Managing colonial alterity: narratives of race, space and labor in Durban, 1870–1920

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After being annexed by the British in 1844, the colony of Natal was administered through the mechanisms of indirect rule, which created a division between the subjects and spaces of a modern, urban European domain and a 'primitive', rural African realm. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this implied spatial division began to dissolve as a growing economy drew large numbers of Indian and African workers into the colony's cities. This paper examines the impacts of these changes in the city of Durban, through a reading of European public sentiments about the presence of these 'others' within the city. Laboring bodies became sites of public anxiety about the potential 'contamination' of the social order, and this led to increasing attempts to identify and contain these bodies through new forms of juridical and administrative control. These policies served to redraw the spatial boundaries of subjectivity around race as the privileged category determining rights and residence within the city, and in this way Durban's urban history serves as an exemplar of a more pervasive socio-spatial epistemology of race and whiteness.

Introduction: postcolonialism, race and space

The recent emergence of what has come to be known as postcolonial theory has exerted a significant influence on a wide range of academic fields, ranging from literary theory, to cultural studies and the social sciences.[1] Although the work carried on under this rubric is diverse, and has its share of critics, it is marked by a shared set of theoretical and empirical concerns, and by certain common modes of inquiry.[2] At its most general perspective, postcolonialism signals a concern with the often ambiguous and contradictory forms of power/knowledge and representation that structured territories, social conventions, and subject positions within the context of colonization. Importantly, such issues are not merely of 'historical' interest, for the legacies of such colonial processes continue to haunt the boundaries of contemporary identities and social and cultural formations. Postcolonial criticism can thus be viewed as an attempt to trace the epistemological categories and social understandings which have served as the conditions of possibility for particular practices and events within colonial societies past and present. The goal of such an approach is, as Gyan Prakash puts it, "to undo the totalizing narrative of European colonialism ... to show that colonial power and subjects were constituted and contested in the space of insurmountable contradictions and conflicts produced by colonialism."[3]

For geographers, such 'spaces of contradiction' should be of particular interest, for the marking of colonial difference depended crucially upon the definition and control of

particular types of space.[4] This discursive regulation was made possible by a host of scientific disciplines and 'objective' knowledges, including the discourse of geography itself, and its associated technologies of surveying, mapping and naming through which the illusion of objectivity could be projected into the contradictory spatiality of colonial interaction.[5] It is in this sense that John Noyes suggests that "a critique of the colony must also be a critique of colonial space, and ultimately a critique of those totalizing projects of knowledge which spatialize and visualize difference."[6]

In the colonial context, this 'visualization of difference' was not only a means of defining and appropriating particular kinds of spaces, but also of managing the interpellation of particular kinds of subjects. As Ann Laura Stoler has argued, "colonial cultures were never direct translations of European society planted in the colonies . . . [rather,] colonial projects and the European populations to which they gave rise were based on new constructions of European-ness—demographically, occupationally, and politically distinct."[7] Distinctions between Europeans and their various 'others', in other words, did not arrive in the colony pre-formed, but emerged out of the context of colonial interaction, and in response to local political and economic exigencies. In the process, as Alan Lester notes, "the settlers' initially divisive discourses of class, gender and nation were remoulded in the interests of solidarity, and solidarity was an imperative because capitalist penetration had its unwelcome counterpart in communal insecurity."[8]

One response to this insecurity was a concerted attempt to control the spatial contours of the colony, and to secure the boundaries through which the various subjectivities of the colonial project could be rendered meaningful. The space of the European subject evolved through a kind of 'mapping' of the outside world and a cataloguing of 'others' who posed a potential threat to the social and psychic order.[9] These distinctions were marked through discourses and practices that were at once material/spatial and psychological. As Zygmunt Bauman has put it:

> the 'Other' . . . is a by-product of social spacing; a left-over of spacing, which guarantees the usability and trustworthiness of the cut-out, properly spaced habitable enclave . . . . The *otherness* of the Other and the security of the social space (also, therefore, of the security of one's own identity) are intimately related and support each other.[10]

Within the colonial process, the authority and agency of European subjectivity was secured in part through a series of spatial discourses specifying which differences were to matter, and in what ways. Put another way, the space of the colony was produced via an always-unstable process of specifying alterity[11] out of difference and, in the process, of "forging . . . a consensual notion of *Homo europeaus*."[12] One of the most important categories of mediation in this process of spatializing and visualizing alterity was, of course, race.

As the most obvious visual marker of difference, the category of 'race' became a respository for the social and cultural anxieties of Victorian society, and thus became an important discourse through which alterity could be regulated.[13] As a number of recent commentators have pointed out, such discourses of racialization should not be seen simply as processes of 'othering', but also as a means of articulating, culturally and spatially, forms of normative whiteness through which settler subjectivity was given meaning.[14] Colonial constructions of race, in other words, were constitutive of what Dwyer and Jones have called a white socio-spatial epistemology, a form of comportment in which both self and space are discursively isolated from their 'constitutive outsides' and experienced in the form of a comfortably bounded and non-relational subjectivity.[15] By projecting various 'contaminating' elements of the social (filth, immorality,

savage impulses, etc.) onto racial stereotypes, the white subject can effectively (if tenuously) domesticate the ambiguity inherent in any sociospatial order, and deny the role that the spatial Other plays in our social and psychic selves.[16] One important task for a postcolonial geography, therefore, is to examine the cultural 'work' required to maintain this fiction, to recover the elided trace of alterity, and thereby to destabilize the historical configurations of power/knowledge through which the race/whiteness nexus has been historically constituted in space.

In this paper, I examine the ways in which space, race and whiteness were discursively regulated in the city of Durban from 1870 to 1920. The Durban case is instructive, because the city was a pioneer in developing practices of urban segregation, practices which became central to the later policies of apartheid in South Africa.[17] These practices emerged as a response to rapid urbanization and economic growth towards the end of the nineteenth century, which brought white settlers into increasing contact with the 'racialized' bodies of laborers in the city. These material transformations, I suggest, had a significant impact upon the ways in which the social and spatial boundaries between 'race' and whiteness were negotiated in the city. Indeed, my argument will in part be that any attempt to trace the constitution of racialized subjectivities needs to be attentive to the spatiality of production and labor as sites of cultural difference. In this sense, I believe that the case examined here can be taken as an example of a more widespread feature of European colonialism in the late nineteenth century: the need for settler communities to define and control the emerging contours of space and subjectivity in the context of a rapidly changing political economy.[18]

The Shepstone System and paternal administration in Natal

Before turning my attention to the city of Durban, I need to briefly describe the spatial structuring of the colony of Natal that developed in the mid-nineteenth century. The British authorities in Natal faced the challenge of administering a space in which the indigenous inhabitants outnumbered the European settlers by a substantial number. The task fell to the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes, Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Lacking in both funds and personnel, Shepstone is credited with developing the policies and practices of indirect rule, which were subsequently implemented throughout British colonial Africa.[19] In essence, the 'Shepstone System' relied upon two basic principles. First, a patchwork of rural 'reserves' was set aside for African residence, and tens of thousands of Africans were resettled within them. And second, within such spaces, Africans were governed by 'native law', presided over by a collection of hand-picked tribal chiefs, each of whom was ultimately accountable to the 'supreme chief', Shepstone himself. In this way, the colony was administered through a divided spatiality, within which different forms of sovereignty held sway.[20] Given the demographic characteristics of Natal, Shepstone's policies served as a pragmatic and flexible response to the difficulties entailed in colonial governance.

