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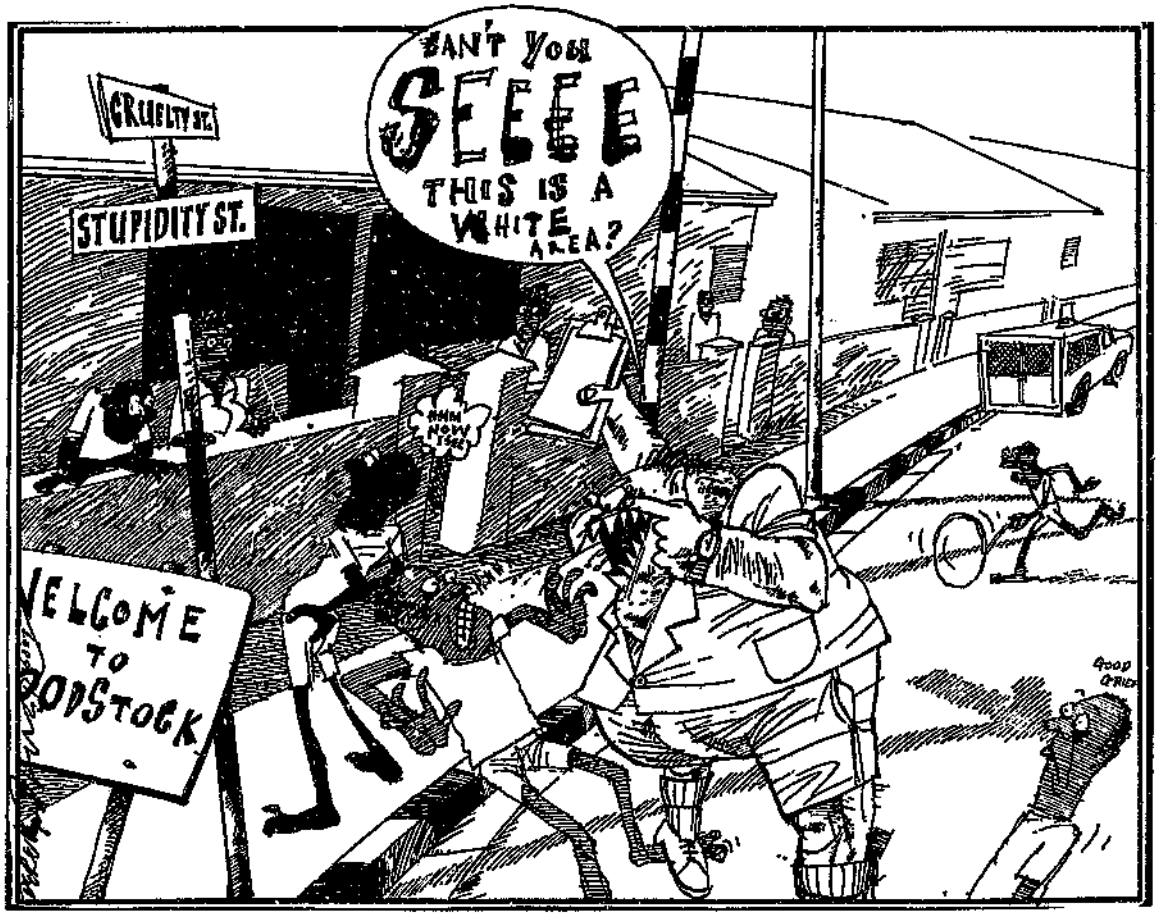
Jayne M. Garside

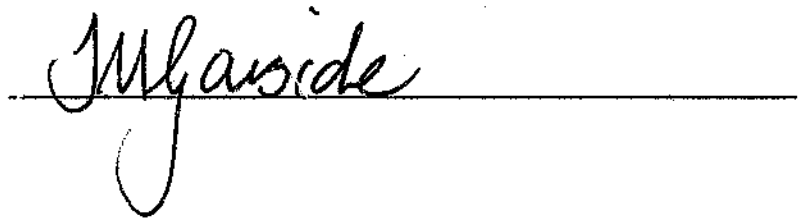


RESIDENTIAL CHANGE IN WOODSTOCK, CAPE TOWN, PRIOR TO THE REPEAL OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT

Jayne Margaret Garside

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg,
for the degree of Master of Arts

This dissertation is entirely my own work
and has not been previously submitted as a
dissertation or thesis for any degree at any other university



University of the Witwatersrand, 1994

ABSTRACT

A neglected focus in South African urban geographical studies over the last two decades has been the changes taking place in the inner city. The objective in this study is to examine residential change in one inner city suburb of Cape Town, namely Woodstock. The time period for this investigation is the era of late apartheid prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act. The theoretical framework for this dissertation is provided by international literature on ethnic segregation and the 'gentrification issue'. The majority of research undertaken on gentrification has concerned the cities of North America, Western Europe or Australia. With few exceptions, gentrificati. has been little researched outside of the developed world. The South African context therefore provides a developing world setting for research on gentrification.

It is argued that between 1900 and 1980 the case study area of Woodstock experienced considerable change in its residential complexion. In particular, the ethnic composition of the suburb shifted throughout the twentieth century with waves of new immigrants to the suburb, including Jews from Eastern Europe and the settlement of a Portuguese community from Madeira. These shifts in the ethnic make-up of Woodstock reinforced the 'respectable', working class character of this mixed race, inner city zone of Cape Town. During the 1980s, however, a change in the class composition of the area was triggered by the onset of processes of gentrification. The advance of gentrification was taking place at the same time as apartheid legislation, in the form of the Group Areas Act, was posing a threat to the multi-racial character of the suburb. The research documents the relationship between gentrification and the community struggle mounted to retain the multi-racial status of this inner city area. It is shown from this South African study that the 'gentrification issue' is of relevance to research on developing world cities.

PREFACE

The origin of this study was my appointment in 1987 to a researcher post at the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in Cape Town. My brief was to research the so-called 'grey' areas of Cape Town, in particular, the areas of Woodstock and Lansdowne, as potential blue prints for racially mixed cities. The results of this work conducted for the SAIRR culminated in a Topic Paper 87/8 published by the Western Cape regional branch. In addition, much of the primary research for this dissertation was gathered during this appointment. My thanks are due to the SAIRR for focussing my attention on this fascinating aspect of urban studies in South Africa.

It became apparent to me that the events taking place in Woodstock during the late 1980s went beyond a struggle against apartheid legislation, especially the Group Areas Act. On my return to Johannesburg from Cape Town in 1989 I was encouraged to explore the wider literature relating to gentrification. For providing this important direction I would like to express my thanks to Sue Parnell, who subsequently became supervisor of this dissertation. For her guidance, advice and encouragement through to the completion of this study, I am deeply appreciative. Due to the focus given to this dissertation I was encouraged to publish parts of this study in *GeoJournal* 1993.

I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of other organisations and individuals who have assisted towards the completion of this study. Financial assistance from the Human Sciences Research Council is gratefully acknowledged. The maps and diagrams were produced by Phil Stickler; my thanks go to him. Photographs of Woodstock were taken by Greg Knill, whose friendship and sense humour were greatly appreciated during my years in Cape Town. Derek Bauer kindly gave me a copy of one of his cartoons for the front cover.

On a personal level, I would like to thank my parents for their continued support and encouragement. My husband, Chris, deserves a medal for putting up with my moodiness during the final stages of this dissertation. I could not have got this far on my own, were it not for his patience, kindness, and unflagging encouragement, for this and much more I am grateful.

Jayne Margaret Garside
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Urban studies on South Africa have been a popular focus of scholarly work over the last twenty years. Since the 1976 Soweto uprising, an enormous amount of research effort has been devoted to understanding and interpreting conditions in the formerly neglected black townships. This body of work has been very important in terms of the development of urban geography in South Africa as it has contributed greatly to analysis of the apartheid city. A significant consequence of this rash of new writings on the peripheral black townships, however, has been to isolate the work of South African geographers from broader urban processes (McCarthy, 1992). Moreover, it has caused the neglect of certain other dimensions of the changing fabric of the South African city. One of the areas of particular neglect concerns the complex of economic and social changes taking place in the inner cities of South Africa.

Internationally, the process of residential change has been a major theme of research in urban geography. Until the 1970s discussions of residential changes occurring, particularly in inner city areas, were generally couched in the context of writings concerning ethnic segregation (eg. Peach *et al*, 1981). Over the last two decades, however, a lively debate among urban geographers has

surrounded the issue of why certain centrally located neighbourhoods appeal so strongly to high-income groups, that the neighbourhoods' socio-economic status experiences an upward shift? (Hamnett, 1984; Beauregard, 1986; 1990 Ley, 1986; 1994). The question known as the 'gentrification issue' has surfaced as an important research frontier which "is not merely academic as it has implications for urban policy" (van Weesep, 1994, p. 74).

In North America, Western Europe and Australia the popularity of this new research frontier in urban geography has itself attracted some attention. Gentrification, which has been identified and studied in these developed countries, "is still a relatively small scale and very geographically-concentrated phenomenon compared to post-war suburbanization and inner city decline" (Hamnett, 1991, p. 173). Five possible factors are put forward by Hamnett (1991) to explain the surge of gentrification studies in urban geography. First, gentrification is identified as a convenient subject for a new generation of urban geographers interested in city-specific research topics. Second, gentrification poses a major challenge to the traditional theories of residential location and urban social structure, by reversing the one way processes of neighbourhood change as espoused by Burgess and Hoyt, and further challenging the explicit assumption underlying Alonso's theory of the urban land market. Third, whereas some researchers have seen the gentrification process as the saviour of the inner cities (Sumka, 1979; Sternlieb and Hughes, 1983), others regard it as a threat to

inner city working class areas (Ley, 1982; LeGates and Hartman, 1986; Marcuse, 1986). A fourth factor is that gentrification can be seen to constitute one of the major 'leading edges' of contemporary urban restructuring (Hamnett, 1991). Gentrification, like suburbanisation, highlights the importance of capital switching between different sectors of the economy and between different parts of the city (Harvey, 1980; Badcock, 1989). The final explanation for the prominence of gentrification in contemporary urban geographical literature, is that it "represents one of the key theoretical and ideological battlegrounds in urban geography" (Hamnett, 1991, p. 174). In particular, the debate is between "the liberal humanists who stress the key role of choice, culture, consumption and consumer demand, and the structural Marxists who stress the role of capital, class, production and supply" (Hamnett, 1991, p. 174).

It must be acknowledged that the vast majority of writings that have appeared on gentrification are centred on the experience of the developed world. A detailed scan of the urban geographical work on gentrification reveals only a handful of works which take up the gentrification issue in the developing world (see Thomas, 1991; Ward, 1993). In this study, residential change in a developing world inner city is explored using the theoretical framework of gentrification. More specifically, the research examines the changes occurring in the case of Woodstock, Cape Town.

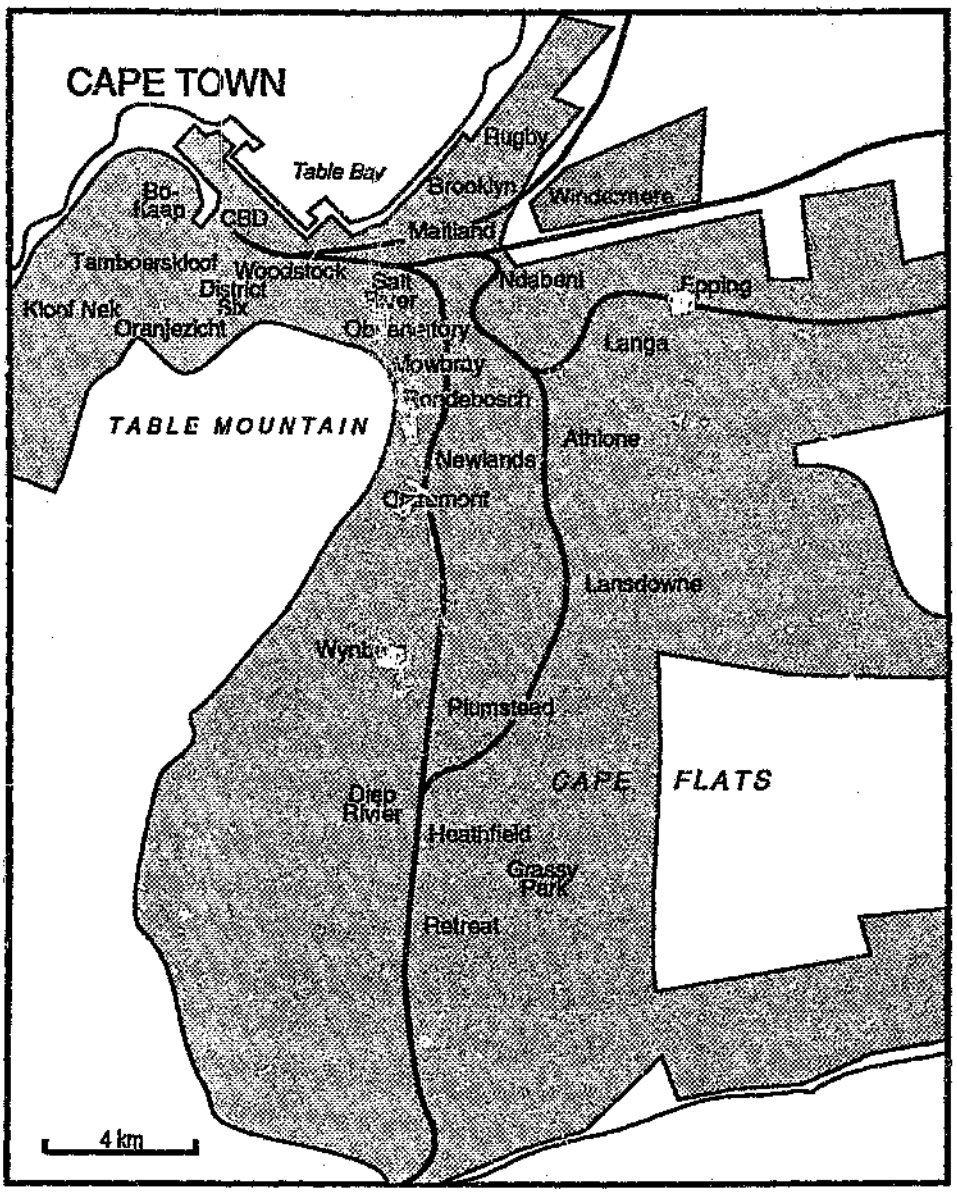

Figure 1.1: Location Map of Woodstock

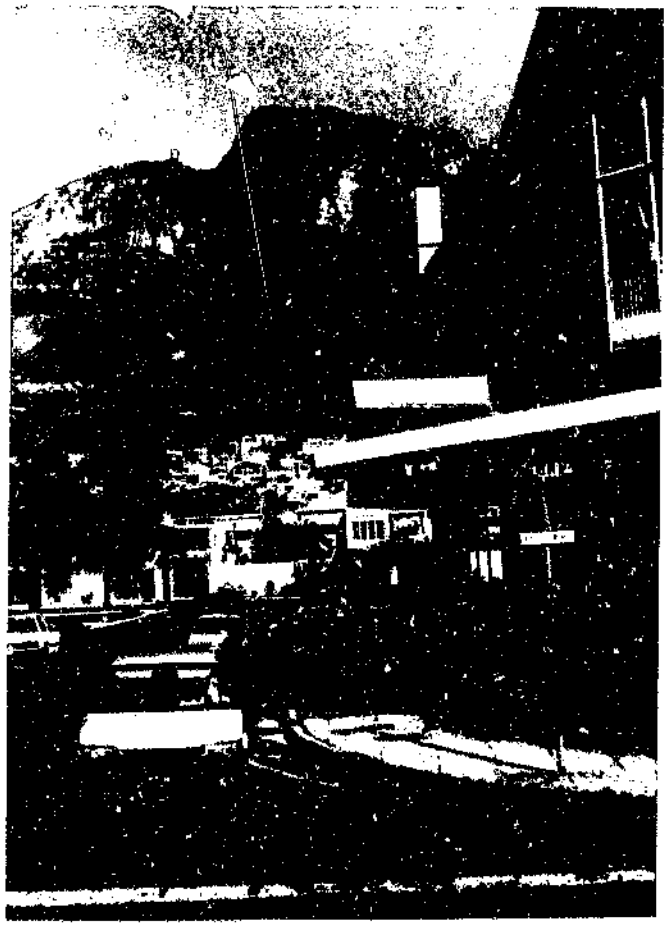

Plate 1.1: View from lower Woodstock towards upper Woodstock and Devil's Peak

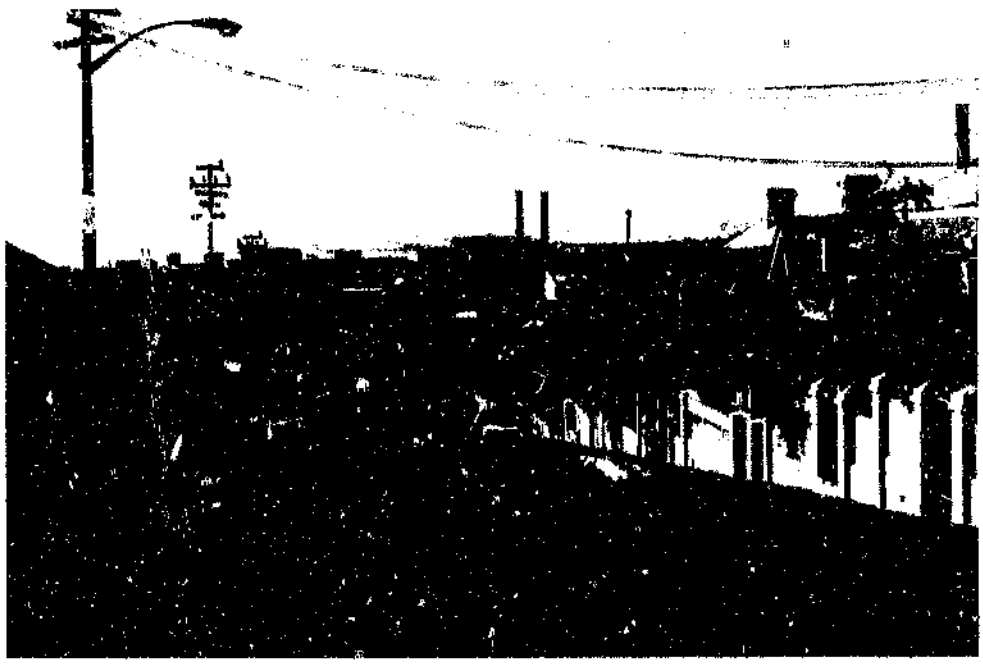

Plate 1.2: View from upper Woodstock towards lower Woodstock and Table Bay. Note the mixed landuse character of the area.

Developed as a suburb from the late nineteenth century, Woodstock is today one of Cape Town's oldest inner city areas. Woodstock lies at the foot of Devil's Peak overlooking Table Bay. It is situated only 2km by rail from the centre of Cape Town, and stretches from the fringes of the expanding business area to Salt River and the outlying suburbs of Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont (Fig. 1.1). As Watson (1993, p. 34) observes, Woodstock provides "a complex, bustling and interdependent living environment offering a wide range of accessible benefits". These include, housing, retail outlets, factories and warehouses (see Plates, 1.1 and 1.2). Throughout the twentieth century, Woodstock was a respectable, working class suburb, housing both a long established white and coloured community and hosting waves of ethnic minorities. By the late 1980s, however, the suburb experienced a rapid physical and social transformation.

Urban geographical studies on South Africa are reviewed in Chapter Two identifying the inner city as a research lacuna. The international literature on ethnic segregation and gentrification provides the framework within which this study of Woodstock is set (Chapter Three). The heart of this study is represented by the material and discussion contained in Chapters Four, Five and Six. The historical focus of Chapter Four lays the foundation for the more contemporary material which follows in the subsequent chapters. It details the history of Woodstock through the twentieth

century, with particular attention devoted to the multi-racial and 'respectable' nature of this working class inner city suburb. A parallel theme is the changing ethnic character of the area as Woodstock housed several waves of immigrants. The imprints which these immigrant groups left on the face of Woodstock are explored, with particualar reference being given to the Jewish immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, and the Madeiran immigrants from the 1940s through to the early 1980s.

With the multi-racial and working class scene established, the triple themes of government, finance capital, and neighbourhood identity and community action are examined in Chapters Five and Six. The aim in these two chapters is to analyse the residential changes taking place in Woodstock in the late apartheid era. In 1986 the Nationalist government sought to legislate a new group area in Woodstock. During this same period, however, market and economic forces were being shaped by the interventions of, amongst others, landlords, estate agents and big business. Key themes discussed in the final two chapters therefore concern the obvious threat of removal by the Group Areas Act, and subsequent community reaction. Equally important was the more hidden removals which were triggered by economic forces and a slowly encroaching gentrification process.

The area of Woodstock has been neglected by previous researchers of urban change in Cape Town. This study necessarily draws upon a

variety of primary sources both to present a picture of the early development of the suburb (Chapter Four) and to analyse changes taking place in the period prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act (Chapters Five and Six). In Chapter Four, the discussion draws upon primary material in order to sketch the unfolding social and ethnic composition of Woodstock. A variety of archival and oral sources are drawn upon to document the suburb's working class character and 'respectable' nature, as well as the changing ethnic and social mix. In order to present a broad picture of the development of Woodstock, considerable use is made of diaries, memoirs, and newspapers.

The multi-racial character of Woodstock was captured, by careful analysis of primary census data dating back to 1911, as well as the informative Cape Times Street Directories. The Jewish and Madeiran immigrants were two of the most significant waves of ethnic settlement in Woodstock. The University of Cape Town archives houses a particularly rich source of Jewish information. Of interest to this study were the immigration records, religious and social records as well as collections such as the Morris Alexander papers. This voluminous collection offered insight into the immigrant Jewish way of life. The Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town, housed a collection of taped interviews, which were carried out in the early 1980s with elderly Jewish men and women, who recalled their experiences as young immigrants, settling in Cape Town in the 1920s and 1930s.

This invaluable source, offered a glimpse of the realities of life for the newly arrived immigrants.

Chapters Five and Six, which explore the impact of the Group Areas Act on Woodstock, coupled with the encroaching gentrification process, are based on personal interviews and press clippings. This dissertation has utilised the most informative of the interviews, which provided considerable insight into the feelings of bitterness, resignation, angst and hopefulness which the perverse apartheid system had instilled into many who lived in constant fear of being forcibly removed. These personal experiences were augmented by interviews with government representatives, politicians, educationalists and the clergy, as well as statements which were released in the press.

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In the next two chapters (Chapters Two and Three) the study on Woodstock is located within a broader literature on South African urban geography and on international writings on residential change in the inner city. In Chapter Two the importance of using oral histories and personal testamonies as a research approach in South African urban studies is highlighted. This study draws on the strength of these particular research tools. The application of these research methods is to the question of inner city residential change in the South African context. It is important to recognise

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that the question under scrutiny in this dissertation can be most appropriately informed by looking to a body of international research on the inner city. Accordingly, in Chapter Three a review is undertaken of these international writings in order to furnish the background to the detailed case study on inner city Cape Town. Within this international literature it is apparent that studies on residential change in the inner city, led by the 'gentrification issue,' are overwhelmingly dominated by research on cities in North America, Australia or Western Europe. The contribution of this study is therefore to reflect on the question of gentrification in the context of the developing world.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CITY: RACE AND URBAN CHANGE

The South African city is both a complex and peculiar entity. South African and international academics have widely researched the forced separation of racial groups, and the way in which this is manifest in the physical make-up of the city. In addition, the often dire consequences of removals on families, communities and established ways of life, have been sensitively documented, together with important research in the diverse fields of transportation, economics, housing, resistence, legislation and history. Much of this academic enquiry culminates in a multi-faceted and vivid picture of the 'apartheid city', where 'race' and the separation of 'race groups' is the key ingredient.

Research which focuses on the specificity of the South African city has been ongoing since the late 1970s. During this period disillusioned urban geographers found little in the predominantly western neoclassical models to explain the particular social, economic and political machinations of the South African city (Beavon, 1982). The result was an internalisation, a looking inward, away from the forms and processes at work in cities around the world, to a pursuit of further explaining and understanding the city whose shape,

form and racial mix was determined by the implementation of state enforced legislation. These racist segregationist measures, both prior to and after the state's enforcement of apartheid policies, became the all encompassing genre which South African urban geographers studied.

Ironically, by filling in the vacuum which western neoclassical geography left, South African urban geographers' enquiry into the incongruencies and complexities of the unique 'apartheid city', in turn began to isolate them from broader urban processes common to all cities. Consequently, the ver detailed studies of South Africa's cities, caused a vacuum in broader geographic endeavour. This lacuna has been noted, and McCarthy (1992) went so far as to comment that South African urban geography had now "hopefully matured sufficiently to exercise selectivity in its application of international literature". He called on colleagues to diversify into literature and research drawn from a wider international context in order to address "urban challenges similar to our own" (McCarthy, 1992, p. 149).

It is a truism that all cities are a reflection of their history, but in addition to this there are urban forces at work which, to a lesser or greater extent, are common to all cities. The focus on the South African city as a reflection of historical and current segregationist legislation which sought to separate the races and made every possible effort to limit access across racial lines, generally ignored urban processes

common to all cities. These urban forms are exemplified in such processes *inter alia*, as the growth (or decline) and importance of the central business district; the development and change of the inner city over time; residential decline, decay and renewal; and, diverse and dynamic settlement patterns within the city by different economic and ethnic groups.

Three aspects of the South African urban literature are reviewed in this chapter. The first section will consider the historical background of the South African city and focus on the emerging segregated structure of the city as a reflection of social and political forces. Secondly, a brief description of the Group Areas Act, the ramifications of the state implementation of the Act, and an overview of some of the 'apartheid city' literature will be presented. Particular reference will be paid to the humanistic 'apartheid city' studies which successfully weave oral testamonies, literature, newspapers, pamphlets and photographs into a detailed and colourful mosaic of human experience. The final section focuses on the inner city, and considers the early 1980s research on a number of South African inner cities, as well as assessing the desegregation literature which blossomed from the late 1980s prior to and after the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1990.

HISTORICAL URBAN RESEARCH

The landmark year of 1948, and the accession to power of the Nationalist Government did not mark the beginnings of racialism or racial legislation in South Africa. Nevertheless, as Christopher (1994, p. 15) argues "it was the intensity and ruthlessness of the bureaucratic machinery after 1948 which distinguished the era of apartheid from the earlier segregationism". Urban geographers recognised that although the phenomenon of the apartheid city was a "uniquely modern concept", it should not be examined in isolation from its "historical development" (Christopher, 1983, p.145). All of South Africa's cities are reflections of their history, and their physical structure is an image of the social, political and economic forces over time.

The South African city has always been a segregated one, beginning with white settlement in the Cape in 1652 (Christopher, 1983, 1990). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 marked the beginnings of a conscious nation wide pursuit of urban segregation, and such measures were in turn enhanced and superceded by rigid urban apartheid policies (Davies, 1981). However, levels of segregation were not homogeneous; this is borne out by the fact that Cape Town experienced more removals during the era of 'grand apartheid' than any other city, due to its high levels of racial integration relative to other cities (Cook, 1992). During the pre-apartheid era,

however, the segregated South African city exhibited many features which were common to colonial African cities (Christopher, 1984).

The Colonial City

"Structural segregation came about in the period after the 1850s and has been ascribed to a growth in racialism in the dominant classes in the British Empire coincident with the rise of the age of imperialism" (Hyam, 1976, cited in Christopher, 1983, p.140). The pre-apartheid city, it has been argued, is but one variant of the more widely distributed colonial city (Davies, 1981; Christopher, 1983, 1984, 1988a; Simon, 1984; Robinson, 1990a; Simon, 1992). In particular, parallels between South African cities and Nairobi have been noted (Fair and Davies, 1976; Western, 1984). Simon (1992, p. 24) categorises Johannesburg (among other African cities) as a "European city...a special type of colonial city, where the settlement was established by, and essentially for, Europeans. African migration and permanent residence were severely constrained, subject only to the labour requirements of the Europeans".

The extensive works of Christopher have contributed much to interpreting the history of the segregated city. His initial research focus centred on Port Elizabeth (1987a; 1987b), and later expanded to a broader exploration of issues surrounding

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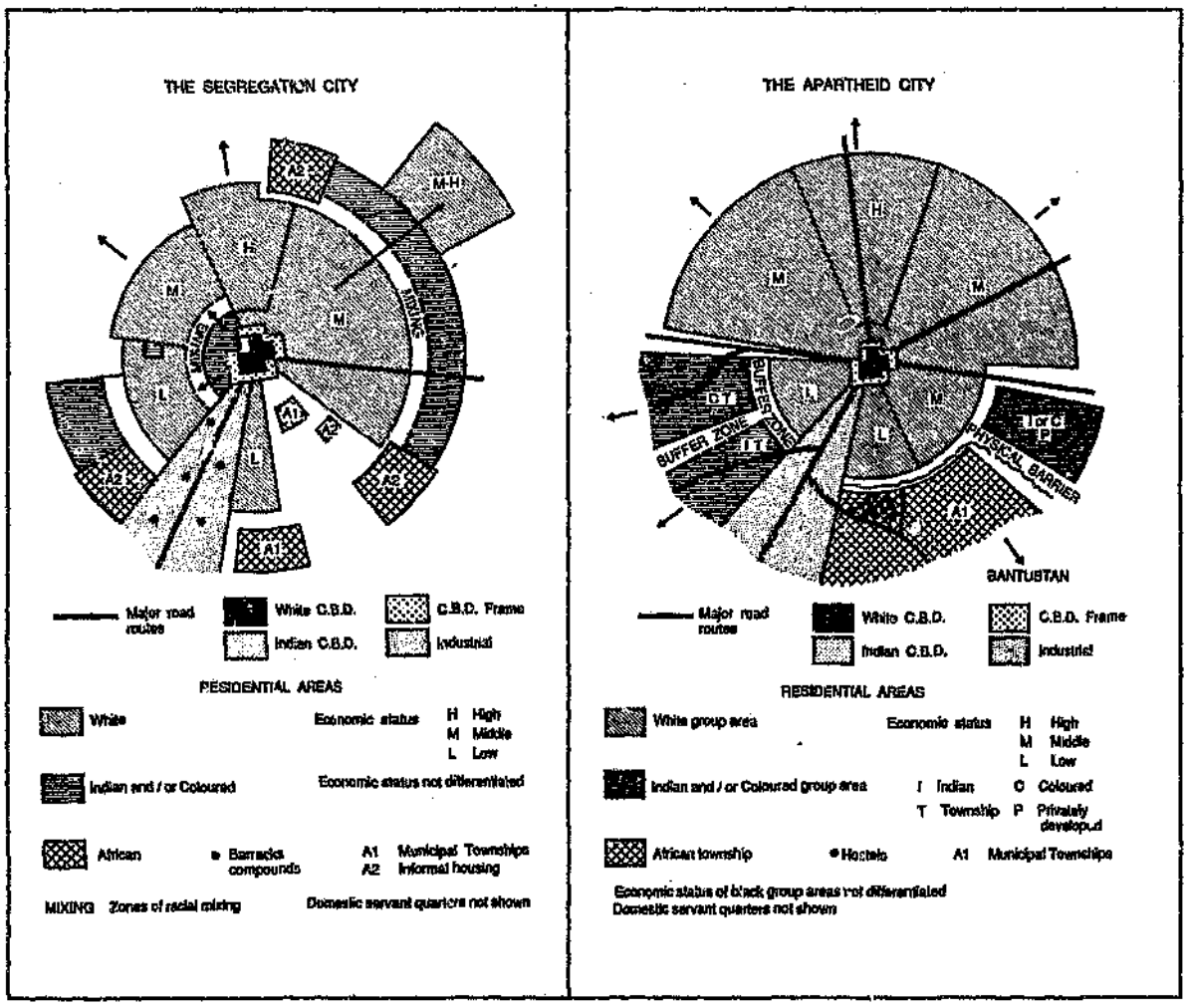
urban segregation (Christopher, 1989a; 1989b; 1989c; 1990; 1991a; 1991b). Themes of research included, assessing the different approaches, from passive socio-economic segregation to legal enforcement which the four provinces pursued (Christopher, 1988b), spatial variations in the application of residential segregation (Christopher, 1989a), together with contested legal boundaries between black and white, and black and black (Christopher, 1989b; see also Pirie, 1984a, 1984b).

