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Nel, E. L.

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STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

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AUTHOR: E.L. Nel

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THE MAKING OF TERRITORIAL APARTHEID: THE CASE OF EAST LONDON'S LOCATIONS.

E.L. Nel
Department of Geography
Rhodes University
Grahamstown.

A) Introduction

Geographic space in South Africa has been subsumed to the dictates of the prevailing political ideology of apartheid. At both the urban and the regional levels, the spatial structure manifested by both the economy and the society reflects the ideals striven for by the architects of apartheid. These objectives have been enacted through the passage of a plethora of laws, leaving a discernable impress on the landscape. The measures have been determined by and in turn determine race relations in the country. As a direct consequence, an examination of the spatial impress of apartheid and its attendant social and economic implications helps to provide an insight into the character, nature and effects of apartheid upon South Africa and its people. It is within this overall context that an examination of the spatial ramifications of apartheid upon the black communities of East London is presented.

Apartheid planning in East London illustrates not only the inherent complexity and absolute control over communities exercised at the urban, but at the regional level as well. This is because the evolution and character of the Ciskei homeland (see Figure 1) was intimately related to the replanning of the city through the broad concept of territorial apartheid. The physical expression of the segregated black locations, in East London, standing in stark contrast to the rest of the urban form, bears testimony to the effects of apartheid planning upon the city. The saga underlying the evolution of the locations is in essence the history of the Group Areas Act and homeland orientated replanning of the city and as such merits investigation. "It is only through an understanding of the past ... that the present geography of the townships can be understood" (Beavon, 1982, p.1). This study aims to address the processes underlying the emergence of firstly the coloured and Asian locations and secondly the African locations within the broader East London region.

B) Ideology and Space in South Africa and East London

An investigation of the spatial character of apartheid is a justifiable line of enquiry in that, apartheid as an ideology, is based upon the notion of separateness and inequality which has permeated all levels of geographic space. The fact that "Social structures are in the concrete world constituted geographically"

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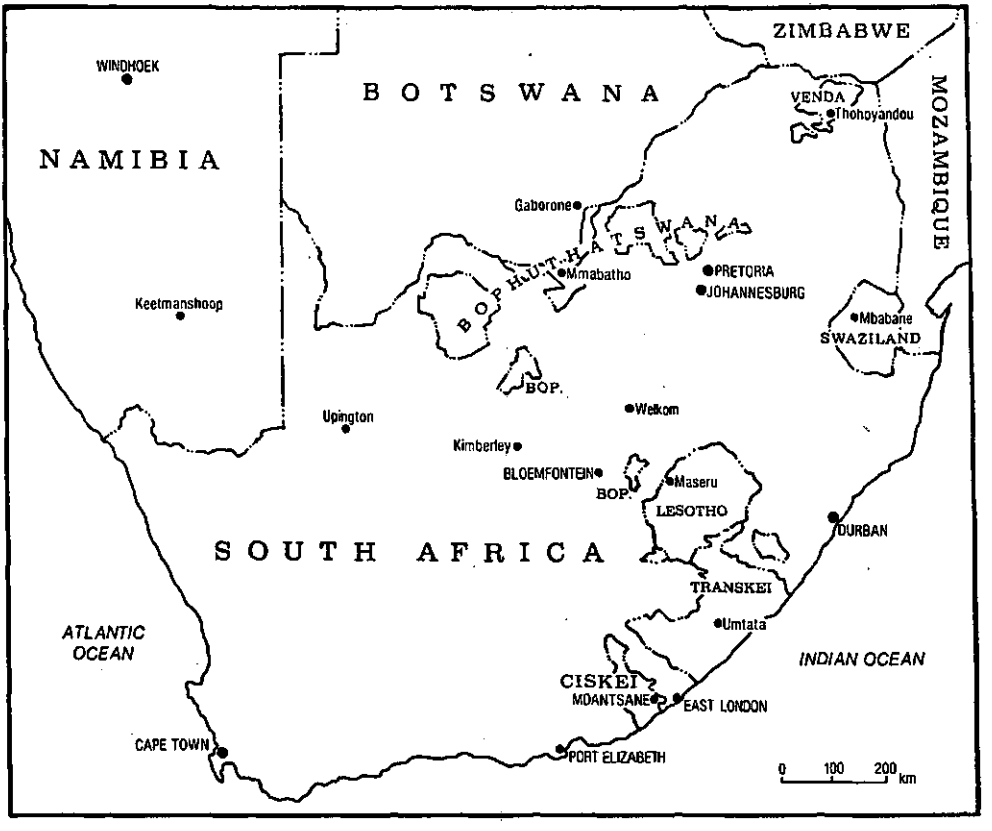


Figure 1. The Location of East London and Mdantsane in southern Africa.

(Scott, 1986, p. 57) lends credibility to this line of thinking. The realization of the appropriateness of this mode of enquiry is endorsed by numerous scholars (Cooper, 1983: Bonner et al, 1989). The significance here-of is borne out by Baker (1982, p. 235), who stated, "Ideologies, structure time and space: landscapes are reflections of ideas as much as they are products of action". Not only has apartheid given birth to a structure of social as well as spatial control as determined by race, but the impress of these structures has generated a self-perpetuating re-moulding and modification of the society and the functional economic role played by its constituent members.

