

**Muslim Residential Patterns in Cape Town:
An Examination of the Changes and Continuities
in the Cape Town Muslim Community**

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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Abstract

This thesis examines the residential shifts of the Muslim community in Cape Town prior to the Group Areas Act, as a result of the Group Areas Act, and currently in 2013. It also explores how the Muslim community has transformed as a result of these changing residential patterns. This thesis confronts the question of where have Muslims been living in Cape Town and how have residential choices affected the Muslim community.

For this thesis, I interviewed approximately twenty-five Muslim families living in Cape Town. I gathered their family stories to create an understanding of Muslim housing patterns throughout Cape Town's later history. These families ranged in socioeconomic status, religious commitment, residential suburb, education, and political affiliation. In determining where Muslims were living, I also examined their occupations, familial and social networks, aspirations, and perspectives on the Cape Town Muslim community.

In order to expand on these family histories, I interviewed key figures in the Cape Town Muslim community. These included scholars, notable historian as well as imam Yusuf da Costa, founding members of the Muslim Judicial Council, various imams and well-known Muslim political activists and civil society members.

I supplemented my qualitative interviews with Census data and the results of the Cape Area Panel Study. This quantitative data allowed objective analysis of Muslim residential patterns and, in the case of the Cape Area Panel Study, provided insight into Muslim youth adherence to community norms. Additionally, I examined the locations and founding dates of mosques and Muslim schools in metropolitan Cape Town. This information allowed me to determine which areas have supported large numbers of Muslim families and at what point did

these families move there. Finally, newspaper archives and secondary sources provided insight into Muslim communities and residential patterns.

Prior to the Group Areas Act, Muslims predominantly lived in urban areas such as the City Bowl, Woodstock and District Six, the Southern Suburbs, Strand and Simon's Town.. While these areas had high numbers of Muslim residents, they were not exclusively Muslim enclaves. Rather, Muslims lived side by side with non-Muslims with ease and familiarity. However, their religious affiliation was a major marker of identity, and while relations with non-Muslims were strong, Muslims still formed a distinctive community in terms of their social networks, customs, and even organizations such as sports teams and civic associations. Muslims occupied a wide range of socioeconomic levels at this time, yet Muslim social circles were not divided by economic class.

The Group Areas Act indiscriminately divided the Muslim community into Coloured and Indian Group Areas (with the exception of Bo-Kaap which remained a Muslim-only enclave). Muslims were strewn across the Cape Flats in housing schemes which were divided by race, and in the case of the coloured population, by class as well. As a result of the Group Areas Act, the majority of Muslims were forced to live in working-class Coloured townships. A smaller number of Muslims were able to purchase homes in middle-class suburbs, such as Athlone, Belgravia and Crawford. While life in the Cape Flats was far from ideal for all Group Areas removees, those who were forced into renting schemes in working-class townships suffered disproportionately from high crime rates, lack of infrastructure, and distance from jobs. The Group Areas Act paved the way for residential economic stratification and thus divergent life experiences within the Cape Town Muslim community. While economic diversity existed within the Muslim community prior to the Group Areas Act, the statutory enforcement of segregation

converted class differentiation within neighbourhoods into class stratification between class-defined neighbourhoods.

With the end of the Group Areas Act and apartheid, Muslims in Cape Town fall into one of three distinct categories—those who have had the means to move to former white areas, those living in middle-class former coloured areas, and finally those who continue to reside in coloured townships. These three patterns have spawned different challenges and notions of community amongst Muslims in the Cape.

Ultimately, the apartheid-era racial segregation and the subsequent desegregation in the 1990's, transformed the Muslim community. On the micro-level, Muslims are now dispersing throughout metropolitan Cape Town, their varying residential choices affecting their sense of community in their neighbourhoods. The daily lived experiences of Muslims in Cape Town differ from suburb to suburb, as they are largely dependent on socioeconomic class and residential choices. Class and residential choices play a large role in determining their interactions with non-Muslims and their conceptions of their immediate communities. As a result, the Muslim population is less cohesive than in the past.

