The 'Coloured Question' and the University of Pretoria: Separate Development,

Trusteeship and Self Reliance, 1933-2012

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB   Afrikaner Broederbond
ANC   African National Congress
HSRC   Human Sciences Research Council
GEAR   Growth, Employment and Redistribution
NP   National Party
PHP   People's Housing Process
PNP   Purified National Party
RDP   Reconstruction and Development Program
SABRA   South African Bureau of Racial Affairs
SANAC   South African Native Affairs Commission
SAP   South African Party
TUC   Transvaal University College
UP   University of Pretoria
UP   United Party
UWC   University of the Western Cape
ZAR   *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (South African Republic)

Chapter 1 – Overview of the Project, 1933-2012

Introduction

This dissertation is about a historically white university's engagement with what is called

the 'coloured question'. It explores how the University of Pretoria (UP) grappled with the

question of where 'coloureds' belonged politically, socially and economically in

apartheid South Africa – specifically through the disciplines of sociology and social

work. In doing so, this institution produced knowledge that would shape and inform this

racial category – not only through writing, teaching and curriculum development – but

also by appropriating the segregated township of Eersterust as a site of disciplinary

intervention, from the time of this coloured community's creation during apartheid in

1962, to the post-apartheid and neoliberal present. In the post-apartheid period, these

forms of knowledge have re-emerged through the university's recently established

mandate of community engagement, which was accompanied by a disciplinary shift away

from the social sciences, towards the material discipline of architecture.

The purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the various ways in which the

disciplinary reason of the university informed, shaped and converged with the

instrumental reason of the apartheid state to produce forms of racialized subjection,[1]

using the University of Pretoria's appropriation of Eersterust as a particular example. In

addition, the purpose is to problematize and historicize the persistence of apartheid's

racial categories – like the 'coloured' category – and forms of knowledge production in

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[1] These terms are taken from Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray's, *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, 18-19. Instrumental reason: "reason directed to the accomplishment of a certain end." Disciplinary reason: "reason that produces a useful effect, controlling a population or administering life."

post-apartheid universities. This project's purpose not only ties in with widespread calls to decolonize the university made through recent student protests in South Africa, but asks how we might begin to envision a university 'after' apartheid, by calling attention to a form of subjection that lies at the heart of apartheid's racial premises: that of the 'coloured' subject and its instrumentalization in the practices of university disciplines.

Background and Research Questions/Arguments

The term 'coloured' is widely used in southern Africa to refer to people of mixed-race and/or those who have been mixed over a number of generations. In South Africa, the term first emerged among the descendants of slaves in late 19th century Cape Town as a form of self-identification, but took hold in the official discourse of the colony and the colonial state as a racial category used to describe those who were neither 'European' (white) nor 'native' (black African).[2] Although coloureds were often seen by English-speaking Cape liberals during colonialism as an appendage to white society – premised on notions of 'civilization'[3] – the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the early 20th century was accompanied by the state's inability to develop a coherent policy on the political and social status of those identified as coloured.[4] With the victory of the Afrikaner National Party in the 1948 general election came the policy of apartheid, under which coloureds would be removed as an appendage to white society, and would be made into their own, separate 'community', premised on their 'racial difference' from whites.[5] This

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[2] Mohamed Adhikari, "Introduction – Predicaments of marginality: cultural creativity and political adaptation in southern Africa's coloured communities," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa,* ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), xi.

[3] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A history of South African 'Coloured' politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 8.

[4] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 174-175.

[5] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 245.

dissertation examines the University of Pretoria's complicity with and participation in the apartheid state's making of this form of racialized subjection by attempting to address what can be called the 'coloured question.'

Central to the arguments of this dissertation is that, during apartheid, the University of Pretoria appropriated the local coloured township of Eersterust after its establishment in 1962.[6] Using this neighbourhood as a site of sociological research and social work intervention, UP, through these disciplines, created knowledge that informed and strongly resembled the state's racial discourses – developed through instruments like public commissions of inquiry, which in turn, often drew on the expertise of academics and intellectuals, several of whom came from UP. In addition, this dissertation argues that UP's appropriation of Eersterust not only continues into the post-apartheid present, but that this appropriation is premised on the racialized knowledge this institution produced during apartheid. Old forms of knowledge have converged with the neoliberal restructuring of the state and the university, through which apartheid notions of trusteeship, and 'self-reliance' and 'community' in particular, have re-emerged as part of the vocabulary of neoliberalism. At the University of Pretoria, this has resulted in the shift away from the social sciences as the form of disciplinary intervention into Eersterust, towards the material discipline of architecture – under this department's mandate of community engagement. As will be argued in Chapter 6, community engagement forms part of the discipline's overall shift towards 'participation' post-1976,

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[6] Community Centre. Eersterust Township. TAB, Vol. 3/4/1652, File, 125/11.

in keeping with the broader global move towards neoliberalism – demonstrated in South Africa through shift the towards the material domain of housing and infrastructure.

Sociology and social work's intervention into the coloured question can be located both temporally and conceptually between two political 'problems' faced by the modern South African state at the beginning of the 20th century: the 'poor white' problem and the 'native question.' Poverty among rural and urban whites had existed in the Cape Colony since at least the 18th century, with the term 'poor white' used for the first time in the early 1880s.[7] By the beginning of the 20th century however, white poverty – produced in part by the discovery of gold and accompanying socio-economic transformations in the region of the Transvaal – had been constructed by church and state as a social problem.[8] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the South African state, more particularly the Pact government (1924-1933), introduced a number of measures to alleviate white poverty, such as labor protection and job creation on the railroads, for instance.[9] The poor white problem was entangled with the native question, and as this dissertation will demonstrate, the coloured question sits uneasily beside them for a number of reasons: long-term white economic prosperity was not only dependent upon 'uplifting' and 'remediating' poor whites, but also on the state's ability to devise a set of strategies that would effectively organize black African ('native') labor into the appropriate sectors of the economy. As Adam Ashforth has argued, the native question was the "intellectual domain where the

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[7] Herman Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 317.
[8] Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White working class families in Johannesburg* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 133.
[9] Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, eds., *South Africa: A Modern History* 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 301.

knowledge, strategies, policies, and justifications necessary to the maintenance of domination were fashioned."[10]

The institutional and disciplinary means of addressing the coloured question and the poor white problem would come through the emergence of social work and sociology at two Afrikaans universities: the University of Stellenbosch and the University of Pretoria. As the first two universities in South Africa to offer social work training – out of which sociology would develop as a separate discipline in the 1940s – Stellenbosch and Pretoria's initial focus on remediating the poor white problem would by the early 1940s, shift increasingly towards the coloured question. This shift resembled the state's discursive move away from the poor white problem – which through various forms of intervention was in retreat by the early 1940s[11] – towards the increasing urgency of the native question, more particularly, the state's own inability to redirect black African labor from cities, to the mines and white commercial farms.[12]

At the University of Pretoria, the department of social work and sociology was founded in 1928 through the work of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie* (SAVF) or the South African Women's Federation – an Afrikaans women's organization established in 1904 to alleviate the plight of rural Afrikaners in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war.[13] The University of Stellenbosch established its joint department of social work and

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[10] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, 1990), 1.

[11] Tina Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity: The Forging of a National Sociological Tradition in South Africa," in *The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions,* ed. Sujata Patel (London: SAGE, 2010), 237.

[12] Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 23.

[13] C. M. Bothma, *SAVF Eeufees Gedenkboek, 1904-2004* (SAVF Centenary Volume) (Kilnerpark: Bent Uitgewers, 2004), 6-7; 129.

sociology in 1932, under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd,[14] while Geoffrey Cronjé

became the head of the University of Pretoria's joint department in 1937. Not only were

these the first universities in South Africa to offer social work training, but both

Verwoerd and Cronjé were heavily involved in the formation of the state's department of

social welfare in 1937.[15] Until the 1960s, social work and sociology at these universities

continued to be housed under the same departments, although the differentiation between

the two disciplines – with social work as the practical application of sociology – began to

emerge towards the early 1940s.[16]

As the state's political discourse shifted away from the poor white problem

towards the native question, white political parties increasingly campaigned around the

need for stricter urban segregation as a deterrent to 'miscegenation' in multiracial inner

cities.[17] Since coloureds – constructed as the 'mixed race' population – were seen as the

result of the miscegenation that white political parties, Afrikaner nationalists in

particular, sought to prevent, the question of resolving coloureds' social and political

status became more urgent.[18] It was primarily through the 'threat' of miscegenation that

the University of Pretoria began to engage with the coloured question, demonstrated

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[14] R. Sooryamoorthy, *Sociology in South Africa: Colonial, Apartheid and Democratic Forms* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 16.

[15] J.E. Pieterse, "Die ontwikkeling van maatskaplike sorg en maatskaplike werk in Suid-Afrikam met besondere verywysing na die bydrae van G. Cronjé" (The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa with particular reference to the contributions of G. Cronjé), in *Mens en gemeenskap: Huldigingsbundel vir prof. dr. G. Cronjé*, (Humanity and Community: A Tribute to prof. dr. G. Cronjé) (Pretoria: Academica, 1969), 13.

[16] Sooryamoorthy, *Sociology in South Africa*, 16.

[17] Thriven Reddy, "The politics of naming: The constitution of coloured subjects in South Africa," in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape* Town (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 72.

[18] The state's engagement with the 'coloured question' is reflected in the convening of Wilcocks Commission (1937) – the first commission of inquiry into coloureds in the 20th century. This move converged with a historiographical focus on the coloured question in J.S. Marais' comprehensive history, *The Cape Coloured People 1652-1937* (1939).

through curriculum changes in sociology course offerings. By 1941, the joint department of social work and sociology had introduced a course on the racial composition of South African society, with a particular focus on *rassevermenging* (miscegenation).[19] In addition, Cronjé's work at the University of Pretoria, demonstrated in the texts *'n Tuite vir die Nageslag* (1945) and *Voogdyskap en Apartheid* (1948) earned him the reputation of a *'rassesosioloog'* – a race sociologist[20] – not only because he provided an intellectual roadmap to resolving the 'native question,' but also because he was particularly preoccupied with coloureds, whom he viewed as the disastrous result of miscegenation.[21]

By the 1950s, the newly established apartheid state attempted to address the coloured question by passing legislation aimed at barring the kinds of physical and social transgressions that it saw as the foundation of their very existence: intermarriage and interracial sex. In order to prevent any 'further' miscegenation, the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1949) were passed, making sex and marriage between 'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans' illegal. These two forms of legislation were supported by the Population Registration Act (1950), which stated that:

> Every person whose name is included in the register shall be classified by the Director as a white person, a coloured person or a native, as the case may be, and every coloured person and every native whose name is included shall be classified by the Director according to the ethnic group to which he belongs.[22]

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[19] University of Pretoria. Yearbook: 1941, 182.

[20] N.J. Rhoodie, "G. Cronjé se beskouing van die Suid-Afrikaanse Blank-Bantoe-problematiek, soos weerspieël in sy onmiddellik na-oorlogse geskrifte" *in Mens en gemeenskap: Huldigingsbundel vir prof. dr. G. Cronjé* (Pretoria: Academica), 41. ("Cronjé's evaluation of the South African White-Bantu problem, reflected in his immediate post-war texts" in *Humanity and Community: A Tribute to prof. dr. G. Cronjé*)

[21] Herman Giliomee, "Geoffrey Cronjé," in *Dictionary of African Biography*, ed. Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 134.

[22] Population Registration Act no. 30 of 1950, 279.

In addition to diminishing the possibility for coloureds to be assimilated into white society by legally prohibiting interracial marriage and sex, the Population Registration Act provided for their official designation as a 'separate' group by fixing into law the racial category of the 'coloured.' Accompanied by the Group Areas Act (1950), which provided for the creation of segregated black[23] urban townships – carried out by large-scale forced removals – these four pieces of legislation laid the foundation for resolving the coloured question.

In Cronjé's work as well as in the official discourse of the apartheid state, most clearly demonstrated in this dissertation through the speeches of Hendrik Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs and subsequently Prime Minister of South Africa), the path through which the coloured question could be resolved – beyond the merely legistlative – was through the cultivation of 'self-reliance' (in Afrikaans "*self-beskikking*"). This concept implied the development of economic and social self-sufficiency, in which coloureds could live separately from white society, securing both the material and social means to address their social problems and social welfare needs. The cultivation of self-reliance was intertwined with trusteeship, in which the 'white' guardian – in the form of the state and its institutions – would provide 'separate' forms of political representation for coloureds as well as separate institutions, allowing them to develop their own leaders.[24] In addition to the creation of a separate state Department of Coloured Affairs

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[23] Throughout this dissertation, the term 'black' will refer to all non-white South Africans: black Africans, coloureds and Indians. Please refer to the 'Notes on Terms' section at the end of this chapter.
[24] Referenced from two of Verwoerd's speeches: "The South Africa Government's Policy of Apartheid" December 5, 1950; and "Address to the Union Council for Matters Concerning Coloureds," December 12, 1961 in *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches, 1948-1966*, ed. A.N. Pelzer (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 23-29; 647-648.

(1958), which included a separate department of social welfare for coloureds,[25] the state also established the University of the Western Cape (1959) as the designated 'coloured' university.[26] Although both trusteeship and self-reliance had existed as part of the segregationist state's official discourse towards blacks in general – and self-reliance more particularly towards black Africans by pointing to the rural reserves as the territories through which their social welfare needs should be met – it was under apartheid that they came to exist as concepts operationalised through racialized forms of community.

The disciplinary reason of sociology at the University of Pretoria – through its engagement with the 'coloured question' by the end of the 1940s – converged with the state's instrumental reason to produce the coloured subject once Eersterust had been created as a segregated coloured township in 1962.[27] Having been shaped under the leadership of the *rassesosioloog* Geoffrey Cronjé, whose primary concern with coloureds provided an intellectual basis for their development as a 'separate' group, the UP sociology and social work department appropriated Eersterust as a site of research and social intervention. From 1966, several sociological studies, using research methods such as fieldwork and both qualitative and quantitative analysis, were conducted by Masters students. One study in particular focused on 'measuring' the residents of Eersterust's attitudes towards the designation of coloureds as their 'own' group – alluding to the

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[25] Brian W. McKendrick. "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," in *Introduction to social work in South* Africa (Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987), 15-16.
[26] Premesh Lalu, "Campus: A discourse on the grounds of an apartheid university," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, ed. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 39.
[27] Community Centre. Eersterust Township. TAB, Vol. 3/4/1652, File, 125/11.

responsibility that institutions like the University of Pretoria had to 'guide' coloureds towards self-reliance in their own ethnically bounded communities.[28]

These localized forms of knowledge produced around the coloured question were consistent with trends in sociological research at the Stellenbosch-based South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), which was established in 1949 to give apartheid an intellectual basis[29] and to counter the English language and liberal South African Institute of Race Relations.[30] Within SABRA were Afrikaans sociologists, among them S.P. Cilliers and Erika Theron, who formed part of government commissions of inquiry, such as the Theron Commission on the 'coloured population' in 1976. These sociologists also compiled reports on coloureds, focused primarily on the population in the Western Cape. In 1955 and 1964 respectively, SABRA produced publications that were primarily concerned with the ability of and opportunity for coloureds to develop as their own group. These publications also identified social problems that were cited as either the cause or the effect of coloureds' supposed inability to form 'community' cohesion.[31]

That sociology became the primary discipline through which the self-reliant coloured subject was fashioned does not suggest that the knowledge produced through

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[28] Henry B. Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust se siening van hul huidige en toekomstige posisie in die breë Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolkingstruktuur," (The Coloureds of Eersterust and their perception of their current and future position in the South Africa's racial structure), (MA diss. University of Pretoria, 1971), 120; 139.

[29] Hermann Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," *in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect*, ed. Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick, and David Welsh. (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1987), 366.

[30] Heribert Adam, "The vocation of a sociologist in South Africa" in John Rex (ed.) *Apartheid and Social Research* (Paris: Unesco, 1981), 119-120.

[31] Erika Theron. *Referate: Die Kleurling in die Suid-Afrikaanse Samelewing.* (The Coloured in South African Society) (Pretoria: SABRA, 1955); Erika Theron, ed. *Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid-Afrika* (The coloured population of South Africa) (Stellenbosch: SABRA), 1964; P.J. Coertze, *Die etniese posisie van die kleurlinge* (The ethnic position of the coloureds) (Pretoria: SABRA, 1975).

this discipline was always coherent or always in alignment with the state's own attempt to address the 'coloured' question. In the first instance, the discipline of sociology at the liberal English-language universities, emerging later than at UP and Stellenbosch, was concerned with the question of native urban 'welfare' rather than with the 'coloured question.'[32] Secondly, disputes amongst sociologists within SABRA often centered around conflicting approaches to resolving the political position of coloureds in South Africa.[33] For instance, Stellenbosch-based sociologist S.P. Cilliers was purged from SABRA by Verwoerd in 1961 for criticizing the apartheid state's position on coloureds.[34] Thus, although there was a degree of complicity with and active participation in apartheid from within SABRA and at Stellenbosch more generally, there were also instances of resistance. At the University of Pretoria, however, we can observe – as this dissertation will show – a far more consistent engagement with and an upholding of the state's racialized conception of coloured community.

Between 1966 and 1978, the University of Pretoria's intervention into Eersterust had taken place primarily through the discipline of sociology. Sociology at UP had, since its establishment, been grounded in social work, although separate degree programs with different course offerings had been introduced by 1941.[35] In 1950, however, social work was renamed from *'maatskaplike werk'* (social work) to *'toegepaste sosiologie'* (applied sociology), suggesting that social work was meant to function as the practical component

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[32] Deborah Posel, "The Case for a Welfare State: Poverty and the Politics of the Urban African Family in the 1930s and 1940s," in *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities,* ed. Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves (Cape Town: Juta, 2005), 70.
[33] John Lazar, "Conformity and Conflict: Afrikaner Nationalist Politics in South Africa," 1948-1961 (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1987), 199-201.
[34] Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity," 241.
[35] University of Pretoria. Yearbook: 1941, 170.

of the knowledge produced in sociology. It was only in 1974, with the establishment of

social work as a separate department, that a clear differentiation between these two

disciplines at UP emerged.[36] This differentiation was later accompanied by a shift from

actual sociological intervention in Eersterust after 1978, towards using this community as

a site in which social work students could complete their practical work in the 1980s.

During this time, the methods of social work practice in South Africa – previously hinged

on individual case work and group work – shifted increasingly towards community work,

which students used as their form of intervention.[37] This shift towards community work

can be tracked through broader developments in the structure of social welfare in

apartheid South Africa, which after 1976 became increasingly privatized and dependent

upon 'the community' to provide their 'own' forms of social welfare.[38]

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, legislation used to enforce separate

development created racialized conceptions of 'community.' By not only establishing

separate geographically-bounded areas for each racial and/or ethnic group and separate

institutions to administer them, these forms of legislation also provided for separate

departments of social welfare, in which each racial group could provide for the needs of

its own 'community.' Sending UP students to an urban township, created on the premises

that coloureds must be made to constitute their 'own' group, and suggesting community

work as the prescribed methodology, demonstrates social work's upholding of and

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[36] F.J. du Toit Spies and D.H. Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982: 'n Geskiedenis van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1987), 56.

[37] J.H. Schoeman, "Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk op akademiese en praktiese vlak," (The establishment of community work on an academic and practical level) in Van Staden, Hugo, van Rooyen en van Delft (eds). *Maatskaplike Werk Oor Sestig Jaar* (Social work over sixty years), 90.

[38] Leila Patel, *Social Welfare and Social Development in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75; 77.

participation in the state's attempt to resolve the 'coloured question.' Since community work at the University of Pretoria was premised on guiding the "less developed communities" towards their 'own' level of development,[39] social work intervention in Eersterust relied on the concepts of trusteeship and self-reliance to forge coloured 'community.'

UP's move towards community work as a form of social work practice, as well as the privatization of the already racially-fractured social welfare system came in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto Uprising – a series of protests first led by school children on June 16 in the township of Soweto, in response to the apartheid government's imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools. The move towards the privatization of social welfare services came as part of a series of neoliberal reforms introduced by the apartheid state to address both security concerns and economic crisis. Most reforms during this time centered around interventions into infrastructure and housing, particularly through initiatives from the private sector, such as the Urban Foundation, which introduced a number of self-help housing schemes in South African towards the 1980s.[40] Through the introduction of neoliberal reforms, I will argue, notions of community and self-reliance – previously reliant on the disciplines of sociology and social work – shifted to the _material_ discipline of architecture through which _material_ interventions into housing and infrastructure could be made. These changes within the state's own disciplinary apparatus intersected with how reforms would emerge in the

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[39] Schoeman, "Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk," 89.
[40] Anita von Schnitzler, _Democracy's Infrastructure: Techno-Politics and Protest After Apartheid_ (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 49.

architecture department in the post-apartheid period and which enabled this discipline to serve as the new (and more appropriate form) of intervention into Eersterust.

Soon after its establishment in 1943, the University of Pretoria's architecture department had made itself deeply complicit with the ruling orders of the state by designing its infrastructure. For example, graduates from this architecture department designed buildings like the Population Registration Building (1954), crafted to perform the function of racial classification, as well as the Volkskas Bank building (1978)[41] in Pretoria – a powerful symbol of Afrikaner capital.[42] The lucrative commissions that UP graduates received can be attributed to the fact that the University of Pretoria's was one of the first and foremost Afrikaans architecture departments in South Africa. By 1966 it had produced close to 250 architects and, as this dissertation will show, had had a serious hand in shaping South Africa's urban landscape and the way it materially reflected the racial order and its hierarchies and separation.[43]

By the early 1990s, as the collapse of apartheid was imminent, the discipline of architecture globally had been incorporated into the field of development, specifically to address massive housing crises in the developing world. Since at least the 1970s, 'community architects' in Europe and the United Kingdom, such as John Habraken, John Turner and Rod Hackney, had developed what can be called the 'participation in architecture' movement, which was presented as a radical alternative to the failures of

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[41] Translates into "bank of the nation" – the Afrikaner nation.
[42] Melinda Silverman, "Ons bou vir die Bank (we build for the bank): Nationalism, Architecture and Volkskas Bank" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 129.
[43] "Professor of Architecture to Retire, But Not to Rest," *Pretoria News,* November 24, 1966.

state-produced social/public housing.[44] Championing the notion that the working poor

should direct the housing process themselves, rather than be on the receiving end of

poorly designed and inferior housing, these architects drew on notions in the social

sciences and pedagogical approaches prevalent in 'development' discourse at the time.[45]

This form of alternative practice was taken up by international development agencies in

the 1980s and presented to the government of 'developing countries' – South Africa

among them – as a more effective and efficient method to housing provision.[46]

When the democratic South African state was created in 1994, the new ruling

party, the African National Congress (ANC) had initially planned to implement the

Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) but abandoned this strategy in 1995. In

1996, it implemented the Growth, Employment and Redistribution or GEAR strategy,

which emphasized public-private partnerships and favored the private sector while

shifting part of the responsibility for the provision of services onto the public. With the

shift towards GEAR came the re-emergence of the concepts of 'self-reliance' and

'community': the capacity of people and 'communities' to operate self-reliantly in

partnership with private organizations, and in part, with the state.[47] The movement

towards GEAR can be identified through the initial articulation of 'community

participation' in the 1994 White Paper,[48] but more explicitly through its revision with the

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[44] Nabeel Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses: Participation, Flexibility, Enablement* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991), 20.

[45] Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses,* 24.

[46] Kate Tissington, Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). *A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010*. Legislation, Policy, Programmes and Practice, 2011, 63.

[47] Iain Low. "Building and self-reliance" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 331-333.

[48] A White Paper is a discussion document, which is a broad statement of government policy. It is drafted by the relevant department, or a task team designated by the Minister of that department. Relevant parliamentary Committees may propose amendments or other proposals and send the policy paper back to the Ministry for further discussion and final decisions.

introduction of state housing policy in 1998, known as the People's Housing Process

(PHP).[49]

The post-apartheid state's alignment with neoliberal reforms already introduced

post-1976 – demonstrated through the move away from RDP towards GEAR and

articulated through the material domain of housing and infrastructure – coincided with

the transformations that the University of Pretoria's architecture department introduced in

the 1990s. These 'transformations' in the department and at UP as a whole, were attempts

to distance the institution from its complicity with apartheid and its convergence with

apartheid's production of racialized knowledge – supplied and upheld in part, by the

university itself. Not only did the architecture department make curriculum changes by

introducing courses on housing, but it also hired faculty[50] who would initiate the

movement towards 'community architecture'[51] and 'participation' through the

institutional mandate of 'community engagement.'[52] The result and consequences of

these changes can be observed in the material intervention into Eersterust in 2011, where

UP architecture students 're-envisioned' the design of a public housing building in a way

that would cultivate 'resilience' and 'self-reliance.'[53] Drawing on previous knowledge of

Eersterust – and coloureds in general – as a bounded 'community' with particular

racialized characteristics, this dissertation will show that these students, through the

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[49] Tissington. *A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa,* 63.
[50] Flip van der Watt (ed), *Ad Destinatum IV1993-2000: Historical Developments and Events at the University of Pretoria* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2002), 194.
[51] Amira Osman & Catherine Lemmer, "Architecture and Housing: Changing Perceptions in the New South Africa. The Case of Pretoria University," World Congress on Housing, September 9-13, 2002, Coimbra, Portugal.
[52] Tied to the South African Department of Education's initiative to increase the relevance of universities in which these institutions "promote and develop social responsibility and awareness amongst students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes." (Education White Paper 3, 1997).
[53] Interview with Carin Combrinck, June 11, 2014.

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discipline of architecture, drew on apartheid tropes of 'community' and 'self-reliance,' now articulated through the vocabulary of neoliberalism. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Constructing/Deconstructing the 'Coloured' Subject

The origin of the term 'coloured' can be located temporally between 1875 and 1910, when new forms of social and political identities among freed slaves and their descendants began to emerge in Cape Town.[54] The presence of black Africans, categorized as 'Kafirs' or 'Natives' by whites, increased rapidly in Cape Town at the time as a consequence of the wars of conquest and the systematic destruction of the Xhosa kingdoms on the eastern frontier of the colony during the 19th century, and it became clear that they were being subject to certain forms of discrimination, including residential segregation and prohibitory liquor laws. 'Coloured' emerged in response as an acceptable form of self-description for many slave descendants in Cape Town because it allowed them to distinguish themselves from 'natives' for pragmatic reasons, but also because such distinctions made sense at the time in terms of existing kinship, occupational and communal ties, as well as in relation to resources, labor and pass laws and a historical presence in the colony that predated the arrival of black Africans.[55]

Given the heterogeneity of the slave and free black population in colonial Cape Town, various sub-groups were formed based on social ties and religious affiliations. For instance, in the early 1800s, free blacks along with Afrikaners and the descendants of the

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[54] Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom: Social Position and Identity among ex-slaves and their descendants in Cape Town, 1875-1910," in *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony*, ed. Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais. (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 289.
[55] Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom," 309.

Khoisan who sought to free themselves from the constraints of the colony, formed a 'mixed' group and established themselves on the Cape's northern frontier, engaging in hunting, trading and herding.[56] They began to identify themselves as 'Griqua' – taking on name of an old Khoisan clan. In addition, Cape Muslims – referred to as 'Cape Malay' because of the Dutch East Indian origin of the first Muslims in the Cape – mobilized and identified around a set of religious, education and social institutions that began to emerge in Cape Town in the 1820s.[57] Despite the fact that these identities were constructed and claimed by its bearers who were initially responsible for articulating and determining its form and contents,[58] its emergence must be seen within the context of the Cape's colonial history, in which the practice of slavery and indentured labor points to the "early 17th/18th century use of phenotype and origin as markers for hierarchically structured difference."[59]

Although the above-mentioned process of social, economic, and political amalgamation dates back to the period of Dutch colonialism, it was in the decades after the emancipation of the Khoisan in 1828 and slaves in 1834 under British rule that 'coloured' first emerged as a descriptor, and subsequently, as a category.[60] The transformative impact of the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 in the southern African interior helped crystallize the identity in the late 19th century. The rapid

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[56] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 9.

[57] Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom," 299. Bickford-Smith writes that "(a)t some stage between emancipation and the Mineral Revolution whites had begun referring to Muslims, whatever their actual ancestral origins, as 'Malays.' In fact, Malay had become virtually a synonym for Muslim, in the mouths of whites, by the 1850s. In the 1870s, if not before, the term Malay was adopted by a number of people so categorized to describe themselves, at least in their dealings with whites" (298).

[58] Adhikari, "Introduction: Predicaments of marginality," ix.

[59] Cheryl Hendricks, "'Ominous' Liaisons: Tracing the Interface between 'Race' and Sex at the Cape," in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape* Town, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 30.

[60] Adhikari, "Introduction: Predicaments of marginality," x.

incorporation of significant numbers of black Africans into the bourgeoning capitalist

economy served as the catalyst for freed slaves and their descendants to assert a separate

identity and organize politically under the banner of colouredness. Locked into

intensifying competition with culturally, politically and historically distinct black

Africans for material resources, 'coloureds' asserted this separate identity in order to

claim a position of relative privilege on the basis that they were civilized and partly

descended from European colonists.[61] Variously referred to as 'half-castes', 'bastards',

'Cape Boys' and 'off-whites', 'Cape Coloured' and/or 'coloured' subsequently became

the standard designation for the descendants of slaves in the 1880s, taken to include sub-

groups such as 'Malays', 'Griquas' and 'Hottentots.'[62] By 1904, the census in the Cape

referred to three distinct racial categories: 'White', 'Bantu' and 'Coloured,'[63] cementing

the category in the official discourses of the colonial state. These new 'coloured'

identities were shaped by social and sporting organizations that emerged in the late

nineteenth century[64] along with overtly 'coloured' political organizations, such as the

African Political Organization (APO). The APO was established specifically – and

despite its name – to defend 'coloured' people's social, political and civil rights and was

based on the existence of networks and kinship ties of those already recognized as

'coloured' in colonial Cape society.[65]

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[61] Adhikari, "Introduction: Predicaments of marginality," xi.

[62] Adhikari, "Introduction: Predicaments of marginality," xi. 'Hottentot' is a colonial (and highly offensive) term which by the 19th century had been used to refer to the Khoisan people but also at times to coloureds in general. See Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey, *Historical Dictionary of South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 127.

[63] Ian Goldin, "The Reconstitution of Coloured Identity in the Western Cape" in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism Twentieth-century South Africa*, eds. Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (New York: Longman, 1987), 158.

[64] Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom," 308.

[65] Bickford-Smith, "Meanings of Freedom," 309.

In the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), as the modern South African state was being formed and Afrikaner/British political and cultural divisions were set aside to address the looming governance and economic question of what to do with African peoples and the increasing demands of rapid industrialization in the South African interior, the first commission of inquiry in the twentieth century, known as the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), was convened in 1903. The commission was set up to investigate all aspects of 'native' life in relation to the labor shortages facing the mining sector. In order to develop a coherent native policy through which labor shortages could be addressed, the commission first needed to find a suitable definition of 'native' – one that would serve as a classificatory device for the unionizing colonial state.[66] In the section subtitled 'Definition of Native' the SANAC report lamented the different definitions between colonies and within the same colony.[67] For instance, in the Boer Republics (the Transvaal and the Orange Frees State), 'coloureds' existed under the broader category of the 'native,' demonstrated by one definition in the statutes of the Transvaal, which stated, "(t)he word native shall apply to the males of all coloured people and coloured races in South Africa."[68]

Another definition was cast in the broadest possible terms and included women: "(t)he term 'coloured person' shall signify any African or Asiatic native or coloured Americans or St Helena person, Coolie or Chinamen, whether male or female."[69] The commission faced the difficult task of choosing a definition with a 'scientific basis.' It

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[66] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 33.
[67] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 69.
[68] Report of South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), 1903-1905 (Cape Town: Cape Times Printers, 1905), 12.
[69] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 70.

decided to accept all existing definitions in use but also proposed a new definition that was sufficiently broad enough. "A 'native,' it decided, "means an aboriginal inhabitant of Africa, South of the Equator, and to include half-castes and their descendants by Natives."[70] This definition adopted the position of the Afrikaner republics, like the Transvaal, rather than that of the Cape, which differentiated between 'coloured' and 'native.'[71] The commission admitted that this decision was arrived at hesitantly because, "(i)t is notorious that a great deal of racial mixture has taken place, and many of the so-called coloured people have, by their industry, intelligence and self-respect, raised themselves to a high standard."[72] Ultimately however, the commission decided that it was more important to create a common language in which the colonies that were to make up the new Union of South Africa could address each other on equal terms and with similar meanings concerning the place of 'natives' within the political economy.[73]

The SANAC report rested on the foundational assumption that there was a distinction between those categories of people that represented static, fixed and neatly bounded groups with a particular racial essence, and 'mixed' groups whose racial essence was the mixing of blood. 'Europeans', 'natives' and even 'Asiatics' could, under the rubric of the report, be considered to be 'pure' races, while 'coloureds' functioned as the residual category representing the mixing of races.[74] What this suggests is that, while the

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[70] SANAC Report, 12.
[71] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 70.
[72] SANAC Report, 13.
[73] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 70.
[74] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 71.

report attempted to generalize the category of native for pragmatic reasons, it still referred to 'coloureds' as colonized subjects with special and unique features.[75]

By the 1930s, the political status of coloureds as 'colonized' subjects shifted towards the biological premises of their 'special' and 'unique' features. In 1937, the modern South African state convened its first commission of inquiry relating to coloureds in the 20th century. Known as the Wilcocks Commission, it described the category of coloured as:

> …the typical coloured may be defined as a person living in the Union of South Africa, who does not belong to one of its aboriginal races, but in whom the presence of Coloured blood (especially due to descent from non-Europeans brought to the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries or from aboriginal Hottentot stock, and with or without an admixture of white or Bantu blood) can be established with at least reasonable certainty, (a) from a knowledge of the genealogy of the person during the last three or four generations; or/and (b) ordinary direct recognition of characteristic physical features (such as colour of skin, nature of hair, and facial or bodily form), by an observer familiar with these characteristics.[76]

The preoccupation with 'blood', 'admixture' and more particularly, 'physical features' – clearly articulated here in this 1937 document – was to support apartheid's classification system, which was reliant on race as an inherently biological category. However, the criteria used to determine racial 'characteristics' during apartheid began to shift from the space of the biological to the social and the political as a combination of physical appearance, descent – articulated in the Wilcocks Commission as "from a knowledge of the genealogy of the person during the last three or four generations" – and 'general

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[75] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 69.
[76] Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937), 10.

community acceptance' became important to identifying what constituted the coloured subject.[77]

According to the Population Registration Act (1950), "(a) coloured person means a person who is not a white person or a native. A native means a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe in Africa. And a white person means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is <u>generally accepted</u> as a coloured person (Statutes, 277)."[78] By 1959, the state introduced a series of amendments aimed at tightening the loopholes to prevent appeals for reclassification. In so doing, at this time, the coloured category was further subdivided into 'Cape Coloured' 'Cape Malay' 'Griqua', 'Indian', 'Chinese', 'other Asiatic' or 'Other Coloured', to make the broader category more encompassing. In addition, a 1962 amendment placed 'acceptance by the affected community' on equal footing with 'physical appearance'.[79] By placing 'acceptance by the affected community' on equal footing with 'biological' proof – in the form of physical appearance – the category of coloured was no longer solely dependent on its biological premises, but on its constitution as a social and political category. This dissertation suggests that the movement from the 'biological' to the 'social' was made not only through the state's discursive shifts but also through the university and more particularly, its social disciplines. In the post-apartheid period, as this dissertation will demonstrate, the category moves from the social and the political, to the material.

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[77] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 75.
[78] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 74.
[79] Reddy, "The politics of naming," 75.

Historiography

This dissertation draws on and expands upon the existing historiography of the city of Pretoria and surrounding areas; the state and public institutions in South Africa; university disciplines and knowledge production; and the coloured question in South Africa.

This dissertation is geographically situated in Pretoria, which became the capital of the South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or ZAR) shortly after the city's establishment in 1855. When this former Boer republic was incorporated into the centralized South African state in 1910, this broader region became known as the Transvaal Province (but will be referred to in this dissertation as the Transvaal or ZAR). As a result of the enormous urban and economic growth associated with the mining industry of the Witwatersrand (commonly referred to as the Rand) and Johannesburg, and despite the emergence of Pretoria in the 20th century as the administrative capital of the colonial and apartheid state, the city has often been characterized as the rural backwater of Johannesburg – a narrative produced and sustained not only by the historiography on urbanization, but also on the South African state.[80] Pretoria is often only central to the historiography as the geographical area from which state power was exercised during the 20th century.[81] Thus, the broader literature that does address the history of Pretoria as a city in its own right, with a particular urban history, is largely limited.[82] In addition, this

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[80] Michelle Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923" (MA diss., University of South Africa, 1994), 1.
[81] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 7.
[82] Alan Mabin, "South African Capital Cities," in *Power and Powerlessness: Capital Cities in Africa*, eds. Simon Bekker and Göran Therborn (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), 182.

historiography is generally focused on the white population and Pretoria's administrative history.

One particular text that this project draws on substantially is Michelle Friedman's MA dissertation, *A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923* (1994). The purpose of Friedman's dissertation was to challenge the dominant view of Pretoria as a 'white' city by restoring the agency of black Africans and their role in shaping the city and its history in keeping with dominant social history paradigms and methodologies at the time.[83] For my project, Friedman's work is useful for positioning Pretoria both as a city with its own distinctive urban history, as well as a city that had a settled urban black population by as early as 1867 – two decades before the discovery of gold on the Rand.[84] Friedman also demonstrates that the settled nature of this black population shaped urban policy in ways that not only challenges the Johannesburg-centric narrative of urbanization in the Transvaal, but also the vast historiography on forced removals in South Africa. For instance, because blacks in Pretoria had no immediate ties to rural areas at the time of the city's establishment, the administration of Pretoria, from its inception, had to develop an urban policy that would bring blacks under their administrative control instead of relegating them to ethnically defined 'reserves' or 'homelands' (later 'Bantustans'). As such, removals of blacks from one urban (segregated) location to another in Pretoria was a fairly common practice, not only because of the expanding urban population in the first few decades of the twentieth century, but because these urban blacks could not be sent back to surrounding rural areas

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[83] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 1.
[84] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 7.

or reserves as the case may have been in other South African cities.[85] This provides a challenge to the narrative of segregation and apartheid, in which 'removals' are often explained as fixed concept of apartheid and segregationary policy. What Friedman presents is a more nuanced understanding of the challenges the presence of black Africans and coloureds posed for successive white regimes and urban policy in Pretoria.

The relationship between Pretoria's urban policy and the UP architecture department's intervention into Eersterust in 2011 places my project in conversation with two contemporary texts that reflect on the spatial legacy of colonialism and apartheid in the post-apartheid city: *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City* (2007) and *blank: Apartheid, architecture and after* (1999). In *Desire Lines*, Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall have brought together an edited volume that conceptualizes cities in South Africa as sites of memory and desire, as contested spaces of power and privilege, as well as identity and difference.[86] Contributions to this volume from architects, planners, historians and archaeologists working in African and Heritage Studies address heritage practices in community museums, tourism and other sites of memory projects in post-apartheid South Africa. My project responds to two questions that frame the contributions in the volume: how have the profound social and political transformations and the release of energies in South Africa post-1994 been written into its cities? How have popular projects of memory, identity and restitution been manifested in the making and unmaking of its urban spaces?[87] The social and

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[85] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 36.
[86] Noëleen Murray and Nick Shepherd, "Introduction: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City," in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 1.
[87] Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines,* 2.

political 'transformation' that this dissertation attempts to highlight after 1994 is essentially rooted in reforms that came in the wake of 1976 and have been written into cities through neoliberalism's convergence with both the material and discursive legacy of separate development. Thus, while these changes may appear as 'transformations,' they are reflective of a set of developments that revitalize both old challenges and converge with new ones. In the process, projects of 'memory, identity and restitution' have been made and unmade through 'transformative' architectural interventions premised on apartheid's categories. This dissertation attempts to expand upon these questions around social transformation, memory, identity by engaging with the disciplinary foundations through which these projects are undertaken and their intersection with neoliberalism, arguing (in Chapters 4 and 6) that neoliberalism's hold on South Africa does not begin with the political changes and economic compromises of the mid-1990s, but instead was part of the response to the economic, political and discursive crisis of the mid-1970s produced by the Soweto Uprising (1976).

The text *blank: Apartheid, architecture and after* provides a number of rich contributions with which to think through neoliberalism's relationship to the spatial legacies of apartheid and colonialism. More particularly, several contributors such as Iain Low and Mphethi Morojele, provide concrete examples of architectural interventions premised on the notions of 'self-reliance' and 'community.' While they present these interventions as opportunities to address apartheid's spatial inequalities, their lack of engagement with the ways in which these concepts have re-emerged as part of a neoliberal vocabulary, provide an opportunity for me to perform an intervention of my own and to expand upon this body of literature. In addition, these contributions are

reflective of a desire amongst architects and designers more broadly, to see their work as a force of social change, rather than a form of intervention that reinscribes apartheid concepts and categories in the landscape. Indeed, the project that constituted *blank* as a publication was launched in the context of a resistance towards a critical engagement with architectural practices, particularly those of the apartheid past. Among the older generation of Afrikaner architects came the response that the project was 'imbued with politics and sinister motives.'[88] Gus Gerneke, a retired professor of architecture[89] from the University of Pretoria, remarked that *blank* was a "a post-facto denouncement of apartheid and the imputation of collective guilt to Afrikaners."[90] Although most contemporary architects would disagree with Gerneke's assessment and would point to their own attempts to engage meaningfully into South Africa's rural and urban spaces, the expertise and set of practices that lie at the heart of this discipline foreclose the kind of critical engagement with architectural intervention that a critical humanities approach can offer. This dissertation is, in part, an attempt to provide an engagement with this approach.

Situating this dissertation in a critical humanities approach to architecture and history – the discipline within which this project was conceived – calls for an engagement with a body of literature that takes on the question of university disciplines and their complicity with the apartheid state and its racial formations. The text *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy* (2012), edited by Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray, reflects on the history of the University of the Western Cape

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[88] Murray, Shepherd and Hall, *Desire Lines,* 11.
[89] Gerneke's name first appears in the 1973 UP Yearbook as a lecturer, and no longer appears after 1998.
[90] Gus Gerneke, "Irritating or Beguiling," *South African Architect,* March/April 2000, 56.

(UWC), South Africa's 'coloured' university, at its fiftieth anniversary. *Becoming UWC* calls for the disentangling of the instrumental and disciplinary reason that took hold at apartheid's universities,[91] in which "the instrumental reasoning of state converged with a more pernicious and pervasive disciplinary reason that called forth a form of racialized subjection."[92]

In their introduction, Lalu and Murray suggest that, in order to transcend the determinations of race – the very grounds upon which the university was established – and to begin to advance the notion of a 'postpartheid' university, knowledge formation itself needs to be thought through in a variety of directions. One direction they offer is a critical engagement with the rise of a disciplinary apparatus in South Africa that drew on 19th century European knowledge projects, resulting in the emergence of so-called Bantu Studies at white English 'liberal' institutions in the first half of the 20th century,[93] such as the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Witwatersrand. It was through Bantu Studies that the native question was formed and articulated, which would seek to align black subjectivity with the needs of labor under the conditions of a rapidly industrializing state. For instance, the establishment of the School of African Life and Languages in 1921 at UCT (under the purview of 'Bantu' Studies) was precisely to produce and provide knowledge for state's administration of 'natives.'[94] In addition, the establishment of the Department of Bantu Studies at Wits in 1923 came by way of the

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[91] Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray, "Introduction," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, ed. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 19-20.

[92] Lalu and Murray, "Introduction," 21.

[93] Premesh Lalu, "Restless natives, native questions," *Mail&Guardian* July 17, 2018, https://mg.co.za/article/2011-08-26-restless-natives-native-questions

[94] Lalu, "Restless natives."

Chamber of Mines, which funded the department to "get at the back of the black man's mind" and provide industry with "increased expert knowledge of native questions."[95]

Lalu and Murray's introduction provides a critical space from which to engage, in this dissertation, with the emergence of the coloured question between the statist discourse of the poor white problem and the native question – both situated within the rise of a particular disciplinary apparatus. What this dissertation attempts to contribute to this text and the broader literature is precisely an engagement with the coloured question and forms of coloured subjectivity. Since *Becoming UWC* is written from the space of a university premised on the coloured category, the absence of any substantive discussion amongst contributors on the question of coloured subjectivity is striking. However, it is also indicative of a set of politics that emerged at this institution through the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, in which students at UWC sought to undermine the racial logic with which the university was created by uniting under the political identity of 'blackness.'[96] In the post-apartheid period, this political legacy has not only resulted in a lack of scholarly engagement with coloured subjectivity, but has also given rise to a concern amongst 'black' scholars that acknowledging colouredness as a valid and viable identity (either during apartheid or in the post-apartheid period) calls into question a set of politics premised on resisting the very grounds upon which the category was created. By calling this approach into question, this dissertation engages with both the making of coloured subjectivity, drawing on the existing historiography on coloured

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[95] Bruce K. Murray, *Wits – The Early Years: A History of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and its Precursors, 1896-1939* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1982), 137.

[96] Premesh Lalu, "Constituting community at the intellectual home of the left," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, eds. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 111.

identity and contributing to this body of literature by pushing it beyond the space of identity.

The primary approach in the historiography on coloured identity has been to conceptualize coloured identity as a direct product of miscegenation. In this body of scholarship, which emerged towards the mid-1950s, coloured identity posed no analytical problem because it was regarded as having developed 'naturally,' and self-evidently through miscegenation in the early days of the Cape colony. This approach was manifested in two different ways: one drawn from Afrikaner nationalist circles, which saw miscegenation as repugnant and as a threat to the *volk*, such as H. P. Cruse's *Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking* (The Upliftment of the Coloured Population) (1947) and D.P. Botha's *Die Opkoms van Ons Derde Stand* (The Rise of the Third Rank) (1960),[97] and another which saw coloured identity as the means with which to break down racial barriers. The very existence of coloured people – as the direct result of miscegenation – confirmed the liberal interpretation of South African history that progress was premised on the integration and cooperation of all races and was held up as proof that strict segregation had not always been the norm in South African society. Though sympathetic to the assimilationist aspirations of the coloured elite, this approach characterized coloureds as uncivilized and in need of white trusteeship.[98] Common within white English-speaking circles of the academy and among conservative coloured intellectuals, examples of this approach include W.M. MacMillan's *The Cape Colour*

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[97] Mohamed Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining: towards a historiography of coloured identity in South Africa," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa,* ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 8.
[98] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 8-9.