According to the Marxian line of enquiry, the utilization of space is determined by the on-going dialectic between the dominant economic mode of production and the subservient society (Harvey, 1978). Race and class are viewed as synonymous concepts and space is manipulated in accordance with the dictates of the dominant mode of production. An alternate and more appropriate line of enquiry has been propounded by the Structuralist school

of thought (Lowder, 1986). The Structuralists endorse the belief that economic factors are important in shaping society and space, it is however the ideology of the dominating group, which may or may not intersect with the designs of the dominating mode of production, which plays the most significant role in spatial and societal evolution. As a result here-of "... planning is the medium which arranges the city to suit particular interests" (Lowder, 1986, p.242).

The visible expression of the apartheid ideology has been felt at three spatial levels (after Western, 1981):

1) At the interpersonal level through the provision of racially exclusive facilities.
2) At the urban or meso-level, through the rigid redivision of all urban areas into zones of single race residence and the forced relocation of people so as to accord with the provisions of the 1950 Group Areas Act and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act.
3) At the regional or territorial level, the entire country has been subdivided into ethnic areas as a result of the homelands policy as enforced through the 1913 Natives Land Act and the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act.

In the city of city of East London the spatial ramifications of apartheid have been felt at all three levels. Not only has rigid, racially based segregation been implemented in the city through the provision of racially exclusive facilities and areas of residence, but, in addition, the broader metropolitan region bears the impress of homeland politics and territorial apartheid. The majority of East London's African labour force are 'Frontier Commuters' (Smith, 1987) living in the adjacent dormitory town of Mdantsane, which technically lies within the Ciskei homeland (see Figure 1). The urban history of East London's black communities, in the last half-century is in essence a saga of social dislocation and imposition with the Asian and 'coloured' communities being forced into segregated areas, whilst the bulk of the African populace were removed across a hypothetical international border into an 'independent' homeland. In so doing the architects of apartheid have striven to re-create the urban and regional form of the area along the lines deemed desirable by the prevailing philosophy, yet have retained the subservience and dependence of the black groups, under the guise of self-development. The structure and the experience of apartheid upon East London and Mdantsane has left an indelible social and structural impress which not only reflects the ideals and relative successes of apartheid but has also spawned social distress and spatial restructuring which only time can modify. It is important to note that the development of Group Areas Act planning cannot be viewed in isolation, but rather that the fate of the Asian and coloured communities, who were the major victims of this act, was intimately interwoven with the creation of the Ciskei homeland as part of the process of territorial apartheid

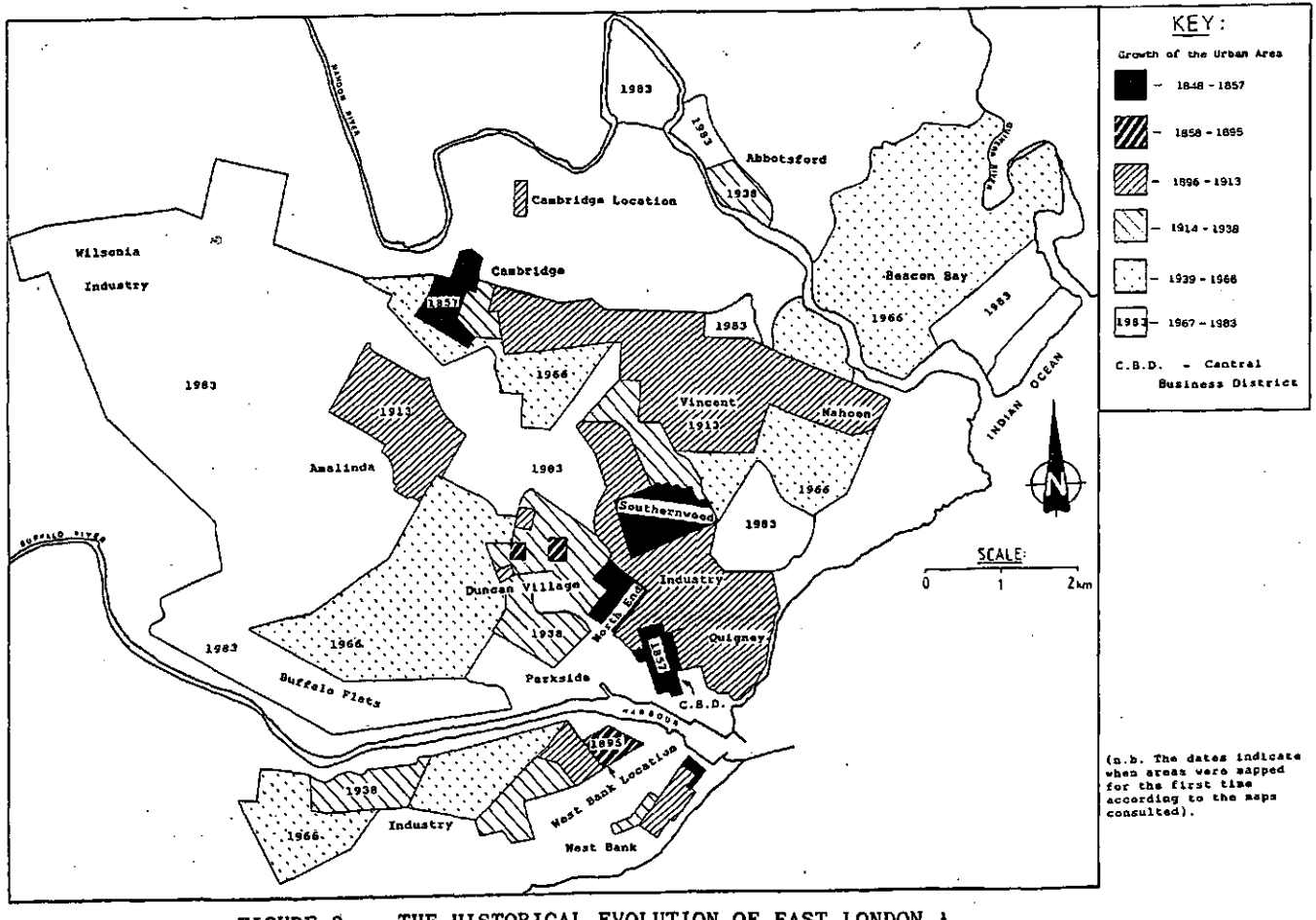
of the broader region of which East London is a part.

