes of privately-owned land which had been formally sub-divided and cadastrally surveyed began to grow around the outspan node of Clairmont, and further south at Merebank around the turn of the century. Throughout the rest of the southern corridor, the poorer settlers squatted on what was predominantly state land. These squatters became tenants-at-will, when the state commenced with the leasing of these small plots for a nominal annual fee. It was here that informal and densely settled residential and market gardening land uses became established. This pattern persisted up until the 1950's although the market gardening activities became less prevalent from 1920's onwards.

This patchwork quilt of settlement was punctuated with informally built and communally run schools, temples, halls and other facilities which assumed much of the same character as the informal settlement. As densities increased towards mid-century, the privately-owned properties became more informal in character as outbuildings and additions appeared in the landscape to cope with increased densities. The only elements of the landscape which differed were the temples which were larger, more substantial and colourful than their drab surroundings, and the facade of shops along South Coast Road.

Gradually a symbolic boundary came into being, demarcating the 'known' from the 'unknown' and visible in the landscape since it separated the relatively affluent adjacent, formal white residential areas from the largely informal and physically deprived Indian residential area of the southern corridor. Although materially disadvantaged, within these boundaries, a rich network of social, religious and kinship ties developed creating a place-based community with a unique character. It is appropriate that when a civic association was formed in the early 1950's to fight the Durban City Council over its attempt to zone Clairwood industrial, it was named the Clairwood and District Residents and Ratepayers Association (CDRRA). This organization represented not only those people owning land in Clairwood - the ratepayers - but all the tenants of the state in the surrounding informal settlements who were also residents of the area.

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century when the first Indian settlers arrived and began to make their home in southern Durban, until the 1950's, a unique landscape came into being and began to accrue emotional and historical significance. However, it was only when the very existence of Clairwood and District was threatened by the DCC re-zoning application in 1956, that this 'sense of place' became externalized and used self-consciously by the community as a weapon in the struggle for the continued existence of the place.

Endnotes

1. The metaphor of 'landscape as text' is employed here as a rhetorical device for conveying meaning. Landscape is described in a frame of reference with which it is not commonly associated, i.e. the written text (Barnes and Duncan, 1991). This metaphor derives from a discourse proposing an expanded concept of the text to include maps, landscapes and other cultural products. Carter (1987) includes in 'writings', other cultural expressions such as dances, festivals, murals and so on. The 'text' therefore has an 'author' who 'writes' the text and 'readers' who interpret it. Barnes and Duncan (1991) propose that the variety of 'readings' is more important than the authorial intentions.
2. The South Coast Junction was a rail Junction where a track branched off the southern line up the Umhlatuzana Valley (See Fig 5.1). However, it was also the name of the local Health Committee Area prior to its incorporation into the Borough of Durban in 1931. Clairwood and District is the name given by the Indian community to the Indian occupied areas of southern Durban, including small pockets on the Bluff Ridge.
3. Brochure on 100 Years of Pictorial Art in Durban, 1892-1992 from the permanent collection of the Durban Art Gallery, Introduction by Mary-Anne Turnbull.
4. Methven held this post from 1888-1895 (op cit).
5. Methven was the founder of the Durban Art Gallery, and co-founder of the Natal Institute of Architects and the Natal Society of Arts (op cit,39).
6. Built in 1885, the first Town Hall "exceeded most South African municipal structures in size and elegance and was the embodiment of Durban's achievements, the symbol of its aspirations...(It consisted of) a Palladian structure which loomed massively over a town still largely composed of one and two storied buildings and gave concrete expression to the vision of corporate grandeur inspired by the prosperity and growth that reached a peak in the war boom of 1880-1882" (Swanson, 1964,280).
7. These early colonial maps are texts (Barnes and Duncan, 1991), portraying the power to firstly, command large tracts of land and secondly, to create representations of these lands - maps - serving as tools of control. Although appearing scientific and neutral in their representation of reality, the maps are intensely political, symbolizing British power (Harley, 1991).
8. The 1847 Location Commission, influenced by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, created an administrative apparatus for segregating and controlling the African population. By 1852, six locations or reserves had been allocated totalling 1 254 440 acres, which became over 2 million acres by the mid - 1860's. Umlazi consisted of 167 025 acres (Brookes and Hurwitz, 1957, in Swanson, 1964,216).
9. The 1848 Natal Land Commission launched Natal into a policy of land alienation allocating liberal 5000 acre grants designed to "attract or retain white settlers" (Swanson, 1964,212).

10. City of Durban (1976). Report on the Planning of the Bluff, City Engineer's Department, Durban. Cato's 1852 plan records the cadastral boundaries of the farm grants around Durban and the farm names, e.g. Wentworth, Clairmont, Cato Manor, Brickfield and Springfield (See Plate 5.3).
11. Davies (1963,28) provides a map of Durban circa 1885 in which these features are evident.
12. City of Durban (1976).
13. It was during this period that paved roads, sanitation, drainage systems, a reliable water supply, electricity, two Town Halls, an abattoir, the main railway station and a tramway system were introduced into Durban (Swanson, 1964).
14. The only activity beyond their jurisdiction that captured the attention of the Council was the construction of the railway line inland in 1876 and this was only in the interest of promoting commercial activities centred around the port (Swanson, 1964).
15. Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958) note that sections of these alluvial flats were malarial swamps and it was as late as 1934 when the city had its last malaria outbreak. Occupation at this time was either 'non-European barracks, compounds or locations', or voluntary Indian settlement.
16. From Clairwood, south to the Umlaas River and Isipingo, the alluvial flats between the Berea and Bluff Ridge lie below the 20 metre contour line. Similarly the valley between the Bluff Ridges from Wentworth to Merebank also lies below this contour line (See Durban 1:50 000 Topographical map - No 2930DD & 2931CC Durban, Government Printer, Pretoria). Both areas had high water tables and poor drainage until reclamation and drainage were undertaken after 1950.
17. This became part of Ordinance Land in 1877 but reverted to the national Department of Defence in 1939 (City of Durban, 1976).
18. City of Durban (1976). The lighthouse was the only one of the east coast of Africa at that time.
19. The Durban 1:50 000 map (2930DD & 2931CC Durban) reveals heights of 119 metres and 104 metres at Brighton Beach and Treasure Beach respectively.
20. City of Durban, 1976,4.
21. One of the earliest functions of the mission was the establishment of an African school which had 50 pupils by 1885. It functioned until 1966 when it closed down due to Group Areas Act restrictions (City of Durban, 1976,4). Sufficient crops were grown to sustain the missionaries living there (Tanner, 1988).
22. Deeds Office Records reveal that W E Logan acquired the 148 acres of WE of Wentworth on 5/2/1924 - part of the original Wentworth Farm - and this land was then divided into 1 rood lots and sold to Indians e.g. Lot 25 of WE of Wentworth was bought by Ankadu of 26/9/1928 (Deed 4129) (Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg).
23. The first area to become sub-divided was the block Pioneer as indicated by the name. This land was bought speculatively by The Fynnland Pioneer Estates Pty Ltd which was owned by the Lockhat brothers and later sold largely to Indians (Deed of Transfer 293/1933, Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg).
24. The Wentworth and Fynnlands farms had been cadastrally divided into large blocks of roughly 40 acres each (Christopher, 1969).

25. Merebank was originally situated adjacent to a small inland drainage area or 'lake', which was subsequently drained in the mid-twentieth century (Juggernath, 4/11/1987). Hence the appellation 'mere' naming the area after the Lake District of England with its many 'meres'. Plate 5.3 shows the Umlaas River flowing through a large lake before entering the sea.
26. The original farm grant of the Wentworth Farm was ceded on 1/11/1848 to Henry Ogle (Deed No 860) and consisted of 4725 acres (Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg).
27. The node of Clairmont was named after this farm but the name was changed to Clairwood in 1911 due to confusion that might arise with Clairmont in Cape Town. The name 'wood' was derived from Wood's Estate, an extensive property in southern Durban that was owned by Benoni Wood, a portion of which became part of Clairwood.
28. City of Durban, 1976,4. See also Grant (1992) for an overview of the importance of British recreational concepts in the construction of the Durban Beachfront in the Victorian era.
29. City of Durban, 1976.
30. Davies (1963,28) in a map of early Durban c 1885, depicts Clairmont as a transport node on the route south and indicates the presence of an Indian school there. This node is also evident as early as 1852 on Cato's Chart (See Plate 5.3).
31. The use of a spatialized imagery of centre-margins to depict power (Ogborn, 1992) is useful in understanding the location of Indian settlement in Durban.
32. This metaphor is derived from Butler-Adam (1986).
33. Mayor's Minutes, 1936-1937.
34. Mr R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987.
35. Nepal, 27/1/1987.
36. See 1931 and 1949 aerial photographs, 1:6000, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department.
37. See 1949 aerial photography of Durban, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineers Department.
38. The City Estates Surveys of the shack areas reveal the fact that many families lived in their shack dwellings for over 50 years (City Estates Department, Inspectorate Survey Sheets 1963-1976, Durban Corporation).
39. Mrs C Subramunien, May 1987.
40. Brian Kearney, Research Notes, Architecture Department, University of Natal.
41. Brochure commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903-1953.
42. Defy was one of the first industries to locate at the turn of the century in Teakwood Road, Wentworth, adjacent the "Railways Flats" market gardens (Young, 1972).
43. The school was called "The Cabbage School" because it lay in the middle of the market gardens where cabbages were grown.
44. Veerasamy, in Poovalingum, 1990, 98-99.

45. Between 28/11 and 2/12 of 1988 interviews were conducted with 7 businesses established before the mid-century.
46. The former at 556 South Coast Road owned by the Govender family, and the latter at 587 South Coast Road, owned by Mr S Ramchander. These two businesses were still operating at the time of writing.
47. Mr Y Limalia of Limson's Butchery lived above his shop at the time of the interview (November 1988).
48. City of Durban, 1976.
49. Mrs Rehman, quoted on page 11 of transcript in George (1986).
50. Mr K N Archary of K N Archary Jewellers (579 South Coast Road) as well as all other interviewees from the older businesses were in the practice of extending credit - "the 90 to 120 day pay back system" (Archary, 12/1988). They did this because they lived with the people and knew them (Limalia, 12/1988).
51. Mr S Mehmod (Manager) and resident of Clairwood (12/1988).
52. The Zanzibaris, as they were known, were slaves rescued from an Arab dhow by the British navy in 1873 (Sunday Tribune, 13/1/63; Seedat et al, 1972) and brought to the nearest British colony of Natal, where they were indentured as labourers via the same system of indentured contracts as the Indian indentured labourers (Patel, 1990). They represented an anomaly in the colonial order as they were Africans of Muslim faith. With the proclamation of the Group Areas Act in 1950 they were re-located as a group to the Indian township of Chatsworth (Freil, 1988; Patel, 1990).
53. The Juma Masjid Trust of the Grey Street Mosque purchased 43 acres of land at Kings Rest for the Muslim ex-slaves in order that they might maintain their identity as a Muslim community (Patel, 1990).
54. Mustapha Osman, who immigrated to Natal in the 1880's from the Comores became the Imam among the Zanzibaris at the request of the Juma Masjid Trust. He became the Imam of Khalifa (religious head) and taught the Qur'an and Arabic to the children of the settlement as well as practising faith healing (Oosthuizen, 1982).
55. Report of the Secretary, 1901. Natal Harbour Board, Durban.
56. By the 1940's the seinetters operated 40 boats from Addington Beach supplying fish to Durban and inland. They became famous for 'pioneering' the sardine run - the annual catching of large amounts of northward migrating sardines along the Natal coast (Scott and Criticos, 1991).
57. When the land they occupied was required for the construction of harbourside oil tanks by the Railways, the seinetters were relocated first to Bayhead and then because of their mutual dependence on fishing, the Durban Corporation moved them once more as a group to Havenside in Chatsworth. This is the only known instance of Indian communal groups being relocated to the same area of a public housing scheme.
58. Juggernath speculates that the name Merebank comes from the number of 'meres' (lakes) in the district, probably caused by excavations made by the Merebank Brickworks which filled up with water (Juggernath, n.d.). Cato's 1852 Chart of Durban Bay shows the existence of a large water body south of the Bay (See Plate 5.3).
59. Mr Juggernath's father was also, however, employed at the Clairwood Race Course after it became established in 1919. Many local people were taking up employment in the industries that were beginning to locate south of Durban (Juggernath, n.d.).

60. See 1931 Aerial Photography, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department. Juggernath describes how his uncle Bajnath bought a brand new spring cart to transport produce from such a plot to the market.
61. Scott (1987) documents the existence in the memories of ex-residents of Clairwood, a clearly defined boundary demarcating the extent of "Clairwood and District". This boundary ran from the Umbilo River in the North, the South Coast Road in the West, the inland slopes of the Bluff in the East and the Umlaas River in the South. Some respondents included Isipingo to the south in the area. All respondents considered Clairwood itself as the "heart" of the district.
62. This area was where the Jacobs industrial area (around Collingwood and Landsdowne Roads) is at present.
63. Mr R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987.
64. Mr Nepal (27/1/1987).
65. Mr Nepal, 27/1/1987.

CHAPTER 6

COMMUNAL SPACE CONSTRUCTION IN CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT

6.1 Introduction

The historical geography of the 'free' Indians that settled in southern Durban represents a process of discovery, exploration and settlement occurring within a specific cultural discourse and context. The settlers chose locations, applied names to places, and operated according to imaginary goals with regard to these places which they inhabited and lived out their everyday lives. In doing so they created places - places where they lived and worked, and places which established their identity both as person and group. For them, this place was not viewed 'from beyond' (Cosgrove, 1989) as it was by the British settlers, but possessed by settling and making their home there. How they wrote their text was their own unique cultural form of expression revealing their intentions and their dreams. The effect was the superimposition of cultural meanings and images on the pre-existing colonial space, as the Indian settlers spatially externalized their presence.

The Indian settlers found what they were looking for in the southern corridor of Durban around the node of Clairmont - later to be renamed Clairwood. In their "writings" whether in the form of domestic architectural styles, temple layouts, religious festivals or the organic patchwork of market garden plots, they "re-enacted symbolically their intentions" (Carter, 1987). Chapter 6 commences with an interpretation of what the Indian settlers intentions might have been.

In the writing of their text, the Indian community employed a very different cultural grammar, which by the early twentieth century began to contradict that of the 'old authors' - the dominant white settler community. Southern Durban was consequently to become a scene of conflict between authors "who hit out at one another's texts" in order to change the grammar and insist on their meanings and intentions (Butler-Adam, 1986).¹

The account presented here of the settlement of the Clairwood and District Indian community attempts to reveal their intentions which brought about unique patterns of settlement and symbolic landscapes as well as overlapping social, cultural and kinship patterns and associations.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 also presents the material base which enabled the intentions of the Indian settlers to be realized. As settlers, the majority of 'free' Indians migrating to southern Durban settled largely as peasant farmers² and as such were a class of survivors defining their own priorities and values which formed the basis of their survival strategies. Characteristic of all peasants even within a capitalist society, they engaged in an 'economy within an economy' and were able to support themselves through the production of a surplus (Berger, 1979).³

Like peasants elsewhere, the Indian settlers existed on the 'frontier of the system' (Berger, 1979,197) as a peripheral community. They were afforded no protection or resources by the mainstream society and had to endure social and political oppression and neglect. They thus had to

look to themselves - within the village community and extended family. They maintained or developed their own unwritten laws and codes of behaviour, their own rituals and beliefs, their own orally transmitted body of wisdom and knowledge, their own medicine, their own techniques, and sometimes their own language (Berger, 1979,197).

Sibley (1981;1986) and Berger (1979) provide some useful concepts for explaining the differentiation of minority social groups from the dominant social group. Both propose that peasants have a different world-view.⁴ Berger maintains that peasants have a 'culture of survival' which embodies the notion of the future as a series of repeated acts for survival.⁵ The movement towards the past and the future are part of the peasant's cyclical view of time. Life is seen as an 'interlude' (Berger, 1979) with ideals which are located in the past, but obligations to the future. The goal is to restore the ideal life of the past wherein there were no handicaps - no taxes or rents to pay, and no injustices and inequalities. Thus there is the assumption of a just world to which the peasant aspires and will return.

Opposing this relation to the past is the peasant's concern with the survival of his children in the future. They must be taught the skills and techniques of survival. As peasant's work involves intervening in the organic process, their everyday actions are future-orientated and full of anticipation for the outcome of their endeavours. The future is thus full of risks and dangers (Berger, 1979), the greatest danger being hunger.

The Indian settlers of southern Durban, like all peasants, made the same journey of past survivors - a journey travelled by many generations of Indian peasants before them. This journey was made easier in that some of the dangers could be avoided by following past traditions but the path still presented an "indeterminate expanse of known and unknown risks" (Berger, 1979,203).

However, in the cyclical world view 'rituals, routines and habits' evolve in peasant communities in order to create meaning and continuity in the face of change (Berger, 1979). These rituals are also related to the different phases of working life - birth, marriage and death, and afford the best measure against an unknown future.

Although subject to political, economic and social oppression as a subject group, the Indian settlers were far from being merely passive victims of colonialization and territorial expansion (Sibley, 1986). Instead, it is the goal of this chapter to reveal that they intentionally established themselves by re-enacting their religious, social and economic traditions and values, but also improvising and adapting creatively to their external world in a culturally specific way.

Armed with an array of rural farming, fishing and other productive skills, and strategies of survival derived from their participation in a pre-industrial agrarian and village economy in India, the immigrant Indians entered into the system of indenture. This experience served to suspend their independence and dislocate their traditional cyclical routine. Their traditions and skills, during this period were transformed as they adapted to their new context. However, on becoming 'free', it is proposed that the main goal of establishing themselves as petty producers was to re-instate their independence and organize their work and life to achieve the goal of a just past society. And it was to the resources of their religion and the family as an institution that they turned in order to establish a place-based cultural and economic community where 'mutual fraternal aid' would achieve such equality.

Section 6.2 presents an overview of the culturally specific intentions of Indian peasant settlers who located in the peri-urban areas of Durban. The historical context within which these intentions were framed is also discussed. This is followed in Section 6.3 by an examination of the material foundations of the 'free' community i.e. market gardening.

In Section 6.4, an overview of the cultural resources and institutions through which the Indian community established themselves and survived in harsh conditions is presented. These are the extended family, religion, language and communal associations.

6.2 The intentions behind settlement

The well-known sources of the history of Indians in South Africa present the movement of Indians towards the towns as an unfolding of events (Calpin, 1949; Palmer, 1956; Brain, 1985). These histories tend to ignore the intentions which brought about early urban settlement.⁶ It is the goal of this section to attempt an interpretation of the intentions of the Indian migrants settling in southern Durban.⁷

The journey of the 'free' Indians to the cities will be shown to have been both exploratory and intentional. It is logical to assume that the goal to be independent, after the experience of a long and repressive period of indenture was the chief desire of the 'free' Indian. The 1882 Umlazi Division Annual Report (cited in Freund, 1994), noted that the Indian preferred the 'independence of a farmer' on a small piece of land than the bondage of indenture. Freedom from the absolute control over every aspect of life which characterized the life of an indentured labourer, as well as from arduous and unrewarding labour, would be the overarching reason for not re-indenturing on the expiry of a contract. It was from this meaningless existence, that migrants moved to Durban, to create a new life.

Perhaps the next most compelling intention of all Indian migrants was to establish themselves and their families on a piece of land. Freund (1994) contends that indentured labour coming to South Africa would have had some idea of the possibility of obtaining land on the completion of indenture and it was thus this prospect that propelled many of them into the indenture process.⁸ Natal was reputed to have the best possibilities and opportunities amongst the colonies to which indentured labour was contracted. Once settled on a piece of land, the physical journey would be over and 'imaginative' travelling could commence (Carter, 1987). The oppression and hardships endured by labourers during the experience of indenture can perhaps be construed for many, to be merely a passage, a marking of time, before the ultimate goal of settling down and working one's own piece of land could be achieved.⁹ Thus for the majority, upon termination of indenture, the quest was to rent a piece of land, with the hope of purchasing it at a later stage. It is proposed that the third major imperative would have been to re-establish the just world of the past, modelled on the cultural and social traditions and norms that they

had brought with them from India.

Although isolated on the sugar farms, the rural contract workers heard by word of mouth where the possibilities for settlement were around Durban. Once the original settlers had made their choice, migration was easier for those who followed. Since it was predominantly Tamil speaking Indians of southern Indian origin who settled in the south (Maharaj, 7/3/1986; Freund, 1994), other migrants with the same background would have been attracted to this location, as it offered the possibilities of easy communication, mutual aid and communality.

Thus the settlers made 'active spatial choices' as 'historical individuals' (Carter, 1987). They were in search for a piece of land, for residential or small-scale agricultural purposes, and the possibility of locating near other Indian families, where kinship, religious, language or place of origin could provide the basis for a network of reciprocal assistance to create a new life.

Land however, was merely a vehicle for achieving other goals. The passage of recently indentured Indians into the urban milieu was predominantly through small-scale peri-urban agriculture although it is documented that some of these people entered the urban labour market from the 1870's (Halliday, 1940; Freund, 1994). Thus the land formed the spatial locality or material base for a semi-peasant economy via which other goals or intentions could be achieved. With the emergence of a node of Indian settlement a range of other petty productive activities and services also developed in the area. Access to land enabled the process of settling down to occur with the subsequent creation of symbolic boundaries and place-naming - and with these intentions realized, the 'writing of the text' could begin (Carter, 1987,65).

6.3 Market gardening: the material foundations of a 'free' life in southern Durban.

In Berger's (1979) analysis of peasant communities he notes that the peasant class is essentially a class of survivors, even within a capitalist society, engaging in an 'economy within an economy' and able to support itself through the production of a surplus. It is contended here that the early Indian settlers engaging in predominantly small-scale agricultural activities¹⁰ in southern Durban were such a class, defining their own priorities and values. The fact that they supported themselves independently, although producing the necessary surplus for the economic and political system within which they were integrated, meant that they existed on the 'frontier of the system' (Berger, 1979,197).

Thus the goal of working the land¹¹ was a goal of independent survival - to produce enough surplus to first overcome the preliminary obstacle of paying the rent either to the state or landowners, and then assuring the needs of the family (Berger, 1979). With the introduction of the three Pound tax on 'free' Indians in 1896, the burden of meeting this obligation forced many farmers back into indenture (Brain, 1985).

Although the southern Durban corridor was a 'marginal zone' in colonial urban space, it provided the ideal conditions for engaging in small-scale market gardening - a 'haven' where the 'hidden economy' could operate, and a new society could be created. The alluvial soil was rich and easy to work, water was plentiful from the nearby Amanzimnyama, Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers, and firewood from the mangroves, provided the basics for a life on the land (Mrs Subramoney, in Scott and Criticos, 1991) (See Fig 5.2).

6.3.1 Access to land

A decisive factor that led Indian settlers to look to the periphery for land was the Durban Council's land policy. During the 1860's and 1870's, this policy restricted the alienation of land within the Borough and favoured the leasehold system.¹² In the absence at this stage of any municipal policies of racial segregation or prevention of land acquisition by 'free' Indians,¹³ it was rather the unavailability of borough land that caused prospective settlers to look outside the Borough. The policy of restricting the availability of freehold land was cited by the Borough Boundaries Commission of 1930 as the cause of the settlement of Indians outside the Borough boundaries creating vast densely crowded slums (Swanson, 1964).

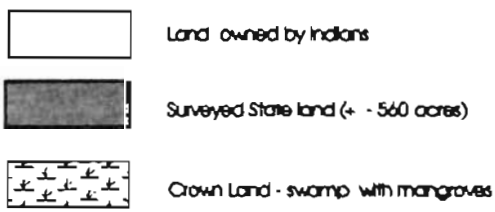
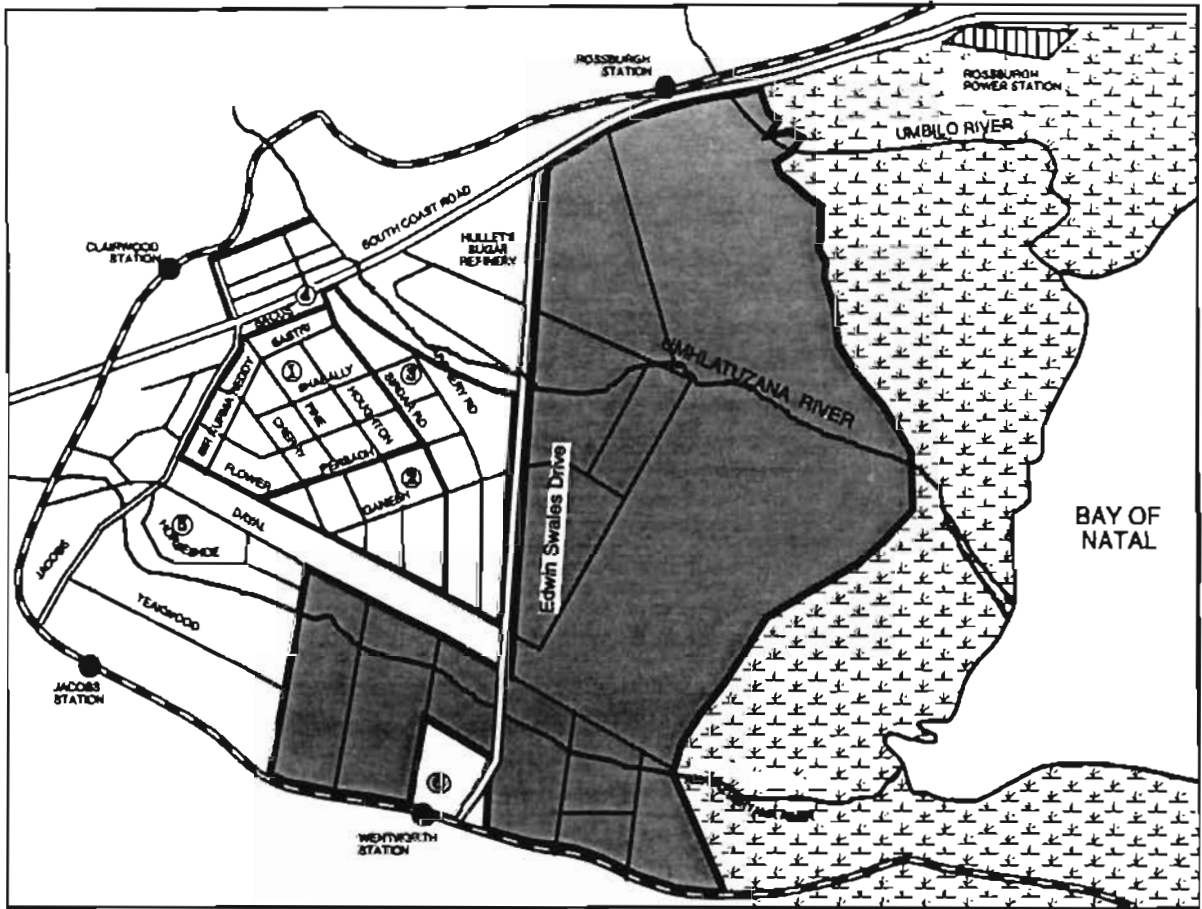
In the 1870's, however, systematic policies for separating, registering, controlling and defining the location of the African and Indian population began to emerge in response to the increasing numbers of 'strangers' within the town who appeared to threaten the standards of civic life. It was from this period that racial exclusion channeled prospective immigrants to areas of 'no-mans' land' outside the Borough.¹⁴

The adverse physical quality of the area of southern Durban thus paralleled the legal, political, social and economic status of the early pioneers it housed.¹⁵ However, although 'adverse in quality', freehold land was plentiful, fertile and cheap and the area was not subject to municipal taxes. There were various land acquisition strategies adopted by Indian farmers and residents - namely, purchasing or renting privately-owned land, renting state land and squatting.

It is likely that the first groups of ex-indentured Indian farmers settled in southern Durban after the first indentures expired in the early 1870's. The Report of the Coolie Commission of 1872, (quoted in Greyling, 1969, 295), noted the appearance of 'coolies' on the outskirts of Durban who "carried on a thriving trade in the sale of vegetables and tobacco". It is believed that most of the Indian farmers rented land for these purposes on short-term leases or squatted on Crown land.

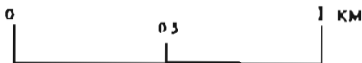
Christopher (1969) notes the increasing subdivision of semi-urban land around Durban from the 1880's.¹⁶ Originating as an early outspan node (Davies, 1963), Clairmont (renamed Clairwood in 1911) on the southern route out of Durban, formed the focus of an emerging Indian commercial node with Muslim passenger Indians initially leasing sub-divided land, from Woods Estate, along the South Coast Road, and building shops to supply the southern Durban Indian community. Land was leased here until purchases occurred in the third and fourth decades of the century (See Zone 4 in Fig 6.1).¹⁷

A large portion of the southern corridor of Durban, stretching from the Bayhead to Mobeni and Merebank, was part of the original grant to Robert N Dunn and hence the farm name of Dunn's Grant. This farm extended over 2644 acres and was purchased by George Wood Senior on 12/6/1861.¹⁸ After one acre was donated to the Catholic Church, the remains of this large farm was inherited by Benoni H Wood.¹⁹ The central portion of Clairwood between South Coast Road, Persadh and Sirdar Roads (V of Dunn's Grant) was sub-divided and sold directly to Indian buyers (See Zone 1 in Fig 6.1). The plots closest to the artery of South Coast Road were sold off earliest²⁰ with all plots much the same size (I. Maharaj, 7/3/86). The plots north of Sirdar Road were all sold from Woods Estate at a mean price of 110 Pounds for 1 rood 6 perches (See Zone 3 in Fig 6.1).²¹ The major land sales in Clairwood took place in the 1920's and 1930's in Zones 1 to 5 in Fig 6.1.²²



DATE OF INDIAN LAND PURCHASES IN CLAIRWOOD

- ① Early - mid 1920's
- ② 1920's - 1930's
- ③ Late 1920's + 1930's
- ④ 1930's + 1940's Shopping strip
- ⑤ 1930's Horseshoe Road area
- ⑥ Sold to Indian farmers 1920's



SCALE: 1:25 000

Fig 6.1: Land Purchases in Clairwood in the early 20th century
 Source: Land Records, City Estates Department, Durban Corporation

Aerial photographs for 1931 reveal concentrations of settlement along Sirdar Road and Pine Road, as well as in the Horseshoe Road loop,²³ and extending down Jacobs Road (See Zone 5 in Fig 6.1 and Plate 4.1). Thus it was that Mr Mahadeo became the owner of 1 rood and 4 perches in Jacobs Road (10 of V of Dunn's Grant) on 25/4/1917; Mr Coopadu purchased a plot roughly the same size in Pine Road on 21/11/1925,²⁴ and the three Moosa brothers acquired a property further down Sirdar Road²⁵ away from the shopping node on 3/8/1929.

Land speculation in the late nineteenth century was at a high level (Christopher, 1969) and wealthy Indian landowners bought tracts of land in this area from the estate of B H Wood for sub-division and sale to Indian buyers. The majority of what was the residential portion of Clairwood was originally owned by E J Paruk and M A Karim, wealthy Indian moneylenders and property speculators. The tract of land between Persadh, Sirdar and Flower Roads (A of V of Dunn's Grant) was owned by M A Karim and sold off after incorporation into the Borough, over the period from 1934 until the 1970's with most sales occurring in the 1930's and 1940's.²⁶ The entire portion of Mid- Wentworth of Wentworth,²⁷ was purchased by E J Paruk from Dunn's Estate and sold off in the 1920's and 1930's (See Zone 2 in Fig 6.1).²⁸ The Deeds Office records also reveal that M A Karim and E J Paruk formed a company called Commercial Properties Ltd through which they bought and sold land.

As Sirdar Road was the main through road to the Bluff, and the major road of Clairwood, settlement began to spread down Sirdar Road on the northern side (See aerial photograph in Plate 4.1). Between the Umhlatuzana River and Sirdar Road, plots were purchased from the Woods Estate in the latter half of the twenties e.g. the Singh family acquired over an acre and lived on this plot from 25/3/1926 until it was bought out by Epsom Motors on 5/5/1960.²⁹ It is also evident that families tended to occupy land for long periods e.g. P Samy lived 51 years from 1934 to 1985 between Sirdar and Archary Road.³⁰ The records also indicated that purchasers came from Clairwood itself, occasionally from Wentworth, but predominantly from Durban (See Zone 3 in Fig 6.1).³¹

Thus from the earliest record of Indian settlement to the south of Durban, the formal surveyed area of Clairmont (to become Clairwood in 1911) became a node of privately-owned and leased Indian land, occupied mainly for commercial and residential purposes. The families purchasing property were occupied in predominantly non-agricultural forms of urban activity supplying goods and services to the

nascent community. e.g. butchers, labourers, goldsmiths and merchants.³² However, some properties were purchased by market gardeners.³³ A secondary smaller node of privately-owned land in the southern corridor of Durban emerged further south at Merebank,³⁴ as well as a much smaller node of Indian properties at Fynnlands on the end of the Bluff.

Thus while land purchases occurred in the core of Clairwood and Merebank from the 1920's, these were chiefly for residential purposes rather than agricultural. The more common option of gaining access to land was to lease or rent land. Renting privately-owned land was the strategy adopted by the majority of migrant 'peasant farmers'. Much of the land around Durban was held by speculators and land companies and leasing land to Indian farmers brought in some income as land was difficult to sell in the 1880' and 1890's (Christopher, 1969).³⁵ If the figure quoted by Burrows (1943) of 2000 'free' Indians occupying scattered pieces of property within two miles of Durban by 1885, is accepted, it can be estimated that possibly 500 of these people might be resident in the south. This would account for an estimated 80 families, the majority of whom would be engaged in farming, occupying rented land.

Mr Winn, a white landowner and one of the early pioneers of Merebank, held a large portion of land and "was quite happy to let his land in small lots, to build houses thereon and sufficient land to cultivate and even to keep cows".³⁶ Winn's Farm and the portion of Merebank which was part of Woods Estate were later sub-divided and sold to property investors such as E M Paruk, the Lockhat Brothers and S M Jhavary - and it was these investors that "let their lands on lease on a yearly basis for the purpose of cultivation and to build homes thereon...and as a result the influx of (Indian) people from far and wide began".³⁷

The final alternative was to 'squat' on state or Crown land, of which there was an abundance particularly in the Bayhead³⁸ and Amanzimnyama areas^{39 40} (See Fig 6.1 - The maps reveals an area of approximately 640 acres of surveyed state land and an almost equally large area of swampy unsurveyed land alienated to the Crown in the colonial period). Since this land was unusable, the Harbour Board and colonial authorities turned a blind eye to these early developments which occurred on a relatively small scale. In the twentieth century, these occupants became 'tenants-at-will' paying a nominal annual rental. Mr E. Veerasamy recalls that his father, 'the official 'Railway Sirdar', a paid servant of the South African Railways (SAR) to oversee the community of 'Railway Tenants' was one of the prominent

community leaders of the 'Railway Flats' near the Amanzimnyama River, in the 1920's and 30's" (See Fig 5.2).⁴¹ The aerial photographs of 1931 show substantial development of shacks and market gardens throughout the southern corridor and on the Bluff (See Plate 4.1).⁴²

6.3.2 *Market gardening: the route to urban life*

It was in the last two decades of the nineteenth century that market gardening became the material base for the emerging southern Durban Indian community, and most Indian families took this route through agriculture to enter the urban arena (Freund, 1994). As independent peasant⁴³ farmers, they were not entirely dependent on the colonial wage economy and combined market gardening with other pursuits. Although part of their fruit and vegetable crop was used for subsistence purposes, the market gardeners began to articulate with the larger colonial society through the marketing of fruit and vegetables for the white urban market (See Plate 6.1).

Brain (1985, 216) notes that the records reveal 'glowing accounts' of the free Indians "remarkable success in growing all kinds of food crops". Even if not able to purchase land, those renting land from speculators or entering into tenants-at-will contracts with the local and national government, were able to succeed. Increasing Indian land purchases have been noted in the 1890's (Freund, 1994), but it is likely that it was only much later that some of free Indian agricultural peasantry had accumulated enough capital to purchase property.⁴⁴

The resident magistrate of Umlazi noted that those Indian families growing maize, sweet potatoes and tobacco in Clairmont and along the South Coast railway line "entirely shut out European competition" (in Brain, 1985, 212). Having come from a rural peasantry in India, the Indian market gardeners were experienced gardeners. The growing of vegetables for household use on garden plots was the custom throughout India (Brain, 1985). Thus many new varieties of vegetables were introduced into the cuisine of colonial Natal, in addition to the favourites of brinjals, garlic and yams. For the Indian market, the gardeners cultivated spices for the cooking of curry, namely tumeric, chillies and coriander (Brain, 1985). In 1900, fruit and vegetables produced by Indian gardeners in Natal, comprised 41% of the total fruit and vegetable crop of the colony (Statistical Yearbook of the Colony of Natal, 1900, in Brain, 1985, 212). While the production of fruit and vegetables was largely geared for the white market, tobacco and maize were grown for the African market and rice to cater for Indian tastes (Freund, 1994).



Plate 6.1: Indian woman hawking fruit and vegetables
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

The diversity and abundance of produce grown by the Indian market gardeners reduced the price of fruit and vegetables in the colony down. There was an intense market commitment amongst the market gardeners, who cultivated for the market rather than for domestic use (Freund, 1994). Their commercial success was due to a number of factors. Firstly, in order to survive, the gardeners had to adapt to conditions intolerable to white settler farmers, and exist often on very small margins of profit. Contributing to this was the fact that the majority were tenants-at-will on state land and paid very low rentals

for arable land. Most importantly, however, Indian market gardeners relied on their families for labour, thus avoiding a further production cost. The extended family was thus the crucial ingredient for successful market gardening as it functioned as a corporate productive enterprise (Freund, 1994).

Freund (1994) describes a typical Indian smallholding in the year 1892/3.⁴⁵ The average size of a smallholding was 5 acres which was rented for between 10 shillings to a Pound per annum, and farmed by two males, usually father and son, or brothers. By the 1940's, the size of such portions of land was an average of 2 acres (Halliday, 1942). The homestead would be built on the land adjacent to the fields. In some cases, farmers worked a number of small scattered plots (See Plate 4.1). It is important to note that even as late as 1940, a Public Health Survey documented the acreage under market gardening in the southern corridor as being 640 acres in the Clairwood Flats and 220 acres in the Bayhead (cited in Freund, 1994). This represented more acreage than the total for the rest of Durban, and the extent of this form of land-use is clearly visible on Plate 4.1.

The extended family provided one of the resources which the Indian market gardeners relied on for their survival. It enabled a relatively large number of adults to engage in a variety of activities relating to agriculture. The women were of great importance as they were involved in agricultural production, the marketing of products via hawking (Plate 6.1), or selling in the Victoria Steet Market⁴⁶ (Plate 6.2), as well as supplying domestic labour. Furthermore, these activities were combined with other informal activities, or wage labour, which was often of a temporary nature to cope with low yields resulting from poor environmental conditions (Brain, 1985).

However, market gardening brought no great rewards, and the emphasis on cash crop production was geared to the demands of tax, rather than for subsistence. It was however, an attractive enterprise, particularly for the poor, since it yielded quick cash returns (Freund, 1994). Materially, life as a market gardener in southern Durban was on the whole very difficult, bringing small rewards and affording few opportunities to accumulate capital.

It was the 1896 three Pound tax on all non-indentured Indians that put an unbearable strain on the small agriculturists, especially in a bad season (Brain, 1985). For those that continued on the land and managed to overcome the handicap of an imposed monetary obligation, there were



Plate 6.2: The Fresh Produce Market in Victoria Street, 1910

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

other hazards that had to be overcome in the subsistence half of the peasant's economy. Natural hazards, such as crop failure, droughts or floods, however, did not stop the rebuilding of homes, temples⁴⁷ and continuation of farming activities in this area.

Regular flooding of the Umbilo, Umhlatuzana and Amanzimnyama rivers rendered small-scale agricultural activity on the alluvial flats of southern Durban a relatively risky and hazardous occupation. The Illustrated Souvenir of the Great Storm, 31st May, 1905,⁴⁸ tells of 500 Indians drowning in the 1905 flood when ten and a half inches of rain fell in 15 hours causing the Pinetown reservoir to burst and flooding the Umbilo Valley. Nepal (27/1/1987) recalled how the Bayhead shackdwellers often suffered from the flooding of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers, having to evacuate the area and be accommodated in the temple halls in Clairwood until the deluge had subsided.

As a group at the 'base' of colonial society, the Indian population was offered no state protection or resources and had to endure social and political oppression and neglect. The alluvial flats of southern Durban were neglected with respect to amenities, both before and after the area became part of the Borough of Durban. There was no water supply initially,⁴⁹ although communal taps were installed after the area was incorporated into the Borough of Durban in 1931 (See Plate 6.3). Stormwater drainage, a sewerage system, and electricity were initially absent in the southern corridor. Apart from the through roads, communication was poor within the area with Sirdar Road forming the only through road to the Bluff. With the high water table, and the use of pit latrines, the area was most insanitary and disease and poor health rife (Burrows, 1940; University of Natal, 1952).

The vast majority of families in the southern Durban corridor lived in insubstantial wood and iron houses (tin shanties), some for many decades. Living as extended families, these households consisted of large numbers of people crowded into relatively small shacks. Even the more formal dwellings on privately-owned land became overcrowded from the thirties onwards, either by the taking in of tenants or by building outhouses on each property.⁵⁰ Population growth and the lack of alternative locations for Indian settlement led, by the 1940's, to overcrowding and the emergence of a squalid and unhealthy living environment - or 'slum' in official terminology.⁵¹

The housing surveys undertaken by the University of Natal in 1936 and 1943/4 noted that the "incidence of overcrowding was all the more serious on account of defective structures and ill-serviced areas" (University of Natal, 1952). Not only was Clairwood the most densely populated district in Durban, but also the most neglected. The Durban Housing Survey also noted that by the mid-century, "the Bluff area including Merebank, Jacobs, Wentworth, Kings Rest, Fynnlands and the Bayhead lands", as well as the Jacobs residential area, the Bayhead area and Clairwood were predominantly occupied by Indians on Indian-owned land (1952,279). Only on privately-owned lands did tin shacks give way in some cases to brick and tile houses and generally the area by 1950 was "in a neglected state" with water largely provided by the Corporation but primitive wells used in some cases (University of Natal, 1952,279).

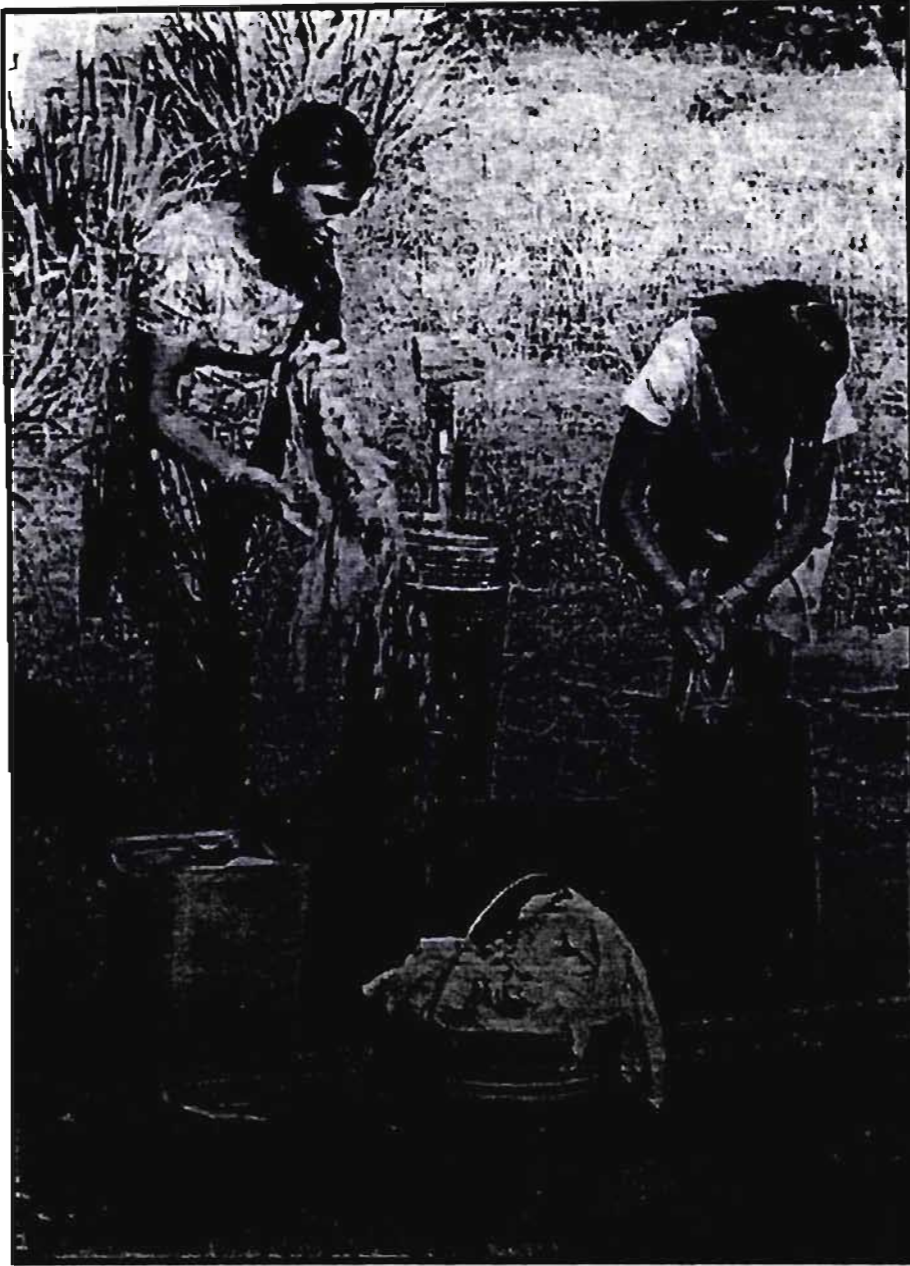


Plate 6.3: Indian woman collecting water at communal taps, Durban
 Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

Low and erratic incomes meant not only poor housing conditions, but also a poor diet. Halliday (1942) notes the reliance on beans, cheap bread and poor cuts of meat which further exacerbated poor health and increased the susceptibility to disease. Mrs Dixon Pillay's contradictory comment on the diet of her family in the 1920's and 30's tells us that "mutton..6d a Pound. And a tickey a salmon... sardines tickey. And 6d is the big tin (of sardines). So we live so nice. That time was a bit hard for us too" (28/11/1988).

Market gardening reached its peak in the 1920's whereafter it could no longer sustain itself. Freund (1994) maintains that the decline of the Indian peasantry from the 1920's was a complex process resulting from segregation and the inability of the poor to compete as agriculture became more modernized and the value of land exceeded the returns. However, it was the Durban Town Council's plans to transform the southern Durban corridor into an extension of the industrial zone around the bay, that was to finally result in the slow process of infrastructural and industrial penetration of the area.

In conclusion, the access to cheap land and the skills of market gardening brought by the indentured labourers from India were not sufficient causes for the development of a flourishing market gardening community in Southern Durban. Intertwined with these opportunities and advantages were the very important cultural and social frameworks of religion, the extended family, language and communality, which provided the foundations for the establishment of the southern Durban Indian community and its survival.

6.4 Surviving on the frontier of the system

6.4.1 The context of marginalization

As with all peripheral groups, the political and social system of colonial Natal offered the indentured and 'free' Indians the minimum of protection (Berger, 1979). They thus had to develop cultural and institutional resources to enable them to survive in a harsh political and social climate.

A major constraint for the Indian community settling in southern Durban was their low status in colonial society. From 1860, the indentured Indian class were marginalized by the dominant settler group as they were perceived to be a temporary, low class labour force. Culturally, they were identified as aliens with a set of living standards and social practices that deviated from the norms of civilized white society.

The marginalization process resulted in the neglect of the Indian community in colonial society and the exclusion of this group from resource allocation procedures, particularly in the realm of housing, services and education. Excluded from the mainstream of colonial life in Natal, the

Indian migrants became an inward-looking ethnic community establishing themselves in one of Durban's 'left-over spaces' and creating their own system of social, cultural and economic institutions and facilities essential for their survival.

However, it is possible from various sources on Indian social history to put together an interpretation of how the spatial process of 'settling down' led to the emergence of a place from where 'imaginative travelling' could begin (Carter, 1987). This journey of the imagination was the re-establishment of a morally just past, and the re-instatement of an independent peasant economy and the accompanying cultural traditions that would give it meaning. In realizing their intentions, the settlers were thus re-enacting the cultural rituals of earlier generations of Indian peasants creating meaning and continuity in the face of change and insecurity (Berger, 1979). These rituals served to periodize working life and form a survival strategy and a framework for living in a new environment.

However, while the repetition of rituals provided the formal framework for life, it is within this framework that peasants continually improvised. The scope for improvisation and opportunism was great in the 'residual zone' of southern area where controls were lax and the text could be written with little interference from more powerful authors. Thus, in addition to a rich cultural heritage providing a formal set of behavioural and procedural codes for living, tolerance of the dominant whites, and the characteristics of opportunism, shrewdness and ingenuity were also powerful resources in surviving and the making of a place for themselves in southern Durban.

It was the resources of religion, the family as an institution, and language, that the Indian settlers in southern Durban primarily turned to in order to establish a cultural and economic community where 'mutual fraternal aid' would achieve such equality.

6.4.2 The creation of meaning and continuity: the role of religion

The “all pervasive religious consciousness” of the Indian immigrants and their descendants formed the basis of identity, social well-being and community in a hostile environment. Even the most humble Indian immigrant, most of whom were Hindu,⁵² knew what was expected of him and his family since the stories and principles of Hindu religion, such as the **Bhagavad Gita**⁵³ and the **Ramayana**, were transmitted orally and passed on from one generation to the next. A Muslim too has to fulfill all the obligations and duties of Islam.⁵⁴

Only very few of the early settlers were priests and could read the scriptures in the original Sanskrit or the different vernacular languages of Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil and Telegu. They were responsible for working amongst the communities and teaching the scriptures, as well as conducting the rituals, and dispensing medicinal potions (Poovalingum, 1990).

Religion has always been a very powerful stabilizing force in the life of South African Indians expressing itself in a coherent social structure (Pillay et al, 1989), and re-enacted symbolically in the text of the landscape via a multitude of private shrines, and magnificent public temples (See Plate 6.4).

By 1910, on the sugar farms worked by indentured Indian labourers and in Indian communities settled around towns, temples became permanent features across the landscapes (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). Every culture weaves its world out of image and symbol (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988), and so from a figtree representing the sacred place in the new neighbourhood, to a simple wattle-and-daub and then corrugated iron structure, temples developed into prominent symbolic structures (Plate 6.5 shows the evolution of the Shree Parasathie Temple in Merebank from humble origins to a prominent landmark). They were lavishly adorned with delightful plaster sculptures “announcing a pantheon of deities to the world” and stood out above a sea of drab and impermanent structures (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982,3) (See Plate 6.6). The act of temple building itself was a form of religious worship by the community.⁵⁵

The communal place of worship for the Hindu is the temple and, although worship is a personal affair, at certain times of the year the whole community come together for the major festivals⁵⁶ (See Appendix I which illustrates an advertisement for the Jacobs Road Fire Walking Festival). It is during these time that the temple compounds ‘come alive’



Plate 6.4: Woman praying at private shrine
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

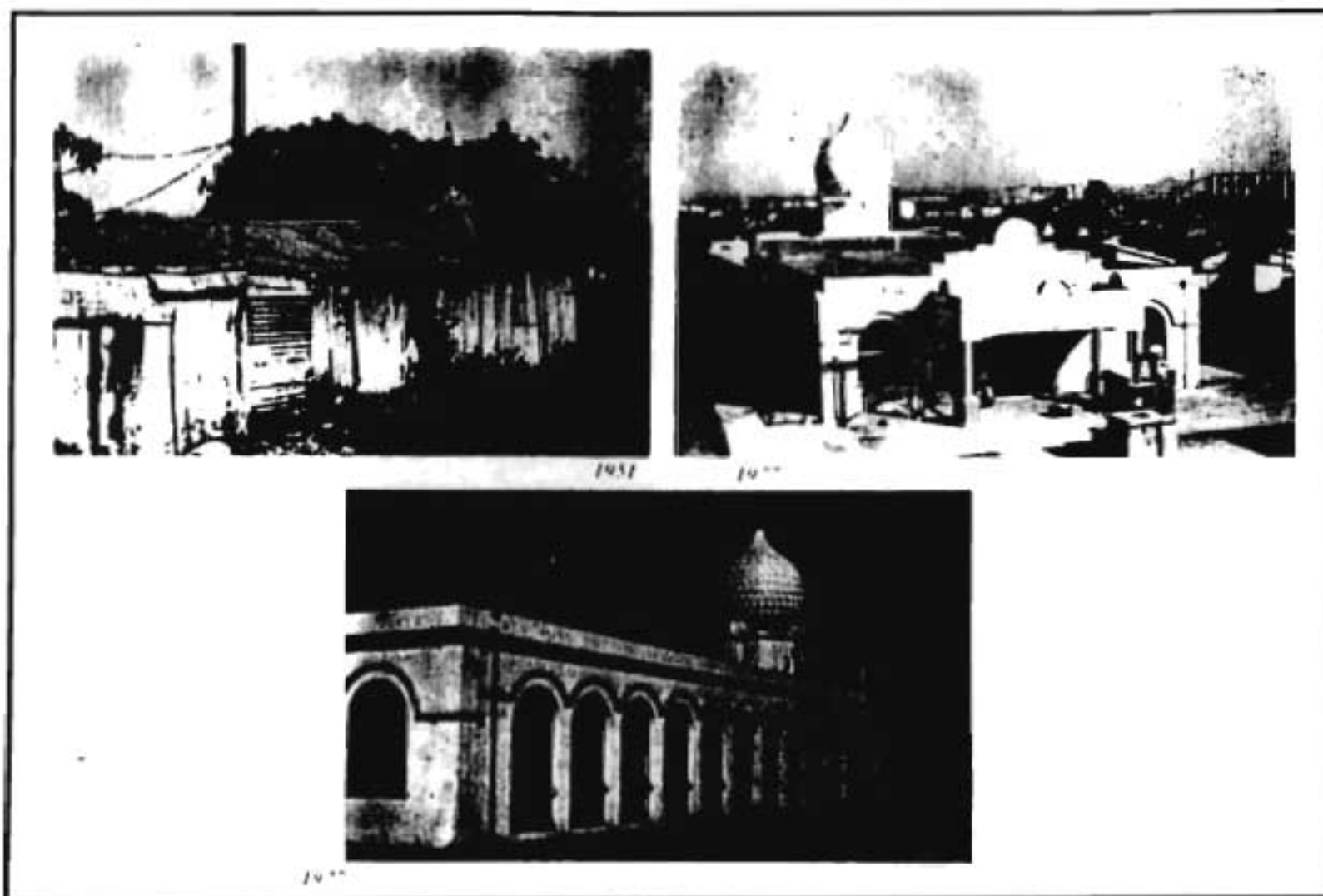


Plate 6.5: The Shree Parasathie Temple, Merebank, 1951 and 1977
Source: The Merebank Government School, Golden Jubilee Souvenir Brochure, 1927-1977

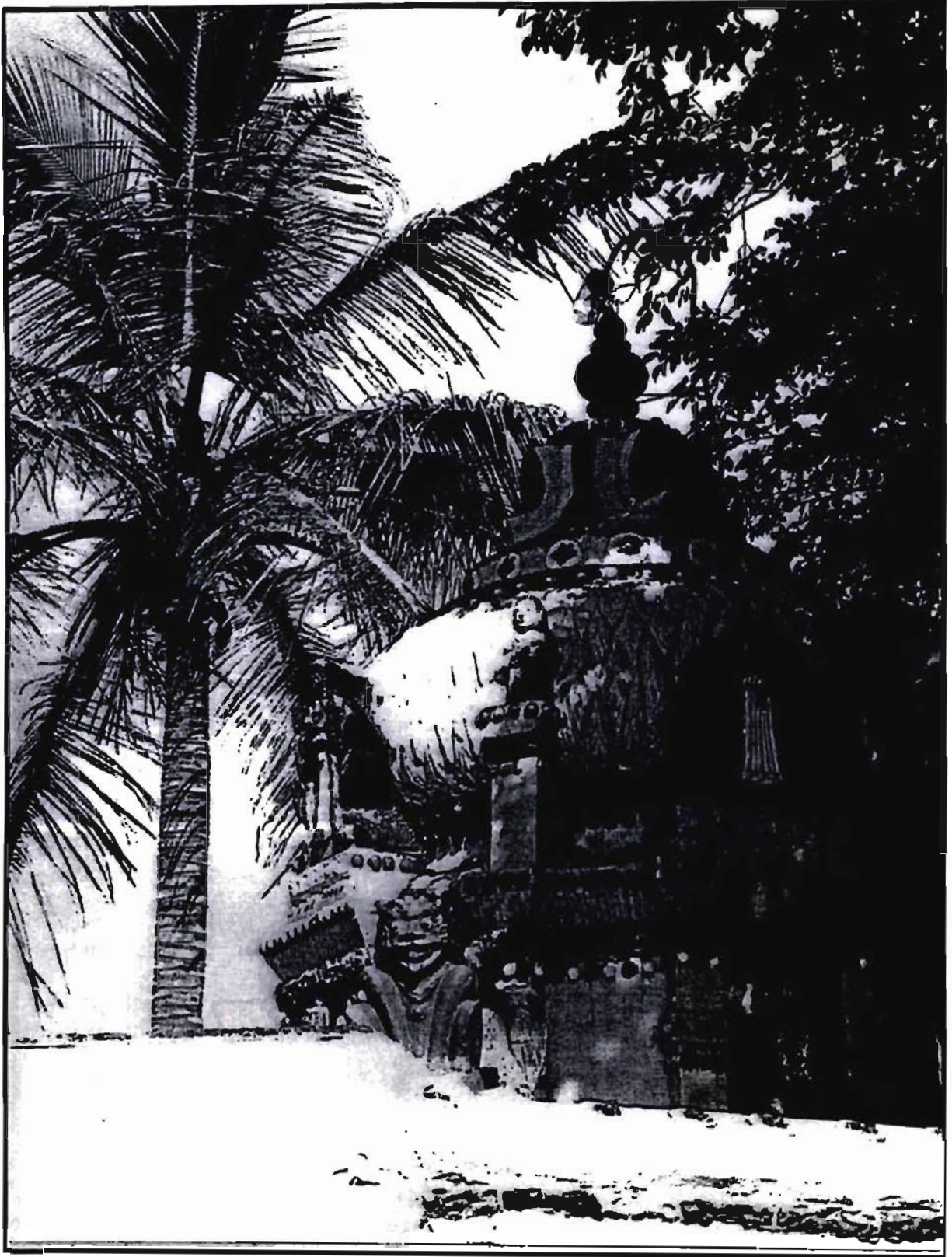


Plate 6.6: The Shree Subramoniar Temple, Sirdar Road, Clairwood.
Source: Mikula, Harber and Kearney, 1982

... bedecked with flowers and garlands, marquees erected, flags are raised, bamboo shelters appear, and vast open air cooking areas are set up (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982,24).

One of the most remarkable temple compounds in Natal is that of the Sirdar Road Temple in Clairwood - the Shree Shiva Subramoniar Alayam,⁵⁷ where the cultural features i.e. a community hall, priests quarters, classrooms, sacred trees and pilgrims rooms dominate the site (See Plate 6.7). Built on land donated by a prominent public figure, Mr M R Govender, this temple celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1991.⁵⁸

Older and more intriguing is the Shree Ambalavanar Alayam - also known as the Umbilo or Rosburgh Temple - first built in 1889.⁵⁹ The legend goes that a young Hindu, swimming in the Umbilo River that flowed into the Bay, brought up a spear which was like the Vel (spear) of Shree Siva Subramoniar.⁶⁰ This divine omen signalled the building of the southern Durban Indian community's first temple.⁶¹ This temple was destroyed in 1903 and 1905⁶² by floods and was repeatedly rebuilt (Grossert, 1942). Rebuilt again in 1910 on land less susceptible to flooding, and donated by the Pathers, it became one of South Africa's most famous temples where festivals attracted thousands of devotees from all over

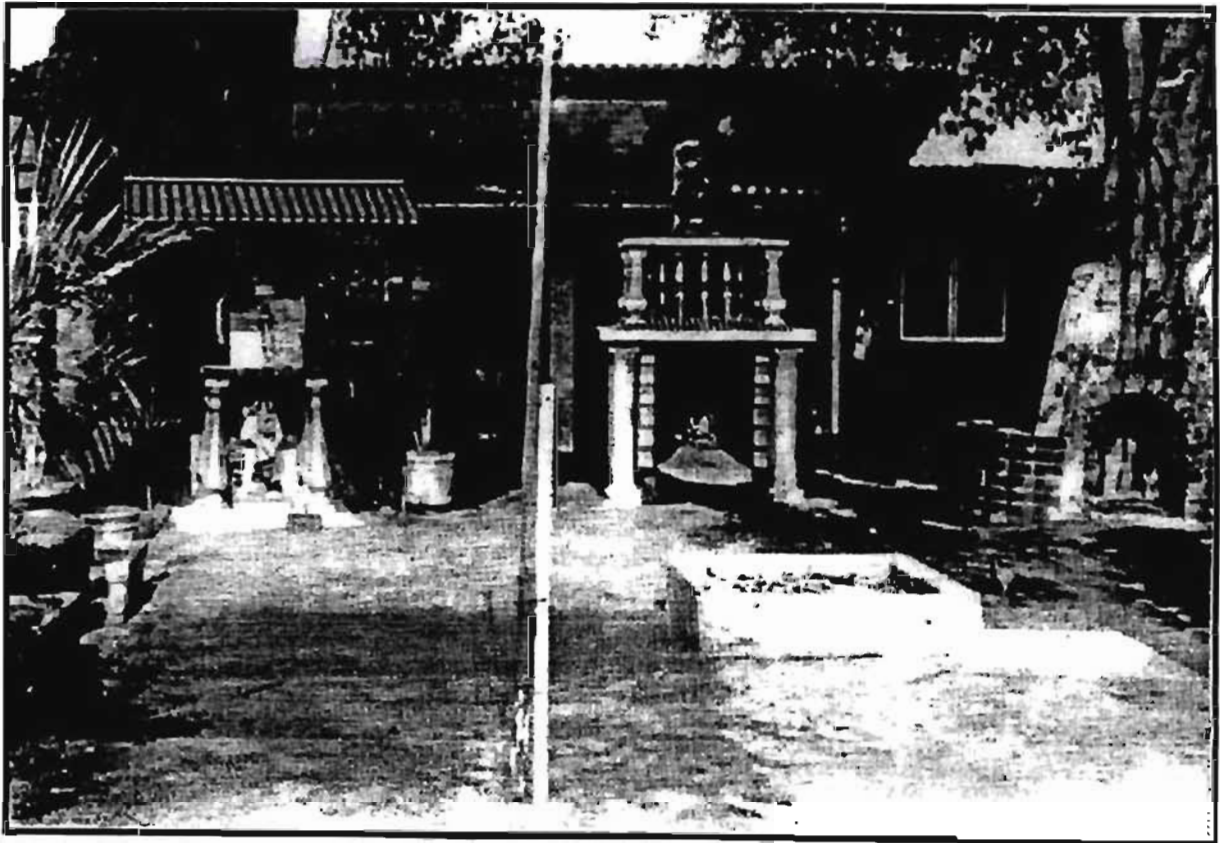


Plate 6.7: View of Temple compound, Shree Subramoniar Temple, Sirdar Road, Clairwood
Source: Poovalingum, 1990,55

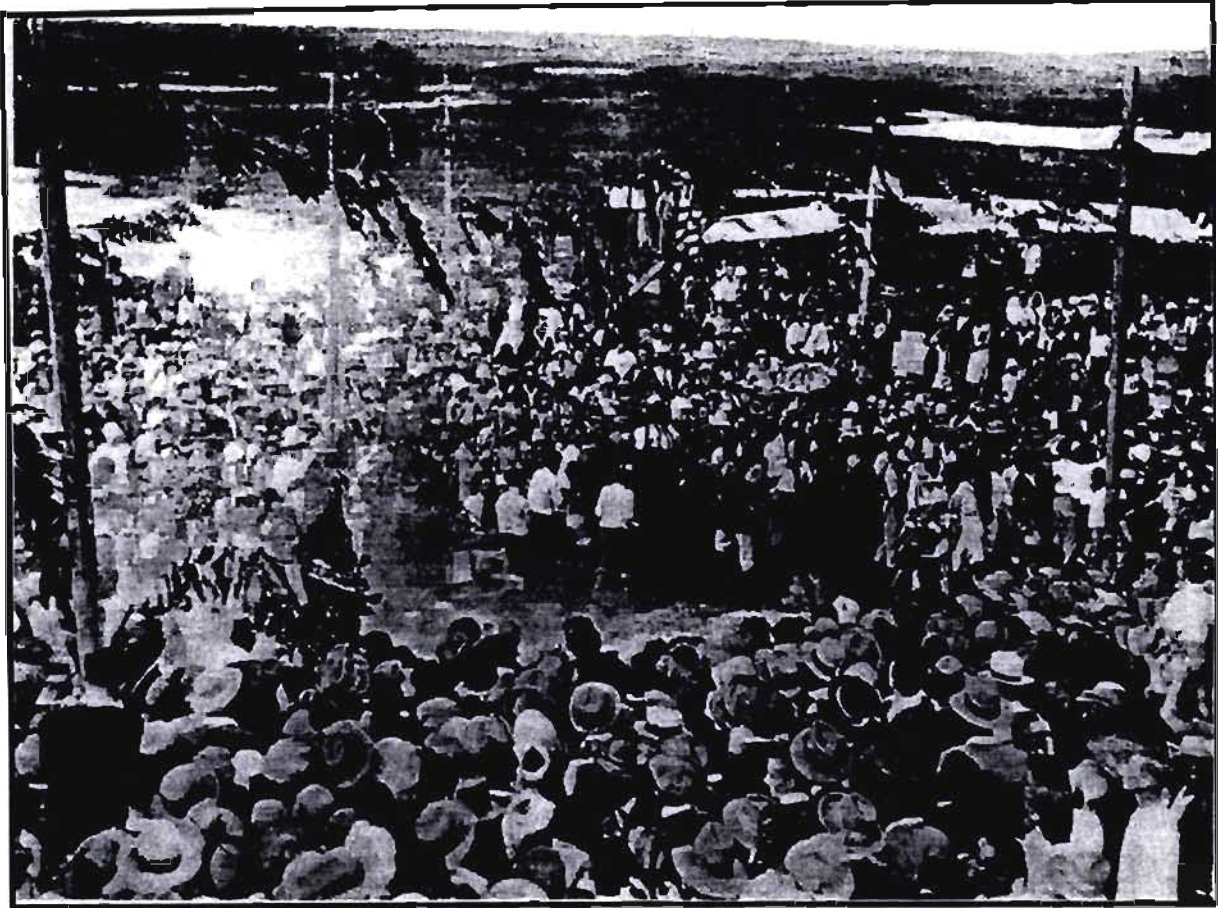


Plate 6.8: Fire Walking Ceremony at the Umbilo Temple, 1930

Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

South Africa (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982; Ainslie, 1988) (See Appendix 2). Plate 6.8 portrays a scene from the fire-walking ceremony at the Umbilo Temple with the swampy Bayhead flats in the background. While the earlier temple became drowned in alluvial silt, the rebuilt temple was buried under the Southern Freeway as development encroached southwards in the 1940's (Natal Mercury, 29/8/1946).⁶³

Built of wood and iron in 1937, and rebuilt in brick in 1945, the Shree Murugar Alayam or Jacobs Road Temple was built by the community with sponsorship from prominent community leaders and a local priest cum temple-builder, Murugas Naicker (See Plate 6.9). A Mariaman temple was later added by the women of the congregation. Naicker himself, had built his own private shrine in Richborough Road in Clairwood - the Ganesa Temple - in 1909, and was reputed to have the first 'solid' house in Clairwood.⁶⁴

While the above well known temples were of south Indian origin, the Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple of Sirdar Road, Clairwood was the only north Indian temple and the religious focus of the Hindi-speaking



Plate 6.9: The Shree Murugar Alayam, Jacobs Road, Clairwood
Source: Poovalingum, 1990, 104

Hindus of the southern Durban area. Built in 1916 of wood and iron, it was rebuilt from 1920-1931 as a solid structure and included a large hall and school.^{65 66}

Also of importance, but founded at a relatively later stage in 1950, was the Shree Parasathie Temple in Merebank (See Appendix 3 for history of this temple).⁶⁷ Other early temples to the south of Durban included the Shree Poongavana Amman temple in Bellair Road (1900), the Isipingo Rail Mariaman Temple built in 1912, and the Seaview Vishnu Temple (1904) serving an extended family of north Indian Telegu-speakers until 1950 (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). It is important to note that all these famous temples, and their counterparts to the north of the Umbilo River in Durban were built as private shrines on private property and later became communal places of worship.