However, on a broader scale, the notion of a Cape Town Muslim community, is very much alive. While Cape Town Muslims live vastly different lives, they still maintain that they are part of a wider all-encompassing, albeit imagined, Muslim community. Their religious identity and resultant spiritual and cultural practices, supersede racial, economic, educational, and residential differences. Although they may show different levels of religiosity, their belief in Islam creates a distinctive and unifying identity marker. The notion of a greater Muslim community in Cape Town, united by a common belief system, has largely remained the same

since Islam was brought to the Cape. While community dynamics have changed from the early-twentieth century, the Muslim community remains a visible part of the Cape Town landscape.

Introduction

The Muslim community of Cape Town has occupied a visible role in the city's history and society. However, there have been few studies which have analyzed the evolution of the Muslim community in Cape Town, from colonialism to present. This thesis examines the changes in Cape Town's Muslim community vis a vis their residential choices. Specifically, this thesis examines where Muslims were living prior to the Group Areas Act, as a result of the Group Areas Act, and presently, nineteen years after the end of apartheid. In doing so, it also examines the nature of the Muslim community during these time periods. It examines what the Muslim community was like on the micro-scale (the suburb or neighbourhood) as well as on a larger scale (across metropolitan Cape Town). It provides a glimpse of the daily life of Muslims in a range of Cape Town suburbs—the challenges which they face, the nature of their community, their aspirations and predictions for the future.

While several historians and sociologists throughout the years have studied the Cape Town Muslim community (du Plessis, da Costa, Davids, Bangstad), there has not been a comprehensive study of the Muslim trajectory in the Cape focusing on shifting residential choices and their effects on the Muslim community. Izak du Plessis, an early twentieth century writer, as well as the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, took an interest in the Muslims of the Cape. He wrote extensively on Muslim culture in Cape Town and popularized the term “Cape Malay” to refer to the Muslims of Cape Town in his 1944 book *The Cape Malays*. Yusuf da Costa, an imam and a historian, has published a series of studies on the history and identity of Cape Town Muslims. The late Achmat Davids was a pioneer in early Cape Muslim history, also having co-written a book with Yusuf da Costa. Sindre Bangstad has written on the more

contemporary issues of Muslim intermarriage in townships, as well as incorporation into the Muslim community.

While these writers provide important contributions to Cape Muslim literature, there has not been a comprehensive analysis of the post-apartheid Muslim community in Cape Town. With the end of apartheid, segments of the Muslim population are experiencing upward mobility and a wider range of residential choices. Muslims now have the choice to live amongst other Muslims and other non-white groups, or pioneer into former white spaces, forging new communities and confronting unique challenges. This thesis examines Muslim housing choices prior to the Group Areas Act, as a result of the Act, and currently, in the aftermath of the abolition of the Act. It examines the evolution of the Muslim community, describing the changes and continuities in the makeup of the community in the last century in the Cape.

I started this thesis intending to heavily rely on the 2011 Census data to examine shifts of the Muslim population in the ten years since the 2001 Census was taken. Unfortunately, the 2011 Census was the first South African Census in recent history which did not ask for religion. Without the crucial religion question, it was essentially impossible to map the distribution of the Muslim population in present day. I have been able to use Census data from 1970, 1980, 1991, 1996, and 2001 to examine where Muslims have been living in Cape Town up to 2001. The results of the latter two Censuses are also displayed on maps found in Chapter Five. An official indication of where Muslims have moved in the years from 2001-2011 is sadly missing. It is my belief that the Mosque Map located on page 77, may offer a glimpse of where Muslims have been moving since the end of apartheid.