There is, however, some debate about the validity of characterising all of South Africa's residentially segregated urban areas as illustrative of colonialism. Rather, "their origins suggest that research into the social origins of South African urban form may usefully proceed from the premise that its characteristics are not so much the refined product of a long colonial history, but rather that they are closely related to the outcomes of the central, indeed specific, struggles within South African society" (Mabin, 1986, p.22). Mabin (1986) stresses the fact that models of apartheid city structure generally ignore the existence of the compound - a classically South African residential institution. It is suggested that the segregated residential patterns of South African cities can best be understood as being "closely related to the outcomes of specific struggles between dominated and dominant groups within South African society (Mabin, 1986, p.4). In a similar vein, Simon (1984, p. 61) argues that residential segregation is intimately bound up with the "structure of South African political economy".

Notwithstanding, the debate concerning the understanding of the roots of the segregated city, Davies (1981) model of the pre-apartheid city is an important graphic summary of the spatial patterns which existed at that time (see Fig. 2.1). This useful representation incorporates a central business district (CBD), which has an Indian component, due to their significant presence in many CBDs of South African cities, most notably in Durban (Grey Street), Pietermaritzburg, and Johannesburg (Pageview) (Lemon, 1991). Whites occupy most of the residential space, which is differentiated according to income, the lowest income sector being close to the industrial zone. Barracks or compounds for African workers are located within the industrial zone, while Indian and coloured housing is mainly peripheral. The key feature of Davies' model which bears directly on to the subject matter of this dissertation is the occurrence of 'non-white' islands within the white residential inner city area. Examples of these islands would include Sophiatown in Johannesburg, South End in Port Elizabeth and District Six or Woodstock in Cape Town.

The later apartheid city model (Fig 2.2) does not recognise any racial overlapping (the aim of 'grand apartheid' being to



Figures 2.1: and 2.2: The Segregation City and The Apartheid City (after Davies, 1981).

totally separate all of the races, in all spheres of work, leisure and residence), even though there is evidence of mixing in some areas thoughout the apartheid era. Several studies of segregation indices in urban South Africa have been undertaken by Christopher (1989a; 1991a; 1991b; 1992a; 1992b; 1993; 1994). One important finding in this research was that while the Western Cape was the most segregated region, with the dissimilarity index rising from 51.52 in 1921 to 95.13 in 1985, 5 per cent of the region's population were living in the 'wrong' area (Lemon, 1991). Consequently, some areas remained racially and ethnically mixed; these remaining mixed residential spaces or 'wrong' areas have been largely ignored by historical and political geographers.

Methodologically, during the 1980s historical geographers followed the lead which was laid down by the social historians, (Bozzoli, 1979; Van Onselen, 1982; Bozzoli, 1983; 1987; Marks and Trapido, 1987; Bonner *et al*, 1989; Bozzoli and Delius, 1990; Van Onselen, 1990), who "revolutionized understanding of many aspects of the South African past" (Crush, 1992, p.16). The research methodology which tapped rich archival sources (Rogerson, 1983; Mabin, 1987; Parnell, 1987; 1991), in the place of 1970s model building and geometrical approaches, proved to be extremely attractive to historical geographers. In addition, urban historical geography became redefined, and the search for a 'people's historical geography' led to the hidden spaces of the marginalised and dispossessed being investigated (Crush,

1992). The townships of disenfranchised Africans which the Stallardist principles of temporary sojournship embodied in the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act, were *terra incognita* for South African geographers (Beavon, 1982). However, historical geographers sought to redress the balance and enthusiastically directed their research towards interrogating the living conditions, problems, facilities, and background of residential conditions among South Africa's dominated communities (see eg. Beavon, 1982; Badenhorst and Rogerson, 1986; Parnell, 1988; 1989; Robinson, 1990b; Rogerson, 1990; Badenhorst, 1992; Lupton, 1993).

The large body of work on the pre-apartheid city, was not primarily concerned with issues such as class and ethnicity. Instead, historical geographers concentrated their research on the African experience in South Africa's urban areas; the temporary nature of their urban residence and the resultant lifestyle and living conditions associated with their transient status (Crush, 1992). This focus on race, however, was almost inevitable, as it was only a decade ago that South African urban geographers shrugged off the mantle of dominant Anglo-American theories, models and scientific methods, and began to "investigate and monitor the shifting contours of the 'inhuman' geography of apartheid" (Rogerson and Parnell, 1989, p.16). The concentration on race is crucial to understanding the inhumanity of apartheid enforced legislation. The Group Areas Act has been described as "possibly the most far reaching legal provision in a system of law that has come to

control and underpin urban organisation anywhere in the world" (Davies, 1981, p.64). Race, and the meticulous separation of each racial group in all spheres of work, residence and leisure, constitutes the foundation of all apartheid legislation.

THE APARTHEID CITY AND THE GROUP AREAS ACT

The Group Areas Act of 1950 (and the amendment of 1966) have had more far-reaching effects on racial segregation than any previous legislation (Pirie, 1984a; 1987). Distinctive apartheid cities, represent a major re-ordering of the segregation cities which preceded them. Group areas exemplify the fundamental tenet of apartheid ideology that incompatability between ethnic groups is such that contact between them leads to friction and harmonious relations can be secured only by minimizing points of contact (Christopher, 1991c). For the majority, then, race zoning has kept people from knowing or understanding one another. The operation of Group Areas legislation was essentially urban in character. The 1950 Act imposed control of inter-racial property transactions and inter-racial changes in occupation of property, which were subject to permit. No less than ten different kinds of area were defined in terms of the legislation. None the less, the ultimate goal was the establishment of areas for the exclusive occupation of each race group (Lemon, 1991).

Group Areas legislation radically extended control over private property (Pirie, 1984a). The Group Areas Development Act of 1955 provided machinery for compensation, established procedures for regulating the sale price of property in the open market, and provided for expropriation of properties under a system of public acquisition for group area development. White acceptance of these measures clearly rested on the assumption that others would be the victims.

Table 2.1: Number of Families Moved From Their Homes Under the Group Areas Act, 1966-1984.

	Coloured	Indian	White
Cape	65 657	3 051	840
Natal	3 845	25 288	817
OFS	2 335	-	-
Transvaal	11 854	11 728	761
Total	83 691	40 067	2 418

Source: After South African Institute of Race Relations, 1986, p. 348.

A broad picture of the overall magnitude of the disruptive effects of Group Areas legislation is provided in Table 2.1. Overall, it is evident that the vast majority of the 125 000 families moved to distant regimented settlements in terms of group areas planning have been coloureds and Indians (Lemon, 1991). None the less, it must be acknowledged that a small number of exceptional cases existed in inner cities where Group Areas were proclaimed for historically setted so-called Malay and coloured and Indian communities; examples would

include Bo-Kaap and Walmer Estate in Cape Town. Beyond the devastation that affected coloured and Indian communities, many Africans have been indirect victims of group areas planning. Africans often were moved in terms of amendments to existing legislation, without even the semblance of consultation embodied in the Group Areas Acts (Lemon, 1991). Indeed, Platzky and Walker (1985) suggest that in total 730 000 Africans were resettled in urban areas between 1960 and 1983, and the overall figure for the period 1950-90 almost certainly exceeds one million people (Lemon, 1991).

Geographers and the Apartheid City

The rigid application of the apartheid laws, created cities which were distinctive and unique to South Africa. Geographers recognised this, and sought to trace the historical evolution, location and environmental characteristics of the black townships in order to understand the peculiarities of the South African urban process (McCarthy, 1992).

The townships on the edges of all South African towns and cities are not merely grey, faceless and characterless places whose sole purpose is to provide cheap labour for white families, businesses and industry. Rather, they are places which are full of people who have to cope with substandard living conditions, overpopulation, and the lack of basic resources. Geographers within the varied sub-disciplines of historical, humanistic and radical geography have explored the

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many aspects of township history and living conditions. The wide-ranging areas of enquiry embraced by geographers, cover many issues pertinent to townships and township living. These include a plethora of studies on the informal sector (Rogerson and Beavon, 1982; Rogerson, 1986; Rogerson and Hart, 1986; Tomaselli and Beavon, 1986), hostels (Pirie and da Silva, 1986), transportation (Pirie, 1983; McCarthy and Swilling, 1985; Dauskardt, 1989; Khosa, 1990; 1992), resistance to removals (Western, 1978; 1981; Hart, 1988; 1990a), and contemporary changes in the physical fabric of the townships (Pirie, 1987; Mather and Parnell, 1990).

After World War Two, the Group Areas Act was the overriding factor which shaped residential areas within the South African city. However, it was not the only state urban intervention at work. The magnitude of the Nationalist government's policy to spatially separate all racial groups, meant that a few communities managed to escape the legislative net which scooped up some white, most coloured, Indian and African residents living in working class neighbourhoods of the inner city, and dumped them on the urban fringe, into state built dormitory townships. As shown on Figure 2.3, areas such as Woodstock, remained a racially mixed inner city area, due to the fact that it was proclaimed as a 'Controlled Area' pending a government decision about its legislated racial composition. Woodstock, therefore, underwent processes of invasion and succession by various ethnic groups through time, in addition to being home to a large settled, racially mixed working

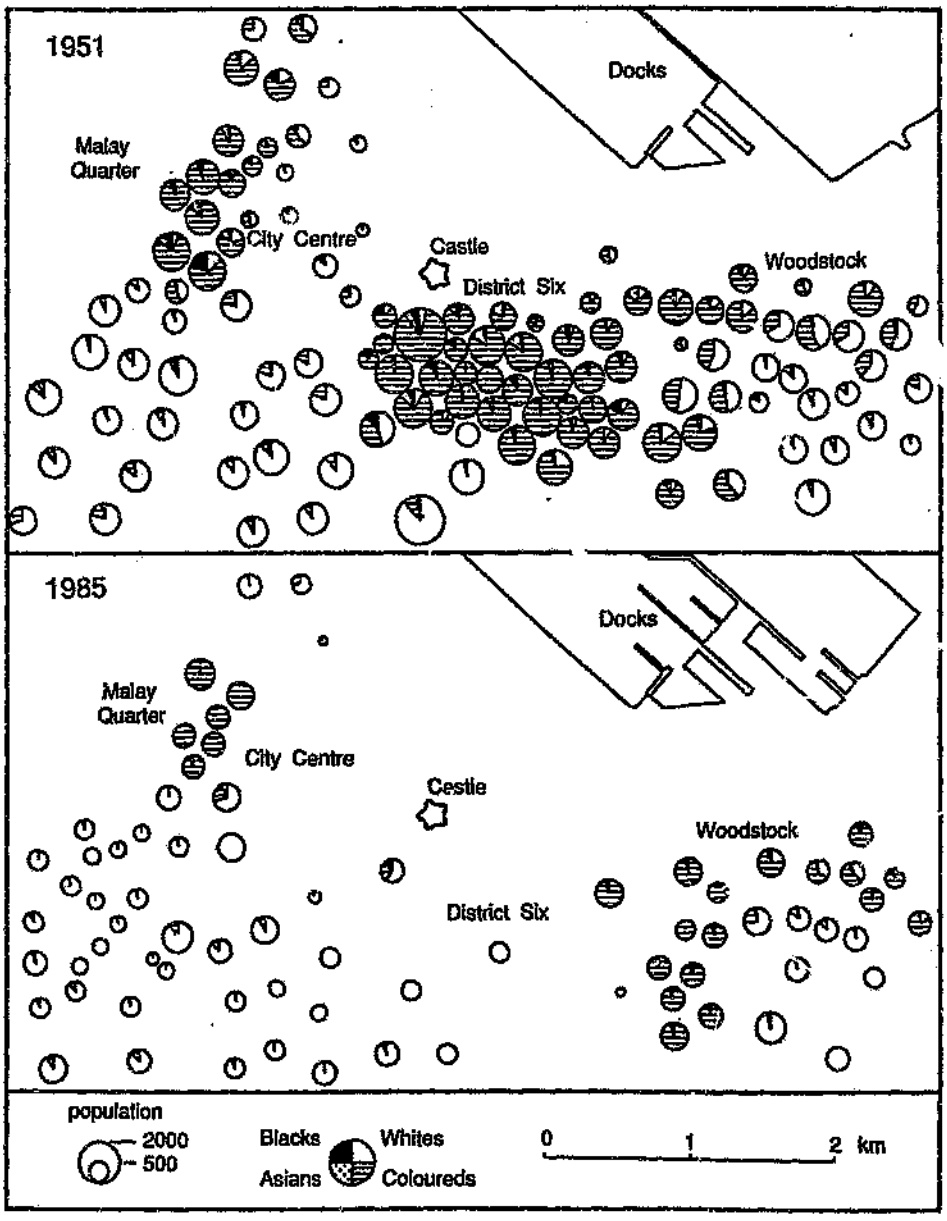

Figure 2.3: Woodstock as a Racially Mixed Inner City Suburb of Cape Town, 1951 and 1985 (Source: Christopher, 1991c, p. 251).

population. Beyond the ebb and flow of people, the area experienced processes common to international inner cities such as rapid population growth, expansion of the built environment, urban decay, neglect and change.

The Experience of Removal

The dearth of geographic research on South Africa's historically mixed areas, which have in recent time undergone enormous class as well as physical change, means that one has to analyse the international experience in order to draw similarities, comparisons, and to propose possible future scenarios. However, some South African geographic research is very useful and far-sighted, not specifically in its content matter, which concerns the removal of settled communities, but in the methodology employed to understand and empathise with the victims of apartheid. Representative of this methodology are studies of the removal of settled communities such as the coloureds from Mowbray (Western, 1981), and District Six (Hart, 1988) in Cape Town; the excision of Africans from Sophiatown (Hart and Pirie, 1984) in Johannesburg, and of the Indian communities from Clairwood in Durban (Scott, 1992). Photographs, oral interviews, newspapers, pamphlets and literature, have enabled geographic studies to extend beyond mere spatial patterns, and into the symbolism and meanings of place and the subjective experiences of life in South Africa's cities (Pirie, 1982; 1984c; Hart and Pirie, 1984; Titlestad, 1990; Lammas, 1992). In addition, humanistic geography's use

of novels, autobiographies, short stories and essays reveal the human aspect better than any other sort of record (Pirie and Hart, 1985; 1989; Lammas, 1992).

More recently, however, a far greater commitment to oral research methodology than has hitherto been evident in the majority of South African geographic writing (bar the humanistic geography cited above) is now beginning to be explored (Crush, 1992). For example, Mather's (1991) exploration of the language of protest on white farms in the Eastern Transvaal, and Miles' (1991; 1993) use of oral life-histories to recover the hidden geographies of Swazi migrant women in Johannesburg, illustrate the invaluable insights that can be provided by oral sources.

The human suffering inflicted by race zoning in South African cities is immeasurable. A few penetrating studies have swept aside the quantitative curtain, and attempted to sensitively document the devastating impact which the removal and destruction of peoples homes has on their self-esteem, security and place within urban society. In particular, the studies of Sophiatown in Johannesburg, and District Six and Mowbray in Cape Town illustrate the power which literature and oral testimony contains, and the ability of the imagery to provide the reader with insight into the trauma, upheaval, insecurity, fear and sense of loss and 'placelessness' which the forcebly removed residents experienced. In both Sophiatown and District Six the slum-like appearance, violence and

overcrowding is acknowledged. Yet, it is the paradox of emotional plenty amidst material shortage which forms the nucleus of the studies. In the case of Mowbray it is the humiliating damage which removal and destruction of homes had on the self-esteem and security of the working class families, who had to learn again their place on the edges of a callous urban society.

The 1980s concentration of humanistic geographers on the plight of the inner city is not coincidental, considering that these areas were harmonious racially mixed communities, whose brutal removal left scars on the landscape as well as emotional scars in people's hearts. During the 1990s research on the inner city has shifted in approach and direction. The approach has become one of management and a focus on policy issues, as the South African city has moved from one of legislated and enforced segregation to one of increasing desegregation.

DESEGREGATION AND THE INNER CITY

Mabin (1991, p. 44) contends that the 1990s "seem set to be an epoch of conflict over urbanization". Race will no longer be the major player in the formulation of policy. Instead, the successful management of South Africa's towns and cities, together with issues of housing the urban poor, the creation of employment opportunities and education for all will be the core policy issues for geographical enquiry in the period of

post-apartheid reconstruction.

The discourse around the inner city has shifted from one of experience to one of management, focusing specifically on the formulation and implementation of policy issues. During the time of grand apartheid, successive waves of racial removals took place under the guise of slum clearance together with explicitly segregationist legislation. These removals cleared South Africa's inner city areas of its resident black population. However, during the 1980s, the apartheid structure was under crisis and began to crumble. People who had previously been removed began to filter back into the cities, and 'grey' areas became a feature of the inner urban areas. Those who could afford it applied for permits to live in neighbourhoods which were safe, close to town, and possessed established social and physical networks. For example, many coloured families applied for (and were granted) permits for residence in Woodstock, Cape Town (Garside, 1993). Similarly, in Johannesburg, middle and upper income bracket coloured and Indian families began to enter the inner city suburbs (Fick *et al.*, 1988; Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a). These more affluent 'non-white' populations could afford to pay the high prices necessary to secure 'illegal' accommodation in areas of so-termed white urban space.

A second wave of inmovers into Johannesburg's inner city areas occurred in the late 1980s. This was comprised primarily of poorer working class Africans who were seeking living space

closer to their place of work, and an escape from the chronic housing shortage in the black townships (Cloete, 1991; Crankshaw and White, 1992; Dauskardt, 1993). Urban geographers did not respond immediately to the shifting settlement patterns, which were beginning to shade in former 'whites-only' territory. It was policy making and research organisations, such as the Urban Foundation or South African Institute of Race Relations, which began to document and comment on the growing integration of inner city neighbourhoods (de Coning *et al.*, 1986; Christie, 1987; Garside, 1987; Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a; 1988b; Schlemmer and Stack, 1989; Bernstein, 1989).

The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1990, triggered a stream of research on South Africa's post-apartheid and transitional cities (Saff, 1990; 1991; Tomlinson, 1990; Humphries, 1991; Heymans, 1991; Hendler, 1991; Wolfson, 1991). Urban geographers who were caught unawares during the dying days of apartheid, with the exception of a few studies (Rule, 1988; 1989; Hart, 1989), jumped onto the post-apartheid city bandwagon in the 1990s. This shift in research focus resulted in a number of books and articles being published on the future of the South African city (Elder, 1990; Lemon, 1991; Beavon, 1992; Dewar, 1992; Smit, 1992; Dauskardt, 1993; Horn, 1993), and more importantly for this dissertation, enquiry into the inner city (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1990; Steinberg *et al.*, 1992; Taylor, 1992; Garside, 1993; Ownhouse and Nel, 1993).

Important research on the inner city of Johannesburg (Hillbrow), illustrates the importance of this area to working class populations who seek cheap accommodation close to job opportunities (Crankshaw and White, 1992; Morris, 1994). In the case of Johannesburg the inner city is sometimes viewed as 'ghetto', much like the 1970s North American catchment areas for the poor and disadvantaged (cf. Peach *et al*, 1981). By contrast to such areas of inner city residential decay in other cases, such as Woodstock in Cape Town (Garside, 1993) or Yeoville in Jonnesburg (Taylor, 1992) the situation is one renewal and rejuvenation.

The twin processes of decay and renewal are cyclical as they occur at different times in different places. The theme of urban renewal will be carried through to the next chapter. As the South African research focus is so dominated by the 'apartheid city', it is to the international literature of ethnic segregation, and more importantly urban renewal and gentrification, that attention now turns. The revitalization of Cape Town's inner city, can best be explained by considering the area's similarities and differences to the well-researched, revived inner cities of North America, Europe and Australia.

* * * * * * * * * *

The aim in this literature review was to consider the existing research base on the South African city. In particular, the

chapter traced historically the evolution and debates surrounding the South African city, highlighting the peculiarities of its spatial form which have resulted from enforced political policies. The geographical literature was scanned in order to present relevant research that casts light on interpreting the inner city.

It was shown that in terms of South African urban studies as a whole and of urban geographical research more specifically, that relatively little work has been conducted on the changing residential dimensions of the inner city. Moreover, it appears that the major emphasis given in South African urban studies over the last two decades to researching issues of forced population removals, the blighted conditions of townships and of township life, or struggles for daily existence have been at the cost of neglecting broader urban processes and of questions of class and ethnicity. Despite these oversights, the body of writings reviewed in this chapter affords certain valuable contributions to interpreting the experience of residential change in inner city Woodstock. Especially useful is the methodological breakthrough made in both historical and humanistic geographical studies to the adoption of oral testimonies to supplement archival research sources.

The next chapter follows the suggestion made by McCarthy (1992) that it is necessary for local urban geographers to give greater cognizance to the wider sets of processes that affect the form of the South African city. Accordingly,

attention shifts to review a body of international debates concerning the processes shaping the residential circumstances of the inner city.

CHAPTER THREE

INNER CITY CHANGE: THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Woodstock is an inner city area which hosted waves of immigrant populations: the British in the early 1900s, rural Afrikaners in the 1920s, exiled Lithuanian Jews in the early 1930s and Southern European immigrants in the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, the suburb housed an established white and coloured working class community through the decades. By the mid-1980s, however, the twin threat of Group Areas removals and the growing numbers of middle income white and coloured inmovers, began to destroy the settled community and altered the built fabric of the suburb. The growing literature on the processes and experiences of gentrification, furnishes a particularly important theoretical base for exploring the changes taking place in the residential fabric of Woodstock in the 1980s. Earlier ethnic segregation literature, though perhaps overtaken by recent marxist and post-modern studies, still provides useful insights into the historical groupings of people in Woodstock.

The aim in this chapter is to review the 'first world' literature on the inner city, from the 1960s to the present day. The two sub themes of ethnic segregation and gentrification are explored

as a framework within which to analyze and interpret the social history, growth dynamics and current development trends of the racially mixed inner city area of Woodstock.

ETHNIC SEGREGATION

During the 1950s and 1960s, geographers attempted to provide spatial interpretations of neoclassical economic theory. This tradition became known as spatial economics or regional science. Analysis of the urban land market, the journey to work, the spatial structure of the housing market, and location theory in general, were some of the research foci (Isard, 1956; Alonso, 1960; Muth, 1961; Kain, 1962). The limitations of this approach, however, soon became apparent. In the first place, the basic theory was rigidly aspatial, and its application was able to produce only very general spatial insights (Duncan and Duncan, 1955). Society and space were brought into the same arena with the emergence of regional science, but insofar as the basic neoclassical assumptions were not challenged, the level of penetrating interpretation was minimal. Second, the social and political uprisings of the 1960s demonstrated vividly the narrowness of a purely economic location theory, at least on the urban scale (Peach *et al*, 1981). More particularly, the social turbulence of the 1960s highlighted the role of white flight, state-financed and planned urban renewal and housing policies, and the increasing settlement in North American and British inner city neighbourhoods of ethnic minorities.

It became generally accepted by the early 1970s, that ethnic clusters were most commonly found within the inner city (Duncan and Lieberson, 1959; Johnston, 1971 Cohen, 1974; Boal, 1976). The classical model of ethnic segregation, which was developed in the 1920s by the Chicago school of urban sociology, depicted a concentration of immigrants in the decaying residential suburbs close to the Central Business District (CBD). The inner city was an attractive place for new immigrants to settle, as it ameliorated their two greatest problems, namely accommodation and employment. These two key factors were considered to be determinants of ethnic residential clustering (Boal, 1978).

Across the Atlantic, British academic interest in ethnicity quickened as Black immigration to the country became significant in the post-war period, peaking in the early 1960s. There emerged a forum of sociologists interested in explaining the spatial relations of ethnic communities, and of geographers interested in the dynamics of race and ethnicity (Peach *et al.*, 1981). The theoretical inspiration for the British and American writings on ethnicity and the inner city was drawn from a tradition of Weberian sociology and a body of spatial concepts rooted in the work of Robert Park. The theoretical basis of many of the case studies conducted on segregation was Gordon's (1964) seven stages of assimilation (cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behaviour receptional and civic).

Most research within the ethnic segregation school, was devoted to disentangling the spatial effects of the positive factors

encouraging ethnic groups to maintain their clustering in the inner city on the one hand and to the negative forces that prevented dispersal on the other. Economic and demographic factors which underlay segregation and operated relatively independently of ethnicity also were taken into account in case studies such as the Puerto Ricans' experience in the American city (Wakefield, 1959; Gottman, 1961; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964; 1965; Kantrowitz, 1969; Jackson, 1981). Researchers were particularly interested in the experiences of the Puerto Ricans as they had urbanised later than Afro-Americans in United States cities, were also of lower economic status than the majority of Anglo-Americans, had fewer educational attainments and experienced greater difficulties with the English language; yet the Puerto Ricans were less segregated than Afro-Americans. Afro-American's within the inner city have been the focus of many American studies; they continue to be more highly segregated than any other large ethnic group (Farley, 1977; Simkus, 1978; Condran, 1979; Farley *et al.*, 1979; Pearce, 1979; Taylor, 1979; Wilson, 1979; Pettigrew, 1980; Rose, 1981).

In a similar vein, studies of the New Commonwealth immigrants into the United Kingdom, echo the Afro-American urban experience in the United States. British segregation research focused particularly on the Asian communities. Studies considered segregation along lines of nationality, religion and language (Desai, 1963; Peach, 1968; Poole and Boal, 1973; Dahya, 1974; Jeffrey, 1976; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Nowikowski and Ward, 1978; Brooks and Singh, 1979; Aldrich *et al.*, 1981; Robinson,

1981). Beyond the pure segregation literature, was a growing school which sought to link spatial distribution to social processes.

Inspiration for the view that connects the social process of interaction and assimilation to spatial patterns of ethnic distributions stems from the work of R.E. Park in a much republished 1926 text:

> Reduce all social relations to relations of space and it would be possible to apply to human relations the fundamental logic of the physical sciences. Social phenomena would be reduced to the elementary movement of individuals, just as physical phenomena, chemical action, and the qualities of matter, heat, sound and electricity are reduced to the elementary movements of molecules and atoms (Park, 1975, p. 27).

Geographers used Park to explain the significance of ethnic residential segregation by demonstrating that spatial pattern is significant in terms of social interaction and distinguishing the ethnic component of segregation from other contributory factors. An example of this research agenda is the work associated with the correlation between ethnic segregation and ethnic intermarriage which has been examined through numerous case studies (Lieberson, 1961; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964; Peach, 1974; 1981). These case studies share the premise that if social interaction is related to spatial intermixture, then it follows that little interaction between highly segregated groups is likely.

The writings on ethnic segregation came about in an era of critical social science, yet none of its proponents offered a

radical analysis or interpretation of segregation, as exemplified in the later works of Harvey (1973) and Castells (1977; 1983). Frustration with the neoclassical approaches to segregation and the more general studies of the inner city led to a more direct search for an integration of society and space. The direction which urban geographers took in the late 1970s was substantially to the left of previous research.

The ethnic segregation literature was important as it was a move away from the very quantitative research which characterised much of the 1960s urban geography, and sought to study people and their interaction with each other. However, most of this literature was general and descriptive. The sole emphasis was on the impact of ethnicity on the inner city. Ethnic segregation studies ignored both the physical environment of the inner city and the inherent conflict within and between the ethnic minorities and the resident population. The literature on gentrification offers a more incisive and sophisticated basis for interpreting the Woodstock experience. While the literature on ethnic segregation serves as a background to some of the discussion of Woodstock's history outlined in chapter four. The contemporary experiences of Woodstock residents in chapters five and six are set against the major advances in the understanding of the gentrification process. This process is not fully understood, but the debate about the nature and cause of inner city change is useful contextual material for understanding residential chnage in Woodstock.

GENTRIFICATION DEBATES

The term 'gentrification' connotes a process which operates in the residential housing market. It is broadly used to interpret the rehabilitation of working class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood (Smith, 1986; Williams, 1986; Williams and Smith, 1986; Beauregard, 1989; Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 1994).

