

**Community, Identity, and Memory:
Group Areas and the forced relocation of "Coloureds" to Woodlands,
Pietermaritzburg, 1960 - 1990.**

**Qhelani Banzi Msweli
212509228**

Supervisor:. Goolam Vahed

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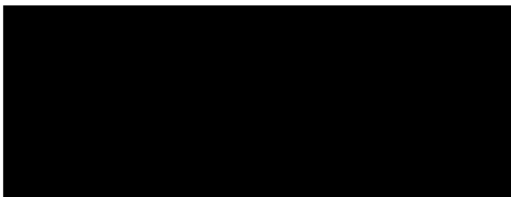
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Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
APC	Alan Paton Centre
ATAC	Anti-Transfer Action Committee
CRT	Critical Race Theory
CBD	Central Business District
CLAC	Coloured Local Affairs Committee
DBAD	Department of Bantu Administration and Development
GAA	Group Areas Act
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
LMS	London Missionary Society
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NHC	National Housing Commission
NP	National Party
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NSA	Northdale Sports Association
PCC	Pietermaritzburg City Council
PC	Paton Collection
PE	Port Elizabeth
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SAP	South African Police
T.C.	Town Council
UDF	United Democratic Front
WRA	Woodlands Residents' Association
WTA	Woodlands Tenants' Association

Abstract

This dissertation investigated the impact of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 on the Coloured community in Pietermaritzburg. The implementation of Group Areas resulted in the residents of Pietermaritzburg being rehoused in racially segregated townships and suburbs. The township of Woodlands was established for Coloureds. This dissertation uses oral history and a life history approach, supplemented with archival research, to examine the experience of the Coloured residents of Pietermaritzburg before the implementation of Group Areas, the experience of forced removals, how residents coped with the pain of being moved from their old communities. In contrast, others were pleased with the better quality housing and amenities they were given and how they reestablished aspects of community life in Woodlands, including building places of worship, sport, and education.

This study, more broadly, explores the idea of community, showing how it comes into being, race as a social construct as what is considered Coloured has always been subject to change, and the (re)making of Coloured identities that resulted from the residents of Woodlands being placed in a defined physical space and having to work together to build institutions and infrastructure in their township. This study shows that while many take for granted the apartheid-era racial categorisations such as Coloured, African, Indian, and white, identities are multiple and fluid. Group Areas were instrumental in concretising the essence of being Coloured, but in the post-Apartheid period, that category, too, is subject to change. Finally, this dissertation considers the attitudes forged amongst Coloureds concerning the African and Indian residents of Pietermaritzburg in particular, showing that ideas of a racial hierarchy were embraced by some Coloureds and were not confined to whites.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank the interviewees who participated in this research, without whom, this project would not have been possible. Their names are published in the Bibliography. I enjoyed interviewing them and learnt a great deal from them, and I thank them for sharing their time and inner thoughts with me.

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I want to express my gratitude to Goolam Vahed, who supervised this dissertation, for his encouragement, suggestions, and patience.

I want to thank my loved ones who supported me throughout this long process, keeping me motivated and helping me put the pieces together. I will always be grateful for their love and support.

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Sipho Selby Msweli.

Chapter One

Introduction

This dissertation examines the impact of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 in shaping the physical layout of Pietermaritzburg, with particular reference to the Coloured community. While social scientists see race as a social construct, legally, Coloureds constituted, and still constitute, a distinct racial group in South Africa.

This thesis interrogates how Group Areas affected the identity of Coloured people in Pietermaritzburg. How were identities affected by relocation? How did relocation affect the making of Coloured identities in Pietermaritzburg? What was the nature of the relationship of Coloureds with other racial communities both before and after relocation? People of different class groups were placed in the same areas because of their race. How did this impact their identities? Did the poor of one race group identify with the poor of other race groups or the rich of “their” race groups? The idea of townships as bounded areas is interrogated. Did residents interact with people of different race groups? Did resistances forge non-racial identities?

This study also examines the social aspects of relocation. How did Coloured find Woodlands compared to what they had been used to? What was the situation as far as gangs, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, and family life is concerned? How did they re-establish religious, educational, sporting and other institutions?

While the studies by Christopher Merret and Trevor Wills focus on broader developments regarding Group Areas, this micro-study concentrates specifically on the Coloureds settled in the newly established township of Woodlands.¹ It examines how the implementation of Group Areas affected the Coloured community physically and emotionally in terms of their living

¹ See Christopher, Merret. *Sport, Space and Segregation: Politics and Society in Pietermaritzburg*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal press, 2009. And Trevor, Wills. “The Segregated City,” in Laband, J and Haswell, R. (eds), *Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988: A New Portrait of an African City*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press and Shuter & Shooter, 1988.

conditions, schooling and identity, the trauma that some experienced because of the evictions and having to live with memories of such treatment at the hands of the apartheid government. In contrast, others appear to have accepted the relocation and went on to forge new lives.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined a Coloured person by exclusion, that is, any person who was neither White nor African. It is worth emphasising that the term 'Coloured' was a loosely defined label coined to refer to various people of mixed-race origin who technically came to fall under this umbrella term and, in fact, initially were termed 'mixed-race'.² N.J. Rhoodie, then a Professor of Sociology, described Coloureds in a 1970s study as a 'bio-genetically heterogeneous group, of mixed European-Hottentot-Bushman-Negro-Indonesian descent'.³

In the early decades after the Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652, there were marriages between Dutch settlers and local Khoi women and miscegenation between slave masters and enslaved women. Though a law was passed in 1685 prohibiting marriages between white men and slave women, miscegenation continued. In these relations, the origins of the Coloured population are found.⁴ According to van der Berghe, early white settlers opposed inter-race marriages but not inter-race miscegenation:

In this early period, miscegenation was not only common but sanctioned so long as it took the form of concubinage between higher-status men and lower-status women. There was no trace of a feeling of horror against miscegenation per se. The dominant white group's main concern was the preservation of its superior status, and the latter was left unthreatened by master-slave concubinage. Intermarriage, on the other hand, entailed a measure of social equality, and was consequently opposed.⁵

² While accepting that race is a social construct, it has been and continues to be a social and legal fact in South Africa. For the purposes of this thesis, the categories 'African', 'Coloured', 'Indian', and 'White' are as per the official post-apartheid census categories (which actually has the categories 'Black African' and 'Indian / Asian'), while Black refers to the Black Consciousness use of the term coined in the late 1960s and early 1970s to refer in the collective to African, Indians, and Coloureds.

³ Rhoodie, N. J. "The coloured policy of South Africa: parallelism as a socio-political device to regulate white-coloured integration." *African Affairs* 72, no. 286 (1973): 56.

⁴ Bloom, Leonard. "The coloured people of South Africa." *Phylon* (1960-) 28, 2 (1967): 140.

⁵ Van den Berghe, Pierre L. "Miscegenation in South Africa." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 1, 4 (1960): 70.

According to Roy du Pre, 'the notion of Colouredness being neither white nor black has been pivotal to the brand of racial thinking particular to South African society. Racial categories have a pervading significance, defining the boundaries of a comprehensively divided society.'⁶ Ian Goldin has argued that racialisation was used to 'divide and rule' South Africans and that this significantly contributed to the formation of Coloured identity. It was only in the twentieth century that mixed-race identity began to congeal. Goldin argues that assimilation was pivotal to the newly formed 'Coloured' identity, for many feared they might lose their position of relative hierarchy in the racial structure taking shape in South Africa. Those Coloureds who could 'passed' for white, and those who could not call themselves Coloured to avoid being passed off as Black.⁷

The great African National Congress (ANC) leader Chief Albert Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 for his role in mobilising non-violent resistance against apartheid and then president of the organisation, summed up the ambivalence of Coloureds when he observed that many of them are....

divided in their attitude to white supremacy. Some of them reject it because it is an immoral creed, but many of them resent it because they are not included in it. These seek identification with the whites, and find only rejection. At the same time they avoid identification with Africans.⁸

When the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948 under Dr D.F. Malan, its battery of discriminatory laws targeted Coloureds in particular as they were deemed to be closest to whites in many ways; sharing the same language (Afrikaans), religion (Christianity), sometimes pigmentation, and even food tastes and social outlook, and he felt that they had to be separated. During a debate in the South African parliament on whether Coloureds should be denied the right to buy liquor for consumption at home, Sir Thomas Smartt asked the Minister of Justice, 'whether he was prepared to define "what a coloured man is in this country," and

⁶Roy, Du Pre. *The 'Coloured' people of South Africa-A Political History*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1994, 65.

⁷ Ian Goldin, *Making Race. The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987, xxv. Also see Mohamed Adhikari. *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2005.

⁸ Albert John Luthuli, *Let My People Go*. London: Longman, 1962, 134.

emphasised that there "are large numbers of people who, without your knowing their family history, it is impossible to tell whether they are coloured or European".⁹

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, interracial marriages and miscegenation resulted in large numbers of mixed-race children in the Cape.¹⁰ L. Bloom wrote in a 1960s study:

Their (Coloured) culture is essentially the same as the whites.... Essentially the Coloured people are Afrikaans-speaking people, some of them darker, others lighter than some nominally white Afrikaners. There is no more a Coloured culture than there is a distinct Coloured physical type. In culture, as in physical mingling, there is an almost complete fusion between the Afrikaans and the other groups which contribute to the Coloured people.¹¹

Before stringent Apartheid racial classification came into force, many Coloureds did not only live amongst whites but many also attended the same churches, and schools and spoke the same language; some even had the vote. When the NP introduced racial classification, some people classified as mixed-race looked White and lived, played and worshipped amongst them, and some were allowed to choose between being 'Coloured' and 'European'. The NP, in some instances, encouraged those Coloureds who looked "white" to take up European status to bolster the white 'nation' against the 'natives'.¹²

Giliomee argued that it was from the 1920s and 1930s that the racial line or segregationist policies began to become more fixed as white politicians set out to 'rescue' the poor whites of South Africa and opted to do so through racial affirmative action for White Afrikaners in particular.¹³ When the NP came to power in 1948, it introduced several laws to ensure that no more Coloureds were "produced" by introducing The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949 and the Immorality Act in 1950, the former law preventing marriages between whites and people of colour, and the latter prohibiting sexual relations across race lines. These laws

⁹ Jeremy Creighton, Martens. 'Conflicting Views of "Coloured" People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,' *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 35, 2 (2001): 330.

¹⁰ Stephanus Petrus Cilliers. *The Coloureds of South Africa: A Factual Survey*. Cape Town: Banier Publishers (PTY) LTD, 1963, 17-22.

¹¹ Bloom, "The coloured people of South Africa," 145.

¹² Petrus Cilliers, "The Coloureds of South Africa," 9-13.

¹³ Hermann Giliomee, "The Non-Racial Franchise and Afrikaner and Coloured Identities, 1910-1994," *African Affairs*, 94, 375 (1995):225.

favoured whites. In several cases where mixed couples were charged, the Black person was usually found guilty, whilst the white partner was let off on a flimsy excuse.¹⁴ Children of mixed couples were always classified as 'Coloured', but a child of mixed African and Coloured heritage had to take the racial classification of the father.¹⁵ These laws aimed to create a clear distance and distinction between Coloureds and Whites.

Coloureds were to have their political structure. Prime Minister Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, speaking in the House of Assembly on 4 May 1959, made it clear that 'with regard to the Coloureds we must apply the principle of apartheid We definitely do not accept that there will be integration or intermingling of the political structure for the Coloured and the White man....'¹⁶

This was a massive blow for Coloureds, but not unexpected. In fact, as Joan Rydon points out:

One of the policies on which it (the NP) had campaigned in the election was the removal of the Cape Coloureds from the common roll - a step claimed to be part of the implementation of apartheid, or segregation of the different races. It was also doubtless influenced by the fact that the Coloured voters have tended to vote for the United Party, and that this can be important in deciding the results of elections in several "close" seats in the Cape.¹⁷

The National Party government eventually took away the vote that Coloureds enjoyed, passing the Separate Representation of Voters Act in 1956. This was a significant move considering that many white political leaders refused to join the Union of South Africa in 1910 unless the Coloured vote was guaranteed.¹⁸ Further, the Act that brought the Union into being specified that a two-thirds majority of a joint sitting of the two houses of Parliament was needed to take the franchise away from Coloureds in the Cape.¹⁹

The original draft of the Separate Representation of Voters Act also made provision for setting up a Board for Coloured Affairs.²⁰ This body was to advise the Government on the interests of

¹⁴ Roy du Pre, "The 'Coloured' people of South Africa-A Political History", 68.

¹⁵ Roy du Pre, "The 'Coloured' people of South Africa-A Political History", 68.

¹⁶ Bloom, "The coloured people of South Africa," 142.

¹⁷ Joan, Rydon. 'The Constitutional Crisis in South Africa,' *The Australian Quarterly*, 28, 1 (1956): 40.

¹⁸ Hermann. "The Non-Racial Franchise and Afrikaner and Coloured Identities," 199.

¹⁹ Rydon. "The Constitutional Crisis in South Africa," 9.

²⁰ David Saks. "Failure of The Coloured Persons' Representative Council And Its Constitutional Repercussions, 1956-1985," unpublished MA Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1991, 35-36.

Coloured people and carry out such statutory or administrative tasks as might be assigned. P.W. Botha, who was to play such a vital role in the political life of the Coloured people and South Africa in later years, was the first Minister for Coloured Affairs. The establishment of the new council was gazetted on 22 May 1959 and came into operation on 1 June. It lasted for under a decade and was abolished in 1969 when the Coloured Persons' Representative Council was established.²¹

Together, these laws resulted in the political, economic and social separation and subjugation of Coloured peoples, stripped them of their dignity and subjected them to humiliation. The Nationalists were clear as to what the position of Coloureds was. Dr J. G. Meiring, in his farewell speech when he was retiring as Superintendent-General of Education on 5 December 1959, explained:

Our Coloured community is the stepchild of our own community. Coloured students feel frustrated after having finished their courses at a university. A Coloured man with an LLB degree can hardly start practising as an attorney in Cape Town. The, reason for that is not political, but traditional. They want to "try for White." But this is a false ideal. People who have a false ideal cannot progress. They walk around with a grievance and cause race relations to be troubled. They must strive for a new ideal. The one and only ideal which can make them a true nation is the desire to go out and serve their own people and no longer "try for White".²²

Sociologist N.J. Rhoodie described the formation of a Coloured identity as a self-fulfilling prophecy:

Minority status and the resultant exposure to a common set of discriminatory practices inevitably generate a measure of in-group feeling among the Coloureds, a consciousness fostered also by the centripetal function of a common 'enemy'. Consequently, the more the Coloureds become unified - if only to rally behind the common cause of seeking equal civil and political rights - the more the White group will feel vindicated in its conceptualisation of the Coloureds as a separate socio-political category. And by resorting to Brown Power, the Coloureds, according to the Whites, have now produced proof conclusive that they do

²¹ Saks, "Failure of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council," 37.

²² John H. Wheeler, "Apartheid Implemented by Education in South Africa," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 30, 3, (1961): 241-250.

constitute a separate unassimilable group. Thus the White group's definition of Coloured minority status becomes a prophecy attaining fulfilment in the crystallisation Power.²³

It seems that to this day, many Coloureds feel stigmatised. This feeling of being stigmatised was captured in a controversial 2019 study, 'Age and education effects on cognitive functioning in Coloured South African women,' by researchers from Stellenbosch University's Department of Sport Science. The study argued that Coloured women have low cognitive functioning due to low education levels and unhealthy lifestyle behaviours.²⁴ The article was criticised for stigmatising race-based categories in science and research. Critics have argued that this is a perspective from the time of Verwoerd and high apartheid, drawing on colonial stereotypes, and was insulting to Coloured communities and Coloured women in particular.²⁵

Group Areas

Against this background, this dissertation examines the impact of Group Areas on Coloureds in Pietermaritzburg. Though promulgated in 1950, Group Areas were only implemented countrywide in the 1960s due to the consultation processes that had to take place. However, there was de facto residential segregation in many urban areas even before the proclamation of Group Areas.²⁶ In Pietermaritzburg, Whites were mainly located to the north-west and south-east of the central business district (CBD); Africans lived outside the city centre; while Indians and Coloureds were concentrated in the central area, with small pockets of Indian and Coloured landowners dotted around the periphery of Pietermaritzburg.²⁷ The distribution of resources was unequal, with Whites enjoying superior facilities and infrastructure while Blacks were given second-class or no facilities.²⁸

²³ Rhodie, "The coloured policy of South Africa," 51.

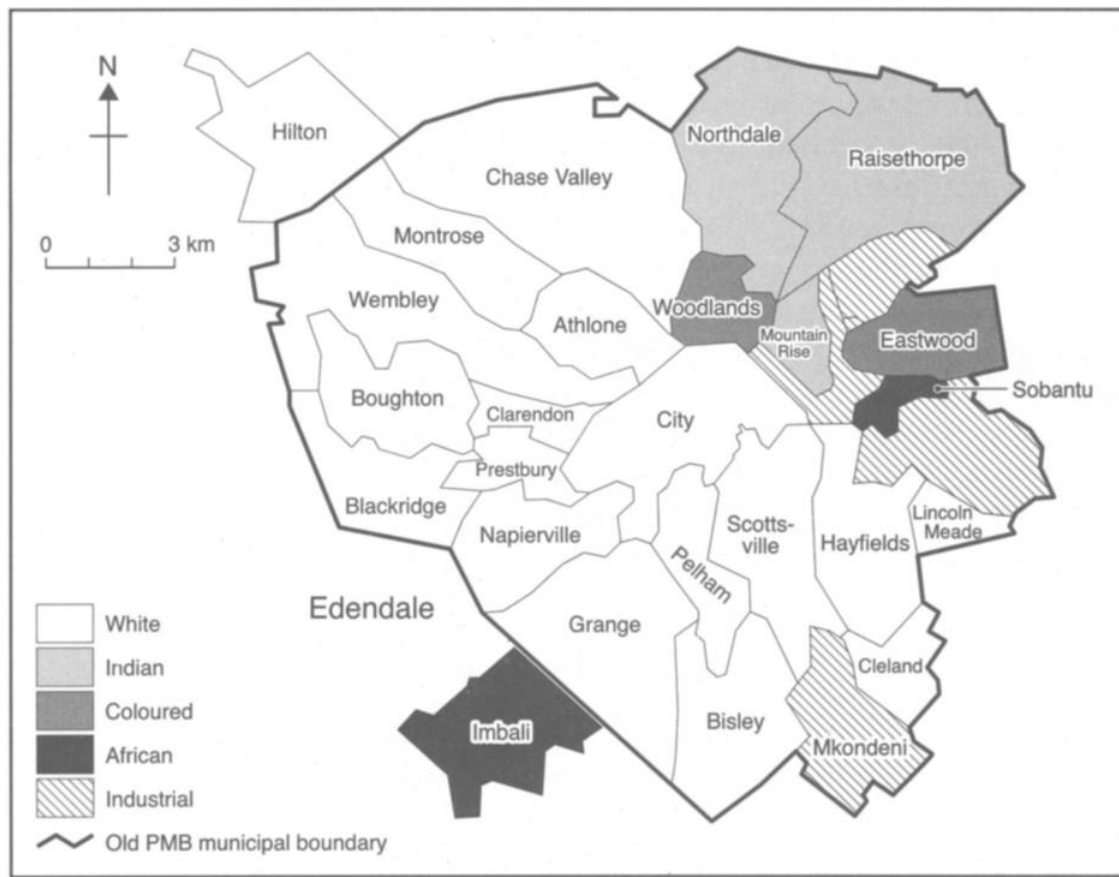
²⁴ Sharné Nieuwoudt, Kasha Elizabeth Dickie, Carla Coetsee, Louise Engelbrecht and Elmarie Terblanche, "Age- and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women," *A Journal on Normal and Dysfunctional Development*, 2019, 331-337

²⁵ Nieuwoudt, Dickie and Coetsee, Engelbrecht and Terblanche, "Age- and education-related effects on cognitive functioning in Colored South African women," 334.

²⁶ Anthony Lemon. *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities*. (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1991) 92.

²⁷ Lemon, "Homes Apart", 92.

²⁸ Julie Dyer. *Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008): A History of Urbanisation and Disease in an African City*. (Pietermaritzburg: Occasional Publications of the Natal Society Foundation) 56.



Map 1: Segregated Pietermaritzburg under the Group Areas Act.²⁹

When Group Areas was implemented in Pietermaritzburg in the 1960s, Coloureds were moved from areas like Pentrich, Mountain Rise, and Central and Upper Church Street into the newly established Coloured township of Woodlands. Group Areas came as a massive blow to residents who feared being moved long distances from places of work and were made to endure higher service delivery costs. Community-wide protests, however, failed to stop forced removals.³⁰

This thesis focuses on how Group Areas shaped Pietermaritzburg and its impact on the relocated residents, with particular focus on the Coloured community. It further examines the making of community in the new townships and the trauma that Coloureds suffered due to forced relocation.

²⁹ Les Wood, "Residential Real Estate Transfers in Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi, South Africa," *The Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAG*, Vol. 91, No. 3 (2000), 265.

³⁰ Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives: University of KwaZulu-Natal. (PC 14/5/3/5). C. Bond. "Students to Hold Protest on Black Spot Removals". *Daily News*, No Date.

The period from 1960 to 1990 was significant as it began with the rigorous implementation of apartheid and increased political repression and culminated with the beginning of the end of apartheid.

Literature Review.

Group Areas affected the lives of virtually all South Africans in one way or another. It resulted in most South Africans living in areas where almost everyone was of the same race group, attended schools where the students and teachers were of the same race group, and usually attended places of worship and leisure with others of their race group. I was too young to experience the impact of Group Areas personally, but I have always been intrigued by how this state of affairs came about and how the “victims” of the process coped.

I grew up in Mandeni in Northern Natal, where there were only two schools; one for Africans that I attended and one for Coloureds, with a small number of African students. While we were residentially segregated, there was some mixing at school. I attended an African school (meaning a school where all the children were Black Africans) called Nsikayethu Comprehensive High School, located in Imbali Unit 18. This meant that I was not exposed to mixing with other racial groups. This influenced my interaction with persons of different racial groups, as it was not easy to have conversations with them until I was well-established at the university level.

My search for literature on Group Areas showed that very little work had been done on Pietermaritzburg. Further, during my university studies and in particular my classes on History and Theory, I became fascinated by the links between race and class, in particular, through the readings of social historians like E.P. Thompson (who was a British historian, writer, socialist, and peace campaigner) and Peter Stearns (who was a professor at George Mason University in the United States), both of whom, as well as others, inspired me to move away from the elite and focus on ordinary people.³¹ The intriguing puzzle was the impact of the lumping of people according to race on their class identities.

³¹ Edward Palmer Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class*. (New York: A Division of Random House, 1963). And Peter N. Stearns. “Why Study History?” *American Historical Association*. Available at <https://www.sd162.org/cms/lib/IL02218050/Centricity/Domain/534/Why%20Study%20History%20-%20Stearns.pdf>

The NP came to power in 1948 and initiated the policy of apartheid which was a system of racial segregation designed to maintain white minority rule at the expense of the rights, associations, and movements of other race groups (Indians, Africans, Coloureds).³² The NP's system was essentially a continuation of settler domination in this part of the world since the first Europeans arrived in the seventeenth century but were more formalised, systematic and brutal.³³

Group Areas implemented ruthlessly from the early 1960s in Pietermaritzburg and countrywide, reinforced the de facto existing racial segregation of residential areas.³⁴ Some academics had argued that legislation passed in Durban before 1948 served as a model for urban segregation in the 1950s.³⁵ However, Group Areas went further and involved the forced relocation of people to newly created townships.³⁶ This thesis outlines that process briefly but investigates in greater detail the memories of those who were forcibly relocated and the trauma surrounding the process, focusing on the Coloured community, which was forcibly moved to the township of Woodlands.

Forced Removals have been studied in several writings on different parts of South Africa. Elaine Unterhalter states in her 1987 study *Forced Removals: The Division, Segregation and Control of the people in South Africa* that the Group Areas Act was facilitated by two earlier laws which institutionalised the division and classification of the population into separate groups based on race, these being the Population Registration Act of 1950 which classified people according to race and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 which prevented interracial marriages.³⁷ Anthony Lemon states that the Group Areas Act had a more comprehensive effect on racial segregation in South Africa than any preceding legislation because it formed the basis of segregated education, health and social services, and local authorities.³⁸

³² Sampie Terreblanche. *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002*. (Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2002) 333.

³³ Terreblanche. *A History of Inequality in South Africa 1652-2002*, 333.

³⁴ Les Wood. "Residential Real Estate Transfers in Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi, South Africa". *The Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAG*, Vol. 91, No. 3, (2000), 264.

³⁵ See, for example, Maharaj (1997) and Swanson (1976).

³⁶ Wood. "Residential Real Estate Transfers in Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi, South Africa," 264.

³⁷ Unterhalter, "Forced Removals", 62.

³⁸ Lemon, "Homes Apart", 8.

Although Apartheid facilitated removals on a massive scale, segregation and forced removals occurred prior to National Party ascending to power in 1948 and introducing oppressive legislation such as Group Areas Act. Group Areas was built upon earlier regulations (1913 Native Land Act and 1936 Native Trust Land Act) that aimed to control the Non-White movements and their rights.³⁹ The dispossession of the Khoi and San at the Cape by European settlers in the seventeenth century is an early example of forced removal in South Africa.⁴⁰

It was in the 1950s that forced removals intensified in the country after the National Party came to power. It fuelled segregation legislation that was met with resistance, including the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and strikes and boycotts but to no avail. The ANC and its allies organised these. This did not help the cause, but it propelled the NP government to remove all Blacks from urban areas and control their freedom.⁴¹ There was no limit to the reasons for forcefully removing communities. There were instances of people being removed from their homes to make way for leisure spaces for Whites and others being forcibly removed for the purpose of developments such as building a water supply.⁴²

The Group Areas Act of 1950 formalized the forced removal which resulted in 3.2 million people being forcefully removed by 1982. These removals did not only involve bulldozing houses or physical threats, but also included methods of non-violent coercion such as bribing community leaders and intimidating residents. As this forced people to move away, the government described such movement as “voluntary” because they were not physically threatened.⁴³ By the 1990s, only a small number of Blacks remained in areas demarcated for Whites, mainly as service workers to White employers.⁴⁴

³⁹ Surplus People Project (South Africa). *Forced Removals in South Africa: Natal*. Vol. 4. Surplus People Project, 1983, 31. The 1913 Native Land Act and 1936 Native Land Act Subjugated Non-Whites living in South Africa by not only controlling their movement but it also limited their power to land ownership, business ownership and exploiting their labour to the benefit of Whites.