Question: A Historical Survey (1968), J.S. Marais's *The Cape Coloured People* (1939)[99]

and Christian Ziervogel's *Brown South Africa* (1938).[100]

By the 1970s, scholars both within the liberal and revisionist schools of South

African history began to challenge the idea that coloured identity was the direct result of

miscegenation. In this strand of the historiography, the coloured category was seen as an

apartheid invention – a device for excluding people of 'mixed race' from the dominant

society or as a product of deliberate divide-and-rule tactics by the white minority to

prevent black people from forming a united front against racism.[101] This historiography

tended to focus on coloured politics and resistance to white domination. Maurice

Hommel's *Capricorn Blues* (1981) is an example of this work.[102] Hommel took up the

ideas and arguments of preceding radical theorists such as Kenneth Jordaan, Isaac Tabata

and Ben Kies and, together with his own research, wrote a political history of coloured

people.[103] Towards the late 1980s, other works that could be described as instrumentalist

include Gavin Lewis's *Between the Wire and the Wall* (1987), a history of coloured

politics from the Anglo-Boer War to 1948, Richard van der Ross's *Rise and Decline of*

Apartheid: A Study of Political Movements Among the Coloured People of South Africa,

1880-1985 (1985), and Ian Goldin's *Making Race: The Politics and Economics of*

Coloured Identity in South Africa (1987), on the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in

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[99] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 9.
[100] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 10.
[101] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 11.
[102] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 12.
[103] Mohamed Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 50.

the Western Cape, which was designed to remove black Africans from the region and to exclusively employ coloureds.[104]

In South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the majority of coloureds voted for the National Party – the very same political party that had conceived of and implemented apartheid. Coloured voters comprised a small minority of national electorate: only nine percent of the estimated total of 23 million eligible voters in South Africa. In the Western Cape, however, they formed the majority of the electorate, making this province the only one in which black Africans represented a minority of the voters.[105] While the ANC won the general election, coloured voters in the Western Cape gave 68 percent of their votes to the National Party.[106] For many black Africans this meant that coloured people did not vote "black" and thus, colluded with the white minority, as they had throughout apartheid in order to gain better access to resources. Fear of black African majority rule, the exploitation of these anxieties by political parties, and perceptions that coloureds were being marginalized played a significant role in this outcome of the 1994 elections.[107] Scholars in what can be considered the third strand in the historiography began to engage with these anxieties towards the end of the 1990s.

This body of scholarship emerged out of debates around the 1994 (and 1999) coloured vote, but also formed a rebuttal to instrumentalist approaches. The basic premise in this strand of the historiography is that colouredness cannot simply be seen as an

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[104] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 13.
[105] Jeremy Seekings, "From Independence to Identification" in *Now That We Are Free: Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa,* eds. Wilmot James, Daria Caliguire and Kerry Cullinan (Cape Town: IDASA, 1996), 28.
[106] Wilmot James, "The devil who keeps promises," in *Now That We Are Free: Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa,* eds. Wilmot James, Daria Caliguire and Kerry Cullinan (Cape Town: IDASA, 1996), 39.
[107] Adhikari, "Introduction: Predicaments of marginality," xvii.

identity solely created by the colonial state as an instrument of social control. Rather, these scholars argue that colouredness forms part of an ongoing, dynamic process in which groups and individuals make and remake their social identities. Examples of this approach comes from Zimbabwean historian, James Muzondidya, whose work *Walking a Tightrope* (2005) is a comprehensive study of the making of coloured identity in Zimbabwe from the 1890s to 1980. Muzondidya's work is significantly shaped by and engages with South African debates on coloured identity, demonstrating its complexity and, most importantly, highlighting the agency of coloured people in the making of colouredness. In *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough* (2005), Mohamed Adhikari emphasizes the ways in which the marginality of coloured people, their intermediary status in the racial hierarchy, negative racial stereotyping and assimilationist aspirations, have, together with a range of other factors, shaped their identity and political consciousness. In a subsequent edited volume, *Burdened by Race* (2009), Adhikari' provides examples of ways in which the term 'coloured,' although a South African 'creation,' was used as a form of racial categorization in other British colonies in southern Africa. Both Muzondidya and Adhikari's work are consistent with social history paradigms, which sought to highlight the agency of Africans in the making of their own lives – here more specifically, the agency of coloureds in the making of their own identity and lived experiences. In addition, as opposed to the essentialist school or instrumentalist histories, this body of scholars sought to demonstrate that coloured people's reactions to white domination were complex – encompassing resistance as well as collaboration, protest as well as accommodation.[108]

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[108] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 13-14.

The fourth and final approach in the historiography has attempted to conceptualize coloured identity as a product of creolization. Drawing on postmodern theory, this approach demonstrates a sensitivity to the complexities of identity politics and is critical of the simplistic analysis of coloured identity previously offered by essentialist and instrumentalist writing. Zimitri Erasmus' edited volume, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (2001), suggests that coloured identity is a product of racial mixture creativity shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism and white domination. It is also the first work in the historiography that engages with the intersection of gender, sexuality and colouredness.[109]

Adhikari and Erasmus' work remains the most recent example of contemporary scholarship on colouredness in South Africa. While their work has provided the basis from which to think through the question of coloured subjectivity, the tendency to position the construction of this category and the lived experiences under this category as a distinctly 'Western Cape'[110] phenomenon creates serious limits to contemporary scholarship, including my own. This dissertation expands upon this already limited field of scholarship by shifting the focus away from 'identity' to 'subjectivity,' and by re-conceptualizing the coloured subject beyond the geographical and epistemological space of the Western Cape.

It is my own experience of colouredness that brought me to this dissertation project and more particularly, growing up in Eersterust, and navigating the previously all

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[109] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 16.
[110] Adhikari's most recent work on colouredness, *Burdened by Race* (2009), is an edited a volume on coloured identity in Southern Africa more broadly. However, the contributions on South Africa focus exclusively on the Western Cape.

white space of the University of Pretoria as undergraduate student from 2004 to 2007. My daily experience of *being coloured* at this university was intertwined with what colouredness had come to signify in the post-apartheid imagination: that there was a particular appearance or set of aesthetic features attached to colouredness, that colouredness was always already located in the Western Cape and that, when given expression as an identity, it could only be defined through lack and remainder – as that which is neither white, nor black. These signifiers of colouredness made an appearance in my daily interaction with both white and black African students, professors and administrative and support staff, who more often than not, would make the assumption that I was white, accompanied by comments like "you don't *look* coloured." These deeply held perceptions on the part of both whites and black Africans that all coloureds *look a certain way,* came with the assumption that my family home was in the Western Cape. One fellow student asked me if I participated in *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* (Second New Year) celebrations in Cape Town each year. Held annually on the 2nd of January, *Tweede Nuwe Jaar,* which originated as a celebration around the emancipation of slaves in the Cape in 1834, has, in the South African imagination, come to signify coloured 'culture' – if indeed, coloureds, who have historically been viewed through their residual position as neither white nor black, can be said to even have a culture. It was the notion that my family's origins in Pretoria were somehow illegitimate – that our ancestry must be inevitably be tied to the Western Cape – that sparked my interest in the question of coloured identity. As an undergraduate student, I began to seek out a limited but newly emerging body of literature on coloured identity, most notably the work of Mohammed Adhikari and Zimitri Erasmus. I was however, disappointed to find that this literature did

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not speak to my experiences as a working class woman whose colouredness has, for three generations, been specifically located in Pretoria – thousands of miles away from the Western Cape, and shaped by a distinct history of social, political and economic amalgamation. While this dissertation does in part, represent a rebuttal to this above-mentioned scholarship, this work has also provided an important point of departure for me. It demonstrated to me how the origins of colouredness had come to be intertwined with what might be called "Capeness."

Methodology: Sources and Theory

The evidentiary basis of this dissertation is drawn from two Afrikaans language archives at the University of Pretoria. The first is the university archive, from which the institution has recorded its own official history in the form of four volumes (*Ad Destinatum),* ranging from the years 1929 to 2000. The university archive is also the material space in which the history of the university's inner administrative workings can be found: minutes of senate meetings, personal files of academics, and official yearbooks (which since 1933, have contained course offerings for each year, from each department/school/college), etc.

The second archive from which this dissertation draws its evidence is the university's special 'Africana' collection, where books, pamphlets and various other documents pertaining to the history of Pretoria and the broader Transvaal are kept. For instance, the Africana Collection contains 540 manuscripts from the private collection of Nicolaas van Warmelo, a state ethnologist who worked for the Department of Bantu Affairs and whose anthropological research was responsible for organizing the Ndebele

into particular groupings, most notably the Transvaal Ndebele,[111] whose Pretoria settlement Professor A.L. Meiring at the UP architecture department intervened into in the 1940s (see Chapter 6). Pertaining to this dissertation, the Africana Collection houses the research and publications of UP academics like Geoffrey Cronjé.

While the sources drawn from both archives are, in the case of the official histories of the university, its disciplines and departments, <u>compiled as secondary sources in book form,</u> they are in fact and are read in this dissertation as, <u>primary sources</u>, as they provide deep insight into and are a resource and evidence for the discourses of race at work at the University of Pretoria, more particularly the knowledge produced and implemented through the appropriation of Eersterust as a site of research intervention. It is from these primary sources too, that the convergence of the university's disciplinary reason with the apartheid state's instrumental reason to attempt the creation of the self-reliant coloured subject can be demonstrated.

An important feature of these two archives and the sources I use as evidence is that they were not only written in Afrikaans, but drew on the conceptual vocabulary of this language that was intrinsic to thinking and implementing separate development. Part of the methodology and the methodological challenge here is to perform acts of translation by analyzing sources written in the language through which forms of coloured subjection were not only thought out, but in the very same language that most coloureds in South Africa claim as their mother tongue. The conceptual richness (although racist and problematic) that these Afrikaans texts were written with are not easily translated

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[111] See Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, "'Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele,' 1930-1989," *Journal of African History*, 50 no. 1 (2009).

into English, despite my best attempts. These texts will at times be presented in this dissertation in the original, accompanied by my translation. At other times I will be paraphrasing, based on my own understanding of the text and my knowledge of Afrikaans.

The methodological approach to engaging with these primary sources is to read this archive not merely as a storehouse of documents and for evidence, but as an apparatus that produced and reproduced various forms of subjection[112] through its discourses, language and vocabulary that in turn informed or was in turn used by the state and other institutions in the making of laws, policy, strategies of governance, definitions of groups and identities, and allocation and demarcation of resources and territories.

Notes on Terms

Unless stated otherwise, 'black' in this dissertation refers to all non-white South Africans: black Africans, coloureds and Indians. 'Black African' refers specifically to the historically Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa (identified in official discourse of the segregationist state as 'native' and eventually as 'Bantu' during apartheid). 'Coloured' will conform to the spelling used in Southern Africa since it is used here as a South African term. The terms 'native', 'Bantu' and 'coloured' will be introduced in each chapter with single quotes to indicate that they are being used as historically constructed identities in the official discourse of the state, as well as in the knowledge production of the university and its disciplines, and not to reify the racial categories of colonialism and apartheid.

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[112] Premesh Lalu, *The Deaths of Hintsa: Postapartheid South Africa and the Shape of Recurring Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2009), 7.

Chapter 2 – History of the University of Pretoria

This chapter provides an overview of the history of the University of Pretoria, looking at its establishment in 1908, its collusion and complicity with the segregationist and apartheid state, and its move towards 'transformation' in the post-apartheid period. The purpose of providing a historical overview of UP's establishment, its symbols, administrative structure, academic expertise and staffing, and institutional culture is to demonstrate why this university would appropriate the coloured community of Eersterust as a site of research and intervention. This chapter will demonstrate how the university – which is comprised of its academics, its disciplines, its administrative structures, and its institutional culture – had by the 1940s, in these various ways, produced both the disciplinary and instrumental knowledge that would inform, shape and uphold separate development. More particularly, it will trace and provide examples of UP's direct links with the apartheid state, identifying alumni who worked for government departments, university administrators who held positions of power in policy-forming circles, and academics who participated in government commissions of inquiry or who produced propaganda for the state.

<p align="center">***</p>

When plans were made for the establishment of a university in Pretoria, it was intended to be an institution that would serve the purposes of the Afrikaner '*volk*'. The first act of parliament of the Afrikaner republic (the ZAR) made provision for the establishment of a college that would provide a "proper scientific education to the white population of the

Transvaal." [113] This legislation was passed in 1882, but only resulted in the establishment

of a teacher's training college for elementary education. In 1899, the *Volksraad*

(parliament of the ZAR) set aside the sum of £20,000 for the establishment of a

university in Pretoria, with the intention of keeping this institution out of the hands of the

British and other *uitlanders* (foreigners).[114] It was only in 1907 in the aftermath of the

Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) that a campus of the Transvaal University College

(TUC),[115] based in Johannesburg, was opened in Pretoria, which would serve as the

forerunner for the University of Pretoria.

Although the establishment of a university had originally been envisioned by

Afrikaners to be an institution meant to serve the purposes of the *volk,* on the part of the

Transvaal government – and in the aftermath of the divisive Anglo-Boer War – it was

seen as an institution that would unify English-speaking whites and Afrikaners.[116] After

the British victory in the Anglo-Boer War, Afrikaner animosity towards the British was

not only based on the reassertion of resentment against the imperial domination

Afrikaners sought to escape from by leaving the Cape in the northward migration of the

Great Trek (ca. 1835), but was also rooted in the devastating consequences of the war.

Not only were thousands of Afrikaner women and children, along with black South

Africans, forced into concentration camps where many starved to death, but British war

tactics such as the 'scorched earth' policy left Afrikaners farms and livelihoods

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[113] C.H. Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1960), 1.
[114] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 2.
[115] The colloquial name of the University of Pretoria, TUKS or Tukkies, is derived from the acronym of the Transvaal University College, TUC.
[116] Bronwyn Louise Strydom, "Broad South Africanism and Higher Education: The Transvaal University College (1908-1919)" (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2013), i.

completely destroyed.[117] In the Transvaal in particular, the British regime, under Lord

Alfred Milner – tasked with the reconstruction after the war – aggravated already strained

relations between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites by attempting to anglicize the

region through forcing English instruction in schools.[118] Despite the deep political

divisions between these two culturally and linguistically distinct white groups in South

Africa, Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, both Afrikaner generals who had fought against the

British but who had been incorporated into the post-war Transvaal government, thought

that it was crucial for the past to be forgotten and that a united, white South Africa be

forged. White unity would also present the basis from which to address a more urgent

political concern: that of the 'native question.' Following the Union of South Africa in

1910 – in which the various colonies in South Africa were formed into one country,

Smuts declared that:

> Without Union there would scarcely have been a united nation, and the old
> colonial and racial fissures might have led to still greater cleavages in the future.
> South Africa, a nation, will follow from South Africa, a Union…the Native
> question can now be attacked on uniform lines in a general policy covering all
> Provinces. With divergent Native policies in the various parts of the Union, a
> solution would have been impossible, and the situation may easily have become
> far worse. Union has thus created the opportunity for South Africans to co-operate
> in finding a solution for the most difficult of all our problems.[119]

One way that the unity with which to "attack" the native question could be achieved was

through the establishment of a university in the Transvaal – a site of historical animosity

and hostility between South Africa's two white groups. When the Transvaal was granted

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[117] Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, eds., *South Africa: A Modern History,* 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 226-228; 232.
[118] Strydom, "Broad South Africanism and Higher Education," 94.
[119] P.B. Blackenberg, *The Thoughts of General Smuts* (Cape Town: Juta, 1951), 7.

self-government in 1907 under Botha's *Het Volk* (The Nation) party, Smuts served as

Colonial Secretary and Minister of Education and believed that the Pretoria campus of

TUC would be the ideal place to offer classes in the arts and sciences, while the original

campus in Johannesburg would provide technical instruction to support the mining

industry on the Witwatersrand (often referred to as the Rand).[120] By 1908, classes in the

arts and sciences had begun at TUC in Pretoria[121] and by 1910, the Pretoria campus of

TUC became an independent institution, while the Johannesburg campus became known

as the South African School of Mines and Technology, and the forerunner of the

University of the Witwatersrand (Wits).[122]

As Minister of Education, Smut appointed the first four professors at the Pretoria

campus of TUC: H.T. Reinink from the Netherlands, Alfred Paterson and John Purves,

both Scots, and D.F. du Toit Malherbe, who was an Afrikaner from the Cape.[123] These

appointments – a combination of both English and Afrikaans (Dutch)-speakers – were

meant to foster the idea of unity under which the campus was established, however, the

use of English as the primary language of instruction, as well as English textbooks and

signage on campus, caused dissatisfaction amongst Afrikaans speakers.[124] In the broader

political context of South Africa too, there developed a rift in the white nation building

project. Two years after the union in 1910, General Barry Hertzog left Smuts and Botha's

South African Party (SAP) to promote a more exclusive Afrikaner nationalism, leading to

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[120] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum,* 9. This split in the location of the material and social disciplines would come to mirror the split between the two cities: Johannesburg would develop into the seat of capital, and Pretoria into the seat of governmental administration.
[121] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 13.
[122] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 23.
[123] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 11-12.
[124] Strydom, "Broad South Africanism and Higher Education," 132.

the establishment of the National Party in 1914. This divide widened as Hertzog opposed

South Africa's entry into the First World War on the side of Britain.[125] Despite TUC's

shift towards bilingualism in 1916, the reopening of English-speaking-Afrikaner rifts due

to South Africa's involvement in the First World War sparked a move towards the

reclamation of TUC as an Afrikaner institution, both in terms of its language policy and

in terms of its ideals as an institution.[126] The attempt to create a truly 'Afrikaner'

institution – free from what was seen as British imperial domination (symbolized through

English-language instruction) – was finally achieved when the Pretoria campus of TUC

was re-established as the University of Pretoria (UP) in 1930[127] and when Afrikaans was

instituted as the only language of instruction in 1932, described in the institution's

official history as "*Afrikaanswording*" (the act of becoming Afrikaans).[128] UP remained

an Afrikaans-language institution until 1994, when English was reintroduced as a

language of instruction alongside Afrikaans.[129]

As part of its establishment as a university that would foster the unity of English

and Afrikaans speakers needed to address the 'native question', the development of

Bantu Studies at TUC forms one of the first examples of this institution's collusion with

the segregationist state. Although often associated with the liberal English-language

institutions such as the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and the University of

Cape Town (UCT), the establishment of Bantu Studies at TUC 1923, under the

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[125] Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History,* 283; Strydom, "Broad South Africanism and Higher Education," 104.

[126] Strydom, "Broad South Africanism and Higher Education," 132.

[127] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 74.

[128] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 66-68.

[129] Jonathan D. Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 282.

leadership of English-speaking liberal Edgar Brookes, demonstrates how the *Afrikaanswording* in the 1930s not only ostracized English-speakers, but also gave rise to the development of *volkekunde* – the Afrikaner nationalist rebuttal to social anthropology.[130] As Premesh Lalu has argued, Bantu Studies – an amalgam of anthropology, 'native' law and administration and African languages – served as the means through which the 'native question' was formed and articulated in the early 20th century, and which would seek to align black subjectivity with the needs of labor under the conditions of a rapidly industrializing state.[131]

Brookes was appointed at TUC as a lecturer in Political Science in 1920. He also worked as Secretary of the Pretoria Native Welfare Association.[132] A British-born intellectual, Brookes developed an admiration for Afrikaner nationalist thought and supported the creation of a South African Republic that would end its links with the British Empire. Like Wits intellectual Alfred Hoernlé (discussed in Chapter 4), he was a liberal, who, at the beginning of his career, held a firm belief in racial segregation as a solution to the 'native question'[133] expressed in his doctoral dissertation, "History of Native Policy in South Africa." General Barry Hertzog saw Brooke's work as a justification for segregation[134] and organized for the dissertation to be published in 1924

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[130] Paul Sharp has argued that there was significant overlap between the content of Bantu Studies at English liberal and Afrikaans universities in the 1920s but that by the 1940s, courses in *volkekunde* were taught widely at Afrikaans universities and had assumed Bantu Studies' role of studying 'native' life. John S. Sharp, "The Roots and Development of Volkekunde in South Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 8, no. 1, (1981), 17.

[131] Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray "Introduction," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, ed. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 23.

[132] Paul Rich, *Hope and Despair: English-Speaking Intellectuals and South African Politics 1896-1976* (London: British Academic Press, 1993), 67.

[133] Rich, *Hope and Despair,* 66.

[134] Rich, *Hope and Despair,* 69.

by *Die Nasionale Pers* (The National Press) – a publication house deeply aligned with Afrikaner nationalist interests.[135] As a result, Brookes became a propogandist for Afrikaner nationalists until the late 1930s. When he began to move away from seeing segregation as a viable solution to the 'native question', he became increasingly marginalized at TUC.[136]

Brookes was instrumental in the establishment of the department of Bantu Studies at TUC. In 1917, a chair in '*Bantoetale'* ('Bantu' Languages) was established and by 1923, under Brooke's suggestion, 'Bantu' ethnology had been introduced as a subject.[137] This subject, along with African languages, comprised of courses that were specifically aimed at training civil servants, many of who would go on to work in the state Department of Native Administration.[138] In 1928, G.P. Lestrade was appointed to the Department of *Bantoetale* as a lecturer in Sepedi (also referred to as Northern Sotho) – a language with historical roots in the broader Pretoria and former Transvaal area, and thus considered useful for 'administrative' purposes. Under what would emerge as the Department of Bantu Studies, the course offerings of 'Bantu' Law, Anthropology and Applied Anthropology would gradually develop into their own departments. This department was listed under the Faculty[139] of Business and Public Administration until it was moved to the Humanities and Social Sciences.[140] That the Department of *Bantoetale* and subsequently Bantu Studies was housed under the Faculty of Public Administration

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[135] Rich, *Hope and Despair,* 69.
[136] Rich, *Hope and Despair,* 74.
[137] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 121.
[138] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 122.
[139] In South Africa, 'Faculty' with a capital 'F' refers to a school or college within the university, and not to academic staff as it does in the United States.
[140] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 122.

demonstrates its instrumental purpose – to use the field of Bantu Studies as an amalgam of anthropology, African languages and 'native' law and administration[141] to produce the knowledge that would assist the segregationist state in resolving the 'native question'.

This amalgam of anthropology, African languages and 'native' law and administration would also give rise to the development of anthropology as a separate department, which towards the 1940s would take the form of '*volkekunde*.' When Lestrade was appointed in the Department of Bantu Studies, he introduced a course in social anthropology. In 1934, a former student, W.T.H. Beukes was appointed and the department was split into two divisions: 'Bantu Languages' or *Bantoetale* under Lestrade and 'Anthropology and Native Law and Administration' under Beukes. In 1946, after consultation with the South African Ministry of Education, Anthropology and Native Administration were split into two departments, with Dr. W.M.M. Eiselen from the University of Stellenbosch appointed as the first professor of anthropology at UP in 1947. By 1952, the separate Department of Native Administration has been dissolved, since the content of its courses had been replaced by the Department of '*Naturellesorg'* ('Native care or welfare'), created in 1948.[142]

Eiselen's appointment as professor in the newly established anthropology department on the eve of apartheid, demonstrated not only the rise of *volkekunde* as the discipline through which the 'native' – or the 'Bantu' – would be organized into various 'ethnic' categories in support of the project of separate development, but it also demonstrates how, through the exchange of academics between the university and state

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[141] Robert Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology," *American Ethnologist* 15, no. 3 (1988), 538.
[142] Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 123.

departments,[143] UP would also become complicit with the objectives of the apartheid state.[144] For instance, Eiselen resigned from UP in 1949 to become the Secretary of Native Affairs. He would go on to chair the Eiselen Commission on Bantu Education, which was fundamental in aligning the education of black South Africans with the development of the Bantustan system.[145]

The movement towards *volkekunde* at the University of Pretoria developed alongside the *Afrikaanswording* of the institution. This process was shaped by the reclamation of Pretoria as an Afrikaner capital in the early 20th century and coincided with the proliferation of Afrikaner cultural organizations in the 1930s, most of which were based in Pretoria. The History Department serves as a good example of how *Afrikanerization* took hold of the institution by placing Afrikaner nationalists in key positions of leadership and purging any voices of dissent – particularly those of English-speaking liberals such as Brookes, as well as dissenting Afrikaners, like Leo Fouché.

The Department of History at TUC was established under Fouché in 1909.[146] Within the first few years of his appointment, Fouché came into conflict with his

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[143] The appointment of M.C. Botha at both UP and later in the apartheid bureaucracy, forms another example of the exchange of academics between UP and the state. Botha, served as the university's vice-chancellor from 1941 to 1947 (Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 89). By 1972, he had been appointed Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, as well as the Minister of Bantu Education. Nicholaas J. Rhoodie (ed), *South African Dialogue: Contrasts in South African thinking on Basic Race Issues* (Johannesburg: McGraw Hill, 1972), 113.
[144] Robert Gordon writes that "(n)o person's career better illustrates the interconnections between *volkekunde* and apartheid than Eiselen's." Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology," *American Ethnologist* 15, no. 3 (1988): 540.
[145] Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, eds., *South Africa: A Modern History* 5th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 388.
[146] F.A. Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché, the History Department and the Afrikanerisation of the University of Pretoria," in *History, Historians and Afrikaner Nationalism: Essays on the History Department of the University of Pretoria 1909-1985*, eds. F.A. Mouton, Nicholas Southey and Albert van Jaarsveld (Vanderbijlpark: Kleio, 2007) 15.

colleagues over his role as Smuts' private secretary in 1914.[147] Colleagues and students,

particularly those who supported the founding of Hertzog's National Party (NP), viewed

Smuts as a puppet of British imperialism and opposed his and Botha's conciliatory policy

towards English-speakers.[148] By 1919, Fouché's marriage to an English-speaking woman

and his choice to educate his children at English language schools[149] had done little to

demonstrate his loyalty to the Afrikaner cause. As Afrikaner nationalists gained a

substantial presence in TUC's senate and council in the 1920s,[150] Fouché came into

conflict with the university's administration, particularly over the 'Lamont incident'.

In 1931, Henry Parkyn Lamont, chair of the French Department, had published a

book *War, Wine and Women* under the pseudonym of Wilfred Saint-Mandé, in which he

allegedly made 'derogatory' remarks about Afrikaners. When it became known that

Saint-Mandé was a lecturer at what had by then become the University of Pretoria,

Afrikaner students and lecturers, along with the vice-chancellor A.E. du Toit – a known

Afrikaner nationalist – embarked on a campaign to expose this author. The senate of the

university insisted that the book be banned by the state.[151] In response, Fouché and 16

other professors signed a memorandum in support of academic freedom and the right of

any member of university staff to write freely in his personal capacity and to publish

without censorship.[152] By defending Saint-Mandé's work, Fouché showed himself to be

'disloyal' to the Afrikaner cause and by 1934, had become so ostracized at UP that he

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[147] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 17.
[148] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 19.
[149] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 22.
[150] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 21.
[151] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 23.
[152] *Rand Daily Mail*, April 16, 1932.

had little choice but to resign.[153] With his departure, the History Department could be dedicated to *volksgeskiedenis* (the history of the Afrikaner *volk*).[154] This would finally take shape under the leadership of Adriaan Pelzer in the mid-1940s.[155]

Pelzer was an alumnus of the University of Pretoria who began his undergraduate degree in 1933. He lived at *Sonop* (translates into English as 'sun-up') – one of the most prestigious men's residences whose alumni include former chancellor of UP, Mayor of Pretoria (1953-1955) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1964) Hilgard Muller, as well as Anton Rupert, an Afrikaner business tycoon who, along with mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, would launch the Urban Foundation (discussed in Chapters 4 and 6). Initiation was an important part of induction into life at *Sonop* and was primarily aimed at promoting unquestioning loyalty not only towards fellow residents, but to the Dutch Reformed Church – the Afrikaner religious institution that used its doctrine to legitimize apartheid policy – the university, and the Afrikaner *volk* as a whole.[156]

In 1942, Pelzer was appointed as lecturer in the UP History Department. In August 1946 he was promoted to senior lecturer[157] and by 1947, had become the head of the department, based upon the university council's unanimous decision to appoint a 'true Afrikaner'[158] to that position of leadership. Pelzer was also the Dean of the Faculty of

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[153] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 37-38.
[154] Mouton, "Professor Leo Fouché," 14.
[155] F.A. Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," in *History, Historians and Afrikaner Nationalism: Essays on the History Department of the University of Pretoria 1909-1985*, eds. F.A. Mouton, Nicholas Southey and Albert van Jaarsveld (Vanderbijlpark: Kleio, 2007), 89.
[156] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 91-92.
[157] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 94.
[158] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 96. Pelzer's Afrikaner credentials were demonstrated most clearly by his executive membership in the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) from 1965 to 1970. The AB which was a secretive and highly influential society formed in 1919 to secure Afrikaner control in government and the economy and was considered the backbone of the National Party (Mouton, Southey and van Jaarsveld (eds), "Preface," 8-9).

Arts (1954-1970), Registrar (1970-1974) and Deputy Vice-Chancellor (1974-1980).

Pelzer's publications include a history of the *Broederbond* (*Die Afrikaner-Broederbond: Eerste 50 Jaar,* 1979) and a volume of Verwoerd's speeches (*Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches* – see Chapter 4).[159] Pelzer believed that the Afrikaner historian had a special calling to instill pride in the *volk*. Students were expected to unquestioningly accept the historiography they were taught – more particularly a historiography that legitimized apartheid rule by arguing that Afrikaners had a special relationship with God and that, by implication, political rule of South Africa was their God-given right.[160] In his work on the editorial board of the Archives Yearbook too, Pelzer upheld the notion of the racial 'purity' of the Afrikaner *volk* by refusing to publish a genealogical study revealing that prominent Afrikaner families had 'coloured' ancestry.[161]

While Eiselen's position at UP and the Department of Native Affairs demonstrated how academics colluded with the apartheid state by shifting their expertise between universities and government departments, Pelzer's leadership in cultural and educational institutions, such as the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereginging* (FAK) (Federation of Afrikaans Culture)[162] made him a gatekeeper of the discipline of history in

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[159] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 97-98.

[160] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 101-102.

[161] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 103-106. This study was not the only one of its kind to reveal the 'coloured' ancestry of prominent Afrikaner families. In 1985, Hans Heese's *Groep Sonder Grense* (Group without Boundaries) was published, which also revealed that well-known Afrikaner families had slave – and therefore – 'coloured' ancestry. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the Afrikaner concern with miscegenation was thus as much about maintaining the supposed 'purity' of the *volk* as it was about denying their role in the creation of the very community they sought to forge into a separate group during apartheid.

[162] An organization that promoted Afrikaner culture and identity but that also operated as the public face of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

Afrikaner academic circles, as well as a trusted academic among politicians of the National Party.[163]

The ways in which the UP History Department legitimized Afrikaner political rule through its leadership and production of knowledge would converge with, and is epitomized in, the apartheid state's attempt to conceal the discovery of Mapungubwe and its historical significance. In 1932, a former student from the University of Pretoria, J.C.O. van Graan, came across various artifacts on a farm known as Greefswald, just south of the border with Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). He reported the findings to Leo Fouché and the university subsequently secured ownership and excavation rights of the site.[164] In 1933, the South African government purchased Greefswald and granted the University of Pretoria exclusive rights to excavation, pledging financial support for a period of five years. Minister of Interior, J.H. Hofmeyer, under whose charge archaeological investigations fell, set up the Archaeological Committee of the University of Pretoria consisting of Sir Theodore Truter from the Pretoria City Council, UP vice-chancellor A.E. du Toit, and Leo Fouché,[165] who would go on to publish the findings a few years later in two enormous volumes.[166] These findings would come to include the renowned golden rhinoceros, a gold bowl and scepter, glass beads and remnants of Chinese porcelain. Not only did these objects prove the existence of a sophisticated Iron Age kingdom in South Africa – located between and just south of the borders of modern-

[163] Mouton, "A.N. Pelzer: A Custodian of Afrikanerdom," 107-108.
[164] Jane Carruthers, *National Park Science – A century of research in South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 112.
[165] Leo Fouché ed. *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilization on the Limpopo. Reports on the Excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal) from February 1933 to June 1935* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), xiii.
[166] Carruthers, *National Park Science*, 112.

day Botswana and Zimbabwe – but they also provided evidence of early international trade networks.[167] In addition to these items, the first set of excavations included 24 skeletons, which students at the UP Department of Anatomy studied and classified.[168]

Further excavations in the 1930s and 1940s were abandoned in part due to financial constraints of the Depression and the outbreak of the Second World War, but also because the University of Pretoria, which retained exclusive rights to the site, had become an Afrikaner institution at which pre-colonial archaeology was often disputed and ignored. More particularly, Mapungubwe undermined the white settler myth of the 'empty land' – that the interior of southern Africa was unpopulated when Afrikaners moved north during the Great Trek.[169] In 1950, the site was again made available to the University of Pretoria by the Minister of Lands and Irrigation, J.G. Strijdom, but research stopped again in 1956.[170] In 1968, the apartheid government handed the farm Greefswald to the South African Defense Force on condition that all responsibility for archaeological research remained in the hands of the University of Pretoria. This research, however, had to take place alongside the Defense Force's use of Mapungubwe as a site for military exercises.[171]

In addition to the university's collusion with the apartheid state – not only through its exclusive control of the archaeological site but by deliberately concealing the history and significance of Mapungubwe – UP's administrative leadership was also intimately

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[167] These items are now on display at the University of Pretoria's Mapungubwe Museum.
[168] Fouché, *Mapungubwe,* 130. UP has since repatriated and reburied the human remains taken from the site. (W.C. Nienaber, N Keough and M. Steyn, "Repatriation of the Mapungubwe human remains: an overview of the process and procedure," University of Pretoria Department of Anatomy, 2008).
[169] Carruthers, *National Park Science*, 113.
[170] Carruthers, *National Park Science*, 123.
[171] A. Meyer. The Archaeology sites of Greefswald: Stratigraphy and chronology of the sites and a history of investigations (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1998), 25-26.

connected with government departments. For instance, in the 1980 jubilee celebrations, the commemorative issue of the student magazine *Trek* (resonating with Afrikaner nationalist mythology around the 'Great Trek', discussed in Chapter 3) opened with a message from state President Marais Viljoen. Viljoen praised UP for shaping citizens who were committed to the maintenance of Afrikaner culture and for producing the research and skills necessary for trade, industry and civil service.[172] The Mayor of Pretoria, Hilgard Muller, who was also the Chancellor[173] of the university, highlighted this institution's close involvement with the state by suggesting that a third of all government ministers were UP alumni. In his address, he stated that "*'n Mens moet eenvoudig aanvaar dat die alumni van die grootste residensiële Universiteit in Suid-Afrika in toenemende mate 'n rol in ons land se regering sal speel*" (one must simply accept that the alumni of the largest residential university in South Africa will increasingly play a role in the country's government.)[174]

Along with producing future government ministers, UP's alumni constituted some of the wealthiest business elites in South Africa, including Anton Rupert and Marius Kloppers. Rebecca Davies has argued that these two figure are among the numerous

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[172] Marais Viljoen, "Boodskap van die Staatspresident", *Trek*, 67 no. 75, 1980, 6.

[173] During apartheid, UP's leadership structure was headed by the Chancellor, who was the symbolic figurehead of the university. The highest administrative position was held by the Vice-Chancellor and Principal, who were supported by the university council and the university senate. The council was responsible for governance and policy, while the senate was responsible for academic planning – including the appointment and promotion of academic staff – the establishment, amalgamation or discontinuation of faculties and departments, and the introduction or discontinuation of degrees, diplomas, programs, curricula, subjects and courses, and finally, the selection of candidates for the position of Chancellor, Principal and Vice-Principlal. This structure closely resembles the current administration of the university in South Africa, as determined by the Higher Education Act of 1997. However, one of the main differences is that the senate and council are no longer overrun with candidates that would suit the particular political persuasion of the institution. (University of Pretoria, Management and Governance, http://www.up.ac.za/about-up/article/258123/management-governance)

[174] Hilgard Muller, "Boodskap van die Kanselier" (Message from the Chancellor), *Trek*, 67 no. 75, 1980, 8.

Afrikaner capital elites whose business interests were aligned with the economic policies of the apartheid state, but who also benefitted enormously from the liberalization of the economy that accompanied the retreat of apartheid.[175] The neoliberal reforms through which this additional wealth could be amassed and secured in the post-apartheid period were largely initiated through the work of Jan Lombard and Johan Van Zyl, two economists from the University of Pretoria (discussed at length in Chapter 4).

In addition to anthropologist W.M. Eiselen, various academics at the University of Pretoria used their expertise in the service of the apartheid state, such as F.R. Tomlinson, professor of Agricultural Economics at UP, who chaired the Tomlinson Commission (1954).[176] Although the report of this commission stated that the reserves would not be able to sustain themselves without significant state investment, it was still unquestioningly premised on the development of the reserves along apartheid lines (ie. into Bantustans).[177] Another example is UP sociologist Nic Rhoodie, who was embroiled in the apartheid government's Department of Information scandal in 1978. Rhoodie – whose sociological research on coloureds will be discussed in Chapter 5 – was head of the university's Institute for Plural Societies which received funding from the Department of Information in exchange for producing 'positive' propaganda on the apartheid state.[178] Many of these almost exclusively white male academics were exchanged between

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[175] Rebecca Davies, "Afrikaner Capital Elites, Neo-Liberalism and Economic Transformation in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *African Studies,* 71, no. 3, (2012): 392.
[176] Grace Davie, *Poverty Knowledge in South Africa: A Social History of Human Science, 1855-2005,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 161. The commission was tasked with providing "a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based upon effective socio-economic planning," Houghton, D. Hobart (January 1957), "The Significance of the Tomlinson Report", *Africa South,* 1 no.1, (1957), http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/asjan574.
[177] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing), 151.
[178] John Rex, "Introduction" in *Apartheid and Social Research* (Paris: Unesco, 1981), 15.

Afrikaans universities, fostering a kind of insularity that allowed their knowledge and expertise to be circulated among the educated elite of the *volk*, and eventually within National Party circles. For instance, Professor and *volkekundige* (anthropologist) P.J. Coertze began his career at the University of Stellenbosch, subsequently moved to the University of the Orange Free State in 1949, and then to UP, taking up the chair of *volkekunde* (anthropology) in 1950 when Eiselen left to become Secretary of Native Affairs. Although Coertze himself remained firmly situated in academia, his students were known to be "upwardly mobile officials" in the Department of Native Affairs.[179]

The intimate connection that the University of Pretoria developed with the apartheid state was enabled by and rooted in the *Afrikanerization* of the institution in the 1930s and demonstrated through the symbols and architecture that emerged during that period. For instance, the university's emblem – unchanged to this day[180] – contains an ox-wagon, which was taken from the original shield of TUC and reincorporated when UP emerged as an independent institution.[181] The ox-wagon represents the Great Trek – the central historical 'event' on which the development of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s was premised. In addition to the university emblem, the buildings on UP's campus, particularly following its *Afrikaanswording,* were largely designed by architects invested in some form of Afrikaner identity. One of these architects was Gerhard Moerdyk, who not only served on the council of the university from 1930, but designed the Merensky Library (1933) on campus as well as the Voortrekker Monument (completed between 1937 and 1949), a significant symbol of Afrikanerdom that overlooks the city of Pretoria

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179 Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists", 539-540.
180 Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood*, 3.
181 Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum*, 366.

and was built to commemorate and mythologize the Great Trek.[182] During the apartheid

period, graduates from the university's architecture department, such as Brian Sandrock,

would continue to design several buildings on campus, like the imposing Administration

Building (1968), nicknamed *Die Skip* (the ship) by students.[183]

The preservation of the university's white, Afrikaans character as it developed

from the 1930s came not only through its symbols, campus architecture and language

policy, but also through the establishment of race as the basis for admission. In 1934, a

black African student applied for admission but was refused, based on the institution's

claim that South Africa had always maintained a 'tradition' of segregation.[184] During

apartheid, the university also refused admission to coloureds and Indians. In the 1960s,

this refusal of admission was based on the establishment of 'separate' universities for

South Africa's various non-white groups, where they could develop along their 'own

lines' and cultivate their 'own' leaders.[185] Despite UP's whites-only policy, it admitted

the daughter of the Japanese consul-general in 1969. This decision on the part of the

university senate – made on diplomatic grounds – was in line with the apartheid state's

attempt to protect trade interests with Japan by classifying the Japanese as 'honorary

whites'.[186] The University of Pretoria also aligned itself with the sports policy of the

apartheid state. Although the institution began to tolerate 'mixed' academic gatherings in

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[182] Roger Fisher. "The native heart: The architecture of the University of Pretoria" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić. (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998)," 222.
[183] F.J. du Toit Spies and D.H. Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982: 'n Geskiedenis van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1987), 226.
[184] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 399.
[185] Hendrik Verwoerd, "Address on the occasion of the opening of the academic year at the University of Stellenbosch, February 25, 1959" in *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches 1948-1966*, edited by A.N. Pelzer. (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 248.
[186] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 401.

1973, by 1983 it would still only allow sporting events with non-white participants to be held at the University of Pretoria with the permission of the appropriate state departments and national sports associations.[187]

While maintaining its character as an exclusively white university, UP began to envision itself as a trustee of surrounding black communities, assisting in the development of the separate black higher education institutions that it called on the state to provide, such as *Kolege ya Bana ba Afrika*. This college was established by ministers and laymen of the Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria and was registered with the Department of Native Affairs. Classes were held in the evening for part-time students at the Furgerson 'coloured' school in Marabastad from the beginning of 1946. The teaching staff consisted of part time lecturers from the University of Pretoria.[188] By 1948, the government had requested that UP bring the black college under its direct control, but the senate voted against the idea and instead proposed that a university be established in the north of the Transvaal, under the trusteeship of the University of Pretoria. In a memorandum on the issue, Professor P.J. Coertze wrote that, *"(d)ie Senaat is diep onder die indruk…dat daar ook van Afrikanerkant op die gebied van die hoër onderwys 'n aandeel behoort geneem te word in die opleiding en kweking van Bantoleiers*." (The Senate is under the impression that Afrikaners should have a share in the education and training of 'Bantu' leaders).[189] Years later, UP would demonstrate this vested interest in the training of black leaders by not only establishing Medunsa – the Medical University

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[187] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 405-406.
[188] W.M. Kgware, "The role of Black Universities in South Africa" in *The Future of the University in Southern Africa*, eds. Hendrik van der Merwe and David Welsh (1977), pp. 225-236, 227.
[189] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 414.

of South Africa, in the then Bantustan of Bophuthatswana – but also by staffing this institution with its own white professors and administrators.[190]

As early as 1938, a committee was appointed at the University of Pretoria to investigate the possibility of establishing a medical school for 'non-whites'. By 1966, an academic hospital had already been set up in Ga-Rankuwa – a township meant to house the workers of the nearby industrial area of Rosslyn[191] – and in the 1970s, UP lobbied for 350 hectares to provide for the spacious grounds that would be made into Medunsa. In 1976, the university selected members of its own medical faculty to serve on the board of Medunsa, appointing the dean of its own school of medicine, Professor H.W. Snyman, as the head of the planning committee.[192] When Medunsa was officially opened in the same year, Professor Snyman was appointed as the vice-chancellor and in 1977, twelve former students or current staff at the University of Pretoria were also appointed there as professors.[193]

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[190] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 415-416.
[191] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 415.
[192] C.J. Mieny and D.H. Heydenrych, *UP Geneeskunde 50: 'n geskiedenis van die Fakulteit Geneeskunde van die Universiteit van Pretoria, 1943-1992* (UP Medicine at 50: a history of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Pretoria, 1943-1992) (Pretoria: Gutenberg Press, 1993) 172.
[193] Mieny and Heydenrych. *UP Geneeskunde 50,* 173.

Figure 1 – The deans of Medicine, Dentistry and Veterinary Sciences from the University of Pretoria with the Minister of Bantu Education, standing around a model of Medunsa. Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, **415.**

The University of Pretoria's central role in the establishment of Medunsa took place in the aftermath of the Extension of University Education Act in 1959, which created separate universities for black Africans, Coloureds and Indians. This legislation also brought an end to the enrolment of black students at white, English language universities such as Wits and the University of Cape Town (UCT), although scholars like Bruce Murray have argued that these institutions, from the outset, were never fully open to black students.[194] By the early 1990s, twenty-two universities existed in South Africa, all divided along racial, ethnic and linguistic lines.[195] Ten of these twenty-two were white universities, all of which reflected the existing linguistics and political divisions between

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[194] Bruce K. Murray, "Wits as an 'Open' University, 1939-1959: Black Admissions to the University of the Witwatersrand," *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 16, no. 4, (1990): 650.

[195] Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela and Kimberly Lenease King "Introduction" in *Apartheid No More: Case Studies of Southern African Universities in the Process of Transformation*, edited by Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela and Kimberly Lenease King (Westport: Greenwood, 2001), xiii.

Afrikaners and English-speakers. For instance, the six Afrikaans universities including

Stellenbosch, Pretoria, Orange Free State, as well as Port Elizabeth, Rand Afrikaans

University (RAU) and the University of South Africa (Unisa), became the nucleus of

Afrikaner nationalism; while the four English language universities of Wits, UCT,

Rhodes and Natal were known as 'liberal' institutions whose 'open' (non-racial)

admissions policies and academic freedom had been restricted by the apartheid state.[196]

Black universities were divided along racial and 'ethnic' lines. The University of

the Western Cape was created for coloureds, the University of Durban Westville for

Indians, University of Zululand for Zulus, the University of the North for Sothos,

Vendas, Tsongas and Tswanas, and the oldest historically-black university in South

Africa – Fort Hare – had been re-created as a university for Xhosas.[197] The establishment

of these universities was specifically tied to the project of separate development: while

the black 'ethnic' institutions were expected to produce the professional class (teachers,

social workers nurses, etc.) that would service the Bantustans, the 'coloured' and Indian

universities had the task of producing graduates that would take up positions in the

Departments of Coloured and Indian Affairs.[198]

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[196] The narrative of 'non-racialism' crafted and sustained by these so-called 'liberal' white institutions has come under severe attack over the last few years. Not only were these universities financed by the mining industry – which itself was built on the violent exploitation of black South Africans – they were also built on the principles of British imperialism. (Zine Magubane, "A Pigment of Imagination? Race, Subjectivity, Knowledge and the Image of the Black Intellectual" in *Hear Our Voices: Race, Gender and the Status of Black South African Women in the Academy,* eds. Reitumetse Mabokela and Zine Magubane (2004), 44-45.) Rhodes University for instance, was named for Cecil John Rhodes – the primary figure of British imperialism on the African continent. Rhodes had often joked that he meant to build a university "out of the Kaffir's stomach," (Paul Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes: Remembering an Imperialist in Africa* (Claremont: David Phillip, 2005), 63). Given the history of these 'liberal' universities, it is not surprising that black students, in a movement known as #RhodesMustFall, mobilized around the removal of a statue of Rhodes on the campus of UCT in 2014.
[197] Mabokela and King "Introduction", xiv.
[198] Saleem Badat, *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), 61-63.