Much of the early research on gentrification focused on immediate empirical questions: where is the process occurring? how widespread is it? who are the gentrifiers; what is their age, race, income, life style, and occupation? This empirical documentation marked a first phase of research into a newly emerging process. With few exceptions, the focus was on the gentrifying middle class, not the displaced working class, and on the gentrifying neighbourhood, not the location and fate of displacees. Much of the early empirical work represented an uncritical celebration of the gentrification process, especially in the United States. The emphasis was on effects rather than causes. The causes were generally taken for granted by developers, local government and academics. The effects, which were visibly manifest in aesthetically pleasing architecture and a settled middle class community, were hailed by many as a timely answer to inner city decay. Research was often oriented toward extrapolation of statistical trends and public-policy prescriptions (James, 1977; Laska and Spain, 1980; London, 1980;

Schill and Nathan, 1983; Gale, 1984). At its most sophisticated, the descriptive approach developed stage models of the gentrification process in order to cope with the variations in the physical expression of gentrification (Merritt, 1976; Gale, 1980, Kerstein, 1990). These allow for different social and physical characteristics to be incorporated in terms of some orderly temporal progression. However, these stage models have been critisized as they structure the evidence, but they lack a theoretical backbone (Smith and Williams, 1986).

A second phase of research, with its origin in Britain, emerged in the late 1970s. The work emphasises causation over effect and theoretical analysis over statistical documentation. In this second phase of research, gentrification was depicted not as a unique and isolated process, but instead as a phenomenon associated with broader developments in the housing and urban land markets. Several authors attempted to explain the phenomenon in terms of public and private policies toward housing (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Kendig, 1979). This led, in turn, to further theoretical attempts to explain gentrification (Smith, 1979; Berry, 1980a; 1980b; Ley, 1980). In particular, there was an emphasis on depicting gentrification in the context of uneven economic development and the massive restructuring of urban space and urban land uses (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Smith, 1982; Anderson *et al.* 1983; Beauregard, 1984).

Two core concepts are explored within this second and more complex phase of gentrification research. First, is the

contention that gentrification is initiated by the needs of production, and more especially the imperative to earn profit (Smith, 1979). Secondly, the notion that quality of life and consumption styles are integral to an understanding of gentrification is put forward (Ley, 1980). Set against this debate, which is dominated by European and American examples, an overview of gentrification in the developing world will be considered, in order to allow us to pose questions on the universal applicability of this process.

Gentrification - Economic Process or Cultural Change?

Despite the vitality of debate which focused on the people, property and areas of gentrification, attempts to theorize the debate and understand the underlying concepts are inadequate (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Hamnett, 1984; Rose, 1984; Williams, 1984). Gentrification "is a notoriously slippery term" (Mills, 1989, p. 3), usually applied to describe a particular kind of change in an inner city area. In conventional studies, gentrification is recognized by both its social and its physical features. The key social feature is one of population replacement, and gentrification is commonly portrayed as an 'invasion' by middle class groups into previously working class neighbourhoods (Gale, 1979). With turnover in class and household composition, there is held to be a degree of overall tenure transformation from rental to owner-occupancy. The resultant physical transformations are routinely identified as features of gentrification. Williams (1986) talks ironically of wordwide

"sightings" of a uniform phenomenon identified by brass door knockers, paper lanterns, and light, open interiors. The final element of gentrification is the rise in property values associated with a rapid growth of housing stock and speculative transactions. Generalisation blurs the understanding of the nature of the gentrification process, as it is "simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon" (Hamnett, 1994, p. 284). The debate surrounding the definition of gentrification does not deny that the above processes occur during the course of residential transformation. The contentious issue is the key characteristic which is necessary to facilitate and kickstart the process of upgrading.

Gentrification has been identified in a large number of cities of North America (Ley, 1981; DeGiovanni, 1983; Harrison, 1983; Schaffer and Smith, 1984; Bunting, 1987; Lowe, 1992), Western Europe (Smith and Williams, 1986; Munt, 1987) and Australia (Jager, 1986; King and Fitzmaurice, 1990). Despite its expansion during the 1970s and 1980s, gentrification is still a relatively small scale and very geographically-concentrated phenomenon compared to post-war suburbanization and inner city decline (Hamnett, 1991). Berry (1985) dismissively refers to gentrified areas as 'islands of renewal in seas of decay'. Nevertheless, the gentrification process has assumed a very high profile, in that it touches on explanations of wider urban processes.

The gentrification process is defined and examined by two competing sets of explanations. The first school of thought,

primarily associated with the work of Smith (1979; 1982), stresses the production of urban space, the operation of the housing and land market, the role of capital and collective social actors such as developers and mortgage finance institutions on the supply of gentrifiable property. A second approach, termed by Smith (1979) as the consumption side argument, focuses on the production of gentrifiers and their associated cultural, consumption and reproductive orientations and is linked to a wider range of authors (Ley, 1980; 1981; Moore, 1982; Mullins, 1982; Rose, 1984; Williams, 1984; Beauregard, 1986).

Producing Urban Space: Gentrification and the 'Rent Gap'

Smith's (1982) theoretical work was premised on the belief that urban theory had not kept up with the mounting empirical evidence on gentrification. He argued that the historical decline of inner city neighbourhoods, ultimately results in a "rent gap" (Smith, 1979). The rent gap is the difference between the potential ground rent, from the highest and best use, and the rent actually realised from the present land use. It is the rent gap which leads to renewed investment in search of surplus value or profit, and consequently leads to gentrification. This rent gap is evident in contemporary Woodstock (see Chapter Five). The new middle class are able to afford houses close to the CBD and places of work, due to the lower land prices in Woodstock,

compared to other more expensive suburbs which are situated close to town such as Sea Point, Green Point, Higgovale and Tamboerskloof (refer Fig.1.1).

Smith's 1982 seminal paper, though acknowledged as an important contribution to understanding the gentrification process, has been critiqued as not going far enough towards providing a conclusive explanation of urban inner city change. Beauregard (1986) contends that the rent gap argument provides only one of the necessary conditions for gentrification, and that Smith made little attempt to address the diverse nature of gentrification, or the important role played by reproduction and consumption in the process.

Smith (1982) did, however, recognize that while gentrification may represent the leading edge of spatial restructuring at the urban scale, the process is also occurring at the regional (Massey, 1978; Massey and Meegan, 1978) and international (Harris, 1980a; Harris, 1980b) scales. Gentrification, and the redevelopment process of which it is a part, is a systematic occurrence of late capitalist urban development, what some would identify as the post-modern era (eg: Zukin, 1989). Following the critique of Smith's production based explanation of residential change the gentrification literature has moved away from the early Marxist and neo-Marxist writings of the early 1980s. Many observers viewed the marxist work on gentrification as problematic, as the developing theory was limited to the

specification of preconditions for the production of gentrified dwellings.

By contrast to Smith's overarching explanation, other scholars have recognised that gentrification is not a single and continuous process (Williams, 1988). In particular, Williams (1986) stresses that gentrification is not a monolithic process. An important avenue of enquiry is the question of who the gentrifiers are (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Beauregard, 1986; 1990; Williams, 1986). Other points that undermine Smith's thesis are that whilst capital accumulation is recognised as central to the process, it takes different forms depending on whether developers, governments or households are in command. Moreover, community also plays a structural role. By looking beyond the issue of young urban professionals in the gentrificatiuon process, the focus on forms of displacement, disruption of community, and the attitude of local government becomes clearer (Sumka, 1979; Beauregard, 1985; Lang, 1986).

In response to this shifting research focus, Smith resonded that "the conundrum of gentrification does not turn on explaining where middle class demand comes from" (Smith, 1987, p. 163), but why inner city areas, which for decades could not satisfy the demands of the middle class, now do so handsomely. The answer, he suggests, lies in the rent-gap analysis (Smith, 1979), not as a definitive explanation, but as a necessary centrepiece to any theory of gentrification.

The 'narrow' production focus associated with Smith continues to be contested. The parameters of this debate have been argued in several issues of the journal, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. The core elements of the exchange are twofold. On the one hand, Hamnett (1991, p. 175) believes that the consumption and production explanations are "equally crucial elements" of inner city transformation. Smith (1992, p. 114), on the other hand, defends the production school, and whilst acknowledging that gentrification is a collective social phenomenon integrally linked to the "social, economic and political restructuring of cities in recent decades" (1992, p. 114), remains resolute that the "rent-gap" is central to the gentrification argument. Whilst Smith appears fiercely defendant of his initial position, Hamnett (1992) has noted a recent broadening of Smith's argument and an acknowledgment of post-industrial forces as a component of the gentrification process as opposed to his earlier stance that it was a "shallow empirical abstraction... incapable of sustaining theoretical scrutiny" (Smith, 1987, p. 166).

What the production and consumption authors have in common is a central concern for the *explanation* of gentrification. None the less, the gentrification process itself has become more complex and in the main too contorted to be described as a single phenomenon. The seemingly 'chaotic' nature of gentrification is for some not a puzzle, but indeed the very heart of explanation.

Gentrification as a 'Chaotic' Concept

For some observers, there is no single identifiable entity which can be described as gentrification (Beauregard, 1986; 1990). Rather, each of the real world phenomena lumped together under this label is a consequence of a range of possible effects arising from various externally related processes. The search for a single theory is therefore inappropriate in this case. The argument that gentrification is not a single process is most convincingly made by Rose, who calls for a disaggregation, or "unpacking", of the concepts "gentrification" and "gentrifiers", so that it is possible to "reconceptualize the processes that produce the changes we observe" (Rose, 1984, p. 62). Furthermore, she also criticizes the descriptive stage model literature (Merritt, 1976; Gale, 1980; Kerstein, 1990) as implying that all stages are part of the same phenomenon - some kind of "gentrification process". In posing these questions and criticisms, Rose draws attention away from the idea of gentrification as a unitary phenomenon, and instead turns toward the diversity of processes which generate different kinds of inner city districts. In this manner gentrification is presented as a "chaotic concept".

The contention that gentrification is a chaotic conception is upheld by both Beauregard (1986; 1990) and Rose (1984). The terms gentrification and gentrifiers which are commonly used in the literature, are chaotic conceptions which obscure the fact that a multiplicity of processes "rather than a single causal

process, produces change in the occupation of inner city neighbourhoods from lower to higher income residents" (Rose, 1984, p 62). According to Rose, gentrification is too narrowly defined in economic terms; she attempts to reconstruct the notion of gentrification focusing on changing household structures, alternative life styles, and the transformation in forms of reproduction of people and labour power. The primary question for Rose, as for Beauregard (1986) and Williams (1986), is how potential gentrifiers come to be produced and reproduced.

Williams (1986) believes that there can be no single invariant gentrification process. Rather, there are interpretations of how the "gentry" are created and located in the cities, how gentrifiable housing is produced, how those to be displaced originally came to live in inner city neighbourhoods, and how the various processes of gentrification unfold given the establishment of these basic conditions. The gentrification process is now seen as multi-layered. The roles played by government, capital, the resident inner city community and a different class of inmovers cannot be explained by one trigger mechanism which is supposed to set the whole process in motion. It is increasingly evident that researchers recognise that the complexities of gentrification require a different type of interpretation (Ley, 1986; Mills, 1989; Ley, 1993; 1994). The most recent emphasis in gentrification debates shifts attention to the relationship of the patterns of consumption to urban change.

Culture and Consumption

The production of people who have specific cultural and consumption requirements is stressed in a series of works by Ley (1980; 1981; 1983; 1986) as the key explanation of gentrification. Unlike the Marxists who searched for that single element which kickstarted the gentrification process, Ley acknowledges the interrelations between explanations, and accepts the inherently chaotic nature of the process. Indeed, for him, it is the 'chaos' and the very disparate threads that weave the pattern of gentrification which enable this broad and differing process to be applied widely and successfully.

In an important study of inner city gentrification in the Canadian urban system from 1971 to 1981, Ley (1986) considered four explanatory emphases of inner city gentrification which were identified from the geograpnical literature. The first was demographic change as a result of the post war baby boom. Second, was the effects of housing market dynamics as affordability problems forced households to consider inner city housing where the rent gap (Smith, 1979) provided a motivation for reinvestment. Third, Ley (1986) stressed the values associated with an urban life style, the availability of recreational and cultural activities, better jobs and higher wages as a complex of factors promoting gentrification. Finally, Ley examined the presence of a "postindustrial" metropolitan economy, oriented toward advanced services and a white-collar dominated employment structures.

Interestingly, Ley's findings demonstrated that the essential base of the rent gap argument was of negligible importance in the case of Canadian cities. Indeed, inner city housing was often more expensive than other areas (he acknowledges that this is not the case in the United States). Similarly, although many baby boomers invested in the inner city, their presence was "not as strong as might have been expected" (Ley, 1986, p. 531). In the Canadian case quality of life variables had the strongest correlation with inner city revitalization. It was concluded that the orientation of Canadian cities toward an office-based service economy "is a fundamental dimension" of gentrification (Ley, 1986, p. 532).

Inner city revitalization is clearly associated with provincial and national centres of government and public services, as well as with private sector service employment. The location of government and service centres leads to the production of professionals, managers, and other quaternary employees working downtown, who then provide the demand base for housing reinvestment in the inner city. Implicit in this argument is the close linkage between metropolitan labour markets and housing markets. Office employment downtown is a necessary but not sufficient requirement of inner city gentrification (Ley, 1986).

Ley's second important paper published seven years later, in 1993, re-examined the Canadian inner city during the recession hit 1980s. This second study highlights the differences in the gentrification process which was evident in the more affluent

1970s (Ley, 1993). It was noted that "the geography of gentrification has become more complex because, as a social process, it has become more chaotic" (Ley, 1993, p. 230). The pre-conditions for gentrification to occur were very different to those of the 1970s period. During the 1980s, proximity to work, downtown or environmental amenity, the presence of attractive historic buildings, and a "distinctive ethnic or life style ambience" (Ley, 1993, p. 237) were the magnets which drew people to the inner city. The significance of a park, views, waterfront access, or some other environmental amenity in interpreting the occurrence of gentrification has been noted in a number of studies in Vancouver (Ley 1981; Cybriwsky *et al*, 1986; Ley, 1987; Mills, 1988), Adelaide and Melbourne (Badcock and Urlich-Cloher, 1981; Logan, 1985; Jager, 1986; Badcock, 1989), London (Hamnett and Williams, 1980; Munt, 1987) and in certain American cities (Clay, 1979). This phenomenon highlights the shift from early gentrifiers where price was a deciding factor, to the later gentrifiers who were more attracted by the environmental and aesthetic qualities of an area (Rose, 1984).

The gentrification process has moved away from the 1970s trend of young and often single men and women buying reasonably priced accommodation in the inner city because it was affordable and close to their employment, to a more chaotic and complex process. In some cities condominium development rather than renovation is now the major transition process (Mills, 1989). History and culture are reworked and re-presented in postmodern idioms, which frequently supply their own designer vocabulary of historic and

cultural reverence to the built environment (Mills, 1993). Notwithstanding the increasing complexity of the gentrification process the phenomena of a "new middle class" within a "post-industrial" city remain core conditions which are inextricably bound up within the fabric of gentrification.

In the developed world a fundamental restructuring has been underway since the 1960s. Established heavy industry and old industrial heartlands have been in decline, and new industrial and service sectors have emerged (Williams, 1986). The result is that the growth of the financial service sector has caused spatial restructuring in 'world cities' as manifest in the demand for expanding office space. The mid to late 1980s has seen a commercial office boom in the world cities (Short, 1988). Where the pressure cannot be met by intensification of existing spaces, there is pressure for the extension of commercial space. The tight clust ring of such activities means that the extensions cannot be too far away; firms renting space too distant from the hub of activity lose credibility and vital contacts are affected. Cities have thus been transformed from industrial centres into service centres.

As a result of local and international restructuring, New York, London and Tokyo have already emerged as global cities in the sense that their largest financial and corporate enterprises are involved more in international than in national transactions (Cohen, 1981). Many of the other large cities have suffered a

relative demise, losing some of their international functions, but retaining considerable corporate administrative activity. It is to be recognised that the development of this new urban hierarchy is simultaneously creating a new hierarchy of urban functions. Just as the new urban hierarchy is interconnected, so the new social hierarchy that derives from the emergence of administrative economies is both connected and dispersed over space. The executives, professionals and public servants who service the economy cannot all reside in such close proximity as the established elite who live in the accessible and safe environments of Manhattan and Mayfair. Nevertheless, they can easily displace an increasingly residualised working class from the inner areas of those cities where this new economy concentrates (Williams, 1986; Short, 1988). The production of the new middle class and the reasons behind their growth and success are integrally linked to the physical restructuring which has been taking place in the cities of the developed world. As argued recently by Hamnett (1994, p. 401), the social polarisation that is occurring in world cities, associated with economic restructuring, "is linked to changes in housing demand leading to gentrification of parts of the inner city".

For consumption theorists the new middle class is pivotal to the process of gentrification, as without them the whole process ceases to exist. Gentrification is not caused by neighbourhood dynamics; rather it emanates "from the reciprocal processes of economic, demographic and sociocultural restructuring in society" (van Weesep, 1994, p. 74). Attempts to use alternative concepts

of class to explain urban change have been limited (Mullins, 1982; Smith and Le Faivre, 1984; Bridge, 1994; Ley, 1994), in part because of the tension between the conventional marxist two-class model and the apparently fragmented and complex situation revealed by gentrification. As argued by Williams (1984), the production-based class relationship is no longer adequate to the needs of contemporary social analysis. What is required is a more extended concept which "captures the salience of both production and reproduction-based relationships " (Williams, 1986, p. 70).

Professional, managerial and upper level, administrative personnel in the expanding service sector are heavily represented among gentrifiers. A host of survey-centred case studies of gentrification have established this statistical generality (eg. Laska and Spain, 1980; Filion, 1991; Ley, 1994). Williams (1986) and Smith (1987) attempt to trace the new middle class culture and life path, in an effort to understand their emergence, and reasons for invading inner city areas in preference to the suburban environment in which they were brought up. In particular, Williams (1986), focuses on the issue of class and ascertains that the new middle classes were in many cases brought up in "classless" suburbs and had gone to higher-education establishments where class was outwardly less relevant. In these contexts the move to establish residence in working class inner areas is therefore an important act. It appeared to mark a break from the past and was presumed to offer the "warm supportive communal existence denied in the suburbs, discovered at

university or college, and potentially to be lost again " (Williams, 1986, p 71). Yet having established such a residence, these groups, by the very sets of structures within which they were already located, have actually found themselves alienated from communal classlessness. Ironically, far from contributing to the emergence of a classless society, the process of leaving the suburbs has resulted in a heightened class consciousness (Samuel, 1982). The new middle class is outward, rather than inward looking, and through its conspicuous materialism differs greatly from its pre-war predecessors (Smith, 1987).

This new class selects an inner urban location over a suburban one mainly due to economic reasons. The gentrifiers are middle management wage earners. Increasing commuting costs in metropolitan areas, rising mass transportation costs and expensive housing all serve as barriers to suburban living. The fact that these potential gentrifiers are young and new to their careers suggests that they are unlikely to have significant savings. Their choice in the urban housing market is thus further constrained (Williams, 1986).

Although economic good sense is reason enough for many to purchase inner city dwellings, it has become increasingly apparent that elegant historical buildings and attractive surroundings are becoming as, if not more important than affordability. Jager's (1986) sensitive study on the significance of gentrification aesthetics in Melbourne, highlights the ambiguous class position of the new middle class and how they

jockey for position in the sphere of consumption. In Vancouver, buying into history "not only recovers a sense of rootedness and a connection with cultural heritage"; it also serves to revive a symbolism of conspicuous consumption associated with the "decorative excesses of Victoriana" (Mills, 1988, p. 185). The newly gentrified neighbourhoods attract the new middle class, through the lure of status in their aesthetic discernment, as well as "residential credentialism" (Hirsch, 1976) and exclusivity.

The demand for inexpensive, inner city housing by economically vulnerable social groups is not a new phenomenon. The existence of affluent, professional and ostensibly "afamilial" households in central cities is, and has become much more pronounced during these last few decades. However, young urban professionals are not the only group who have been attracted to inner city living. A counter cultural, gay, or artistic ambience has been a life style attribute of some gentrifying neighbourhoods, such as the Soho district in New York (Simpson, 1981; Zukin, 1989). The reworking of gender relations associated with a high proportion of women in the work force, and much closer parity than is usual between men and women in income, education, and occupational status, has resulted in the inner city attracting a large proportion of single working women (Mills, 1989).

Economic necessity, the expansion in service sector and professional managerial jobs, feminist pressure and affirmative

action legislation have all contributed to making paid employment an available and acceptable option for many women. A career orientation also contributes to the postponement of marriage and children (Smith, 1987). Rose (1984, p. 62) observes that it is now increasingly accepted that "women are playing an active and important role in bringing about gentrification". The reasons for their participation are that women can afford such housing for the first time or because they cannot afford anything else. The general case for the involvement of women in urban change is perhaps most succinctly put by Markusen (1981 p. 32) that

> gentrification is in large part a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household. Households of gay people, singles and professional couples with central business district jobs increasingly find central locations attractive... Gentrification in large part corresponds to the two-income professional household that requires both a relatively central urban location to minimize journey-to-work costs of several wage earners and a location that enhances efficiency in household production and in the substitution of market-produced commodities for house hold production.

The growing contention that women and gentrification are linked is upheld both in Smith's (1987) research in five New York neighbourhoods which experienced gentrification in the 1970s and Rose's (1989) study of gentrification in Montreal. As women are conspicuous in the gentrification process, many feminist researchers have sought to study this phenomena (Markusen, 1981; Holcomb, 1981; 1986; Rose and Le Bourdais, 1986; Andrew and Moore-Milroy, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987; Smith, 1987; Rose, 1989; Bondi, 1990; 1991). On average, women are bearing their first child at a later age, having fewer children and returning to work sooner after each birth (Martin and Roberts, 1984; England and Farkas, 1987). These trends are particularly marked among women

of higher social classes (Werner, 1985; Warde, 1991). Consequently, middle class women are increasing their earning power both by spending a longer period in the labour force and by improving their opportunities for career advancement.

The shift away from the nuclear family focuses attention on women. But, not all women are middle class and financially stable. The position of women has been undermined by the reduced permanency of marriage, and the increased number of one parent families. Bondi (1990) recognises that although women are well represented among the gentrifiers, as a result of the coincidence between the feminisation of poverty and urban polarisation, women are over-represented among the urban poor, who directly or indirectly suffer the negative effects of displacement through gentrification (Millar and Glendinning, 1987; Walker, 1987).

The Process of Displacement through Gentrification

The characteristics of inner city inmovers are fairly uniform, in that they are usually white, married or unmarried but without children, employed in professional or managerial occupations and earning an income well above the median. The people who are displaced come from a wide variety of age categories, ethnic groups, family sizes and occupations, although the majority are white, blue collar, unemployed or welfare-dependant individuals and families (Le Gates and Hartman, 1986). By virtue of the fact that they live in inexpensive but architecturally desirable housing near central business districts, these populations have

become targets for displacement. Their housing has the potential to be gentrified and they are economically and politically powerless relative to the gentrifiers (Auger, 1979; Henig, 1980; Marcuse, 1986).

The new urban order which is emerging, by the replacement of one class by another, is not necessarily a smooth transition. Resistance to marginalisation and the subsequent disintegration of the former inner city communit. s, has in some cases, resulted in violent reactions from the displaced residents. Short (1989) traced local resistance to upgrading by the 'underclass' in the London Docklands. Although this group are probably more organised than most displaced communities, their actions reflect their frustration and anger at their political and economic powerlessness. Such actions as the production of a *CLASS WAR* publication, billposters urging people to "mug a Yuppie", scratching BMW cars and making life as unpleasant as possible for the affluent incomers, portrays the anger and frustration directed against the newcomers. Winchester and White's (1988) case study of marginalised groups in the inner city of Paris, echoes the London experience, as here too the young down-and-outs resorted to "the demonstration of antagonism to the codes of accepted social behaviour" (Winchester and White, 1988, p. 51). French opponents to renewal are mainly punks, skinheads and homeless youths. Fights often break out in what is now considered 'prime space', a gentrified area which is constructed to serve the commercial, leisure, and display purposes of the middle and

upper classes. The gentrification process is not endorsed by all. This process clearly benefits some but is not welcomed by those who are economically powerless to either participate in or resist the gentrification process.

The factors which lead to displacement are intimately connected with the emergence of the post-industrial city (Hamnett, 1994). Most of the inner city working class were employed in the low wage manufacturing sector. The shift from manufacturing to service activities in many cities has left many of these people unemployed and less able to resist neighbourhood invasion (Marcuse, 1986; Short, 1989). Further, as explored in the case studies by Le Gates and Hartman (1986), the displaced peoples tended to move within the neighbourhood from which they were displaced, or else to one as close by as possible. But, in nearly all cases, shelter costs rose and they were less satisfied with their new living conditions. An interesting case study by Jauhiainen (1992) highlights the introduction of cultural projects which aid urban regeneration, yet, while reviving an area, have a negative impact for the existing working class population. The case study of a district in Barcelona illustrates the negative impact which the Olympic Games had on the poor of the inner city. This process of displacement, integrat on and social conflict, suggests that gentrification can produce racial conflict and will not necessarily promote economic and social integration.

Studies of gentrifiers, physical environment of the inner city and the urban poor who are subsequently displaced by the more affluent inmovers, are well documented for London, Vancouver, Baltimore, New York and many other world cities. Similar patterns and trends of gentrification can be traced through these cities, but the dearth of literature on gentrification in the developing world questions the premise that the factors which cause gentrification are universal. This raises the important question of whether the form, scale and society which the process of gentrification creates in the inner city is one that occurs internationally.

Gentrification: Universal Truth or First World Phenomenon?

As a whole, urban geography has suffered from "acute myopia" in its "unwillingness to see beyond contexts that are not mainstream UK and US" (Ward, 1993, p. 1132). This point is borne out by the massive literature on gentrification, which staggers under the northern weight of United States, Canadian and British case studies (although it should be noted that Australian case studies are well represented), yet is surprisingly light in reviewing inner city experiences in developing countries. There seems to be "an implicit notion in the literature that gentrification is mostly confined to developed countries" (Thomas, 1991, p. 485). This section will briefly examine inner city change in Latin America and the Caribbean. Thereafter, the processes and players in urban change in developing contexts will be analysed and areas

of convergence and divergence with developed countries will be considered.

The developing world of Africa, Asia and Latin America experiences urban processes which are generally different to those experienced in the developed world (Rakodi and Devas, 1994). Rapid urban growth, and its associated problems of squatting, resource shortages, unemployment and underemployment, education, transportation, housing, and inefficient, corrupt "bloated urban bureaucracies" (Drakakis-Smith, 1993a, p. 10), accounts for the silence on gentrification in the developing world. A review of recent geographical studies on urban research in sub-Saharan Africa (Drakakis-Smith, 1987; Dwyer, 1990; Harris, 1992; Simon, 1992; Stren, 1992; Drakakis-Smith, 1993b), reveals a paucity on issues such as inner city revitalisation or urban upgrading. Indeed, in Africa the urban experience is one which mirrors the developed countries experiences in the 1950s and 1960s when suburbanisation and the move away from the inner city was the dominant process (Simon, 1992).

At a general level, it has been argued that Latin American cities are becoming more like those of the United Kingdom and the United States (Ward, 1993). Urban ecologies in most Latin American cities have shifted towards that of the broad European and US models. Elites and middle income groups long ago vacated the downtown residential areas and leap-frogged to new subdivisions at the periphery. However, the reversal of this process, as experienced in many European and North American cities, has yet

to make itself felt in the urban Latin American landscape (see Gilbert, 1994).

Studies in Latin America have focused upon low-income settlements in the periphery of the cities (Gilbert and Ward, 1985; Gilbert, 1986; Ward, 1990; Gilbert and Varley, 1991; Jones, 1991; Van Lindert, 1991; Gilbert, 1994), however very few neighbourhoods in downtown and inner city areas have been analysed. If as Harvey (1985; 1989), Smith (1982) and others contend, urban areas, and especially inner city dilapidated areas, are subject to a logic of periodic reinvestment and urban regeneration, then Latin American and indeed other developing countries inner cities should also be subject to the same cycles of urban reconstruction. The same logic, however, is not necessarily applicable, as macro and micro economic conditions together with demographic processes, differ from those which are experienced in the developed world (Ward, 1993). Gentrification and urban redevelopment in the developing world, is generally attributed to two major factors. Firstly, the existence of a rent gap, and secondly, the emergence of new classes which are less tied to production and more to consumption styles.

Patterns of change in the inner cities in Latin America contradict the developed world example, as they are characterized by population stability, not decline. Suburbanization did not lead to a depopulation of the city centre. Instead, Latin American inner cities have not experienced the same cycle of industrial investment and disinvestment that many of their

advanced-city counterparts have. Industry and manufacturing plants were not located within the inner city, but rather the production and assembly manufacturing plants were developed on the periphery, and as the cities grew and enveloped them they developed into industrial parks and corridors. The scale of investment is smaller and more local. Therefore, Latin American cities, and inner cities in particular, have not seen the same dramatic rise in professional services and associated 'yuppie cultures' as their North American and European counterparts. Indeed, the 1980s was a period of severe cuts in living standards, which had important implications for consumption patterns and for the production of the urban environment (Escobar and Roberts, 1991).

During the mid- to late 1970s building projects associated with urban reinvestment in the Latin American inner city were aborted, or at least 'stalled', by the financial crisis in which these economies found themselves during the 1980s (Ward, 1993). Although the worst of the economic crisis in Latin America is over, little inner city regeneration and gentrification led by the public and private sectors is in evidence. Ward (1993) puts forward three reasons for this. First, few local governments in Latin America have the political capacity or the economic wherewithal to embark upon long-term and large-scale inner city reactivation schemes. The second reason for 'stalled' redevelopment downtown is the failure of the private sector to demonstrate a willingness to take the lead; any developments that are undertaken are likely to be one-off, small-scale, rapidly

effected and requiring minimum public-sector involvement. In addition, devaluation of property and land has never taken place on the scale observed in many American and British inner city areas, therefore, the rent gap is insufficient to stimulate widespread reactivation of investment. The third reason for a lack of inner city revitalization is that of the nature of demand. Latin American society is strongly classist. Elites and upper income groups seek to isolate themselves from those they consider their social inferiors, and the elite suburbs are not located in central locations (Ward, 1993). Finally, one might note that in Latin America, as in the rest of the developing world, there is an absence of centres which would be categorized as 'world cities' experiencing the sets of restructuring processes associated with such a status (Hamnett, 1994).