C) East London's Heritage of Segregation, 1836-1948.

East London had its genesis in the era of the Frontier wars, serving as a military garrison for the Imperial forces defending the claims British colonists, from the Xhosa nation, to the area west of the Kei river. After an abortive attempt to establish a town in 1836, a permanent settlement emerged in 1847 (British Parliamentary Papers, 1847). The impress of racially determined patterns of residence, typical of colonial urban planning (Christopher, 1981, 1988), did not take long to evolve. In 1849, when the settlement was a mere two years old, the colonial authorities authorized the establishment of an African location or village, obligating all people affected to reside there-in (Tankard, 1985). This first location was situated in the approximate vicinity of what is indicated as the West Bank location on Figure 2.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, the colonial and later the municipal authorities enshrined the principle of racial residential segregation. They manipulated the siting and functioning of the city's locations, to ensure that black affairs conformed with the notions of race relations possessed by the council (Nel, 1989). In 1895, the municipality secured the passage of the East London Municipal Amendment Act [2], which legalized the de facto segregation of the African community and permitted similar measures to be implemented against the Asian community. The latter step was effectively unique in the Cape colony at that time, with the exception of Kimberley (Davenport, 1971). The act permitted the municipality to establish and maintain such locations as it deemed necessary and to exercise extensive control over the lives and movements of their residents. Prior to 1950, no formal measure of racial control over the coloured community existed, in 1927 however a measure of informal segregation was exercised against them when the Parkside housing scheme, designed for the exclusive occupancy of coloureds was initiated [3] (see Figure 2).

Thus, with various measures of success the white municipality, independent of state intervention, had succeeded in partially segregating East London along the lines of race prior to the passage of the Group Areas Act. The result was the creation of the spatially discernable 'segregated city' form, a phenomenon which has been discerned elsewhere (Davies, 1976, 1981), prior to 1948. There existed, as a result, clear pockets of black residence, i.e. the locations, within the broader spatial framework of what in essence was a white city. This situation is visually depicted in Figure 3a. Racial intermixing did occur to a limited degree, with the area of North End being the prime example here-of [5]. It was in the post-1950 epoch that segregation however, assumed a new dimension marked by a new



(n.b. The dates indicate when areas were mapped for the first time according to the maps consulted).

FIGURE 2 THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF EAST LONDON.[1]