⁴⁰ Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker. *The surplus people: Forced removals in South Africa*. Ravan Press of South Africa, 1985, 71.

⁴¹ Surplus People Project (South Africa), “Forced Removals in South Africa,” 104.

⁴² Platzky and Walker, “The Surplus People,” 238.

⁴³ Surplus People Project (South Africa), “Forced Removals in South Africa,” 1.

⁴⁴ Platzky and Walker, “The Surplus People,” 104.

There have been several studies on the impact of Group Areas in different parts of the country, with studies on Sophiatown in Gauteng and District Six in Cape Town being the most prominent.⁴⁵ Concerning one of my key themes, Sean Field and Henry Trotter have written on trauma and memory amongst Coloured people in Cape Town and the effects of Group Areas evictions on contemporary Coloured identity. They show that many people coped with social trauma by reminiscing with one another about the “good old days” in their destroyed former communities.⁴⁶ This thesis will draw from Field and Trotter’s theoretical insights and make comparisons with their findings.

As far as Pietermaritzburg is concerned, the work of Trevor Wills and Christopher Merrett on Group Areas is essential. Wills’ study begins in the colonial era and is carried through to the post-union segregation era. Wills examines how Group Areas were implemented under apartheid.⁴⁷ Wills’ study excellent statistical details on the impact of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg, where 900 properties and 9 000 people were affected. Indians were the most severely affected, comprising 76 per cent of those evicted, whilst Africans made up twelve per cent and Coloureds eleven per cent. The Pietermaritzburg City Council (PCC) had initially drawn the zoning of racial segregation, which the Group Areas Board eventually accepted. Dyer states that houses and hospitals were established along racial lines, with Greys Hospital for Whites, Edendale for Africans, and Northdale for the Coloured and Indian communities.⁴⁸

In *sport, space and segregation*, Merret discusses Group Areas' impact on sport and sporting facilities in Pietermaritzburg, which can be replicated in other areas of life. Sporting bodies were separated along racial lines, and sporting facilities were allocated according to race. While Merrett’s focus is on sport, he provides an excellent overview of the implementation of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ See Jeppie and Soudien (1992); Hart (1988); Western (1981); Proctor (1979); Lodge (1981); Gready (1990), and Pirie and Hart (1985).

⁴⁶ Trotter, Henry. “Trauma and memory: the impact of apartheid-era forced removals on coloured identity in Cape Town”, in Mohamed Adhikari (ed), *Burdened by race: Coloured identities in southern Africa*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

⁴⁷Trevor Wills. “Pietermaritzburg”, in Lemon, Anthony (ed), *Homes Apart: South Africa’s Segregated Cities*. (Cape Town: David Philip) 90-103.

⁴⁸ Dyer, “Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008),” 59.

⁴⁹Merrett. “Sport, Space and Segregation,”174.

This study, focusing as it does on how Group Areas affected a specific group, the Coloured community, will make a unique contribution to the literature on Group Areas on Pietermaritzburg. My working hypothesis is that Group Areas had devastating social, cultural, and economic consequences for many Coloureds from which they never fully recovered and that it reinforced racial identities, with effects that linger to the present. This case study provides a more profound sense of exactly how the victims of Group Areas experienced this change, and through this, we can reflect on the broader impact of Group Areas. Life histories focusing on people's experiences and memories are crucial in this regard.

Theoretical Framework

Several theoretical perspectives or concepts are pertinent to this study. This dissertation is influenced by critical race theory (CRT), which seeks to transform the relationship between race and power.⁵⁰ CRT, formulated in the mid-1980s, proposed that white supremacy and racial power were entrenched and maintained over time, mainly through the law, particularly that the law may play a role in such a procedure. Secondly, CRT work has explored ways to transform this relationship to achieve racial emancipation.⁵¹

Julie Dyer has pointed out that by the mid-1960s, every major city in South Africa witnessed segregation to create 'white' cities.⁵² The removal of Blacks from the cities aimed to achieve a racial hierarchy in which "poor Whites" could be lifted economically and socially above their counterparts of other racial backgrounds.⁵³ A CRT perspective helped to critically analyse the relationship between race and power in Pietermaritzburg between the entrenched White minority and the majority Black population.

Also relevant are Social History and Microhistory.

⁵⁰ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. "From Critical Race Theory: An Introduction". *NYU Press*. (2006), 1

⁵¹ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. "From Critical Race Theory: An Introduction". *NYU Press*. (2006), 1

⁵² Les Wood. "Residential Real Estate Transfers in Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi, South Africa". *The Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAG*, Vol. 91, No. 3, (2000), 263-264.

⁵³ Jeremy Seekings. "Race, Class and Inequality in the South African City". *Apartheid City. CSSR Working Paper*, No. 283, (2010), 3.

Social History, 'history from below,' became popular with E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), which focuses on the experience of 'ordinary people' and 'real life' rather than elites.⁵⁴ In South Africa, there was a 'recovery' of the experiences of mainly Black people in the 1970s and 1980s, pioneered by the Wits History Workshop. At the core of this debate was a reinterpretation of South African history by historians who argued that the racial divide in the country was due not to racism but to the class interests of significant capitalists.⁵⁵ In line with this perspective, this study seeks to examine and analyse the experiences of a primarily marginalised group of people in Pietermaritzburg, whose history has mostly been ignored. While the social history perspective informs this study, it is acknowledged that the cultural/linguistic "turn" has been critical of social history.⁵⁶

Social history has been criticized on several fronts. Marxism scholarship, for example, is critical of Social History for a perceived lack of political analysis and a reluctance to engage with theory in any profound and meaningful way. Social historians are accused of not seeing the political connections and links between events and people. This is seen to affect the resulting academic work. On the other hand, Conservative or Traditional historians tend to criticise the methods employed by Social History. By ignoring traditional historical sources like archival documents, Social History produces shallow work that bastardises theory.⁵⁷

Pioneered by Carlo Ginzburg, microhistory describes historical studies focusing on micro-units of study, such as a community, a ritual, or even an incident. While undertaking a detailed analysis of a micro-unit, the relevance is far-reaching because the aim is to ask more critical questions and situate the microanalysis in the macro-context. Contextualization is important. According to Magnusson:

Microhistorians placed their emphasis on small units and how people conducted their lives within them. By reducing the scale of observation, microhistorians argued that they are more

⁵⁴ Edward. Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin Books, 1963.

⁵⁵ For an overview of the South African context, see Bill Freund, 'Radical History Writing and the South African Context,' *South African Historical Journal*, 24:1 (1991): 154-159, DOI: 10.1080/02582479108671692.

⁵⁶ See Stephen Sparks. "New Turks and Old Turks: The historiographical legacies of South African social history," *Historia*, 58: 1 (2013): 191-214, for an excellent overview.

⁵⁷ Louise A. Tilly. "Social history and its critics." *Theory and Society* 9, no. 5 (1980): 668-670.

likely to reveal the complicated function of individual relationships within each and every social setting and they stressed its difference from larger norms.⁵⁸

Though this study focuses on the Coloured community in Pietermaritzburg, it is contextualised in events taking place nationally. It will speak to that broader debate around Group Areas and contribute to debates about the nature of Coloured identity.

Oral history is vital to the study as it provides first-hand information about personal experiences.⁵⁹ As valuable as oral history is in examining and understanding informants' perspectives, it is not an unproblematic methodology. There are well-documented complications with oral history. One of these is that people may deliberately omit, add or twist what happened to present themselves in a more favourable light or others in a poor light. Thompson claims that interviewers 'encounter the problem of bias, contradiction and interpretation in evidence.'⁶⁰ Or, as Ashwin Desai puts it, during oral research, storytellers mix fact and fiction, myth and truth, tomorrow with yesterday.'⁶¹

Memory is another problem for practitioners of oral history. People may not mean to distort the past but they can genuinely forget or misremember things. Many works on memory attest to this.⁶² Nostalgia may also result in a gap between the reality of the past and how people

⁵⁸ Sigurður Gylfi, Magnússon, 'What Is Microhistory?,' *History News Network*, 11 JULY 2006. <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/23720>. Accessed 7 July 2019. Also see Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know about it,' *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), 10–35; Levi, Giovanni, 'On Microhistory' in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991: 93-113 and Magnússon, Sigurður Gylfi, and István M. Szigjártó. 2013. *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

⁵⁹ Alessandro Portelli, "What makes oral history different?" *Oral History, Oral Culture, and Italian Americans* (2009): 21-30. In Addition, Micheal Frisch 1990. 'Memory, History, and Cultural Authority,' *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. New York: SUNY Press. Argues that seeing oral accounts as original historical documents revealing previously unknown factual and verifiable information, or an "anti-history" approach suggesting history can best be understood through a direct, emotive encounter with how one person experienced it.

⁶⁰ Thompson, Paul. *Voice of the past: Oral history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

⁶¹ Ashwin Desai, *Wentworth. The beautiful game and the making of place* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2019), 116.

⁶² Barbara Allen and William L. Montell, *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1981) and Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds), *The oral history reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

remember it. Another concern is that the researcher essentially retells the interviewee's story by arranging raw data into a narrative in practice. The researcher is thus actively involved in creating the account because he or she brings his or her own experiences and views to the enquiry.⁶³ Notwithstanding such concerns, oral history forms the core methodology for this study and has been used judiciously and critically, keeping in mind that problems that apply to oral history apply to all historical sources.

As understood here, identity is contextual and fluid rather than static. How individuals identify themselves with others is constantly negotiated in response to changing economic, political, and social circumstances. Individuals also display different aspects of their identity in different contexts.⁶⁴ Those categorised as Coloureds were divided internally by religion, class, colour, language, and origins, which mattered to in-group relations, but state categorisation and restrictions meant that to most people outside the Group, they were a monolith defined as "Coloured." They assumed they constituted a group regarding values, beliefs, and behaviour.

Critical race theorist David Goldberg reminded us in his 1992 study, 'The Semantics of Race',⁶⁵ race is a 'fluid, transforming, historically specific concept parasitic on theoretical and social discourses for the meaning it assumes at given historical moments.' Goldberg adds that race is fundamentally an 'empty' receptacle 'through and in the names of which population groups may be invented, interpreted, and imagined as communities or societies.' Historically, things like 'skin colour, genes, descent, historical origin, language, and culture have generally been used to define race as a fact of the historical condition; in different contexts, the range of reference can extend beyond these characteristics'⁶⁶

The Pietermaritzburg municipality opened a street bath in Berg Street for Coloureds in 1965. It issued a permit for the Indian and Coloured communities to share the facility, but objections

⁶³ Jo Anne Ollerenshaw and John W. Creswell, "Narrative Research: A Comparison of Two Restorying Data Analysis Approaches" in *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8 (2002), 332.

⁶⁴ See Avtar Brah, "Non-Binarised Identities of Similarity and Difference" in Wetherell, M. Lafleche, M. and Berkeley, R. (eds) *Identity, ethnic diversity and community* (London: Sage, 2007); Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting identities* (London: Routledge, 1996) and Richard Jenkins, "Categorisation: Identity, social process and epistemology" in *Current Sociology*, 48.3 (2000).

⁶⁵ David Goldberg, "The Semantics of Race," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 4: (1992): 534-69.

⁶⁶ Martens, 'Conflicting Views of "Coloured" People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,' 317.

from Coloureds met it. This was caused by the suggestion of the Indo-European Joint Council (I-EJC) secretary that Indians must have access to the pool for four days because of their larger population size. The Natal Coloured Welfare League (NCWL) rejected this arrangement and racial mixing.⁶⁷ However, Woodlands only got its pool in 1968, after the Group Areas Board rejected the common usage of Berg Street baths.⁶⁸

This shows that ordinary people came to embrace state-imposed racial identities. As Martens has pointed out, ‘in South Africa, popular racist notions were so widely held that there was often little need for non-intellectuals to express them in a rational and methodical manner.’⁶⁹

This incident is related here as it concerns a final concept important in this study, especially in the apartheid era, which is the concept of ‘community’. The term ‘community’ can be used in several senses. As used here, it refers to the sense of a group of people being categorised as “Coloured”, whether by outsiders or from within, and to people living in a bounded place, which was Woodlands in this case.⁷⁰

Methodology

This study comprises primarily qualitative research, drawing on already available archival and secondary material and oral interviews conducted specifically for this study.⁷¹ The Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives (APC) at the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) is an underappreciated and underutilised but truly outstanding resource centre. It has records that speak to various aspects of the history of the people of Pietermaritzburg in particular, and especially the anti-apartheid struggle and the Group Areas

⁶⁷ Christopher Merrett, “Sport, Space and Segregation”, 192.

⁶⁸ Letter to Town Clerk, 20 April 1960, in PMA 3/PMB 4/4/2/166, file 299/17 (Suggested swimming bath for non-Europeans).

⁶⁹ Martens, ‘Conflicting Views of “Coloured” People in the South African Liquor Bill Debate of 1928,’ 315.

⁷⁰ Brain Alleyne, “An idea of community and its discontents” in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25: 94 (2002).

⁷¹ Qualitative research allows one to collect and analyse non-numerical data. It is very important in understanding beliefs, attitudes, experiences, and interactions. It plays a pivotal role in answering the ‘how’ and ‘why’. It enables one to get a better understanding through first-hand experience and quotations of actual conversations.

forced removals. The APC has an excellent collection of oral interviews that were consulted. One example is an interview with Sandie Forman on ‘Forced Removals in Cape Town.’

Celeste Johns, a librarian at the UKZN Pietermaritzburg campus, not only agreed to be interviewed but also contacted and put me in touch with other older residents of Woodlands who had been forcibly relocated to that residential area as a result of Group Areas. I interviewed eleven persons (five women and six men between 50 and 84). A deliberate effort was made to interview different stakeholders, including community leaders, religious figures, and ordinary people across the class and gender divide. The research was delayed by the coronavirus fever, which limited face-to-face contact, and a lack of finance.

The sampling strategy adopted in this study is purposive and snowballing, which, according to Oliver Robinson, is most effective when a researcher aims to study a specific defined cultural realm to gain expert knowledge.⁷² In this case, it was the Coloured community of Woodlands. Ms Jones’ social networks and connections to other residents and former residents of Woodburn facilitated access to informants willing to share their experiences. Ms Jones’ introduction and referral resolved the question of trust with the informants who welcomed me.

Interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient to each interviewee. Ten of the interviews took place at the respondents’ homes, a setting where they were most comfortable, and two at The Isabel Beardmore Home for the Aged. The interviews were interesting as the men tended to speak openly, engaging and expressing their feelings, while the women felt that they did not let apartheid affect them. They thought this was because they could get along with both Black and White. Henrietta Joshua is an example of this. She was fluent in both IsiZulu and English and was light in complexion. There were suggestions from a few women that they had greater resolve than men and preferred not to dwell on negatives. The respondents consented to use their real names instead of pseudonyms.

A digital recorder was used to record each interview, which I transcribed. The process of transcribing the interviews was cumbersome and time-consuming but beneficial as I had a “feel” for the tone of the discussion and a sense of what the informant was trying to convey,

⁷² Robinson, Oliver, “Sampling in Interview-Based Qualitative Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide”, in *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11:25 (2014).

which helped to make sense of the data. All interviews were conducted in English and transcribed accordingly.

The interviews were structured, not in the sense of a survey, as the format allowed for flexibility. It is perhaps appropriate to describe them as semi-structured since a set of questions sought to obtain specific information necessary for this dissertation, but the informant was allowed to move in different directions in responding. At the same time, the interviewee asked questions that were not on the interview schedule but came to mind when something interesting emerged in the informant's recollections.

The questions that guided the interview are listed in Appendix 1, "Interview Schedule". The interviews aimed to get background information on the participants, their early lives, and their move to Woodlands, as well as their perspectives and opinions about the process and life in the new township. This was an enriching experience, though, as already pointed out, this methodology is not without its problems. The precaution was taken in analysing and utilising interviews.

The number of participants was sufficient because the interviews were detailed, and high-quality responses were obtained to capture the process, memories, and trauma associated with forced removals.

When it came to analysing and utilising the research material, the study employed a thematic analysis which assisted in identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within the data. As far as possible, the informants' voices were allowed to filter through in the narrative.⁷³ I know of computer programmes like NVivo but I found each transcript's detailed reading and analysis more fulfilling.

The following is a brief biographical profile (in alphabetical order according to family name) of the persons interviewed. The dates of the interviews are listed in the Bibliography:

⁷³ Braun, V. and Clarke, V, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", in *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2006), 77-101.

1. Joan De Lange was 79 years old when I interviewed her. She was born to mixed (Coloured-White) parents. This led to her Coloured father being arrested under the Immorality act. She was consequently sent to an orphanage where nuns from France looked after her. After getting married, she lived with her husband on Greyling Street in the city centre before moving to Woodlands in 1961. Mrs De Lange is now a retired interior decorator staying at The Isabel Beardmore Home For The Aged.
2. Francis Grantham was 70 years old at the time of the interview. A father of two, he had lived in Woodlands almost from its inception and served as Councillor of Woodlands for over a decade. The community wanted to honour him for his services by naming one of the roads after him, but he refused due to his modesty. He speaks both English and IsiZulu fluently. He described himself as an 'activist' against apartheid laws.
3. Celeste Johns was in her fifties when I interviewed her. A mother of two, she lived most of her life in Woodlands and held the position of Academic Librarian, and head of the circulation department at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Before that, she was a teacher at a Senior Primary School. She is married to Joel Johns, and they live in Woodlands.
4. Julian Johns was in his late fifties when I interviewed him. A father of two, he is self-employed as a motor assessor and lives in Woodlands with his family.
5. Henrietta Joshua was 82 years old when I interviewed her. A mother of three, she grew up on a farm in Richmond before moving to Pietermaritzburg in search of work. That is where she met her husband and stayed in Woodlands. She was one of the first residents to be relocated to Woodlands in 1960. She is now a retired nurse and stays at a nursing home in Woodlands, The Isabel Beardmore Home For The Aged. Her children, all married, still reside in Woodlands.
6. Mrs Lorraine Knipe was 82 years old when I interviewed her. A retired nurse and mother of five, she had lived in Woodlands for over four decades before moving to Scottsville (in Alexander Road), where she is staying with one of her sons. Her other children live in different parts of Pietermaritzburg, with the eldest son still living in Woodlands.

7. S.S. Martin was 74 years old when I interviewed her. A former teacher at a Coloured School, she had been residing in Woodlands for four decades. She still lives in Woodlands with her husband and their youngest daughter.
8. Henry Rampaul was 65 years old when I interviewed him. A father of three, he has lived in Woodlands for almost four decades. He resides in the area along with his wife and three children. He worked as a policeman.
9. Micheal Stellenberg was 76 years when I interviewed him. A father of four, he had lived in Woodlands for over four decades and still lives in the area. Two of his children moved out of Woodlands after marriage. His vocation was that of a carpenter.
10. Deon Warren was almost eighty when I interviewed him. A father of three, he had resided in Woodlands for nearly five decades. He was part of the Group that was forcefully removed from Edendale. All of his children are still living in Woodlands. He worked as an electrician.
11. Wayne Shaw was 68 when I interviewed him. A father of two, he had lived in Woodlands for the past four decades, worked as a bricklayer and was one of those who assisted in building houses in the newly built Coloured township.

Archival sources included a cursory examination of the *Daily News* and *Natal Witness*, municipal documents, memoirs, and reports by private individuals. This study, as pointed out, was delayed by the Covid-19 pandemic, which resulted in the Archives Repository in Pietermaritzburg being closed to the public in March 2020. The Archives Repository could not grant a special dispensation for this study. Fortunately, between the first and second “waves” of the pandemic, around September 2020, the files on Woodlands were consulted.

Secondary books and journal articles helped provide background information and contextualise the oral testimony. There is extensive literature in general on Group Areas, but less on Pietermaritzburg. Anthony Lemon’s *Homes Apart: South Africa’s Segregated Cities* is one

example of excellent secondary literature.⁷⁴ The works by Christopher Merrett, Julie Dyer, and Trevor Wills, cited above, were important, and this study augments that literature.

Chapter Outline

In addition to this introductory chapter (Chapter One), which outlines the research problem, reviews the literature, and discusses the methodology, there are four other chapters, excluding the conclusion.

Chapter Two, titled ‘Group Areas and Forced Removals in Pietermaritzburg,’ provides background and contextual history of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 and a general overview of its impact in Pietermaritzburg on the different racial groups, with specific discussion on the Coloured community

Chapter Three, ‘Establishment of Woodlands as a Coloured Township,’ focuses on the Education, Health, and Sports infrastructure that residents established in the new township.

Chapter Four, ‘Making “community” in Woodlands,’ examines forced removal's emotional and physical impact on Coloureds and how Group Areas shaped identities.

Chapter Five: ‘The (Re)Making of Coloured Identities,’ examines how being confined to a physical space shaped the identities of Coloureds.

Chapter Six, ‘Conclusion’, summarises the main findings of this dissertation.

⁷⁴ Wills. “Pietermaritzburg,” 90-103.

Chapter Two:

Group Areas and Forced Removals in Pietermaritzburg

This chapter examines the background and contextual history of the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, concerning Port Elizabeth, Durban and Cape Town. The second half of the chapter provides a general overview of the GAA's impact in Pietermaritzburg, explicitly referring to the city's Coloured community.

As exponents of Critical Race Theory (CRT) argue, White supremacy and racial power are entrenched and maintained over time through the law,⁷⁵ which has historically played a crucial role in entrenching White supremacy in South Africa since the first settlers arrived in the seventeenth century. The Group Areas Act was promulgated on 7 July 1950 by the new National Party government and was, in fact, an essential piece of legislation in establishing its policy the Apartheid, which had, at its core, separate development along racial lines. The GAA was part of a battery of legislation that aimed to separate South Africans according to race in all walks of life and entrench White social, economic, and political privilege.

Laws such as the Population Registration Act, Community Development Act, Housing Act, Separate Amenities Act, and Slums Act aimed to further the apartheid project. Group Areas were an essential piece of legislation to ensure that people were physically separated.⁷⁶ Group Areas excluded Black South Africans from living in the most developed areas, which were reserved for Whites, had the best facilities and infrastructure, and were located closer to better quality schools and jobs. Group Areas led to the uprooting and forced removal of thousands of Coloured and Indian people, as well as some Africans and a few Whites, as the apartheid state created racially segregated residential areas.

African removals under Group Areas were lower in proportion to their overall population than prior legislation such as the Natives Land Act of 1913, which reserved thirteen per cent of the land for Africans; the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which stated that urban areas were reserved for Whites and regulated the movement of Africans into cities by requiring all African

⁷⁵ Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic. "From Critical Race Theory: An Introduction". *NYU Press*. (2006), 1

⁷⁶ Alan Paton and Struggle Archive: "Yes, the Lord has also gone", English Edition. PC 86/9/2/11/4.

males to carry passes in cities; the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, which further tightened 'influx control' of African males;⁷⁷ the establishment of Homelands for African peoples, which largely confined Africans to rural areas; and the resettlement of Africans who had been living on White farms. Group Areas legislation was not required to resettle Africans to the same extent as Indians and Coloureds as the previous legislation had done so.⁷⁸

Long-established, relatively mixed communities were also demolished, such as Cato Manor in Durban, South End in Port Elizabeth, and District Six in Cape Town, which included Coloureds, Africans, Indians, and a small number of Whites. Removing Blacks from the cities aimed to achieve a racial hierarchy in which "poor Whites" could be lifted above their counterparts of other race groups.

Background and contextual history of the Group Areas Act of 1950.

Segregation in future South Africa dates back to the colonial era, with the four colonies that would make up the Union of South Africa in 1910 – Natal, Transvaal, Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State – having different approaches to racial segregation, but all instituting measures of some kind by the nineteenth-century. As A.J. Christopher points out:

Urban racial residential segregation in South Africa is complex and bound up with urban origins and development. Before 1910 the four colonies which merged to form the Union had evolved different approaches to racial segregation ranging from passive socio-economic segregation to legal enforcement. The first Union census in 1911 enabled an assessment of the differences between the provinces to be made in light of the subsequent application of national segregationist policies. The population of the towns and cities of South Africa were, by Union, remarkably segregated, with only a few cities in the Cape of Good Hope and Natal exhibiting any extensive areas of racial residential integration.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ For an excellent overview of National Party policy in the 1950s, see Deborah Posel, 'Influx Control and the Construction of Apartheid', unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1987, and Saul Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2014), 32-73.

⁷⁸ G.H. Pirie, 'Urban Population Removals in South Africa,' *Geography* 68, 4 (1983): 347.

⁷⁹ A.J. Christopher, 'Roots of urban segregation: South Africa at Union, 1910,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 14, 2 (1988) 151-169, 151.

Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape was one of the first cities where the foundation of what would later be "apartheid" was laid. In 1834, the London Missionary Society (LMS) established the first black settlement on the edge of Port Elizabeth. In the 1850s, the Port Elizabeth municipality created the native strangers' location 'where Hottentots, Fingoes, Kaffirs and other strangers visiting Port Elizabeth may temporarily reside'.⁸⁰ As a result, Black people were rendered aliens in urban areas. This was done through several laws regulating Africans in Port Elizabeth, such as curfew regulations, labour registration, and influx control.⁸¹ Even in New Brighton's newly established African township, law enforcement continued to regulate their lives. This included the South African Police Force, Municipal police, and the Courts. This was disturbed by the 1952 Defiance Campaign, which resulted in riots in the township.

In East London, the government issued a notice in 1849 requiring 'Fingoes and other Coloured natives to live in "locations".' In 1872, other towns in East London, such as Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, and Grahamstown, began to enforce racial separation. Etienne Nel argued:

Urban racial segregation in East London has a distinctive heritage, making the city one of South Africa's most segregated in the pre-Union era. Segregation was initiated by the British military in the then colony of British Kaffraria and was later enhanced by successive municipal councils. Municipal ordinances ensured exceptionally high levels of segregation in the city during the nineteenth century. The enforcement of Asian segregation in this era is noteworthy. Urban planning in the twentieth century resulted as much from local as national considerations and legislation. Segregation was a reality in East London prior to the passage of the Group Areas Act.⁸²

In the Western Cape, specifically Cape Town, systematic segregation came into force through the Group Areas Act. Manifestations of urban segregation, such as separate 'locations' to control Black residence and movement, were not evident in Cape Town in the nineteenth century.⁸³ Existing legislation aimed not so much at keeping races apart but more at excluding

⁸⁰ Maylam Paul. "Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, (1995), 23.