The redevelopment which has occurred in Latin American cities, has been small in scale and often engages the local residents. Unlike the developed world, the inner city areas of Latin America are host to a large and stable working class population. Any major redevelopment would have to include these people not displace them. The emphasis has therefore been on the improvement and maintenance of small parks and plazas, pedestrianised areas and public facilities. Gentrification, if it occurs, is modest. The private sector has not sought huge profits through reconstructing the inner city, nor is the local government structure conducive to the promotion of large-scale downtown developments (such as Baltimore harbour or the London docklands). Accordingly, urbanization and inner city development in Latin

America, whilst tied into processes which are global in terms of their economic genesis and consumerist inspiration, have produced rather different outcomes from those observed in North America and the United Kingdom (Ward, 1993)

One example of gentrification processes taking place outside of North America, Europe or Australia is that recorded as occurring in the cities of small developing islands of the Caribbean particularly along waterfront areas (Thomas, 1991). These harbour front development projects have many of the characteristics associated with gentrification, such as the upgrading for new uses of older buildings that have some historical character (warehouses that are renovated into restaurants, casinos, discos, and shopping areas for tourists), the displacement of local businesses and residences, and the spatial competition for location which are often race and class based. It is argued by Thomas (1991) that the process of urban renovation and restoration and the restructuring of the use of space in St. John's, Antigua has many similarities to gentrification in larger western cities. However, the restoration of the waterfront was not simply an indigenous effort to capture the "aesthetic value" of local architecture, but rather "the restored architecture was for sale to North American tourists" (Thomas, 1991, p. 481). The tourists created a local demand for an architecturally aesthetic environment that fits not only their new urban life-style values, "but also their image of paradise". This image is controlled and created specifically for the North American travel industry (Thomas, 1991, p. 482). The escalating importance of tourism in

developing countries may bring with it many of the same urban processes that are associated with the expanding service sector and amenity-based economies of cities in developed countries.

As is shown above, the gentrification process as experienced in the developed world and in the developing world, exhibits minimal overlap in process and form. The economic difference is that in the developing world of the Caribbean it is not the upwardly mobile local population which is attracted to live and seek entertainment in renovated housing, "colonial" style bars and hotels, but rather the developed world's affluent tourist population. The second most significant difference is that of scale. In most cities of developed countries the size of the gentrifying area is very constrained. In Antigua the gentrified area was a small harbour; in like fashion, the Latin American gentrification experience also reflects a difference in scale to the developed world. A new plaza, a convention centre or a pedestrianised street bears the tag of 'gentrified', whereas in the developed world the scale of neighbourhood gentrification would almost certainly dwarf a development of such a kind.

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The task in this chapter was to furnish the theoretical foundation for the study of residential change in the inner city of Cape Town. It was shown that interpretations of social change in the inner cities of the developed countries have exhibited a shift in emphasis. More specifically, the chapter investigated

the contributions of the early writings on ethnic social segregation and the contemporary debates surrounding gentrification. The literature on ethnic segregation provides an introduction to Chapter Four which analyses the historically changing ethnic complexion of the working class suburb of Woodstock through the twentieth century. The international debates on gentrification provide the basis for understanding the changes taking place in Woodstock during the decade of the 1980s, which is the core focus of this study. The relationship of the international literature on gentrification to the Woodstock experience is examined in Chapters Five and Six. In these two chapters (Chapter Five and Six) the analysis builds on the consumption side argument, which following Beauregard (1986, 1990), is developed in terms of three themes. First, variations are identified in the roles played by households, developers and governments in initiating, subsidizing and directing reinvestment. Second, the pervasive influence of finance capital, and third, the significance of neighbourhood identity and community resistance are explored for the period beginning in the mid-1980s through to the demise of the Group Areas Act in 1990.

Overall, in the context of the international literature on inner cities the study on Woodstock must be viewed as a small contribution to the limited literature on gentrification and the developing world. The study which unfolds through the subsequent three chapters is informed by an historical lens which reflects Beauregard's (1990, p. 857) argument that to fully understand

patterns of settlement there is a need for "richly detailed stories about neighbourhood change". The use of a combination of both archival sources and oral histories affords a basis of achieving this aim in the case of Woodstock.

CHAPTER FOUR

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN TWENTIETH CENTURY WOODSTOCK

Historically, the inner city suburb of Woodstock has served two core functions. First, the suburb has been the permanent home to coloured and white working class families. And, second, Woodstock has been the entry point for absorption of waves of different 'immigrant' communities. In the early part of the twentieth century, Woodstock took on a very British character as many of the soldiers who had fought in the Boer war decided to remain in South Africa and chose to settle in Woodstock. By the 1920s the new immigrants to Woodstock were not from another country, but rather were communities of rural Afrikaners forced off their land during the depression period. During the 1930s and 1940s the ethnic complexion of Woodstock was again restructured with the arrival of large waves of predominantly Lithuanian Jews who were fleeing persecution in Europe. The final flow of new immigrants to settle and make their mark on Woodstock were from southern Europe, mainly Madeiran immigrants, who began to move into the area beginning in the 1940s and continuing into the 1960s. The ebb and flow of these different nationalities and cultures has left a visible mark on Woodstock. This is evident variously in

the architecture, street names, places of worship, and social organisations in the suburb.

The objective in this chapter is to analyse the changing social geography of Woodstock over the twentieth century. More particularly, the focus is upon tracing the shifting ethnic and racial complexion of this Cape Town inner suburb from the turn of the century to the period of the early 1980s. The chapter is organized in terms of three major sections of discussion. First, as background, the development of Woodstock is situated in the wider context of research on the social segegration and historical geography of Cape Town. The argument presented here is that Woodstock, to a large extent, suffered from scholarly neglect, in that it housed a stable multi-racial population throughout the apartheid years. Accordingly, it did not attract the volume of scholarly writings that have been devoted to areas such as District Six or Harfield (Mowbray), which experienced destruction of the built environment and the forced removal of communities. As a result of the scarcity of secondary sources, much of the discussion presented in the second and third sections of this chapter draws upon primary material in order to sketch the unfolding social and ethnic composition of the suburb. In sections two and three, a variety of archival and oral sources are drawn upon to document the suburb's working class character and 'respectable' nature (section two) and Woodstock's changing ethnic and racial mix (section three).

Among South African cities, Cape Town is the most cosmopolitan, its character having been moulded by Dutch, Malay, French Huguenot, and British settlers. Although social interaction between groupings was limited, the homes of white and coloured residents were never far apart until implementation of the Group Areas Act. This particular piece of legislation certainly affected a greater number of people in Cape Town than in any other city in South Africa and was largely responsible for the geographical sprawl of settlement over the Cape Flats (Cook, 1991). Nonetheless, the importance of the Group Areas Act in terms of segregation in Cape Town must not be overstated. Recent detailed historical research shows that from the turn of the twentieth century Cape Town was a *de facto* segregated city in many spheres of social interaction (Bickford-Smith, 1988). One unchallenged impact of the Group Areas Act, however, is that it has produced certain biases and lacunae in the detailed historiography of the city of Cape Town. Researchers have tended to concentrate attention on those areas or communities affected deeply by apartheid social engineering to the relative neglect of more stable communities, such as Woodstock.

Cape Town: A Segregated City

The contention that Cape Town was the least segregated city in South Africa, is upheld by a wide array of people and academics. A number of researchers have viewed Cape Town as a racially

tolerant city, whose rich ethnic mix was only segregated due to the onslaught of apartheid legislation (Cook, 1991). For example, Western argues that, while the roots of segregation go back almost to the time of the first arrival of European settlers in southern Africa, "Cape Town's case is of particular interest because, before apartheid's institution in 1948, it was by far the *least* racially segregated city in southern Africa, and perhaps even in all of sub-Saharan Africa" (Western, 1981, p.3)

Likewise, the judgement of the American historian, George Fredrickson (1978), was that during the early twentieth century, the city of Cape Town, the capital of the British Cape Colony, was an exceptional place in southern Africa. Frederickson was not referring to the city's size or functions, nor even to its extraordinarily beautiful setting beneath Table Mountain on the shores of Table Bay. For Fredrickson, Cape Town's significance lay in "its traditional toleration of White-Coloured intermingling in public places" (Fredrickson, 1978, p.267). Such tolerance was not in evidence either in other South African cities or those of the American South, by the 1890s. In a similar vein to Fredrickson, David Welsh, in the *Oxford History of South Africa*, stated that Cape Town was unique amongst South African cities "in the extent to which it was racially integrated" (Welsh, 1971, p.174). These remarks, together with those of Picard (1969), Green (1975) Pama (1977) and other social historians, paint a picture of a racially tolerant golden age in the city's colonial past.

This viewpoint is strongly contested by Bickford-Smith (1983; 1989), who maintains that major lacunae exist in the historiography of Cape Town. His rich study of class and ethnicity in late colonial Cape Town (1875-1902) illustrates the *de facto* segregation of coloureds in spheres such as hotels, hospitals, prisons and some sports. Although such segregation was evident and widespread in Cape Town, it was not as rigid and institutionalised as in Johannesburg or Kimberley. According to Bickford-Smith (1989), the major explanation for segregation in Cape Town lagging behind the rest of South Africa was related to the nature of the city's economic and social formation. Unlike the large mining houses that dominated Kimberley and Johannesburg, Cape Town was a place of "small masters" (Bickford-Smith, 1989, p. 49), where economic power lay in rent, banking and commerce. In addition, the city also exhibited a strong artisan class which was composed of members of both coloured and white communities. Therefore, "the nature of Cape Town's social formation helps to explain the nature, and limitations, of segregation" in the city (Bickford-Smith, 1989, p. 49). Cape Town's elite consisted of groups of merchants and professionals. Few signs existed in Cape Town of a powerful capitalist class pushing for state intervention to bring about the equivalent of the segregated labour institutions of Kimberley (cf. Mabin, 1986). On the contrary, when a location for Africans was mooted in 1900, Cape Town merchants expressed concern that their labour needs, such as they were, would be endangered.

Whilst acknowledging Bickford-Smith's contention that Cape Liberalism was not a *laissez-faire* approach to the regulation of contacts between racial groups, which avoided overtly discriminatory legislation, it must noted that compared with the other South African cities, Capetonians did not endure the same extreme legislative divisions of its racial communities. By the 1950s, the work of Scott (1955, p. 151) shows that almost as many white as coloured people lived in the area between the southern suburbs and the Cape Flats branch line, albeit one or the other group inevitably tended to dominate and form a pocket in a particular neighbourhood or village. The relative proportion of whites in the older parts of the city decreased, especially between District Six and Observatory, where smaller and cheaper houses were taken over by lower income (coloured) groups. Although only about 20 percent of the older medium-grade housing was occupied by coloured people, homes of residents became more differentiated as only 30 percent of whites lived in poor quality housing compared to 90 percent of coloured people (Scott, 1955). One of the areas of Cape Town that housed a racially mixed working class population was the inner city suburb of Woodstock.

Woodstock - A Neglected Area for Research

Woodstock's close proximity to the city centre, to the Salt River railway yards and textile manufacturers, in addition to a regular and accessible public transport network and affordable semi-detached housing, ensured the suburb's popularity equally among Cape Town's white and coloured working class populations and

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groups of new immigrants. Situated in the shadow of Table Mountain, throughout its history, Woodstock housed a generally law-abiding and religious citizenry (Ridd, 1981). The suburb never had the dual image of both slum and vibrant, colourful, character-filled District Six, or the more upmarket image of Mowbray and Newlands, whose coloured population (like that of District Six) were to be victims of apartheid forced removals.

Woodstock was always a very 'respectable' suburb in Cape Town. It was therefore allowed to continue racially mixed even when District Six was razed and its residents removed to far flung racially exclusive areas on the Cape Flats. The Nationalist government did not favour the suburb of Woodstock in any way; rather, it was simply that they had no viable excuse to make the whole area a whites-only suburb. Accordingly, Woodstock was neither an area of urban blight, nor an attractive sought-after southern suburb, such as Rondebosch, Newlands or Claremont.

As argued by Pama (1977, p. 19): "Woodstock is dying of neglect". This statement, made at the close of the 1970s, refers both to the suburb's generally dilapidated, run-down appearance, but also to the condition of local historical research. The major foci of works by urban historians and social geographers have been either the growth of the Cape Town central city (eg. Bickford-Smith, 1988; Saunders *et al*, 1988) or the process and experience of the dramatic forced removal of communities such as District Six (Manuel and Hatfield, 1967; Breytenbach, 1970; Small, 1973; Ridd, 1981; Rive, 1981; Hart, 1989; 1990a, 1990b; Dudley, 1990; Nasson,

1990), or Harfield, Mowbray (Western, 1981). By contrast to the rich secondary sources that exist for these parts of the city, Cape Town scholars have tended to overlook the changing features of Woodstock. Indeed, the only secondary sources of note on the Woodstock area are a number of works produced by urban planners variously concerning the contemporary questions of re-developing the suburb (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1990) and of the status of home-based enterprises (Watson, 1993). Few secondary sources are available to document its evolution and shifting character over the twentieth century. Thus, in order to present a picture of the broad development of Woodstock considerable use is made here of archival material in the form of diaries, memoires, newspapers, and oral sources.

WOODSTOCK - A RESPECTABLE, WORKING CLASS SUBURB

The suburb of Woodstock lies some two kilometres by rail south-east of the centre of Cape Town. It stretches from the fringes of the expanding business area of Cape Town to the outlying suburbs of Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont and is hemmed in by Table Bay, Devil's Peak and the Salt River (see Fig. 1.1). The original name of the suburb was 'Papendorp', named after a Hollander, Pieter van Papendorp, who registered his erf between the Castle and Salt River in 1788. In 1809 it was suggested that the area's name be changed; the fishermen who patronised the 'Woodstock Hotel' outvoted those from the 'New Brighton Hotel'

and the new name was settled after the inn (Garside, 1987). In 1875 the Metropolitan of the Anglican Church described the area as "a very dreary suburb of Cape Town along the shore of Table Bay" (Badham, 1987, p. 22). The nineteenth century rural character of Woodstock, illustrated by references in municipal records to cattle, goats and pigs roaming the streets, was by now disappearing. Indeed, there was widespread selling of property in the area, advertised in 1881 as "this rapidly rising hamlet" (*The Argus*, 12.11.1881). During the 1890s the rate of growth taking place in Woodstock was particularly spectacular, increasing from a total population of 4974 to 28990 by 1904; in racial terms the increase was from 3204 to 21530 whites and from 1770 to 7460 for 'other population groups' (Badham, 1987, p. 24). Much of the population growth occurring at this time can be attributed to the influx of British soldiers after the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) to places within the Cape, such as Woodstock, where open land was available for settlement and development. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, therefore, Woodstock was in a state of economic and social transition, as a result of population growth and of processes of suburbanisation and industrialisation which were stimulated by the construction of the railway line (Badham, 1988).

Early Developments

Throughout the early years of the twentieth century the pastoral environment of Woodstock was slowly transformed by urbanisation and its resultant appearance of rows of Victorian semi-detached

houses. Moreover, Albert and Main roads, which dissect Woodstock, became corridors lined with shop facades, billboards and the backs of warehouses. This was a far cry from the small coastal village of Woodstock at the turn of the twentieth century that residents remember. For example, Ernest Rip, a son of Woodstock (born in December 1903) proudly recalls the sights and sounds of early twentieth century Woodstock. [1] A one-time councillor for Woodstock he glowingly refers to his abode as "the Cinderella, the sleeping beauty of Cape Town" (*The Argus*, 12.12.1973). This suburb of "vineyards and vegetables" (Green, 1975, p. 34), while most probably more beautiful in the mind than the eye, did engender a sense of loyalty. Its former inhabitants tend to look back to the early years of the century with fond memories. [2]

For example, A.F.Keen remembers moving to Woodstock in 1895 as a young boy.[3] His early memories of Woodstock are as "a peaceful country village", where the whole of the mountainside above the enclave of Woodstock was farm land and mountain except for a few isolated buildings:

> I can well remember going with my brother to Van der Byls Farm to get a bushel basket of the best Hanepoort grapes for one shilling and on many occasions getting a big jug of thick with cream for threepence from the beautiful herd of Jersey cows..The entrance to the Farm was approximately where Roodebloem Road is today and on each side of the entrance was a hedge of Blue Plumbago just like you see on Rhodes Estate.[4]

Even at the turn of the century, Woodstock was divided into two clearly defined areas. The affluent, predominantly white, area of upper Woodstock and the more industrially developed lower Woodstock, which housed artisans and labourers of all races. In

his memoirs A. F. Keen reminisces about the important people who lived in upper Woodstock and played a part in the development of both Cape Town and the country. Among these were the Worral family whose grandson became Director of Bantu Affairs, Doctor Kewat who was at one time a Member of Parliament for Woodstock, the Searle family who ran the toll and whose son was secretary of Cape Electric Tramways, the Robb family whose father was General Manager of the South African Mutual and whose son Assistant General Manager of Railways, Mr Cock whose son eventually represented East London in Parliament, and, the Rev. Z. J. de Beer minister of the Dutch Reformed church and grandfather of Dr. Zac de Beer, until recently leader of the Democratic Party.[5] Despite the memories surrounding 'the great men' of Woodstock history, it must be acknowledged that the majority of the suburb's population were ordinary, working class folk.

The lower part of Woodstock, below Victoria Road, was much more developed and built upon largely due to the Salt River Works of the Cape Government Railways. The artisans and labourers lived in the vicinity and worked in the factories which were established close to the railway line. Industries such as Sanderson's the saddlers of Darling Street, Davidsons tannery, Kamp's Cold Storage, the South African Breweries and Hickson's sweet factory provided large scale employment (Whittingdale, 1973). In addition to industrial concerns were two bakeries, numerous small grocery shops, butcheries and dairies which provided for the needs of the people. Beyond the communities of

artisans and labourers, Lower Woodstock was also settled by fishermen. Indeed, during the early 1900s Woodstock boasted a beautiful beach, stretching almost from Adderley Street to the Salt River Mouth, where a considerable amount of fishing took place. In particular, coloured fishermen often left their boats on the beach and on favourable occasions went to sea dropping their nets in Table Bay, returning to Woodstock beach when they felt they had a good catch.[6]

In the late nineteenth century although there was a lot of "racial snobbery" in Cape Town, distinctions were largely based on class rather than colour - there were poor whites and well-to-do coloureds, breaking down rigid distinctions (Judges, 1977). While the better suburbs of Cape Town, such as Rondebosch or Claremont, had a more evenly balanced white/non-white population ratio, the social and economic distinctions between white and coloured comunities was much less pronounced in Woodstock (Ridd, 1981).

None the less, a class division between upper and lower Woodstock was established as early as the turn of this century. However, the later population growth of the suburb and indeed of Cape Town as a whole, meant that Woodstock and particularly upper Woodstock lost its upper middle class residents to other suburbs. The new immigrants, who began to move into the suburb after the Boer War and continuing through to the 1970s, maintained the character of the area as a respectable, yet working class inner city multi-racial area (Ridd, 1981; Badham, 1988). A spatial distinction

between the social geographies of the predominantly white Upper Woodstock and multi-racial lower Woodstock persisted through to the 1980s.

The Respectable Suburb

Although certain social distinctions existed between the areas of Upper and Lower Woodstock, the suburb developed and retained an overwhelmingly working class character from the early 1900s through to the late 1970s (Badham, 1987). From the archival record it is clear that the peninsula community of Woodstock always exhibited a strong sense of pride and belonging, albeit they perhaps also tended to romanticize, glossing over the less attractive concerns such as sanitation and overcrowding which became central problems for the Woodstock municipality. [7] The notions of "respectability" so prevalent at the turn of the century held sway in the area, and the proud tradition which was engendered then, lingered over six decades later (Ridd, 1981; Badham, 1988).

For those with modest means, Woodstock's accessibility and affordability made it an appealing residential suburb. Geographical position, economic opportunity and social structure were closely related. Movement from Woodstock to the southern suburbs further out was usually an indication of upward social mobility with improved means. However, those people who established businesses ranging from general dealers' stores to building contractors frequently remained, entrenching themselves

in the life of the community. For those working on the railways, Woodstock remained especially convenient. As Badham (1988, p. 83) observes, Woodstock "became largely a suburb of artisans, traders and a smattering of 'white collar' workers".

In Woodstock, a 'respectable' lifestyle was determined not only by economics, but by a person's participation in the public life of the area through sport, politics, voluntary associations and the Church (Badham, 1988). 'Respectability' and 'religion' invariably went together in the Victorian Anglicanism imported to South Africa, and to Woodstock, by British immigrants. It was a matter of class before colour, of morals above pigment (Swanson, 1977). 'Respectability' had to do with occupation, status, lifestyle, morals, values and ultimately, a 'culture' (Ridd, 1981). The church served to inculcate and reinforce values that, it might be said, were almost compulsively maintained as an accepted convention rather than out of deep conviction. It has been argued that in order to protect their values, people retreated into relative social isolation in which the established norm would remain unchallenged (Badham, 1988). The family became a focus; the home a display of one's standing; the church a 'protected environment of assured respectability. In Woodstock the perception of 'community' is striking - both at the turn of the century and lingering on into the 1980s. People did feel bound together by certain common interests in the Church and in the locality. Furthermore, at the turn of the century, the Church did impinge on the lives of most of the surrounding population in one way or another. As long as there were no

secular agencies to provide social services, the churches repeatedly acted as pioneers in meeting newly recognised social needs - charity distribution, cheap entertainment, affordable education (Badham, 1987; 1988). In time, the Church's hegemony was increasingly eroded by powerful municipalities and state departments. Yet ideas of 'respectability' persist in the minds of many, as an insistent Woodstock resident stressed in the 1970s:

"...the British gave you a fair deal; it was up to you. If you kept up a decent style of life, then you would be accepted among the whites. But now, however decently you live, you will always be branded as 'Coloured' (cited in Ridd, 1981, p. 253).

The different immigrant communities settling in Woodstock over the twentieth century brought with them a set of languages, cultures and lifestyles which differed from the local population. Nevertheless, the strong family bonds, cultural pride and religious beliefs, ensured that even though the new immigrants did not speak English or were accustomed to the norms of the South African 'way of life', their commitment to basic decency and hard work perfectly complemented existing Woodstock society.

THE CHANGING ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WOODSTOCK

During the twentieth century Woodstock housed numerous population groups. In 1904 one-quarter of Woodstock's population was British-born, a feature that gave the area an English-speaking and 'classy' image, even if the community was not particularly affluent (Ridd, 1981). The Britishness of early Woodstock derived

from the settlement of soldiers after the conclusion of the Second Boer War. Terraces of houses went up to accommodate this new population influx. This wave of housing construction occurred rapidly using locally produced bricks. House design and structure followed a standard pattern, *viz.*, three-rooms with no bathroom or pantry, an outside privy in the narrow backyard and a strip of front garden about two yards across (Ridd, 1981). The facades of many Woodstock houses and shops still bear the tell-tale dates 1901, 1902 and 1903, reminders of its phase of the suburb's development (*Cape Times*, 1.10.1956). In a reflection of the period, the streets were given names such as Balfour, Roberts, Kitchener, and Brabant, 'heroes' of the Boer War campaign.

An examination of the original census returns for Woodstock in 1918 showed the predominantly British nature of both the upper and lower portions of the suburb. In the block of streets in lower Woodstock, which was bordered by Victoria (Main), Plein, Albert and Regent roads, there was counted a total of 238 households of which 213 (or 90 percent) were British, the majority of the remainder were Afrikaners. [8] Similarly, in the block of streets in upper Woodstock, which was bordered by Victoria (Main), Hay, Walmer (roads) and the municipal boundary, a count of 258 households revealed a total of 200 (or 78 percent) British with the remainder again of predominantly Afrikaans origin. [9] Throughout the suburb the average household size disclosed in the 1918 census was 4-5 members, although there were a scatter of families with up to ten members.

The British character of Woodstock began to be reduced in the 1920s as a large influx took place of predominantly Afrikaans-speaking rural immigrants forced off the land during the depression years. The enumerator's book of the 1926 census shows the growth of an Afrikaans population as manifested in household surnames such as Britz, de Jager, Harmse, Louw and Wolmarans (see Fig. 4.1).[10] This group of Afrikaans-speaking "poor whites" wanted cheap housing in Cape Town and sought to be separate from the 'coloureds' of District Six. Most of these newcomers eventually settled in Lower Woodstock, changing it from a predominantly English to a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking area (Marais, 1978). This finding was confirmed by an analysis of the detailed 1931 (whites only) and 1936 (full race coverage) census data for Woodstock. [11] The English speakers were by now economically better-off and moved out of Woodstock into higher-income areas such as Newlands or Rondebosch, leaving their former houses to multi-family occupation by the rural Afrikaners (Ridd, 1981).

Another inflow of immigrants took place during the early 1930s when many southern Europeans of mainly Greek and Italian origin settled in Woodstock (Ridd, 1981). At the same time, the suburb also experienced the beginnings of a stream of Jewish immigrants, primarily from Eastern Europe. [12] The final major immigrant inflow began in the 1940s and continued into a peak in the 1960s. This final wave was of a Portuguese speaking community, drawn initially from Madeira and later boosted by Portuguese former colonial residents of Mozambique and Angola.

CENSUS / SENSUS 1926.

ENUMERATOR'S BOOK.
OPNEMERSBOEK.

MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT. / MAGISTRAATSDISTRIK.

CAPE

ENUMERATOR'S SUB-DISTRICT / OPNEMER SE SUBDISTRIK } No. 90 C. G.

Folio No. 1

Progressive Number of Forms. / Volgnummer van Vorms.	Name of Householder or Occupier. / Naam van Huishouder of Bewoner.	No. or Name of House or Name and No. of Farm. / No. of Naam van Huis of Naam en No. van Plaas.	Name of Street or Road. / Naam van Straat of Weg.	Date When Datum Waarop: Prior Forms Distributed. / Vorige Vorms Uitgedeeld is.	Date When Datum Waarop: Forms Collected or Filled Up. / Vorms Ingezamel of Ingevul.	Number of Buildings Enumerated on Each Form. / Aantal Bijgeboorte op Elke Vorm Opgeteken. These columns not to be filled in for Non-Europeans. Males—Manlik. Under 21 Years. / Onder 21 Jaar.	Males—Manlik. 21 Years and Over. / 21 Jaar en Daarbo.	Females—Vrouwlik. Under 21 Years. / Onder 21 Jaar.	Females—Vrouwlik. 21 Years and Over. / 21 Jaar en Daarbo.	Dwellings—Woonhuis. (Make a X in the relative Column.) (Maak 'n X in betreffelike Kolom.) Occupied. / Bewoond.	Occupants Absent. / Bewoners Afwesig.	Dwelling Vacant. / Leegstaande Huis.	In Course of Construction. / In Aanbou.	Remarks. Opmerkings. NON-EUROPEANS MALE	FEMALE
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Summary C1 1	John Reece Wall	~~30~~ 18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	2	1	2	1						
C1 2	N. M. Wiborg	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	—	1	2	1						
C1 3	L. Wolmarans	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	2	1	—	1						
S 4	S. Lodger	18	Victoria Rd.	27/4/26	5/5/26	—	—	—	—					3	1
C1 S5	E. O'Carroll	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	3	1	2	1	X					
6	J. Shanley	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	—	1	2	1						
C1 7	G. Britz	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	4	3	4	3						
C1 S8	F. de Jager	18	Victoria Rd.	27/4/26	5/5/26	1	1	—	1						
C1 9	P. Harmse	18	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	1	1	1	—						
10	C. J. Louw	12	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	2	2	2	3	X					
11	L. Tafts	6	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	—	2	—	1	X					
12	J. ~~[illegible]~~ Leonard	6	Victoria Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26	—	1	—	2						
C1 S13	D. Steyn	30	~~[illegible]~~ Windsor St	27/4/26	[illegible]	—	3	1	1	X					
C2 14	J. Cubido	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26									1	2
15	H. Marais	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	[illegible]									3	1
16	J. Smith	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26					X				2	1
17	R. C. Hendricks	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26									2	4
18	N. Jansen	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26									2	1
19	P. J. Hendricks	28 A	College St Windsor Rd	27/4/26	5/5/26									2	4
20	M. Halim	1	College St	27/4/26	5/5/26					X				5	3
21	F. Wilkinson	1	Cambridge St	27/4/26	5/5/26					X				10	4
S22	A. Jumat		Walmer Buckfields	27/4/26	6/5/26					X				2	2
S23	A. Marais		Walmer Buckfields	27/4/26	6/5					X				4	2
						15	18	16	16	9				36	25

Carry these Totals to the last folio, headed Summary. / Breng hierdie Totals oor na die laatste blad onder die hoof opsomming.

Total on this page. / Totaal op hierdie bladsy.

Figure 4.1: Extract from 1926 Census Enumerator's Book

These Portuguese newcomers were so concentrated geographically that a part of Woodstock was nicknamed "Little Madeira" (Ridd, 1981; Machado, 1992). As late as the 1980s Upper and Lower Woodstock still housed many Portuguese families. It is important to note that whilst Woodstock was the starting point for many (predominantly European) immigrants, none the less the suburb has always housed an established white and coloured working class community. The long established racial mixing of White and coloured communities in the suburb of Woodstock is shown on Figures 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5. This series of maps, based on original census data and Cape Times Street Directories, underscores the tradition of Woodstock as a multi-racial working class suburb throughout the first half of the twentieth century. [13] Many of the people interviewed in the area in 1987 had lived there for most of their lives or else had married into long-established Woodstock families (Garside, 1987).