The Shepstone System, however, also worked discursively to define the nature of that very demography, for it was "buttressed by Shepstone's conviction that the cleavage between white and black was too great to allow all races to be contained within the framework of an integrated administration."[21] As Anne McClintock has noted, the spatial demarcation of the Shepstone System was governed by an implicit temporal narrative about progress and civilization.[22] The territories of the reserves were constructed as 'anachronistic space', primitive and archaic, populated by subjects whose 'race' was a marker of their childlike evolutionary status. As such, Shepstone

(whose Zulu name was 'Somtsewu', or 'Father of Whiteness') became the paternal master of a racial order played out in the theater of a larger, evolutionary 'family of man'.[23] A quote from Shepstone may serve to make the point:

> Whilst humanity, and especially the injunctions of our religion compel us to recognise in the native the capacity of being elevated to perfect equality, social and political, with the white man, yet it is as untrue as it would be unwise to say, that the native is now in this position, or that he is in his present state capable of enjoying or even understanding the civil and political rights of the white man. Her Majesty's government has most widely recognized and acted upon this principle by providing a form of government for the natives of this district, which while adapted to their present conditions, is capable of being modified as to advance their progress towards a higher and better civilisation.[24]

There is much that can be said about the spatial and racial contours of this early period in Natal's history, but my primary aim in this paper is not to interrogate the Shepstone System, but rather to highlight some of the consequences of its dislocation. By the 1880s, the divided territorialization of the Shepstone System was under pressure, in part because the rapidly growing economy of Natal drew Indians and Africans into urban 'European' spaces, thus threatening to undermine the particular spatial divisions through which white privilege was secured. Nowhere was this contradiction more stark than in Natal's fastest growing city, Durban. Indian and African laborers were crucial to the growing industrial economy, and their presence disrupted the neat binary between the modern, European spaces of the city and the archaic, pre-modern spaces of the African countryside.

In what follows, I turn my attention to the ways in which this contradiction was viewed in Durban, examining a series of heated public debates about the 'problem' of Indian and African alterity in the city. Public accounts of the period are replete with European fears about the 'alien' presence of these alterior groups and their threat to the constitution of a modern, urban order. My account is heavily indebted to earlier work on the history of Durban, especially that of Maynard Swanson and Paul La Hausse. In recounting the city's history, however, I hope to place a different inflection on the historical record. Specifically, I aim to read the discourses of urban order in Durban as attempts to secure a space, both material and conceptual, within which the privileged European subject could be properly defined against its Indian and African other, in the process structuring the local political economy in ways conducive to the simultaneous expansion of colonial capitalism and European hegemony. My argument is that new forms of race/whiteness were articulated in Durban in response to a series of transformations wrought by the development of industrial capitalism, chief among them the need for an ever-expanding pool of wage-laborers within the city. These laboring bodies—both Indian and African— became sites of public anxiety about the potential break-down of civic order, leading to increasing attempts to identify and contain such bodies through ever-tighter forms of juridical and administrative control.

The city of Durban

The city of Durban was first settled in 1824 as a post in the ivory trade. The city was proclaimed a municipality in 1854 with a population of 1024 Europeans, and grew rapidly in subsequent decades.[25] Economic expansion, revolving largely around the city's port activities, was sparked by the discovery of minerals inland and the provision of modern infrastructure. Roads were surveyed and paved, tram and rail networks were developed, and the harbor was dredged to facilitate trade.[26] The downtown central business district grew with the establishment of wholesale and retail trading concerns,

as well as small-scale manufacturing to support both the port activities and the regional agricultural economy, based primarily on sugarcane.[27] "By the 1890s," notes Swanson, "[Durban] contained nearly a third of the colony's white inhabitants and had acquired the material and institutional attributes of urban modernity."[28]

The white settlers of Durban began to settle along the Berea, a long ridge paralleling the edge of the bay. The area was favored because it was away from the swampy, low-lying land near the harbor, and was cooled by ocean breezes.[29] As the English travel writer Lady Barker described it:

> [The Berea is an area] where the rich, semi-tropical vegetation is cleared away in patches, and villas with pretty pleasure-grounds are springing up in every direction. The road winds up the luxuriant-clothed slopes, with every here and there lovely sea-views of the harbour, with the purple lights of the Indian Ocean stretching away beyond.[30]

The villas of the Berea soon became the envy of Natal, and the white colonists sought to protect their political and economic privilege by controlling the spatial development of the city. As Bill Freund remarks, "[Durban's white] population...was quick to reconceptualize itself in a new physical context. While riven by class and considerable differences in wealth and status, it was quick to unite against the threat of 'outsiders'."[31] Among the most prevalent of these outsiders were Indian and African laborers, who were essential to both the city's large infrastructure projects and the activities of the port. Within the chaotic hustle and bustle of urban interaction, the European settlers sought to guard the modern space of Durban and at the same time to articulate the boundaries of settler race and identity against its various 'others'. This symbolic marking of difference can be seen in a series of attempts to delimit the proper spaces of both Indian and African subjects in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Managing race and space I: 'the Asiatic menace'

Although discussions of colonial discourse often rely upon a notion of a 'Manichean binary' dividing colonizer from colonized, in many contexts this relationship was mediated by one or more 'external' population groups. Such was the case in Natal. With the establishment of the Shepstone System, Africans in Natal initially had little incentive or desire to seek wage labor on white-owned farms or in the colony's growing urban areas.[32] Beginning in 1860, the labor shortage was remedied through the immigration of Indian indentured laborers, and the earliest public anxieties over the presence of 'others' in the city of Durban arose not in opposition to 'natives', but the increasing numbers of Indians in the city.

As early as the 1860s, Indians who had completed their period of indenture began to settle just outside of the CBD, an area which soon came to be known as the 'Coolie Location'.[33] They were joined by traders and merchants, largely Muslim 'Passenger Indians', who had paid their own way to the colony and set up shops and stalls catering to the needs of Durban's Indian and African workforce. The neighborhood quickly developed into a thriving Indian business area, centered around the mosque and the Indian 'squatters market,' the city's primary trading area for fresh fruits and vegetables. Other Indians began to settle with their families in Durban's undeveloped periphery, taking up fishing and market gardening to supply the squatters' market.[34] As Freund describes it:

> Away from the centre, Durban had the appearance of a string of colonial commercial and residential islands set in a sea of cultivated shacklands. Here Indian families lived in

low-slung, wood-and-iron houses, normally outside the municipal borders of the city, in a poorly supervised and defined zone that allowed a multiplicity of economic activity.[35]

Indians were also drawn into wage work in the city, particularly around the dock areas, where they were generally housed in one of several municipal barracks north of town. Both within and outside of the city, then, Indian families began to carve out more or less permanent spaces of social, cultural and economic activity, activity which led to discursive and legislative attempts to discipline and racialize the spaces of Durban.