⁸¹ Gary Fred Baines. "New Brighton, Port Elizabeth c 1903-1953: A History of an Urban Community." (PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 1994), 60.

⁸² Etienne Nel, 'Racial segregation in East London, 1836–1948,' *The South African geographical journal*, being a record of the proceedings of the South African Geographical Society 73(2) (1991):60-68: page 60.

⁸³ Maylam, "Explaining the Apartheid City", 25.

people of colour from the ranks of the dominant class based on class. According to Vivian Bickford-Smith, arguably the leading historian of urban Cape Town, while Cape Town has 'enjoyed an academic and popular reputation for being the most relaxed of South African cities in terms of "race" relations,' there was extensive segregation 'in the city by the early twentieth century.' However, this was in 'non-residential forms' and, further, there were 'limits to segregation in Cape Town,' which has contributed 'to its reputation for uniqueness.' This was due to 'the existence of considerable "miscegenation", an enduring non-racial political tradition, and the fact that social segregation was far from comprehensive.'⁸⁴

In the Transvaal, the government of Paul Kruger set aside areas of land for Malay (Muslims who would fall under the racial group Coloured) and Black' locations'. Kruger's government targeted Indians from the time of their arrival in the mid-1880s and instituted measures to restrict immigration. Indians hoped that their treatment would improve after the South African War of 1899-1902 between the Afrikaners and British, who had, ironically, expressed outrage at the treatment of Indians by the Kruger government, but this did not happen. The British instituted more stringent anti-Indian restrictions after the war under British oversight and in the years leading up to Union in 1910.⁸⁵

A young lawyer from India, Mohandas K. Gandhi (who would subsequently become known as the 'Mahatma' as a result of his role in the anti-colonial struggle in India), upon his arrival in Natal in 1893 found that a large part of the Indian community, both in Natal and the Transvaal, were suffering under oppressive White minority regimes. As a result, he founded a political organisation, the Natal Indian Congress (and later the Transvaal Indian British Association), and sought to defend the interests of Indians in South Africa. This was done through the philosophy and practice of nonviolence (satyagraha) that would be further developed when he returned to India in 1914.⁸⁶ In a critical study, Desai and Vahed argue that Gandhi's activities separated Indians from Africans, and that he tended to focus on the trader class and restrictions

⁸⁴ Vivian Bickford-Smith (1995) South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21:1, 63-78, DOI: 10.1080/03057079508708433, 63.

⁸⁵ Bala Pillay. 1976. *British Indians in the Transvaal; trade, politics, and imperial relations, 1885-1906*. London: Longman Publishing, is excellent for an overview of anti-Indian legislation.

⁸⁶ See Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed. *The South African Gandhi. Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

placed on them for most of his stay in South Africa.⁸⁷ Notwithstanding these shortcomings, Gandhi's writings and activism put the issue of racial segregation in South Africa high among the concerns of British colonial officials, even if it failed to stop the Union of South Africa from coming into being in 1910.

Following the South African War of 1899-1902, there was a labour shortage on the gold mines in the Transvaal, and the Transvaal government came up with a scheme to bring indentured labourers from China to work in the mines. This was also done to preserve the status of "White Britishness" locally and globally. Chinese unskilled labour boosted economic reconstruction in the immediate post-war period while ensuring that White workers would retain their skilled and "civilised" positions. Chinese workers were repatriated to their homeland once they had served their contracts.⁸⁸

During the 1880s, Kimberley represented perhaps the most significant source of urban segregation in South Africa. The mining compounds and hostels were essentially the first rigid form of residual segregation applied in developing a South African city. As Rob Turrell's outstanding work has shown, the compound system, which became a striking feature of most mining enterprises in Southern and Central Africa, was first introduced in the diamond mines at Kimberley. After that, ordered townships were created in the wake of that experience.⁸⁹

Turrell argues that the introduction of a compound system was fundamentally related to the development of underground mining, which resulted in changes in the organisation of production, and the exercise of authority and supervision in the workplace, particularly over African migrant labour.⁹⁰ However, mine owners made great play of diamond theft in justifying the rationalisation of the compound system, which made the position of African labour more difficult and consolidated a progressively rigid racial division of labour which gave White workers a relatively privileged status in the racial hierarchy.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed. *The South African Gandhi. Stretcher-Bearer of Empire*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

⁸⁸ Rachel Bright. *Chinese Labour in South Africa, 1902-10: Race, Violence, and Global Spectacle*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

⁸⁹ Alan Mabin. "Labour, capital, class struggle and the origins of residential segregation in Kimberley 1880-1920", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 12 (1), 1986: 4-36.

⁹⁰ Rob Turrell. *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

⁹¹ Turrell, "Capital and Labour".

Early South African urban segregation can also be attributed to infectious diseases and public health. According to Maynard Swanson, in the early 1900s, during the bubonic plague that threatened the major cities in South Africa, the authorities used this as an excuse to remove African people under the emergency provisions of the public health laws.⁹² Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were the two focal points of this development in the Cape Colony. White Colonial officials had identified Africans, 'Coloureds', and 'Malays' as a threat to public Health.⁹³ The justification of class, racial segregation, and rationalizing White race prejudice was influenced by the rise of Darwinism in Europe.⁹⁴

In Durban, residential segregation in 1871 was mainly directed against Indians. The Durban Town Council (DTC) adopted a policy of creating separate locations for Indians.⁹⁵ This resulted from the growth of independent ex-indentured Indians who took up market gardening, hawking and retail trade in and around the city of Durban.⁹⁶ The numbers of the ex-indentured were augmented by the arrival of free Indians from the 1870s, who provided competition in trade for Whites and heightened White fears of being swamped by Indians.⁹⁷ Whites saw Indians as a threat to their superiority in the social order as they competed for space, trade and political influence with the imperial authority.⁹⁸

In the 1890s, Whites devised three strategies to control Indians: residential segregation, political exclusion, and commercial suppression. In the years and decades that followed, there

⁹² Maynard, Swanson. "The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape colony, 1900–19091." *The journal of African history* 18, no. 3 (1977): 387-410.

⁹³ Jennifer, Robinson. "The politics of urban form: differential citizenship and township formation in Port Elizabeth 1925-1945." *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 20, no. 1 (1993): 44-65.

⁹⁴ Robison, "'The politics of urban form,'" 14.

⁹⁵ David Welsh, 1971. *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

⁹⁶ See M.W. Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace: Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 16, 3 (1983), 405-415 and Goolam Vahed, 'Control and Repression: The Plight of Indian Hawkers and Flower Sellers in Durban, 1910-1948,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32.1 (December, 1999): 19-48.

⁹⁷ See Goolam Vahed and Surendra Bhana, *Crossing Space and Time in the Indian Ocean: Early Indian Traders in Natal -- A Biographical Study*. Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2015, for a fuller discussion of the arrival, settlement and contribution of Indian traders in Natal.

⁹⁸ M.W. Swanson, 'The Asiatic Menace.' 30-33.

was de facto residential segregation as the Durban City Council instituted measures to ensure racial separation. The result was that there was 91 percent residential segregation between Indians and Whites in Durban, according to the South African census of 1951.⁹⁹

The Durban and Pietermaritzburg municipalities were significant employers of Indian labour and provided them with housing in barracks close to the city centres. Conditions were generally appalling, and workers were subject to high infectious diseases such as diarrhoea and enteritis. These barracks were also used to discipline workers.¹⁰⁰ After the implementation of Group Areas in 1950, Indians were forcibly removed from these barracks and in the case of Durban, workers and their families were relocated to Chatsworth.¹⁰¹

Apartheid

The 1948 general election brought D.F. Malan's National Party government to power. Malan's administration commenced its policy of Apartheid ('separateness') that sought to segregate what they saw as different racial groups in South Africa. The author Alan Paton noted that the government hoped to achieve this through 'separate development of the races, and this entailed passing laws that would ensure a distinction on social, economic and political and, in the case of the Group Areas Act, geographical lines.' These laws aimed to secure the complete racial separation of these groups.¹⁰² As Patricia Johnson-Castle points out:

The policy of Apartheid ... put South Africans of different racial groups on their own paths in a partitioned system of development. The policy goal of separate development allowed the National Party to maintain the status quo of White supremacy as well as control the African labour needed for rapid industrial development. Separate development was

⁹⁹ Leo Kuper, H. Watts, and R. Davies, *Durban. A Study in Racial Ecology*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1958: 37.

¹⁰⁰ Goolam Vahed. 'Race, Class, Community and Conflict: Durban's Indian Municipal Employees Union, 1914-1949,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27.1 (March 2001): 104-125

¹⁰¹ See Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed, Eds. *Chatsworth. The Making of a South African Township*. Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press, 2013, 1-19.

¹⁰² Alan Paton, "The people Wept...The Story of the Group Areas Act". PC2/4/11/2/60.

supposed to allow Africans to develop themselves under their own self-government, but the economic structure of South Africa made that impossible.¹⁰³

As pointed out, the Group Areas Act of 1950 was one of many pieces of legislation used to control and structure the lives of Africans, Indians, and Coloureds under Apartheid. Accompanying and aiding the process were the Population Registration Act, which provided for the racial categorisation of every person, and The Bantu Education Act of 1953, which aimed to train African children for manual work. State policies destroyed missionary schools, thereby reducing contact between White educators and African children and not giving African children the "false hope" of being able to enter the professions.¹⁰⁴ Other restrictive legislation included the Pass Laws, which controlled the movement of Africans into urban areas; the Immorality Act, which sought to prevent cross-race sexual relations; the Separate Amenities Act, which reserved public spaces and transport for specific race groups; and a host of other laws which impacted on every aspect of life.¹⁰⁵

Alan Mabin makes the critical argument that the establishment of Group Areas 'did not follow from some master plan conceived and applied in any unilateral fashion by the Nationalist government.'¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, as this study has already pointed out, segregation measures had been instituted across the country, and Group Areas legislation 'emerged from several threads of previous segregatory measures and pressures. The practice of implementing the Act depended on the existence and growth of planning bureaucracies whose origins were wider than those of the Act itself.'¹⁰⁷

Although the Group Areas Act was passed in 1950, it was only implemented in the 1960s. According to Pirie:

Implementation of the Group Areas Act was retarded by several factors. It took a while for municipalities to respond to the directive from the national government to identify and plan

¹⁰³ Patricia Johnson-Castel. 'The Group area Act of 1950,' South African History Organisation, no date. Available at <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950>. Accessed 3 December 2019.

¹⁰⁴ Maylam, "Explaining the Apartheid City", 28.

¹⁰⁵ See Saul Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014 for a comprehensive discussion of Apartheid ideology and legislation and its impact.

¹⁰⁶ A Mabin 1992 Comprehensive segregation: the origins of Group Areas, c. 1935-1955, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18 (2) 1992, 406-429.

¹⁰⁷ A Mabin, "1992 Comprehensive segregation: the origins of Group Areas," 429.

likely Group Areas; some local authorities refused to cooperate in this procedure. Furthermore, it took several substantive and technical amendments to the Act to close loopholes and clarify ambiguities. The creation of Group Areas proceeded fastest where local authorities acted simply to entrench existing race-space divisions. Implementation has been considerably retarded in districts where extensive forced removals of people in mixed-race neighbourhoods has had to be undertaken.¹⁰⁸

The implementation of Group Areas resulted in the forcible removal of thousands of South Africans who happened to be living in the "wrong" areas. This sometimes destroyed entire and long-established communities. For example, Coloureds lived in District Six in inner Cape Town for decades. They numbered around 55 000 when District Six was declared a White area in 1966, and Coloureds were removed to townships far from the city centre, where they were given tiny and deficient houses or communal flats, unlike the White minority who owned large plots of land.¹⁰⁹ All that remains of this once lively community are a few isolated buildings and weeds. District Six was a unique community due to its complex cultural and ethnic mix. Although the community might have been destroyed, the spirit and symbolism live on in the daily discourses and reminiscences of thousands of ex-residents and fellow Capetonians.¹¹⁰ Some of the lived experiences of the former residents of District Six are captured in the District Six Museum, which was established in 1994 (see <https://www.districtsix.co.za>).

Group Areas also led to the infamous destruction of Sophiatown, a suburb of Johannesburg. In February 1955, 2 000 policemen began removing residents to Meadowlands, Soweto and established a Whites-only suburb named Triomf (Victory).¹¹¹ Sophiatown was a township inhabited by 200 000 people of different races, including Africans, Chinese, Coloureds, and Indians. It provided an opportunity for economic survival for all communities and had a reputation for producing some of the finest scholars, artisans, musicians, and lawyers.¹¹² Citizens tried to use the courts, stage protests, and engage in civil disobedience to overturn Group Areas but to little avail. A plea to end Group Areas evictions by a non-racial committee

¹⁰⁸ Pirie, "Urban population removals in South Africa," 348.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Rive. *Buckingham Palace' District Six*. David Philip: Cape Town, 1986

¹¹⁰ Shamil Jeppie and Crain Soudien. 1990. *The Struggle for District Six: past and present*. Cape Town: Buchu Books.

¹¹¹ Maylam, "Explaining the Apartheid City", 26.

¹¹² Tom Lodge. 1983. *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 95.

(its 25 members were representative of all racial groups) also failed,¹¹³ as did protests by political organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses.¹¹⁴

The Group Areas Act was condemned by activists, political organisations, and ordinary people, locally and abroad, for being undemocratic and unjust in its conception and brutal in its application. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was in charge of the KwaZulu authority and leader of the Zulu nationalist organisation Inkatha, was willing to work with the government to improve the condition of his people. However, even he stated, in condemning the act, 'we have said before that we are not prepared to cooperate with the removal of people. We don't want to be a party to the misery of our people.'¹¹⁵

Political organisations such as the NIC and the ANC declared their total abhorrence of the act. The NIC claimed that the Act amounted to the redistribution of wealth and resources in favour of Whites (Europeans) and the removal of Blacks (or non-Europeans in the parlance of the times, which included Indians, Africans and Coloureds) from their long-established areas of residence and trade to the outskirts of towns and cities, far from centres of commerce and industry, and usually in areas where there were few facilities. The NIC argued in 1961 that Indians were the main target of the act in Natal, a fact shown by the number of Indians evicted. This can be explained by the fact that most Africans had already been affected by earlier legislation, such as the Land Act of 1913.¹¹⁶

The ANC believed that the sole purpose of Group Areas was to deprive Africans of the free occupation and ownership of land to ensure that they would be tenants at all times and hence a source of cheap labour.¹¹⁷ There was an outcry from the outside world to boycott South African goods in response to the injustices of the apartheid regime.¹¹⁸ The Liberal Party of Peter Brown

¹¹³ Staff Reporter, "Ease Group Areas Act, Plea", *The Star*, 08 November 1958, PC2/4/2/71.

¹¹⁴ Lodge, "Black Politics in South Africa", 108. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was founded by Mohandas K. Gandhi in 1894 fight against discrimination against Indians in South Africa. In the early 1950s it joined with the ANC to be part of a non-racial Congress Alliance that challenged the apartheid government through mass non-violent protest.

¹¹⁵ Atchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", *Forced Removals in South Africa: Volume 4 of the Surplus people Project Report*, 7, PC14/5/8/2.

¹¹⁶ Atchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", 25.

¹¹⁷ Atchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", 25

¹¹⁸ Atchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", 25

and Alan Paton supported the boycott of South African goods as a peaceful means of confronting the apartheid regime, in line with world opinion, so that policies could be instituted that would satisfy the aspirations of all South Africans and show that there was hope for stability.¹¹⁹

The government worked maliciously to deny political organisations the right to represent victims of Group Areas. For example, in the case of Indians, the NIC and TIC usually took up issues with the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB), which was responsible for proclaiming areas for different racial groups. The LTAB adopted the stance that these political organisations could not appear before it as they were not interested parties in the process. The TIC unsuccessfully challenged the decision in court in 1954. The government passed a law stating that the LTAB could decide who could appear before it and also created a Group Areas Development Board to expedite the implementation of Group Areas.¹²⁰ As John Western has pointed out, this meant that 'no one had the *right* to appear before the committee to argue his or her case; the committee could exercise its discretion as to whom would appear'.¹²¹

There were severe consequences for people who did not comply with Group Areas evictions. Those found violating the Act could be fined, imprisoned, or both. Group Areas hugely affected communities and citizens across South Africa. By 1983, more than 600 000 people had been forcibly removed from their homes.¹²² Whites were the least affected by the Act. Between 1950 and 1980, of the 600 000 people forcibly removed countrywide, around 8 000 were White, 172 000 were Indian, and 375 000 were Coloured. In terms of families, 2 000 White, 37 000 Indian, and 78 000 Coloured families were affected. A further 6 500 Coloured, 4 500 Indian and 100 White families were still to be moved.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Liberal Party of South Africa, "Public Statement of the Boycott by Peter Brown", Group Areas Act. PC2/4/11/3/5.

¹²⁰ Goolam Vahed, *Chota Motala. A Biography of Political Resistance in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2018, 147-148.

¹²¹ John Western, *Outcast Cape Town*: (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 122.

¹²² Maria Zotwana and Elu Khwanyeni. "Forced Removals and Relocations in South Africa," in *Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced removals in South Africa*. Randburg: The South African Council of Churches and The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, 1984, 13.

¹²³ Pirie, "Urban population removals in South Africa," 348.

Removals uprooted families and destroyed communities. The new areas to which people were relocated often had tiny houses, poor transport, polluted water, and little productive land. Housing and sanitary facilities were primitive, and health standards were poor. This led to sickness and death, especially for children. Pirie captures the impact of Group Areas poignantly:

Statistics of the numbers of people affected by the Group Areas Act and figures showing its differential effect on Coloureds, Indians and Whites tell a tale of extensive, continuing demographic surgery in urban South Africa. They do not speak of the loss of trading goodwill to retailers; of the loss of community capital in the form of places of teaching, worship and recreation; of the loss of advantages of geographic centrality; of the loss of the sense of permanence and neighbourhood. They skirt the much-publicised indignity, hurt, bitterness and hatred.¹²⁴

The impact of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg

According to one estimate, the population of Pietermaritzburg was projected to reach 100 000 in 1958, with Whites making up 38 percent of the people, followed by Africans and Indians at roughly just under thirty percent each, and Coloureds making up around five percent.¹²⁵ The actual population as per the 1960 census was as follows:

Table 1: Pietermaritzburg Population per race group in 1960 (Adopted from 1960 census)¹²⁶

Year	Total	Whites	Coloured	Asian	African
1960	127 698 (100%)	39 768 (31.1%)	5 715 (4.8%)	26 716 (20.9%)	55 454 (43.2%)

The Group Areas Act was systematically applied in Pietermaritzburg by the mid-1960s. The racial map of Pietermaritzburg was shaped by Proclamations 81 and 82 of the Group Areas Act, which were published in the Government Gazette in April 1960. Coloureds and Indians were allocated land in the northeastern part of Pietermaritzburg, while Africans were barred

¹²⁴ Pirie, "Urban population removals in South Africa," 349.

¹²⁵ Liberal Party of South Africa, "Public Statement of the Boycott by Peter Brown", Group Areas Act. PC2/4/11/3/5.

¹²⁶ D.P Botha. "Urban & Rural Population of South Africa 1904 to 1960," *Report No 02-02-01*, The Government Printer: Pretoria, 1968, 164-178.

entirely from the city.¹²⁷ Woodlands was set aside for Coloureds; Mountain Rise, Raisethorpe, lower Church Street, and Northdale for Indians. The proportion impact per racial group (%) was as follows:¹²⁸

Table 2: The proportion impact per racial group (%)

	Asian	African	Coloured	White
Properties	76.1	12.1	10.8	1.0
Land	75.5	18.1	5.4	1.0
Population	76.3	12.8	10.9	Neg

Opponents of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg organised a conference on 28 and 29 January 1961, which was attended by various religious and community organisations, as well as political organisations such as the NIC, Black Sash, Liberal Party, and Progressive Party. One of the keynote speakers was long-time Pietermaritzburg resident and then vice-president of the NIC, Dr Chota Motala, who said that the 'essential ingredient of separate development, was not so much the element of separation as the element of denial and dispossession' to 'entrench European interests at the expense of non-European interests for the maintenance of White domination.' Motala provided an area-by-area breakdown of the impact of the proclamations:

Table 3: Impact of the Proclamation per racial group

Affected	Properties	Acreage	Municipal value	People	Businesses
Indian	671	379	£1130,000	7 000	81
African	107	91	£ 43,000	1 175	*
Coloured	95	27	£ 106,500	1 000	*
European	9	Under 5	£ 22,000	negligible	1

*Figures unavailable, but there were very few stores.

Whites were barely affected. In addition to the loss of land, property, houses, and businesses, 'non-Europeans' also had to bear the human cost of relocation:

¹²⁷ Lester, *From Colonization to Democracy: a new historical Geography of South Africa*, 117.

¹²⁸ Merrett, *Sport, Space and Segregation*, 353.

Quite apart from any consideration of material or financial loss, there is another consideration, perhaps of far more vital importance in human affairs, and that is the great volume of human suffering that must inevitably flow from the loss of greatly cherished possessions. How shall we measure the amount of suffering caused? How shall we measure the insecurity and the fear that has dominated the lives of thousands who reside in Pentrich and in the New Scotland Road area? What yardstick can one employ to measure the fears and the uncertainties that have haunted the traders at the upper end of Church and Longmarket Street? What measure is there of the spiritual suffering of the people who, in areas such as Cleland, Ockertskraal and Hollingwood, wait the falling of the axe upon their possessions?¹²⁹

Delegates formed the Combined Group Areas Resistance Committee, Pietermaritzburg and Environs to protest against the evictions, which were to begin by 31 March 1961. The committee prepared a memorandum against Group Areas and met with the city council to protest evictions.¹³⁰ However, the Pietermaritzburg City Council ignored the Group Areas Resistance Committee and reached an agreement with the Group Areas Board to proceed with evictions.¹³¹

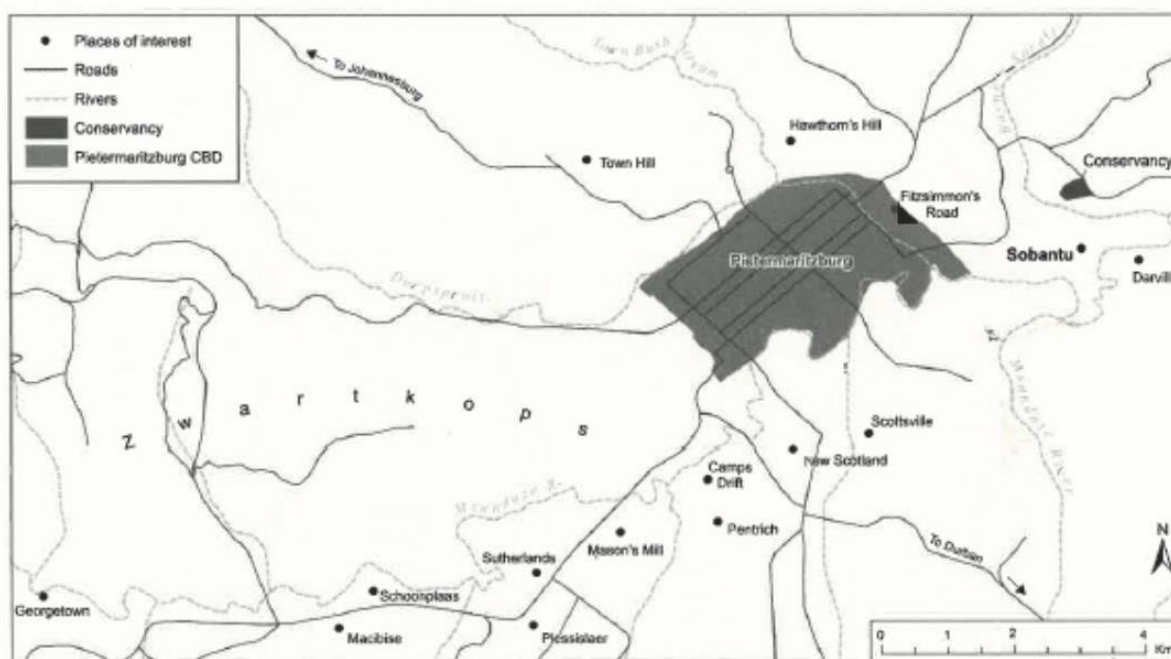
As already pointed out, most forced removals in Pietermaritzburg were of Indian and Coloured families, as Africans were effectively banned from living permanently in urban areas by historical legislation. The townships of Sobantu and Imbali were an exception. Woodlands was created for the Coloured community, Raisethorpe and Mountain Rise for Indians.¹³² The following section examines the socio-economic conditions of the various racial groups in the city and the impact of Group Areas on them.

¹²⁹ Chota Motala, 'The Group Areas Act.' Paper presented at a conference on group Areas, 28 and 29 January 1961. Rabia Motala Archives.

¹³⁰ *Daily News*, 8 February 1961.

¹³¹ *Natal Witness*, 20 February 1961.

¹³² Julie Dyer. *Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008): A History of Urbanisation and Disease in an African City*. Pietermaritzburg: Occasional Publications of the Natal Society Foundation, 26.



Map 2: Greater Pietermaritzburg before the Group Areas Act (Adapted from Atchison Collection, PC2/4/8/4).