As noted above, two of the most significant waves of ethnic settlement that changed the landscape of Woodstock during the twentieth century were of Jews in the 1930s and 1940s, and of Madeirans in the 1940s to 1970s. Both these immigrant communities brought with them their own different ethnic identities as manifest in differing languages, religions, and patterns of kinship and family ties. None the less, one common thread was that their settlement in Woodstock reinforced the suburb's already established core features, namely, its respectability and its working class nature. These two groups will be examined now

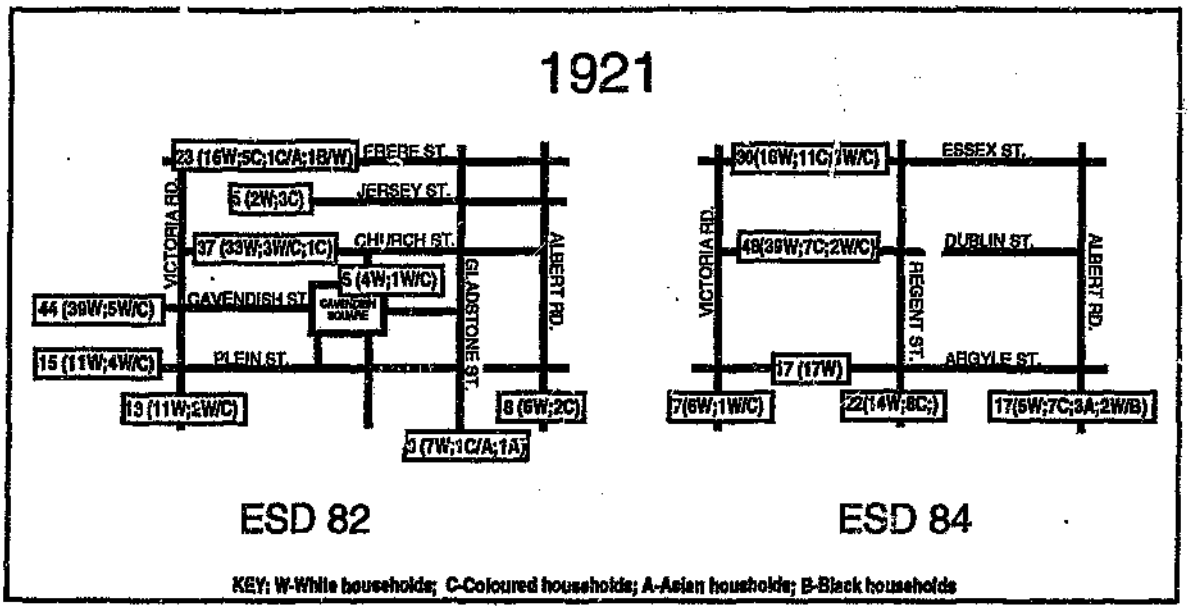

Figure 4.2: Racial mixing in Woodstock 1921 (Source: See Footnote 13)

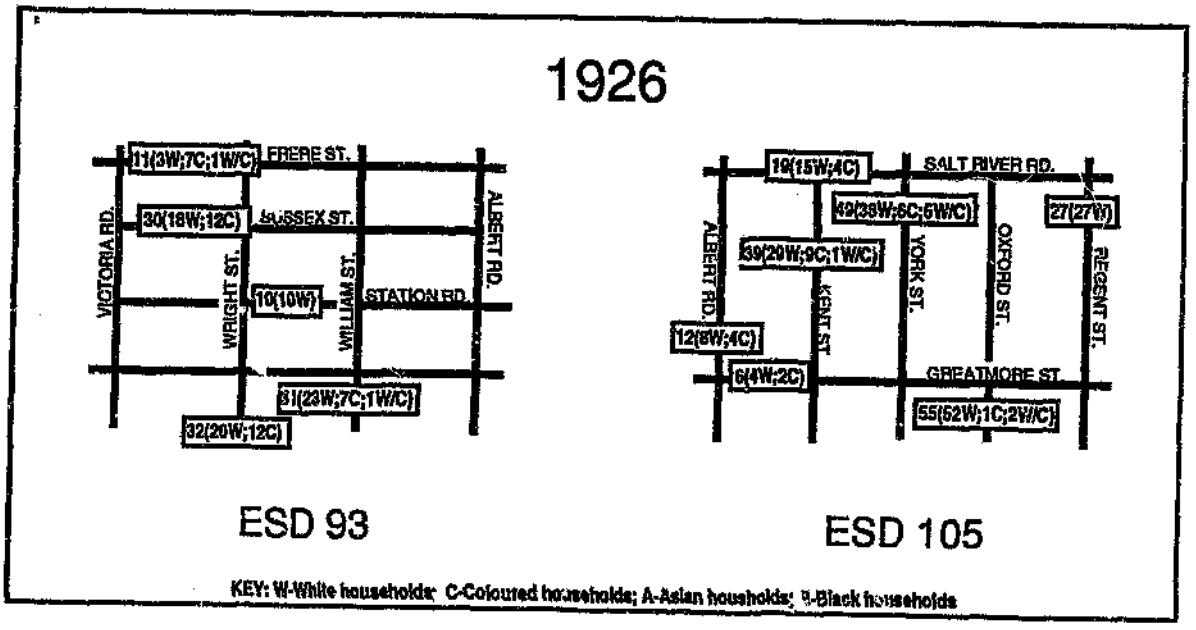

Figure 4.3: Racial mixing in Woodstock 1926 (Source: See Footnote 13)

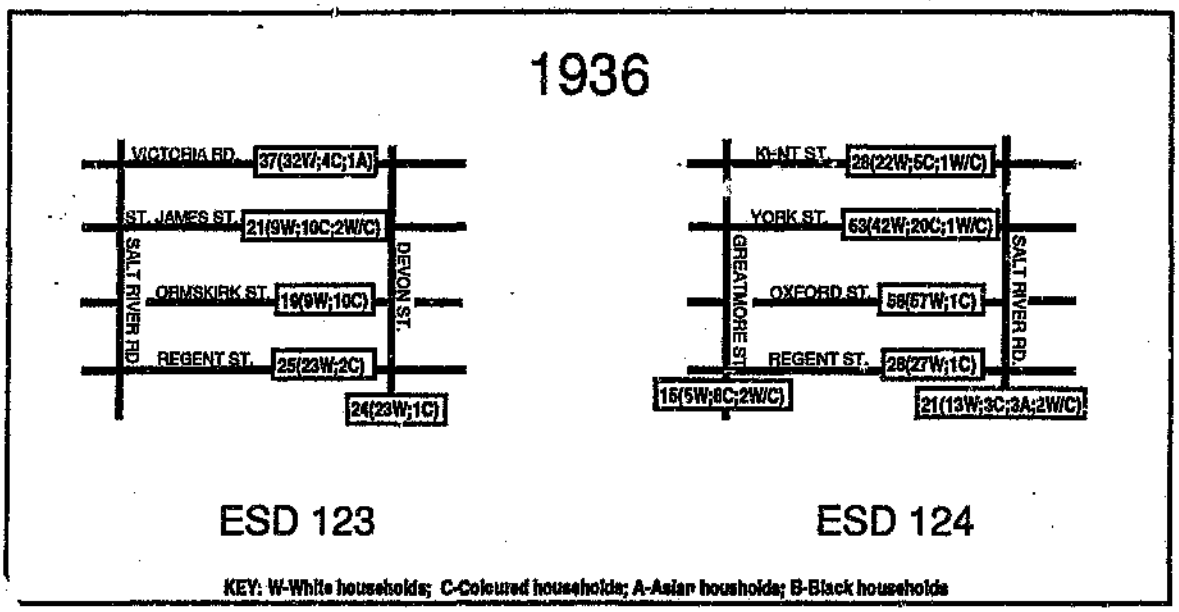

Figure 4.4: Racial mixing in Woodstock 1936 (Source: See Footnote 13)

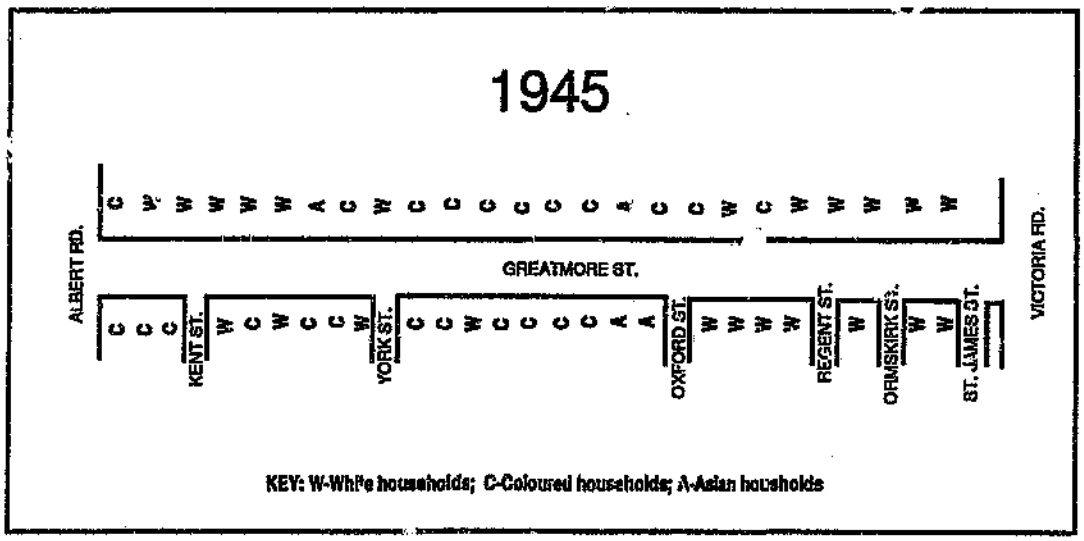

Figure 4.5: Racial mixing in Woodstock 1945 (Source: See Footnote 13)

in greater detail, noting their occupations, kinship and cultural links, religion and settlement patterns within Woodstock.

The Jewish Community

The Zionist Record, on Friday, July 4 1947 headlined the speech made in the lecture tour of W. Rybko.

> Although I spent only a few hours among the Woodstock Jews, I had the sensation of being with my brethren in the large Jewish centres of Eastern Europe. I felt again the pulsating Jewish heart and came once more into contact with the Jewish mass, a collective of simple and good Jews. [14]

The above statement captures the essence of the Woodstock Jewish population. It is evident that Woodstock's Jewish community in the 1940s were not yet assimilated into South African society, but clung to the language, culture and lifestyle which they had left behind in Eastern Europe. In this section the following issues are discussed: the arrival of the Jewish population; their culture, religion and societies, which they brought with them to Woodstock; and, their local occupation and family life. The focus is mainly on the first generation of immigrants, a community who carried forward the tradition in Woodstock of the settlement of respectable and hardworking citizenry.

Most Jewish immigrants to Woodstock were from Eastern Europe. In particular, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland and Russia were the origins of Woodstock community. [15] The Jews came from villages and towns where they were engaged in petty trade and crafts, rather than

agriculture or the professions. [16] Jewish immigration altered the character of the local Jewish population previously established in Cape Town, which consisted mainly of German and British Jews. [17] A further wave of immigration occurred from the mid-1920s until after World War 2 and was directly linked to anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, the rise of Nazism, and, of course, the holocaust (Saron, 1955).

The Jewish community in Cape Town grew steadily as a result of immigration. Whereas in 1904 it numbered 38 000 representing 3,4 percent of the whole European population, in 1936 it had grown to 90 000 constituting 4,5 percent of the whole European population (Saron, 1955). On arrival in South Africa the Jews tended to engage in similar pursuits to the ones in their homeland. While some were able to make a living in the existing large and smaller towns, many went to the boom-towns of Oudtshoorn (ostrich feathers), Kimberley (diamonds) and Johannesburg (gold) to try their luck. When the boom was over they abandoned these areas for other forms of work in the metropolitan areas of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria.[18]

On their arrival in South Africa the new immigrants generally sought the aid of the established Jewish community, friends and relatives from their home region. Thus they tended to reside where other Jews were already living and where the handicaps of language and general strangeness could be somewhat mitigated. In this respect the situation in Woodstock was typical of the older

inner city suburbs elsewhere in the world where Jewish communities flourished.

From their arrival, Jews set up the amenities of Jewish life, such as synagogues, facilities for educating their children, benevolent funds for various purposes, and burial societies. The possibility of creating this organizational framework depended on residential clustering. The existence of amenities was an important consideration in deciding where to live. A further factor was the uncertainty when living amongst non-Jews, security was found among fellow Jews.

Woodstock suited the requirements of the new, mostly Eastern European Jewish immigrants. The suburb offered affordable housing in an area, which although not affluent, was respectable and working class. Jewish people had begun to settle here from the early part of the twentieth century, and established religious and teaching institutions specific to the Jewish faith. As a new immigrant generally needed a letter of reference and somebody to stay with on disembarking in Cape Town docks, Woodstock became the first home to many newcomers.[19] The newly arrived immigrants would stay with a friend or relative, and these early kinship links were the base upon which the ever-growing Woodstock Jewish population was built. [20] Some stayed for a while and then moved on whilst others stayed for years, establishing families and businesses before finally moving to more affluent suburbs, such as Oranjezicht and Sea Point (Saron, 1955).

Religion was the focal point of the new immigrants lives. The Woodstock congregation was formed in 1902. [21] In 1913 the stone of the Synagogue was laid by Morris Alexander, the member of parliament for Woodstock and an important national Jewish figure. [22] Strong bonds existed between the people and their place of worship:

> There us a little synagogue in one of the back streets of Woodstock, which was built in the days when Woodstock and Salt River had a flourishing Jewish community of men who had come to settle here from Eastern European countries which were then the great centres of Tulmudic learning. These men brought with them nothing but their culture and their beliefs rooted in years of persecution, pogroms, frustration and untold suffering. They built the Woodstock Synagogue.....Today this tradition has been maintained. The same rituals, the same services are performed every morning at 7 and every evening by a small band of descendants of the original Jewish population who now come from as far afield as Sea Point, Rondebosch and Bellville (*Cape Times*, 14.10.1967).

The shul was central to the new immigrants lives. For example, Walter Stern, who came to South Africa in 1936, remembers living in Woodstock with his wife as "it was a Jewish area, with a Jewish communal life. We were members of the shul and so were all of our friends".[23]

Hand-in-hand with religion went education; the Jewish immigrants in Woodstock were quick to establish a centre of learning for their children. The Woodstock Talmud Torah Hall, was founded in 1911 with 23 pupils. By 1931 it had grown to 67 pupils from the 200 Jewish families which were now settled in Woodstock, and in 1934 there were 82 children in 7 classes. [24] A.P. Bender (from the Cape Town synogogue) praised the Woodstock school, as he considered the children "admirably taught... they reached a high

standard in reading, in translation, and in grammar...they are the best pupils I have examined for many years". [25] This serves to illustrate how important eduaction was to the Woodstock Jewish community. Although the religious teachings were particular to the Jewish society, the importance given to religion and high moral standards are echoed in the striving for respectability of the earlier English settlers and the established white and coloured community (cf. Ridd, 1981; Badham, 1988).

The Jewish immigrants to Woodstock engaged in a variety of occupations which linked back to their lives in Eastern Europe. Oral histories undertaken of Jewish residents in Woodstock during the 1920s and 1930s disclose that the major spheres of work were in occupations such as shoemaking, tailors, carpentry, grocers, shopkeepers, and mechanics. [26] Often work and residence were one. In many cases, families lived above or behind the shop. An examination of the nature of population and commercial activities in 1931 on Albert Road, a major Woodstock thoroughfare which linked the suburb to the CBD and the Southern Suburbs, illustrates a number of points. It shows the significant number of Jewish businesses in this multi-racial and mixed land use zone (Fig 4.6).

ALBERT ROAD 1931

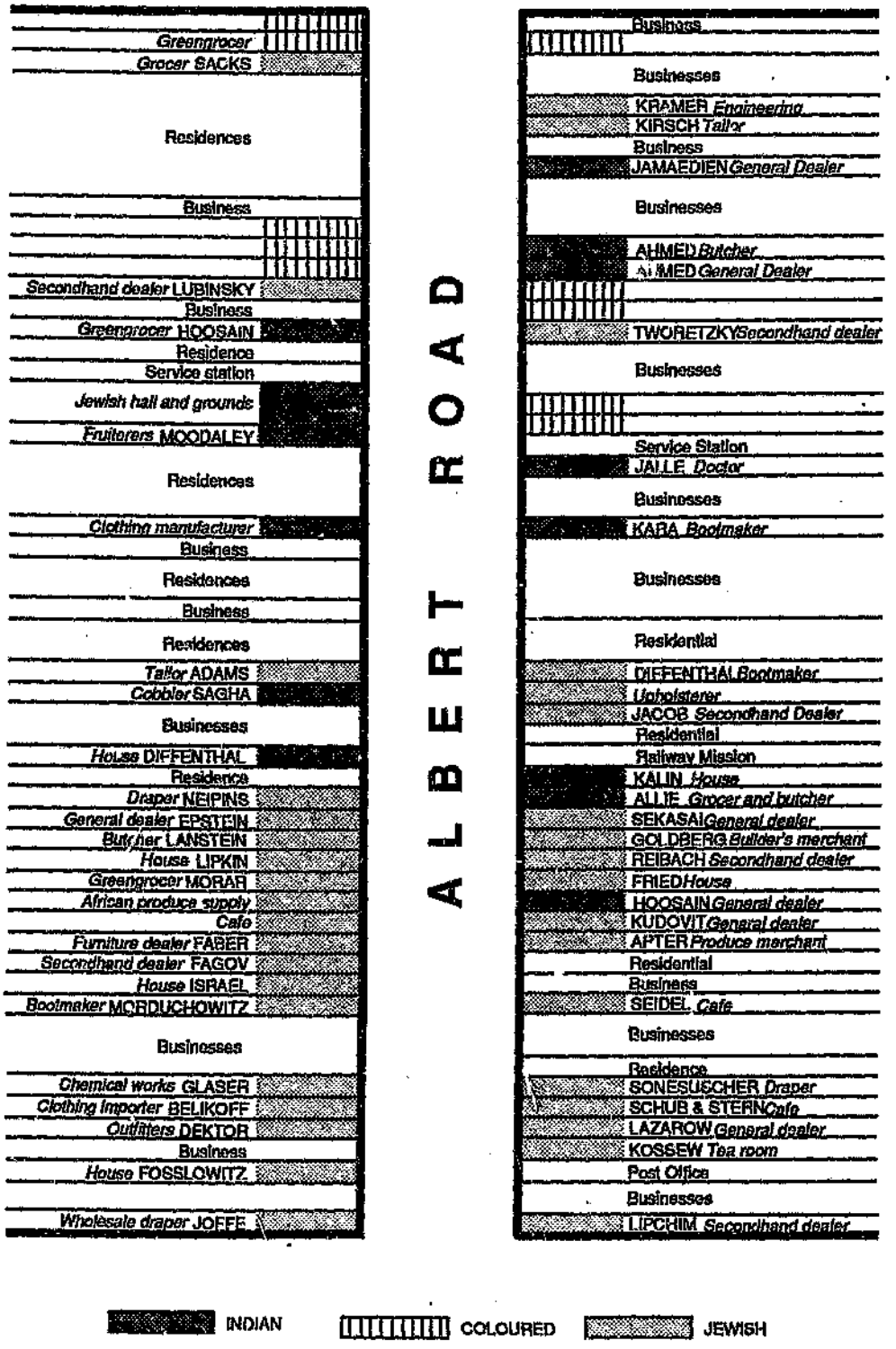

Figure 4.6: Jewish businesses on Albert Road Woodstock, 1931

When immigrants first arrived many Jews undertook menial jobs in order to make some money and establish themselves before bringing out their wives and families. For example, Hirsch Turok explains that when he arrived in Woodstock from Latvia in 1930 he could not find a factory job. So he left his family in Woodstock and went to Parow where an acquaintance from Latvia found him a job frying fish: "I laughed at first because frying fish was women's work, nevertheless I took the job as there was nothing else". [27] Mr Myerson, who came to Cape Town from London in 1912, remembers that:

> the Jewish immigrants from Russia would go to the market and go around the Jewish quarter of Woodstock and District Six selling eggs. The Jewish housewives patronised them. Once they had made a bit of money they would buy a horse and cart and then eventually buy a small shop, which they would build up into a business. [28]

Many Jewish immigrants began small until they could afford a shop. Typically, Joseph Rubik, who came to Woodstock in the early 1920s from Lithuania, opened a clothing store in Woodstock with money that his brother had lent him. Later he opened larger shops and by 1932 had a shirt and clothing factory with 400 employees. [29] He notes that "the Depression didn't really affect the Jewish community as they had shops and shopkeepers always make a living, no matter how bad the economy is". [30] Whilst he was building up his business he lived in a back room behind his shop and "only once the business was established did I buy a house for my family and I". [31]

For many Jews, great sacrifices were made in order to establish a business and provide for the family. Pauline Abromovitz, who came from Lithuania, recalls Woodstock as:

> the area where most Jewish people congregated. It was the centre of the Jewish community in those days. Like other Jewish immigrants we owned a shop, above which the whole family lived including my grandparents. [32]

Life for the newly arrived immigrant was often difficult. Not only did the Depression make finding jobs difficult, but the language barrier often excluded the Jewish immigrants from advertised factory jobs. Yiddish was the only language which many of the new immigrants spoke. On the one hand, this had the positive benefits of drawing the community together, as Yiddish thrived in Woodstock both as the means of communication, and for cultural activities (especially through the Yiddish theatre based in Woodstock).[33] On the other hand, many immigrants remember the negative effect of being turned away from factory jobs, excluded by the fact that they could not speak English. [34]

The new Jewish immigrants struggled, yet as Leon Cohen fondly recollects: "the Jewish people in Woodstock were not moneyed people, some of them had a little bit but we were all battling in those days. It was a convenient place to live as I could walk to work, and we had a crowd of friends nearby". [35] The first Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe into Woodstock were clearly a hard working community. But, Mary Velkes notes that "after they had established themselves financially they moved on to Gardens and then to Oranjezicht, which became a predominantly Jewish upmarket area".[36]

Overall, the experience of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 1920s and 1930s was to reinforce the image of respectability of Woodstock. Further, they strengthened the working class character of the suburb as a whole. Upward mobility of parts of the Jewish community meant that Woodstock was a stepping stone to higher income residential areas of Cape Town. [37] Despite the exodus of Jews, the essential character of Woodstock remained in tact as the suburb began to host the newly arriving Madeiran community.

The Portuguese Community in Woodstock

The first Portuguese immigrants began to settle in Woodstock in the 1940s. The majority of Portuguese immigrants to Woodstock came from Madeira, resulting in the name 'Little Madiera'. It became, in fact, the first suburb in Cape Town in which a distinct, Portuguese ethnic community developed (Machado, 1992). [38]

Between 1940-1981, 108 175 Portuguese immigrants entered South Africa, of which 13 955 or 13 percent were from Madeira. The Portuguese population of Cape Town blossomed from approximately 228 in 1936 to a total of 1 649 in 1970, of whom some 675 Madeirans settled in Woodstock in the four decades from 1940 to 1980. This resulted in the growth of Woodstock as an area of significant Portuguese residence. Behind their arrival in Woodstock, the key factors causing emigration were the desire

to escape from the harsh economic realities of life on the Island during the period stretching from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s. Emigrants who returned on a visit from South Africa took knowledge that was passed on to family and fellow villagers, effectively providing prospective emigrants with vital insights into the country of destination. Those who did not return to Madeira wrote of their experiences to kin and friends so that a certain image was constructed of the South African destination. Madeirans immigrated to South Africa rather than continue to eke out a living on the family small-holding or local fishing boats for work that rarely earned them sufficient money to support a family with ease. Similar to the Jewish immigrants, many of the Madeirans were attracted initially to the farms and goldfields of the Transvaal, whilst a substantial number came to Cape Town as a destination offering a brighter economic future than Madeira.

The process of post-war Madeiran immigrant settlement in Woodstock was heavily dependent upon the 'pioneers' who had migrated there in the 1930s (Machado, 1992). The first Madeirans who settled in Woodstock were overwhelmingly a fishing community who found that the area was convenient in relation to the harbour and affordable. Initially Madeiran immigrants only lived in Woodstock in the closed fishing season; for the rest of the year they lived and worked in Luderitz. During the closed fishing season they lived with a kin member or friend in Woodstock. Therefore, kinship and friendship ties were important factors which shaped the migrants decision to move to Woodstock. The

infrastructure, that included a Catholic Church and Catholic school in Dublin Street, was a factor influencing many Madeiran immigrants to remain in Woodstock. Another potential factor adding to Woodstock's attraction during the 1940s and 1950s was its cosmopolitan nature, comprising Irish, English, Greek, East-European Jewish and Italian immigrants (Garside, 1987).

The later immigrants from Madeira settled in areas of Woodstock which were populated by the pioneers. The link between ethnic identification and neighbourhood concentration was a sign that Madeiran immigrants were clustering together. This clustering facilitated the maintenance of an ethnic identity, as well as acculturation and assimilation (Conzen, 1979; Machado, 1992). Those who settled in Woodstock, therefore, did so because of the proximity of the area to the harbour, its Portuguese community and its affordable property prices (Machado, 1992). The interviews conducted with immigrants from Madeira showed that fishing remained a major source of livelihood even into the late 1980s.[39]

Prior to the 1960s Portuguese settlement in Woodstock was both fragmented, as a result of the small numbers of Portuguese in the suburb, and fairly unsettled due to the migratory nature of their life style. For 'second wave' migrants (those who followed the pioneers and the Luderitz migrant workers) chain migration was important in their decision to settle in Woodstock. One typical life story is recalled:

When I settled in Cape Town in 1955, I lived with my uncle who had lived in Woodstock for 7 years already in Plein Street. I was there for about 8 years, by which time I had saved enough to open a little cafe in Victoria Road. When I married I decided to buy a house in Woodstock because it was close to my business and everything else, but also because it was near family of mine (Interview with Mr. Rodrigues, cited in Machado, 1992, p. 19).

Immigrants from Madeira used kin members in order to establish themselves in the city. A strong sense of community was encouraged by immigrants living in streets that were not great distances from one another. Few Portuguese owned motorcars, or could drive. Public transport was an expense that could be avoided by clustering (Machado, 1992). The immigrants became even more conscious of their distinctive nationality once they had moved to Woodstock, especially as families from different villages lived on the same street, worshipped or worked side by side (Machado, 1992).

Immigrants arriving in Cape Town, settling in Woodstock, had a need for the reinforcement of their common ethnic bond with immigrants from other villages of Madeira, and later on, of Portugal. Group cohesion provided immigrants with not only a sense of identity, but eased the adaptation to a foreign environment. The Portuguese relied to a great extent on three institutions that facilitated their adaptation to Woodstock and provided for them, at one time or another, a sense of belonging to a wider ethnic community; these institutions were the Catholic Church, the Portuguese Association, and the traditional family (Machado, 1992). The Catholic Church in Woodstock played a central role in the communal life of the Portuguese. It not only reinforced their Old World religious beliefs and served as a

catalyst to the adaptation to the urban South African environment, but helped maintain and facilitate the creation of a Portuguese ident[illegible]. Similarly, the establishment of the Portuguese Associa[illegible] of the Cape of Good Hope provided the community with an environment for social interaction and sustained a structure within which members could express themselves culturally through traditional dance, language and music. The Association also brought the people together as *Portuguese* therefore creating a Portuguese culture and consciousness representative of the immigrants at large (Machado, 1992, p. 52).

The private domain of the family was also important to the development of ethnic consciousness amongst the immigrants of Woodstock, especially before the establishment of the Portuguese Association. "Though the family was an informal social institution in the community, it nevertheless exerted considerable influence on the shaping and maintenance of individual identity" (Machado, 1992, p. 54). Fathers provided financial support and the mothers were the transmitters of culture and were responsible for shaping an ethnic consciousness.

An examination and mapping of the Cape Times Street Directory for 1980 illustrates the point that Portuguese immigrants lived in specific streets and further that there was a tendancy for them to cluster close together in a particular section of the street (Fig 4.7). Most of the streets were in upper Woodstock, as lower Woodstock comprises of scattered factories and the Portuguese

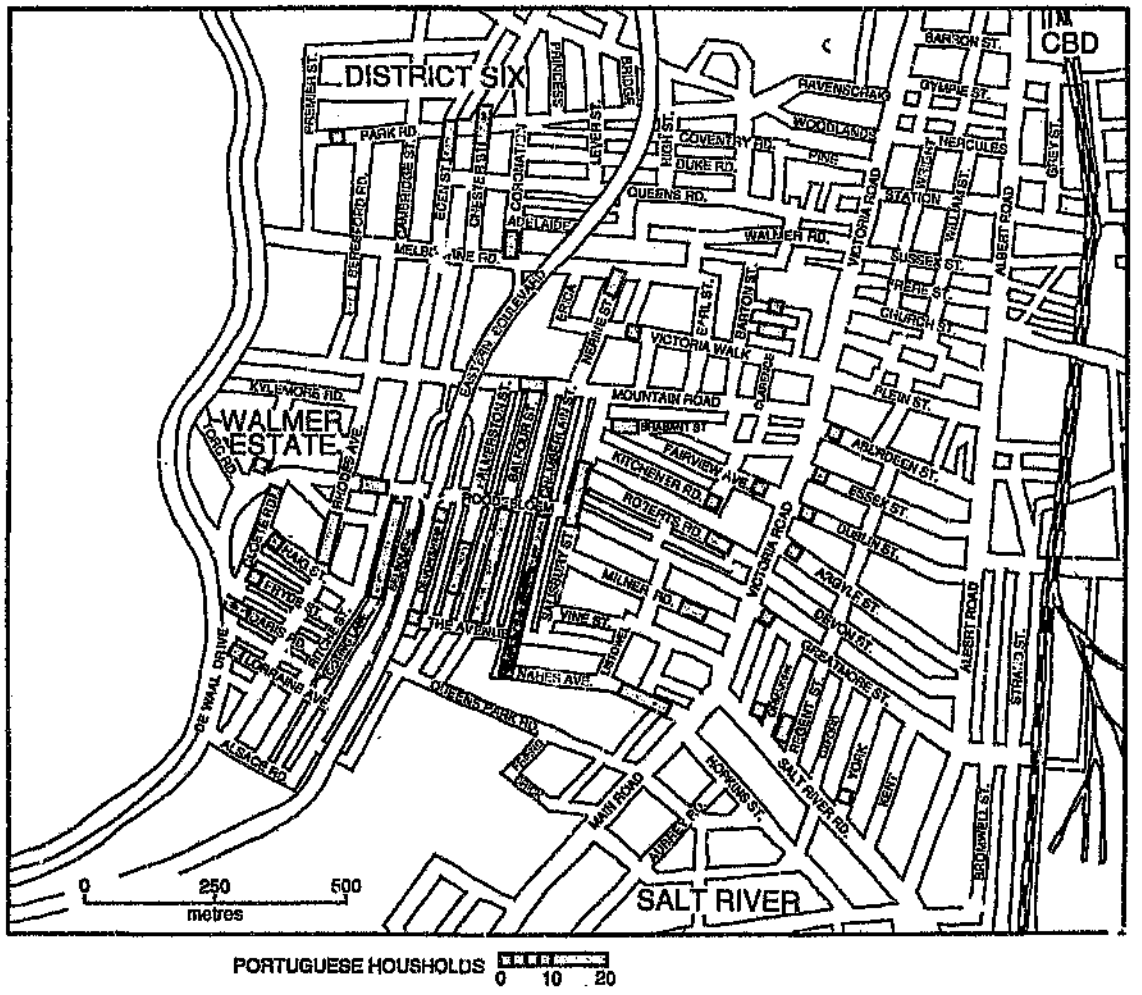

Figure 4.7: The Clustering of Madeiran Immigrants in Woodstock, 1980

immigrants were not employed in the industrial sector. However, there were some streets in lower Woodstock that housed small numbers of the pioneer and migrant worker Portuguese immigrants in the 1940s and 1950s as housing was cheaper than above Victoria Road.[40] Moreover, Group Areas legislation was not enforced in lower Woodstock until at least the early 1970s resulting in its status as a 'mixed' area. Therefore, the possible threat of white forced removals from lower Woodstock was considerably reduced. This fact was of particular importance as relocation could have caused the disruption of Portuguese settlement in Woodstock. Therefore, the absence of severe Group Areas legislation added further to Woodstock's attraction as an area for Portuguese settlement/residence. Within Woodstock there were groups of immigrants who moved from lower to upper Woodstock. This was also indicative of an improved financial position allowing for 'upward' mobility. The Portuguese who moved out of Woodstock were those who left the fishing industry and entered other areas of employment that necessitated a proximity to their businesses that were not based either in Woodstock or the Cape Town area.