As communities grew and became more prosperous, priests, teachers and temple-builders were imported and vernacular schools became an adjunct to the temples themselves (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). The 'temple compound'⁶⁸ began to take on more than merely a religious function, as community halls and classrooms⁶⁹ were constructed as part of the complex. Indians of all classes and

religions had access these communal facilities (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). The temples were administered by a committee of trustees - a tradition which has continued until the 1990's, often resulting in the succeeding generations of the same family continuing to undertake the duties of trusteeship.⁷⁰

In addition to this public display of religious devotion, private shrines and garden altars, to house an idol precious to the family, were common in every humble home. Neelan Govender vividly remembers the prayer and worship that took place diurnally every day at a small temple next to their home in Wentworth

Our daily prayer, morning and evening constituted meditation, chanting, mantras with prayer beads (Japa malai), yoga, singing, abishagam (bathing the deities - yes on a daily basis), arjuanai and arathanai, pradakshina or circumambulation X 9 and prostration. All of this took up to two hours before dashing off to school...

In the evenings the many lamps had to be lit, evening hymns sung; more meditation and yoga before we adjourned to our books. At 7 pm we would partake of the daily offerings of fruit, sweetmeat and milk from the temple. Supper was for those who did not succumb to sleep which was at 9.45 pm when the Huletts sugar mill in Rosburgh set off its siren.⁷¹

Although there were educated Hindu priests such as Vathier, who used the traditional Tamil texts for prayer, the art of healing and astrology, the majority of Hindus were of the lower castes, and illiterate. There were only a small number of Brahmins, Ksatriyas and Vaishyas (Pillay et al, 1989).⁷² There therefore emerged in the Natal Indian community, a predilection for certain religious forms due to the illiteracy of most Hindus - a form of Hinduism focussed on non-scriptural devotion and ritualism (Pillay et al, 1989).

One of the few teachers of Hindu religion and Tamil whose work has been documented, was Venkatapathy Nayagar, who during his life taught Tamil in Mt Edgecombe, Cato Manor, Sea Cow Lake, the Railway Barracks and even established a school for the children of the seimenetters at Fynnlands. However his main work was in Wentworth and Clairwood, where he went on to become the Stanigar (spiritual leader) of the Sirdar Road Subramoniar Temple in 1929.⁷³

A small number of religious schools were established, firstly in private homes, and then later in the early twentieth century, with greater prosperity, when land was donated by prominent community and religious leaders, or funds raised by the community, public schools were constructed by the community.

The Luxmi Narayan school provided much needed educational facility in Clairwood in the face of a severe shortage of Indian schools,⁷⁴ as did the Flower Road Madressa⁷⁵ and the South Coast Madressa.⁷⁶

It was in the classrooms and in temple precincts that the vernacular languages were learnt and passed on to succeeding generations, and songs and legends preserved. For example, the 'Thero Kuthu' - an all night drama, including singing and dancing⁷⁷ was performed on the eve of the Jacobs Road firewalking ceremony every year (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). The purpose of these dance dramas was to entertain the thousands of devotees who remained overnight for religious festivals.⁷⁸ The ornate Thero Kuthu costumes worn for this occasion are illustrated in Plate 6.10. Most importantly, religious education provided the emerging communities with a moral frame of reference, passed on in the form of oral narratives from the classical Hindu texts (Pillay et al 1989).

Although, Christian mission schools, such as St Aidans established in Rossburgh in the late nineteenth century, began to provide formal education for a handful of Indian children, it was the southern Durban Indian community itself that provided the first secular schools for their children. The first school was Clairwood Boys School established in 1903, as a primary school. Temple schools also played an important role serving sectarian interests e.g. the Madressa in Flower Road adjacent to the mosque served the needs of the early Muslim community teaching the vernacular.⁷⁹ These schools were established by Indian Educational Associations whose trustees were important religious leaders or businessmen in the Indian community.

It is thus important to conceptualize educational and social upliftment as part of the religious commitment of the Hindu and Moslem religions. It was only when the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) took over Indian education in 1945, that Indian education became secularized. Under the NPA, Indian religious and cultural perspectives were ignored,⁸⁰ and religious learning and the teaching of vernacular once more retreated to the home (Pillay et al, 1989).

Social work was also essentially a religious impulse. Mrs Dixon Pillay's devotion to the Clairwood Mathar Sungum (women's temple group) involved her in raising money to help the poor bury their dead, to initiate feeding schemes and cheer up poor patients at King Edward Hospital at Christmas time (28/11/1988). Social work for this group also involved working in the shanty areas of Clairwood and District such as Shale Road which was a "tin town" - a very poor area" (Mrs Dixon, 28/11/88). It was through religion that the framework of a 'moral past' could be and was



Plate 6.10: Indian dancers dressed for the Thero Kuthu
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

successfully re-established through the twentieth century. The temples,⁸¹ mosques⁸² and shrines, communal halls,⁸³ schools, cemeteries⁸⁴ and religious associations⁸⁵ punctuated the landscape creating a sacred space throughout the Indian occupied areas of the southern Durban corridor, and a vehicle for re-creating a 'moral past'. It was the "resilience of the Indians born out of spiritual values that guided them through their worst crises" (Daily News, 19/8/1994).

6.4.3 The re-instatement of the family as an institution

The re-establishment of the extended family represented another very important intention of the Indians coming out of the indenture experience (Freund, 1994). The extended family, which was a set of social relations originating in a pre-industrial agricultural caste society, was part of the cultural inheritance the Indian immigrants brought with them from India. Plate 6.11 illustrates the composition of an Indian family in traditional dress in Durban at the turn of the century.

It was through the re-establishment of this social structure that the Indian settler families created their identities and transmitted their social values and behavioural norms as a subject group in colonial Natal. These norms were embedded in Hindu culture and thus the very functioning of the extended family unit was prescribed and sanctioned by religious rites.⁸⁶

The Hindu kinship unit or patrilineal extended family is known as the 'kutum' to Hindi and Gujarati speakers and the 'Kudumbam or kudumor' to Tamil and Telegu speakers.⁸⁷ While extended families have as their core partnership that of males, either brothers or fathers and sons, in the post-indenture context, this was not always the case and expediency often resulted in some other pattern. If all members of the kutum did not live in the same neighbourhood, then neighbours became incorporated into kinship groups. The size of the average kutum is from 50 to 100 people.⁸⁸

It is particularly relevant to note that in the early settlement of southern Durban that pseudo-kinship bonds developed on the basis of home language. Newcomers who located near families of the same tongue identified with them on kinship terms (Freund, 1994).⁸⁹ In a discussion of her early life in Clairwood, Mrs Dixon Pillay noted that she and her husband moved into her husband's parent's home in Horseshoe Road upon marriage. Soon thereafter her parents also moved to Clairwood from Umbilo so as to be in the same area.⁹⁰

As an efficient economic and domestic unit, the extended family provided a relatively high standard of living due to the sharing of nutrition, clothing and possessions. The extended family also provided security and a form of social insurance for family members in times of hardship as well as in the inhospitable social climate of colonial and post-colonial Natal (Meer, 1969).



Plate 6.11: An Indian family, Durban c 1900
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

As families grew and the offspring of the original settlers married, there was ample space in the informal settlements of the southern corridor of Durban for the simple wood and iron shacks to be expanded.⁹¹ Kuper (1960) notes that the 'domestic architecture' of Indian homes revealed the social relations of the extended family with a communal living room cum verandah in the front of the house leading off the head of the household's bedroom. The verandah was the focus of male social activity. Successive bedrooms were then built behind the main bedroom in hierarchical importance of the occupant's family status. The kitchen and dining room were situated at the rear of the building and this was the locus of female domestic activity.⁹²

The immigration of further waves of ex-indentured Indian families in the early twentieth century, began to fill in the spaces between dwellings as they settled near relatives or in close proximity to other families with the same historical roots in India. A complex network of kinship relationships developed within and between the various Indian communities of Durban with loosely defined obligations based on moral and religious ties (Kuper, 1960). It is the woman, due to their attachment to the home, their control over

the children and their re-enactment of traditional religious and familial traditions that has been responsible for the persistence and stability of the kutum family structure from its early reinstatement in the Nineteenth Century up until the mid-Twentieth Century (Kuper, 1960).

Although southern Durban was originally predominantly Tamil speaking, attracting settlers from the same cultural heartland of India, there were people speaking other languages mixed in amongst them. In addition to linguistic diversity, southern Durban also displayed religious diversity and the early communities were predominantly Hindu. There were also Muslim and Christian religious groups.⁹³ In southern Durban, a small core of Muslim families settled, living usually in flats above their stores in the trading sector on South Coast Road. In the 1920's a small mosque and cemetery were founded in Flower Road adjacent the Clairwood Hindu Cemetery and the Clairwood Madras Cemetery.

In this way, the extended families joined up to form neighbourhoods which were essentially place-based, and it was in these places that social networks of mutual aid and reciprocity were formed. Thus began the emergence of a local community with networks beginning to form outside the family.

The traditional Indian family structure is a patriarchal hierarchical system, in which the younger members are dominated and subordinated, particularly the women. The absence of mothers-in-law amongst the early settlers freed young married women from the subordination usually experienced when moving into the husband's home. Subsequently, women were required to engage in not only domestic and child rearing activities, but whatever was required by the family enterprise, even if it meant wage work (Brunton, 1969; Freund, 1994). However, by the second generation the power of the traditional mother-in-law was re-established as was the place of the women to be at home. As Mrs Dixon Pillay recalls "You must listen to our mother-in-law and big people (women) must stay at home".⁹⁴

It was very difficult to live as a single Indian woman. The only respectable place for women to be, other than in the domestic realm, was in community service. (Plate 6.12 shows the first group of Indian midwives to be trained by the Durban Borough Health Department). Evidence from the seinetting community at Fynnlands,⁹⁵ suggests that in the early period, with small and insular communities scattered throughout southern Durban, intermarriage within the extended family was a common and sanctioned phenomenon, ensuring that all available women could be integrated into the family and remain



Plate 6.12: The first group of Indian midwives trained by the City Health Department, Durban
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

part of the structure. Typical was the case where much younger women in the family were married off to older 'uncles' once their first wives had passed away or were barren. In this way a family patriarch could have offspring from a number of wives, stretching over many decades.⁹⁶

An important set of social values thus sprang out of the particular way in which the Indian settlers established themselves as family units. These values embodied both the moral obligation of household heads and senior family members to care for all family members, especially the children and the elderly, and the appropriate reciprocal loyalty and deference of all family members for the household head and members of varying levels within the structure. This tightknit set of relationships was extended beyond the family to the surrounding community via various associations instituted to undertake many of the responsibilities of the family e.g. education and social welfare.

6.4.3 Language as the basis of community and identity

The importance of language in the creation of community, identity and place cannot be underestimated. It is “through that language, encountered at mother’s knee, and parted with only at the grave, that pasts are restored, fellowships are imaged, and futures dreamed of” (Anderson, 1983, 140). The Indian community was literally and figuratively ‘muted’ as they were detached from the mainstream society by language and social and political status (Sibley, 1981).

The dominant language of the colony of Natal was English and while many Indian labourers both indentured and ex-indentured, learned English in the course of their jobs, the vernacular languages were powerful transmitters of Indian culture and worked to insulate the Indian community from the mainstream white society. In 1893, the Protector remarked on the quickness of the Indian in “picking up the spoken English and Zulu” without which it would have been impossible to successfully market their produce or conduct business in the urban milieu (cited in Brain, 1985, 211). Mr Juggernath (n.d.), ascribes his father’s promotion to foreman in the Jacobs Surprise Soap Factory in the 1920’s, to his knowledge of the English language.

He could not read or write, but spoke the language reasonably well as a result of being with the Johnsons family in Verulam and Johannesburg in his younger days (under indenture).

Among the Hindus, who were in the majority, there existed four language groups - the Tamil and Telegu speakers of South Indian origin, and the Hindi and Gujerati speakers of North Indian origin. Of these the Tamil speakers were in the majority (Meer, 1969). The majority of Muslims speak Urdu or Gujarati.⁹⁷

Although the closest bonds exist between people of common religion and language, Meer (1969) notes that friendships and networks emerged between persons of different religions and language who shared common neighbourhoods or who were brought together through professional reasons. It is only when marriages across language or religious barriers are contemplated that restrictions occur (Meer, 1969). Of great importance has been the role of associations in which people from different backgrounds have participated, resulting in tolerance and respect amongst Indians for people of other sub-cultures, in their joint quest for communal upliftment.

Formal tuition in English was rejected by some early Indian settler families as it was feared that it would turn children to Christianity and the moral teachings of Hinduism was considered a sufficient education.⁹⁸ This attitude changed and by the 1920's a knowledge of English was deemed necessary for upward mobility and an escape from the hardships of poverty. This increasing acceptance of English brought with it the merging of western and Indian values transmitted through language.

Through the process of koineization⁹⁹ a language called Natal Bhojpuri developed absorbing words from English, Zulu and Afrikaans and served as the discourse of the working Indian people (Freund, 1994). As an Indian dialect, it emerged as a linguistic adaptation to the local context in the absence of formal training in either an Indian language or English. At the same time, the speaking of English became a necessity for those engaging in the marketplace and 'South African Indian English' also developed as a further adaptation in the Indian culture (Freund, 1994). Thus emerged a 'creole culture' adapting and absorbing elements of the surrounding social and cultural environment, and yet retaining an essential 'Indianness' (Freund, 1994; Rose, 1994).

6.4.4 Communal associations: providing services for all

Neglected in terms of housing, social services, education, welfare and recreational facilities, by the white local and national state, the Indian community in Durban from the turn of the century, began to form voluntary communal associations to provide for the needs of the larger Indian community (Meer, 1969). Indian associations proliferated and exceeded those established by other race groups. Kuper (1960) suggests that the racial segregation and discrimination of Indians prevented them integrating with the whites thereby serving to encourage the perpetuation of ethnically and linguistically differentiated associations. As 'outsiders' both in colonial society and in the urban milieu, associations further fulfilled the need of the Indian community to establish themselves as permanent and proper members of society, and to provide a sense of identity (Kuper, 1960). Meer (1969,63) notes that where these associations have accumulated material wealth either in the form of land or capital, and have acquired a high status in the community, "competition for position and power becomes accentuated, and an annual general meeting bears the atmosphere of an election campaign".

While many of these associations operated nationally and throughout Durban, they had branches in Clairwood and District, and Merebank. For example, the Child Welfare Society, the Natal Indian Teachers Society (NITS) and the Boy Scouts Movement all had branches in Clairwood. Many, however, were locally specific, e.g. the Clairwood and District Indian Parents Association, the Teakwood Study Group (focussed on Teakwood Road in Clairwood) and the Luxmi Narayan Indian School.¹⁰⁰

Sectionalism within the Indian community created a number of cleavages within the religious and linguistically based associations (Persadh, July 1987). The primary division was between the Hindu and the Moslem associations, but a further division between Hindu associations and institutions of North Indian origin and South Indian origin also existed. In southern Durban, the emergence of associations devoted to the promotion of Tamil, a south Indian language spoken by Hindus, developed to counteract the claims of superiority of the North Indian language and culture (Kuper, 1960). A further cultural separation occurred when Andhra Pradesh became independent in India and the Telegu speaking Hindu group from this province formed its own cultural, religious and linguistic associations. The Indian Agent to South Africa in 1913 was Sir Kurma Reddy who was Telegu speaking and a road was named in honour of him in Clairwood. Kuper (1960) suggests that this was an influence in promoting independence for the Telegu speaking Indians (See Plate 5.13).

Kuper (1960) distinguishes between associations with traditional origins, such as ethnic, linguistic and religious organizations, and those based on the 'European model'. Although the aims of the former were traditional, they like the latter, became devoted to urban ends and "dealt with immediate local issues of education and welfare" (Kuper, 1960,83), fostering local interests of a secular nature. They all however, served to promote social cohesion in a minority group excluded from mainstream society (Kuper, 1960). Since Indians were historically excluded from all form of political participation, associations provided a source of power and solidarity and the most lasting formal structures available to the Indian community (Meer, 1969).

In a publication commemorating the Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools in 1953, the following observation was made:

Within the few square miles of what is generally regarded as Clairwood, and where nearly 30 000 of our people are settled, Clubs of every description, serving a variety of tastes, have sprung up. One can speak with certainty of a Springfield Club or a Sydenham Club without confusing it with any other Club in those districts; but when one speaks of a Club in Clairwood, one has to qualify it with many details, for there are more Clubs in Clairwood than in any other defined area in which Indians live.¹⁰¹

Generally, the social, educational and welfare associations were not class, language or religion based, but operated throughout the community providing a rich network of ties of mutual reciprocity.

In the first fifty years of the twentieth century, before expropriation and removals in the name of industrialization and apartheid drastically reduced the size of the Indian community in Clairwood, associations, institutions, organizations and clubs proliferated. New associations were constantly formed and old associations split up along personal and ideological lines¹⁰² providing consistent formal structures for a community that had to rely upon itself for services not otherwise provided (Kuper, 1960).

The main thrust in community organizations was in the direction of education and religion, with the religious associations also providing education in the vernacular and in the cultural realm (Persadh, 18/3/1986). Each temple had a committee of trustees responsible for the administration of temple activities. The Jacobs Road, Sirdar Road, and Shree Luxmi Narayan Temples had active temple committees, for example, Plate 6.13 portrays the special committee - the Clairwood Shree Siva Subramoniar Kavady Sungum which was created in 1930 to "organize the smooth running of the Kavady Festival - a difficult task as thousands of devotees attend this festival during the 10-day period".¹⁰³ In addition, smaller scale religious groupings of all kinds proliferated in particular localities in the southern corridor e.g. the Clairwood Tamil Women's Association, the Budree Place Yuvuk Sabha, the Wentworth Hindu Young Mens' Society, the Merebank Devi Poojah Sabha and the Clairwood Hindi Shreenee.¹⁰⁴

AUM
CLAIRWOOD SHREE SIVA SOBRAMONIAR KAVADY SUNGUM.
 (Established 1930)
 OFFICIALS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS 1966.



E. K. Madan	A. V. Ram Pillay	C. P. Govindar.	E. G. Govindar.	Bobby T. Pillay	Bobby N. Pillay	Edy Madan	S. S. Manon Man.	Dhan Manjary	S. M. Chetty
S. Eijay Pillay	Aras Govindar.	Govindaraj Chetty	M. T. Mascher	S. L. Govindar.	Kanaka Theroth	Pinar Govindar.	A. C. Pillay		C. V. Govindar.
	M. S. Raju Chetty	T. Jayaram Pillay	V. Jack Ponnar Nalini	M. S. Govindar.		R. Manon Vandayar.	T. M. Govindar.		

Plate 6.13: The Shree Subramoniar Temple Kavady Sungum, 1966

Source: The Shree Subramoniar Temple Centenary Brochure, 1889-1989

The role of religious associations extended beyond the spreading of religious doctrine and into welfare work. This is exemplified in the Brochure to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the Clairwood Mathar Sungum, which clearly states that the word 'Sungum' means "getting together like our sacred rivers the Ganges, Jumus and Sarasvathie. This name Sungum binds all its members into a common fraternity, dedicated to noble ideals of service".¹⁰⁶ This association, like many other religious associations cites its activities as erecting schools, teaching in private schools to alleviate shortages in government schools, adult education, welfare work, relief work (1949 and 1985 due to unrest), religious functions, pilgrimages and erection of temples.¹⁰⁶

The number of educational associations emerging in Clairwood and District in the first half of the century was large, ranging from branches of regional associations, such as the Natal Indian Teachers Society,¹⁰⁷ the Catholic Teachers Association, the Indian Educational Society,¹⁰⁸ to local educational associations. Some of these were the Teakwood Study Group,¹⁰⁹ the Merebank Tamil School, the

Clairwood Indian Educational Society,¹¹⁰ the Senior Boys School Bursary Fund, the Merebank Indian Association¹¹¹ and the Wentworth Indian Government-Aided School. The Wentworth Hindu Youngmen's Society, a 'religious, cultural and educational body' raised money from the 'market gardeners, factory workers and fishermen' on the 'Railway Flats' of Bayside and Wentworth, to pay the teacher's salary of the Wentworth Indian School which was established in the mid-1930's.¹¹²

Apart from donations from wealthy community members, and subscriptions, the associations also sought revenue from the wider community via fund raising efforts. In the very early days of education in Clairwood, the schools were initiated by the community in the "grand tradition of self-help and self-sacrifice".¹¹³ The major problem was accommodation for pupils, so although Government-Aided schools received a grant from the Provincial Government, the Clairwood community had to secure their own school premises.

The first school in Clairwood which was called the Umbilo Indian School was a community built school. A school-building committee was formed to raise money and it decided to purchase a disused Indentured Chinese Camp from the Government. Not having the whole amount, they were lent money by Mr M A Karim who purchased the camp for them. The debt was paid by Mr Ballance who became the first Grantee, and went on to lease further land from Woods Estate in order to assist the Mobeni Government-Aided Indian School.¹¹⁴

Seeking help wherever they could, the early school committees raised money by various means. The following account of the struggles of the early Clairwood school committee gives evidence of their determination:

1st effort: Collected 8 Pounds

2nd effort: Staged drama "Pavalakoiall", raised 26 Pounds. Total now at hand: 34 Pounds.

3rd effort: Drama in Pietermaritzburg. Rail fares amounted to 21 Pounds and 8 shillings. Left with 12 Pounds and twelve shillings. Night of Drama. No audience. No income.

4th effort: Next morning, started door to door collection in 'Maritzburg raised 25 Pounds and 8 shillings. Total stood at 38 Pounds.

5th effort: Staged boxing match, Jimmy Pillay vs Arthur Ginger of Pietermaritzburg. Expenses amounted to 34 Pounds. Left with 4 Pounds. Day of fight - police intervened for Entertainment Tax. Demanded guarantee of 200 Pounds. Rungasamy Naicker stood guarantor. Profits from boxing match amounted to 50 Pounds. Total 54 Pounds.

6th effort: Collection, assisted by Mr Sorabjee Rustomjee, raised 76 Pounds. Total not 130 Pounds.¹¹⁵

This money plus a further contribution from Mr Rustomjee of 4 Pounds and 13 shillings, was used to erect a school hall of 40 by 20 feet, on land bought by Mr Ballance which was able to accommodate an extra hundred children in the school.¹¹⁶

Clubs provided the opportunity for young people to promote their own social or cultural advancement or that of others. It was only when Clairwood boys attending Sastri College in central Durban, learnt about the benefits of club life that they spread the idea to the Clairwood schools.¹¹⁷ Here, the first 'Old Boys Club' was the Clairwood School Old Boys Club founded in 1936, which offered cultural, educational and social activities for members as well as participation in sports as part of an 'Old Boys' team.¹¹⁸

The Clairwood School Old Girls Club was founded later in 1948, followed by the Orient Social Club. Both served to provide a programme of "debates, lectures, play-reading, games and 'socials'..."¹¹⁹, and the latter a well-equipped library to support the club's motto of "Knowledge is Power". It was only much later that the Clairwood High Ex-Students' Society (C.H.E.S.S.) came into being in 1971.¹²⁰ The Scouting and Girl Guide movement also provided social and service-oriented opportunities for Indian children and in 1934, Mr. H Done¹²¹ became President of the new Suburban Indian Boy Scouts and Girl Guides Association. This association soon spread all over Natal and when Lord Laden Powell visited Durban in 1936 he accepted this organization into the South African Scout and Girl Guide Association.^{122 123}

Associations emerged to organize sport, cultural activities and social services. A very important sporting association was SCIDIFA (South Coast and District Football Association)¹²⁴ which purchased a property on Edwin Swales Drive and placed it at all times at the disposal of schools and other sporting associations in the district.¹²⁵ The organizing body for all sports associations in southern Durban was SCDISSA (South Coast District Indian School Sports Association), which co-ordinated inter-school competitions in all sports. In addition to these larger bodies there were a multitude of small local sports clubs, such as the Tamil Agum Tennis Club, the Jacobs United Football Club, the Rossburgh Young

Cricket Club, the Horseshoe Football Club,¹²⁶ the Merebank Gymnastic Club and many others. On the cultural side, the Clairwood School Literary and Debating Society, the Star Orchestra and the Lingham Orchestra and Social Club are but a few associations whose aim it was to elevate and educate residents of southern Durban in music, literature and the arts, and develop them physically through sport. Freund (1994) suggests that the many associations provided an outlet and escape from the often claustrophobic confines of the extended family.

With 70% of the Indian community living below the poverty line by 1953,¹²⁷ many associations were involved with welfare services. Besides the regional associations with branches in Clairwood, such as the Red Cross Society, the Ayrar Benevolent Society, Durban Indian Child Welfare Society and Friends of the Sick Association (FOSA), there were numerous local welfare associations. Examples of these were the Clairwood Hindu Cemetery and the Clairwood Indian Madras Cemetery in Flower Road (established 1929),¹²⁸ the Merebank Area Care Committee and the Clairwood School Soup Kitchen (established 1936). These were in addition to the temple committees which also were involved in welfare work. Indians, as 'non-Europeans' also belonged to joint associations with Africans and coloureds, such as the Non-European Railway Passengers Welfare Association which seemed to be an umbrella association able to advance the interests of its members in a wide range of causes. (Appendix 4 provides an example of how this association petitioned the SAR to allow Indians to worship at the Umbilo/Rosburgh Temple which was on Railways property).¹²⁹

Some associations were organized around civic affairs, such as the Merebank, Isipingo and South Coast Junction Ratepayers Associations. It was these associations that took up the cudgels against the DCC, and challenged the local authority's efforts to expropriate land and remove tenants from state land. In the 1940's the Merebank civic association challenged the expropriation of land for the Merebank Housing Scheme, and thereafter, other aspects of this housing development¹³⁰. The Clairwood and District Residents and Ratepayer's Association (CDRRA) challenged the DCC over the industrial zoning of Clairwood and remained very active despite the demise of most of the other associations (Robinson, 1984).

Local unions were numerous e.g. Clairwood Taxi Owners Association, Jacobs Commercial League and Spicers' Employees Benefit Fund, and the larger regional unions had Clairwood branches e.g. Durban and District Indian Butcher's Association, Natal Teachers Union and Natal Indian Railway Passengers Union. Political organizations also had branches in southern Durban, e.g. the Natal Indian Congress had branches in Merebank and Clairwood as did the Colonial-born Settlers Association.¹³¹

¹³²

Many associations sought to build up material assets primarily in the form of land and buildings, from which their functions could be exercised. Land was often donated by wealthy community and association members giving them enhanced status in the community. An early example is that of the Pather family, who played an important role in the history of the Umbilo Temple which was housed on a piece of land of over five acres¹³³ east of the Rosburgh Railway Station¹³⁴ in the Bayhead. It was Mr. S.R. Pather's father who donated his land to the Umbilo Temple community in 1899 on which the first Umbilo Temple was built, and who had subsequently sponsored both the land and financial assistance for the building of the second and third Umbilo Temples (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). The same Mr S R Pather was later responsible for fostering a Tamil association in Merebank with the subsequent establishment of a Tamil Hall.¹³⁵

Schools, clubhouses, temples, halls, and mosques are visible tangible symbols of the success of an association as well of communal activity. The material achievements often made the dissolution of an association virtually impossible and acted as an anchor and stabilizing influence.¹³⁶

Since prominent members of the Clairwood, Wentworth and Merebank community were more often than not on the committees of a number of associations, linkages existed between associations. Mr Govender (17/03/1986) recorded that he was a "founder member of the Clairwood School Old Boys Social Club... the Orient Social Club and the Clairwood Literary and Debating Society". Appendix 5, 6 and 7 provide a number of "pen-pictures" of prominent Clairwood figures who had played an important role in the upliftment of education. These provide some insight into the range of associations supported by these important members of the community.

6.5 Conclusion

From the 1870's until the 1950's an Indian community, segregated and marginalized from mainstream white society, settled in southern Durban and from small and humble beginnings created a flourishing and vibrant community. Utilizing their traditional skills and cultural resources they re-established the family as an institution and gradually overlaid their close kinship relationships with communal place-based networks based on a wide range of associations.

After the repressive experience of indenture, the 'free' peasant farmers set about establishing themselves as independent producers largely through the cultivation of fruit, flowers and vegetables on a small but intensive scale. Thus access to land was a crucial ingredient necessary to fulfill this intention. The 'wasteland' of swampy low-lying alluvial land of the southern corridor provided an ideal location as it was unwanted by the white settlers and formed a niche for the farmers close to an urban market. It was from this material base that 'spiritual travelling' could commence. It was here that the settlers set out to recreate their moral past which had been disrupted during the experience of indenture.

As a peripheral group in colonial and post-colonial society the Indians were afforded no resources nor provided with any facilities. Their survival as a community depended on the employment of their own resources in the building of the communal facilities they required. Thus commenced nearly a century of sacrifice and dedication in the provision of educational, religious, cultural, and social institutions to serve the needs of the community. During this process a unique pattern of settlement evolved - largely informal, and combining residential dwellings, communal and religious institutions and small patches of market gardens to produce a landscape which differed significantly from the geometrically ordered and standardized landscape of the white suburbs adjacent to Clairwood and District.

As 'outsiders' in colonial society, the ex-indentured Indian settlers relied on their religion to provide a moral framework for the creation of a viable community. Most of the people in Clairwood and District were Tamil-speaking Hindus and the norms and standards of this faith formed the basis of identity, social well-being and community in a hostile environment. Language was also an important unifying factor and while the Indians learned English in the course of their jobs, the vernacular languages were

powerful transmitters of Indian culture and worked to insulate the Indian community from the mainstream white society. However, with time the vernacular languages became South Africanized and English became the predominant language and a means to advancement.

The extended family also played an important role in the establishment of an Indian community as initially it formed a corporate enterprise in market gardening supplying labour in the fields, selling produce and in the domestic sphere. As this activity fell away, the extended family retained its importance as a source of security and insurance in bad times, as well as being an economically efficient unit for coping with poverty. In addition to kinship networks, a multitude of associations became established, particularly in the twentieth century, to provide communal services of a religious, educational, cultural, social, welfare and sporting nature to an otherwise 'neglected community'. These overlapping sets of kinship, cultural and social networks were intimately tied to the physical place of Clairwood and District and formed the basis of a unique place-based community.

However, while this process of place-making was occurring throughout the first half of the twentieth century, through which the Indian 'outsiders' were imbuing their living place with significance and meaning, other forces were operating at a societal level to erode and diminish the traditional ethnic and cultural bonds eventually contributing to the decline of the Clairwood and District community. The effect of poverty, work and education form the focus of Chapter 7.

Endnotes

1. This conflict is spelt out in the following chapters.
2. Freund (1994) questions whether the peri-urban Indian farmers were in fact true peasants. However, for the purposes of establishing their intentions their status as peasants is accepted here.
3. In order to move away from a univocal narrative, the chapter includes, not only rhetorical devices, but also a body of theory relating to minority subcultures (Berger, 1979; Sibley, 1981, 1986), in order to interpret the visible facts of a place and establish its less visible meaning (Ley, 1989).
4. Sibley (1981) adopts the term 'muted' to refer to peripheral social groups who are in some sense detached from mainstream society.
5. See diagram in Berger (1979, 204), comparing a peasant cyclical view of time with the unilinear view of time of modern history.
6. Imperial histories are blind to the cultural discourse within which actual processes of discovery, exploration and settlement occurred (Carter, 1987), especially if that cultural discourse was that of a subject group.

7. With a lack of documentary evidence chronicling this process, a set of theoretical propositions regarding the world view of minorities and the process of settlement have been employed here (Berger, 1979; Sibley, 1981;1986).
8. The contract of indenture in fact, had as one of its conditions the allocation of a grant of Crown land on expiry of contract (Palmer, 1956). Originally offered when land was plentiful and cheap, this grant was withdrawn and those few 'free' Indians who actually received such grants were located in peripheral areas (Christopher, 1969).
9. It was only the resourceful and more energetic of Indian labourers that elected to stay on in Natal to fulfill this intention, the less successful choosing a passage home (Freund, 1994).
10. The enrolment logbook of the Clairwood Boys School, commencing in 1903, notes the occupations of pupil's parents, which ranged from gardeners, to labourers, shopkeepers, hawkers, tailors, cigar-makers and cabinet-makers.
11. Most of the southern Durban market gardeners leased land and thus were not truly independent peasants (Freund, 1994).
12. The revenues which could have been realized from freehold land sales to raise money for municipal expenditure had instead to be secured through bank loans and overdrafts (Swanson, 1964).
13. The Durban Corporation's Indian labourers were, however, housed in the Magazine Barracks in order to regulate their location and living conditions (Swanson, 1964).
14. Christopher (1988a) notes that by the time of the 1911 census, Natal was significantly more segregated than the rest of the country.
15. Anderson (1987) notes the similar context into which the Chinese immigrants were channeled in Vancouver, Canada.
16. All data on property ownership in Clairwood was derived from the Records Section of the City Estates Department, Durban Corporation or the Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg for records pre-dating 1932. Hence the use of the cadastral reference of 'Lots' rather than street addresses which do not appear in the records.
17. Lot B1 of Dunn's Grant was owned by the Estate B H Wood. The records in the Deeds Office reveal that this land was sold off to merchants from the mid-1930's to early 1940's. For example on 23/8/1937 Lot 6 of B1 of Dunn's Grant was purchased by Ramchundar and Ramkylas for 650 Pounds (Deed 3594); on 15/4/1940 Lots 9/10 of B1 were purchased by H and S Roopsingh for 950 Pounds each (Deed 1759); on 19/4/1944 Lot 13 of B1 was purchased by A K H Seedat for 650 Pounds (Deed 2549) and on 14/7/1936 Lot 14 of B1 was purchased by G H A Mayat of Durban (Merchant) for 1150 Pounds (Deed 2652). It is therefore assumed that land was leased from Woods Estate until this time as the 1931 aerial photographs clearly indicate a continuous row of buildings facing onto the South Coast Road (City Engineer's Department, Photogrammetry Section, Durban).
18. Deed 285, Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg.
19. 24/10/1890 (Deed 836), Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg.
20. For example, Lot A of 102 of V of Dunn's Grant (Pine Road) was purchased by A M Padayachee in 14/6/1920 for 75 Pounds.
21. This is equivalent to 1163 sq. metres.

22. Deeds Office Records reveal that the majority of lots in V of Dunn's Grant and Y of Clairmont Estate were sold to Indian buyers between the early and late 1920's (Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg).
23. The Deeds Office records show that R T Polkinghorne owned a large portion of land in Horseshoe Road (Zone 5 in Fig 6.1) and sold it off gradually to Indian buyers in the mid 1930's. Thus the houses evident on the aerial photographs were built on leased land.
24. 286 of V of Dunn's Grant, Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg.
25. 121 of V of Dunn's Grant, Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg.
26. Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg.
27. Apart from Polkinghorne's properties in Horseshoe Road.
28. City Estates Department, Durban Corporation.
29. They purchased Rem of 9 of Y of Clairmont Estate No 10572. The Sirdar Road area was one of the first areas to suffer from industrial penetration in the 1960's.
30. 27 of Y of Y of Clairmont Estate (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
31. City Estates Department, Durban Corporation.
32. In the area of Clairwood north of Sirdar Road (Y of Clairmont Estate No 10572), the Deeds records indicate that on 16/10/1935 P A Pather of Durban (Goldsmith) purchased Lot 43 of Y; on 18/11/1938 Subramoney (butcher) purchased lot 83 of Y and on 24/8/1935 Subbiah of Durban (labourer) purchased 66 of Y.
33. The Deeds Office records note that on 28/8/1936 R Naicker (farmer) purchased Lot 119 of Y.
34. Juggernath (4/11/1987).
35. The only leases registered in the Deeds Office were those of large tracts of land leased to sugar-growing companies in the Isipingo area.
36. Juggernath, n.d.
37. Juggernath n.d., 71.
38. 1 of A of 44 of Wentworth (33 acres); A of 46 of Wentworth (12 acres); C of 46 of Wentworth (14 acres); B of 46 of Wentworth (7 acres); 1 of C of 48 of Wentworth (32 acres); D of 48 of Wentworth (4 acres); E and F of 48 of Wentworth (2 acres) were transferred to the Crown on 15/9/1904. In addition Bayhead A No 13226 (212 acres), although only expropriated for state land in 1944 (Deed 3763), was swampy unused land belonging to Wood's Estate (F of Dunn's Grant and 190 if abiklno of Sea View 845). Also lying north of Sirdar Road was SAR of HS of Y of Clairmont Estate (42 acres) and R of Y of Claremont Estate (20 acres) expropriated from Wood's Estate in 1944 by the state, and SAR of NC of Y of Claremont Estate (34 acres) expropriated from the Natal Chemical Syndicate Co. The 99 acres of low-lying flood prone land on the banks of the Umbilo River (O of Sea View No 845) had been owned by the state since 1904 (Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg).
39. Since 1904, all the land between the Amanzimnyama river and the Bluff Railway had been Crown land (107 acres). Sub-division 42 was sold to Indian farmers in the 1920's e.g. Marimuthu farmed on over an acre opposite the Wentworth Station between 9/7/1927 and 30/5/1950 (See Zone 6 in Fig 6.1).

40. Early Harbour Board maps indicated the presence of 'Indian shacks' on the flats adjacent to the railways line at King's Rest.
41. Veerasamy, in Poovalingum, 1990,98-99.
42. Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department, Durban Corporation.
43. Freund (1994) notes that while the ex-indentured Indian sugar farmers could be considered as an agricultural peasantry, the urban market gardeners cannot be so readily similarly classified as the majority did not own the land they worked.
44. On 22/9/1936, Marimuthu, a farmer from Cavendish, took transfer of 3 of SB of Clairmont Estate, near South Coast Road (Sigamoney Rd).
45. Natal Blue Book. 1892/3 Inanda Divisional Report B53.
46. 'Paattie' - the grandmother of P N Govender was responsible for taking the fresh produce to market and was allocated two stalls (No 367) in the Victoria Street "Top Market" which remained with the family until the market was destroyed by fire (Poovalingum, 1990).
47. The Umbilo Temple, built originally in 1869, was rebuilt three times after the flooding of the Umbilo River (Brian Kearney, Research notes, Architecture Department, University of Natal, Durban).
48. The Illustrated Souvenir of the Great Storm, Durban, Natal, 31st May, 1905, Central News Agency, Ltd, Durban and Pietermaritzburg.
49. Mr K Govender's father had a large pond at the bottom of his property from which he allowed water to be drawn by the surrounding residents (17/3/1986). Another source of water was the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers, in which Mrs E Rehman reported that she washed her clothes when she first lived in the area (in George, 1986).
50. A major feature of the City Estates Department Surveys of the shack areas of southern Durban, was the division of residents into tenants and subtenants.
51. The Durban Housing Survey (University of Natal, 1952), details the conditions in Indian housing in 1936 and in 1943/1944 - See Chapter 9. In 1936, 80% of Indian housing in Durban were 'shacks or shanties of the most impermanent type' (University of Natal, 1952,247).
52. The norms of behaviour within the extended family were derived from ancient Hindu literature (Kuper, 1960).
53. In this text, the duties of people are put forward and selfless work is proposed as an ideal to strive for.
54. These are referred to as the 'pillars' - prayer, fasting, Zakat and pilgrimage, as well as having a concern for the welfare of others in the community (Pillay et al, 1989).
55. The temples had prescribed architectural proportions, orientation, site conditions and rules governing the sculpturing of deities (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982).
56. Kavadi is probably the largest festival celebrated by the Tamil-speaking Shevite community. It is held in the first part of the year in honour of Lord Subramanya. Devotees undertake to carry a wooden framework, called a Kavadi, carrying offerings for the deity and decorated with marigolds and peacock feathers (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982).

57. There are a variety of spellings in the literature for Subramoniar e.g. Subrahmanya or Soobramoniar. For the sake of consistency, this version has been used here.
58. Mr V Naidoo (Secretary of the Sirdar Road Temple Committee and Convenor of the Centenary Celebrations), 19/10/1987.
59. Clairwood Shree Siva Soobramoniar Temple, Centenary Celebration, Souvenir Brochure, 1889-1989, 122 Sirdar Road, Clairwood, Durban, 4052.
60. Subrahmanya is the son of Shiva, one of the trinity of deities that make up the one God, and is the God of War - hence the appearance of swords and spears (Mikula, Harber and Kearney, 1982).
61. See account of 'Early History of Clairwood - Shree Siva Soobramoniar Temple' by K S Govender, in Shree Siva Soobramonier Temple, Centenary Celebration, 1889-1989, Souvenir Brochure.
62. The Illustrated Souvenir of the Great Storm, op cit, notes that due to the 1905 floods, " ...the temple itself was undermined and all that remained was a distorted and crazy ruin" - all that could be seen was the dome.
63. It is said that the Clairwood Sirdar Road Temple branched off from this original early congregation (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982).
64. A devout Hindu, Naicker built the entire precinct of his home and temple strictly according to Hindu prescriptions of orientation and architecture in order to house a marble statue of Ganesa which he brought with him from India (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982)
65. Mr R R Maharaj (10/11/1987). The pressing need for additional educational facilities in Clairwood compelled the Temple Committee to convert the hall to the Shri Luxmi Narayan Government-Aided Indian School which opened in 1945. This was upgraded and a new double-storeyed school was built opening in 1960.
66. The land upon which the Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple and school were built was expropriated for the building of the Southern Freeway (NR2) in the late 1960's. The Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple Souvenir Brochure: 1916-1986 (p 5), records that "(t)he hearts of every Hindu bled that after all the sweat, toil and sacrifices, the buildings, the Temple, the Hindu Symbol of God, a landmark in Clairwood has to be destroyed... Thus started the move from Clairwood to Mobeni Heights... where the present Shri Luxmi Narayan Temple and Hall now stand."
67. Merebank Primary School, Golden Jubilee, 1927-1977, 60-61 (See Appendix 3).
68. Mr K S Govender, Chairman of the Sirdar Road Temple Committee, pointed out a tree in the temple compound, which had been brought from India. The leaves were used in various ceremonies to cover the deities and people from as far as Johannesburg journey to the Sirdar Road temple to use these sacred leaves.
69. The largest and most formal of these temple schools was that of the Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple.
70. Pundit R R Maharaj of the Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple has continued in his father's footsteps as both pundit and trustee of this temple, with his sons following suit (R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987; Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple Souvenir Brochure, 1916-1986).
71. Poovalingam, 1990.

72. Hinduism views all forms of life as related with God at the highest level, followed by various demigods and then by men who themselves occupy various levels in the hierarchy. The Priests (Brahmins), are followed by the Warriors (Kshatriyas), and then by the merchants, farmers and traders (Vaisyas), and then finally by the more lowly trades and non-Aryan tribes (Sudras) (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982).
73. Poovalingum, 1990, 23. Vathier is also honoured in the Centenary Souvenir Brochure of the Shree Soobramanier Temple.
74. Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple Souvenir Brochure, 1916-1986.
75. This Madressa is part of the Flower Road Muslim and Cemetery complex. The land was donated by Mr Moulana Karim, a landowner and priest from the South Coast Junction. Originally, this school catered for all the Muslim children in Clairwood - 300 pupils were learning Urdu and learning to read the Koran in Arabic under one teacher, Mr Habibulah Khan (Fyzoo, 4/2/1988).
76. This Muslim school was established by the South Coast Madressa Trust and the South Coast and District Muslim Association in 1944 (the log started in 1947) to provide secular and Islamic religious education as part of the normal school day (South Coast Madressa, Silver Jubilee, 1947-1972, Souvenir Brochure). Mr Fyzoo Snr. "got it off the ground" raising money from local residents, wealthy Muslim merchants in Grey Street and the Government (Fyzoo, 4/2/1988).
77. Thero means 'road', while Kuthu means 'dance'. The actors don beautiful costumes and re-enact the last stages of the war between Pandavas and Kauravas (Mikula, Kearney and Harber, 1982). N P Govender recalls the terror he experienced as a child in watching these all night dramas (Poovalingum, 1990).
78. T P Naidoo (Director of the Indian Academy of South Africa), in Shree Murugar Alayam, Golden Jubilee, 1937-1987, Souvenir Brochure, 28.
79. Fyzoo, 4/2/1988.
80. The South Coast and District Madressa in Pine Road has always had to pay the salaries of the vernacular teachers as religious education and vernacular are taught instead of the optional subjects of music and Right Living (Fyzoo, 4/2/1988).
81. Five temples were built in Clairwood and two in Merebank (Maharaj, 2/7/1990).
82. Two mosques were built in Clairwood (Flower Road and South Coast Road, Rossburgh), and one in Merebank (Maharaj, 2/7/1990).
83. Most of the halls were part of a temple complex e.g. the Shree Subramoniar Temple Hall. However, halls were also built to serve sectarian language and cultural interests e.g. the Clairwood Tamil Institute Hall in Sir Kurma Reddy Road and the Arya Yuvak Samaj (AYS) Hall in Cherry Road (Maharaj, 2/7/1990).
84. Four community cemeteries exist in Clairwood adjacent to each other in Flower Road and one in Dayal Road (Maharaj, 2/7/1990).
85. By far the majority of Indian families in Clairwood and District were Hindu, followed by Muslim. However, a very small percentage of Indians were Christians. The St Louis Catholic Church records reveal the first baptisms in 1912, while the Saint Mary's Catholic Church in Merebank was first built as a hall in 1960-61 (de Fleuriot, 27/8/1987). Latterly, since 1950, four more churches have been built in Merebank to serve various denominations e.g. the Presbyterian Church in Alwar Road (Maharaj, 2/7/1990).

86. The norms of behaviour within the extended family were derived from ancient Hindu literature. For example, to quote from the Bhagavad-Gita - " In the system of the varnasrama institution, there are many principles of religious traditions to help members of the family grow properly and attain spiritual values. The elder members are responsible for such purifying processes in the family, beginning from birth to death" (Prabhupada, 1984,19).
87. The "kutum" consists of a male head, his wife, their unmarried children, unmarried brothers and sisters, younger married brothers and sons with their wives and children. The kinship structure is hierarchical with each level interacting through bonds of patrilineal descent and marriage. The status and roles of each member are determined by their age and gender with males accorded greater privilege than females (Kuper, 1960,96).
88. These are the key family members who must attend both informal and formal occasions, such as engagements, weddings and prayers (See Meer, 1969, Chapter 5 for detailed account of the kutum).
89. For example, 'peri-ma' and 'peri-pa' denote senior aunt and uncle (Mrs Dixon Pillay's daughter-in-law, in Dixon Pillay, 28/11/1988).
90. Mrs Dixon Pillay, (28/22/1988).
91. The extended family had its origins in an agricultural caste society and was carried over into an urban context in the late nineteenth century Durban by the ex-indentured Indian settlers. Although the economic foundations of the family weakened in the urban context, the shortage of housing and residential land for Indian settlers may have kept the joint family together longer than it would otherwise have remained (Ramasar, 1989).
92. The familiarity with communal living, facilitated the subletting of rooms in shacks and privately-owned homes to those families unable to find accommodation in the 1940's and 1950's when Clairwood became overcrowded.
93. The oldest church in the area is St Louis Catholic Church which is over 100 years old and up until the 1960's had a very large local congregation (de Fleriot, 27/8/1987). George (1986) provides an interesting account of a small community of Mauritian creole families in Clairwood who were staunch members of the Catholic Church.
94. Mrs Dixon Pillay, 28/11/1988.
95. Interviews with a range of descendants from the seinenetting community throughout the period between 1989 to 1991 for the production of a video (See Scott and Criticos, 1991).
96. Padavattan, who was the head of the Fynnlands fishing community, married his first wife's younger sister much later in his life. Mrs Padavattan is interviewed in Scott and Criticos (1991).
97. Each language has a parent cultural organization which has promoted the language and culture of that group since the 1940's. The Andhra Maha Sabha promotes Telegu language and culture, while cultural training is also provided by the Natal Tamil Vedic Society, the Hindi Shiksha Sangh and the Natal Gujerati Parishad and the Islamic School Council. These organizations are involved in teaching poetry, reading and recitation of prayer texts, plays, songs and music, choral hymn singing, classical and folk dancing and story narration (Daily News, 30/8/1991).
98. Juggernath, n.d.
99. See Mesthrie, in Freund, (1994) for an overview of this process.
100. The Golden Jubilee of Clairwood Schools, 1903 - 1953.

101. The Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903-1953, 56.
102. Kuper (1960) gives the example of the South African Maha Sabha (Hindu Religious Associations), to which are affiliated two Gugerati associations (Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj and Surat Hindu Association), two South Indian Associations (Natal Tamil Vedic Society and the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (Telegu speaking), and two North Indian Hindi-speaking Associations (Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of South Africa and the Sri Sanathan Dharma Sabha of Natal). These have further formed offshoots.
103. The Shree Murugar Alayam Golden Jubilee Souvenir Brochure: 1937-1987, the Clairwood Shree Siva Soobramoniar Temple, Centenary Celebration Souvenir Brochure: 1889-1989, and the Shri Luxmi Narayan Souvenir Brochure: 1916-1986, provide details of the temple committees that have served these temples since their inception.
104. Clairwood Schools Golden Jubilee, op cit. Many more examples can be found in the Curriculum Vitae of prominent educationalists in Clairwood in this reference.
105. Brochure to Commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the Clairwood Tamil Mathar Sungum and Silver Jubilee of the Aman Temple : 1946-1988, 1.
106. ibid, 1-3.
107. This association published the "Indian Educator" and organized for teachers to contribute to the Clairwood school building fund.
108. As a representative of this association, Thumbie Pillay testified before the Broome Commission on the educational needs in Clairwood in 1937 (Golden Jubilee, op cit, 68).
109. Based in Teakwood Road in Clairwood.
110. This association had its own school.
111. This organization was formed in 1923 to institute local educational facilities in Merebank. It was responsible for the secular Hillside school and religious classes (Merebank Sanathan Dharma Woonathee Sabha) and later the Settlers State-Aided School (Merebank Primary School, Golden Jubilee: 1927-1977,33).
112. Veerasamy, in Poovalingum, 1990,98.
113. Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903-1953, 11.
114. op cit
115. op cit, 12-13.
116. op cit.
117. op cit
118. Golden Jubilee, op cit, 56.
119. Golden Jubilee, op cit, 57).
120. The Olympian, 1976, 53. (Clairwood Secondary School Magazine).

121. Mr H Done was a leading educational figure in southern Durban Indian schools who served his entire teaching career, beginning at Clairwood Boys School, promoting Indian education. A road in Clairwood is named after him.
122. Golden Jubilee. op cit,46.
123. During the riots in 1949, the Guiders of Clairwood "worked like trojans assisting the refugees" (Golden Jubilee, op cit,47).
124. Thirty soccer clubs from Clairwood and District competed in a local league organized by SCIDIFA and focussed on the SCIDIFA grounds (R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987).
125. R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987.
126. Based in Horseshoe Road in Clairwood.
127. Dr G M Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, in the Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903-1953, 7.
128. The Clairwood Hindu Cemetery, Clairwood Madras Cemetery, and the Muslim cemetery occupy contiguous sites on Flower Road, the ownership of which rests with the association. These cemeteries have been administered by successive trustees over the decades up until the date of writing. Although falling into disuse with the removals of large numbers of people out of Clairwood and District in the 1960's and 1970's, the Committees of Trustees continued to exist. In 1988, the Clairwood Hindu Cemetery filed an application to re-instate the cemetery and commence burials again (I Maharaj, pers. comm., 1988). The author was responsible for the surveying, drawing of plans and submission of this application which was successful.
129. SAR File WE 520/192/1
130. Juggernath, 4/11/1987 and Juggernath, n.d.
131. Golden Jubilee, op cit
132. It is important to note that influential members of the community were often trustees, or members of committees of numerous associations thus linking the associations in a myriad of reciprocal relationships.
133. South African Railways File No WE 520/192/1 (New Number WE 38/1/LA), Durban. Systems Manager (hence forth SM) of the South African Railways (SAR) to City Treasurer (henceforth CT), 5/5/1947. All correspondence referred to henceforth in relation to the Umbilo Temple derives from the above file.
134. SM of the SAR to Mr. S.R. Pather, 8/10/1945.
135. Juggernath, n.d.
136. The sale of the SCIDIFA sports ground on Edwin Swales Drive to Makro with the industrialization of Clairwood in the 1960's resulted in this body realizing appreciable financial assets which were used to establish the SCIDIFA Trust. This has become today the basis of a variety of schemes to uplift education e.g. the awarding of educational bursaries.

CHAPTER 7

THE EROSION OF COMMUNAL BONDS IN CLAIRWOOD AND DISTRICT: THE ROLES OF POVERTY, WORK AND EDUCATION

7.1 Introduction

The preceding description of the formation of place in Clairwood and District up until the mid-century, focuses on the social and cultural identity of the Indian settlers and how this became expressed in the landscape. However, it is necessary to relate this unique spatial history to “the common history of a land and its society” (Williams, in Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988,7) and examine the “dialogue of ‘text’ and ‘context’”. The roles of poverty, work and education in the erosion of the bonds of communality are presented in Chapter 7. These processes operated insidiously throughout the twentieth century to create a degraded and impoverished material base and to engender an increasingly powerful spiritually-based sense of communality and place.

With the ascendancy of industrial capitalism in the 1920’s and the emergence of an industrial sector to the south of Durban, the nature of work began to change in the early twentieth century. By mid-century the proletarianization of Indian labour was almost complete and with it brought changing values which impinged on the traditional values bonding the Clairwood and District community, and weakening family and communal ties. Similarly, with the advent of state education in the Indian system, the intrusion of the western values and norms of the prevailing dominant white group was imposed on a previously communal education system. This also contributed to transformation of the values of the Indian community in Clairwood and District from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ (Cox, 1981b; Cox and Mair, 1988; Ramasar, 1989). Simultaneously the discriminatory practices of the dominant group inherited from the colonial era, tended to impoverish, contain and concentrate the Clairwood community and coupled with neglect led to the emergence of an increasingly degraded and densely settled residential area.

Section 7.2 reflects on how the processes of change served to both conserve and dissolve the place-based community of Clairwood and District. Section 7.3 deals with the role of poverty and how this became concentrated in specific zones in the city. Coupled with the neglect of Indian housing and living environments this served to reduce the peripheral Indian areas to ‘slum’ zones. This is followed by

sections 7.4 and 7.5 which deal more specifically with the roles of work and education, which contributed to the erosion of the traditional norms and values upon which Indian communal life in Clairwood and District was based.

7.2 Processes of change in southern Durban: the role of poverty, work and education.

In the first half of the twentieth century a number of changes occurred within the southern corridor of Durban. Changes in the material conditions of life - increasing poverty, overcrowding and squalor; changes in the relationship of workers to the dominant mode of production - decreasing reliance on pre-industrial market gardening, fishing and petty productive activities and increasing reliance on wage labour in the industrial economy; and changes in the cultural and social insularity of the residents - the universalizing of social values through the 'benefits' of a modern education and the secularization of community organizations. It was perhaps ironical that as the material conditions in Clairwood and District declined so the significance of the spiritual and emotional attachment to place increased.

These changes led to the transfer of values i.e. the 'trickling down' of the values, cultural norms, economic imperatives and occupational status systems associated with the mainstream capitalist society to peripheral groups, occurring alongside the persistence of racial discrimination which continued to separate and exploit a population based on race and ethnicity. The effect of increasing poverty, the absorption of Indian labour into wage labour and the transfer of values associated with an industrial economy and western lifestyle together, in differing ways, acted upon the material and spiritual life of southern Durban.

As part of the process of racial discrimination, it was both the anti-Indian sentiments of the white settler class and the encapsulation in legislation of the notion of the Indian as a temporary 'alien' in colonial and post-colonial society (Pachai, 1979a) that were reflected in the structure of the town with its predominantly white core and emerging peripheral 'black belt' of marginalized Indian informal settlements. Clairwood and District was the largest of these peripheral Indian settlements. These beliefs and their spatial manifestations were the product of racial discrimination and persisted and intensified up until the advent of apartheid.

Racial discrimination and segregation thus served initially in the colonial period to protect the white settler class from sharing their access to the land resources of the Borough of Durban, in addition to guarding their cultural hegemony from attrition via the proximity of other cultures. This imperial inheritance which persisted long after the colonial period, also served the ruling capitalist class in another way. In the twentieth century with the advent of industrialization, the emerging southern industrial zone of southern Durban required a readily available source of labour. A pool of easily exploitable labour near the southern industries was created by spatially concentrating a large portion of the nascent Indian working class in the same locality. The decline of independent pre-industrial mode of production of the Indian settlers in the face of industrialization led to their assimilation into proletarianism.

It was the increasing restrictions on Indian occupation of land in the Durban Borough that served to channel settlement into the peripheral areas of Durban causing high population densities and overpopulated dwellings. From the turn of the century up until the 1950's, settlement in the southern Durban corridor continued to occur steadily. Local resident, Mr I Maharaj has estimated that the population in Clairwood itself was 40 000 by the mid-century, while it rose as high as 80 000 for the whole southern corridor (Maharaj, 2/7/1990). As a result of these high densities, the number of devotees attending festivals at the Shree Subramoniar Temple ranged from 6000 to 8000 in the 1950's and 1960's (Govender, P M, 19/10/1987). High population growth rates also contributed to these increases in density. Due to the neglect of these areas, living conditions for the majority of the residents were poor, with insubstantial housing, overcrowding, poor sanitation, no water supply or electricity.¹ Initially ignoring the existence of the peripheral settlements, the Durban Town Council was forced by their proliferation and increasing proximity to the expanding core, to acknowledge their presence and did so by defining these areas as 'slums' and 'problem areas'.²

As early as the 1920's parts of the southern corridor were pinpointed as a 'problem' and classified as a 'slum' by the Durban Town Council.³ Despite the promises contained in the Cape Town Agreement, which was essentially an article of faith aimed at 'modernizing' or 'westernizing' the Indian population and uplifting their living conditions, these conditions were to deteriorate to 'acute' proportions by the mid century.⁴ The decision to remove these predominantly informal areas and provide formal housing for the residents, coincided with the incentive to industrialize the southern zone.

In the living realm, nothing was done to provide a 'modernized' and 'westernized' living environment for the Indian population of southern Durban. All the benefits of becoming assimilated into a western urban milieu such as tarred roads, electricity, efficient sewage systems and running water were denied to this area, although provided in adjacent white suburbs. This process of systematic neglect served to marginalize racially and ethnically different subject groups by keeping them spatially separate and unable to gain full access to basic communal services. The 'slum' landscape of Clairwood and District was thus the product of a colonial ideology which persisted right up until apartheid, despite the fact that this ideology was being globally eclipsed by the advent of industrial capitalism from the early twentieth century.

However, a concerted attempt was made in the realm of education to 'uplift' the Indian population in terms of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Although never equal in quality to white education, improvements were documented in Indian education by the late 1930's by the Broome Commission (Corbett, 1947).

Despite the exploitative and dehumanizing effects of discrimination, neglect and segregation on the Indian community in southern Durban, Clairwood and District had become a culturally distinct suburb of Durban in its own right and exhibited a flourishing social vitality and communal solidarity. In the first half of the century, a communally created space had been created by the Indian settlers and their descendants, where intricate networks of kinship, religious, social and cultural relations were directly place-related. Clairwood and District had been materially and imaginatively created by the Indian community of southern Durban. Clairwood, itself, however, was the heart of the area (Scott, 1987) and it was here that the land was held in private tenure by Indian landowners. Although the surrounding informal shack settlements were established on undeveloped state land in the early part of the century, they formed an integral part of 'Clairwood and District'. This vibrant community gave meaning and identity to the landscape of southern Durban which was appropriated and transformed into a culturally specific landscape (Pred, 1984; Duncan, 1987). The attachment to place and the creation of a communal identity served as a resource in the face of oppression and increasing poverty.

It was however, not the underlying emotional and historical significance of Clairwood nor the communal vitality which caught the attention of the Durban City Council as it continued to plan for an industrialized southern Durban corridor, but the visible squalid and overcrowded living conditions.

7.3 Deteriorating material circumstances in Clairwood and District : overcrowding, squalor and a lack of facilities

By 1921 there was already a concentration of Indian settlement in southern Durban. Table 7.1 shows the preponderance of Indians⁵ to the south of Durban in 1922. The predominance of males, which was characteristic of the indentured population structure was still obvious in 1921, but Burrows (1953) notes that parity had been reached by 1951. Estimates of Clairwood's population by the mid century are in the region of 40 000, and up to 80 000 in the greater southern Durban corridor.⁶ With rapid population increase and immigration, population densities increased greatly towards the 1950's. Almost every home, both shacks and brick and tile dwellings on privately-owned land, took in tenants. When the City Estates Department began to survey the area in the 1960's for purposes of control and later

Table 7.1: The Population of Southern Durban, 1922

Source: UG, Monthly Bulletin of Union Statistics, Nos 1-12, Small villages and rural settlements: South Coast Junction, 1922

DISTRICT	WHITE		COLOURED*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
South Coast Junction	463	424	2395	1276
Wentworth	139	101	1126	628
Clairmont (renamed Clairwood)	317	281	2443	1815
TOTAL	919	806	5964	3719
TOTAL	1725		9683	

* Indians were included under coloureds in early Government statistics.

These figures therefore represent predominantly Indian residents

removal, the numbers of families per dwelling was very high. Fig 7.1 is a sketch map of a seinenetter's shack in the Bayhead indicating that 8 families (46 people) lived in the one dwelling.⁷ The survey also indicated that privately-owned properties were rack rented.⁸

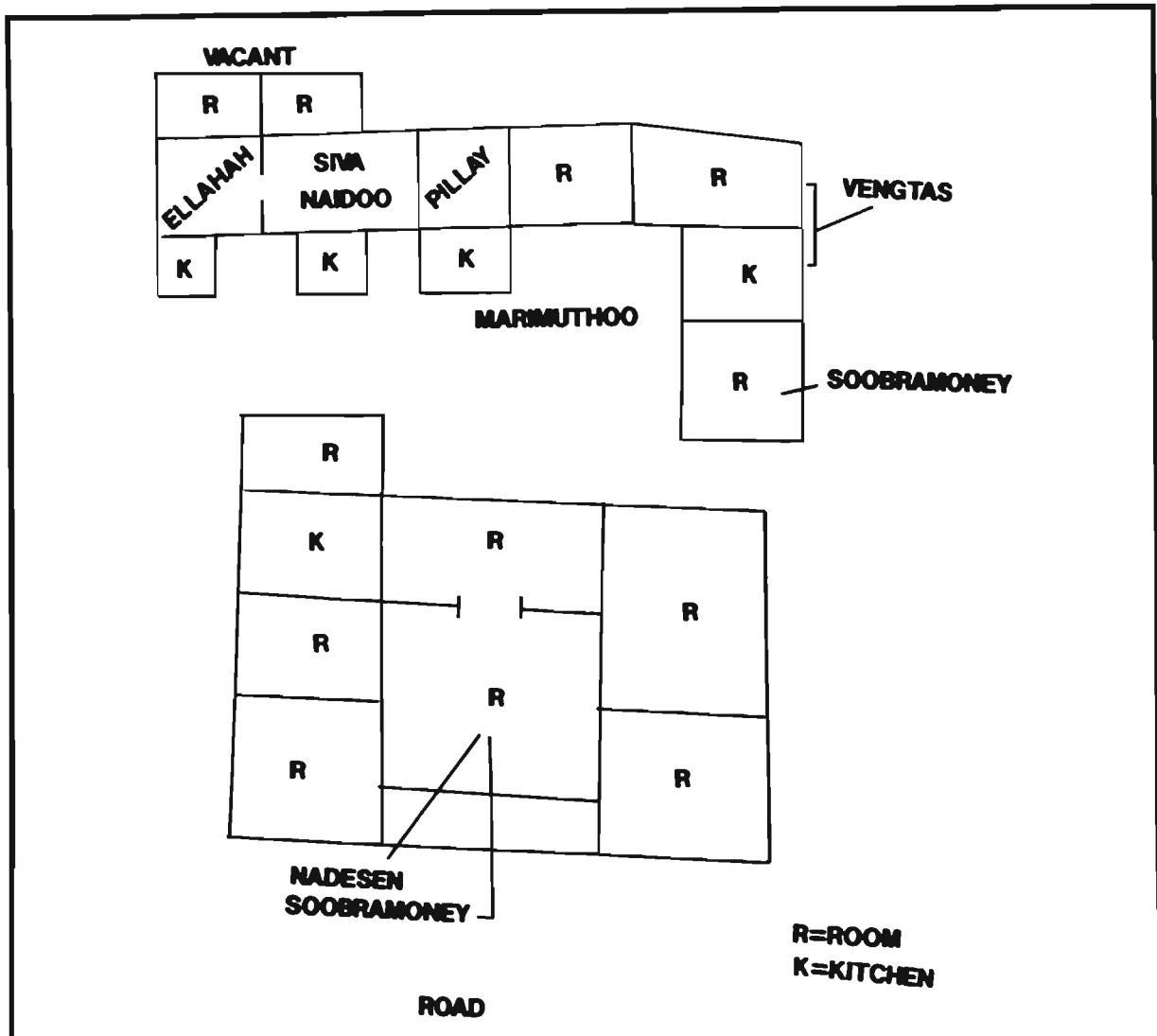


Fig 7.1: Floorplan of Seinenetter's Shack, No SN1 at Bayhead, 1963

Source: Land Records, City Estates Department, Durban Corporation

The quality of housing in the southern Durban corridor was extremely low (University of Natal, 1952). It is evident from the Valuation Rolls of the Added Areas prior to incorporation that there was a marked tendency for Indians to purchase land for residential purposes but that the housing built on this land was "mainly on a very low standard" (Burrows, 1953,10). Due to poverty and unemployment, the shacks dwellings also provided a low standard of dwelling and were insubstantial. Despite the problems of inadequate housing evidence suggests that people lived in these shacks for over 50 years.⁹

As the Durban City Council had long-term plans for the industrialization of the southern corridor, any efforts to upgrade the area in terms of facilities or services were minimal and usually occurred only as a reaction to petitions from residents. Mr Medan Nepaul (27/1/1987), whose family lived in the Bayside area for thirty years, recalls how the lack of facilities in the area led to the formation of the Bayhead Land Tenant Welfare Society, which petitioned the Durban Corporation to build latrines in the area. Up until this time night soil had to be buried as the bucket system was not yet in use. A deputation requested the City Health Department to install communal taps as the residents had to walk from the Bayhead to Sirdar Road to fetch water (Nepaul, 27/1/1987). In Clairwood itself in the 1930's, there was also no water (Govender, K, 17/03/1986). Besides having no electricity, poor sanitation and a lack of water, the informal settlements also suffered from marshy waterlogged soil. A further disability, especially in rainy weather was that roads were untarred - Mr K Govender recalled how he had to take his shoes off and roll his pants up to walk along the 'horse and cart trails' of mud in the rainy season (Govender, K, 17/03/1986).