Map 3: Pietermaritzburg Street Map, post-apartheid period (Adapted from Msunduzi Library-Bessie Head)

Africans in Pietermaritzburg

There was overcrowding in the African village of Sobantu, yet there was a call to extend Group Areas to move Africans to areas established for African occupation per the Act. This drew widespread condemnation from many sectors of the population. Approximately 60 percent of the African people in the city lived on the premises of their employers, ten percent lived in congested single-sex hostels and the remainder in Sobantu.¹³³

Africans were also living just outside the city in Edendale on the other side of the city, which was home to a larger and poorer African population. Edendale was described as the "thin crust of a volcano ready to spout an epidemic of disease" by the Pietermaritzburg Medical Officer of Health (MOH), Dr M. Maister.¹³⁴ The socio-economic climate for Africans was worsening with increasing unemployment, low wages for those in employment, and a lack of housing. 280 Africans were imprisoned in the city in 1959 under various apartheid laws, including influx control and curfew regulations. In New Scotland Road, 24 African properties were affected by Group Areas, which resulted in 250 people being moved to Sobantu.¹³⁵ In Pentrich (Campdrift), seventeen properties of Africans were demolished, with 200 people moved. In Cleland, four properties were affected. Indians and Africans had settled here in 1920 but were not forcefully moved. In Hollywood, 52 African properties were affected by Group Areas, with some 400 Africans forcefully removed.¹³⁶

In the newly established African locations, clinics were a long distance away, estimated at around seven kilometres. Residents had to use either a bus or taxi to get to clinics, wait at the clinic for many hours before receiving the necessary assistance, and then find transport back home. Government welfare grants differed according to race, with Africans receiving the lowest grants.¹³⁷ The establishment of the new African township of Imbali resulted in the city

¹³³ Liberal Party of South Africa, "Clinics in Townships", *Amenities in Townships*, 236. PC2/4/8/1.

¹³⁴ Epprecht, Marc. "Health, environment and the racialisation of space in Pietermaritzburg/Edendale, 1880- 1950: Revisiting the 'sanitation syndrome'". Epprecht, (2010), 1-28.

¹³⁵ Marc Epprecht. Health, environment and the racialisation of space in Pietermaritzburg/Edendale, 1880- 1950, 27.

¹³⁶ Liberal Party of South Africa, "Clinics in Townships", *Amenities in Townships*, P236. PC2/4/8/1.

¹³⁷ Dyer, Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008), 30.

drawing labour in its townships, and by 1965, 76 percent of African men entering the city looking for jobs were turned back in terms of influx control.¹³⁸

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development (DBAD) enforced strict influx control to limit the increasing number of work seekers entering the city. At the same time, the DBAD neglected the responsibility of building houses for African peoples. As a result, social disruption increased, which saw violence and homicide rise dramatically as a cause of death for both men and women.¹³⁹ The violence would continue through the 1980s with contributory factors such as unemployment, inadequate education with limited job opportunities, overcrowding and increasing poverty, and especially political struggles amongst Africans aligned to Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) or the Congress-aligned United Democratic Front (UDF).¹⁴⁰

African women were mainly employed as domestic workers, most of whom lived with their employers. This disrupted families as mothers were removed from their children and husbands. Children were often left in the care of relatives. Much of the pittance that the women earned was sent back home to those caring for their children. In Pietermaritzburg, domestic workers earned R55 per month in 1981, well below the monthly minimum living wage, which stood at R180 per month.¹⁴¹

Health services were poor for Africans. After the establishment of Edendale township, a hospital was built that catered for Africans across the province. In Sobantu, a clinic provided services both at the clinic itself and through home visits by a district nurse. In addition, an infant welfare clinic operated in the hostels and beer halls.¹⁴² Even though children were given free meals at schools, the schools had insufficient water and sanitation and were grossly

¹³⁸ Dyer, *Health in Pietermaritzburg* (1838-2008), 31.

¹³⁹ Dyer, *Health in Pietermaritzburg* (1838-2008), 33.

¹⁴⁰ John Aitchison, *The course and pattern of political violence in the Natal Midlands, 1987-1989*. Pietermaritzburg: The Natal Society Foundation, 2015; Anthea Jeffery, *People's War: New Light on the Struggle for South Africa*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009; and M. Kentridge. 'The Unofficial War in Natal: Pietermaritzburg under the knife,' Paper presented at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 29 March 1990. Available at <http://www.csvr.org.za/index.php/publications/1795-the-unofficial-war-in-natal-pietermaritzburg-under-the-knife.html>. Retrieved on 25 November 2015.

¹⁴¹ Julie Dyer. *Health in Pietermaritzburg* (1838-2008), 34.

¹⁴² Heather Peel. *Sobantu Village: An Administrative History of a Pietermaritzburg Township 1924-1959*. Honours Essay, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1987.

overcrowded. Youth unemployment was high, and to combat social problems, facilities such as youth clubs, playgrounds, parks, and three soccer fields were established. However, this did not compensate for unsanitary housing, overcrowding, poverty, and a high list of deaths caused by diseases such as tuberculosis.¹⁴³

While Indians and Coloureds were treated as second-class citizens, Africans were arguably even worse off. There was a clear racial hierarchy in Apartheid South Africa. Sociologist Zimitri Erasmus related this identity bind growing up Coloured, "For me growing up Coloured meant knowing that I was not only not White, but less than White: not black but better than black".¹⁴⁴ Apartheid and the relative benefits influenced such sentiments compared to Africans that the Coloured community received.

This did not mean that Coloureds were not discriminated against. Coloured municipal employees suffered discrimination, and the Coloured community, in general, was subject to derogatory remarks.¹⁴⁵

Indians

The significant effect of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg was felt by the Indian community, many of whom had been occupying parts of the city now rezoned exclusively for White occupation for many decades.¹⁴⁶ According to one estimate, 984 Indian people and 75 traders were forced to move, mainly from the Upper Church Street area (which included 42 shops, 43 residential plots, plus a Mosque, school and library); to Central city (1000 Indians were to be moved, having a year to shut down their businesses); Pentrich (273 Indian properties were affected, including four schools, a school, and seven shops, with 2 500 Indians to be moved); and Cleland, Ockerts Kraal, and Sweetwater (89 properties affected and 347 Indians to be evicted).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Dyer, *Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008)*, 33-35.

¹⁴⁴ Ammaarah, Kamish, "Coloured and Black identities of Residents Forcibly Removed from Blouville". *South African Historical Journal*, Vol.60 No.2, (2008), 5.

¹⁴⁵ Kamish, "Coloured and Black identities of Residents Forcibly Removed from Blouville", 5.

¹⁴⁶ Aitchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", *Forced Removals in South Africa*, 230.

¹⁴⁷ Aitchison Collection, "Effects of Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", *Forced Removals in South Africa*, 236-237.

In consultation with the Reference and Planning Committee, the Pietermaritzburg City Council agreed that Whites would be allocated the above-mentioned residential areas that Indians owned. This was done despite it being vehemently opposed by Indian political bodies.¹⁴⁸ In total, Indians lost 875 acres of land. The PCC was adamant that Indians should live outside the city and decreed that they be moved to Dunveria, Raisethorpe, Mountain Rise, and Allandale. According to the Natal Indian Organization (NIO), a moderate political body in comparison to the ANC-aligned NIC, the Indian Community stood to lose land and property to the value of £345 000.¹⁴⁹ Julie Dyer argues that Indians' losses of land led to them losing income provided by market gardening and other businesses.

There was a significant protest conference against the Group Areas Act at the Hindu Temple Hall in Longmarket Street on 28 and 29 January 1961. Delegates pointed to the grave hardships, distress, and human suffering that the implementation of the Act would cause and called for its repeal.¹⁵⁰ Local ANC and NIC leaders led the multi-racial mobilisation against Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg. According to one source, meetings were also held at the Lotus Hall and sometimes, the lights were put off with a candle used for the speaker. They had to be discreet to avoid arrest. This underground anti-apartheid activity took place on the same scale as it had happened in other parts of the country.¹⁵¹

The Black Sash, a predominantly White-liberal women's anti-apartheid organisation, had a strong presence in Pietermaritzburg and advocated for human rights.¹⁵² With the implementation of Group Areas in Pietermaritzburg, the Liberal Party focused on the right to shelter, the homeless crisis, and the family stability affected by the Act. In 1968, it organised a

¹⁴⁸ Muriel Horrel, *The Group Areas Act-Its Effect on Human beings* (Johannesburg: The South African Institute of Race Relations 1956), 112.

¹⁴⁹ Muriel Horrel, *The Group Areas Act-Its Effect on Human beings*, 114-115.

¹⁵⁰ Aitchison Collection, "Public Attack on Removals", *Forced Removals in South Africa*, 231.

¹⁵¹ Sibongiseni Mkhize, "Crowds, protest politics and women's struggles: a case study of women's demonstrations in Pietermaritzburg, August 1959", *Natal Museum Journal of Humanities*. VOL. 11, 1999, 70.

¹⁵² Black Sash was formed in 1955 in Cape Town by six white middle-class women, these women were Ruth Foley, Jean Sinclair, Jean Bosazza, Helen Newton Thompson, Tercia Pybus and Elizabeth Maclaren. established the organization when they called for marches against the Senate Bill and the Separate Representation of Voters Bill which was aimed at excluding Coloured voters from the voters roll. In Natal Midlands it was only formed in 1956 by Mary Kleinenberg, Joan Kerchhoff, Ann Strode and Anne Harley. They negotiated their activism in the context of race, class, and gender.

petition against the removals and obtained 22 000 signatures but to no avail. Its members were on the ground witnessing the removals and exposing what was happening during this process despite government antics.¹⁵³

The Liberal Party's public statement by its national chairman, Peter Brown, on 29 February 1960, stated that the party supported the boycott of South African goods as a peaceful means to end policies. At the Anti-Group Areas Act Conference on 10 January 1961, the Act was 'condemned by all reasonable thinking people and bodies' in South Africa.¹⁵⁴ Black Sash members joined members of the Indian Community led by the NIC in a demonstration and prayer meeting against Group Areas on 25 May 1961. They held a ten-hour vigil and held up banners listing all the legislation they were against, not only Group Areas but also job reservation, pass laws, and censorship legislation.¹⁵⁵

While the image of the trader is commonly held, most Indians were poor and part of the working class in Pietermaritzburg. Many had arrived as indentured workers to work for the municipality or the tea and wattle plantations in the surrounding areas and settled in the city after completing their indentures. Indians as a community were subject to racism based on fear of economic competition from Whites. This led to the introduction of strict regulations to limit Indian businesses; licensing regulations were a typical example of disadvantaging Indians economically.¹⁵⁶

Additional land was added to Raisethorpe in anticipation of the relocation of 20 000 people. The space catered for a school, recreational area, business sites, civil centre, open space and churches. A Community Centre was opened on 14 August 1964 by the Minister of Indian Affairs, W. Maree. Indian houses built in the early 1960s were of poor quality, but the National Housing Commission (NHC) refused to negotiate reasonable rents.¹⁵⁷ The Pietermaritzburg

¹⁵³ Sibongiseni Mkhize, "Crowds, protest politics and women's struggles," 70.

¹⁵⁴ Liberal Party, Special Topics & Group Areas Act, Group Areas Act-Convening of Conference Important Announcement. PC 2/4/11/1-3.

¹⁵⁵ Mary Kleinenberg and Christopher Merrett, *Standing On street Corners standing On Street Corners: A history of the Natal Midlands region of the Black Sash*. (Pietermaritzburg: Trustees of The Natal Society Foundation, 2015), 54.

¹⁵⁶ Merrett, Christopher. "Identity and the geography of physical recreation: imperialism and apartheid in the South African city of Pietermaritzburg". *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28:15, (2011), 7.

¹⁵⁷ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 219-220.

Municipality indicated in 1986 that only 20 per cent of Indian households had an income of more than R800 per month, the minimum income level.¹⁵⁸

Group Areas caused trauma amongst many in the Indian community as mass relocation forced them to leave extended family units for smaller homes that could only accommodate the nuclear family. Many were forced to stay in garages and outbuildings, resulting in social, physical, and emotional problems, including family disputes.¹⁵⁹ Facilities were provided gradually in the townships. The Northdale stadium, consisting of a football and cricket field, was handed over to the Northdale Sports Association (NSA) in 1964. It may be argued that, on the whole, Indians enjoyed relatively better conditions than Africans in terms of the roads, housing and facilities in the new Indian townships.

Whites

Whites enjoyed considerably better housing, jobs, and community facilities in their private White suburbs, mainly northwest of the city centre in Clarendon, Athlone, and Montrose. Lower-income white suburbs enjoyed state-subsidised housing in Grange and Napierville for protected railway jobs. Grange was the most extensive White housing estate. White housing was in crisis. On 1 August 1970, the municipality incorporated Lincoln, Hollingwood, Ockert's Kraal, Cleland, and Belfort to mitigate the situation.¹⁶⁰

Despite the unrest in the country caused by anti-apartheid activism from the late 1960s, Whites enjoyed a high standard of living, with most being secure. Du Pre argues in *'Coloured' people of South Africa* that Group Areas created a generation of wealth for Whites, mainly because most White children, after completing their studies, relied on their parents for either a car, property, or trust fund, which was passed down from generation to generation.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Kevin Durrheim, Xoliswa Mtose and Lyndsay Brown. *Race Trouble: Race, Identity and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, (Lexington books: Maryland, 2011), 17.

¹⁵⁹ Sultan Khan, "Changing Family Forms, Patterns and Emerging Challenges within the South African Indian Diaspora," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2012): 140.

¹⁶⁰ Merrett, *Sport, Space and Segregation*, 219-220.

¹⁶¹ Roy du Pre, *The 'Coloured' people of South Africa-A Political History* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1994), 92.

There were significant developments in and around the Pietermaritzburg CBD to segregate people. Grey's Hospital was established for the White community. Housing construction for Whites took place at an incredible pace, with an estimated 151 houses and flats built by the city council, with a further 429 built privately by 1969. Most White sub-economic houses had three bedrooms with an average of 3.7 occupants per home. The White population in Pietermaritzburg was estimated to be 60 000, yet it had nine soccer fields, eighteen squash courts, eleven hockey fields, 44 tennis courts, seventeen bowling greens, eight rugby fields (four with floodlights) and three swimming pools.¹⁶²

These facilities were well maintained by the city council. A recreation field was developed even in a White working-class community such as Manor. White sporting clubs such as Collegians, Maritzburg Country Club, Lynnwood, and Wanderers had bars, clubhouses, manicured lawns, and excellent facilities. Such facilities were denied to their Black (Indian, Coloured, African) counterparts.¹⁶³

Concluding remarks

This chapter examined the origins and complex impact of Group Areas on South Africans, with a particular focus on Pietermaritzburg. While this chapter reviewed the effects of Group Areas on Africans, Whites and Indians, Group Areas also cruelly uprooted the long-established Coloured communities, which were located close to the Pietermaritzburg city centre, where they had easy access to their workplaces. In the following chapters, we trace how Group Areas impacted Coloureds who were made to live with so-called fellow Coloureds, attend their 'own' schools, and have their places of worship. Some jobs were reserved for Coloureds in these areas, such as teachers, nurses, bank tellers and workers in local businesses. We also analyse how Coloureds focused on remaking the community mainly through setting up institutions. Finally, how did all this contribute to the (re)making of Coloured identities?

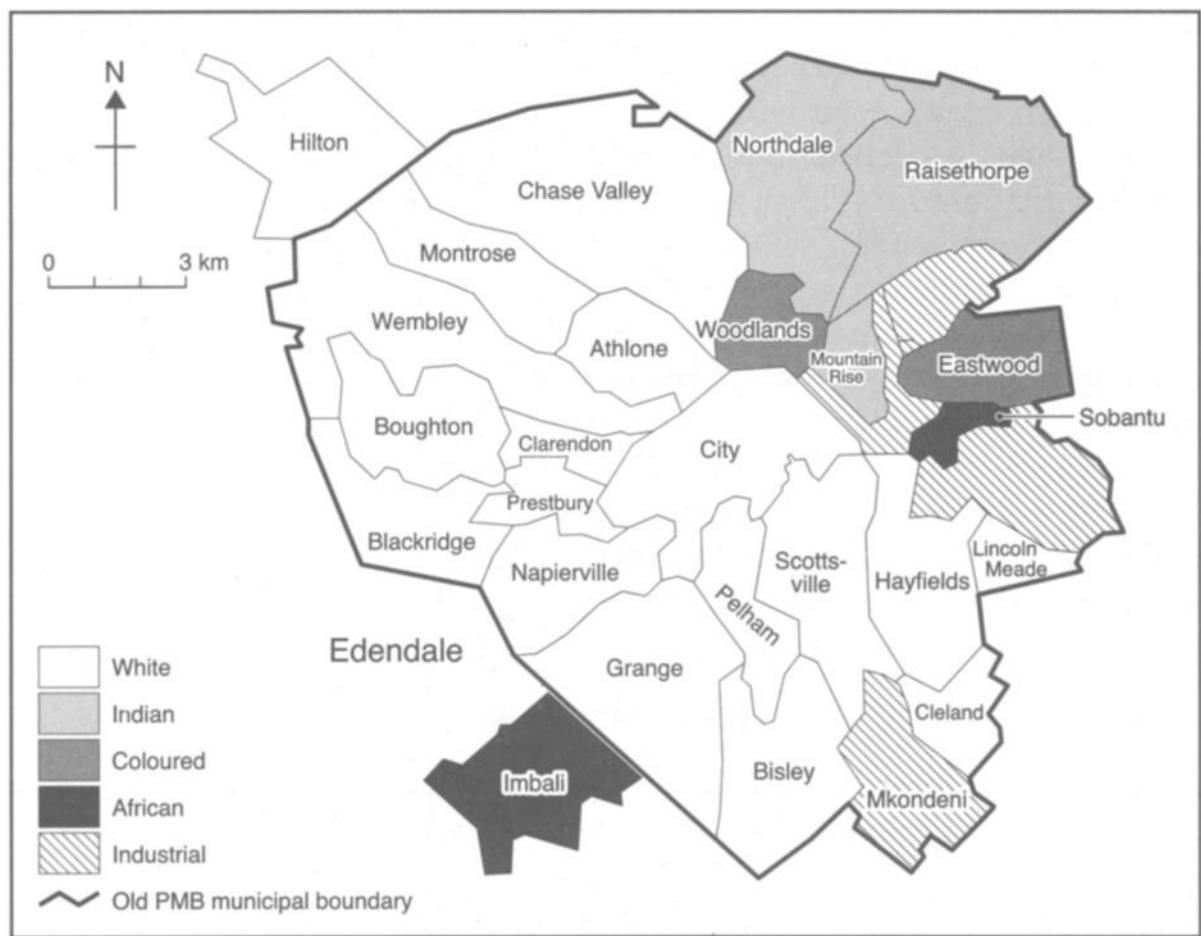
¹⁶² Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives: University of KwaZulu-Natal. PC 11/1/1/3/20, *Apartheid and Sport, PACSA Factsheet*.

¹⁶³ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 329-333.

Chapter Three

Establishment of Woodlands as a Coloured Township

The fear of being forcibly removed affected many before the actual removals occurred. According to informants for this study, the uncertainty and concern about being evicted from places they had long occupied caused pain, worry and trauma as people realised that they would be separated from neighbours, family and friends. Long-established patterns of life were destroyed. This ranged from playing sports to attending schools to going to cinemas that they had patronised for years.



Map 4: Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi suburbs and racial zones under the Group Areas Act (Adapted from Atchison Collection, PC2/4/8/4).

When Group Areas was implemented in Pietermaritzburg, the suburb of Woodlands (and later Eastwood) was established for Coloureds, who comprised under five percent of the population of Pietermaritzburg and were allocated 436 acres of land on 1 April 1960. Whites were given

22 000 acres and Indians 2 100 acres. Whites were assigned a disproportionate amount of land as they only comprised a third of the population of Pietermaritzburg.¹⁶⁴ The inequality can be seen in the fact that by 1989, the 16 730 Coloureds in Pietermaritzburg occupied 4.14 percent of the residential area of Pietermaritzburg; 78 260 Indians occupied 14.52 percent of the residential area in the city; and 65 080 Whites had possession of 81.35 percent of the residential land area.¹⁶⁵

Before relocation, Coloureds had lived on the borders of White society. They lived downtown in the Church Street area, which included Berg, Boshoff, and Retief streets, which had a population of 600 Coloureds, but it was a mixed area in the sense that all racial groups lived there. Some Coloureds lived at Plessislaer, Pentrich, Camps Drifts, and Raisethorpe. Middle-class Whites lived in private suburbs around the city centre, while working-class Whites lived in Grange and Napierville in subsidised housing. Indians were found primarily on lower Church Street, Plessislaer, Slangspruit, and Pentrich before being moved to their newly designated Group Areas.¹⁶⁶

Coloureds lived mainly in the lower areas of the city, where floods occasionally ravaged their homes, even leading to loss of life, sometimes because the children opted to swim in the river. Coloureds brought this issue to the municipality's attention, pointing out that such unnecessary loss of life could be avoided if proper public swimming facilities were available, but to no avail as the city council ignored the request.¹⁶⁷ The Umsunduzi and Dorpspruit rivers were used for bathing and swimming purposes. Both streams were infested with the germs of bilharzia, leading to the spread of this disease.¹⁶⁸ However, there was a reluctance on the part of the city council to spend on public facilities.

The Salvation Army ran a Coloured Soldiers' Club on Otto Street in the city centre but did not provide physical recreation. The Coloured Social Centre was supplied with swings and see-

¹⁶⁴ Trevor Wills. "The Segregated City," 92.

¹⁶⁵ Cecil Seethal (1992) 'The Transformation Of The Local State In South Africa (1979-1991): Group Areas, Property "Super-Taxation," And Civic Organizations,' *Urban Geography*, 13:6 (1992), 534-556, DOI: 10.2747/0272-3638.13.6.534.

¹⁶⁶ Horrel, *The Group Areas Act-Its Effect on Human beings*, 111-112

¹⁶⁷ A.S Webster, sec., PDSSA to TC, 27 November 1940; TC to PDSSA, 24 December 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C Batch 303, File 75/3 (Suggested Swimming bath for coloured community).

¹⁶⁸ A.S Webster, sec., PDSSA to TC, 27 November 1940; TC to PDSSA, 24 December 1940 in PMA 3/PMB C Batch 303, File 75/3 (Suggested Swimming bath for coloured community).

saws for children's recreational use. Chatterton Road was identified as a site to build facilities for the Coloured community. When the Pietermaritzburg City Council decided on road development where the Indian sports ground stood, even these inadequate sporting facilities were lost.¹⁶⁹

Establishing the township of Woodlands would prove to be a complex undertaking as the development was hampered by poor administrative and financial machinery and bureaucratic delays as the development had to grind through a winding process, as required by the national Department of Community Development. To illustrate the difficulties, the Woodland Civic Hall was only completed in 1968.¹⁷⁰ The development also proved expensive as building costs rose substantially over budget, and 1 534 Coloured families were on the housing waiting list in 1965. However, the Council proclaimed in 1967 that it had settled its responsibility to house families from lists provided by the Group Areas Board. These were Coloured families who had previously been living in areas zoned for a race other than their own.¹⁷¹

The City Council faced a massive problem in trying to forcibly remove Coloureds from various parts of Pietermaritzburg to the new township of Woodlands, as it had insufficient land to accommodate them. This was highlighted in 1969-70 with the aid of eliminating what were described as 'hutments' from Greyling Road near Alston School in the city. Due to this shortage, a second township, Eastwood, was established for Coloureds in the early 1970s.¹⁷² Nationally, it was estimated that there was a shortage of 40 000 homes for Coloured people.¹⁷³ In Natal, the main reason for the housing shortage for Coloureds in Durban and Pietermaritzburg was the influx of thousands of people from the Transkei in the early 1970s. They were accommodated in Newlands and Marianhill in Durban, and Eastwood in Pietermaritzburg in 1972.¹⁷⁴

Eastwood is parallel to Woodlands, separated by the Indian area of Mountain Rise. The Pietermaritzburg City Council combined two regions in the early 1970s, these being K2 (an area covering 100 hectares for an estimated 8 000 people) and K3 (with an area of 220 hectares

¹⁶⁹ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 151-154.

¹⁷⁰ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 222.

¹⁷¹ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 222.

¹⁷² Natal Mercury, 30 June 1973; 25 June Natal Mercury.

¹⁷³ Pirie, "Urban population removals in South Africa," 349.

¹⁷⁴ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 124.

for 15 000 people), which evolved into the Coloured suburb of Eastwood,¹⁷⁵ and small numbers would later settle in Cinderella Park and Glenwood. Despite establishing these two townships, some Coloureds insisted they belonged to the city and refused to move in line with the Group Areas' racial zoning. They continued to live in the vicinity of the city, but their resistance eventually ended in the 1970s, and they were uprooted to one of Woodlands or Eastwood.¹⁷⁶

How did people feel about relocation?

Feelings were mixed about removals. Many Coloureds were angry and hurt at their treatment by the Council. Most did not want to leave areas where they had long established themselves and felt comfortable. They were unhappy to be forced to move to the underdeveloped "township" of Woodlands.¹⁷⁷ Others were less unhappy about moving.

As several of the informants pointed out, before the removals, they used to walk to work, school, shops, cinemas, and churches. It was easy for friends and relatives to visit each other. The move to Woodlands meant they had to rely on public transport to get to the city, even though some walked to work because they could not afford the fare. Celeste Johns recounted that she walked from Woodlands to school 'as I still attended school in town, in Greyling Street. I then attended Eastwood High School, situated in another Coloured township, in standard six, using buses from Woodlands'.¹⁷⁸

The former premises of those living in the city were developed into a business district, while those Coloureds living in Raisethorpe saw their properties become part of the new township developed for Indians. One interviewee who wished to remain anonymous recounted how her family felt about the new township. Hers was a balanced perspective:

There were different sentiments amongst Coloureds concerning the new township. Some felt that the land was very 'hilly', housing was of poor quality, and they were forced to go and live far from the city. Others felt that the move brought unity amongst Coloureds as

¹⁷⁵ Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 224.

¹⁷⁶ Christopher Merrett, "Identity and the Geography of the Physical Recreation: Imperialism and Apartheid in the South African City of Pietermaritzburg", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 28 no. 15, 2011.

¹⁷⁷ S.S Martin, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 17 June 2017.

¹⁷⁸ Celeste Johns, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 10 June 2017.

they were helping one another to improve their properties or the neighbourhood. For our part, we were unhappy to be moved away from the city and forced to live in an underdeveloped "township"... we were unhappy with our new home.¹⁷⁹

Francis Grantham relayed that the move

... was very traumatic for me. Being moved from the place you understood, a place you grew up in, to a place that was alien to you. Moving into a Coloured community was very difficult. We lived in a big house on the farm. Our property was huge. We had dogs; we had chickens; we had kept pigeons; we had two hundred pigeons. I came to town: I was told I can't keep pigeons; I can't keep chickens in my yard. So, it was completely different. The houses were much smaller. I mean, the council house that we were given was a very small house. It was two-bedroomed compared to us coming from a four bedroom. We were a family of nine, with my mother and my father eleven in all. In that house there we had two rondavels and we had a middle section and we had an outhouse. It was enough space for everyone. Here, there was not enough space. Some of us stayed outside in the garage, so it was very difficult.