Unlike immigrant groups in the USA whose residence in the initial phase of settlement generally affected the emergent work pattern, the Portuguese immigrant experience was the antithesis of this. The reason for this was that the Madeirans entered South Africa already in the employ of fishing, or other, companies. The necessity of seeking work once they arrived was largely absent. However, employment patterns placed constraints on where the

Portuguese lived, largely dictating their urban movement and locational preference for Woodstock.

An important event in the stabilization of the Portuguese community of Woodstock was the establishment in the 1960s of the Portuguese fishing company Lusitania Sea Products Ltd. This company provided an opportunity for the Luderitz fishermen to move permanently to Cape Town's fishing waters. Woodstock's proximity in relation to the Cape Town docks made it the ideal area of settlement, especially as property prices were within reach of many of the fishermen's means. Those fishermen that settled in Woodstock but did not join Lusitania were always assured of finding work on private boats owned or skippered by Portuguese men (Machado, 1992).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a move away from fishing into small-business ownership, the most common form of this ownership manifesting itself in cafes (Machado, 1992). The majority of Portuguese made the progression to small-business ownership in a conscious attempt to stabilise and improve their economic positions (Machado, 1992).

* * * * * * * * * * *

In this chapter, a tentative exploration has been undertaken of the changing social geography of Woodstock over the period from the early 1900s through to the 1980s. The major theme which

emerges is that Woodstock was always a respectable working class suburb of Cape Town. Nonetheless, change was apparent in terms of the differing ethnic composition of the suburb over time. As was shown, a number of different ethnic groupings have moved into (and sometimes out of) Woodstock through the eight decades spanned by this chapter. In addition, it is important to emphasize that the suburb also housed a stable multi-racial working class population. The functions played by Woodstock were very much akin to those of other inner city areas of North America or parts of Europe. In particular, as was shown in certain common features of the Jewish and Madeiran experience, Woodstock was the base for absorption of successive waves of immigrant populations.

An understanding of the evolution of Woodstock is crucial in order to understand the changes that took place during the mid-1980s. It was shown that Woodstock is well located close to the CBD and public transport. It housed a harmonious and working class population, who took pride both in themselves and their homes. The immigrants who settled in Woodstock over the century added to its character, architecture and social structure. Unfortunately, as the following two chapters will illustrate, Woodstock's success at remaining a solid working class neighbourhood close to amenities and the city centre, became its downfall. The suburb attracted the attentions of middle class groups who wished to move away from their distant suburbia and enjoy the benefits which only an inner city suburb could offer. The residential changes that occurred in Woodstock during the

1980s and through to the repeal of the Group Areas Act are the focus of attention in the next two chapters (Chapters Five and Six).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. E. Rip Collection: Personal Album, University of the Witwatersrand Archives, Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA), AB 1878.

2. *Ibid.*

3. A.F. Keen Collection: Memories - The Early History of Woodstock, Box A1839, State Archives, Cape Town Depot.

4. *Ibid*, p. 8.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. The tendency to romanticize is a feature of both the memoires of E. Rip and A.F. Keen.

8. This finding is derived from the cenus returns from Woodstock which are housed in the State Archives, Pretoria, STK 1918, Cape Town 101, No. 271. The area referred to is officially the ESD 88. The Britishness of the area was derived from an analysis of household surnames.

9. State Archives, Pretoria STK 1918, Cape Town 101, No. 271 ESD 79.

10. This material is extracted from State Archives, Pretoria, STK 1926, Cape Town 86, No. 612.

11. The shift to a more Afrikaans dominated suburb is evident from surveying household names in the 1931 and 1936 census returns. See State Archives, Pretoria, STK 1931, Cape Town 93, No. 775 and STK 1936, Cape Town 113, No. 1018.

12. A good source for the documentation of Jewish immigration into Cape Town is the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation Archive, 1841-1971. BC 849, University of Cape Town (UCT) Archives. It should be noted that a number of British and German Jews moved to Cape Town at the beginning of the twentieth century. This group of Jews was well established prior to the wave of Jewish settlement from Eastern Europe.

13. It should be noted that the census data, based on enumerator districts (ESD) does not permit the analysis of one specific block of Woodstock consistently throughout time. This is due to the manner in which the census data is organised and the changing geographical boundaries of enumerator districts. Therefore, a sample of ESDs in lower Woodstock together with material drawn from Cape Times Street Directories were chosen to illustrate the multiracial character of Woodstock. The sources drawn upon in the preparation of these figures are as follows: Figure 4.2 is based on State Archives, Pretoria STK 1921, Cape Town 77, No. 381.

Figure 4.3 is based on STK 1926, Cape Town 86, No. 612. Figure 4.4 is based on STK 1936, Cape Town 113, No. 1018. Figure 4.5 is based on Cape Times Street Directory of 1945, p. 102.

14. Rybko Scrapbooks, BC 905 UCT Archives.

15. This point draws from material in the Jewish Immigration Collection, BC 719, UCT Archives.

16. See material in South African Jewish Board of Deputies, BC 792, UCT Archives. The material in this collection contains details of the arrival of steamers in Cape Town with settlers from Eastern Europe. In order for Jews to be allowed to disembark in South Africa settlers had to have a letter of reference and an address of a family member, friend or sponsor. Many of the new arrivals were bound for Woodstock. For example, the Durham Castle docked in Cape Town 19 December 1929 and a 19 year old male, Lub Mellch, from Shavla was going to stay with his uncle who was a butcher on Albert Road Woodstock.

17. See material in BC 792, UCT Archives.

18. This point is well-illustrated in the material housed in the collection of Bnoth Zion Archive 1920-1970, BC 852, UCT Archives.

19. See the immigration lists which are contained in BC 792, UCT Archives.

20. This point [illegible]ds upon material located in The Woodstock and Salt River Heb[illegible]ommunity 1918-1970, BC 759, UCT Archives.

21. *Ibid.*

22. see Morris Alexander Papers, BC 160, UCT Archives. In particular see " Morris Alexander: Parliamentarian and Jewish Leader", Memorial Lecture by Gustav Saron to the South African Jewish Board of Deputies 1966.

23. Kaplan Centre, Jewish Studies and Research, UCT, Taped Interview Collection Material.(It should be noted that this is a collection of taped interviews with first generation Jewish settlers in Cape Town. Specific dates for the interviews in this tape collection are not always available).Interview with W. Stern.

24. See BC 759, UCT Archives, in particular the Minute Book of the Woodstock and Salt River Talmud-Torah.

25. See BC 905, UCT Archives.

26. See the collection of taped interviews housed at the Kaplan Centre, Jewish Studies and Resaerc UCT.

27. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped interview with H. Turok.

28. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview - Myerson (no ininitial available).

29. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with J. Rubik.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with P. Abromovitz.

33. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with A. Rubin.

34. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with H. Turok.

35. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with L. Cohen.

36. Kaplan Centre, UCT, Taped Interview with M. Velkes.

37. It should be noted that within the Jewish community of Cape Town, the Anglicised, German and English Jews were financially better off than the later arrivals of Eastern European extraction. Many were already settled by the 1930s in the wealthy suburb of Oranjezicht. The divisions within the Cape Town Jewish community are highlighted especially in the interview with Mrs Wilkin who stated that the Anglicised Jews considered the Eastern European Jews as "loud and uncouth" and a "group who they shunned". In addition to the residential divide between the two Jewish groups, there was a divide in terms of places of worship and education. It was the ambition of most immigrant Jewish mothers that their sons or daughters attend Goodhope or SACS (schools of Anglicised Jewish children). According to Mrs Wilkin, "this was the greatest thing that could happen to a mother from 'the valley' (Woodstock) as this would enable the great chasm which existed in all aspects of life to be bridged and give the immigrant youth greater opportunities in life as they would now be accepted in more affluent and influential society". Kaplan Centre, Taped Interview with Mrs Wilkin.

38. The detailed study by Machado (1992) of the Madeiran community in Woodstock is the major source drawn upon in this discussion. It is based on a collection of rich oral histories of existing and former residents.The full details concerning this study are provided in the references.

39. Interview, Mrs Alves who emigrated from Madeira in 1970 and whose husband was a fisherman; and, Interview, Mr Fraites who emigrated from Madeira in 1968 and whose occupation is as a fisherman.

40. This fact can be gleaned from a comparison of Cape Times Street Directories; see also Machado, 1992.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNMENT, FINANCE CAPITAL AND THE GENTRIFICATION OF WOODSTOCK

The aim in this chapter, together with Chapter Six, is to analyse the residential changes taking place in Woodstock in the late apartheid era. In the period prior to repeal of the Group Areas Act various forces were working to restructure the residential make-up of this inner city suburb of Cape Town. The key forces that can be identified are threefold. First, was the impact of the Nationalist Government which sought in 1986 to legislate new group areas development in Woodstock. Second, was the unfolding effects of 'market' or economic forces in the local property market as shaped by the interventions of finance capital in the form of landlords, estate agents, and of big business. Finally, the political and economic forces at work in Woodstock were modified by the actions taken by the local community. The residential fabric of Woodstock was one in which the community was a major actor in shaping the social landscape. In attempting to unpack the various, and at times, overlapping sets of forces restructuring the residential face of Woodstock, it is useful to adopt the approach of Beauregard (1986; 1990), who views gentrification as a 'chaotic' concept (see Chapter Three) and differentiates the respective roles and effects of (a) different levels of government, (b) finance capital, and, (c) "the

significance of neighbourhood identity and community resistance" (Beauregard, 1990, p. 857). In this chapter the key focus is on the first two of Beauregard's three themes; the question of community action is reserved for discussion in Chapter Six.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

In this section the discussion centres on the roles of the different levels of government; specifically, a differentiation is made between the roles and effects of central and local government institutions and actors. The material is divided into two uneven parts. First, a discussion of the threat that central government legislation posed to Woodstock is presented in terms of a focus on the ramifications of the Group Areas Act for Woodstock and its residents. The second part will consider the highly influential actions of local government (Cape Provincial Administration) and local institutions as regards both the question of racial reclassification and of the allocation of permits which allowed people to reside legally in areas that were outside their defined group area. It is argued that in the case of Woodstock, the actions of local government actors were very important in tempering the impact threatened by the central government on Woodstock and its community.

Central Government and the Group Areas Act

As noted in Chapter Four, Cape Town is the South African city that has been most deeply affected by the consequences of central

government legislation in the form of the Group Areas Act. In the body of previous Cape Town research that sought to understand or interpret the impact of Group Areas, two key points emerge in respect of the Woodstock experience. First, the record of the razing of District Six and removals from Mowbray reveals the often contrary stances adopted by the local city government in opposition to that of the central government. In particular, the case of District Six shows the division between central and local governmental administrators; whereas the central government was committed to destruction, removal and rezoning, the Cape Town City Council, was more benign (Hart, 1988; 1990a). The City Council acknowledged the need for a drastic upgrading of the area, yet opposed a proclamation for exclusive settlement by whites. As Hart records:

> In 1962 the local government made a significant attempt to amend its previous neglect of deteriorating conditions in District Six and outlined a proposal to demolish and replan a large part of the area without displacing the residents. The plan was rejected by the national government, a fact which provoked animosity between the two tiers of authority (Hart, 1990a, p. 225).

The second key finding from prior research on the impress of central government on the residential landscape of Cape Town relates to methodological concerns. As was noted in Chapter Two, research concerning removals and the human impact of government legislation in South Africa has been greatly enriched by the use of oral sources and personal testamonies. To cite one social historian, crucial source material for the recent history of District Six is the:

perceptions and experiences of those who once lived there ... individuals are formed not just by place - but by a wider social context of relationships: relationships of friendships, kinship, employment, debt, power, enmity and passion (Nasson, 1990, p. 46).

The importance of drawing upon oral material to document the Woodstock experience with respect to central goverment intervention is reinforced by the limited availability of other source material.

The introduction of the Group Areas legislation marked the first intervention of central government on the residential face of Woodstock (Western 1981, p. 111). In terms of this legislation, Woodstock was divided into two distinctive parts, namely upper and lower Woodstock (see Fig. 5.1). Upper Woodstock, which falls between the coloured residential space of Walmer Estate and Victoria (Main) Road, was declared as a white group area. By contrast, the mixed land use area of lower Woodstock, comprised of both industrial and residential space, was proclaimed as a so-termed 'undeclared' or 'controlled area'.[1] The term 'controlled area' meant that this part of Woodstock was open to mixed race occupancy, representing one example of what Western (1981, p. 109) styles a "spatial anomaly" of apartheid social engineering for in terms of the grand design, the whole suburb of Woodstock should have been designated as white space. This anomalous legal position meant that the future of lower Woodstock was always clouded by the possibility that at any time the apartheid government could intervene and proclaim this space as zoned exclusively for one or other race grouping.[2]

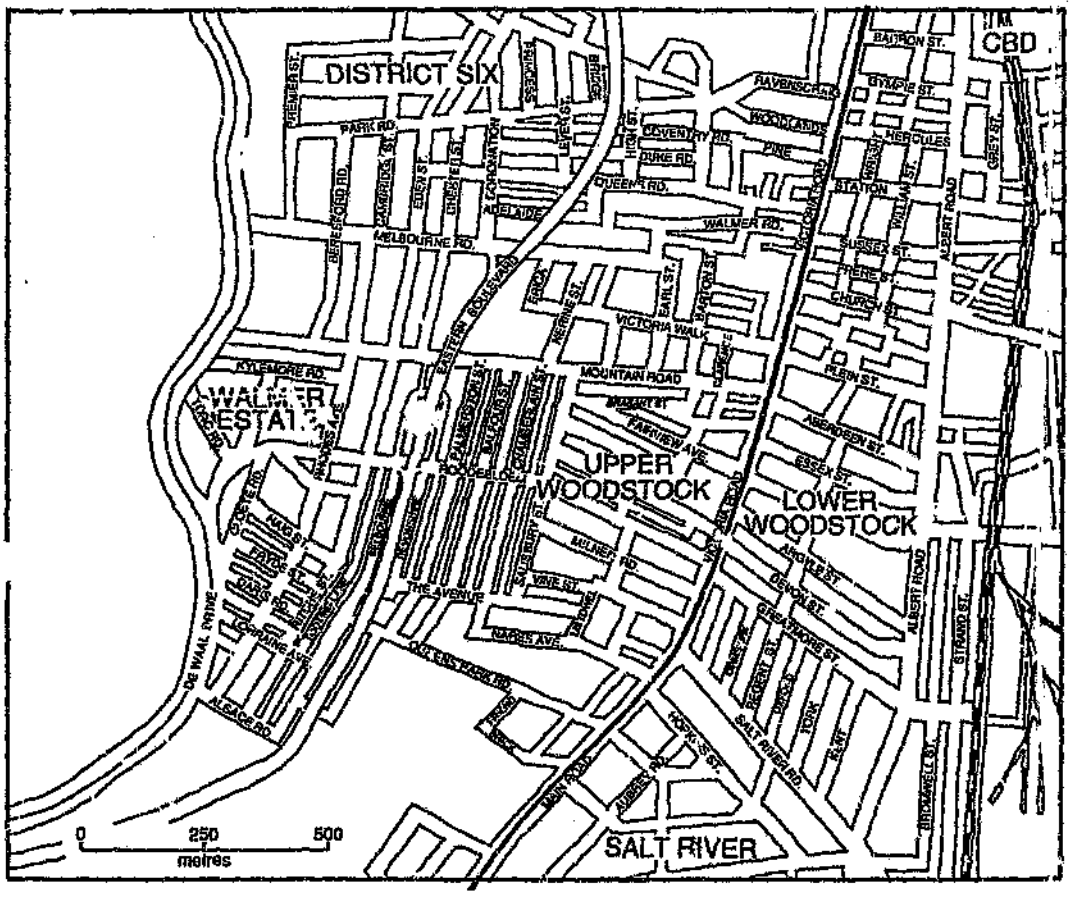

Figure 5.1: Upper and Lower Woodstock

A second phase of central government intervention occurred after the tabling in parliament of the report of the Theron Commission in 1976 (South Africa, 1976). Among several tasks, the goals of this Commission included an examination of the progress of coloureds since 1960 and the preparation of recommendations for the further development of the community (South Africa, 1976; van der Horst, 1976). The Theron Commission recommended in June 1976 that lower Woodstock be declared an area for exclusive coloured residence (South Africa, 1976). In July 1978 the Department of Planning advertised an investigation into converting the area of lower Woodstock into a coloured group area (Western, 1981, p. 111). The local residents, however, organised a meeting and unanimously resolved that the area should remain open to both white and coloured residents. The campaign to keep lower Woodstock as a legally racially mixed part of the inner city was successful, with 87 percent of residents voting for an 'open' area. [3] The Cape Town City Council supported the wishes of the majority of the local populace and stated its opposition to the Group Areas Act. Eventually, in November 1979, it was announced by central government that lower Woodstock would remain designated as a 'controlled' area. [4]

The impress of central government authority on the residential landscape of Woodstock was raised once more in October 1986. The then State President, P.W. Botha, proclaimed at a National Party congress in East London that he wished to change the mixed residential suburb of lower Woodstock into an exclusively coloured neighbourhood. The State President justified this

announcement on the grounds that he thought that coloured people should get "suitable areas" on the Cape Peninsula as he noted that "it was their habitat" (*Cape Times*, ? 10.1986). Moreover, he declared further that the coloured communities had been wronged ("verontreg"), not due to the Group Areas Act but because of "the poor conditions created by the colonial era" (*Cape Times*, 2.10.1986).

In understanding the threat posed by this announcement, it must be appreciated that lower and upper Woodstock were, to a large extent, socially distict. Historically, upper Woodstock emerged as a predominantly white and a higher income area than the predominantly coloured area of lower Woodstock (see Chapter Four). None the less, it must be stressed that racial intermingling did occur throughout the suburb. Upper Woodstock was an area of filtering for a small number of working class coloured families, most of whom were living in rental accommodation. The higher-income character and preferred residence of upper Woodstock was as a result of a location which accorded uninterrupted views of Devil's Peak from the back of houses and of Table Bay from the front (Plate 5.1). By contrast, housing in lower Woodstock was smaller and intermingled with industrial or warehousing establishments. The duality betwen lower and upper portions of the suburb was further enhanced by the fact that these areas formed two distinct municipal wards, each with their own councillor. The Group Areas Act further severed Woodstock with the demarcation line being Victoria (Main)



Plate [illegible] View of Devil's Peak from upper Woodstock



Plate [illegible] [illegible] character of parts of lower Woodstock. Note the [illegible] in front of the poor quality housing.

Road with the controlled area of lower Woodstock enduring great uncertainty in the apartheid period. Above all, the impact of the threat of central government legislative action on the divided suburb was to act as a destabilising effect to many who lived and worked in the lower Woodstock area, as whites could not afford housing anywhere else, and coloured families did not want to be relocated to the violent, alienating and distant townships on the Cape Flats.[5]

This uncertainty concerning the future of the area, together with a lack of funds, in many instances, resulted in parts of lower Woodstock exhibiting a very run down character (see Plate 5.2). Accordingly, as an indirect consequence of central government authority, until the mid-1980s there was scant evidence of any upgrading and refurbishment in the lower parts of Woodstock.

The Role and Impact of Local Government

The role and impact of local government in Cape Town was clearly different to that of the central government. As has been noted above, the Cape Provincial Council and the municipal authorities in Cape Town were often in opposition to apartheid policies directed from Pretoria. In terms of the changing residential fabric of Woodstock the local government played an influential role in keeping Woodstock as the only racially mixed and harmonious suburb in the Western Cape. Especially important was local (provincial and municipal) government powers concerning the issuance of permits and local actions taken in respect of racial

re-classification. Extensive interview sources and personal histories are drawn upon to flesh out these two overlapping themes.

Permits

The permit system allowed populations of a race group other than those for whom the area was designated to legally rent or purchase property in that area.[6] In the case of Woodstock, the widespread functioning of the permit system was an essential factor in maintaining the legal, inter-racial character in the years of late apartheid.

After the announcement made by State President P.W. Botha, during late 1986 and 1987, the Group Areas Board (under direct orders from Minister Chris Heunis) tried to legislate that lower Woodstock be changed from a 'controlled' area to a 'coloured' area. This controversial declaration mobilised the whole of Woodstock and indeed much of Greater Cape Town to come together and support an "open Woodstock" campaign, in addition to protecting the white residents against forced government eviction (Chapter Six). During 1987 the Board made recommendations to the minister who was expected to propose a 'coloured' group area. In an interview undertaken with the official in the Cape Provincial Administration (Mr van Dyk) responsible for the issuance of permits it was admitted that lower Woodstock "was already 75 percent coloured and permits were issued to all coloureds from that area who applied for them". [7] This sympathetic attitude

towards the granting of permits was not as readily applied in other parts of Cape Town. Relative to other parts of South Africa, more particularly the urban areas of the Transvaal, Orange Free State or Natal, the permit system was applied in more liberal fashion in the Cape Town environs. [8] As van Dyk stressed, "Cape Town gives more permits than it refuses". [9]

The national procedure for applying for a permit was complex. As van Dyk explained:

> if an Indian would like to move to a 'coloured' area then the application goes to the City Council, the Management Council and because of the tri-cameral parliament, Coloured Own Affairs are also consulted. If all three of these parties say yes then a permit is issued, but if just one says no then the permit is refused.[10]

The dangers in not securing a legal permit were both to the tenant and the landlord. Although many people contravened the Group Areas Act and rented residential space without a permit, they put themselves and the landlord at risk of prosecution. According to section 4, if landlords leased property to coloured or Indian tenants and was discovered by the authorities to be contravening the Act, the landlord was given a period of three months to evict the tenants. If the landlord did not carry out this order in the required time, then after a further month had lapsed the minister had the right to sell the property. In the case of landlords owning a block of flats, the minister had the power to sell the whole building if the landlord had many tenants in contravention of the Group Areas Act. [11] Nationally the difficulty of obtaining a permit compounded with the possible risk of sudden eviction and the state's power to confiscate

landlord's property, ensured that few black, coloured or Indian people resided in white group areas. In the Cape Town area the historically liberal attitude of local officialdom ensured that the permit system functioned to favour successful applications to legally reside in white areas. Possession of a permit was proudly announced by coloured tenants in lower Woodstock. For example, several benefits of gaining a permit were emphasized by one former resident of the Cape Flats, now resident in lower Woodstock, *viz.*, absence of gangsters, the ability to go about in the suburb safely at night, and close proximity to place of employment (a 15 minute walk) with a consequent saving on transport costs.[12] It was clear that the attractions of daily life in respectable Woodstock were far greater than the everyday violence of the Cape Flats (cf. Pinnock, 1985).

During the mid-1980s the local authorities adopted a generally relaxed attitude to the implementation of powers under the Group Areas Act. In particular, this was evident throughout the area of Woodstock. The Cape Town authorities would only issue an eviction order if residents in the neighbourhood were complaining and demanding that something be done about contraventions of the Act. Mr Van Dyk was at pains to stress that the Act itself "is quite flexible" and that it was "the 'verkramptes' on the 'Platteland' municipalities and the few in the Cape City Council which keep everything back". [13]

Thus, the generally relaxed attitude of local officialdom combined with the flow of permits maintained the inter-racial

character of Woodstock. What must be understood, however, is that during the phase of late apartheid an incipient process of gentrification was beginning to emerge. In lower Woodstock, a process was taking place of the replacement of working class poor white and coloured households by a newly arrived population. The new arrivals were primarily a Muslim coloured community able to afford the rising rental levels in lower Woodstock. One long-time resident of lower Woodstock stated that "people are coming back from the Flats" and "if Muslims and coloureds can get a permit they jump at the chance of a house in Woodstock". [14] In particular, middle class coloureds were attracted by the stability of Woodstock. The scale of inmoving was aided by the peculiarities of apartheid's race re-classification system.

Re-classification

Re-classification was one of the idiosyncracies of the apartheid system, whereby members of one particular racial group could apply to change their official race classification. For example, it allowed at the stroke of an official pen that coloureds could suddenly become white or Indians be transformed into coloureds. It must be noted that for re-classification to occur that a corresponding skin tone was not always necessary; instead, it was the whim of personnel at the regional offices of the Department of Internal Affairs that had the capacity to drastically change the direction of people's lives and their access to better housing, education, employment, security and general social well-

being. Once more, the generally more liberal local interpretation in Cape Town of Pretoria legislation was an important factor.

Re-classification was of particular consequence in the area of upper Woodstock for it allowed coloured people to purchase property within this legally defined white group area. One prominent individual in Woodstock, who was instrumental in assisting applicants for re-classification, was the headmaster of the local white high school, Queens Park High. In an extensive interview, it was explained that, in many respects, "re-classification is linked to where you live in Woodstock".[15] He elaborated on this point:

> if you live in lower Woodstock but close to Victoria (Main) road, then you have a good chance of being re-classified. If you live above Main road you are home and dry. There is status involved the higher one moves up the mountain. [16]

Re-classification from coloured to white ensured that 'coloured' children could attend 'white' schools and their parents could live and buy houses in white group areas. Children were both the impetus and means for re-classification. Parents sought the status of white privilege in order to better their offspring's life chances. More significantly, children were the means whereby parents themselves would be automatically re-classified. Mr Gilmore stated that "coloured families are re-classifying their children more and more, and this trend has increased especially since the school boycotts". [17] Furthermore, he emphasized that, "when the children are re-classified the whole family is re-classified as the children are still minors". [18]

The process of re-classification in Woodstock was facilitated by the actions of the local headmaster and of his personal links to the officials in the local Internal Affairs department in Cape Town. Mr Gilmore explained that:

> the best people to go and see, were the Internal Affairs people at the Customs House. If the coloured families play it straight and don't try to crook the system then the authorities *bend over backwards* to reclassify them and help as much as they can. In the cases which I have been involved with there has been over a 90 percent success rate.[19]

Further, Mr Gilmore stressed the significance of his personal linkages in the whole process of re-classification: "I find the authorities at Customs House very sympathetic and helpful and therefore most cases are successful".[20] Nonetheless, he cautioned of certain risks in the re-classification procedure:

> To take on a coloured child that had no chance of re-classification and take the risk of somebody reporting them to the authorities would be very hurtful for that child and may jeopardize my whole school, and the good relation I have with Customs House may be blown and Woodstock coloured children would not be able to attend the school.[21]

The Cape Town authorities seemed to bend the rules regarding re-classification in order to fit the requirements of the Group Areas Act. On the one hand, a coloured family wishing to live in upper Woodstock who went through the re-classification process was almost certain to succeed. But, on the other hand, an upper Woodstock coloured family who did not wish to be re-classified but instead wanted to apply for a permit to rent in a 'white' area was almost certain to be turned down.[22] Nevertheless, coloured families in lower Woodstock who stood little chance of re-classification, were almost always granted permits to rent in

the area. Through this process of manipulating the rules of the game, the authorities managed to maintain the facade of upper Woodstock as a supposedly 'white' group area, allowing a racially mixed population to reside in the controlled portion of lower Woodstock.

An important factor, besides that of local authority concession, was the broader acceptance in the Woodstock community of the 'game' of re-classification. This theme was strongly apparent in interviews conducted with residents and, in particular, with the Woodstock Methodist Minister. The Rev. Mark Stephenson said that Woodstock was an area of "play whites, and deviant groups".[23] These people would have difficulty in being assimilated into other communities, yet in "Woodstock there was no scorn for these people. There is space for them - perhaps a classic statement of inner city activity".[24] Further, he elaborated that it felt "good to live here (Woodstock); it is close to where all of the issues are, they are trying to create a community of non-racism". Finally, he commented on the inherent tension in 'playing white' as the players were then "obliged to uphold their 'whiteness'".[25]

THE ROLE OF FINANCE CAPITAL

Agents of finance capital in a variety of forms were highly active and influential in shaping residential change in Woodstock during the late apartheid period. These agents included the

activities of estate agents, landlords and of sections of corporate capital based in Cape Town. Each will be examined in turn.

Estate Agents

The influential roles played by estate agents in Woodstock were twofold. First, they were significant actors in terms of facilitating purchases by coloured families of properties in white upper Woodstock as an alternative to re-classification or securing a permit. Second, in lower Woodstock, unscrupulous estate agents used the threat of possible group areas proclamation to pressurize white families into panic selling of their homes at 'market rates' which ostensibly would be a better financial arrangement than compulsory purchase at government determined prices. Estate agents were quoted as asking people to sell "while there is still time", in other words before the area becomes a coloured group area and whites were forced to sell and move. [26]

A representative of one of the most active estate agencies in Woodstock confirmed the ease that coloured residents could obtain permits to live in lower Woodstock, especially in the area between Greatmore and Church streets. [27] Above Victoria (Main) road very few permits were issued and therefore coloured families mainly rented illegally. None the less, it was commented that: "even though this is the case there is not one street in Upper Woodstock that is not occupied by at least one coloured family". [28]

One of the most notable means whereby coloured households were able to penetrate upper Woodstock with the assistance of estate agents was through the vehicle of nominee ownership.

Nominee buying is a system whereby coloureds could purchase a home in a white group area through the formation of a closed corporation in a white person's name. Many estate agents were willing to overlook the fact that potential coloured purchasers of properties in upper Woodstock had no permit, in order to conclude a sale and collect their appropriate commission.[29] Nevertheless, for coloured purchasers there were risks in the nominee system on three fronts. First, if the authorities traced the occupants and they were not in possession of a valid permit then they could be legally removed. Second, unethical nominee buyers could declare the purchased house as their property, even though the coloured family raised the capital, as, without a permit, coloured families in white group areas had no legal means of protection. A third set of problems concerning the nominee system related to cost considerations:

> Members of coloured and Indian communities who allow themselves to be coerced into 'close corporation situations' should bear in mind that a close corporation is what we call a 'legal person'. In the same way as in the case of a company, the transfer duty and transfer fee on such transactions is normally double the amount it would be for an individual, who is referred to as a 'natural person'. In addition close corporations have to be registered - a procedure which is usually done by an attorney or accountant, whose fees will be about R600.[30]

Those coloured families who took the risk of nominee buying and were successful, were a positive influence on the built environment taking pride in their home environment. Therefore,

through the nominee system, many houses were refurbished internally, and neatened up externally.[31] This finding was confirmed in observations conducted as part of house-to-house interviews.