The apartheid state not only depended on Afrikaans institutions like the University of Pretoria to produce knowledge that would legitimize separate development, structure their admissions policies according to separate development and establish separate universities under their trusteeship so that blacks could develop along their 'own' path, but it also relied on the support of Afrikaner students at these universities. Student politics at UP, particularly in the 1960s, demonstrated a clear alignment with the discourse and implementation of separate development. For instance, UP's Student Representative Council (SRC) organized a meeting in support of Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd after the assassination attempt on him in 1960. A year later, when Verwoerd withdrew South Africa from the British Commonwealth, signaling the country's birth as a republic, the SRC organized a committee at the Johannesburg airport to welcome him on his return from London. By 1975, the SRC had directed its support to the maintenance of the apartheid state's security apparatus. It organized a mass meeting in support of the Terrorism Act of 1967, under which suspected 'terrorists' could be detained for up to 60 days without trial.[199] The SRC drew up a petition of support, containing 5,000 signatures and mobilized 3,000 UP students to gather at the Union Buildings – the administrative center of the apartheid government – to hand over the petition.[200] This demonstrated support came shortly after the establishment of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) at the University of Pretoria in 1974. The purpose of the ISS was to conduct research on South Africa's security needs both internally and in the broader context of the Cold War. Research projects undertaken at this institute include investigations into the strategic

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[199] Political activists like Steve Biko were held, and murdered in police custody, under this law.
[200] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 315.

importance of Mozambique, while seminars were also held on the use of the chemical warfare[201] and the procurement of arms by other African states.[202]

The University of Pretoria's collusion and complicity with the apartheid state was not only enabled by its attempts to protect its insularity as a white, Afrikaner institution, but also by its highly authoritarian administrative structure. In the book *Knowledge in the Blood*, Professor Jonathan Jansen details his experiences as the first black dean at UP in the post-apartheid period. He describes the university as a hierarchical institution in which the leader at the top has all the power.[203] There is, he says, "an instinctive deference and submission to the leader" and he demonstrates this institutional culture by quoting one of his colleagues at UP: "(y)ou need not ask us what to do…we expect you to tell us what we should do."[204]

At the time of Jansen's appointment as the Dean of Education in 2001, Johan van Zyl – the economist who worked alongside Jan Lombard to propose neoliberal reforms in the late apartheid era (discussed in Chapter 4) – was vice-chancellor of UP. Jansen recalls a conversation in which van Zyl remarked, "I have turned the ship around; the problem is that it is still floating in the same direction."[205] The 'ship' that van Zyl was referring to was the administration building – the center from which this hierarchical, authoritarian and white institution was meant to transform itself in the post-apartheid era. Van Zyl's assessment of the institution's progress towards transformation – that it was 'still floating

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[201] South Africa has large deposits of uranium. In the 1970s, the apartheid state pursued a nuclear weapons program, partly developed at the Pelindaba nuclear facility just outside of Pretoria. UP architect Brian Sandrock designed some the of facilities at Pelindaba.

[202] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960-1982*, 140.

[203] Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood,* 5.

[204] Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood,* 7.

[205] Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood,* 5.

in the same direction' – spoke to the enormous difficulty of changing an institution

developed for the purposes of Afrikaner nationalism. For instance, between 1990 and

2007 alone, there were at least 35 documented on-campus protests from white students

against the transformation of the university. These included interrupting President F.W.

de Klerk's speech on campus (1990) to protest the release of Nelson Mandela and the

apartheid government's negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC). Other

forms of protest included the creation of whites-only student communes.[206]

Despite these challenges, the University of Pretoria has made remarkable strides

since its official desegregation in 1989, particularly in terms of its demographic

transformation. According to UP's Department of Institutional Planning, black (meaning

black African, coloured and Indian) student enrolment in 2016 stood at 52 percent,[207]

while the previously white, Afrikaans and overwhelmingly male academic staff have,

over the years, been replaced by a more diverse demographic. At present, black staff at

the University of Pretoria stands at 53 percent.[208] In addition, the university added Sepedi

as a third language of official communication – alongside English and Afrikaans – in

2010. This move gestured towards the inclusion of an African language that has

historically been dominant in the broader region of Pretoria.[209]

The various changes implemented at UP have been applauded by the ANC

government. For instance, on March 15, 2005, then South African president Thabo Mbeki

was invited to open the Oliver Tambo Law Library on campus. At this opening, he

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[206] Jansen, *Knowledge in the Blood,* 118.
[207] Department of Institutional Planning, University of Pretoria, March 2016.
[208] University of Pretoria. Moving Up – Annual Review, 2016, 9 (If is not clear if this refers to faculty, to support staff, or both).
[209] University of Pretoria. Office of the Registrar. Language Policy. August 2010.

praised the university for its transformation from a white Afrikaans institution into one

that "welcomes all, irrespective of race, gender, creed or nationality." He went on to state

that the university is not only a "truly South African university, but that it has also

"correctly positioned itself as an African university."[210] These attempts at transformation

in the post-apartheid era are tied to the restructuring of universities through a series of

strategic plans, generally aimed at the democratization, equity and the increased

efficiency and effectiveness of the institution.[211] The University of Pretoria's most recent

strategic plan, UP 2025, was publicized in 2012 and is aimed at developing the institution

into a leading research-intensive university through carefully planned and managed

growth.[212] By 2025, the university has set its sights on being "recognized internationally

for its quality, relevance and impact, developing people, creating knowledge and making

a difference locally and globally."[213] This vision is supported through the implementation

of strategic goals, which include pursuing excellence in teaching and learning, increasing

access, throughput and diversity, and strengthening the university's impact on economic

and social development.[214]

The concern with strategy, performance and measurement is consistent with post-

apartheid universities that have been shaped by ideas of excellence, as well as forms of

managerialism,[215] corporatism and a need to serve the public good. These notions are also

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[210] Flip van der Watt, *Tukkie Oorskou Sy Eerste Honderd Jaar, 1908-2008* (Pretoria: Universiteit van Pretoria, 2008 2008), 1.
[211] Van der Watt, *Ad Destinatum 1993-2000*, 8.
[212] *Tukkie*: *Alumni magazine of the University of Pretoria* 18 no.1 (March 2012): 3.
[213] *Tukkie*, 4.
[214] *Tukkie*, 4.
[215] John Clarke, "The Managerialised University: translating and assembling the right to manage" in *Making Policy Move: Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage* ed. John Clarke et al. (Bristol: Policy Press, 2015), 101.

tied to enhancing the relevance of universities in the 21st century, particularly through an engagement with present-day socio-economic challenges, often subsumed under concepts such as 'community engagement', 'community service', 'university–community partnership', 'social responsiveness', 'academic citizenship', 'service learning' and a number of other aliases.[216] One of the clearest statements on increasing the relevance of universities through community engagement comes from the South African Department of Education White Paper[217] 3 (*A Programme for Higher Education Transformation*), in which it states that universities need to "promote and develop social responsibility and awareness amongst students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes" – in addition to their 'traditional' devotion to teaching, learning and research.[218]

At the University of Pretoria, community engagement has been structured by the institution's desire to be globally competitive, increasingly efficient – both in its administration, but also in its provision of 'services' to students ('clients') – and to be recognized for its impact on local communities. Working in collaboration with private partners and/or stake-holders, community engagement is seen as being a move towards closer relationships with local black communities. However, despite the use of participatory approaches, notions of 'expertise', 'upliftment' and 'outreach' predominate. The purpose of community engagement then, is to provide skills to so-called

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[216] See Wilson Akpan, Gary Minkley and Jayshree Thakrar's "In search of a developmental university: community engagement in theory and practice" *South African Review of Sociology*, 43, no. 2 (2012): 1-4.
[217] A White Paper is a discussion document, which is a broad statement of government policy. It is drafted by the relevant department, or a task team designated by the Minister of that department. Relevant parliamentary Committees may propose amendments or other proposals and send the policy paper back to the Ministry for further discussion and final decisions.
[218] South African Department of Education White Paper 3, 1997.

'disadvantaged' communities by claiming to empower them and forms an opportunity for the university to foster the self-reliance presumably lacking in black communities.

Community engagement has thus not only become one of the primary means through which the University of Pretoria demonstrates its relevance as an institution and its continued commitment to transformation in the post-apartheid period, but is also the method by which its relationship of trusteeship with the community of Eersterust re-emerges. In addition, as subsequent chapters will show – using the case study of Eersterust – it is through UP's community engagement initiatives, particularly those in architecture, that constitutes both a re-emergence of its own role in informing and implementing separate development during apartheid *and* a convergence with the neoliberal restructuring of the state. The next chapter that follows, however, will first explain how the University of Pretoria's intervention into Eersterust was structured by the history of the city of Pretoria, and the attempt by urban authorities in the early twentieth century to demarcate clear boundaries between who was white, and who was coloured.

Chapter 3: Pretoria, Marabastad and Eersterust

This dissertation is situated in the geographical context of the city of Pretoria. It engages

with two primary sites: the University of Pretoria discussed in Chapter 2, located in a

historically white residential neighborhood, and Eersterust, a 'coloured' neighborhood on

the outskirts of Pretoria, proclaimed as such by 1959.[219] This chapter will briefly examine

the history of Pretoria, but its particular focus will be on Marabastad – the urban black

township from which 'coloureds' were forcibly removed and relocated to Eersterust. In

addition, this chapter will draw on the historiography of Marabastad, highlighting one

particular source that demonstrates how the Pretoria Town Council's attempt to create a

coherent urban policy in the early twentieth century – as the modern South African state

was being formed – was centered around demarcating clear boundaries between whites

and coloureds by incorporating coloureds into the 'native' category.

This chapter makes two general arguments: first, that the history of this city in the

early twentieth century was shaped by conflicts between various urban authorities around

the social and political position of coloureds as colonized subjects. As this chapter will

show, before the South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or ZAR) was

annexed by the British colonial government after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902),

coloureds in the Transvaal were categorized as 'native' – in contrast to those in the Cape

– and were subject to similar forms of control, such as curfews and the carrying of

passbooks. After the war, however, local and central authorities came into conflict over

these attempts to control the movement and mobility of coloureds. The implications of

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[219] Eersterust. Coloured Township Layout. Policy Matters. TAB vol. 3/4/1652, File 125/11. The first
government housing scheme.

the early conflicts were that by the time Pretoria had been reclaimed as an Afrikaner

capital in the 1930s – as part of the consolidation of the Afrikaner *volk* – this city would

form a particular site in which the lines between Afrikaners and coloureds would need to

be clearly demarcated.

The second argument this chapter makes is that, after Pretoria emerged as the

administrative capital of the modern South African state in 1910, the local authority's

attempts to establish clear forms of urban control over coloureds and black Africans

alike, would enable the physical expansion of the state bureaucracy in Pretoria during

apartheid. This bureaucracy would be structured by vast urban planning projects that

displaced both urban communities in Pretoria and rural ones surrounding the city. In

addition, it would introduce an increasingly differentiated system of classification to

resolve pressing political and economic questions – such as the 'native' and 'coloured'

questions. This was the context out of which Eersterust was created as a coloured

township in 1962, and out of which it would become a site of research and intervention

for the University of Pretoria.

History of Pretoria and Marabastad

The history of Pretoria must be situated in the history of the greater Transvaal as a whole.

When groups of Afrikaners left the Cape Colony in the 1830s and moved into the interior

of South Africa – in a migration known as the Great Trek – they encountered various

groups of Bantu-speaking peoples (generally referred to in this dissertation as black

Africans). Prior to Afrikaners' arrival in the greater Transvaal, Nguni and Sotho-Tswana

speaking peoples had established themselves on both sides of the Magaliesberg – a

mountain range extending west and north from Pretoria.[220] The Ndebele in particular, had

moved into the Transvaal in the seventeenth century and were interspersed among the

Sotho by the time the Afrikaners moved into the interior in the 1840s.[221] This group,

known as the Transvaal Ndebele, must be distinguished from the Ndebele from Natal,

who migrated to the north in 1816 as result of the political upheaval of the *Mfecane*

(Zulu, meaning 'the crushing')/*Difaqane* (Sotho, meaning 'the scattering') – a period in

which the Zulu kingdom was expanded and consolidated under the leadership of Shaka.

These Ndebele from Natal, who became more commonly known as the Northern

Ndebele, eventually moved into present-day Zimbabwe after clashes with Afrikaners in

1833.[222]

By contrast, the Transvaal Ndebele, also known as Southern Ndebele, who had

been severely affected by these political upheavals, re-emerged under a strong chieftaincy

in the 1840s. One group of Transvaal Ndebele, known as the Ndzundza, had successfully

fought off Afrikaner encroachment, but in 1883 were finally defeated and forced into

servitude as indentured laborers on white farms.[223] Many became known as *inboekselings*

– indentured black African laborers who were progressively assimilated into Afrikaner

culture but racially differentiated from Afrikaners. Their descendants, the *oorlams,[224]*

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[220] H.P. Junod, "The Bantu Population of Pretoria" in *Pretoria: History of the City of Pretoria, 1855-1955* (Pretoria: The City Council of Pretoria, 1955), 66-67.
[221] Peter Delius, "The Ndzundza Ndebele: Indenture and the Making of Ethnic Identity" in *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa*, edited by Phillip Bonner, Isabel Hofmeyr, Deborah James and Tom Lodge (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001), 228.
[222] Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, 'Colonial' Experts, Local Interlocutors, Informants and the Making of an Archive on the 'Transvaal Ndebele', 1930 –1989, *Journal of African History,* 50 (2009), 64.
[223] Delius, "The Ndzundza Ndebele", 231-232.
[224] The term *oorlam* is of Malay origin meaning "those who are clever." In addition to being used as a descriptor for the descendants of *inboekselings,* the term was also used to refer to the descendants of a range of mixed groups of Khoi and Afrikaners, amongst others, who lived in the interior of the Cape along the Orange River, often alongside other groups like the Griqua (of similar 'mixed' origin). See Christopher

who were peoples of mixed origin with a history tied up in Afrikaner expansion and settlement into the interior – ie. a 'coloured' population indigenous to Pretoria and <u>not originating from the Cape</u> – that would form part of a permanently settled black community in Pretoria.

It was largely through this process of colonial conquest and settlement that Afrikaners established the South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* or ZAR) with the founding of Potchefstroom in 1839. After the British annexation of Natal in 1843, which up to that point had been a Boer Republic named Natalia, Afrikaners moved in large numbers to the Transvaal. By 1849, they had established three towns in addition to Potchefstroom: Zoutpansberg, Lydenburg and Rustenburg. Although Lydenburg was considered the unofficial capital of the ZAR, the *Volksraad* (the parliament of the ZAR) did not have a central meeting place or a particular town from which to govern the republic. As a result, the *Volksraad* established Pretoria as its central and permanent meeting place in 1855,[225] and in 1860, proclaimed Pretoria as the capital of the Transvaal.[226] The chosen site for Pretoria was the south side of the Magaliesberg – a fertile valley created by the Apies River – on two farms purchased by Marthinus Wessels Pretorius. Pretoria was named in honor of Andries Pretorius, one of the leaders of the Great Trek.[227]

Saunders and Nicholas Southey, *Historical Dictionary of South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 196.

[225] S.P. Engelbrecht, "Pretoria – Die Eerste Halfeeu" in *Pretoria: History of the City of Pretoria, 1855-1955* (Pretoria: The City Council of Pretoria, 1955), 1.

[226] Engelbrecht, "Pretoria – Die Eerste Halfeeu," 14.

[227] Engelbrecht, "Pretoria – Die Eerste Halfeeu," 6.

It is within this history of white conquest and settlement that the history of Marabastad is situated. Developed specifically as a black 'location',[228] Marabastad was one of the first of many settlements to spring up adjacent to Afrikaner towns and cities that were established in the interior of southern Africa during the course of the nineteenth century. The history of Marabastad is intertwined with change, urbanization and forced relocation and, as such, is consistent with the broader history of urban dispossession in South Africa, demonstrated in places like District Six (Cape Town) and Sophiatown (Johannesburg). Once an expanding township in the city, Marabastad was inextricably linked to Pretoria but was never allowed to be an integral part of it. As Pretoria expanded in size, Marabastad became surrounded by urban and industrial development. The township slowly diminished in size as inhabitants were forced to new racially segregated residential areas that were established outside the city limits from as early as 1934 to the late 1970s.[229]

Marabastad was one of two black African residential areas that developed in close proximity to the *kraal*[230] of Chief Maraba, head of a local clan of the Southern Ndebele. It was an informal community in which black laborers like wagon drivers, stable hands and domestic workers could find accommodation. The other residential area for both black Africans and *oorlams* (Pretoria's first known 'coloured' residents) was a mission station that came to play an important role in the development of urban black life in Pretoria.[231]

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[228] A term that predates 'township' but also used to describe what were often 'informal' neighborhoods, accompanied by informal housing.

[229] J.F.C. Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad* (Pretoria: Leopardstone Private Press, 2008), 15.

[230] A southern-African term used to refer to a village – derived in part from the English word 'corral'.

[231] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 17.

Given its centrality within the Transvaal and its fairly stable urban black population, Pretoria provided the Berlin Missionary Society with easy access to potential coverts.[232] On 5 June 1867, the ZAR granted the society twelve *erfs*[233] situated just outside the town. This land, called Frischgewaagd was subsequently transferred to the mission in 1870 for the sum of £300. Developed into a village-like community with a school and large church, this piece of land came to be known as Schoolplaats. Although the informal settlement around Maraba's *kraal* already existed, Schoolplaats was the first established residential 'location' or 'township' for black people associated with Marabastad.[234]

Schoolplaats was divided into two sections. In the first, the land was divided into plots on which both black Africans and *oorlams* could live. Houses were laid out in six rows and water was obtained from wells and a water furrow. The residents were able to grow crops and cultivate vegetable gardens at the annual rent of £1, payable to the mission. The second portion of the mission was set aside as agricultural land on which residents could farm, provided they, again, gave a portion of their returns to the mission. Residents were also required to pay school fees, and contribute towards collections for the maintenance of the mission. By 1884 a mission church, a school and parsonage had been established on the site.[235]

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[232] Michelle Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923," (MA diss., University of South Africa, 1994), 17.
[233] '*Erf*' is a term used in South Africa to refer to a plot of land usually demarcated for urban building purposes.
[234] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 20.
[235] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 20.

Schoolplaats provided accommodation for black Africans who preferred to live in town. For the newly urbanized, accommodation provided security in an otherwise insecure and alien environment. For families that migrated to town, living at Schoolplaats meant that the family unit remained intact. For *oorlams* in particular, it provided an escape from their subservient status since Afrikaner employers were more willing to release their servants if they professed a desire to convert to Christianity.[236] In addition, the education provided at Schoolplaats encouraged the growth of a small black African elite in Pretoria.[237]

By 1884, seventy families comprising of 64 men, 68 women and 230 children were living at Schoolplaats. By 1887 Friedrich Grünberger, who had taken over the mission station, felt that overcrowding at Schoolplaats would "endanger the health conditions of the congregation."[238] Grünberger asked the ZAR for more land and in August 1888, 67 *erfs*, west of Schoolplaats, were laid out between Skinnerspruit and the Apies River, close to Maraba's kraal. The area became known as Marabastad, named after Chief Maraba.[239] This was the first formal township to be directly administrated by the Pretoria Town Council and provided a less restrictive environment for blacks to live in than Schoolplaats.[240] The creation of Marabastad fundamentally altered the political and social landscape of black African inhabitants: conversion to Christianity and formal education were no longer prerequisites for accommodation, which in turn, drew a large number of workers to Pretoria, making the population of Marabastad far more diverse.[241]

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[236] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 23.
[237] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 20-21.
[238] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 24.
[239] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 25.
[240] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 18.
[241] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 25.

Between 1912 and 1920, the original site of Marabastad was slowly demolished as residents were moved to New Location, later renamed Bantule. Schoolplaats was eventually sold to the Pretoria City Council in 1926 and all residents had moved from the area by 1934.[242]

Contributing to the diversity of greater Marabastad, Indian tradesmen had begun to establish businesses in the early 1880s and 1903, and this area, south of the original site of Marabastad, was formally proclaimed as the Asiatic Bazaar. This area was set aside specifically so that the Indian community could develop a separate commercial and residential area away from central Pretoria. Much later, under apartheid in the 1960s and the 1970s, residents were forced to move to Laudium, although many retained their businesses in the Asiatic Bazaar.[243] In the 1890s the Cape Location was established –a residential area south of the Asiatic Bazaar set aside for 'Cape Coloureds' (which by this time was a category that included both *oorlams,* and 'coloureds' from the Cape who had moved into the interior as a result of the mining industry on the Witswatersrand). A small Muslim Malay community and a few Chinese traders also moved into the area.[244] During the 1960s, the residents of Cape Location were forced to move to Eersterust on the eastern side of Pretoria, while many of the Malays chose to move to Laudium.

By the early twentieth century, Marabastad was increasingly characterized as the urbanized, multicultural and multiracial community to the north-west of central Pretoria. It was a source of accessible cheap labor, but also offered both temporary and permanent employment opportunities to those from rural and economically depressed backgrounds.

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[242] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 13.
[243] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 13.
[244] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 18.

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand during the 1880s resulted in a dramatic increase in local and overseas migrants flocking to the newly established Johannesburg and adjacent mining villages and many workers transited through Pretoria before moving on to the gold mines.[245]

During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), a black African refugee population settled temporarily at the railway station in Pretoria. British military authorities had them removed to the area between the original Marabastad and the Asiatic Bazaar, which became known as New Marabastad. Soon other squatter populations displaced by the war moved into the area and New Marabastad quickly began to assume a permanent character, helping to alleviate the labor shortage in Pretoria created by the war.[246] However, New Marabastad soon became overcrowded and there was a constant shortage of water. This was aggravated by the relocation of the Schoolplaats community to New Marabastad in 1934. As a result, the township Atteridgeville was established in 1939 and the majority of the New Marabastad residents had been relocated there by 1960.[247]

Although black urban life in Marabastad since its inception was characterized by constant movement, relocating residents to new planned townships like Atteridgeville signaled the development of urban policy in the early twentieth century based on the discourse of sanitation. Residents were relocated based on the Pretoria municipality's claims that greater Marabastad was a 'slum'.[248] When the Group Areas Act of 1950 was passed, the discourse of sanitation gave way to the implementation of apartheid in which

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[245] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 182.
[246] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 42.
[247] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 13.
[248] Junod, "The Bantu Population of Pretoria," 77.

black Africans, coloureds and Indians were forcibly removed from Marabastad and sent to live in racially demarcated townships. Forced removals and other forms of social control like pass laws made Marabastad a base for resistance to apartheid, although as early as 1893, Mohandas Gandhi, working as an attorney in Pretoria, had already begun a campaign against discriminatory legislation directed at Indians. In addition, anti-pass law demonstrations in the 1920s were organized and held in Marabastad.[249]

Historiography of Marabastad

The historiography of Pretoria, on the whole, is fairly limited, and written almost exclusively in Afrikaans. As the administrative capital of South Africa, Pretoria has generally been marginal to the field of urban studies, consistently overlooked in favor of Johannesburg as the center of urban, economic and cultural production in this broader region of the former Transvaal. In the last few years, the University of Pretoria has launched an interdisciplinary research initiative called the Capital Cities Programme[250] under the leadership of urban scholar Alan Mabin, intended to encourage and support research on Pretoria. This initiative has thus far failed to generate a sustained body of scholarship on the city, and thus the historiography on Pretoria remains both limited and dated.[251] In addition, the existing historiography rarely makes mention of Pretoria's stable, urban black population since most contributions focus exclusively on the white population and the city's administrative history. These texts include J.J. Pieterse's *Geskiedenis van Pretoria tot 1877* (1942) and Robert Peacock's *Geskiedenis van*

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[249] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 20.
[250] Capital Cities Progamme: http://www.up.ac.za/capital-cities-irt
[251] Alan Mabin, "South African Capital Cities" in *Power and Powerlessness: Capital Cities in Africa*, ed. Simon Bekker and Göran Therborn (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), 182.

Pretoria, 1855-1902 (1955), and J.J.N. Cloete's *Die onstaan en ontwikkeling van die munisipale bestuur en administrasie van Pretoria tot 1910* (1960).[252] A few exceptions in which the history of black residents of Pretoria has been mentioned includes the official history of the city published by the Pretoria City Council in celebration of the centenary in 1955 (*Pretoria: History of the City of Pretoria, 1855-1955*). It provided a largely ethnographic overview of Pretoria's black inhabitants.[253] J. S. Bergh's history of Schoolplaats (*Die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap in Pretoria en Omgewing 1866-1881*, 1973)[254] draws on the Berlin Missionary Society's journals and is useful for understanding the early development of the urban black African community in Pretoria. It is however, overwhelmingly descriptive and does not engage critically with urban policy at the time.

Among the limited historiography devoted specifically to the history of black urban life in Pretoria are popular historical novels or memoirs like Es'kia Mphahlele's *Down Second Avenue* (1959) and Jay Naidoo's *Coolie Location* (1990). In the early post-apartheid period, a number of pamphlets and other short publications emerged, aimed primarily at a public audience in an attempt to draw attention to the history of forced removal and the heritage of Marabastad. One example is a pamphlet produced by the Marabastad Development Forum in 1998.[255] Another example of a popular history devoted to black urban life in Pretoria is J.F.C. Clarke's *A Glimpse into Marabastad* (2008). This is a lay history of Marabastad and is accompanied by the personal accounts

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[252] Translation: J.J. Pieterse, *History of Pretoria to 1877*, Robert Peacock's *History of Pretoria, 1855-1902* and J.J.N. Cloete's *The origin and development of Pretoria's municipal administration to 1910*.
[253] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 4.
[254] Translation*: The Berlin Missionary Society in Pretoria and its Environs.*
[255] Pretoria, *Marabastad: A diversity of cultures creating new opportunities*, 1998.

of former residents as well as a rich collection of photographs depicting the remaining structures in Marabastad such as the Nawab Miriammen Temple (see end of chapter).

Two of the most valuable contributions to the history of Pretoria – and more particularly Marabastad – are F.J. Nöthling's doctoral thesis, which was an extensive study on the Pretoria Municipality' administration of blacks in Pretoria between 1900 and 1914,[256] and Michelle Friedman's MA dissertation, *A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923*. It is however, Friedman's dissertation that is particularly useful for my own. The purpose of Friedman's dissertation was to challenge the dominant view of Pretoria as a 'white' city by restoring the agency of black Africans and their role in the shaping of the city and its history.[257] The dissertation explored the history of Old and New Marabastad – and to a lesser extent Schoolplaats – as the center of black African life in Pretoria, starting from the end of the nineteenth century to 1923, when the (Natives) Urban Areas Act was passed. Consequently, the major focus of the dissertation was not Pretoria itself, but Marabastad –as the center of urban black African settlement.

One of Friedman's central arguments was that when Pretoria gained municipal status in 1902 after the Anglo-Boer War, the Town Council was locked into a struggle to control every aspect of black Africans' lives. This struggle took place on two levels: one, with the black African population itself; and the other with the central government over who was ultimately responsible for providing housing, services, etc. to black Africans.

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[256] F.J. Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en on Pretoria (The Settlement of Coloured people in and around Pretoria), 1900-1914,* (Pretoria: Die Staatsdrukker, 1984), 39. 'Coloured' here refers to people of color and not specifically to people organized into the category of coloured as discussed in this dissertation.
[257] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 1.

Central to Friedman's analysis was the evolution of urban black African policy before the formal proclamation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923 – which placed the control and administration of urban Africans firmly in the hands of local government and provided the legal basis for urban segregation – and black African responses to administrative control before 1923.[258]

What makes Friedman's work useful for this dissertation is its focus on the early history of Marabastad and the ways in which the existence of a settled black African population structured urban policy. She argues that although the economic base of Pretoria differed substantially from the Rand, its close proximity to Johannesburg had important consequences for its development. Pretoria began as a relatively small town, and the absence of a large-scale industrial base until the establishment of ISCOR (Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation) in the 1930s highlights the uneven development of capitalism in the Transvaal and its impact on the processes of urbanization. The size and scale of African urbanization in Pretoria was far smaller than in Johannesburg, but black urbanization began far earlier in Pretoria, with the creation of a permanently settled urban black community in 1867 in the form of Schoolplaats (consisting of both black Africans and *oorlams*).[259] Friedman demonstrates the rootedness of black urbanization in Pretoria by suggesting that it was precisely due to the settled presence of blacks that removals from Marabastad often had to be accompanied by the creation of alternative urban townships. Both black Africans and *oorlams* in Pretoria often had no immediate ties to a rural past – it was thus impossible to send them 'back' to a rural area and so other urban

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[258] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 2.
[259] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 7.

accommodation had to be provided.[260] She uses the example of Petronella, a former

inboekseling (indentured black African laborer), who stated that, "I have lived in Pretoria

before Marabastad was laid out during the Kruger Regime having been brought into town

as a slave. I know of no other place under the sun as being my home except Pretoria."[261]

The settled nature of the black African community made it crucial for urban

policy in Pretoria to be determined as quickly as possible. Many urban residents were

oorlams – the 'coloured' descendants of *inboekselings* – who had often grown up on

Afrikaner farms, identified with Afrikaner culture, spoke Afrikaans and were usually

skilled in a trade. As a result, *oorlams* became (to local authorities), indistinguishable

from 'coloureds' who had come to Marabastad from the Cape in the late nineteenth

century as part of the gold rush on the Rand.[262] According to Friedman, when coloureds

from the Cape arrived in Pretoria, they encountered strong resentment from the local

oorlams population as they began to take up similar trades. Grünberger, the head of

Berlin Mission, referred to coloureds from the Cape as *'Kaapsche Bastarde'* (Cape

Bastards) who were of low morals, and recounted many fights between the 'Cape boys'

and the members of his congregation.[263] Despite this characterization – and the uniform

treatment of both the local *oorlams* and black Africans in Pretoria at this time – coloureds

began to enjoy far greater status than black Africans. For instance, coloureds could be

carriage drivers while black Africans could not. This, in all likelihood, provided

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[260] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 36.
[261] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 32.
[262] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 8.
[263] Cited in Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 36.

motivation for the *oorlams* to assume a coloured identity and to integrate into the

emerging and more recently-settled 'Cape' coloured community. [264]

The competition between coloureds and the local *oorlams* emerged due to

increasing preference given to coloureds by Afrikaner employers. This in itself was a

result of the broader battles between the central government, determined to establish a

uniform black urban policy throughout the country in the aftermath of the Ango-Boer

War, and the Pretoria Town Council, concerned with creating a policy specific to its own

needs: to bring black Africans, as well as coloureds and *oorlams,* under a singular

'native' urban policy.[265]

When Pretoria was granted municipal status on 16 January 1902, the nominated

Town Council immediately found itself in conflict with the central government over the

control of the city's black population.[266] The Transvaal Proclamation No.7/1902 granted

the Town Council municipal status and gave the council the ability:

> To lay out within the municipality such locations for aboriginal natives as may be
> deemed desirable and to compel all aboriginal natives except such as are
> employed in domestic service and are lodged on the premises of their employers
> to reside within such locations and make regulations for the proper carrying out of
> the powers herein conferred and for the carrying of passes by any natives with the
> Municipality.[267]

As far as the Town Council was concerned, these measures did not go far enough. It

objected to the term 'aboriginal natives' as this excluded coloureds from the definition

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[264] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 37.
[265] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 11.
[266] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 51.
[267] Transvaal Proclamation No.7/1902, Transvaal Colony Proclamations, 1900-1902 (London: Steven and Sons, 1904), 175.

and hence from the same measures of control. The Town Council insisted that coloureds fall under the definition of 'native'.[268] In July 1902, the Pretoria Town Council drafted municipal pass regulations in accordance with Section 27 (4) of Proclamation No.7 of 1902. These required every 'native' who intended to live and work in the Pretoria Municipality to carry a pass. The term 'native' was defined as:

> every male person above the age of fourteen years belonging to any of the aboriginal race…and every male person one of whose parents belongs to any such race or tribe."[269]

By extending the definition of 'native' to men who had black African parentage, the Pretoria Council attempted to incorporate coloureds into the category of 'native' and to shape urban policy accordingly.

This matter of deciding who was 'native' in Pretoria was part of a much larger question that was posed at the start of the twentieth century as the South African state was being formed – that of the 'native question.'[270] To resolve the issues of power and knowledge constituting the 'native question,' political leaders turned to the commission of inquiry, which was a central institution within the South African state since the late nineteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 1, the first commission of inquiry in the twentieth century was the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), which was convened in 1903 and was set up to investigate all aspects of 'native' life in relation to the labor shortages facing the mining sector. In order to develop a coherent native policy through which labor shortages could be addressed, the commission first needed to

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[268] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 55.
[269] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 58.
[270] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, 1990), 1.

find a suitable definition of 'native' – one that would serve as a classificatory device for a new dispensation in the colonial state that sought to unify the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River colonies.[271] It was in the common concern for control of the 'native' peoples and their labor that the bitter divisions of the South African War were set aside. Finally deciding on the definition of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, rather than that of the Cape, which differentiated between 'coloured' and 'native,' the commission decided that, "(a) 'native' means an aboriginal inhabitant of Africa, south of the Equator, and *to include half-castes and their descendants by Natives* [my emphasis]."[272]

Although the SANAC adopted a definition of 'native' that most closely resembled the existing definition in the Transvaal, the Pretoria Town Council's management and control of Marabastad and its 'native' population was still hindered by different and competing jurisdictions. More particularly, coloureds were still not subject to the same restrictions as black Africans despite being defined as belonging to the category of 'native'. Friedman writes that by 1903, Marabastad and New Marabastad were under the control of the Town Council, while Schoolplaats was still under the jurisdiction of the Berlin Mission Society, which owned the property. The Asiatic Bazaar was controlled by central government through the Supervisor of Asiatics, while the Cape Location was under the authority of the Department of Native Affairs. The separation of authority that existed within each designated area made it virtually impossible to establish uniform urban policy.[273] With the Cape Location in particular, the separation of jurisdiction created conflict between the Town Council, which insisted on imposing a curfew and a

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[271] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 33.
[272] Report of South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), 1903-1905 (Cape Town: Cape Times Printers, 1905), 13.
[273] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 115.

special night pass for coloureds, and the Native Affairs Department, which stated that coloureds did not need to be in possession of a pass and should not be subject to a curfew. In order to bring the administration of coloureds under its control, the Town Council incorporated the Cape Location into Marabastad in December 1905.[274]

Friedman's most significant contribution to the historiography is that she demonstrates how central the settled black urban population of Marabastad was to the attempt to create a coherent urban 'native' policy in Pretoria. Moreover, her work demonstrates that 'native' administration by the early twentieth century was, in fact, just as concerned with controlling the mobility of coloureds – who came to occupy an increasingly ambiguous social and economic position – as it was with bringing the urban black African population under its authority. This ambiguous positioning of coloureds in Pretoria – demonstrated by competing jurisdictions as well as conflicts between local and central authorities – was also reflected in varying official attitudes towards coloureds. For instance, in a letter to his friend and attorney Richard Solomon on 19 February 1902, the Commissioner of Native Affairs, Sir Godfrey Lagden wrote that:

> (t)he matter is bristling with difficulties: but I hope we shall have the courage to avert the repetition of the Cape system by which coloured people (became) a curse and a nuisance. I am not in any way pledged to help them and will not propose any legislation that saddle futurity with iniquities, if I can help it. The matter is rather pressing to me.[275]

This statement can be contrasted with the position expressed in the SANAC report, which hesitantly included coloureds in the category of 'native' due to their ability to raise

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[274] Friedman, "A History of Africans in Pretoria," 21.
[275] Nöthling, *Die vestiging van Gekleurdes in en om Pretoria,* 39.

"themselves to a high standard" by their "industry, intelligence and self-respect."[276] A missionary based in the Transvaal, H.P. Junod, described coloureds as the "generally well-behaved part of the non-European population" and as a group of people who "bravely meet their obligations in life" since they are "generally clean and ordered."[277]

Friedman's contribution to the historiography demonstrated how the increasing ambivalence around the positioning of coloureds in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, particularly in relation to white society, was foundational to Pretoria's early history as a city and to the formulation of its urban policy. This urban policy, which before the war was concerned with grouping all colonized subjects into the category of 'native' to clearly demarcate the boundaries between 'European' and 'Non-European',[278] would, with the establishment of Pretoria as the capital of the modern South African state in 1910, shift progressively towards more detailed forms of racial and ethnic categorization, resulting in Pretoria's emergence as the model apartheid city.

Eersterust and the Making of the 'Model Apartheid City'

In addition to tracing how Pretoria's early urban policy was shaped by racial anxieties around the social and political position of coloureds, this chapter also demonstrates that forced removals pre-dated the passing of the Group Areas Act (1950) – evidenced by the creation of Atteridgeville (1939) – but that, even after new locations like Bantule (1934) were created, they were often physically adjacent to white residential areas in the general vicinity of the city-center. What apartheid introduced to Pretoria was a spatial

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[276] SANAC Report, 13.
[277] Junod, "The Bantu Population of Pretoria," 78.
[278] Thriven Reddy, "The politics of naming: The constitution of coloured subjects in South Africa" in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape* Town (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 69.

arrangement in which the urban core of the city was made to be exclusively white, serviced by the labor of black commuters who has been removed to the spatially distant periphery.[279]

The establishment of segregated townships like Eersterust after the passing of the Group Areas Act (1950) demonstrated the attempt on the part of both the Pretoria City Council, along with the various functions of the apartheid government, to plan and administer Pretoria as a model apartheid city. Following the first set of forced removals from places like Marabastad – which included the creation of Eersterust and Laudium (the designated 'Indian' area) and relegated blacks to the urban periphery, away from places of work and economic opportunity – came the second, more 'grand' phase of apartheid planning, intertwined with the re-organization of rural reserves into ethnic and independent Bantustans.[280] Unlike Johannesburg, Pretoria had had a stable urban black population since the early years of its establishment but was also situated adjacent to a fairly large rural population.[281] In 1961, the rural population north-west of Pretoria was organized into the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana – the ethnic homeland for 'Tswanas'[282] – and twenty years later, the Bantustan of KwaNdebele was established north-east of Pretoria for the Ndebele 'ethnic' group. Along with the creation of these Bantustans came townships like Winterveld, Mabopane, Soshanguve and Hammanskraal (Bophuthatswana); and Ekangala (KwaNdebele) – all of which straddled the boundaries

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[279] Sydney Mufamadi (Minister of Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs – formerly the Department of Provincial and Local Government from 1999 to 2008), cited in Mabin, "South African Capital Cities," 180.

[280] Mufamadi cited in Mabin, "South African Capital Cities," 180.

[281] Clive M. Chipkin, "Preparing for Apartheid" in *Architecture of the Transvaal,* eds. Roger Fisher, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1998), 162.

[282] Chipkin, "Preparing for Apartheid,"162.

between Pretoria and the homelands.[283] This 'second' phase of planning upheld the white

urban core – already achieved by the Group Areas Act – but created an even larger and

more distant outer periphery from which black labor could be sourced, accompanied by

high volumes of long-distance commuting between the outer periphery and the urban

core.[284] After the first phase of forced removals, Marabastad would be used as the Public

Utility Transport Corporation (PUCTO) bus depot, from which workers would travel

back to the Bantustans.[285]

Within this context of apartheid planning came the expansion of the physical and

architectural manifestation of the state in Pretoria between the 1950s and the late 1970s.

Deborah Posel writes that at the time of the Union in 1910, the various administrative

units of government in Pretoria were contained within the Union Buildings – so named

and so designed by Sir Herbert Baker, with the two sweeping arms of this government

building literally embracing Pretoria from its hillside perch above the city, to symbolize

the new 'Union' of South Africa. By the 1970s however, the work of 'governing' had

expanded to such an extent that the functions of state were spread to new office buildings

across the city – many of them huge, sprawling structures designed by graduates from the

University of Pretoria's school of architecture (detailed in Chapter 6).[286]

Housed in these sprawling buildings were mid-to-senior level civil servants whose

sets of expertise, as demonstrated in Chapter 2, were developed at the University of

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[283] P.S. Hattingh and A.C. Horn, "Pretoria" in *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities*, ed. Anthony Lemon (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1991), 149-150.
[284] Mufamadi in Mabin, "South African Capital Cities," 180.
[285] Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad*, 21.
[286] Deborah Posel, "Does Size Matter: The apartheid state's powers of penetration" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić. (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 237.

Pretoria or other Afrikaans universities. Thus, along with the state's physical expansion

across the city of Pretoria[287] to accommodate and include the above mentioned forms of

apartheid planning, the civil service in Pretoria[288] expanded rapidly to staff its mammoth

departments, like the Department of Native Affairs.[289] As a result, Pretoria's white

population doubled from 151 000 to 304 618 between 1951 and 1970,[290] with Afrikaners

constituting almost 90 percent of Pretoria's civil service.[291] Although job reservation for

whites – labor legislation that had been put in place under the Pact government (1924-

1933) (discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5) to help alleviate the 'poor white' problem

and advance the Afrikaner people – cut across the various levels in the civil service,

lower-level positions especially, provided job security for working class whites who

would otherwise have fallen into the 'poor white' category.[292] As Posel has indicated,

despite the fact that these lower-level civil servants were often undereducated and

underqualified for the positions they occupied – leading the apartheid government to

launch an internal investigation into 'incompetence' in 1969 – the growing shortage of

whites to staff the bureaucracy kept job reservation in place, with Afrikaner men as the

main beneficiaries. As Danie Joubert, Secretary of Transport put it in 1967:

> What would happen if you gave them their walking tickets? They would be thrust
> out in a hard commercial world with which they would not be able to cope. These
> officials invariably have wives and children, where at present they had their self-
> respect and the children can thrust back their shoulders at school because their
> father is employed. Maybe the salary paid to his father is higher than his service

[287] CDE, *Pretoria: From apartheid' model city to a rising African star,* 9.
[288] Posel, "Does Size Matter," 239.
[289] See Ivan Evans' *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (1997).
[290] CDE, *Pretoria: From apartheid' model city to a rising African star*, 6.
[291] Posel, 239; CDE, *Pretoria: From apartheid' model city to a rising African star*, 6.
[292] As mentioned in Chapter 1, the poor white problem – as both a political question and a material problem, was in retreat by the early 1940s (Uys, 2010:237), but it was precisely through job reservation during apartheid, as discussed here, that 'poor whiteism' was kept at bay.

warrants, but at least he is helping to bring up children who may one day be good South Africans.[293]

With Pretoria's designation as South Africa's administrative capital since 1910, it was invariably the city in which the Pact government's job creation and labor protection policies (discussed in Chapter 4) for whites was devised in the 1920s and 1930s, and the center from which it was administered nationwide. These policies and their extension into the apartheid era provided a form of economic security for Afrikaners specifically in Pretoria – in addition to the employment opportunities provided by ISCOR – the Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation established by the state in Pretoria in 1930, as well the South African Railways, another parastatal that provided jobs mostly for whites. It is thus not surprising that post-apartheid pressure for affirmative action within the public sector, the closure of the iron and steel industries and railway employment shrinkage has left Afrikaners previously employed in these sectors living in dire poverty.[294] In fact, Pretoria is listed as one of the cities in South Africa where white poverty is most visible.[295]

Pretoria is a city founded upon Afrikaners' anxieties concerning the social and political position of colonized subjects. These anxieties were addressed through the creation of an urban administrative system that organized all colonized subjects into the category of 'native'. During apartheid this established practice of segregation and urban administration in Pretoria – developed in part through later forms of urban policy such as the (Natives) Urban Areas Act, discussed in Chapter 4 – unfolded on a much grander

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[293] "Many public servants unqualified," *Rand Daily Mail*, October 20, 1967. See Posel, "Does Size Matter: The apartheid state's powers of penetration" (1998).
[294] *Pretoria: From apartheid' model city to a rising African star*, 7.
[295] Mabin, "South African Capital Cities," 182.

scale in the 1940s, supported by a racial apparatus no longer concerned with merely

demarcating the boundaries between 'European' and 'Non-European,' but with marking

the specificities of race and ethnicity. This was made possible not only through the

physical expansion of the state in the city of Pretoria, but through the state's bureaucratic

expansion and the staffing of countless state departments with those whom would

otherwise be called 'poor whites'. It is in this context that the creation of Eersterust as a

coloured township is significant, precisely because it represents the convergence of

Pretoria's apartheid bureaucracy, as well as its forms of urban planning and racial

categorization. In addition, the creation of Eersterust was significant because its

designation as a 'coloured area' singled it out it for particular forms of intervention, more

specifically, guiding residents forcibly removed there from Marabastad into a 'self-

reliant' unit.

In a 1959 report, almost ten years after the passing of the Group Areas Act

(1950), the Townplanning Committee of the City Council of Pretoria indicated that the

farm Derdepoort, east of the city, had been set aside for the creation of a 'coloured'

township.[296] In June 1960, a sub-committee of the Council, which included the manager

of the Department of Non-European Affairs, decided that the coloured township would

be named 'Eersterust,' after an existing black African township in close proximity to the

farm Derdepoort.[297] Although the demarcation of the farm as a 'coloured' area had

already taken place by 1959, in February 1960 the City Council approached the Group

Areas Board for an extension of the 'evacuation period' from Marabastad.[298] Although

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[296] Proposed Coloured Township. TAB vol. 3/4/1652, File 125/11.
[297] Naming of Derdepoort Coloured Township. TAB vol. 3/4/1652, File 125/11.
[298] Group Area for Coloureds and Indians: Extension of Evacuation Period. TAB vol. 3/4/1652, File 125/11.

other reports by the Townplanning Committee in 1960 refer to the provision of housing –

in the form of the state's Non-European economic and sub-economic units (discussed in

more detail in Chapter 6)[299] – the first indication that coloureds had been moved to

Eersterust from Marabastad came in 1962, in a letter addressed to the Non-European

Affairs Department. The letter came from the Cape Location Vigilance and Housing

Committee and stated that the Minister of Coloured Affairs and Community

Development, P.W. Botha, had visited Eersterust to officially open the community

hall.[300] Botha's visit to Eersterust, not only as the Minister of Coloured Affairs, but as the

senior state official tasked with 'community development,' is a demonstration of what the

state's official discourse on coloureds and their political and social position in South

Africa looked like in practice, on a local level. By visiting a newly created segregated

coloured township and inaugurating the opening of a space designed specifically for

residents to gather as a 'community', Botha's visit would inaugurate the 'birth' and

official recognition of Eersterust. In addition to the forms of disciplinary intervention

from the University of Pretoria that would follow, this 'community' could emerge as a

self-reliant entity, along with the greater coloured population of South Africa who would

be made into their 'own' group.