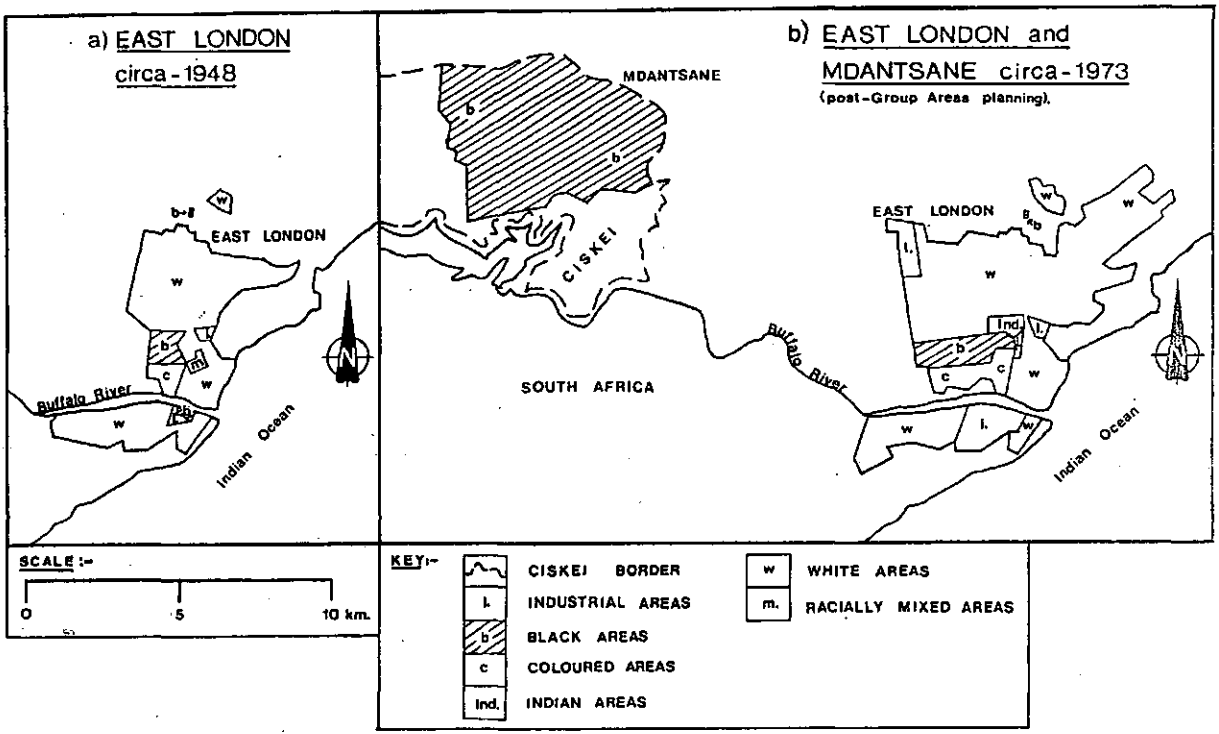


FIGURE 3 THE SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION OF EAST LONDON.*

thoroughness and ruthlessness in its application and enforcement not only in the city but in the broader region as a whole.

D) The Initial Replanning of East London on the Grounds of Race 1948-1959.

In 1948 the National party came to power upon the mandate given to them by the white electorate to implement apartheid. At the spatial level, this doctrine was enforced to a degree which surpassed urban, `racial restructuring implemented in any other country, even those subjected to colonialism. The primary reason for the rigidity of the application of segregation in South Africa's towns and cities was because of the existence of, " ... a definite racist philosophy (which) support(ed) the organized segregation policy of the union" (Comhaire, 1950, p.392). It was not just the existence of a determining philosophy which justified the re-organization of space in the country, but the associated evolution of a structured, ideal city type model as well. This model provided the blue-print for the re-design of all urban areas to enable them to accord with the ideology. The same ideals were to be implemented at a later stage in the rural areas as well through the degree of legitimacy accorded to the homelands.

The spatial expression of apartheid at the urban level was concretised through the evolution of a set of criteria for urban redesign. The model provided for the creation of segregated cities, with each racial group occupying a specific sector or wedge of the urban area. In addition, no racial group was to be surrounded by another, with provision being made for the radial expansion of each group into its own hinterland. Blacks, ideally, were to be situated close to the industrial areas and whites close to the commercial cores. Each race group was to separated from eachother by clearly discernable buffer strips, which facilitated absolute segregation, minimizing inter-racial contact (after Davies, 1976). The city of East London, as with all other urban areas was restructured so as the accord spatially with the underlying philosophical motivations of apartheid, providing for a city not dissimilar from the aforementioned model. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was the primary instrument utilized in this process, with the 1959 Bantu Self-Government act serving to enhance the broader sub-division of space through the placement of the bulk of the African populace within a homeland location. What happened in the city accords with Meer's (1977, p.17) contention that, "Apartheid is a comprehensive system of grouping and segregating people by race, evolved by white South Africans. It is unique as a modern form of discrimination in that it is sanctioned by law and sanctified by the ideological commitments of its Afrikaner practitioners. It operates through spatial, political and social separation".

In 1950, the Group Areas act was placed upon the statute books making absolute segregation in all urban areas mandatory.

In 1951, the Land Tenure Advisory Board, the body created to enforce the act, conducted initial investigations into the re-allocation of space along racial lines in East London [6]. Their preliminary proposals assigned the majority of the urban area to the white community and placed the blacks within two small areas namely those of North End and Parkside. This excluded the Africans who, by this juncture were already residing in a highly segregated fashion in the African locations of Duncan Village, West Bank and Cambridge as a result of earlier discriminatory measures and the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act (see Figure 2).

The actions of the central government at this juncture in interfering in the internal dynamics of East London occasioned the resentment of not only those who were, potentially, to bear the brunt of the discriminatory measures, but also that of the local government. Despite their support for segregation in earlier decades, the municipality after 1950 came out steadfastly in opposition to urban apartheid. Whether or not the councillors were motivated by philanthropic desires or by self-interest in terms of attempting to prevent outside interference in local affairs and to reduce the potential expenses the implementation of the Group Areas Act might enforce upon them is a debatable issue of little consequence at this juncture. What is significant is the degree to which the lack of accord between the two bodies, probably modified the severity of the application of apartheid legislation in the city. In so doing however, this action protracted the final implementation of the Act aggravating the insecurity regarding the future felt by those who were most affected. The official municipal policy towards the Group Areas Act, since its enactment had been, "... the council is of the opinion that zoning proposals for the city of East London are not called for, in view of the fact that there is no real problem in the city regarding racial zoning" [7]. The conflict between the two authorities has perpetuated to the present, with East London being the first municipality in the country to endorse, in principle, the opening of all residential areas to all races [8].