S.S. Martin and her family, on the other hand, saw the removals in a positive light, as she recounted that the move helped her family:

It had a positive impact on our family as my father could finally own a home for us in an up and coming area close to town. The experience was good. I had my friends live close by, our home was made of concrete blocks and it was big enough for my family. It was a home allocated to us by the Council. This council house gave my father the stepping stone to build his own home.¹⁸⁰

As these recollections show, memories of forced removals were mixed and depended to some extent on one's former residential area and class position as well. Not everyone had painful memories of Group Areas removals. Some residents did not see anything wrong with the evictions, such as the first Woodlands resident, Henrietta Joshua, who mentioned that it never worried them as they were given a piece of land and were able to build their own houses. Julian

¹⁷⁹ Anonymous, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 20 June 2017.

¹⁸⁰ S.S Martin, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 10 June 2017.

Johns, who grew up in an orphanage, welcomed the move as the family now had a secure place and a family environment.¹⁸¹ Others, of course, who lived in good areas or decent homes, hated the move as they lost their sense of place and had to, in a way, restart their lives.

The implementation of Group Areas divided families. According to Fileve Tlaloc Palmer, children with parents from different racial backgrounds were classified as "mixed" and put into the care of Coloured families and in some cases, into an orphanage. Sometimes relatives were designated in different racial groups and moved to different parts of the city.¹⁸² The removal of Coloureds to Woodlands meant that they did not interact with members of other racial groups in their day-to-day living. In contrast, there was a great deal of mixing in the city. Celeste Johns recounted that before Group Areas relocations:

In my younger years of schooling we were multi-racial in classrooms and life was good, Group Areas damaged and destroyed people. I see my parents, they still don't want to eat out. Daddy says, "it's a White people thing". They are still wary about going to places.¹⁸³

S.S. Martin, a former teacher at Alston Primary School, who grew up in Raisethorpe, stated, probably nostalgically, it must be said that 'everyone lived in harmony' before the implementation of Group Areas:

The population in Raisethorpe was a very mixed one ... where Blacks, Whites and Coloureds lived in close harmony with one another. This was before the restrictions that intruded into all aspects of life and swimming pools, washrooms, cinemas, benches, parks, and even burial grounds were segregated.¹⁸⁴

Most people resented being uprooted, especially those families with properties in areas now designated for other racial groups. However, some who did not own fixed property welcomed the move to Woodlands. According to Martin, some families were 'happy' to move to Woodlands as they could not buy a plot of land near the city or even own a house.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Julian Johns, "Forced Removals."

¹⁸² Fileve Tlaloc Palmer, "Through a Coloured lens: Post-Apartheid Identity Formation Amongst Coloureds in KwaZulu-Natal," *PhD dissertation*, Indiana University, April 2015, 71.

¹⁸³ Celeste Johns, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 10 June 2017.

¹⁸⁴ S.S. Martin, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 17 June 2017.

¹⁸⁵ S.S. Martin, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg."

Others felt a sense of belonging as this allowed them to move to an area dominated by people of a similar racial background, which they felt was an advantage in building a community. In my view, this possibly points to nostalgia, for these feelings were articulated in later years and may not necessarily have been felt at the time of the relocation. Gradually, as people moved into their homes and got to know one another, they felt settled. The CBD became an industrial and business area, very busy and, in time, not a very pleasant place to live in. Looking back, it would appear that these informants were retrospectively welcoming the move.¹⁸⁶

Woodlands

Woodlands was established in the northeast of Pietermaritzburg for the city's Coloured community regarding the Group Areas Act. Coloureds were forcefully removed to Woodlands from various parts of the city. The area was named Woodlands because it comprised chiefly of forest area before it was developed as a residential area for the Coloured community. This is reflected in the road names, which were named after fruit trees, such as Fig Road, Mulberry Road, Sycamore Road, Chestnut Road, and Almond Road.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ Celeste Johns, “Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg”, Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 10 June 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Celeste Johns, “Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg”, Interview by Qhelani Msweli, 10 June 2017.

When Woodlands Township was planned as a Coloured Residential area in 1956, the city council felt that most Coloureds were self-supporting and for this reason, 63,3 per cent of the plots were reserved for home ownership. The remaining plots (just over a third at 37,7 percent) were allocated for Council Housing. Only a hundred economic letting houses were erected between Jacaranda and Spruce Roads.¹⁸⁸

In 1959, there was a demand for housing and land for Coloureds in Woodlands even though only a few could buy or rent such. Around 25 Coloured families applied to purchase land and erect a dwelling, but only four were in a financial position to do so. Eight of the families had

¹⁸⁸ Letter to Housing & Planning Committee, “Woodlands Housing Scheme for Coloured Persons,” NAB, 3/PMB, 138/209.

money to buy land but required some assistance to build their homes, whereas the other thirteen families required total aid to purchase the land and erect a dwelling.¹⁸⁹

The City Council approved applications for twelve houses in 1958 for letting (renting) in Woodlands. The tenants were approved for Mrs D. Hartallef, S.A Jenneker, E. Rasdesn, Mrs M. Applegreen, S.D Young, J.C.R De Vries, S.C. Lawrence, H.C. Gabagas, J.J. Andrews, Lutchman, M. Du Plessis, and A.W Camp.¹⁹⁰ It turned out that many more Coloured families needed economic houses. On 17 November 1960, the Estate Manager reported that eight plots of land had been sold to Annie Smith, Doreen Freese, Harry Esau Winkworth, Albert Joseph Ullbriecht, and Lionel Desmond George Van Wyk for £250 each; Gerald Daniel Van Wyk and Rowe Allan Desmond Wood purchased plots of land for £270 each, and Paul Ficher purchased a larger property for £330.¹⁹¹

On 21 April 1961, the Pietermaritzburg City Council approved further land sales to Coloured persons in Woodlands by private treaty in Section 174 (c) of the Local Government Ordinance (Natal) No.21 of 1942 and the Council's Resolution No.22 dated 13 December 1960. The first purchases under this treaty were made by Fredrick Stephen Marnies and Cyril John Meintjies for R500 each.¹⁹²

By the 1970s, plot prices had risen to R3000. This did not deter families from purchasing land. Records in the archives list buyers such as Leonard Green, Jacob Gous, Ralph Burman, Maurice Everton, Gabriel Dennis, and Julian Botha. Strict conditions were attached to the sale of land, such as:

- (i) The Land shall not be used for any purpose other than residential and no more than one dwelling house.
- (ii) Buildings shall not be erected on the land unless bricks, stones, or concrete.

¹⁸⁹ Report by Estate Manager, "House Ownership Scheme for Coloured Persons," 2 February 1960. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/207.

¹⁹⁰ Letter to Estates Manager, "Letting of houses at Wooldands," 28 June 1962. NAB, 3/PMB, 4/5/334, 138/205.

¹⁹¹ Report by Estate Manager, "Sale of Land to Members of the Coloured Group," 10 May 1961. NAB, 3/PMB 166/211.

¹⁹² Report by Estate Manager, "Sale of Land to Members of the Coloured Group," 10 May 1961. NAB, 3/PMB 166/211.

- (iii) No building shall be erected on the land unless and until the design, structure, siting and situation of any building have been approved in writing by the City Council.
- (iv) Land shall not be subdivided, provided that the City Council may if it believes that exceptional circumstances justify the subdivision of the Land.
- (v) The City Council reserved the right to enter the land for laying, constructing, and maintaining sewers, drains, pipelines, cables and other municipal work.¹⁹³

An emphasis on urban policy sought to control the quality and design of houses in the new township, including preventing it from becoming overcrowded. This was always possible given the large numbers of people searching for housing and the extensive poverty.

On 6 November 1961, the Woodlands Ratepayers' Association, which had been constituted almost as soon as the first residents arrived, wrote to City Council requesting that the Council Housing Scheme in Woodlands be extended. The City Engineer recommended to the Council that the Woodlands Ratepayers' Association be informed that

- (i) the Council was satisfied with the prevailing system of erecting a certain number of economic and sub-economic letting houses to meet a need based on appropriate surveys; and
- (ii) the more significant part of the township was reserved for home ownership purposes, and the plan prepared was in the best interest of the members of the Coloured community.¹⁹⁴

On 3 August 1961, the Housing and Planning Committee resolved that the Council provide a further hundred economic housing (letting scheme) under the Woodlands Housing Scheme Stage III, comprising eighty percent of three-bedroom and twenty percent of two-bedroom dwellings. 208 families were residing in the municipal housing scheme at this time.¹⁹⁵ Some of the families accommodated at Woodlands Stage III Housing Project from 1 May 1964 were Henry Geduld, who moved to 22 Syringa Road from 13 Sanderson Road; Clive Bengston moved to 28 Sanderson Road from 7 Poplar Road; Mrs Besie Davis moved to 8 Chestnut Place

¹⁹³ Letter to Town Clerk, "Proposed Sale of Residential Sites: Woodlands," 6 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/207

¹⁹⁴ Letter to Housing & Planning Committee, "Woodlands Housing Scheme for Coloured Persons," NAB, 3/PMB, 138/209.

¹⁹⁵ Letter to Estate Manager, "Families Accommodated in Woodlands," 2 May 1964. NAB/3PMB, 4/39.

from Bayat Road; Mrs Maggie Leviticus to 10 Chestnut Place from 517 Church Street; Robert Harvey to 19 Almond Road from 134 Greyling Street; and Nicholas Jantjies to 11 Hazel Road from 461 Boom Street.¹⁹⁶ The names of the old addresses are worth noting as it shows that these individuals moved from areas where they had lived with Indians to this predominantly Coloured township.

For many, houses proved too small for the families moving into Woodlands. Fredrick Grantham was granted a two-bedroomed place for himself, his wife and six children (boys aged nineteen and eighteen, and girls aged sixteen, fourteen, ten and four); John Beyers rented a two-bedroom house for himself and six children (boys aged fourteen, thirteen, ten, and two, and girls aged six and four).¹⁹⁷

There were other complaints about the houses and the township by organisations such as The Coloured Welfare League (CWL) and the Woodlands Tenants Association. The CWL wrote to the Town Clerk, citing their dissatisfaction with the catchment for water drainage on the corner of Chestnut Place, Almond Road and Syringa Road, which resulted in these areas being flooded during heavy rains. In some houses, the toilets and bathrooms had not been built up to the roof, meaning they flooded when it rained and people could look in. This lack of privacy was an affront to people's dignity. There were cracks in the walls of many houses, especially on Syringa Road.¹⁹⁸

On 27 August 1964, the Town Council replied to the CWL that it would be impossible to address these grievances due to cost implications. This was not accepted by the CWL, who responded:

With regard to the Town Council statement that the cost which will be incurred in respect of the demarcation envisaged has to be taken into consideration, leaves us puzzled when it must be borne in mind of the greater cost incurred in installing reticulation services in relatively isolated areas of various White townships in Pietermaritzburg namely, Oribi,

¹⁹⁶ Letter to Estate Manager, "Families Accommodated in Woodlands," 2 May 1964. NAB/3PMB, 4/39.

¹⁹⁷ Letter to Estates Manager, "Letting of houses at Wooldands," 28 June 1962. NAB, 3/PMB, 4/5/334, 138/205

¹⁹⁸ NAB Complaints by the Coloured Welfare League.

Alexandra, Scottsville, Chase Valley, Prestbury, Townhill, Napierville, Blackridge and Wembley.

The WTA, led by chairman A. Pallman, with its address listed as 25 Jacaranda Road, complained about the lack of public telephones and postal boxes to serve the growing population of Woodlands. Unlike the present time when most communication is done via email and smartphones, with most in the working class also owning cell phones, the nearest public telephone for them was on the corner of Lincoln and Woodlands Roads, which was some distance away. They called on the City Council to install a telephone booth and postal box opposite Lilac Place on Jacaranda Road and one on the corner of Hazel Road and Lower Chestnut Place to service the new "village". They further requested additional streetlights and the provision of refuse bins. The Council cited the lack of funds for not acquiescing to the request and left tenants to provide their refuse bins.¹⁹⁹

The demand for housing was so great amongst Coloureds that a request was made for more accommodation. On 13 March 1963, the Estate Manager resolved that 121 houses would be built under Stage IV in Woodlands as follows; 48 three-bedroomed houses; 37 two-bedroomed dwellings, 12 one-bedroomed dwellings; and 24 open-plan living/sleeping dwellings.²⁰⁰ Forty percent of homes were allocated to those resettled under the Group Areas Act. Some of those allocated houses by the City Council under Stage IV were Gertie Werner on 9 Cherry Road (who moved from 463 Greyling Street), Melvin Campbell on 30 Cherry Road (from 292 Khan Road), and C.W Pienaar on 26 Peach Road (from 368 Greyling Street).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ NAB TC16/3/64. The main objectives of the Woodlands Tenants Association were to promote and protect the interest of tenants in the Woodlands Municipal Housing Settlement by taking these up with the City Council in Pietermaritzburg; to work for improved social and health services for the indigent and the needy and for the community generally; and to protect property from damage.

²⁰⁰ Report by City Engineer & Treasurer, "Woodlands Township: Proposed 121 Sub-Economic Houses," 15 October 1963. NAB, 138/210.

²⁰¹ Letter to Town Clerk, "Sub-Economic Housing Scheme for Coloureds: Woodlands IV: 127 Dwellings," 2 November 1965. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/210.

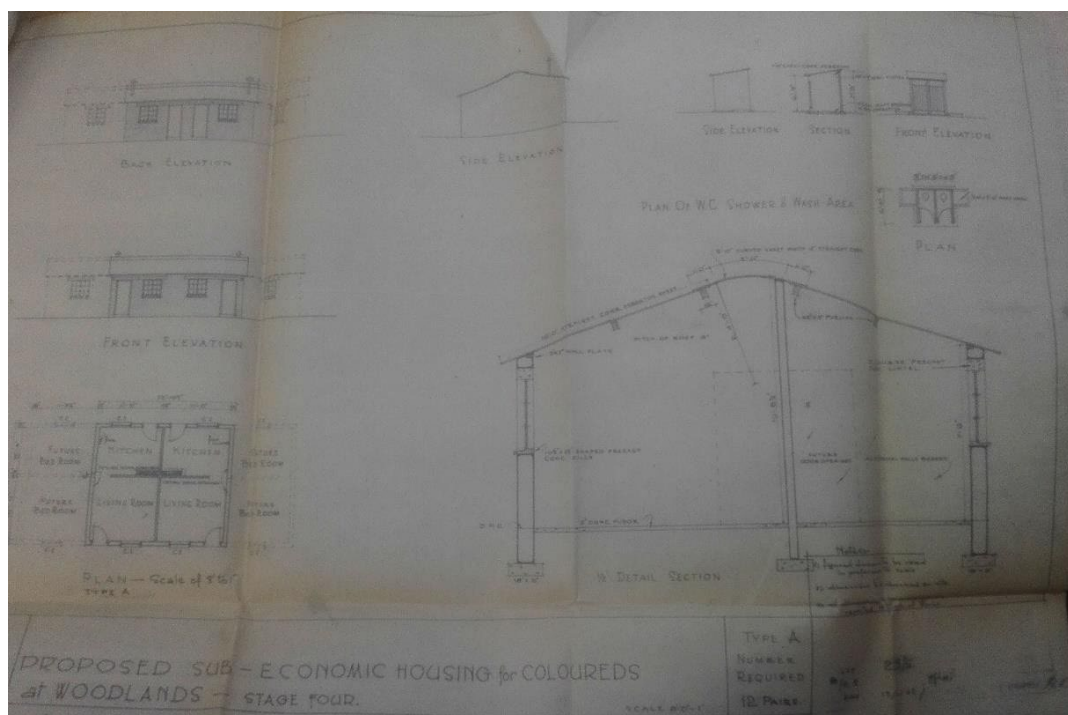


Figure 1: Proposed Sub-Economic Housing for Coloureds at Woodlands (Stage IV)²⁰²

Three years after Woodlands Township was classified as a Coloured residential area, the City applied for permission to build a further 200 houses under stage V. On 19 June 1965, the Housing Committee requested that of the 200 houses, a quarter (51) must comprise better quality houses for the middle-income groups, and the rest were geared for lower-income groups.²⁰³

Due to the high demand, the City Council devised the "Selling Scheme" for fifteen houses in Woodlands. By 13 September 1969, applications had been received to purchase all fifteen homes. However, the Department of Community Development only made ten homes available to the following applicants: Brian Patrick Johnson, Patrick de La Rey, Diaz Ogle, Desmond James, George Wankra, Charles Ball, Gerald Frankson, David Goliath, Victor Easthorpe, and King Tomlinson.²⁰⁴

²⁰² Letter to Housing & Planning Committee, "Woodlands Housing Scheme for Coloured Persons," NAB, 3/PMB, 138/209.

²⁰³ NAB CE:7/20/35

²⁰⁴ Letter to The Provincial Secretary, "Selling Scheme for 15 Houses: Woodlands," 17 November 1970. NAB, 3/PMB 138/212.

The demand for housing was not met, and in 1970 another request to purchase houses was made to the Town Council by the Coloured Local Affairs Committee (CLAC). This was a government-created organisation, and the Council could not ignore its demands as they wanted to demonstrate that this new political dispensation was working. The Council resolved in 1971 to convert fifty economic (letting) houses to home ownership until the new land was set aside for the Coloured community under Group Areas permits.²⁰⁵

Housing Quality

On 30 January 1975, the CLAC reported that houses in Melsetter Road, closest to the Coronation Brick & Tile Company, were developing massive cracks and literally "falling to pieces" owing to the blasting operations of Coronation Brick & Tile.²⁰⁶ At a meeting held on 26 July 1974, the CLAC recommended that the City Engineer investigate and report on any factors, apart from the blasting operations by Coronation Brick & Tile, which could be causing the cracks. The City Engineer indicated that he had taken this matter up with Coronation but added that if the damage was not the result of blasting operations, they could be emanating from "normal causes" and that the correct procedure was for owners of such houses to avail themselves of the professional services of a building surveyor or architect to provide advice as to the cause of the cracks.²⁰⁷

Mrs M. Matwood, who resided at 96 Melsetter Road, wrote to the Town Clerk on 21 August 1974 to complain of the damaging effects of the "recent" Coronation blasts on their houses: "There were three terrible blasts on the following dates: 16 July at 10:45 am, 3 August at 11:00 am and 5 August 1974 at 11:10 am. The whole house shakes, and everything on the table etc. It is no less than an earthquake in any way."²⁰⁸ Mrs Matwood further stated that while the blasts lasted for approximately five seconds, the fear lingered amongst residents in expectation of the next explosion. "We have to live in this fear and unsafety for the rest of our lives and pay for it also," she complained.

²⁰⁵ Letter to The Provincial Secretary, "Selling Scheme for 15 Houses: Woodlands," 17 November 1970. NAB, 3/PMB 138/212.

²⁰⁶ Minutes of the Coloured Local Committee, "Melsetter Road: Coronation Brick and Tile: Blasting Operations," 27 March 1974. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/209.

²⁰⁷ Letter to the Town Clerk, "Cracked Houses in Melsetter Road, Woodlands," 30 July 1974. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/209.

²⁰⁸ Minutes of the Coloured Local Committee, "Melsetter Road: Coronation Brick and Tile: Blasting Operations," 27 March 1974. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/209.

Coronation, in its defence, stated that the company had called in the Bernard Price Institute of Geography Research to conduct tests on these blasts and to establish whether they caused the cracks. Coronation reported that a test blast had been conducted and monitored by the Institute, which found that the measured levels of vibration were completely safe for the houses in Melsetter Road and that the blasts caused no structural damage.²⁰⁹

A second blast conducted on 25 September 1974 was attended by the Inspector of Mines, a representative from the City Council, and Mr Ward of the CLAC. The explosion was observed from 96 Melsetter Road and several other positions and was found not to be abnormal. The cracks in the buildings were attributed to causes other than blasting, such as poor land or foundations.²¹⁰

The City Council defended its development of houses in Melsetter Road, citing that this was done in consultation with the Department of Mines, who raised no objections.²¹¹ It was proclaimed as part of the Coloured Group Areas in July 1964 after advertisement in the local press (*Natal Witness*) in May 1963. Coronation Brick was given a full opportunity to object and failed to do so. The City Council proceeded to construct a road and sold building plots fronting Melsetter Road to individual owners who lodged building plans.

These owners were entitled to erect dwellings on these sites, and the City Council was obliged to pass their building plans in section 164 of the local government ordinance, 1942, if the plans complied with the building Bylaws.²¹² The City Council also had no power to take cognisance of regulation 5.3.5 under the Mines and Works Act, which stipulated the distance between blasting and the building of premises.²¹³ According to the City Council's submission:

²⁰⁹ Letter to Coronation Brick (Pty) LTD, "Blasting Complaints: Melsetter Road," 17 September 1974. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/209.

²¹⁰ Letter to Coronation Brick (Pty) LTD, "Blasting Complaints: Melsetter Road," 17 September 1974. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/209.

²¹¹ Letter to Town Clerk, "Coronation Brick (PTY) LTD: Woodlands Township," 29 January 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/201.

²¹² Letter to Town Clerk, "Coronation Brick (PTY) LTD: Woodlands Township," 29 January 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/201.

²¹³ NAB TC138/273 Building in the Vicinity of Workings. Requirement of Mines & Works Regulation 5.3.5, "On land other than land proclaimed or deemed to be proclaimed under the mining laws for mining of precious or base metals. No buildings, roads, railways or any structure whatever shall be erected or constructed over or within a horizontal distance of 300

This appears to be a matter of negotiation between Coronation Brick (PTY) LTD and the owners concerned. The 300 feet referred to in these regulations requires to be measured from the actual workings, and not from site boundaries. And, at the time of development of the area by the City Council there was no working within 300 feet of any part of the layout.²¹⁴

The complaints of the residents were thus not entertained.

Government organisations and civic protest, 1980s

As part of its grand plan, the Apartheid government created separate structures for Coloureds following the loss of the vote in the Cape. In 1959, a Coloured Affairs Department (CAD) was established with future President of apartheid South Africa, P.W.Botha as the Council's first Minister (Saks 1991: 12). The Coloured Person's Representative Council Act of 1964 (CPRC) made provision for the establishment of a mostly nominated Council to advise the government on matters affecting Coloureds. In other words, it was merely an Advisory Body to the Minister of Coloured Affairs.

Two parties were formed amongst Coloureds, the Federal Party, which was formed in 1964 and the Labour Party, which was established in 1966. The first elections for the CPRC were held in 1969 (Saks 1991: 12). At a national level, the following significant change came in the early 1980s with the proposed Tricameral Dispensation, which provided for houses of parliament – for Whites, Coloureds and Indians – with Whites retaining adequate power, and Africans accorded their rights in the Bantustans.

The government passed legislation in 1962 to provide advisory, consultative bodies in Indian and Coloured areas, which, it was hoped, would evolve into different local authorities. They first evolved into management committees, comprising some nominated and some elected members. In 1973, there were 63 Coloured consultative committees, 25 management committees and two local affairs committees for Coloureds countrywide. Pietermaritzburg has Coloured Local Affairs Committees (CLAC), including some elected members. CLAC was

feet from workings except with the written permission of the government mining engineer and then only such conditions and subject to such restrictions as may prescribe.”

²¹⁴ Letter to Town Clerk, “Coronation Brick (PTY) LTD: Woodlands Township,” 29 January 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 237/201.

entitled to bring any matter relating to the local government of the area to the attention of the local municipality. Only one committee member was permitted to sit on the city council. (Horner and Horrell 1974: 125)

One of Pietermaritzburg's most famous "sons", remembered by all interviewees, was Norman Middleton, whose life captured the contradictions and difficulties of wearing many hats and straddling the contradictions in apartheid South Africa. Middleton was born to a Scottish father, William Charles Middleton, and a Black schoolteacher mother, Dorothy Mzimela of Greytown. Middleton senior was a stonemason who worked, amongst other things, on rebuilding the City Hall in Pietermaritzburg. His mother taught at St Francis College, where Middleton received part of his education before finishing at Ohlange. Middleton's elder sister married a white man and emigrated. (Naidoo 2015).

Middleton had fought in World War Two, and when he returned, he was a founding member of the Coloured Labour Party in 1950, participated in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and, at the municipal level, was a member of the Coloured Local Affairs Committee (CLAC) on the Pietermaritzburg City Council. However, he refused to participate in the Tricameral Parliamentary System introduced in 1983. When a pre-participation faction under the Reverend Allan Hendrickse got majority support, Middleton resigned from the party. (Naidoo 2015).

Middleton was active in the trade union movement through the Leather Workers Union, which was very active in the 1960s, and once brought Pietermaritzburg to a standstill. By the 1970s, Middleton was the Engineering Industrial Union (Natal) organiser, which was part of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). He was also associated with the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), the forerunner of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). (Naidoo 2015).

Middleton also played a critical role in the struggle for non-racial sport as president of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) and the anti-apartheid South African Council of Sport (SACOS), which campaigned for the boycott of apartheid sport in the 1970s and 1980s. He was invited on several occasions to address the world football body, FIFA, but was denied a passport by the South African government. (Naidoo 2015).

Middleton believed Blacks should take advantage of the bodies created by the government, and he participated in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC). As a result, he was forced to resign from the sports bodies, which prohibited participation in apartheid structures. Middleton's position was that while he opposed apartheid, as evidenced by his involvement in trade unions and sports organisations, he also felt that he should use all avenues to work from within, to improve the conditions of 'his' people. Such people were branded "sell-outs" by anti-apartheid activists in the 1980s, but their work is now appreciated and viewed positively. (Naidoo 2015).

Middleton was married to Natalie, a Matron at Pietermaritzburg's Edendale Hospital. They had four children. Middleton died on 2 July 2015 at the age of 94. (Naidoo 2015).