This piece is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One makes the case that Muslims in Cape Town form a distinctive group. Their shared history, belief system, and practices allow

them to be categorized into a distinct community with particular challenges tied to their religious affiliation. Chapter Two looks at the history of Cape Town Muslims, examining the creation of the Cape Town Muslim community. It also examines the distinctiveness of the Muslim community in Cape Town prior to the Group Areas Act. Muslims prior to 1950 had very close relations with their non-Muslim neighbours, yet their closest bonds and relationships were with fellow Muslims. Muslims during this time period interacted across the socio-economic spectrum. Chapter Three details the effects of the Group Areas Act on the Muslim community. Chapter Four uses Census data to examine where Muslims have been moving from 1996 to 2001. Chapter Five provides case studies on the Muslim residents of Bonteheuwel, Goodwood, Ruyterwacht, Pinelands, and Rylands. These case studies examine the daily lives of Muslims in these suburbs, also focusing on their residential choices and the significance of Islam in their lives. Chapter Six examines how Islamophobia has affected Muslims' identity and sense of belonging in Cape Town.

In comparing the differing ways of life in these suburbs, this thesis shows that the Muslim experience in Cape Town today is divided by socio-economic class. While the working class Muslims in townships seem to have the strongest relations with their non-Muslim neighbours, it is now the upper-middle class Muslims who have been moving into previously white areas and who are struggling with establishing a sense of place and belonging in their new homes. The Muslims often feel alienated from their non-Muslim neighbours and they encounter opposition when attempting to build mosques in their new suburbs. The conclusion examines the continuing distinctiveness of the Muslim community in the Cape. While Muslim experiences between the working and upper-middle class differ now more than ever, there remains a sense of brotherhood amongst Muslims in the Cape.

CHAPTER ONE: Muslims as a Distinctive Community

This chapter defines the Sunni Muslim¹ population of Cape Town as a distinctive, yet diverse, community. This chapter describes the membership, of the Cape Muslim community, norms and expectations, and community institutions. This chapter also seeks to define a community through comparative analysis of religious and place-based communities in the United States and the United Kingdom.

i. Parameters of Study

This study focuses exclusively on the Cape Town Muslim community. Muslims make up a unique community within the Cape Town metropolis. It is a community of ethnic diversity, as well as a community with a wide range of social, and political beliefs. Muslims in Cape Town, with the exception of Bo-Kaap (Bo-Kaap is an area in the city's Central Business District which is approximately 90% Muslim²), are not a place-based community. They reside throughout Cape Town's metropolis, among Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Most Muslims in Cape Town, reside in former Indian or Coloured group areas (see Chapter Three). Like other non-white groups, an increasing number are moving into areas previously declared white by the Group Areas Act. Moreover, the Muslim identity is one of many overlapping group affiliations which Muslims in Cape Town ascribe to—it is by no means all-encompassing.

Despite their heterogeneity as a group, there are unique aspects and experiences of the Cape Town Muslim community, which render it distinctive. In *Muslims in Greater Cape Town*, sociologist and imam Yusuf da Costa makes the case that Muslims in Cape Town, like other

¹ Sunni Islam is one of the two major sects of Islam (the other being Shi'ism). Majority of Muslims worldwide are Sunni. The historical distinction between these two groups arises from a disagreement over the succession of leaders after the Prophet Muhammad's death.

² *South African Census 2001*, Metropolitan Cape Town by religious group (Statistics South Africa: Pretoria, 2001).

religious minorities, form an exclusive group, worthy of specialized study. He concludes, "...there appears to be a tendency amongst religious minorities to constitute recognizable social units, incorporating cultural values and elements from the dominant culture but also maintaining certain very clear and distinctive original cultural traditions."³ The Cape Town Muslims have a dynamic and storied history which has made them both an integral and a distinctive part of the Cape Town patchwork. Muslims in Cape Town partake in practices which are common to generally all Muslim adherents⁴, as well as customs and traditions which are unique to the Cape Muslim experience. In this way, Cape Muslims have both influenced and been influenced by the history, the politics and the city of Cape Town.