Homes under coloured ownership or tenancy, especially in lower Woodstock were particularly neat and well-decorated internally. Although the exterior was generally painted and the outside fence fixed, little conspicuous exterior work was carried out, in order not to offend neighbours who might otherwise alert the unwanted gaze of government authorities (see Plates 5.3 and 5.4). This process of what might be appropriately named as 'covert gentrification' stands in direct contrast to the European or North American experience, where gentrification was manifest in the conspicuous renovation and aesthetic upliftment of areas (cf Ley, 1981; Zukin, 1982; Jager, 1986; Mills, 1989; Ley, 1993). Fear engendered by the Group Areas Act and the consequent need for secrecy and privacy meant that middle income newcomers to Woodstock internalised their family life and the refurbishment of their built environment. This process of upgrading of working class residences was seldom reflected from the outside *per se*.

Covert gentrification, facilitated by the deeds of estate agents, meant that the area of lower Woodstock was experiencing a shift in its class character. This class change was occurring without a substantive outward appearance in the housing stock and thus in the years of late apartheid went generally unnoticed. Another factor which acted as a smokescreen for the slow march of covert

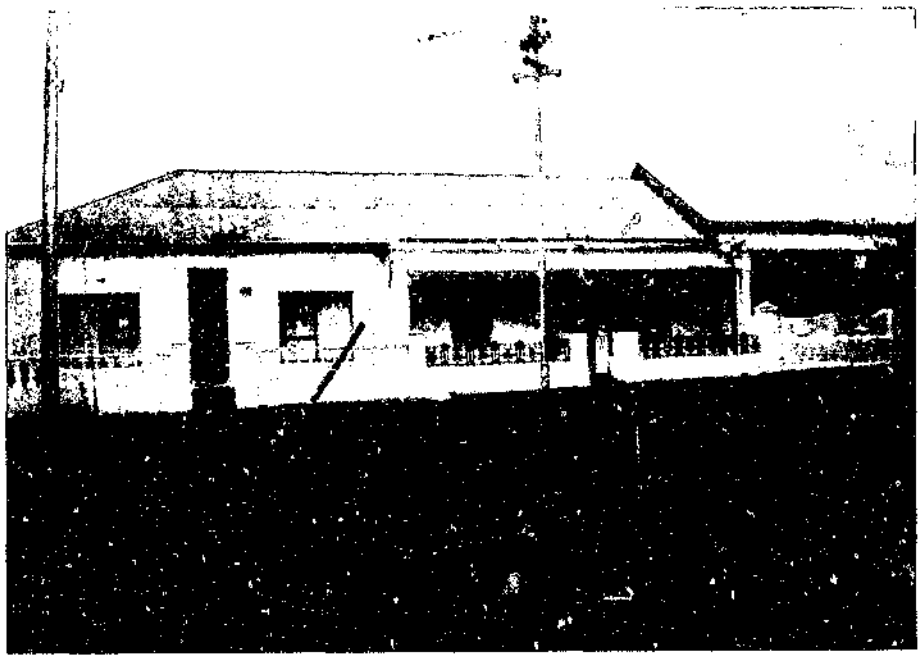

Plate 5.3: Covert gentrification in lower Woodstock. Interviews were carried out with the residents of these homes. The interiors were tastefully decorated, however, the exterior had merely been neatened up. Note the repainting and new wooden window frames replacing the old steel ones.

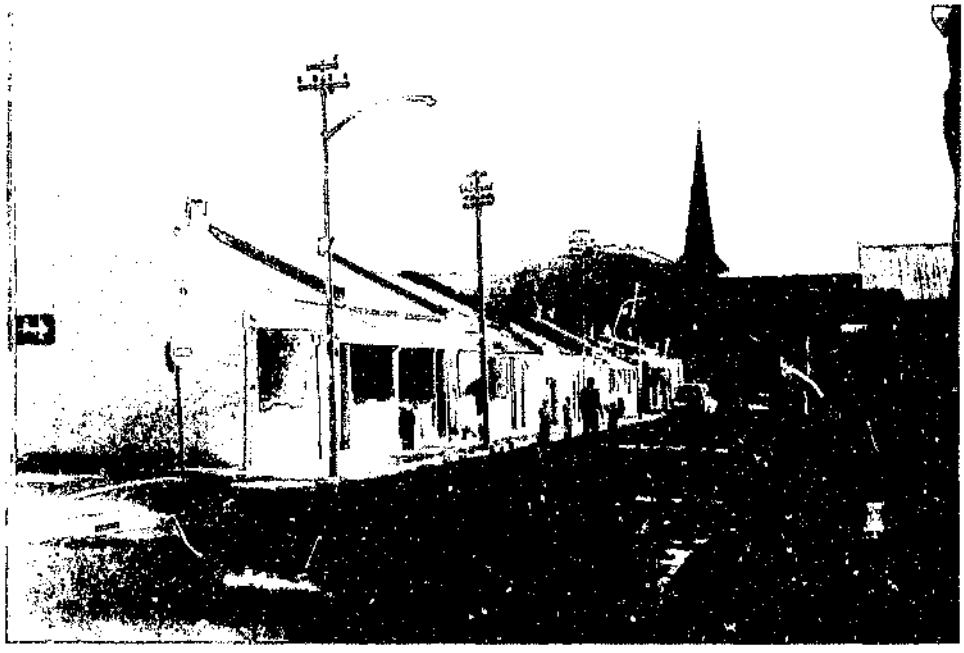

Plate 5.4: Covert gentrification in lower Woodstock

gentrification was the attention given to the possible change in legal status of lower Woodstock under the renewed threat in 1986-1987 of Group Areas legislation. Overall, the residential change that was occurring was of a class rather than racial displacement with a transition from a predominantly working class area to a new growth of higher income Muslim residents, moving into the suburb from the Cape Flats, displacing the longterm resident white and coloured working class population. As shown below, this transition was reinforced by the actions of local landlords as well as the community of estate agents.

Landlords

Renting accommodation from landlords was a means for many coloureds to live (albeit illegally) in Woodstock without the necessity of going through the procedures of reclassification or securing a legal permit. Although under the Group Areas legilsation, landlords, in renting out accommodation to coloured tenants, ran a risk of prosecution, many willingly undertook this risk for financial gain. In considering the role which landlords played in residential change in Woodstock in the period of late apartheid, it is necessary to distinguish, once more, the position of lower and upper parts of the suburb. It should be cautioned that although the following interview data reflects actual conversations, it was only tenants and Woodstock residents who were interviewed. The landlords who were approached were not willing to discuss their tenants, the legality of their leases, or recent rental increases on their buildings.

Many residents of lower Woodstock were in rented accommodation. At the time of the interview research in 1987 it was evident that the working class populations in rental accommodation were long settled in the area; many people had lived in their houses for more that 10 years and some in excess of 30 or 40 years. Threats to the stability of this rental community appeared in the era of late apartheid as the flow of single middle income whites, wealthier Muslim and coloured families from the Cape Flats, pushed up rental levels considerably. The actions of landlords in response to this inflow of new populations seeking residence in Woodstock were threefold. First, many landlords made cosmetic upgrades to their Victorian semi-detached row houses and either sold them to the highest bidder or, second, landlords increased their rentals by a considerable margin. Lastly, landlords began to exercise business rights under zoning legislation in residential areas of lower Woodstock, most notably in Gympie street (*The Argus*, 14.11. 1990). The consequences of these actions were to force the former low rental paying households out of their accommodation, often with a minimal notice period. It was observed by the Woodstock-Walmer Estate-Salt River Management Committee that taking up of business rights was "a grave injustice to people who were being evicted from cheap accommodation close to their places of employment" (*The Argus*, 14.11.1990).

The actions of landlords were recounted in several interviews:

Landlords fix the place for thousands and then tell people to move. The landlord told my neighbour to go as she was white and is illegally in lower Woodstock. She was scared and he sold the house to coloureds for a lot of money. [32]

Other tenants in lower Woodstock stated that landlords used the threatened proclamation of the 'controlled area' to a coloured group area, as an excuse to evict poorer white residents and replace them with wealthier coloureds from the Flats, who would pay a premium to live close to the city. Bitterness was sometimes tinged with racism. One white pensioner on Cavendish Street, bemoaned the area's transformation into a 'small Mecca' and complained that:

more and more coloureds are moving in, but they have houses built for them, why move into our area. Renovations are happening on a large scale all over the area and it is the landlords and estate agents who are making the money ... I have known all of the whites around here, mainly Afrikaners in rented property, for many years, now they are being kicked out by the landlords who are getting good prices when they sell to the Moslems". [33]

Further, she remarked that the changes, effected by landlords, had been evident only since 1985-1986: "Mrs. Smuts down the road used to pay R80 per month for her place, now Muslims rent it for more than R200 per month". [34] Finally, in terms of the rising cost of rental accommodation due to landlord opportunism, another common thread in the interviews was illustrated by one longterm Woodstock resident, then living on Argyll street. The lady, one Mrs Rumble, stated that her landlady was selling to an Indian buyer:

She (the landlady) came around and said that the houses are sold and as from next month will have a new owner. The new owner wishes to renovate the houses and I will have first choice to move back in. The rental, however, is going to increase from R100 per month to at least R450 per month. [35]

Irrespective of personal bias or racist comments, it is evident from the interviews and other sources that by 1987 lower Woodstock was beginning to experience a process of gentrification, albeit in isolated pockets. In a report on lower Woodstock Vanessa Watson, of the Urban Problems Research Unit of University of Cape Town, described "the problem of gentrification" in lower Woodstock and observed that in South Africa "it was exacerbated because of an absence of alternative, well-located, cheap accommodation due to the legacy of the Group Areas Act" (*The Argus*, 14.11.1990). The gentrification process was manifest in rental increases of 300 percent or more, the selling of stily refurbished houses by landlords and the actions of new incomers who were renovating and upgrading properties (see Plates 5.3 and 5.4). The 'losers' in this gentrification process were those long- established working class families and pensioners, who were both coloured and white. Although the first choice of these displaced households was to seek alternative accommodation in other parts of lower Woodstock, many were forced out of the suburb to the slum-like lower regions of neighbouring suburbs such as Brooklyn and Rugby (refer Fig.1.1).

The Case of Upper Woodstock

Upper Woodstock, whilst not experiencing the same amount of political pressure and uncertainty as lower Woodstock, was showing visual evidence of gentrification by 1987. Evidence for this overt gentrification taking place in upper Woodstock was

further confirmed by interview material (see Plates 5.5; 5.6; 5.7 and 5.8). As in lower Woodstock, the actions of landlords included rental increases associated with property refurbishment and the selling of properties in the context of a rising house market. In contrast with lower Woodstock, however, the new inmovers to upper Woodstock were mainly middle-class, whites, often single or newly married professionals.

The social changes occurring in the residential face of upper Woodstock were signalled by Rev. Stephenson. He observed that:

> there is already an influx of people into this area, as the houses are large, reasonably priced and ripe for renovation. Unfortunately the people who choose to live here are 'trendies' and are changing an established neighbourhood into a dormatory. They don't take root, and will soon move out.[36]

In another informative interview, Mr. Gilmore, the headmaster of Queens Park High School, stated that "house prices have risen enormously. One man I know bought three small semis in upper Woodstock for R3000 to R5000; one year later he sold them for in excess of R40 000". [37] Neighbourhood change was visibly in evidence at the close of the 1980s. Change was confined not only to residential upgrading, but also to the appearance of commercial ventures which were moving into recently renovated and refurbished small designer office blocks (see Plates 5.9 and 5.10). Likewise, in lower Woodstock the old warehousing stock was being upgraded to facilitate offices and light industry (see Plates 5.11 and 5.12). Indeed, it was described that: "the real 'Old Woodstock' is being moved out".[38] Change was precipitated by escalating rentals in line with the rising property market of



Plate 5.5: Refurbished row housing in upper Woodstock



Plate 5.6: Overt gentrification in Fairview Road, upper Woodstock.



Plate 5.7. Overt gentrification in Brabant road, upper Woodstock



Plate 5.8. Overt gentrification, Chamberlain road, upper Woodstock

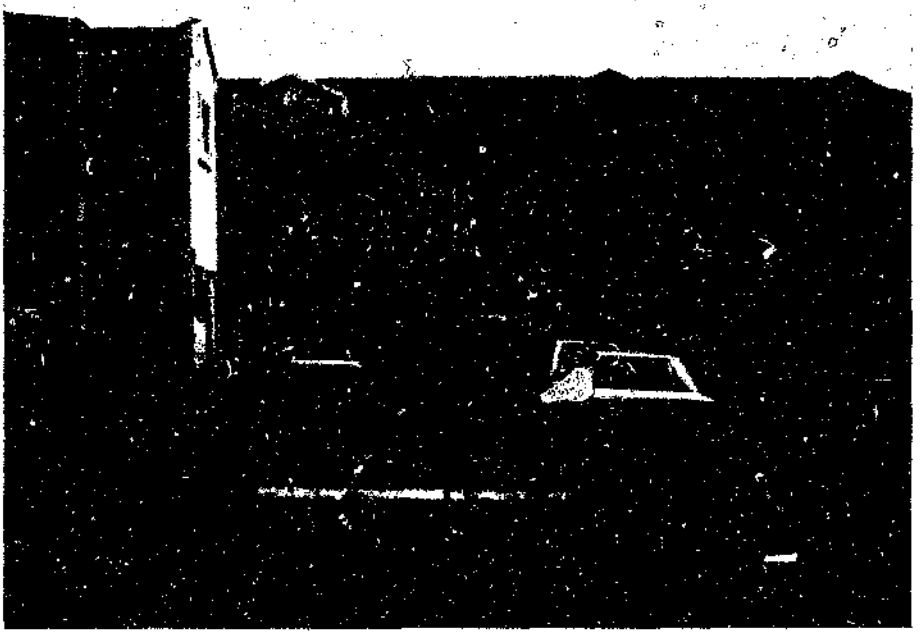

Plate 5.9: office development in upper Woodstock



Plate 5.10: office development on the corner of Salisbury and Woodstock roads, upper Woodstock



Plate 5.11: Refurbished warehousing on the corner of Albert road and Mill street



Plate 5.12: Albert road, note the above building in the background and upgrading in process in the foreground

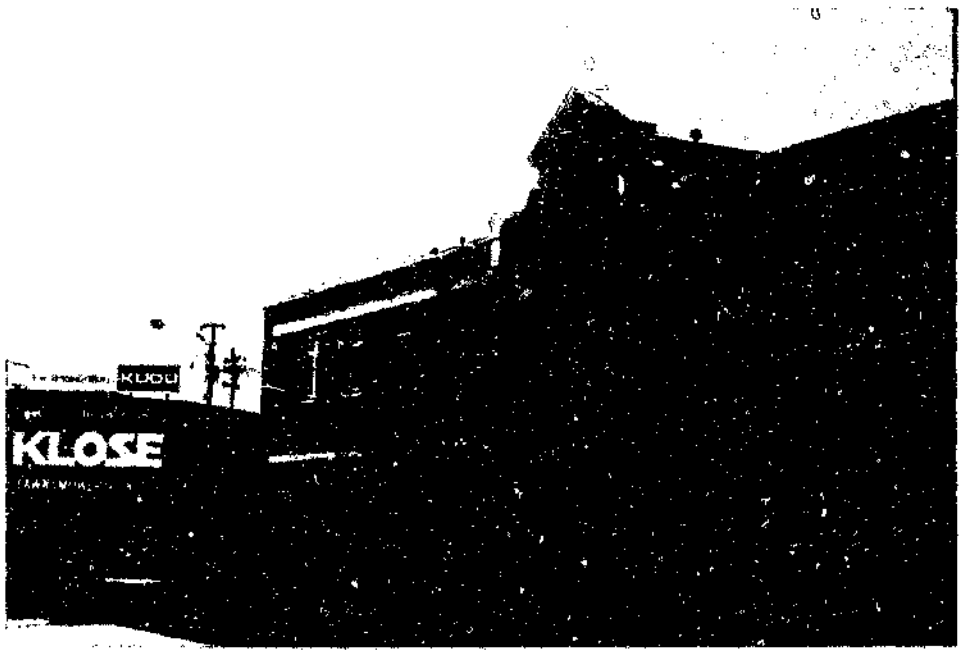

Plate V.11: Refurbished warehousing on the corner of Albert road and Mill street



Plate V.12: Albert road, note the above building in the background and upgrading in process in the foreground

the time: in at least one recorded case, rentals rose from R35 to R 300 per month. [39] In some instances, landlords were so keen to sell that sitting tenants were given cash incentives, such as cash bonuses, in order to encourage them to leave. Others of the 'Old Woodstock' left the area because they simply could not afford the new rental levels. In 1986, it was reported that tenants were in a state of "an absolute panic" as a result of rental increases from R170 to R224 per month (*Cape Times*, 11.10.1986). The 'new Woodstock' in its upper portion was being dominated by: "young upwardly mobile people, who although they support the area as an open one, probably won't stay in Woodstock for more than a couple of years, as once they start a family they will want bigger houses". [40]

The experience of gentrification was modified for many coloured inmovers by the spectre of the Group Areas Act. Typical is the experience of one coloured household who were interviewed, living on Roberts Road, upper Woodstock. [41] The family exhibited a common profile of gentrifiers, as observed in other research (see Chapter Three). The husband held a management position in the city and the family was young and upwardly mobile. This family legally purchased (through the permit system) a property and had undertaken considerable renovation. None the less, the family still sent their children to the Muslim school in Bo-Kaap, as they "don't want them to be upset by any possible racist behaviour at the local school". [42] The wife stated that whilst they were happy in a racially mixed area, she "doesn't want to be in the way". The ever-present concern of the Group Areas Act

was evident in the comment that whilst the neighbourhood had welcomed them "I keep the children quiet so nobody can complain".[43] The experience of coloured gentrifiers was thus tinged with the racist impact of group areas.

The Role of Big Business

The final segment of finance capital that played a minor role in the changing residential face of Woodstock prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act was that of corporate capital. The key individual agents that threatened or did impact on Woodstock were the cluster of large business companies, led by the oil multinational BP, who proposed large-scale redevelopment of Cape Town's inner city, including the Woodstock area (Anon, 1987; Hart, 1990b, p. 136). Funding by BP and its allies for this redevelopment schemes was initially estimated to be around R100 million (*Financial Mail*, 28.11.1986). In an interview with a senior BP representative, directly involved in the proposed redevelopment project, it was stressed that BP "was acting as the facilitator between the private sector and the community" in the redevelopment areas.[44]

The consortium of businesses, spearheaded by BP, offered to mount a private sector initiative which would encompass the revitalization of District Six, Walmer Estate, Salt River and Woodstock, seeking to "open them to all South Africans" (Anon., 1987, p. 23). This project was once described as "potentially the most ambitious urban renewal campaign undertaken in Africa" (*Cape Times*, 31.08.1988). After the planning and investigative work

which formed phase one of this project, in phase two the Woodstock area was identified as a priority for intervention (Anon, 1987, p. 24). It was notable that BP brought in a group of American planners into the project design process and, that the experience of inner city renewal in Boston and Philadelphia were the models for Cape Town's inner city rejuvenation. [45] The vision of a revitalised Woodstock was outlined by the BP chairman, Ian Sims, who believed that the majority of the local community want "Woodstock to be upgraded and revitalised" (cited in Anon., 1987, p. 25). Nevertheless, he stressed that in Woodstock "revitalising the environment should not result in existing residents being displaced" (cited in Anon., 1987, p. 25). Critics of the redevelopment proposals, of BP and its allies, argued that "upgrading in Woodstock and Salt River would inevitably force a rise in rents, and a further exit of the poor" (Anon., 1987, p. 25).

The BP initiative took place against the background of the imminent release of a report by the President's Council on the question of declaring 'open' racial areas.[46] The report eventually recommended two major initiatives (South Africa, 1988). First, that city councils could decide, together with local government and a developer, whether or not a new area should be declared 'open'. Second, that existing areas, such as lower Woodstock, which were 'undeclared' would be legally recognised as 'grey' areas (South Africa, 1988). In the interim period before the report was tabled in parliament, most people involved in the BP project were optimistic that the

recommendations of the President's Council would be accepted. It was expected that the Report would rapidly be implemented and also BP assumed that the government would donate the District Six land to them for redevelopment. [47] Based upon this optimistic scenario, BP had identified many areas in Woodstock that would be targeted for upgrading.

Despite the optimism of the period, the much-heralded BP plans were never brought to fruition. The redevelopment proposals for Woodstock were dashed as an outcome of events in the symbolic, neighbouring area of District Six. The three key factors behind the collapse of the inner city re-development project were government's failure to de-proclaim District Six, the expansion of the Cape Technikon and community opposition to BP's proposals (Hart, 1990b, p. 136).

The only sphere of activity in which corporate capital exerted a minor impress on the changing face of Woodstock related to a trend of a number of large companies (such as BP and Shell) to loan money to their employees in order to purchase homes. These properties were registered in the company's name at the deeds office, thus circumventing the Group Areas legislation. Shell were candid in their support of coloured employees who wished to purchase houses in white group areas. The advantage of Shell assisting their employees was that it gave their employees more stability than in rental accommodation.[48] Accordingly, through the schemes for subsidized purchase of housing in white group areas, large corporate capital functioned as an agency for the

gentrification of inner city suburbs, not least Woodstock, introducing a new stratum of middle class employees who were purchasing homes close to their place of work.[49]

* * * * * * * * * * *

The activities of government and finance capital in re-shaping the residential landscape of Woodstock in the period of late apartheid formed the focus of attention in this chapter. It was shown that the intentions of central government apartheid social engineering were tempered by the actions taken by local government and of local officialdom. In particular, the significance of the permit system and of the re-classification of races was noted as key influences on the changing residential complexion of Woodstock. Interrelated with the actions and impact of government was the changes wrought by finance capital, more especially by the activities of landlords and of estate agents.

It is evident that Woodstock by the late 1980s period was experiencing a process of gentrification. This process was occurring at an uneven pace across the whole suburb and was manifest in different ways in both upper and lower Woodstock. As argued in this chapter, in the upper parts of the suburb, gentrification was overtly expressed in external renovation and refurbishment; in lower Woodstock, the process was, to a large extent, 'hidden', a covert form of gentrification which was the

result of the renewed threat posed in 1986 and 1987 by the application of the Group Areas Act.

Above all, the most crucial point that was emphasized related to the *class* change that was taking place in the residential face of the suburb. This changing class complexion in Woodstock stands in contrast to the series of ethnic changes as described in Chapter Four. In the era of late apartheid, gentrification heralded the displacement of working class households and their replacement by a new middle class population which was both white and coloured in racial hue. In the following chapter, the themes of neighbourhood identity and community resistance are related to the residential changes occurring in Woodstock.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. The legal position of Group Areas in Woodstock was clarified in an interview conducted with the local Member of Parliament for Woodstock, Mr Tian van der Merwe, 1.03.1987.

2. Interview, T. van der Merwe, 01.03.1987.

3. *Ibid.* In the interview Tian van der Merwe explained that an 'open' area reflects the wishes of the residents for a multi-racial neighbourhood. However, the designation 'open' area was never officially accepted by the central government which was not prepared to shift from the designation of lower Woodstock as a 'controlled area'.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Interview, Mr Van Dyk, Cape Provincial Administration, 14.07.1987. Mr Van Dyk was responsible for the issuing of permits for the whole of Cape Town. Four types of permits could be issued, *viz.*, farms, residential, business, or industrial. The focus here is on residential permits.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. Interview, Mrs Benting, a coloured resident of Cavendish Square, 5 May 1987.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Interview, Maureen Robertson, a Coloured resident of Cavendish Street, 5 May 1987. It should be noted that in terms of apartheid race classification the 'Muslims' referred to in the discussion form members of the broader coloured race classification.

15. Interview with Mr Gilmore, Headmaster of Queen's Park High, 7 May 1987.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. Interview, T. van der Merwe.

23. Interview, Reverend M. Stephenson, 3 June 1987.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. This statement was made in an interview with a poor white family on Cavendish Street. Interview, Mrs Cox 04.06.1987. This household had lived in their residence for 35 years.

27. Interview, Mrs I. Conradie, Steers Estate Agency, 13.07.1987.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. This point is drawn from an interview with Bill Rawson, Rawson Estates, as quoted in *The Argus* (Property Supplement), 25.06.1988.

31. Interview, Mrs I. Conradie.

32. Interview, Coloured Resident of Cavendish Street (Name of Resident Withheld on Request), 03.06.1987. This lady has previously lived in Salt River and moved to Woodstock as wealthy Moslems purchased the property that she had been renting. She did not want the same pattern of events to be repeated in Woodstock.

33. Interview, Mrs Hanson, a white pensioner, Cavendish Square, 01.06.1987.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Interview, Mrs Rumble, Argyll Street, 02.06.1987.

36. Interview, Reverend M. Stephenson.

37. Interview, Mr Gilmore.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. Interview, Mrs Jardine, Roberts road, upper Woodstock, 09.07.1987.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Interview, Mr Bryor, BP Cape Town, 29.06.1987.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Interview, Mr Wentzel, Public Relations Officer, Shell, 24.06.1987.

49. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER SIX

NEIGHBOURHOOD IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE IN WOODSTOCK

In this chapter the discussion and analysis of residential change in Woodstock during the late apartheid years is completed through an examination of the theme of local community resistance. In order to keep lower Woodstock from being declared a coloured group area, the local residents mounted a successful resistance campaign during the period 1986-87. The community's resistance, and indeed the wider support offered by Greater Cape Town residents, went far beyond the immediate threat of government legislated removals of white families from lower Woodstock. What became known as the 'Open Woodstock Campaign' demonstrated the general public's willingness to see the dismantling of one cornerstone of apartheid legislation and the emergence of a freer, more tolerant society.

The term 'community', which is used extensively in this chapter, denotes all the people of Woodstock, irrespective of race, religion or ethnic group; this community in Woodstock was linked by bonds of common residence and class position. It must be made clear that the use of the term community in the chapter differs markedly from official South African government application of the term (Thornton and Ramphele, 1988; Thornton, 1988). In

official parlance, the term 'community' is frequently a euphemism for 'race' and sometimes used interchangeably with labels such as 'ethnic group' or 'peoples' (Thornton and Ramphele, 1988; Thornton, 1988). Such terminology was essential in order for the Nationalist government to justify its insistence that each distinct "community" must develop "separately" (Thornton and Ramphele, 1988, p. 2). Accordingly, the application of the term community in this chapter follows broader international definitions and denotes aggregations of people who have something in common such as "residence, geographic region, shared beliefs, or who claim membership in a common lineage structure, or who are distinguished by similarities of economic activity or class position" (Thornton and Ramphele, 1988, p. 9). Thornton and Ramphele (1988) make the important point that 'communities' are often ephemeral phenomenon with a community of spirit, such as that engendered by threat of war or violence, often contingent on circumstances of the moment. With the passing of the original threat that catalysed the development of 'community', the spirit may also pass on. This point is certainly exemplified in the Woodstock experience of the late 1980s.

Two major events which took place during this period, illustrate the community's desire for a tolerant, non-racial neighbourhood. First, the 'Open Woodstock campaign' rallied support from Woodstock residents, in addition to thousands of concerned individuals across greater Cape Town, challenging the government directly about its decision to change the 'controlled' area to a coloured group area. Second, the municipal elections in 1988

provided the battlefield where right wing and moderate candidates fought out the future of the whole of Woodstock as a totally 'open' area, rather than one which was segmented and divided by group areas boundaries.

The efforts made to thwart the designs of apartheid planners and to create Woodstock as one of the first truly non-racial suburbs in South Africa a.e key themes examined in this chapter. In addition, consideration is given to the context provided by the political victories against implementation of Group Areas Act for the advance of processes of gentrification. The discussion is organized in terms of four sections. First, details are presented of the threat posed to Woodstock by government plans to change the designation of lower Woodstock from a controlled area to a coloured group area. Second, the unfolding of commuity resistance through the 'Open Woodstock Campaign' is investigated. Third, the details are presented of the 1988 municipal elections which were contested over the issue of Woodstock (both upper and lower) as an open area. Finally, the relationship between the community struggles and the wider economic forces which were changing the residential and class structure of Woodstock are brought together.

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT AND COMMUNITY REACTION

As noted in Chapter Five, in 1986 State President Botha signalled the government's plan to change the mixed residential portion of lower Woodstock into an exclusively coloured neighbourhood. The

affected area under threat by President Botha was bounded by Victoria (Main) road in the south, Albert road in the north, Greatmore street in the east, and Church street in the west (see Fig. 6.1

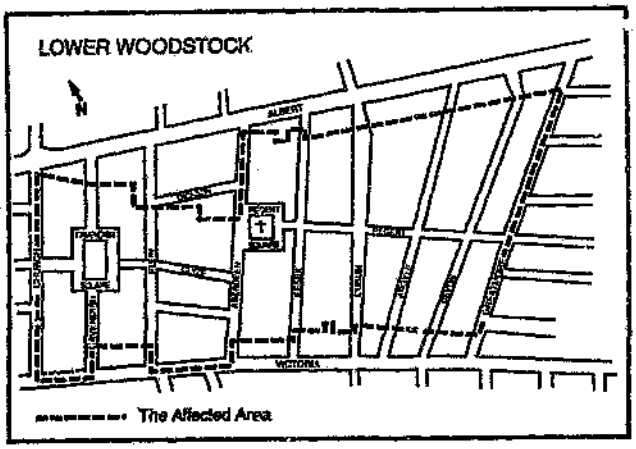

Fig. 6.1: Lower Woodstock: The Affected Area

This announcement marked the beginnings of a phase of community organisation and resistance in Woodstock. What was especially distinctive about the announcement was that it threatened the removal of a long-settled white population in favour of the coloured population. Further, the community's reaction was notable in Woodstock as the coloured population supported the struggle to prevent the removal of their white neighbours. A response that was never matched by white Capetonians to the threat or reality of the forced displacement of the coloured population.