In 1952 serious riots broke out in the African locations leading to loss of life, disruption and governmental intervention on behalf of the white ratepayers. One of the primary causes of the unrest appears to have been the poor living conditions in the African locations (Reader, 1961). The council had unsuccessfully being trying to ameliorate conditions there-in, through the planning of a location extension into the Amalinda area which lay adjacent to the Duncan Village location. The riots and subsequent support accorded by the government to the white residents of Amalinda effectively curtailed municipal plans to ameliorate location conditions. The Amalinda area was zoned as a White Group Area in 1955 by Government Gazette Proclamation number 219 [9], preventing the municipality from implementing the only viable plans for location expansion which existed. The period after 1950 was marked by two discernable traits in terms of East London's

social geography. Firstly there were the actual needs and requirements for the rehousing and betterment of black and in particular African living conditions. Secondly there were the features which the government perceived as desirable to rectify, with the ramification of homeland politics exerting a fundamental impact upon the future of all the city's races. Both themes were irreconcilable and much time, money and effort was spent in pursuit of an abstract ideal to the detriment of those whose had the greatest need for improved living conditions.

As far as the African community was concerned, following the termination of municipal plans for a location extension in the Amalinda area in 1955, alternative sites for the extension were investigated in an effort to accommodate the burgeoning populace. In 1956, the hand of apartheid's arch-planner, H.F. Verwoed was felt upon the city. Not only did he forbid the council to embark upon any extension to the existing Duncan Village location, but he also decreed that the only new location he would sanction would be one at Umdonzonia (later Mdantsane, as depicted upon Figure 3b). His manner was totally overbearing and he made it apparent that only modifications to the city which accorded with his desires of racial purity would be authorized. "Whether or not the city could afford to embark on such a scheme, it had no alternative but to do so", he stated [10]. The absence of land for the expansion of the African locations within the existing city borders and the severe deterioration of living standards in the current locations obliged the council to approve Verwoed's plans. They eventually ratified the new location at Umdonzonia in 1958 after numerous appeals and requests for a more realistic approach had failed [11].

The municipality set about planning the new location which had been forced upon them, but it soon became apparent that to plan a `satellite' town of the magnitude envisaged by Verwoed would be totally beyond the limited finances of the municipality. The initial plans provided for 5000 houses to accommodate 125 000 people at a cost of ten million pounds. According to the city treasurer, in view of the city's limited resources, the magnitude of the loan which would need to be acquired would take the city 75 years to repay, compared to the maximum loan period available of 40 years [12]. Thus, instead of being able to embark on smaller scale, more affordable schemes to expand existing facilities, the impress of apartheid had created an insoluble situation, so much so that the municipality was unable to act to improve a continually deteriorating accomodation crisis in the African locations. The City Engineer expressed the view that "Much valuable time has already been lost, but while the problem becomes bigger ... the solution (becomes) more difficult with each passing day" [13].

The 1950's were also marked by the issuing of revised governmental Group Areas Act plans for the replanning of the city

and their subsequent rejection by the council who feared that, "... too hasty an implementation of the Act, will only defeat the object for which it is intended by causing economic distress and racial friction" [14]. The council initially repudiated the notion of participating in the planning process, a decision they later recanted upon in an attempt to moderate and exert some influence upon later decisions for fear of loosing all the initiative over the fate of their city. Municipal actions and planning and a revision of the government plans for the city occasioned grave mistrust amongst the black community. Groups which expressed their opposition included the Indian, Chinese and traders associations who submitted petitions to the council expressing their rejection of and distress over the planning measures which they regarded as an essential affront to human dignity [15].

East London had been a 'controlled area' since 1951, whereby all inter-racial property exchanges were prohibited and the racial character of all residences was frozen pending the proclamation of Group Areas [16]. Ten years later, the majority of the city was still awaiting replanning, a situation provoking severe societal distress and a general deterioration of living standards owing to the prevailing insecurity. The primary reasons why East London was to be the last city segregated in the Cape Province was due to the deeper machinations of apartheid replanning of the broader East London area, through the enforcement of territorial apartheid, which had still to be publicized at this juncture. In 1959, during a visit to East London, the Chairman of the Group Areas Advisory Board (which replaced the Land Tenure Advisory Board), announced that, "... the delay which had arisen in applying the (Group Areas) Act to East London, had been due to the fact that the Board wished finality to be reached in the question of the new native location for this area before zoning the municipality" [17]. In addition he announced that the replanning of the city would recommence from scratch according to a new set of criteria. Up to this juncture, the municipality had treated Group Areas planning of the city and the need to improve location conditions for Africans as two, essentially separate issues. Here-after, the impact of the Verwoedian ideal of macro-level or territorial apartheid was to be intimately related with the urban replanning of the city. This emphasized the degree to which both space and race were regarded as two concepts which could be manipulated at will by the architects of the apartheid ideology. As a direct result, the future implementation of the Group Areas Act in East London could not be divorced from the broader goals of territorial apartheid as expressed through the creation of the Ciskei homeland.