The removal of Indian rights to free access to land, the concentration of Indian families into peripheral underserviced and neglected zones, and the 'closed door' policy of restricting Indian access to skilled occupations, formed part of the process of discrimination and neglect which persisted up until the apartheid era of the 1950's. This process, whereby the dominant whites sought to protect their access to urban space and resources, contributed to the development of overpopulated and squalid conditions such as those found in the southern corridor of Durban by the mid-century. This process however, also contributed to the maintenance of pre-industrial, place-based kinship and communal relationships and the fostering of an ethnic solidarity amongst the Indian community, which was used as a resource and weapon against the neglect and domination by the whites. Thus, Clairwood - the 'slum', and Clairwood - the 'place', were both the product of the process of spatial containment.

With the advent of industrial capitalism and its penetration into the ethnic stronghold of Clairwood and District via the introduction of a range of cultural values which differed significantly from those inherited by the Indian settlers from their motherland, changes were set in motion which were to be speeded up with the intervention of the Durban City Council.

7.4 The lure of a regular wage: the proletarianization of the southern Durban Indian labour force

Economic transition was inevitable in Durban with the expansionary and disruptive penetration of industrial capitalism in the 1920's into all spheres of life (Sibley, 1986). The workforce became more rigidly divided by age, race and gender and it brought about the separation of living space and workplace. Accompanying these social changes was the increasing prioritization of the nuclear family as the preferred social unit (Ramasar, 1989).

Market gardening reached its heyday by 1920 and thereafter began to decline both by number of Indian farmers engaging in farming and by agricultural output. This was mainly due to the inability of farmers to compete with capitalist commercial cash cropping on a large scale coupled with the relative improvement and reliability of incomes derived from wage labour (Freund, 1994). From 1910, Indian employment in general agriculture began to decline rapidly - from 36 238 in 1911 to 13 691 in 1946 (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985). Parallel with this process, was the increasing employment of Indian wage labour in the service and manufacturing sector. For example, the Durban Corporation employed over 2000 Indians in the 1920's, most of whom were in the Cleansing Department (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985). Opportunities also existed at this time in the Natal Government Railways, as domestic servants, and in the catering trade (Brain, 1985).

Commencing in the 1920's, the Durban-Pinetown region began to emerge as one of the major nodes of industrial growth in South Africa (Young, 1972). This continued with industrial growth receiving an impetus from World War II. Spatially, the path of industrial growth in Durban was from the Bay southwards to Merebank, and from the 1920's until the 1950's factories sprung up at nodes throughout this area.¹⁰ By the 1930's, most of the people in Clairwood and District, were working in factories in Jacobs, Rosburgh and in the Gale and Sydney Road area i.e. Congella in Durban.¹¹ Those living along the Umhlatuzana River worked in Mowat's Quarry.¹² There were also work opportunities in Merebank. It was these industries that provided the opportunities for wage labour for the resident Indian population, especially after the Depression (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985) (Fig 7.2 indicates the industrial areas and large firms providing job opportunities in the southern corridor).

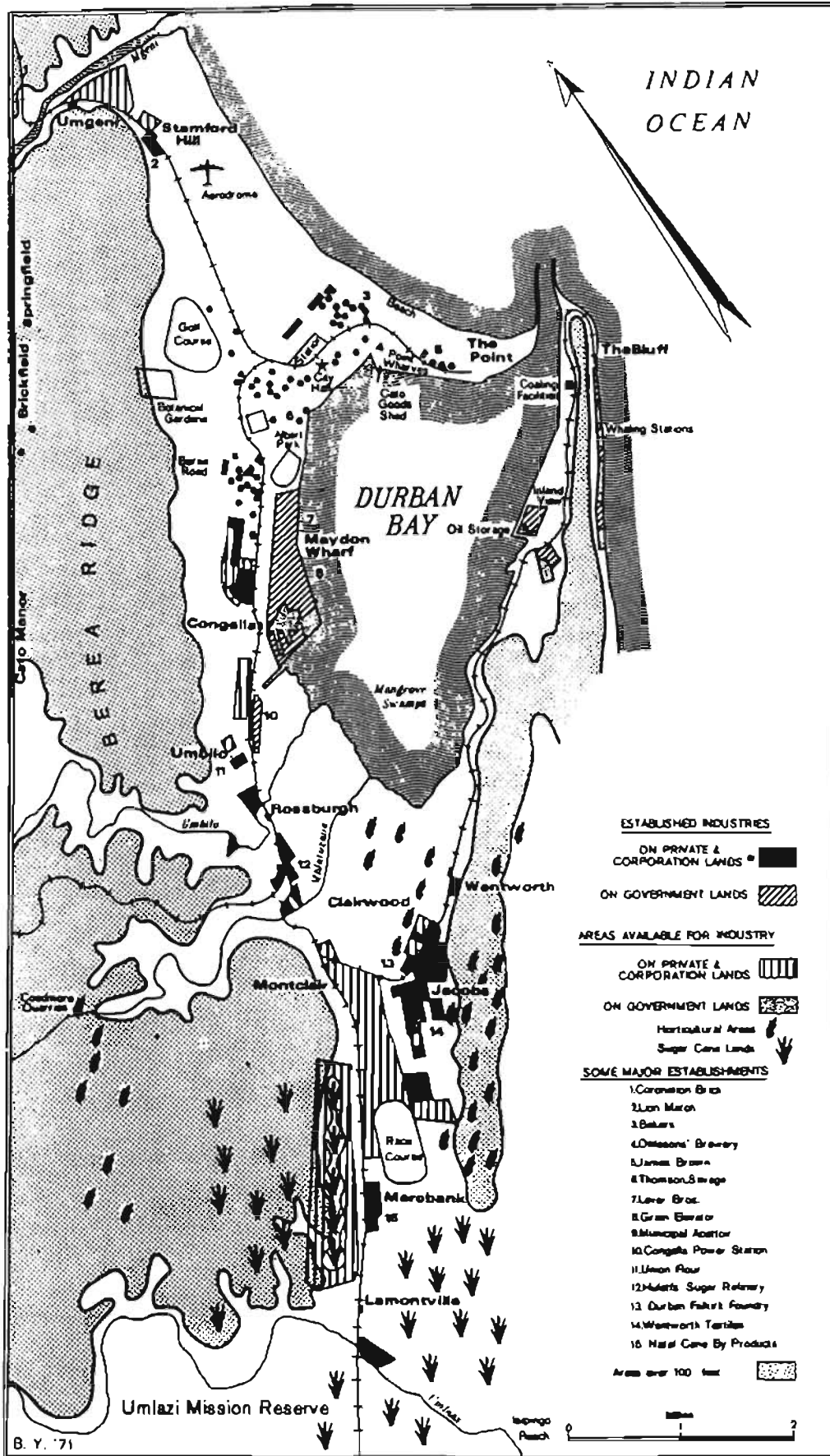


Fig 7.2: Landuse in Clairwood, 1946

Source: Young, 1972

The majority of Indian workers fell into the semi-skilled or unskilled category and suffered from low pay and the constant threat of unemployment (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985)(See Fig 7.3 showing Indian per capita income in 1951). For example, in the Typographical Union, only 19 out of 962 Indian workers were journeymen (Wood, 1954). The crucial factor which created a ceiling for Indian labour was the introduction of the 'civilized' labour policy of the Pact Government in 1925 (McCarthy and Smit, 1988). This policy prevented Indian labour from qualifying and working in skilled categories of labour based on the racialist concept of a 'western standard of living'. This perpetuated their occupation of positions of unskilled labour with particularly low and unregulated wages and contributed to the increasing poverty of the majority of Indian residents of southern Durban.

Although Indian women had increasingly been entering the labour market since the 1920's, the pre-capitalist forms of kinship and patriarchy persisted such that by 1951, their work participation rate was much lower than for any other group.¹³ This pattern has persisted to a lesser degree up until the 1970's (Brunton, 1969).¹⁴

Unemployment was most severe amongst the Indian population in the 1930's and 1940's and the vignette presented by Meer (1969,120) of a tenant living in a shack in Fynnlands, portrays the reality of this situation:

I hear you fellas got job for me? Very happy if you can fix me up. Anything I prepared to do. I get plenty bad luck. I work in the railways eight years, paying me fourteen Pounds, sixteen shillings a month. They got jealous. Can't see fellow eating nicely. You know, others on the job. They go say this and that by the big boss and I get fired. But God great that time. I get better job by Roberts Construction, five Pounds a week. Eating nicely, got four daughters married, but now that job not suiting me. Standing whole day in the dagga, mixing concrete. My legs go very bad...So I left it. Now two years looking for work, not coming right, making me fed up. Got five children with me you know. Sometime I pick up scrap, anything, bottles, boxes, iron, I get few shillings. Wife? Oh she gone washing, ironing. Thats all I got today. The neighbours sent me...

In addition to unemployment the wages of Indian workers in commerce and industry were extremely low, putting 70% of Durban Indians below the poverty line in 1955 (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985). It was these conditions that stimulated the formation of unions to champion the demands of the

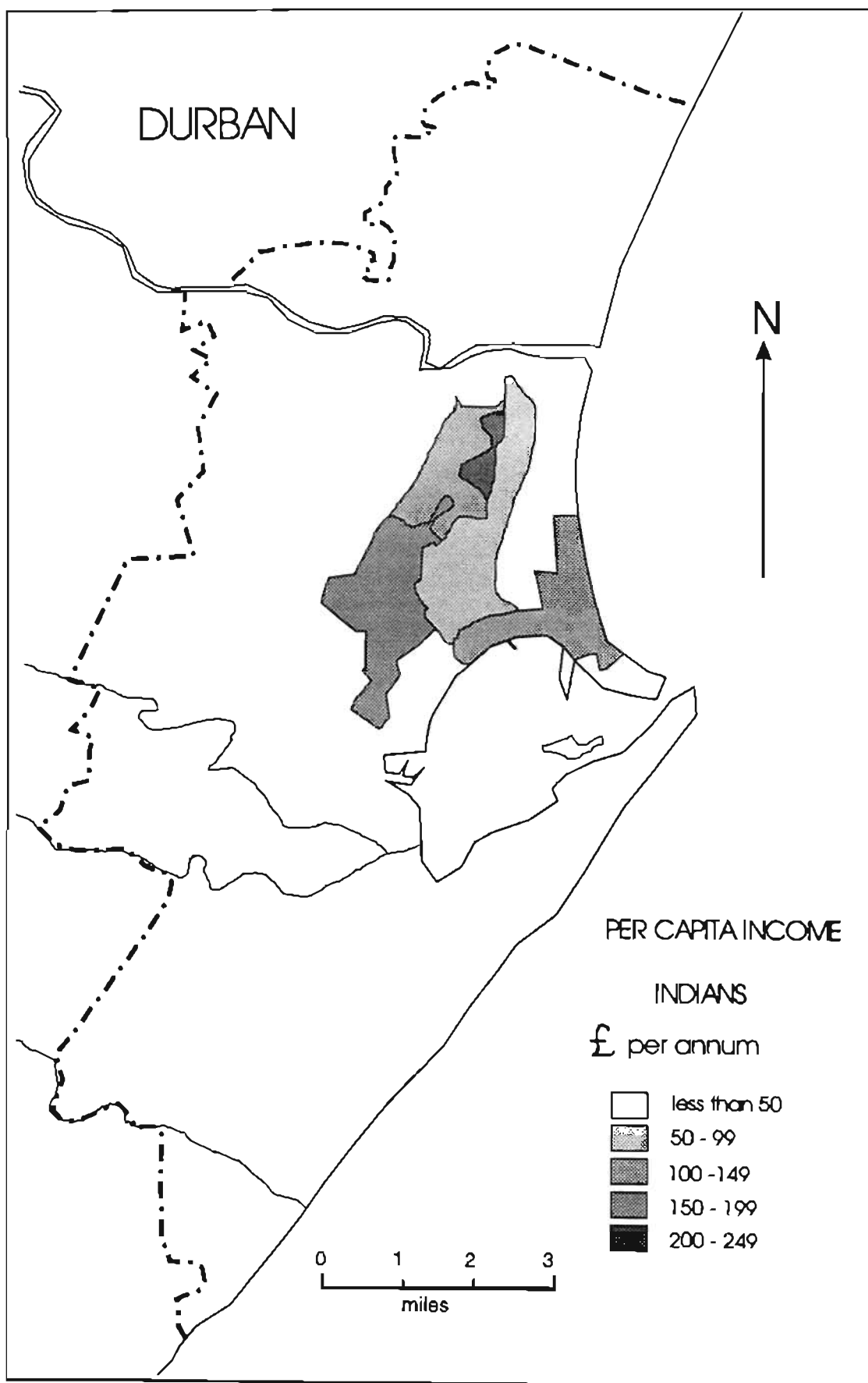


Fig 7.3: Indian per Capita Income by census tract, 1951
Source: Kuper, Watts and Davies, 1958

emerging Indian working class (Padayachee, Vawda and Tichman, 1985; Freund, 1994). The condition of poverty exacerbated the problem of squalid and overcrowded living conditions in Clairwood and District.

There were however marked improvements in the real income of the Indian community during the 1930's and 1940's through the upward mobility of the Indian work force, and this led to increased Indian investment in property (Arkin, 1989). The Deeds Office records reveal that by the mid-1930's, properties had been purchased in Clairwood and Wentworth by people obtaining their income from non-agricultural pursuits, for example, from the service industry - waiters,¹⁵ plumbers¹⁶ and shop assistants;¹⁷ from commerce - shopkeepers and butchers;¹⁸ and petty producers - tinsmiths.¹⁹ However, the majority of the records indicate that 'labourers' had purchased properties.²⁰ Juggernath (n.d.) notes the change over gradually from agriculture to factory workers in the work force of Merebank from the 1920's.²¹ The descendants of the seinenettlers of Fynnlands were also almost all employed in the industries in southern Durban by the 1930's and fell back on fishing in times of unemployment and hardship (Scott and Criticos, 1991).

However, the full effect of proletarianization was delayed in many families due to the fact that market gardening, poultry and dairy farming, and fishing were carried on as a part-time activity to supplement formal wages. Juggernath (n.d.) relates how he and his brother, unable to find employment during the Depression as they did not have a 'trade', leased 10 acres of virgin land on the Bluff (the present Umlaas cutting site). With African labour this land was turned to market gardening. The family continually engaged in either vegetable gardening or poultry farming around their house as an independent means of income provision, right up until their land was expropriated for the Merebank Housing Scheme in the 1940's. The resumption of pre-capitalist occupations at various points in their careers, reveals the ability of the Indian worker to survive during difficult times and articulate between the formal and informal sector (Sibley, 1981). This was particularly evident amongst the seinenettlers, members of whom participated in a 'hidden economy' whenever they were out of formal work. Brownie Pillay (8/1989) noted that the fishing crew of the boat at Addington Beach would vary from month to month depending on who was in or out of work.

The ability to make use of residual spaces and opportunities in formal urban space and in the formal economy has continued up until the present although the range of these spatial and economic niches have diminished with the advance of capitalism and modern urban planning (Sibley, 1981). As the built environment has become more homogeneous, particularly in the formal housing estates such as Chatsworth, so informal settlements and activities have become 'more visible' and increasingly defined as 'deviant' (Sibley, 1981).

But just as market gardening was part-time, so too was much of the formal work. There is evidence of much part-time and casual work amongst the Indian population, e.g. golf-caddying, newspaper selling and waiting (Natal Regional Survey, 1953). Rajruthnam (15/11/1988) in recounting his father's employment in Merebank, characterizes him as a "freelancer", who was a market gardener, exported fruit and even had a job working in the Merebank school's feeding scheme at one time.

By the mid-century, the Indian residents of southern Durban were almost completely proletarianized, falling back on the extended family and part-time informal activities, out of necessity. The effect of this process was to integrate the Indian into the capitalist work process and the associated norms of individualism, materialism, the emancipation of women, the drive towards material achievement, the secularization of most aspects of life, alternative routes to social status and non-place based associations (Cox, 1981b; Ramasar, 1989). The potentially liberating advantages of proletarianization for Indian women, were, however, not fully experienced, tied as they were to the domestic sphere through strong cultural norms (Kuper, 1960).

Sibley (1981) challenges the notion of modernization as a theory of social change whereby minority groups are either incorporated or assimilated into the mainstream culture, by insisting that minority groups have a means of persisting by engaging in a 'hidden economy'. The Indian community of Clairwood and District up until the mid-century can therefore be construed not as victims of the irresistible process of capitalism, but as survivors, actively attempting to maintain their independence and value systems and persist as a minority (Sibley, 1981). Sibley (1981) notes that this persistence is particularly evident in subject groups who historically have been treated with prejudice as outsiders and who have a strong and coherent cultural value system based on religion. In addition to these characteristics, the residents of Clairwood and District had been able to create a communal space which was 'utterly personalized

and particularized' (Cox, 1981b), with little intervention based on racial segregation. These factors served to facilitate the persistence of the minority in the face of the onslaught of industrial capitalism and the consequent proletarianization of labour.

Freund (1994) notes the increasing participation of Indians in a bi-polar cultural universe, whereby they were lured by the material benefits of a consumer culture but at the same time, fulfilling their obligations to their place-based communities. It was the advent of apartheid, and the movement of labour into mass housing projects, which speeded up the process of full proletarianization 'by twenty years' (Ramasar, 1989), and ironically increased the significance of an ethnic hearth which was to form a "haven in (the) heartless world" of racial capitalism (Cox, 1981b). This process can thus be conceptualized as the emergence of a 'hybrid culture' rather than as assimilation of the oppositional culture into the mainstream culture within a bi-polar model (Rose, 1994).

Ironically, however, it was the century old white fears of Indian competition, based on an ideology of colonialism, that restricted Indians from maximizing their economic well-being through a full participation in the formal economy (Arkin, 1989).

The one area of Indian life that experienced significant change and secularization in the first half of the century was the content and control of Indian education. Section 7.5 examines the role of this process and the effects on Indian social and cultural life in southern Durban.

7.5 Secularization of Indian life: the role of education

The gradual improvement of education for Indian children in Natal after 1920 had the effect of homogenizing meaning systems, and this advanced the values of western individualism, acquisitiveness and occupational achievement (Cox, 1981b) and the dilution of the communal and religious values inherent in Indian culture. It also contributed to the secularization of Indian communal organizations and the assumption of responsibility by the state for social and welfare functions that were hitherto satisfied by informal community mechanisms (Cox, 1981b).

From the 1920's, the promise of Indian 'upliftment' contained in the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 was largely achieved through a process of educating the Indian population in order to 'westernize' and 'civilize' them so that they be assimilated into the dominant norms of South African society.²² The role

of education in effecting changes in the 'traditional' norms of Indian value systems (Cox and Mair, 1988) was achieved through gaining control over Indian education via the financing of educational institutions; the introduction of English as the medium of education; the cancellation of vernacular classes in government schools and the setting of curricula to match those in white schools. In this way, it was assumed by the dominant white educators, the norms, values and 'knowledge base' of the dominant group would filter down and 'uplift' the subject group. These changes were introduced from the 'outside' into an educational system that was communally instituted and financed.

Early attempts by the state to provide the children of indentured labourers with education were swept away with the advent of Responsible Government in 1893. From this time Indian education became segregated and any progress in providing Indian children with education was due to the efforts of both missionaries, and more importantly, the tireless zeal and sacrifices of the Hindu and Muslim Indian communities themselves. Indian teachers were brought out from India and the main emphasis in teaching was on traditional religious beliefs and language (Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr, 1979). The president of the Natal Indian Organization, Mr P R Pather in his introductory comments to the Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools: 1903-1953, notes that it was the community of Clairwood that laid the foundation for the six Indian schools that had come into existence in the area by 1953 (See Appendix 8).²³

Like all other aspects of Indian welfare, Indian education was neglected in both the colonial and early Union period. Although the early Indian schools were community built and instituted, they had the status of being 'Government-Aided' and were paternalistically administered by a white grantee.²⁴

Being 'Government-Aided' brought schools little relief as government grants for these schools were low. Fig 7.4 shows the distribution of Indian schools in Natal by 1949 indicating the relatively large number of government-aided schools in Durban. For example, the government grant for the Umbilo Government-Aided School rose from 161 Pounds to 919 Pounds between 1913 and 1924.²⁵ By 1925, 80% of Indian pupils did not proceed after Std 2, Indian teachers were few in number and underqualified, and were paid by the community,²⁶ and there was a

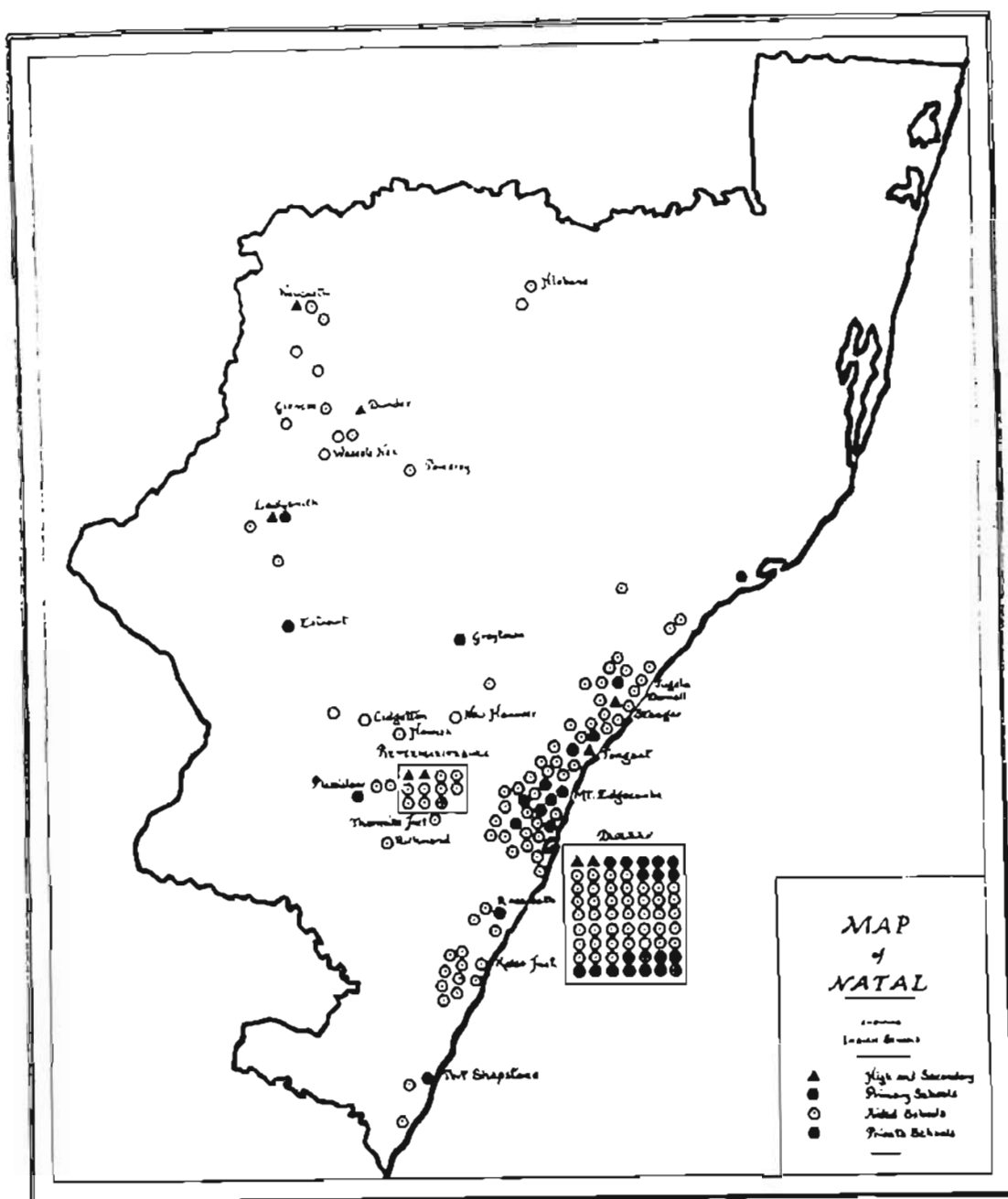


Fig 7.4: The Number of Indian Schools in Natal, 1949

Source: *Natal Education, Then and Now: 1849 - 1949*, Natal Education Department, 1949

severe shortage of accommodation in the existing schools. The latter has resulted in the practice of the platoon system in Indian schools introduced after 1940 and lasting right up until the 1960's.²⁷ (See Appendix 9).

An even worse situation existed in Merebank where there were no schools at all in the early 1920's, the nearest being in Clairwood and Isipingo which were already overcrowded. A private school was conducted adjacent to a store near the Merebank Railway Station, the teacher being paid by local parents.²⁸ The Merebank Indian Association, formed in 1923, set about establishing the Merebank

Indian School²⁹ on privately donated land, as well as assisting in the establishment of the Woonathee (See Appendix 10) and Hillside Schools. The Merebank Government-Aided Indian Primary School came into being in 1927 through difficult circumstances when the Umbogintwini School was transferred to Merebank under the Granteeship of Mr G Hindson (See Appendix 11).³⁰

However, despite these attempts by the community the educational standards remained low. In 1927, Indian education received a boost when the Union Government via the Cape Town Agreement agreed to uplift Indian education and 'westernize' the South African Indian (Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr, 1979).³¹ Teachers salaries were now paid by the Natal Education Department, English became the official language and curricula introduced that were much the same as in white schools (Burrows, 1943).

The Merebank School Logbook entries for the year 1918 reveal that public holidays were celebrated in Indian schools for Empire Day, the King's birthday, Union Day, Ascension Day, Labour Day and Dingaan's Day.³² The celebration of these holidays conformed with white schools of the period. The Logbooks provide a wealth of examples of the modelling of Indian schools on British priorities e.g. the 3rd to the 5th of June 1925 were given as holidays due to the visit of HRH Prince of Wales, while medals commemorative of the Royal visit to Natal were handed out to all Indian children on the 12th March 1946.³³

Religious and vernacular instruction was at this point discontinued in government schools and instruction was given by private teachers. The institution of these changes in Indian education, coupled with the efforts of Mr S Sastri to establish a secondary school³⁴ in central Durban in 1930, led to some advancement in Indian education.³⁵

In 1937, the Broome Education Commission reported on much progress in Indian education but relative to white education found Indian education lacking³⁶ and recommended increased grants, building grants, parity in teacher's salaries and the establishment of an Indian section of the Natal Education Department.³⁷ Furthermore, recommendations were made for free and compulsory education up to Std 6. The overall goal was the "South Africanizing" of the Indian in South Africa.³⁸

In 1943, all Indian schools were taken over as Government schools by the Natal Education Department.³⁹ Burrows (1943) reports that there was still a shortage of accommodation at schools by 1940. By the 1940's the Cape Town Agreement to uplift Indian education and 'westernize' the immigrant Indians had had an important impact on the provincial policy towards Indian education with big strides being made in primary but few in secondary education (Meshrie, 1987). Plate 7.1 illustrates a demonstration in 1950 in Victoria Street, where Indian protesters were petitioning for more Indian secondary schools. With an extra grant for this purpose the province was able to build two further secondary schools and subsidize the M L Sultan Technical College.⁴⁰

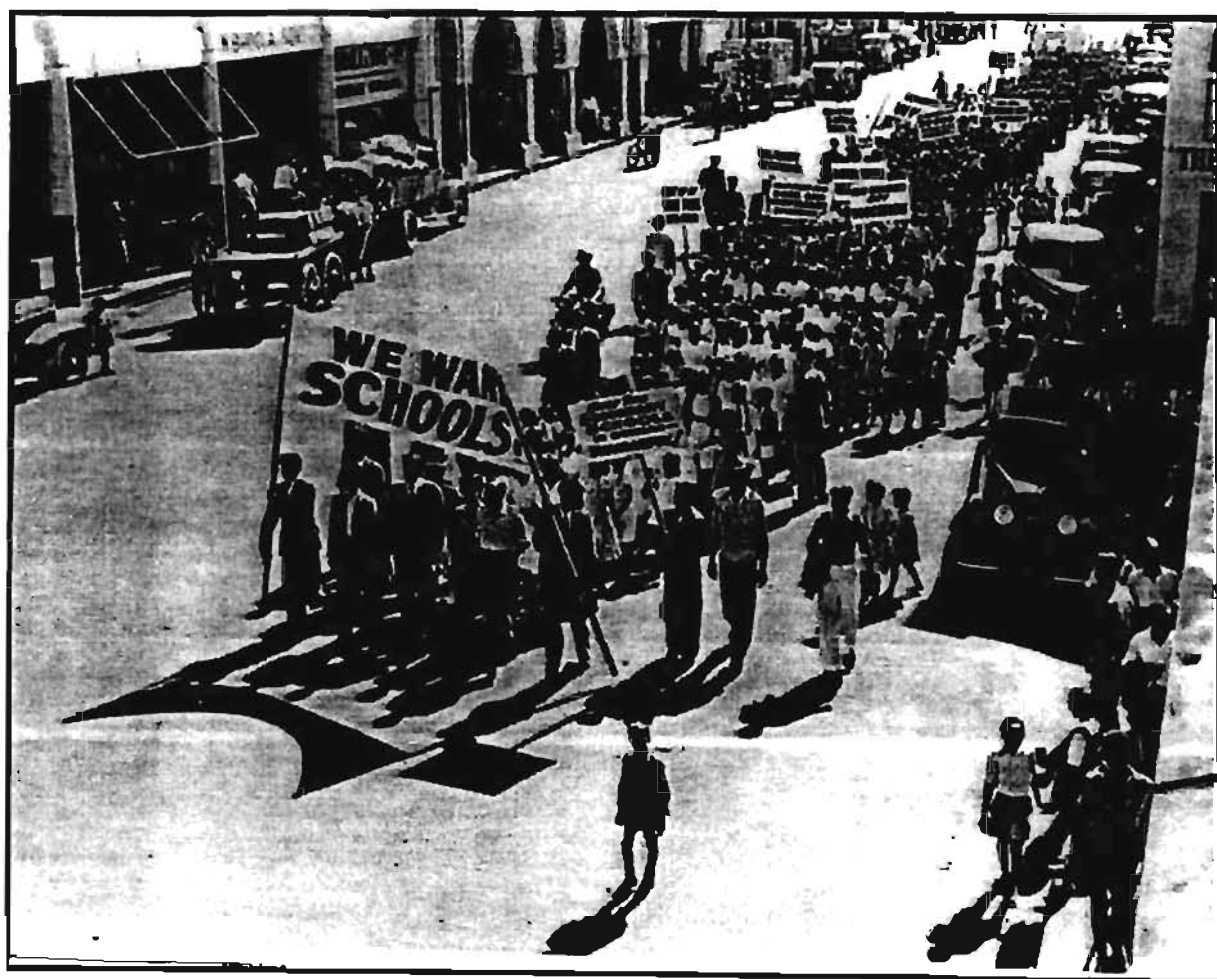


Plate 7.1: Indian protest for more secondary schools, Victoria Street, Durban, 1950
Source: Local History Museum Collection, Durban

Despite the increasing numbers of Indian children receiving education there were still large numbers of Indian children that could not be accommodated in the schools. In 1960, almost 40% of the Indian population had no formal education. When the Department of Indian Affairs was created in 1961, a separate division within the department was created and Indian Education transferred from the Natal Education Department (NED) (Oosthuizen and Hofmeyer, 1979). From this period attention was given to the high drop-out rate in Indian education and by 1974, compulsory education for Indian children had been legislated. Despite this boost for Indian education, and the great demand for accommodation in Indian schools, attendance figures in Clairwood schools show a drop in the post-1960's period due to the removal of large numbers of families out of the area. This was particularly significant in the primary schools. Figures 7.5 and 7.6 show the decline in attendance in the South Coast Madressa (established in 1947) and Clairwood Boys Primary School (established in 1903).

The change to education in English greatly changed the linguistic patterns of Indian South Africans with English becoming the chosen language in many homes (Ramphal, 1989). Whereas 6% of Indians used English at home in 1951, this increased to 32% in 1970 and 73% in 1980 (Ramasar, 1989). This has had rippling effects on other aspects of Indian traditional life. English is perceived by the Indian community as the key to advancement, progress and social mobility and the bearer of the more sophisticated western culture (Ramphal, 1989). Rather than the complete replacement of vernacular languages by the dominant language of English, changes in the languages spoken by Indian communities can be conceived of as the emergence of hybrid languages where English becomes 'Indianized' and the vernacular languages have incorporated both English and Zulu words and expressions.⁴¹ Improved job opportunities as a result of an English education have ushered in values such as individualism and equality between the sexes which have eroded the communal solidarity of the extended family and the woman's domestic role as wife and mother (Ramphal, 1989).

The removal of thousands of Indian families commencing in the 1940's to build the Merebank Housing Scheme, and continuing throughout the southern corridor in the 1950's and 1960's for infrastructural and industrial developments and Group Areas Act removals, hastened the disintegration of the extended family (Ramasar, 1989). The relocation of these families took place into nuclear family housing in the Chatsworth and Merebank public housing programme⁴² thus preventing the maintenance of close kinship ties and communal living arrangements.

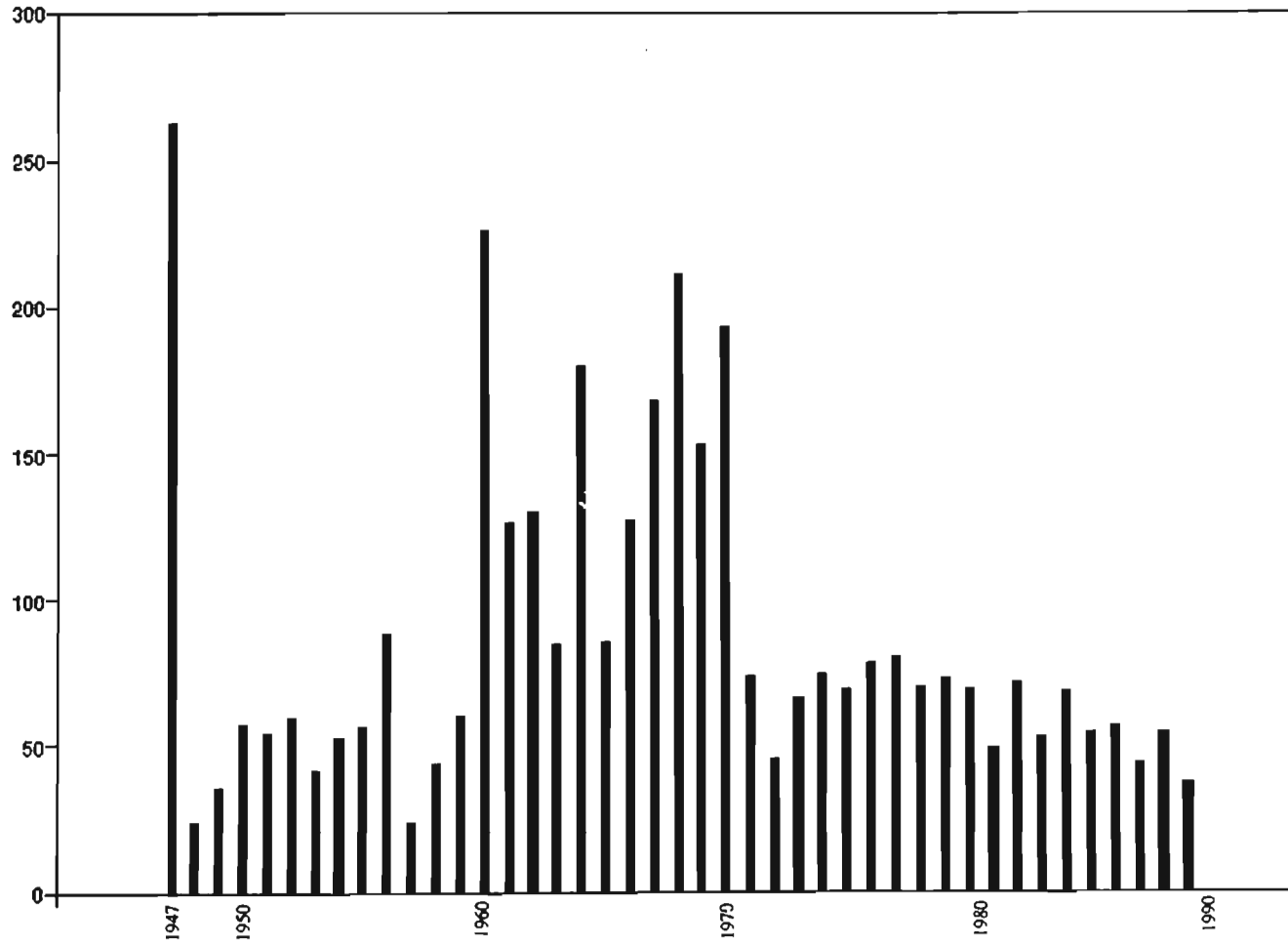


Fig 7.5: Admissions to the South Coast Madressa, Clairwood, 1947-1989

Source: South Coast Madressa Admissions Register

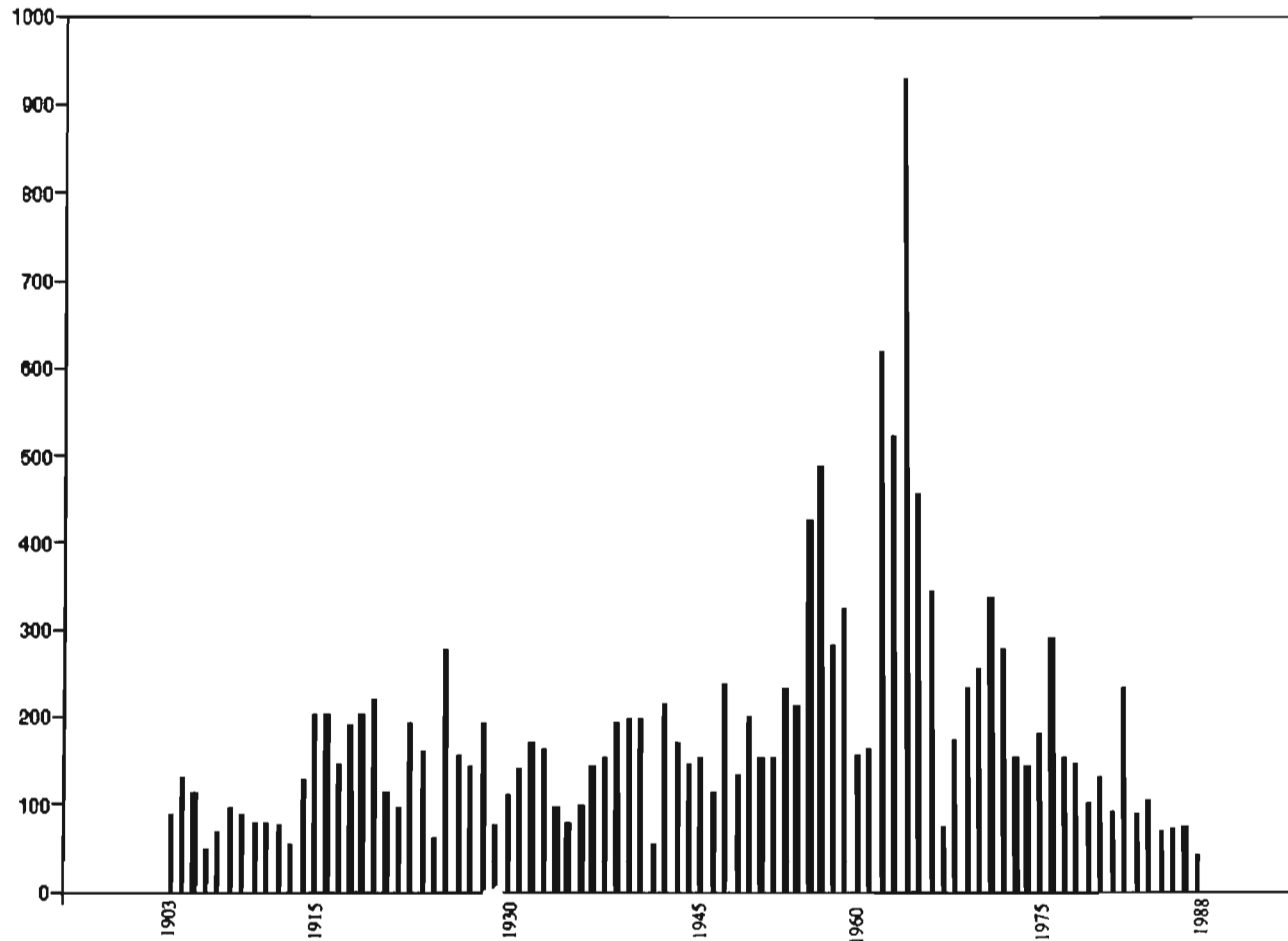


Fig 7.6: Admissions to Clairwood Boys Primary School, Clairwood, 1903-1988

Source: Clairwood Boys Primary School Admissions Register

There is a strong tradition in South African social science which interprets the transformation of Indian culture as the result of the process of westernization, which includes urbanization and industrialization (Burrows, 1943; Ramasar, 1989). Thus, 'traditional' values are eroded by 'progressive' values, and the 'traditional' culture either retreats into 'conservative traditionalism' or succumbs and becomes assimilated into the host culture (Ramasar, 1989). It is these assumptions about the modernization process, where the route to success, progress and improvement is viewed as a one-way channel from traditional to modern, that informed early education policy making with regard to Indians in the belief that they should shake off their traditional ethnic cultural values and life-styles and become assimilated into a western culture. It was a belief in this ideology that was the foundation of the attempts to 'uplift' the Indian population via a western education.

After a century of being 'resident aliens' (Daily News, 9/11/1993) and continually threatened with the possibility of being repatriated to India, however remote, the Indians in South Africa saw westernization as a necessity for their acceptability and strove to achieve this goal. Coupled with this, the loss of use of the traditional languages and the secularization of education in terms of state legislation has contributed to the secularization of the Indian community, the erosion of traditional, Indian cultural and religious norms (Ramasar, 1989), and the emergence of a hybrid culture (Rose, 1994).⁴³

7.6 Conclusion

With the growth of industrial activity to the south of Durban Bay and the decline of market gardening due to its inability to compete with capitalist cash crop production, the residents of Clairwood and District turned to wage labour within the local industries. The role of work and a 'western' education served to erode the communal bonds of the Clairwood and District community with the resulting emergence of a 'hybrid culture' which contained elements of both the hegemonic and oppositional cultural systems. Spatially and economically constrained by the dominant white society, the residents were unable to substantially rise above conditions of poverty, despite the introduction of a 'western education'.

Reaching its peak in the 1950's in terms of communal and spiritual strength, Clairwood was ironically materially degraded with a high level of poverty, overcrowding, poor housing and living conditions, and poor health. Branded as a 'slum' by the municipal authorities, and viewed as a potential extension of the existing industrial zone around the Bay, Clairwood and District began to experience various forms of intervention by the municipality. Although this had been occurring in a piece-meal fashion from as early as the 1920's, it was only with apartheid that efforts to industrialize the southern Durban corridor became more systematic and co-ordinated.

Endnotes

1. University of Natal, 1952.
2. Chapter 8 and 9 explain the long term plans of the Durban City Council to industrialize the southern Durban corridor and thus to systematically ignore the needs of the area as a residential zone.
3. It was these observations that stimulated the incorporation of the peripheral areas into the Borough of Durban in 1931, and later stimulated a number of Commissions of Enquiry e.g. Enquiry into Sanitary and Housing Conditions of Indians in and around Durban, 1929 - (Vide Agent's Report 1928 - Appendix (d)).
4. The Wadley Health Commission of 1944.
5. Union of South Africa, Monthly Bulletin of Union Statistics, No 1-12- Small villages and rural settlements - South Coast Junction, 1922. Note that Indians were included under coloureds in early government statistics, and thus southern Durban was predominantly Indian.
6. Mr P K Jacob, 20/5/1986; Maharaj, 2/8/1990; Bendheim, 1981.
7. The 1963 survey indicated that in shack number SN1 there were 19 rooms, mainly bedrooms and kitchens for which the tenants paid R1.50 per month. The total number of people occupying the shack were 18 adults and 28 children. Seven of the eight families were from the Fynnlands fishing village and two of the household heads were still fishing. Subramoney, one tenant owned the Pine Road Butchery in Clairwood, while Nadasen from 1397 Bluff Road had to move due to Group Areas Act expropriations. Fifty percent of the tenants were unemployed and considered fishing as a part-time occupation (City Estates Surveys, 1963-1976, Durban Corporation).
8. 292 Jacobs Road, owned by the Naidoo Brothers, had 11 tenants in 1969/1970 (City Estates JEC Survey).
9. City Estates Survey sheets, 1963-1970.
10. Chapter 8 details this pattern of industrial growth.
11. Mr R R Maharaj, 10/11/1987.
12. Mr P K Jacob, 20/5/1986.
13. Only activities for women, such as welfare work and teaching vernacular were approved (Mrs Dixon Pillay, 28/11/1988).

14. The work participation rate for coloured, African and white women was 35.5, 17.7 and 31.4 percent respectively, while for Indian women it was only 6.5 (Burrows, 1959).
15. C. Munsamy purchased 40 of SB of Clairmont Estate adjacent to the South Coast artery in 7/7/1936 (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
16. Virasamy of Clairwood purchased 34 of SB of Clairmont Estate in Soupan Rd, adjacent South Coast Road, in 13/2/27. (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
17. S M Akoon purchased 348 of V of Dunn's Grant in Flower Road on 7/4/1938 (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
18. Jugder of Clairwood, a butcher, purchased Rem of 48 of SB of Clairmont Estate inland of South Coast Road on 24/6/1937 (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
19. Papaya of Clairwood purchased 39 of SB of Clairmont Estate on 16/7/1936 inland of South Coast Road (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
20. Bajinath, a labourer with the South African Railways, purchased Rem of 324 of V of Dunn's Grant in Flower Road on 31/8/1935. There are many other instances of labourers mentioned in the records (City Estates Department, Durban Corporation).
21. Rajruthnam (15/11/1988) noted the employment of Indians in Merebank in the sugar refinery on the 'mere', as well as at the Clairwood Race Course (built 1919) and the Assegaai military camp and navy camp on the Merebank hillside.
22. It was only in 1960 when South Africa became a Republic that Indians were finally recognized as permanent citizens of South Africa (Daily News, 19/8/1994).
23. Golden Jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903 - 1953, 8.
24. Mr Ballance, a former school inspector, took over the Granteeship of the Umbilo Government-Aided Indian School. This school later became the South Coast Junction School which in turn later split into the Clairwood Government-Aided Boys and Girls Schools (Golden Jubilee op cit, 18). In his personal capacity he lent his authority and access to financial resources to assist the development of this school (Golden jubilee of the Clairwood Schools, 1903 - 1953, 13). He was followed by Mr H Hindson, who remained Grantee for 20 years. During his office, the original school became divided into boys and girls schools and also into senior and infant levels (Golden Jubilee, op cit, 14). An expression of gratitude to both grantees appears in the Golden Jubilee of Clairwood Schools 1903 -1953, and a road in Clairwood has been named in honour of Mr Hindson for the services he rendered.
25. Golden Jubilee, op cit, 13.
26. The Natal Indian Teachers Society was formed in 1926 (Oosthuizen and Hofmeyr, 1979).
27. An estimated 37 000 pupils could not be accommodated in schools in 1957 and this led to the platoon system (Oosthuizen and Hofmeyer, 1979).
28. Juggernath, n.d.
29. The school opened in 1927 with Mr Hindson as grantee and 125 children. It was administered by the Merebank Indian Association and later annexed the adjacent Tamil Hall (Juggernath, n.d.).

30. Commemorative brochure for the Merebank Primary School, Golden Jubilee : 1927-1977.
31. The Dyson Commission into Indian education was appointed in 1928 reporting inadequate facilities especially in the state-aided schools (Maharaj, 1989).
32. Merebank School Logbook, 1918-1975.
33. Merebank School Logbook, 1918-1975.
34. This institution, for Indian boys, was partly sponsored by the Indian community of Durban, and combined a secondary school and a Teachers Training College (Maharaj, 1989).
35. Natal Education Then and Now: 1849-1949, Published by the Natal Education Department, 1949.
36. The Broome Commission reported that "...the vast majority of Indian children do not acquire the rudiments of primary education" (in Maharaj, 1989).
37. Natal Education Then and Now: 1849-1949, 1949, 35.
38. Report of Education Commission, Provincial Notice No 60 of 1938 (Broome Commission).
39. Golden Jubilee, op cit, 14; Natal Education Then and Now: 1849-1949, op cit, 35.
40. See U.G. 27 of 1942 - Report of Commission to Enquire into the Present Facilities and Future Policy for Higher Education for Indians in Natal.
41. See the discussion of language in Chapter 6.
42. The planning philosophy behind Chatsworth and Phoenix was the English 'New Town' concept which assumed that housing should provide accommodation for the nuclear family (Scott, 1981).
43. With the prospect of full citizenship ushered in by the Tricameral Parliament in 1983, there has been a marked re-evaluation and revival of Indian traditions, languages and culture.

CHAPTER 8

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR AN INDUSTRIAL ZONE : INTERVENTION BY THE DCC IN SOUTHERN DURBAN

8.1 Introduction

From the early 1920's, the Durban Town Council systematically and persistently implemented the policy of industrializing the southern Durban corridor. This strategy was prompted by the Natal Chamber of Industries and later ratified by the Borough Boundaries Commission of 1931. In order to obtain territorial control over southern Durban the Durban Town Council initiated the Borough Boundaries Commission (1930-1931). This report became a powerful policy document envisaging the southern area as the industrial heart of the city - a 'productive zone' - surrounded by residential areas to provide labour for the expanding industrial core.¹ The interdependence of work zones and residential zones was now explicit. However, the prior purchasing of large tracts of land to accommodate industrial estates and housing schemes was already accomplished before the redefinition of the administrative boundaries.

Initially, this policy was an implicit rationale guiding intervention in the area, only to become officially accepted in 1938 as Council policy with the commencement of planned industrial development. However, even before this explicit statement of intent, the Durban Corporation systematically began developing infrastructure in the southern corridor. This involved upgrading the road system, particularly the southern axis of South Coast Road; implementing the Southern Sewage Works; providing stormwater drainage and canalizing the rivers; levelling and reclaiming large tracts of land for industrial sites and providing serviced sites in housing schemes. These development schemes continued into the 1960's and 70's as the residential and industrial areas to the south expanded.

The vision of southern Durban as an industrial core was crystallized in a series of maps or plans commencing with the Borough Boundaries Commission map of 1931 where an administrative framework for development was established. These maps legitimized and gave authority to the Council's goals of industrialization. The Borough Boundaries map was elaborated in the Bayhead Development plan of 1949, where the exact details of industrial development of this portion of the southern corridor were elaborated and sanctioned by both the local and national state. Fol-

lowing these localized maps or plans were the plans drawn up for Durban as a whole based on the explicit concept of racial zoning where industrial, racially segregated residential and commercial zones in the city were outlined. These Racial Zoning plans drawn up by the surveying and engineering bureaucracy of the Durban City Council were submitted to the Durban Post-War Development Committee in 1943 and formed the basis of the Natal Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee's 1944 recommendations (Maharaj, 1992).

The increasing demands for land in the post-war period occasioned by the upturn in the economy, stimulated the DCC in 1948, to sub-divide Council-owned land inland of the South Coast Road at Mobeni and create a planned industrial estate. The major constraints were the reclamation and levelling of a large portion of the estate for industrial purposes. The rapid purchase of this land by industrialists led to the Council turning its attention to other potentially suitable industrial areas, the first of which was the Amanzimnyama Estate, between Clairwood and the Clairwood Race Course. Furthermore, permission was granted to Stanvac for the building of a very large oil refinery at Wentworth contributing to the industrial character of this area.

In addition to providing infrastructure and suitable land for industry, the Durban Town Council also initiated and commenced building the Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme in 1939, amidst much opposition from Indian political parties. The Council-initiated housing scheme was the first formal residential zone designed in southern Durban to provide labour for the 'productive zone'. This scheme constituted an early attempt to create a racial residential zone and was thus a forerunner of the application of the Group Areas Act in Durban.² Indian resistance was voiced against the expropriation of Indian land and the replacement of a settled Indian community with a 'racial zone'.

From very early in the twentieth century, control over the physical environment was conceptualized by the local authority of Durban as a town planning exercise. Prompted by the Durban Town Council, the Provincial government of Natal formulated the first piece of legislation enabling planned intervention into the southern corridor of Durban. This was the 1934 Town Planning Ordinance of Natal. The goal of physical planning, as embodied in the 1934 Town Planning Ordinance, is to ensure favourable living conditions for all urban residents. It is a function of the local state, in terms of this legislation, to provide 'amenity' for all urban inhabitants based on the politically neutral ethic of equality of all urban 'citizens'. Planning thus essentially operates 'for

the public good' (Stretch and Wright, 1985). However, the public in Durban in the 1930's and 1940's, did not consist of an aggregation of equal citizens. Citizens rights are 'contextually defined' (Clark and Dear, 1984), and in a context of racial and economic inequality the process of defining rights was biased in favour of the dominant group in society. Without the municipal franchise, Indians, like the Africans, were 'alien residents' and therefore not 'citizens' of Natal's towns.

The 1934 Town Planning Ordinance empowered local authorities to plan municipal areas to ensure orderly development and provide amenity, via the scheme map and scheme clauses. It was within the rubric of the 'planned city', divided up into land-use zones of different uses (Jacobs, 1974), that the DCC began to undertake the twin imperatives of residential segregation and slum clearance, and industrial planning in the southern corridor, commencing in the 1930's. The remainder of this chapter explores the evolution of these twin imperatives in greater detail.

Section 8.2 outlines early industrial development in southern Durban commencing in the nineteenth century up until the 1920's. This is followed in Section 8.3 by an overview of the relationship between the Natal Chamber of Industries and the Durban Council indicating the strong influence this body had in determining Council industrial policy. Section 8.4 examines the expansion of the Borough Boundaries in 1931 as a strategy undertaken by the municipality to extend its control over the southern Durban area due to its potential as an industrial node. The crystallization of the Durban Town Council's policy of industrialization into a series of plans or maps is presented in Section 8.5 indicating the twin imperatives of industrialization and racial segregation. Section 8.6 outlines the implementation of a range of infrastructural development projects in southern Durban in order to facilitate industrialization. Section 8.7 then overviews the planned industrial areas created by the Council, while Section 8.8 focuses on the planned residential housing schemes in southern Durban. The chapter concludes with a description of post-war industrial development in southern Durban in Section 8.9.

8.2 The emergence of southern Durban as an industrial core

Prior to World War I, the main function of Durban was that of a port and commercial centre (Katzen, 1961). The earliest industrial establishments had located in and close to the centre of the town of Durban. The main activities were those of supplying the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to the small white settler population, as well as processing of local products (Young, 1972). As the town grew

industrial activities increased in both number and type and began to locate sporadically in and around Durban. With the stimulus of the discovery of minerals, the South African and First World Wars, Durban began to assume a more industrial character by the 1920's with industry beginning to gravitate towards the south of the town. This southward movement continued into the 1930's facilitated by local government reclamation and infrastructural works and the acquisition of land for industrial purposes.

The framework for this southward spread of industry was laid in the early development of the town. The laying out of the town plan by Cato in 1839, the proclamation of the Old Borough in the 1850's and the proclamation of 324 acres of Ordnance land for military purposes created a framework for the location of industrial activities (Young, 1972).³ This created a cadastral and land tenure framework that was to influence development in southern Durban for the following one hundred years. By the 1850's and 60's a number of urban nuclei around Durban had emerged, most of which were to become industrial nodes in the future. These were Westville, Pinetown, and New Germany to the west, Clairmont (which was renamed Clairwood in 1911) and Isipingo to the south and Umgeni drift to the north (Young, 1972). Industries also spread along the Umgeni Road axis to the north and towards the Point (See Fig 5.1).⁴

The discovery of minerals in the interior of southern Africa in the 1880's stimulated port activities and subsequently led to the extension of wharves and increased business and industrial activities and the emergence of a dock-side sector at the Point (Hart, 1965). By the late nineteenth century localization had begun to emerge with non-industrial activities located in the town of Durban and industrial activities on the outskirts of the central district (Young, 1972). However, no clear industrial zone had emerged.

Stimulated by the demands of the South African War, increased immigration, and the reconstruction of the railway system, the local economy of Durban experienced a boom and industrial expansion and diversification occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century with industries springing up all over the Borough and outside its boundaries.

Although industrial nodes were established to the west and north of Durban, of specific interest here are the nodes of industrial activity to the south of Durban. Around the turn of the century these could be found at Congella⁵, Isipingo,⁶ Wentworth⁷, Merebank, Coedmore,⁸ Umbilo,⁹ Jacobs,¹⁰ the Bluff,¹¹

Umbogintwini¹² and Clairmont.¹³ Clairmont was renamed Clairwood in 1911 (Young, 1972) and by 1914 adjacent this “populous suburb” at South Coast Junction, there were several industries including the Huletts Sugar Refinery, a concrete factory, a jam factory and iron and brass foundries. However, there was still no clear industrial zone in the Durban area.

The Natal Manufacturers’ Association (NMA) was founded in 1905 “to further the common interests of Natal manufacturers” and promote secondary industry¹⁴ particularly in Durban (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955, 18). From this early stage the interests of local industrial capital tended to dominate the local authority (McCarthy, 1988), initially to boost the image of Durban as an industrial region and later to obtain cheap land, lower rates and infrastructural concessions to benefit industry.

The “most significant and fundamental development industrially in the pre-World War One years in the Durban region was the municipal reclamation and construction of Maydon Wharf”,¹⁵ which became the first industrial zone in Durban south west of the centre of town (Young, 1972, 69). In 1913 the NMA proposed the Congella area¹⁶ as a possible industrial area of the future. This proposal was actualized by the Durban municipality and by the 1920’s this area was rapidly filling up with many previously centrally located activities relocating to the south west (Young, 1972).

Industry had begun to take off in the 1920’s¹⁷ and the President of the NMA noted that

so far as Natal is concerned I am sure you will all agree that it is one of the brightest stars in the South African firmament... with its wonderful geographical situation and the developments that are taking place around the port, there is no question but that we can look with greatest hope and the greatest faith to the future (Natal Chambers of Industries, 1955, 29).

By 1930, 350 acres at Maydon Wharf was completely developed and Durban’s first industrial area had ‘matured’.

Further reclamation of bayside land occurred at Island View for fuel storage tanks. In the 1920's, a number of large industries had located at Umbilo and Rossburgh, South of Maydon Wharf and Congella. These areas became integrated with the Point by the construction of the Railway around the bay in 1932. The previous small nodes of industry at Rossburgh, Wentworth, Merebank and Jacobs began to expand and become important centres of activity.

By 1930, with Maydon Wharf and Congella almost fully developed, there was a "strong thrust towards the southern area... because there were no significant alternatives to the north or west" perceived as viable at that stage (Young, 1972,78) and the alluvial flats to the south provided cheap flat land close to the harbour and town.

8.3 The Natal Chamber of Industries and the DCC: facilitators of industrial expansion

The Natal Manufacturers' Association, which became the Natal Chamber of Industries (NCI) in 1923, from its inception involved itself not only in the general promotion of industrialization but in policies relating to the housing of African labour in hostels adjacent to industry, and the location of industrial activities and acquisition of land for industry (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955). This body played a crucial role in stimulating the Durban Town Council to formulate an explicit policy of industrialization and provide both facilities and land for industry in the southern corridor.

In 1908, in a presidential speech to the NMA, Karl Gundelfinger noted that manufacturing industry accounted for 33% of the total annual production for South Africa and yet the economic value of manufacturers was underestimated (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955). Over the next decade the NMA had begun to be recognized as the 'mouthpiece of industry' by government (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955).

The NCI in its 1926/1927 Annual Report noted that no new industries located in Durban in the 1922/23 -1924/25 period despite its locational advantages, and concern was expressed that industrial activity was locating at other centres in South Africa. The President was of the opinion that

The only drawback I can think of is the question of land and its price. Land is unquestionably dear and rates have to be paid on this dear land... and I can only suggest that the Municipal Authorities should endeavour to find a way out of this situation if they desire Durban to develop industrially.¹⁸

The NCI continued to pressure the Council “with a view to furthering the industrial progress of Durban”¹⁹ and noted with pleasure that the Council had taken steps to secure additional land for industrial purposes. This land was the 194 acres purchased at Wentworth in 1925 (Torr, 1987) which was intended for both industrial and housing scheme development. However, pressure from local landed interests in southern Durban prevented the realization of the industrial portion of the scheme. At a meeting with the Council²⁰, the NCI complained of the high charges for water, rates and electricity, especially in land lying outside the Old Borough. These representations led to the purchase by the Council of a vast portion - 425 acres - of the Woods Estate, which was finally acquired in 1931, and was also earmarked for both industrial and residential purposes.²¹

Subsequent to the acquisition of these two large-scale tracts of land, further acquisition on such a scale was impossible since the southern area of Durban had been settled by Indians and whites in the 1930's, and a pattern of low density residential occupation on privately-owned land became evident (See Plate 4.1). The consolidation of privately-owned land into large portions for planned housing or industrial schemes would thus be difficult and well beyond the municipal budget.

The only other acquisition was the admiralty land at the “Assegaaai Camp” (300 acres) (University of Natal, 1952,279) which became a Government Village after 1954,²² and the Naval Stores Depot at Amanzimnyama, which was released to the DCC after the war. In addition, in the Bluff area, between Wentworth and Kings Rest, the Durban Corporation owned land in the swampy low-lying areas near the Bay (University of Natal, 1952).

The NCI was thus directly instrumental in initiating both municipal land acquisition to the south of Durban and the subsequent incorporation of the area into the Borough of Durban. Throughout the 1930's the NCI continued to pressure the Council for further industrial land. In 1936, the Town Clerk

presented the Chamber with the proposed layout plan of the industrial area at Clairwood to which the NCI responded by appointing a sub-committee to report on the matter (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955).

In addition to petitioning the Council to provide more industrial sites, the NCI also drafted a scheme for reclamation of land at the head of the bay²³ as a continuation of the Maydon Wharf industrial zone (Natal Chamber of Industry, 1955), presenting it to the Minister of Railways and Harbours in 1936. The canalization of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers, a road across the Bayhead to the Bluff, and the relocation of the central marshalling yards of the Railways to Bayhead, was also proposed.²⁴ As a consequence of the promotion for the improvement of the facilities of the Port of Natal, large sums of money were voted by the national state for harbour improvement in Durban.

The Natal Chamber of Industries played a crucial role in both stimulating an aggressive policy of industrialization in Durban from the 1920's, and sustaining and institutionalizing this policy up until the 1940's. It was from this period that the Durban City Council, with the aid of a growing bureaucracy took over the initiative and energetically and persistently continued to apply this policy in spite of Indian opposition and financial constraints.

8.4 'Looking south': the expansion of Durban's municipal boundaries

Stimulated by the need to have territorial and administrative control over the emergent industrial areas to the south of the Borough,²⁵ the Borough Boundaries Commission instituted by the Durban Town Council reported:

For the furtherance of Durban's industrial policy... one of promoting industrial activity...it is not desirable that such an area (south of the Borough boundary) be under separate municipal control.²⁶

The Borough Boundaries Commission thus proposed incorporation of the so-called 'Added Areas' outside the Old Borough to the south, west and north (See Fig 4.4). The major impetus for this proposal being the need to 'take in that (the southern) industrial area within our boundaries and the area which is overlooking it for residential purposes' to provide labour for the expanding industrial core.²⁷ The interdependence of work zones and residential areas was explicitly stated and the prior purchasing of large tracts of land, to accommodate industrial estates and housing

schemes, already accomplished before the redefinition of the administrative boundaries. Within town planning legislation, it was possible for the DCC to comprehensively plan, develop and control those areas over which it had legal tenure. A strong case was made for the 'powerful and well-developed Borough Council', able to carry out these functions, as opposed to "seven Health Boards, of recent birth, of restricted powers and of inconsiderable financial resources and powers".²⁸

In addition to these motivations for incorporation, the Medical Officer of Health, Dr Gunn stated that "unless in the outside areas there is a parallel improvement in hygienic conditions, much of what the Borough does or will do will be negated".²⁹

Incorporation of the peripheral insanitary 'black belt' (Maylam, 1983a) would thus allow the Council control over the poor health and housing conditions in these areas, for the benefit of both residents in these areas and those in the Old Borough.³⁰ Shortly after incorporation, 'slum clearance' via the application of the Slums Act of 1934 proceeded (University of Natal, 1952). This occurred specifically in areas which had been pinpointed by the Council as zones of future industrial expansion (McCarthy, 1988).

Incorporation had also been recommended by the Central Housing Board which had conducted an enquiry into the health and housing conditions of Indians in 1928. This imperative to improve the living standards of Indians in Natal formed part of the commitment of the national state in terms of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927. Incorporation of the peripheral areas of Durban, where the major portion of urbanized Indians in the province resided, would facilitate this process.³¹

The date of incorporation was the 31 August 1931, and from this date a programme to implement a sewage and refuse disposal system, domestic water supply, Indian and African housing, a mosquito-breeding prevention programme, roads and the supervision of public health in the area, was proposed.³² In addition to these programmes, specific attention was devoted to the construction of a comprehensive plan for the industrial development of southern Durban in particular, and Durban in general.

In the 1940's, urban-based industrial capital accumulation underwent a period of rapid growth throughout South Africa, reinforcing the earlier perception of the Durban municipality of its need to expand its boundaries (McCarthy, 1988). It was these conceptions related to industrial expansion, the institution of urban order and sanitary conditions, and the control of black urban settlement that began to crystallize in the 1930's, and were formulated into concrete blueprints for the future of Durban.

8.5 From vision to plan: a framework for industrialization and racial zoning

The vision of the landscape of southern Durban entertained by the Durban Town Council from the early twentieth century was portrayed visually in the form of a series of maps. Initially in the early 1930's, the need for a plan to guide development in Durban was expressed in the form of a map indicating the extent of Borough territory. This early vision of the Durban Town Council evolved and became explicit policy, which eventually became the foundation of a series of plans for the Durban region. These plans were formalized blueprints for a series of actions through time, and spatial plans locating these actions in physical space and strongly influenced national plans for urban reconstruction in the apartheid era (Maharaj, 1992).