To most settlers, Indians were viewed as temporary foreigners, useful in the colony as laborers because, as British novelist Anthony Trollope put it in his popular travel account of South Africa, "the Indian Coolie has been for a long time in the world's workshop, whereas the Zulu has been introduced to it only quite of late."[36] The particular 'workshop' in question was of course British colonial India, and the understanding of Indian subjects was in part the product of an Orientalist spatial imaginary in which Indians could simply be 'borrowed' from elsewhere in the empire to serve the temporary needs of the white settler community. As Edward Said has shown, one of the most salient features of Orientalist discourse throughout the nineteenth century was just such a 'proprietary' attitude toward the spaces of the Orient, spaces which could then be "penetrated, worked over, taken hold of."[37] The space of Natal, by extension of this imperial spatial imaginary, became the geographical possession of the white colonists, who "regarded indentured Indians as docile labourers who could be exploited and subsequently repatriated when they had served their usefulness."[38]

Although the thousands of indentured Indians working in Natal's sugarcane fields fit this image of the temporary foreigner, those settling in Durban did not, and as early as 1870—just ten years after the indentured labor program began—fears were expressed in Durban newspapers about an 'Asiatic menace' in the city.[39] What was menacing about the Indian presence in Durban was its implicit challenge to what Homi Bhabha has described as the 'nation-space' of the new colony, a space constituted in part by the cultural 'narration of nation' as an imagined community.[40] The defining of that community, in the face of considerable differences among the settlers, required the specification of alterity, and thus Durban's white residents focused upon "the ways in which the Indians were most unlike themselves, culturally alien with social traditions and practices that Victorian colonials found repugnant."[41]

The most common target was the generally overcrowded and unhealthy conditions of Indian barrack and residential areas. Indian areas of the city were described as "breeding haunts and nursery grounds of disease, misery and discomfort."[42] In 1870, for example, the *Natal Mercury* decried the "small nests of Oriental dirtiness scattered indiscriminately about the town," and a few years later, Police Superintendent R. C. Alexander stated: "I admit that . . . their presence among us as laborers is a blessing, but as neighbors their filthy habits have made them a curse."[43] This statement expresses well the link between labor, race and urban order: it is *as neighbors* that Indians are unwelcome. It is not racial difference *per se* which poses a potentially disruptive challenge, but its proximity or encroachment. This fear was expressed again in the 1875 Mayor's Minute: "legislation will doubtless have to be resorted to, to prevent these people from thus locating themselves *in our very midst*, their habits and customs being, as is well known, so totally at variance with and repugnant to those of Europeans."[44]

Indians were not only transgressing residential space, but economic space as well. The Mayor's Minute of 1874 complained that "each day's delay is bringing about . . . the further erection and habitation of Coolie shops in our very midst, with their belongings of dirt and other objectionable things . . . ."[45] The 'erection of shops' refers here to the

increasing prevalence of 'Arab' traders in the city, and white antipathy toward Indians in Durban was in part a reaction to the perceived economic competition from successful business enterprises. Much of this resentment came from a pervasive feeling that Indians had the ability to undercut the prices of European traders because they subsidized their operation with an extended network of family labor. Thus, as Swanson points out:

> [while] whites perceived the Africans as a passive threat and affected a paternal regard for their allegedly natural subordination . . . they saw in the Indians a sophisticated and active menace to their own position in colonial society, competing for space, place, trade, and political influence with the imperial authority.[46]

It was the cunning and unfair trading practices of Indians that served to undermine the authority of the white subject position within the political economy of the city. Indian traders were described as 'parasites', and as "the real cancer that is eating into the very vitals of the community."[47]

The fear was in part a reaction to the rapid increase in the Indian population. In 1870, the Indian population of Durban numbered 668. By 1880, it had risen to 3309 and by 1899, the number had reached 9562, a nearly seventy-five percent increase over the previous six years. Over the same period, the number of Indian-owned shops in Durban rose from 2 in 1870 to more than 130 by the turn of the century.[48] This growth, perceived by Europeans in Durban as uncontrollable ('cancer-like' in the above quote), led to fears of white economic decline and electoral swamping. This gave rise to calls for two forms of control, each designed to safeguard and racially normalize the spaces of European autonomy in the city.

Legislating the nation

First, public sentiments were expressed regarding the need for Indian segregation. Cities in British India had long been characterized by attempts to separate the 'modern' European sector of the colonial city from the 'native city', seen as a source of infection and disease, and "a source of potential danger to the Anglo-Indian inhabitants."[49] Such notions were thus easily transferred to the Durban context. As early as 1870, plans were mooted in the local press to develop a residential location for Indians, "properly regulated, supervised and managed," and the Mayor's Minute of 1891 suggested that "the only true solution of the difficulty [is] the segregation of these people in an Indian quarter; the isolation with better hopes of cure of this, our social leprosy."[50] Such calls to 'disinfect' urban space, however, were not easily acted upon, for the Indian population had in fact become a legal part of the political body of Natal. Thus, the second strategy of control was to strike at the economic and franchise rights of the Indian community.

Durban's franchise law was based upon property ownership, and increasing numbers of Indians were being added to the voting rolls, much to the consternation of the city's white residents. As Durban's mayor lamented in 1890, "as purchasers and proprietors of town property they have equal right of citizenship with ourselves and cannot, therefore, be segregated."[51] Indians in this way posed a difficult problem for white hegemony since they could not simply be excluded from political rights. Unlike Africans, non-indentured Indians were British subjects, and wielded significant political leverage in the international arena. Indian grievances received a sympathetic reception in both India and Britain, and the colonial administration found itself under increasing pressure to safeguard the rights of Indians as British subjects.[52]

Despite such pressure, anti-Indian agitation increased steadily in Durban. As Swanson suggests, "to the city fathers . . . these imperial admonitions appeared as a threat to their own security and a hindrance to the good management of the community."[53] The white response was to reconsolidate their hegemony through a strategy designed to redefine that community through the exclusion of Indian political and economic rights. This task was made easier in 1893 when Britain granted Natal Responsible Government status over the affairs of the colony. The following year, an Indian disenfranchisement bill was introduced in the Natal legislature.[54]

The measure was met with mass action and petition drives by Natal's Indian community, organized primarily by Mohandas Gandhi, who had recently arrived as a young barrister to serve the Indian community. In 1894, Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress, an organization which successfully managed to bridge the substantial class, caste and cultural differences within the Indian community, and which continued to represent Indian interests throughout the apartheid period.[55] Despite this resistance, however, a revised version of the bill was passed in 1896. At the behest of the Colonial Office, the bill made no specific mention of Indians, but instead sedimented the political community—and by extension the national subject—around the symbolic boundaries of race. The Act denied franchise rights to those "who (not being of European origin) are natives or descendants in the male line of natives of countries which have not hitherto possessed elective representative institutions."[56] The political horizons of the nation were thus defined as a specifically *European* space, a space which, despite its 'European origin' could be conjured in Africa to circumscribe the modern Enlightenment subject through categories of normative whiteness.

Eliminating the potential electoral threat, however, did little to stem the tide of anti-Indian sentiment in Durban, as white residents continued to view Indians as an economic threat and a health menace. These sentiments culminated in the anti-immigration riot of 1897, when mobs prevented the landing of passenger Indians from two ships rumored to be infected with cholera. Among the passengers was Gandhi, who was returning to Natal from India, where he had launched a high-profile publicity campaign against Natal's Franchise Act. Upon disembarking, Gandhi was attacked and assaulted, prompting local officials to take action against Indian traders to appease their European constituents.

In 1897, these efforts were helped when the Natal legislature passed the Wholesale and Retail Dealers Licensing Act, which "struck directly at the economic foundations of their rival colonists."[57] The act gave more or less arbitrary power to local councils to grant or withhold trading licenses in the city, and in practice, it was used to refuse new licenses to Indian traders.[58] With both political and economic autonomy thus curtailed, the Indian community would henceforth find it impossible to compete on equal terms for social and political power in the city. By scripting the Indian presence as temporary and alien, the white citizens of Natal had redefined the nature of subjectivity and citizenship, in the process rearticulating a conception of the racially-based nation.

Managing race and space II: African *togt* labor and the colonial economy

The re-invention of the nation around the nodal point of race was not only directed at the increasing autonomy of Indians, but also the growing population of urbanized Africans. As one colonial administrator remarked:

> There is the coloured line which is in existence today . . . once you cross that line we see no reason why there should be any distinction between Indians and Natives. And if Indians have to have the franchise I see no reason why it should not be given to the Natives. Well, we know what the effect of that would be.[59]

Like Indians, Africans were viewed through lenses of alterity, which secured the privileged spaces of urban modernity as a domain of white subjectivity.