It was through the University of Pretoria's social work and sociology department

that Eersterust would be subject to disciplinary intervention and, in fact, through the very

creation of Eersterust that this university department found its site of research. Already

shaped by the discursive movement from the poor white problem to the 'coloured

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[299] Behuising vir Kleurlinge, Indiërs en Asiate (Housing for Coloureds, Indians and Asiatics). TAB vol. 3/4/1652, File 125/11.
[300] Community Centre. Eersterust Township. TAB, Vol. 3/4/1652, File, 125/11.

question' – evidenced materially by the state's employment provisions and social welfare initiatives for poor whites in Pretoria specifically – as well as Cronje's particular focus on coloureds, Eersterust became a site, first for sociological research, and subsequently for social work intervention. These forms of intervention will be discussed in Chapter 5. The next chapter will provide the political background to the emergence of the 'coloured question.'
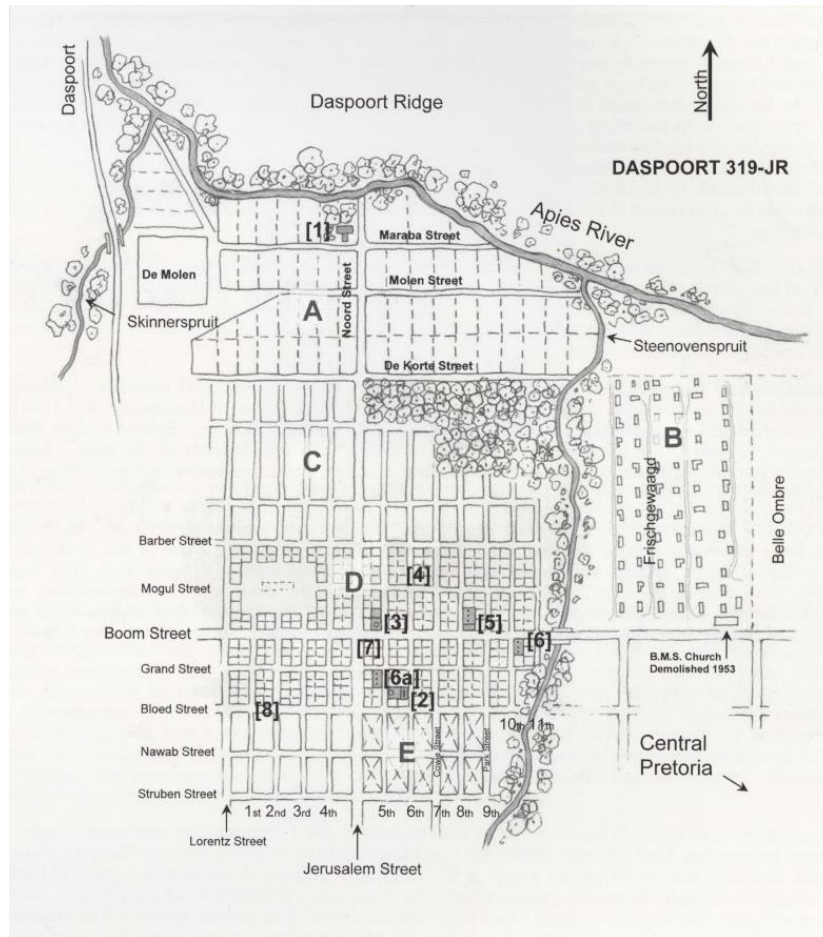
Figure 2 – Greater Marabastad, 1870-1975. J.F.C. Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad***, 12.**

A: Old Marabastad

B: Schoolplaats

C: New Marabastad

D: Asiatic Bazaar

E: Cape Location

Figure 3 – The Nawab Miriammen Temple, built in Marabastad between 1928 and 1939 by the Tamil League of Pretoria. Photographed in 1970. J.F.C. Clarke, *A Glimpse into Marabastad***, 23.**

Chapter 4: Background to the Poor White Problem, the Native Question, and the Coloured Question, 1903-1976

Introduction

As indicated in Chapter 1, the 'coloured question' emerged as a political problem in the late 1930s through the state's discursive move away from the poor white problem, towards the increasing urgency of addressing the 'native question'. This chapter argues that the reasons for the coloured question's emergence as a political problem at this particular time can be traced through changes in the way that the coloured subject had come to be (re)constituted in the first few decades of the 20th century – more specifically in the shift from the 'coloured' as a colonial subject in the late 19th century (marked by the Cape Liberal discourse of 'civilization') towards the positioning of 'coloured' as a biological category (increasingly marked by the discourse of 'miscegenation' in the 1930s). In addition, this chapter argues that it was essentially the increasing consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism by the mid-1930s and the need to constitute the Afrikaner *volk* as racially pure and distinct that pushed the coloured question to the fore of political discourse. Through the discourse of miscegenation, Afrikaner nationalists in particular were able to articulate the necessity of addressing the coloured question by removing coloureds from their position as an "appendage to white society."[301] After the 1948 victory of the nationalist party, the coloured category progressively moved from the space of the biological, towards the social. In this move, the 'coloured question' – as formulated by Afrikaner nationalists – would be resolved through the constitution of

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[301] Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A history of South African 'Coloured' politics,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 246.

coloureds as their own separate group, demonstrated in the creation of the coloured category as common sense.

This chapter also provides the background to the political crisis that emerged in the wake of the 1976 Soweto Uprising and demonstrates that the neoliberal reforms introduced in the mid-1970s signaled not only a shift in the ways that the 'native question' had been previously articulated in state and political discourse, but also in the state's language of race. It will show that, through the liberalization of the market, in which black Africans and coloureds would be 'guided' towards performing as economic rational 'men', as well as the increased deferral of state responsibility for public services to the private sector.

Political Questions: The Poor Whites Problem, the 'Native Question' and the 'Coloured Question' (1903-1948)

As discussed in Chapter 2, the haste with which the Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans (momentarily) reconciled their differences in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War – a crucial moment of modern South African state formation – was premised on the 'European' unity it would require not only to address the 'native question' but also the 'poor white problem.' At the beginning of the 20th century, white poverty – produced in part by the discovery of gold and accompanying socio-economic transformations in the region of the Transvaal in the aftermath of the South African war – was constructed by church and state as a social problem in need of intervention.[302] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the South African state, more particularly the Pact government (1924-1933), under

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[302] Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White working class families in Johannesburg.* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 133.

the leadership of General Barry Hertzog, introduced a number of measures to alleviate white poverty, such as the 'Civilized Labor' Policy. This policy effectively protected white workers from black competition through job reservation and created employment opportunities on the railways and the South African Iron Steel Industrial Corporation (ISCOR).[303]

The poor white problem was entangled with the native question: long-term white economic prosperity was not only dependent upon 'uplifting' and 'remediating' poor whites, but also on the state's ability to devise a set of strategies that would effectively organize 'native' labor into the appropriate sectors of the economy.[304] As discussed in Chapter 1, the British High Commissioner to South Africa appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) in 1903 to inquire into and to report on the "status and condition of the Natives; the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed; their education, industrial training; and labour."[305] According to Ashforth, the recommendations laid out in the report of this commission, as an official solution to the native question, proposed a scheme for the division of territory and the distribution of people according to a pattern which would later become known as segregation (and eventually, apartheid). From the differentiation of 'Native' from 'European' derived the divisions of sovereignty and citizenship, in which natives, constituted as a subject race,[306]

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[303] Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, eds., *South Africa – A Modern History*, 5th ed. (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 301.

[304] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing), 23; Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 23.

[305] Report of South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), 1903-1905 (Cape Town: Cape Times Printers, 1905), 1.

[306] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 53.

would be 'distributed' in rural areas through the reservation of land and a reorganization of the 'tribal system'.[307]

The SANAC report and its recommendations laid the foundation for legislation in the 1920s that would constitute black Africans as an illegitimate and impermanent presence in urban areas, deferring the ability to exercise their political rights to the 'native' reserves. As the discussion on liberalism later in this chapter will demonstrate, this plan would effectively allow the state to organize 'native' labor into the appropriate categories of the economy, while also claiming to grant 'natives' political rights by designating the reserves as their 'natural home,' and as the particular geography in which their rights as 'free men' could be exercised. The passing of this legislation – the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 in particular – was premised on the Stallard Commission, which in 1921 argued that "the Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."[308] This recommendation effectively denied black Africans any unconditional rights in urban areas. Regardless of their material security, good police record, or length of residence, all black Africans would be no more than "temporary sojourners" in the urban areas.[309]

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which was a measure for controlling black Africans who were already in the urban areas or those who wished to enter these

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[307] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 70.
[308] Ivan Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 31.
[309] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 32.

areas was aimed at providing the 'final solution' to the native question. This act rested on three general principles: first, it entrenched Stallard's argument that the presence of black Africans in the urban areas should be limited strictly to their utility in the urban economy. This in turn, led to the introduction of influx control in the form of pass books, which would restrict black African access to the city.[310] Second, the Native (Urban Areas) Act instituted residential segregation for all urban areas. Capturing white unease about 'racial integration', the Stallard Commission had expressed concern over blacks and whites 'living cheek by jowl' in shantytowns, particularly in Johannesburg, the major industrial zone of South Africa.[311] In addition, residential segregation would provide a much-needed antidote to 'inevitable miscegenation,' but was also necessary for implementing strict administrative controls to monitor black Africans in urban areas. Third, the act provided for the creation of a segregated municipal infrastructure to regulate urban native policy, following the recommendation of the Stallard Commission to limit the housing market for black Africans in urban areas to townships so that "no Natives to be allowed to reside elsewhere."[312]

In 1934, the United Party (UP) was formed through a coalition between Hertzog and Smuts – two political rivals brought together by a common interest in addressing

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[310] Influx control refers broadly to the system of laws and regulations which governed black Africans' residence and employment in the 'white' urban areas of the country, often hinged on a document called a pass book that allowed black Africans to be legally resident in towns or cities (Posel, *The Making of Apartheid* vii). By 1937, influx control legislation allowed black African men 14 days to find work in the towns or return to the rural reserves. In 1952, the Section 10 legislation was introduced, which denied any black African, male or female, the right to live in an urban area if they were not born there, unless he or she has lived there continuously for 15 years or had served under the same employer for 10 years. In addition, it reduced the amount of time to find employment in an urban area to 72 hours (Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey, *Historical Dictionary of South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 132-133.
[311] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 32.
[312] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 32.

labor shortages, and by implication, resolving the native question. While Hertzog's main support came from Afrikaner farmers and intellectuals, Smut's South African Party (SAP) received most of its support from English-speaking whites and industrialists. At the time of the coalition, the Great Depression, followed by a severe drought, exacerbated the existing problem of a shortage of unskilled labor on the mines as well as labor shortages on white farms.[313] In addition, the wartime boom of the late 1930s led to the expansion of secondary industry such as manufacturing, and increased demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. As a result, black African movement into towns and cities accelerated, away from rural reserves as well as from white farms. Despite the controls put in place by the Native (Urban Areas) Act, the presence of increasingly permanent black urban residents created a number of problems for municipalities who were unable to cope, leading to conflict with the central government.[314] Moreover, black Africans were selling their labor in towns rather than in mines and, in the absence of proper housing for black Africans, informal settlements sprang up around major industrial centers while white farmers complained about their inability to find sufficient labor.[315] By the end of the Second World War, the 'final solution' to the native question, proposed by measures like Native (Urban Areas) Act, had not succeeded in effectively distributing 'native' labor to the major sectors of production.

By the 1940s, the political discourse on the native question had also begun to differ fundamentally from its articulation in the early 1930s.[316] The political climate of the late 1940s had been shaped by economic transformations in the 1930s: the

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[313] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 72.
[314] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 115.
[315] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 115.
[316] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 119.

dislocations caused by the growth of employment opportunities for black Africans in towns; the increasing impoverishment of the 'native' reserves; and the reorganization of production on white farms. In addition, the 1940s saw the reinvigoration of black political organizations like the African National Congress (ANC), drawing on global post-war discourses on anti-colonialism and human rights to make a set of political demands. For instance, the ANC drew substantially on the Atlantic Charter to write its Bill of Rights in 1943, which demanded the "freedom of the African people from all discriminatory laws whatsoever".[317] Moreover, Afrikaner nationalist organizations and cultural movements, formed in the 1930s had, by the beginning of the Second World War, once again brought to the fore the historically uneasy relationship between the political interests of Afrikaners and those of English-speaking whites. It is within this context, and as a response to these material conditions that the United Party government – under Smuts – appointed the Native Laws Commission (1946), also known as the Fagan Commission, to investigate the 'native' question, through the issue of urban 'native' labor. The Commission was instructed to inquire into and report on:

- the operation of laws in force on the Union relating to Natives in or near urban areas where Natives are congregated for industrial purposes other than mining;
- the operation of the Native pass laws requiring the production by the Natives of documents of identification
- the employment in the mines and other industries of migratory labour; its economic and social effect upon the lives of the people concerned; and the future policy to be followed in regard thereto

and to draft such legislation as may be necessary to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission.[318]

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[317] Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa – A Modern History*, 362.
[318] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 120.

The Fagan Commission's findings rested on three basic propositions: first, that the movement of black Africans to towns and cities was an economic phenomenon; second, that it was impossible to prevent or turn it back; and third, that it could be guided and regulated. The Fagan Commission concluded that the presence of a permanently resident 'native' population in urban areas was neither desirable nor undesirable, but merely inevitable: labor was needed, and so people were needed. In addition, it declared that the Stallard Commission's conclusion that 'natives' had no permanent place in towns[319] was a 'false policy', which should be replaced by an administratively effective and just policy of housing control. According to the Fagan Commission, the most effective way of balancing labor supplies between urban and rural sectors laid in the control of the provision and allocation of urban housing for black Africans.[320]

The Fagan Commission's insistence that black urbanization could not be stemmed ran directly counter to the emerging nationalist policy of separate development. In 1947, the Herenigte Nasionale Party ('Reunited' National Party), later simply referred to as the National Party under D.F. Malan, established its own commission to investigate the 'Colour Question' in South Africa. Known as the Sauer Commission, its report advocated for a return to Stallardist principles for the towns, a firm control of the 'native' labor on white farms and a process of territorial separation, with the development of the reserves as the 'proper' place of the 'natives' (as opposed to the cities).[321] The report presented 'two roads': one of black African assimilation into 'white' society – which would lead to the inevitable destruction of the 'white race' – or separate development, in which the

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[319] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 124.
[320] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 125.
[321] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 136.

various races could develop in their own 'spheres' and along their own 'lines'.[322] According to Deborah Posel, the National Party based its 1948 election campaign on the Sauer Commission Report,[323] proposing 'separate development' as the final solution to the native question. Separate development would eventually be achieved through the unequal division of territory, the distribution of people and the division of sovereignty and citizenship initially proposed in the SANAC Report in 1905. As indicated in Chapter 1, the 'coloured question' emerged as a political problem in the late 1930s through the state's discursive move away from the poor white problem, towards the increasing urgency of addressing the native question. The reasons for the coloured question's emergence as a political problem at this particular time can be traced through changes in the way that the coloured subject had come to be (re)constituted in the first few decades of the 20th century – more specifically in the shift from the 'coloured' as a colonial subject in the late 19th century (marked by the Cape Liberal discourse of 'civilization') towards 'coloured' as a biological category (increasingly marked by the language of 'miscegenation' in the 1930s).

With British rule in the early 19th century came changes in the political and economic structure of the Cape Colony, which at that point had been based primarily on an agrarian economy, supported by slave (or indentured, in the case of 'indigenous' KhoiSan peoples) labor. From the 1820s, the philanthropic movement in Britain introduced a commitment to free labor in the Cape in the form of the Ordinance 50 of 1828, which established the principle of equality before the law for all free people,

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[322] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse*, 135-136.
[323] Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961,* 5.

regardless of race. The ordinance was followed by the abolition of slavery in 1834 (often

cited as one of the various reasons that the Afrikaners moved from the Cape into the

interior), after which a non-racial franchise was introduced, based on wage and property

qualifications. Known as the Cape Liberal tradition (discussed later in the chapter), the

premise of 'free' labor also held the promise of equal rights for those who, regardless of

race, were able to acquire property and in so doing, gain political rights and a 'civilized'

status in colonial society. It was however, precisely because of the history of servitude in

the colonial Cape that very few free blacks met the qualifications for the non-racial

franchise. Those who had progressively come to identify themselves as 'coloured' in

order to distinguish themselves from 'natives,' and who possessed the necessary

qualifications for the non-racial franchise thus constituted a small section of colonial

society.[324] Among them were those who were light-skinned enough to 'pass' into white

society altogether, which would, until the implementation of apartheid, remain a viable

(though highly secretive) path to obtaining political rights for those within this more

privileged part of the 'coloured'[325] demographic.[326]

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[324] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 8-9.

[325] Given the heterogeneity of the slave and free black population in colonial Cape Town, various sub-groups were formed based on social ties and religious affiliations. For instance, in the early 1800s, free blacks along with Afrikaners and the descendants of Khoisan who sought to free themselves from the constraints of the colony, formed a 'mixed' group and established themselves on the Cape's northern frontier, engaging in hunting, trading and herding (Lewis, 1987:9). They began to identify themselves as 'Griqua' – taking on name of an old Khoisan clan. In addition, Cape Muslims – referred to as 'Cape Malay' because of the Dutch East Indian origin of the first Muslims in the Cape – mobilized and identified around a set of religious, education and social institutions that began to emerge in Cape Town in the 1820s (Bickford-Smith, 1994:299). The category of 'coloured' was taken progressively by the colonial state to usually include sub-groups such as Malays and Griquas, although the term 'Cape Coloured' was also often used as a descriptor for all 'coloureds' except Malays. By 1959, the apartheid state would use these subgroups as 'ethnic' categories within the broader category of 'coloured' to prevent reclassification as 'white' (Reddy, 2001:75).

[326] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 9; 13.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of coloureds in industrial occupations had almost doubled since 1891, as did the number of coloured clerks and shopkeepers. Although agriculture remained the largest employer, these changed in occupation along with the emergence of a few coloured professionals such as teachers, constituted a small but growing coloured elite who would be able to qualify for the non-racial franchise.[327] During the Anglo-Boer War, colonial officials, most notably Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Alfred Milner, promised blacks that support for the British War effort and in turn, a British victory over the Afrikaners, would ensure 'equal laws' and 'equal liberties' for all races in South Africa. In the Cape in particular, coloureds were promised that their compatriots in the Afrikaner republics – the Orange Free State and the ZAR/Transvaal – would most certainly be given the franchise once these territories had been annexed. Despite their support, the British victory in 1902 did not bring the extension of the franchise to coloureds in the annexed Afrikaner republics, nor did it bring equal liberties for blacks in general. In fact, as indicated in Chapter 1, the SANAC Report (1905) proposed that the unified South African state adopt the former Afrikaner republics' definition of 'native', which involved incorporating coloureds into that category (along with its political implications).[328] By 1909, following approval by the British parliament, the Cape Colony, Natal Colony and the two former Afrikaner republics were combined to form the Union of South Africa, in which only coloureds in the Cape and Natal had the right to vote.[329]

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[327] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 12.
[328] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 15; 41.
[329] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 29.

In 1913, General Hertzog broke away from Botha and Smuts' SAP and formed the National Party (NP). He began to pursue coloured voters in order to secure key seats in the Western Cape for 1915 general elections. The NP's 'native policy' was based unambiguously on "the fundamental principle of the supremacy of the European population in a spirit of Christian trusteeship, utterly rejecting every attempt to mix the races." While the party advocated for the total segregation of 'natives' from white society, Hertzog declared that coloureds would occupy a different position. In a 1913 speech in Pretoria, he stated that he "did not wish to treat the coloured man as native" for "no man with justice could treat him as such" and that coloureds should be placed "on a platform apart from the natives." However, what this meant for coloureds both politically and socially was unclear.[330] Although the SAP won the 1915 election, for the NP, the loss of the coloured vote in certain constituencies proved fatal. For instance, in Stellenbosch where there were an estimated 700 coloured voters, John X. Merriman of the SAP (former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, 1980-1910) defeated his nationalist counterpart 1674 votes to 856.[331]

Nine years later, ahead of the 1924 general elections, Hertzog promised coloured voters a 'new deal'. In exchange for their support, coloureds would share in the privileges legislated for white workers and would be exempted from the restrictions applied to 'natives'. They would not be included in white society, but as a 'group' that shared European values and culture, would be granted similar economic opportunities and political rights. The National Party – through a coalition with the Labour Party – formed

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[330] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 83.
[331] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 84.

the Pact government and won the election with substantial coloured support.[332] Almost immediately after this election, the Civilized Labour Policy was implemented in which "labour rendered by persons whose standard of living conforms to the standard generally regarded as tolerable from the European standpoint" was to replace 'uncivilized' labor, rendered by "less developed" and "barbarous" peoples. As promised, coloureds were incorporated into this policy theoretically – based on their 'shared European values and culture' – but in practice, only whites benefitted. For instance, on the railways, the increase in white laborers far outpaced that of coloureds, and coloureds hired to replace black Africans were paid less than their white counterparts. The Minister of Railways and Harbours, C.W. Malan, explained that since coloureds had a lower level of 'civilization' than whites, they could not expect to be paid the same wages.[333]

In addition to including coloureds in the Civilized Labour Policy, Hertzog indicated in a 1925 speech to his Smithfield constituency that he intended to extend the coloured franchise to the rest of the country. Declaring that the 'coloured question' was inseparable from the 'native question', Hertzog argued that coloureds could only be granted political rights in South Africa once 'natives' had been fully segregated from white society.[334] In June 1926, he introduced the Coloured Person's Rights (CPR) Bill, which in its first section, repealed the Cape's non-racial franchise. This would remove black Africans in the Cape from the voter's roll and would make coloureds complicit in their disenfranchisement. In Section 5, it proposed that coloureds (defined in the bill as someone who was "not a 'Native', Asian or European") living in provinces outside of the

[332] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 119.
[333] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 133.
[334] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 136.

Cape, who could read the registration form, write their name, age, occupation and address, and sign their name and who "had a standard of life conformable to that of European civilization" could go on the coloured voter's list.[335] Opposition to the bill would come from within Hertzog's own party, with Tielman Roos insisting that the coloured franchise should not be extended to the Transvaal. When Hertzog was not able to get the two-thirds majority in parliament to pass the CPR Bill, it was eventually dropped in 1935, with no further attempts made to extend the franchise to coloureds outside of the Cape.[336]

The policies of the state in the first three decades of the 20th century demonstrate the constitution of coloureds as colonized subjects with special and unique features,[337] who through their "industry, intelligence and self-respect", according to the SANAC Report, had "raised themselves to a high standard."[338] This 'high standard' – or degree of 'civilization' – in addition to "shared European values, culture" (and ancestry), had in the Cape liberal tradition, singled coloureds out for limited political and social rights, based on individual attainment. This approach was starkly contrasted by the political culture in the Afrikaner republics, which until the formation of the modern South African state in 1910, not only incorporated coloureds into the category of 'native', but consistently attempted to limit the attainment of any social and economic privilege, often resulting in conflict between local and central government subsequent to the formation of the Union

[335] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 137-138.
[336] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 145.
[337] Thriven Reddy, "The politics of naming: The constitution of coloured subjects in South Africa" in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape* Town (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 69.
[338] Report of South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC), 1903-1905 (Cape Town: Cape Times Printers, 1905), 13.

(as discussed in Chapter 3).[339] Hertzog's policy towards coloureds in the 1920s to the early 1930s, demonstrated the conflict between these two political traditions – Cape liberalism on the one hand, which for coloureds held the promise being assimilated or at least partly incorporated into white society socially, economically and politically – and the approach of the Afrikaner republics, which advocated for complete institutional separation between whites and all colonial subjects. Although this latter political tradition has often been characterized in the historiography as the antecedent of apartheid, it strongly resembles the liberal tradition of 'group differentiation' (discussed later in the chapter).[340] By the mid-1930s, with the need to constitute the 'purity' of the Afrikaner *volk* rising alongside the articulation of a distinctive Afrikaner nationalism premised on ideas of being a 'chosen peoples,' on ideas of racial purity akin to those in Nazi Germany, and on an idea of the need to ensure the survival of the ethnic group after a discursively constituted historical experience of persecution and victimization, the category of coloured would be shifted from the colonial and civilizational towards the biological through political discourses on 'miscegenation' and 'passing'.

Following the collapse of the CPR Bill came measures to apply increased residential segregation between whites and coloureds, particularly at the behest of D.F. Malan's white constituents in the Cape. In 1933, as South Africa entered the Second World War on the side of the Allies, D.F. Malan had broken away from the National Party to establish the Purified National Party (PNP), marking a turn towards a more

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[339] Refer to the discussion in Chapter 3 on the conflict between the local Pretoria Town Council, which insisted on imposing a curfew and a special night pass for coloureds, and the centralized Native Affairs Department, which stated that coloureds did not need to be in possession of a pass and should not be subject to a curfew.
[340] Anita von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure: Techno-Politics and Protest After Apartheid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 38.

radical form of Afrikaner nationalism, while Hertzog and Smuts subsequently merged the NP and the SAP to form the United Party.[341] According to Malan, Hertzog had diluted the Afrikaner cause[342] by joining forces with political parties that had historically catered to the interests of English-speaking whites – the Labour Party in 1924 and the South African Party in 1933.[343]

Malan advocated for the segregation of all blacks from whites, but like Hertzog, premised his 'coloured policies' on the notion that although coloureds were more 'civilized' than black Africans, they were not as civilized as whites and thus could not be accorded equal political rights.[344] On this basis, Malan and his PNP made total political and social segregation between all blacks and whites a central part of their campaign in the 1938 general elections, and pressed for legislation to prevent all sexual relations between whites and blacks. This election campaign coincided with and was shaped by the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, which along with the growth of Afrikaner cultural organizations and its accompanying surge of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s, was crucial to demarcating racial boundaries that would constitute the Afrikaner *volk*. It is thus not surprising that the mid-to late 1930s would see the 'problem' of miscegenation being pushed to the fore of political debate – precisely because the very existence of coloureds implicated Afrikaners in the miscegenation[345] and threw into doubt the 'purity' of the *volk*.

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[341] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 159.
[342] Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa – A Modern History*, 337.
[343] Davenport and Saunders, *South Africa – A Modern History*, 334.
[344] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 145-146.
[345] As acclaimed novelist J.M. Coetzee put it, "(b)ut if bastardization, the mixing of races, is a sin against Creation, is white led South Africa, with a "bastard" Coloured population numbering millions, not implicated in the sin from its beginning?" J.M.Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid: Geoffrey Cronjé (1907-)," *Social Dynamics,* 17, no. 1, (1991): 9.

The report of the Wilcocks Commission (1937) highlighted the anxieties that were reflected in the political discourse on miscegenation by commenting specifically on the growing frequency with which coloureds were able to 'pass' for white. The commission reported that:

Due, however, to a number of social and economic disabilities affecting the Cape Coloured…which have in some respects become more severe in latter years, 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. The Cape Coloured are well aware of what is taking place. It is important, however, for the individual who attempts to "pass over", that this fact should not be known to the European community of which he desires to become a member; so that from the very nature of the process, Europeans generally are not aware of it to nearly to the same extent as the Cape Coloured themselves, and 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.[346]

By highlighting the ability of (light-skinned) coloureds to assimilate 'undetected' into white society, the commissioners not only attempted to demonstrate that the close proximity of coloureds to white society provided them (unearned) access to the benefits and privileges of whiteness, but that this assimilation reproduced the very same threat of miscegenation that coloureds already represented through their very existence. Although not entirely unanimous, the commissioners (most notably the chair of the commission, Raymond William (R.W.) Wilcocks) recommended that interracial marriage be prohibited.[347] It was precisely through this 'problem' that the University of Pretoria

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[346] Union of South Africa. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937), 30. While the commissioners were – in this quote – expressing a concern over coloured access to the benefits and privileges of whiteness due to their close proximity to white society, the anxiety around 'passing' also demonstrated their fears around miscegenation, demonstrated in the recommendation to prohibit interracial marriage.

[347] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union,* 1937, 31.

would begin to engage with the 'coloured question' towards the second half of the 20th century (discussed at length in Chapter 5).

The Wilcocks Commission demonstrated the shift from the discourse of 'civilization' towards 'miscegenation' evident in Malan's language towards coloureds. By drawing on notions of 'coloured civilization' but also recognizing the political necessity of prohibiting interracial sex in order to preserve the 'purity' of the *volk,* Malan's political approach to the coloured question shifted the coloured category to the space of the biological. By the 1948 elections, Malan's party, by then simply known as the National Party (NP), had unambiguously laid out its policy towards coloureds. The party declared (rather preemptively) that coloureds constituted their own 'separate' group and proposed the total segregation of coloureds from white society in every sphere of life. It also declared that it would pass legislation to ban all marriages between coloureds and whites, segregate all public amenities, place coloureds attending white universities in a separate coloured university, and enforce compulsory residential segregation. As far as their political rights were concerned, coloureds in the Cape would be removed from the common voters' roll and would in future, be placed on a separate voters' roll, in which they could be allowed to elect three white members of parliament to represent their political interests. [348] In return for their social and political segregation, the NP promised them that it would encourage the development of coloured businesses and job opportunities in predominantly coloured areas, such as the Western Cape. In addition, coloured workers in the Western Cape would receive protection from 'unfair competition' from black Africans, and training facilities would be established for

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[348] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 245.

coloureds to prepare them for employment in the fields of work suited to 'their nature and character.' The Afrikaners newspaper *Die Burger* explained that the NP's policies would replace political equality of coloureds with whites – promised by other parties but never delivered – with increased economic opportunities within the framework of separate development.[349]

When the United Party issued its policy statement for the elections, it also declared support for the segregation of black Africans, for residential and social segregation of coloureds apart from whites, and the 'maintenance of white civilization.' However, the UP claimed that it still recognized "the traditional special position of the Cape Coloured people as an appendage to the whites."[350] In this way it sought, as it had in the past, to coopt coloured support with vague promises of special treatment, while simultaneously trying to appease the segregationist desire of white voters.[351]

In addition to the passing of the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950), the Population Registration Act (1950), and the Group Areas Act (1950) in the wake of the NP victory in 1948 – all of which would remove coloureds as an appendage to white society – Afrikaner nationalists would also address the 'coloured question' by repealing the coloured franchise in the Cape in 1956. Coloureds were removed from the common voter's roll, which was replaced by a new advisory council, granting them limited representation in parliament.[352] In the process, the coloured category progressively moved from the space of the biological, towards the

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[349] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 246.
[350] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 246.
[351] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 247.
[352] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall*, 262.

social and the political, in which the 'coloured' question would be articulated through the discourse of separate development, and would be subject to similar forms of political intervention aimed at resolving the native question.

Liberalism and Separate Development (1948-1976)

(Afrikaner) separate development was to provide the solution to the 'native question' that (British) liberalism had failed to resolve. Thought of as the "intellectual domain where the knowledge, strategies, policies, and justifications necessary to the maintenance of domination were fashioned"[353] and the "response to the quagmire facing the South African state intent on reorienting and recasting the meaning of black subjectivity,"[354] the 'native' question was entangled with two liberal traditions that competed with each other throughout South Africa's colonial history. The first, known as Cape liberalism, was based on a progressivist-assimilationist project that sought to 'civilize' and 'uplift natives' toward full membership in colonial society.[355] The second tradition gave up the project of assimilation in favor of institutional separation or group differentiation, and came to be known as 'indirect rule.' By the early twentieth century, the first tradition gave way to the maintenance of group differentiation as leading liberal intellectuals like Alfred Hoernlé began to see the 'multiracial' nature of South Africa as a problem that could ultimately not be solved through assimilationist strategies. In *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit* (1939), he argued that:

> …the concrete historical setting in which the classical doctrine of liberalism was evolved, did not include the setting of a multiracial society, such as we have here

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[353] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing), 1.

[354] Premesh Lalu, "Restless natives, native questions," *Mail&Guardian,* August 26, 2011, accessed 22 February 2017, https://mg.co.za/article/2011-08-26-restless-natives-native-questions

[355] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 37.

in South Africa, in which, moreover, one racial group, and this one a minority group, is, and is determined to remain, the dominant group. Of such a setting, the classical thinkers of liberalism had no first-hand experience. Hence, I hold that liberal ideals have to be re-examined and re-thought in their application to a society of this type.[356]

Hoernlé proposed the idea of 'total separation', which he believed could be made consistent with liberal principles to give each population group political rights within its 'own' society.[357] By the mid-1940s, Hoernlé's notion of 'total separation' was taken up by Afrikaner nationalists and reformulated as 'separate development'. It is also Hoernlé's formulation of trusteeship – a pedagogical process that would prepare wards for independence in their own self-governing community[358] and by implication, solve South Africa's native question – that Afrikaner intellectuals at the University of Pretoria, such as Geoffrey Cronjé, engaged with on the eve of the formal implementation of apartheid, as a means of also addressing the 'coloured question' by way of the 'native question' (see Chapter 5).

Hoernlé's proposition was made in the broader context of the interwar years, during which Jan Smuts (Prime Minister from 1919-1924 and 1939-1948) had come under increasing attack from English-speaking liberals within his circle. They demanded a policy of gradual political participation and equality for blacks and wanted the government to accept that the process of racial integration, particularly in the cities, was irreversible. Historian Hermann Giliomee argues that for Afrikaner nationalists however, there could be no compromise with these liberal demands: the National Party (NP)

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[356] Alfred Hoernlé, *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit.* Phelps-Stokes lectures, Delivered before the University of Cape Town, May 1939 (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1939), viii-ix.
[357] Hoernlé, *South African Native Policy,* 101.
[358] Hoernlé, *South African Native Policy,* 101.

depicted the 1948 election as a stark choice between liberalism and apartheid,[359] and apartheid developed out of the postwar rejection of liberal demands.[360]

While the liberal position implied equal political rights and social justice for black Africans (through a process in which blacks could become 'civilized'), Afrikaner nationalists demanded the preservation of white political power and privilege. They did, however, engage with liberal principles to avoid the accusation that they were merely racist. Afrikaner intellectuals in the 1950s in particular, urged for more resources to be spent on the economic and social uplift of black communities so that these groups be given increasing opportunities to administer 'themselves' in their segregated townships or homelands. In the view of apartheid political leaders, their policy offered a more plausible solution to addressing what they saw as the explosive forces of South African society. Blacks and whites living together in integrated residential areas and competing in a common system for power, jobs, and access to amenities and services would, in this view, inevitably lead to conflict. The greater the number of competitive points of contact, the greater the friction. Apartheid would yield benefits to far greater numbers by providing mass education and by giving black Africans, on a separate basis, access to political office, civil service and professional jobs, and business opportunities. Afrikaner nationalists argued that blacks would not have enjoyed these opportunities in open competition with better-educated whites and that apartheid actually offered them a better 'deal' than liberalism. Behind these sentiments lay the deep desire of apartheid leaders to

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[359] Hermann Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," *in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect*, ed. Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick, and David Welsh. (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1987), 364.
[360] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 363.

see and present their rule as legitimate – as a form of government that operated not only in their own but also in the interest of black Africans.[361]

'Architect' of apartheid Hendrik Verwoerd articulated many of the 'advantages' of separate development for black Africans in a speech as Minister of Native Affairs in 1950:

> … (i)f mixed development is to be the policy of the future in South Africa, it will lead to the most terrific clash of interests imaginable…The only possible way out is…that both (Bantu and European) adopt a development divorced from each other. That is what the word apartheid means. We cannot escape from that which history has brought in its train. However, this easiest solution for peaceful association, self-government and development, each according to its own nature and completely apart from one another, may, in fact, be taken as a yardstick whereby to test plans for getting out of the present confusion and difficulties… Obviously, in order to grant equal opportunities to the Bantu, both in their interests as well as the Europeans, its starting point is the Native territories… Our first aim as Government is…to lay the foundation of a prosperous producing community through soil reclamation and conservation methods and through the systematic establishment in the Native territories of Bantu farming on an economic basis…Side by side with agricultural development there must also come an urban development founded on industrial growth…In their establishment, Europeans must be prepared to help with money and knowledge, in the consciousness that such industries must, as soon as is possible, wholly pass over into the hands of the Bantu…Bantu working in these industries will then be able to live in their own territories, where they have their own schools, their own traders, and where they govern themselves. Indeed, the kernel of the apartheid policy is that, as the Bantu no longer need the European, the latter must wholly withdraw from the Native territories. What length of time it will take the Bantu in the reserves to advance to that stage of self-sufficiency and self-government will depend on his own industry and preparedness to grasp this opportunity offered by the apartheid policy for self-development and service to his own nation…for the Bantu it also wishes to create all the opportunities for the realization of ambitions and the rendering of services to their own people. There is thus no policy of oppression here, but one of creating a situation which has never existed for the Bantu; namely, that, taking into consideration their languages, traditions, history and different national communities, they may pass through a development of their own.[362]

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[361] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 365.

[362] Selections from Verwoerd's speech "The South Africa Government's Policy of Apartheid," in *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches, 1948-1966*, edited by A.N. Pelzer, (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 23-29.

What emerges from this speech is a desire on the part of Verwoerd to provide a legitimate and ethical basis for apartheid, which was also reflective of two general conceptions of apartheid that competed against each other within the National Party. On the one hand, there were farmers and businessmen who advocated for 'practical apartheid' based on a high economic growth rate and the increasing but differential incorporation of black Africans into the work force. Any threat this posed to white supremacy was to be countered by denying blacks political and economic rights. On the other hand, many members of the Afrikaner intelligentsia regarded the growing dependence on black African labor as a lethal to white survival. However, because they considered the denial of political and economic rights to be unethical if the economy was to become more dependent on black labor, they argued that the homelands had to be developed as meaningful political and economic alternatives for black Africans (a similar argument to the one offered in the SANAC Commission).[363]

This second conception of apartheid was spearheaded by the Stellenbosch-based South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), which was established in 1949 to give apartheid an intellectual basis. Its crowning achievement was the research that leading members contributed to the Tomlinson Commission (1954), which proposed a considerable increase in expenditure on the bantustans. By the 1960s, these intellectuals, as well as newspaper editors like Piet Cillie (editor of *Die Burger – The Citizen*) and Willem van Heerden (editor of *Dagbreek – Daybreak*) favored a more 'liberal' interpretation of apartheid. They called for an end to petty apartheid (the segregation of public amenities such as buses, park benches, toilets, etc.) but a maintenance of Afrikaner

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[363] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 366.

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rule and political power. These intellectuals and editors became known as the Cape

Liberal Nationalists or 'Cape Nats'[364] and their principle role was to give full expression

to what they envisioned as the 'positive' and 'just' elements of apartheid. Although

Verwoerd engineered a purge of these 'liberal' academics in SABRA, his vision of

apartheid as a consistent and ethical solution to South Africa's problems – more

specifically to the native question – was compatible with developing Bantustans into

territories through which black Africans could be granted political rights.[365]

In addition to laying out the 'legitimate,' 'ethnical' and perhaps 'final' solution to

the native question, Verwoerd, in his speech, also pointed to the necessity of white

trusteeship, or the Afrikaner nationalist articulation thereof – *voogdyskap* – for achieving

separate development, by suggesting that whites needed "to help with money and

knowledge." Once black Africans had achieved self-reliance, articulated through the

words 'self-sufficiency', 'own' and 'self-government,' Verwoerd suggested that whites

withdraw from the native territories.

Although Verwoerd's speech proposed the creation of 'self-governing' bantustans

as the primary means through which separate development would be implemented, he did

also articulate its implications for blacks in urban areas:

> Finally, there are the implications of the apartheid policy in respect of European
> cities. The requirement of this policy is well-known, namely, that there must not
> only be separation between European and non-European residential areas, but also
> that non-European groups, such as the Bantu, the Coloured and the Indian, shall
> live in their own residential areas. For these Bantu also the Apartheid policy and
> separate residential areas have great significance. The objective is, namely, to
> give them the greatest possible measure of self-government in such areas
> according to the degree in which local authorities, who construct these towns, can
> fall into line. In due course, too, depending on the ability of the Bantu community,

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[364] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 369.
[365] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 371.

all the work there will have to be done by their own people, as was described in connection with the reserves.[366]

Verwoerd again articulated the importance of cultivating black self-reliance through granting a measure of urban self-government. Although he referred more specifically to the implications of urban separate development for black Africans, this part of his speech also pointed to the creation of segregated urban townships as a viable political alternative for coloureds who could not be relocated to a rural homeland[367] – the basis for black African bantustans.

What emerged in the 1950s and 1960s then, under the National Party, was the rejection of the economic principles of liberalism, but a reformulation of its social and political principles through which 'rights' could be granted to black Africans in their 'own' homelands and coloureds in their segregated urban enclaves. In practice, this translated into a racist state project, reliant on a strongly regulated economy. It was split into a democratic, welfarist sphere for whites, Afrikaners in particular, on the one hand (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), and on the other, a project that envisaged granting 'sovereignty' via ethnically-designated authorities to the black African majority. Social provisioning was segregated with most state support for housing, services, and employment going to the white population, while the black majority was ruled through a state apparatus and resources designed primarily to control their labor and mobility.[368]

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[366] Verwoerd, "The South Africa Government's Policy of Apartheid", 27-28.

[367] In a speech to the Union Advisory Council for Coloured Affairs in 1961, Verwoerd stated that, "I want to state clearly that although there are people in the Coloured group who try to create the impression that the Government wants to set up a homeland for the Coloureds in a different part of South Africa, it is not so. This is not a solution for the Coloured group and an own homeland policy is in this case not enforceable." (Pelzer, Verwoerd Speaks, 646).

[368] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 39-40.

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In the urban or 'white' areas, this economic rationale for separate development translated into stringent legislation in the 1950s. Black African business ownership was severely restricted and black urban residents were prevented from fully participating in the market as property owners or entrepreneurs. Housing was public and had to be rented from the state.[369] In the townships, infrastructure and housing was over time managed by diverse administrative constellations, all ultimately controlled by the central government. This kind of administrative control rested on the belief that the 'Bantu' did not have the capacity to interact in a market society and should thus be relegated to their 'own sphere' of development without the interference of the white capitalist economy. As Verwoerd once explained, "the white man took years to learn how to be a good trader and many Bantu traders are still deficient as regards capital and knowledge and commercial morality." This approach effectively prohibited white private investment in the Bantustans.[370] Verwoerd adopted a similar approach to coloureds, and in the absence of a separate homeland, suggested that, "(i)f private White initiative is allowed in the economic life of the Coloured community, the danger exists that the Coloureds will be actually deprived of their potential growth…(p)rivate concerns will, however, only want to sell with a profit and this will create points of conflict and not promote the building of the community."[371]

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[369] The Theron Commission's report (1976) indicated that more than 90 percent of urban coloureds lived in houses provided by the state (Sheila van der Horst, *Theron Commission Report: A summary of the findings and recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group,* Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976, 60).

[370] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 39.

[371] Verwoerd's speech "Address to the Union Council for Matters Concerning Coloureds, in Cape Town on December 12, 1961" in *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches, 1948-1966*, edited by A.N. Pelzer, (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 648.

A small number of liberals had throughout the 1950s and 1960s protested apartheid and in particular, the economics on which it was based. Economists such as W.H. Hutt, a founding member of the Mont Pelerin Society[372] who lived and worked in South Africa, wrote influential neoliberal treatises against apartheid, arguing that the "market is color-blind" and as such should be deregulated. This liberal criticism, was however, limited in the first few decades of apartheid because the economy was growing.[373] In the 1970s, this began to change, in part due to both global and local crises.

In South Africa, the reinvigoration of local liberation movements, the liberation movements in countries north of the border and a series of protests that began with the Durban Strikes in 1973 and the Soweto Uprising in 1976 all led to political and economic crises. Giliomee suggests that these crises were precipitated by the apartheid state coming up against its own limits. He argues that between 1910 and 1960, whites constituted 20 percent of the population, but by 1985 the total population had fallen to 15 percent, which signaled an acute shortage of white manpower in both public and private sectors. While the 1950s and 1960s saw the apartheid state greatly increasing the number of whites employed to staff the apartheid bureaucracies and to implement apartheid laws (discussed briefly in Chapter 3), by the mid-1970s, these bureaucracies had reached their limits – there were simply not enough whites available to staff the top and medium levels of both private and public sectors. In addition, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development found itself more and more incapable of stemming the flow of black

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[372] An international research group that brought together leading economists, philosophers, humanists and theorists after 1947 to think through the future of liberalism, even critique its underlying welfarism, in the aftermath of the Holocaust and various forms of state racism. (Premesh Lalu, "Concept of post-apartheid can help humanities debate," *Mail&Guardian,* 7 June 2013, accessed 14 December 2017, https://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-07-concept-of-post-apartheid-can-help-humanities-debate.
[373] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 40.

Africans into cities.[374] It is within this context that apartheid leaders began to look to ideas from elsewhere, and to neoliberal thought in particular, for solutions. As they did so, they grappled with the question of how neoliberalism could be made relevant to South Africa.[375]

Elizabeth Povinelli has argued that liberalism is "phantom-like" in that it is "located nowhere but in its continual citation as the motivating logic and aspiration of dispersed and competing social and cultural experiments."[376] Neoliberalism, perhaps even more so than the liberal traditions that preceded it, is defined by a conceptual dependence on the contexts within which it is elaborated. It is a "motivating logic and aspiration" rather than a fixed blueprint and while it appears to be located nowhere, it can only emerge as a strategic response to an existing problem.[377] Thus, while the reformulation of the social and political principles of liberalism into separate development may have been proposed as a solution to the native question, we may consider neoliberalism to have emerged as the strategic response to separate development's inability to predict and resolve the economic and political crises of the 1970s and 1980s. Through neoliberal reforms, the place of black Africans in the political economy would come to be increasingly articulated through the language/discourse of "manpower utilization,"[378] and through forms of governance and material systems associated with housing and infrastructure.

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[374] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 372.
[375] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 41.
[376] Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 13.
[377] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 47.
[378] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 1.