While the residents of southern Durban could be said to be 'insiders', relating to their environment experientially through their everyday activities, the Durban Town Council essentially viewed it from the 'outside'. Thus to residents southern Durban was a place, while to the Council it constituted a landscape - something seen, and viewed from beyond it (Cosgrove, 1984).³³ Vernon (1973) characterizes the map as a 'frozen space' in which all aspects of experience which are not 'inert and measurable' are siphoned out.³⁴ It was via this process that the Council's priorities and goals were 'written' into the maps for the planning of southern Durban and the resident Indian population of southern Durban was 'written' out.

The maps and plans that shaped the landscape of southern Durban, were a form of power presenting the white Council's values and interests "in the guise of scientific disinterestedness" (Harley, 1991,279). The composition of these maps via cadastral and zoning conventions and symbols lent them the "aure-

ole of science" (Harley, 1991,285).³⁵ Furthermore, these maps were a form of appropriation which those "unlearned in geometrical survey methods found impossible to challenge" (Harley, 1991,285) especially when they became incorporated into law.

The mapmakers of the DCC were drawn chiefly from the engineering, surveying and estates branches of the Durban Corporation. They replicated not only the physical environment of the city of Durban in the plans for Durban's future, but equally the "territorial imperatives" of the dominant white class (Harley, 1991) in the quest to control space and the subject populations occupying that space. Cosgrove (1989) states that landscapes have a moral dimension, and present notions of how the world should be, or more accurately how it should appear to be. Thus a landscape constitutes and articulates social and environmental relationships.

The temporal phasing and spatial planning of the industrialization of the southern corridor of Durban by the DCC via maps, structured the transformation of a 'disorderly' living space to an 'orderly' racially segregated and industrially efficient space. The 'mapping' of utopian visions of southern Durban was therefore bereft of any considerations of the historical significance of the area, emotional attachment to place, communal value systems, and local political resistance. The contestation of space as exemplified in the Durban Council's plans is not unique to Durban, nor Africa, but has occurred throughout both developing and developed countries as the meaning of space has been re-defined in the facilitation of capital accumulation (Marris, 1979; Cox, 1981; Mollenkopf, 1981; Cox and Mair, 1987).

The landscape images portrayed in the maps devised by the Durban Town Council were altered, elaborated and refined over the decades that followed. The outcome of the land-use transformation process in southern Durban bears testimony to how the early landscape images controlling the 'pictorial space' of Durban provided a powerful tool for their patrons to eventually establish political legitimacy and control terrestrial space in a specific locale where the cultural paradigm was profoundly different from their own. The maps therefore provide hegemonic texts which served to represent the landscape of southern Durban, forming the basis for the transformation of the zone in the post 1950's period.

a) The appropriation of space: mapping in the “Added Areas”

It was the acceptance of the recommendations of the Borough Boundaries Commission of 1930 as codified on the plan attached to the Report of the Commission,³⁶ that, with the addition of the Added Areas, the physical size of Durban as well as the population was greatly increased.³⁷ Once the new boundaries were ratified, the Council could commence with a further mapping of the contours of the city’s future within this framework.

The Borough Engineer, reporting to the Borough Boundaries Commission of 1931, already had a vision of a comprehensive plan for the area to the south of Durban when he stated

it seems that the greatest good would accrue from an amalgamation of interests and activities under a strong central authority, which would be able to expedite the provision of essential services for the region, control the lay-out of the region, and concentrate on its development as a whole, with the object of providing for industrial and residential expansion and the amenities in accordance with a settled scheme(See Fig 4.4).³⁸

The Commission proposed that the Council’s powers in town planning, under the Borough’s Ordinance,³⁹ be exercised ‘with the least possible delay’ in the creation of a comprehensive plan for the whole city. However, as the adjacent Health Board areas only had minimal town planning control powers in terms of the Public Health Act (36 of 1919), the Commission proposed the submission of draft town planning legislation to the Natal Provincial Council for consideration, to facilitate urban planning.⁴⁰

This concern led to the promulgation of the Townships and Town Planning Ordinance (10 of 1934)⁴¹ which provided for a comprehensive means of controlling and guiding urban development (Faccio, 1975).⁴² Underlying these imperatives to achieve functional order,⁴³ however, were masked the “efforts to dictate (and often restrict) the pattern of black urban settlement in urban environments” (Mabin and Smit, 1992,13). This narrowly conceived functionalist legislation formed part of the backdrop against which the Council proceeded to plan for the reconstruction of southern Durban to accommodate the impending wave of industrial development.

In this context, the Borough Boundaries Commission map showing the incorporation of the ‘Added Areas’ into the Borough provided a framework within which a wide range of actions were proposed and for which additional town planning legislation was mooted to accomplish these plans and transform

the South Coast Junction into a modern planned industrial core. It was through this map and its accompanying Report, that the Borough Boundaries Commission provided for the Durban Town Council to gain administrative control over the surrounding peripheral areas. The 1931 Borough Boundaries map, “once made permanent in the image, ...acquired the force of law”, and with later embellishments and refinements, the early “myth” of an industrial corridor became a reality within the next forty years (Harley, 1991) (See Fig 4.4).

b) Mapping the Bayhead: Central and local state in concert

The map of the Bayhead presented by the Durban Bayhead Development Committee in 1949⁴⁴ served further to legitimize the industrial character of the Bayhead portion of the southern corridor. Evident in Fig 8.1 are the interests of the national state with the highlighted areas showing harbour functions such as wharves, shipbuilding zones, turning basins and quays. While the national state wished to expand South African trade via the development of the nation’s ports, the local state looked to the Bayhead as a potential source of flat industrial land to satisfy local industrial demands.

Due to representations made by the Natal Chamber of Industries (NCI) to the DCC in December 1936, the DCC set up a Special Committee to investigate industrial development at the Head of the Bay. The NCI Annual Report of 1926-1927 records dissatisfaction with the number of factories in Durban in the previous year which had remained stationary - with the Chairman asking “Is this quite satisfactory in a territory that has such great possibilities as Durban and Natal generally?”⁴⁵ It was also noted therein that industrialists seeking suitable locations, had “made their home elsewhere”.⁴⁶ After incorporation in 1931, the NCI urged that “the whole industrial policy of Durban be reviewed”⁴⁷ and it was noted that

the extent of suitable ground within the Old Borough of Durban is very small, but there are large areas at Clairwood and Jacobs, and further along the South Coast Line, which are eminently suited to industrial development.⁴⁸

The NCI pressed for reclamation at the Bayhead in order to expand the Maydon Wharf and Congella industrial areas. This body was insistent that

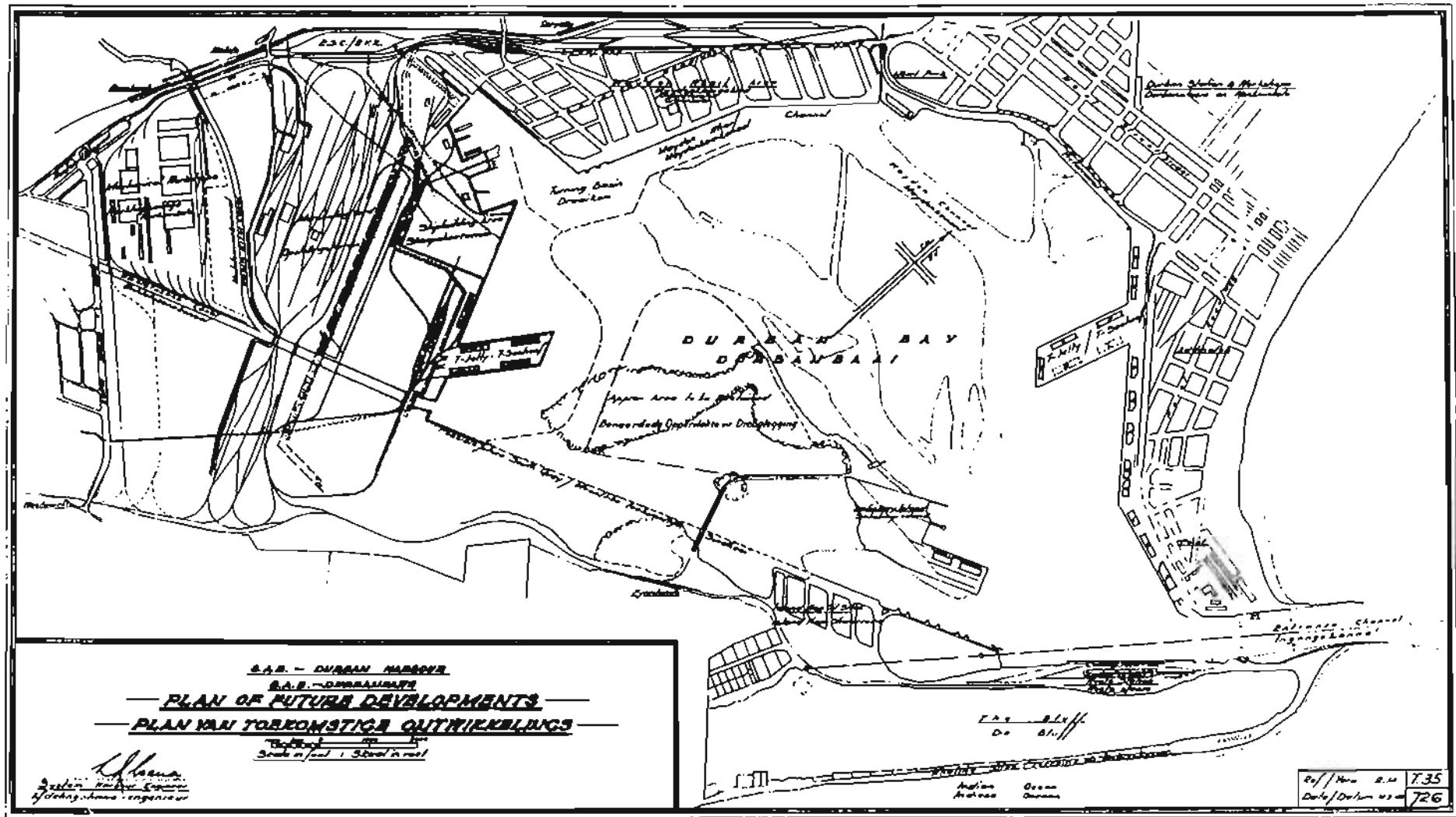


Fig 8.1: Durban Bayhead Development Commission map showing planned development of the Bayhead area.

Source: Durban Bayhead Development Commission, UG 32-49

if the Port of Natal were to hold its place in the Union of South Africa as an industrial centre, it was essential that properly developed land should be available when enquiries are made.⁴⁹

The NCI were specific in their motivation and recommended that the railways expand into the southern area of Durban to relieve congestion in the central area; that additional wharfage be provided in the Bayhead; and that land to house African labourers adjacent to the factories be included in the provisions.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the motivation to canalize the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers and open up a road across the Bayhead to the Bluff which would “enhance the value of the Bluff as a residential area”, was included in the ‘plan’ put forward by the NCI for the Bayhead.⁵¹

The Special Committee agreed “that the natural line of extension was from the Graving Dock round the Head of the Bay”,⁵² and subsequently formally urged the Railways Administration to investigate the possibility of Bayhead reclamation.

The sentiments of the NCI and the Durban Chamber of Commerce, were voiced in toto to the Systems Manager of the Railways in September 1937.⁵³ Thereafter, a sustained campaign by the NCI urging the DCC to facilitate industrial expansion, continued into the 1940’s, with “close and friendly co-operation” between the Council and the NCI.⁵⁴ The Mayor of Durban at the time, Mr. R. Ellis Brown, was himself a ‘distinguished industrialist’ and member of the Executive Committee of the NCI for some years.⁵⁵

A turning point in the creation of an industrial area south of the Bay was in 1937, when the DCC officially “adopted the principle that the head of the Bay was to be regarded as the natural location of industrial development”.⁵⁶ The term ‘Clairwood Industrial Area’ was used by the DCC in its report to the Durban Bayhead Development Committee as a broad term referring to the lowlying land from the Bayhead as far as the Clairwood Race Course, and including the state-owned Bayhead lands.⁵⁷ Since the Bayhead lands were owned by the state, the DCC pursued the policy of stimulating the Railways Administration to develop this area which lay in the path of the southward growth of industry from Maydon Wharf. The Minister of Railways and Harbours appointed the Durban Harbour Development Committee, to which the DCC and other interested parties submitted their visions of industrial growth in southern Durban.⁵⁸

The major emphases of the report issued by this Committee⁵⁹ were the localization of industry in Durban to the south of the Bay; the integration of railways, shipping and industry in this location; the creation of African and Indian housing schemes to the south in Lamontville and Merebank to provide sources of labour for industry; and the necessity of undertaking reclamation, dredging and canalization to provide usable industrial land.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the DCC was desirous of acquiring the Bayhead land for the purposes of industrial development.⁶¹

The DCC's proposals for the southern Durban corridor to facilitate future industrial development were directly in response to the detailed motivations presented to it by the NCI. Thus, local industrial and commercial capitals were adept at using the forum of the local state as an instrument to adapt earlier "colonial socio-spatial relations to a modern racial capitalism" (McCarthy, 1986,5).

Prompted by demands from the DCC, which was responding to pressure from the NCI⁶², the Durban Bayhead Development Committee⁶³ met to decide on 'allocation of land between various activities'⁶⁴ at the Bayhead.⁶⁵ It was motivated by the DCC that a portion of the Bayhead be reserved for industrial activities, since this area fell in the path of the anticipated southward expansion of industry. On acceptance of the proposal to develop the Bayhead, vast reclamation works commenced in order to provide for the relocation of the railways marshalling yards from the central city to the Bayhead.⁶⁶ This latter recommendation was echoed in the Moffat Report of 1958.⁶⁷ The reclamation works gradually changed the contours of Durban Bay with the original natural Bayhead high water level becoming extended and transformed into a geometrically ordered and permanent wharveside.⁶⁸

The proposals for the development of the Bay via reclamation at the Bayhead were met with considerable public and municipal opposition. Mayor Milne protested the curtailment of the Bay area, noting that the Moffat Report advised development that would "cut the original water area of the Bay by half"... and "of the original eight square miles of water, a mere two and a half square miles would be left".⁶⁹

c) The creation of Racial Zoning maps: from myth to reality

Although attempts had been made at a national level to introduce 'class areas'⁷⁰ in the 1920's, it was not until 1944 that the Durban City Valuator and Estates Manager submitted a Racial Zoning Plan to the Durban Post-War Development Committee (University of Natal, 1952) (See Fig 8.2).⁷¹ It was argued by the Durban City Council that racial zoning would result in the housing of each race in a separate area whereby the interests of all would be best served (University of Natal, 1952).

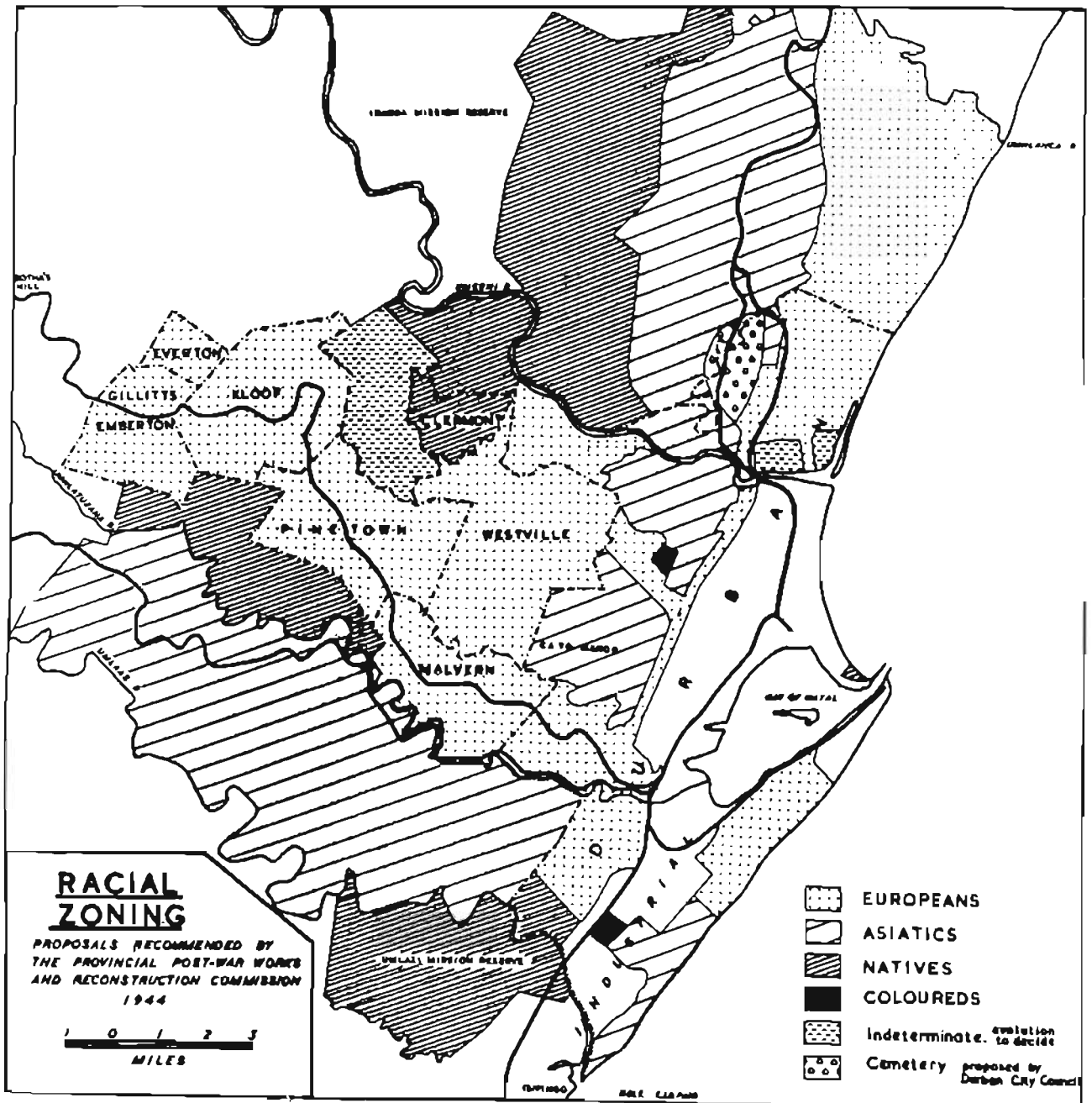


Fig 8.2: The 1944 Racial Zoning Plan of the DCC submitted to the Durban Post-War Development Committee.

Source: University of Natal, 1952

This formed the basis of the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee's 1944 detailed recommendations⁷² and included an industrial zone from the Bayhead to the Umbogintwini River open to all races, with white residential occupation in the northern Bluff, Indian occupation on the southern Bluff, a small coloured zone at Wentworth and an African residential zone in Lamontville and Umlazi Mission Reserve. These reports of these two committees provided an explicit outline of the concept of racial zoning which formed the basis of the Technical Sub-Committee Report on Racial Zoning of Durban (1951) in terms of the Group Areas Act (See Fig 8.3).⁷³ This Report which was submitted to the Land Tenure Advisory Board provides an extensive and detailed exposition of both the principle of racial zoning and the mechanism for achieving the sectoral model in South African cities. The race zoning scheme is presented as a blueprint for the future growth of Durban (See University of Natal, 1952,418-442). The final revised scheme adopted by the DCC on 5/5/1952 for submission reveals the maintenance of the 'segmented colonial city' preserving the interests of the dominant white group with regard to access to land and facilities (Davies, 1976,18) and the decentralization of blacks to the periphery (Maharaj, 1992).

At the same time as the Durban City Council was involved in implementing its policy of creating a 'productive zone' in southern Durban in the 1940's, the issue of 'Indian Penetration' was at the forefront of local politics with particular relevance to the lower slopes of the Berea in the Old Borough. Essentially, the DCC was striving for wider powers of legislation to restrict Indians, not on a piecemeal basis but rather on a city-wide scale as was evident in the Racial Zoning plans. Thus the shift of legislative emphasis, from an envisaged comprehensive racial zoning plan as embodied in the City Estate's Manager's 1943 plan, to the individualistic regulation of land exchange as embodied in the 'Pegging Act' was not in keeping with DCC policy.⁷⁴ Local state policy was aimed at controlling the location of all Indians and other race groups within the city, whilst the 'Pegging Act' of 1946 was capable of dealing only with Indian land ownership and occupation on a piece-meal basis.

It is proposed here that the utopian vision of a racially zoned city aspired to by the DCC rested upon a set of mutually exclusive racial categories which had evolved within the prevailing structures of western thought. Hereby "areas of experience are extricated from each other and arranged in discrete spaces beside each other, often as opposites" (Vernon, 1973,xii).⁷⁵ Within this dualistic mode of conceptualizing reality, which Vernon (1973) terms 'map like', opposite realms of experience are conceived of as

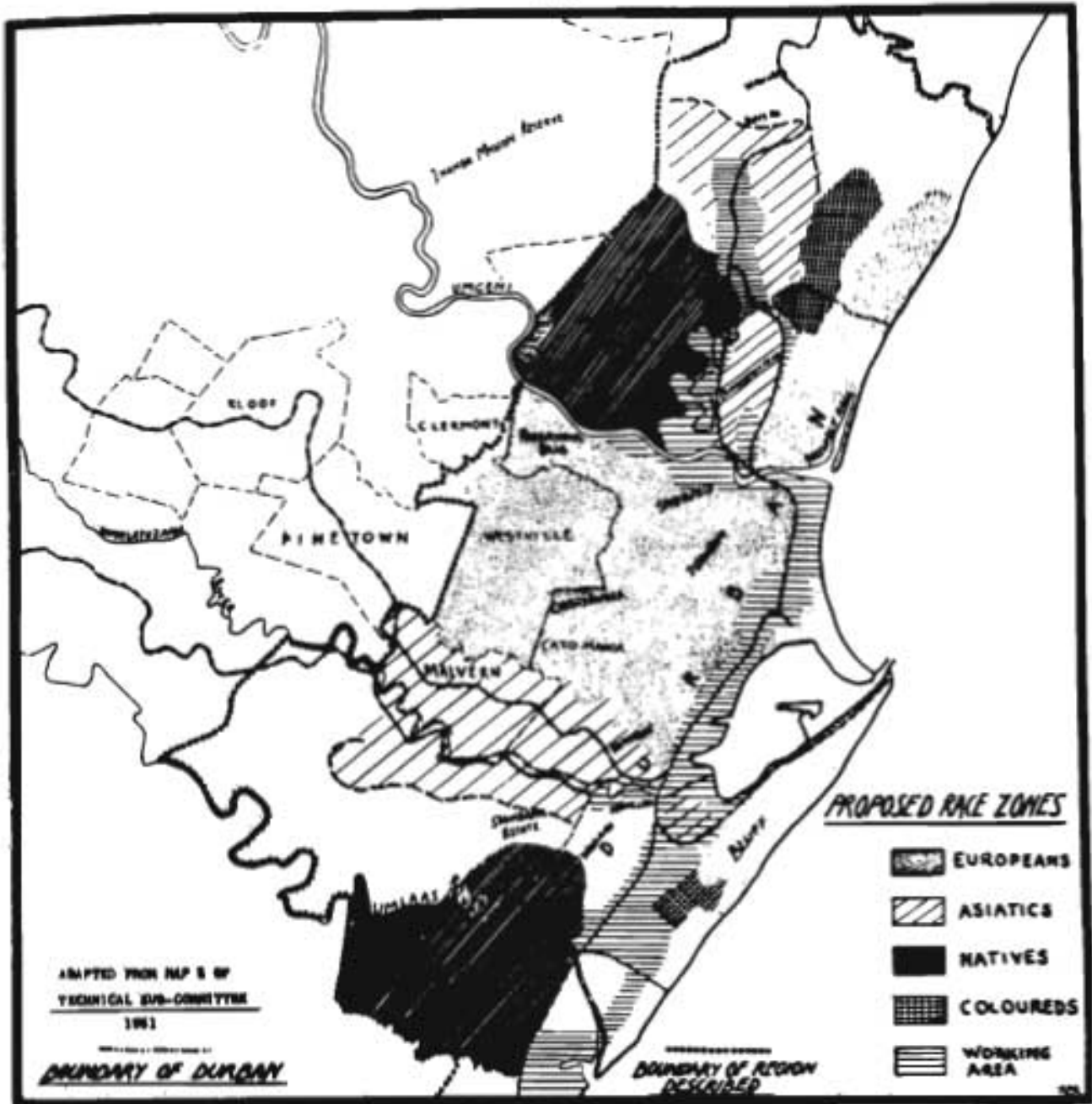


Fig 8.3: The 1951 Racial Zoning Plan of the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee submitted to the National post-war commission.

Source: University of Natal, 1952

being mutually exclusive, giving rise to the notion of zoning as a mechanism for achieving exclusivity in each realm. In terms of this conceptualization, the urban area is conceived of as a set of discrete spaces added together rather than a 'fluid unity of transformations' (Vernon, 1973).

Located within a western cultural framework, the colonial impulses of racial superiority conferred status on people in terms of colour, and thereby provided a set of mental categories for separating people spatially on the basis on race into racial zones. Thus residential zones were further categorized by race.

Although the local authority in Durban had conceptualized the idea of racial zoning and had to some degree begun to implement it before 1950, comprehensive legislative mechanisms and the financial resources to bring this ideology to fruition only became available following the implementation of the Group Areas Act, 1950, and the Group Areas Development Act, 1955, which coincided with an attempt by the local government to implement legislation promulgated at national level (Maharaj, 1992).

The concept of zoning as part of the formal planning process precludes both mixed landuses and the informal occupation of space.⁷⁶ As it was the existing Indian and African residential areas that exhibited these 'illegal' phenomena, it was these areas that would become the object of rezoning or slum clearance procedures.⁷⁷ In 'illegal space'

houses do not conform to codes; amenities do not meet established standards; and construction, local services, and other business in the quarter take place outside of labor, commercial, and tax regulations. The illegal settlement is often less closely integrated into state-run urban structures - hospitals, police, schools - but more fully integrated socially than legal settlements (Cooper, 1983,31-32).

In short, the social and economic order of illegal or informal settlements is not the order of state hegemony and portrays the 'wrong kind of city' (Cooper, 1983). In the contestation of space, which began in earnest in South Africa in the early twentieth century, the mutually exclusive categories of 'formal', and 'informal' formed a broad categorization within which the municipal authorities set about replacing the informal form of urban development, which were inappropriate and illegal, with formal zones of particular activities, which were desirable and legal. This was enabled by a growing network of segregatory and inhibitive legislation relating to housing, trade, industry and business (Cooper, 1983).⁷⁸

The application of racial zoning regulations to southern Durban from the 1950's to the 1970's resulted in an attempt by the Council to rezone Clairwood as an industrial area⁷⁹ as well as a large-scale programme of removals of predominantly Indian residents⁸⁰ and the eradication of slum dwellings.

After the incorporation of the South Coast Junction into the Borough of Durban in 1931, the southern Durban corridor was termed and designated a 'working zone' by the DCC, and both the acquisition of land and the development of infrastructure on a piece-meal basis, commenced. The major works involved:

- a) upgrading and extending the road system with an emphasis on improving access to the southern industrial areas and growing residential areas (including building of bridges);
- b) providing waterborne sewerage to the whole of southern Durban;
- c) levelling and reclaiming large tracts of council-owned land for industrial development;
- d) providing stormwater drainage, particularly to the low-lying areas of the southern corridor which were susceptible to flooding, and including the canalization of rivers; and
- e) providing completely serviced sites for the housing scheme areas and new residential suburbs in the area.

The focus, periodization and extent of this infrastructural development is outlined below.

8.6 Roads and drains and canals: infrastructural development in southern Durban prior to 1950

Prior to incorporation into the Borough the South Coast Junction had been administered by a Local Health Board in terms of the 1919 Health Act (Torr, 1987). Due to the lack of financial resources and the relatively low population densities particularly in the southern part of the area, very little infrastructural development had occurred.

Intervention by the Durban Town Council in southern Durban via infrastructural development proceeded in a southward direction, first servicing the Old Borough and then proceeding to institute developments south of the Bay.⁸¹ From 1935, attention was turned further south to the 'Added Areas'. Here, in the South Coast Junction, extensive road maintenance and construction was undertaken.⁸² The main infrastructural developments occurred in the newly developing white residential areas, such as the Bluff and Fynnlans, where the quality of roads and beaches were upgraded. For example the circular Marine Drive on the Bluff was completed in 1936.⁸³

In contrast to these standard improvements elsewhere in the southern corridor, Clairwood was generally neglected and all that was provided was limited drainage and access for busses into the Clairwood area.⁸⁴ The Clairwood area is exceptionally lowlying and stands between 3-12 metres above sea level. Highly susceptible to the flooding of rivers and accumulation of water during heavy rains, drainage of this area was a continual problem and has been a difficult, slow and costly process (Fig 8.4 indicates the extent of the area reclaimed and drained in the Bayhead as well as areas serviced for industrial estates).⁸⁵ However, the waterlogging of industrial properties, particularly in the Clairwood South and Amanzimnyama area, where a small node of industry had existed from early in the century (Young, 1972), prompted action from the DCC. Consequently, drains were a strong priority in areas surrounding the Amanzimnyama stream, particularly as they had a direct bearing on incipient industrial development in the Jacobs and Clairwood South area.⁸⁶

a) The Southern Sewage Works

The first comprehensive infrastructural development in southern Durban was that of a regional sewerage facility - the Southern Sewage Works - which was authorized in 1938 to provide for southern Durban⁸⁷ over a fifteen year period. This project however, extended the sewage system systematically to the larger southern area of Durban over the next three decades and included the areas of Sea View, Cato Manor, and Mayville, to the south-west of Durban. As the city grew, the Southern Sewage Scheme was extended to include the Chatsworth area where sewage works commenced in 1959,⁸⁸ and also embraced the new white residential areas of Montclair and Woodlands. The Southern Sewage Treatment Works, with a two and a half mile outfall into the sea, was in its final stages in 1969.⁸⁹ Indicated on Fig 8.4 is the location of the large Southern Sewage Works in the centre of the Merebank residential area. As far as the installation of sewage facilities in the industrial areas, "many of the large industries had been connected" in Jacobs by 1946,⁹⁰ and extensive sewage works were undertaken in Mobeni from 1951 to 1954.⁹¹

The development of a sewage system to the southern area of Durban commencing in 1938 was a vast programme carried out in stages, as finances permitted. The network grew as the growth of suburban residential areas to the south of the city expanded, necessitating the continuation and expansion of the service under the administration of the Durban Corporation. The programme was comprehensive, including the industrial areas of Jacobs, Mobeni and Amanzimnyama, and the white, Indian, coloured and African housing schemes to the south.

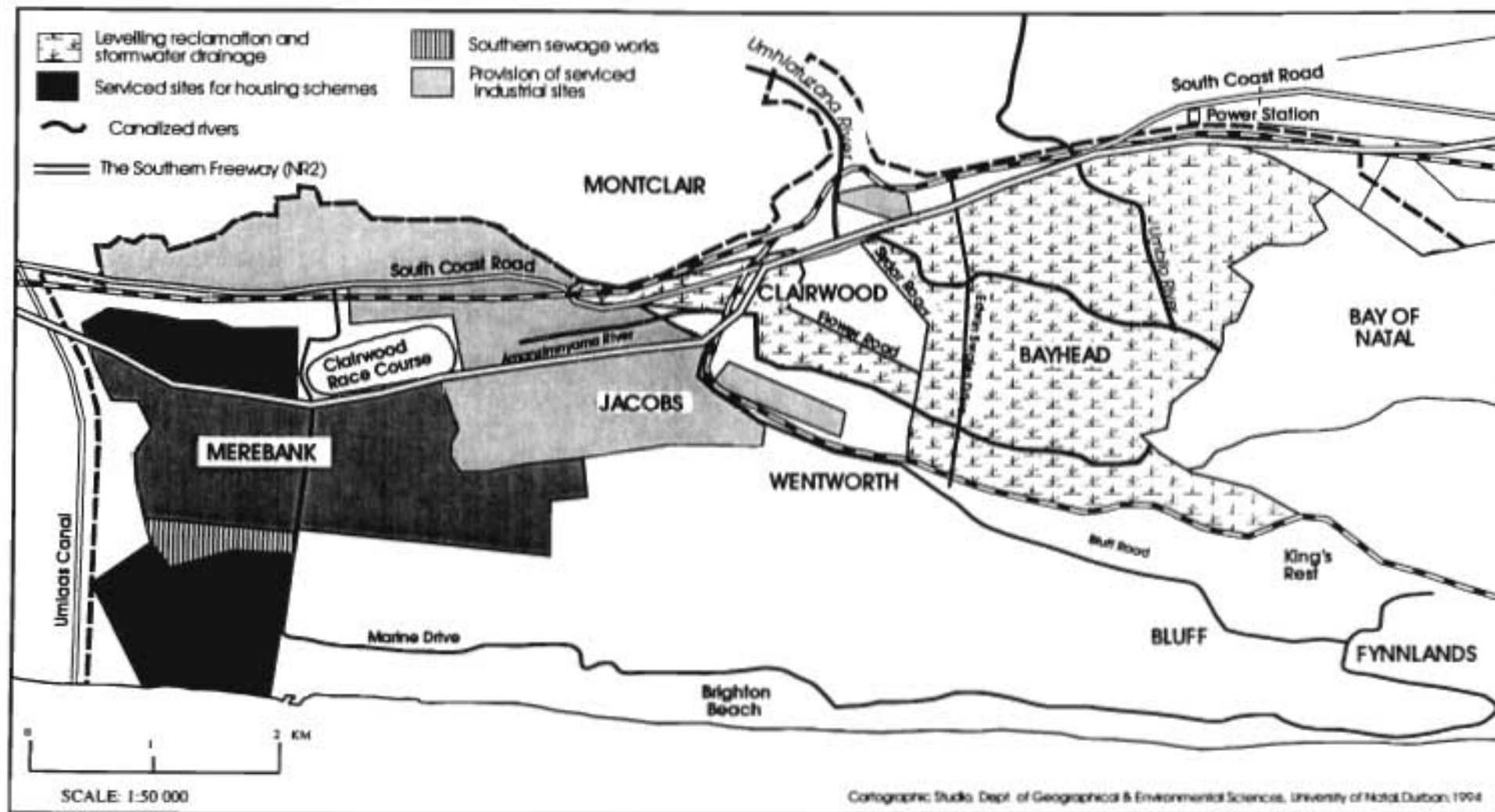


Fig 8.4: Infrastructural development in southern Durban from 1930 to 1960

Sources: Predominantly the Mayors Minutes, 1931-1970.

However, apart from the Edwin Swales V.C. Drive and the Jacobs sewage pumping stations which formed part of the disposal network, there was no extension of sewage reticulation into the Clairwood residential area. The anticipation by the Durban City Council (DCC) of the conversion of Clairwood from a residential into an industrial area by the Durban City Council, prevented it from linking this area into the larger sewage system. The financial implications of installing sewage into a residential area that was planned to be redeveloped, precluded Clairwood from receiving this service. Instead the bucket disposal system continued to operate and has done so until 1989 when plans were drawn up for a waterborne sewage system in the area.⁹²

The Natal Indian Council (NIC) survey of housing conditions in Indian areas, undertaken in 1944, noted the relative neglect of Clairwood in comparison with the adjacent new white residential area of Montclair in the provision of a range of services and facilities installed and administered by the Durban Corporation. These were, water-borne sewage, storm water drainage, pavements, refuse removal, and the provision of pavements and open spaces (Bagwandeem, 1983).

b) Road development

In addition to the sewage system, attention was also paid by the Durban Corporation to the development of the existing road system in southern Durban. The macadamizing of Sirdar Road was undertaken in 1937⁹³ as a through road to the Bluff because it provided access to this developing white residential area.

After the initial hardening, widening and macadamizing of roads and the elaboration of the existing network in the southern area of Durban from 1935 to 1940,⁹⁴ the major expenditure on roads involved ad hoc improvements to the South Coast Road in order to improve access to the industrial and residential areas of the south (See Plate 5.9). The congested nature of this crucial artery to the south led to a number of small improvements in the crossings and bridges,⁹⁵ and the construction of a by-pass from Sea View to the South Coast Road.⁹⁶ In 1950-1951, the DCC urged the Railways Administration to

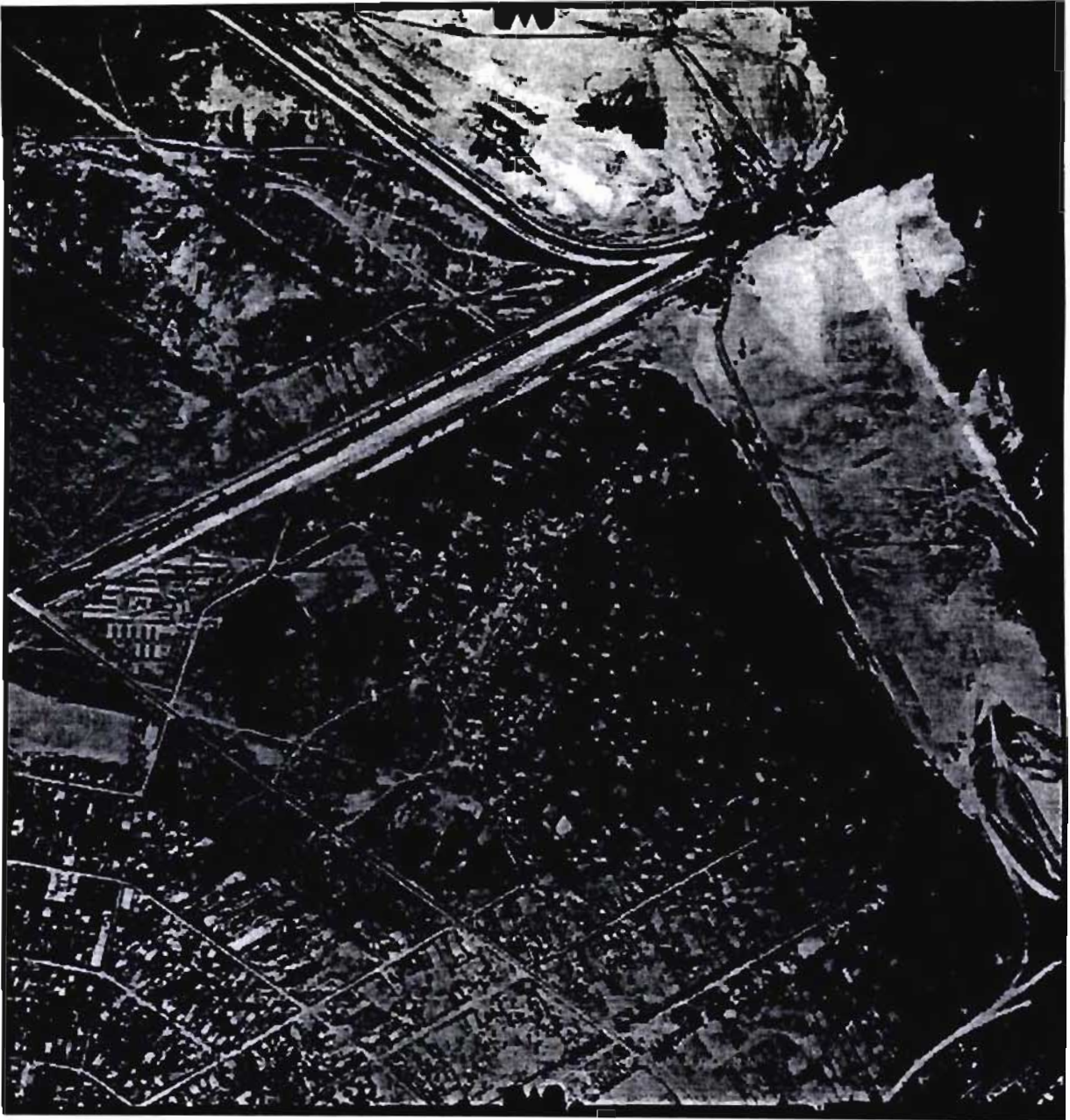


Plate 8.1: Aerial photograph showing the canalization of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers, Bayhead c 1958

Source: Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department, Durban Corporation

construct a road across the Bayhead to relieve congestion in this area.⁹⁷ Thus investment in improved communications via an efficient road network was aimed entirely at servicing industrial and white residential areas.

c) Tackling the swamps: land reclamation, canalization and drainage

In addition to the improvement of the sewage and road systems of southern Durban, large-scale reclamation of the swampy, alluvial flats constituted an important facet of the programme to facilitate industrial development in the southern Durban corridor. Reclamation along with the installation of stormwater drainage and the canalization of rivers of the southern corridor, ensured well-drained, flat and flood-free sites for potential industrial development. The provision of stormwater drainage was undertaken in a southerly direction in 1937 with the extension of the storm water drainage system of the Old Borough along the South Coast Road.⁹⁸

The Bayhead reclamation scheme, undertaken by the Railways, and the canalization of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers represented major infrastructural developments which significantly altered the land-use patterns of the southern area (The area reclaimed in the Bayhead is indicated in Fig 8.4. and covers over approximately 640 acres). Supported and stimulated by the DCC, the reclamation programme on central state-owned land contributed to the broader industrialization agenda of the DCC with various parts of the project undertaken by the local authority.⁹⁹

On recommendation from the Durban Bayhead Development Committee, the infrastructural developments in the Bayhead in the late 1940's were vast in scale and covered a large area of swampy land and mangrove swamps from the Bayhead and King's Rest south to Edwin Swales V.C. Drive (See Fig 8.4). Reclamation of land using ash from the Congella Power Station (built in 1927), had already commenced in 1947.¹⁰⁰ The first victim of the southward expansion of industrial activity in the 1940's was the Umbilo or Rosburgh Temple which was expropriated for the building of an ash dam.¹⁰¹ The spirit was moved¹⁰² to the Second River Temple in Cato Manor and the Umbilo Temple fell into a state of dilapidation (Mikula, Harber and Kearney, 1982).¹⁰³

In addition to reclamation, the canalization of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana Rivers which enter the Bay at Bayhead was an essential element in the development programme (Fig 8.4 highlights the rivers, the lower portions of which, were canalized). Portions of these rivers were canalized by the City Engi-

neer's Department by 1951,¹⁰⁴ with the costs partially borne by the Railways (Plate 8.1 indicates the junction of the Umbilo and Umhlatuzana canals adjacent to the Bayhead shack area). In 1956, the new marshalling yards at Bayhead were brought into use.¹⁰⁵ Since the reclaimed area was only intended for the installation of new marshalling yards, it did not include the development of the foreshore, and so road construction across the Bayhead was not yet possible.¹⁰⁶ Through this process, large areas of swampy 'wasteland' was converted to industrial, railways and harbour usage (Horwood, 1969; McDonald, 1972).

d) The Levelling and servicing of industrial sites

The planned industrial area of Mobeni was opened in 1948. Major earthworks were undertaken to level portions of the estate for industrial use.¹⁰⁷ Levelling also commenced at the southern end of the Amanzimnyama Estate and earth from Mobeni was used to reclaim portions of this area where difficult and costly drainage problems existed.¹⁰⁸ Apart from the preparation of the land in the industrial areas, systematic engineering works in the form of railway sidings, storm water drainage, roads and sewage reticulation were undertaken in the 1940's, with a concentration of activity in the Mobeni and Amanzimnyama estates in 1953 and 1954 (See Fig 8.4).¹⁰⁹

e) The provision of serviced sites for housing schemes: rewriting the landscape of southern Durban.

Infrastructural development was also an important and ongoing component in the development of housing schemes in the southern corridor. A portion of the Woods Estate property to the south west which had been acquired by the DCC in 1931 (Torr, 1987), had been allocated for a 'native village' so as to provide for the large African labour force required by the industries at that time.¹¹⁰ The housing scheme built for Africans at Lamontville was opened in 1934 (Torr, 1987) with the basic infrastructure installed in the early 1930's. However, the installation of sewage and general engineering improvements in Lamontville continued into the 1940's with the completion of sewage reticulation in 1947.¹¹¹

In the Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme general engineering works were undertaken on a systematic basis from 1942 over a period of twenty years¹¹² according to what the DCC believed to be 'modern town planning principles' (Bagwandeem, 1983). An area of 1050 acres of this scheme was set out for Indians while 235 acres were zoned for coloureds.¹¹³ The scheme provided for a completely new cadastral layout and road network, along with sewage provision, storm water drainage, and pavements. The scheme constituted a vast programme of service provision and transformation of the land-

use and cadastral patterns of the southernmost part of Durban. Furthermore, it replaced the relatively informal and ad hoc growth patterns of the early twentieth century with a planned and formalized residential landscape. This was facilitated by the fact that the DCC had purchased 194 acres in Wentworth in 1925, with the original intention of using it for the dual purpose of industrial land and an African housing area (Torr, 1987).¹¹⁴

The sweeping changes wrought by the DCC in its housing programme served to radically alter the informal character of southern Durban.

8.7 The development of planned industrial areas in southern Durban: the 'garden estates'

The most notable development in the industrial landscape of Durban was the development of Mobeni in the decade following the war (Young, 1972) (See Fig 8.5). The consolidation of title and subsequent subdivision of Mobeni and the adjacent Amanzimnyama industrial estates commenced in the 1940's. Due to the fact that the area had previously been under sugar-cane, there was no resident shack population leasing the land as there was on most of the other state land in the southern corridor. This facilitated rapid sub-division and sale of lots. Mobeni was officially declared an industrial estate in 1948 and was advertised as Durban's first 'garden' industrial estate. Even prior to the auctioning of industrial sites at Mobeni, fifty acres had been sold off by private treaty to industrialists before 1948.¹¹⁵ By 1949, 218 acres were still available with 104 already disposed of,¹¹⁶ and by 1963 one of the last sites was sold to a tea and coffee manufacturer.¹¹⁷

The industrialization of the adjacent Amanzimnyama Industrial Estate of 143 acres followed Mobeni, but was delayed by the necessity to remove the large shack population that had established itself on this portion of land since the early twentieth century leasing the land from the DCC, under 'Tenancy-at-Will' agreements (See Fig 8.5).¹¹⁸ By 1954, eleven acres had been developed (Young, 1972) with twelve sites sold off by 1963 and large areas still available.¹¹⁹

Although not an industrial estate as such, but covering a very large area, was the Stanvac Oil Refinery which opened in 1953 on a 285 acre site at Wentworth, which contributed to the non-residential character of the southern corridor (Young, 1972) (See Fig 8.5).

8.8 The development of the Merebank/Wentworth Housing Schemes: planned labour reservoirs

As part of the 'productive zone' envisaged by the Durban Town Council in the southern corridor, were a number of planned housing schemes for different races serving as a labour reservoir for the emerging industrial zone.

Apart from Lamontville which lies adjacent to the southern Durban corridor, the DCC embarked on a large housing scheme for Indians and coloureds in the Merebank-Wentworth area on 10th November 1939 (Bagwandeem, 1983) (See Fig 8.5). Merebank was a traditional Indian area, having been pioneered by Indian farmers in the period 1910-1920 (Juggemath, n.d.) The scheme was essentially a 'slum clearance scheme', but on a larger scale than earlier attempts to remove residents on the grounds of slum clearance in parts of the inner city in 1933 (Bagwandeem, 1983, 125). The scheme necessitated the expropriation of 656 acres from whites and 629 acres from Indians and was proposed in terms of Section 11 of the Housing Act (35 of 1920).

The Natal Indian Association protested against the DCC "disregarding the vested interests of thousands of Indian residents in those areas" (Bagwandeem, 1983, 129). Indian opposition explicitly noted the attempt of the DCC to "transport the Indians to the extremities of the city" (P.R. Pather, in Bagwandeem, 1983, 133). Furthermore, the concept of the Merebank-Wentworth Scheme as an 'Indian Village' was rejected by the Indian opposition as it represented the implementation of segregation in a covert manner. The Mayor of Durban at a mass meeting in the City Hall on 2/3/1941, denied these allegations stating that the schemes would benefit the Indian community by way of providing better facilities "because of modern town planning" (Bagwandeem, 1983, 130).

The technicist conceptions of a 'planned city' based on a blueprint of improved future living conditions (Jacobs, 1974), was the ideology sanctioning the Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme and justifying the large-scale removal of people and extensive property expropriation. The replacement of a low-density, unplanned, informal settlement of mixed residential and small-scale agriculture land-use, with a formal, high-density planned Indian housing scheme, sought essentially to zone and hence purify the racial component and implement formal planning controls and standards.

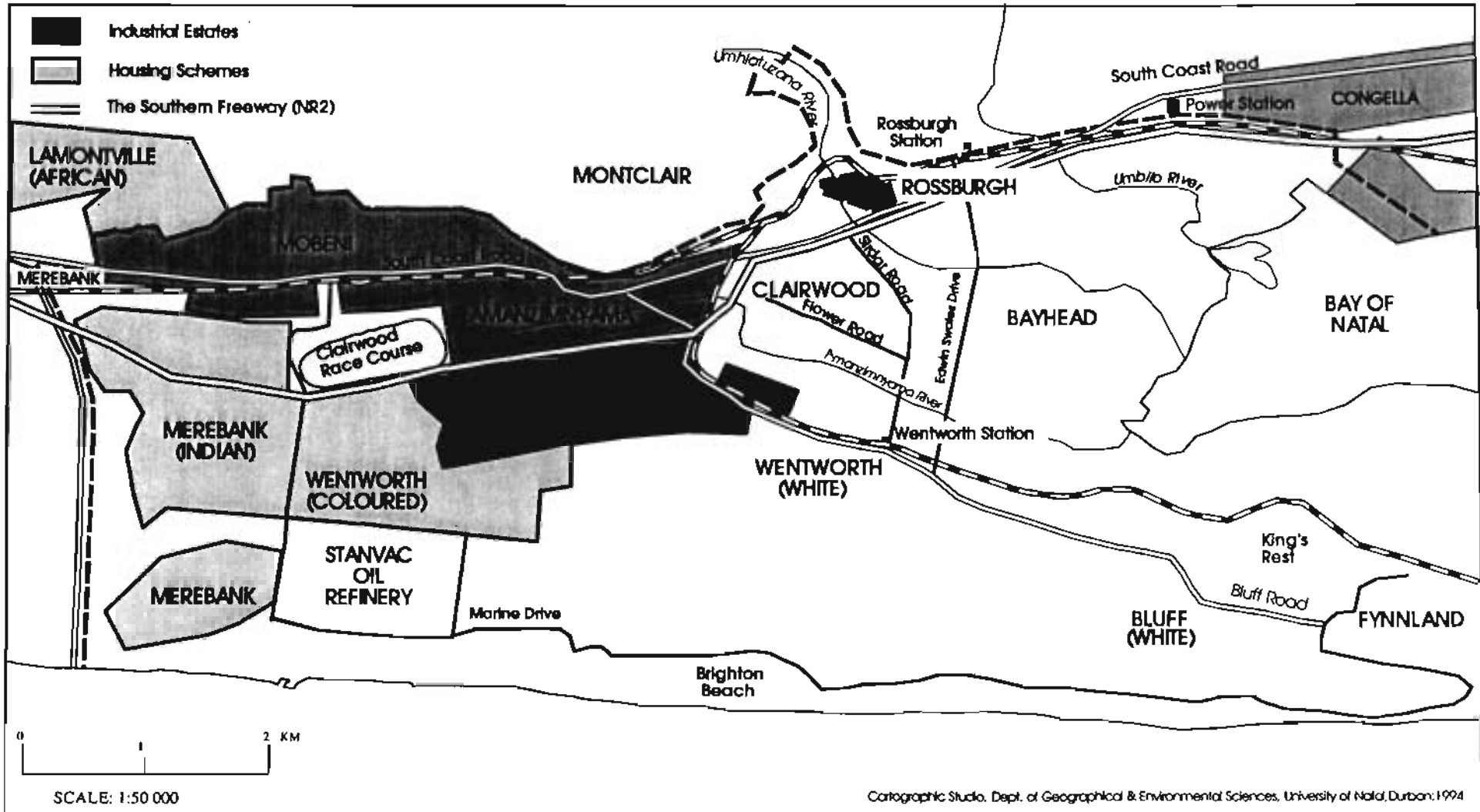


Fig 8.5: Industrial areas and housing schemes established in southern Durban prior to 1950.

Sources: Predominantly the Mayors Minutes, 1931-1970.

The opposition to this scheme and others proposed in the west and north of the city,¹²⁰ led to a delay on the part of the Central Housing Board in giving its approval. After site inspections on 3/2/1942 the Merebank-Wentworth Scheme was approved with the proviso that expropriation only be resorted to when owners were not prepared to sell at the market price (Bagwandeem, 1983). The Indian press reported that 'what the Europeans failed to achieve through the Class Areas Bill years ago, is being surreptitiously achieved through the Town Planning Scheme'.¹²¹

Widespread reaction from Indian residents in the affected areas led to the formation of the Durban Expropriation Joint Council of Action and mass protest meetings were held in various parts of Durban. At a mass meeting in the City Hall,¹²² E.H. Brookes protested that "it is an effort to introduce segregation in the guise of slum clearance...(and) is utterly repugnant to my conception of decency and fairplay" (Bagwandeem, 1983,149).

In their strategy to create a 'productive zone' with surrounding housing schemes, the DCC motivated for changes to Section 11 of the Housing Act¹²³ to allow for local authorities to expropriate "land for replanning or laying out an area for resale to the public for building purposes" (Bagwandeem, 1983,155), and the expropriation of land for housing scheme purposes. This gave the DCC and other local authorities an extremely powerful legal weapon to remove entire communities (Bagwandeem, 1983).

Segregation via expropriation of land and the creation of Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme was undertaken by the DCC in the 1940's. This process and the enabling legal machinery were prompted by the local state in Durban. It is not difficult to conceive of the promulgation of the Group Areas Act as a step further towards segregation in that it gave localized segregatory initiatives the force of law and made this process both compulsory and nation-wide in application. What the DCC attempted to effect 'covertly' in the 1940's, it achieved ultimately through explicit legislation in the 1950's (Bagwandeem, 1983,160).

By 1955, 14 properties had been acquired in the Merebank-Wentworth area.¹²⁴ Progress had been slow, however, because of the opposition from Indian organizations coupled with government restrictions on expenditure.¹²⁵ Furthermore, it had been decided by the DCC to construct the Springfield Housing Scheme first, commencing in 1941.

By 1956, temporary accommodation was being planned for Indians resident in Merebank-Wentworth and the plans for the first 220 houses had been approved.¹²⁶ Progress was related to restrictions on finance imposed by the National Housing Commission. By 1960, the first 262 houses were complete, with 517 in progress and 833 approved.¹²⁷ It was anticipated that the 4000 sites would be completely developed by 1962.¹²⁸ However, the building programme continued until 1974 with concomitant provision of community facilities and business sites in the later stages.¹²⁹

The Merebank-Wentworth Scheme is a relatively small scale housing scheme compared with the massive schemes initiated in the post-Group Areas Act era, and was prompted by the local authority although funded through the National Housing Commission. Furthermore, it was an attempt to plan and create racial zones prior to the enactment of the Group Areas Act of 1950. It also paralleled a vast slum clearance scheme in the southern corridor and necessitated a complete rewriting of the cadastral boundaries and residential landscape of a large portion of the southern Durban.¹³⁰

The Estates Manager's Racial Zoning Plan of 1943, submitted to the Natal Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee, represented a graphic explication of the ideology of segregation at a city-wide scale. This was implicitly on the drawing boards in the City Engineer's Department in 1939 with the decision by the DCC to build Indian housing schemes in relatively peripheral areas of Durban.

Expropriation afforded the DCC control over land-use and the ability to plan with 'foresight', using zoning as its planning tool.¹³¹ Ideologically, the concern for the 'public good' as a rational principle of town planning was employed to legitimize the actions of the DCC. Instrumentally, however, the goal was to transform the geo-political form of the city along segregatory lines (McCarthy, 1986), coupled with which was the need to obtain social control over insanitary conditions and informal housing which threatened the norms of the dominant whites. Slum clearance and the initiation of public housing schemes were thus indistinguishable from racial zoning (McCarthy, 1986).

The resistance to land expropriation for planned housing schemes, taken up by the NIA and coordinated on a city-wide scale, protested the violation of Indian property rights and the removal of a community that had lived in that location for over fifty years (Juggernath, n.d.).

Within its alleged responsibilities of 'promoting job opportunities' in the post-World War II era and creating an efficient productive system in Durban, the DCC distanced itself from the protests and proceeded with the racial zoning policy with great determination.

The housing scheme project in southern Durban served to provide an orderly and well-housed labour force within easy access of the productive core of Durban in the southern corridor. Purcell (1974) notes that even before Group Areas removals commenced, plans had been drawn up for another housing scheme south of Durban to be named Chatsworth, for the accommodation of Indian families living in slum areas. With the implementation of the Group Areas Act, the building of this large-scale housing programme was accelerated to accommodate thousands of Indians disqualified in terms of the Act.¹³²

The development of council-owned land for industry and the acquisition of land through expropriation for housing schemes cannot be separated from the development of the necessary infrastructure in the southern Durban corridor, and it was these three major activities that laid the foundations for the creation of Durban's industrial core in the southern corridor.

8.9 The Southwards wave of post-war industrial expansion

With the incorporation of the South Coast Junction into the Borough of Durban in 1931 and the facilitation of industrial development via the development of infrastructure and the provision of serviced industrial sites, industries were increasingly attracted to southern Durban in the post-war period. Mobeni was by far the most significant development¹³³ and the adjacent Amanzimnyama Estate also began to attract industries¹³⁴ (See Fig 8.5). The total acreage available in these two industrial areas totalled 563 acres. Many firms were attracted to these locations because of the lower rentals available than those in the central areas and the availability of large acreages for expansion (Young, 1972). However, one of the older nodes of industrial development - Jacobs - was beginning to develop and by 1949, 154 acres

was occupied (Young, 1972) (Fig 8.6 indicates the growth of the Umbilo, Rossburgh, Jacobs and Wentworth industrial area between 1940 and 1959).¹³⁵ Fig 8.7 shows the southward extension of industry from the older areas of Maydon Wharf and Congella to the more recent development at Mobeni. The expansion of the older nodes of Jacobs, Merebank and Wentworth are also evident. Fig 8.6 also indicates the beginning of the industrial invasion of Clairwood by the late 1950's.¹³⁶

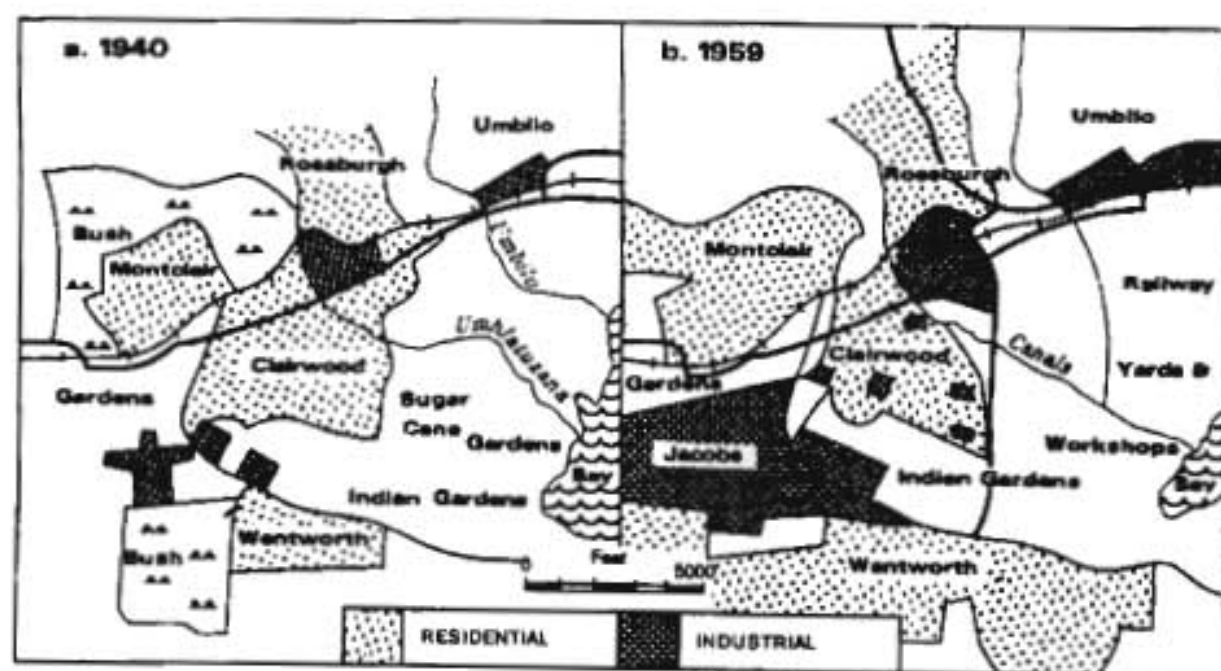


Fig 8.6: Industrial development in Clairwood in 1940 and 1959

Source: Young, 1972

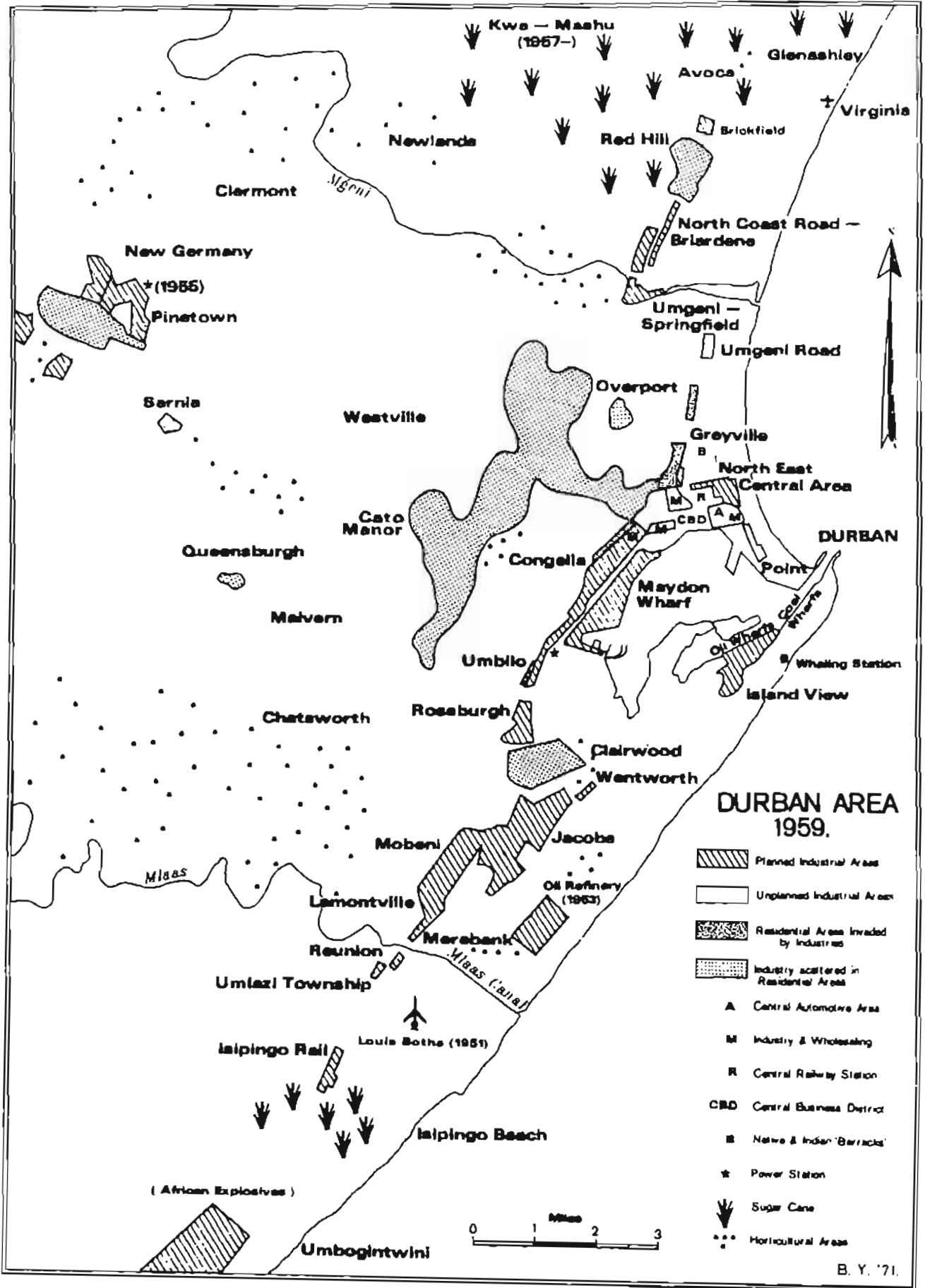


Fig 8.7: Industry in the Durban area, 1959

Source: Young, 1972

8.10 Conclusion

Prompted by the NCI, the DCC began to implement a policy of industrialization in the southern corridor of Durban by installing the relevant infrastructure, providing serviced land for industry and establishing housing schemes.

From the 1920's, the DCC, prompted by the Chamber of Industries the DCC sought alternative legal machinery for politically neutralizing the issue of Indian land ownership and housing problems. Local initiatives in social control turned to the machinery of physical planning to effect slum clearance and segregation of residential areas.

As far back as 1931, the Borough Boundaries Commission had envisaged the southern area of Durban as its industrial heart, surrounded by residential areas to provide labour for the expanding industrial core.¹³⁷ The interdependence of productive zones and reproductive zones was explicitly stated and the prior purchasing of large tracts of land to accommodate industrial estates and housing schemes was already accomplished before the redefinition of administrative boundaries.

In order to convert its policy into reality, the DCC was instrumental in producing a series of maps or plans to provide a temporal and spatial framework within which the industrial policy was to be achieved.

In the 1940's the DCC was faced, at the local level, with a rapidly growing Indian population; the rapid growth of Indian and African shack settlements on the periphery; and the problem of insanitary living conditions in large areas of the city (Maylam, 1985). Although not explicitly stated, the racial zoning plans aimed at producing an efficiently planned and functional city, were also aimed at solving the social problems facing the DCC. Thus the industrial plans for southern Durban which were drawn up within the framework of racial zoning for the whole city, had both an economic and social dimension.

The development, during the 1940' to 1960's, of the Amanzimnyama Industrial Estate and the Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme in particular, as well as the implementation of many smaller infrastructural developments, necessitated the removal of Indian residents, farmers and shopkeepers from the southern area of Durban. In those cases where the DCC owned the land, the eviction of lessees who had

established shacks on these lands, was a relatively easy process since the resistance to such removals was virtually non-existent. The major problem was the obtaining of alternative accommodation for the displaced shack populations. In those cases where infrastructural developments necessitated the expropriation of privately-owned Indian land, resistance was much more vociferous and the actions of the DCC challenged through the media, resistance campaigns and the courts (Bagwandeem, 1983; Juggemath, n.d.). The removal of many thousands of people from southern Durban through industrialization and infrastructural developments will be dealt with in Chapter 10.