As I have suggested, African subjects were defined in part through discourses of 'progress' and 'civilization', their difference codified in the anachronistic spaces of the rural native reserves and their paternalistic administration. The white settlers of Durban began to settle along the Berea, a long ridge paralleling the edge of the bay (see Figure 1). As the colonial economy expanded, however, Africans were drawn into a system of circulatory wage labor, many drawn to Natal's growing urban areas, and in particular Durban. As Davies points out, "Durban's African population was mobile and made up of single, male casual . . . workers and short-term labourers progressively caught up in a socially destructive migratory labour system."[60] This African presence within (European) urban modernity threatened to erode the privileged position of the white colonial subject, and eventually forced a renegotiation of the paternal legislation of space through which colonial identity was structured.

African workers in Durban were channeled into four main labor markets: monthly contract workers (largely domestic service and shopworkers), ricksha pullers, washermen, and day (*togt*) laborers, largely comprised of dockworkers.[61] It was this latter group in particular which began to draw criticism from Durban's white community. Since they were not tied to a contractual agreement, African (and some Indian) *togt* laborers could simply loiter by the docks and wait for an offer of daily employment, and the increasing presence of such 'idle' Africans gave rise to fear about the lack of control over their numbers and activities. As Anthony Trollope noted during his visit in 1877:

> The population of Durban is . . . something above 4000 white inhabitants, and something above half that number of coloured people. In regard to the latter there must I think be much uncertainty as they fluctuate greatly and live, many of them, nobody quite knows where. They are in fact beyond the power of accurate counting, and can only be computed.[62]

The lack of control over *togt* labor was deemed a problem because it fostered the existence of a free labor market. Lacking a contract, workers were able to work as or when they wished, and had the opportunity to bid up wages, especially during times of peak labor demand.[63] When demands for higher wages were unsuccessful, "workers collectively withdrew their labour and returned to their homesteads."[64] The harbor area, according to Natal Undersecretary of Native Affairs, S. O. Samuelson, had "a natural tendency [to attract] a large and fluctuating native population subject to very little restraint . . . combining to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonists by excessive demands."[65] The 'excessive demands' referred to here are wage demands, and the existence of a *laissez-faire* labor market which was antithetical to the paternal relationship.[66]

Attempts were soon made to gain some control over the workers, including the passage of vagrancy and curfew legislation. The most stringent laws, however, were developed by none other than Theophilus Shepstone, who initiated in 1873 a series of regulatory mechanisms known as *togt* laws to manage the temporary circulation of labor power in Durban. Under the new *togt* laws, laborers were allowed five days in town while seeking work; every *togt* laborer was to be registered, and pay a fee; all *togt* laborers were required to wear a badge; and work could not be refused if offered at a minimum wage set by the local Magistrate.[67]

It is clear that these measures were in part designed to directly address employers' concerns about the lack of control over wages. I want to suggest, however, that they also served as an initial response to the fear that the boundaries defining space and identity
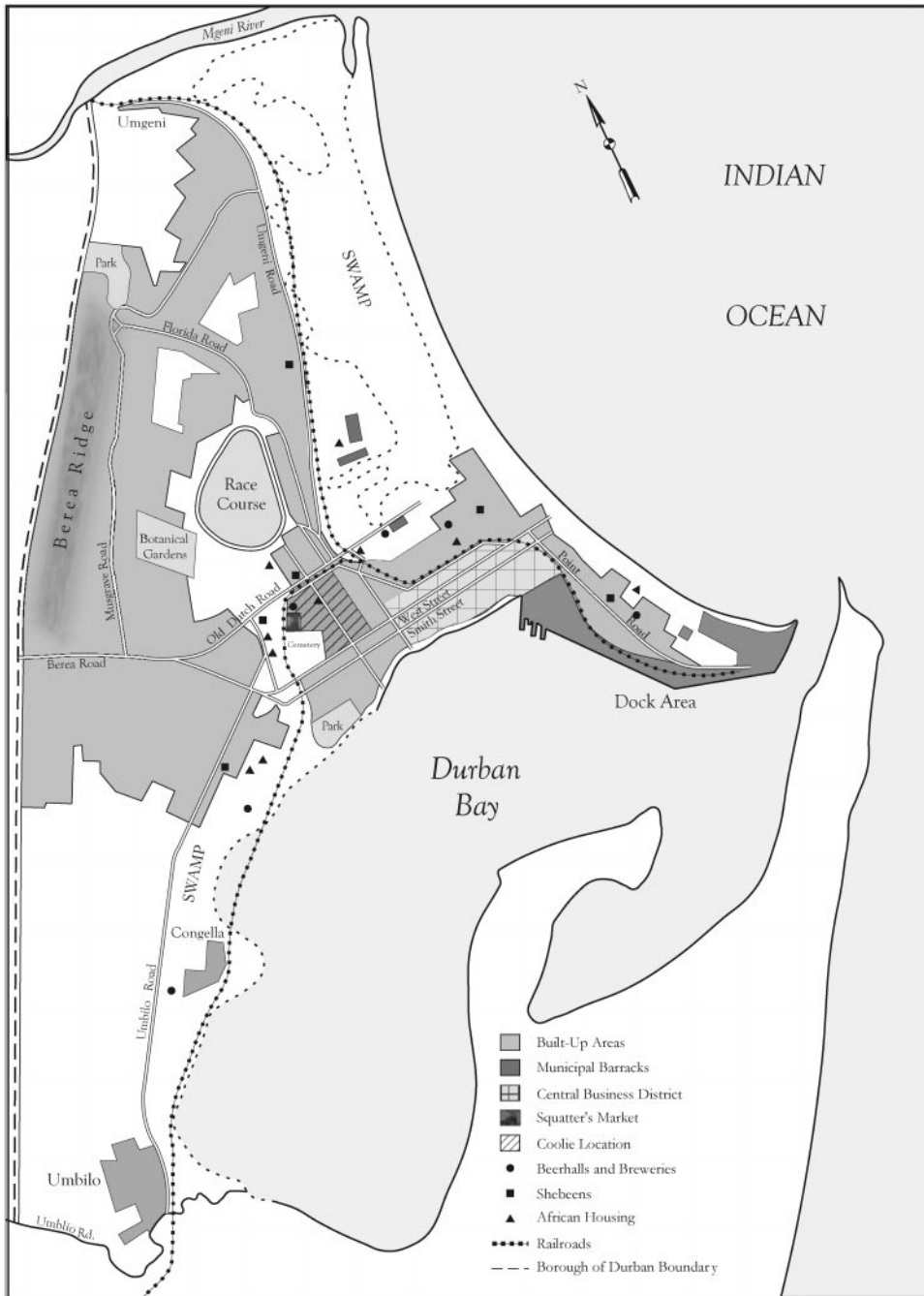
Figure 1. Drinking establishments and African housing in Durban, *c.* 1916.

under the Shepstone System were being dislocated in the context of increasing racial and ethnic interaction in the city. As Shepstone described:

The object of these regulations is to check several growing evils . . . liberty that is becoming licentious and injurious to all in the towns . . . ; the . . . communication to the surrounding

native tribes of vicious impressions and ideas detrimental to their effective government; combination to extract from . . . employers higher wages than as a rule the service is worth; and direct discouragement of the natural and desirable relation between master and servant.[68]

Thus, the 'evil' which threatened to undermine 'effective government' was in part the increasing dissolution of the distinction between the modern European spaces of the city, and the anachronistic space of the 'surrounding tribes'. Although African labor power had become a necessary feature of the expanding economy of Natal, the migrant labor system served to 'contaminate' the sociospatial division between Master and Servant which had become a defining feature of the colonial order. As in the case of Indians, public discourse about Africans in Durban from the 1860s is marked by a concern to limit the extent of this contamination, and to reassert a measure of control over the subjects and spaces of the city.