While workers had become increasingly militant, demonstrated by the 1973 Durban strikes, it was the Soweto Uprising in 1976 that signaled a major crisis for the apartheid state. The immediate response in the aftermath was violent repression, leading to the killing of nearly 500 students. Although repression continued to be the main response, the Soweto Uprising challenged the heart of grand apartheid strategies of rule. The larger response over the next few years made it clear that this 'event' had become a trigger for more fundamental rethinking of the regime within the National Party and Afrikaner society more generally.[379]

The responses in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising can be situated between two main approaches to apartheid in the 1970s: the *verligtes* and *verkramptes*.[380] As South African industry began to press for labor reforms following the 1973 Durban strikes, more affluent circles of Afrikaner society were prepared to accept modifications to apartheid that would permit integrated sport and cultural activities and social interaction between white and black in international hotels, restaurants and at conferences. Supporters of this position became known as *verligtes* ('enlightened' ones). Their spokesmen were often members of the political elite such as newspaper editors, businessmen, academics, some clergy and a few politicians. In opposition were the *verkramptes* ('cramped up' i.e. conservative), headed by some politicians and intellectuals, who drew their main source of support from marginal farmers, lower-level

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[379] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 48.
[380] The terms '*verlig*' and '*verkramp*' were coined in 1967 by Willem de Klerk – an academic who became the editor of the *Rapport* (Report) newspaper and the brother of former president F.W. de Klerk.

civil servants and workers, marking the verligte/verkrampte distinction in part, as a product of class interests [381]

Verkramptes unequivocally championed white supremacy and called for the fullest measure of apartheid, while *verligtes* on the other hand, wanted to reform apartheid ideology within the National Party. Although they rarely enjoyed a decisive majority, they served several functions: preparing Afrikaners for reform, attracting electoral support from English-speaking whites and persuading western opinion-makers that change was underway. The Soweto Uprising, however, destroyed the *verligte* illusion that apartheid was a just solution and demonstrated the need for reform to those within these political circles.[382]

While many *verkramptes* saw the Soweto 'riots' as a form of urban terrorism and 'communist' infiltration,[383] *verligtes* began to focus on the abysmal living conditions in the townships. It is not surprising then that in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, several research efforts, conferences, books and commissions of inquiry emerged that sought to develop an understanding of the black urban subject.[384] Motivated by both security and economic concerns, the apartheid government contemplated and partially introduced a number of reforms that, either by design or in effect, moved away from grand apartheid policies that had shaped both urban and economic life. These reforms did

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[381] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 372.
[382] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 377.
[383] In the 1950s and 1960s, the apartheid government passed forms of legislation in which almost any black and/or anti-apartheid activity was defined as 'communist'. While these laws provided temporary solutions in which anti-apartheid organizations could be banned and activists detained indefinitely, they were also set in the global context of the Cold War, where the white South African population was seen as the anti-communist counterpart of the West, fighting against both the internal and external (neighboring countries) black communist 'onslaught'.
[384] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 48.

not, however, address the basis of minority rule – instead they rationalized apartheid by providing new proposals for government intervention. Central to these reforms were neoliberal ideas, as well as the increasing importance of infrastructure and housing (in the broader context of stepped-up social, security and political control).[385]

The reforms that the state introduced post-1976 emerged alongside a "Total Strategy", first announced by Defense Minister P.W. Botha, which was an initiative that included military, economic, social and political intervention to protect the white regime from internal and external 'enemies'. At one level, this was a program of counterinsurgency but on the other, it was inspired by neoliberal reforms taking place elsewhere in the Reagan and Thatcher era. To counteract economic decline, the South African government followed the trends it saw in the US and UK to adopt measures that both reduced spending and involved selected spending to address the political crisis. Most reforms proposed during this time centered on the question of 'urban blacks'.[386]

In the late 1970s, two commissions of inquiry – the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions[387] – were also set up in order to make sense of and to devise policies to deal with the question of labor and the urban black population. Both commissions attempted to organize the diverse set of issues that confronted the apartheid state during the 1970s – rising labor protests, the increased inability to police influx control, the economic crisis, the impact of liberation movements' successes in bordering countries – into coherent problems that could be responded to with solutions. Adam Ashforth has

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[385] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 49.
[386] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 49.
[387] Which included P.J. van der Merwe, Professor of Labor Economics at the University of Pretoria. Wiehahn Commission Report: The Challenge of the New Industrial Relations Dispensation in South Africa Part 1 (University of South Africa: Pretoria, 1979), 10.

argued that the Riekert Commission, which was set up to investigate 'manpower utilization', envisioned as the decentralization, deracialization and depoliticization of separate development. It also proposed that the government make a commitment to 'free enterprise' for urban residents which would act as a counter to the influence of 'communism'. This meant that while migrant labor would be policed more forcefully, and the premise of independent Bantustans would be upheld, urban residents would be promised more job training and security as well as more mobility in the urban areas.[388] Rather than attempting to resolve the 'native' question primarily through the mechanisms of separate development in urban areas (racial and ethnic identification through passbooks for urban residents, labor bureaus, etc.), it could be shifted to what Ashforth calls "the non-political sphere of the administration of 'things'" – houses, infrastructure and jobs.[389]

The ambiguity of this break with previous apartheid rationalities was demonstrated through the discussions between *verkramptes* and *verligtes* in National Party circles: the *verkramptes* who reaffirmed a moral defense of separate development and the *verligtes* who emphasized adaptability and reforms. One major reform proposed, in addition to the recommendations made by the Riekert Commission, was to develop an urban black middle class who could assist the regime in fighting internal 'enemies' and could act against the 'onslaught' of communism. It is in the making of this demographic that neoliberal ideas from Europe and the United States could be productively drawn on and through which 'free enterprise' and 'economic liberalism' could be used to reform

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[388] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 50-51.
[389] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 51.

apartheid.[390] In addition, the roadmap to applying these ideas in the South African context would emerge from an ideological grouping within *verligte* circles.

Led by Jan Lombard and Johan van Zyl, both influential professors of economics at the <u>University of Pretoria</u>, this market-oriented group of *verligte* intellectuals argued that separate development was a "sinking philosophy" and that its emphasis on centralized economic control and continual attachment to 'race' was responsible for South Africa's "peculiar political problem." Lombard in particular, suggested that 'economic liberalism' could provide solutions to South Africa's multiple dilemmas. Organizing his argument around the problem of black urbanization that animated many of the debates in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising, Lombard marked the increasing breakdown of influx control and the failure of the grand-apartheid plan of Bantustans for reform. Neoliberalism, to him, provided a solution because it included a gradualist approach to reform. Like his contemporaries in the *verligte* circles, Lombard did not want to entirely abandon separate development but to reinvent its foundations to make it compatible with neoliberal norms.[391]

In *Freedom, Welfare and Order* (1978), Lombard addressed the problem of black urbanization by suggesting that black Africans (and coloureds) undergo a period of 'benevolent paternalism' in preparation for living in a 'free' and 'liberal' society: [392]

> (p)aternalism must be recognized as a state of things anterior to the liberal society. We can justify paternalism if it can genuinely be said to be a preparation for freedom. The replacement of paternalism by liberalism in this way depends upon the effectiveness of such a programme of education. What is the state of affairs in this respect among the million urban workers of southern Africa? Will they be

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[390] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 52.
[391] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 53.
[392] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 54.

able to support this edifice of competitive democracy? What are the performance requirements expected of the adult individual and in what functional areas?[393] It is clear from the above statistics that on the criterion of educational level alone, the majority of the Black and Coloured workers of the urban areas of South Africa lack the ability to use the skills and knowledge with the functional competence needed for meeting the requirements of adult living as responsible and free citizens of a democratic society. By the standards of students of the liberal principles, the southern African plural urban society is in need of a great deal of reform[394] before it could be expected to function well. In emphasizing the need for ongoing general education throughout the adult life of members of society …Professor Robert Peers takes the following position: 'For the exercise of the duties and privileges of citizenship in a freed and progressive society are needed breadth of vision, balanced judgement, understanding of the problems confronting other individuals and group and the whole society, tolerance, and a sense of the values which give meaning and purpose to all the rest. This is the case for insisting on the need for liberal adult education to supplement, not to replace, the specialized training which must now dominate to an increasing extent the earlier years of our adult lives.'[395] For these reasons there should be complete consensus among all views in South Africa about the priority of general education in the ideas and values of responsibility in a complex society. Perhaps one of the basic reasons for the urban friction in Soweto and elsewhere may be found in the communication gap between children and their less articulate parents.[396] Thousands of black people – and here we have to refer to the racial plurality of southern Africa – have not completed their historic transformation from the economic circumstances of subsistence survival in a tribal social context to full participation in the market mechanism of the economy.[397]

In these selections from *Freedom, Welfare and Order,* Lombard's proposals for

economic reform involved a period of preparation – 'benevolent paternalism' – for blacks

and coloureds so that they could become participants in the free market, forming a new

black urban middle class. These particular reforms then, were largely pedagogical in

nature, and can be seen as a re-articulation of the importance of white trusteeship in

fostering black urban self-reliance, which were no longer exclusively attached to

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[393] J.A. Lombard, *Freedom, Welfare and Order: Thoughts on the Principles of Political Co-Operation in the Economy of Southern Africa* (Pretoria: Benbo, 1978), 71.
[394] Lombard, *Freedom, Welfare and Order*, 72.
[395] Lombard, *Freedom, Welfare and Order*, 73.
[396] Lombard, *Freedom, Welfare and Order*, 74.
[397] Lombard, *Freedom, Welfare and Order*, 90.

categories of race and ethnicity (although still present), but to a free market that was also "color blind."[398]

Lombard would, throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, be a central adviser to government and deputy governor of the South African Reserve Bank, often overseeing commissions or the writing of policy documents.[399] His proposals for reform were not only significant because of his strong ties with the business community[400] and because he was one of the most influential South African economists writing at the time, but also because he spoke from and within the established Afrikaner hegemony, rather than from the liberal English-speaking circle from which the critique of apartheid had generally come from.[401]

The pedagogical function of trusteeship – now operating through neoliberal reforms – would 'prepare' and guide urban blacks towards 'self-reliance' by helping them "learn how to read the signs of the market and to respond accordingly." In 1984, a report titled, "Measures which Restrict the Functioning of a Free Market Oriented System in South Africa" was released, which suggested that "overprotection limits experience which will enable the less sophisticated consumer to ultimately look after his own interests in the market"[402] and that these consumers "coming from a culture of poverty and underdevelopment" are unaware of the elementary principles of budgeting, are inclined to build up too much debt and often act "irrationally". With exposure to 'free

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[398] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 40.
[399] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 58.
[400] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 379.
[401] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 53.
[402] "Measures which Restrict the Functioning of a Free Market Oriented System in South Africa," cited in Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 59.

market forces' – a central tenet of liberal economics – urban black Africans, previously

viewed as a homogenous mass in perennial transition towards relocation to their

'traditional home' in the Bantustans,[403] and coloureds, 75 percent of whom lived in urban

areas by 1976,[404] would develop into self-reliant consumers, entrepreneurs, and property

owners, not yet quite the citizen subjects of liberal democracy, but on a path toward

performing as economic rational 'men'.[405]

The release of this 1984 report coincided with a move away from an explicit focus

on race and towards the descriptive markers of "poverty" and "underdevelopment,"

which was also reflected in the state's approach to black urban townships. Where

residents had been previously tied to these townships through categories of race and

ethnicity, and their mobility and labor mediated by passbooks, under neoliberal reform

they came to be increasingly viewed through nonracial material and administrative

categories into which they could fit: housing and infrastructure, on the one hand, and jobs

on the other.[406] In this context, neoliberal ideas emphasizing decentralization,

privatization and the removal of overt intervention by the state could be selectively drawn

on to shift the modalities of separate development while holding on to the basic premise

of minority rule.[407] Thus, the political strategies that emerged during this period were

aimed at fostering divisions within black African society along class lines instead of the

traditional apartheid emphasis on racial and ethnic division. These strategies consisted of

policies designed to foster the development of an urban black African middle class and

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[403] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 59.
[404] Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall,* 276.
[405] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 59.
[406] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 60.
[407] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 61.

labor aristocracy, as well as the Bantustan elites, which could be drawn into alliance with the political forces of the apartheid state with which it was imagined to be sharing common economic interests (if not political ones).[408]

The increasing attention to infrastructure and housing by both government and private actors can be seen in the projects embarked on at the time. In Soweto, the immediate aftermath of the 1976 Uprising witnessed a mass of programs and expertise designed to practically address the 'problems' of black urban life. As the center of black African political life, and perceived as the "mirror of the South African soul," Soweto was often prioritized in such reforms which were undertaken by the private sector, the Urban Foundation in particular. The Foundation had been launched in the immediate aftermath of the Soweto Uprising, after a business conference titled "Quality of Life in Urban Communities" organized by Harry Oppenheimer (who succeeded his father, Ernest Oppenheimer, as the chairman of Anglo-American and De Beers consolidated mines) and Anton Rupert, an Afrikaner entrepreneur who became a billionaire largely through Afrikaner capital. Rupert was also an alumnus of the University of Pretoria. Other senior leadership included Judge Jan Steyn, anti-apartheid activist and an alumnus of the University of Stellenbosch.[409] As the largest private employer of black labor, Anglo was particularly susceptible to events such as the unrest in Soweto. Oppenheimer recognized that if Anglo could be seen to be a highly visible and vocal critic of the worst aspects of apartheid, its standing among workers and its critics could be enhanced.[410]

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[408] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 200.
[409] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure*, 61-62.
[410] Hugh Murray, *The Urban Foundation – A Leadership Publication* (Churchill Murray Publication, 1987), 227.

The objective of the Urban Foundation was to involve the private sector in the improvement of living conditions in townships on a "non-political non-racial basis." The primary means through which it attempted to do this was through housing: the foundation successfully lobbied for ninety-nine-year leases for township residents, which would liberalize the housing market, open it up to private sector involvement and depoliticize housing by removing it from the direct control of the state. This organization also promoted the concept of 'self-help,' in which residents would be directly involved in the delivery of their own housing.[411] In its study on Soweto, the Urban Foundation stated that it aimed to bring "improvement in the community through the development of individual and group initiative, self-reliance and economic independence."[412]

Through the liberalization of the market, in which black Africans and coloureds would be 'guided' towards performing as economic rational 'men', as well the increased deferral of state responsibility to the private sector and 'the community' (with social welfare provision and housing as the examples in this dissertation), South Africa's racial categories increasingly came to be accepted as neutral and objective categories. This is demonstrated most clearly in the Riekert Commission Report (1979),[413] in which the state began to 'speak' of the categories 'white', 'black', 'coloured' and 'Indian' as 'population groups' – serving to obscure the very bases on which those 'groups' were constructed. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, the disciplinary knowledge produced to constitute these 'groups' had been upheld by the state's legislative and administrative instruments,

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[411] Von Schnitzler. *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 62-63.
[412] The Urban Foundation. *Soweto: A Study by the Transvaal Region of the Urban Foundation*, 1980 (Johannesburg: Urban Foundation, 1980), 3.
[413] Professor P.J. van der Merwe at the Department of Economics at the University of Pretoria carried out research on behalf of the commission. Commission of Inquiry into Legislation affecting the utilization of Manpower, Pretoria: Government Printer, 1978, 3.

such as the pass system, and were thus in no way neutral. Yet in the 1979 report, these 'groups' were, as Ashforth argues, "received in the names of 'the Obvious'." South Africa's 'population groups' became a mere assemblage of 'facts' of the 'social system' that policy-makers had to consider in addressing the realities of a 'pluralistic society'.[414]

As Chapter 5 will demonstrate, the state's own understanding and use of these neutral categories by the 1980s can be traced through the discipline of sociology's engagement with the 'coloured question'. At the University of Pretoria, sociology's theoretical intervention into this question would come through the work of renowned Afrikaner sociologist, Geoffrey Cronjé and his student, Nic Rhoodie – who, in turn, would supervise Masters students' sociological research in Eersterust.

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[414] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 208-209.

Chapter 5: Sociology, Social Work and the Engagement with the 'Coloured Question' at the University of Pretoria, 1933-1990

This chapter expands upon the arguments in Chapter 4 by demonstrating how the coloured category moved from the biological to the social, and how – simultaneously – 'community' was designated as the space to which coloured social welfare needs could be deferred. One of the key arguments this chapter makes is that it is through the discipline of sociology and its engagement with and intervention[415] into the 'coloured question' between 1955 and 1980 – in the form of hosting congresses, conducting fieldwork and compiling both published and unpublished reports, dissertations and pamphlets – by the joint Department of Social Work and Sociology at UP, and the apartheid institutions of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), that the shift in this category would occur and coloureds would be constituted as their own group. Moreover, as this chapter will show, the theoretical intervention into the coloured question on the part of UP and the HSRC – while positioned in relation to national tropes about coloureds, coloured social problems (i.e. alcoholism) and coloureds' lack of group cohesion – relied on the appropriation of Eersterust as a local 'coloured' research site.

Another argument this chapter makes is that, as the theoretical intervention into the coloured question occurs, 'community' is simultaneously and increasingly designated as the space to which black (as opposed to white) social welfare needs could be deferred.

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[415] In this chapter, the term 'intervention' will refer to both the sociological engagement with the coloured question *and* to the practical work undertaken by social work students from the University of Pretoria in Eersterust. This term is used to discuss both the theoretical and practical because it best describes the nature of UP's engagement with the 'coloured question' – both at a broader national level, and at a local level (ie. in Pretoria).

By the 1980s, as the coloured category had been "received in the name of 'the Obvious',"[416] social work students from UP did their practicals in Eersterust, drawing on community work as a methodology to provide this coloured community with the tools to develop self-reliance. While community work methodology had emerged out of the apartheid state's turn towards neoliberalism after the 1976 Soweto Uprising – as this chapter will demonstrate – coloureds and black Africans had already had little choice but to become self-reliant through the racially-fragmented structures created in state social welfare system in the late 1930s.

Finally, this chapter also points towards the changing relationship between UP – as a site of disciplinary knowledge – and the state's project in the aftermath of 1976. Faced with economic and political crisis, the once close ties between the discourses and agendas of sociology and social work and those of the apartheid state began to erode, and, as the next chapter will demonstrate, new institutions and disciplinary formations began to address the coloured question, while inheriting the category of 'coloured' as normative and incontestable.

A Brief History of Social Welfare in South Africa

The first institutionalized social assistance programs in South Africa were established in the early 19th century in the Cape Colony. Most of these services were provided by the Dutch Reformed Church and were directed exclusively towards the white population. In the early twentieth century, children and the 'indigent'[417] began to form a crucial part of

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[416] Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 208-209.
[417] Brian W. McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," in *Introduction to social work in South* Africa (Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987), 9.

the focus of social welfare care, with the South African Council on Child Welfare being established in 1924.[418] In 1937, under the recommendation of the 1932 Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White Problem (discussed below), the South African state established a national Department of Social Welfare. [419]

Although the Carnegie Commission is usually credited with instituting a formalized social welfare system, Jeremy Seekings argues that comprehensive social welfare programs like old age pensions (instituted under the Old Age Pensions Act of 1928), predated the Commission.[420] Indeed, as already discussed in Chapter 4, by introducing programs like the 'Civilised Labour' policy, the Pact government had already inaugurated a major shift in the landscape of welfare provision in the 1930s by fostering the idea that it was part of the state's responsibility to lift poor whites out of poverty, rather than the sole responsibility of the church and other voluntary welfare associations.[421] Seekings argues that instead of recommending a series of programmatic responses to the poor white question, the Carnegie Commission's findings and recommendations constituted a clear backlash against South Africa's emergence as a modern welfare state.[422] In particular, the Commission proposed that, rather than being dependent on state or church, the poor (whites) needed to be 'rehabilitated' through developing new personal and psychological qualities. In addition, they needed to be trained in thrift, self-help, temperance, health, solidarity and racial self-respect' (i.e.

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[418] McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," 12.
[419] McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," 12.
[420] Jeremy Seekings, "The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931–1937" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 3, September 2008, 517.
[421] Seekings, "The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931–1937," 517.
[422] Seekings, "The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931–1937," 519.

limited social contact with non-whites), and ought to become skilled workers who were 'self-reliant'. The Commission was particularly critical of existing state programs which, in its own estimation, imposed a "fairly heavy burden on the country's taxpayers" and fostered dependency among poor whites.[423]

The South African state's establishment of a Department of Social Welfare in 1937, although recommended by the Carnegie Commission, conformed to the existing programmatic initiatives instituted by the Pact government, rather than drawing on the commission's calls for poor whites to be taught 'self-reliance.' By the late 1930s, with a formalized social welfare system in place (for whites), liberals, missionaries, academics, urban African leaders, and urban administrators who found a receptive audience within some state institutions – such as the Department of Native Affairs – turned their attention to the question black urban poverty. Emerging within the context of the native question – which had re-emerged at the time as a pressing political issue with the increased movement of black Africans into towns and cities – these various groupings attempted to intervene into the sphere of 'native welfare', focusing their attention on massive urban poverty in black African townships, and attempting to institute state-driven programs of economic and 'moral' upliftment.[424]

Deborah Posel argues that this focus on 'native welfare' in the late 1930s formed part of the global political context of the Depression, in which the idea of the liberal, minimally interventionist state was replaced with an anxious focus on issues of family

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[423] Seekings, "The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State-Building in South Africa, 1931–1937," 521.

[424] Deborah Posel, "The Case for a Welfare State: Poverty & the Politics of the Urban African Family in the 1930s and 1940s" in *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, eds. Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves, (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), 64.

and reproduction. In the United States, the United Kingdom, and in South Africa – which increasingly saw itself as an equal of these 'modern' states – there emerged a powerful consensus that economic relations could not be left to the supposed rationality of the market and that individuals and families could not be expected to fend for themselves in times of dire need. Thus, in the 1930s, in these various groupings of liberals, academics and urban administrators, there emerged – alongside the state's intervention into the poor white problem – a concern about urban 'native welfare' and a commitment towards the 'upliftment' of black Africans.[425]

By the late 1940s, however, the urgency of the native question had, among urban administrators in particular, contributed to the waning of a welfarist option for black Africans. With the implementation of apartheid in 1948 came a rupture with the social-welfarist thinking that had dominated the political agenda during the 1930s and early 1940s. However, with its strongly regulated economy and with the provision of social services already structured around whites as the primary beneficiaries, apartheid drew directly on the logics of the welfare state.[426] Premised on the firm belief that black Africans constituted an illegitimate presence in urban areas – and drawing on the findings of the Stallard Commission (1921) which were reinforced through the appointment of the Sauer Commission in 1947 – the apartheid state's urban policy was to allocate its resources to regulating black African movement to the cities through pass laws and influx control, rather than to provide forms of social support.[427] This urban policy marked the beginnings of defining black Africans as non-citizens and would later to be refined under

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[425] Posel, "The Case for a Welfare State," 65.
[426] Posel, "The Case for a Welfare State," 64-65.
[427] McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," 14.

the Bantustan system – thereby constituting black Africans outside of purview of the white state. This strategy also exacerbated the very same social challenges to 'native welfare' that liberals and welfare reformers had attempted to address in the 1930s. Urban black Africans were left with little choice but to provide their own forms of social support, such as burial societies to assist in covering the costs of funerals, and 'home groups' to provide assistance during times of illness. Through the creation of these informal mutual aid societies – often given names such as '*Itereleng'* (do things for yourself)[428] – black Africans had by the late 1940s, already developed forms of self-reliance in the absence of state social welfare provision.

By the 1950s, separate state departments for each of the racial groups had been established, eventually resulting in the existence of eighteen different social welfare departments – eight in 'South Africa,' six in the self-governing territories, and four in the independent Bantustans.[429] The national Department of Social Welfare and Pensions transferred its social welfare responsibilities for coloureds to the Department of Coloured Affairs and when the Department of Indian Affairs was established in 1961, it assumed responsibility for state social welfare provision for 'Indian' South Africans.[430] The creation of separate welfare departments included the separation of private welfare organizations – particularly those that functioned as multi-racial bodies. The Department of Social Welfare and Pensions Circular of 1966 mandated the separation of white and non-white welfare work for national and local welfare organizations – on the basis of the

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[428] Leila Patel, *Social Welfare and Social Development in South Africa,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 79-80.
[429] Patel, *Social welfare and social development in South Africa*, 72.
[430] McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," 15-16.

principle that "each population group should serve its own community in the sphere of welfare:"[431]

5) The policy of the Government as regards welfare organisations may therefore be summed up briefly as follows:

> a) It is intended that non-White welfare organisations for the various racial groups should exist and develop alongside of White organisations. In the course of time, they will advance to a level of complete independence when they will be quite capable of managing their own affairs. Eventually, no White guidance and advice will be required, but what will be necessary is liaison in and consultation on matters of common interest. Ad hoc consultation will be possible and it would not be necessary to establish a committee for this purpose. Channels will be provided not only for exchanging views, but also for bringing to the attention of non-White organisations any information that has come to light at meetings of the White body.

> b) As an interim measure, such non-White welfare organisations for the various racial groups may be helped and encouraged, under the auspices and guidance of White societies and national bodies with which they may be affiliated, to continue to develop separately and in due course to be linked together by means of affiliation in their own national organisations.

> c) It goes without saying that in the process of helping and training non-Whites towards independence, White members of the national body and of the local committee will be able to attend the meetings of the non-White body or local committee as advisors and not as members, in order to give the necessary advice and guidance on policy, administration, control etc.

> d) National councils and their executive committees, as well as local White welfare organisations and their committees, must consist of Whites only, and their annual meetings must be attended by White persons only. If it is necessary for the non-White organisations to be represented at an annual meeting as well (in cases where their own national organisation has not yet been established), they will have to be represented by Whites.

> e) The executive committee of a national or local body may, however, invite representatives or members of a non-White organisation to attend a meeting of the executive committee when a matter specifically affecting the non-White organisation is being dealt with.[432]

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[431] Patel, *Social welfare and social development in South Africa*, 74.
[432] Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) Report, Volume 4. Appendix 4: Department of Social Welfare and Pensions Circular 29 (1966), 161.

By mandating that national and local welfare organizations should be separated based on the principle that "each population group should serve its own community in the sphere of welfare,"[433] the social welfare system had, by the mid-1960s, begun to rely on the notion of 'community'. Although already premised on the cultivation of black self-reliance towards the late 1940s, the social welfare system in the 1960s – in conjunction with the national Department of Community Development – conceived of 'community' as the physical and conceptual space to which the provision of social welfare for blacks could be deferred and in which social problems could be solved. It was within this context – and more particularly the appropriation of this conceptualization of 'community' by neoliberal reforms – that UP social workers would begin to intervene into Eersterust in the 1980s.

Sociology, *Voogdyskap* (Trusteeship) and *Self-beskikking* (Self-reliance)

It is not without coincidence that the mid-1960 sparks these points of convergence, and that the University of Pretoria emerges at the center of this racialized confluence. It is at this time that Eersterust was established as a 'coloured' area (1962) and was appropriated as a site of research intervention – specifically by the joint Department of Social Work and Sociology. It is by this time too, that the engagement with the 'coloured question' in this department emerged from the writings, teaching and curriculum development of Geoffrey Cronjé, who alongside his contemporary Hendrik Verwoerd, had a serious hand in shaping not only the social welfare policy discussed above, but the theoretical foundations of apartheid. Indeed, the institutions where these leading figures in sociology

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[433] Patel, *Social welfare and social development in South Africa*, 74.

thought, wrote, taught and engaged – the universities of Pretoria and Stellenbosch –

would form the center from which the 'coloured question' shifted discursively from the

biological to the social.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the history of the discipline of sociology in South

Africa has been tied to the emergence of social work and its forms of intervention into the

poor white problem at both these universities. However, although sociology is said to

have its origins in social work and both disciplines have been housed in the same

university departments until the 1960s,[434] sociology's disciplinary origins and traditions

have differed from institution to institution. For instance, at the University of

Stellenbosch, sociology's origins lay in the discipline of psychology. This was partly due

to the department's establishment under Verwoerd, who although appointed as the first

professor of sociology in South Africa, received his training in psychology, becoming a

professor of applied psychology at 26, and subsequently, the head of a new department in

Sociology and Social Work in 1932.[435] At what would emerge as the English 'liberal'

universities, sociology also had its origins in various social science traditions. For

instance, at the University of Cape Town's department, established in 1935, sociology

drew heavily on Edward Batson's training at the London School of Economics (LSE).

The department's focus on the structural causes of poverty (and the quantification

thereof) was demonstrated through Batson's use of the poverty datum line to conduct a

social survey on poverty (not solely white poverty) in Cape Town. The University of the

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[434] R. Sooryamoorthy, *Sociology in South Africa: Colonial, Apartheid and Democratic Forms* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 16.
[435] Erica Theron, *H.F. Verwoerd as Welsynbeplanner 1932-1936* (H.F. Verwoerd as Welfare Planner), (Stellenbosch: Universiteitsuitgewers (University Publishers), 1970), 11.

Witwatersrand's sociology department, established by J.L. Gray in 1937, drew heavily on Bantu Studies and anthropology, creating a research focus on 'Native welfare.'[436]

At the University of Pretoria, sociology emerged out of the social welfare initiatives of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie* (SAVF) or the South African Women's Federation – an Afrikaans women's organization established in 1904 to alleviate the plight of rural Afrikaners in the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war.[437] The SAVF not only raised £2500 pounds for the establishment of the Transvaal University College (TUC)[438] – the forerunner of the University of Pretoria – but also lobbied for the establishment of a school of social work to better address what they identified as the growing problem of white poverty. By 1928, the SAVF had succeeded in introducing a two-year diploma course at TUC[439] and by 1930, a four-year diploma course in social work was offered at what had by then become the University of Pretoria.[440] By 1933, a joint department of social work and sociology was established, with Geoffrey Cronjé appointed as the head of the department in 1937. Among the above-mentioned figures in the social sciences, Cronjé was the only one with a doctorate in sociology (from the University of

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[436] Tina Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity: The Forging of a National Sociological Tradition in South Africa" in *The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions,* ed. Sujata Patel (London: SAGE, 2010), 237.

[437] C.M. Bothma. *SAVF Eeufees Gedenkboek ,1904-2004* (SAVF Centenary Commemoration) (Kilnerpark: Bent Uitgewers, 2004), 6-7.

[438] Bothma*, SAVF Eeufees Gedenkboek,* 12.

[439] Bothma*, SAVF Eeufees Gedenkboek,* 129.

[440] E.A.K Hugo, "*'n Geskiedkundige oorsig oor die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk aan die Universiteit van Pretoria*" (A historical overview of the origin and development of Social Work at the University of Pretoria) in *Maatskaplike Werk Oor Sestig Jaar: Feesbundel van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk Universiteit van Pretoria*, (Social Work over Sixty Years: Commemorative Volume from the Department of Social Work at the University of Pretoria) eds. S.M. Van Staden, E.A.K Hugo, I.J.J. van Rooyen and W.F. van Delft (Pretoria: Owen Burgess, 1989), 2-3.

Amsterdam) – making him the only 'professional' sociologist at the time of the discipline's emergence in South Africa.[441]

Despite their different disciplinary histories, Stellenbosch and UP's joint departments of social work and sociology – out of which sociology would develop as a separate discipline by the 1940s[442] – were the first universities to offer social work training in South Africa. As Afrikaans universities – intended for both the preservation and upliftment of the Afrikaner *volk* – they would emerge as the primary institutions through which the poor white problem would be addressed. The Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem (undertaken between 1929 and 1932) and its recommendation to establish social work programs at universities would also inaugurate Stellenbosch and UP as the appropriate institutional sites from which to engage with this 'problem.'[443]

As discussed in Chapter 1, although poverty among rural and urban whites had existed in the Cape Colony since at least the 18th century, by the 20th century it had been constructed by church and state as a widespread social problem in need of intervention.[444] In addition to state initiatives like the introduction of the Civilized Labour Policy (discussed in Chapter 4), the Dutch Reformed Church in 1928 persuaded the Carnegie Corporation to fund a 'scientific' investigation into the causes of white poverty in South Africa.[445] When the report of the Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White

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[441] Hugo, "*'n Geskiedkundige oorsig oor die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk aan die Universiteit van Pretoria*", 2-3.

[442] Hugo, "*'n Geskiedkundige oorsig oor die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk aan die Universiteit van Pretoria*", 2-3.

[443] The Carnegie Commission is also often cited as the first major stimulus to the development of the discipline of sociology in South Africa. (Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity," 236).

[444] Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White working class families in Johannesburg.* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 133.

[445] McKendrick, "The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa," 11.

Problem was released in 1932, it played into existing racial anxieties in the 1930s by arguing that shared economic conditions made poor coloureds and poor whites indistinguishable and that part of the solution to the poor white problem was to clearly demarcate the boundaries between whites and coloureds.

In Part V of the 1932 report, the Sociological Report, the Carnegie commissioners – one of whom, R.W. Wilcocks, would later chair the Wilcocks Commission on coloureds (1937) – concluded that undesirable housing conditions (those considered to be "unfit for civilized life") were not only detrimental to family life but that they also encouraged growing "social intercourse with non-Europeans."[446] In particular, the commissioners stated that,

> Signs are, however not wanting that this racial barrier is being broken down, especially where the standard of living of some Europeans is approximating more and more that of natives. The social intercourse between the races which – as pointed out below – is being encouraged by modern economic conditions easily leads to miscegenation. This means that the white colour is lost in the descendants. In this way it come about that there are whole families who bear the names and surnames of Europeans, but who are coloured. The "poor white" problem here appears under a different form, because such families may be indeed "poor" but are no longer "white". Were it not that some of the lower types of Europeans disappear in this manner, the problem of poor whiteism would undoubtedly loom larger than it does to-day.[447]

The Carnegie commissioners expressed a concern that contact with coloureds created damaging social effects for whites and that prolonged poverty amongst whites would result in closer social contact between poor whites and blacks, which by implication (and according to the emergent political discourse of miscegenation at the time), would

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[446] The Poor White Problem in South Africa – Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V: The Sociological Report (Stellenbosch: Pro-Ecclesia 1932), 137.
[447] Report of the Carnegie Commission. Part V, 37-38.

produce more 'coloureds.'[448] In the way the Carnegie commissioners suggested that poor whites were in fact "disappearing" and 'becoming coloured' as a result of their "social intercourse" with non-whites, they highlighted the need for the state to not only uplift poor whites, but to do so by developing the political and social mechanisms to clearly identify who was white, and who was coloured.

In the first comprehensive history of coloured South Africans in the 1930s – marking not only the discursive shift towards the 'coloured question' but also a historiographical one – University of Cape Town Professor, J.S. Marais, underlined the racial anxieties expressed in the Carnegie Commission Report by suggesting that "the Coloured do not appear to differ from us day to day in anything except their poverty, and that they share with our large army of poor Whites."[449] Thus in the 1930s, the intervention into the poor white question, premised on forms of state intervention that began under the Pact government in the mid-1920s (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4) – was accompanied by the production of knowledge on white poverty at the universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria. These two Afrikaner universities would not only intervene into the poor white problem, but also into the 'coloured question' as key to consolidating the Afrikaner *volk*. At the University of Pretoria, this attempt at consolidating the *volk* – by way of demarcating clear boundaries, along biologically defined racial lines (to the exclusion of coloureds), would be demonstrated through Geoffrey Cronjé's writing, teaching and curriculum development.

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[448] Mohamed Seedat and Sarah MacKenzie, "The Triangulated Development of South African Psychology: Race, Scientific Racism and Professionalisation" in *Interiors: A History of Psychology in South Africa,* ed. Clifford van Ommen and Desmond Painter (Pretoria: University of South Africa (Unisa) Press, 2008), 75.
[449] J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937* (London: Longman's, Green and Company, 1939), 283.

According to renowned novelist J.M. Coetzee, Cronjé was an influential figure in Afrikaner nationalist circles in the 1940s.[450] After graduating from Stellenbosch University in 1929, Cronjé attended the University of Amsterdam and returned to South Africa with a doctorate in sociology. He was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria in 1933 and in 1936 was promoted to professor – a position which he held until his retirement in 1967.[451] Cronjé became a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), and was a leading figure in its policy-forming circles.[452] According to Coetzee, the AB devoted its energies towards alleviating the plight of landless poor whites in the 1930s, but with the increased movement of blacks to towns and cities by the 1940s, began to have its own internal discussions on racial segregation, particularly in the form of self-governing 'native' reserves. One of Cronjé's most seminal texts, *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag* (A Home for Posterity, 1945) was central to these discussions. D.F. Malan drew heavily on this text, as well as Cronjé's *Regverdige Rasse Apartheid* (Just Racial Apartheid, 1947) in his campaign for the 1948 elections.[453] As a result, Coetzee referred to Cronjé as "the mind of apartheid", while Marks and Trapido – renowned historians of South Africa – have stated that his work gave the most "comprehensive theoretical statement of apartheid."[454]

Cronjé's emergence as an influential figure in NP circles in the 1940s can be contextualized in the state's discursive shift away from the poor white problem towards

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[450] J.M. Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid: Geoffrey Cronjé (1907-)," *Social Dynamics,* 17, no.1, (1991): 1.
[451] Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid," 3.
[452] Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid," 4.
[453] Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid," 4.
[454] Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, "The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism" in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, ed. Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido, (London: Longman, 1987), 19.

the growing white political concern at the time with the 'native question' – a discourse which Cronjé himself shaped and informed through his writing. For instance, his two books, *'n Tusite vir die Nageslag* (1945), *Regverdige Rasse Apartheid* (1947), and one of his other key texts, *Voogdyskap en Apartheid* (Trusteeship and Apartheid, 1948) were all concerned with addressing the 'native question'. In these texts, Cronjé engaged with the work of liberal thinkers like Alfred Hoernlé (discussed in Chapter 4) and on the eve of the National Party's victory in 1948, took up Hoernlé's suggestion of 'total separation' by presenting it in his own work as the 'final' solution to South Africa's 'race problem'. In *Voogdyskap en Apartheid*, Cronjé most clearly laid out the steps through which 'total separation' could be achieved and the 'native question' could be resolved. According to Cronjé, *voogdyskap* – the Afrikaner complement to trusteeship – was the means by which separate development should be implemented. *Voogdyskap* was based on the 'fact' that whites had reached a higher level of 'civilization' in South African society and, as such, had a responsibility to guide the 'less developed races' towards development, helping them achieve their own level of self-sufficiency – described by Cronjé through the word '*self-beskikking'.* As a temporary (but potentially indefinite) relationship, trusteeship was meant to be enforced only until blacks no longer needed white guidance and tutelage – until they were not only living separately in their own 'reserves' and segregated urban areas, but self-reliantly.[455]

While *Voogdyskap en Apartheid* was primarily aimed at addressing the political issue of the 'native question', Cronjé's particular concern in this text (and in *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag*) was with miscegenation – which both Coetzee and historian Herman

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[455] Geoffrey Cronjé, *Voogdyskap en Apartheid* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1948), 14-15.

Giliomee have called "an obsession" – and with coloureds as a representation and demonstration thereof.[456] It was precisely because of their indistinguishability from poor whites and their ability to assimilate into white society that coloureds posed the greatest threat to the consolidation of the 'pure' Afrikaner *volk*.[457] According to Cronjé, 'the coloured' was a *sluwe insluiper* – a 'sly stealer-in' – entering the community unnoticed and contaminating its blood.[458] His proposed solution to what was essentially the 'coloured question' was for coloureds to recognize that their destiny was separate from that of whites[459] and for them to be guided – under a period of 'temporary' trusteeship – towards developing a sense of group cohesion and pride, towards cultivating their own leaders, and ultimately, towards living separately and self-reliantly from white society (i.e. possessing a sense of *self-beskikking* or self-sufficiency).[460]

Through his 'obsession' with miscegenation and his influence in NP and AB circles, Cronjé produced not only the instrumental knowledge that would shape and inform the state's discursive shift from 'civilization' to 'miscegenation' in the constitution of the coloured subject in the 1940s, but would also produce disciplinary knowledge through teaching and curriculum development at UP that would help shift this category from the space of the biological to the social. For instance, when the University of Pretoria's joint department of social work and sociology was established in 1933, it

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[456] Hermann Giliomee, "Geoffrey Cronjé" in *Dictionary of African Biography,* ed. Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 134; Coetzee, "The Mind of Apartheid," 1.
[457] Aletta J. Norval, *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse* (New York: Verso, 1996), 92.
[458] Norval, *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse,* 92.
[459] Geoffrey Cronjé, *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag: Die blywende oplossing van Suid-Afrika se rassevraagstukke* (A Home for Posterity: The enduring solution to South Africa's race problems) (Johannesburg: Publicite,1945), 38; 140.
[460] Cronjé, *Voogdyskap en Apartheid,* 96.

offered only a qualification in social work but included course offerings in sociology.[461]

All these courses were introduced and taught by Cronjé[462] and were largely focused on

(white) family sociology and by implication, the poor white problem.[463] However, by

1941, Cronjé had designed, introduced and taught a first-year sociology course called *Die*

Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolking (the South African population). In this course, South African

society was organized into and analyzed through the four main racial categories

(European, Native, coloured and Asiatic) that would subsequently be entrenched through

law by the Population Registration Act in 1950 (and shifted accordingly through

subsequent amendments). A theme within this course was *rassevermenging*

(miscegenation),[464] demonstrating how Cronjé's development of the sociology

curriculum – as professor and head of the department (HoD) – conformed with and

upheld the state's own discursive shifts and articulations on the 'coloured question' in the

1940s.

While Cronje's own writing demonstrated a particular concern with the 'coloured

question,' the subsequent development of the *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolking* course over

the following years would also intersect with his broader engagement with the 'native

question,' as the theme of miscegenation would be replaced with '*rassevraagstukke'*

(race questions/conundrums) in 1945.[465] By 1952, the discipline's entanglement with race

and its instrumental categories was demonstrated through the renaming of the entire

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[461] University of Pretoria, Yearbook: 1934, 142.
[462] C.H. Rautenbach, *Ad Destinatum: Gedenkboek van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (Ad Destinatum: Commemorative Volume of the University of Pretoria) (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers Beperk, 1960), 124.
[463] University of Pretoria, Yearbook: 1934, 142.
[464] University of Pretoria, Yearbook: 1941, 182.
[465] University of Pretoria, Yearbook: 1945, 173.

course as '*Rassevraagstukke'*(Race questions/conundrums)*, directed towards "*besondere vraagstukke met betrekking tot blankes, naturelle, kleurlinge en Asiate"*(particular questions regarding 'Europeans,' 'Natives', 'coloureds' and 'Asians').[466] In 1961, the course took the title of *'Rassesosiologie* (race sociology),[467] further demonstrating the ways in which Cronje's own emergence as a *rassesosioloog* (race sociologist)[468] intersected with the themes and focus areas of this first year curriculum.

What is striking is that the *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolking* course and its subsequent iterations as *Rassevraagstukke* and *Rassesosiologie* was only offered in Sociology I – a compulsory course for all first year students. While second and third year courses also reflected an engagement with apartheid's racial categories, increasingly entrenched by the 1960s, the emphasis on 'race questions' and 'race sociology' in the first year suggests that this particular part of the sociology curriculum laid the disciplinary groundwork among incoming students, shaping the engagement with the coloured question that would be evident in subsequently in MA dissertations on Eersterust in the mid-1960s and early 1970s. For example, Cronje's star student, Nic Rhoodie[469] completed his three-year BA degree in Sociology in 1954. He would thus have done his first year in 1952 and taken the *Rassevraagstukke* course, where he would have engaged with "particular questions regarding 'Europeans,' 'Natives', 'coloureds'

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[466] University of Pretoria Yearbook: 1952, 132.

[467] University of Pretoria Yearbook: 1961-1962, 197.

[468] In a tribute to Cronjé, Rhoodie referred to him as "die vader van Rassesosiologie" (the father of race sociology). N.J. Rhoodie, "G. Cronjé se beskouing van die Suid-Afrikaanse Blank-Bantoe-problematiek, soos weerspieël in sy onmiddellik na-oorlogse geskrifte" (Cronjé's view of the South African White-Bantu Problem, as demonstrated in his immediate post-war texts) in *Mens en gemeenskap: Huldigingsbundel vir prof. dr. G. Cronjé* (Humanity and Community: A Tribute to prof. dr. G. Cronjé), (Pretoria: Academica), 41.

[469] Rhoodie acknowledged Cronjé as the supervisor of his PhD in his first monograph, *Apartheid and Racial Partnership in southern Africa* (Cape Town: Academica, 1969), xi.

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and 'Asians.'"[470] Rhoodie, through his subsequent postgraduate degrees – all of which

were undertaken in the joint Department of Social Work and Sociology at UP[471] – would

not only analyze the very idea of separate development in his work,[472] but would turn his

attention to the coloured question in his capacity as lecturer and subsequently as Head of

Department (HoD)[473], supervising the MA sociology dissertations that would draw on

Eersterust as a site of research intervention in the 1960s and early 1970s (discussed in

more detail below). It is this engagement with the coloured question at UP – specifically

in the discipline of sociology – through which we are able to trace the movement of the

coloured category from the space of the biological (represented in the discourse of

miscegenation) to the social. This movement can also be tracked through comparing the

research that emerged from the Stellenbosch-based (until 1961, when it moved to

Pretoria)[474] South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) in the 1950s and 1960s,

and the sociological studies conducted on coloured social problems by researchers from

the Pretoria-based Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in the 1970s and 1980s.

   As mentioned above, separate courses in sociology were offered at UP since

1933. Thus, although sociology and social work were housed in the same department, the

increasing differentiation between the two disciplines that emerged in the 1940s made

sociology the first and primary point of entry into the 'coloured question' at the

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[470] Yearbook: 1952, 132.

[471] F.J. du Toit Spies and D.H. Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982: 'n Geskiedenis van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (A History of the University of Pretoria (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1987), 60.

[472] Including his 1960 publication, *Apartheid: a socio-historical exposition of the origin and development of the apartheid idea*, and *Homelands: The Role of Corporations* (1974).

[473] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982*, 60.

[474] Robert Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology," *American Ethnologist* 15, no. 3 (1988): 548.

University of Pretoria. It was only in the 1980s that UP social work students began to intervene practically into Eersterust – once the coloured category had already moved from the space of the biological to the social, and 'community' had been established as both the physical and conceptual space to which social welfare needs could be deferred. By this time, the differentiation between sociology and social work had been well established, with social work's emergence as the <u>practical</u> counterpart of sociology – demonstrated by the name given to social work: "*toegepaste sosiologie*" (<u>applied</u> sociology).[475] Intervention in Eersterust by the 1980s thus took a more practical form as opposed to its function in the 1960s and 1970s, when it was the only 'coloured' research site in Pretoria.