Immediate reaction to P. W. Botha's position from moderate and left-wing politicians and unaffiliated individuals, reflected the country's growing discontentment and disillusionment with the apartheid system and suggested the pivotal role which Woodstock could play in providing a living example of a peaceful, mixed race community (*Argus* 2.10.1986). Mr. Roger Hulley, Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), said that the State President's statement revealed the blinkered, doctrinnaire approach of old-style Nationalism which was a major threat to peace and stability. He was further quoted as saying:

> Woodstock is a practical example of a *de facto* open area...As a result of historical socio-economic factors it has managed to escape the full impact of the National Party's mania for creating racially pure suburbs throughout the country...As such it is living testimony to the fact that an open area can work naturally (*Cape Times*, 3.10.1986).

Further negative reaction came from Mr Tian van der Merwe, the local Progressive Federal Party (PFP) Member of Parliament, who described the statement as "idiotic". Moreover, he argued that:

> It shows how out of touch Mr. Botha is. The government tried to declare it a coloured area in 1978 but failed and were paralysed with indecision. So what is new about this?..A public campaign then indicated that about 87 percent of Woodstock residents favoured an open residential area...This is an act of political cowardice. When they (the government) cannot do something on the surface they use the back door. The man obviously does not know what he is saying. This is a pathetic response to pressures to remove the Group Areas. I think PW only roars past the area on the freeway but he certainly does not know anything about it (*Cape Times*, 3.10.1986).

Similar sentiments were expressed by the local councillor, Peter Parkin, who said that people of all races lived in Woodstock with dignity and peace: "Its people do not want to be moved by some grand master playing what amounts to racial chess" (*Cape Times*, 3.10.1986). Finally, another hostile reaction emanated from the

Chairman of the Salt River, Woodstock and Walmer Estate Residents Association, Mr Sirij Desai, who announced: "There can be no changes to the Group Areas Act. It must be scrapped in toto. That is and will remain the demand of the democratic movement in this country" (*Cape Times*, 3.10.1986).

Local residents and concerned citizens echoed the statements and sentiments made by politicians and community leaders, further voicing their apprehension and disgust at the government's proposals. Concern was expressed about history repeating itself, and of Woodstock experiencing the same fate as befell District Six. Father Basil van Rensburg of the Friends of District Six said "We have to halt this madness of forced removals...District Six is a barren land, a monument to this government's ideological greed, and we should prevent Woodstock being made a second, greater and more stupid monument" (*Cape Times*, 10.10.1986). Typically, one former resident, Edward Wilson, recalled how District Six was moved:

> they took people who had lived there all their lives and moved them to a location very far away from their friends and work...Many people, blacks, coloureds and whites live around here. I don't see why they throw the people out. Why do they cause apartheid to come to Woodstock? (cited in *Varsity* 47(9) 1988, p. 2).

Similarly, another longtime and native born resident of Woodstock, Mrs. E van Wyk, said "for all my life, I remember people af all colours and beliefs living and playing together in Woodstock" (cited in *Varsity* 47(9) 1988, p. 2).

THE OPEN WOODSTOCK CAMPAIGN

Against a backdrop of a groundswell of public opinion, a "Hands off Woodstock" meeting was called in the Woodstock Town Hall on 9 October 1986 (*Cape Times*, 10.10.1986). At this meeting residents decided to reject "any suggestion that Woodstock be classified as a coloured group area and demanded that it 'should become an open area which is not declared'" (*Cape Times*, 10.10.1986). Residents attending the meeting also called for the repeal of the Group Areas Act. Support was forthcoming from veterans in the fight against residential segregation, such as Father Basil van Rensburg of the Friends of District Six.

In response to the strong public outcry, the "Open Woodstock" campaign was launched on the 17 October 1986 (*Cape Times*, 18.10.1986). The 40 volunteers who were enlisted at the "Hands off Woodstock" meeting, met at the All Saints church in order to plan a door-to-door survey, which they planned to submit to the government before 31 October 1986 as part of the enquiry into declaring part of lower Woodstock coloured. The chairman of the committee was Mr. Peter Parkin the (white) City Councillor for the area (*Cape Times*, 16.10.1986).

At the onset of the campaign representatives of interested groups, such as the Progressive Federal Party (Tian van der Merwe), the methodist church (Rev. Mark Stephenson), and City Councillors (K. Penkin) were involved. After the issues had been identified and the committee was elected, however, Peter Parkin

argued that the campaign should be run "as a human rights issue not a political one".[1] Moreover, he averred that "the campaign was not party linked instead it was *by* Woodstock and *for* Woodstock". [2] The Open Woodstock camapaign received assistance from across the political spectrum, including the Progressive Federal Party, the United Democratic Front and even from Nationalist supporters "because the cause was a just one and focussed on their community". [3] Underlying the non-political stance of the campaign was the choice of plain green as the colour for the stickers which were used. Parkin suggested that a major reason for the campaign's ultimate success, was that it had a narrow defined goal, which was to keep part of Woodstock open, and to demonstrate to government the willingness of the community to declare the whole suburb open. [4] The abolition of the Group Areas Act together with the need for a unified education system and non-racial schooling, were controversial issues that were not directly addressed. Instead, the community-oriented campaign sought to convince government of the case for accepting a multi-racial Woodstock. A second factor which contributed to the Campaign's success was support from the media. In a detailed interview Parkin was at pains to point out that the

> media proved: a very useful tool...The media were very good to us, and gave the campaign a lot of coverage. Numerous statements were given to the press, which were drawn up in advance and vetted, the media respected this, probably as they saw the issue as non-party political...If any politics were involved it was shades of a Cape versus Pretoria debate, as the Cape is definitely more liberal. [5]

The signature-collecting campaign received the widespread support of Woodstock residents who were canvassed. [6] Undoubtedly, the

long-established working class and respectable character of Woodstock (Chapter Four) was a major factor behind the successful campaign. As elaborated by Tian van der Merwe:

> The Woodstock community has been successful against government as historically it has been a very mixed community and remained so. It has also always been a respectable community, so they (central government) could not use the same excuse for removals as in District Six, where slum removal and crime was the government's reasons for forced removals.[7]

The theme of respectability of Woodstock as a key factor in ensuring the survival of the multi-racial suburb was again reinforced:

> Woodstock has also had a very strong church community and it is strongly non-racial. In the successful 1986 "Woodstock Campaign" the signatures which were gathered were given to the regional director of constitutional development, who then passed it on to the Group Areas Board, which then made recommendations. These were then passed on to MP Chris Heunis. Neither the Board nor the minister responded to the signatures, instead the matter was dropped like a hot potato.[8]

The local MP (T. van der Merwe) did not believe, however, that 'open' areas would be legitimised. Instead, he maintained that the government were "just lethargic" in not enforcing group areas in Woodstock. Group Areas legislation and racially separate education were seen as the cornerstones of apartheid, and they fell within "own affairs" in the tricameral parliament.

> The system will not work if some areas are open and other municipalities keep up separate residential zones and education facilities. Unfortunately within this system liberal reforms cannot come about, PW Botha and Chris Heunis must go first![9]

Community opposition to the racial rezoning of Woodstock was remarkable as during the early 1980s a stream of coloured families were moving back into the city from the Cape Flats. Van

der Merwe saw three major reasons for this movement. First, the need to be closer to the workplace. Second, that resettlement areas, such as Bonteheuwel, were "hellholes of crime" and people did not want their chidren to grow up in such violent and distant areas. The third reason was the pressure on housing for coloured families. Van der Merwe interpreted the desperate need for accommodation as an excuse used by government to declare part of Woodstock a coloured group area, as the acute need for coloured housing was far more urgent than that for whites.[10]

The campaign was a success as it stalled government in declaring the lower portion of Woodstock as an exclusively coloured group area. In addition, Woodstock became a public symbol that multi-racial neighbourhoods did not necessarily lead to escalating violence, a dropping of housing standards, and devaluation of property prices, which were points government repeatedly raised in support of their 'separate but equal' plan for grand apartheid. The municipal elections of 1988, provided a further forum for Woodstock residents to again declare the continuing success of its racially mixed community, and the hope by the majority of residents that an election victory would lead to a legally 'open' Woodstock, with an 'open' Cape Town hopefully not too far behind.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1988

The municipal elections, which took place nation wide on October 26 1988, served as a platform for a myriad of issues. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State the power struggle was essentially between the Conservative and Nationalist parties. By contrast, in the Western Cape the municipal elections were not fought along party political lines. Only a few candidates stood on official party platforms. The core issues in the municipal elections conducted in the Western Cape were the impending amendments of Group Areas legislation (particularly the government's proposal to introduce open areas), the scrapping of influx control, and the restructuring of regional services councils (*Sunday Tribune*, 16.10.1988; *Sunday Times*, 23.10.1988). Overall, the 1988 municipal elections were a vehicle whereby the Cape public were able to express their growing discontentment with the Group Areas Act and the apartheid system as a whole (*Sunday Times*, 23.10.1988).

The municipal elections in Woodstock attracted major media attention. Many people saw the outcome in Woodstock as a test case for the future of the Free Settlement Bill (see Elder, 1990, p. 264), and indeed of the possible repeal of the Group Areas Act (*Weekend Argus*, 1.10.1988). The municipal election campaign generated often conflicting headlines such as: 'Bitter race row rages over 'open' Woodstock' (*Cape Times*, 22.08.1988) and 'Champions of an 'open area' (*Weekend Argus*, 1.10.1988) sending contradictory messages to the local public. These contradictions

highlighted the complexity of an 'open' area within the South African situation. No longer was the issue one of a racially mixed suburb which, albeit harmonious, was in constant threat of government action. The post-election scenario was one where the racial freedom which was legally offered in Woodstock would be the catalyst for many former wealthy, if disenfranchised people, to move in and possibly destroy what the more working class residents through the Open Woodstock Campaign had fought so hard to retain.

Woodstock as a voting district, was divided into two wards, namely ward 8 (lower) and ward 10 (upper Woodstock). In ward 8 both city councillors, who were champions of open areas, were elected unopposed. Accordingly, it was noted that the chances of Woodstock "becoming an open area in terms of the Government's new Free Settlement Areas Bill are good if the city councillors who represent the area have anything to do with it" (*Weekend Argus*, 1.10.1988). The major concerns of the two elected candidates in Ward 8 related to the need to upgrade the area which, as noted in Chapter Five, had become very run down in parts. The uncertainty and lack of permenance engendered by the Group Areas Act, resulted in little or no money being spent on property maintenance or upgrading in lower Woodstock.

The situation in ward 10 was markedly different to that in ward 8. Indeed, ward 10 was one of the most contested seats in the Cape Town area with six candidates standing for two council seats (*Cape Times*, 18.10.1988). Within the large number of candidates

there were esentially two major camps, each with distinctive and incompatible aims. On the one hand, there was a group of candidates opposed to the Group Areas Act and who were standing for Woodstock to be declared legally 'open' so that residents could live without uncertainty and fear of eviction. On the other hand, there were opposing candidates who did not support an 'open' Woodstock, and instead demanded the protection for whites afforded by the Group Areas Act (*Cape Times*, 8.10.1988).

The six candidates included sitting councillor Mr Ian Iverson, Mr Pat Leonard, ratepayer chairman Mr Peter Throp, Mrs Annamia van den Heever, Mrs Vera Winter and Mr Johannes de Villiers. The candidates represented two distinct groups of people in Woodstock. Iverson and Van Den Heever represented the majority who sought the area to remain racially mixed, and called upon the government to declare the whole suburb as open. Iverson was especially against "this patchwork way" of repealing the Group Areas Act (*Weekend Argus*, 1.10.1988). It was stated that: "Most of the residents in ward 10... support me in opposing this piecemeal dismantling of the Act" (*Weekend Argus*, 1.10.1988). By contrast, Throp and de Villiers represented the minority who wished the area to remain a white group area. Typically, Throp stated during the build-up to the municiapl elections: "If the government says scrap group areas, then fine. But we don't want to be singled out for infiltration by other race groups" (*Argus*, 22.8.1988). Moreover, the Rhodesian born, Throp averred that, whilst "he was not a racist", that he would like that part of Woodstock above Victoria Road "to be afforded the same protection

the rest of the country is afforded under the laws of the land" (*Argus*, 1.10.1988). The views which Mr. Throp held were seen by many as offensive and caused the local Methodist minister, Reverend Mark Stephenson, to ban Throp and his supporters from holding a meeting in the Methodist church hall (*Cape Times*, 17.8.1988). Outgoing ward 10 councillor Mr Peter Parkin, who led the Open Woodstock campaign, criticised people "beating the whites-only tribal drum...Long before the Group Areas Act and long before Mr Throp arrived from Rhodesia, people of different races were living happily together in Woodstock" (*Argus*, 22.08.1988).

Against the background of a heated campaign, the municipal elections were held in Woodstock ward 10 on 26 October 1988. On a 50 percent poll, the result was the election to council of the two candidates, Iverson and van der Heever. These election results reflected a victory for the supporters of Woodstock as an open area (*Cape Times*, 27.10.1988). Ward 8 (predominantly Lower Woodstock) residents and a large majority of ward 10 residents gave a convincing affirmation of their willingness to see the whole of Woodstock be declared open. Moreover, the series of interviews conducted with Woodstock residents and results of the Woodstock campaign, suggested a desire for the dismantling of the Group Areas Act in its entirety. [11] Despite the local support for a racially mixed area, some residents expressed a degree of misgiving about the future. The possibility of the Free Settlement Bill causing overcrowding and the devaluation of property prices were common concerns. Other fears related to the

possible fragmentation and dissolution of the Woodstock community as they knew it (*Cape Times*, 1.10.1988). As is shown below, these fears were not unfounded, albeit for reasons that were different to those that were uppermost in the minds of Woodstock residents.

THE END OF WORKING CLASS WOODSTOCK?

The political struggles for an 'Open Woodstock' that were fought out in both the Open Woodstock campaign and the municipal elections were clearly successful. Participants in these struggles, including most residents, justifiably felt that an environment was now created for the greater stabilization of the community due to the reduced threat of the Group Areas Act. None the less, such a viewpoint ignored the broader set of processes that were already beginning to transform the working class suburb by 1986-1987. The victories secured by community resistance and neighbourhood action in the political sphere were swept aside by the powerful economic forces that were changing the residential complexion of Woodstock.

The single-minded goal which had spurred the movement for an open Woodstock clouded the already evident process of an invasion by suburban white and coloured professionals (Chapter Five). The approval of the Presidents Council report on Free Settlement Areas (see Elder, 1990, p. 264) resulted in many middle-class, coloured inmovers into Woodstock. In particular, coloured business people who worked in the Cape Town CBD, a mere 4km from

Woodstock, started to relocate from the racially exclusive coloured townships on the periphery of Cape Town into this convenient inner city suburb. Most coloured in-movers; however, were reluctant to move immediately into the predominantly white area of upper Woodstock and instead moved into available accommodation in lower Woodstock (Chapter Five). Local landlords recognised the material benefits of attracting middle class, rather than working class or retired, tenants and accordingly set about revamping the rows of semi-detached housing that characterize lower Woodstock (see Plates 6.1 and 6.2). These changes in the built environment of lower Woodstock typify what Smith (1982, pp. 139-140) calls the 'de-vitalisation' of vital working class communities through gentrification. What is meant is by de-vitalisation is the replacement of working class street games, open doors and stoep life by high walls, security gates, guard dogs and a "scorn for the streets" (Smith, 1982, p. 140). None the less, this upgrading of properties in the area resulted in escalating levels of rental accommodation. The long-established working class residents were displaced due to economic circumstances and forced to find affordable housing either in other parts of Woodstock or adjacent inner city slum areas (see Chapter Five). This trend, already in evidence in the mid-1980s, was given great impetus by the political successes of the Open Woodstock campaign and of the 1988 election results.

This trend of invasion and succession by middle class families into working class areas of lower Woodstock accelerated through the years of late apartheid. This pattern was repeated in upper



Photo 4.1. Row housing prior to gentrification. Note the man leaning over his "stoop" watching the world go by, and the general closeness of the houses to the road and each other.



Photo 4.2. Gentrification in Argyle Street, Lower Woodstock. Note the high walls, security gates and "room for the streets" [illegible]

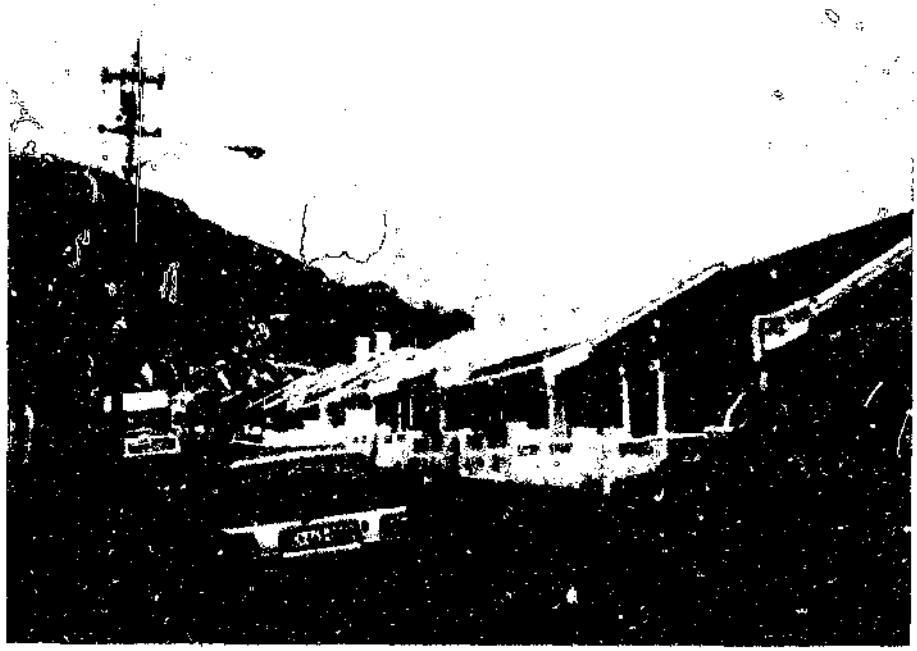

Plate [illegible]: Row housing prior to gentrification. Note the man leaning over his 'sleep' watching the world go by, and the [illegible] of the houses to the road and each other.

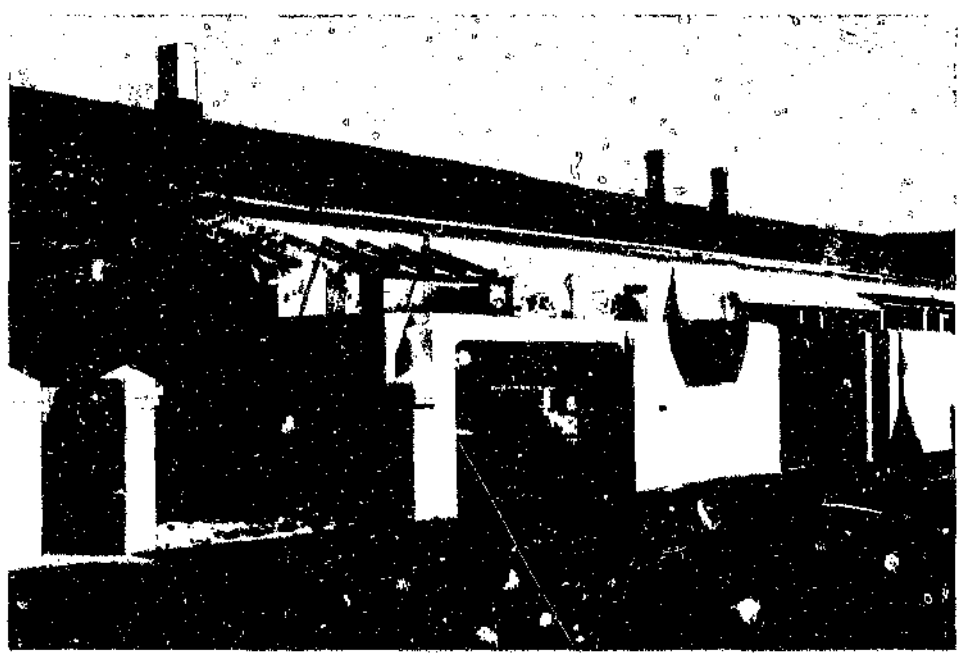

Plate [illegible]: Gentrification in Argyll street, Lower Woodstock. Note the high walls, security gates and "scorn for the streets" ([illegible])

Woodstock where working class white and immigrant groups became displaced by white (and some coloured) professionals, who were attracted by proximity to the CBD. In some cases, the attractions of Woodstock were no longer merely its 'respectable' character, but the fact that this suburb was viewed by some as a blueprint for the new South Africa, and so became a 'politically correct' place to reside. In addition, many artists, architectural businesses, and small advertising enterprises were attracted by Woodstock's Victorian architecture, its close proximity to Table Mountain, and disparate mixture of residential, retail and warehousing activities which was markedly different to the bland uniformity of much of suburban Cape Town.

The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 made little difference to the racial complexion of Woodstock. The trends established in the early 1980s towards an in-migration of middle class professional, both white and coloured households, into upper Woodstock were further heightened. The effect on the built environment is a landscape of revamped and brightly painted Victorian semi-detached residences, postmodern architecture on the growing number of small office blocks, expensive German motor-cars parked in the streets, and burglar alarms and security systems attached to most residential and business properties.

Overall, it is ironic that the white working class families which the Open Woodstock Campaign sought so hard to protect, have been displaced by economic imperatives and processes of gentrification. The march of gentrification across both the lower

and upper parts of Woodstock was given added impetus by the repeal of the Group Areas legislation, an event which the suburb's residents mistakenly thought would bring an end to their housing problems. Accordingly, the political successes of the late 1980s struggles for an Open Woodstock merely hastened the further transformation of this inner city suburb of Cape Town through the advance of gentrification.

* * * * * * * * * *

This chapter completes the discussion, which began in Chapter Five, on residential changes taking place in Woodstock during the period of late apartheid. The key purpose was to highlight the limited nature of the political victories that were won as a consequence of the struggles for the Open Woodstock campaign and the 1988 municipal elections. It is evident that the political victories wrought from community resistance and neighbourhood activism merely hastened further the onset and advance of gentrification. It was an irony of these political victories that the process of gentrification, by its very nature, destroyed the established working class communities, displacing them with new professional and managerial classes. A further irony was that the expanding middle class families who were moving into the area, undermined the bond of a common cause which had previously held the Woodstock community together.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Interview, Councillor Peter Parkin, 21.04.1987.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Interview, Mr K. Penkin, Councillor for Ward 8 Woodstock, 10.07.1987.

7. Interview, T. van der Merwe, 15.04.1987.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. This point was expressed in the following rich interview sources. Interview with Mr. Moore, a white male, Plein Street, Lower Woodstock, 8.06.1987 who stated that "The Government have to adapt: the Group Areas Act has to go". Interview with Mrs Grosch, Roberts Road, a coloured lady, upper Woodstock, 10.06.1987, who argued that "Abolition of the Group Areas Act has to happen. It is very unfair".

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In the concluding chapter of this study two sets of material are presented. First, a review is given of the key findings and arguments presented in the dissertation. Against this background, some final comments are offered concerning the 'gentrification issue' in South Africa as compared to experiences elsewhere in the world.

The objective in this study was to examine residential change in one inner city suburb of Cape Town, namely that of Woodstock. The time period for this investigation was the era of late apartheid prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act. The rationale for this investigation was established in Chapter Two. It was argued that the inner city areas represented an important, yet neglected, focus in South African urban geographical studies. Moreover, it was stressed that the major emphasis given in South African urban studies over the last two decades was to research issues concerning forced population removals, the degraded conditions of the black townships, and of everyday struggles for existence. This body of research was valuable, but, as McCarthy (1992) suggested, it evolved at the cost of ignoring broader urban processes that vitally affect the spatial and social form of the South African city. Nevertheless, the methodology employed

by a number of studies relating to forced removals was particularly innovative. The application of photographs, oral interviews, newspaper sources, pamphlets and literature greatly enriched the literature of South African urban geographical studies and revealed the human aspect better than any other sort of record.

In Chapter Three the key concern was to present the theoretical context for the empirical study. Attention centred on reviewing a body of international debates concerning the processes shaping the residential circumstances of the inner city. It was argued that the earlier writings on ethnic segregation in the city, to a large extent, have been overtaken by the new research frontier relating to gentrification. None the less, the geographical works concerning ethnic segregation provided a useful context for the historical discussion in Chapter Four. The complex set of writings on gentrification were discussed in detail, highlighting in particular the predominance of research in the developed world. The poverty of gentrification studies outside of North America, West Europe or Australia was shown, and differences were noted between the process of gentrification as observed in developed and developing worlds. This study of inner city gentrification in Cape Town represents therefore a contribution to a currently small body of writings that discuss gentrification in the developing world.

The context for the discussion in Chapter Four was set by the literature on ethnic segregation and Beauregard's (1990) plea for

richly detailed stories of neighbourhood change. In Chapter Four an historical account was presented of the shifting social geography of Woodstock over the period from the early 1900s through to the early 1980s. Archival and oral source material was combined to reveal that Woodstock was always a respectable working class suburb of Cape Town. The major social shifts occurring in the suburb were of changes in the ethnic composition of the community. It was demonstrated that the ethnic mix of Woodstock shifted throughout the twentieth century with waves of new immigrants to the suburb, including Jews from Eastern Europe and the settlement of a Portuguese community from Madeira. Throughout the twentieth century the suburb housed a stable, multi-racial working class population. None the less, Woodstock's success at remaining a solid working class neighbourhood, which was close to amenities and the Cape Town CBD, contributed to its downfall. Overall, the discussion in Chapter Four set the scene for the examination of the changes that occurred in the class composition of the suburb during the period of late apartheid.

The changing residential landscape of Woodstock during the late 1980s formed the thematic base for Chapters Five and Six. More specifically, the relationship of the international literature on gentrification to the Woodstock experience was examined in these two chapters. The analysis built upon, what was earlier termed, 'the consumption side' argument and drew upon three themes developed by Beauregard (1986). In Chapter Five, variations were identified in the roles played by various levels of government and of the agents of finance capital in subsidizing

and directing reinvestment. It was shown that in Woodstock the aims of central government's programme for apartheid social engineering were tempered by certain actions taken by local government and local officialdom. Interrelated with the actions of government were the changes brought about by finance capital and more specifically, by the activities and interventions of landlords and estate agents. A spatial distinction was noted between the circumstances of upper and lower parts of Woodstock. Most importantly, it was evident that by the late 1980s Woodstock was experiencing a process of gentrification which was displacing the long-established working class households with a new middle class, multi-racial population. In upper Woodstock, gentrification was expressed *overtly* in the form of external renovation and refurbishment. In lower Woodstock, however, the process was, to a large extent, *covert* due to the renewed threat posed by government's Group Areas legislation.

In Chapter Six the theme of neighbourhood identity and community resistance formed the basis for discussion. The threat posed by possible changes to group areas proclamations triggered a notable response from the Woodstock community. This response was examined through the events of the Open Woodstock campaign and the fiercely contested municipal elections. It was demonstrated that the political victories secured by community resistance and neighbourhood activism merely hastened further the onset and advance of gentrification. It was an irony of these political victories that the process of gentrification, by its very nature,

destroyed Woodstock's established working class community, displacing them with new professional and managerial classes.

It is clear that the 'gentrification issue' is of relevance to interpreting urban change in a developing world setting such as South Africa. Nevertheless, it is evident from the Woodstock investigation that the uniqueness of place and local specificities are important to a detailed understanding of the gentrification process. In particular, the circumstances of apartheid resulted in the gentrification process becoming expressed in a different manner to that of the developed world experience. Of especial note was the covert manner in which the new middle income populations upgraded the stock of working class homes in lower Woodstock. This 'hidden' manifestation of gentrification is inexplicable without reference to the specific threat posed by possible enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

Some similarities were observed in the Woodstock experience which parallel those features recorded in other research in the developing world. There was a striking similarity in the limited scale of the whole process of gentrification taking place in the South African city as compared to that noted both by Ward (1993) for the Latin American city and by Thomas (1991) for urban centres in the Caribbean. This finding suggests that Hamnett (1994) may be correct in linking the existence and explanation for gentrification to processes of international economic restructuring that affects particularly the category of so-called 'world cities'. What is more certain, however, is that given the

priorities in the developing world as a whole (including South Africa) for the massive upgrading of shelter for the poor, gentrification will remain a phenomenon of only small-scale importance.

In final analysis, the key original contribution of this study was to shed light on an aspect of the neglected fabric of the inner cities of South Africa. In view of the vast amount of research conducted by urban geographers and other social scientists on removals from South Africa's inner cities in the 1970s and 1980s, it is incumbent upon researchers in the 1990s (and beyond) to return to the inner city and explore the rapidly shifting economic and social conditions of these areas.

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The references are organised in terms of a basic division between primary and secondary sources. The category of primary sources is further divided into (1) archival material, (2) published primary material, (3) newspapers and periodicals, and (4) interviews. The category of secondary sources includes all references made in the dissertation to books, articles and unpublished theses.

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Archival Material

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A. F. Keen Collection Box A1839.

(2) State Archives, Pretoria Depot.
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(3) University of Cape Town Archives

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Sunday Tribune (Johannesburg)

Varsity (Cape Town)

Weekend Argus (Cape Town)

Interviews

Please note: listed below are those interviews where respondents were willing to have their names disclosed. A number of anonymous interviews are also cited in the footnotes. Full dates of interviews are cited in the text. All interviews were undertaken in Cape Town.

Mrs Alves, Madeiran immigrant, resident of Roberts Road.

Mrs. Benting, coloured resident of Cavendish Square

Mr. Bryor, BP, co-ordinator of inner city revitalization project

Mrs. I. Conradie, Steers Estate Agent

Mrs. Cox, white resident of Cavendish Street

Mrs Fraitas, Madeiran immigrant, resident of Roberts Road.

Mr. Gilmore, Headmaster of Queens Park High School

Mrs. Grosch, coloured resident of Roberts Road

Mrs. Hanson, white pensioner of Cavendish Square

Mrs. Jardine, coloured resident of Roberts Road

Mr. Moore, white resider of Plein Street

Mr. P. Parkin, Councillor for Woodstock ward 10

Mr. K. Penkin, Councillor for Woodstock ward 8

Mrs. M. Robertson, coloured resident of Cavendish Street

Mrs. Rumble, white resident of Argyll Street

Rev. M. Stephenson, Methodist minister

Mr. T. van der Merwe, MP for Woodstock

Mr. Van Dyk, Cape Provincial Administration

Mr. Wentzel, Public Relations Officer, Shell

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