As the 1980s dawned, organised resistance to apartheid gathered momentum through unions, civics, and eventually the United Democratic Front (UDF), which was formed in 1983 to rally opposition to the Tricameral dispensation. Alternative organisations were created by residents to try and speak directly on their behalf and to manage themselves. Such organisations included the Woodlands Residents Association, which was sympathetic to the UDF.

Despite the building of homes, the housing backlog for the Coloured community was grave and was estimated to be around a thousand units by the late 1960s. With some people on the waiting list since 1968, this resulted in the rise of self-help schemes. Repayment was solely based on income; first preference was given to first-time buyers on the waiting list. Due to increased rentals, those in municipal rental housing constantly feared losing their homes.

By the 1980s, with townships across the country protesting, the community of Woodlands joined residents elsewhere who were boycotting rentals to get the attention of the problem they were facing. The city council responded by disconnecting electricity for the residents. However, as soon as Council officials left, the residents reconnected the electricity. The mayor called a meeting with the residents, who said they would not attend if CLAC were present. The mayor offered to reduce rentals by R61. However, the residents rejected this and opted to continue with the boycott.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Jenny De Tolly, Pietermaritzburg 1990: The Fractured City, Anne Truluck for the Natal Midlands Black Sash: Pietermaritzburg. 21.

Woodlands went through a time when it was still a Coloured area, and there was fighting in Maqongqo (between members of the African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP]). Maqongqo (Table Mountain) is around 25 kilometres from Pietermaritzburg, and the fighting resulted in some victims of the violence, mainly women and children, seeking shelter in Woodlands as "squatters". Francis Grantham, a community leader, stated, "At that stage, we were already part of the United Committee of Concern and the United Democratic Front (UDF) and some of us were working underground in terms of the ANC. So, the Civics then supported African people moving into the area." Some in Woodlands, however, were against the move. As a result, there was a split because some people said, "it was a not an African community, but a Coloured area."²¹⁶

Activists saw this as a protest against the apartheid City Council by saying they would break Group Areas by allowing Africans to live in the area. There was thus encouragement from the United Committee of Concern. According to Grantham, the Council said, 'so you're encouraging the coming of squatters?' and they said, 'yes!'. This was to force integration into the community. The people from Maqongqo settled in areas now called Happy Valley, Site Eleven and Afghanistan, which was a marginal sliver of land between a major public road and a railway line and were subject to repeated police harassment at the instigation of the local City Council ²¹⁷ The latter name is fascinating. Afghanistan has been engulfed in violence for decades, which signifies what they thought of their area.

This settlement was met with much resistance by the residents of Woodlands into the post-apartheid period as they threatened to file a petition challenging Happy Valley against the City Council. As a result of non-corporation from the City Council, the man who had started the campaign, Dario Florentino, said that residents had resorted to the legal route to deal with the case.²¹⁸ The petition had over 7 000 signatures calling on the City Council to buy a piece of farmland in Melkbosstrand where the people of Happy Valley could settle with their basic needs met. Happy Valley would then be fenced to avoid land invasions.

²¹⁶ Grantham, "Group Areas Act in PMB," pg19. The primary emission of brutality in Maqongqo concurred with the sitting of Maphumulos commission of investigation into the viciousness that initiated in December 1989.

²¹⁷ Julian Johns, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg," 18 August 2019.

²¹⁸ Tara Isaacs, "Happy Valley on edge as eviction calls grow," *Tabletalk*, No date.

Paula Delwaye from Woodlands, who lives near Happy Valley, said: "The squatters posed a health risk to neighbouring residents as there was no sanitation or refuse removal, and the bushes were used as toilets and for dumping."²¹⁹ Happy Valley residents were being blamed for crime in the area, with the accusation that they hid in the bushes and then attacked the residents of Woodlands. According to Community leader Michael Bodkin, the City Council had promised 38 people houses in 1995 and had set up camp in Happy Valley more than thirty years ago. However, these homes were never provided; when people died, their children "inherited" the shacks.²²⁰

Another resident, Odell Peter, said: "Since the erection of these shacks, our house value has depreciated; even if you want to move, one will lose a lot; a lot of foreign nationals are also residing in this area."²²¹ In addition, residents argued that the squatters presented a challenge to education in Woodlands. Children from Happy Valley were competing for places at Woodlands Primary and Heythorne High schools. Parents expressed their fear of separating siblings at different schools and making it to two schools with different start times on time. One parent, Janine Young, worried about her son having to go to high school at another school rather than Woodlands. She said, "my application was denied due to a shortage of classes. This results from the growing squatter camp with no school in the area."²²²

CLAC members expressed that it was undesirable to see these African squatters' roaming' in Woodlands, mainly on Friday evenings in Currie Road. The City Council noted the matter and stated that it must be taken up with the South African Police (SAP) with a view to intensive patrols taking place on Friday evenings.²²³ As a result of the SAP operations, sixty Africans were arrested for being in the urban area for failing to report for registration. They were mostly found on Coloured premises. In addition, fifty Coloureds were summoned for employing Africans without valid registration.²²⁴ SAP Colonel T. Nevin argued that the Coloured

²¹⁹ Isaacs, "Happy Valley on edge,"

²²⁰ Isaacs, "Happy Valley on edge."

²²¹ Odell Peters, "Group Areas in PMB."

²²² Tessa Terril, "Woodlands Schooling, parents upset," *Daily Decocrat*, 10 July 2015.

²²³ Letter to South African Police, "Control of Bantu in Woodlands and Northdale," 27 November 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/204.

²²⁴ Letter to South African Police, "Control of Bantu in Woodlands and Northdale," 27 November 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/204.

community were, to a great extent, to blame for the number of Africans who frequented the area.

The Apartheid system always had one entrance and one exit in every area. That disadvantaged the police because they could not get out when they came into Happy Valley. As soon as they got in, the community blocked the road, stoned them, and petrol-bombed their vehicles. As a result, they rarely came into the area.

CLAC had little community support. There were many protests over the years, including as apartheid was coming to an end. In 1987, for example, a meeting was held, attended by 300 people representing different organisations, and it passed a vote of no-confidence in both the city council and CLAC. As a result, members of CLAC were called upon to resign to allow a process of genuine establishment of an inclusive city council.²²⁵ It was bread and butter issues over rates and service delivery that mobilised ordinary people.

The biggest march that Maritzburg has ever had was the non-racial march by 10 000 people on 30 October 1989 from the Lotus Hall to the City Hall. People like Francis Grantham led it. The protest was about the high rates, a call for members of LACs to resign, and for the formation of a single non-racial City Council. The Indian and Coloured communities went for three years without paying rates.²²⁶

This chapter outlined some of the challenges the residents of Woodlands faced, how they struggled and eventually came to see Woodlands as "their" area, and opposed the influx of "outsiders". The next chapter details how they got involved in developing the new township into a "community" with all the requisite infrastructure and institutions.

²²⁵ Natal Witness. 23 April 1987.

²²⁶ Grantham, "Group Areas Act in PMB," 19.

Chapter Four

Making "community" in Woodlands

Once the new residents began to arrive in Woodlands, they set in motion processes that would help to create a sense of community or make a place out of this space. This meant establishing places of worship, social welfare institutions, businesses, and educational facilities.

Work and Transport

For the new residents, Woodlands was relatively well positioned in the sense that it was close to the city centre, unlike places in other parts of the country, such as Cape Town, where people were moved long distances away from their original places of residence to Mitchells Plain or in Durban where Indians were forcibly moved from the Magazine Barracks in the city centre and Cato Manor to the west of the city, to Chatsworth which was over thirty kilometres to the south of the city.

When the Apartheid planners designed some of the areas to compound the problem of residents, they did so without roads to the houses. According to one interviewee, the National Party government in the early 1950s believed that "these people would never rise to a state where they owned cars."²²⁷ For Woodlands, not very many people had cars, so people quickly learnt how to share or walk to town for chores or work. Many of the residents worked either as artisans, plumbers, and nurses. Later, the Municipality introduced an hourly bus system, which was a great help. For example, Henrietta Joshua relied on the bus service to work at the Natal Cripple Care Association, where she was employed for many years as a nurse.²²⁸

Most interviewees said they preferred walking to town for their chores, churches, and work. Joan De Lange recounted, "in those years, we used to walk to town. I used to go up to town with my children to a restaurant and clinic in Loop Street (now Jabu Ndlovu Street)."²²⁹ Joan explained that there was a pipeline that ran down the freeway into town. As a result, it was straightforward to get to East Street.

²²⁷ Francis Grantham, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg", Interview by Qhelani Msweli, August 2019.

²²⁸ Henrietta Joshua, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 21 June 2017.

²²⁹ Joan De Lange, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 21 June 2017.

The CLAC had, from time to time, discussed the need for improving the entrance to Woodlands from Otto's Bluff as it was awkward for vehicles to turn. The City Engineer estimated that the scheme cost would be R5,300, for which no funds were available.²³⁰ There were also complaints about the bus stops on Otto's Bluff Road, which served the residents of Woodlands IV. They were regarded as dangerous, and CLAC considered that providing proper bus bays would greatly assist in reducing the traffic hazard.²³¹

The minibus taxis, ubiquitous on South Africa's roads today, were legalised by the Road Transportation Act of 1977 and came into wide use by the mid-1980s.²³² Taxis were considered a cheaper and more convenient form of transportation compared to buses that failed to reduce fares despite being deserted by the community and had a rigid timetable.²³³

Business

The key to making Group Areas work was to develop the local economy to ensure that people would support the policy. The Housing and Town planning committee recommended that the garage and filling station site in Cedar Road, being a portion of Lot 1225 Townlands, and the sale was approved by the Administrator of Natal on 1 June 1965 at a price of R6 000.²³⁴

CLAC wrote to the Town Clerk regarding the provision of business sites for the residents of Woodlands. The Estate Manager, Schalk Jacobus Engelbrecht, moved and seconded the recommendations of the Housing and Town Committee that the land between the existing shop

²³⁰ Letter to Town Clerk, "Access to Woodlands," 14 December 1969. NAB, 3/PMB, TC225/215.

²³¹ Letter to Town Clerk, "Access to Woodlands From Ottos Bluff Road," 2 December 1969. NAB, 3/PMB, 225/214

²³² These legal taxis were an eight seaters and provided steep competition to government owned buses and the railway industry that, according to one estimate, lost 39 percent of Black African passengers by the mid-1990s. Government came up with various strategies to regulate the taxi operations, including, it is alleged by some, facilitating taxi violence to divide and rule the industry. However, all these strategies failed and the industry grew from strength to strength, with Taxi Associations solidifying the industry. See Neliswe Magubane, "Perceptions of taxi-owners towards the government's recapitalization scheme: a case study of taxi-owners in Pietermaritzburg." PhD diss., University of Natal (now UKZN), 2003.

²³³ Michael Stellenberg, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 7 September 2019.

²³⁴ Letter to Town Clerk, "Access to Woodlands From Ottos Bluff Road," 2 December 1969. NAB, 3/PMB, 225/214

area and the Civic Hall at the Cedar Road Shopping Centre be made available as business sites; further, that one of the sites at the Magnolia Road Shopping Centre is allocated for the establishment of a supermarket cum tearoom.

The City Council, at its meeting on 30 July 1974, approved the sale by public auctioning of specific business sites at Woodlands at R15 000. One of the conditions of the sale in respect of business sites was that the land could not, without the written consent of the City Council, be used for any purpose other than the erection of shops and / or offices and constructed only by bricks, stone, or concrete. This was a condition of most developments, indicating that the City Council wanted to avoid the possibility of any wood and iron development, which they were trying to eradicate at all costs.

Engelbrecht approved an application by the Coloured Development Corporation (CDC), which was formed to provide financial assistance and advice to Coloureds embarking on industrial and commercial projects. This CDC assisted on the same basis as the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) for a bottle store. This was approved under the Liquor Act to afford Coloureds (and Indians) an opportunity to participate in the lucrative Liquor trade.²³⁵

Health and Social Welfare

The Municipality provided the newly established Coloured community in Woodlands with a clinic that included free infant welfare and antenatal services. With vast housing developments all around the city, new hospitals were built. In 1974, the new Northdale Hospital was built to serve Indian and Coloured communities. However, the patients were treated by the nurses across racial lines. According to the Resource Directory of 1987, there was no Children's Home for Coloured children, but there was one Old Age Home and three clinics.²³⁶

The Benevolent Society was founded in 1861 by Lady St George, who saw a need to distribute food and clothing parcels to families referred to the organisation by other welfare organisations. It was still, in 2021, assisting around 180 families a month, mainly consisting of grandmothers supporting their orphaned grandchildren, child-headed homes, abused women and children, the unemployed, and some street people. The Society continues to assist people of all races, and

²³⁵ Dyer. "Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008)," 43-69

²³⁶ Dyer, "Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008)." 43-69

all age groups, across religious lines, in line with its aim of making a difference in the city and community. The Society ran a sandwich scheme for schoolchildren and a soup kitchen in Woodlands and Eastwood.²³⁷

The Pietermaritzburg Mental Health Society, as much as it had a non-racial policy, had segregated facilities. It offered training for mentally challenged Coloured children. The school, called the Open Gate Coloured School, was opened in 1975 in Boom Street for Coloured children only, but in the post-apartheid period, it transformed into a non-racial school called the Open Gate Special School.²³⁸

Nita Ally, one of the founding members, recounted that she confronted considerable problems finding a school for her son Leonard, who had special needs. With the help of the Mental Health Society and local businesses, she and a few parents got together and started the school with Leonard and five other children. Ally recalled the struggles in keeping the school going: "I used to walk from East Street to West Street asking businesses for assistance as we sought to build the school. Although it took a lot of my energy, there was no way I would give up."²³⁹

Religion

According to interviewees, religion was influential in the lives of most of the Coloured residents of the wider Pietermaritzburg region who used to attend mixed-race churches before the implementation of Group Areas. When Coloureds moved to Woodlands, they established mainline churches – Anglican, Catholic and Methodist. Henrietta Joshua, born a Catholic, emphasised that the move did not change her religious practices: "I was Catholic, and even now, nothing has changed."²⁴⁰ The small community of Woodlands was home to traditional churches such as The St Martin De Porres Catholic Church, St Luke's Anglican Church, and the Woodlands Methodist Church.

On 2 November 1966, the Catholic Coloured Community, deriving their authority from a mandate given at a public meeting held at the Marian Parish Centre, Loop Street (Now Jabu

²³⁷ John, Lambert. "Maintaining a British way of life: English-speaking South Africa's patriotic, cultural and charitable associations." *Historia* 54, no. 2 (2009).

²³⁸ The Pamphlet (Open Gate Special School, 2020).

²³⁹ Capital Newspaper, "Open Gate School – Story of a Mother's Courage," 23 March 2016. <https://capitalnewspapers.co.za/101620/open-gate-school-story-mothers-courage/>

²⁴⁰ Henrietta Joshua, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg."

Ndlovu Street), cited an urgent need for the acquisition of a church site in Woodlands. They estimated that the number of Coloured Catholics in Woodlands stood at 605. On 9 December 1968, Roman Catholic Church applied to the City Council for a site of sufficient area to permit the erection of a large church and hall. The church was allocated a plot at 150 Melsetter Road, Woodlands, by the City Council.

The CLAC proposed selling available sites to Evangelical Bible Church (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) and Evangeliese Broederkerk in W.K.P. (Moravian Church). On 29 October 1970 and 28 January 1971, the City Council approved the sale of plots to The Evangelise Broederkerk in W.K.P (Moravian Church) in Hickory Road for R1 875 and to The Evangelical Bible Church in Mulberry Road for R2 250, respectively.²⁴¹ Natal Provincial Secretary D.L Hauptfleisch approved the sale of the site to the Evangelical Bible Church (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) on Mulberry Road on 21 February 1974, and on 7 January 1974, the sale of the site in Hickory Road to the Evangeliese Broederkerk in W.K.P. received approval.²⁴²

With time, many in the community, Francis Grantham said, "went and moved to the happy-Clappy-Happy" Churches.²⁴³ Grantham is referring here to the growth of Pentecostalism among the residents of Woodlands. From the late 1960s, the City Council started to grant permits to erect tents in Woodlands for religious purposes only. On 20 September 1966, the Estate manager gave permission to the Church of Assembly of God under the Reverend V.F Creamer to hold tent campaigns at Woodlands. They were granted permission to erect a tent on the open ground opposite the Woodlands Clinic for two weeks, and the drive was intended for members of the Coloured Community.²⁴⁴ The history of this church dates to 1908 with the arrival of Pentecostal missionaries, and from the beginning, it had a sizeable Black membership. The following year, in March 1967, the Philadelphia Sanctuary Christian Assemblies (The Christian Assemblies) under Mr G.W Harvey was granted permission to erect a tent in Woodlands in Cedar Road for two days.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ Minutes of Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, "Sale of Church Sites: Woodlands," 7 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/206.

²⁴² Minutes of Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, "Sale of Church Sites: Woodlands," 7 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/206.

²⁴³ Francis Grantham, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg."

²⁴⁴ Minutes of Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, "Sale of Church Sites: Woodlands," 7 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/206.

²⁴⁵ Minutes of Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, "Sale of Church Sites: Woodlands," 7 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/206

The City Council also approved the sale of Church sites, and the first applicants to be beneficiaries were The Boshoff Street Congregational Church on 16 February 1966, which was offered a plot for R1250 in Cedar Road.²⁴⁶

Pentecostal churches in Woodlands include His People Church, New Apostolic Church, Evangelical Bible Church of Southern Africa, The Old Apostolic Church (South Africa) Woodlands Community, North Baptist Church, Shiloh Fellowship Church, and Woodlands Seventy-Day Adventist Church, amongst a host of churches.

Woodlands has many churches, estimated at around eighteen, but still, people have even more churches in school halls, classrooms, and private homes. According to several interviewees, the growth of Pentecostalism in Woodlands is a result of its ability to attract youth. Lorraine Knipe said, "the 'happy-clappy' churches entertain more; you have an 'actor' as Ministry or a pastor. As a result, young people are drawn to these churches. They are loud and have live performances, which appeals to young people."²⁴⁷ In addition, Henrietta Joshua stated that Pentecostal churches encouraged individualism, where you find a talented singer doing all the singing, unlike the traditional churches, which encouraged choruses to be done in the form of a group.²⁴⁸

For a small community, Woodlands has a relatively large number of churches.

Education

The central principle of Apartheid marked the structure for education, that is, separate schooling infrastructure for the different racial groups. Regarding the apartheid principle, nineteen education departments were established to cater to various racial groups, provinces, and even the Homelands. Each designated racial group had its education infrastructure.²⁴⁹ Before 1960, Coloureds in Natal retained some privileges until the introduction of Group

²⁴⁶Minutes of Finance, Traffic and General Purposes Committee, "Sale of Church Sites: Woodlands," 7 August 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 138/206.

²⁴⁷ Lorraine Knipe, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg."

²⁴⁸ Henrietta Joshua, "Group Areas Act in Pietermaritzburg."

²⁴⁹ Morrow, Walter Eugene. 1990. 'Aims of Education in South Africa.' *International Review of Education/Internationale Zeitschrift fur Erziehungswissenschaft/Revue Internationale de l'Education* 36:171–181. 174.

Areas. Some even enjoyed access to White government schools. However, after 1960 the rights previously enjoyed by Coloureds were taken away.

In 1950, members of the Coloured Advisory Committee, established in 1943, resigned, and a sub-department of "Coloured Affairs" was established in 1951 to take control of Coloured Welfare Services.²⁵⁰ A Department of Coloured Affairs was established in 1958 to see to Coloureds' "own affairs". The government aimed to transfer Coloured education to this department.²⁵¹ The problem with Apartheid education is that many Black (Indian, African and Coloured) children had to attend schools with poor facilities, lack of sporting equipment and playing fields, inadequate books, and scientific equipment like laboratories. Generally, schools were inferior compared to White schools, while it should also be acknowledged that there were differences among the schools for Blacks.

The (non-racial) Liberal Party, which had a strong base in Pietermaritzburg, mainly because of influential leaders like Alan Paton and Peter Brown in the city, opposed the separation of Coloured education and called for mixed schools. It argued that schools and tertiary institutions should not be allowed to discriminate based on race but should admit pupils applying for entry according to colour-free procedures and regulations.²⁵² Further, the party's policy was based on the conviction of respecting persons of whatever race, colour, culture, or creed. The party's main objective was an integrated schooling system providing equal educational facilities for all community sections.²⁵³

The Anti-Transfer Action Committee's (Pietermaritzburg) purpose was primarily to oppose the transfer of education to the Department of Coloured Affairs. Its membership comprised the following organisations: Black Sash, Natal Council of Women, South African Coloured Ex-serviceman's League, Progressive Party, Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League Liberal Party, and Coloured School Parents.

²⁵⁰ Letter to Liberal Party Chairman, "The Liberal Party of South Africa", 4 December 1955. PC 2/1/2/3.

²⁵¹ Sheldon Rankin and Paul Tichmann, "Housing Strategies and The Housing Environment in 'Coloured' Group Areas", *The Institute for Social and Economic Research*, Report no. 23, September 1986, 23-24. PC 11/11/1/3/2.

²⁵² Letter to Liberal Party Chairman, "The Liberal Party of South Africa", 4 December 1955. PC 2/1/2/3.

²⁵³ Letter to Liberal Party Chairman, "The Liberal Party of South Africa", 4 December 1955. PC 2/1/2/3

A report on a meeting called by the Durban Coloured Federal Council at St Theresa's Hall, Sparks Estate, on 8 April 1962 does make interesting reading. The Natal Coloured Teachers' Association rejected all the proposals made by representatives of the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD). E.B. Rooks, chairman of the Durban Coloured Federal Council, a conservative organisation willing to work within government-created structures, spoke strongly in favour of the proposed transfer. The meeting after that passed a resolution to transfer Coloured education from the Provincial Administration to the Coloured Affairs Department.²⁵⁴ The Teachers' Educational and Professional Association and the Teachers League of South Africa rejected the transfer outright.²⁵⁵

At another meeting on 30 April 1962 in Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg, the Liberal Party argued that the transfer of Coloured education was a political move and would not advance education. On the contrary, it argued, such a move would extend Apartheid and divide the different sections of the South African population even further, and the inferior education planned for Coloureds would perpetually keep Coloured children as servants to whites.²⁵⁶

The Liberal Party was a strong influence in Pietermaritzburg, and the Security Branch police interfered with its activities in two primary forms; firstly, through raids and arrests, which were a familiar experience for many members of the Labour Party, and secondly, through threats such as the ninety-days detention amongst a host of repressive laws introduced through the 1960s.²⁵⁷ When members of the Liberal Party participated in a legal, public demonstration in Pietermaritzburg, they were openly photographed by the police for the local White community to identify who the "sell-outs" were. For example, Party leader Peter Brown was banned several times, and the party itself disbanded in 1966.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ Meeting Minutes, "Representation Concerning Transfer of Coloured Education", 8 April 1962. PC 2/4/5/3.

²⁵⁵ Meeting Minutes, "Representation Concerning Transfer of Coloured Education", 8 April 1962. PC 2/4/5/3.

²⁵⁶ Meeting Minutes, "Liberal Party of South Africa (Natal Division), 30 April 1962, PC 2/4/5/3.

²⁵⁷ Memo from Natal, Intimidation, PC 86/9/2/14/1.

²⁵⁸ Memo from Natal, Intimidation, PC 86/9/2/14/1.

Despite community protests, The Coloured Person's Education Act of 1963 transferred the responsibility of Coloured Education, except for tertiary education, to the Department of Coloured Affairs from 1 January 1964 in the Cape Province and from 1 April 1964 in Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State.²⁵⁹ This remained the situation for two decades. When the Tricameral dispensation came into effect in 1984, education was regarded as an "own affair", and the education of Coloureds fell under the Coloureds' House of Representatives.²⁶⁰

Given the shortage of schools, the community of Woodlands was forced to resort to the use of the community hall. For example, there is a letter in the archives dated 27 January 1971 from the CLAC expressing its appreciation for the City Council's action in giving its consent for halls such as the Laburnum Hall to be used as a school classroom when it was necessary during the past years.²⁶¹ There were consequences for the community as a result. The Town Clerk, in consenting to the Estates Manager's recommendation for the hall to be used as a classroom, instructed that the Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League (This league was formed by the coming together of organisations such as Pietermaritzburg Coloured Women's League, Woodlands Ratepayers' Association, and Woodlands Tenants' Association) be advised that due to this development, the Laburnum Hall would no longer be available for use to members of the Coloured community for social functions and meetings and that their control of the hall would cease with effect from 1 April 1970. The Town Clerk was adamant that this was a temporary measure as the hall was "not suitable for educational use".²⁶²

Coloureds were arguably the most inadequately served by educational facilities in Pietermaritzburg. There were only three Coloured schools in the city in 1971, namely;

- i. Romiley Infants School: catered for children to standard one only. It was situated in the city's central area and had an enrolment of 947 children in 1971. Conditions were appalling with inadequate facilities, and children had to travel long distances to reach the school, which ran a platoon system (double session), which meant holding classes in the mornings and afternoons for different groups of pupils. This resulted in shorter

²⁵⁹ Inbanathan Naicker, "Imbalances and Inequities in South African Education: A Historical-Educational Survey And Appraisal," M. Ed, University of South Africa, 1996, 4.

²⁶⁰ Naicker, "Imbalances and Inequities in South African Education: A Historical-Educational Survey And Appraisal," 5.

²⁶¹ 27 Jan 1971, Use of Halls as Schools- Town Clerk Depart.

²⁶² Letter to Town Clerk, "Laburnum Hall. Before Finance, Traffic and General-Purpose Committee, 7 February 1970. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

schooling hours and, in some cases, children having to wait many hours for their classes to begin.

- ii. Raisethorpe Primary School catered for children from standards two to four. It was grossly overcrowded. There were no proper playing fields.
- iii. Alston State High in Greyling Road accommodated standards five to ten in the central area. The school was also overcrowded. This was the only Coloured government secondary school for Northern Natal and the Midlands. It catered for a very vast area and worsened an already serious local issue of overcrowding, as many out-of-town pupils had to attend.²⁶³

According to Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal, three primary schools were planned to accommodate an estimated 700 learners each, and a high school with a hostel to accommodate 650 pupils was planned for Woodlands. An additional high school was proposed for the township of Eastwood.²⁶⁴ The hostel was needed to accommodate children from the surrounding areas. The Commissioner for Coloured Affairs anticipated that these schools would be sufficient to accommodate the learners of Woodlands.²⁶⁵ There were no facilities nor plans for the Department of Coloured Affairs to establish a Teachers Training College in Pietermaritzburg, and Coloureds hoping to qualify as teachers had to do so at the Technical College for Advanced Technical Training at Belville, Western Cape.