The 'native social pest'

The most common manifestation of this was a repeated reference to what became known as the 'Native Social Pest', a concern which at times culminated in mass demonstrations against what were seen as idle and dangerous Africans.[69] As with the 'Asiatic Menace', the nature of this 'pest' was commonly perceived through the lenses of infection and disease. An 1886 editorial in the *Natal Mercury*, for example, described the increasing numbers of uncontrolled Africans as "the social pest . . . spreading like an epidemic . . . undermining all sense of security."[70] Shepstone, too, lamented that, "our towns have become the pest spots of our body social and political; . . . mischiefs radiate from centres which offer the conditions most favourable for their incubation."[71] This fear of infection, 'incubated' as a result of racial interaction, is not that of a contagion transferred from body to body, but an infection of the colonial ordering of space through which the social and political body was regulated. It registered a concern that the social and psychic boundaries regulating alterity would be rendered ambiguous by colonial contact. In the discourse surrounding the African social pest in Durban, these concerns cut in two distinct directions.

First, there was a commonly-articulated fear that Africans would become 'infected' with the ideals and influences of urban modernity, a 'plague' which threatened to defile the 'primitive' spaces underpinning the Shepstone System. As Swanson argues, "the towns were identified by all critics as a destructive environment, unnatural and alien to Africans, corrupting the hapless but noble savages with all the worst features of civilization and creating a menace to the White community."[72] Such sentiments reflect a fear that the urban environment would force modernity upon a migrant race not yet evolved enough to fully comprehend it. Anthony Trollope, for example, asserted that in the cities, the African "becomes sly, a liar and a thief, whom it is impossible to trust and dangerous to have about the place . . . he is a Kafir still, but a Kafir with the addition of European cunning without a touch of European conscience."[73] I have already noted the disconcerting tendency of African *togt* workers to bid up wages, and we can I think read Trollope's comments about the sly native as a register of the unwelcome autonomy that Africans derived in the urban setting. Indeed,

> social changes that marked the beginnings of an urban African population were . . . taking place and most critics clearly considered an independent African labouring class a dangerous element: it was wrong that those who served were becoming less submissive and more expensive.[74]

It was not only the rise of an independent class of urban Africans that was the source of anxiety, for the economy depended upon a *circulatory* system of labor migration, and thus the moral degeneracy in the city threatened to 'infect' the surrounding countryside as well. In 1881, prominent manufacturer and Town Councilor Robert Jameson referred to "this lawlessness [which] like a cancer must of necessity spread from our urban centers."[75] The entire administrative system of Natal depended upon a division of space between the European urban areas, and the anachronistic space of the reserves, populated by quiescent natives who accepted their paternal Masters. The trappings of urban modernity threatened to undermine this spatial order, and sparked a concern for the authenticity and stability of what was seen as an idyllic rural lifestyle. As the South African Native Affairs Commission put it in 1907: "These centres (towns) and more so Durban, are the plague spots, the very schools wherein the Natives' mind, character and morals are corrupted and destroyed ... he picks up his code of 'new' morals leading to disease and destruction."[76]

The most troubling aspect of these new African morals was the consumption of alcohol.[77] The drinking of home-brewed beer (*utshwala*) was a common feature of social and ceremonial occasions in African culture, and its presence within Durban "symbolized the continuity between town and countryside."[78] The informal 'shebeens' which served as sites of drinking and socializing became important autonomous spaces, spaces which "represented an alternative cultural expression to white bourgeois hegemony, a class expression of how and where leisure-time was to be spent."[79] To the Durban authorities, however, such spaces represented an inherent challenge to accepted moral codes and to the boundaries of subjectivity which formed the colonial order. Faced with the common forms of exclusion and indignity which were brought upon Native laborers in the city, Africans began to articulate a form of subjectivity which affirmed their common tribal roots and asserted a measure of autonomy over their everyday activities. Increasing numbers of Africans rejected the manual labor of the *togt* worker and instead eked out a tenuous existence engaging in a variety of illicit activities—the selling of *dagga* (marijuana), the unlicensed hawking of second-hand clothes, medicines or *muthi* (traditional herbs), the staging of rigged games of chance or the selling of 'love potions'.[80] In the process, bonds of independence were established, and the independent street sellers began to be seen as local heroes.[81] As Chief Magistrate J. C. C. Chadwick complained, "the Natives have come to look upon the towns as their happy hunting grounds ... It is in the towns where they learn to despise the white man and his ways ...."[82]

Managing difference

Taken together, the publicly-stated fears about the presence of Africans in Durban serve as markers of a more general disintegration of Shepstonian colonial discourse around the turn of the century. For Durban's white elite, the boundaries demarcating the space of the (modern) white subject were being challenged by the racial heterogeneity which seemed to increase at pace with the growing city. The response by Durban's policy-makers was to attempt to reassert control over the subjects and spaces of the city through new forms of legislative and discursive power.

These new social horizons came to be explicitly articulated around race as the symbolic nodal point by which space and subjectivity were to de defined in the city. In 1904, Durban Magistrate James Stuart, in what Swanson calls one of the key intellectual

sources of apartheid, put forward the view that Africans could never assimilate into the white race, and should therefore be considered temporary visitors to the city:

> They should, for many years to come, be regarded as mere visitors to the town . . . and though they give us labour, they . . . have no right to share in the same privileges that regular citizens do . . . It seems to me it will always be a fair argument to say Natives may not do acts which tend to admit them, directly or indirectly, to the society of the more civilised race, simply because they do not understand the privileges sought.[83]

That same year, Stuart's superior, Chief Magistrate J. C. C. Chadwick suggested:

> Let . . . [the natives] understand that the towns of the Colony are the special places of abode of the white men, who are the governing race, and that if they go to those towns to seek employment they must comply with the regulations . . . for the peace and order of the town, which they must be taught to look upon as one of the Supreme Chief 's [Governor of Natal] great kraals.[84]

These two passages articulate the principles which would guide urban race relations in South Africa for the next four decades. The privileges of citizenship and urban modernity are reaffirmed as the exclusive domain of Durban's white residents, 'who are the governing race'. While the necessity of accepting Africans in the city as laborers is explicitly recognized, Africans are regarded as 'mere visitors', as temporary sojourners into an urban milieu that they simply 'do not understand'.