E) The Internal Re-Arrangement of Space in East London on the Grounds of Race, 1960-1980 and the Creation of Coloured and Asian Locations

Consequent upon the announcement of a revised policy towards the replanning of the city, the Group Areas Board drafted new

proposals for the city in 1961. These plans provided for the allocation of a distinct wedge of the city for Asian and coloured residence, which incorporated the areas of North End and the recently proclaimed Buffalo Flats location (see Figure 2)(Daily Despatch, 4/9/1961). This plan occasioned tremendous resentment in the city prompting petitions and letters of complaint from numerous organizations including the Black Sash, Trade Unions and various Black community groups [18]. The 1961 proposals aroused far more resentment and attention than any previous proposals not only because of their far-reaching implications but also since the population had been living in a state of anticipation over the lack of finality reached in this matter for so many years. Testimonies of social distress and resentment are to be found in contemporary newspaper articles and letters, representing, "A saga of misery and heartache" (Daily Despatch, 6/9/1961).

Council opposition to the plan was motivated by a concern over the ramifications these steps would have on the poorest members of the community and more importantly, to the council, the tremendous financial costs which would be incurred in attempting to provide accomodation for those whom the Group Areas Act would displace. It was calculated that the council would have to erect in excess of 500 houses for displaced coloureds alone, if this scheme was implemented [19]. Councillor G. Randall appealed for leniency in applying the act, especially in the dilapidated area of North End where a significant degree of inter-racial mixing existed. He asked for moderation since "... the Group Areas Act dealt with flesh and blood, lives and ways of life- and not just maps, plans, streets and houses" (Daily Despatch, 15/8/1962). Appeals of clemency were to fall upon deaf ears in this era of social and demographic restructuring.

The year of 1966 marked a major turning point in the spatial recreation of East London. Whilst plans for both the Group Areas Act and the new African location were being finalized, the government decided to take the existing social situation in hand. In 1966 a State Commission was appointed, with a brief to firstly end racial inter-mixing in the North End area, which was deemed to be undesirable. Secondly, they had to allocate and construct new locations for the coloured and Asian groups affected by these changes [20]. The fate of the city was eventually resolved later in that year when it was announced that Departments of Native Affairs and Community Development would co-operate in the quest to achieve racial purity in the city. It was revealed that the entire African populace was to be removed to the new homeland location of Mdantsane. The land occupied by the Duncan Village location was to be re-utilized for the building of segregated Asian and coloured locations once the area's original inhabitants had been displaced [21]. These plans envisaged the relocation of over half the city's populace, at tremendous cost, which could not be justified by any social or economic precepts, except in

the minds of the architects of apartheid through the ideology to which they subscribed. It is small wonder that the Daily Despatch newspaper (18/8/1966) described the aforementioned plans as "The biggest in the city's history". These plans subjected the city to the dictates of the broader policy of homeland or territorial apartheid. The re-allocation of urban space in the city was made dependent upon the implementation of the policy of territorial apartheid in the region, significantly modifying the subsequent form of the city. Thus, the provision of coloured and Asian group areas was delayed pending the building of a new homeland location whose future residents had first to vacate East London before other black groups could be relocated.

At long last a solution to East London's apparent racial problems had been provided. The tacit acceptance accorded by the council to the plans stemmed from the drawn out nature of insecurity which prevailed and the urgent necessity to solve problems of overcrowding, housing scarcity and general dilapidation in many parts of the city and the North End area in particular. The financial incentive of the allocation of state funds, thus abnegating the council of any immediate financial responsibilities was no doubt a consideration affecting municipal compliance.

In 1967, these measures received a significant degree of legitimacy when, according to Government Gazette proclamations numbers 345 and 346 [22] most of the city was racially segregated. The majority of East London was proclaimed for white occupancy, with the exception of a broad sector of land encompassing the Parkside, Parkridge and Buffalo Flats areas which was zoned for coloured residence. The only areas not zoned for any specific group were those of North End, pending its disestablishment and the African locations pending their disestablishment and their re-allocation to other race groups. In consequence the fate of other black groups in the city was tied directly to the government plans of territorial apartheid which envisaged the creation of an African homeland on the cities borders. North End was subsequently segregated into a zone of white residence and a commercial zone in terms of Government Gazette proclamation number 207 of 1969 [23] and number 98 of 1970 [24]. These proclamations made the occupation of the area by hundreds of coloured and Asian families effectively illegal. The fact that insufficient room existed to accommodate the coloured people thus disqualified and the non-existence, at this juncture, of an Asian area protracted the discord and insecurity experienced by these people.