Endnotes

1. Borough Boundaries Commission Report, Mayor's Minute, 1930-31
2. The Group Areas proclamation under Act 77 of 1957, Proclamation No 152 of 1958, titled "Declaration of Group Areas in the Municipal Area of Durban, Natal Province" (Government Gazette Extraordinary, Vol CXCII, No 6068) legally enabled the formation of Group Areas in Durban (Young, 1972).
3. Further determining factors in the location of industry, were the demarcation of the Inanda and Umlazi Mission reserves, the surveying of the farms around Durban and the allocation of land surrounding the Bay of Natal as Crown land (Davies, 1963).
4. The only purely residential areas were the Berea Ridge and Addington Village (Young, 1972).
5. The Congella Salt Works operated here from 1838-1842 and later in the century the Congella Lime Works located here (Young, 1972).
6. There were 17 sugar mills operating on the Isipingo flats in the 1860's (Young, 1972).
7. Coffee pulping occurred in Wentworth in the 1860's along with other small industrial activities. By 1910, however, the S A Trading Co had extensive timber yards with railway sidings here (Young, 1972).
8. Sandstone was first mined at Coedmore quarry in 1895 (Young, 1972).
9. Publicly-owned industries also developed, and the supply of water via the building of waterworks on the Umbilo, Umhlatuzana and Umlaas rivers were major industrial activities (Young, 1972).
10. Durban Oil and Soap was founded in Jacobs in the first decade of the nineteenth century (Young, 1972).
11. The Natal Government Railways had its coal depot at the Bluff in 1908 and handled 447,000 tons of export coal and 700,000 for bunkering. Several whaling factories also established here from 1908 and by 1917 23 vessels were employed for this purpose. Two fertilizer factories commenced operation at the same time (Young, 1972).
12. Kynoch's explosive factory established itself at Umbogintwini in 1907 (Young, 1972).
13. The first industry in Clairmont in the 1860's was coffee pulping and later brickworks (Young, 1972).

14. In the early twentieth century the NMA focussed on the national and regional issues of railway tariffs and the Customs Agreement between the territories of British South Africa in order to obtain favourable rates for Natal manufacturers. However, they also petitioned against municipal by-laws relating to the restricting of 'offensive trades' in Durban (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955).
15. The Colonial Government commenced reclamation of tidal mangrove swamps in the western side of the Bay for bulk storage in the harbour and by 1908, 94 acres were ready for occupation at Maydon Wharf.
16. The Congella Power Station was built here in 1927 (Young, 1972).
17. A Department of Labour was created in 1924, and in 1925 the Customs Tariff Act served to promote secondary industry (Natal Chamber of Industries, 1955).
18. Natal Chamber of Industries, 20th Annual Report, 1926/27,10.
19. Natal Chamber of Industries, 22nd Annual Report, 1929/1930, 7.
20. *ibid*
21. Lamontville was completed in 1934 on that portion that was topographically unsuitable for industrial purposes (See Fig 4.1).
22. At this time whites began to move out as the National Housing Commission took over the 'Austerville Government Village' as residential area (Rankin, 1983).
23. The land surrounding the bay had since the British annexation of Natal been Crown land.
24. NCI, 29th Annual Report, 1936/37,8.
25. Borough Boundaries Commission Report, Mayor's Minute, 1930-31
26. *ibid*, 19.
27. Borough Boundaries Commission Report, Mayor's Minute, 1930-1931.
28. *ibid*,23.
29. *ibid*, 19.
30. *ibid*,19.
31. As part of this commitment, the National Housing Board earmarked fifty thousand Pounds for Indian housing (Bailey, 1987).
32. The Borough Boundaries Commission Report, Mayor's Minute, 1930-1931.
33. Implicit in the notion of a landscape is its visual or pictorial quality.
34. Vernon (1973) interprets the plan, or 'plot' as a structure of 'reality', which is made possible by the formal logic of western scientific thought, and the application of that logic to objective space. In the creation of a map, the planner or 'mapmaker', albeit the policymaker, stands apart from the issues with which he or she is in-

involved, and adopts an objective view. From this 'neutral' viewpoint, "the world is obviously experienced in a radically different manner when it is there, below me or facing me, rather than here enveloping me" (Vernon, 1973:40). and change and process are neutralized.

35. The notion that maps present an 'unbiased' scientific view of the world and are based on factual truths, is a belief well embedded in western cultural mythology (Harley, 1991).
36. Published in the Mayor's Minute, 1930-1931.
37. The population under municipal jurisdiction immediately increased by some 51000 Indians, 21000 Africans and 20000 whites, while eight of the surrounding Health Board areas were incorporated (University of Natal, 1952).
38. op cit, 26.
39. The Borough Ordinance, while not specifically town planning legislation, provided for the Council to purchase land in and outside its jurisdiction, expropriate land for public purposes, control land sub-division and prepare town planning schemes (op cit, 55).
40. op cit, 60
41. This legislation is based on a functionalist philosophy of achieving efficiency and order in response to the urban problems created by industrial development (Scott, 1981). As a result of this philosophy, planning in Natal has traditionally been the province of professionals whose domain is the physical fabric of the city, namely, engineers, surveyors and architects, who are divorced from social concerns (Scott, 1981).
42. The purpose of the Town Planning Scheme is to ensure 'co-ordinated and harmonious development', in such a way as to effectively tend to promote health, safety, order, amenity, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process of such development (Patricious, 1975). This emphasis is derived directly from British Town Planning legislation.
43. Ley (1987,44) notes that the political struggle for the definition and making of the built environment is essentially part of the modernist discourse and practice, which struggles to "empty out and purify space".
44. U.G.- 32 of 49
45. NCI 20th Annual Report, 1926-1927,9.
46. ibid
47. NCI 26th Annual Report, 1932-1933,19.
48. ibid.
49. Mayor's Minute, 1936-1937,16.
50. ibid
51. NCI 29th Annual Report, 1936-1937,12.
52. Mayor's Minute, 1937-1938, 16.
53. NCI 29th Annual Report, 1936-1937,11.

54. NCI 31st Annual Report, 1938-1939,28.
55. *ibid.*
56. Mayor's Minute, 1938-1939,18.
57. *ibid.*
58. *ibid.*
59. Report of the Durban Bayhead Development Committee, U G 32-49.
60. Mayor's Minute, 1938-1939.
61. *ibid.*
62. NCI, 30th Annual Report, 1937-1938.
63. U.G. 32-49.
64. Mayor's Minute, 1946-1947,7.
65. The map accompanying the South African Railways and Harbours (SARAH). General Manager's Annual Report of 1934, indicates that the Bayhead had, from an early stage been earmarked for harbour expansion and industrial development. The war, however, halted the progress of these early plans.
66. This development formed part of the DCC's industrialization policy of 1938 which stated that ' the long view is the correct view to take' (Mayor's Minute, 1937-1938,24). The 1947 Report of the General Manager of the SARAH indicates the extent of the reclaimed area.
67. The First Interim Report of the Standing Committee for the Development of Durban Harbour, South African Railways, Systems Manager's Office, Durban, November, 1958.
68. A useful series of maps depicting the evolution of Durban Bay and the extent of reclamation are the Durban Harbour maps, 1920-1976, Harbour Engineer's Office, Durban.
69. Daily News, 15/3/1960; Daily News, 19/7/1961.
70. In 1923 a Class Areas Bill and Areas Reservation Bill, and in 1926 an Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill, were tabled, specifically to confine Indian residence and trade to particular parts of South African cities (University of Natal, 1952). These were deferred due to opposition from India, and instead the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 served informally to restrict Indian urban location.
71. Programme of Post-War Development: Report of a Special Committee, chaired by A L Barnes, The City of Durban, Durban, 1943.
72. Ninth Interim Report of the Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee regarding Provincial and Town Planning.
73. The Technical Sub-Committee expanded on the principles upon which a racial zoning plan should be based and noted that they had "derived very great assistance" from the Barnes Report of 1943 and the Provincial Post-War Works and Reconstruction Commission (University of Natal, 1952,418).

74. Chapter 3 presents a detailed account of the 'Indian Penetration' issue.
75. These ideas are discussed fully in Section 2.2.
76. Marris (1979,425) argues that the word 'slum' "connotes a perception of something anomalous...an affront to expectations of what is appropriate", and this word became used to describe those areas which should be removed from the planned formal city.
77. The overlapping of the racial categories of black and white with legal and illegal spaces, respectively, in South African cities has made the "contestation of space one of the central political struggles" (Bonner and Lodge, 1989,2).
78. The redefinition of space reached its 'logical conclusion' with the policy of separate development whereby bantustans defined most blacks as 'foreigners'(Cooper, 1983) in white South Africa.
79. See Chapter 9.
80. See Chapter 10.
81. Mayor's Minute, 1930-1934.
82. Mayor's Minute, 1935-1936.
83. ibid
84. ibid.
85. See City of Durban, 1988; Mayor's Minute, 1937-1938
86. Mayor's Minute, 1936-1937; 1937-1938; Young 1972.
87. 'Merebank, Clairwood, South Coast Junction, Jacobs, Wentworth, Kings Rest, Fynnland, Island View, Wests, Umhlatuzana, and part of Mayville' were to be supplied with this facility (Mayor's Minute, 1936-1937).
88. Mayor's Minute, 1958-1959.
89. Mayor's Minute, 1968-1967.
90. Mayor's Minute, 1945-1946,11.
91. Mayor's Minute, 1951-1952; 1953-1954.
92. In mid 1989, chemical toilets were supplied to all properties as an interim measure before a waterborne sewerage system became installed in terms of the new structure plan of the area (City of Durban, 1989). By 1993, a waterborne sewage system installation programme had commenced (I Maharaj, pers. comm., 9/1993).
93. Mayor's Minute, 1937-1938.
94. Mayor's Minute, 1935-1936, 1936-1937, 1937-1938, 1938-1939, 1939-1940, 1940-1941.
95. Mayor's Minute, 1943-1944.
96. Mayor's Minute, 1954-1955.

97. *ibid.*
98. Mayor's Minute., 1937-38
99. Although the central state (Railways) and the DCC co-operated in the reclamation of the Bayhead, the plans to reclaim land in Durban Bay for industrial purposes as envisaged in the Moffat Report (1958), was met with opposition from the Council who objected to the lack of consultation over this issue (Daily News, 15/3/1960; 16/11/1961; 21/11/1961; 22/11/1965).
100. S.A.R.A.H., General Manager's Report 1947.
101. SAR, File WE 520/192/1.
102. This constituted the deconsecration of the temple with the removal of the sacred deities.
103. Although half buried by ash, the temple was revived in the late 1950's and thousands of devotees returned to once more worship at this historic shrine. The temple was finally demolished in the late 1950's for the building of the Southern Freeway (NR2).
104. Mayor's Minute, 1950-1951.
105. S.A.R.A.H. General Manager's Report, 1963-1964.
106. *ibid.*
107. Mayor's Minute, 1948-1949.
108. Mayor's Minute, 1949-1950.
109. Mayor's Minute, 1952-1953, 1953-1954.
110. Mayor's Minute, 1938-1939,18.
111. Mayor's Minute, 1941-1942, 1946-1947, 1948-1949.
112. Mayor's Minute, 1962-1963.
113. Bagwandeem, 1983,127.
114. After the Admiralty built a housing complex here during the war, it reverted back to the DCC, and additional housing was built here for Coloureds (Rankin, 1983).
115. Mayor's Minute, 1947-1948
116. Mayor's Minute, 1948-1949
117. Mayor's, Minute 1962-1963
118. Mayor's Minute, 1962-1963
119. *ibid*
120. Springfield, Sydenham and Riverside were targeted as part of this comprehensive segregatory housing programme (Bagwandeem, 1983).

121. The Indian Opinion, 12/6/1942.
122. 7000 people in total arrived, although only 4000 could enter the hall (Bagwandeem, 1983).
123. Section 11 of the Housing Act was to be the legal machinery for the achievement of radical racial zoning in all Natal towns as proposed by the Natal Post-War Reconstruction Commission. It essentially empowered local authorities to undertake racial zoning if they wished.
124. Mayor's Minute, 1954-1955.
125. Mayor's Minute, 1949-1950.
126. Mayor's, Minute 1955-1956.
127. Mayor's Minute, 1959-1960.
128. *ibid.*
129. Mayor's Minute, 1974-1975
130. The subsequent sale of land acquired within the original scheme for housing and communal uses to the Mondi Paper Company, and the creation of the Treasure Beach Nature Reserve on the eastern boundary, represent attempts by the DCC to utilize land allocated for open space within the scheme for non-local uses (Juggemath, n.d.) The encouragement of industrial uses adjacent to this residential area has led to severe problems of air and odour pollution experienced by the community (Fouche, 1990).
131. See Jacobs, 1974, 27-35 for a definition of zoning.
132. By 1966, 100 000 people were resident in Chatsworth, half of its estimated capacity (Purcell, 1974).
133. The pioneer establishments in Mobeni were Amalgamated Packaging, Wire Industries, United Tobacco, Durban Confectionery, Leyland-Albion and United Oil and Cake Mills amongst others (Young, 1972).
134. Metal Box moved into their new factory in Amanzimnyama in 1957 (Young, 1972).
135. Important industries that located in Jacobs were General Chemicals and Motor Assemblies in 1946, and by 1954 Ropes and Mattings, Faulks Shoes and Dano Textiles had begun operations here (Young, 1972).
136. Not of relevance to this study but of importance to the industrial development of Durban was the emergence of the Pinetown-New Germany industrial area.
137. Borough Boundaries Commission Report, Mayor's Minute, 1930-1931.

CHAPTER 9

THE APPLICATION OF TOWN PLANNING LEGISLATION BY THE DCC FOR THE CREATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL ZONE IN CLAIRWOOD

9.1 Introduction

Prior to the Group Areas Act (41 of 1950) a large resident Indian population had become established in southern Durban. By the 1950's, Clairwood and District had become a vibrant Indian community which had invested its cultural and material resources and skills to provide a range of community facilities. The outcome of this process was a culturally unique, local landscape with a well established 'sense of place', which was acutely felt by residents and acknowledged by all South African Indians.

Chapter 9 explores the concerted attempt of the Durban City Council to redefine this established Indian residential area as a formal industrial zone. This was to be accomplished by lodging a town planning application to rezone the core area of Clairwood, which was the only part of the southern corridor which remained in private Indian ownership, as an industrial zone. The accompanying process of clearing the shack settlements via the removal of tenants off municipal land in the surrounding districts, is dealt with in Chapter 10.

After the incorporation of the South Coast Junction into the Borough of Durban in 1931 and prior to the explicit expression of racial zoning recommendations to the Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee of 1943, and the compilation of the Report to the Group Areas Board in 1952, the southern Durban corridor was termed and designated a 'working zone' by the DCC. Both the acquisition of land and the development of infrastructure on a piece-meal basis commenced thereafter (See Chapter 8). The southern corridor of Durban, consisting of a strip of low-lying flat alluvial terrain was deemed the logical extension of the industrial zone adjacent to the harbour in Maydon Wharf and Rossburgh. In addition, incipient industrial activity had commenced at the nodes of Jacobs and Merebank in the early twentieth century (Young, 1972).

The Bayhead was planned as an industrial zone via the Durban Bayhead Development Plan of 1937 while the Mobeni and Amanzimnyama planned industrial estates came to fruition in the late 1940's and early 1950's. In addition, older industrial cores such as Jacobs, Merebank, and Rossburgh were rapidly nearing full capacity as industrial zones.

Thus by the mid-century the earlier plans of the DCC to develop a continuous corridor of industrial activity from Maydon Wharf and Congella round the Bay and as far south as Merebank were materializing as planned (See Fig 9.1). The only section of southern Durban which lay in the path of industrialization was the Indian residential area of Clairwood. The peripheral Indian residential areas which formed part of Clairwood and District as described in Chapter 6, were situated largely on state land which had been leased for informal housing and market gardening. These areas were relatively easy to clear and a phased removal programme commenced in the 1960's as land was required for development purposes (See Chapter 10). However, it was the Clairwood area, where land was privately-owned, that presented the obstacle to the Council's plans. This chapter sets out to describe the impact of racial zoning on the southern area of Durban, via the local authority's employment of town planning legislation as a means of gaining access to Clairwood for industrial purposes, as well as local Indian resistance to this procedure.

Indian resistance to the DCC's strategies to industrialize Clairwood and diminish the residential component of the area, was initially weak. However, in the 1980's, with the support of other non-government agencies this resistance became more effective and resulted in the Clairwood issue becoming a high profile political issue. Nevertheless, resistance throughout the thirty years of struggle against industrialization remained couched within the channels of public participation provided by town planning legislation. The reasons for this can be found in the larger political context of South Africa, described below, whereby suppression of opposition to government policy became increasingly repressive and coercive.

With the ascendancy of the Nationalist Party from 1948 and the subsequent promulgation of the Group Areas Act and other discriminatory legislation, Indian resistance was increasingly suppressed.¹ The tragic race riots in Durban in 1949² inspired the SAIC and the ANC to close ranks, and consequently they joined forces in 1952 and set about a mass campaign against discriminatory legislation. In June of 1955, the 'Freedom Charter' was adopted at a conference in Kliptown, Johannesburg with 320 of the 2884 delegates being Indian (Pachai, 1979a). However, before this 'peoples' movement' could gain

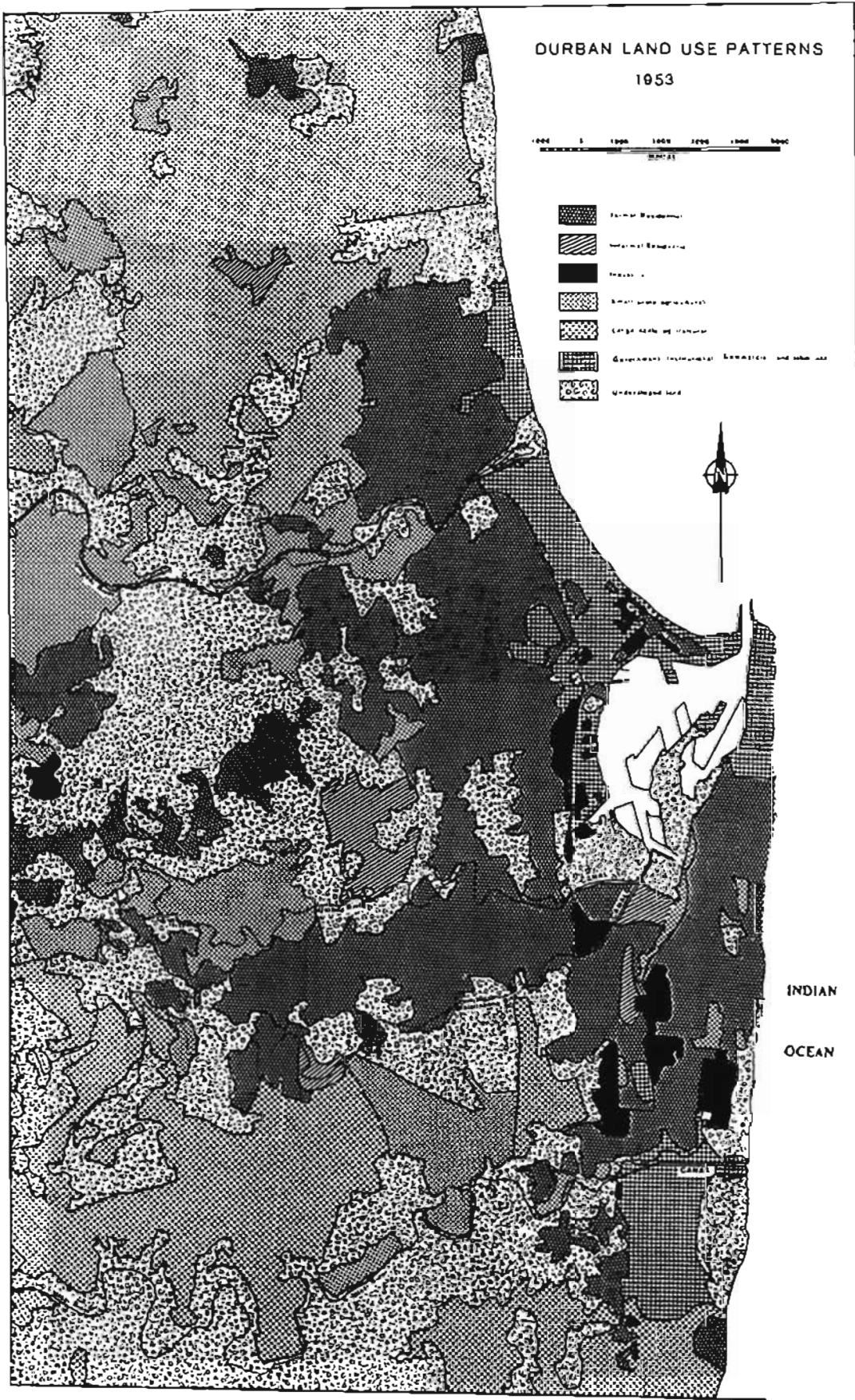


Fig 9.1 : Landuse in Durban, 1953
Source: McCarthy, 1988

mass support, 140 people, of whom 20 were Indian, were arrested for treason. At the same time, the Sharpeville riots, with the loss of 67 lives, led to severe reprisals from the government and the banning of all public meetings (Pachai, 1979a). Passive resistance had come to an end, and the government was determined to institute firm control of political life with no possibilities for the forums of co-operation and compromise that had existed in the pre-apartheid era.

The 1960's ushered in the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961, based on a constitution of white parliamentary superiority. The policy of apartheid was implemented in all urban areas; the Bantustan policy was introduced with the goal of eventually creating self-governing states, and local and national advisory bodies for the Indian and coloured groups were instigated (Pachai, 1979a). In February, 1964, the National Indian Council was constituted becoming a statutory advisory body called the South African Indian Council in 1968. Local Affairs Committees (LAC's) were created at the local level to advise municipal authorities on issues of importance to local communities.³ The majority of Indians in South Africa thus remained as "aliens in the political hierarchy" (Pachai, 1979a,59).

In 1961, the Department of Indian Affairs was created under the Minister of Indian Affairs, following a statement by the Prime Minister that Indians had been accepted as permanent citizens of South Africa.⁴ It is to this Department that the South African Indian Council was answerable rather than its constituents, the Indian community, and with little true representation of elected members from local communities, has not enjoyed the support of the majority of Indian South Africans (Pachai, 1979a).

In response to increasing internal and external pressure on the existing parliamentary process in the 1980's, the national government sought ways of bringing the coloured and Indian groups into the system of government under a new constitution. In 1984, the Senate was abolished and a multi-racial President's Council, the Tricameral Parliament, and a new cabinet and presidential system were introduced (Kapp, 1987) on the basis of 'power-sharing'. This represented a regaining of the franchise for every Indian citizen over eighteen years, as laid down in the Constitution Act of 1983 (Kapp, 1987). However, they were still considered second-class citizens and could only vote for Indian representatives in the House of Delegates.

The essence of post-1950 Indian politics, was that while prior to this date whites and Indians were in the same political arena, the repressive legislation of the apartheid era at the national level, served to remove Indians from this arena and unequivocally and with force created a white-dominated political system intolerant of resistance and not amenable to co-operation and compromise. This, coupled with the spatial implications of the Group Areas Act, served to distance Indians spatially in urban space, and in doing so remove the major urban conflict, that over acquisition of land, from the political agenda. McCarthy and Smit (1988) note that the 1950's and 1960's represent a period of low political resistance in South Africa to urban issues. The debilitating effects of massive removal programmes and the re-orientation of the Indian community into the large-scale public housing schemes during this period also served to reduce the capacity for resistance. The Tricameral system of government has furthermore, served to entrench separation between Indians and whites, especially with regard to the issues of health, housing and education.

With an understanding of the larger political context of the post-1950 period, this chapter sets out in Section 9.2 to provide an overview of the legislative context within which the DCC framed its attempt to rezone Clairwood as an industrial area. Section 9.3 describes the rezoning procedure instituted by the DCC from the early 1950's up until the 1980's, and the corresponding strategies of resistance adopted by the Clairwood and District Residents and Ratepayers Association (CDRRA) as it sought to retain Clairwood as a residential area. The final section, Section 9.4, provides an overview of additional strategies employed by the DCC to create a non-residential environment in Clairwood and put pressure on residents to leave the area voluntarily.

9.2 The legal status of Clairwood in the context of town planning legislation

With the reduction of municipal powers to institute social control, and the achievement of such control via the Group Areas Act, the only means whereby the DCC could obtain control over the land-use of Clairwood was via town planning legislation. It is instructive therefore to examine the legal status of Clairwood within town planning legislation.

Within the ambit of the Racial Zoning plans for Durban, the first Town Planning Scheme in course of preparation for Durban became operative on 19th February 1953. The City Engineer had in 1950 and 1951 motivated such a plan in terms of the Natal Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949).⁵ This

legislation, based on the 1934 Ordinance, had been promulgated in order to provide more co-ordinated and systematic control over the physical and spatial development of Natal's towns (Scott, 1981)⁶ in the light of the rapid industrialization that was occurring in the post-war period.

The larger Clairwood area to the south of Durban falls under that part of the Town Planning Scheme known as the 'Remainder of the City'.⁷ This scheme area is made up of those parts of the city for which no specific Town Planning Schemes have yet been prepared. In terms of the town planning regulations embodied in Ordinance 27 of 1949, special consent has to be obtained for uses in these areas other than Special Residential. Clairwood and its surrounding district, has thus been a Special Residential Zone since 1953 when the initial Town Planning Scheme in course of preparation, came into effect.⁸ The implications of the Special Residential Zoning of Clairwood for future development were that, in terms of Section 67 of the Natal Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949), all new buildings and structural alterations were to be prohibited (Robinson, 1984).

Since 1932, when the South Coast Junction fell under the administration of the DCC, it was anticipated that the industrial zones of Maydon Wharf and Congella would expand in a southward direction. From 1938, it became the official policy of the DCC to industrialize the southern corridor of Durban and it unrelentingly facilitated this process along the South Coast Road from Rosburgh to the Umlaas Canal.

The Technical Sub-Committee Report to the Land Tenure Advisory Board included a proposal that, under the Group Areas Act, a town planning scheme for the "Sirdar Road (Clairwood) area as an Indian commercial, industrial and residential area", be prepared (University of Natal, 1952,439), as no group areas proclamation for the area was envisaged.

In accordance with this suggestion and in line with its industrialization policy, the DCC applied, in 1956, to the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (NTRPC) for special consent to zone the residential area of Clairwood industrial (Robinson, 1984). This application was refused on the grounds that no alternative accommodation was yet available for the residents.⁹ Furthermore, the NTRPC stated that the layout of the area was unsuitable for industrial development. Thus, the central portion of Clairwood remained a Special Residential Zone with the stipulation

of a minimum plot size of 400 square metres. Part of Clairwood along the South Coast Road and Edwin Swales Drive, which was already losing its residential character, was zoned for light industry.¹⁰

In the early 1960's, there was an increased tempo of industrial activity due to favourable economic conditions.¹¹ Mobeni Industrial Estate was virtually fully developed and the removal of shackdwellers from the Amanzimnyama area commenced in 1963 to enable large tracts of land to be sold off to interested industrialists.¹² The DCC turned its attention towards Clairwood as the next area potential industrial estate providing flat land to the south that was close to both the harbour and labour resources.¹³

Another area in the southern corridor where industrial land could be made available was Merebank. In 1964, the large area of land near the Bluff cutting at Merebank was also highlighted as a further possible industrial area to the south.¹⁴ At this time, the Anglo-American Corporation began negotiations with the DCC to build a large paper factory in the swampy southern area of Merebank. The land was originally part of the housing scheme, and the Merebank Ratepayers Association strongly protested the change in use due to the loss of land under the scheme and the possible pollution hazard (Purcell, 1974; Juggernath, 4/11/1987). Permission was finally given by the Administrator and the Mondi Paper Mill was built in three years (Purcell, 1974).

It was considered highly probable by the DCC that the "Clairwood Flats" would be opened up for industry, and from 1965 to 1968, detailed project planning of the Clairwood Industrial Area, was undertaken by the City Engineer's Department.¹⁵ With an urgent demand for industrial land, the Mayor of Durban noted in 1966 that "the whole picture is one of Durban on the threshold of industrial activity which could eclipse all that has gone before".¹⁶

At the same time as attention was being focussed on obtaining additional industrial land in Clairwood in the early 1960's, the DCC was involved in formulating detailed Planning Schemes for various sectors of the city. While the Bluff Planning Scheme of 1955 and the Berea Planning Scheme of 1962 were adopted by the City Engineer's Department, they were not approved at the provincial level by the NTRPC until a skeleton scheme for the whole of Durban was prepared (City of Durban, 1967b). In response to this request, the Outline Plan for the City was prepared and adopted by the DCC in 1964 (City of Durban, 1967a).

9.3 Thirty years of struggle: the DCC's efforts to zone Clairwood as an industrial zone

With the important town planning frameworks in place; the Outline Plan for the City finalized; and faced with the urgency of obtaining further industrial land to the south, the DCC once more applied to the NTRPC for a rezoning of Clairwood to an industrial zone (City of Durban, 1982). In 1964, in the light of changed economic circumstances, the NTRPC agreed to this zoning subject to:

- a) the preparation of a comprehensive redevelopment scheme; and
- b) the provision of alternative accommodation for displaced residents (Robinson, 1984).

The reasons for the necessity of rezoning Clairwood were not new. The DCC, having achieved much success in their industrialization policy in the opening up of Mobeni and Amanzimnyama Industrial Estates, saw Clairwood as an 'illogical intrusion' of residential land in an otherwise industrial area (City of Durban, 1982).

In 1965, the DCC decided to go ahead with the industrial rezoning in accordance with the prescriptions of the NTRPC. However, the NTRPC replied that the application for rezoning must be accompanied by a detailed redevelopment plan and permission from the Administrator of Natal to designate Clairwood as an area in which the DCC would have powers of acquisition in terms of Section 47 ter of Ordinance 27 of 1949 (City of Durban, 1982). Obtaining permission to hold powers of acquisition was to be a stumbling block over the next two decades, which ultimately prevented the DCC from 'legally' industrializing Clairwood.

Although planning had been undertaken for an industrial redevelopment scheme by the City Engineer's Department, major amendments were necessary to include the re-alignment of the Southern Freeway, the re-allocation of the new Bulk Sales Market, extensive reclamation and drainage works and the location of railway services (City of Durban, 1982).¹⁷ As well as these intensive technical investigations, discussion and consideration of the issue by various committees, including the Indian Affairs Advisory Committee, also took place and a hearing with the CDRRA was scheduled. On 7/4/1965 the DCC resolved to rezone 99 hectares of Special Residential area in Clairwood to Special Industry.¹⁸

The application for designation of Clairwood was deferred until 1968 when the DCC presented its proposal of 'Modified Partial Acquisition', which relied on donations of land for road improvements due to its lack of finances to acquire the entire area (City of Durban, 1982).

It is important to note that until the James Commission, which was instituted to investigate the functioning of the Durban municipality, no major planning issues were decided by the DCC (Purcell, 1974) but with the ascendancy of the municipal bureaucrats in the late 1960's, there was a new willingness by the DCC to implement planning decisions and bureaucratic planning criteria became the focus of Council deliberations rather than broader policy decisions.

A deadlock emerged between the municipal authority and the provincial authority, since the NTRPC supported the interests of land donors who would be prejudiced if expropriation of land eventually occurred. Frustrated in their attempts to obtain approval and expropriation powers via the provincial Town Planning legislation, the DCC circumvented the legal requirements of second-tier government and the discretionary powers of the NTRPC, and applied to the national government for permission to industrialize Clairwood (Robinson, 1984). Financial constraints along with objections from residents also served to hinder the goals of the DCC for industrialization. A joint report by the Town Clerk, City Engineer, City Treasurer and City Valuator and Estates Manager of the Durban municipality recommended that the matter be referred to the Minister of Planning for approval in terms of the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act (88 of 1967), in terms of the conditions previously stipulated by the NTRPC (City of Durban, 1982).

The Physical Planning Act of 1967 was promulgated in order to introduce controls on the location and establishment of industries and provided the first national framework for development and physical planning (Scott, 1981). Taking advantage of the newly promulgated national physical planning legislation, the DCC saw an opportunity of achieving its goals via this legislative route. After lengthy discussions at ministerial level, the Minister of Planning finally approved the industrialization of Clairwood in February 1975. The Planning Committee of the DCC recommended that the development programme be amended from 18 years, as initially proposed, to 10 years (City of Durban, 1982).

Communal resistance via the CDRRA¹⁹ began to emerge in the 1960's and although early strategies of resistance had little effect, the role of the CDRRA was to change over the next two decades.

The CDRRA, with support from the Indian Affairs Advisory Committee, set about blocking the new initiatives of the DCC to industrialize Clairwood, and a number of protest meetings were held with attendance figures ranging from 500 to 3000 people (Purcell, 1974). A deputation to the Provincial Administrator, in an attempt to 'bypass' the unsympathetic local power structures, resulted in the commencement of communication between the CDRRA and the Province (Purcell, 1974). In early 1968, the Department of Indian Affairs, at the national level, also requested more information from the CDRRA relating to the Clairwood issue (Purcell, 1974). The result of these strategies was that upper-tier government bodies were of the opinion that no expropriations or removals should occur without the provision of alternative accommodation. This attitude was in line with the more sophisticated strategies of the national government in their pursuit of separate development, in that they were concerned to have it appear that although inequality did exist, they should "act fairly at least to the minimal extent of making sure that Indian families would have a place to move to" (Purcell, 1974,320). The goal to provide alternative accommodation was not apparent at the municipal level, where the pursuit of local goals of racial zoning and industrial development took precedence at all costs.

A petition was lodged by the CDRRA, and a meeting was arranged between the Regional Representative of the Department of Physical Planning, the DCC, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the CDRRA for June 1977 to explain the implications of industrial rezoning (City of Durban, 1982). Only two objections to the advertisement of the impending rezoning as required by town planning procedure²⁰ were received and the DCC, on June 7, approved the rezoning with one remaining major legal technicality to be overcome, that of obtaining a designation of the area from the NTRPC (City of Durban, 1982).

The NTRPC, in agreement with the Minister's approval, agreed to uphold the DCC's appeal of November 1956, and removed the Section 48(1) order issued by the NTRPC to zone the area Special Residential. Thus by 1978, the DCC had legal sanction to industrialize Clairwood pending the obtaining of powers of acquisition in terms of Section 47 ter (1) of the Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949) (Robinson, 1984).

The local ratepayer's association of Clairwood, although active for the previous two decades since 1956, had little effect on the DCC's policy or actions with regard to the rezoning of the area. As the mouthpiece of the local community, the CDRRA had played an advisory role to individuals affected by previous expropriations, and had consistently opposed local government actions via the media and the submission of memoranda stating the opposition of the local community to various legal procedures. The submission of only two objections to the rezoning application is an indication of a low level of individual and group resistance to the legal procedures. This was due to the lack of experience and resources to access legal aid in order to penetrate the complexities of planning procedures.

Furthermore, resistance strategies were constrained by fear of reprisals from the national government via the Security Police (Purcell, 1974). Purcell (1974), notes that sanctions against political challenges to national government policy and race related legislation were severe in the 1950's and 1960's,²¹ and "permissible political activity" was clearly defined (Purcell, 1974,352). In 1979, however, the CDRRA mounted a concerted communal programme of resistance by actively participating in the legal channels of public participation provided by the Town Planning Ordinance. These politically neutral strategies served to delay and modify the DCC's policy with regard to Clairwood, and it was felt by Indian organizations at this stage that their opposition would at least enable displaced people to secure alternative accommodation (Purcell, 1974).

The intent to designate was advertised in April 1979 resulting in the submission of 357 objections from ratepayers in Clairwood. This necessitated a public hearing which was held in March 1980, and a site inspection (City of Durban, 1982). The major objections to the rezoning of Clairwood as an industrial area were the 'lack of compassion for the plight of the Indian people'; the possibility of inadequate compensation; the length of the implementation programme; and the intention to relocate residents from Clairwood to the peripheral location of Phoenix.²² An increased understanding of the legal procedures and the technicalities of rezoning, led Indian resistance strategies to become more involved with contesting specific technical issues, rather than only focussing on the broad political issue of removal. Purcell (1974) identifies an increase in Indian access to municipal officials which runs parallel to the increased penetration of bureaucratic procedures.

It is important to note that the objections were predominantly related to the actual undesirability of rezoning, and the principle of a phased programme of development, whilst the legal issue at stake was the application to extend and supplement the DCC's existing powers to acquire land (City of Durban, 1982). The 357 objections, of which 117 were from residents of Clairwood who were likely to lose their properties altogether, consisted predominantly of a stereotyped letter issued by the CDRRA (City of Durban, 1982). It appears that this increased response via the formal objection procedure was motivated by the CDRRA which shifted its opposition from resistance against the "conditions under which removal and rezoning would occur, to a full-scale protest against the industrialization of the area" (Robinson, 1984,60). A 'Help Save Clairwood' campaign was launched gaining support from local churches and Senator Eric Winchester of the Progressive Federal Party (Robinson, 1984).

The intensification of resistance by the local community through the CDRRA in 1979, marks a turning point in the struggle to resist the imperatives of the local state on behalf of industrial capital. The growing public support of the Clairwood community and the high level of protest led the NTRPC to refer the application for powers of acquisition back to the DCC with a proposal regarding the accommodation of displaced residents. The DCC now was faced with having to consider the feasibility of accommodating displaced residents in the southern Durban area as opposed to Phoenix which was too far away, or alternatively, the incorporation of a residential component into the redevelopment plans (City of Durban, 1982).

In response to this directive from the provincial level, a sub-committee of the DCC re Clairwood was constituted to investigate the proposal, and arrange a meeting with the residents to explain the latter proposal to them (Robinson, 1984,61). However, the concept of a residential 'island' in an industrial area, as envisaged by the Province, was vetoed by the Prime Minister's Office, the Department of Community Development, the Department of Internal Affairs (Indian Affairs), and the City Engineer's Department. Consequently, provision was made for the re-housing of displaced residents in the Merebank/Wentworth and Chatsworth areas.²³

On the 28th February, 1982, a public meeting was held to explain the proposals to the residents of Clairwood. Rather than an exercise in public participation, the DCC placed the CDRRA in a position of consultation in an attempt to co-opt the community in order to implement the rezoning proposals.

However, the CDRRA having gained support from outside the community, namely from Diakonia, the Durban Housing Action Committee, and the Natal Indian Congress, sought further assistance from the Built Environment Support Group (BESG)²⁴ of the University of Natal (Robinson, 1984).

By the early 1980's, the heightened conflict over the future use of Clairwood had become a metropolitan issue, with wide support from bodies detached from, and in opposition to the structures of authority in the wider social system. The technical assistance and moral support from these groups strengthened the position of the CDRRA, giving it greater confidence and "implicitly politicizing the conflict" (Robinson, 1984,64). It was at this stage that self-conscious and explicit use began to be made of the historical and symbolic meaning of Clairwood as a communal space, as a tool in the strategy of resistance. The sacredness of Clairwood to the residents and to many Indians in other parts of Durban who had suffered removal from the area in the 1960's, was emphasized.²⁵ Furthermore, claim was laid to the area by the community, by virtue of the fact that their forefathers had actively created the myriad of social, cultural, educational and religious institutions which had supported the community through time.²⁶ The notion of a 'self-built community' was embedded in this argument.

The public meeting in February 1982 concluded with the residents resolutely laying claim to the area, and requesting the retention of Clairwood as a residential space. Despite such opposition, the DCC continued throughout 1982 to pursue the policy of industrialization in the face of the very vocal and publicized demands of the residents (Robinson, 1984). The Management Committee (MANCO) of DCC even suggested a referendum to obtain 'the real views of the residents'²⁷ indicating their total dismissal of the opposition expressed by 1500 people at the public meeting. The CDRRA rejected this proposal, once again stating the unanimity of the residents of Clairwood in their rejection of the proposed industrialization of the area.²⁸

After a petition with 7656 signatures was submitted to the Administrator, a conference was arranged in April of 1982, at which the DCC presented its case for industrialization. It was at this conference that the Clairwood Support Committee was formed. An alternative plan incorporating a residential sector to Clairwood was presented by the CDRRA and supportive academics (BESG, 1982). The support

of the Town Clerk, the Administrator and opposition Members of Parliament were lobbied, and the Clairwood Support Committee requested a halt to demolitions and rezoning until a round table conference was called to hear the views of all interested parties (Robinson, 1984).

The Clairwood issue was widely publicized in the media in early 1983, and raised in parliament by Opposition spokesman for Indian Affairs on 26 May 1983, who appealed to the Minister of Community Development to prevent removals (Robinson, 1984).

A mass meeting on 29th May 1983 attended by 1000 people, largely Clairwood residents, further heightened pressure against the industrial zoning of Clairwood. On the 3/6/1983, MANCO called a meeting to hear objections and alternative proposals.²⁹ The participants of this meeting, i.e. the DCC, CDRRA and their supporters, were considered by the NTRPC as a 'joint planning committee' and were presented as a "model for future community participation".³⁰

After a tour of inspection of Clairwood on 23rd June 1983, the Minister of Community Development requested a report on future plans for industrialization of the area and the possibility of retaining a portion of Clairwood for residential purposes.³¹ The DCC presented their report excluding the alternatives presented by BESG on behalf of the CDRRA (BESG, 1983). BESG highlighted that the Council was set on spending R20 million rand on "new anonymous public housing projects", and even more on industrial infrastructure in Clairwood but was reluctant to spend money on a project of residential rehabilitation which was of "such gravity to the Indian population of Durban" (BESG, 1983,1).

It was clear that the DCC was resolute to continue in its efforts to industrialize Clairwood, despite the fact that the issue had been elevated to the level of central government decision-making.³² By November of 1983, the full Council reaffirmed MANCO's proposals for industrialization (Robinson, 1984).

The reaction to this policy decision met with overwhelming opposition from the CDRRA and its supporters who appealed to the Minister of Community Development with alternative plans for Clairwood (Robinson, 1984). The Minister had refused to grant subsidies for resettlement of Clairwood residents, placing a financial burden on the DCC which it could not bear on its own. The plans for industrialization

were further blocked by the Administrator of Natal, who at this stage of the proceedings suspended his decision on the designation of the area (Robinson, 1984). Thus although zoned industrial in 1977, the withholding of approval for designation by the Administrator, prevented the implementation of zoning.³³

Negotiation with the national government proceeded, and with the impending constitutional changes and introduction of a Tricameral parliament in 1983, the Minister of Community Development instructed the DCC to liaise with its regional office in an attempt to reach agreement over an acceptable plan for the area (Robinson, 1984). The DCC at this stage revealed that it was considering the retention of a small portion (50 hectares) of residential land in the central portion of Clairwood (Robinson, 1984). The CDRRA resolutely refused to accept this concession and demanded, at a public meeting on 29 July 1984, that the entire Clairwood area remain residential. The rejection of local state materially-based initiatives for national political goals are revealed in the support of the central state for residential land-use. The national government used the issue as a "means of encouraging Indian support for its new constitutional proposals" (Robinson, 1984,74). More covertly, the withdrawal of financial support for the rehousing of residents represents a further curtailment of local autonomy in the pursuit of national political interests.

Despite the pressure to consider the housing needs and sentiments of the resident community of Clairwood, and the reluctant accommodation of a residential component in future planning of the area, the DCC continued to intervene in the area. In February 1985, the City Engineer's Department further attempted to expropriate property in the area for the purposes of expanding the congested South Coast Road by extending Bacus Road.³⁴

In May 1986, a Group Areas Board Hearing was held recommending that the 1951 proclamation which defined Clairwood in terms of the Group Areas Act be withdrawn, and that Clairwood would forthwith have a mixed racial character.³⁵ As a controlled residential area,³⁶ the House of Delegates had no jurisdiction over the area and the determination of future development of the area was firmly in the hands of the Council.³⁷ The results of the hearing resulted in a victory for the CDRRA since "after sympathetic consideration of representation made by various interested bodies, it was decided to withdraw the zoning of Clairwood as an industrial area".³⁸ The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning stated that the DCC was to plan the area in consultation with the CDRRA and provide a Concept Plan of the area.

A socio-economic survey of the area was undertaken in 1988 (City of Durban, 1988b), and a redevelopment or 'concept plan' was drawn up retaining the core area of Clairwood as a residential area (Fig 9.2 indicates an artist's impression of the Concept Plan).³⁹ This has been carried out in consultation with CDRRA with technical advice from BESG who have acted as consultants for the CDRRA in this matter. The Structure Plan⁴⁰ was officially approved by the Administrator and accepted in September 1989 giving rise to widespread public interest (City of Durban, 1988a). In January 1991 the Administrator finally approved the Structure Plan subject to a number of considerations.⁴¹ After some alteration of the access routes, the Clairwood Structure Plan was finally approved in April 1992 after a laborious and lengthy process (Padayachee, 1988).

In conclusion, the thirty year struggle to industrialize Clairwood reveals a sustained and consistent attempt to eradicate the last pocket of Indian communal space in order to complete the formal industrialization process of the southern corridor.

The fifties, sixties and seventies provide evidence that Indian influence in local politics, was what could be termed 'negative power', in that it could delay and slightly modify the policies of the dominant white power structures at the local level (Purcell, 1974). In this way a number of minor concessions were obtained.

In the 1980's, however, the sustained resistance of the CDRRA, with political and technical support from various organizations and academics, has succeeded in reversing the longstanding goal of the DCC to industrialize Clairwood. This should be interpreted as 'positive power', since the dominant group has been directly thwarted in its goal. However, the success of the CDRRA must be weighed up against the losses sustained by the community over the thirty year struggle. These include; the forced and voluntary displacement of approximately 40 000 people; the subsequent disintegration of a viable, historically significant Indian community in South Africa; the physical deterioration of the communal living space into a slum; the consequent lowering of the quality of life for the remaining residents; the disbanding or physical relocation of numerous communal organizations and institutions; and the loss of Clairwood as a communally created 'place'.

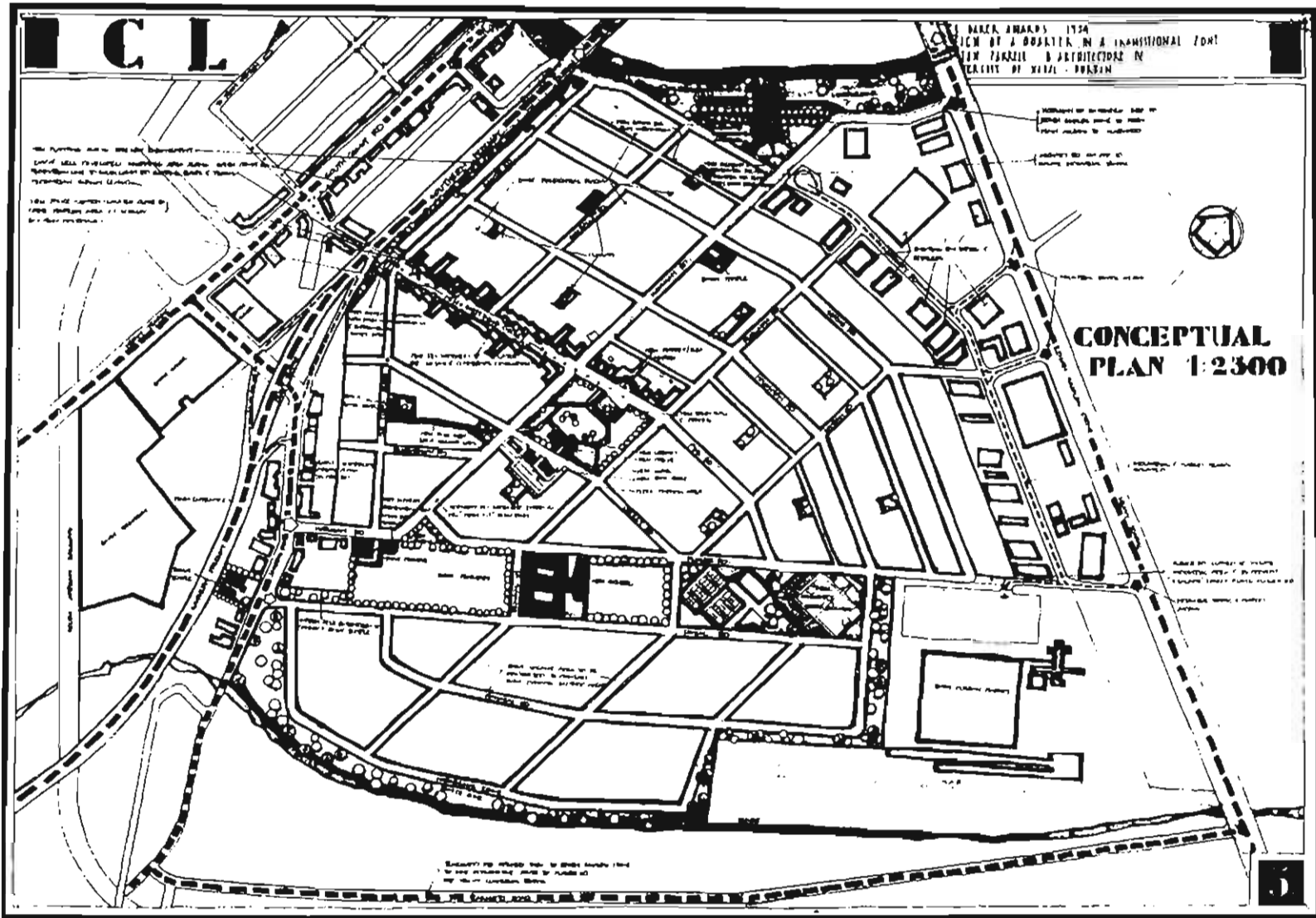


Fig 9.2: The Clairwood Concept Plan
 Source: Department of Architecture, University of Natal, Durban.

In April 1992, the Structure Plan for Clairwood was finally approved by the DCC through the procedural channels of the Town Planning Ordinance (27 of 1949), albeit with considerable input from the local community and BESG via the channels of public participation. Purcell (1974) documents a shift towards increased public participation and an increase in access to public officials by Indians in the latter 1960's. This had greatly increased by the 1980's particularly with regard to the Clairwood issue. However, the framework within which the replanning of Clairwood has occurred is that of the eurocentric norms and standards of planning as embodied in the Ordinance, rather than via communal initiative. Thus whilst Clairwood has been retained as a residential area, in a diminished form, the meaning of the area has been redefined through the imposition of the hegemonic 'language' of 'scientific' town planning which will serve to rewrite the text. The dominant language is that of the dominant white group, the goals of which are technical efficiency, geometrical order and economic progress. To this purpose, the 'new' Clairwood consists of purified zones of industry, commerce, open space and residential space. The intermingling of productive and reproductive space, so much part of the life blood of the area, has been formally negated (City of Durban, 1989). The destruction of Clairwood and its reconstruction in a town planning framework has therefore led to the gradual redefinition of the communal living space as 'communal living space as commodity' (Cox, 1981b).⁴² It is reported that there has been much property speculation, building works and the appearance of 'new faces' in Clairwood (Maharaj, October, 1994).

The symbolic positive gains that emerged from the struggle over Clairwood were that Indian rights had been upheld and that 'legitimacy of access' for Indians into the bureaucratic process had been achieved (Purcell, 1974). However, these gains must be contextualized in the national political and social arena, where it is clear that the granting of residential status in Clairwood was utilized by the national government to co-opt Indians into the Tricameral government in the mid-1980's. The weak political system of the local authority (Purcell, 1974) did not permit it to change legislation to bring about its desired goal of industrialization and give effect to a policy that would retain the Indian group as a dependent and subordinate section of the citizenry. The enduring ideological norms and standards of the colonial regime, that relegated the Indians to an inferior and subordinate status and were embodied in DCC planning policies, persisted throughout the thirty year struggle to industrialize Clairwood.

9.4 The challenge to communal space : alternative strategies to diminish the residential character of Clairwood

In tandem with efforts to replan and rezone Clairwood, the DCC commenced with other strategies for changing the land-use of Clairwood in particular, and southern Durban in general. These strategies involved the application of the Slums Act and the introduction of non-residential land-uses into the existing residential area, parallel with formal legal attempts to sanction industrial zoning. The instances of the latter strategy were the approval of the location of the Stanvac Oil Refinery in Wentworth; the creation of a Bulk Produce Market in Clairwood; the planning of an abattoir in Clairwood and the routing of the Southern Freeway (NR2) through the centre of Clairwood. Other strategies included the freezing of residential development in Clairwood and the levying of industrial rates on residential properties.

a) *The application of the Slums Act*

The termination of Indian leases on Council and Railways property, and where necessary, the acquisition of privately-owned properties via expropriation for development purposes, resulted in the removal of large numbers of Indian families out of the southern corridor and into the newly developing formal housing scheme of Chatsworth. Although justified as necessary for development and industrial purposes, these removals were also undertaken for the joint purposes of racial segregation and the removal of the acute health and sanitary problems of the southern corridor, particularly in the shack settlements.⁴³ While the removal of families leasing Council land was a relatively easy process, the problem of insanitary living conditions on private property was approached via the application of health legislation and constituted a much smaller number of cases relative to the mass removals for 'development' purposes.

Since 1939, the DCC had been preoccupied with defining those zones of the city considered as slums,⁴⁴ in terms of the Slums Act (Act 53 of 1934).⁴⁵ Only two of eleven such zones, were defined in the southern area, with the major concern focussed on the inner city slum pockets and the major African slum of Cato Manor (University of Natal, 1952) (See Fig 4.6).

The southern corridor of Durban, furthermore, was not conceived of in total as 'a slum zone' and neither were the majority of removals accomplished within the ambit of the Slums Act of 1934. The releasing of land for industrial and infrastructural development projects was dealt with by the DCC as a town planning and engineering issue, and hence was implemented through mu-

municipal engineering procedures and Town Planning legislation on a mass scale. However, the systematic application of the Slums Act of 1934 resulted in many houses being demolished in Clairwood⁴⁶ on an individual and on-going basis. Once houses have been inspected by the Health Inspectorate of the Durban Corporation, and do not meet the requirements of a healthy living environment,⁴⁷ the case is referred to the Slums Court. This court is empowered to declare the premises a slum and order the owner to remove the nuisance or demolish the dwelling. Should the owner fail to carry out the requirements of the order in the time specified, the local authority has the power to carry out the demolition at the owner's expense.⁴⁸ This is executed upon recommendation of the Health and Housing Committee of the DCC, and the land is purchased by the DCC if costs cannot be met for demolition. Families displaced through the application of the Slums Act received priority in terms of housing allocation by the Housing Section of the City Treasury.⁴⁹

Demolition of houses and the purchase of 'slummed' properties by the DCC proceeded through the 1940's until the 1970's. The Land Records Section of the City Estates Department reveal that in the year 1972, there were many properties that had been served with a Slums Clearance Notification. From January 1972 to July 1993, 169 properties were declared slums. For example, 70 Shabally Road in Clairwood, was declared a slum on 2/3/1972,⁵⁰ and 93 Horseshoe Road in 6/2/1973.⁵¹

Not all properties that were slummed fell into Council ownership and upon demolition of their dwellings, most property owners relocated to other Indian suburbs. In a 1988 Council survey, 17.8% of non-resident owners of land in Clairwood cited the reason for not residing in Clairwood was that their house was declared a slum (City of Durban, 1988b).

b) The introduction of non-residential land-uses into Clairwood

A range of non-residential land-uses were introduced into Clairwood in particular, and the southern corridor in general, in order to contribute towards the industrial development of the area. As far back as 1954, the DCC approved the establishment of an oil refinery on the Bluff by the Standard Vacuum Refinery Company of South Africa, which had already acquired 188 acres for this purpose.⁵² Construction of this heavy industry commenced thereafter (See Fig 8.5).⁵³

Another major intrusion into the residential character of Clairwood was the proposed Bulk Fresh Produce market in Flower Road (See Fig 9.3). By 1960, it had become apparent that the existing market facilities in Warwick Avenue opened in 1934,⁵⁴ were totally inadequate in catering for the increasing volume of market produce sold in Durban, and a new market for wholesale produce sales was proposed.⁵⁵ In 1963, the DCC entered into negotiations with the Railways Administration to obtain land adjacent Edwin Swales Drive in Clairwood for the establishment of a new Bulk Sales Market.⁵⁶ The Railways agreed to release 57 acres, but technical difficulties with the canalization of the Amanzimnyama River delayed progress.

A further impediment was the removal and rehousing of the resident shack population who occupied the land on lease from the Railways.⁵⁷ Fig 9.4 shows an orthophoto map of portion of Clairwood showing Lots 38, 40 and A of 42 of Wentworth which formed part of the Bulk Market site. Shacks on these lots are identifiable by their random location and their lack of cadastral boundaries.⁵⁸ The displaced families were to be offered priority accommodation in those units in Chatsworth which had been completed, or elsewhere.⁵⁹ However, it was reported that the Department of Community Development, which was responsible for removals off national state land, had advised the 71 tenants, who with their sub-tenants comprised 200 families, to "try and find their own alternative accommodation without waiting for it - because of the housing shortage".⁶⁰

By 1966, the urgency of constructing a new market was stressed,⁶¹ and the DCC commenced negotiations with Indian property owners adjacent to the site obtained from the Railways.⁶² Agreements for the purchase of twenty-nine properties were concluded prior to the DCC obtaining approval from the Administrator of Natal for the Market, and for the power to expropriate land for that purpose (See Fig 9.3).⁶³ After some delay, approval for the Bulk Produce Market was finally granted on 17/4/1967 and power to expropriate on 21/3/1969.⁶⁴ The project commenced on 3/7/1970 but with a reduction in area due to the high costs involved.⁶⁵ The operations at the new Bulk Sales Market in Flower Road were anticipated to commence in 1975.⁶⁶ There was much negotiation over prices offered for the expropriated land with land owners contesting the low prices offered by the DCC compared with the market value.⁶⁷

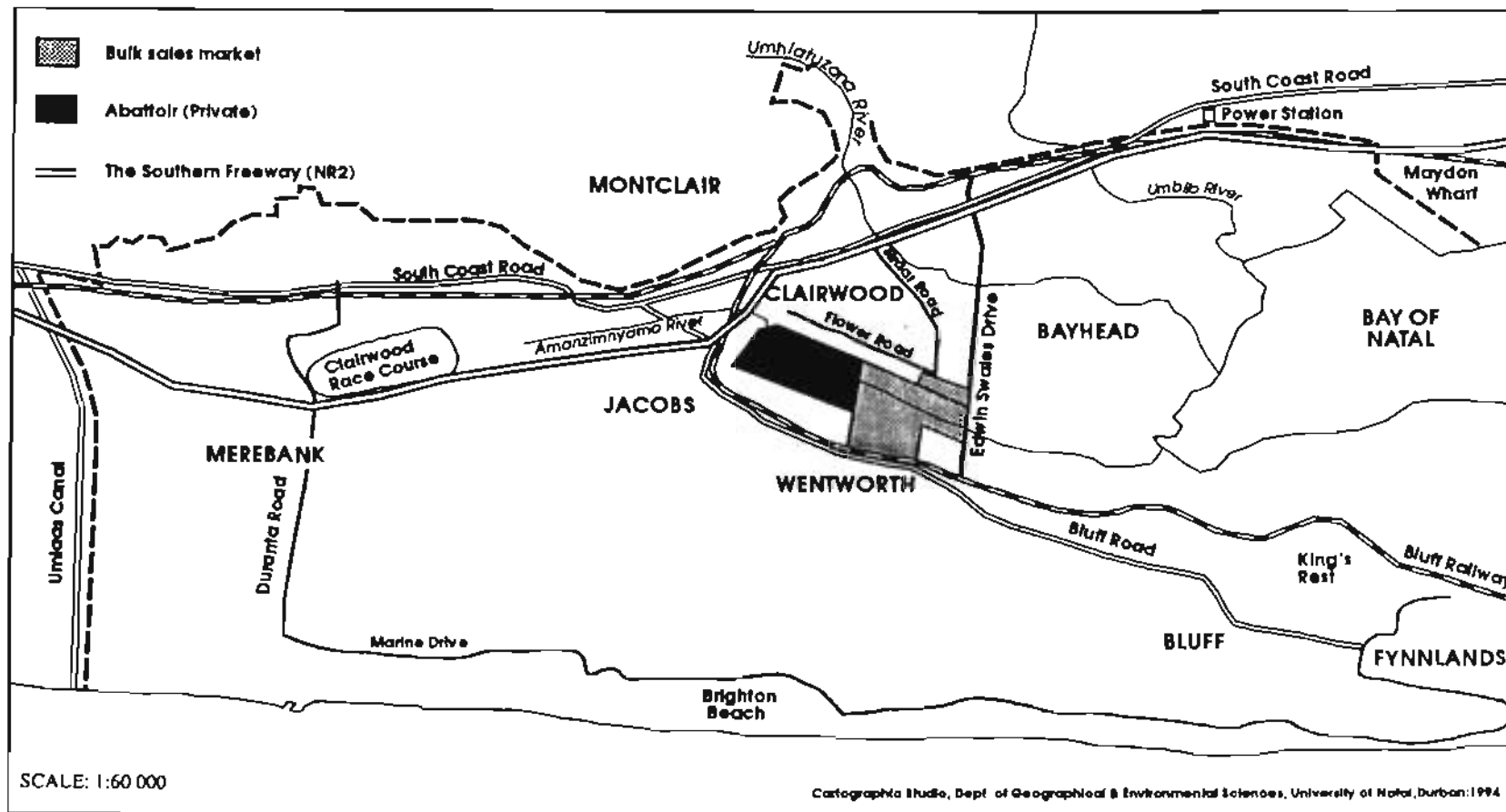


Fig 9.3: The Location of the Bulk Produce Market, Proposed Abbatoir and NR2 in Southern Durban c 1967
 Source: 1: 6000 cadastral maps, City Engineer's Department and Land Records, City Estates Department, Durban.



Fig 9.4: Shacks on the Bulk Market Site, Clairwood, 1968.
Source: 1:6 000 Cadastral Map, City Engineer's Department, Durban

In a related development of non-residential land-uses in Clairwood, the DCC raised the issue in 1960 of erecting a new modern abattoir in Clairwood since the existing works were reaching the limits of their capacity.⁶⁸ A national enquiry into abattoirs in South Africa delayed approval of the DCC's application to build an abattoir on 40 acres adjacent to the Bulk Sales Market (See Fig 9.3).⁶⁹ The Abattoir Commission recommended the creation of an export abattoir in Durban, as the only one in the country, but refused to assist the DCC financially in its institution.⁷⁰ The Council in 1970 therefore decided not to go ahead with this project.⁷¹

Coupled with the broader goal of acquiring all land in Clairwood for industrial purposes the City Valuator and Estates Manager was "directed to negotiate for the acquisition of land".⁷² At this stage the application to have Clairwood designated by the Administrator was in process and therefore powers to acquire land had not yet been granted. However, assuming that this would occur, the City Valuator and Estates Manager further communicated with the Town Clerk:

In the interim I have addressed correspondence to each of the owners (on the abattoir site) inquiring whether they would be interested in disposing of their properties.⁷³

Letters were initially sent to property owners⁷⁴ in the Horseshoe and Dayal Road areas where the proposed abattoir was to be located. A meeting was held in the Andhra Hall by the CDRRA with 200 ratepayers to discuss why the DCC would want to acquire land without stating the reasons.⁷⁵ In a letter from the CDRRA to the City Valuator and Estates Manager, it was expressed that

when the buyer is a public body and a piece-meal approach is being made, which would ultimately affect the character of the whole area, then it is reasonable and just that the intentions of the City Council with regard to the current investigations be made known. ⁷⁶

In a further protest by the CDRRA to the Indian and Coloured Affairs Advisory Committee, it was stated that there was a plan - "the Kinmont Master Plan"⁷⁷ behind the attempts by the DCC to acquire land in Clairwood without furnishing reasons for its purpose. The CDRRA accused the DCC of playing "Estate Agent" in order to accomplish the Kinmont Master Plan, the first stage of which was to buy land from the present owners and re-sell to industrialists at a tremendous profit.⁷⁸

Despite protest from the CDRRA, the expropriation and purchase of 148 acres adjacent to the Bulk Sales Market, commenced early in 1967, resulting in the removal of a large number of residential families in the Horseshoe Road area. Although deciding not to exercise its rights to erect a new abattoir, the DCC stated its intention to utilize the acquired land for municipal purposes and to continue acquiring property by 'mutual agreement'.⁷⁹ However, the land was not used for municipal purposes and the poor condition of these empty lots⁸⁰ contributed to the decline of the area.

The effect of this strategy to expropriate land for state development schemes or to purchase land by 'mutual agreement' on a large scale was that it engendered insecurity, anxiety and outrage amongst the Clairwood Indian community. The veiled goals of the DCC were sharply criticized by the CDRRA as being "always shrouded in mystery".⁸¹ However, the NIO⁸² interpreted these actions as part of the larger national plan of segregation. This climate of insecurity led the SCIDIFA Trust⁸³ to accept an offer from a large international transport organization to sell the SCIDIFA sports ground in Archary Road for R250 000. It was felt that the Trust was forced to sell "because of the DCC move to convert a Special Residential Area into an industrial complex... and the Clubs which had been using the ground were moving into the Corporation Housing Schemes at Merebank and Chatsworth".⁸⁴

A further intrusion into the residential and commercial space of southern Durban involved the expansion of the freeway system to this area of Durban (See Fig 9.3). Purcell (1974) notes that prior to the James Commission Durban had fallen behind in the construction of major transport facilities in relation to other large cities in South Africa. The Moffat Report of 1958⁸⁵ motivated for the construction of the Southern Freeway (National Route 2 - NR2) to obviate the serious traffic congestion in the Maydon Road area. In addition, the congestion of South Coast Road, the major access road to the entire southern Durban region and the south coast of Natal, had been problematic since the early 1950's despite various ad hoc attempts to upgrade this route. With the advent of a more hierarchical and bureaucratic Council by the late 1960's, attention was turned to the transport problems of this region. The plan to provide a major arterial to the south was approved, and by 6/7/1967, the first three miles of the Southern Freeway from Albert Park to Jacobs Road was opened.⁸⁶ It was proposed that by 1969, the freeway would be complete up to the Louis Botha Airport carrying an estimated 60 000 vehicles per day.⁸⁷

The construction of the Southern Freeway necessitated the expropriation of many Indian residential and commercial properties as well as the relocation of the Luxmi Narain Temple and school. An Indian theatre and community hall were affected and the only Post Office and Police Station serving Clairwood were removed.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the Southern Freeway had the effect of creating a barrier between the commercial strip along South Coast Road and the residential sector which it serves, disadvantaging both shopkeepers and clients alike (Bendheim and Padayachee, 1985). Whilst modern school buildings and larger industrial concerns were left untouched, the re-alignment of the NR2 from the Umbilo Canal to the Bluff Railway Line necessitated the removal of a number of important Indian institutions in the Bacus Road area as well as about 30 houses.⁸⁹ The Clairwood Co-Ordinating Committee which opposed the decision felt that it was “a subtle move on the part of the Council to oust Indians from Clairwood when other means seemed to have failed”.⁹⁰

c) *The ‘freezing’ of residential development in Clairwood*

In addition to introducing non-residential land-uses initiated by the public sector into Clairwood and District, the DCC simultaneously froze private residential development, while allowing the encroachment of industry into the residential sector often under temporary permits (Fig 9.5 shows the extent to which industrial and commercial activities had penetrated Clairwood by 1970).