The desire to limit the potentially pathological contact with African sexuality and alterity in Durban led to renewed attempts to specify and control the subjects of the city through a racialized reterritorialization of urban space. There were essentially two strategies employed. The first was to attempt to limit the numbers of Africans coming into the city, and to ensure that those who did enter were gainfully employed. The city of Durban enacted numerous laws, by-laws, rules and regulations to govern the legal entry into, and proper conduct within, the city. Between 1893 and 1910, no fewer than 48 such laws were passed prohibiting such things as disorderliness, provocative language and indecent conduct.[85]

The most comprehensive piece of legislation was the 1901 Amendment to the Identification of Native Servants Act, which required all Africans entering the city to register with the local police, whereupon they were issued an identification pass. Any African in the city without such a pass could be required to leave. As Police Superintendent Alexander described in 1904:

> I have a Pass Book with a counterfoil, and every Native who comes into town . . . goes straight to the Police Station. He cannot go an inch without that pass . . . I think the identification pass one of the grandest things they could have. They can show their pass, and say: "I am so and so; there is my pass, I am a free man."[86]

This 'freedom' to remain in Durban was premised upon gainful employment and proper conduct, and the increasing tangle of regulations became a central means of regulating the activities of Africans in Durban. In 1903 alone, more than 8000 arrests were made among a population of 19 000 Africans.[87]

In addition to attempting to limit the numbers of Africans in the city, many civic leaders expressed the view that those who did enter should be segregated in urban 'compounds' or 'locations'. Such a view is perhaps best exemplified by Maurice Evans, a Durban merchant, whose influential book *Black and White in South East Africa* published in 1911 was an explicit call for segregation:

> [whites should] act in our relations with the natives, and so guide them that they may have all reasonable opportunity for developing their race life along the best lines . . . not necessarily following the line of evolution of the white man, but the one their race genius

suggests. And that we . . . shall also have an opportunity of developing, and not be subject as a race to deteriorating tendencies."[88]

For Evans and others, the only way to maintain a sanitary social order was to enforce a social and spatial separation of different race groups, a view which became the hallmark of formal apartheid in later decades: "for our own ultimate good . . . the points of contact are already too many and too close, and to multiply them and intensify them for what is at bottom our economic gain, is a policy likely to be fraught with evil for both races."[89]

Urban segregation was not only seen to benefit the white community, however. In 1903 Robert Jameson, a town councilor and member of Durban's sanitation committee suggested that "[the togt worker] is left very much to his own devices . . . he is undisciplined, he is out of control, he is lazy . . . it would be in the interests of the native himself if he were located in the compound, where he would be under proper supervision and control."[90] This concern with control, I have suggested, evinced not merely a desire to cleanse the city of dangerous or immoral activity—it represented a new territorializing of the population through an explicit coincidence of race, labor and urban space. A 1903 memo from the city's Department of Health stated, for example, that it was:

> desirable that natives should be located outside the towns. And not togt natives only, not even natives only . . . All colored people of the working class whose services after sundown are not indispensable should live in their own locations . . . The haunts of the labouring class would then be known—confined to the place of work and the legitimate place of residence.[91]

The Durban system

Even as the calls for urban locations became more numerous, the African population in the city continued to swell, due in part to the arrival of thousands of refugees in the wake of the South Africa ('Anglo-Boer') War. The total African population, less than four thousand in 1880, was nearly nineteen thousand by 1904, and although this was generally viewed with displeasure, the city lacked the legal sanction to enforce the segregation of Africans and the housing in which to put them. The first barrier was overcome in 1904, when the Natal Legislature passed the Native Location Act (No. 2), which authorized the establishment of segregated residential locations. In Durban, however, neither the legislature nor local businesses were willing to finance large-scale housing construction, and thus most Africans were housed in a few scattered barracks and in temporary accommodations in backyard shacks, ricksha sheds, and rooms rented out by Indian and sometimes white working-class landlords.[92]

In 1908, a solution to the problem emerged, one which was to have far-ranging impacts on the political economy of the city and the emerging regime of urban governmentality in Durban. The answer was found in regaining control over the very cultural practices which were so troubling to Durban's white community, by establishing a municipal authority over the brewing and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Pushed by municipal authorities in Durban, the Natal Legislature passed the Native Beer Act of 1908, which allowed towns to establish a local beer monopoly, the proceeds from which would be put into a new municipal Native Administration fund. The funds were to be used to build locations, schools, hospitals, hostels or any other object of African 'welfare', a form of urban administration that came to be known as 'the Durban System'.[93]

Upon passage of the Act, Durban outlawed the brewing and sale of alcoholic beverages, thus making the many shebeens in the city illegal. In their place, the city built a

number of municipal eating houses and beerhalls, where African workers could congregate and drink *utshwala* under the watchful eye of native administrators. Although shebeens undoubtedly continued to operate underground, the beerhalls became extremely crowded, if not always popular. Revenues from municipal beer sales in Durban soon surpassed *togt* fees as the major source of finance for urban administrative capacities, leading to "a more intensive and comprehensive program of paternalistic administration than ever before, tending with relative efficiency to restrain Africans to barracks and locations."[94] The beer revenues also provided for the expansion of the city's bureaucracy. In 1916, the Municipal Native Affairs Department was created, backed with sufficient personnel and legal jurisdiction to increase control over Africans in the city. The new Department immediately set out to strengthen the city's by-laws regarding registration and passes, and issued threats to proprietors who put up workers illegally.

The Durban System was highly successful, and by 1920, "Durban had the most developed form of administrative control over its African population."[95] The use of the municipal beer monopoly to fund the apparatuses of governmentality was in fact copied in other cities in South Africa, and as far afield as Uganda and Sudan.[96] The key to this success was at least in part due to the reassertion of control over the subaltern spaces which evaded the strict division of colonial urban space. As La Hausse remarks:

> The struggle over the introduction of a municipal beer monopoly in Durban ... and the system of urban control which was its outgrowth, rested upon the reworking and active marginalization of a cultural practice which was an integral part of those rural societies from which Durban's African population, usually temporarily, departed in order to seek wage work in the town.[97]

In this way, the Durban System was not only a novel form of revenue generation, but also a means to rearticulate the boundaries between the rural and urban, and to tightly manage the ways in which labor, race and whiteness interacted in the production of urban space.

Conclusion: the trace of labor and the boundaries of race

In May of 1904, Durban Police Superintendent R. C. Alexander gave testimony before the South African Native Affairs Commission advocating residential locations for Africans. Among his comments were the following:

> There would be really no crime worth speaking of, none at all. The men would be away enjoying themselves in their own town, and we should know nothing about it ... They could lie under the trees or swim in the river as long as they liked. They would be perfectly happy, and away from all temptations. The Indian Ocean would guard them on the one side, the Umgeni [River] on another, and the borough police on the third. I would put my Natives in barracks and let them march into town as they do with soldiers. That has been my ambition for 25 years, and I have not altered it.[98]

In the context of Durban's changing political economy, we can read this statement as yet another example of the desire on the part of Durban's authorities to promote the policies of urban segregation. I think Alexander's vision is significant, however, for another reason. For here we have an explicit imagery of Shepstone's native locations, an Edenic space where the happy natives can lie in the shade and swim in the river, but now brought into the city itself, where the space can be properly specified, controlled, known. Here, the necessary urban labor force could be housed without undermining the crucial distinction between the modern urban space of the European subject and its primitive and archaic alterior. As such, Alexander's comments can be taken as a register of the troubling

presence of African and Indian laborers in the city at the turn of the century, a presence which disrupted the division of spatiality (anachronistic-modern) upon which both the colonial social order and the emerging capitalist economy depended.[99]

Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that within the colonial context, labor became the embodiment of a temporal dissonance between the 'pre-capitalist' social relations of subaltern existence, and the teleological narrative of progress and History underpinning the logic of capitalist development:

> If 'real' labor . . . belongs to a world of heterogeneity whose various temporalities cannot be enclosed in the sign History . . . then it can find a place in a historical narrative of capitalist transition (or commodity production) only as a Derridean trace of something that cannot be enclosed, an element that constantly challenges from within capital's and commodity's—and, by implication, History's—claims to unity and universality.[100]

In Natal, the progress of History was explicitly spatialized, as the perceived civilizational differences between whites and others were mapped out and used to justify the maintenance of white privilege. The circulation of labor between these space-times thus served to 'constantly challenge' not only the temporal narrative of progress but also the *spatial* grounds of identity/difference which provided the conditions of possibility for colonial exploitation. In this sense, labor functioned as what Zizek identifies as a symptom:

> With the establishment of bourgeois society, the relations of domination and servitude are *repressed*: formally, we are apparently concerned with free subjects whose interpersonal relations are discharged of all fetishism; the repressed truth—that of the persistence of domination and servitude—emerges in a symptom which subverts the ideological appearance of equality, freedom, and so on.[101]

The circulation of labor in urban space, as the archaic trace of the pre-modern, became a constant threat to the ontology of modern subjectivity, precisely because, in exposing the ambiguity of the colonial order, it laid bare the racial oppression which was its defining feature. Thus, the discourses of urban governance in Durban were dominated by attempts to secure the borders of alterity through the reterritorializing of urban space, an attempt to redraw the boundaries between the subjects and spaces of the expanding city.