Concerning Coloured education, the department nationally was provided with a racist syllabus meant to perpetuate the second-class status of Coloureds as citizens. It was reported that teachers in Coloured schools struggled with teaching material; Physical Science and Biology teachers had to teach without laboratories or laboratory equipment. There were no maps or globes for Geography and History teachers.²⁶⁶ Several schools were eventually built in Woodlands: Woodlands Primary School, Woodlands Secondary School, and Haythorne

²⁶³ Thorrington-Smith, Monte Rosenberg and McCrystal, "Education", in *Pietermaritzburg: A Town Planning Report for the Borough*, Pietermaritzburg & Durban: Town and Regional Planning Consultants Development Economist Valuers, December 1973, 158.

²⁶⁴ Thorrington-Smith, Monte Rosenberg and McCrystal, "Education", 159.

²⁶⁵ Thorrington-Smith, Monte Rosenberg and McCrystal, "Education", 159.

²⁶⁶ Ajam, Mogamed T. "The Group Areas Act and the modernization of schooling in South Africa." *The Journal of Negro Education* 56, no. 3 (1987): 313-325.

Secondary School (established in 1974). Woodlands Secondary has an fascinating history. It was opened as Forest Hill Primary School for Indians in 1902 and changed its name to Woodlands High School. Following the Group Areas proclamations, Woodlands became a school for Coloured children, while the school for Coloured children in Raisethorpe became a school for Indian children. So the madness of Apartheid dictated.

In general, these schools lacked sporting facilities to the point that morning and special assemblies were held in open spaces; while there were no sporting fields and where such facilities did exist, these were in poor conditions; Rugby and soccer were played on a stretch of sand or a mole-hill-strewn playing surface.²⁶⁷ Cricket was played on a gravel strip and an outfield filled with overgrown grass and stones. These schools did not have swimming pools, tennis courts, or gymnasiums.

In the formative period of "Coloured" education, most schools were staffed by White teachers and headed by what some described as "hard-hearted" white principals.²⁶⁸ Such teachers were considered by the local community to have been "failures" in their schools and struggling to find employment and were consequently "shipped" to Coloured schools. A 1974 survey found that just 3,7 percent of Coloured teachers had a university degree and professional qualification, 21,74 percent had a matric pass, while 69,24 percent had a JC (standard eight) qualification.²⁶⁹ Only 20,49 percent of Coloured pupils across the country were in secondary school in 1974 and just 1,01 percent in matric.²⁷⁰

Many Coloureds overcame these obstacles and completed their matric. However, they could not enter their desired profession due to job reservations. There was only one university for Coloureds in South Africa, the University of the Western Cape. Aside from the difficulty of having to go to the Cape to study, not all courses were offered. For example, if one wanted to qualify as a dentist, no Dental Faculty at universities in South Africa would accept Coloureds until the University of the Western Cape opened a Dental School in the 1970s. The primary profession open to Coloureds was teaching. Education in South Africa perpetuated hierarchical

²⁶⁷ Chappell, Robert. "Race, gender and sport in post-apartheid South Africa." *The sport journal* 8, no. 4 (2005).

²⁶⁸ Roy du Pre, "The 'Coloured' people of South Africa-A Political History", 112.

²⁶⁹ Clare Rossouw, "Coloured Education," *The Black Sash*, (August 1974), 17.

²⁷⁰ Rossouw, "Coloured Education," 18.

views of society and fostered an ideological consciousness of superior-inferior, master-servant, and ruler-ruled structure among all groups in South Africa.²⁷¹

Schools attended by Whites were free, including books and stationery, and it was compulsory to attend school from the age of seven until sixteen or until one obtained the school leaving certificate. The Junior Secondary Program (Standard 7) had core compulsory subjects, including English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, Natural Science and Human Social Sciences.²⁷² In this way, white-collar jobs were reserved for White people.

The second-class education structure coupled with job reservation, meant that racial inequality was perpetuated, which was reflected in the massive and widespread school and higher education boycotts of the 1980s.

Sport

Christopher Merrett, the former chief librarian at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, journalist and editor of the *Natal Witness* newspaper, and author of several studies on sport and the history of Pietermaritzburg, makes the following important observation:

A consistent factor in the history of physical recreation in ... Pietermaritzburg is the maintenance of literal and figurative space between Whites and other communities. Resultant land use and resource allocation reflected power relations evident in other socio-economic sectors, but sport provides particularly vivid imagery and illustrative metaphor. Successive ideologies of imperialism, colonial segregation and Apartheid employed custom, increasingly bolstered by law, to sustain the illusion, against all demographic evidence, that Pietermaritzburg was a White city.²⁷³

One of the big concerns for Coloureds was the lack of recreational facilities. There was a Coloured Sports Ground with three fields, but requests by Coloureds for a swimming pool since 1914 had been ignored. Children were forced to swim in the river, where many contracted bilharzia. Coloureds were promised facilities in the new township to accept the principle of

²⁷¹ Thobejane, T. D. "History of apartheid education and the problems of reconstruction in South Africa." *Sociology Study* 3, no. 1 (2013): 1-12.

²⁷² Walton Johnson, "Education: keystone of Apartheid," *African Education and Social stratification*, Vol. 13 No. 3, 7.

²⁷³ Merrett, "Identity and the geography of physical recreation," 2098-2114, 2098.

Group Areas. The Group Areas and Reservation of Separate Amenities Acts facilitated separate development but was "accompanied by the carrot of modern recreational facilities in racially segregated suburbs with their local government structures (local affairs committees). This politicised sport and turned it into a site of struggle."²⁷⁴

The swimming pool was not forthcoming. The delay in the promised Olympic-size pool at Woodlands resulted in vociferous protest from the Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League (PCWL). Before the implementation of Group Areas, Coloureds had been motivating for a swimming pool due to bilharzia infection and drownings in the Msunduzi River. There was a suggestion of Coloureds using the Buchanan Street baths, but this was met with disdain.²⁷⁵ The Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League remonstrated its right to its facilities. The swimming pool in Woodlands was only opened in September 1968, and it was named the R.G Pilditch Baths (Gerald Pilditch was a South African World War 1 ace).²⁷⁶ The newly built baths were home to the Alpha Swimming Club from 1971 for Coloureds, paying R100 per year for swimming hire charges.²⁷⁷

However, the R.G. Pilditch swimming facility was not opened until September 1971 because the Director of Parks reported to the Town Clerk that the bath leaked. The City Engineer and Consultant Engineer, M. Dyer, investigated and advised on the work necessary to waterproof the pool, which took almost three years.²⁷⁸ The work was shoddy. On 3 July 1972, the Director of Parks wrote to the Town Clerk again, reporting that leaks had once again been discovered in the bath. The City Council enlisted the Chief Architect of the city engineer, Mr Noel, to assist with this predicament. Noel believed the materials used had failed to adhere properly. The Durban-based company, Expandite S.A (Pty) LTD, was appointed to seal the leaks at the Woodlands baths.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ Christopher Merrett, "Identity and the geography of physical recreation," 2016.

²⁷⁵ Letter to Town Clerk, "Woodlands Coloured Swimming Bath," 30 August 1971. NAB, 3/PMB, 4/5/810, 299/216.

²⁷⁶ Christopher Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 246.

²⁷⁷ Pietermaritzburg Town Clerk Files. Pilditch Swimming Bath: Club Hire Charges 299/2015.

²⁷⁸ Letter to Town Clerk, "Woodlands Coloured Swimming Bath," 30 August 1971. NAB, 3/PMB, 4/5/810, 299/216.

²⁷⁹ Letter to Town Clerk, "Woodlands Coloured Swimming Bath," 30 August 1971. NAB, 3/PMB, 4/5/810, 299/216.

On 20 January 1975, another challenge came to the fore about the R.G Pilditch Swimming Bath as the Chief Health Inspector reported to the Medical Officer of Health about the non-availability of liquid chlorine gas to clean the baths. Enquiries were made concerning supplies to the holder of contract A.E & C.I, who advised that no empty containers were being returned by the customers, citing a shortfall of 3 000 cylinders.²⁸⁰ This was the reason for the poor water conditions at Pilditch Bath. The Chief Health Inspector made enquiries about the possibility of using another chemical, but A.E & C.I. replied that the use of chloride of lime or H.T.H would be unsatisfactory for a public swimming pool and very expensive. Such delays were frustrating to the local community members.

It was only in 1968 that Woodlands Stadium was handed to the community together with the Community Hall. The stadium catered for cricket, hockey, and football. It was not fully complete due to the Municipality withdrawing its grant. The local, white-dominated City Council allocate 87 percent of its grants-in-aid to White sports.²⁸¹ There was a dispute over this between the Coloured Sports Board and Municipality in 1971. The following year the grant was restored at R32 per month. This came after a humiliating remark about the "experience to be gained by the non-white groups in the management of their own affairs".²⁸² Woodland's stadium had no change rooms for the players.

Despite these handicaps and second-rate facilities, interviewees' memory appears different. According to Francis Grantham, the one thing that was a benefit in the newly established community was the sporting facilities,

Here there were sport-fields. We played soccer; we played uhm...I learnt how to swim in the swimming pool; my sisters learnt how to play hockey. So yes, there was definitely an advantage coming into a community that had, and, and in fact, Woodlands is blessed. Woodlands can complain about many things but Woodlands cannot complain about sporting facilities. There's a swimming pool; there's a rugby ground; there's a hockey ground, there's... tennis courts which they converted into basketball courts.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Letter to Town Clerk, "R.G Pilditch Swimming bath: Woodlands," 3 February 1975. NAB, 3/PMB, 299/216.

²⁸¹ Merrett, ""Identity and the geography of physical recreation," 2106.

²⁸² Public Health, Parks and Amenities Comm, 6 May, 9 September. 1971 in PMA 3/PMB 4/5/609, file 242/205 (Coloured Sports Grounds).

²⁸³ Francis Grantham, "Forced Removal of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg."

In celebration of the stadium's official opening, word is that the leading local Coloured rugby club called Pioneers played against University of Natal Medical School team and that Steve Biko was part of the University team. Later some players broke away from the Pioneers to form Young Lions and the health of Coloured rugby in the city was enhanced by the influx of teachers from the Cape in the 1960s, though, the game was plagued by limited facilities, including unsuitable grounds and a lack of funds.²⁸⁴

Forced removals threatened the social connection of not only Coloured sport but Indian sport as well, and their organisations allied with national non-racial organisations such as the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) and South African Council on Sport (SACOS), which was formed in 1973. Through the 1970s and 1980s, Black sportsmen and women played their sport separately and in inadequate facilities. However, despite all these sacrifices and the uneven playing fields, when South Africa re-entered international sport in the 1990s, there was no opportunity to level the playing fields; instead, it was mainly Whites who represented the country.

Woodlands Community Hall

The Woodlands Community Hall was completed on 16 August 1968 and accommodated 400 people. There was a foyer with an office, a glass-enclosed verandah, and a small kitchen for preparations of light refreshments. In addition, dressing rooms, showers and chairs were provided.²⁸⁵ The Hall plays an essential role in the community's life in many respects. As soon as it was completed, different organisations applied to use it. For example, the Woodlands Ratepayers' Association (WRT) held its special general meetings at the hall four times a year.²⁸⁶

The Pietermaritzburg Council of Coloured Women was granted permission by the Estate manager to use the Verandah Portion of the Hall to hold a nursery school weekly from 9:00am to 12 noon at the rental of R5 per month.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Christopher Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 246.

²⁸⁵ Letter to Town Clerk, "Use of Woodlands Community Hall,"

²⁸⁶ Letter to the Town Clerk, "Application of use of Woodlands Hall," 21 August 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209

²⁸⁷ Letter to the Town Clerk, "Application of use of Woodlands Hall," 21 August 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

The Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League used the Hall in October 1968 for a dance competition, with the proceeds forwarded to the Port Elizabeth Flood Relief Fund.²⁸⁸ In December 1968, the Hall hosted a Christmas Party for underprivileged Coloured Children. The hall was also used as temporary classroom accommodation for infant classes for six months in 1969.²⁸⁹

Sporting bodies also made use of the hall. The Alpha Swimming club was granted permission by the City Council to use the Hall on Monday and Wednesday evenings from 5:30 pm to 6:45 pm from 1 May to 31 August 1973. The Rondokan Judo Club was permitted to use the hall on Thursday evenings from 6:00 pm to 7:30 pm at a fee of R1 per session.²⁹⁰

The CLAC had written to the Estate Manager about the shortage of tables at Woodlands Hall to cater for functions such as wedding receptions and requested that consideration be given to obtaining trestle tables which could be easily stacked away when not in use; also that a spotlight is provided for the stage as there were no footlights. The estate manager responded that he did not know whether there were funds available /for these purposes, but he would investigate the matter.²⁹¹

The Woodlands Hall repeatedly experienced acts of vandalism and general misbehaviour by some aspects outside the Hall when the functions were held there. The estate manager wrote to the Woodlands Ratepayers' Association on 22 June 1970 requesting the Association's assistance towards preventing acts of vandalism and wanton damage at the Woodlands Hall.²⁹² (22 June 1970, 75/205, Woodlands Hall). For this reason, the Estate Manager and City Treasurer authorised the employment of a "Bantu" night watchman to protect municipal property in Woodlands nightly from 6:00 pm to 6:00 am daily. The cost of R720 per annum

²⁸⁸ Letter to the Town Clerk, "Application of use of Woodlands Hall," 21 August 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209

²⁸⁹ Letter to the Town Clerk, "Application of use of Woodlands Hall," 21 August 1968. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

²⁹⁰ Letter to Estate Manager, "Woodlands Hall-Facilities," 10 December 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

²⁹¹ Letter to Estate Manager, "Woodlands Hall-Facilities," 10 December 1969. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

²⁹² Letter to Estate Manager, "Woodlands Hall," 22 June 1970. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

was shared by the Public Health, Parks, and Estate Departments. The CLAC supported this move.²⁹³

Another active organisation in Woodlands was the Homemakers Club, whose membership was open to all adult women living in one of Woodlands' city council schemes. The City Council officially recognised the "Homemakers Club" at a meeting on 28 January 1972. The Club's constitution was adopted at the Woodlands Hall on 25 January 1972. The objectives of the Club included promoting "good fellowship among its members; donating gifts in kind to organisations of its choice which aimed to improve the wellbeing of the community in Pietermaritzburg; to provide bursaries for needy Coloured scholars to continue their studies in Pietermaritzburg, and to invest the funds of the Club as approved by a general meeting of the club.

The hall was not strictly for the use of the coloured community. The Estate Manager said that members of other racial groups could make use of the hall subject to clearance from the Department of Community Development being obtained, provided that the function concerned was of "direct benefit" and "gave pleasure" to members of the Coloured Community.²⁹⁴

Social problems

During the apartheid era, workers in the wine industry were preferably paid in alcohol to make them submissive and reliant on their 'masters', which had a fatal effect on the Coloured community (this system was known as a 'dop system'). Given the large population in the traditional wine-growing region of the Western Cape and Northern Cape, there was a sharp increase in alcoholism amongst them, leading to prevalent social damage among many communities.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ Letter to Estate Manager, "Woodlands Hall," 22 June 1970. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209.

²⁹⁴ Letter to Coloured Local Affairs, "Woodlands Community Hall: Use by members of Racial Groups other than Coloureds, 16 May 1973. NAB, 3/PMB, 75/209. First Elections of the Coloured Local Affairs Committee took place on 15 October 1975 and elected members were Mr Norman.S Middleton (Trade Union Organiser), Mr Alfred .C Maroney (Foreman), Mr Adam. Pailman (Clerk), Mr Edgar. Ward (General Dealer) and Mr Leslie .C Van Wyk (Maintenance Supervisor)

²⁹⁵ Anne Mager, "The First Decade of 'European Beer' in Apartheid South Africa: The State, the Brewers and the Drinking Public, 1962-72," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (1999), 367-388.

This practice increased and exacerbated alcoholism among farm workers, which resulted in widespread social damage among communities, particularly the Cape Coloured community. Alcohol abuse played a substantial part in the family life of farm workers, such as child abuse, ill-treatment of women and family abuse.²⁹⁶

That was in the Cape and not in Natal, but it is related here to illustrate some of the historical wrongs perpetrated on the working classes in South Africa. High levels of alcoholism were also a problem in Pietermaritzburg, especially amongst lower socio-economic groups. In Woodlands, Coloureds (primarily working class) were restricted in the liquor they could buy, unlike Africans who were only allowed to purchase and drink sorghum. According to one interviewee, after drinking "sessions", it became a norm for people to fight. Mostly it was about one's origin. For example, those with roots in Kokstad fought with those with roots in Ixopo.²⁹⁷ Those from Ixopo sometimes fought with those from Durban and so on. According to another witness, people from different areas never saw themselves as one. It was always infighting. The Coloured community was never homogeneous. According to Hazel Rampaul, "people used to say, even today, that you are a farm boy if you're from Ixopo. You still see that up to today."²⁹⁸

This chapter has examined some key components that went into making the community in Pietermaritzburg. It highlights that in the early years, Woodlands had virtually no infrastructure. The houses were of poor quality, sporting facilities sub-par, poverty-rife, and schools in short supply. However, despite the many differences among the residents and the poor socio-economic profile of the township, some became community "leaders", working hard to build social welfare organisations and attempting to improve the general well-being of the residents of Woodlands. This chapter points to many of these developments in providing an overview of what was happening while acknowledging that further research needs to be undertaken as each of these organisations or issues (like sport and education) merits a detailed investigation.

²⁹⁶ Wilfred Scharf, "The Impact of Liquor On The Working Class (With Particular Focus On The Western Cape). The Implications Of The Structure Of The Liquor Industry And The Role Of The State In This Regard," MA diss, (University of Cape Town, 1984) 66.

²⁹⁷ Micheal Stellenberg, "Forced Removals of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 07 September 2019.

²⁹⁸ Henry Rampaul, "Forced Removals of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 07 September 2019.

Chapter Five

The (Re)Making of Coloured Identities

This chapter examines the impact of forced removals on Coloured identity formation in Woodlands. In his work on the forced removals of Coloureds in Cape Town, Henry Trotter found that those who had been removed through the Group Areas Act suffered trauma and that to cope with the pain, they reminisced with one another about the 'good old days in their now destroyed communities.'²⁹⁹ He argued that this practice of sharing and support in the context of loss formed the substance of Coloured identity in Cape Town.

Though much has been written on Coloured identity in general and in the context of Group Areas removals, this issue has not been addressed systematically regarding Woodlands or Pietermaritzburg more generally. To fully appreciate the role of Group Areas in making Coloured identities, this chapter examines the roots of this identity through some of the narratives of those interviewed. There was one significant difference between Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town. In Cape Town, it was mainly existing Coloured areas that were ripped apart, and the residents scattered into distant townships. In Pietermaritzburg, on the other hand, those defined as Coloureds were spread in different areas, living alongside Indians in many instances.

The implementation of Group Areas formalised racial segregation in South Africa's cities. In Pietermaritzburg, forced removals reinforced already existing residential areas. This mainly affected the Coloured and Indian families scattered all over the 'non-White' part of the city, unlike Africans who were already segregated into Imbali and Sobantu Townships. Before Group Areas, most Coloureds lived all around Pietermaritzburg (Scottsville, Boom Street, Edendale) and outside the city. The removals disrupted families and their ways of life and presented many hardships.

One of the issues raised through the interviews is precisely who made up this category called 'Coloured'.

²⁹⁹ Henry Trotter, "Trauma and Memory: The Impact of apartheid-era forced removals on Coloured identity in Cape Town," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press) 50.

Who was a Coloured?

I came to this study taking for granted apartheid-era racial categorisations such as Coloured, African, Indian, and White. However, I learned that identities are multiple and fluid. According to cultural theorist Stuart Hall, identities are constantly negotiated as individuals interact with society. Hall argues that "the real me", the inner core of an individual, is modified in "dialogue with the cultural worlds 'outside' and the identities which they offer." Identity, in this context, becomes a "moveable feast: formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems that surround us."³⁰⁰

This idea is captured so graphically in the story of Francis Grantham, one of the interviewees for this project, who had an African grandmother whose family name was Gladys Mchunu and a White German grandfather who had a farm in Wartburg in the KZN Midlands, where German families had settled in the 1850s. The village is named after the castle where Martin Luther translated the bible into German in 1521-22. The area was famous for its timber, sugar cane, and mealies, and Grantham recounted that his grandparents "owned a large piece of property with donkeys, goats, pigs, horses, there was everything ... pigeon trees, apricot trees, apple trees and the family would always get together there at Christmas time. We were a mixed family."

Mixed they indeed were. According to Grantham:

My father's father was White, so half of his family was registered White. His brother was White and he (father) was Coloured. The unfairness about that was that his brother worked in Northdale Hospital doing maintenance as a superintendent. When my father used to go there he had to say "Good day Mr. Grantham" so that people wouldn't know that they were related. And his brother would say "Good day Percy". So, his brother had to maintain his "Whiteness" by talking down to his own brother. They wouldn't call him "Mr. Grantham", they would call him "Percy". But his brother, because he's a White man, he would have to call him "Mr. Grantham". So, within our family, ehh, there was a huge effect, eh...My Grantham side of the family was split that my uncle, uncle Mavi as we all called him, he married a woman from Santelina (now called St Helena Bay). Her children never, ever mixed with us because they went to White schools. So, they maintained a "White Identity" and it was about only really, ten years ago that they started

³⁰⁰ Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in S. Hall, et al., Eds. *Modernity And Its Futures* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992, 279.

mixing. But the problem with the Grantham-White-side of the family was that: it was either you were "White" or "dark". There was a time that the Whites eventually left the country. Some married Germans, some went to Australia. His brother left and went to Sweden and married a White lady. So, they tended to go to the "White side" of the family and us that were a little bit darker were left on the other side of the fence. So, yeah, the Group Areas had a great effect on us.

My sister has got a child from an Indian guy. The first child she got was a "straight hair". He got registered as an Indian because his father was Indian. The second one came out with curly hair and was registered as a Coloured (both men chuckled). He, on the other hand got a surname Aiden. The other one got the surname Grantham. Within the same mother, within the same father, same family, but different surnames. That was what *Apartheid* did because when we went to register the child, the lady said, "why you wanna register him as an Indian coz he looks Coloured?". There was a pen tester at that time. If the pen went through your hair, you were Indian. If it got stuck, you were Coloured. That was the pen test. That is what they called it back then, the irony of it all. *Apartheid* tended to separate us here then it uh...ehhh it did the different races. Within the race itself, it separated. That is why people uh ... Coloureds too have problems with identity because they don't know where they fit in.... Coloured people have an identity crisis ... very few of them, in fact a lot of them "cut ties" with their African side. And it happens that when you go into a Coloured person's house you find a White family on the wall. And the photos of the African family are under the bed (laughter). That is how it always is.

Julian Johns provides an example that appears to have been typical of many older Coloured families:

My mother died, my mom died, when I was six. My aunt looked after us for about a year ... and then we were placed in an orphanage. It was a Home for Coloured children. Now it is a Home for anyone. I know because we went there to visit a couple of years ago. But at the time (when I was a child) it was just for Coloured children. There were no Africans, no Whites, well there wasn't any, because your mother was White and father was Coloured, I probably looked more White, whatever but, came to the Home. So we weren't, I wasn't, exposed to the outside world, to be honest with you. We were in an orphanage and sheltered. We had structure, everything was found for us.

Joan De Lange recounted how she "lost" her sister when the latter fell in love with a White man, "They couldn't get married and they had to go to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)." The family lived in Boom Street in the city centre before moving to the new township of Woodlands and never saw her again.³⁰¹ Born in Jacobs, to the south of Durban, De Lange's father was White and her mother Coloured, and she recalled her mother telling her that her father had been jailed for contravening the Immorality Act.

"Whites could not marry Coloureds" so her father left her mother, who was struggling financially and placed the children in an orphanage. She recounted that the orphanage was in Durban, and it was operated by the nuns (she can't recall its name). They were raised under the values of Christianity. Growing up, she said:

I went where the Whites went because I have a White father (and looked White). I didn't really know what nation (meaning racial group) I was. Growing up in the convent we were protected. In the religious places, there was no conflict. The nuns were all White from overseas. They were very good to us.

Her life changed after her marriage to a "Coloured", De Lange explained:

Really, remember, during the apartheid era, realise that you can't do this and that certain laws were there, and you can't do that. After my marriage, I remember one incident very clearly. We walked uptown to a restaurant. I went it into lots of times and it was only when a friend of my sister, who worked there told the manager that I am Coloured, that he said I had to leave because they were complaining. It was not the Whites who were complaining, the Coloureds were complaining. That was one incident I can remember very clearly. On another occasion, my husband and I were shopping. We were walking, holding hands and was asked, "Why is he holding your hands?" Then there was the incident where they broke into our place. My husband had to go to court. The White woman asked my husband, "where did you get my surname from?" He told her "where did you get your bloody name from? That's where I got my name." It never affected me.

Henrietta Joshua was born on a farm in Nhlazuka, a suburb just outside Richmond, in the district of what is now Sisonke in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

³⁰¹ Joan De Lange, Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 21 June 2017.

We've got a farm there. We were from the farm, we had to go to Ixopo for school. I boarded with my Granny. We grew up on the farm with all farm people, which was a beautiful life. We didn't grow up with *sigebengu* (criminals). There were beautiful people, country people. We had a lot of cows and pigs and all sort of animals. When we used to come back from boarding school, my father used to slaughter a cow and we would have all the farm labourer's coming to dine, which used to be beautiful. The Group Areas Act didn't affect us country people. Only after years, when we got married there was Group Areas Act.... My parents died there on the farm. We even got our own cemetery on the farm. It was just our family on the farm. My grandfather was German.³⁰² Our closest neighbors were White. We were the only Coloured people. My Grandfather was a German, and my Granny was Black. It was just us, we had beautiful neighbours, and they never worried us.