The DCC in concert with the national department of Planning agreed upon a policy of granting permits for the occupation of properties for residential purposes, as a means for “controlling the situation in the Clairwood area”.⁹¹ These Group Areas Act residence permits were not to be granted in the area between Dayal, Landsdowne, Bluff Roads and Edwin Swales Drive and upon residents applying for such permits to undertaken alterations on existing buildings, or to erect new buildings in this area, the DCC was to acquire the properties concerned. In the rest of Clairwood, a slightly less stringent control was to be exercised with the DCC acquiring properties for which permits are requested but also being able to issue residence permits in this area for two years subject to review if the property was not immediately required for industry.⁹² Essentially this meant that residential development was frozen in Clairwood by the DCC, preventing the extension of existing buildings and the construction of new dwellings (Robinson, 1984), as well as occupation of properties controlled by permit. This stood in contravention of the 1956 ruling of the Administrator of Natal as it served to bring “all residential and other development to a virtual standstill”.⁹³ In addition to these curtailments of residential expansion and develop-

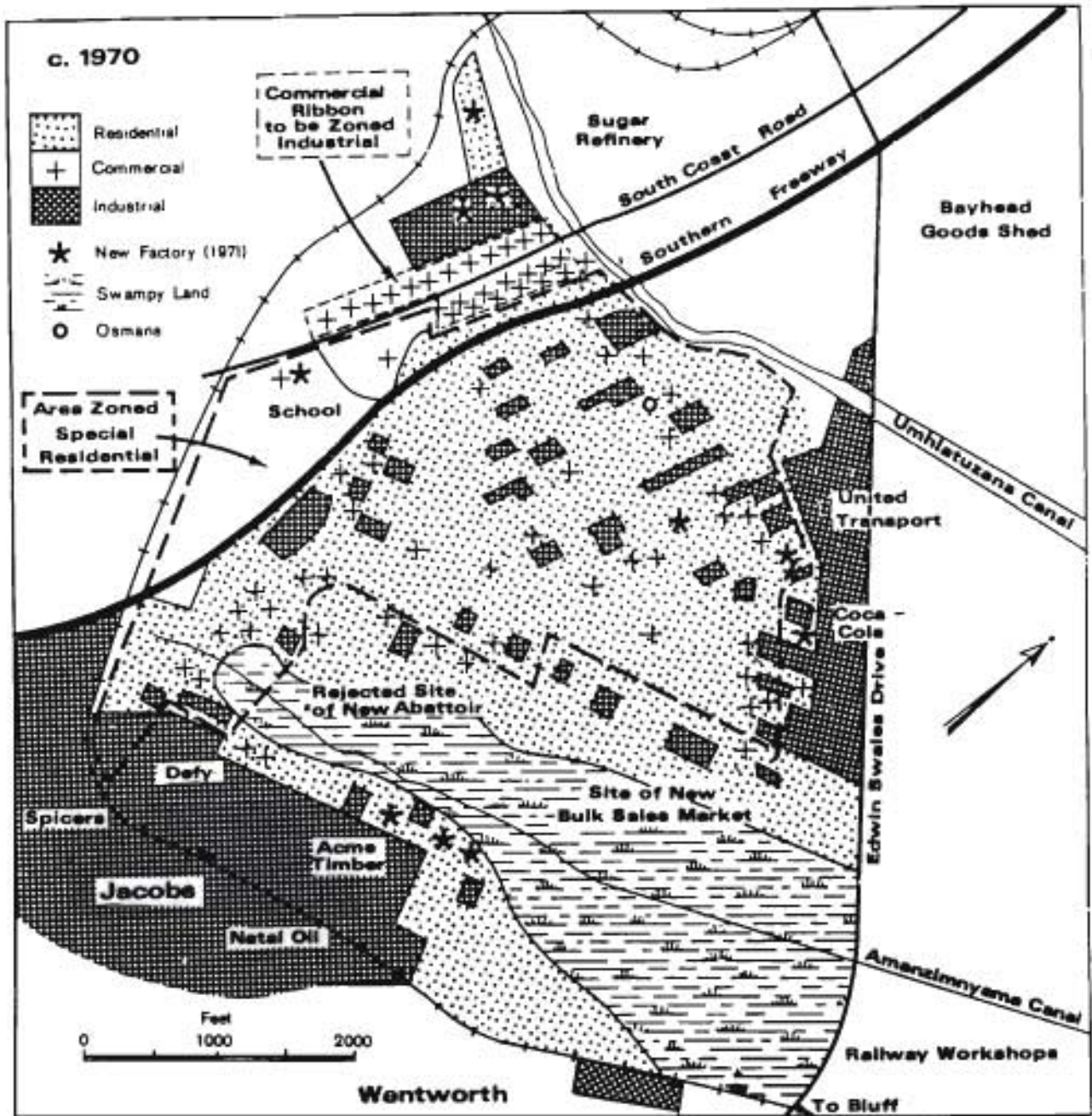


Fig 9.5: The Penetration of Industry into Clairwood, 1970

Source: Young, 1972

ment, the policy was also adopted that industrialists could apply for permits for industrial activity within the area "subject to the industrial proposals being in conformity with the overall plan for the area".⁹⁴

The uncertainty regarding the future of Clairwood, underscored by the 'freezing' of development had the effect of gradually reducing the area to a degraded state (Bendheim, 1981). Residents were reluctant to invest in improvements to their properties when an industrial rezoning of the area could lead to their possible removal.⁹⁵

By the 1970's, Clairwood began to assume the characteristics of a blighted neighbourhood accompanied by increasing industrial penetration⁹⁶ and the concomitant negative externalities associated with this land-use⁹⁷ (Fig 9.6 indicates the extent of industrial growth in southern Durban by 1973). The CDRRA vehemently rejected the City Engineer's Report (Mr C Hands) condemning 73% of Clairwood as being a 'slum' and stating therefore that it was in the best interests of the people to move out.⁹⁸ It was realized by the residents that "it was only because of the City Council that refused repeatedly to allow Indians to develop their properties and provide proper drainage and other essential services" that these conditions existed.⁹⁹ As a consequence of this deteriorating living environment the outward flight of many residents began, especially those that had the means to purchase properties in outlying Indian suburbs.¹⁰⁰

d) *The Imposition of industrial rates in Clairwood*

A further factor which had the effect of forcing residents out of the area are the exorbitant rates which owners of immovable properties, that is, the ratepayers, are forced to pay. These high rates according to Rate Code 1, are due to the high land valuations of Clairwood properties due to their potential industrial use. These rates are extremely high in relation to the very poor quality of infrastructure (roads, pavements, sewage) and services provided by the DCC in return (Bagwandeem, 1983). This is particularly the case for owners of vacant land who pay according to Rate Code 3, which applies to business properties and vacant land.¹⁰¹ The reason for higher rates on vacant land is to prevent land speculation without development, and yet legally, the Clairwood landowners are barred from developing their properties.¹⁰²

e) *'Turning a blind eye': the granting of permits for industrial activity in Clairwood*

While the land zoned Special Residential is frozen for the development of residential buildings and extensions for residential use, the DCC has allowed a variety of light industries, such as scrap car dealers, and traders into the area on temporary permits.¹⁰³ Many illegal business structures and activities also began to penetrate Clairwood while the DCC turned a blind eye to this process. The legal and illegal penetration of industrial activities into the residential area of Clairwood has significantly contributed to the changing character of Clairwood since the 1960's. The end result of this process of land-use change is revealed in the 1988 Survey of Clairwood undertaken by the DCC. By this date, the major land-uses of the Special Residential Zone were residential (37,8%); vacant land (28,3%); industrial and commercial (25,2%); and mixed uses (7,5%).¹⁰⁴ Of the industrial and commercial uses, two-thirds are temporary and two-thirds are open-stand uses, for example, storage companies, cartage contractors and scrapyards.¹⁰⁵

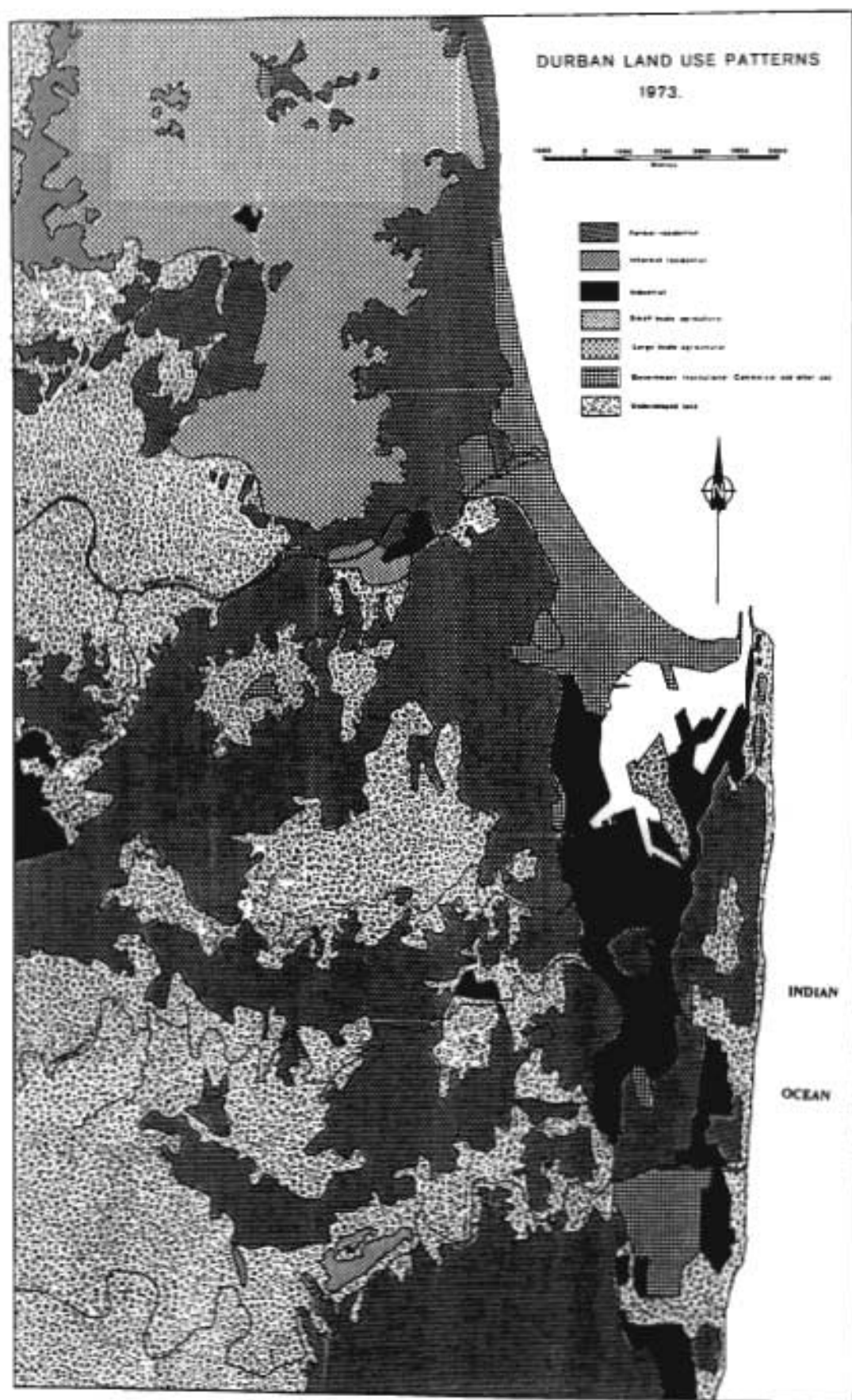


Fig 9.6: Land-use in Durban, 1973
Source: McCarthy, 1988

The combined effect of the strategies employed by the DCC in its attempt to industrialize Clairwood has been the forced and voluntary movement of 30 000 to 40 000 people out of the area; the decline in residential dwellings and the introduction of a high degree of non-residential land-uses into a residential area; and the creation of a degraded living environment. This has been due to an increased amount of pollution, congestion, non-residential traffic, non-resident labour, crime and a decrease in aesthetic appeal and natural vegetation. These conditions and the decline in resident population have in turn led to the demise or relocation of communal associations and the virtual disappearance of the vibrant and flourishing community of the 1950's.

9.5 Conclusion

The onslaught of the DCC to industrialize Clairwood and the resulting struggle over communal space lasted from the mid-1950's until 1986 when a small portion of Clairwood was finally declared residential.¹⁰⁶ This conflict was framed within town planning legislation, and the application for the rezoning of Clairwood as an industrial area was lodged by the DCC, initially with the Administrator of Natal, and later with the Minister of Planning to rezone the area and obtain powers to acquire land via expropriation. Although only applying to a small area - 99 hectares - these town planning procedures were instituted in order to accomplish the goals of a larger comprehensive plan for the whole city - An Outline Plan of the City - regarding the location of industry. Obstacles to the accomplishment of a successful zoning application were the increasing resistance of the Indian community, the necessity to provide alternative housing for those displaced families and the inability on the part of the Council to obtain approval for powers of acquisition.

Furthermore, from the early 1980's, with outside assistance from sympathetic non-government organizations, the CDRRA managed to raise the profile of their opposition to a metropolitan level. It was at this stage that the attachment to place and the historical and emotional significance of Clairwood began to be utilized as part of the armoury of resistance strategies. Finally, in May 1986, Clairwood was declared a residential area at a Group Areas Board meeting ending the thirty years of struggle by the residents to maintain their communal space.

Throughout this period the DCC adopted other strategies to diminish the residential component of Clairwood, namely the freezing of residential development and the concomitant approval of permits for

industrial activity on vacant land; the levying of extremely high rates; and the introduction of non-residential land-uses - the Bulk Sales Market and the NR2, amongst others. During this period the residential character of the area declined markedly - approximately 40 000 people moved out of the area, either through removal or voluntarily, and the physical environment became severely degraded and blighted (City of Durban, 1982; 1988b). The social effects of this process were to see the decline of a once flourishing and vital community, the disbanding of many active community associations and the emotional trauma and financial loss experienced by thousands of families as they were cut off from lifelong community and kinship relationships.

The redevelopment of Clairwood was the DCC's responsibility and from 1986, it has, through a process of participatory planning, developed a structure plan to guide the reconstruction of the Clairwood area. Approved in 1992, the Clairwood Structure Plan provides a blueprint for the upliftment of the Clairwood community and as such, it is couched in planning concepts and terminology. This plan thus serves to redefine Clairwood into a series of zones wherein certain activities are to occur and it sets out the phases of development - imposed on the community from the outside. This differs greatly from the communal motivations and actions which gave rise to the creation of Clairwood, from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, as a communal space - from the 'inside'.

However, while this process of the redefinition of space has been occurring, the process of physical and social decline has continued as industries continue to flourish and ply their trade in the area, crime increases and illegal activities proliferate.¹⁰⁷ Despite the fact that the Clairwood Structure Plan has been approved and the sewage system put in place, the degree of degradation is such that a reversal of this state has not yet begun. However, property renovation and property sales have been occurring exhibiting the confidence of residents in the possibility of the restoration of Clairwood to its former glory.

To this end a conference was convened by the Clairwood Child Welfare Society Branch, including all concerned bodies and interested parties in January 1992 to prepare a strategy to rid Clairwood of the social problems that prevail there. However, as with the physical redevelopment of the area, this action to upgrade the social fabric of Clairwood was framed under the auspices of an outside organization - the impetus not coming from within.

Despite the severe material degradation and decline of the social structure of Clairwood by the 1990's, there remains a potent conception of the place in popular memory as it was at its peak. This myth serves to place Clairwood in the same category as District 6 in Cape Town and Sophiatown in Johannesburg. The social and kinship relationships which emerged in the southern Durban Indian community - focussed on Clairwood - cannot be materially reconstructed. The small node of Clairwood remains as a vestige of the former extensive area occupied by the southern Durban Indian community, serving as an 'anchor' to retain a sense of what Clairwood was, and reproducing the ethos of the past community to which many displaced ex-residents still pay allegiance.

Endnotes

1. See Maharaj (1992) for a detailed account of this process.
2. One hundred and forty two people died and 1 087 were injured (Pachai, 1979a,51).
3. Although it was originally intended that these bodies would take over the jurisdiction of Indian areas in South African towns, most of them remained as advisory bodies to white-controlled councils. Only Verulam (1969); Isipingo (1972); and Umzinto (1974) became Indian controlled townships (Pachai, 1979a).
4. This Department was to promote the interests of the Indian community in South Africa; provide auxiliary services for it; administer laws applicable to this community; and control welfare institutions, technical and university education and the South African Indian Council (Pachai, 1979a,58).
5. See City of Durban, Report on the Planning of the Bluff, City Engineer's Department, 1967.
6. Town planning schemes are a form of blueprint planning which act as a means of development control via the scheme and its clauses. The town planning scheme sets out a plan of the land-use zones of the town and the clauses provide the detailed set of conditions according to which development within the zones can occur e.g. the intensity of use of land is controlled (Scott, 1981).
7. See City of Durban, 1988a.
8. The area was zoned a 'working area' in terms of the Group Areas Act from 1956 onwards (Robinson, 1984). However, no proclamations regarding the racial composition of the area were made at this time (University of Natal, 1952).
9. Mayor's Minute, 1956-1957.
10. The Provincial Secretary informed the local authority that certain light industries should be permitted (Prentice Hall Local Government Legal Service, Appeal No 1842, Natal Town Planning Appeals).
11. Mayor's Minute, 1962-1963, 1963-1964.
12. Mayor's Minute, 1962-1963.
13. *ibid*

14. Mayor's Minute, 1963-1964.
15. Mayor's Minute, 1964-1965, 1965-1966, 1966-1967, 1967-1968.
16. Mayor's Minute, 1965-1966.
17. At this stage, the Town Clerk stated that the DCC was reluctant to pave one of the most dusty streets in Clairwood because the area had been rezoned for industry (The Leader, 18/6/1965). Purcell (1974, 316), notes the longstanding "unwillingness of the city to spend money on Indian problems".
18. Prentice Hall op cit
19. The function of the CDRRA is wider than that of a ratepayers association in that it set out to represent the interests of all residents in the area, which included both landowners and their tenants, and lessees of state land. It therefore extended its interest beyond the boundaries of Clairwood into the surrounding district.
20. The procedure of advertising and allowing responses to changes in zoning in the form of objections, constitutes a form of public participation in the town planning legislation (Ordinance 27 of 1949).
21. People involved in the mass meetings in Clairwood are reported to having been questioned by the Security Police as a warning regarding their actions against the national government (Purcell, 1974).
22. By the time Chatsworth was completed in 1976, plans were already in motion for a further Indian Group Area to the north of Durban to be named Phoenix (Bailey, 1987).
23. Prentice-Hall op cit
24. BESG is a group of academics from the University of Natal, Durban, and associated specialists, who provide a consultancy to community organizations regarding issues around the built environment.
25. P K Jacobs, 20/5/1986.
26. Personal communication with community leaders, P.K. Jacob, I Maharaj, and K. Govender, 1988.
27. Natal Mercury, 11/3/1982.
28. CDRRA to Town Clerk, 23/3/1982.
29. See memorandum: Jacob, P.K. (1983): A Brief History of the People's Struggle for Land Rights, submitted to the Clairwood Conference, 29/5/1983.
30. Sunday Tribune Herald, 26/6/1983.
31. Prentice-Hall op cit
32. Councillor Don Smith, in support of industrialization, stated that "those who frustrate the healing of this 30-year old festering wound, whether motivated by misguided philanthropism, or from a lack of appreciation of the inevitable result of economic forces, or by self-aggrandizement, are rendering the Clairwood community a grave disservice" (Post, 22-25 June, 1983).
33. Daily News, 19/3/1987.
34. Daily News, 4/2/1985.

35. Sunday Tribune Herald, March 1986.
36. Natal Mercury, 10/3/1986.
37. Daily News, 19/3/1987.
38. *ibid.*
39. The DCC Planning Committee approved a Draft Structure Plan for Clairwood on the 27/4/1988 (Town Planning Appeals Board, Appeal No 2461, 14/9/1993).
40. Map No 1839.825/A, City Engineer's Department, (Town Planning Appeals Board, Appeal No 2461, 14/9/1993).
41. These were the possibility of an alternative east/west link to the existing Flower and Dayal Road routes, and the preparation of a development plan (Town Planning Appeals Board, Appeal No 2461, 14/9/1993).
42. There has been considerable local conflict during the construction of the Structure Plan, between residents wishing to retain the communal character of the area, and those seeking to gain individual benefit via the commodification of the living space for business use (CDRRA, August 1989).
43. This process is dealt with in detail in Chapter 10.
44. See Section 4.3 for a full outline of this process.
45. This Act was amended by Act 55 of 1963.
46. See General File 692 on slummed properties and individual property files commencing with 632G/23 (all previous cases have been destroyed), Land Records, City Estates Department, Durban. These slums clearance properties are recorded on advice from the City Health Department under whose auspices the Slum Clearance proceeds.
47. The Health Inspectorate report on the external and internal condition of the dwelling, takes into consideration ventilation, lighting, floor space, air space, overcrowding, latrines, bathing facilities, the kitchen, water supply, waste removal and stormwater drainage. In addition, if the dwelling is injurious to health because of defective construction, state of disrepair or vermin infestation it is declared a slum. These provisions are laid out in the Slums Act.
48. File 692G, Land Records, City Estates Department, Durban.
49. Tooley, 29/2/1990.
50. Indicated on Plan Q22, by Slums Notification Number SC 1126, Land Records, City Estates Department.
51. This is indicated on Plan Q22 by Slums Clearance Number 1226, Land Records, City Estates Department.
52. Mayor's Minute, 1953-1954.
53. See 1956 aerial photographs, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department (Scale 1:5000).
54. Mayor's Minute, 1934-1935.
55. Mayor's Minute, 1960-1961.

56. Mayor's Minute, 1963-1964.
57. Mayor's Minute, 1964-1965, 1968-1969.
58. The school on Lot 40 is the 'Cabbage School' referred to in Chapter 5.
59. Furthermore, the Department of Community Development had authorized the City Treasurer to allocate housing for 20 of the 40 Coloured families resident in the area, when it became available (City Engineer to City Estates Manager, 1/5/1968, Survey Section, City Engineer's Department).
60. Daily News, 22/12/1971.
61. Mayor's Minute, 1965-1966.
62. Mayor's Minute, 1967-1968.
63. 73 properties were served with expropriation notices (Town Clerk to City Estates Manager, 1/5/1973, Survey Section, City Engineer's Department).
64. Mayor's Minute, 1968-1969.
65. Mayor's Minute, 1970-1971.
66. Mayor's Minute, 1972-1973.
67. For example, the case of Essop Warjava (Ref 31/106/141) who claimed R18 000 and eventually received R13 500 (Survey Section, City Engineer's Department).
68. Mayor's Minute, 1959-1960.
69. Mayor's Minute, 1966-1967.
70. Mayor's Minute, 1964-1965.
71. Mayor's Minute, 1970-1971.
72. Minutes of the Sub-Committee re Special Works, 8/6/1963 (File J 31/106/G/1, General File for the Acquisition of Properties for Industrial Purposes, City Estates Department, Durban).
73. City Valuator and Estates Manager to Town Clerk, 17/10/1963 (File J 31/106/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban).
74. These letters stated that "no definite decision has been taken at this stage" as to the use of the land (City Valuator and Estates Manager to property owners, November 1963).
75. Natal Mercury, 11/11/1963.
76. S. Ventgas (Secretary) of CDRRA to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 23/4/1963, File J 31/106/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban.
77. Kinmont was the City Engineer at this time.
78. Letter from CDRRA to Indian and Coloured Affairs Advisory Committee, 16/4/1964 (File 31/106/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban).

79. Town Clerk to Provincial Secretary, 9/8/1971 (File 31/106G/4, City Estates Department, Durban).
80. Besides allowing an overgrowth of vegetation, the Durban Corporation turned a blind eye to the incidence of dumping of waste materials and illegal intrusion of industry onto these lots over time.
81. Mr S Gopaul of the CDRRA, in *The Leader*, 25/9/1964.
82. The NIO noted that the DCC's decisions with regard to expropriation had caused "considerable uneasiness amongst thousands of Indians... and appeared to have all the ramifications of the Group Areas Act which has dehoued hundreds of Indians" (NIO to Town Clerk, 22/10/1964, File J31/106/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban).
83. The role of the SCIDIFA Sports Ground and Trust is described in Chapter 6.
84. *Natal Mercury*, 28/1/1967.
85. The First Interim Report of the Standing Committee for the Development of Durban Harbour, South African Railways, Systems Manager's Office, Durban, November 1958.
86. *Mayor's Minute*, 1966-1967.
87. *Mayor's Minute*, 1968-1969.
88. *The Leader*, 29/7/1960, 7/10/1960.
89. The City Estates Inspectorate reported that a total of 137 Indian families had completed housing applications for Chatsworth as they were affected by the building of the NR2. Furthermore six coloured families were likewise affected and were to be housed in temporary shacks in a 'safe' area of Merebank (Inspectorate to City Treasurer, 24/12/1964, File J632/460/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban).
90. *The Leader*, 27/7/60.
91. Report by the City Engineer to the Town Clerk, 14/10/1964, approved by the Planning and Development Control Committee of the DCC, 21/10/1964 (File J 31/106/G/1, City Estates Department, Durban).
92. Report by the City Engineer to the Town Clerk, 14/10/1964, op cit
93. *The Leader*, 18/6/1965. Allegations were made by the CDRRA that the DCC had made written offers to individual Clairwood property owners to acquire their properties "immediately after a refusal to pass building plans or having turned down an application for a trade license" (*The Leader*, 18/6/1965).
94. *The Leader* (18/6/65)
95. Mr P K Jacob noted that the roof timbers of his home were badly infested with bora but that he was not willing to spend money to have them eradicated due to the uncertainty as to how long he would stay in Clairwood (20/5/1986).
96. See 1976 aerial photographs, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department (Scale 1:9000).
97. *George* (1986) documents that the older generation women felt that by the 1980's it had become unsafe to walk around Clairwood because of all the heavy industrial traffic transversing the area and using residential roads as throughways.

98. Natal Mercury. 21/6/1965.
99. op cit
100. Mr K S Govender left Clairwood in 1970 to settle in Isipingo Hills, but still retains residential property and commercial enterprises in Clairwood (17/3/1986); while Mr R R Maharaj (10/11/1987) transferred his Clairwood property in 1980 to his sons and brothers and now lives in Nagina Township. Both are still very active in associations that have their origins in Clairwood.
101. Robertson, 1984; Jacobs, 1985.
102. Robertson. 1984.
103. Jacobs, P.K., op cit
104. See City of Durban, Clairwood Redevelopment Project, City Engineer's Department, April 1988, 8; See p.9 for map showing the proportion of approved and temporary industrial uses.
105. *ibid.*
106. The Financial Mail, 23/1/1987.
107. The emergence of shebeens and brothels on vacant plots, to serve the non-residential labour of industrial firms, has begun to occur on a large scale (Mansoor, 18/9/1991).

CHAPTER 10

REMOVALS IN THE SOUTHERN DURBAN CORRIDOR: 1963-1975

10.1 Introduction

The loss of political autonomy at the local level and the consequent removal of the issue of racial segregation and removals from the local political forum, politically neutralized the removal of 25 000 predominantly Indian people undertaken by the DCC from 1963 to 1975 in southern Durban in the name of health and development. The removals were planned and executed via administrative procedures undertaken by local government officials in the City Estates Department (CED) in response to the authorization of development projects by the DCC via the Committees of Finance, Planning and Development Control and Health and Housing, and the sub-committee re Special Works.¹ Decisions were referred to the Indian Affairs Advisory Committee for comment but little cognizance was taken of the opinions of this elected body which represented Indians in the Borough.

The slum clearance process that evolved in southern Durban from 1963 to 1975, thus reveals the increase in importance at the local level of the bureaucracy in the post-1950's period in South Africa (Purcell, 1974).² Although pursuing locally relevant policies of land-use transformation, the DCC served as an 'agent' of the national state with regard to its racial policies by developing administrative procedures for shack and slum clearance and removals.

The removals were undertaken by the City Estates Department of the Durban Corporation primarily via the termination of leases on council-owned property and by the expropriation of property. In addition to these large-scale removals to facilitate development projects on state land, individual premises were demolished throughout the area as slums³ or unlawful structures⁴ also resulting in the relocation of affected families .

However, the termination of the leases of shack dwellers, expropriations, demolitions of 'squatter dwellings', and slum clearance, legally required the DCC to offer alternative accommodation to the affected families, most of whom were not able to purchase their own. Therefore, prior to the construction of public housing schemes in the 1950's and early 1960's, fewer demolitions

and removals occurred because of the lack of alternative accommodation (University of Natal, 1952). To add to the frustration of the DCC in being unable to remove shack dwellers and control the growth of shack areas in the 1940's and 1950's, the shack settlements continued to grow due to a lack of staff to check regularly for the construction of new shack dwellings. As formal housing became available from 1963, the tempo of removals increased, and when the provision of housing lagged behind the demand, the DCC placed removees in temporary accommodation.

The large majority of people removed in southern Durban were Indian, and hence their eventual destination was the Merebank and Chatsworth housing schemes. The small minority of coloured and African shackdwellers were removed by the Department of Community Development and the Department of Bantu Administration respectively. Coloured families, from the southern areas and many other parts of Durban were 'siphoned' into the Wentworth Coloured Housing Scheme during the 1960's and 1970's, while the Africans were relocated either in the African townships, or returned to their respective homelands depending on their status in terms of influx control regulations.⁵

Legislation, other than the Group Areas Act, has thus created numerous legal sanctions for the allocation and ordering of space and although this legislation has been implemented through administrative procedures at the local authority level, it has served to construct, maintain and protect the apartheid state (Stadler, 1979; Parnell, 1988, 1991). Since the building of infrastructure and the creation of industrial estates was undertaken primarily to serve the industrial economy of the larger Durban region, the location of these facilities, in what was a predominantly residential area, has political implications. In the South African context, the effects of infrastructural developments become political issues since the people mainly affected are black; they had no political leverage with the state departments who made the decisions and implemented the infrastructural projects; and they generally did not benefit from the projects which were developed on the land on which they lived (Surplus People's Project, 1983; Platsky and Walker, 1985; Scott and Diab, 1989). Although the relevant housing, slum clearance and planning legislation purports to be non-racial, when taken in concert with the effects of the Group Areas Act, its application is racially discriminatory, "since it is black people who squat" and live in slum dwellings and shacks (Robertson, 1987, 112).

This chapter deals mainly with the large-scale removal of Indian families from the southern corridor of Durban. Section 10.2 therefore examines the administration of removals and the roles played in this process by various departments in the Durban Corporation. Section 10.3 describes the administrative procedures that evolved to effect shack clearance and removals. These procedures were tailored to meet the specific requirements of the conditions existing in the shack settlements, and the dovetailing of removals with 'priority' development projects.⁶ Whilst directives from the DCC to the CED authorized the acquisition and the approximate date of requirement for the land for development purposes, "no policy directives were given about how it (removals) should be done".⁷ The procedures developed had to be streamlined and efficient so as to circumvent costly delays in land development procedures.⁸ At the heart of the 'shack clearance' schemes therefore, lay the necessity to exert tight administrative control over the shack settlements to both prevent further incursions of 'illegal' shacks and provide housing for only those families that were bone fide residents in priority areas.

Before removals could be effected, however, alternative accommodation was necessary for the affected families. Section 10.4 provides an overview of the housing schemes into which these families were relocated.

As development proceeded in a piece-meal fashion, shack settlements were in the main only cleared and removals effected when the land was needed. Thus the removals were phased according to the demand for land. Section 10.5 describes the phasing of removals and the specific features of each removal project. As a coping mechanism, many poorer families, particularly in the early stages of the removal process, refused the offer of formal housing for the option of shifting shack. This is discussed in Section 10.6. The final section, Section 10.7, examines the problems of adjustment experienced by the removees in entering the formal living environments of the housing schemes.

10.2 The responsibility for removals in southern Durban: the role of the Durban Corporation

The Health and Housing Committee of the DCC is responsible for the development and administration of housing schemes, slum clearance and public health⁹, the duties and powers thereof defined within the Slums Act (53 of 1934) and the Housing Act (4 of 1966) (as amended). Within the Slums Act and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951,¹⁰ the local authority is furthermore given exten-

sive powers to carry out slum clearances and control unlawful settlement (Robertson, 1987). Failure to comply with the directives of the Health and Housing Committee, as administered by various departments of the Durban Corporation, namely, the Health Department,¹¹ the City Treasurer,¹² the CED¹³ and the City Engineer's Department,¹⁴ is deemed a criminal offence which can be prosecuted through the courts and punishable by prison service.

The CED is responsible for the leasing and acquisition of property while the City Engineer's Department is responsible for the conceptualization, planning and implementation of development and housing programmes on behalf of the Council. Linking these two Sections, which deal with the concrete, material aspects of development, is the City Treasurer, the Administration section of which deals with the termination of leases and allocation of alternative housing and land which is channelled via the procedure of rental agreements or individual loans.

Private property ownership is central to the capitalist system, and thus the CED plays a pivotal role in the manipulation of urban space. In the apartheid era, the monitoring of the racial ownership and occupation of urban space was channelled through the CED. The key role played by the City Valuator and Estates Manager in Durban in the 1940's during the issue of 'Indian Penetration' into white residential areas and the subsequent racial zoning of the city, bears witness to this role.¹⁵

The acquisition of urban property by the local state for infrastructural, housing and industrial usage is an important process in urban space construction as the ownership of urban property allows the DCC to implement development projects and change land-uses within planned frameworks. This function is carried out by the Property Administration Section of the CED.¹⁶ It is the sub-section of Property Administration known as the Inspectorate that

is charged with the responsibility of caring for such property, and tenants if any...(w)here property is acquired for Council development projects...¹⁷

This responsibility extended to the residents in the shack settlements who were tenants on Council land and thus legally occupied these spaces. This function necessitated the Inspectorate interacting with tenants in a personal capacity and gaining a detailed knowledge and experience with actual conditions on the ground.

Evidence suggests that shack dwellers living on Council-owned property in Southern Durban, and elsewhere, did not request permission to occupy undeveloped Council property, but slowly took occupation of the land throughout the twentieth century up to the 1940's. However, once established, their occupation was legalized in the 1950's through the Inspectorate which systematically arranged tenancies. Alternatively, shack dwellers "were possibly leasing it from the previous owners", and had to be brought 'on charge' when the Council acquired the land.¹⁸ The form of land tenure is known as 'tenancy-at-will' and involves the payment of a small site rental.¹⁹ The lessee then erects a dwelling at his own expense, which remains his property (University of Natal, 19520) The lessee enters into a written contract with the DCC, the terms of which are that if the land is required at short notice, the tenants are given notice.

In the 1950's, when increasing population pressure on Council land and the proliferation of shacks in all 'Added Areas' was the cause of great concern to the DCC, tenancy agreements were entered into on a large scale as a measure of surveillance and control of Council property.

It is evident that the process of removal administered by the departments of the Durban Corporation was handled entirely by the bureaucratic structures of the DCC through administrative procedures and by local officials. In this manner the politicization of removal issues became neutralized and local state officials, such as the City Engineer, became the focus of subdued resistance. It was thus through administrative channels and for 'development' or 'health' purposes that state power was mediated and served to directly diffuse the inherently political nature of the removals.

It was the success achieved in a sub-division of the City Estates Section, namely the Inspectorate, in orchestrating an 'efficient' and controlled removal process, that led to the central state i.e. the Railways, utilizing this department to undertake removals off their properties.²⁰ By means of local administrative procedures developed specifically to handle the circumstances existing in southern Durban, crises with regard to provision of alternative accommodation were 'anticipated, controlled and circumvented' (Dear and Clark, 1981). For example, the creation of 'Tin Town' in Springfield as a temporary shack settlement to house removees.

At the turn of the century, the local authority condoned the growth of shack settlements on its property, and later in the 1950's when the densities had increased greatly, entered into tenancy-at-will agreements with the shack dwellers as a means of monitoring the occupancy of the land (University of Natal, 1952). Until the late 1980's, the national and local state have been hostile to informal settlement and have envisaged formal housing as the solution to the housing problem (Maylam, 1983; Robertson, 1987). Caught in a double bind of being unable to finance adequate formal housing and yet being the landlord of large-scale shack settlements, it is no surprise that the southern Durban area was not declared a slum zone along with the other 11 zones defined between 1939 and 1944 (University of Natal, 1952).²¹

10.3 The development of removal procedures: numbering, mapping and surveying

The specific conditions in southern Durban, and in other parts of the city as well, where mushrooming shack settlements had developed on Council land by the 1950's, precipitated the implementation of a three-pronged strategy:

- a) to record and map the presence of each family,
- b) to legalize their occupation of the site, and,
- c) to survey households to assess their qualification for council housing via the submission of a housing application form.

This exercise was originally undertaken by a field officer of the Housing Section of the City Treasurer's Department²² and commenced in the late 1950's in the shack settlement in Merebank.²³ At this stage, the procedure involved the field officer visiting either buildings on property expropriated by the DCC for the proposed Merebank Indian Housing Scheme, or shacks in the Merebank shack settlement.²⁴ After recording the names of families to be rehoused, and completing the necessary documents, i.e. the housing application form, the affected families would visit the Housing Section of the City Treasurer for 'field noting'. This involved submitting details and proof of family income, family structure and housing requirements.²⁵ Based on this information the Housing Section would allocate housing, if and where available, appropriate to the family's income.

A further characteristic of the occupation of Council land was the tendency to increase population densities through the process of sub-letting. Thus while there may be 100 shacks on a property, there could be as many as 250 families living there depending on the desirability of the location of the settlement. This occurred on Council land and on privately-owned land throughout the peripheral zone of the city. It was an important part of the procedure to ascertain the number of subtenants in each dwelling and submit them to the same removal procedure as the tenant.

There was an acute shortage of housing for Indians, and particularly low-income housing. The Department of Economics survey of 1950, revealed that from 1939 to 1950, only 1004 Indian families had been provided with municipal housing, including both economic and sub-economic categories,²⁶ the major scheme being that in the Springfield area. By late 1950, the number of applicants on the waiting list stood at 2700 for municipal sub-economic housing and 250 for economic housing (University of Natal, 1952,289). These figures disguise the actual demand since only a small percentage of families lodged applications for housing. The Durban Housing Survey (University of Natal, 1952), further notes the rapid increase in the Indian population (28.6%) between 1945 and 1950, making the previous serious shortage of adequate housing 'considerably worse'.

Due to the acute shortage of Indian housing and the lengthy waiting list of applications, "there was desperation to get hold of shacks and desperation to get hold of houses".²⁷ When a shack area was declared a priority area, those applicants who had made application for housing in the 1950's "were overlooked because of the necessity to move a particular area for a particular project".²⁸

The Inspectorate of the CED had the task of entering into a formal tenancy agreement with tenants and former owners of expropriated properties, who would then receive a monthly rental account. The lack of a regular postal delivery service into all the shack areas, necessitated the delivery of monthly rental accounts from the City Treasurer's Department of R2.30 by the Inspectorate.²⁹ This enabled a strict control on a regular basis to be kept over the tenants and their movements.³⁰

Due to the shortage of Indian housing, the acquisition and occupation of living space in the shack settlements and rented Council housing became a fluid process, as families moved around in an attempt to maximize their living conditions, whether this meant prolonging their stay in the shack settlements or attempting to gain access to formal housing. This led officials to take note of a number of irregularities which they perceived to be occurring in the Merebank No 3 shack settlement.³¹

When it became obvious to tenants in the Merebank No 3 shack settlement, that residence in an area designated for housing scheme or development would give them priority in access to housing, attempts were made in various ways to occupy a shack or room in these areas. Being constructed from wood and iron sheets, shacks could be rapidly erected "over a weekend" and slipped in "here or there".³² These shacks were defined as 'illegal', since they had not been brought 'on charge' through a legal tenancy agreement. Furthermore, many of the shacks were built as a series of rooms, like barracks, so an extra room was not difficult to add on.³³ Such incursions into the shack settlement were very common, and were legal since the shack owner leased his site and was merely increasing his number of subtenants who were often his relatives.³⁴

Another form of illegal occupation occurred when a person, residing outside the priority area, purchased a shack from another who had been allocated housing and removed thereto "without prior knowledge of head office, but with the knowledge of Indian sirdars³⁵ in municipal employ".³⁶

A further strategy adopted by Indian shack dwellers from non-priority areas to become placed on the 'affected list'³⁷ involved claims of being 'absent' from their 'adopted' homes³⁸ during the survey of the priority area by the City Treasurer or Estates Department, and hence being omitted from the priority housing allocation procedure. This involved moving in with relatives or friends in affected areas during the survey period.

When the initial surveys in Merebank were conducted by the Housing Administration Section of the City Treasury, affected families were issued with housing application cards for priority housing. Since not all such families, particularly amongst the subtenants,³⁹ elected to take up the offer of formal council housing it became common practice to pass on the application cards to relatives or friends from unaffected areas.

The problems experienced by the Housing Section of the City Treasurer's Department in surveying and controlling the shack population in the Merebank No 3 shack settlement led to the transfer of this responsibility to the Inspectorate of the CED. These inspectors were involved in the area on a daily basis and they were therefore able to exert stricter control and 'surveillance' over the shifting shack population.

In order to facilitate a smoother removal process in the face of the 'irregularities' experienced in the field, the City Treasurer and City Estates Manager jointly decided that these officials prepare a 'standard procedure',⁴⁰ i.e., The Housing of Displaced Families in order that acquired properties be made available with "a minimum of delay and inconvenience to all concerned".^{41 42}

When an area had been declared a priority area, the Inspectorate undertook a 'crash survey' without forewarning the tenants. This secrecy was deemed necessary to prevent 'ringers'⁴³ from entering the area during the survey. A team of approximately 10-20 personnel would undertake the survey over a weekend "numbering shacks right through until the end" of the scheme.⁴⁴ The team would be instructed not to "mention anything about re-housing", or what the survey was for - "Just tell them we are doing a count for the year. You keep quiet".⁴⁵ The shack numbers were entered on a map.⁴⁶ At this stage, the tenant of the shack, who owned the dwelling, would be identified and if not legally occupying the land, would be brought on charge for a site rental.⁴⁷

Simultaneous with the numbering of shacks (by painting a number on them), a socio-economic survey would be carried out.⁴⁸ All married families, divorcees, single people living with the families, widows, widowers and orphans were enumerated.^{49 50} However, only married families qualified for state subsidized formal housing in the Housing Schemes. Each household head⁵¹ was given a number according to his area and shack number, which became their City Estates reference number which was entered into a register of families for each priority area.⁵²

There were many 'ringers' from outside the priority areas who were 'desperate to get on the bandwagon' and obtain formal housing. The Inspectorate had to investigate cases⁵³ of this nature and were thus in daily contact with the realities of the situation.⁵⁴ They were also therefore aware of homeless families, such as subtenants, whose landlord had been allocated a house and moved to Chatsworth. If no housing was available for such families, they were temporarily accommodated in rooms in expropriated buildings in Clairwood, if available, or found their own accommodation, until such time as formal housing became available. They would however, remain on the priority housing list.

By undertaking crash surveys, the resident population of the settlement would be 'pegged', the effect of which was to 'close' an area with "anybody coming after that (being) out - except if the family says there is a family member away on holiday or in hospital, but it (had) to be a good reason".⁵⁵

In addition, the families would be issued with Housing Application Forms. Instead of leaving the applicants to fill in their forms, it was found 'advantageous' to complete the preliminaries on the forms,⁵⁶ that is, the identity and shack numbers. In the early 1960's, when identity documents were in their infancy, and 'calling names' were used, birth certificates were used to establish the correct family names. Later on, identity documents were commonly used for this purpose.⁵⁷ Any attempts to transfer application forms to persons outside the priority area, were 'investigated' in depth by the Inspectorate.⁵⁸

The City Estates Inspectorate became established as a 'clearing house' for all correspondence between the City Treasurer's Department and prospective tenants in the Chatsworth Housing Scheme, administering the clearance of shacks and the allocation of housing and phasing these activities in order that a smooth evacuation of required property occurred. In addition, tenants in expropriated Council houses were administered and their removals synchronized with demolition.

With a few years of shack clearance experience, the CED of the Durban Corporation had begun to refine the shack clearance procedure. By the mid-1960's, the Inspectorate had "put a cork on illegal applications" for priority housing,⁵⁹ and with increasing experience the initial 20% of illegal applications had decreased. The hand delivery of rental accounts; the prior filling in of application cards; the more

systematic nature of shack surveys; and the increased vigilance of inspectors in the field closed the loopholes in the priority housing allocation process. The Chief Inspector recalled that “it was like detective work... pitting your wits against them”.⁶⁰

As in all the shack settlements there were cases of disqualification for housing due to incomes higher than the stipulated level. Housing application number 30159, Mr. Rajopaul (TR 59/130) earned R218,18 per month, which was “far too much” and could not be accommodated. Some of these people, while not qualifying for municipal housing, did not have the capital to purchase or build their own homes.

As shack clearance proceeded in southern Durban, so did the numbers of families refusing houses in Chatsworth. It is estimated that in the late 1960's, only 7-8% did not take up the offer, these being large families with very low incomes.⁶¹ Throughout the entire surveillance procedure of numbering shacks, issuing housing allocation forms and undertaking surveys in resident's homes, the Inspectors reported no resistance at all, and in fact they were treated with great hospitality and kindness.

10.4 A destination for removees: the provision of alternative accommodation

The other side of the coin of the removal process in southern Durban in the early 1960's, was the construction of a large-scale public housing scheme for Indians in Chatsworth, to serve as the destination for those families displaced by the application of the Slums Act of 1934 or disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act. Although locally initiated, planned and implemented, the construction of this scheme, and other such schemes in all the large cities in South Africa, was financed by the National Housing Commission.

In terms of the Housing Act of 1966, the Department of Community Development was required to provide housing for all population groups in South Africa. Chatsworth was the first large-scale housing project for Indians in Durban and was considered the solution to Durban's Indian housing problem. However the supply of houses here could not keep up with the demand, either for local state⁶² or national state rehousing,⁶³ and the Council had to develop ad hoc temporary strategies to cope with the problem (Graham, 1988).

However, prior to the construction of the large-scale housing schemes of the apartheid era, the DCC had initiated the Merebank/Wentworth Housing Scheme. The bulk of the houses in the Merebank Scheme became available from 1959 to 1962 (2554 houses) with the last project in this area completed in 1972 (99 houses).⁶⁴ These houses were all in the 'economic selling' category. The Chatsworth Scheme commenced construction in the early 1960's with the first houses coming on stream in 1963 and continuing until 1979. Of these, 200 were in the 'economic selling' category; 484 by means of 'loans to individuals' and 'loan schemes'; 12305 in the 'economic - letting/selling' category;⁶⁵ and 7118 in the 'sub-economic letting' category.⁶⁶

The construction of 'Units' in Chatsworth proceeded in phases as money became available. Therefore, the removal process in the southern corridor, which began in earnest in 1963, had to dovetail with the availability of accommodation in Chatsworth. Not all the housing constructed in Chatsworth was allocated for families removed from the southern corridor 'priority areas' by the DCC, and the Council had to accept a certain allocation from the Department of Community Development.⁶⁷ The DCC quota was taken up by priority cases from affected areas required by the DCC for development or displaced via the Slums Act of 1934. The remainder of the housing was used to rehouse families removed from other parts of Durban by the Department of Community Development in terms of the Group Areas Act.

10.5 Profile of a shack population

A number of general characteristics of the Indian and coloured population removed from the southern corridor of Durban are outlined here to give a sense of who the people were that were relocated. The profile presented is that of the population removed for the purpose of constructing the southern freeway and is typical of all the shack settlement areas.

The Indian shack population was characterized by a fairly low proportion of female-headed households. For example, the number of female-headed households in the NR2 removal scheme was 39 (10,86%).⁶⁸ This represented a similar proportion to that in other shack settlements other than those where coloured people predominated. Here families with female heads were far more prevalent e.g. Bluff Swamps had 46% of coloured families with female heads. It was these women household heads that were usually not allocated subsidized housing in Chatsworth or Wentworth because they either

could not furnish proof of their divorce or marriage, or they subsisted on very low incomes or were unemployed and received small grants.⁶⁹ This feature is a useful indicator of family cohesion, with the Indian families showing a much higher index of social cohesion than the coloured families in shack settlements which exhibited signs of social disorganization.

Although the removees of the NR2 clearance scheme were largely property owners whose properties were expropriated, the household incomes of former owners and subtenants did not differ significantly, with the average household income being R77,54. A breakdown of the occupations of adult occupants revealed that 49,2% of all adults were not employed in wage labour. This portion of the population consisted of 13,02 % who were unemployed; 31,23% housewives; and 4,95% receiving grants and pensions. Those gainfully employed were broadly classified as semi-skilled - 29,03%; skilled/artisans - 1,73%; and other occupations - 20,04%. The latter category consisted of a range of occupations ranging from informal activities such as hawking; to self-employment in petty commodity production and services;⁷⁰ domestic employment and employment in the service sector.⁷¹ Also typical of the shack populations was the preponderance of children over adults - 868 adults to 955 children - indicating the youthfulness of the Indian population.

Despite the high proportion of subtenants, who were more likely to relocate frequently, the average length of residence of 147 families⁷² at the time of the survey was 11,65 years. This indicator of relatively lengthy association with the area and stability of the community, can possibly be accounted for by the private ownership of property by Indians around the Clairwood node although long periods of residence were also noted in shack areas such as Amanzimnyama and Wentworth.

The seinenetting community also displayed similar characteristics to the larger shack population of southern Durban. Overcrowding;⁷³ low incomes;⁷⁴ a youthful population;⁷⁵ and increasing proletarianization⁷⁶ were evident from the survey.

10.6 The phasing of removals in southern Durban

Removals in southern Durban for industrial, housing scheme and infrastructural development commenced in 1962 and continued until the mid-1970's. Each removal project was initiated in response to the need for land and resulted in the transformation of the land-use from relatively informal to formalized use involving large capital expenditure on the part of the DCC preparing the sites and providing the necessary infrastructure.

Tables 10.1 and 10.2 summarize the removal projects undertaken by the CED in terms of the phasing of the projects, and the numbers of dwellings and families involved. Fig 10.1 shows the location of these projects in southern Durban.

10.6.1 *The Merebank shack settlement*

The Merebank shack settlement or "spoilers' town" as it was colloquially known⁷⁷ was the first Indian shack settlement to be surveyed, pegged and cleared in the southern Durban corridor. After the DCC's decision to build the Merebank Housing Scheme in 1942,⁷⁸ the residential properties owned by Indians and whites had been acquired throughout the 1950's. Although vehemently resisted by the local Merebank residents who had formed a nucleus of community institutions in this area since the second decade of the century,⁷⁹ the expropriation process continued and by the time the DCC commenced with shack clearance in Merebank in 1963, a considerable number of properties within the proposed scheme had been expropriated with the first houses completed by 1959.⁸⁰

The intrinsic value of the land for market gardening was replaced by accessibility to industrial employment as the chief attraction of this area, and the large tracts of lowlying marshy land provided the opportunity to establish informal housing at low rentals. The proportion of tenants to subtenants provides an indicator of the intensification of residential land-use. By 1963, 208 tenants occupied DCC land in Merebank with only 69 subtenants (See Table 10.2). This low ratio reflects the relatively distant location of Merebank from the core of industrial employment opportunities around Durban Bay.⁸¹

Removals were carried out from expropriated houses in Merebank as well as from shacks on the DCC property known as the Merebank No 3 settlement. Both areas fell within the boundaries of the Merebank Housing Scheme (See Fig 10.1).⁸² Merebank was the only example of a clear-

Table 10.1: The Phasing of 'Priority' Shack Clearance Schemes, Southern Durban, 1963-1975

Source: Inspectorate Files, City Estates Department, Durban.

REF CODE	SHACK CLEARANCE SCHEME	SURVEY DATE
3M	Merebank No 3	1962
A	Amanzimnyama	April 1963
M	Merebank (Outer Areas)	Nov 1963
WV	Woodville (Dudley Street, Jacobs)	Nov 1963
NR2	National Route 2	Jan 1964
BY	Brickyard (Clairwood South)	Mar 1965
TR	Trent Road (Umhlatuzana R Valley)	Jan 1967
BH	Bayhead	July 1968
X	Bulk Sales Market (SAR property)	June 1969
XP	Bulk Sales Market (Private property)	June 1969
Z	Proposed Abattoir	June 1969
JEC	Jacobs Elevated Crossing (Clairwood South)	1970
F	Flood (Clairwood)	1973

Table 10.2: Removals in Southern Durban, 1963-1975

Source: Inspectorate Files, City Estates Department, Durban

(* Missing data - files were destroyed in the move of the Department to Stanger Street)

CED REF CODE	SHACKS	HOUSES	FAMILIES	TENANTS	SUB TENANTS	TOTAL PERSONS
3M	283	-	277	208	69	*
A	239	-	594	*	*	3498
M	*	-	162	*	*	*
WV	53	-	76	53	23	*
NR2	-	104	379	112	167	1823
BY	71	-	129	41	88	*
TR	68	-	147	67	80	*
BH	148	-	309	*	*	*
X	205	*	576	261	386	2752
XP	229	*	337	*	*	1466
Z	179	*	787	*	*	3588
JEC	-	7	19	-	*	96
F	-	*	75	*	*	*
CM	68	-	129	*	*	609
BS	25	-	46	*	*	236
TOTAL	*	*	4042	*	*	*



Fig 10.1: Location of Shack Clearance Schemes in Southern Durban, 1963-1975

ance scheme where some of the families were rehoused in the same area as their shacks - usually those who had previously owned property. As such, it could thus be considered a form of urban renewal or formalization. The co-ordination of housing construction and simultaneous shack removal and housing demolition presented a 'difficult situation'. The Chief Inspector of the City Estates Inspectorate noted that "we were really just about building houses on the shack site",⁸³ and "we had to work so closely in that a shack had to be demolished and the people next door could then move into the new building next door, and then we could demolish that empty shack to build another house. It all had to coincide".⁸⁴ It was not much later when Chatsworth came into being that people could be moved from a shack area straight into empty houses.⁸⁵ It became evident that under these circumstances, strict administrative control and efficiency in the removal procedure was necessary. Most of the families were removed and relocated predominantly in the sub-economic Unit 3 of Chatsworth^{86,87} which was completed in 1964.⁸⁸

10.6.2 The Amanzimnyama shack settlement

The clearance of the Amanzimnyama Estate followed shortly after the Merebank scheme as the economic upturn of the 1960's had stimulated the demand for industrial land. Mobeni by this time was almost completely sold and the Amanzimnyama Estate ideally situated for industrial expansion (See Fig 10.1). It was a large property (260 acres) which was purchased by the DCC on 6/9/1940⁸⁹ from the Estate of BH Wood. Part of the sale agreement was that the Council would take over any leases which existed on the land and "compensate the tenants should immediate occupation be required".⁹⁰

The land in Amanzimnyama was quite swampy and there were four to five quarter acre market garden plots adjacent the Amanzimnyama stream. However, the predominant land-use was informal residential use. Evidence from the City Treasurer's Department, indicates that families in this area had been occupying the Council land at Amanzimnyama since the 1920's,⁹¹ and thus constituted a relatively stable shack community. At the time of the survey there were 239 shacks accommodating 594 families (3498 people) (See Table 10.2). The ratio of shacks to people indicates a very high density in this area of 14.6 people per shack. The central location of Amanzimnyama and its position adjacent South Coast Road made it a very desirable location for shack dwellers. Subtenants proliferated in this area and the City Estates Inspector noted that it was like a 'rabbit warren'.⁹² It was at this stage that monthly rental accounts were instituted and the presence of inspectors in the settlement on a monthly basis was

some deterrent to the proliferation of subtenants. The Chief Inspector noted that "it was a heck of a job to try and stop them"⁹³ Furthermore, there was only one Sirdar for all the Indian shack settlements and he was unable to monitor the movement of people through the areas.

Amanzimnyama Estate was cleared over a period of about twenty one months and completed by September 1964.⁹⁴ As Amanzimnyama was one of the earlier clearance schemes, the proportion of refusals of allocated houses was still high as there remained other informal areas into which families could shift. As the clearance of the southern Durban shack settlement proceeded, shack dwellers began to realize that it was inevitable that they would be relocated in Chatsworth and the proportion of refusals declined.

10.6.3 *The Woodville and Brickyard shack settlements*

Two other small shack settlements were the Woodville Estate⁹⁵ in Jacobs, and Brickyard⁹⁶ in Clairwood South (See Fig 10.1). The Woodville settlement was surveyed in November 1963 and found to be occupied by 76 families living in 53 shacks, indicating the existence of 23 subtenants (See Tables 10.1 and 10.2). However, 19 families cancelled their housing applications and the Chief Inspector postulated that these families probably owed back payments on their leases, so entering into the financial commitments of formal housing was beyond their means.⁹⁷ Although the Woodville shack area was cleared by 1965, it was not until 17/5/1976 that the DCC purchased the land from the NPA for the purpose of establishing a coloured Cemetery.⁹⁸ This indicates that shack clearance was not always stimulated by the immediate need for land for development purposes.

Brickyard was surveyed on 26/3/1965 and 137 housing allocation cards were issued to the occupants of 71 shacks. Thirty eight of these families qualified for economic housing but had to wait due to the unavailability of such housing at that time. Brickyard was, like Amanzimnyama, a very accessible location, lying adjacent to the industrial areas and Clairwood and was therefore characterized by a very high density of population and high sub-tenant to tenant ratio. The survey sheets revealed that there were 41 tenants and 88 subtenants (See Table 10.2).⁹⁹ As this area was small and relatively uncontrolled, sub-tenancies proliferated before the tenants were brought on charge, accounting for the high density per shack.¹⁰⁰

Although the shack settlements were occupied predominantly by Indian families in the southern Durban corridor, small pockets of coloured families did exist. Brickyard was the location of one such pocket, with seven shacks, occupied by fourteen families.¹⁰¹ For example shack numbers 12, 13 and 14 contained 8 coloured families.

10.6.4 The construction of the Southern Freeway: the removal of families from expropriated properties.

Financed by the National Transport Commission the Southern Freeway (NR2) represented a major infrastructural development in the southern Durban corridor, requiring the expropriation of 104 residential properties in the Clairwood area.¹⁰² In 1959, the Finance Committee of the DCC resolved to commence expropriating property from Albert Park to Landsdowne Road, and 42 newly constructed houses in the Merebank Housing Scheme¹⁰³ for the purposes of constructing the NR2 (Southern Freeway).¹⁰⁴ In addition, a number of market gardening tenancies adjacent the Umhlanga Canal were terminated.

As the freeway was to be constructed from north to south, the expropriations and removals were phased in three stages commencing at the north. Tables 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5 indicate the population composition, tenancy and destination of the families removed in the NR2 scheme.

With the commencement of construction of the NR2 from Maydon Wharf to the Umbilo Canal, the DCC purchased the necessary land owned by the Railways Administration, some of which was expropriated private residential property obtained to accommodate the transfer of central marshalling yards to the Bayhead.¹⁰⁵ The Umbilo Temple was expropriated and deconsecrated in 1945 with the statues of deities transferred to a new temple established at Cato Manor. However, in the late 1950's, the Hindu community of southern Durban reinstated the temple and use of this religious site was resumed. After lengthy negotiations with the Railways Administration, continued use of the land was permitted until it was required for the impending construction of the new freeway. The Inspectorate was finally requested to supervise the demolition of this sacred temple in 1959.¹⁰⁶

In 1965, the Health and Housing Committee granted 137 Indian families priority housing.¹⁰⁷ However, as there was a great shortage of coloured formal housing, the removal of coloured families in the NR2 scheme, as well as in the Duranta Road, Croton Road and Brickyard areas

Table 10.3: The Ratio of Tenants to Sub-Tenants in the NR2 Clearance Scheme
Source: NR2 Master File, 24/12/64, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban.

PHASE OF REMOVAL	TENANTS	SUBTENANTS	TOTAL
1ST	46	90	136
2ND	34	101	135
3RD	32	76	108
TOTAL	112	267	379

Table 10.4: The Racial Structure of Families in the NR2 Clearance Scheme
Source: NR2 Master File, 24/12/64, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban.

PHASE OF REMOVAL	INDIAN	COLOURED	TOTAL
1ST	129	7	136
2ND	124	11	135
3RD	97	11	108
TOTAL	350	29	379

Table 10.5: Housing of Removees from the NR2 Scheme
Source: NR2 Master File, 24/12/64, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban.

PHASE OF REMOVAL	NO OF HOUSING ALLOCATION CARDS ISSUED	VOLUNTARY RELOCATION
1ST	122	14
2ND	126	9
3RD	99	9
TOTAL	347	32

was highly problematic.¹⁰⁶ It was resolved to provide temporary shack-type accommodation in a 'safe area' of Merebank for married families, who would be on the priority housing list when formal housing for coloureds in Merebank/Wentworth came on stream.¹⁰⁹

In the first phase of the clearance scheme, the subtenants were allocated housing in the normal manner. However, the owners of properties in this phase did not qualify for economic or sub-economic housing as they fell into the 'self-help' category and had to build their own homes on sites provided in Unit 4 of Chatsworth and Mobeni Heights. There was very little land available at that time, and these families had to either move in with relatives until land could be provided, or be accommodated in Council properties in the Clairwood area.¹¹⁰

The second phase of removals involved the expropriation of residential, commercial and institutional properties. The insecurity of tenure under the system of tenancy-at-will placed shack dwellers in a weak bargaining position. However, it was in the cases of property expropriations that much antagonism arose. Protest against the expropriation of a substantial number of residential and institutional properties in Clairwood for the construction of the NR2 was coupled with objections against the attempts of the DCC to proclaim Clairwood a designated area for future industrial use.¹¹¹ The CDRRA objected to the effects of the proposed NR2, as it would result in the demolition of two schools, the Luxmi Narain¹¹² and Umbilo Temples, a cemetery, a Public Hall and vernacular school and a Catholic Church, along with a number of businesses.¹¹³ The removals were construed as part of the "Kinmont"¹¹⁴ Master Plan" to uproot 40 000 Clairwood residents and move them to Chatsworth.

The conflict in southern Durban over removals received the attention of the media for the first time.¹¹⁵ However, the construction of the southern freeway proceeded as planned with the further expropriation of residential properties in phase three.¹¹⁶

A realignment of the southern portion of the freeway¹¹⁷ for purely 'technical reasons related to the handling of arterial traffic' necessitated the expropriation of 42 'new' houses in the Merebank Housing Scheme. Although 'strong hostility' to 'the intrusion of a major freeway into a residential area' was expressed,¹¹⁸ the plan was implemented and 54 families were relocated by October 1972 elsewhere within the Merebank Housing Scheme.¹¹⁹

By 1966, approximately 9000 people had been removed from the southern corridor of Durban to Chatsworth under the priority allocation process. The majority of these families were in the low income group and qualified for sub-economic housing. The shack clearance process furthermore, resulted in the transformation of the land-use. With the removal of about 650 shacks and the expropriation of 104 relatively old formal dwellings, and the replacement of these by formal infrastructural or industrial land-uses, the southern area was becoming less informal in character.

10.6.5 Ad hoc removals: the Trent Road shack settlement

Once the removal process had been initiated in the southern corridor, stimulated by specific development projects, and a procedure set in motion for allocating priority housing, it obtained a momentum of its own. The Trent Road shack settlement extended along Trent Road up the Umhlatuzana River valley (See Fig 10.1).¹²⁰ The reason for commencing with the clearance of this area and designating it a priority area is not clear, and the Chief Inspector stated that “once we started with the procedure, we just carried on”.¹²¹

There were a few market gardening plots but these farmers had not been brought on charge. Originally consisting of 68 shacks, the number dropped to 58 by the time of the shack survey. However, 147 families were issued with housing allocation cards as bone fide ‘affected families’. Of these 67 were tenants and 80 subtenants. The high ratio of subtenants to tenants is an indicator of the strategic location of the Trent Road settlement adjacent the main artery of the South Coast Road and the commercial strip of Clairwood.

A fluctuating supply of housing in Chatsworth along with the priority of accommodating Group Areas victims by the Department of Community Development resulted in periods of housing shortfall. Of the Trent Road affected families, nine could not be rehoused due to the unavailability of sub-economic housing as at 7/6/1967.¹²² However, 110 families were allocated houses, mostly in the sub-economic category.

10.6.6 The Bayhead shack settlement: the local state as agent for the clearing of shacks on Railways property

The expansion of harbour facilities southwards and the relocation of the railways marshalling yards to the Bayhead, required the clearance of shacks from Railways property at the Bayhead. As early as 1931,¹²³ there were well established market gardens and shacks in the Bayhead north of Edwin Swales

Drive and along the Bluff Railway line (See Fig 10.1 and Plate 8.1). Very little control existed over the proliferation of subtenants and shacks in the area as for over four decades the marshy land had not been required.

By July 1968, the Railways Administration had given the tenants several six-monthly notice periods to vacate the area, but very little movement out of the area had occurred. The sirdar employed by the railways offered little support for the clearance policy and allowed new people to move onto vacated sites.¹²⁴

The Systems Manager of the Railways, being aware of DCC's programme of removals in the southern area, approached the City Council for assistance in this matter. Councillor Mrs. Thompson recommended the services of the Inspectorate which had by then developed an efficient shack clearance procedure.¹²⁵ The Chief Inspector took on the task and undertook to move Section 1 and 2 of the shack settlement with the help of his Sirdar, Mr. Frank (See Fig 10.2).¹²⁶

The Bayhead removals, although executed by the local state, differed somewhat from the priority area removals in that the tenants were not on Council land and could not therefore be placed on the Council's priority housing list. In terms of the Housing Act of 1966, these tenants were the responsibility of the Department of Community Development. However, the shortage of housing in Chatsworth led the DCC to develop ad hoc strategies to cope with the housing of affected families from priority areas.