From 1973 onwards, following the disestablishment of part of Duncan Village and the removal of its African residents, new coloured and Asian locations were built and proclaimed upon land which had been excised from Duncan Village. According to Government Gazette proclamation number 276 of 1973 [25] the newly

constructed location of Braelynn was proclaimed an Indian area, whilst Buffalo Flats extension and Pefferville were proclaimed as coloured areas (see Figure 3b). Subsequent extensions to the aforementioned areas were made until the removal of Africans from Duncan Village was suspended in 1983 (Daily Despatch, 12/5/1983). By that stage, the area of North End had effectively been disestablished and its residents moved to the new, segregated locations. The die of racial segregation had been cast and near absolute degrees of racial separation of urban space had been achieved. The city had been restructured to accord with the ideal apartheid city model, with urban space providing a physical expression of the political dictates of apartheid. The fate of the African community in the corresponding period added another dimension to the evolution of segregation in that city, however.

F) Territorial Apartheid and the African Community, 1955-1983.

As far as the African community was concerned, events had been proceeding apace with internal changes in the city. In 1960, whilst the municipality retained a relatively narrow conception of the scope of the implications of apartheid and Verwoed's ideals for the city, the government was developing a far more comprehensive and all-embracing strategy for coping with the perceived racial problems of the city. In 1961, the government announced their decision to abnegate the municipality of all responsibilities and expenses pertaining to the new African location of Mdantsane. This move was naturally welcomed by the municipality for whom a solution to an insoluble crisis appeared to have been miraculously provided. The government action should not however be viewed in too benevolent a light; although the goal of assisting the council out of their predicament was undoubtedly a consideration, the primary motivation for their actions was more intricate. Following the enactment of the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act, it had been decided to couple East London's African housing crisis with the creation of the Ciskei homeland.

The new location was thus to be divorced from East London and incorporated into the Verwoedian ideal of territorial apartheid, "... the new township will not be an urban Bantu residential area in a white area but will develop as a Bantu township in a Bantu homeland" (Daily Despatch, 9/2/1962). The final materialization of this dual-city structure, imposed by apartheid, is shown on Figure 3b. This step was in accord with what Morris (1981) has identified as a major swing in the government's African housing policy, in this era, whereby the highest priority was accorded to the urbanization of the homelands. The eventual ideal of the government was to relocate the bulk of the African populace to these new urban centers. The enforcement of the ideology of apartheid thus assumed a tangible and dramatic influence upon the evolving spatial form of East London. These decisions were to exert a direct impact upon the

application of the Group Areas Act within the city, making the future form of East London itself, dependent upon the implementation of the homelands policy as revealed by subsequent events.

In 1962 the awesomeness of the Verwoedian ideal was taken one step further, with the announcement that the new homeland location would not only serve as a place of residence for surplus Africans who could not be accommodated in East London, but would become the place of residence of the entire African populace of the city who would gradually be relocated there [26]. In so doing, the government was not only disregarding people's initiative and desires but was forcing both society and space to accord with the reconstruction of both as envisaged and implied by the precepts of apartheid. The groundwork for the ruthless pursuit of an ideal which sought to uproot tens thousands of people and relocate them at a distance ten times further away from their places of residence and work because it suited the ideology of apartheid was thus laid. The justification of the government's actions was provided by the Minister of Native Affairs in a speech at East London, when he stated, " Every nation in the world regardless of race or colour desires to handle its own affairs. This is a moral right that cannot be denied to anybody" [27]. The fact that 'self-determination' was imposed upon the most destitute members of the community and that individual initiative was subsumed to the government's ideology and its imposed monolithic, deterministic structures, made a mockery of any illusion of popular support for what took place.

In 1963 building of the new location commenced with the East London municipal building team acting on an agency basis on behalf of the government [28]. The project acquired a new dimension when in April 1963, the Minister of Native Affairs announced that consequent upon the enactment of the Coloured Labour Preference Area, large numbers of Africans from the Western Cape would be resettled in the location (Daily Despatch, 20/4/1963). In the same year work started on a new textile factory adjacent to Mdantsane as part of the Border Industries programme initiated in an attempt to make the homelands economically self-sufficient. The tremendous housing requirements precipitated by both developments ensured that the provision of housing so desperately required for East London residents was delayed even more [29]. Both measures bear testimony to the degree to which the state was prepared to go to in order to recreate social and economic affairs at not only the local and regional level but also at the national level as well along the lines which it aspired to. Mdantsane was to serve the multiple requirements of apartheid in its quest to restructure South African along the lines of self-determination propagated by the government.

It was only later in 1963 that the first people from Duncan Village were relocated to Mdantsane. Those affected came from the

shanty areas of the location where conditions were the most abysmal and congestion the greatest. Initially, the removals took place upon a voluntary basis, a situation which was not to be perpetuated in later years. In relative terms the new state housing represented a betterment in the quality of life of those who had lived in such abject poverty and want. Higher rentals, significantly greater transportation expenses and the increasingly rigid enforcement of the scheme altered the initial optimism which had been expressed by the first people relocated, " Some women uttered cries of delight when they saw their new houses" (Daily Despatch, 11/6/1964). By the close of 1964, the first 1494 houses had been completed in Mdantsane and planning to increase the projected size of the location from 10 000 to 18 000 houses had been authorized by the government [30]. During the course of that year, one of East London smaller locations, that of West Bank, was disestablished, its 5615 residents were removed to Mdantsane and the 475 houses there-in demolished [31].