These narratives reveal that the makeup of the Coloured community and Coloured identity were generally fluid and very much in the making at the time of the coming to power of the National Party in 1948. The names of my interviewees, like Johns, De Lange, Grantham, and Joshua, mirror those of Whites and this was a concern of the Carnegie Commission, which presented its report on White poverty in 1932. According to the report, poverty amongst Whites led to increased 'social intercourse with non-Europeans', which 'easily leads to miscegenation. This means that the White colour is lost in the descendants. In this way, it comes about that there are whole families who bear the names and surnames of Europeans but are Coloured.'³⁰³ This concern with poor Whites, Thumbran observes, led in the 1930s to a 'shift from the "coloured" as a colonial subject in the late 19th century (marked by the Cape Liberal discourse of "civilisation") towards "coloured" as a biological category (increasingly marked by the language of "miscegenation" in the 1930s).' (Thumbran 2018: 104).

The Wilcocks Commission of 1937 acknowledged that many light-skinned Coloureds were beginning to enter White society. According to the Commission's report:

³⁰² Unfortunately, Mrs Henrietta Joshua, passed on two months ago alongside Mrs De Lange. As result, I could not get her grandfather's surname. According to her children, their mother's family split, with some members going to Johannesburg and others going overseas. They also recounted that they farmed all sorts of animals, from cows to pigs.

³⁰³ In Thumbran, 'The "Coloured Question" and the University of Pretoria,' 147.

Due, however, to a number of social and economic disabilities affecting the Cape Coloured ... there is an increasing tendency for Cape Coloureds to "pass over the line" if their appearance enables them to do so. There is ample evidence that a number of Coloured persons have already "passed over" and been absorbed in the European population.... There is no doubt that it is taking place on a considerably larger scale than is thought to be the case by the majority of Europeans.³⁰⁴

Marais stressed this fact when he wrote in his 1939 study of Coloureds that they did not differ from Whites' day to day in anything except their poverty,' which they shared with 'poor Whites.'³⁰⁵ For this reason, when it came to power in 1948, the National Party was determined to segregate Coloureds completely from Whites in all areas of life. Such was the pressure amongst Whites to segregate all "non-Whites" that even the United Party, the party of the so-called liberal English-speaking whites, supported the segregation of Coloureds, though they regarded them as an 'as an appendage to the Whites, to ensure Coloured support in the elections.'³⁰⁶

The many heartrending stories reveal that these fluid identities of Whites and Coloureds had some tragic outcomes. This tragedy and farce were captured so powerfully in the 2008 film *Skin*, a true story about Sandra Laing, a woman born to white parents in South Africa who was classified as "Coloured" at the age of ten because of her complexion. It is a complex story that rips apart a family in devastating ways. Some similar tragedies

Group Areas and the breakup of families

Coloureds responded in different ways to evictions. Mixed families were severely affected as families of other races had to split up. Francis Grantham recounted how Group Areas impacted his family. The government thought there was coal in the Wartburg area, as in Dundee, and relocated people from Wartburg. His grandfather had died, and his grandmother, being African, was placed in the new African township of Ezakheni, established in the early 1970s just outside Ladysmith.

³⁰⁴ Wilcocks Commission, 30.

³⁰⁵ Marais, *Cape Coloured People*, 283.

³⁰⁶ Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall. A History of South African "Coloured" Politics*. Cape Town: New African Books, 1987, 246.

Grantham sadly reflected that "within two years of moving Mamukani (grandmother) there, she passed away. They moved her to a small building at Ezakheni, which she couldn't manage. So, for years, the Group Areas affected us," Beyond that, the Grantham family included Africans and Whites, and so Group Areas, Grantham explained, "affected us in that, when they did that, all of the family then split up. The African family ended up in Ezakheni, Springs, Orlando, and Orange farm. And we moved to Pietermaritzburg Woodlands. There was a huge effect on us."

Julian Johns had a similar experience:

My mother was White, father was Coloured, so it caused a separation in your family. The lighter children got my mother's surname, Abraham, namely; Merle, Jenny, Gregory, and Bernard. The darker skinned ones got my father's surname, Johns, namely; Julian, Judell, Trevor, Michael, and Llewelyn, this was a huge effect.³⁰⁷

Celeste Johns made an interesting comment about those who emigrated:

My father's elder sister, she was a nurse, studying and working in Jo'burg. She left South Africa because of Apartheid. She went to America. And I actually don't even know what the difference was in her life, because what has she achieved from moving there? Nothing, she just continued to be a nurse, married a teacher over there, she could have done the same here. There is nothing fabulous about her life. If she waited fifteen, twenty years... So, I think people that actually left because of Apartheid are actually a little bit bitter-sweet. I don't think they really got the just of what... I think they used that as a freaking excuse to get out the country.... No, not to get out the country but now that they back they make that an excuse. To say: "Oh I left the country because of Apartheid." There're so many things that are wrong now, why aren't people jumping aboard a ship now?

Celeste Johns' comments are interesting as they raise several issues about emigration. Generally, we tend to focus on those who emigrate without taking cognisance of the reaction of those who are left behind. There are elements of ambivalence and some cynicism, and perhaps even anguish. The aunt worked as a nurse in South Africa and the US, so she asked

³⁰⁷ Julian Johns, Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 18 August 2019.

what the difference was there. Of course, there would likely have been many differences, ranging from the salary to living conditions to more significant opportunities for children. At the same time, the comparison of conditions in present-day South Africa being similar to the apartheid era does not take into account the deep racism in society. This reaction is understandable, however, given that the emigration of family members leads to essential changes in family relationships and social networks.

Coloured people often argue that "the application of the Group Areas Act over the years has created, rather than averted, resistance and resentment."³⁰⁸ Mrs Knipe reflected on what race relations were like before Group Areas, "we lived a beautiful life. We would have all the farm labourers coming to dine, which used to be beautiful. Our closest neighbour was White, and they never worried us. Then Group Areas divided us all."³⁰⁹

Mrs Knipe's nostalgia seeps through her comments. Her life may well have been as she describes it, but it could also be a case of sentimental longing for the past or nostalgia for a past long disappeared but which may have been some of her happiest years or a time of deep friendships and meaningful events in her life. This reflects both personal and historical nostalgia for a past era. Change and complex phases in life are times when nostalgia is powerful. High levels of crime, electricity cuts, and so on are creating anxiety amongst many South Africans, which could contribute to feelings of nostalgia.

What also emerges from these recollections is that families were broken up amid forced removals. Before the strict implementation of Apartheid, a child born to a White father would likely have been welcomed in an African family without being referred to as Coloured or vice versa. Group Areas and apartheid legislation generally changed that as the child was now classified as Coloured and moved to an existing Coloured Family in Woodlands or an (Orphanage) Home. Sometimes people adopt new surnames. For example, Deon Warren pointed out. "if one was Mkhize, you changed your surname, and it became McKenzie; if you

³⁰⁸ Trotter, "Trauma and Memory," 54.

³⁰⁹ Mrs Knipe, "Forced Removals of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg," Interviewed by Qhelani Msweli, 20 August 2019.

were a Ndlovu, you became Oliphant; or you became the Afrikaans name for Ndlovu - Olifant."³¹⁰

While family members often "cut ties" with their African family. This was partly due to the government's deliberate policy to create total separation between Coloured and White.

Reflections on "Coloured" Identity

Coloured identity has always been ambiguous in South Africa. As the examples above show, the converse is also true; White identity, too, is unstable and was historically fluid as definitions of whiteness expanded and contracted. During the apartheid era, Coloured people often floated between racial classifications depending on their proximity to any of the regime's racial groupings.³¹¹ Under the White supremacist apartheid regime, the term 'Coloured' came to initially signify a derogatory label to degrade peoples of mixed ancestry. It is worth noting that racial classification has its flaws. "Mixed-race" included people who were classified as such because they lacked supposedly stereotypical 'White' features, who were presumably ousted from *their* racial community and dumped elsewhere.

Joel Johns provides an example of this as his Father was Coloured and his Mother white. This led to separation in his family as the lighter-skinned siblings took his mother's surname and the darker ones took his father's family name.³¹²

The relocation of Coloured people to racially segregated townships such as, for example, District Six in Cape Town and Eldorado Park in Johannesburg, led to feelings of social trauma and vulnerability amongst people about their futures, on the one hand, but uprooted Coloured individuals manufactured systems of trust, support, and security with and for each other in their new place of abode.

The geographer Doreen Massey, who worked extensively on space, stated that space is the product of 'interrelations', meaning that it is a product of interaction amongst people; it is home

³¹⁰ Deon Warren, "Forced Removals of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg," conducted by Qhelani Msweli, 07 September 2019.

³¹¹ Danielle Hoffmeester, "The Fluidity of Colouredness," *The Institute for Gender Justice and Reconciliation*, 25 April 2018.

³¹² Julian Johns, "Forced Removals."

to 'multiplicity', that is, it houses 'heterogeneity'; and it is constantly under construction, meaning that space is 'never finished; never closed'.³¹³ There is a relationship between space, place and social interaction. Through interaction, people can transform a space into a place with history, community and meaning.

For example, this was the case in Woodlands, whereby the residents assisted each other in building homes, schools, and community organisations. This forced relocation created a sense of purpose amongst residents, and a strong sense of being Coloured eventually developed over the decades. Interviewees recounted that over time this created distance between Coloureds and Indians, as well as Africans with whom they had once shared space and a sense of common purpose. One result was that when Indians and Coloureds visited nightclubs or met on the sports grounds, there would sometimes be "war" between them. Fortunately, my anonymous informant stated that these altercations usually remained verbal. While such arguments are common in most spheres of life, under Group Areas, they became racialised because groups of people tended to be of a particular race group.

This does not mean or imply that Coloureds constituted a homogenous grouping. Class differences, for example, were stark. The establishment of Woodlands resulted in "Coloureds" from various parts of Natal arriving in the township. Their backgrounds and educational levels varied. According to Francis Grantham:

Coloured people came to Woodlands from Ixopo, Kokstad, Hlutankungu, and Highflats ... all these areas. People were moved by Group Areas into Woodlands. So, when you looked at the people in Woodlands, they are different people from different areas. If you take a closer look at it, African people have 'clans', they came as clans. Guys from Kokstad fought with guys from Ixopo. Guys from Ixopo fought with the guys from Durban. And, and it was always the fighting, the infighting all the time. So, the effect of the Group Areas was that, even today it is still like that, the Coloured community has never been a close-knit-community. Even today, people say that was a "Kokt area" (Kokstad). That was a, eh hh Ixopo "ai ah Ixopo is a farm boy". So, there's always been that effect on the community and you still see that up to today.

³¹³ Massey, *On Space*, 9.

There is a parallel here with other parts of the country. In his 1971 Masters dissertation on the Coloured township of Eersterust (or First Rest) in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, Smit found that Coloureds tended to identify with the Cape Coloured sub-category and that they saw themselves as different to 'Malays' and 'Griquas'. In other words, there did not exist a cohesive Coloured identity, which was still in the making.³¹⁴ Sara Nilsson, likewise, sees Coloured identity as a lived experience, as one in the making.³¹⁵ Adhikari and Besteman also adopt a reflexive attitude to the making of Coloured identity.³¹⁶

According to Grantham, education also played an essential role in defining Coloureds in Woodlands:

Education wise, your education was largely according to where you were brought up. If you were brought up in Haythorne or Woodlands. If you went to Haythorne, like my brother went to Haythorne, today he's in England, he's moved out as well. So, I think the effect of Group Areas was felt within the family because it broke the family up and sometimes created animosity within the family.

Grantham refers to the impact of social class on educational achievement and education, in turn, as a driver of social mobility. The better-off children went to better schools, which increased their life chances and reinforced class differences.

As Coloured identity congealed or consolidated, there were social constraints as well. Francis Grantham recounted how the community perceived one if one dated a non-Coloured:

Wherever you went you could not date Indian girls. Coloured guys would not date African girls. Period. And it was, if you had an African girlfriend, it was like you were below the standards. You wouldn't go with Indian girls because it was not seen as a very good thing. This concept still exists nowadays. Very few Coloured people date or marry

³¹⁴ See Henry B. Smit, 'Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust se siening van hul huidige en toekomstige posisie in the breë Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolkingstruktuur', MA diss. University of Pretoria, 1971.

³¹⁵ Sara Nilsson, 'Coloured by Race: A study about the Making of Coloured Identities in South Africa,' Master's thesis, Institutionen för kulturanthropologi och etnologi, Uppsala Universiteit, 2016.

³¹⁶ M. Adhikari, Ed. *Burdened by race: coloured identities in southern Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009; M. Adhikari, *Not white enough, not black enough: racial identity in the South African coloured community*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005; C. Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

outside their racial line. A lot of White people have got Indian girlfriends, African girlfriends and are married across the colour line. But very little within the Coloured community. Consequently, the Apartheid psyche continues to play itself out, Coloured still associate with Coloured people.³¹⁷

While social scientists correctly suggest that race is a social construct devoid of a biological basis, it had real meaning in how people lived their everyday lives in Apartheid South Africa. Besteman further points out that "Apartheid-era racial categories in all of their absurdity continue to be utilised" into the post-apartheid period though their meanings and implications may be changing.³¹⁸

The Coloured community, according to several interviewees, suffered from an identity crisis. According to Grantham:

That is the unfortunate effect that Group Areas has had on the Coloured community. There was stigmatisation amongst Coloureds based on personal features in Woodlands. There were different categories of Coloureds namely; "White Coloured" mostly referred as "Wit-ous", "Black Coloured" with curly hair were called "Darkies", and brown ones with straight hair were derogatorily classified as "Indians".

Ideological alignment regarding colour appears to have played a role in determining political behaviour amongst Coloured people. This has not been not scientifically established through studies but is based on the cursory observations and recollections of interviewees. There is a sense that those with a deep link to their African roots aligned with the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the ANC in the 1980s, while the majority of people in Woodlands appeared to align with the government-created Labour Party.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ See Kendrick Brown, "Coloured and Black Relations in South Africa: The Burden of Racial Hierarchy," *Macalester International*, 9 (2000), 198-207, 199.

³¹⁸ Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town*, 12.

³¹⁹ The Labour Party was a South African political party founded in 1969 and led for many years by Allan Hendrickse. Although it openly opposed apartheid, it partook in the Colored Persons Representative Council. Also, it was against the ANC Military wing Umkhonto Wesizwe and the call for International sanctions against South Africa. The party held a number of seat in the House of Representatives between 1984 and 1989. The National Party opened its doors to non-white under F.W De Klerk as a result several Labour Party members crossed floor to join the Nationalist. This prompted Hendrickse decided to disband the party in 1994 citing it has fulfilled its use. He then joined the ANC.

In the post-apartheid period, the former White minority National Party (NP) put up a Coloured candidate in Woodlands, and most Coloured people voted for the Nationalists.

Interviewees saw this as an indication of how deep-seated the psychology of Apartheid was on Coloured people because they still could not see themselves as Blacks and remained suspicious of African majority rule. This remains the trend to the present with many Coloureds, particularly the "top end", continuing to vote for the Democratic Alliance (DA), which evolved in part from the NP and is seen by most Blacks as being controlled by Whites and to be wanting to perpetuate White dominance, while the poor people, who are also seen to be darker skinned, tend to vote for the ANC. Coloured identity has never been stable or fixed and continues to be represented by a whole spectrum of politics of colour and characteristics.

According to most interviewees, the ANC is seen in the community to a lesser extent as an ethnic organisation in the Inkatha Freedom Party mould, where Zulus constitute the party base in the Coloured Community. Shaw states that:

In the Coloured Community, there is a generalised fear of the Black majority, not only amongst suburbanites but township dwellers as well. They are regarding themselves as a community under threat from the "black ANC." Coloured Voting for NP was an indication to its opposition of ANC and rejection to black dominance.³²⁰

During Apartheid, Coloureds and Indians were ranked above Africans in the racial hierarchy and had access to marginally better education, healthcare, housing and employment opportunities in Natal and Western Cape.³²¹ The fear of losing such status was also a factor in swaying the Coloured Vote to the NP from ANC. According to Michael Stellenberg:

Coloureds understand themselves as alienated from the "New Nation." They have a perspective that the ANC is a party for the dominant "race" in South Africa. Corruption is not helping things. You look at West Street in Town, it's so filthy and it like you are in another country with several foreigners.³²²

³²⁰ Wayne Shaw, "Forced Removals."

³²¹ Grant Farred. "Where does the rainbow nation end? Colouredness and citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa." *CR: The New Centennial Review* 1, no. 1 (2001): 175-199.

³²² Michael Stellenberg, "Forced Removals of Coloured Community in Pietermaritzburg," conducted by Qhelani Msweli, 7 September 2019.

However, specific middle-class segments of the Coloured community that called itself "progressive" found a home in ANC as a party they saw as best able to guarantee their safety and protect their investments. Grantham states that:

Some Coloureds distanced themselves from the rhetoric of the National Party and later NNP. They found a home in the ANC as an institution that seeks to address a discourse tainted by the racial history of the NP. Furthermore, ANC policy as long as it is not driven by the ethnic or racial identities was a pulling factor to this section of the community.³²³

³²³ Francis Grantham, "Forced Removals."

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This thesis has examined how the Group Areas Act of 1950 shaped the racial geography of Pietermaritzburg; the impact of the Act on Black residents in particular (mainly Coloureds in this study) who were forcibly relocated from the city centre, and the making and perhaps sometimes remaking of Coloured identities through the removals to Woodlands.

The forced removals resulting from Group Areas were only implemented systematically in the 1960s in Pietermaritzburg once the hearings had been completed and residential areas set aside. The process implied the inclusion of some people in an area and the exclusion of others. This strengthened racial distancing and prejudice as it “othered” groups of people, with Whites, elevated to the top of the racial hierarchy and helped to maintain the status quo of white supremacy.³²⁴ Whites were not affected in any significant way by Group Areas, unlike their Black counterparts, who had to endure the loss of property, land, and business and had to bear the human cost of relocation.

Despite the efforts of different organizations, such as the NIC and Black Sash, to fight against forced removals, they failed to halt the process. There was a mass march in 1961, and a petition with over 22 000 signatures was submitted, but to no avail. Most of the forced relocations in Pietermaritzburg were of Coloureds and Indians, as Africans were already prohibited from living in urban areas and confined to townships. Coloureds were removed from places like Pentrich, Church Street, and Greyling Street to the newly established township of Woodlands.

The relocation of Coloureds caused much trauma as people were separated from neighbours, family and friends. Furthermore, the long patterns of life were destroyed, from playing sports to attending schools to going to church and cinemas they had patronised for years, as these were now all classified for whites or people of other race groups. Francis Grantham also relayed that the move “was very traumatic for me. Being moved from the place you understood, a place you grew up in, to a place that was alien to you. Moving into a Coloured community was very difficult. We lived in a big house on the farm. Our property was huge.”³²⁵ There were others,

³²⁴Merrett, “Identity and the geography of physical recreation,” 2109.

³²⁵ Grantham, ““Group Areas Act in PMB,”

of course, who differed and related that relocation improved their circumstances and conditions.

Race played a crucial role in shaping Pietermaritzburg society. This included the provision of houses, schools, hospitals, and sporting facilities, all established on racial grounds. Coloured and Indian Communities were treated as second-class citizens, Whites were first-class citizens, and Africans were arguably the worst treated. Africans had to walk long distances to clinics. Even today, they are still walking long distances and are serviced by one hospital, Edendale. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development neglected the responsibility of building houses for the African community.³²⁶

In Woodlands, Coloureds built their own houses and later, the City Council provided homes through the housing schemes. Transport was a significant factor for a long time as people had to walk to the city, church, and schools. It was only in 1980 that taxis, or kombis as they are known, came into operation.³²⁷ In terms of health facilities, the Woodlands community relied on sharing the newly built Northdale Hospital in 1974, though nurses across racial lines treated patients.³²⁸ The Coloured community had two primary schools and a high school that had poor facilities, lacked sporting equipment and facilities, inadequate books and scientific equipment and were inferior to 'White Schools'.

Whites enjoyed considerably better housing, jobs, and community facilities in their private white suburbs, mainly to the northwest of the city centre in Clarendon, Athlone, and Montrose. Lower socio-economic status white suburbs enjoyed state-subsidised housing in Grange and Napierville for protected railway jobs.³²⁹

Indians, too, were affected as mass relocation forced them to leave extended family units for the nuclear family; ironically, this, too, was often congested as the homes were tiny and short in supply. Some were forced to live in garages and outbuildings, resulting in social, physical, and emotional problems, including family disputes.³³⁰ Facilities were provided gradually. The

³²⁶ Merrett, "Identity and the geography of physical recreation," 31.

³²⁷ NAB TC225/215 Access to Woodlands.

³²⁸ Dyer, "Health in Pietermaritzburg (1838-2008)," 212.

³²⁹ Christopher Merrett, "Sport, Space and Segregation", 219-220.

³³⁰ Sultan Khan, "Changing Family Forms, Patterns and Emerging Challenges within the South African Indian Diaspora," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2012): 140.

Northdale stadium, for example, consisted of a football and cricket field and was handed over to the Northdale Sports Association (NSA) in 1964. It may be argued that Indians and Coloureds, on the whole, enjoyed relatively better conditions than Africans in terms of the roads, housing and facilities in the new Indian townships.

Another important thing I have learnt is that Group Areas Act cemented and exacerbated race and class differences in an unequal society. This was done to uplift whites whilst discriminating against Indians, Africans and Coloureds, who were excluded from full economic, political and social participation. Under Apartheid, it can be argued that Africans suffered the most as they were moved into places like Sobantu and Imbali, which lacked infrastructure. Coloured and Indian communities were treated as second-class citizens as much as they faced challenges, but they were located closer to the city and, thus, its resources. Further, they were offered semi-skilled and unskilled work as builders, masons, carpenters, and painters.

This thesis also investigated in greater detail the memories of those who were forcibly relocated, with particular reference to the township of Woodlands.

The Importance of this Research to me as an Author

The most intriguing aspect of the study for me concerned identity formation. Growing up, we took categories like “White”, “African”, “Indian”, and “Coloured” for granted. I learnt quickly that the identity “Coloured” has no stable basis. There is nothing essential or fixed about it.

Those categorised as Coloureds were divided internally by religion, class, colour, language, and origins, which mattered to in-group relations, but state categorisation and restrictions meant that to most people outside the group, they were a monolith defined as “Coloured.” It was assumed that they constituted a group regarding values, beliefs, and behaviour. The Coloured community in Cape Town originated from the intermarriage of Khoi-San and Dutchsailors in the seventeenth century. They also descended from Dutch settlers and the enslaved people who had arrived in the eighteenth century from East and South Asia. This influenced their language, cuisine and religion. In Cape Town and Kimberly, most Coloured communities are Afrikaans speakers and Muslims.³³¹

³³¹ Bloom, “The Coloured People of South Africa,” 140.

Those who came to be called “Coloureds” in Natal are products of the interaction between British settlers and local Zulus (another constructed category), to whom were added migrants from Mauritius and St. Helena. This community leaned more towards the White side as they adopted their language, religion and other ways of doing things. In Woodlands majority of the Coloureds are Christians, and they speak English. The point is that the category Coloured is not a natural, essential and fixed group that emerged through miscegenation but that it was a category that was created or invented by the Apartheid regime to exclude those who were of “mixed race” from claiming membership of the “white race”.

The forced removals and herding in a township eventually resulted in forging a sense of a Coloured Community with an identity formed under assimilation with the end goal of acceptance into white society. This was done to protect their status in a racial hierarchy, not to lose their privilege and be relegated to the level of Africans.³³² Thus, most Coloureds voted for the white Apartheid era National Party and not the ANC in 1994.

This is the case in Woodlands, as some Coloured members still complain about the presence of Africans in the township, especially the children in schools. In the post-Apartheid era, many in the Coloured community still lean more towards Whites ancestry, as Francis Grantham put it, evidenced by such things as families putting up family photos of the white side of their family whilst hiding those on the African side. Winnie Mandela, who was an important figure in the ANC, made matters worse in 1990s when she was quoted as saying that Coloured people were the result of white men raping black women.³³³

The final point I would like to raise is that in the post-Apartheid period, the example of Coloureds shows how identities are constantly being remade. The Khoisan, for example, no longer see themselves as part of the category “Coloured” and are demanding recognition as a distinct group in their own right, as the “First Nations” in the land. Thus we see people exercising agency in the way they define themselves. Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s South African Rainbow Nation remains elusive. Race continues to shape people’s everyday experiences, with Blacks claiming that Coloureds are anti-African and Coloureds claiming that they are discriminated against by race; that they were subjected to a second-class status under

³³² Adhikari, “Not White Enough, Not Black Enough,” Xii.

³³³ Adhikari, “Not White Enough, Not Black Enough,” 28.

apartheid and that they continue to experience a similar second-class position in the post-apartheid period.

Recommendations for further research

Notwithstanding this research, many gaps in our knowledge of the Coloured community follow from our findings. We would benefit from further research, including research on how and why another Coloured township called Eastwood was established. Eastwood was an extension of Woodlands, as more Coloureds were moved around the city. Some were relocated to Eastwood. In-depth research is needed to understand the dynamics and trauma of the newly established community of Eastwood and its relationship with the already existing Coloured community of Woodlands. Together with ongoing research on other “communities”, we would better understand Pietermaritzburg's race and class dynamics.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions

1. Where were you born?
2. How would you describe your childhood, in terms of the area in which you grew up (population make-up, schools, sports facilities, politics, etc)?
3. What do you remember in connection to Group Areas Act?
4. How did the community react when it learned that the government intended to relocate it, your own parents, for example?
5. Do you remember individuals who stood out in your community and why?
6. What impact did the move have on you and your family?
7. How did you experience the place to where you were moved (how was the choice of home made, who helped you to move, etc? (Woodlands).
8. Where did the name Woodlands come from? What did you feel about the name?
9. How did the move affect the quality of your life (physical state of the house, schools, sports fields, new friends, etc)?
10. How did the new community at Woodlands compare with the old one? What were the plusses and minuses?
11. What happened to the land where you were living after the inhabitants were removed to Woodlands? How did you feel about this?
12. How did the outside world react to the idea of removal?
13. What impact did removal have on your parents, grandparents, older community members?
14. What new institutions / organisations were formed in the area?
15. Did people engaged in political protests? Rites protests? What sort of activism were there?
16. What impact did the move have on the extended family?
17. How was religious life affected / remade in Woodlands?
18. Were there repercussions for things like transport / work?
19. How did Group Areas relocations affect “race relations”?