Sociological intervention into Eersterust, *Voogdyskap* and *Self-beskikking*

In 1966, within a few years of the establishment of Eersterust as a coloured area in Pretoria under the Group Areas Act (1950), MA sociology students at UP appropriated Eersterust as site of research – as part of their engagement with and intervention into the coloured question. However, SABRA, established at Stellenbosch in 1949 to give apartheid an intellectual basis,[476] had already held its first congress on the 'coloured question' in 1955, culminating in a report titled, *Die Kleurling in die Suid-Afrikaanse Samelewing* (The Coloured in South African Society). In this report, Stellenbosch sociologist, Erika Theron, named and identified certain social problems as potential obstacles to coloureds' ability to live separately and self-reliantly from whites. More particularly, she pointed directly to coloureds' supposed lack of identity and group

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[475] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982*, 60.
[476] Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," 369.

cohesion as both the root cause of their social problems *and* the particular discursive

space in need of intervention to address those problems. While Theron highlighted

juvenile delinquency and broken family life as pressing social problems among

coloureds,[477] it was what she saw as the high incidence of alcoholism that seemed to

trouble her the most. She wrote that alcoholism is "*een van die belangrikste faktore wat*

verantwoordelik is vir die agteruitgang van 'n aansienlike gedeelte van die

kleurlingbevolking" (one of the most important factors in the deterioration of the coloured

population).[478] This statement not only reinforced long-held stereotypes of coloureds as

shiftless alcoholics, but in conjunction with her observation that coloureds were a 'group'

in-the-making and still in need of white tutelage,[479] seemed to reinforce Cronjé's belief

that alcoholism amongst coloureds was a direct result of the 'perpetual conflict of the

coloured soul' and their lack of identity and cohesion as a group.[480] The idea that

alcoholism was not only pervasive among coloureds, but that they also lacked 'racial

pride' and acceptance, cohesion, unity, and adequate leadership, would be re-articulated

in subsequent studies and even pamphlets between the mid-1950s and 1970s as two

particular 'problems' in need of intervention – precisely because they formed an obstacle

to coloureds developing self-reliantly and constituting their own separate group.[481]

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[477] Erika Theron, "Die Kleurling en sy Maatskaplike Probleme" (The Coloured and his Social Problems) in *Referate: Die Kleurling in die Suid-Afrikaanse Samelewing.* (The Coloured in South African Society), ed. Erika Theron (SABRA, 1955), 39.

[478] Theron, "Die Kleurling en sy Maatskaplike Probleme" (The Coloured and his Social Problems), 40.

[479] Theron, "Die Kleurling en sy Maatskaplike Probleme" (The Coloured and his Social Problems), 48.

[480] Cronjé, *'n Tuiste vir die Nageslag,* 141.

[481] These subsequent studies include two MA sociology dissertations from UP – one of which concluded that overcrowded housing conditions posed an obstacle to the development of coloured communities (Van der Walt, 1966) – and the other, which argued that coloureds lacked a sense of a cohesion as a separate group (Smit, 1971). While both of these dissertations, as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, based their conclusions on fieldwork in Eersterust, they were reliant on broader assumptions about coloured social problems and lack of group cohesion, such as those articulated in the 1955 SABRA report. Yet another SABRA publication in which coloureds' supposed lack of coherence as a group was re-

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Ten years after SABRA's first congress on the 'coloured question,' it developed another report in which it, once again, devoted a chapter to coloured social problems – identifying alcoholism as the most pressing issue. In fact, Theron as editor, used exactly the same phrase from the 1955 report to highlight the problem of alcoholism: "*een van die belangrikste faktore is wat verantwoordelik is vir die agteruitgang van 'n aansienlike gedeelte van die kleurlingbevolking*" (one of the most important factors in the deterioration of the coloured population).[482] In addition to reinforcing the trope of the coloured alcoholic in the same way she did in the 1955 SABRA report, Theron's suggested solution was for coloureds to be guided towards accepting responsibility for their own social problems so that they could become fully self-reliant. For instance, she concludes the 1964 report by stating that, "*mense en hulle gemeenskappe wat nie ook self skouer aan die wiel sit en na die beste van hulle vermoë hulle huis in orde probeer kry nie, wat verkies om altyd aan die ontvangspunt te staan, sal nooit volwassenheid en selfstandigheid bereik nie*" (people and their *communities*[483] who don't themselves put their shoulder to the wheel and try, to the best of their abilities, to get their house in order, that always prefer to be on the receiving end, will never reach maturity and self-sufficiency).[484]

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articulated was P.J. Coertze's 1975 pamphlet titled *Die Etniese Posisie van die Kleurlinge* (The Ethnic Position of the Coloureds). In this publication, Coertze – a SABRA-affiliated academic from the University of Pretoria – concluded that while coloureds did indeed constitute their own separate group socially and politically, they still needed to be provided with further opportunities to develop group cohesion and coherence.

[482] Theron, "Die Kleurling en sy Maatskaplike Probleme" (The Coloured and his Social Problems), 40. When Theron heads the Commission of Enquiry into matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group in 1976, she cites "disorganized family life", "widespread crime", "liquor abuse", and "work-shyness" as "major social problems" in coloured communities (Chapter 11: Social Problems and Welfare Services in *Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group*, 1976, pp. 261-291.

[483] See discussion of the constitution of 'coloured community' below.

[484] Erika Theron, *Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid-Afrika: 'n Verslag van 'n komitee van die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede (Sabra) insake die Kleurling* (The Coloured Population of

While SABRA's intervention into the 'coloured question' cannot be diminished, it is important to highlight that this institute was not always in complete alignment with the state's own attempt to address the 'coloured question'. It was in fact, precisely around state policy towards coloureds that sociologists within SABRA often disagreed. For instance, several sociologists and other intellectuals affiliated with SABRA objected to the removal of coloureds from the common voters' roll in 1951. Many believed that coloureds should be treated as 'brown' Afrikaners.[485] A decade later, Stellenbosch-based sociologist S.P. Cilliers was purged from SABRA by Verwoerd for criticizing the apartheid state's position on coloureds[486] highlighting not only conflicting approaches among sociologists to the coloured question, but the different and/or oppositional discourses that began to emerge among academics in the Cape in the 1960s, versus those from Pretoria.[487] These discursive divisions had increasingly hardened as SABRA moved its headquarters to the North (Pretoria) in 1961 and would, by the 1970s, also manifest themselves in the NP's *verligte* (enlightened)/*verkrampte* (conservative) camps (discussed in Chapter 4).[488] Thus, although there was a strong degree of complicity with apartheid within SABRA and at Stellenbosch more generally, there were also instances of resistance. Ultimately however, SABRA's intervention into the 'coloured question',

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South Africa: A Report from a Committee of SABRA regarding the Coloured), (Stellenbosch: SABRA, 1964), 121.

[485] Johan Lazar, Conformity and Conflict: Afrikaner Nationalist Politics in South Africa, 1948-1961, (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1987), 199-201.

[486] Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity," 241; Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs, himself was a member of SABRA until 1959. He resigned because he disapproved of SABRA's collaboration with the English, liberal South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) on an adult education project for black Africans (Robert Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists: The Genealogy of Afrikaner Anthropology," *American Ethnologist* 15, no. 3 (1988): 538.

[487] For instance, while Transvaal academics within SABRA suggested that a homeland be created for coloureds, Stellenbosch-based academics like Erika Theron vehemently disagreed, based on the "close ties" shared between coloureds and Afrikaners (Lazar, *Conformity and Conflict,* 102).

[488] Gordon, "Apartheid's Anthropologists," 548.

along with sociological studies that followed at UP (discussed in more detail below), and those that emerged subsequently from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), also based in Pretoria since 1968, did succeed in shifting the coloured category from the space of the biological to the social, and fully constituting coloureds as a separate group. For instance, between 1979 and 1989, the HRSC conducted at least four sociological studies in Eersterust: one focused on capturing broader demographic data on the community, and three others, such as A.C. Faul's study titled *Die primere voorkoming van drank-en dwelmmisbruik in Eersterust* (The primary prevention of alcohol and drug misuse in Eersterust) (1989),[489] largely focused on alcohol – and subsequently – drug addiction in this neighborhood. In all of these studies, the coloured category was taken for granted, and researchers could refer to Eersterust as a coloured community with no need to discuss the category's 'mixed essence'. More particularly, these studies revealed how the constitution of 'coloured community' – first, by way of the Group Areas Act and forced removals (enforced by the Department of Community Development,[490] discussed below) and second, defined both through the absence of identity and coherence but also through presence of the problem of alcoholism – was integral to the category's shift from the biological to the social. For example, in one of the three HSRC studies in Eersterust, *Die Rol en Funksie van Alkohol in Eersterust* (The Role and Function of Alcohol in Eersterust), the term '*kleurling'* (coloured) is used without any need or obligation to explain the contents of the category (in contrast to the SABRA reports), while the word

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[489] A.C. Faul, *Die primere voorkoming van drank- en dwelmmisbruik in Eersterust* (The primary prevention of alcohol and drug misuse in Eersterust), (Pretoria: HSRC Press), 1989.
[490] Noëleen Murray, "Remaking Modernism: South African Architecture In and Out of Time" in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 53.

'*gemeenskap*' (community) – referring to the township and its 'coloured' residents – is

defined through and used in conjunction with the problem of alcoholism:

Na samespreekings met verteenwoordigers van die Departement van Gesondheid, Welsyn and Pensioene is besluit om a loodsondersoek na die gebruik en misbruik van…alkohol in the Kleurling gemeenskap van Eersterust, Pretoria, te onderneem (Following dialogue with representatives from the Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions it was decided that a pilot study on the use and *misuse* of alcohol in the *Coloured community* of Eersterust should be undertaken. Underline my emphasis.) [491]

The sociological studies that would emerge from UP – another, if not *the* primary site of

disciplinary production in Pretoria – would, by initiating the shift of category from the

biological to the social, also constitute 'coloured community' by way of a problem – if

not alcoholism, then through the lack of coherence and identity. These studies were

conducted by Masters' (MA) students, many of who were supervised by Cronjé's student,

Nic Rhoodie (subsequently implicated in the apartheid government's Information

Scandal – see Chapter 2).[492] Shortly after its establishment in 1962,[493] Eersterust was

selected by the UP Department of Social Work and Sociology as a site of research

intervention into the 'coloured question' – based primarily on the fact that it was the only

coloured township in Pretoria.

The first sociological study was undertaken in 1966, by MA student T.J. van der

Walt, who focused on both the condition of the housing provided by the state – the

economic and sub-economic units of the NE housing series (discussed in Chapter 6) –

and residents' levels of satisfaction with these houses. Since Eersterust had, by that time,

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[491] Lee Rocha-Silva, *Die Rol en Funksie van Alkohol in Eersterust* (The Role and Function of Alcohol in Eersterust), (Pretoria: HSRC,1981).
[492] Rhoodie acknowledged Cronjé as the supervisor of his PhD in his first monograph, *Apartheid and Racial Partnership in southern Africa* (Cape Town: Academica, 1969), xi.
[493] Community Centre. Eersterust Township. TAB, Vol. 3/4/1652, File, 125/11.

just been established as a coloured 'area' in terms of the Group Areas Act, this study can be read as the University of Pretoria's first attempt to constitute coloureds as their 'own' group at a local and newly established community level, and to survey the physical space (the township and people's homes) in which coloureds were to develop self-reliantly and separately from whites.

The hypothesis of Van der Walt's study was that poor housing conditions, as well as dissatisfaction with state-provided housing, had implications for the social welfare of the residents.[494] This hypothesis was premised on D.M. Calderwood's[495] observation that "…proper housing…will establish family groups who will have to shoulder their responsibilities (in other words, be self-reliant) and will create a better national economy. A properly-housed *community* will cost the taxpayer less; health, crime and productivity in industry will all be affected" (italics my emphasis).[496] The overall objective of the project then, was to determine if there were deficiencies in state-provided housing, if and how it would affect the well-being of the community – what kind of social problems it might create or contribute to – and the relationship to resident's satisfaction with the housing.

In June 1966, when van der Walt conducted his fieldwork, 774 houses in Eersterust had been provided by the state, 250 of which were economic and 524 of which

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[494] T.J. Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust, Pretoria: 'n Sosiologiese ontleding met besondere verwysing na onwenslike behuisingstoestande en die houding van die kleurlinge ten opsigte van hul behuisingsomstandighede" (Coloured Housing in Eersterust, Pretoria: a sociological analysis with particular reference to undesirable housing conditions and the attitude of these coloureds towards the provision of housing), (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 1966), 2.
[495] Calderwood was one of the architects of the NE housing series, which will be discussed in Chapter 6.
[496] Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 3.

were sub-economic[497] units.[498] Van der Walt conducted surveys with the residents of a third of these dwellings, which amounted to a total of 260 units.[499] In these surveys, residents were asked to indicate if they were satisfied with their housing and if not, what their greatest complaint was. Van der Walt's findings were that almost half of the residents in the economic housing units did not have any complaints, while an overwhelming percentage of the residents in the sub-economic units were dissatisfied, particularly with the size and layout of the houses.[500] However, his overall finding was that only 4.2 percent of participating residents expressed dissatisfaction with their housing, citing size and the possibility of overcrowding as their main complaint. By van der Walt's own assessment, the housing conditions in Eersterust did not pose any particular obstacle to the social wellbeing of the residents (read here as the 'self-reliance' of residents), but he did caution that 'slum' conditions might develop in the future if the provision of housing did not keep pace with the township's growing population.[501] Although Van der Walt's study departed from the trend, established by SABRA, of citing a lack of identity and group coherence, both as the root cause of social problem (like alcoholism) and the particular discursive space in need of intervention, his hypothesis was based on the premise that poor and unsatisfactory housing exacerbated existing social problems – posing an obstacle to the residents of Eersterust living separately and self-reliantly from white society. For instance, he argued that "*verskeie van die maatskaplike probleme waarmee die Kleurlingbevolking te kampe het, kan teruggevoer*

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497 These terms will be explained in detail in Chapter 6.
498 Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 101.
499 Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 99.
500 Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 104.
501 Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 107.

word na die swak behuisingstoestande waaronder 'n aansienlike persentasie van die

Kleurlingbevolking verkeer…" (various social problems among the Coloured population

can be attributed to the poor housing conditions that a significant percentage live

under).[502] In addition, although van der Walt refers to this township and its residents as

"*die Kleurlinge van Eersterust,*" (the Coloureds of Eersterust), as opposed to "*die*

Kleurling gemeenskap" (the Coloured community), this study did, as mentioned above,

establish the precedent of examining this site as a 'community' – not defined here

through the lack of identity and coherence but through the Groups Areas Act, its state

institution, the Department of Community Development, and forced removals. In doing

so, van der Walt's dissertation – as the first instance of sociological intervention into

Eersterust – initiated, at a local level, the category's shift from the biological to the social

through the constitution of 'coloured community,' and laid the groundwork for

subsequent sociological studies, including Henry Smit's 1971 research intervention into

this township.[503]

MA student Henry Smit's study on Eersterust would also form part of the

sociological intervention that shifted the coloured category from the space of the

biological to the social, particularly by means of constituting 'coloured community'

through the lack of identity and coherence. In his study, Smit set out to ascertain how

residents of the township viewed their present and future political position as coloureds in

South Africa. More particularly, he was interested in the question of whether residents

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[502] Van der Walt, "Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust," 23.
[503] Henry B. Smit*,"Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust se siening van hul huidige en toekomstige posisie in die breë Suid-Afrikaanse Bevolkingstruktuur"* (The Coloureds of Eersterust and their understanding of their current and future position in South Africa) (MA diss. University of Pretoria, 1971).

believed that they constituted their own '*volk*'[504] (he uses the term 'group' in the English

abstract of this dissertation)[505] as coloureds and attempted to measure this against his

hypothesis that coloureds in South Africa overall lacked a sense of unity (*eengesindheid)*

and coherence (s*amehorigheid).*[506]

Using field workers from Eersterust, Smit conducted surveys with 226

participants, who responded to 43 structured interview questions.[507] The questions from

which Smit confirmed his hypothesis were largely concerned with the sub-groups that

had been created within the legal category of coloured, namely 'Griqua,' 'Malay' and

'Cape Coloured' (see also Chapter 1, p. 22). For instance, he asked which of these sub-

groups coloureds in Eersterust would be most likely to identify themselves with, whether

they considered there to be major differences between these sub-groups and whether

there was a desire for them to have their own 'homeland,' governed by their own leaders.

This question – asked in 1971 – came within the broader context of the homeland policy

at the time, when the apartheid government had, merely a year before (1970), passed the

Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, making every black African, irrespective of

their place of residence, a citizen of an ethnic Bantustan. Articulated at the height of

apartheid's Bantustan policy – and before the crises precipitated by the Soweto Uprising

– the question of homeland affiliation for coloureds also demonstrated sociology's

alignment with the agendas of the state – arguably at its strongest before its collapse post-

1976.

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[504] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," 83.
[505] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," viii-ix.
[506] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," 8.
[507] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," 16 (a).

Based on responses to the above-mentioned questions, Smit deduced that

although most respondents believed that coloureds constituted their own group – having

been categorized as such through apartheid's institutional and legal forms of separation –

their strong identification with the Cape Coloured sub-category and their perception of

'Malays' and 'Griquas' as 'different' confirmed his hypothesis that coloureds did not

display the sense of unity and cohesion that characterizes a separate 'group'. His

conclusion was that in order for coloureds to develop separately from whites – more

particularly, for them to be able to cultivate the sense of identity and coherence that

constituted a group, the first step would be (for whites) to 'uplift' them economically in

order for them to 'help themselves.' This conclusion is demonstrated by Smit's

observation that "*sosio-ekonomiese opheffing… ten opsigte van die Kleurlinge, onder*

meer deur die Kleurling self, moet vermag word" (socio-economic upliftment needs to be

undertaken with respect to coloureds, but more particularly, undertaken by coloureds

themselves).[508] Although Smit uses the term *'volk'* throughout the dissertation – which

translates into English as 'nation' or 'people' and is strongly associated with apartheid's

biological concepts of race and ethnicity (i.e. the Xhosa 'nation', the Zulu 'nation', etc.),

also articulated through terms like '*bevolking*' or '*bevolkingsgroep'* (nation/national

group; population/population group) – the term is defined through social concepts like

identity and cohesion, rather than through the discourse of biology. For instance, in his

hypothesis, Smit argues that "(*I*)*n die lig van bogenoemde en die huidige patroon van*

rasseverhoudinge in Suid-Afrika, gaan die ondersoeker van die standpunt uit dat die

Kleurlinge nog nie 'n volk in the sosiologiese sin van die woord is nie. Die ondersoeker

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[508] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," 120, 139.

stel dan ook die hipotese dat daar nie die eengesindheid en samehorigheid onder die Kleurling heers…" (In light of the above-mentioned pattern of race relations in South Africa, the researcher's point of departure is that coloureds do not yet constitute a group in the *sociological* sense of the word. The research's hypothesis is then also that unity and coherence does not prevail amongst coloureds).[509]

By arguing that coloureds did not constitute their own group in the *sociological* sense, Smit's dissertation demonstrates the discipline's move away from the need and obligation to explain the biological contents of the category, towards re-constituting the category through social concepts/terms such as 'identity' and 'cohesion.' Thus, the use 'sociological' here points towards sociology's own role in constituting the category through the discourse of miscegenation, but also the increasing recognition by the early 1970s – at the height of the discipline's alignment with the apartheid state – that it was by means of the *social* that the limits and possibilities of effective separation were defined – rather than through the dubious biological arguments of miscegenation. It was also through the constitution of 'coloured community' – by means of the problem of alcoholism and in the case of Smit's work, the lack of identity and coherence – that the shift from the biological to the social occurred.

Along with Smit's study in Eersterust, it was also through other forms of sociological intervention into the 'coloured question' between the mid-1950 to the mid-1970s that the coloured category was moved from the space of the biological to the social. By intervening discursively into coloured social problems and attributing their

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[509] Smit, "Die Kleurlinge van Eersterust," 8.

persistence to a lack of group coherence, intervening onto the physical spaces in which coloureds were meant to live separately and self-reliantly, and interrogating coloureds' own sense of group coherence, these studies demonstrate how the discipline of sociology at Stellenbosch (by way of SABRA) and at UP shifted the coloured category – from one that required constant explanation, to one that could be taken for granted.

The movement from the biological to the social can be best explained through a brief analysis of what is meant by 'the social.' Gary Minkley, by way of Deleuze and Donzelot in *The Policing of Families* (1979), explains 'the social' as being framed through language, assembled in multiple contingencies, and as complexly spatialized and problematically and routinely associated with the desires and spaces of the urban. It is assumed to be there and taken for granted.[510] The above-mentioned examples – and those that will follow – demonstrate that it was through its assembly in language (terms and concepts), through its complex spatialization and its association with the desires and spaces of the urban that the coloured category moved to the conceptual space of the social and became 'assumed' and 'taken for granted.' For instance, through the disciplinary language of social pathology (for example, alcoholism) which called for a potentially indefinite period of trusteeship and consistent intervention into coloureds' lack of self-reliance and group coherence (Cronjé and Theron); through the intervention into the urban spaces in which coloureds were meant to develop separately (van der Walt); and finally, through an intervention into coloureds' own understanding of their identity as a separate group (or lack thereof – Smit), the sociological work, studies and reports discussed thus far

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[510] Gary Minkley, "Social Acts Social Acts and Projections of Change," Inaugural lecture, University of Fort Hare, May 2014; Gilles Deleuze, "Foreword" in Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), x.

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demonstrate how consistent intervention and knowledge production shifted this category – previously in need of clarification – to one in which its contents could be understood as 'obvious', 'common sense', and 'taken for granted'.

This shift from the biological to the social – initiated through the constitution of 'coloured community' – was also assembled in relation to the political crisis that emerged in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising in 1976. As the apartheid state began to implement (limited) political reforms in the late 1970s, sociology and social work's relationship to the state came to be challenged, even as the categories of racial classification were normalized and had come to be understood as 'neutral' and' objective'. For instance, in his analysis of the language in the Riekert Commission Report (1979) – set up to examine the 'crisis' constituted by black urban population – Ashforth suggests that these racial categories had come to be "received in the names of 'the Obvious'".[511] The work that emerged from the discipline of sociology after the Uprising demonstrates this well.

In 1977, UP sociologist Nic Rhoodie, who, as discussed above, had been one of Geoffrey Cronjé's students, published a text titled *"Sosiale Stratifikasie en Kleurlingskap"* (Social Stratification and 'Colouredness').[512] This text was concerned with defining the political relationship between whites and coloureds, and although conceived of prior to the Soweto Uprising, converged with the apartheid state's attempt to introduce limited reforms by incorporating coloureds and Indians into the political system, while as discussed in Chapter 4, still holding on to the basic premises of separate

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[511] Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse,* 208-209.
[512] Nicolaas J. Rhoodie, *Sosiale Stratifikasie en Kleurlingskap* (Social Stratification and 'Colouredness' (Johannesburg: McGrawHill, 1977).

development (i.e. the Bantustans and the deferral of black African political rights to the Bantustans).[513] In this text, Rhoodie asserts that coloureds had been constituted as a separate group premised primarily on notions of 'biology' (i.e. their 'mixed essence'), but subsequently came to be seen as a separate *social* and political unit.[514] It is thus on the basis of the existence of this 'separate' social and political unit that he advocated for a departure from separate development (although this approach ironically hardened the category of coloured as a defined community or group) and proposed a model of 'pluralistic accommodation', in which coloureds would be granted increased opportunities for political participation.[515]

The recognition of coloureds as a separate social and political unit – in addition to the fact that Rhoodie did not find it necessary to provide a definition of 'the coloured' anywhere in this text – demonstrates how this category had shifted and hardened after two decades of sociological intervention. Similarly, in the report on the Commission of Enquiry into the Coloured Population Group (1976), chaired by Erika Theron, the coloured category is only explained through the state's definition (i.e. "a coloured person is a person who is not a white person or a Bantu") but there is no further discussion on the contents of this 'empty' category.[516] This is in sharp contrast to the report of the Wilcocks Commission of 1937 – the only other (major) commission of enquiry on

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[513] As discussed in Chapter 2, Rhoodie's Institute for Plural Societies at the University of Pretoria was funded by the apartheid government to produce positive propaganda for the state. As a result, it is likely that Rhoodie's suggestions for increased political participation for coloureds would have been engaged with in policy-making circles, or at the very least, held up as an example to the international community that the apartheid government was implementing political reforms.

[514] Rhoodie, *Sosiale Stratifikasie en Kleurlingskap*, 245.

[515] Rhoodie, *Sosiale Stratifikasie en Kleurlingskap* (Social Stratification and 'Colouredness'), 247. The Theron Commission (1976) made a similar recommendation (519).

[516] Republic of South Africa. *Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group* (Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1976), 3.

coloureds in the twentieth century – where the first chapter of the report was devoted to

explaining what kind of characteristics and features – clearly framed in a genealogical

and biological discourse – constituted a 'coloured person.' For instance, after detailing

what they believed to be the various origins of the 'coloured' group (mixed slave

ancestry, 'aboriginal' Hottentot, European strain, and 'contact with Bantu')[517] the

commissioners defined a 'typical' coloured as:

A person living in the Union of South Africa, who does not belong to one of its
aboriginal races, but in whom the presence of Coloured blood (especially due to descent
from non-Europeans brought to the Cape in the 17th and 18th centuries or from aboriginal
Hottentot stock, and with or without an admixture of white or Bantu blood) can be
established with at least reasonable certainty, (a) from a knowledge of the genealogy of
the person during the last three or four generations; or/and (b) by ordinary direct
recognition of characteristic features (such as colour of skin, nature of hair, and facial or
bodily form), by an observer familiar with these characteristics.[518]

The shift from the biological to the social can also be tracked through studies conducted

in Eersterust by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Established in 1968,[519]

the HSRC's entry into Eersterust was through a partnership with the UP Department of

Sociology, and resulted in the 1979 report, *"Eersterust: 'n sosiologiese studie van 'n*

kleurlinggemeenskap" (Eersterust: A sociological study of a coloured community).[520] In

this report, J.M. Lötter – the editor, who also completed his PhD at UP – could argue that

"*sommige van die knellendste problem in Eersterust sal slegs deur die gemeenskap self*

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[517]Union of South Africa. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937), 7-8.

[518] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Regarding Cape Coloured Population of the Union*, 10.

[519] David Welsh, "Social research in a divided society" in *Apartheid and Social Research* ed. John Rex (Paris: Unesco, 1981), 33. The HSRC consisted of Afrikaner-dominated advisory committees. The research projects most likely to receive funding were those considered helpful in apartheid policy formation. Research initiatives considered to be subversive towards the apartheid government were consistently overlooked at the time.

[520] J.M. Lötter (ed.) *Eersterust: 'n sosiologiese studie van 'n kleurlinggemeenskap* (Eersterust: A sociological study of a coloured community). (Pretoria: HSRC, 1979).

opgelos kan word" (some of the most pressing problems in Eersterust can only be solved by the *community* itself),[521] without having to explain the features of a coloured community, since it had already been constituted in previous studies by way of the problem of alcoholism.

Lötter's approach stands in sharp contrast to the intellectual or conceptual responsibility/obligation to explain the coloured category that was evident in SABRA's 1955 and 1964 reports. For instance, at the SABRA's 1955 Congress, the then Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, Dr. I.D. du Plessis, at the opening the meeting, provided an overview of the 'origin' of the coloured population, stating that, "the Coloured group, springing as it does from a mixture of races, is naturally the most difficult to define or classify."[522] By the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the need for HSRC studies to clarify or explain the category largely disappears, as demonstrated again in a 1983 study, *Die meting van alkoholinname in die Kleurlingwoonbuurt Eersterust: 'n toepassing van die Khavari-alkoholtoets* (Measuring alcohol intake in the coloured neighborhood of Eersterust: administering the Khavari alcohol test), where the researcher Lee Rocha-Silva, trained at the Pretoria-based University of South Africa (UNISA), could produce research on and measure alcohol intake among residents in Eersterust with no obligation to explain what was meant by the terms 'coloured' or 'coloured community.' [523]

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[521] Lötter (ed.) *Eersterust: 'n sosiologiese studie van 'n kleurlinggemeenskap*, 1.1-1.30.
[522] I.D. du Plessis, "The Coloured People of South Africa: Some Aspects of their Present Position" in *Referate: Die Kleurling in die Suid-Afrikaanse Samelewing* (The Coloured in South African Society), ed. Erika Theron, (Pretoria: SABRA, 1955), 15.
[523] Lee Rocha-Silva, *Die meting van alkoholinname in die Kleurlingwoonbuurt Eersterust: 'n toepassing van die Khavari-alkoholtoets* (Measuring alcohol intake in the coloured neighborhood of Eersterust: administering the Khavari alcohol test), (Pretoria: HSRC,1983).

Social Work Intervention in Eersterust and the Rise of 'Community'

In the process of the coloured category's movement from the biological to the social and the constitution of coloured community by way of a 'problem', 'community' came to be increasingly employed in the state's social welfare department, as well as in the discipline of social work – once again demonstrating the close ties between social work and the state's conceptual approaches at the time. By the 1960s, 'community' had been conceptualized as both the physical and discursive space to which the resolution of coloured social problems, such as alcoholism, could be deferred. This conceptualization of community is demonstrated through a 1962 policy statement from the Department of Community Development – established in 1961 as the state institution through which the Group Areas Act would be enforced.[524] In this policy statement, the minister of Community Development, P.W. Botha – who had previously held the office of Minister of Coloured Affairs and officially inaugurated the community hall in Eersterust (discussed in Chapter 3) – stated that the department's responsibility was to:

> plan and develop <u>areas</u> with a view to its important task of developing the various <u>social units</u> in such as a way that members of the respective population groups live together <u>in their own areas</u>, progressively <u>developing as socio-economic units</u> in the social, educational and cultural fields, where, as far as possible, all the various vocations and professions are practiced by members of the particular group and where they undertake <u>their own local government</u>.[525]

In this statement, a 'community' is conceptualized as a geographically-bounded unit, defined by race and racial characteristics, meant to exist under separate development as a

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[524] Noëleen Murray, "Remaking Modernism: South African Architecture In and Out of Time" in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 53.
[525] Policy statement, 1962, 3 (my emphasis).

self-reliant "social unit." Thus, as sociology intervened discursively into the coloured category – shifting it from the space of the biological to the social – as a parallel and simultaneous process, 'community' emerged as the space to which black social problems and social welfare needs could be deferred, and in which self-reliance could be cultivated by the state. In addition, 'community' – in its close association with the social – also became inflected with economic, cultural and educational elements. For instance, the attempt to cultivate self-reliance amongst coloureds, demonstrated in the above-mentioned sociological studies, came by way of intervention into economic and/or material questions, such as housing; the lack of coloured identity, coherence and by extension, culture – all structured by the *opheffing* (upliftment) central to the pedagogical (educational) nature of trusteeship.

As already discussed in this chapter, the 'tradition' of self-reliance, particularly among urban black Africans, had already been established and reinforced by the segregationist state in 1940s, with a return to the principles of the Stallard Commission (1921) in which black Africans were constituted as an impermanent presence in towns and cities. During apartheid, with the deferral of social welfare provision to the ethnic Bantustans, and to the separate departments of Indians and Coloured Affairs, the attempt to forge self-reliant 'communities' had been entrenched through a social welfare system that essentially forced blacks to be self-sufficient by providing them with little to no resources. After 1976, as the apartheid government began to implement neoliberal reforms, it privatized social welfare initiatives, limiting welfare expenditure – such as food subsidies – and shifting the burden of provision to the private sector, and to the space of 'the community'. The government justified the move towards privatization by

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maintaining that South Africa was not a welfare state (except that it was for whites) and that it had always partnered with the private sector in the delivery of social services. In so doing, it began to (re-)emphasize volunteerism, mutual aid, and reciprocity between 'providers' and 'consumers.'[526]

This increased deferral of responsibility to 'the community' post-1976 also marked a key shift in the methodological approaches to social welfare, as the close proximity between the discourses and agendas of sociology and social work and those of the apartheid state began to erode, and new disciplinary formations began to arise as a strategic response to the political and economic crisis. The apartheid state began to advocate for a move *away* from remedial social welfare methods, including social work methodologies like individual case work and group work, *towards* community work.[527] In both the public and private sectors, community work had emerged as a cost-effective strategy to address social problems on a larger scale. In order to facilitate this shift towards community work, the apartheid government implemented a system in which social welfare organization's proposals for funding needed to underscore effectiveness and efficiency in their delivery – demonstrating that they could deliver services to a greater number of beneficiaries at the lowest cost possible.[528]

In South Africa, the methodology of community work was developed in the late 1970s and was centered around the community worker, who entered an always already geographically-bounded and racially demarcated unit – now clearly defined and firmly

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[526] Patel, *Social Welfare and Social Development in South Africa,* 77.
[527] Patel, *Social welfare and social development in South Africa*, 75.
[528] William Mitchell, "Social Work with Communities" in *Introduction to social work in South Africa*, ed. Brian W. McKendrick (Pinetown: Owen Burgess Publishers, 1987), 106.

spatially and physically established, with no obligation to explain the contents of apartheid's categories – that supposedly lacked the necessary skills to address its own social problems. The role of the community worker was to help community members identify the social welfare needs of 'the community' and assist in developing the necessary skills to address those needs. The strategy that came to be most closely associated with community work was that of self-help – described in this dissertation as 'self-reliance' – premised on the idea that 'the community' can work together to improve its 'own' situation.[529]

As pioneers in the development of community work as a social work methodology,[530] the University of Pretoria's Department of Social Work – which had become independent from sociology in 1974[531] – trained its own students to use community work methodology in their practical work. As early as 1977, E.A.K. Hugo, the Head of Department (HoD), established a study group at the University of Pretoria to develop the theory and practice of community work.[532] In 1981, he co-authored a volume on community work as a form of social work practice – entitled *Gemeenskapswerk* (Community Work)[533] – and supervised the work of students who would subsequently

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[529] Mitchell, "Social Work with Communities," 112.
[530] J.S. Bergh, O.J.O. Ferreira, F. Pretorius, J.E.H. Grobler and W.A. Stals, *Ad Destinatum III 1983-1992: 'n Geskiedenis van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (History of the University of Pretoria). (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1996), 65; Van Staden, Hugo, van Rooyen en van Delft (eds). *Maatskaplike Werk Oor Sestig Jaar*, (Social work over sixty years), 328.
[531] Du Toit Spies and Heydenrych, *Ad Destinatum II 1960–1982,* 60.
[532] Hugo, "*'n Geskiedkundige oorsig oor die ontstaan en ontwikkeling van die Departement Maatskaplike Werk aan die Universiteit van Pretoria*", 17.
[533] E.A.K. Hugo, J.H. Schoeman and J.F.P. Engelbrecht, *Gemeenskapswerk* (Community Work), (Pretoria: Promedia-Publikasies, 1981).

specialize in the methodology of community work.[534] In a 1989 volume on the history

and achievements of UP's Department of Social Work, community work was defined as:

…'n maatskaplikewerk-metode waardeur <u>gemeenskappe</u> langs die weg van 'n wetenskaplike proses gehelp word om maatskaplike probleme uit te skakel en te voorkom, om maatskaplike behoeftes to bevreedig en om die integrering, samewerking en koördineering van aksiesisteme in die gemeenskap tot voordeel van die gemeenskap te bewerkstellig. (a social work methodology through which communities are, by way of a scientific process, assisted to eliminate and prevent social problems, to satisfy social welfare needs and to implement the integration, cooperation and coordination of an action system that benefits the community).[535]

In line with this definition, the volume laid out a community work model (or

aksiesisteem/action model), which consisted of a through a five-step process: (1)

identifying problems and needs; (2) establishing priorities; (3) establishing goals and

setting up a plan of action; (4) implementing the plan of action; and (5) evaluating

outcomes of the action. In the first step, a community meeting was to be called, in which

all community members in attendance would complete a questionnaire anonymously,

identifying what they believed the community's problems and needs were. This was to be

followed by a discussion, in which group consensus was achieved on the problems and

needs in the community.[536] The problems and needs would then be prioritized on a scale

of 1-9, with the most important need being ranked at 9. The community, together with the

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[534] For example, Professor Antoinette Lombard, the current head of the Department of Social Work, completed her PhD under Hugo's supervision. Her dissertation was titled *Die Bydrae van Gemeenskapwerkopleiding in die Toepassing van Gemeenskapsontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika*, (The Contribution of Community Work Training in the Application of Community Development in South Africa) PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 1989). In 1991, and also co-authored a book on community work titled, "Community Work and Community Development: Perspectives on Social Development," (Pretoria: HAUM, 1991).

[535] J.H. Schoeman, "*Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk op akademiese en praktiese vlak*" (The establishment of community work on an academic and practical level), in *Maatskaplike Werk Oor Sestig Jaar* (Social work over sixty years), eds. E.A.K. Hugo, J.H. Schoeman and J.F.P. Engelbrecht (Pretoria: Promedia-Publikasies, 1989), 92.

[536] Schoeman, "Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk op akademiese en praktiese vlak," 96.

community worker, would then try to pinpoint the cause of the most important problem, identify the existing resources in the community to help address the need/problem and develop a set of goals to achieve in addressing the issue.[537] This would followed by setting up a plan of action – linked to a timeline and an evaluation of the plan of action.[538]

In January 1987, the University of Pretoria established a unit at the Child Welfare branch in Eersterust where up to eight social work students were placed to complete their practical training.[539] According to Elmarie Cronjé, a social worker who had completed her practical work in Eersterust in 1988, they were trained to use the above-mentioned model when working with 'the community'. One of the issues that social work students intervened into, according to Cronjé, was alcoholism – since residents of Eersterust themselves had by this time identified and communicated that it was an urgent problem in the community. Here we see the principle of defining community through the social (ie. the problem of alcoholism) at work, as well as the absence of any further need for the elaboration of what else might define 'coloured community' (race, biology, social engineering, history). In this instance, social work students, under the supervision of social workers at Child Welfare, undoubtedly engaged with pervasive tropes of coloured alcoholism, reinforcing the disciplinary knowledge produced by SABRA and the HSRC. Drawing on the five-step program, Cronjé's task as a social-worker-in-training, was to help community members pinpoint the cause of alcoholism, to identify existing resources in the community and a set of goals to achieve in addressing the issue. In her own assessment, Cronjé believed that these forms of community work intervention were a

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[537] Schoeman, "Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk op akademiese en praktiese vlak," 104.
[538] Schoeman, "Die vestiging van gemeenskapswerk op akademiese en praktiese vlak," 106.
[539] Van Staden, Hugo, van Rooyen en van Delft, eds., *Maatskaplike Werk Oor Sestig Jaar* (Social work over sixty years), 328.

dismal failure, not only because there were no resources, such as alcohol or drug rehabilitation centers, for the community to draw on, but because alcoholism was deeply rooted in structural issues and embedded in South Africa's history of slavery and white settler conquest – as well as in the very notion of what had come to signify and represent 'coloured community' by the 1970s. [540]

The deferral of responsibility to 'the community,' demonstrated through this example, not only shows how social work supported and engaged with the apartheid state's implementation of neoliberal reforms, but brings attention to the UP department's own role in shaping and informing the state's practices by pioneering *community* work as a form of *social* work practice. As Chapter 6 will demonstrate, UP's involvement in the deferral of responsibility to 'the community' would, in the post-apartheid period, increasingly manifest itself through interventions into housing in Eersterust, and through the movement away from the social sciences (and the social), towards the material disciplines – architecture in particular. The shift towards the material disciplines would also reflect the erosion of sociology and social work's alignment with the agendas of the state, as the disciplines such as architecture and other institutional mechanisms directed towards forms of *material* intervention would emerge and align with the justificatory discourses of an apartheid state mired in crisis.

Conclusion

This chapter expands upon Chapter 4 by making three key arguments. First, it argues that since the establishment of social work and sociology departments at the Afrikaans

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[540] Interview with Elmarie Cronjé, September 9, 2015.

universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria were specifically aimed at addressing the poor white problem in the 1930s, these two disciplines would, by the mid-1940s, also emerge as the means with which to address the coloured question. The reason that social work and sociology would become the disciplines through which the resolution of the coloured question could be achieved was because it was precisely through the joint department of social work and sociology at the University of Pretoria that the disciplinary knowledge to facilitate the state's discursive shift from 'civilization' to 'miscegenation' in the constitution of the coloured subject would be provided. As this chapter has demonstrated, it was through the work of UP sociologist Geoffrey Cronjé that the state's miscegenist discourse on coloureds in the 1940s was shaped and informed, while also resonating with shifts in the emergence of the government's social welfare policy. Cronjé also laid the foundation for the sociological research and social work intervention that would subsequently be carried out in Eersterust between the 1960s and the 1980s.

The second argument this chapter makes is that it is through the discipline of sociology in particular and its research and knowledge interventions into the coloured question that the coloured category shifted from the space of the biological to the social – finally resolving the coloured question as articulated by Afrikaner nationalists through the constitution of coloureds as their own separate group. As discussed in Chapter 4, the state's discourse on coloureds shifted from 'civilization' to 'miscegenation' in the early 1940s. In the 1950s, however, when the legislation that removed coloureds as an appendage to white society had been passed – such as the Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Population Registration Act (1950) and the Group Areas Act (1950) – the work of the discipline of sociology, demonstrated through the South African Bureau for Racial

Affairs (SABRA) and through the Department of Social Work and Sociology at UP, was to reinforce (and justify) this 'separation' by producing research on coloureds as a 'community' or group. Through this research, sociologists affiliated with SABRA, such as Erika Theron, and sociology students at UP would – after the legal separation of coloureds from white society – identify *social* problems that formed potential obstacles to coloureds' ability to live separately and self-reliantly from whites. More particularly, they would point directly to coloured's supposed lack of identity and group cohesion as both the root cause and as the potential solution to those problems, and offer white trusteeship as the means with which to guide coloureds toward developing their identity as a separate group. It was in the process of these forms of intervention into the 'coloured question' that the coloured category shifted from the space of the biological to the social, and it is by means of the social that the limits and possibilities of effective separation were defined – rather than through the dubious biological arguments of miscegenation.

What is meant by the movement of the 'biological' to 'the social,' as this chapter has demonstrated, is that the coloured category – which was premised on biological understandings of race and defined and conceptualized through its 'mixed essence' but also impossible to fix or pin down – no longer warranted explanation. It had moved to the space of the 'obvious' and the 'common sense', in which its contents could simply be taken for granted. This movement was discussed through Gary Minkley's explanation of 'the social', by way of Donzelot and Deleuze in *The Policing of Families* (1979), which describes 'the social' as being framed through language, assembled in multiple contingencies, complexly spatialized and problematically and routinely associated with the

desires and spaces of the urban.[541] It is through the emergence of the coloured category as obvious and common sense that coloureds were discursively constituted as their 'own' separate group, and that the 'coloured question' – as it had been articulated by Afrikaner nationalists in the late 1930s and 1940s – had been resolved. However, with apartheid's demise in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the question of where coloureds belonged *socially* in post-apartheid South African society would resurface as a politics in the aftermath of the first democratic elections in 1994 when the majority of coloured voters supported the apartheid National Party.[542]

The final argument of this chapter is that in the process of the coloured category's movement from the biological to the social, the notion of 'community' came to be increasingly employed in the state's discourse on black African and coloured urban neighborhoods, especially once the Group Areas Act – authorizing widespread urban forced removals – had come into full effect. It was in fact, through the institution of the Department of Community Development (1961) that the Group Areas Act was enforced[543] and through which 'community' came to be conceived of as racially-demarcated and geographically-bounded units.[544] These units not only formed the physical spaces through which sociological research could be produced, but also emerged as the conceptual space to which the apartheid state's responsibility for social welfare

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[541] Gary Minkley, "Social Acts Social Acts and Projections of Change," Inaugural lecture, University of Fort Hare, May 2014; Gilles Deleuze, "Foreword" in Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), x.

[542] Zimitri Erasmus, "Re-imagining coloured identities in post-Apartheid South Africa" in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape* Town, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Colorado Springs: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 19.

[543] Noëleen Murray, "Remaking Modernism: South African Architecture In and Out of Time" in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, eds. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 53.

[544] Community Development in the Republic of South Africa. Policy Statement. (Pretoria: Government Printer for the Department of Information, 1962), 3.

provision could be deferred as part of the process of guiding blacks towards living

separately and self-reliantly. This conception of community was upheld by the

development of a social welfare system in which resources were primarily allocated to

whites, while urban blacks were left with little choice but to develop their own structures

of support. In the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising in 1976, when the apartheid state

began to implement neoliberal reforms such as privatization, it deferred even more of its

social welfare provision to both the private sector and to 'the community'. The UP

Department of Social Work supported and facilitated this move towards neoliberalism by

pioneering the social work methodology of community work, which essentially placed

the burden on 'communities' to find their 'own' solutions to social problems. This

methodology – developed in South Africa in the late 1970s – would be used by social

work students who did their practicals at the Eersterust Child Welfare office from 1987

onwards.

Finally, this chapter has demonstrated that it was in the 1960s – as 'community'

came to be conceived of as a social unit and the conceptual space to which social welfare

needs could be deferred and *simultaneously*, as the coloured category moved from the

biological to the social – that the connections between sociology and social work's

disciplinary agendas were most closely aligned with the instrumental goals of the state.

However, with the move towards neoliberalism in the aftermath of 1976, came the

erosion of these connections and the rise new institutions and disciplinary formations to

address the coloured question, all while inheriting the category of 'coloured' as normative

and incontestable. At the University of Pretoria, the move towards neoliberalism signaled

a shift from the social to the material, demonstrated by a move *away* from sociology and

social work as the disciplines of intervention, *towards* architecture. This will be discussed

in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 – Architecture, Housing and Self-reliance at the University of Pretoria, 1943-2012

This chapter seeks to demonstrate how the 'coloured' category moved from the social to the material[545] in the aftermath of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, through interventions into the domain of housing and infrastructure. More particularly, it intends to show how the material discipline of architecture – although put towards the instrumental use of the apartheid state – became one of the means by which the coloured category's shift to the material has manifested in the post-apartheid period. Drawing on two examples of the University of Pretoria's (re-)appropriation of Eersterust as a site of local intervention, this chapter also illustrates how UP's community engagement initiative in the post-apartheid period – with its objective to help foster material self-reliance (despite its usual association with the social as discussed in Chapter 5) – forms an additional domain from which the coloured category's move towards the material can be observed.

These two examples of UP's (re)appropriation of Eersterust in the post-apartheid period – the first to cultivate economic self-reliance and the second, to re-envision the architectural design of a block of flats in the township – come in 2007 and 2011 respectively. The first took the form of organizing for a group of women from Eersterust to visit the whites-only town of Orania and was arranged by the University of Pretoria's Office of Community Engagement.[546] The women, residents of a block of flats in Eersterust known for its drugs, gang activity and violence, were taken to this white

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[545] In this chapter, the material refers to both neoliberal economic ideals – such as economic self-sufficiency and self-reliance – *and* to physical infrastructure, such as government buildings, houses, etc. produced in part, through the discipline of architecture.