On the 7 March 1960, the Council resolved to create a temporary shack settlement at Springfield,¹²⁷ and drew up a Schedule of conditions defining the erection of temporary dwellings¹²⁸ and a layout plan at Springfield, dividing the area into 491 plots. A refuse and night soil collection system, street lighting and water stand pipes were provided. Lots were allocated to families on recommendation from the Health or City Engineer's Department. All families displaced through the demolition of unlawful structures,¹²⁹ (i.e. shacks) on private property throughout the city were offered an option to obtain a site at Springfield on which to erect a 'sub-standard dwelling' according to the regulations. It was to this transit camp known as 'Tin Town'¹³⁰ that the Bayhead shackdwellers were moved. Indian families from all over Durban, for a variety of reasons, were

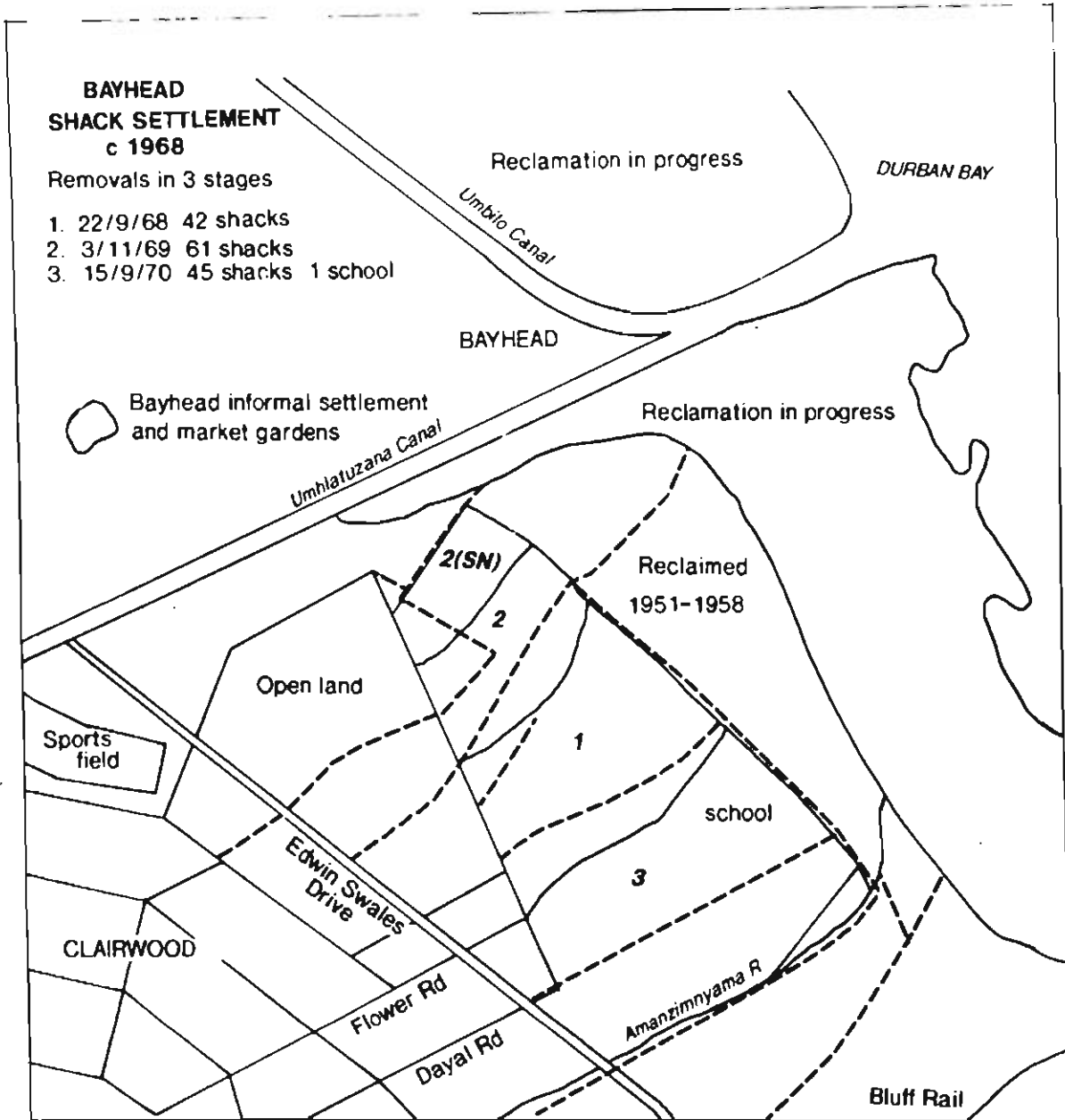


Fig 10.2: Stages of Removal in The Bayhead Shack Settlement, 1968

Source: Bayhead Master File, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban.

channelled to Springfield which was essentially a form of emergency housing provision (Graham, 1988). Although it was created as a temporary camp, it remained in existence until it was destroyed by floods in March 1976.¹³¹

The problems encountered by the Railways Administration in removing the Bayhead population, lay not only in their lack of experience, but in the "passive resistance" of the residents.¹³² The leader of this movement was Mr. Thambiran, spokesperson for the Woods Estate Bayhead Land Indian Tenant's Welfare Society.

With over forty years of occupation of the land, the Bayhead shackdwellers had become incorporated into the larger Indian community in southern Durban and expressed their opposition to moving from this location. Although densification due to subletting had occurred over time, the stability of the community and their proximity to the community institutions and facilities in the adjacent Clairwood and the accessibility of employment in the adjacent industrial areas, made the Bayhead a desirable residential environment albeit an informal one. There was also resistance against moving into further temporary accommodation, instead of directly into permanent formal housing.¹³³

Under these circumstances, the move was a 'ticklish one', and great diplomacy was required on the part of the City Estates Inspectorate,¹³⁴ with the move being accomplished between July 1968 and September 1970. The Chief Inspector, Mr Hanson with some 'persuasion' managed to accomplish the entire removal of 226 families, with the provision that within one and a half years, the families removed to Springfield would be relocated to Chatsworth. The Health and Housing Committee had to agree to this condition which he stipulated. It was also agreed that the 'illegal' residents in Bayhead would also be included in the list of affected families.¹³⁵

After considerable effort and persuasion, by far the majority of residents agreed to move to Springfield. Prior to the removals, bone fide residents of Bayhead and 'illegals' were transported by Corporation busses to Springfield to select their own site¹³⁶ with larger families allowed to select a double site. It was recorded by the Chief Inspector that "this was done in a most agreeable and considerate manner resulting in an incident-free exercise".¹³⁷ The Railways Administration supplied eight 10-ton trucks and trailers, every weekend for six months to move the affected families and their shacks to Springfield.¹³⁸

Removal was carried out in stages. Every Monday a consecutive number of shacks owners were instructed to break down two or three rooms of their shacks (not kitchens or furniture) and prepare them for transport the following weekend. During the weekend, with the help of 'willing friends and Springfield tenants'¹³⁹ part of the shack was erected,¹⁴⁰ with the remainder of the shack, personal belongings and furniture delivered the following weekend. Stage 1 and 2 involved the relocation of 155 families from 95 shacks (See Fig 10.2).¹⁴¹ By May 1969, the Department of Community Development had allocated Chatsworth housing for the ex-Bayhead tenants living at Springfield.¹⁴²

The Chief Inspector recalled an incident towards the end of the removal of Stages 1 and 2 of Bayhead, when

a violent thunderstorm occurred virtually flooding the reception area. Persons were caught betwixt and between in regard to the erection of the rooms...The Railways Administration... arranged to deliver tarpaulins to shelter the unfortunate Indians and the goods...The Chief Inspector stayed with, it is said "his people", until late into Sunday night. He was apparently most annoyed at the lack of interest of his superiors.¹⁴³

Stage 3 residents, 71 families from 34 shacks, were rehoused directly to Chatsworth by September 1970.¹⁴⁴ The personal effort and commitment of bureaucrats such as the Chief Inspector reveals that care and understanding of people involved in the political process of removal is an important ingredient of a smooth removal process. The 'friendliness and understanding... of the Indian people...' of the 'difficult situation in which Mr. Hanson and Frank had often been placed' was highly praised by the former.¹⁴⁵

Despite these efforts on the part of the Inspectorate to alleviate the difficulties experienced in relocation, the Tin Town site-and-service scheme was nothing more than a 'legalized slum' with a poor physical, social and communal environment (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977).¹⁴⁶ After the experience of the 1971 floods, an opinion was voiced in the media that it was 'immoral' to settle people on a flood plain with no safeguards.¹⁴⁷

As reclamation had commenced in the Bayhead in the early 1960's, the removal of the Bayhead shack community had been initiated by the Railways Administration and executed by the Inspectorate by the end of 1970. During the removals market gardening activity continued to be undertaken despite notice being given of the impending clearance of the area. The gardeners continued until the very last moment, one individual stating that "we'll take a chance".¹⁴⁸

10.6.7 An exception to the rule: the seinenetting community

A group of families in the Bayhead were a notable exception regarding the manner in which they were relocated. This small cohesive community known as the 'seinenettors' has a long history of location in the southern corridor related to their corporate undertaking of commercial fishing along the coast using rowing boats and seine nets (Scott and Criticos, 1988). Like the market gardeners, the fishermen and their families located in Durban in the late nineteenth century, leased land, and commenced an independent market-orientated enterprise. Before setting up their shacks at the Bayhead, the community had twice before been relocated by the Harbour Board and then the Railways, to make way for harbour development.¹⁴⁹ The shack survey in October of 1963, revealed that 28 of the 37 seinenetter's shacks were occupied by bone fide seinenettors and their 'helpers'.¹⁵⁰ As a high profile community¹⁵¹ dependent on access to the sea for their income, and relatively cohesive, they were treated differently to other shack removees which were allocated housing on a first-come-first-served basis.¹⁵² The Inspectorate clearly defined the seinenettors in terms of their occupation, and special provision was made, after much negotiation,¹⁵³ to relocate them together Unit 1 in Havenside.¹⁵⁴ This Unit of Chatsworth is the closest sub-economic unit to the sea. The former cohesive community, unified by strong kinship relationships and the corporate activity of fishing, has become much attenuated through the removal process (Scott and Criticos, 1988).

10.6.8 The 'Jacobs Elevated Crossing' removals

The more desirable a shack area was in terms of its accessibility, the lower the turnover in subtenants. This was the case in the Jacobs Elevated Crossing (JEC), where a small pocket of very crowded privately-owned properties were expropriated in order to build a safer road crossing over the Bluff railway line in the southern Clairwood area. For example, the house at 292 Jacobs Road owned by the Naidoo brothers, with lean-to's and outbuildings, housed a total of 11 families. A total of 50 people were finally removed,¹⁵⁵ comprising 29 Indians and 21 coloureds.¹⁵⁶ Surveyed by 5/3/1970, many of the subtenants had moved to Clairwood and Chatsworth by the time removals took place.¹⁵⁷

10.6.9 Spiralling in to the heart: the commencement of removals in Clairwood.

Lodge (1981) noted that the destruction of Sophiatown had commenced with the line of least resistance by removing tenants first, and then property owners. With most of the large shack removal schemes from council land underway, the DCC turned its attention to private property expropriations in the core of Durban and District - Clairwood. While attempts to rezone Clairwood as an industrial area had commenced in 1956, and were being persistently pursued by the DCC, sanction could not be obtained from the Provincial Authority. Thus, the long-standing plan to convert the southern Durban corridor to a work zone via the development of industrial and housing schemes and infrastructure in the southern area on Council property, had begun prior to obtaining legal sanction.

The removal of lessees (shack dwellers) for these purposes had involved little more than implementing and evolving an administrative procedure for efficiently allocating removees housing in a state-subsidized housing scheme. Apart from the expropriations in Merebank and along the NR2 route, which had been justified in terms of improving housing and transport conditions 'for the good of city', large-scale expropriations of private property for industrial development had not yet been legally possible.

The introduction of non-residential land-uses (the proposed Bulk Sales Market and abattoir) in the Clairwood area and the subsequent large-scale expropriation of properties in the east of the area were the beginnings of a concerted attempt to remove a permanent and stable residential community that occupied predominantly privately-owned properties in Clairwood.

Table 10.6 provides a schedule of the numbers of families affected by the institution of development projects in Clairwood. The table includes families relocated from private, Railways and Council-owned properties for the main purposes of building the Bulk Sales Market,¹⁵⁸ and the proposed Abattoir.¹⁵⁹ In addition, the Table 10.6 includes families removed for infrastructural development necessary for the construction of the proposed market and abattoir. It was the Bulk Sales Market and Proposed Abattoir that constituted major intrusions into the residential character of Clairwood and resulted in large numbers of removals of owners and subtenants via the expropriation of property.

Table 10.6: Schedule of Families removed from Clairwood, 1969-1970: By Race and Area
 Source: Clairwood Register, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban Corporation

X		XP		Z		F		C/R		SS	
I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C	I	C
575	-	216	34	560	72	94	26	232	15	8	-
TOTAL: 1832 Families (1685 Indian and 147 Coloured) X = Market site (Railways Property) XP = Bulk Sales Market Site (Private Property) Z = Abattoir Site F = Flood Area C/R = Canal and Railway Siding Area SS = Sewer Servitude											

When the first state-subsidized formal housing became available in 1963, the DCC, via its sub-committee for the purchase of land, agreed on the plan of a three-stage acquisition of Clairwood since it was now possible to "rehouse the Indians in question over a period of some years and progress with the acquisition of the land".¹⁶⁰ In 1963, negotiations were already underway with the Railways Administration to acquire the property between Edwin Swales Drive, Bluff Railway, Dayal and Pancreas Roads for the purpose of future construction of a Bulk Sales Market and abattoir (See Fig 9.3 and Chapter 9 for detailed account of Bulk Sales Market issue).

Clairwood, at that time, had already begun to reveal some of the effects of the ban on new residential development or alterations.¹⁶¹ Owners had become reluctant to invest money in upgrading their homes due to a lack of security about their future there, resulting in a slow deterioration in the condition of the buildings. The City Engineer noted in 1963, that approximately 95% of Clairwood homes had only 5-15 years life left. The freezing of development in Clairwood therefore resulted in a purposeful 'slumming' of the area,¹⁶² and many houses were demolished in terms of the Slums Act.¹⁶³ This in turn served to justify expropriation and demolition of homes for development projects.

The owners of properties in the Horseshoe and Dayal Road area, in the locality where the proposed market and abattoir were planned, were sent letters asking if they were interested in disposing of their properties.¹⁶⁴ This action provoked an outcry from the Indian Affairs Advisory Committee,¹⁶⁵ the

CDRRA,¹⁶⁶ and residents,¹⁶⁷ who demanded to know to what use the land was to be put. After a public meeting at the Andhra Hall of 200 people,¹⁶⁸ the 'justice' of a public body undertaking such enquiries without exposing their intentions was queried.¹⁶⁹ A 'Save our Homes' campaign to prevent the removal of Indians from Clairwood was initiated at a meeting of 3000 people at the South Coast Football Association Stadium (See Appendix 13).¹⁷⁰ The proposals to industrialize Clairwood and acquire private residential property were widely criticized as "harsh, unjust and unwarranted".¹⁷¹

It was in this climate of protest that the removals for the Bulk Sales Market and proposed abattoir took place. Despite the public protest, the families in shacks and the subtenants on private property were moved without resistance or incident. Those families whose properties were acquired through negotiation disputed the Council's assessment of the values of their properties, but these protests were dealt with individually through negotiations.

The removals of Indian and coloured families in Clairwood in the early 1970's constituted the largest yet of the removal schemes, as this was the core area of Indian settlement in the southern corridor. Table 10.6 indicates that 1832 families were affected by Council development schemes in Clairwood according to the survey of July 1969.¹⁷² Five hundred and seventy five of these families were removed from informal shacks on sites leased from the Railways¹⁷³ originally and then the Council.¹⁷⁴ Seventy-seven of these families were allocated temporary housing in the transit camp at Merebank, while 505 were allocated housing in Chatsworth predominantly in sub-economic units three, five, seven and nine.¹⁷⁵ Table 10.7 provides a profile of the low-income status of 522 shack-dwellers on the market site as surveyed in July 1969.¹⁷⁶

While the removal of the shack dwellers was accomplished relatively rapidly following the established shack clearance procedures that had been developed by the Inspectorate, the removal of families from privately-owned properties was a protracted procedure. The initial survey¹⁷⁷ revealed that 240 residential properties were to be acquired for the market site, and 179 for the abattoir site. The properties on the market site had been acquired and demolished by 1973.¹⁷⁸ Even when the decision was taken by the DCC not to construct the abattoir in Clairwood, the acquisition of properties and the removal of their occupants continued.¹⁷⁹ However, there were a few properties of the total of 179 originally required,¹⁸⁰ that did not become Council property.¹⁸¹

Table 10.7: Income of Affected Families surveyed in the Bulk Market Shack Clearance Scheme

Source: Inspectorate, Land Records, City Estates Department

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES	INCOME IN RAND
45.5	0-60
24.0	61-80
15.7	81-100
7.5	101-130
4.0	131-160
1.8	161-180
1.5	181-225
0.2	Over 225

Those acquired properties with houses that were not demolished due to the cancellation of the abattoir project were rented out to a succession of families in the queue for formal housing. People affected by the floods of 1974 and 1977 were included in the general move,¹⁸² some of them living on the market site. In some cases, where the water had flooded up to 1.5 metres deep, the houses were demolished.¹⁸³

10.6.10 The removal of coloured families: The Bluff Swamps shack settlement and the Merebank Buffer Strip

The Bluff Swamps and the Merebank Buffer strip along Duranta Road were two of the main areas from which coloured families were removed (See Fig 10.1). Throughout southern Durban small numbers of coloured families were removed by the Department of Community Development from many of the shack settlements. For example, 8 coloured families were removed in the NR2 scheme and 7 in the Brickyard scheme. These families were found at a later stage to be living in the Merebank Buffer Strip (the strip of land between the Indian and Coloured Housing Schemes). Sixty-eight wood and iron shacks were removed from Duranta Road in 1973 to build the twenty-one three-storeyed flats for coloureds in the Wentworth Coloured Housing Scheme.¹⁸⁴ A characteristic of these removals that was different from the preceding Indian experience was that 46% of the families removed were female-headed - 23 widows and 13 single women with children.

The Bluff Swamps was declared a 'slum zone' in 1939 in terms of the 1934 Slums Act but removals did not occur due to lack of alternative accommodation at that time (See Fig 4.6). The Bluff Swamps, as the name suggests, consists of an swampy inland drainage area between the two Bluff ridges. There is evidence in the 1974 survey of the area that families had been living in shacks around this swamp for over twenty years.¹⁸⁵ When the DCC decided to create a Bird Sanctuary in the swamps and a coloured sports field adjacent the swamps, surveys were undertaken in both 1973 and 1974 to 'peg' the shacks and issue housing application cards. With the removals being imminent, approximately one third of the families left the area to find alternative accommodation rather than be removed to Chatsworth or Wentworth. The residents of the Bluff Swamps shack settlement were predominantly coloured - the 1973 survey revealing 49 coloured and 13 Indian families.

10.7 To rent or shift shack?

The DCC had started a waiting list for Indian and coloured housing in 1950,¹⁸⁶ and a number of shack dwellers in the southern areas applied for housing as 'ordinary' applicants before the shack clearances schemes got underway. For example, family number TR31/68 in the Trent Road clearance survey had already applied for housing and had been allocated house 569/133 in Unit 1 of Chatsworth on 25th January 1965 before the survey. The refusal of this earlier offer indicates a preference to remain in an informal housing environment in close proximity to the Clairwood area as long as possible. The second offer of house 28/708 in Unit 7 was accepted just prior to the survey when it was realized that removal was inevitable.

Contrary to this case, the majority of removals from the southern area of Durban were 'priority' cases whose applications were placed ahead of the ordinary applicants on the waiting list. Up until 1974, when the Chatsworth Housing Scheme was almost complete, the bulk of the DCC's share¹⁸⁷ of public housing was allocated to priority cases due to slums removals,¹⁸⁸ capital projects, and floods.¹⁸⁹ The supply of housing to relocate Indian families, however, did not meet the demand, and by 28th February 1974 there were 19 070 families still on the waiting list, of whom, 10 095 qualified for sub-economic housing.¹⁹⁰ Some of these families had been waiting for up to twelve years. By 1974, when the construction of Chatsworth was nearing completion, the remaining applicants were transferred to the waiting list for the proposed housing schemes of Phoenix and Newlands which were approved on 12th November 1973.¹⁹¹

In the early 1960's a large number of families that were priority cases on the housing application list were allocated housing in the first units to be built in Chatsworth. They refused their allocations and shifted their shacks into other shack areas of southern Durban. Shacks were easily dismantled and could be moved over a weekend. Alternatively, if they were subtenants they would move in with relatives, or even occupy vacant rooms in existing shacks where the lessee had been himself given notice.¹⁹² In Woodville, for example, 19 out of the 76 families that were allocated houses cancelled their allocations.¹⁹³ These were usually the large families with very low incomes who could not even afford to rent sub-economic housing and the shack areas afforded them the only way in which to obtain affordable accommodation in close proximity to employment. Furthermore, informal housing provided the opportunity for the large extended families to remain together since rooms could easily be built onto shacks to accommodate a growing family. At later stages in the shack clearance process, when these families were listed again in the survey of another area designated for development, they were offered a second opportunity to obtain subsidized housing. If they refused the second offer, they were removed from the priority listing of housing applications.

As successive shack areas were cleared, the opportunities for finding subtenancies within the remaining shack areas, or private dwellings, were slowly reduced. As the process of relocating displaced families proceeded, fewer families filtered back into the shack areas, and with fewer opportunities for cheap tenancies in the shack areas, subtenancies in Chatsworth proliferated. The people who did not accept housing in Chatsworth were either in the higher income category or single and did not therefore qualify for subsidized housing; widows who were unable to afford increased rentals; or very low income families who were just too poor to cope with the increased financial responsibilities of formal housing.¹⁹⁴ Some others 'just didn't want to live here', as the houses in the Chatsworth Scheme were called 'matchboxes' or 'rat-traps'.¹⁹⁵

In order to cope with the provision of alternative accommodation for the small pockets of coloureds in the southern Durban shack areas, in the face of a dire shortage of formal housing for coloureds in Durban, the Inspectorate played a 'game of chess'.¹⁹⁶ Indian tenants in rooms of houses acquired by the Council but not yet on the demolition list, were allocated housing in Chatsworth, in order to make available temporary accommodation for coloured families. In this way tenants were shuffled around according to the supply of and demand for formal housing.

Further to this need was the construction of a sub-sub-economic 'transit' housing scheme consisting of 202 units¹⁹⁷ in Merebank in 1971 (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977) for Indian families for whom no housing in Chatsworth was available. Dumped in the Merebank transit scheme, families from different parts of the southern corridor, primarily Clairwood, were from different socio-economic groups and did not integrate socially (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977). It was communities such as these and in 'Tin Town', that suffered significant 'net welfare losses', having to move more than once. Furthermore, Maasdorp and Pillay (1977) note that temporary solutions such as these became semi-permanent and prolonged the hardships suffered.

The process of forced removals of Indian shack dwellers from southern Durban resulted in a sifting process, increasing the proportion of very poor families as the removals proceeded. The pool of low income subtenants in the shack areas was increased when firstly, leases of subtenants in Clairwood were terminated when houses were expropriated, and secondly, when tenants in Chatsworth failed to pay rent and moved back into the informal sector. As clearance proceeded, the available tenancies in private housing in Clairwood became saturated. If subtenants fell into arrears, the owner would evict them as rooms in these locations were at a premium. In addition, as building and extensions were 'frozen' in Clairwood, when sons married, subtenants were given notice in order to accommodate the new family.

Although evictions from the Chatsworth Scheme were low relative to the number of people who remained, a small percentage of residents could not meet the increased costs of living in formal housing,¹⁹⁸ were evicted and returned to the shack areas as subtenants.¹⁹⁹ The tendency was, however, for tenants to obtain assistance from relatives, pensions, religious bodies, Diakonia and other charitable organizations in order to retain their homes.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, a unique system of leasing with the option to buy ten years later, which was instituted in the Chatsworth Scheme,²⁰¹ had the effect of making tenants struggle to meet their monthly rental payments at all costs in order to retain their potential stake in the housing market in an environment of great housing scarcity.²⁰² The low rate of evictions does not reflect a lack of hardship in the housing scheme areas, but rather the desperate struggle to retain accommodation.²⁰³

As space in the shack settlements became more scarce due to the decreasing area of informal settlement in the southern area, a less common option for subtenants or tenants not wishing to relocate in the housing schemes, was to move outside the city boundaries and set up their shacks in New Farm.²⁰⁴

New Farm was surveyed in March of 1976 when it was incorporated into the City of Durban to provide land for the proposed Newlands and Phoenix Housing Schemes. The Schedule of shack families at New Farm²⁰⁵ reveals that of the 846 families that had moved in between 1966 and 1976, 33 families were from Chatsworth; 26 from Clairwood and Jacobs, and 6 from Merebank.²⁰⁶

10.8 The adjustment to formal housing schemes

The construction of Chatsworth represents the creation of a formal, planned, black residential space which was spatially removed from central white residential areas. It provided a radically different residential space to the communally constructed informal shack settlements of the southern corridor. Chatsworth was formally planned and constructed according to western building and density norms, and thus presented an aesthetically univalent living environment due to the uniform style and architecture employed throughout the scheme (Jenks, 1985). The residents had little say in the housing they were to occupy which was specifically designed to accommodate the nuclear family. Furthermore, as established communities were not relocated in the same location (except for the seinenettors), there existed a lack of social cohesion. Chatsworth was however provided with basic services thus avoiding the problematic health and sanitary conditions that had arisen in the informal areas. The shack settlements on the other hand, were characterized by diversity, multivalency, organic growth patterns, and creativity although lacking in essential services. These areas were communally created and thus invested with emotional and historical significance for the residents whose forebears had actively engaged in the creation of the place and its communal institutions.

The massive intervention in housing by the national government to produce a racially segregated city (Davies, 1976), went further than just that - it served, via the creation of the 'economic' housing units, to lock black moderate-income earners into a system of credit and direct, long-term dependence on wage earning and the state (Cooper, 1983), as opposed to their relatively higher levels of independence as occupiers of informal space.

Even renting a house or flat in a state subsidized scheme involved important financial adjustments on the part of the affected families. Firstly, the rentals were four times higher.²⁰⁷ The Durban Housing Survey (University of Natal, 1952) determined that the average rentals paid by Indians in Durban constituted 13% of their household incomes, while the housing scheme repayments were calculated on the basis of 25% of salaries.²⁰⁸

In addition, the informal housing context allowed the extended family structure to be accommodated within one dwelling by the extension of the dwelling when required. This also meant that a number of related families paid one site rental, “shared a common pot, household goods and even clothing” (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977, 133). The housing scheme dwellings, however, were designed, according to the Housing Code, for the nuclear family. Thus each family within the extended family structure, was allocated a separate dwelling and had to cope with the financial responsibilities of furnishing it, paying the monthly electricity and water account, and meeting the rental repayments.²⁰⁹ Maasdorp and Pillay (1977, 133) note that the breakup of multiple households due to relocation “had a considerable influence on family economic relationships”, and involved a “considerable amount of duplication of possessions”. Apart from these demands on the family income, the distant location of Chatsworth from employment opportunities created greater transport costs which lowered the real income of families.²¹⁰

Relocation into formal housing schemes required a difficult adjustment on the part of families and many of them opted to take the chance and see if they could make it. However, in the earlier removal schemes there were always a ‘hard core’ who hung on and opted to stay in the shack settlements hoping that the projects would be abandoned or ‘just to be a nuisance’.²¹¹ Towards the end of the 1970’s with the contraction of the shack settlements, formal housing became the ‘norm’ and informal housing the ‘anomaly’ with landowners living in similar conditions as their tenants.

10.9 Conclusion

When the first housing in Chatsworth became available in 1963, the DCC was allocated a share of this housing for the accommodation of ‘affected’ families removed from the southern Durban corridor for development purposes. From 1963 until 1975, the pockets of shacks on municipal land were systematically removed to make way for either industrial land or infrastructure. These removals, although implicitly racial in intention, were outwardly apolitical as families were relocated to the public housing

scheme of Chatsworth via recommendations from the DCC's Health and Housing, Planning and Development Control, and Special Works Committees. Thus it was under the umbrella of planning, health or housing legislation that removals took place.

In order to facilitate the removal process, a systematic procedure evolved and was institutionalized by the City Estates Department, whose Inspectorate was responsible for dealing with all tenants and subtenants on municipal land. This system evolved in response to the attempts of Indian residents to maximize their opportunities, which were either to remain in the shack areas or to obtain priority housing. Both of these strategies were responses to the housing shortages for low-income Indian families that had existed in southern Durban since the 1920's, but had become chronic in the 1950's due to increasing population density in the area and decreasing housing opportunities in an increasingly segregated city.

The southern Durban Indian population was poor with approximately half the population out of work - either unemployed or housewives. The families generally lived in very overcrowded circumstances with large numbers of people per dwelling, this often being the result of the extended family form adopted by Indian families. The surveys show however, an increasing tendency for proletarianization with the adult children of families employed in wage labour. It is also important to notice the general lack of class differentiation, with landowners receiving incomes and living with and therefore in similar conditions as their tenants.

The families removed between 1963 to 1975 totalled 4000 in number, and with an average family size of 6,²¹² this means that 24000 people were moved out of southern Durban during this period. This does not include those people who left Clairwood voluntarily, anxious about the impending industrialization, nor the approximately 2000 families removed from Merebank for the Merebank/Wentworth Housing Scheme in the 1950's (Bagwandeem, 1983). An indicator of the shrinking population of Clairwood and District is shown in Table 10.8 which indicates the decline in baptisms after 1963, when removals commenced at Saint Louis Catholic Church, situated at 22 Jacobs Road in Clairwood.

The earliest removals occurred in the south in the Merebank No 3 shack settlement to allow for the continued construction of the Merebank Housing Scheme. These were followed by the large removal schemes in Amanzimnyama, for industrial land; along the route of the southern Freeway; in the Clairwood

Table 10.8: Decline in Baptisms at St Lois Catholic Church, Clairwood
Source: St Louis Church Baptismal Register

YEAR	NUMBER OF BAPTISMS
1914	9
1934	50
1954	274
1960	300
1963	300
1966	193
1967	96
1968	53
1980	53

area - for the Bulk Sales Market and proposed abattoir; and in the Bayhead, for Railways development. There were a number of smaller removal schemes, all contributing to the gradual eradication of informal housing environments and their replacement by formal, non-residential land-uses.

The dislocation and upheaval of removal combined with the suppression of all oppositional activities by the Nationalist government resulted in a virtual lack of resistance to the shack clearance schemes. Despite this passive acquiescence there was a deep sense of the injustice of the whole removal procedure and this was voiced by the civic association via 'legal' channels of objection in town planning and administrative procedures. The CDRRA protested against the destruction of the Clairwood Indian community on the basis on communal investment and historical attachment to the place.

The Indians have lived in Clairwood for almost a century and have built up their homes through sweat and toil. Over the years they have built up their institutions, temples, mosques, churches, schools and public buildings. They dug deeply into their pockets to provide amenities which rightly should have been provided by the City Council. The South Coast District Football Sports field, the Clairwood Indian Cemetery, the Clairwood group of schools, a number of public halls and the many beautiful temples are the legacy of a community, who by dint of hard work and financial contribution have become closely knit, through their association in the many charitable, religious, welfare and social and educational organizations.²¹³

Therefore, although acquiescent in their attitude to municipal procedures, all respondents interviewed expressed extreme sorrow about the loss of community and place,²¹⁴ and presented a romanticized memory of life in “Clairwood and District” as it existed in from the 1940’s to early sixties. Mr K S Govender recalled that

(t)hose were good days. We used to get up at three (in the morning), because at 3.30 the first busses leave for Durban. We had to make tea - by 4.00 we had to have sandwiches made for the workers at mobile shops. They would be calling for cigarettes, matches and tea. We would have to take an early train from Wentworth to get to work. But we enjoyed work. It was our place there.²¹⁵

Endnotes

1. File Nos 31/106G/1,2 and 3, Land Records, CED, Durban.
2. This trend had also been observed in Britain and America (Clark and Dear, 1981).
3. Power was conferred to local authorities to declare premises slums due to overcrowding or insanitary conditions via the Slums Act (34 of 1936). This was extended in 1939 in Durban to allow for the declaration of portions of the city as Slum Zones, eleven of which were declared between 1936 and 1944 (University of Natal, 1952).
4. This was made possible via Proclamation 108 of 1946, amended by Proclamation 108 of 1946 (Demolition of Unlawful Structures) (CED, 1973).
5. Hanson, 26/3/1988.
6. The major developments in the southern area of Durban, other than housing schemes, notably the Industrialisation of Clairwood (including the Bulk Sales Market, the proposed abattoir and the Southern Freeway), were dealt with by the Committee for Special Works. (See General File, Acquisition of Property for Industrial Purposes (J31/106/G), Land Records, CED.)
7. Hanson, 24/3/1988.
8. Tooley, 29/2/1990.
9. Housing Manual, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury.
10. Adopted as the directive of the Health and Housing Committee in 1976 (Housing Manual, op cit).
11. This department has the responsibility of slum clearance as well as obtaining authority from the Health and Housing Committee for priority housing for affected families (Housing Manual, op cit, 6).
12. This department has the responsibility of allocating housing, administering occupancy, rent collections and evictions (Housing Manual, op cit, 6).

13. This department is charged with the responsibility of acquiring land for housing schemes and other projects, surveying persons occupying land in order to establish housing needs, and obtaining authority from the Health and Housing Committee for priority housing for persons displaced by capital development projects (Housing Manual, op cit. 6).
14. The control of shack development, prevention of erection of illegal shaeks and removal of illegal structures is the responsibility of this department (Housing Manual, op eit, 6).
15. See Chapter 4 and 8 for an overview of the City Valuator and Estates Manager's historical role in urban space construction.
16. CED, 1973, Introduction.
17. CED, *ibid*, Introduction.
18. Hanson, 25/11/1987, p.4.
19. In the 1950's, this site rental was 12 Pounds annually, until the advent of the new monetary system when the site rental was amended to R2.30 per month (Hanson, 24/3/1988).
20. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
21. Two small areas, i.e. Happy Valley which was an African settlement, and Karim Lane, which was privately-owned and becoming transformed into an industrial area, are the exception (University of Natal, 1952).
22. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
23. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
24. Throughout the shack clearance programme, each area was designated a code which was later used by the CED as a prefix for the reference number allocated to each family, for example the reference number 3M/212/266 referred to the family resident in shack number 212 of the Merebank Number 3 settlement indicating that there are 266 families in 212 shacks (Merebank No 3 Survey Sheets, City Estates Inspectorate, CED).
25. Hanson 10/11/1988.
26. In terms of the Housing Act No 35 of 1920, the DCC administered 3 types of economic housing, i.e., houses erected for sale to individual owners; houses and flats let to individual occupiers; and advances - loans - to individuals for own construction. In addition, the National Housing Scheme, which became operable on 1/4/ 1944, laid down provisions for the category of subeconomic housing (University of Natal, 1952, 116-7).
27. Hanson, 25/11/87.
28. *ibid*.
29. *ibid*.
30. *ibid*.
31. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
32. Hanson, 25/11/1987.

33. *ibid.*
34. Hanson, 25/11/1988.
35. A term of colonial origin from India, designating a person in charge. These sirdars were employed by the DCC to live in and oversee tenants in the settlements on state land.
36. Hanson, (25/11/1987), cites an example of such an incident in the Amanzimnyama shack settlement, where inspectors were involved in two days of 'detective work' in clearing up the 'case'.
37. The term 'affected' refers to those families who receive priority in housing allocation due to their occupation of Council-owned sites or rented houses in areas urgently required for development.
38. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
39. *ibid.*
40. *ibid.*
41. *ibid.*
42. This procedure was still in use in 1990, although only applied infrequently and with regard to very small numbers of people.
43. The term used to denote persons attempting to obtain illegal access to housing allocation procedure in a priority area (Hanson, 25/11/1987).
44. Hanson, 25/11/1987.
45. *ibid.*
46. The shacks were given a file number according the area in which they were e.g. 3M denoted shack settlement No 3 at Merebank. Thus 3M 1, was shack number 1, and so on.
47. CED, 1973,39.
48. A comprehensive survey, via the 'official survey form' recorded the details of occupation, income, family members and ages, length of residence and property ownership (See Appendix 12).
49. Hanson, 25/11/1987.
50. Those survey sheets that have not been destroyed during the move of the City Estates into new premises, are housed in the Inspectorate of the Property Administration Sub-section of CED.
51. DCC housing policy is framed within the Housing Code policy. Qualification for subsidized housing is based on marital status, income and family size and prioritizes, low-income, married nuclear households. It is further required that applicants originate from within the boundaries of Durban (Housing Manual, Housing Administration, City Treasury).
52. Assume that there are 3 married families in residence in shack No 1 at Springfield shack settlement , S1/1, S1/2, and S1/3. The last digits 1,2, and 3 denote the numbers of each family S2/3 and S2/5 would then refer to shack No 2 and the two families in residence (CED, 1973,40).

53. The case of so-called residents appearing for the survey in their 'best clothes' was cited. If the inspectors were not sure that the man was a bone fide resident they "could fish and ask next door" (Hanson, 25/11/1987).
54. *ibid*
55. *ibid*
56. *ibid*
57. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
58. *ibid*.
59. Hanson, 3/3/1988.
60. *ibid*
61. *ibid*
62. For purposes of industrial, infrastructural or housing development.
63. In terms of the Slums Act and Group Areas Act.
64. Summary of Durban Corporation Housing Projects for Whites, Coloureds and Indians as at 30 June 1987, Housing Administration Section, City Treasurer.
65. The Deed of Lease (CT 676) in this category of housing gave the lessee the option of purchasing the property at a later stage (after 7 years residence) and entering into a formal Agreement of Purchase and Sale with the Corporation. The redemption payments included in the rental contributed towards a reduction of the purchase price (*ibid*).
66. *ibid*.
67. Mr. Hanson, 16/10/1988.
68. This profile has been constructed from the NR2 Survey Sheets, Inspectorate, CED.
69. See Appendix I2 for example of Survey sheets, the first from Bluff Swamps (Shack 25), and the second from NR2 Scheme (NR2/309), showing father and sons employed in local industry.
70. For example, tailoring.
71. For example, waiters, chefs and bus conductors.
72. This data was not recorded on the survey sheets in other clearance schemes.
73. The average number of people per shack in the seinenettors shacks was 12.24 (Survey sheets, Inspectorate, CED).
74. Over sixty five percent of the seinenettors families earned under R50 p.m., while 98.7% earned less than R100 (*ibid*).
75. Two hundred and forty six children to 707 adults, (*ibid*).
76. The sons and daughters of fishermen and shrimpers were all employed as wage labour (*ibid*.)

77. Hanson, 25/3/1988.
78. See discussion of the Merebank/Wentworth Scheme in Chapter 8.
79. Juggernath, 4/11/1987.
80. The Merebank-Wentworth Housing Scheme suffered considerable delay due to the stringent financial conditions arising from the war, and the decision to commence with the Springfield Scheme first (Bagwandeem, 1983). Furthermore, in the early 1950's, large areas of land still had to be acquired by the Council, either by purchase or expropriation and considerable development work still had to be carried out (University of Natal, 1952).
81. The individual survey sheets providing data on family structure and income for shack areas surveyed in the early 1960's have been destroyed. However, Master Sheets for all surveys are housed in the City Estates Inspectorate Offices, Durban.
82. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
83. Hanson, 25/11/1987.
84. *ibid*
85. *ibid*.
86. These families did not qualify for the 'economic' housing provided by the scheme as their incomes were less than R50 per month.
87. Summary of Durban Corporation Housing Projects for Whites, Coloureds and Indians, 1987, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury.
88. The Housing Code established within the Housing Act provides for a scale of minimum incomes which qualify families to occupy subeconomic or economic housing subsidised by the state:
- | | 1963 | 1966 | 1971 | 1973 | 1974 |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Subeconomic | R50 | R60 | R80 | R100 | R100 |
| Economic | R180 | R180 | R225 | R320 | R400 |
- (Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants of SA (Inc), Memorandum on Housing Code and Income Limits, Jan 1976).
89. See Files 31/29/1/2 and J595/2/381G, CED.
90. See Acquisition Record Card, Records, CED, Durban.
91. Mr Anthony of 853 South Coast Road, whose family consisted of 2 adults and 9 children had occupied his wood and iron shack in Amanzimnyama since 1928. He was unemployed at the time of the shack survey, and was owing R30,00 on furniture (Hire Purchase repayments were R6,00 per month). Nevertheless he accepted the housing allocation (Housing Allocation Number 15433) and moved to flat 73/238 in Chatsworth on 19/9/1963 (Housing Administration Records, City Treasury. Another example is that of Mr Anamoothoo of shack A90, who had worked at Consolidated Textile Mills as a spinner for 25 years, and whose salary combined with his wife's was R56,46 per month. He had lived for 22 years at Amanzimnyama. With Housing Allocation

Number 15174, he was allocated house 290/328 in Unit 3 of Chatsworth and moved in on 30/9/1963. The records indicate that when asked the reason for application- Anamoothoo's response was "we must apply" (Housing Administration Records, City Treasury).

92. Hanson, 8/2/1988.

93. *ibid*

94. *ibid*

95. The property description of Woodville is Lot 179 of Woodville of Mid-Wentworth, and it is nearly 6 hectares in extent. It forms part of the large Woodville property upon which the Wentworth Hospital is located, and was owned by the NPA, and lies adjacent to the Jacobs industrial area. Records indicate that 8 acres was leased from the Union Government (NPA) for Indian tenants, whose leases were terminated on 31/3/1965 (General File J95/6, CED)

96. The property description of this sub-division is Sub Brickyard of C of Dunns Grant No 860, hence the name Brickyard.

97. Hanson, 8/2/1988.

98. File J615/11, CED.

99. Minor discrepancies exist in the data. Survey sheets, when individually enumerated reveal slight differences in the number of shacks or families. This is due possibly to the voluntary movement of people out of an area just after the survey.

100. Hanson, 8/2/1988.

101. Brickyard Master Sheet, Inspectorate, CED.

102. Survey sheets, Inspectorate, CED.

103. File No 632/460G, CED.

104. Land was expropriated in terms of Section 140(1) of Ordinance 21 of 1942 (Files J632/460G and 632/460/62, CED.)

105. U.G. 32-49.

106. Hanson, 3/3/1988.

107. File J623/460/G/1, CED.

108. Memo, Inspectorate to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 16/2/1965, File J632/460/G/1.

109. *ibid*

110. *ibid*

111. File 31/106/G/1, CED.

112. The Luxmi Narain Temple was served its notice of expropriation of 28/2/1964 and finally demolished on 12/5/1967, despite the Temple Committee's request to "protest most emphatically". The Education Department provided an alternative site for the temple school, which had an enrolment of 700 pupils (File 632/460/41, NED.).
113. CDRRA to Indian and Coloured Affairs Committee, 16/4/1964, File J 31/106/G/1, CED.
114. Kinmont was the City Engineer at the time.
115. Natal Mercury, 8/2/1966.
116. Hanson 3/3/1988.
117. Approved by the DCC on 1/6/1965.
118. Merebank residents had already protested the establishment of the oil refinery and the proposed Southern Sewage Works adjacent to the scheme as well as the location of industry along the northern banks of the Umlaas Canal. Furthermore, these residents were aware of the possibility that the land they occupied will be required for industrial purposes in the future (City Engineer to Director of Special Works, 12/4/1965, File J632/460/G/1, CED).
119. File 632/460/G, CED.
120. Hanson, 8/2/1988.
121. *ibid*
122. Trent Road Master File, Inspectorate, CED.
123. 1931 Aerial Photography, Scale 1:6000, Photogrammetry Section, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
124. Hanson, 5/2/1988.
125. Hanson, 27/11/1987.
126. *ibid*
127. Lot Dairy of C of Springfield No 806, which was owned by the Council (Hanson, 6/4/1988).
128. See Conditions governing the Erection of Temporary Dwellings of Sub-standard Construction, in CED (1973).
129. Powers to demolish unlawful structures are conferred on the local authority via Section 124 of Ordinance 10 of 1953 (as amended) (Hanson, 6/4/1988).
130. Maasdorp and Pillay's (1977) survey of Tin Town reveals that 70% of residents had previously lived in shacks, and 40% had been displaced through land-use zoning, town planning schemes and slum clearance, with 30% due to Group Areas disqualifications.
131. Apart from an initial influx of residents into Tin Town due to the demolition of their 'illegal structures' in areas such as Cato Manor, Mayville, Riverside, Kenville, Sea Cow Lake, Inanda, New Germany and Greenwood Park, the Bayhead removals constituted the second major influx. After this Tin Town received 80 shack dwellers from 'insanitary shacks' in the Sea Cow Lake, Park Station Road and Avoca Areas, and 50 families from Greenwood Park in 1971 due to Group Areas disqualification (Daily News, 28/08/1971).

132. Hanson, 10/4/1988.
133. Hanson, 10/4/1988.
134. Hanson, 8/2/1988.
135. Complex structures which included married sons and sons-in-law, as well as distant relatives of the lessees, and subtenants, were found to exist. Furthermore, with the original family head having become deceased in a number of cases, proving the ancestry of existing occupants to the original lessee was extremely difficult (Hanson to Deputy City Valuator, 1/7/1968, File J409/15,J97/3, CED.)
136. *ibid.*
137. *ibid.*
138. Hanson, 10/4/1988.
139. *ibid.*
140. This was guarded by a nightwatchman until the residents were in occupation.
141. Stage 1 was complete by 22/9/1968, and Stage 2 by 3/12/1969, Bayhead Master File, Inspectorate, CED.
142. *op cit.*
143. Hanson, 10/4/1988.
144. Bayhead Master File, Inspectorate, CED.
145. Hanson, 10/4/1988.
146. The Schedule of Schoolchildren Ex Bayhead residing in Springfield (Bayhead Master File, Inspectorate, CED), reveals that 48 children attended Indian schools in the southern corridor, two of them high school.
147. Natal Mercury, 14/5/1971.
148. Hanson, 1/7/1968.
149. The reclamation of the Eastern shores of the Bay for the installation of oil storage tanks resulted in their second removal to the Bayhead (Subramoney, 6/8/1987).
150. For example, motor mechanics to service the cartage lorries.
151. The seine-netters had featured frequently in tourist brochures of Durban advertising the cultural variety of the city (Mrs Pattu, 8/12/1991).
152. Housing Manual, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury.
153. "K.G." was the well-known leader and spokesperson of the seinenetters (Pattu, 8/12/1991).
154. The Housing Section allocated some 20 houses to the Department of Community Development for the seinenetters in 1963 (Hanson to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 17/10/1963, File J97/3, CED).
155. The JEC Survey Sheets reveal an initial population of 86 people.

156. JEC Master File, Inspectorate, CED.
157. As the number of Indian families in Chatsworth increased, many displaced shack dwellers moved in with relatives in this area, greatly increasing the housing densities and leading to overcrowded and unhealthy conditions, particularly in the sub-economic units.
158. This area has two categories of removals, i.e. those families from private properties which were expropriated (referenced XP), and those leasees from shacks on Railways property which was later acquired by the Council (referenced X).
159. These families were relocated from privately-owned properties (Referenced Z).
160. City Engineer (Kinmont) to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 27/3/1963, File No J31/106/G/1, CED.
161. The national Department of Planning and the DCC collaborated on devising a policy for the issuing of permits for residential occupation. Applications to the former department in the areas required by the DCC would be refused, whereupon the DCC would acquire such properties. Applications for permits in areas not immediately required would be granted for a period of two years, subject to review. However, permits would be granted for the establishment of industries (City Engineer to Town Clerk, 14/10/1964, File No J31/106/G/1, CED).
162. *ibid*
163. Mrs S Maharaj, of 95 Houghton Road had her home demolished and now rents a room in the adjacent home, using her property to grow herbs. With this income, she pays her monthly rates account (Maharaj, 20/5/1986).
164. City Valuator and Estates Manager to Town Clerk, 22/10/1963, File No J 31/106/G/1, CED.
165. Indian Affairs Advisory Committee, 4/11/1963, File No J 31/106/G/1, CED.
166. CDRRA to Town Clerk, 20/11/1963 File No J 31/106/G/1, CED.
167. MN Pather (Realtor) to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 23/12/1963, File No J 31/106/G/1, CED.
168. Natal Mercury, 14/11/1963
169. CDRRA to City Valuator and Estates Manager, 26/3/1964, File No J 31/106/G/1, CED.
170. *The Leader*, 25/9/1964.
171. *The Leader*, 30/10/1964.
172. An earlier survey in November 1968, enumerated 1369 Indian and Coloured families on the market and abattoir sites, consisting of 1267 Indian families (6091 Indians), and 102 Coloured families (389 Coloureds) - totalling 6480 people.
173. File No J380/4 and J31/106B, CED.
174. A Youth Club and community primary school were also demolished in the process of shack clearance.
175. Bulk Sales Market (X) survey sheets, July 1969, CED.

176. Surveys executed at time intervals reveal differences in population counts. This reveals the fluidity of movement of the affected families and single people, as they made choices within the constraints presented to them at particular moments.
177. November, 1968 (File No J31/106B and J380/4, CED).
178. Schedule of expropriated properties containing buildings acquired for development of the Bulk Sales Market, 26/5/75, File No 31/106/G/1, CED.
179. The Inspectorate continued to remove affected families from the market and abattoir sites "in order to keep ahead of the development programme". This process it seems had a momentum of its own and once begun, was carried out throughout the southern area (Hanson, 24/3/1988).
180. File No J31/706 and J380/4, CED.
181. For example, the property of Mr. P. Jacob in Horseshoe Road, 20/5/1986.
182. Twenty six properties were expropriated in the Ludgate Grove area in Clairwood, near the Amanzimnyama stream, "to eliminate flood conditions which have been prevalent for some years" (Mayor's Minute, 1976-1977).
183. Hanson, 24/3/88.
184. City Valuator and Estates Manager to City Treasurer, 20/10/1973, File 599/17 M, CED.
185. In the 1974 survey it was revealed that Mr Babulal and his family of 3 adults and 4 minors had lived in shack number 37 for over 20 years in a wood and iron home with 5 rooms and a kitchen. Similarly, Mr Ramdhani and his family in Shack 39 and Mr Abdul Gaffur and his family in Shack 41 were also long time residents (Survey Sheets, Inspectorate, CED, Durban).
186. The first applicant was Kistnasami (Known as V.K. Naidoo of PO Box 428, Durban) who earned 26 Pounds p.a. He was employed by Dhupelia and Son Pty, Ltd and lived with his relatives and was finally accommodated in the Springfield Scheme.
187. As the local authority was an 'agent' of the national state, it had to accept a predetermined share of available housing according to the requirements of the Department of Community Development for rehousing families disqualified in terms of the Group Areas Act. As the government's demand for this purpose stabilized in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the local authority was allocated 70% of available housing stock (Tooley, 29/2/1990).
188. From 1972, the local authority became responsible for all slums removals and housing allocations (Tooley, 29/2/1990).
189. Tooley, 29/2/1990; Housing Manual, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury.
190. City Treasurer to Mr. Kolia, Housing Administration Files, City Treasury, 28/2/1974).
191. *ibid*
192. Hanson to the City Valuator and Estates Manager, File J 409/15, CED.
193. Woodville Survey Sheets, CED.
194. Hanson, 24/3/1988.

195. *ibid*
196. *ibid*
197. These units were two, three and four-roomed and had no kitchens. Communal toilets, bathrooms and washing lines were provided (Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977, 138).
198. The Housing policy of the City Treasury allowed for a period of grace to assist tenants to meet the required repayments (Housing Policy, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury).
199. The Quarterly Housing Report (1989) of the City Treasurer, reported, for example, only two evictions and two abscondments in the last quarter of 1989, out of 2000 tenants.
200. A more enlightened housing policy emerged in the post-1970's due to a 'new generation of officials' in the City Treasurer's Department, introducing greater leniency towards tenants in arrears (Tooley, 29/2/1990).
201. This scheme was not carried through to the Phoenix Housing Scheme (Housing Manual, Housing Administration Section, City Treasury).
202. The DCC housing policy also allows for the lease of a house/flat to be transferred to immediate family if the household head becomes deceased. The example of Mr. Anthony (cited earlier) is a typical case where, larger accommodation was repeatedly requested due to the increase of family size to 15 (in 1973 and 11/9/1974). On Mr. Anthony's decease on 1/2/1983 his wife took over the lease, and subsequently on her decease on 5/8/1983, the resident son became the leasee (Housing Application Records, City Treasury, H/A No 15433).
203. Tooley, 2/2/1990.
204. Property description, 3 of Riet Rivier No 862.
205. New Farm Master File, Inspectorate, CED.
206. The remainder were from other parts of Durban and its periphery.
207. Hanson, 10/11/1988.
208. CED, 1973.
209. Hanson, 16/9/1988.
210. Relocation also entailed the purchase of new school uniforms. However, high school children tended to remain at their schools in the southern corridor due to the initial shortage of such facilities in the Chatsworth area (Hanson, 16/9/1988).
211. Hanson, 16/9/1988.
212. University of Natal, 1952.
213. CDRRA to Indian and Coloured Affairs Committee, 16/4/1964, File J 31/106/G/1, CED.
214. Mrs C Subramunien (5/1987); Mr B Pillay (8/1989); Mrs G Pattu (8/12/1991); Mrs K Naidoo (4/1988); Mr M Nepaul (27/1/1987) and Mr K Govender (17/3/1986).
215. Mr K S Govender, 17/3/1986.

CHAPTER 11

THE PERSISTENCE OF PLACE-BASED CULTURAL IDENTITY: SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The early Indian settlers found their way to southern Durban and armed with an array of cultural resources and ways of doing things, they settled and created an informal settlement from the Bay south to Merebank. The majority of these settlers were poor ex-indentured labourers, but through dint of hard work and sacrifice, they established a communal space focussed on the node of Clairwood. Neglected by the colonial state, these settlers and their descendants set out to provide the facilities needed by the community. With religious zeal and dedication they founded temples, schools, halls and recreation facilities. Market gardening, utilizing the extended family as a corporate unit, formed the original material base for the emerging community. Religion played a crucial role in providing a set of values to reproduce the extended family, undertake welfare activities and create a sacred space. Language also served to bind the settlers together with Tamil being the most common form of vernacular spoken in southern Durban. The original core of settlers in turn attracted a range of people providing services and products for the farming community.

The first settlers were indeed 'pioneers'. The leaders of the Durban Bay seinetting community are referred to by their descendants as 'the pioneer fishermen' (Mrs K Naidoo, 4/1988), and the naming of the Settlers School in Merebank reflects a self-consciousness about the process of settling the land and the tasks associated with community building. Founded on moral beliefs about family and community, Clairwood and District emerged as a suburb in its own right and a cultural heartland for all Indians in South Africa.

This study documents the 'rise' and 'fall' of Clairwood and District. Essentially the transformation process has been one of conflict - a conflict, which has endured for over a hundred years, between a dominant white culture and a subordinate Indian culture. The struggle has involved the clash between two cultures each attempting to define the meaning of the southern Durban corridor through a different set of values. After a protracted struggle the Durban municipality succeeded in imposing a formal industrial landscape upon the communal living space with the

exception of the small node of Clairwood itself which has remained a residential enclave. With the material degradation of Clairwood and the removal of the majority of the residents to distant public housing schemes, the resident population of Clairwood has become greatly diminished with only approximately 6000 people remaining of a former resident population of over 50 000. This vestige of the former flourishing residential area of Clairwood and District suffers from industrial penetration and a physically degraded environment.

The implicit norms and values of the Indian residents as they constructed their communal living space were those of diversity, creativity, and complexity in the creation of the physical landscape, underlain by a social ordering system based on bonds of kinship, communality, reciprocity and sociability. The outcome of the space construction process according to these norms was a culturally specific informal and multi-purpose living and working zone. However, the norms of efficiency, functionality and material progress of the Durban City Council led to the conception of a system of formal interrelated zones for productive purposes. Inherent in this set of values was the separation, not only of land-uses but of racial groups via the zoning procedure. Through this process of clarification of land-uses, the people occupying the space were divorced from their cultural and historical context and were subsequently 'written out' of the landscape.

The 'rise' of the Clairwood area to the south of Durban represented the emergence of a communal living space (Cox, 1981), the meaning of which was derived from the ex-indentured Indians who had settled there. The moral and social framework derived from their inherited Indian culture and religion provided the norms upon which the communal space was built.

These traditional values based on ties of trust, friendship, sociability, obligation and mutual support served to create a set of place-based communal bonds. These were overlain with a framework of kinship and religious norms serving to bind individuals and families together in systems of communal obligation and respect. The operation of these communal bonds and norms in turn served to produce a particular landscape which reflected both extended family living and communal co-operation. Emerging in a hostile colonial context, where they were marginalized and neglected, the incentives operated to create a range of communal facilities that were not provided by the state. So over time, from humble beginnings, temples, schools, halls, clinics, and cemeteries became landmarks in Clairwood and District and symbols of communal sacrifice and solidarity. These and other local landmarks began to command profound emotional attachment and the place became 'utterly personalized and particular-

ized' (Cox, 1981,333). The creation of place through the commitment of physical and emotional resources over generations gave rise to an intense attachment by the residents to the locality and the investment of Clairwood and District with accumulated emotional and historical significance over time. This 'sense of place' or meaning with which Clairwood and District was imbued has remained in popular memory long after the community that gave rise to it has departed. The Clairwood and District of the past has thus been mythologized.

Documentary evidence suggests that the communal structure of the Indian residential area of Clairwood and District differed significantly from similar informal African settlements which were also emerging in the South African urban landscape in the first half of the twentieth century (Bonner et al, 1989). Not only did the Indian communities differ in cultural heritage, but the family structures and cultural adaptations to the process of urbanization were significantly different.

The 'fall' of Clairwood and District which resulted in the erosion of communal bonds and the reduction in group solidarity began firstly through the insidious, expansionary and disruptive penetration of the capitalist system which brought about an inevitable economic transition. Traditional occupations gave way to wage labour and the unity of work and home were broken. Western education, urban living and the effect of public housing scheme living environments contributed to this process.

However, more swift and decisive was the effect of the Durban City Council's joint policies of racial segregation, industrialization and 'sanitary cleansing' which brought about the destruction of a place-based community through the removal of thousands of Indian families from southern Durban. These removals and the relocation of the residents of southern Durban in the large public housing schemes of Merebank and Chatsworth, hastened the demise of the traditional ethnic community, destroyed communal associations and disrupted kinship and social networks.

When threatened with expropriation and removal from the 1950's onwards, the community turned to its major resource, that of the historical and cultural significance of Clairwood and District. From within the symbolic boundaries of southern Durban, the community began to articulate its presence and engage in a dialogue with the outside environment, namely the dominant white group. First, was the challenging of inadequate compensation for expropriated properties on an individual level, and then

group resistance via a civic association, culminating in a concerted communal opposition and resistance to the proposal to rezone Clairwood an industrial area. It was the symbolic spatial boundaries from within which this form of resistance occurred which made the mobilization of opposition easier. What is important is that the voices of resistance were adapted to the imposed context, and it was through petitions, letters of complaint and memoranda to white authorities and power structures that Indian opposition was mounted. Despite such resistance, the dispossession and removal of people from Clairwood and District proceeded fairly smoothly especially in the shack areas where acquiescence was the predominant response.

The industrialization process represents the ascendancy of a dominant set of values over those of a subject group via a purposeful and pre-determined effort on the part of the local authority as it sought to achieve its goal of creating a 'productive zone' to the south of Durban. The local authority from the 1920's gained control over southern Durban, mapped its goals for the zone and systematically, via a range of strategies, reconstructed this zone to achieve in reality what it had planned. By 1970 the southern Durban corridor resembled the plan of the 'productive zone' officially sanctioned by the DCC in 1938. Southern Durban represented a modern, rationally planned industrial corridor with racially segregated labour reservoirs flanking it, superimposed on an informal unplanned residential and market gardening enclave.

The transformed landscape of southern Durban is intensely political as it symbolizes former white domination with the power to expropriate, transform and plan large tracts of land. It also represents the superiority of the global system of industrial capitalism over a pre-industrial and petty-productive local economy. However, the landscape text of Clairwood and District was not completely rewritten as elements of the previous landscape 'show through' and persist as cultural anomalies in the 'machine space' created by industrial capitalism (Ley, 1987).

Although a vestige of the former Clairwood and District remains today in the form of the residential portion of Clairwood itself, the meaning of this place is in the process of being redefined. The Durban City Council has been charged with the creation and implementation of a Structure Plan to revitalize Clairwood and establish the infrastructure, facilities and amenities long overdue for the resident population. In doing so, the meaning of Clairwood is being redefined in technical town planning language.

The new plan draws on the language of modern town planning principles based on democratic planning procedures - the public participation process - and is presently being implemented. Changes are taking place in Clairwood - "Dayal Road has been upgraded, the sportsfield is ready - (where the abattoir was planned), and there are beautiful new homes" (I Maharaj, 14/1/1994). Transport arteries have been instituted, recreation zones created and a sewage system installed. While these facilities are welcome, they are being established by the local authority from the 'outside' and are not communally created. Organic communal place-making has given way to a planned, ordered urban design process implemented by the state. Through this process, the redefinition of the original meaning of Clairwood is occurring - it is no longer the same place any more.

The landscape, particularly within the residential sector of Clairwood, reveals relics of Indian culture. Some of the old wood-and-iron and brick-and-tile houses remain albeit in a delapidated state. One of these houses has been declared a 'listed building' - of historical value to the city since it represents the vernacular style of local architecture. Temples and halls remain and the cemeteries are still being used. However, the temples in Clairwood have lost their large resident pool of devotees and there are some temples without communities, such as the Zanzibari Mosque on Bluff Road. These symbols have become trivialized and converted into museum pieces - cultures with a past but no future as yet (Duncan, 1987). The temples have become decorative and picturesque. The Shree Subramoniar Temple in Sirdar Road has also been awarded a Conservation Award by the Durban City Council and is a tourist mecca especially when the Kahvadi Festival takes place.

The reduction of population from over 50 000 to a mere 6 000 has resulted in marked changes in local social dynamics. Most of the trustees of communal institutions in Clairwood now live outside the area. Thus there is a dislocation between historically significant place-based institutions and associations and the relocated population who pay allegiance from a distance. New 'outsiders' are purchasing land in Clairwood which is a strategically located suburb with good prospects as it is undergoing 'urban renewal'.

However, the symbolic relics of the former Clairwood keep alive the seeds of ethnic sentiment and the myth persists. In this way the past landscape of Clairwood and District has become 'appropriated' by the larger Indian community. Although many former residents continue to return to the vestige of what

was Clairwood and District,¹ it is “because all the senior ones all passed away” (Dixon Pillay, 28/11/1988) that links with Clairwood from the newly established township communities - Chatsworth and Phoenix - are declining. Only those ‘seniors’ who have remained in Clairwood continue to keep the symbolic significance of Clairwood alive.² Nevertheless, connections with a ‘past Clairwood’ and its traditional way of life are remembered and repeated by Indian families at every opportunity. Daily, funeral notices proudly announce the connection of the deceased to Clairwood (See Appendix 14), and ex-residents pay allegiance to the place and its past through their return to take part in local festivals. Ex-residents are buried in the cemeteries of Clairwood.

A minority of old residents have remained to live out their lives taking their place amongst many ‘new faces’ (I Maharaj, 14/10/1994). These are the survivors who through tenacity and persistence have protected themselves against the changes wrought by industrialization by continuing with the traditions and rituals of the past. Thus the small community of Clairwood residents still retain some of the place-based cultural values that formed the framework of life in early Clairwood, and they could be said to persist as an ethnic minority (Sibley, 1986).

In examining the erosion of a minority culture in the face of seventy years of industrialization and urbanization, it is relevant to discuss the concepts of assimilation and persistence in relation to minority groups (Sibley, 1981; 1986). It is the contention here that the changes invoked by these processes have not made the Indian community of Clairwood, both the remaining residents and those who have forged new communal groupings in the new townships, passive victims. Rather the belief is that minority or subordinate groups, particularly those founded on religious frameworks, are able to persist through the constant re-enactment of tradition. Changes which have occurred within the community can be viewed as adaptations to the external world making continuity possible (Sibley, 1986). Thus minority cultures such as found in Clairwood, articulate with the mainstream order assimilating aspects of the urban industrial world and yet retain a ‘neo-Indian home-based culture’ (Freund, 1994). Cultural identity thus exists in a ‘hybrid form’ constantly reproducing itself due to the complex interplay of cultures (Rose, 1994).

It is possible that with the democratization of South African society via the 1994 elections and the establishment of a government of national unity, the need to assimilate with white culture in order to survive no longer exists, and Indian cultural minorities are increasingly returning to their cultural roots reviving and reproducing the alternative cultural norms and values which had previously given sway to western values.

The study presented here provides a 'probe' into a culturally unique community in the Clairwood and District area of southern Durban. As such it attempts to convey the events that have taken place inside this place, and the outside causes - its facts which are visible and its less visible meaning (Ley, 1989). In the urban history of South Africa, the 'outside causes' of racial segregation and discrimination are well documented. It is the less visible meanings of places which portray how minority cultures have created places for themselves, that deserve greater attention in future research agendas.

Rose (1994, 47) notes that there is a "fascination with the (landscape) images produced by the powerful (Ley, 1987, 1988; Ley and Olds, 1988) and that not many geographers have examined "the texts and images produced by the less powerful". She suggests that this avoidance of the 'writing of cultures' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) and the 'writing of worlds' (Barnes and Duncan, 1991) of oppositional cultures is a product of a belief in a 'bipolar' cultural model. This model conceptualizes cultures as being either hegemonic or counterhegemonic and methodologically rejects the possibility of representing the 'other'. This 'crisis of representation' has led to a "fear of replicating the process of othering" via the interpretation of oppositional cultures (Rose, 1994, 48). This stance has led to a 'silence' in the literature which is as "disturbing as the dangers of speaking for them" and needs to be addressed (Rose, 1994, 49). Rose (1994) proposes the concept of 'hybrid forms of culture' which result from the complex interplay between cultures. The study of oppositional cultures, such as minority groups, would thus methodologically involve "a modest connection with and commentary on different cultural forms" (Rose, 1994, 49). It is suggested that this study represents such a commentary.

The representation of the landscape of Clairwood and District is a contested process and the methodological metaphor of 'landscape as text' has been employed in this study to understand the negotiation of meaning of this landscape by both the dominant white municipality and the Indian residential community. Thus this study, while presenting the cultural landscapes and meaning systems of opposing cultures has also examined the interplay between them.

It is in communal spaces such as Clairwood and District, that oppositional communities in South African urban places have employed their cultural resources to adapt to oppression and containment and in doing so have created meaningful living environments. It is important that these attempts by minority groups and subject groups in the past regime be documented in order to reveal the rich and varied historical geographies of South African urban places.

In the new urban futures of South Africa, the challenges are many but the possibilities for alternative futures are greater than ever before. Perhaps the lesson to be learnt through an understanding of the historical geography of Clairwood and District is the futility of planning without recognition of past communities and the cultural meanings that accumulate in places over time. Furthermore, the cultural resources of communities, by providing a source of identity and solidarity, can serve as resources which can be harnessed in the reconstruction process.

The Shree Subramoniar Temple in Sirdar Road is over one hundred years old. It is here in the moment of prayer that the indignities of racial capitalist industrialization are momentarily forgotten and the present problems of degradation ignored. It is here that the Hindu utopian vision of a better world is for an evanescent moment possible.

Endnotes

1. Mrs Dixon (28/11/1988), Mr H Sigamoney (13/10/1987), Mr Fyzoo (4/2/1988) and Mr P Govender (19/10/1987) continue to be involved in Clairwood associations many years after relocating. Mrs Dixon has continued for twenty-four years to be a member of the Mathar Sungum - Jacobs Road Temple; and Mr Govender, besides maintaining commercial interests in the area, is one of the trustees of the Sirdar Road Temple.
2. In 1991, the Sunshine Club was inaugurated by descendants of former residents to undertake social work and create a social and welfare association to work for the re-establishment of Clairwood.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES:

a) **Documentary Primary Sources** - see endnotes

b) **Interviews**

Archary, Mr K N (12/1988): Owner of Archary Jewellers and one of the early traders on South Coast Road.

de Fleriot, Father Gerrard (26/8/1987), Priest at St Louis Catholic Church, Clairwood; Representative of French Mauritian community in Clairwood.

Fyzoo, Mr M A (4/2/1988), Deputy Head of South Coast and District Madressa; born and grew up in Clairwood.

Gafoor, Mr (27/10/1987), Vice-Principal, Clairwood Secondary School.

Govender, Mr K S (17/3/1986), Born in Clairwood but moved to Isipingo Hills in 1970; family owned many butcheries and 'Refreshment Rooms', wife runs the family store - Goodwill Supermarket; descendent of pioneer family in Clairwood

Govender, Mr P M (19/10/1987), Honorary Life President of Shree Subramoniar Temple Committee, Sirdar Road.

Hanson, Mr D (November 1987 - October, 1988), ex City Estates Inspector, City Estates Department, Durban Corporation.

Jacob, Mr P K (20/5/1986), Resident of Clairwood and Methodist minister for 46 years; Vice-Chairman of CDRRA.

Joshua, Mr Harry (20/5/1986), Resident of Clairwood his entire adult life - 52 Sirdar Road; Only Fynnlads seinenetting family descendent living in Clairwood.