Increasing hostility to the removals and the fact that four Mdantsane houses were required to accommodate each Duncan Village house demolished caused the Municipality grave concern over the efficacy of what had been embarked upon. In attempt to absolve themselves of any complicity with what was obviously a social and economic experiment of very dubious legitimacy, the council announced that, "The idea of removing all Bantu from their dwellings in the urban area and re-siting them in Bantu dorps which belong to the Bantu trust is part of the government's ideology and has nothing to with the city council" (Daily Despatch, 10/9/1965).

The formal demarcation of Mdantsane as a homeland city came in February 1966, when Government Gazette proclamation number 537 [32], set aside and defined Mdantsane as a separate homeland township. Not only had the ideology of apartheid segregated the urban area of the city, but it had also formalized the political impress of separate development upon the broader metropolitan region. Increasingly, the physical landscape came to manifest the traits of 'divide and rule' as propagated by the National Party government. In turn, these spatial divisions tended to become self-perpetuating, enforcing and sustaining the elements of discrimination and inequality in which they had their genesis.

By 1967, 5548 houses had been completed in Mdantsane, housing in excess of 40 000 people, most of whom had been relocated from Duncan Village, where 681 dwellings had been demolished [33]. Increasing popular hostility to the relocations, together with the higher rentals and transport costs forced upon those affected precipitated increasing public opposition to the entire scheme (Daily Despatch, May 1968 to July 1969). In 1971, the planning of phase two of Mdantsane was authorized, revealing the government's determination to enforce absolute and total re-allocation of urban space in the broader East London area on the

grounds of race. The situation of political and spatial dissimilarity and separateness was further enhanced in 1972 through the proclamation of the Ciskei, in which Mdantsane lies, as a self-governing territory within South Africa (Gordon, 1977). In 1981, the Ciskei (see Figure 1) was accorded formal political independence from South Africa (Daily Despatch, 7/12/1981). This marked the ultimate fulfilment of the Verwoedian ideal for the city, with East London technically being a white dominated city and Mdantsane a dormitory city for East London African populace who were accorded the trappings of political independence yet remained an integral and dependent element of the East London economy.

By 1976, Mdantsane had overtaken East London in size, with a de jure population of 175 000 (Gordon, 1978). The tremendous societal ramifications of apartheid are vividly depicted by the fact that by 1980, 19 675 houses had been built in Mdantsane to house the 80 000 people officially relocated from Duncan Village (Walt, 1982). This figure excludes natural increase, relocations from elsewhere and natural in-migration in Mdantsane itself. The areal extent of Mdantsane, which for all intents and purposes is a dormitory city, lying just within the Ciskeian border and adjacent to the East London Municipal boundary has created a physical, urban reality which cannot be ignored in any assessment of the East London region (see Figure 3b).

The implementation of territorial apartheid was not enforced to its absolute degree as originally envisaged by the apartheid planners. By 1981 there were still 38 000 people, de jure, in Duncan Village (Daily Despatch, 7/12/1981). In that year fears of the Sebe regime in the Ciskei and increasing opposition to the relocations provoked the initiation of the first organized resistance campaign to the removals with the launching of the 'To Save a Township' movement (Daily Despatch, 1981). What did however finally cause the suspension of removals and the failure of the state to implement the apartheid city ideal to its ultimate end occurred in 1983. This was the primary result of the opposition to further relocation of people to Mdantsane expressed by one of the products spawned by the same apartheid ideology, namely the Ciskei government (Daily Despatch, December 1983). In so doing, although the territorial restructuring of space on the grounds of race had not reached its 100% objective, an indelible impress had been made on the landscape. To this day, the results achieved stand testimony to the manner in which people, geographic space and political borders were redesigned by the architects of apartheid in such a manner as to accord with their inherent ideological persuasions.

G) Conclusion and Assessment

In the post-World War Two era, the city of East London and the broader region of which the city was a part, was forced to conform to the dictates of apartheid which imposed a racial model

of separation upon the city, its spatial arrangement and its peoples. The impact of apartheid and its associated structures bears testimony to the assertion by Davies (1981, p.64) that the Group Areas Act, "... (is) possibly the most far reaching legal system that has come to control and to undersign urban organization anywhere in the world". An investigation of the spatial manifestations of apartheid and their most obvious products, the locations, testifies to the impress of apartheid and the manner in which space has been subsumed to a political ideology. In consequence the view that "Cities are a mirror of history, class structure and culture" (Knox, 1987, p.302), is endorsed.

The present structure of East London and the arrangement of its black locations provides an insight into the evolutionary forces which determined its current form. The creation of Mdantsane within the Ciskei homeland vividly illustrates the degree to which both urban and rural areas could be forced to conform to politically motivated ideals of imposed self-determination. Given the normal operation of free-market forces, the broader region would never have assumed its current urban form if had not been for the imposition of territorial apartheid. The requirements of homeland creation affected the timing and nature of the removal of all the black communities in the city as well as their new areas of residence. The forced relocation of the city's populace into the new segregated locations, whether in the city or across a hypothetical international border and the intricate manipulation of space and society which preceded the realization of these ideals created a city unrecognizable from its original form.

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Notes:

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