[546] Eleanor Lombard, "*Eersterust en Orania, Die een is soos die ander*" (Eersterust and Orania, One is like the Other), *Rapport*, July 15, 2007, 21.

separatist town – ironically repurposed in 1991 as a 'homeland' for Afrikaners unwilling

to live in the 'new' South Africa[547] – to learn how to cultivate forms of

material/economic self-reliance. A few years after this visit came the second material

intervention in 2011, when second year students from the UP Department of Architecture

re-envisioned the design of the same block of flats in a way that would cultivate

'neighborliness,' 'resilience' as well as 'self-reliance'.[548]

Despite what at first glance might appear as the seeming insignificance of these

interventions, these two instances of UP's re-appropriation of Eersterust in the post-

apartheid period lead to three more substantial arguments: first, that the University of

Pretoria's post-apartheid community engagement initiative in Eersterust constitutes both

a re-emergence of the discourse and practices of separate development at this institution,

and a convergence with the post-apartheid state's neoliberal restructuring. As already

demonstrated in preceding chapters, between the mid-1960s to the late 1980s, the

disciplines of sociology and social work were used to attempt to guide residents towards

living separately and self-reliantly from white society – specifically by highlighting the

lack of coloured group coherence and cohesion as a potential obstacle to achieving this

goal, and constituting 'community' as the space to which social welfare needs could be

deferred. This chapter will discuss how both key events – as forms of material

intervention to help foster 'self-reliance' and 'resilience' – constitute a re-emergence of

this institution's own role in informing and implementing separate development during

apartheid. In addition, this chapter will also demonstrate how these two key events in

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[547] Ajax Delvecki and Alyson Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?: A Look at Orania, South Africa," in *Focus on Geography,* 57, 4, (2014): 164-65.
[548] Interview with Carin Combrink on June 11, 2014.

Eersterust also converge with the neoliberal restructuring of the post-apartheid state, which is most clearly demonstrated through the ANC government's housing policy.

The second argument this chapter makes is that although the University of Pretoria's convergence with the post-apartheid state's neoliberal orientation is demonstrated through the institution's community engagement initiative in Eersterust, it is also by way of the discipline of architecture rather than social work or sociology that a <u>material</u> intervention in Eersterust could take place. In the aftermath of Soweto Uprising in 1976, the apartheid government began to implement economic reforms by marking black urban housing as a particular field of intervention. At UP, this signaled a shift *away* from sociology and social work, *towards* the material disciplines, such as architecture. It is in the aftermath of this shift, as part of the demise of monumental architecture, that – followed by a policy change in the post-apartheid ANC government – the UP Department of Architecture saw an opportunity to transform itself by intervening into the material and spatial legacy of apartheid housing, such as the block of flats in Eersterust.

The third and final argument that this chapter makes is that the movement of the coloured category from the biological to the social – enabled by and tracked through the discipline of sociology as demonstrated in Chapter 5 – became, in the post-apartheid period, increasingly hidden behind the state's interventions into the material domains of housing and infrastructure. What this means is that the coloured category, which had come to be understood as 'obvious' and 'common sense' by the late 1970s, was increasingly collapsed into the notions of 'community', 'resilience' and 'self-reliance' in the post-apartheid period. These concepts, which were utilized during apartheid to not only intervene into the 'coloured question' but to defer the provision of social welfare

services – and housing, as will be demonstrated in this chapter – to the black residents of poor urban townships, re-emerged in the post-apartheid period as part of the ANC government's neoliberal vocabulary: 'colouredness' or race by another name, but race nevertheless.

These three arguments will be demonstrated throughout the chapter, first by outlining the history of UP's architecture department and its active participation in designing for both the Afrikaner *volk* and for the purposes of separate development. This will be followed by a discussion on the apartheid state's formulation of black urban housing policy during apartheid, demonstrating how white, liberal and English-speaking architects from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) became complicit with the urban design of separate development. Finally, the chapter will demonstrate that it was this material and spatial legacy of separate development that the UP architecture department would then attempt to intervene into in the post-apartheid period, and through which Eersterust would re-emerge as a site in which to engage.

History of Architecture at the University of Pretoria

The first chair of architecture to be established in South Africa was at the Johannesburg University College, which later became the autonomous University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). In 1929, courses in Architecture and Quantity Surveying were introduced at the Transvaal University College (TUC) – the forerunner of the University of Pretoria – with H. Bell-John as head of department – after it was decided that the education of architects was to be the function of universities and not technical colleges. Through a mutual agreement in 1931, TUC would award qualifications in quantity surveying while Wits would award qualifications in architecture – although the courses were offered at both

campuses. This agreement was terminated in 1943 when the University of Pretoria

established its own school of architecture, with Professor A.L. Meiring as its head[549] until

his retirement in 1966.[550]

The University of Pretoria's Department of Architecture became well-known for a

distinctive style known as Pretoria Regionalism, spearheaded by several Afrikaner

architects deeply invested in the preservation and growth of Afrikaner culture and

identity. This style of architecture developed alongside the rise of Afrikaner nationalism

and the proliferation of Afrikaner cultural organizations in Pretoria in the 1930s.[551] Set in

the context of growing Afrikaner nationalism, it was significantly influenced by the work

of Gerhard Moerdyk[552] and the state Department of Public Works (PWD). Moerdyk

served on the council of the University of Pretoria and designed several buildings on

campus. However, he is best known for designing the Voortrekker Monument, a

significant symbol of Afrikanerdom, which was inaugurated in 1949 [553] – its foundation

stone was laid in 1938, significantly, on the hundred-year anniversary of the Battle of

Blood River (also known as the Battle of the *Ncome* River), which, as a key event in the

history of Afrikaner nationalism, served to consolidate the Afrikaner *volk* based on their

shared history as a 'chosen people.' In 1952, soon after the National Party's victory,

Moerdyk proclaimed that "all true art is national"[554] and his designs not only symbolized

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[549] Roger Fisher, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré, "Introduction" in *Architecture of the Transvaal*, eds. Roger Fisher, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré, (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1998), xvii.
[550] "Professor of Architecture to Retire, But Not to Rest," *Pretoria News*, November 24, 1966.
[551] Roger Fisher. "The native heart: The architecture of the University of Pretoria" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 224.
[552] Roger Fisher. "The Third Vernacular. Pretoria Regionalism – Aspects of an Emergence" in *Architecture of the Transvaal,* ed. Roger Fisher et al. (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1998), 138.
[553] Fisher, "The native heart," 224.
[554] Clive Chipkin. *Johannesburg Transition: Architecture and Society from 1950* (Pretoria: STE Publishers, 2008), 50.

bourgeoning Afrikaner political power but also demonstrated a fascination with wilderness and rural landscapes. This could be seen in his use of building materials that were indigenous to the Transvaal, such as sandstone and granite,[555] which set the precedent for the use of local materials in Pretoria Regionalism and became an important feature of its style.

The influence of the PWD on Pretoria Regionalism came through its use of locally produced brick – part of the larger public works programs to combat the poor white problem (alongside the establishment of corporation such as ISCOR as discussed in Chapter 3). Although this aesthetic characterized the early buildings on campus, such as the Faculty of Arts building (1910), it emerged as a unique feature of this style of architecture in the 1950s.[556] The PWD also facilitated the UP Architecture Department's role in designing for the apartheid state. As a state entity, it commissioned UP architects to design buildings for the city, and architecture students both at UP and its forerunner, the Transvaal University College (TUC), worked for the PWD as graduates.[557] With the establishment of the UP school of architecture in 1943, Pretoria Regionalism had begun to emerge as a new vernacular architecture. It had developed alongside the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and accompanied its rise to the brink of political power.[558] By 1948, the year that the National Party came to power and set about implementing the apartheid system, the first group of architects graduated and were filled with the ideological fervor of the newly established state.[559]

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[555] Fisher, "The native heart," 222.
[556] Fisher, "The native heart," 226-227.
[557] Fisher, "The native heart," 229.
[558] Fisher, "The Third Vernacular," 126.
[559] Fisher, "The Third Vernacular," 126.

Some examples of Pretoria Regionalism and its architectural legacy can be seen in both the campus and the city. These include the Aula (1958), designed by UP graduate, Karl Jooste, which functioned as the city's major cultural venue until the Pretoria State Theatre was built.[560] Other examples include the Administration Building on the university's campus (1968), designed by UP graduate Brian Sandrock, who also designed the reception building at the Pelindaba nuclear facility, a mere 30 kilometers away from Pretoria;[561] and finally, the *Volkskas* Bank[562] (1978), a powerful symbol of Afrikaner capital, also designed by UP graduate Samuel Pauw.[563]

As seen through these particular examples, UP architecture graduates designed for both the university and the state. However, they also had a significant hand in designing buildings for the Dutch Reformed Church – the primary Afrikaner religious institution that also used its doctrine to legitimize apartheid policy. For instance, Johan de Ridder, who graduated from the University of Pretoria's school of architecture in 1951, designed at least seven Dutch Reformed Church buildings across Pretoria (Derdepoort, Annlin, Oos-Moot, Totiusdal, to name a few) between 1954 and 1974.[564] This relationship between university, state and church – drawn together through a firm commitment to the preservation and progress of the Afrikaner *volk* – was made material through Pretoria's

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[560] Fisher, "The native heart," 229-230.

[561] Fisher, "The native heart," 230-231.

[562] Translates into English as "the bank of the (Afrikaner) nation."

[563] Melinda Silverman, "Ons bou vir die Bank: Nationalism, architecture and Volkskas Bank" in *blank : architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić. (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 134.

[564] Doreen Greig, *A Guide to Architecture in South Africa* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1971), 200, 210; Roger Fisher, "The Third Vernacular. Pretoria Regionalism – Aspects of an Emergence," in *Architecture of the Transvaal,* ed. Roger Fisher et al. (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1998), 123; Also see the online repository of South African architecture: artefacts.co.za

built environment, and manifested in university lecture halls, churches and buildings of apartheid governance.

These architects who designed for church, state and university, known as the Pretoria School, were typically drawn from a well-connected network of Afrikaner families. This was even more so the case for the heads of the architecture department. For instance, both of the first heads of department, A.L. Meiring and subsequently, Alewyn Burger, were the sons of prominent *dominees* (ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church).[565] Alewyn Burger was also a known member of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB),[566] the secretive and highly influential society formed in 1919 to secure Afrikaner control in government and the economy.[567] All born and educated in Pretoria with strong rural ties,[568] UP's architects, then, were well positioned to design for a state that placed Afrikaner values at the center of its policy of apartheid, and to use Pretoria Regionalism, its attachment to rural landscapes and its aesthetic of local materials, as the idiom of design. Clive Chipkin – a liberal, English-speaking architect from Johannesburg – described this generation of UP architects in the following manner:

The Pretoria architects…were also imbued with greater regional sensitivity. Perhaps a crucial contributory factor was the social recognition they received in Pretoria and platteland (rural) communities. They were an unquestioning professional elite, men [many] of whom came out of the new School of Pretoria University, imbued with the ethos of modernity and renewal under the observant eye of the new political patronage that emerged after 1948 when the National Party came to power.[569]

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[565] "Professor of Architecture to Retire, But Not to Rest," *Pretoria News*, November 24, 1966.
[566] Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, *The Super-Afrikaners: Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1979), Appendix, 14.
[567] F.A. Mouton, Nicholas Southey and Albert van Jaarsveld (eds), "Preface" in *History, Historians and Afrikaner Nationalism: Essays on the History Department of the University of Pretoria 1909-1985* (Vanderbijlpark: Kleio, 2007), 8-9.
[568] Fisher, "The Third Vernacular," 128-129.
[569] Clive Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style: Architecture & Society, 1880s-1960s* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1993), 278-279.

As per Chipkin's description, the UP architecture department became well-known for producing architects that would receive lucrative commissions from the apartheid state (perhaps because they *were* part of an "unquestioning professional elite"). This can largely be attributed to the fact that the University of Pretoria developed one of the first Afrikaans architecture departments in South Africa, having produced close to 250 architects by 1966.[570]

The training of UP's first generation of architects took place under the leadership of A.L. Meiring. Unlike his students, Meiring would become more known for his long-standing relationship with a local Ndebele community, rather than for designing buildings symbolizing and housing Afrikaner capital, for instance. However, his interaction with the Msiza family and his ethnographic documentation of their architectural designs constituted a form of disciplinary knowledge that – similarly to UP's *volkekundiges* (ethnologists/anthropologists), discussed in Chapter 2 – would inform and justify the 'ethnic' categorizations underlying the Bantustan system, and which by the same token, would legitimize the apartheid state's approach of self-reliance to black African urban housing in the 1950s.

In 1944, a year after the department was established, Meiring began to document the layout, design and painting practices of a Ndebele settlement in the greater Pretoria area, taking color photographs on an annual basis.[571] When it became clear that the

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[570] "Professor of Architecture to Retire, But Not to Rest.," *Pretoria News,* November 11, 1966.
[571] See Chapter 3 for a brief discussion on the Afrikaner's conquest and subjugation of the Ndebele towards the late 19th century.

settlement would be moved, most likely due to its close proximity to a white suburb,[572]

Meiring took aerial photographs and involved his students in measuring and surveying

the settlement, calling it a "School of Architecture undertaking."[573] By his own account,

Meiring attempted to stop the removal of the settlement in order to preserve what he

called the "painstaking care in the execution of the bold patterns of colored decoration on

the walls."[574] When his attempts to intervene in the removal proved futile – signaling the

limits of this discipline's engagement with the state before the height of monumental

architecture in 1960s and 1970s – he negotiated with the Department of Native Affairs to

find a new settlement deemed appropriate for the AmaNdebele.[575] This new settlement

was established in 1953 in the Klipgat area of greater Pretoria.[576] Named KwaMsiza, it

was developed into the first official 'Ndebele' cultural village and was marketed to

tourists through Meiring's photographic documentation of houses, as well as clothing and

jewelry.[577]

Through this process of documentation and intervention, Meiring developed a

longstanding relationship with the Msiza family, which can be characterized as one of

trusteeship. By attempting to stop the removal of the settlement and negotiating with the

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[572] Karel A. Bakker and Chris J. Van Vuuren. "Change and Continuity in Ndebele Earthen Architecture: Toward a model for Conservation of Meaning in Architectural Decoration," in *The Conservation of Decorated Surfaces on Earthen Architecture*, eds. Leslie Rainer and Angelyn Bass Rivera (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2006), 129.

[573] A.L. Meiring, "The AmaNdebele of Pretoria," *South African Architectural Record* 40, 4, (1955): 27-28.

[574] Meiring, "The AmaNdebele of Pretoria," 27-28.

[575] Meiring, "The AmaNdebele of Pretoria," 27-28.

[576] Bakker and Van Vuuren, "Change and Continuity in Ndebele Earthen Architecture," 124.

[577] Joanna Grabski and Carol Magee, *African Art, Interviews, Narratives: Bodies of Knowledge at Work* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 63. Meiring is one of many white architects who attempted to document the design and building practices and/or appropriate African designs in their own work. For instance, in 1978 liberal English-speaking and Wits-trained architect Stanley Saitowitz, designed a house mid-way between Pretoria and Johannesburg, called Brebnor House, largely inspired by Ndebele design, documented in the book *A House in the Transvaal* (1997).

Department of Native Affairs to provide alternative land, Meiring acted as a responsible trustee, ensuring the well-being of his wards. He involved his students in the undertaking, establishing a relationship of trusteeship between residents and the architecture department as a whole, which enabled students and successive heads of department (HoDs) to continue documenting life and architecture in the settlement. As recently as 2001, an HoD, who referred to Meiring as the "benefactor" of KwaMsiza,[578] supervised his students as they conducted a detailed photographic survey of wall "decorations" as well as comprehensive fieldwork to compile a genealogy of the various families in the settlement.[579]

Meiring's ethnographic documentation was consistent with attempts to 'preserve the culture of the native' along with discourses around their (regrettable) 'detribalization' popular in the 1940s, more particularly because of the increased movement of black Africans to towns and cities. This attempt is quite ironic, given the Afrikaner's subjugation of various African polities in the interior, particularly the Ndebele (as discussed in Chapter 3), but it can be seen as part the broader political discourse at the time to designate the rural reserves as both the territories to which social welfare needs could be deferred, and to constitute that space as the 'natural' home of 'the native' by conceiving of black Africans as an illegitimate and impermanent presence in urban areas. Preserving the culture of the 'native' was also part of apartheid's agenda to selectively and deliberately manufacture, and create the discourses for, clear ethnicities that would form the basis of their exclusion from citizenship and white South Africa 'proper'.

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[578] Bakker and Van Vuuren, "Change and Continuity in Ndebele Earthen Architecture," 124.
[579] Bakker and Van Vuuren, "Change and Continuity in Ndebele Earthen Architecture," 125-126.

By constituting black Africans as an illegitimate presence in urban areas, the National Party returned to the principles outlined in the Stallard Commission of 1921. In addition, the state Department of Native Affairs (DNA) under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd based its urban housing policy on the recommendations of the Sauer Commission (1947), forming another arena – in addition to social welfare – in which urban black Africans were ultimately left with little choice by to 'do things for themselves' and become self-reliant. The rural reserves – as the 'natural' home of the native – subsequently known as homelands or Bantustans, would be administered by organizing these territories into 'ethnic' (Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, etc.) units. Although the Bantustans were premised on forms of ethnic categorization rooted in the disciplinary knowledge of *volkekunde* (anthropology), Meiring, through his ethnographic documentation of the Msiza, constituted their forms of architecture, and subsequently, their clothing and jewelry, as distinctly 'Ndebele,'[580] thereby informing and legitimizing the state's instrumentalized concepts of ethnicity. In addition, it was under Meiring's leadership as the first head of department at the UP school of architecture, and through his position as a well-connected son of an Afrikaner *dominee*, that graduates from this school produced the monumental architecture, not just for progress and preservation of the Afrikaner *volk* – manifested in the Volkskas Bank building and Pretoria's Dutch Reformed Churches – but subsequently for the administration of the Bantustan governments. Thus, the legacy of Meiring's work and leadership at UP is manifested in two ways: first through a participation in and engagement with the ethnic categorizations

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[580] Meiring's constitution of the Ndebele's architecture and jewelry as unique to them as an 'ethnic' group is illustrated through the publications "*So bou die Ndebele hul hutte*" (This is how the Ndebele build their huts), *Lantern*, 1953 and "Fashion Among the AmaNdebele," *Panorama,* 1956, where he discusses and illustrates through images the distinctiveness of their design practices.

upon which separate development was premised, and secondly, training architecture students to design monumental structures, both for Afrikaner church, state and university, but also for the self-governing and/or independent Bantustans (discussed later in the chapter). This participation in the designing the infrastructure of the Bantustans would, by the same token, support the basic premise of urban black African housing, which would be taken up by English-speaking, liberal architects at Wits, working alongside the Department of Native Affairs – and Hendrik Verwoerd as Minister of Native Affairs (1950-1958) – to develop the Non-European (NE) housing series.

Non-European (NE) Housing and the Cultivation of Black Self-Reliance

In 1948, the Department of Native Affairs (DNA) was faced with a nationwide shortage of 170,000 housing units for black Africans.[581] Once Hendrik Verwoerd became Minister (1950 to 1958) and by implication, the head of the department, this state institution began to prioritize the provision of public utilities, mass transportation and cheap, mass-produced housing for black Africans. The department's goal was to "provide a permanent solution to the Native housing question by planning for the future."[582] Central to this solution was the development of a rigid set of guidelines for the planning of 'native residential areas' (also known as 'locations' but more commonly referred to now as 'townships') and for the construction of houses. Although developed mainly to address the residential congestion in the Witwatersrand area, these blueprints were subsequently applied systematically to all urban areas in South Africa. The most obvious consequence

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[581] Ivan Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7.
[582] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 120.

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of these blueprints was the monotony that it produced on the urban landscape: endless

rows of identical housing units; sparse and centrally located lighting, unpaved roads,

great distances between the townships and 'white' towns – designed to be buffer zones

and a means to control the movement of black Africans – and roads strategically planned

to lead to and from the township (often providing only one entrance that could be easily

policed). The creation of these regimented townships confirmed the state's

conceptualization of black Africans as "an unattached mass of Bantu individuals," [583]

whose 'home' was ultimately in the rural reserves or Bantustans, no matter how long they

had been resident in the urban areas. In addition, these townships were also a testimony

to the apartheid government's interest in regulating urban space at the lowest cost

possible, since the state feared that "even small variations from the department's standard

housing designs multiply costs significantly."[584]

A central part of the DNA's housing policy was to freeze the size of the urban

population by ensuring that only Africans legally permitted to be in the urban areas –

administered by pass laws – would have access to accommodation. In so doing, the

department would be able to identify those that were in the urban areas 'illegally' and

redirect or remove them to the reserves (eventually the Bantustans) or to white farms as

laborers.[585] In addition, the DNA would only construct a predetermined number of houses

in the urban areas (with no additional housing being built in urban areas to accommodate

an increase in the size of the urban population) and would then focus its attention on

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[583] The words of former UP *volkekundige* (ethnologist/anthropologist) and Secretary of Native Affairs
W.M.M. Eiselen in "Harmonious Multi-Community Development," *Optima,* 1959.
[584] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 120.
[585] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 122.

providing additional housing in the Bantustans.[586] Verwoerd's policy of providing

accommodation to the smallest number of black Africans at the lowest possible cost also

resulted in paring down those responsible for housing to a small number of hand-selected

colleagues. Most of the senior administrators from 1950 onward were 'experts' drawn

together into state institutions such as the National Building and Research Institute

(NBRI) – a sub-department of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR)

established in 1946 to investigate ways to provide cheap mass housing for all South

Africans, regardless of race.[587] However, a number of these architects, social researchers,

and town planners were white, English-speaking liberals, who hoped to intervene into the

black urban housing crisis and in so doing, improve living standards. Among these

liberals was Norman Hanson, an architect trained at Wits, who apart from emerging as a

leading figure in the South African Modern Movement, had also in the early 1940s

proposed the development of a 'scientific' housing program in South Africa based on

social research. Hanson's proposal culminated in the Wits School of Architecture's

"Rebuilding South Africa" exhibition of 1943, which attempted to offer a new set of

planning ideas to address South Africa's urban housing crisis.[588]

Barely a year after this exhibition, Hanson was appointed to the above-mentioned

National Building and Research Institute (NBRI).[589] One of the NBRI's first steps was to

appoint a subcommittee that, in 1949, produced nine booklets – *Interim Reports of the*

Research Committee on Minimum Standards of Accommodation – that laid out social and

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[586] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 122.
[587] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 127.
[588] Derek Japha, "The social programme of the South African Modern Movement," in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (New York: NAi Publishers, 1998), 427.
[589] Japha, "The social programme of the South African Modern Movement," 430.

health requirements of buildings, as well as definitions of the minimum space and the

standard of amenities to be provided in the proposed townships. These standards were

based directly on the neighborhood planning concepts laid out in the "Rebuilding South

Africa" exhibition.[590] The reports were first "re-examined in great detail" by a Joint

Committee of the NBRI and the Department of Native Affairs (DNA), then "modified"

and later published as "Minimum Standards of Accommodation for the Housing of Non-

Europeans in South Africa."[591] This report, which suggested the need for further research

on methods of construction, sources of labor and the production of building material,

represented the culmination of an increasingly coherent formulation of urban native

policy by the DNA and the apartheid government as a whole.

Using these minimum standards as guides, an explosion of research began in 1950.

The results were compiled and published by the NBRI in 1954 as a 285-page report titled

"Costs of Urban Bantu Housing." This report was the basis for the emergence of the tens

of thousands of 'matchbox' housing units built in the 1950s, all of which conformed to

one of two blueprints falling under what the NBRI referred to as the "standard type NE

51" ("NE" for "Non-European," and "51" for the year of design, which was followed by

a slash and the model number).[592]

The minimum standards laid out by the NBRI formed a crucial part of Verwoerd's

self-financing approach to black urban housing (i.e. a housing policy premised on

cultivating black self-reliance). In the mid-1940s, Smuts' United Party (UP) government

had been crippled by a shortage of building materials induced by the Second World War,

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[590] Japha, "The social programme of the South African Modern Movement," 431.
[591] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 137.
[592] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 137.

but also, as discussed in Chapter 4, failed to achieve a coherent overarching urban 'native' policy. In addition, this government was also unable to resolve a number of factors that contributed to the high costs involved in constructing a house for a black African family. Thus, when Verwoerd took control of the DNA, he authorized the department's Housing Section to examine "any way in which the provision of native housing could be placed on a sound economic footing."[593] In 1950 the department urged local authorities to undertake "socioeconomic surveys" of their respective black African populations, recommending that information about family size, number of children, number of aged dependents, ethnicity, and religion be ascertained alongside individual and household income.[594]

The report of one of these socioeconomic surveys was particularly influential in shaping the department's response to providing mass housing as cheaply as possible. This survey was conducted in Springs, greater Johannesburg, in 1951 by H. J. J. van Beinum, the Assistant Research Officer in the Architectural Division of the NBRI. Van Beinum's survey was based on an analysis of 319 of the 4,000 families in the Payneville Location (township).[595] The study was guided by the general proposition that "before a family can afford to pay rent, it must have an income sufficient to provide its members with those necessities of life essential to the maintenance of minimum standards of health and decency."[596] Based on his results, van Beinum allocated black African families into one of three categories: an *economic group* capable of paying full rents; a *subeconomic*

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[593] Verwoerd quoted in Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 135.
[594] Verwoerd quoted in Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 135.
[595] H.J.J. van Beinum, "A Study of the Socioeconomic Status of Native Families in the Payneville Location, Springs," *Reprint from Bulletin No. 8 of the National Building Research Institute* (June 1952); 1-9; 2,8.
[596] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 135-136.

group in need of some measure of state assistance; and a *sub-subeconomic group* unable to afford any form of rent. The economic group accounted for 40.4 percent of the sample; the subeconomic group, 12.9 percent; and the sub-subeconomic group, 46.7 percent.[597]

Van Beinum's report firmly concluded that the state should cater to the three different housing categories by constructing three different types of houses: economic houses, sub-economic houses, and sub-subeconomic houses. Van Beinum warned that "economic houses may have to include more than the barest necessities in order to attract inhabitants" and concluded that "it is incorrect to treat any housing scheme as being for one economic class only, when the social survey of the future inhabitants indicates three economic classes." His last warning was explicit: "If planning is dictated only by social and economic pressures and is unrelated to the fundamentals of the problem (low wages), the results may well be social malpractices, malnutrition, spread of disease and finally, social disintegration of the urban Native community."[598]

Verwoerd appeared undeterred by the fact that the largest category – the sub-subeconomic group – was unable to pay any rent at all. Instead, what was important for Verwoerd was van Beinum's "scientific finding" that 40 percent of urban black African families could pay a nonsubsidized (i.e. full) rent. In addition, he used van Beinum's conclusion that "(*b*)*y reducing the cost of the house,…[i]n other words, by reducing rent, some families of the sub-economic group will be brought into the economic class*" to suggest that "a majority of Natives in the urban areas could now be made to pay economic rentals."[599] Van Beinum's report was thus used to justify Verwoerd's self-

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[597] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 136.
[598] Van Beinum, "A Study of the Socioeconomic Status of Native Families in the Payneville Location, Springs," 1-9; 2,8.
[599] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 136.

financing approach to black African urban housing, in which the majority of urban residents were grouped in the 'economic' category, effectively forcing them to pay rents that they simply could not afford.

Even with Verwoerd's self-financing approach to urban black African housing in place, additional 'problems' like squatting still needed to be addressed and it is here where the attempt to cultivate self-reliance can be observed most clearly. Verwoerd announced that 'site and service schemes' would be implemented in order to gain control over the "overpopulated" areas such as Sophiatown and Alexandria and also the numerous squatter camps around the Witwatersrand and Pretoria.[600] These schemes would serve a dual purpose: they would on the one hand, provide more immediate housing, and on the other, establish how many families had to be provided with permanent housing once a particular site-and-service area was fully occupied. This would in effect, lower the number of NE houses that needed to be provided, which offered the apartheid state yet another avenue through which the costs of urban black African housing could be cut.

In order to set up these 'site-and-service' schemes, local authorities, with the DNA's approval, established and surveyed townships into residential lots. Using tools that were either rented or bought at discount from local authorities, black Africans who were 'legally' resident in urban areas were permitted to erect any form of shelter to the *rear* of a small (40 x 70 feet) plot, leaving the rest of the plot clear for the construction of 'proper houses.'[601] On weekends and in their 'spare time', participants in the site-and-service

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[600] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 144.
[601] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 144.

scheme would first construct one room and gradually add on rooms as financial resources permitted. The completed house often conformed to the NE 51/9 or NE 51/6 model. Technical information was supplied by the DNA in the form of a simplified and illustrated booklet, "suitable for Native use," in which the various steps for building and enlarging houses according to the accepted minimum standards were detailed. Essential services—a water, garbage and sewer removals, and unpaved roads—would be provided by the local authority concerned. Since expenditures on these services were high, and saving was imperative, Verwoerd suggested that costs be reduced by locating water outlets and toilet facilities at a rear corner of one stand, in order to supply these services to the three other adjoining plots, "in keeping with the communal spirit of tribalism."[602]

During his tenure as minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd not only implemented the creation of planned and segregated townships, but did so at the lowest possible cost to the department, deferring the responsibility for the provision of urban housing to black African 'communities' – constituted as such through the Group Areas Act (1950), as well as through a social welfare system premised on black Africans' 'illegitimate' presence in towns and cities. The cultivation of this form of self-reliance was, on the part of Verwoerd and the DNA, taken one step further by not only requiring black Africans to build their own houses (in their 'spare time') through site-and-service schemes, but also through the Native Building Workers Act, which was passed in 1951. This act permitted black Africans to be trained as builders and made it compulsory for building in black African townships to be carried out by black African workers. While the act continued to preserve the building trade as a protected domain for white workers (another form of

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[602] Verwoerd quoted in Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, 145.

white labor protection as discussed in Chapter 3 and 4), it made some cheap semi-skilled and unskilled black African workers available to resolve the housing shortage by taking on specific occupations, such as bricklaying, for example, in designated urban areas only.[603]

What emerged through the NE European housing series – as one of the primary means by which the NP's urban policies were inscribed on the South African landscape – may have been a genuine attempt on the part of white, English-speaking liberals to intervene into the black African urban housing crisis by creating better living conditions. However, apartheid's social engineering reduced the distance between Afrikaners and white English-speaking architects as all architectural intervention – whether intended for the 'upliftment' of urban blacks (Wits architects) or to provide the governmental structures for ethnic homelands to which all black Africans supposedly belonged (UP architects) – was ultimately complicit with the state and its agendas.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the attempt to address the 'coloured question' came through the broader political shift from the poor white problem to the 'native question.' Although the 'coloured question' was engaged with differently from the native question on a discursive level, material issues – such as social welfare provision and housing – were administered in similar ways in both black African and coloured townships. This means that coloureds also lived in planned and regimented townships and were also the recipients of government-created 'Non-European' housing in the form of economic and subeconomic units. It is precisely these types of housing units in Eersterust that sociology

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[603] Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race,* 139.

student T.J. Van der Walt conducted his 1966 study on[604] and that, in the post-apartheid period, architecture students at the University of Pretoria would intervene into – constituting a reemergence within this institution of its own role in informing and implementing separate development both during apartheid *and* in its convergence with the neoliberal restructuring of the state.

Architecture and Neoliberalism at the University of Pretoria Post-apartheid

As opposed to the white English-speaking liberals who attempted to intervene into the black urban housing crisis in the late 1940s and 1950s – which, I would argue, nevertheless returns to haunt the architecture department at UP at a later stage – Afrikaner architects trained at the University of Pretoria, at this moment in time, designed the more large-scale material infrastructure of separate development. For instance, by the 1980s, UP architecture graduates colluded with the apartheid state by designing administrative buildings for Bantustan governments. For instance, Bannie Britz, who had studied under Meiring and graduated in 1960 – the moment at which apartheid's monumental architecture began to emerge in full force – designed the building for the Secretariat (1983),[605] as well as the Supreme Court, House of Parliament and various office buildings (1988-1990) for the government of Bophuthatswana – the Bantustan of the Tswana 'ethnic' group.[606] In addition, architecture students participated in

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[604] T.J. Van der Walt. *Kleurlingbehuising in Eersterust, Pretoria: 'n Sosiologiese ontleding met besondere verwysing na onwenslike behuisingstoestande en die houding van die kleurlinge ten opsigte van hul behusingsomstandighede* (Coloured Housing in Eersterust, Pretoria: a sociological analysis with particular reference to undesirable housing conditions and the attitude of these coloureds towards the provision of housing), (MA diss., University of Pretoria, 1966).

[605] Bannie Britz and Michael Scholes. "Secretariat for Bophuthatswana Government, Mmabatho" (1978-83) in *UIA International Architect: Southern Africa*, Issue 8, 30.

[606] Roger Fisher, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré, "Introduction" in *Architecture of the Transvaal*, eds. Roger Fisher, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1998), 295.

competitions to design government buildings in the 'independent' Bantustans and/or self-governing territories in the 1980s.[607] Two undergraduate dissertations in the 1970s and 1980s also demonstrate this engagement with designing separate development's administrative structures in material form. Both students proposed to design courthouses, which were not only symbols of 'Bantu' (self)governance and (legal) self-reliance but were also reflective of the ways in which Meiring's ethnographic documentation of Ndebele design and the forms of disciplinary knowledge he had produced in the 1940s were also destined to re-surface through the work of students at this time.

In 1973, architecture student Leendert Joubert's dissertation – a mandatory requirement for the BArch (Bachelor of Architecture) degree – proposed to design a supreme court for the self-governing territory of Gazankulu, designated as the 'ethnic' homeland for the Shangaan and the Tsonga people. Joubert's proposed court house in the administrative capital of Giyani was intended to reflect the "culture" and "traditional" forms of design thought to be particular to the 'ethnic' groups living there, arguing that the people of the territory had the right to "*eie identiteit en ook 'n eie argitektuur*" (own identity and also their own architecture).[608] His proposed project then, was to base the design of the court, as much as possible, on the layout of the 'traditional kraal'.[609]

Similarly, in a 1984 dissertation, another architecture student, Louis Holtzhausen, proposed the design of a supreme court for KwaNdebele – the last apartheid Bantustan to

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[607] J.S. Bergh, O.J.O. Ferreira, F. Pretorius, J.E.H. Grobler and W.A. Stals, *Ad Destinatum III 1983-1992: 'n Geskiedenis van die Universiteit van Pretoria* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 1996), 202.
[608] Leendert Johannes Joubert, *"Hooggeregshof Gazankulu"* (Supreme Court Gazankulu), (BArch diss. University of Pretoria, 1973), 1.
[609] It is not clear if the Joubert's notion of the '*kraal*' actually reflected design or building practices amongst the Shangaan and Tsonga at the time the dissertation was written. Joubert bases his understanding of the 'kraal' on the layout provided in Swiss missionary H.A. Junod's "Life of an African Tribe," which was initially published 1914 (although republished in 1962) Joubert, *"Hooggeregshof Gazankulu,"* 52.

be created – writing that, *"(d)ie Ndebele se argitektuur is hoofsaaklik beperk tot die huishoudelike; dus ontstaan 'n gekompliseerde ontwerpprobleem vir staatsgeboue. In hierdie skema word gepoog om 'n gebou te ontwerp wat 'n besondere identiteit aan die Ndebeles sal gee, maar aansluiting sal vind by dié volk se kultuur en behoeftes."* (The architecture of the Ndebele is limited to the domestic/homestead, which poses a complicated design problem for government buildings. In this sketch, the attempt is to design a building that will attribute a particular identity to the Ndebele but will connect to the culture and needs of this nation).[610]

These two dissertations, along with students' participation in competitions to design buildings in the homelands, demonstrate architecture's discursive and material collusion with separate development and its close ties, through the 1980s, to the state's project of removing black governance, including its material and physical expression in the form of government/administrative buildings, to the Bantustans. They were also made possible by Meiring's earlier ethnographic documentation of the Ndebele in and around Pretoria. Meiring's engagement, largely guided by discourses of detribalization, in turn created the need to 'preserve' Ndebele culture – not only demonstrated by his measuring and surveying of their original settlement, but by documenting their clothing and jewelry, turning their architectural and design practices into a tourist commodity in the process. In this way, Meiring – along with government ethnologists like Nicolaas van Warmelo – affirmed the identity of the Ndebele as 'tribal' or 'ethnic' people. This can be situated more broadly in the apartheid government's creation of the system of separate

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[610] Louis Johannes Holtzhausen, *"Hooggeregshof vir die Regering van KwaNdebele*," (Supreme Court for the Government of KwaNdebele) (BArch diss. University of Pretoria, 1984), 1.

development, where black Africans – 'natives,' eventually 'Bantus' – were recognized

and discursively and administratively constituted as having a tribal identity, attached to a

particular language and geographical area. Therefore, they should be 'allowed' to

develop separately without the interference of 'European' culture and should only be

incorporated into the 'European' economy when and where necessary (mines and white

farms). This discourse would be supported by an urban policy, as discussed in Chapters 4

and 5, in which black Africans whose labor was no longer needed constituted an

illegitimate presence in towns and cities and who could then be redirected to their 'tribal'

home in the Bantustans. With this system in place, architecture students could compete to

design official buildings in Bantustans or propose those very designs in their

dissertations.

In addition, these two student dissertations also demonstrate how the UP

architecture department had come to be positioned by the end of apartheid: these

architects constituted a grouping on the political right, "favoured by the state to build its

infrastructure" and as a result, "kept quiet and did their work."[611] With the end of

apartheid came the renaming and reorganization of professional institutes, seeking to

bring together these architects on the political right, with their largely liberal English-

speaking counterparts on the left.[612] In addition, the political transition in South Africa in

1994 brought an end to the design of monumental structures that symbolized Afrikaner

nationalist power – particularly between 1960 and the mid-1980s – accompanied by the

collapse of the Bantustan system which by implication, also signaled an abrupt end to

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[611] Hannah Le Roux, "Undisciplined practices: Architecture in the context of freedom," in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 353.
[612] Le Roux. "Undisciplined practices," 352.

designing parliamentary complexes and court houses in these 'ethnic' homelands.

Architects from both the left and the right were now expected to compete to design

buildings (or re-design colonial and apartheid structures) that would symbolize the 'new'

South Africa – fusing modern architecture with "African-inspired texture and adornment"

that sought to renegotiate the unified nation's complex racial and ethnic identities.[613]

Architects were also, in the early post-apartheid moment, expected to start engaging with

the spatial legacy of separate development in meaningful ways. For instance, the South

African Institute of Architects – the primary professional association to which both

English-speaking liberal and Afrikaner architects now belonged – called for all architects

to engage seriously with South Africa's massive housing backlog (as a product of

separate development's spatial legacy through which even intervention by white liberal

architects served the purposes of the apartheid state). In the May/June 2000 edition of the

institute's journal, *South African Architect*, prominent members of the organization stated

that "architecture as an institution has failed the people of this country miserably by not

engaging publicly in either formulating or criticizing… housing policy and practice or its

consequence on people's lives" and suggested that architects should become advocates

for and advisers to "people providing their own housing solutions."[614]

 At the University of Pretoria's Department of Architecture, the need to remain

relevant in the discipline and profession, signaled in the above-mentioned quote – along

with fulfilling the mandate of university transformation (detailed in Chapter 2) – sparked

a series of changes, including the hiring of new faculty members and a revision of the

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[613] Noëleen Murray, "Remaking Modernism: South African Architecture In and Out of Time," in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, ed. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 57.
[614] "Making a Difference," *South African Architect,* March/April 2000, 17-18.

existing curriculum. Between 1993 and 2000, the architecture department hired a number of faculty to help develop housing as a field in the curriculum – since it had until then, been exclusively focused on monumental and administrative infrastructure, leaving the question of housing to its counterpart at Wits. Amira Osman (the first black female architect in the department) was appointed, whose field of specialization was in housing.[615] At the World Congress on Housing in 2002, Osman presented the paper, "Architecture and Housing: Changing Perceptions in the New South Africa. The Case of Pretoria University." In this paper, she argued that the University of Pretoria had a reputation for producing good designers with a high level of technical proficiency, but that students demonstrated very little interest in housing and "socially responsible" architecture. Osman's proposed intervention was that the university, as well as the department, needed to engage with "disadvantaged" communities to help address their housing needs. Through educational research and community engagement, students could learn how to use methods of housing design that incorporated the participation of the community and/or where communities drove the design process themselves.[616] By 2010, a second-year course titled " Community-based Project" was introduced, in which students were required to complete a practical assignment geared towards assisting a local community materially with its spatial/design needs.[617]

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[615] Flip van der Watt (ed), *Ad Destinatum IV1993-2000: Historical Developments and Events at the University of Pretoria* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2002), 194.

[616] Amira Osman & Catherine Lemmer, "Architecture and Housing: Changing Perceptions in the New South Africa. The Case of Pretoria University", World Congress on Housing, September 9-13, 2002, Coimbra, Portugal. More recently, Osman has argued that while architecture offers the spatial, technical and social expertise to intervene into the material legacy of separate development, the discipline remains "disengaged", "untransformed" and "elitist". Amira Osman, "What architects must learn from South African student protests" November 23, 2015, *The Conversation*, https://theconversation.com/what-architects-must-learn-from-south-african-student-protests-50678

[617] The first time this course is listed is in the 2010 University of Pretoria Yearbook.

Osman's suggested interventions into housing soon became part of the means by which the UP architecture department could transform itself in the post-apartheid period. However, these changes can also be located in the rise of the notion of 'participation' in architectural practice, as well as in the field of development more generally. According to Cooke and Kothari, the notion of 'participation' emerged and began to be implemented more widely by development organizations and practitioners by the 1980s. 'Participation' emerged out of a recognition of the "shortcomings of top-down development approaches" and the "ineffectiveness of externally imposed expert-oriented forms of research and planning."[618] The supposed aim of participatory development was to make (marginalized) 'people' central to development initiatives by involving them in the decision-making process. The World Bank for instance, saw 'participation' as an opportunity for stakeholders to influence and share control over development initiatives, involving 'local' people's knowledge and skills into program planning as an alternative to donor-driven and outsider-led development.[619] Francis and Mosse argue that 'participation's' roots actually lie in radical social movements of the 1960s – based on philosophies like Paulo Freire's *conscientization* – that were initially associated with articulating an alternative vision of development.[620] By the 1980s, the notion of participation in development had become increasingly mainstream, appropriated by a neoliberal developmental discourse which began to prioritize greater productivity at lower costs, efficient mechanisms for

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[618] Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari, "The Case for Participation as Tyranny," in *Participation: The New Tyranny*, eds. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001), 5.
[619] Cooke and Kothari, "The Case for Participation as Tyranny," 5.
[620] Paul Francis, "Participatory Development at the World Bank: The Primacy of Process," in *Participation: The New Tyranny*, eds. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001), 75.

service delivery, and reduced maintenance costs[621] – not vastly different from Verwoerd's 'site and service schemes' (above), also aimed at providing services (housing) at the lowest possible cost.

In the discipline and profession of architecture, architects in Europe and the UK such as John Habraken, John Turner and Rod Hackney had in the 1970s already, developed what can be called the 'participation in architecture' movement, which they presented as a radical alternative to the ineffectiveness of state-produced social/public housing.[622] Attempting to address massive housing crises in the 'developing' world, they championed the notion that the working poor should direct the housing process themselves, rather than be on the receiving end of poorly designed and inferior housing.[623] This form of alternative practice in architecture was taken up by international development agencies in the 1980s and presented to the governments of 'developing countries' as a more effective and efficient method to the provision of housing.[624] It was this approach to housing provision, centered around 'participation', to which the African National Congress (ANC) would turn when it abandoned its redistributive policy – the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) – in favor of a neoliberal economic policy (Growth, Employment and Redistribution or GEAR) merely a year after its election in 1994. This turn towards neoliberalism however, did not begin with the departure from the RDP in 1995, but had its origins in the economic reforms

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[621] David Mosse, " 'People's Knowledge,' Participation and Patronage: Operations and Representations in Rural Development," in *Participation: The New Tyranny*, eds. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (London: Zed Books, 2001), 17.

[622] Nabeel Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses: Participation, Flexibility, Enablement* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991), 20.

[623] Hamdi, *Housing Without Houses,* 24.

[624] Kate Tissington, Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa 1994-2010. Legislation, Policy, Programmes and Practice, 2011, 63.

implemented by the apartheid regime in the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising in 1976, and on the part of the ANC, marked a return to and a reformulation of these reforms, as well as return to Verwoerdian notions of self-financing/self-reliant housing provision.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the aftermath of the Soweto Uprising (1976) witnessed various forms of intervention into this black African township – mediated by both the apartheid state's security concerns, but also by the introduction of neoliberal reforms that would bolster a small black middle class and a Bantustan elite, drawing them into an alliance with white minority rule.[625] One way in which these economic reforms were attempted was through the liberalization of the housing market (in which urban black Africans could become home owners as opposed to renters of the 'Non-European' (NE) houses), and came by way of state privatization, resulting in the increased deferral of the responsibility for the provision of housing and social welfare services to 'the community' and/or the private sector. In Soweto, the burden of provision was shifted to the private sector in the form of the Urban Foundation, which also increasingly saw itself in partnership with 'the community'.

When the Urban Foundation was established in 1976, immediately after the Soweto Uprising, it initiated a move away from apartheid-created bureaucratic administration boards towards 'restoring' the control over the housing process to black Africans by soliciting their 'participation'. This so-called participation in the housing process would, under the initiative of the Foundation, be guided by the principle of 'self-help' where 'the community' would be improved through the "development of individual

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[625] Von Schnitzler, *Democracy's Infrastructure,* 61.

and group initiative, self-reliance and economic independence."[626] By 1983, the Urban Foundation formalized its self-help approach through a manual titled, "Guidelines for Self-Help Housing."[627]

In addition to intervening into black urban housing, the Urban Foundation, from its position in the private sector, saw the 'de-racialization' of urban areas as a crucial part of its work. For instance, in the foundation's 1987 'Leadership Publication', Ann Bernstein wrote that the private sector had a fundamental interest in how urbanization was managed because the efficiency and stability of cities was crucial to South Africa's economy. The process of urban policy change was also, she suggested, about "really accepting black citizenship" – a challenge which the private sector was prepared to take on and facilitate in order for South Africa to be made into a country where "race does not determine opportunity; where development – urban and rural – is for all the country's citizens and not cast in a racial mode; and where cities are managed in order to facilitate access and opportunity rather than exclusion, denial and restriction." [628]

What this intervention by the private sector into black urban housing in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrates is how the implementation of neoliberal reforms constituted (1) a rolling back of state intervention in favor of initiatives led by the private sector, and (2) a 'partnership' between the private sector and 'the community' but which ultimately represents a deferral of responsibility to 'the community' through the emphasis on "self-help" (read as self-reliance), "individual and group initiative", and "economic

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[626] The Urban Foundation. *Soweto: A Study by the Transvaal Region of the Urban Foundation*, 1980, 3.
[627] Hugh Murray, *The Urban Foundation – A Leadership Publication* (Churchill Murray Publication, 1987), 229.
[628] Ann Bernstein, "Cities and Citizens," in *The Urban Foundation – A Leadership Publication,* ed. Hugh Murray (Churchill Murray Publication, 1987), 34.

independence". In addition, this intervention also constituted (3) a shift away from 'race' toward urban "development", with the material – infrastructure and housing – as a particular area of intervention. What this shift in the late apartheid period signaled was the increasing concealment of race behind these material notions of 'self-help,' 'group initiative' and 'economic self-sufficiency' which, in the post-apartheid period, would come to be demonstrated through the neoliberal state's housing policy.