Juggernath, Mr B (4/11/1987), Pioneer resident of Merebank and founder member of Merebank Indian Association, 23 Arcot Place, Merebank (Deceased).

Kalideen, Mr K (11,1987, 16/11/1988, 18/9/1992 and 12/12/1992), Vice Principal of Clairwood Secondary and former teacher and pupil of Merebank Government-Aided Indian School; descendent of pioneer family of Merebank.

Limalia, Mr Y (11/1988), Pioneer Muslim shopkeeping family in South Coast Road; Owner of Limsons Butchery, 507 South Coast Road.

Maharaj, Mr B (27/10/1987), Headmaster of Clairwood Secondary School.

Maharaj, Mr I (7/3/1986 and continuously consulted from 1986-1994), Secretary of Clairwood and District Ratepayers Association and Trustee of Clairwood Hindu Cemetery; Resident of Clairwood - Cherry Road.

Maharaj, Mr R R, (10/11/1987), Descendent of pioneer Clairwood family - the Dayals; President of Scidifa Trust; Trustee of Shree Luxmi Narayan Temple (relocated to Mobeni Heights due to building of Southern Freeway).

Maharaj, Mrs Sumandra (20/5/1986), Resident of Clairwood whose home was demolished in terms of the Slums Act; 95 Houghton Road, where she now has a herb garden.

Mansoor, Mr M (18/9/91), Second generation Clairwood resident and shopkeeper.

Mehmod, Mr S (12/1988), Manager of Dominnion Outfitters and resident of Clairwood.

Naidoo, Mr Pat (11,1987), Member of Shree Subramoniar Temple; Made Video of Kavadi Festival.

Naidoo, Mr V (19/10/1987), Secreatry of the Shree Subramoniar Temple and Convenor of the Centenary Celebrations.

- Naidoo, Mrs Kamla (4/1988), Daughter of pioneer fisherman Padavattan and born in Fynnlands fishing village.
- Nepaul, Mr Medan, (27/1/1987), Resident in former Bayside shack community before removals.
- Parvathy, Mrs Baby (10,1987), 54 Sir Kurma Reddy Rd, Teacher of Tamil vernacular classes, Clairwood Boys School; Pioneer Clairwood family; member of Marthar Sungum, Jacobs Road Temple.
- Pather, Mr K J (20/5/1986), Lived in Clairwood for 50 years - 115 Houghton Road.
- Pattu, Mrs Gonum (Billy), (8/12/91), Wife of former seinenetter - lived in Fynnlands fishing village; Interviewed in video (Scott and Criticos, 1991).
- Persadh, Mr P D (Butch), (18/3/1986), Secretary of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha and descendent of pioneer family of Clairwood.
- Pillay, Mr Brownie (8/89), Part-time fisherman and descendent of pioneer seinenettors; son of Mr Bob Muriemuthoo.
- Pillay, Mrs Thirunagavalli Dixon (28/11/1988), Ex-resident of Clairwood and member of Clairwood Marthar Sungum; Sthanigar at the Temple and involved in Tamil education, culture and teaching; Honoured in the Shree Murugar Alayam Golden Jubilee Celebrations, 1937-1987.
- Rajruthnam, Mr (15/11/1988), Principal of Ganges Secondary School, Merebank (school was previously Merebank Government-Aided Primary School - the first school in Merebank); member of pioneer family of Merebank.
- Rehman, Mrs Enef (1986), Resident of Clairwood and member of creole community of Clairwood and parishioner of St Louis Catholic Church, Clairwood. (Transcript of interview in M George, 1986).
- Sigamoney, Mr H (13/10/1987), Former member of Clairwood Boys Old Boys Club, and Secretary for the Indian Social Services Committee.
- Subramunien, Mr Cherry (6/8/1987), Butcher in Clairwood - 'The Subramunia Meat Market', 152 Pine Road; Descendent of Fynnlands Seinenetting family; Interviewed in video (Scott and Criticos, 1991).
- Subramunien, Mrs C (May, 1987), Resident of Fynnlands fishing village and wife of pioneer fisherman; interviewed in video (Scott and Criticos, 1991).
- Thathiah Mr M V (5-12/1987), Headmaster of Clairwood Boys Primary School.
- Tooley, Mr (29/2/1990), Deputy City Treasurer, City Treasury Department.

c) **Unpublished Reports, Transcripts and Manuals**

- BESG (1983): Clairwood: industrialisation or residential rehabilitation, Built Environment Support Group, University of Natal.
- CED (1973): Office Systems and Procedures, Inspectorate, City Estates Department, Durban. (Unpublished Manual).
- City of Durban (1943): Programme of Post-War Development: report of a Special Committee, chaired by A L Barnes, The City of Durban, Durban.
- City of Durban (1967a): Outline Plan of the City, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
- City of Durban (1967b): Report on the Planning of the Bluff, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
- City of Durban (1982): Report on Clairwood, City Engineer's Department, February 1982, Durban.

- City of Durban (1988a): Clairwood Redevelopment Project, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
- City of Durban (1988b): Clairwood Socio-Economic Survey, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
- City of Durban (1989): Structure Plan for Clairwood, City Engineer's Department, Durban.
- Durban City Council (1930): Report of the Durban Borough Boundaries Commission, J H Hofmeyer - Chairman, Durban City Council, Durban.
- Durban City Council (1951): Report of the Technical Sub-Committee on Racial Zoning, Durban City Council, Durban.
- Hanson, D (1988): Comments on the Rehousing of Indian and Coloured Families in the Southern Durban area, Unpublished memorandum, Durban, 25/3/1988.
- Jacobs, P K (1985): A brief history of the struggle for Clairwood, Memorandum presented to the Group Areas Board, 3/5/1985.
- Juggernath, Mr B (n.d.): Autobiography and history of Merebank, Arcot Place, Merebank.
- Ninth Interim Report of the Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee regarding Provincial and Town Planning Pietermaritzburg, January 1945.
- Poovalingum, P (ed) (1990): **Venkatapathy Vathier**, (Commemorative Brochure), Rapid Graphic, Umgeni Road, Durban.
- Robertson, M (1984) An investigation into the Rates Structure of Clairwood, Unpublished Memorandum, Durban.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES:

- Adam, J F (1975): Human spaces in the "Heart of Darkness", **Isizwe**, 2, 1-16.
- Ainslie, I (1988): The Umbilo River Temple, Third Year Geography Research Project, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.
- Anderson, B (1983): **Imagined Communities**, Verso, London.
- Anderson, K J (1987): The idea of Chinatown: the power of place and institutional practice in the making of a racial category, **Annals of the Association of American Geographers**, 77, 4, 580-598.
- Anderson, K J (1988): Cultural hegemony and the race-definition process in Chinatown, Vancouver: 1880-1980, **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space**, 6, 127-149.
- Anderson, K J and F Gale (eds) (1992): **Inventing Places: studies in cultural geographies**, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Arkin, A J (1989): Economic structure, in Arkin, A J, K P Magyar and C J Pillay (eds), **The Indian South Africans: a contemporary profile**, Owen Burgess Publishers, Johannesburg, 43-69.
- Bagwandeem, D M (1983): The Question of Indian Penetration in the Durban Area and Indian Politics: 1940-1946, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Bailey, D (1987): The Origin of Phoenix, 1957-1976, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Barnes, T J and J S Duncan (eds) (1991): **Writing Worlds: discourse, text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape**, Routledge, London.
- Beall, J D (1990): Women under indentured labour in colonial Natal, 1860-1911, in C Walker (ed), **Women and gender in southern Africa to 1945**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 146-167.
- Bendheim, P (1981): **Clairwood: a survey of a community**, Occasional Paper No 2, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban -Westville, Durban.

- Bendheim, P and M Padayachee, (1985): **Clairwood: the South Coast Road Trading Area**, Report No 19, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Berger, J (1979): **Pig Earth**, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, London.
- Bhana, S (1985): Indian trade and trader in colonial Natal, in Guest, B and J M Sellers, (eds), **Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal**, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 235-263.
- Bhana S and B Pachai, (eds) (1984): **A Documentary History of Indian South Africans**, David Philip, Claremont.
- Blomley, N K (1988): Law and the local state: enforcement in action, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series**, 13, 199-210.
- Bonner, P *et al* (1989): **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- Bonner, P and T Lodge (1989): Introduction, in Bonner, P *et al* (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1-17.
- Bozzoli, B (1983): Marxism, feminism and South African studies, **Journal of Southern African Studies**, 9, 139-171.
- Bozzoli, B (ed) (1987): **Class, Community and Conflict**, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Brain, J (1980): **Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond**, T W Griggs and Co, Durban.
- Brain, J (1985): Indentured and free Indians in the economy of colonial Natal, in Guest, B and J M Sellers, J M (eds), **Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony: aspects of the Economic and Social History of Colonial Natal**, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 199-234.
- Brunton, D (1969): Indian Women in Industry, Unpublished Geography Third Year Research Project, Department of Geography, University of Natal, Durban.
- Bundy, C (1979): **The Rise and Fall of the African Peasantry**, Heineman, London.
- Burrows, H R (1940): **Indian Life and Labour in Natal**, Preliminary Report on the Housing of the Indian Community in Durban, University of Natal Press, Durban.
- Burrows, H R (1943): **Indian Life and Labour in Natal**, University of Natal Press, Durban.
- Burrows, H R (1953): **The Indian Community of Natal**, Oxford University Press, London.
- Burrows, H R (1959): **The Population and Labour Resources of Natal**, Natal Town and Regional Planning Report No 6, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Butler-Adam, J (1986): Reading Landscapes as Texts: grammarology, Hermeneutics and the Spatial Imagination, Seminar Series, Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, University of Natal, Durban.
- Calpin, G H (1949): **Indians in South Africa**, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- Carter, P (1987): **The Road to Botany Bay: an essay in spatial history**, Faber and Faber, London.
- Choonoo, A G (1967): Indentured Indian Immigration into Natal, 1860-1911, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Christopher, A J (1969): Natal: a study in Colonial Land Settlement, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Christopher, A J (1988a): Roots of Urban Segregation: South Africa at Union, 1910, **Journal of Historical Geography**, 14,2, 151-169.
- Christopher, A J (1988b): **The British Empire at its Zenith**, Croom Helm, London.
- Clark G L and M Dear (1984): **State Apparatus: structures of Language and Legitimacy**, Allen and Unwin, Boston.

- Clark, G L (1981): Law, the state and the spatial integration of the United States, **Environment and Planning A**, 13, 1197-1232.
- Clark, G L (1989): Law and the interpretive turn, **Urban Geography**, 10, 3, 209-228.
- Clark, G L and M Dear, (1981): The state in capitalism and the capitalist state, in Clark, G L and A J Scott, (eds), **Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society**, Methuen, London, 45-61.
- Clifford, J (1988): **The Predicament of Culture: twentieth Century Ethnography, literature and art**, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass.
- Clifford, J and G E Marcus (eds) (1986): **Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography**, University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
- Cloke, P, Philo, C and Sadler, D (1990): **Approaching Human Geography: an introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates**, Guilford Press, London.
- Cooper, F (ed) (1983): **Struggle For the City: migrant Labour, Capital and the State in Africa**, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills.
- Corbett, J E (1947): A Study of the Cape Town Agreement, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Cornwell, J (1984): **Hard-Earned Lives: accounts of Health and Illness from East London**, Tavistock, London.
- Cosgrove, D (1984) **Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape**, Croom Helm, London.
- Cosgrove, D (1989): Power and place in the Venetian territories, in Agnew, J A and J S Duncan (eds), **The Power of Place**, Unwin Hyman, Boston, 185-201.
- Cosgrove, D (1994): Contested global visions: one-world, whole-earth and the Apollo space photographs, **Annals of the Association of American Geographers**, 84,2,270-294.
- Cosgrove, D and S Daniels (eds) (1988): **The Iconography of Landscape: essays on the Symbolic Representation, design and use of past environments**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cosgrove, D and P Jackson (1987): New directions in cultural geography, **Area**, 19, 95-101.
- Cox, K R (1981a): Bourgeois thought and the behavioural debate, in Cox, K R and R G Golledge (eds), **Behavioural Problems in Geography Revisited**, Methuan, New York, 256-279.
- Cox, K R (1981b): Capitalism and conflict around communal living space, in Dear, M and A J Scott (eds), **Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society**, Methuen, London, 431-55.
- Cox, K R and A Mair (1988): Locality and community in the politics of local economic development, **Annals of the Association of American Geographers**, 78, 2, 307-325.
- Crush, J (1984): Uneven labour migration in southern Africa: conceptions and misconceptions, **South African Geographical Journal**, 66, 2, 115-131.
- Crush, J (1992): Beyond the frontier: the new South African historical geography, in Rogerson, C and J McCarthy (eds), **Geography in a Changing South Africa: Progress and Prospects**, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 10-37.
- Crush, J (1993): The discomforts of distance: post-colonialism and South African geography, **South African Geographical Journal**, 75, 2, 60-68.
- Crush, J and C M Rogerson (1983): New Wave historiography and African historical geography, **Progress in Human Geography**, 7, 203-231.
- Daniels, S and D Cosgrove (1988): Introduction, Iconography and landscape, in D Cosgrove and S Daniels (eds), **The Iconography of Landscape: essays on the Symbolic Representation, design and use of past environments**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1-10.

- Davies, R J (1963): The growth of the Durban metropolitan area, **South African Geographical Journal**, 45, 15-43.
- Davies, R J (1976): *Of Cities and Societies: a Geographer's Viewpoint*, University of Cape Town Inaugural Lecture Series, Cape Town.
- Davies, R J and J C C Greyling (1978): **Indian Farming on the Natal North Coast**, Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Pietermaritzburg.
- Dear, M (1981): The state: a research agenda, **Environment and Planning A**, 13, 1191-1196.
- Dear, M (1988): Reconstructing human geography: the postmodern challenge, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series**, 13, 262-274.
- Dear, M and G L Clark (1981): Dimensions of local state autonomy, **Environment and Planning A**, 13, 1277-1294.
- Department of Economics, Natal University (1949): Indian Agriculture, in Hellman, E (ed), **Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa**, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 214-228.
- Duncan, J S (1987): Review of urban imagery: urban semiotics, **Urban Geography**, 8, 5, 473-483.
- Duncan, J S (1989): The power of place in Kandy, Sri Lanka: 1780-1980, in Agnew, J A and J S Duncan (eds), **The Power of Place**, Unwin Hyman, Boston, 185-201.
- Duncan, S and S Goodwin (1982): The local state and restructuring of social relations, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, 6, 157-86.
- Dunleavy, P (1977): Protest and quiescence in urban politics, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, 1, 2, 193-218.
- Eales, K (1989): Patriarchs, Passes and Privilege, in Bonner, P et al (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 105-140.
- Edwards, I (1989): Swing the Assegaai Peacefully, in Bonner, P et al (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 59-104.
- Eyles, J and Evans, M (1987): Popular consciousness, moral ideology, and locality, **Environment and Planning D, Society and Space**, 5, 39-71.
- Faccio, R L (1975): The development of planning controls in Britain and South Africa, **Planning and Building Development**, 14, 33-39.
- Fair, D and J G Browett (1979): The urbanization process in South Africa, in Herbert, D T and R J Johnston (eds), **Urbanisation and Counter-urbanisation**, London, Sage, 145-168.
- Fouche, N (1990): *An Odour Pollution Assessment: the case of Durban*, Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Freil, P (1988): *The Meaning of Communal Living Space: the Experiences of the Zanzibaris in Durban*, Unpublished Honours thesis, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.
- Freund, W (1994): **Insiders and Outsiders**, Natal University Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Geertz, C (1973): **The Interpretation of Cultures: selected Essays**, Basic Books, New York.
- Geertz, C (1983): **Local Knowledge: further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology**, Basic Books, New York.
- George, M (1986): *A Case Study of Three Generations of Women in Clairwood*, Third Year Geography Project, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.
- Graham, E (1988): *Indian relocation and local Housing Policy in Durban: the case of Tintown*, Unpublished Honours thesis, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences.
- Grant, L J (1992): *An Historical Geography of the Durban Beachfront*, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

- Gregory, D (1978): **Ideology, Science and Human Geography**, Hutchinson, London.
- Gregory, D (1981): Human agency and human geography, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers**, New Series; 5, 1, 1-18.
- Gregory, D (1987): Aerial differentiation and post-modern human geography, in Gregory, D and R, Walford (eds), **New Horizons in Geography**, MacMillan, London.
- Gregory, D (1993): 'Bloody Theory', **Environment and Planning D, Society and Space**, 11, 253-254.
- Gregory D and J Urry (eds) (1985): **Social Relations and Spatial Structures**, St Martins, New York.
- Grest, J (1985): The Durban City Council and "The Indian Problem": local Politics in the 1940's, Paper presented at the ASSA Conference, July 1985, 1-22.
- Grossert, J W (1942): Hindu Temples in Natal, Unpublished Masters thesis, Fine Art, UNISA, Pretoria.
- Halliday, I G (1940): The Market Gardeners of the Durban Peri-Urban Area, Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Halliday, I G (1942): Durban's Food Supplies, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, UNISA, Pretoria.
- Harley, J B (1988): Maps, knowledge and power, in Cosgrove, D and S Daniels, (eds), **The Iconography of Landscape: essays on the Symbolic Representation, design and use of past environments**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 277-312.
- Harley, J B (1991): Deconstructing the map, in Barnes, T J and J S Duncan (eds), **Writing Worlds: discourse, text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape**, Routledge, London, 231-273.
- Hart, D and G Pirie (1984): The sight and soul of Sophiatown, **The Geographical Review**, 74, 1, 38-47.
- Hart, G H T (1965): An Historical Geography of Port Natal, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Harvey, D (1973): **Social Justice and the City**, Edward Arnold, London.
- Harvey, D (1985): **Consciousness and the Urban Experience**, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Harvey, D (1989): **The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change**, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Haswell, R (n.d.): The Making of Durban's Townscape, Unpublished paper, Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Hattersley, A F (1940): **Portrait of a Colony: the Story of Natal**, University Press, Cambridge.
- Hellman, E (ed) (1949): **Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa**, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Henderson, W P M (1904): **Durban: fifty Years Municipal History**, Robinson and Co, Durban.
- Horwood, O P F (1969): The Port of Durban, Natal Regional Survey, Vol 15, Pietermaritzburg.
- Huttenback, R A (1966): Indians in South Africa 1860-1914: the British Imperial philosophy on trial, **English Historical Review**, 81 (Apr), 273-291.
- IBG (1991): The Social and Cultural Geography Study Group Newsletter, April 1991.
- Jackson, J (1989): **Maps of Meaning: an Introduction to Cultural Geography**, Unwin Hyman, London.
- Jackson, P (1991): Mapping meanings: a cultural critique of locality studies, **Environment and Planning A**, 23, 215-228.
- Jackson, P and Smith, S J, (1984): **Exploring Social Geography**, George Allen and Unwin, London.

- Jacobs, J (1974): **The Death and Life of Great American Cities**, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- James, J (1993): The Zanzibaris of King's Rest: a Case Study of the Reclaimed Land Issue facing the New South African Government, Unpublished Paper, School for International Training, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Jameson, F (1989): Marxism and postmodernism, **New Left Review**, 178, July/August, 146, 53-92.
- Jencks, C (1985): **Modern movements in Architecture**, Paladin, New York.
- Johnston, R J (1981): The management and autonomy of the local state: the role of the judiciary in the United States, **Environment and Planning A**, 13, 1305-1315.
- Johnstone, R J (1983): **Philosophy and Human Geography**, Edward Arnold, London.
- Kapp, P H (1987): The historical background to and political significance of the May election, in van Vuuren, D J, L Schlemmer, H C Marais and J Latakomo (eds), **South African Election, 1987**, Owen Burgess Publishers, South Africa, 5-28.
- Katzen, M (1961): **Industry in Greater Durban**, Penrose Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Kuper H (1960): **Indian People in Natal**, University of Natal Press, Durban.
- Kuper, L, H Watts and R Davies (1958): **Durban: a Study in Racial Ecology**, J J Gray, London.
- La Hausse, P (1982): Drinking in a Cage: the Durban System and the 1929 Beer Hall Riots, **Africa Perspective**, 20, 63-75.
- La Hausse, P (1989): The Message of the Warriors, in Bonner, P *et al* (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 19-58.
- Ley, D (1987): Styles of the times: liberal and neo-conservative landscapes in Inner Vancouver, 1968-1986, **Journal of Historical Geography**, 13, 40-56.
- Ley, D. (1988): From Urban structure to urban landscape, **Urban Geography**, 9, 1, 98-105.
- Ley, D (1989): Modernism, Post-Modernism and struggle for Place, in Agnew, J A and J S Duncan (eds), **The Power of Place**, Unwin Hyman, Boston, 44-65.
- Ley, D and K Olds (1988): Landscape as spectacle: the world's fairs and the culture of heroic consumption, **Society and Space**, 6, 191-212.
- Ley, D and M Samuels (eds), (1978): **Humanistic Geography: problems and Prospects**, Croom Helm, London.
- Lodge, T (1981): The destruction of Sophiatown, **Journal of Modern African Studies**, 19, 1, 107-132.
- Maasdorp, G (1975): **From Shantytown to Township**, Juta, Cape Town.
- Maasdorp, G and N Pillay (1977): **Urban Relocation and Racial Segregation**, Research Monograph, Department of Economics, University of Natal, Durban.
- Mabin, A S and D Smit (1992): Reconstructing South Africa's cities 1900-2000: a prospectus (Or, a cautionary tale), African Studies Seminar Paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 18 May, 1992.
- Maharaj, B (1992): The Group Areas Act in Durban: central-Local State Relations, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Maharaj, S R (1989): Primary and Secondary Education, in Arkin, A J, K P Magyar and C J Pillay (eds), **The Indian South Africans**, Owen Burgess Publishers, Johannesburg, 338-383.
- Marris, P (1979): The meaning of slums, **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, 3, 419-442.
- Maylam, P (1983a): The 'Black Belt': African squatters in Durban, 1935-1950, **Canadian Journal of African Studies**, 17, 3, 413-428.

- Maylam, P (1983b): Shackled by Contradictions: the Municipal Response to African Urbanisation in Durban, 1920-1950, Paper presented to a workshop on African Urban Life in Durban in the Twentieth Century, University of Natal, Durban, October, 1983.
- Maylam, P (1985): Aspects of African urbanisation in the Durban region before 1940, in Haines, R and G Buiys (eds), **The Struggle for the City: urbanization in twentieth Century South Africa**, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, 41-62.
- McCarthy, J J (1982): Radical geography, mainstream geography and southern Africa, **Social Dynamics**, 8, 1, 53-70.
- McCarthy, J J (1983): The political economy of urban land use: towards a revised theoretical framework, **South African Geographical Journal**, 67, 1, 25-48.
- McCarthy J J (1986): South Africa: changing Metropolitan State Forms, Paper presented at the Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, May, 1986.
- McCarthy, J J (1988): Changing the Definition of Natal's Metropolitan Areas: the Case of Durban, 1930-1987, Paper presented at the Workshop on Regionalism and Restructuring in Natal, Department of African Studies, University of Natal, 28-31 January, 1988.
- McCarthy, J J (1991): Planning issues and the political economy of the local state: an historical case study of Durban, **Urban Forum**, 2, 25-44.
- McCarthy J J and D P Smit (1984): **South African City: theory in Analysis and Planning**, Juta and Co, Cape Town.
- McCarthy, J J and D P Smit (1988): The History of the Urban Landuse Process, Urban Planning and Urban Social Movements, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.
- McDonald, M R (1972): The Spatial and Qualitative Development of Durban Harbour, 1966-1972, Honours Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Durban, Natal.
- Meer, F (1969): **Portrait of Indian South Africans**, Avon House, Durban.
- Mesthrie, U S (1987): From Sastri to Deshmukh: A study of the role of the government of India's representatives in South Africa, 1927-1946, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Mikula, P, B Kearney and R Harber (1982): **Traditional Hindu Temples in South Africa**, Hindu Temple Publications, Durban.
- Mollenkopf, J (1981): Community and accumulation, in Dear, M and A J Scott (eds), **Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society**, Methuen, London, 319-337.
- Nasson, B (1989): 'She preferred living in a cave with Harry the snake-catcher': Towards an Oral History of Popular Leisure and Class Expression in District Six, Cape Town, c1920's-1950's, in Bonner, P et al (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 285-389.
- Natal Chamber of Industries (1955): **Fifty Years of Progress: the Development of Industry in Natal**, The Natal Chamber of Industries, Durban.
- Ogborn, P (1992): Love-state-ego: 'centres' and 'margins' in 19th century Britain, **Environment and Planning D, Society and Space**, 10, 3, 287-305.
- Oosthuizen, G C (1982): The Muslim Zanzibaris of South Africa, in **The Religious Expression of a minority group, descendants of Freed Slaves**, The Department of Science and Religion, University of Durban-Westville.
- Oosthuizen , G C and J H Hofmeyr (1979): **A socio-religious survey of Chatsworth**, Report No 7, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville,

Durban.

- Pachai, B (1979a): Aliens in the political hierarchy, in Pachai, B (ed), **South African Indians: the Evolution of a Minority**, University Press of America, Washington, 1-68.
- Pachai, B (ed) (1979b): **South African Indians: the Evolution of a Minority**, University Press of America, Washington.
- Padayachee, S (1988): A Review of the New Town Planning Proposal for Clairwood, Honours thesis, Department of Geography, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Padayachee, V and R Morrell (1991): Indian Merchants and Dukawallahs in Natal c 1875-1914, **Journal of Southern African Studies**, 17, 1, 71-103.
- Padayachee, V, S Vawda, and P Tichman (1985): **Indian Workers and Trades Unions in Durban : 1930 - 1950**, Report No 20, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Palmer, M (1956): Economic and political background of the history of Indians in Natal, in M Palmer et al (eds), **The Indian as South African**, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1-75.
- Parnell, S (1988): Racial segregation in Johannesburg: the Slums Act, 1934-1939, **South African Geographical Journal**, 70, 2, 112-126.
- Parnell, S (1991): Sanitation, segregation and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act: African exclusion from Johannesburg's Malay Location, 1897-1925, **Journal of Historical Geography**, 17, 3, 271-288.
- Patel, Z (1990): **The evolution and role of King's Rest in Muslim Community living**, Unpublished Third Year Geography Thesis, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.
- Patricious, N N (1975): Urban Planning - its basic aims, **Planning and Building Development**, 16, 55-75.
- Peet, R (1986): The destruction of regional cultures, in Johnstone, R J and P J Taylor (eds), **A World in Crisis? Geographical Perspectives**, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 150-72.
- Pillay, G J et al (1989): Religious Profile, in Arkin, A J, K P Magyar and C J Pillay (eds), **The Indian South Africans**, Owen Burgess Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Piper, A (1975): Internal Dynamics in the CBD of Durban, 1959-1966, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Pirie, G H (1982): Mostly 'Jubek': urbanism in some South African English literature, **South African Geographical Journal**, 64, 1, 63-71.
- Pirie G H (1984): Race zoning in South Africa: board, court, parliament, public, **Political Geography Quarterly**, 3, 3, 207-221.
- Platzky, L and C Walker (1985): **The Surplus People: forced Removals in South Africa**, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Polak, H S L (1909): **The Indians in South Africa**, G A Nateson and Co, Madras.
- Prabhupada, A C Bhaktivedanta Swami (1994): **Bhagavad - Gita as it is**, The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust, Los Angeles.
- Purcell, J F H (1974): **Durban, South Africa: Local Politics in a Plural Society**, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Rajah, D S (1981): The Durban Indian Central Business District: a Case Study in the Geography of Apartheid, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Ramasar, P (1989): Socio-Cultural Aspects of Assimilation, Paper presented at the 1st Convention of Overseas Indians, New York, 27 Aug to 3 September, 1989.
- Ramphal, R (1989): Social Transition, in Arkin, A J, K P Magyar and C J Pillay (eds), **The Indian South Africans**, Owen Burgess Publishers, Johannesburg.

- Rankin, S (1983): A Pilot Study assessing the Problems facing the Coloured community of the Durban Metropolitan Area, Occasional Paper 4, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Durban-Westville, Durban.
- Rich, P B (1978): 'Ministering to the white man's needs': the development of segregation in South Africa, 1913-1923, **African Studies**, 37, 2, 177-191.
- Rich, P B (1980): Administrative ideology: urban social control and the origins of apartheid theory, 1930-1939, **Journal of African Studies**, 7, 70-82.
- Robertson, M (1987): Orderly urbanisation: the new Influx control, in Rycroft, A J (ed), **Race and the Law in South Africa**, Juta, Cape Town, 107-118.
- Robinson, J (1984): Urban movements in South Africa: the example of Clairwood, Durban, Unpublished Honours thesis, Department of Geography, University of Natal.
- Robinson, J (1992): The politics of urban form: differential citizenship and Township formation in Port Elizabeth 1925-1945, Paper presented at the Society for Geography Conference, Port Elizabeth, September 1992.
- Rose, G (1994): The cultural politics of place: local representation and oppositional discourse in two films, **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series**, 19, 46-60.
- Russell, M (1946): A Study of a South African Inter-Racial Neighbourhood, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Said, E (1978): **Orientalism**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Sapire, H (1989): African settlement and Segregation in Brakpan, 1900-1927, in Bonner, P *et al* (eds), **Holding their Ground**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 141-176.
- Sayer, A (1984): **Method in Social Science**, Hutchinson, London.
- Sayer, A (1989): The 'new' regional geography and problems of narrative, **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space**, 7, 253-276.
- Scott D (1981): Urban Planning Styles: an Analysis of Planning Theory and its application in Natal, Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Scott, D (1987): Methodology in Historical Geography: the Use of Oral Histories, South African Geographical Society Quadrennial Conference, 28 June - 1 July 1987, Grahamstown.
- Scott, D (1992): The Destruction of Clairwood: a case study in the transformation of communal living space, in Smith, D (ed.), **Urbanisation in Contemporary South Africa: the Apartheid City and beyond**, Unwin Hyman, London, 87-98.
- Scott, D and C Criticos (1988): Hanging up the Nets: the Documentation of the Removal of the Durban Bay Fishing Community, in (ed) Sienaert, E and Bell, N, **Oral Tradition and Education**, Natal University Oral Documentation and Research Centre, Durban, 238-255.
- Scott, D and C Criticos (1991): **Video: Hanging up the Nets: the History of the Durban Bay Fishing Community**, 35 mins, VHS, PAL, Colour, Media Research Centre, University of Natal.
- Scott, D and R Diab (1989): Inanda Dam: a case study of the social impacts of infrastructural development in the South African context, **International Journal of Environmental Studies**, 34, 43-55.
- Seedat, Z K (1973): **The Zanzibaris of Durban**, Unpublished Masters thesis, Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban.
- Seedat, Z K *et al* (1972): **A Survey of the Zanzibaris of Chatsworth**, Russell, Marriot and Boyd Trust, Durban.
- Sibley, D (1981): **Outsiders in Urban Society**, Blackwell, Oxford.

- Sibley, D (1986): Persistence or change? Conflicting interpretations of peripheral minorities, **Environment and Planning D: Society and Space**, 4, 57-70.
- Simons, H J (1949): The Law and its Administration, in Hellman, E (ed), **Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa**, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 41-108.
- Slater, H (1975): Land, labour and capitalism in Natal: the 'Natal Land and Colonisation Company', 1860-1948, **Journal of African History**, 16, 2, 257-283.
- Smith, S (1989): **The Politics of Race and Residence**, Polity Press, Oxford.
- Soja, E (1989): **Post-modern Geographies: the Reassertion of Space into Critical Social Theory**, Verso, London.
- Stadler, A W (1979): Birds in the Cornfield: squatter movements in Johannesburg 1944-1947, in B Bozzoli (ed), **Labour, Townships and Protest**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 19-44.
- Stretch, C and C Wright (1985): The Effectiveness of Town Planning in Natal: the case studies of Pinetown and Umhlanga Rocks, Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Pietermaritzburg.
- Surplus People's Project (1983): **Forced Removals in South Africa**, Vol 4, Natal, Surplus People's Project, Cape Town.
- Swan, M (1984): The 1913 Natal Indian strike, **Journal of Southern African Studies**, 10, 2, 239-258.
- Swanson, M (1964): The Rise of Multiracial Durban: urban History and Race Policy in South Africa, 1830-1930, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Harvard University.
- Swanson, M (1968): Urban Origins of Separate Development, **Race**, 10, 1, 31-40.
- Swanson, M (1976): "The Durban System": roots of urban apartheid in colonial Natal, **African Studies**, 35, 159-176.
- Swanson, M (1977): The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1090, **Journal of African History**, 18, 3, 387-410.
- Swanson, M (1983): 'The Asiatic Menace': creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900, **International Journal of African Historical Studies**, 16, 401-421.
- Tanner, B D (1988): St Francis Xavier's Mission: origins and importance of the Catholic Church on the Bluff in the late 19th century, Third Year Geography Research Project, Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.
- Tayal, M (1978): Indian indentured labour in Natal, 1890-1911, **The Indian Economic and Social History Review**, XIV, 4, 519-547.
- Thompson, E P (1975): **Whigs and Hunters: the origin of the Black Act**, Pantheon, New York.
- Torr, L (1987): Providing for the "Better Class Native": the creation of Lamontville, 1923-1933, **South African Geographical Journal**, 69, 1, 31-45.
- University of Natal (1952): **Durban Housing Survey: a Study of Housing in a Multi-Racial Community**, Natal Regional Survey Report No 2, Department of Economics, Natal University Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- van Onselen, C (1982): **New Babylon, New Ninevah: studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914**, Ravan, Johannesburg.
- Vernon, J (1973): **The Garden and the Map: schizophrenia in Twentieth Century Literature and Culture**, Urbana, University of Illinois Press.
- Walker, C (1990): Women and gender in southern Africa to 1945: an overview, C Walker (ed), in **Women and gender in southern Africa to 1945**, Ravan, Johannesburg, 1-32.
- Watts, H L (1971): The Indian Community of Wyebank: a Socio-economic survey in the Borough of Kloof, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban.

- Webb, M (1949): Indian land legislation, in Hellman, E (ed), **Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa**, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 206-213.
- Western J (1981): **Outcast Cape Town**, London, George Allen and Unwin.
- Western, J (1978): Knowing one's place: the 'Coloured people' and the Group Areas Act in Cape Town, in Ley, D and Samuels, M s (eds), **Humanistic Geography, Prospects and Problems**, Croom Helm, London, 297-318.
- Williams, R (1973): **The Country and the City**, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Wood, C A (1954): **The Indian Community in Natal: their Economic Position**, Natal Regional Survey, Vol 9, Pietermaritzburg.
- Worger, W (1983): Workers as criminals: the rule of law in early Kimberley, 1870-1885, in F Cooper (ed), **Struggle for the City: migrant Labour, Capital and the State in Africa**, Sage Publications, Beverley Hills, 51-90.
- Wylie, C H (1986): The Natal Dealer's License Act of 1897 and the conflict between Indian and White Capital in the Borough of Durban, 1897-1909, Unpublished Honours thesis, History Department, University of Natal, Durban.
- Young, B S (1972): The Industrial Geography of the Durban Region, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

ஸ்ரீ மூர்த்தியம்மன் தீமதி



ஸ்ரீ முருகர் ஆலயம், 152 ஜெய்கோப்ஸ் ரோட், கிளவுட்

33வது வருட ஸ்ரீ திரோபல.தயம்மன் தீமதி மகோற்சவம்

சோதியே கடரே போற்றி சூழொளி விளக்கே போற்றி தீதியே உமையே போற்றி நிம்லாதேவி போற்றி
பாதியே பரளே போற்றி பாஞ்சாசி திரேபதா போற்றி தித்தமும் எளக்கஞர்வாய் நெடியசமல் தங்காய் போற்றி
திடமும் 1981 வருஷம் மேர் மாதம் 7 தேதி விவாழ்க்கிழமை மாலை 5-30 மணிக்கு அம்மனுக்குப் பதினொட்டு
கலா சந்தாபன கூபலங்கள் நாடபெற்று, துவஜரேகனாஞ் செய்து 20வது நாள் வளரவில் அபிஷேக ஆராதனை
கதவேத்தியங்கள் நடத்தி, அம்மனுக்கு சூய்ம விபூதி, பிரசாதம் வழங்கப்படும்.

மற்ற விபரங்கள் ஆய்கிலத்தில் அறிந்து கொள்ளவும்.

ஆகையால், பத்த சிரோன்மணிகள் அனைவரும் சூறித்த நேரத்தில் தவறாமல் வந்து அம்மனை தரிசித்து சித்தித்
மனோரத சித்திகள் பெற்றுப்புகாறு அன்புடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறோம்.

Shree Murugar Alayam, 152 Jacobs Road, Clairwood
"DROPATHIEAMMEN"

FIRE WALKING FESTIVAL

THE FLAG HOISTING CEREMONY WILL BE HELD ON THURSDAY, 7 MAY 1981
COMMENCING AT 5-30 P.M.

Official Garagams will be taken by V.R.NAIDOO (Vishnu Kalasam), V.S.MOODLEY (Kovil Garagam),
GANIE NAIDOO (Sathie Garagam), DEAN MOODLEY (Sathie Soolam), B.MANNIE (Fire Pot) & GANAS (Easvari Garagam)

Daily Prayers will be held at 5-30 p.m.

OBAYAMS

1. THURSDAY	7 May 1981	FLAG HOISTING - Public Wootchagam - Mrs K.C.Pather & Family, 269 Flower Road, Clairwood
2. FRIDAY	8 "	Dean Moodley - 66 Dayal Road, Clairwood
3. SATURDAY	9 "	S.V.Chetty - House 4, Road 237, Unit 2, Chatsworth
4. SUNDAY	10 "	C.V.Govender & Family - House 57, Road 701, Chatsworth
5. MONDAY	11 "	M. Kistensamy - Road 703 House 60, Chatsworth
6. TUESDAY	12 "	Mr & Mrs M.C.Naidoo & Son - Flat 48, Road 116, Chatsworth
7. WEDNESDAY	13 "	V.P.Chetty & Family - 26 Primrose Terrace, Mobeni Heights
8. THURSDAY	14 "	Ankama & Rossie Naidoo - Unit 2, Chatsworth
9. FRIDAY	15 "	B.Mannie & Family, Poona Place, Merebank
10. SATURDAY	16 "	Mrs C.V.Naidoo & Son, Bobby Naidoo - House 3 Road 928, Chatsworth
11. SUNDAY	17 "	Mr & Mrs Y.C.Naidoo & Family - 7 Jhelum Place, Merebank
12. MONDAY	18 "	N.M.Reddy & Family - Isiplung Beach
13. TUESDAY	19 "	Mr & Mrs R.Naidoo - House 38 Road 114, Chatsworth
14. WEDNESDAY	20 "	Mr & Mrs Breaker Padayachee - & Family - House 77 Road 323, Chatsworth
15. THURSDAY	21 "	Mrs C. Padayachee Road 619 House 68, Chatsworth
16. FRIDAY	22 "	Clairwood Mather Sungum - 99 Jacobs Road, Clairwood
17. SATURDAY	23 "	Mr & Mrs M.Pillay, son of the late Mr & Mrs T.N.Pillay - House 54 Road 723, Chatsworth

A grand Dance entitled "18th DAY BATTLE" will be staged by Coedmore Hindu Vallbar Navaneetha Nadge Sabha
Tutors: C. V. Freddy and Dorrie Moodley.

18. SUNDAY, 24th MAY 1981 FIRE - WALKING

19. MONDAY	25 "	DEHOISTING OF FLAG
20. TUESDAY	26 "	SATHEE POOJAY

The Procession will leave from the end of Flower Road (Kisten Govender's yard) and proceed to the Temple about 2:00 p.m.

ALL FIRE-WALKERS WILL WALK OVER THE EMBERS AT THEIR OWN RISK

ALL ARE WELCOME.

Wootchagam Fees R20:00 Radham R1:50 Garagam R1:50 Round the Pit 50c.

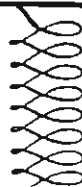
The Officials make a humble appeal to the general public to kindly assist in cash or kind to make this festival a success.

V.S.PADAYACHEE & M.P.NAIDOO (Stanigars) DEAN MOODLEY (Asst. Stanigar)

C.M.NAIDOO (Chairman) V.S.NAIDOO (Vice-Chairman) Y.KISTEN (Secretary) JAY NAIDOO (Treasurer)

Bills kindly donated by Messrs Goodwill Supply Stores,
556 South Coast Rd., Clairwood
Telephone: 456232

Stockists of all Indian Groceries and Prayer Goods.



The cost of AMUN MUSIC is entirely borne
in memory of their late father
Mr M. Reggie Pillay Bros.

BLACKIE IYAVOO

of Road 750 House 50 Chatsworth

APPENDIX 2



பழைய அம்பீலோ ஆலயம், ரோஸ்பரோ.

தைப்பூசக் காவடி மகோற்சவம்.

சாண்பவனே ஆறிருப்பனே சைபொளி பவனேவருவாய்
அணித புதல்வர மாகதவடிவேல் ஜங்காற் கிரியவேல் முருகா
மாகதவடிவேல் காத்தினிலெடுத்து மயிலினி லேறிய வருவாய்
அகா முருகா ஆறுமுருகா சாணம் ஜயினே சுப்பிரமணியனே!

என்னும் குமாரசுவாமி அளிக்கும் ஸ்ரீ சிவ சுப்பிரமணியக் கடவுளுக்கு மேற்படி ஆலயத்தில் காவடி மகோற்சவம், எனது 1962ஆம் ஜெனவரி 12ஆக்டுச் சரியான பில்வனூ மார்ச்சு 28ஆ வெள்ளிக்கிழமை மாலை 5 மணிக்குமேல் துவஜாரோகணஞ் செய்து அபிஷேக ஆராதனைகள் கடந்தி அன்று முதல் அடிவிற்கண்டப்படி உற்சவங்கள் கடைபெறும்.

ஜெனவரி 12ஆ வெள்ளிக்கிழமை கொடி பேற்றம். ஆலய காரியகீர்வாகிலும், மற்றவர்களும் உபயம்.

- 13ஆ சனிக்கிழமை அண்ணாமலை காயடு குடும்பத்தினர் உபயம்.
14ஆ ரூரிற்துக்கிழமை பில்லி காயடு குடும்பத்தினர் உபயம்.
15ஆ திங்கட்கிழமை எம். போதி கட்டத்தார்தர் உபயம்.
16ஆ செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை கணேஸ் கவண்டர் குடும்பத்தினர் உபயம்.
17ஆ புதன்கிழமை மர்க்கெட் மாதர் சங்கம் உபயம்.
18ஆ வியாழ்க்கிழமை சுப்பிரமணி காயடு (மாய்க்கல்) குடும்பத்தினர்
19ஆ வெள்ளிக்கிழமை சுப்பிரமணி தோமஸ் குடும்பத்தினர்.
20ஆ சனிக்கிழமை டேன் பொன்னன், கோலித்தம்மாள் பத்தர் குடும்பத்தினர் உபயம்.
21ஆ ரூரிற்துக்கிழமை காவடி ஊர்ப்பொது, காலி 10 மணி முதல் அன்று போஜனம் அன்னநாளம் கீர்வாகினார்தர் கவனிக்கப்படும்தம். மாலை 4 மணிக்கு கொடி இறக்கம்.

காவடி, பால்குடம் எடுப்பவர்கள் கவனிப்பு.

காவடி எடுப்பவர்கள் தங்கள் கால்கள் சேர்த்த காவடிகளைத் தயாரித்து வரும்படி வேண்டுகிறோம்.

—தங்கள் புள்ள—

சுப்பிரமணி தோமஸ், திருமதி. லக்ஷ்மி கவண்டர் (ஸ்தானிகர்கள்)

சுப்பிரமணி நாயடு (மாய்க்கல்) (காரிய நிர்வாகத் தலைவர்)

மதிமுகம் பிள்ளை, திருமதி. கோலித்தம்மாள் பத்தர்,
(செயலாளர்) (உதவி செயலாளர்)

AUM.

OLD UMBILO TEMPLE, ROSSBURGH

THAIPOOSAM KAVADY FESTIVAL

The Kavady Festival will be celebrated at the above Temple from Friday 12th to Sunday 21st January, 1962 daily from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Kavady Procession will be held on Sunday 21st January, 1962 commencing at 10 a.m. ALL DEVOTEES ARE INVITED TO ATTEND.

Please Note: Devotees are asked to bring their own Kavady's decorated.

Soobramoney Thomas, Mrs. Lutchmy Govender, Soobramoney Naidoo (Micheal),

Michlemugam Pillay, Mrs. Govindamma Pather, Prayer Group Committee.

APPENDIX 3

SHREE PARASATHIE TEMPLE

Mr. Maduray Nadasen Pillay together with a few of his colleagues, Messrs A.M. Govender, M.G. Naidoo, T. Moodley, C.M. Govender and the late K.M. Pillay felt the need for a place of worship for the predominantly Hindu community of Merebank.

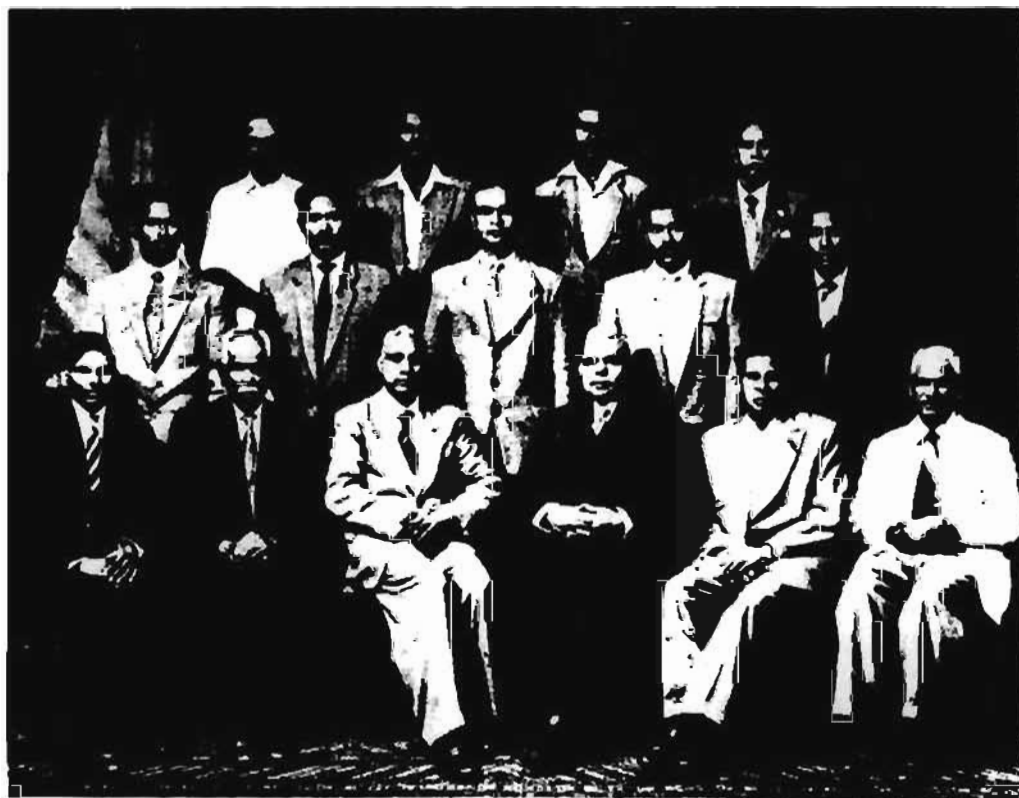
The Shree Parasathie Temple was founded on Friday 2 February 1950. A temple was built of reeds near the mere which was full of vegetation and other indigenous flora. The site was loaned by the Merebank Indian Association, the proprietors of the Merebank Govt. Aided Indian School.

The first prayer held was the Marieman Festival. This colourful festival which was held in August 1950, and thereafter annually, attracted a huge crowd. A year later the Temple was moved to an adjoining site belonging to the Merebank Tamil School Society. As the congregation of the Temple grew, the temple was reconstructed with wood and iron material. On the 16 March 1957, the Temple held its first Chitray Kavady Festival. When the Durban City Council expropriated Indian owned land for the purpose of

housing schemes, the Merebank Shree Parasathie Temple negotiated for a piece of land. The Durban Corporation allocated a large site in Barrackpur Road. A modern temple was reconstructed of wood and iron and various Hindu deities were installed. The movement from the old site to the new one took place on the 12 July 1964.

The congregation under trying circumstances made do with the present wood and iron structure, and the urge for something better and congenial arose. This gave rise to determination to construct the new temple according to Hindu architecture and design as found in India. This was commenced in 1972.

There was unanimous agreement that the granite stone and bronze carvings should be ordered from India as there were no artisans available locally to execute such art. Mr. M.R. Moodley volunteered to go to India and purchase the Murthies accompanied by his wife. Mr. Moodley's mission to India has been successfully accomplished. Now that the deities have arrived from India, we are eagerly awaiting the opening of the new temple.



MEREBANK PARAASATHIE TEMPLE.
(founded by: Mr M.N. Pillay) 1949

*Veerasamy Govender, M.G. Naidoo, M.G. Navager, Marthan Govender,
C. Chinassamy Naidoo, M.S. Govender, K.M. Pillay, Murugas Naidoo, P.S. Govender,
E. Perumal Naicker, B. Moodley, P.B. Padayachee, S.T. Nadasen Odayer, Kisten Pillay, M.N. Pillay*

APPENDIX 4



Railway Passengers
Association

Spoorweg Passasiers
Vereniging

(Founded by Mr. J. Jarbandhan in 1936)
Registered under Welfare Organization Act No. 40 of 1947.
Registered W.O. 978.

Your Ref. No. please quote _____

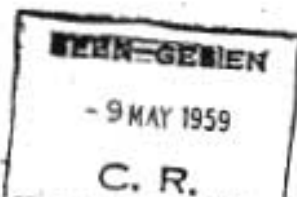
Ref. please quote I. I. No. 10a (C)

Date 7th May 1959

ALL CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE
ADDRESSED TO
43 SURBITON ROAD, MEREBANK, Natal

All Donations to Association are
Exempt from Donations Tax.

MR. C. REZEMAN,
System Manager,
S. A. R. & H,
DURBAN.... Natal.



W

Dear Sir,

INDIAN TEMPLE AT UMBILO SOUTH COAST

I wish to bring this kind request before your humble notice, that the old Indian Temple, opposite Rosburgh Railway Station is there for many generations and Indians go to pray there offering Garlands, Flowers, since these Temples are in the Railway property, we understand at present they are working near it perhaps they may use Dynamite and blow it up.

We pray that you should have these Temples remain there where Indians could offer something your Department should create a small Fence surrounding this holy Temple to be left alone.

Thanking you and we hope that you will give us your most and kind sympathetic reply.

P/S.

I will appreciate if you would accompany me to the place where I could show you personally on Saturday the 16th May 1959 at 10 am.

Yours, Faithfully,

J. ELIGWANDIEN COMMS/ C.O.

NON-SECRETARY.

Is this the bldg for Handam next to the main road on the reclaimed Bayhead area here? I think it has been partially in the course of reclamation.

Ref 4/5
18/5

APPENDIX 5

PERSADH BROTHERS

123 PERSADH ROAD - ROSSBURGH

DURGAPERSADH,
PADAMDUTHEx-Student Clairwood
Schools, 1935—1941.DURGAPERSADH,
KURANDUTHEx-Student Clairwood
Schools, 1924—1929.DURGAPERSADH,
INDERSAYANEx-Student Clairwood
Schools, 1941—1948.

The Persadh Brothers have all made business their careers and are the proprietors of :—

PERSADH SUPPLY STORE and PERSADH CARTAGE CO.

172, PINE ROAD, ROSSBURGH

PHONE 819243.

126 COMMERCIAL RD., DURBAN.

PHONE 27476.



Rosburgh Timber & Hardware Suppliers

Mr. A. R. Ramith, at 52 years, is one of the oldest of the Clairwood School Old Boys, having passed through the Sth. Coast Junction G-A Indian School during 1909-1913. A former building contractor, he is now Proprietor of Rosburgh Timber and Hardware Suppliers at 500 South Coast Road, Rosburgh. His life has been crammed with public activities of one kind or another which may be classified as follows :—

SPORT.—In this field Mr. Ramith has been outstanding. He joined the United (S. Coast) and Greyville (Durban) Football Clubs in 1917. In 1920 he formed the S. Coast Junction Football Club. He has represented the S.C.D.I.F.A., the D.I.F.A. and the Natal Football Association in many representative matches. He captained the Natal team against

RAMITH, A. R.

All-India in 1934. In that year he retired from active soccer.

As sports administrator he has been President of the S.C.D.I.F.A. from 1937-1942. He is at present a Trustee and Life Member of the S.C.D.I.F.A. and Life Member of the S.C.D.I. Cricket Union and the S.C. Junction F.C. He is also President of the Clairwood Angling Club.

EDUCATION.—Mr. Ramith was a Foundation Member of the Indian Educational Society now called the Clairwood Parents' Association. He was one of the negotiators with the Administration for the retention of the old school buildings which now house the Mobeni Morning and Afternoon Schools and played a leading role in the renovation of the premises.

SOCIAL and RELIGIOUS. Mr. Ramith is Trustee and Patron of the Clairwood Literary and Debating Society, Patron of the Seva Sunga and the Arya Yuvak Samaj (Clairwood). He is President and Trustee of the Clairwood Hindu Cemetery and Vice-President of the Luxmi Narayan Temple. He was also a Foundation Member and President of F.O.S.A. (Clairwood Area). In the building of the first tin shanty at Newlands also and the Clairwood Care Committee Hut, Mr. Ramith played a pioneering role in company with Mr. Paul Sykes. He is President of the S. C. Junction Indian Ratepayers' Association and has assisted in the formation of the Durban I.R.A. of which he was the first Vice-President.

APPENDIX 6

THE DHARMALINGAM FAMILY

Dharmalingam, M.

Ex-pupil, South Coast Junction and Clairwood G-A Indian Schools. Left 1916. Now Bus Owner and Director of Clairwood Motor Transport Company. A very highly respected member of the Indian community. Through his generosity, many institutions have benefitted greatly. A benefactor of the Senior Boys' School Bursary Fund; donated complete Junior Certificate Bursary. Has always been a well-wisher of the Schools. Holds many important positions in the social, religious and sporting organisations in Clairwood.



DHARMALINGAM, M

Dharmalingham, Theenatheyalan

Ex-student, Clairwood Schools. Interested in Athletics. Member of "Your Physique Club", Clairw'd.

Dharmalingam, Pushpavathie

Ex-student, Clairwood Schools. Completed Junior Certificate at Durban Indian Girls' High School.

Dharmalingam, Dhanalutchmee

Ex-student, Clairwood Schools. Now attending Durban Indian Girls' High School. Awarded Red Cross Service Medal (3 years).

Dharmalingam, Runganathan

Student, Senior Boys' School, Standard IV.

Dharmalingam, Mogambury
Pupil, Infant School, Class 1.

DHARMALINGAM,
THEENATHEYALAN.

From left to right: PUSHPAVATHIE, DHANALUTCHMEE, RUNGANATHAN, MOGAMBURY

APPENDIX 7



DAS, R.P.

Born 10/10/1894. Well-known educational, religious and social worker. Joined Cwd. School Staff, 26/1/26. Promoted Principal, Ottawa G-A I.S., 1937. Then Luxmi Narayan G-A I.S., 1948. Director, Treasurer and Trustee of two Cwd. cemeteries since 1929. President, D. I. Child Welfare Soc., since 1938 and Life Trustee.

A Founder and Pres. (1933-46), Cwd. I. Social Service Committee which was complimented by Earl and Lady Clarendon during 1935 floods. Founder first Cwd. School Soup Kitchen, 1936. A Founder and Treasurer (1939 to present), Cwd. I. Benefit Fund. A Founder, M. M. Govender's Private School and Cwd. Parents' Association. A Founder and Vice-Pres., Cwd. I. Youth Club. Pres.: Cwd. Local Child Welfare Society. Patron, Mayfair Orchestra. "A friend of the poor and a haven of refuge from the storms of life." Hindu priest.

GANESH, K. L.



Ex-student, Clairwood Schools, 1922-27. Then Higher Grade, Sastri (T3b), 1933. Appointed Clairwood School, 1935. Promoted to Stanger G. I. S. Transferred, Depot Rd., 1943. Resigned to join Father's Manufacturing Business (Travel Goods). Now Director, Coronation Trunk Works (Pty.) Ltd., 38/40 Sirdar Road, Rossburgh.

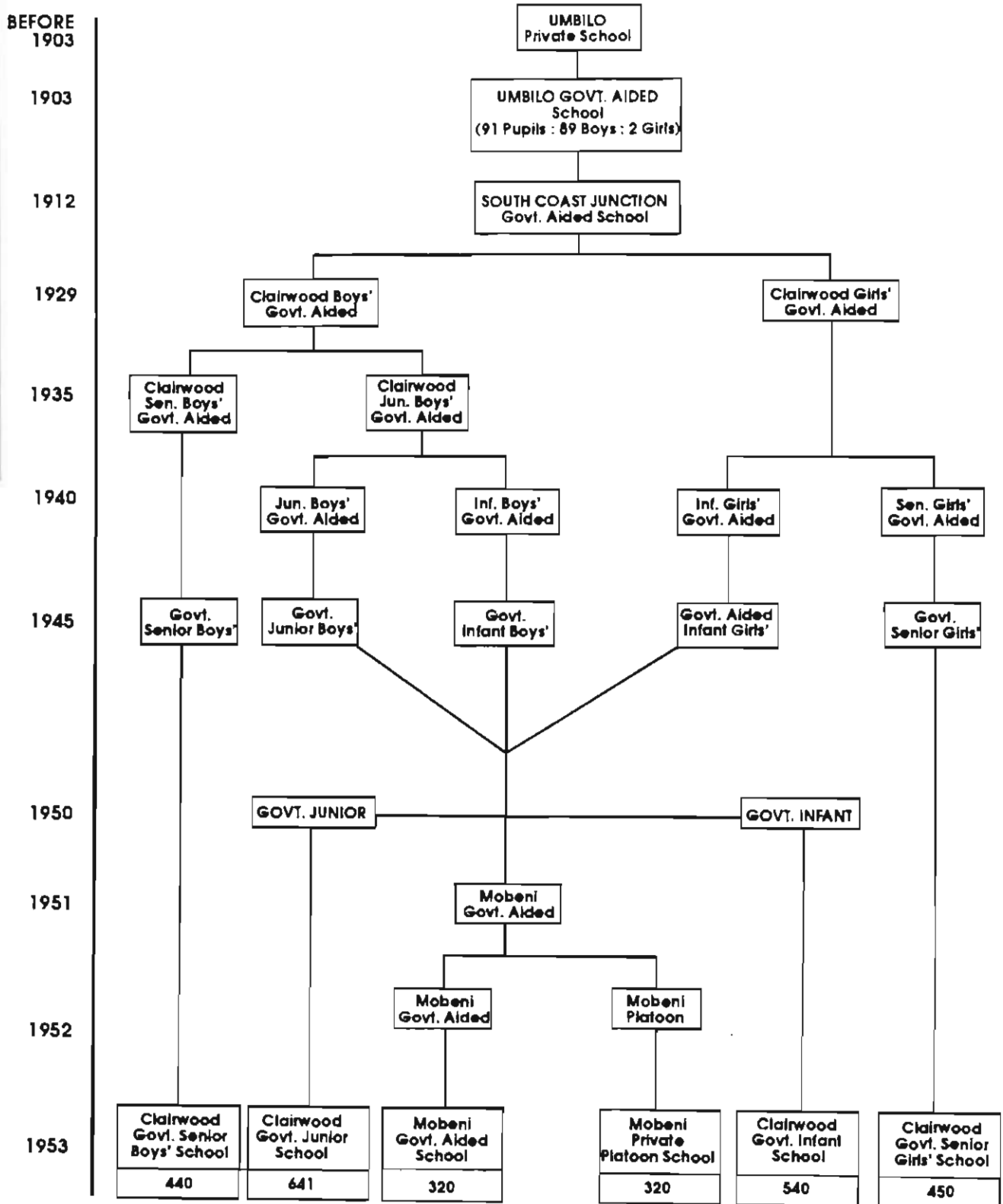
Four times President, S.C.D.I. Cricket Union; now Hon. Life Vice-Pres. Captained district side four times. Ex-President, Inter-District Cricket Union. First Captain, Inter-District side in Natal Tournament and first team to play selected European side.

Vice-President, Auditor and Foundation Member, Old Boys' Club. Foundation Member and President, Clairwood Hindi Shrenee. School Manager, Vice-Chairman and Foundation Member, Yuvuk Arya Samaj. General Secretary, Natal Hindi Shiksha Sangh. Auditor, Clairwood Literary & Debating Society, Hindi Cemetery Committee.

Addressed Aryan Conference twice. Has published poems, articles and short stories under the pen-name, "BAL".

APPENDIX 8

1903 - MARCH OF PROGRESS - 1953



APPENDIX 9



The First Platoon School Staff, Clairwood, Natal, 1940

APPENDIX 10

MEREBANK SANATHAN DHARMA WOONATHEE SABHA

The Merebank Sanathan Dharma Woonathee Sabha, a vernacular school and religious body was established in 1933. The School catered for the needs of the Hindu Community and was situated in Craigmere Road.

Due to the acute shortage of school accommodation especially at the Merebank Government Aided School, the Sabha provided the much needed accommodation until such time that a new school was built by the State.

The Sabha's vernacular school was one of the largest in the country catering for almost 300 children. Due to the efficiency of the Staff, our children produced excellent results in the Eistoddfod organised by the South African

Hindi Siksha Sang.

Due to the Group Areas Act, the Sabha had to vacate its premises. Subsequently a property was purchased in Barrackpur Road where a Hall and Temple are presently under construction.

Part of the building is being used by the Merebank Boys Scouts for training. For many years the Sabha made its premises available to other religious institutions, social organisations, visiting swamis and lecturers.

We wish to pay tribute to the residents of Merebank for all the assistance and co-operation received from them.



MEREBANK SANATHAN DHARMA WOONATHEE SABHA
OFFICIALS 1935 to SEPTEMBER 1936
Established 1933.



Merebank Sanathan Hall and Temple under construction.
28/9/77. 8 Barrackpur Road, Merebank.

APPENDIX 11



MEREBANK G. A. INDIAN SCHOOL 1940

SCHOOL PRAYER

*Father, we thank thee for the night,
and for the pleasant morning light,
for rest and food and loving care,
and all that makes the world so fair,
help us to do the things we should,
to be to others kind and good,
in all we do, in all we say,
to grow more loving every day.*



MEREBANK PRIMARY SCHOOL 1970

*In commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Merbank Primary School
1927 1977*

APPENDIX 12

Shack 25

CITY ESTATES DEPARTMENT

Survey at ~~BS/25~~ BRITF SWIMPS

10/5/62/9

Postal No. SHACK 25 File Reference

Description of Building Living Room
kitchen

Name of Tenant/Owner of Building HENRY JASSON

Identity Card No 164-556952

Is owner of building residing on property?

If not where does he reside?

Number in family: Adults 3 over 18 years

Children 4 under 18 years

Period of Residence Amount of Rent

To whom rent paid

Housing Application No. 4392C Date

Application in name of:
(Father, Mother, Son)

Do you own any property in Durban? NO

If so, does land accommodate building suitable for occupation

Monthly Income :		Salary, Wages,	Grant, Pension
STATUS	NAME OF EMPLOYER		INCOME
Father	UNEMPLOYED Pensioner. WAR PENSION.		R31 P.M.
Mother	Housewife CHILDREN'S GRANT		R25 P.M.
Children			
1. BOY	RICHARD (AGE 20) UNMARRIED		R71 P.M.
2.	SEAMAN (AT SEA)		
3. GIRL	MARJIE (AGE 16 YRS) SCHOOL		-
4. GIRL	JUNETTA (" 13 YRS) -" -		-
5. GIRL	EWLA (" 8 YRS) -" -		-
6. GIRL	ELMA (" 3 YRS) CHILD.		-
7.			

Card No. BS 42

Signed R.B. Hudson

Date 24/9/13
UPDATED - 25/9/76

BS 42

REM

25.

File No. 431/107/278

CITY STATES DEPARTMENT SURVEY
at

New House No. _____ Old House No. 36 Lavender Rd
 Tenancy No. _____ No. of Rooms _____
 (including kitchen/s)
 Name Tenant/Owner of Building _____ Is Owner in residence? _____
GOINDASAMI Identity Card or B/R No. _____
 _____ 800-449598
 If not where is he resident? _____
 Name of Sub-tenants/Families: _____
 (in occupation) _____
 Identity Card or B/R No. _____

(A separate form should be completed in respect of bona fide tenants and also for the sub-tenants).

Period of Residence _____ Is Tenant/Sub-tenant paying Rent? _____
 To Whom? _____ Amount per month _____
 No. in family: Adults 5 (over 18 years).
 Children 5 (under 18 years).

Has application been made for permanent housing? _____ Application Number: 28333 Date _____

Application in name of: _____
 Status (Father, mother, son etc.) _____

Does Tenant/Sub-tenant own property in Durban? _____

If answer is Yes, does land accommodate buildings suitable for human habitation. YES/NO. CR

MONTHLY INCOME - SALARY/WAGES INCLUDING COST OF LIVING.

MONTHLY INCOME BY WAY OF PENSION/GRANT-IN-AID.

STATUS	NAME OF EMPLOYER	R.	C.		R.	C.
Father	<u>Market Survey</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>=</u>			
Mother	<u>H wife</u>					
Children						
1.	<u>Da. Rajeev</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>=</u>			
2.	<u>Da. Jacob</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>=</u>			
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						

(a) _____ (b) _____
 Total income (a) + (b) NR 2/309

Ref. Card No. _____ R _____
 Inspectors Initials _____ SIGNED _____ DATE: _____

APPENDIX 13

ACCESSION NO. _____

CLAIRWOOD REZONED!**FOR INDUSTRIAL USAGE**

**Homes - Properties - Schools - Temples
Churches - Mosques - Sportsfields - Cemeteries
Shops - Light Industries . . .**

ARE ALL AFFECTED

**WILL CLAIRWOOD GET THE BULLDOZER
TREATMENT?**

**40,000 RESIDENTS TO BE
UPROOTED**

ATTEND . . .

'SAVE OUR HOMES RALLY'

Sunday, 20th September 1964 at 10 a.m.

SOUTH COAST SPORTS GROUND

**Men, Women and Children - come in your thousands . . .
Demonstrate your solidarity . . . tell the Durban City Council**

"WE WILL NOT SELL"

APPENDIX 14

Funeral notice of Darmalingum Murugen, former Clairwood resident

Source: Daily News, 10/8/1994

MURUGEN

The Funeral of the late Darmalingam Murugen (formerly of 91 Pine Road, Clairwood, member of S.A. Legion, late of 2 Sportpark Place, Shastri Park, Phoenix, beloved husband of Poobathi, loving Father of Mallie, Cooks, Paps, Saro and the late Geeva, father-in-law of Deena, Pragasia, Sulosh, Vasantha, brother of Mike and Poobathi, loving grandfather) will leave his late residence TODAY THIS AFTERNOON (10.08.94.) AT 12.30 o'clock. The body will lie in state at the St. Aidans Church (also a member of the Horeb Church, Clairwood) thereafter proceeding to the Clairwood Madras Cemetery at 2 pm. — MARI-ANNHILL FUNERAL SERVICES, Shop 1 Moorten Centre, Chatsworth. Phone 4043499 / 4043726 all hours.