In the case of both Indians and Africans, these boundaries came to be drawn around race as the privileged category defining activities, rights, and increasingly, the place of residence within the city. That it was race (rather than, say, gender or class) that became the most salient marker of difference speaks to the ways in which racial alterity was discursively bound to notions of modernity and civilization at the end of the nineteenth century. In response to the insecurity engendered by the perceived breakdown of urban order, the settler community sharpened the boundaries around their common whiteness as a means to articulate a sense of communal identity, and at the same time to demarcate the contours of the modern. Those social and cultural elements that were threatening to modern notions of self and space (dirt, disease, disorder, immoral behavior, etc.) were displaced onto 'uncivilized' non-white bodies, which could then be defined as the absolute alterior.[102]

Thus, out of the constant interplay of colonial social interaction and miscegenation, "the tendency emerged for Whites to discuss the need for social control, public security and health, town planning, commercial arrangements and political aspirations in terms of racial or ethnic differences."[103] Racial difference, visually marked and embodied in indentured and *togt* laborers in Durban, became the locus of deep cultural anxieties about the breakdown of civilization, the infection of the social order, and the

degeneration of the white race. These racial anxieties were also, of course, spatial: racial alterity was no longer something 'out there', but had now 'infected' the white city. Despite Alexander's preference that "the men . . . [should] be away enjoying themselves in their own town, and we should know nothing about it," everyday contact with Indian and African workers in the city had become unavoidable. In this context, racial alterity had to be specified as a form of absolute difference, a difference whose maintenance depended upon new forms of social and spatial demarcation.

This coincidence of race and space reached its apogee in the policies of apartheid, and in this sense, the events I have detailed here have something to tell us about the spatial epistemology of apartheid discourse. But they also, I believe, have resonance beyond the context of South Africa, for they serve as an illustration of the more general ways in which a white socio-spatial epistemology is constituted. Critical histories of race and space viewed through the lenses of postcolonial theory can in this sense help to shed light on the uneasy racial constructions that are still so much a part of our contemporary geographical imaginations.

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Notes

[1] See, for example, F. Barker, P. Hulme and M. Iversen (Eds), *Colonial Discourse, Postcolonial Theory* (Manchester 1994); P. Williams and L. Chrisman (Eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory* (New York 1994); G. Prakash (Ed.), *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacement* (Princeton 1995); I. Chambers, and L. Curti (Eds), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (New York 1996); A. McClintock, A. Mufti and E. Shohat (Eds), *Dangerous Liasons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis 1997).

[2] Critiques of postcolonialism include A. Ahmad, *Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London 1994); A. Dirlik, The postcolonial aura: Third World criticism in the age of global capitalism, *Critical Inquiry* **20** (1994) 328–356.

[3] G. Prakash, Who's afraid of postcolonialism?, *Social Text* **49** (1996) 187–203.

[4] On the spatiality of colonial discourse, see D. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA 1994); J. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (New York 1996); T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley 1991); J. Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884–1915* (Philadelphia 1992); J. Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford 1996).

[5] A. Godlewska and N. Smith (Eds), *Geography and Empire* (Oxford 1994); G. Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (Minneapolis 1996).

[6] Noyes *op. cit.*, 86.

[7] A. L. Stoler, Rethinking colonial categories: European communities and the boundaries of rule, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* **31** (1989) 134–161, 136–137.

[8] A. Lester, Reformulating identities: British settlers in early nineteenth-century South Africa, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **23** (1998) 515–531, 516.

[9] On the relationship between space and subjectivity, see K. Kirby, *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity* (New York 1996); R. Shields, A truant proximity: presence and absence in the space of modernity, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **10** (1992) 181–198; D. Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (London 1995); R. Wilton, The constitution of difference: space and psyche in landscapes of exclusion, *Geoforum* **29** (1998) 173–185.

[10] Z. Bauman, *Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality* (Cambridge, MA) 189, emphasis original.

[11] The term 'alterity' can be defined as "the quality or state of being other" (*Websters Unabridged Dictionary*). I prefer this term to similar concepts, such as 'difference' or 'otherness', because its recent use in social and cultural theory connotes the ways in which differences are socially and historically produced. The '*otherness* of the Other' (to use Bauman's phrase) is thus not natural, but emerges discursively as specific forms of difference become the means by which we define 'the Other'.

[12] A. L. Stoler and F. Cooper, Between metropole and colony: rethinking a research agenda, in A. L. Stoler and F. Cooper (Eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley 1997) 1–56, 13.

[13] See, for example, A. Lester, 'Otherness' and the frontiers of empire: the Eastern Cape Colony, 1806–1850, *Journal of Historical Geography* **24** (1998) 2–19, doi:10.1006/jhge.1997.0073; A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York 1995); R. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York 1995).

[14] A. Bonnett, Geography, 'race' and whiteness: invisible traditions and current challenges, *Area* **29** (1997) 193–199; A. Kobayashi and L. Peake, Unnatural discourse: 'race' and gender in geography, *Gender, Place and Culture* **1** (1994) 225–243.

[15] O. Dwyer J. P. Jones, III, White socio-spatial epistemology, *Social and Cultural Geography* **1** (2000) 209–222.

[16] H. Bhabha *The Location of Culture* (New York 1994).

[17] M. Swanson, "The Durban system": roots of urban apartheid in colonial Natal, *African Studies* **35** (1976) 159–176; P. Maylam, The rise and decline of urban apartheid in South Africa, *African Affairs* **89** (1990) 57–84.

[18] Stoler and Cooper, *op. cit.*

[19] M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton 1996).

[20] On the creation and maintenance of the Shepstone System, see E. Brookes, *White Rule in South Africa 1830–1910* (Pietermaritzburg 1974); R. Morrell, J. Wright and S. Meintjes, Colonialism and the establishment of white domination, 1840–1890, in R. Morrell (Ed.), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu–Natal* (Durban 1996) 33–62; D. Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation in Colonial Natal, 1845–1910* (Cape Town 1971).

[21] Welsh, *op. cit.*, 318.

[22] McClintock, *op. cit.*

[23] *Ibid.* See also J. Guy, An accommodation of patriarchs: Theophilus Shepstone and the system of native administration in Natal, History and African Studies Seminar Series, No. 14, 1997 (University of Natal, Durban); C. Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, MA 1998).

[24] Quoted in G. Low, *White Skins/Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism* (New York 1996) 72.

[25] R. Davies, The growth of the Durban metropolitan area, *The South African Geographical Journal* **45** (1963) 15–42.

[26] B. Freund, The city of Durban: towards a structural analysis of the economic growth and character of a South African city, History and African Studies Seminar Series, No. 7, 1997 (University of Natal, Durban).

[27] Davies, *op. cit.*

[28] Swanson, "The Durban system", 161.

[29] B. Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910–1990* (Portsmouth, NH 1995).

[30] L. Barker, *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (London 1877) 46.

[31] Freund, The city of Durban, 11.

[32] K. Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900* (Portsmouth 1993); J. Lambert, *Betrayed Trust: Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg 1995).