When the democratic South African state was created in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) had initially planned to implement the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), premised on social equality and the redistribution of wealth and resources. After abandoning this strategy in 1995, it implemented the neoliberal, economistic and capitalist Growth, Employment and Redistribution or GEAR strategy in 1996, which emphasized public-private partnerships and favored the private sector while shifting part of the responsibility for the provision of services onto the public.[629] With the shift towards GEAR came the re-emergence – in the post-apartheid period – of the concepts of 'community', 'self-help,' 'group initiative' and 'economic self-sufficiency', together with more distinctly neoliberal terms like 'participation', 'self-reliance' and 'resilience'. These terms, as well as the explicit move towards public-private partnerships, and the deferral of provision of services to the public sector or 'the community' is clearly articulated in the post-apartheid state's 1998 housing policy, with the introduction of the People's Housing Process (PHP).[630]

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[629] Iain Low. "Building and self-reliance" in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić. (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 331-333.
[630] Tissington. A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010, 63.

In the 1994 White Paper[631] on housing, the first articulation of the ANC

government's post-apartheid housing policy, various strategies for building partnerships

between government, the private sector and communities were envisioned, with

economic empowerment articulated as one of the key approaches to the state's housing

strategy. These strategies were aimed at "supporting *communities* to mobilize towards

participating in the satisfaction of their own housing needs in a way that maximizes the

involvement of the community and the *private sector* and leads to the transfer of skills to

and *economic empowerment* of members of the community (my emphasis)"[632] Although

this policy document demonstrates that the ANC government had already envisioned

partnerships between the state, the private sector and the community *before* it formally

adopted GEAR, the means by which to ensure community 'participation' – a key element

of neoliberal policy – were not clearly defined.[633] In order to address the question of

community participation more fully, the then Minister of Housing adopted the People's

Housing Process (PHP) in 1998 – in the aftermath of the move towards GEAR – in which

'participation' was envisioned as a process in which communities drive housing delivery

'themselves.' More particularly, communities were encouraged to create saving schemes

and to 'participate' in the construction of their own houses. Developed through pressure

from international organizations such as the United Nations which promoted the idea that

greater community participation resulted in more effective delivery of low cost

housing[634] (as discussed in the above section of this chapter), critics of PHP have pointed

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[631] A White Paper is a discussion document, which is a broad statement of government policy. It is drafted by the relevant department, or a task team designated by the Minister of that department. Relevant parliamentary Committees may propose amendments or other proposals and send the policy paper back to the Ministry for further discussion and final decisions.
[632] Department of Housing, White Paper: New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa, 1994.
[633] Tissington. A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010, 63.
[634] Tissington. A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010, 63.

out that this process places the burden of obtaining adequate housing on the poor,[635] and on black women in particular.

By 2002, a review of existing housing policy and practices, compiled in a government document called "Breaking New Ground," revealed that there was still a significant lack of community-driven approaches to housing. In response to this and the other "unintended consequences" of existing policy, the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) was adopted in 2008 to replace the old program. This new policy was meant to adopt a broader definition of PHP, which recognizes that there are various approaches to the housing process, all of which need to be accommodated if communities are to actively 'participate' in decision-making. Among the aims of the EPHP were to empower 'beneficiaries', mobilize and retain social capital, build housing citizenship, foster stable communities and involve women in the housing process more directly.[636]

This intention to get women to drive the housing process themselves may in part be linked to the emergence of a successful housing initiative – The Victoria Mxenge Housing Project – conceived of in 1992 and driven entirely by a group of black African women from the township of Khayelitsha. The women started this initiative by establishing a savings scheme, to which they made daily contributions. Once they secured a government subsidy, they received training from a private architect on how to plan, design and price their own houses. By January 2015, the women had succeeded in building 5000 homes.[637]

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[635] Tissington. A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010, 63.
[636] National Housing Code, Enhanced People's Housing Process, Part 3, Vol. 4, 2009, 9-10.
[637] Rebecca Davis, "Sisters are Building it for Themselves: How the Victoria Mxenge women changed the housing game," *Daily Maverick*, January 14, 2015, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-01-14-

Living in an informal settlement and with the constant threat of displacement, these women pre-empted the state's promise to provide adequate housing, choosing instead to "build it for themselves."[638] As a result of the remarkable initiative these women showed, the Victoria Mxenge Housing Project was the subject of much celebration. In a 2015 article, the women were praised for "changing the housing game" by refusing to rely on the state to provide houses, but rather seeking to act in partnership with the state, as well as a private architect.[639] Their efforts have also been documented in a 2015 book, *The Victoria Mxenge Housing Project: Women Building Communities Through Social Activism and Informal Learning* by Salma Ismail.[640] There can be no doubt surrounding the incredible foresight, hard work and sheer persistence it took these women to secure their own housing. As such, the Victoria Mxenge Project *is* a story about self-reliance – in particular, the self-reliance that black women, through the severe material deprivation produced by the colonial and apartheid system, have had little choice but to develop. However, it is precisely this narrative of 'self-help' – that through their 'own' participation, initiative and resilience, people (more particularly black women) can 'build it for themselves' – which the post-apartheid state depends upon to defer the burden of provision onto 'the community'. As then Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale stated in 2011, the government's housing policy attempted to guard

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sisters-are-building-it-for-themselves-how-the-victoria-mxenge-women-changed-the-housing-game/#.V6XK-7h97IU

[638] This phrase, presumably taken from the popular Eurythmics song "Sisters Are Doin' It For Themselves," is from the *Daily Maverick* article referenced here.

[639] Davis, "Sisters are Building it for Themselves."

[640] Salma Ismail, *The Victoria Mxenge Housing Project: Women Building Communities Through Social Activism and Informal Learning* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2015).

against creating "a beggar's culture where people just expect to be given free houses from the State."[641]

The narrative of self-help that emerged around this housing project strongly resonated with a community engagement initiative in Eersterust, undertaken by the University of Pretoria in 2007. As part of this initiative, the UP Office of Community Engagement arranged for a group of women from Eersterust to visit the Afrikaner homeland of Orania. The objective was to help them cultivate the same forms of self-reliance displayed by the Victoria Mxenge women – albeit from a different source.[642] This particular initiative can be located within the emergence of community engagement at UP, which was shaped not only by the post-apartheid mandate on 'service learning' and 'social responsiveness' (outlined in the 1997 White Paper on Education – see Chapter 2), but also by this university's desire to transform its own history of collusion and complicity with the apartheid state. Located in the rural Northern Cape province of South Africa, Orania was first established in 1963 as a housing area for the workers of a dam project. In 1991, it was repurposed as a homeland for Afrikaners unwilling to live in the 'new' South Africa.[643] Based on the principle of '*self-werksaamheid*,' which residents translate into English as 'self-reliance,' Orania goes against the long-held tradition in South Africa of employing black workers as domestic helpers, builders, and the like, requiring the Afrikaners who live there to do their own labor.[644]

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[641] Tissington, "A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa, 1994-2010," 8.
[642] "Orania Community Lauded," *News 24,* June 11, 2007, http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Orania-community-lauded-20070611
[643] Ajax Delvecki and Alyson Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?: A Look at Orania, South Africa," in *Focus on Geography,* 57, 4, (2014), 164-165.
[644] Delvecki and Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?" 165.

That this Afrikaner homeland was the chosen site from which a group of coloured women were meant to learn self-reliance is perhaps not surprising given the history of *voogdyskap* – the Afrikaner complement to trusteeship – that UP had already established with Eersterust through social intervention between the 1960s and the 1980s, as well as the entanglements of miscegenation that had formed the very basis of the historic relationship between coloureds and Afrikaners. In addition, the very existence of the town is premised on separate development and the accompanying forms of social, political *and* material self-sufficiency articulated by Verwoerd (discussed in Chapter 4). In the first instance, Orania was established through an economic transaction, in which the founder, Professor Carel Boshoff, purchased the land through private funds and subsequently registered his purchase as a private company.[645] Boshoff was a leading figure in the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB)[646] and had been a professor of theology at the University of Pretoria before his retirement, as well as the chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) in the 1970s and early 1980s. Boshoff was also married to Anna Verwoerd, the daughter of Hendrik Verwoerd, and founded Orania on the basis of his belief in the separate development of whites and blacks, both culturally and economically.[647] Orania's commitment to Verwoerd's vision of separate development is demonstrated through the creation of the Verwoerd museum, which contains paintings, books, photo collections and letters chronicling his life and is located

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[645] "Mandela Visits Apartheid Die-Hards," *New York Times,* August 16, 1995, A12.

[646] Christopher S. Wren, "A Homeland? White Volk Fence Themselves In: A tiny band of Afrikaners with desperate words," *New York Times,* May 8, 1991, A4.

[647] Bruce Weber, "Carel Boshoff, Founder of White Redoubt in South Africa, Dies at 83," *New York Times,* March 20, 2011, 27.

in the section of a house in which his widow, Betsie Verwoerd, lived until her death in 2000.[648]

The commitment to separate developed is also demonstrated through accompanying forms of material self-sufficiency, such as the use of the *Ora* – Orania's currency – introduced in 2004 to develop the town's economic independence.[649] Prospective residents not only have to demonstrate their commitment to living separately from (black) South African society, but also have to prove that they are able to do so self-reliantly by developing a viable business plan prior to their arrival in the town.[650] Orania welcomes residents like Sarel Roets, who moved there in 2012 with both funding from private investors and a business plan to develop a complex that includes eleven shops, a conference center and a medical center.[651] Indeed, in the neoliberal present, Orania has emerged as an example of a 'self-reliant community', as former President Jacob Zuma referred to this town a "model of a locally generated economy"[652] in his 2010 visit.[653]

The women from Eersterust who participated in the Orania visit were the residents of a block of flats called Riverside Heights – notorious for its drugs, gang activity, violence – but which also forms an example of the poverty and high unemployment rate that plagues the township more generally. One of the residents of the Riverside flats, Bridget McKay, said that the women were initially skeptical about

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[648] Delvecki and Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?" 166; *Betsie Verwoerd, Apartheid Ruler's Wife, 98, New York Times,* March 2, 2000.

[649] Delvecki and Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?" 166.

[650] Delvecki and Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?" 169.

[651] Kwanele Sosibo, "Orania: Afrikaner dream gives capitalism a human face." *Mail&Guardian,* November 12, 2014. https://mg.co.za/article/2014-11-12-orania-afrikaner-dream-gives-capitalism-a-human-face

[652] Weber, "Carel Boshoff, Founder of White Redoubt in South Africa, Dies at 83," 27.

[653] Andre Grobler, "Zuma's visit 'an outstanding day' for Orania," *Mail&Guardian,* September 14, 2010. https://mg.co.za/article/2010-09-14-zumas-visit-an-outstanding-day-for-orania

travelling to Orania. However, because the Office of Community Engagement had

presented the whites-only town as "*die beste voorbeeld van gemeenskapbemagtiging in

die land"* (the best example of community empowerment in the country),[654] and the

women were of the firm belief that "you cannot wait for government,"[655] they were eager

to visit and to learn from the experience. This contingent from Eersterust consisted of

nine other community leaders, Albert Matlheketlha, the project facilitator of UP's office

of Community Engagement, as well as a representative from the Tshwane municipality in

which Eersterust is located.[656] According to Eleanor Lombard – Orania's spokesperson –

the purpose of the visit was to brainstorm with the residents of Eersterust on striving

towards greater "*gemeeskapselfstandigheid*" (community self-sufficiency/self-reliance).

The residents of Eersterust were given first-hand information on how Orania developed

its economic initiatives, like its pecan nut plantation,[657] where over 20,000 pecan trees

were planted, harvested and marketed as Karoo Pekan and subsequently sold worldwide

through the internet.[658] In addition, the contingent were taken to Orania's recycling plant,

on which the Riverside Heights women could draw as both inspiration and as a model of

a community-driven project.

In 2011 – some years after the trip to Orania – a group of fourteen Honours[659]

students performed a theoretical intervention into the flats of Riverside Heights – state

provided housing, built towards the end of apartheid (1989) that consisted of both

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[654] Lombard, "Eersterust en Orania," 21.

[655] "Orania Community Lauded," *News 24,* June 11, 2007, accessed August 15, 2016, https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Orania-community-lauded-20070611

[656] Cobus Claassen, "Eersterust leer by Orania oor ontwikkeling," *Beeld*, June 12, 2007, 10.

[657] Lombard, "Eersterust en Orania," 21.

[658] Delvecki and Greiner, "Circling of the Wagons?" 166.

[659] In South Africa, an Honours degree is a graduate program that follows an undergraduate degree and is often a prerequisite for continuation with an MA.

economic and subeconomic units.[660] From 18 April to 8 June 2011, their specific task,

with the 'participation' of the same women who went to Orania, was to re-envision the

design of the flats in a way that would help cultivate "neighborliness, community

resilience" and most importantly, "self-reliance."[661] The intervention was loosely based

on a design approach developed by architects Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard

Goethert known as Community Action Planning (CAP). In their guide titled, "Making

Microplans: A community-based process in design and development" (1988), Goethert

and Hamdi describe CAP as a set of flexible guidelines, aimed at developing programmes

for neighbourhood 'upgrading' that could be implemented locally, collaboratively and

quickly.[662] This was a strategy developed to work within existing 'informal' settlements

to support the housing needs of communities by 'upgrading' their homes. The key

element of the Community Action Planning (CAP) was a community-based workshop,

carried out over a number of days, depending on the goals of the workshop. Participants

in the workshop included a cross-section of community representatives, technical officers

from the various departments (i.e. the Department of Human Settlements, local

municipalities, etc), with architects or urban planners often acting as the facilitators. At

the workshop, these various stakeholders developed a plan which included a list of

prioritized problems, strategies and options for addressing the problems, and a basic work

program, detailing what will be done, when it will be done, and who it will be done by. A

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[660] Plans drafted by the Pretoria City Council to develop these flats date back to 1989. Stadsraad van Pretoria. Woonstelle, Erf 5024, (City Council of Pretoria, Flats, Erf 5024) Eersterust, 1989.
[661] These are the exact words used by the architecture lecturer at the University of Pretoria who headed the project in Eersterust. Interview with Carin Combrink on June 11, 2014.
[662] Nabeel Hamdi and Reinhard Goethert, *Making Microplans: A community-based process in design and development* (London: Intermediate Technology, 1988), 7.

central element of CAP was that 'the community' and other stakeholders participate equally in the decision-making process.[663]

Although the intervention into Eersterust in 2011 was an academic exercise, and thus could not fully implement the more practical elements of CAP, the architecture students followed some of its guidelines. Forming part of their practical work for a course titled "Housing and Urban Environments," students conducted observations, workshops, and unstructured conversations with residents of Riverside Heights flats to gain a better understanding of their greatest concerns.[664] Through these forms of interaction, the women that has been taken to Orania identified problems that were part of their everyday life in these flats – gangsterism, drugs and an unsafe environment for their children. The women also expressed a concern about a lack of employment opportunities in Eersterust, which they believed contributed to the cycle of poverty and violence they lived in. After identifying these problems, students then worked with the women to generate ideas on how these challenges could be addressed through intervention into their immediate urban environment. These ideas strategies for addressing the problems the women identified would be formulated into an assignment and/or form of practical work that the students submitted/conducted for a grade. In their interventions, students focused on particular areas of concern, such as safety and income generation. For instance, one student proposed that the sharp edges of each row of flats be flattened out to allow for greater visibility. This would give residents a better view of the whole housing complex and remove dark corners in which illicit activity could take place. To address the problem of unemployment, the student suggested that residents could use portions of land between

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[663] Hamdi and Goethert, *Making Microplans,* 26-28.
[664] Housing and Urban Environments course description, April 4, 2011.

and around the rows of flats to grow vegetables and potentially sell them as a form of income generation. In addition, containers could be placed in the south-eastern edge of the flats were a workshop could be set up to train residents in construction work. Training in bricklaying, plastering, and carpentry, would, according to the student, not only help residents become more employable, but also help them develop the skills needed should they be given permission and the financing from the municipality to physically remodel and upgrade Riverside Heights. With these skills, residents would be able to upgrade the flats 'themselves,' and subsequently train other members of the community in Eersterust, resulting in a 'skills transfer.'[665]

Although students could not materially implement any of their suggested changes at Riverside Heights due to the fact that it formed part of public housing in Eersterust, this intervention was a clear attempt for UP architecture students in the department to learn how to use methods of design that incorporated the participation of the community (as suggested by Osman),[666] and for the architecture department to attempt its own transformation through this engagement with the legacy of apartheid housing. Moreover, the workshop in Eersterust was illustrative of the need for this department to regain its relevance in the absence of apartheid's monumental design culture (and the appropriation of black urban housing by English speaking liberals), and to do so by addressing the material conditions of residents, such as the design and spatial arrangements of their blocks of flats, as well as their lack of income. It is around the question of the material

[665] Personal communication with Carin Combrink, August 28, 2018, who provided an example of the student's proposal, which is titled "Eersterust Intervention."
[666] Amira Osman & Catherine Lemmer, "Architecture and Housing: Changing Perceptions in the New South Africa. The Case of Pretoria University," World Congress on Housing, September 9-13, 2002, Coimbra, Portugal.

that this architectural intervention intersects with the trip to Orania, precisely because it sought to teach the women of Riverside Heights ways in which they could become economically, and hence materially, self-reliant. Thus, through the return to Eersterust, even along these abstracted lines, we not only observe these broader shifts in the Department of Architecture, but these particular shifts also signal a move away from the social, *towards the material* in UP's post-apartheid engagement with Eersterust.

Reminiscent of the disciplinary knowledge produced by sociology in 1966 and the practical intervention of social workers in the 1980s, the University of Pretoria, now through community engagement and the discipline of architecture, sought, <u>as it had in the past,</u> to 'guide' coloureds towards living self-reliantly, in the very same township to which they had been forcibly removed to live separately from white society. However, in the architecture's department's engagement with Eersterust, the coloured category, which through the discipline of sociology had come to be 'taken for granted' by the 1980s, was largely concealed behind the notions of 'self-reliance' and 'resilience'. Using the above-mentioned second year student's assignment as an example, phrases like "a transfer of skills" (commonly found in post-apartheid housing policy documents) and "income generation" speak to the racialized experience of poverty, unemployment and lack of education/training, but are largely terms through which the raced nature of these material conditions can remain hidden.

This concealment of race behind material interventions and their articulation through the above-mentioned terms, can also be tracked through the post-apartheid state's housing policy documents. For instance, in the 2009 National Housing Code, where the Enhanced People's Housing Process (EPHP) was outlined, black Africans and coloureds

– the very people living with the material legacy of apartheid – are collapsed into terms such as, 'beneficiaries', 'communities', and 'households'.[667] Another example comes from a recent Presidential *Imbizo* (a Zulu word for a meeting/gathering/convention) in Eersterust on August 21, 2015, where then President Jacob Zuma visited 'the community' to address material concerns – housing shortages and a lack of youth employment opportunities. At the *Imbizo*, President Zuma stated that "government will work with the community to address … housing challenges through it is beneficiary housing programme".[668] In addition, President Zuma promised that the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) would open an office in Eersterust by November, to "provide information to young people about education, career choices, employment and economic opportunities." More particularly, the local municipality would implement a program in Eersterust, where 100 young people from the community would, through a "transfer of skills," be trained in building, plumbing and carpentry and would subsequently build 100 houses *themselves* to help address the housing shortage.[669] Not only are these initiatives strikingly similar to Verwoerd's site and service schemes, but they converge with a neoliberal economic strategy which relies on partnerships with the public sector *and* universities to defer the responsibility for meeting material needs onto the community, concealing the inherently racialized nature of these interactions behind the notions of "self-reliance", "resilience", "beneficiaries", "community", "empowerment", and "transfer of skills."

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[667] National Housing Code, "Enhanced People's Housing Process," Part 3, Vol. 4, 2009, 10, 19, 24.
[668] Jacob Zuma, Speech, Presidential Imbizo – Eersterust, August 21, 2015.
[669] Republic of South Africa, *Vuk'uzenzele* (The title of this government publication literary translates into English as "do it for yourself"), Government Communications and Information System, October 2015, Edition 1, 1-2.

David Theo Goldberg explains this supposed 'absence' of race as a feature of

neoliberal governance. He writes that,

Within the state, by contrast, race has been socially desacralized, rendered part of the profane (and not now just in South Africa). But here, too, it has hardly disappeared. Rather, it has been placed behind a wall of private preference expression, of privatized choice. The more robustly neoliberal the state, accordingly, the more likely race would be rendered largely immune from state intervention so long as having no government force behind it. Neoliberalism, then, does not reduce the state sphere of government regulation and intervention altogether. It dramatically shifts the relation of state to private sphere. It serves to protect the private sphere from state incursion. In doing so it thus also ensures a space for extending socio-racial interventions – demographic exclusions, belittlements, forms of control, ongoing humiliations, and the like – difficult or impossible any longer for the state to carry out baldly in its own name. Given the legal regime of equality before the law or of government-protected rights, the state can no longer be seen to engage in or license racially discriminatory acts with respect to its own citizens or legitimate residents. To do so would call into question the grounds of its legitimacy as the defender of both freedom *and* equality. Instead, state reach is more or less curtailed, making privatized preference expression and action, most notably in this instance racial expression, mostly beyond state delimitation.[670]

What this chapter has attempted to demonstrate is that it is through neoliberal reforms –

which in South Africa largely began to take shape around interventions into the material

domain such as housing and infrastructure – as well as a need to regain relevance after

the erosion of its privileged position vis a vis the apartheid state and its projects, that

architecture emerged as the discipline through which the University of Pretoria

understood itself to be intervening into the material legacy of apartheid housing.

Although this intervention was oriented towards the implementation of 'self-reliance' and

'resilience' as a function of the neoliberal restructuring of both the post-apartheid state

and the university, it also constituted a re-emergence and reassertion of UP's own

historical role in attempting to guide the residents of Eersterust towards living separately

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[670] David Theo Goldberg, *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 334-335.

and self-reliantly *during apartheid*. In the process, the coloured category, constituted through the discourse of 'civilization' in the 1930s, 'miscegenation' in the 1940s, and finally as a 'taken-for-granted' category in the late 1970s, shifted towards the material and has, in the neoliberal present, come to be concealed behind community engagement and material intervention.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have demonstrated the discursive shifts in the 'coloured' category over the twentieth century by drawing on specific instances in which the University of Pretoria appropriated the community of Eersterust as a site of social and material intervention. More particularly, I examined how these shifts took place through the disciplinary knowledge of sociology and social work, shaping and informing the state's attempt to resolve the 'coloured' question. I have argued that by the 1980s, the coloured category had shifted from the space of the biological to the social, constituting this category as one that is common sense and that could be taken for granted. In the post-apartheid period, this now common-sense category has increasingly come to be hidden behind forms of state housing and infrastructure, facilitated by the material discipline of architecture, and embedded within initiatives to cultivate material self-reliance amongst black South Africans. Here, although the category is no longer explicitly articulated in the official discourse of the state – and as Goldberg suggests has been placed "beyond state delimitation,"[671] concealed behind neoliberal concepts such as 'self-reliance' and 'resilience' – it is still relied upon in both the state and the university's policies of redress and transformation.

South Africa's stance on affirmative action is mostly clearly articulated in the Employment Equity Act (EEA), which was passed in 1998. Section 2 of this Act describes its purpose as being "to achieve equity in the workplace by (1) promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair

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[671] David Theo Goldberg, *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 334-335.

discrimination; (2) implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce."[672] "Designated groups" refers to "black people" ('Africans,' 'Coloureds' and 'Indians'), women and people with disabilities, but in hiring practices across South Africa, including at universities, distinctions between those 'black' people are maintained.[673] The University of Pretoria's compliance with the EEA is demonstrated through its most recent Equity Report (2012), where it has organized its employees into the categories of "White" (W), "African" (A), "Coloured" (C) and "Indian" (I).[674] It is precisely this continued reliance upon apartheid's racial categories – and more particularly – the continued use of a category that had come to be seen as obvious and commonplace through the intervention of university disciplines – through which this dissertation's contributions can be highlighted.

This dissertation approached the coloured category as a political question located temporally and conceptually between the two primary political 'problems' faced by the modern South African state at the beginning of the 20th century: the 'poor white' problem and the 'native question'. Poverty among rural and urban whites had existed in the Cape Colony since at least the 18th century, with the term 'poor white' used for the first time in the early 1880s.[675] By the beginning of the 20th century however, white poverty – produced in part by the discovery of gold and accompanying socio-economic transformations in the region of the Transvaal – had been constructed by church and state

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[672] Republic of South Africa, Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, 3.
[673] Neville Alexander, *Thoughts on the New South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2013), 134.
[674] University of Pretoria, Employment Equity Report, 2012, 3.
[675] Herman Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 317.

as a social problem.[676] The poor white problem was entangled with the native question: long-term white economic prosperity was not only dependent upon 'uplifting' and 'remediating' poor whites, but also on the state's ability to devise a set of strategies that would effectively organize black African ('native') labor into the appropriate sectors of the economy (mines and white commercial farms) and render them subservient to white economic needs.[677] While South African historiography – as demonstrated in this dissertation through the work of Ashforth, Posel, Gilliomee, and Lange – has engaged comprehensively with either the native question and/or the poor white problem, there has been little focus on how the coloured question emerged discursively between these two political conundrums. More particularly, this dissertation has demonstrated that the coloured category was constituted in the 1930s through the consolidation of the Afrikaner *volk* by way of demarcating clear boundaries between coloureds and poor whites*,* drawing on examples of the state's discursive shift towards miscegenation (such as the 1937 Wilcocks Commission) to illustrate this. By arguing that the constitution of the coloured category in the 20th century came, in part, through the construction of whiteness ("Afrikanerness" in particular), this dissertation has expanded upon the ways in which the historiography has approached the poor white problem and the native question.

Another contribution of this project has been to demonstrate that the coloured category was shaped, informed and structured by disciplinary and instrumental reason. In doing so, this dissertation tracked how the discipline of sociology – particularly at the Afrikaans universities of Pretoria and Stellenbosch – emerged as the primary means

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[676] Lis Lange, *White, Poor and Angry: White working class families in Johannesburg* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 133.

[677] Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 23.

through which the coloured question would be articulated, and subsequently resolved by the state. While prominent sociologists like Eddie Webster[678] and Herbert W. Vilakazi[679] have reflected on the history and various disciplinary trajectories of sociology in South Africa – explicitly highlighting the discipline's development in the 20th century and its relationship to the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd – these reflections have not addressed sociology's role as the primary means through which the coloured question would be articulated disciplinarily, particularly at the Afrikaans universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria.

As the first two universities in South Africa to offer social work training – out of which sociology would develop as a separate discipline in the 1940s – Stellenbosch and Pretoria's initial focus on remediating the poor white problem would by the early 1940s, shift increasingly towards the coloured question. This shift resembled the state's discursive move away from the poor white problem – which through various forms of intervention was in retreat by the early 1940s[680] – towards the increasing urgency of the native question, more particularly, the state's own inability and thwarted desire to redirect black African labor from cities, to the mines and white commercial farms.[681] The University of Stellenbosch established its joint department of social work and sociology in 1932, under the leadership of Hendrik Verwoerd,[682] while Geoffrey Cronjé became the head of University of Pretoria's joint department in 1937. Not only were these the first

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[678] See "Democratic Transition: South African Sociology," *Contemporary Sociology* 26, no. 3 (1997): 279-282.
[679] See "When Sociology comes to Africa", Inaugural address, University of Zululand, May 18, 1989.
[680] Tina Uys, "Dealing with Domination, Division and Diversity: The Forging of a National Sociological Tradition in South Africa," in *The ISA Handbook of Diverse Sociological Traditions,* ed. Sujata Patel (London: SAGE, 2010), 237.
[681] Posel, *The Making of Apartheid,* 23.
[682] R. Sooryamoorthy, *Sociology in South Africa: Colonial, Apartheid and Democratic Forms* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 16.

universities in South Africa to offer social work training, but both Verwoerd and Cronjé were heavily involved in the formation of the state's department of social welfare in 1937.[683] Until the 1960s, social work and sociology at these universities continued to be housed under the same departments, although the differentiation between the two disciplines – with social work as the practical application of sociology – began to emerge towards the early 1940s – significantly, at the very moment at which greater state intervention into the coloured question developed.[684]

This dissertation provides a vantage point from which to examine in greater detail how sociology developed at these two universities (by way of social work) – in addition to the relationship between Pretoria and Stellenbosch on the whole. More particularly, it provides an opening to further explore how the coloured question shifted from Stellenbosch – as both the intellectual and political center of Afrikaner nationalism – to Pretoria, signalling the much broader geographical shift in Afrikaner nationalism that had occurred by the 1960s, in line with developing *verligte/verkrampte* divisions within the National Party at the time.[685] A prime example here is the move of South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) – established in 1949 to give apartheid an intellectual basis – from its intellectual home in Stellenbosch to its new base in Pretoria in 1961. By briefly highlighting the geographical and epistemological shifts in the coloured question and Afrikaner nationalism, this dissertation opens up the possibility to 'provincialize' the

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[683] J.E. Pieterse, "Die ontwikkeling van maatskaplike sorg en maatskaplike werk in Suid-Afrikam met besondere verywysing na die bydrae van G. Cronjé" (The development of social welfare and social work in South Africa with particular reference to the contributions of G. Cronjé), in *Mens en gemeenskap: Huldigingsbundel vir prof. dr. G. Cronjé* (Humanity and Community: A Tribute to prof. dr. G. Cronjé), (Pretoria: Academica), 13.

[684] Sooryamoorthy, *Sociology in South Africa*, 16.

[685] Hermann Giliomee, "Apartheid, Verligtheid and Liberalism," *in Democratic Liberalism in South Africa: Its History and Prospect*, ed. Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick, and David Welsh (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1987), 369.

Western Cape – put differently, to initiate a more decided shift in the historiography that challenges the Cape's intellectual and historiographical hegemony.

One way in which this hegemony could be challenged (and which I plan to undertake in my monograph) is to examine the University of the Western Cape (UWC) as outside of the conceptual space of the Cape. Established in 1959 – after the coloured question had already been named and articulated at Pretoria and Stellenbosch – UWC became central to resolving the political, social and economic place of coloureds in South African society. For instance, the very purpose of this university was to provide coloureds with their 'own' institution, from which they could cultivate their own leaders and, under the trusteeship of whites, guide their 'community' towards living separately and self-reliantly from white society.[686] Along with other historically-black universities – all premised on ethnic and racial categories – UWC's task was, in part, to produce graduates that could staff the apartheid state's bureaucracies, such as the Department of Coloured Affairs.[687] Thus, by its very purpose, UWC – although located geographically in the Western Cape but on the Cape Flats, a marginal space removed from the center of the city, and away from the privileged space of the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch – had been established to resolve a question that at the time, had already shifted from the Cape to Pretoria – alongside both the political and intellectual core of Afrikaner nationalism, which by that time had arguably been consolidated in Pretoria. By positioning both the moment of UWC's establishment and its very existence as central to addressing the coloured question, my subsequent work will attempt to challenge the

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[686] Julia Martin, "An Open Space," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, ed. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 29.
[687] Saleem Badat, *Black Student Politics: Higher Education and Apartheid from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), 63.

hegemony of the Cape by engaging with the history and purpose of this 'coloured'

university outside of its conceptual home.

By focusing on the coloured category, this dissertation has intervened into the

existing historiography's almost exclusive focus on coloured *identity* – arguing instead

for a shift towards subjectivity. In the first strand of this historiography, which emerged

towards the mid-1950s, coloured identity was conceptualized as having developed

'naturally', and self-evidently through miscegenation in the early days of the Cape

colony. This approach was manifested in two different ways: one drawn from Afrikaner

nationalist circles, which saw miscegenation as repugnant and as a threat to the *volk*,[688]

and another popular among white English-speaking circles of the academy and

conservative coloured intellectuals which saw coloured identity as the means with which

to break down racial barriers.[689] By the 1970s, scholars both within the liberal and

revisionist schools of South African history began to challenge the idea that coloured

identity was the direct result of miscegenation, arguing instead that it was an invention of

apartheid – a device for excluding people of 'mixed race' from the dominant society or as

a product of deliberate divide-and-rule tactics by the white minority to prevent black

people from forming a united front against racism.[690] This strand of the historiography

tended to focus on coloured politics and resistance to white domination.[691]

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[688] Mohamed Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining: towards a historiography of coloured identity in South Africa," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa,* ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 8.

[689] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 8-9.

[690] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 11.

[691] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 12.

After South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 – in which the majority of coloureds voted for the apartheid National Party[692] – scholars began to see coloured identity as part of an ongoing, dynamic process in which groups and individuals make and remake their social identities. This work forms part of the contemporary historiography on coloured identity and includes the work of Zimbabwean historian, James Muzondidya, whose work *Walking a Tightrope* (2005) is a comprehensive study of the making of coloured identity in Zimbabwe from the 1890s to 1980. Muzondidya's work is significantly shaped by and engages with South African debates on coloured identity, demonstrating its complexity and, most importantly, highlighting the agency of coloured people in the making of their own colouredness. In *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough* (2005), Mohamed Adhikari emphasizes the ways in which the marginality of coloured people, their intermediary status in the racial hierarchy, negative racial stereotyping and assimilationist aspirations, have, together with a range of other factors, shaped their identity and political consciousness. Both Muzondidya and Adhikari's work are consistent with social history paradigms, which sought to highlight the agency of Africans in the making of their own lives – here more specifically, the agency of coloureds in the making of their own identity and lived experiences.[693]

Part of the contemporary scholarship on coloured identity that has formed a slight departure from social history is the work that has attempted to conceptualize colouredness as a product of creolization. Drawing on postmodern theory, this approach demonstrates a sensitivity to the complexities of identity politics. Zimitri Erasmus' edited

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692 Mohamed Adhikari, "Introduction – Predicaments of marginality: cultural creativity and political adaptation in southern Africa's coloured communities," in *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa,* ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), xvii.
693 Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 13-14.

volume, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (2001), suggests that coloured identity is a product of racial mixture creativity shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism and white domination. It is the first work in the historiography that engages with the intersection of gender, sexuality and coloured identity.[694] With the exception of Muzondidya's work, and a 2009 volume edited by Adhikari[695] in which coloured identity is taken out of the South African particular, almost all the scholarship in this field is focused on the Western Cape, which remains a serious limitation of this scholarship and forecloses an engagement with similar forms of social, political and economic amalgamation that took place in other parts of the country under the violent and coercive conditions of colonialism and apartheid. My dissertation has not only shifted the focus away from the Western Cape geographically but has argued that the category underlying this identity was, by the 1960s, pushed outside of the conceptual space of the Cape. In addition, one of the most important contributions this dissertation makes is to shift the focus away from 'identity' to 'subjectivity' – as the convergence of power and knowledge that produced and re-produced forms of racialized subjection – and to examine the very means by which the coloured subject came to be (re-)constituted.

In addition to initiating a shift towards subjectivity, this dissertation has highlighted the ways in which the coloured category shifted over the twentieth century, from the biological to the social, locating the move towards neoliberalism in the shift to the material in the mid-1970s. In doing so, this dissertation contributes to the limited historiography that locates neoliberalism's emergence in the political and economic crises

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[694] Adhikari, "From narratives of miscegenation to post-modernist re-imagining," 16.
[695] *Burdened by Race: Coloured identities in southern Africa,* ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009).

of the late 1970s – rather than as a consequence of the ending of the Cold War and the

transition to the development of late capitalism and the technological and economic

transformations of globalization –and expands upon scholarship that has not fully

addressed neoliberalism's manifestation through the material. For instance, the key texts

on architecture in South Africa and its material legacies, such as *Desire Lines: Space,*

Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City and *blank: Apartheid, architecture and*

after, conceptualize cities in South Africa as sites of memory and desire, as contested

spaces of power and privilege, as well as identity and difference.[696] They also engage

with the ways in which social and political transformations have been written into its

cities in South Africa post-1994, but spend little time discussing how these

'transformations' converge with the material and discursive legacy of separate

development. In addition, while some contributors[697] provide concrete examples of

architectural interventions premised on the notions of 'self-reliance' and 'community'

and present these interventions as opportunities to address apartheid's spatial and

material inequalities, their lack of engagement with the ways in which these concepts re-

emerge as part of a neoliberal vocabulary harking back to segregation- and apartheid era

discourses, have provided an opportunity for me to perform an intervention of my own

and to expand upon this body of literature. Demonstrated through a discussion on

contemporary material forms such as housing, infrastructure and economic initiatives

designed to facilitate 'self-reliance', this project has shown that neoliberalism's hold on

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[696] Noëleen Murray and Nick Shepherd, "Introduction: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-apartheid City" in *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, ed. Noëleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 1.
[697] Iain Low. "Building and self-reliance," in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 330-343; Mphethi Morojele. "Towards an architecture of empowerment," in *blank: architecture, apartheid and after*, eds. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavić (NAi Publishers: New York, 1998), 278-283.

South Africa did not begin with the political changes and economic compromises of the mid-1990s, but instead was part of the response to the economic, political and discursive crisis of the mid-1970s produced by the Soweto Uprising (1976).

Finally, this dissertation highlights that engaging with the history of the coloured category and its multiple shifts over the 20th century is relevant to our current post-colonial moment, not only because of the continued reliance of the post-apartheid state and university on apartheid's racial categories, but because of the ways in which this reliance shapes public discourse and impacts upon coloureds' everyday social, political and material realities. In recent years, public discourse on coloureds' position in South African have been articulated in two primary ways: first, through claims that coloureds harbor and engage in anti-black racism, often demonstrated in contest with black Africans over access to material resources, such as land, housing and jobs; and secondly, through coloureds' own claims that they are being marginalized to the benefit of black Africans.

One of the most recent accusations of coloured anti-black racism came in June this year, where Julius Malema, the (black African) leader of an opposition political party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), claimed that coloureds and Indians benefitted from apartheid and stated that since the majority are racist towards black Africans, they should not benefit from forms of material redress such as land redistribution.[698] Malema's comments come amidst the rising tide what might be called coloured nationalism in the Western Cape – given expression through the formation of

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[698] Sarah Smit, "Minority rights group takes on Malema – again." *Mail&Guardian*, June 18, 2018. https://mg.co.za/article/2018-06-18-minority-rights-group-takes-on-malema-again

minority rights organizations such as 'Gatvol (Fed-up) Capetonians.'[699] While contemporary public discourse will often locate coloured anti-black racism in the Western Cape, these kinds of sentiments, coupled with coloureds' claims of marginalization, are not unique or particular to this region and resonate across South Africa. An example here is the case of the Klipspruit Secondary School, a largely coloured high school south of Johannesburg, where parents of students made national headlines last year by protesting against the appointment of a black African principal. The parents argued that there were no leadership opportunities for coloureds at this school – that these opportunities were being afforded to black Africans at coloureds' expense.[700]

In response to these claims of coloured anti-black racism and counter-claims of marginalization, Suren Pillay wrote a piece titled, "Being Coloured and Indian in South Africa After Apartheid,"[701] where he positioned these two forms of public discourse on coloureds as the outcome of the "ambiguities that have faced certain population groups after decolonization, particularly in Africa."[702] Pillay writes that in British colonies like South Africa, a united native population constituted a threatening proposition. As a result, a policy pioneered first in West Africa, then East and then Southern Africa, was devised to divide the local population in order to better rule them, and secondly to implement a policy of co-opting local political leaders and refashioning local customs, so that these

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[699] Sean Jacobs and Zachary Levenson, "The limits of coloured nationalism," *Mail&Guardian*, June 13, 2018. https://mg.co.za/article/2018-06-13-00-the-limits-of-coloured-nationalism
[700] Bongekile Macupe, "'We're not racist; just give coloureds a chance,'" *Mail&Guardian*, August 4, 2017. https://mg.co.za/article/2017-08-04-00-were-not-racist-just-give-coloureds-a-chance
[701] Suren Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid," *Africa is a Country*, June 21, 2018. https://africasacountry.com/2018/06/being-coloured-and-indian-in-south-africa-after-apartheid
[702] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."

leaders become the indirect rulers of the colonial state. If local populations had different cultural identities, these could then be transformed into tribal identities. Tribes were ascribed to certain territories that would be their homelands (or native reserves), where they would live under customary law administered by chiefs appointed by the colonial administrator. Cultural identity had been turned into political identity. To be a 'native,' was synonymous with being classified as 'indigenous,' and meant that one had to be defined as an ethnic subject of a particular territorial-administrative unit. This experience of the colonial world was therefore made up of two main identities: the settler who was racialized as 'European' or 'white', and 'the native' who was ethnicized as a 'tribal' subject.[703]

Across the continent, Pillay argues, were also categories of populations who did not fit neatly into this division of "white settler" and "black native." They were often categories of populations who were not defined as 'ethnic', but like the Europeans, were classified as 'races' under colonial law. Like Europeans, colonial thinking said they came from elsewhere, and were also therefore not indigenous. In Northern Nigeria this ascription was given to those classified as Fulani. In Rwanda, the Tutsi were defined as a 'non-indigenous race', while the Hutu were defined as the 'ethnic natives.' In East Africa and Southern Africa, Indians were defined as a race. And in Southern Africa more broadly, the descendants of slaves and mixed populations were variously defined as 'coloureds,' 'mulattos,' or 'creoles.' Mahmood Mamdani refer to these groups as "subject races" who were used as intermediaries between the Europeans and those seen as indigenous; they were elevated above the native but kept well below the European. The

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[703] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."

result was to produce a double contempt: they were held in contempt by those who ruled over them and held in contempt by those over whom they held petty authority.[704]

This was a deliberate policy that drew on racial conceptions of who was said to have some European blood in them and was motivated by a political calculation aimed at dividing an opposition to the colonial state. The decision, for example to co-opt the coloured electorate in the Cape evolved along these lines. Prime Minister J.M.B. Herzog's policy on voting for the coloured population in the Cape in the Pact government of 1924 was motivated by his observation that:

It would be very foolish to drive the Coloured people to the enemies of the Europeans—and that will happen if we expel him—to allow him eventually to come to rest in the arms of the native.[705]

According to Pillay, this thinking would crystalize most forcefully in the mind of Secretary of Native Affairs, and close ally of Verwoerd, University of Pretoria anthropologist Dr. W.W. M. Eiselen, who explained the vision in 1955: "Briefly and concisely put, our Native policy regarding the Western Province aims at the ultimate elimination of the Natives from this region."[706] By natives, he meant black Africans, who would be defined as belonging to a tribe, and therefore belonging in a native reserve (Bantustan) elsewhere. In the Western Cape, a deliberate policy designed to co-opt the coloured population was put in motion through Influx Control laws: the Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy. The policy was systematically implemented over the next

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[704] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."
[705] J.B.M. Herzog cited in Gavin Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall: A history of South African 'Coloured' politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 5.
[706] W.W. M. Eiselen, "The coloured people and the natives," *Journal of Racial Affairs*, VI, no. 3, (1955): 32.

few decades. In the first phase, as Dr. Eiselen pointed out, there would be: "the removal of foreign Africans and freezing of the number of African families, coupled with the limited importation of single migrant workers to meet the most urgent needs." In December 1965, Black Labour Regulations were introduced, designed to end long term contracts for black African laborers in the Cape so that they would not get passes to work in the city. In 1966 an official freeze on building family housing for Africans was declared, with no state housing built for the next ten years thereafter. This does not imply that these policies were implemented with the full support of those classified as coloured, but as waves of successive laws forcefully implemented by the state, they fundamentally reshaped, and remapped the demographic and spatial present of the Cape into what was inherited in 1994.[707]

Pillay suggests that the predicament for coloured and Indian populations today is not dissimilar to the predicament that subject races like the Fulani, the Omani Arabs or the Tutsi faced across the continent after independence: during colonialism they were the beneficiaries of certain policies designed to co-opt them and prevent a united opposition emerging amongst the colonized, but they were also victims of colonial segregation and subjugation. Since the colonial state treated some a little better than others, those who were treated as a little better tended to internalize their relative superiority: Tutsi nationalists thought themselves as naturally superior to Hutu. Indians tended to think of themselves as better than black Africans and coloureds. And coloureds tended to think themselves better than black Africans—but not better than whites.[708]

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[707] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."
[708] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."

In terms of the subject races' access to material resources, Pillay refers to James Muzondidya's observation that,

Coloureds and Indians (in Zimbabwe) faced an even more complicated situation. Specifically constructed by the state as an alien, urban people without rural ancestral homes (kumusha), they could neither acquire nor settle on land in Native Reserves and all other designated African areas, including Native Purchase Areas and African townships in urban areas.[709]

As this example demonstrates, in order to access land, one had to belong to an ethnic or tribal authority. Coloureds and Indians, who had no ethnic identity since they were defined as a race, now find themselves betwixt and between. Under colonialism, to have a racial identity was an identity of privilege whilst having an ethnic identity condemned one to severe marginalization as a rural subject. After colonialism, states tended to reverse the order in the name of Africanization and redistributive justice: ethnic subjects are now the most eligible for redress, and racial subjects would be last in the line.[710]

Pillay wrote this piece from the institutional space of UWC, where, through the political legacy of the Black Consciousness Movement, students undermined the racial logic with which the university was created by uniting under the political identity of 'blackness.'[711] In the post-apartheid period, this political legacy has not only resulted in a lack of scholarly engagement with coloured subjectivity at this university, but has also given rise to a concern amongst contemporary scholars that acknowledging colouredness as a valid and viable identity (either during apartheid or in the post-apartheid period) calls

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[709] James Muzondidya, "Jambanja: Ideological Ambiguities in the Politics of Land and Resource Ownership in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33, no. 2 (2007): 329.

[710] Pillay, "Being coloured and Indian in South Africa after apartheid."

[711] Premesh Lalu, "Constituting community at the intellectual home of the left," in *Becoming UWC: Reflections, pathways and unmaking apartheid's legacy*, ed. Premesh Lalu and Noëleen Murray (Bellville: Centre for Humanities Research, 2012), 111.

into question a set of politics premised on resisting the very grounds upon which the category was created. Pillay concludes by suggesting that anti-apartheid activists – several of whom are scholars and/or academics at this institution – have been left with a deep anxiety towards acknowledging difference of any kind, particularly because resistance movements emphasized sameness rather than racial or ethnic difference. He argues, however, that they will have to wrestle with this 'difference' in order to find a politics more appropriate to contemporary moment, because the effects of apartheid's legacies are not just symbolic but also <u>material</u>. This dissertation has been an attempt to do just that!

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APPENDIX

List of Acts and Ordinances

(Natives) Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923

Old Age Pensions Act No. 22 of 1928

Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 of 1949

Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950

Immorality Amendment Act No. 21 of 1950

Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959

Terrorism Act of 1967 No. 83 of 1967

Higher Education Act No. 101 of 1997

Employment Equity Act (EEA) No. 55 of 1998