[33] Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders*.

[34] M. Swanson, "The Asiatic menace": creating segregation in Durban, 1870–1900, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* **16** (1983) 401–421.

[35] Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders*, 33.

[36] A. Trollope, *South Africa*. **1** (London 1968) 274. The book was originally published in 1878.

[37] E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York 1979) 211.

[38] D. Rajah, *The Durban Indian central business district: a case study in the geography of apartheid* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Natal 1981) 25.

[39] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 420.

[40] Bhabha *op. cit.*; M. Sparke, A map that roared and an original atlas: Canada, cartography, and the narration of nation, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **88** (1998) 463–495; Stoler *op. cit.*

[41] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace" 404.

[42] Quoted in M. Swanson, The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony, 1900–1909, *Journal of African History* **18** (1977) 387–410, 390.

[43] Quoted in Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 407; 412.

[44] Quoted in L. Kuper, H. Watts and R. Davies, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (London 1958) 32, emphasis added.

[45] Quoted in Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 406; and in Kuper *et al. op. cit.*, 32.

[46] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 404.

[47] Quoted in B. Maharaj, The local state and residential segregation: Durban and the prelude to the Group Areas Act, *South African Geographical Journal* **77** (1995) 33–41, 33.

[48] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 404, 411.

[49] Low *op. cit.*, 158.

[50] Quoted in Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 407, 412.

[51] Mayor's Minute, quoted in *ibid.*, 412.

[52] F. Ginwala, *Indian South Africans* (London 1985).

[53] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 412.

[54] M. Palmer, *The History of the Indians in Natal* (Cape Town 1957).

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Quoted in *ibid.*, 54.

[57] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 416.

[58] Rajah *op. cit.*

[59] Quoted in Ginwala *op. cit.*, 6.

[60] R. Davies, Durban, in A. Lemon (Ed.), *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities* (Bloomington 1991) 71–89, 76.

[61] P. La Hausse, Drinking and cultural innovation in Durban: the origins of the beerhall in South Africa, 1902–1916, in J. Crush and C. Ambler (Eds), *Liquor and Labor in Southern Africa* (Athens, OH 1992) 78–114.

[62] Trollope *op. cit.*, 277.

[63] Atkins *op. cit.*; Swanson, "The Durban system".

[64] J. Lambert and R. Morrell, Domination and subordination in Natal 1890–1920, in R. Morrell (Ed), *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu–Natal* (Durban 1996) 63–96.

[65] Quoted in Swanson, "The Durban system", 166.

[66] M. Swanson, Urban origin of separate development, Race **X** (1968) 31–40.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Quoted in *ibid.*, 36.

[69] Swanson, "The Durban system".

[70] Quoted in Swanson, The sanitation syndrome, 391.

[71] Quoted in *ibid.*, 391.

[72] Swanson, "The Durban system", 163.

[73] Trollope *op. cit.*, 208.

[74] Swanson, "The Durban system", 166.

[75] Quoted in *ibid.*, 172.

[76] Quoted in P. La Hausse, Drinking in a cage: the Durban system and the 1929 beer hall riots, *Africa Perspective* **20** (1982) 63–75.

[77] La Hausse, Drinking and cultural innovation.

[78] P. La Hausse, The struggle for the city: alcohol, the ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902–1936, in P. Maylam and I. Edwards (Eds), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban* (Portsmouth NH 1996) 33–66, 41.

[79] La Hausse, Drinking in a cage, 68.

[80] P. La Hausse, The message of the warriors: the ICU, the labouring poor and the making of a popular political culture in Durban, 1925–1930, in P. Bonner, I. Hofmeyr, D. James and T. Lodge (Eds), *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa* (Johannesburg 1989) 19–58.

[81] La Hausse, Drinking and cultural innovation.

[82] Quoted it Swanson, "The Durban system", 163.

[83] Quoted in *ibid.*, 168. It should be noted that James Stuart was a more ambiguous figure than this quote might suggest. His paternalistic racial sensibilities were tempered by a sincere attempt to understand Zulu customs and grievances on their own terms, and he frequently expressed moral outrage at the effects of colonialism on African communities in Natal. See Hamilton *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.

[84] Quoted in *ibid.*, 163.

[85] La Hausse, Drinking in a cage; Lambert and Morrell, *op. cit.*

[86] Quoted in P. Maylam, The evolution of urban apartheid: influx control and segregation in Durban, *c*. 1900–1951, in B. Guest and J. Sellers (Eds), *Receded Tides of Empire: Aspects of the Economic and Social History of Natal and Zululand since 1910* (Pietermaritzburg 1994) 263–281, 265.

[87] Swanson, "The Durban system".

[88] Quoted in *ibid.*, 168.

[89] Evans, quoted in S. Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–1936* (London 1989) 27.

[90] Quoted in La Hausse, Drinking in a cage, 65.

[91] Quoted in Swanson, "The Durban system", 171.

[92] La Hausse, Drinking in a cage.

[93] Swanson, "The Durban system".

[94] *Ibid.*, 174.

[95] P. Maylam, The rise and decline, 62.

[96] P. Maylam, Introduction: the struggle for space in twentieth-century Durban, in P. Maylam and I. Edwards (Eds), *The People's City: African Life in Twentieth-Century Durban* (Portsmouth NH 1996) 1–30.

[97] La Hausse, The struggle for the city, 37.

[98] Quoted in Swanson, "The Durban system", 159.

[99] It bears mentioning here that such disruptions were not limited to urban spaces. Pressures on the land, along with increased wage-labor (and the social and cultural changes associated with it) were causing serious disruptions to the Shepstonian notion of the 'traditional" African homestead economy. Partly in response to such disruptions, the Shepstone System became increasing more inflexible and coercive over time, especially after the granting of Responsible Government in 1893. See Lambert *op. cit.*; Lambert and Morrell, *op. cit.*

[100] D. Chakrabarty, Marx after Marxism: history, subalternity, and difference, in S. Makdisi, C. Casarino and R. Karl (Eds), *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York 1996) 55–70, 60.

[101] S. Zizek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York 1989) 26.

[102] A further elaboration of this modernity-civilization-race nexus would I think necessitate an engagement with recent work in psychoanalysis, which has raised some important conceptual issues, in at least two dimensions. At the level of the individual, it has been suggested that we might see racialization as an outcome of the need to secure a stable subject position, and to culturally mark the difference between the (civilized) human and the (uncivilized) bestial, by projecting impure or contaminating elements of the social onto racialized bodies through processes of boundary marking or abjection (see, for example K. Anderson, 'The beast within": race, humanity, and animality, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **18** (2000) 301–320; H. Nast, Mapping the 'unconscious": racism and the oedipal family, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **90** (2000) 215–255; E. J. Popke, Modernity's abject space: the rise and fall of Durban's Cato Manor, *Environment and Planning A* **33** (2001) 737–752; Wilton, *op. cit.* At the level of communal or national subjectivity, it has been suggested that racial styereotyping or scapegoating can be seen as psychic compensation for the troubling ambiguity of identity, such that the (racial or ethnic) Other becomes the embodiment of the actual or potential breakdown of social order. See Bauman, *op. cit.*; Bhabha, *op. cit.*, especially chapter 3; D. Mertz, The racial other in nationalist subjectivation: a Lacanian analysis, *Rethinking Marxism* **8** (1995) 77–88; A. Moran, The trauma of modernity or modernity's incorrigible impulse?—The psychoanalytic contribution to a theory of racism, *Psychoanalytic Studies* **1** (1999) 57–71; Zizek *op. cit.*

[103] Swanson, "The Asiatic menace", 420.