I will be adopting the generally accepted definitions of South African racial groups. Coloureds are a heterogeneous group of people who did not comfortably fit into the 'Native' (or Bantu or Black) or 'European' (or White) categories by the apartheid state. Coloured people's ancestry includes the indigenous Khoi and San people, slaves brought to the Cape from within Africa and the Asia, and those of mixed race origin. Indians, who are defined as Asians in recent Censuses, are those South Africans whose ancestral origins are found in the South Asian sub-continent. Cape Malays refer to the subgroup of Coloured people who profess Islam as their religion. I am aware of the disagreement in the Cape Malay label, as Muslim Coloureds often have little to no actual Malay ancestry. Additionally, the historian Achmat Davids found the Cape Malay label problematic as it was propagated by the racist I.D du Plessis, with the intent to separate Muslims from non-Muslims. However, Davids later accepted the term "Cape Malay," but also encouraged the use of "Cape Muslim." In order to maintain consistency, I will be

³ Yusuf Da Costa, "Muslims in Greater Cape Town: A Problem of Identity." *The British Journal of Sociology* 45.2 (1994): 235-46. Print. 236.

⁴ While some Muslim practices are contested, there is a general consensus that praying five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and pilgrimage are requirements of the religion.

adopting the Cape Malay label throughout this piece. I will use the term “Cape Muslim” to refer to all Muslims of Cape Town, not just those who fall under the Census classification of Coloured.⁵

While there are white and Black/African Muslim populations in Cape Town⁶, this piece will focus on the Coloured and Indian populations in Cape Town. In *Conversion or Continuum? The Spread of Islam among African Women in Cape Town*, social historian Rebekah Lee explains that conversions do not fundamentally re-order Black Africans’ sense of identity—rather Islam is mapped into cultural beliefs and practices.⁷ Because of the continued segregation of Black Africans in Cape Town in townships, it is more difficult for Black converts to absorb into the greater Muslim community in Cape Town. While Black Muslims in South Africa do have a shared sense of community and solidarity with other Muslims in the Cape, the Black Muslim community is faced with unique experiences and challenges as a result of their physical separation. For this reason, in addition to their relatively small numbers, extensive attention and analysis to Black Muslims in Cape Town has not been provided in this study. Moreover, due to the small population of white Muslims (In 2001, there were 2,838 white Muslims in Cape Town⁸), I have refrained from providing particular attention to them in this study. There are also growing numbers of Muslim immigrants into South Africa from countries such as Somalia,

⁵ Also note the use of “non-white” and “non-Muslim” throughout. For purposes of this dissertation, non-white refers to individuals which the Census does not classify as white. Muslim is a self-identifying category. Thus, all those who do not self-identify with the religion or “culture” of Islam, are non-Muslim for purposes of this study.

⁶ In 2001, there were 2,838 White Muslims and 7,612 Black/African Muslims in Cape Town, making up 1% and 2.7% of the Cape Town Muslim population respectively (*South African Census 2001*, Metropolitan Cape Town by religious group (Statistics South Africa: Pretoria, 2001).

⁷ Rebekah Lee, "Conversion or Continuum? The Spread of Islam among African Women in Cape Town." *Social Dynamics* 27.2 (2001): 62-85. Print.

⁸ *South African Census 2001*, Metropolitan Cape Town by religious group (Statistics South Africa: Pretoria, 2001).

Malawi, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Many of these immigrants are undocumented and thus have also been omitted from this study.

Finally, this study will focus exclusively on the Sunni Muslim community of Cape Town. The Shia Muslim population is marginal and relatively new to the Cape Town area. They attend different mosques from the larger Sunni Muslim community and also do not share the same sense of history, belief, and tradition with Sunni Muslims. They are therefore not included in my definition of the mainstream Cape Town Muslim community.

ii. Definition of Community

In *Community: A Critical Response*, sociologist Joseph Gusfield offered two definitions of the term community. The first is based on a physical and geographical concept of community, such as a neighbourhood, or a city. The second definition is described as “relational,” and associated with “quality of character of human relationship, without reference to location.”⁹ The second definition includes communities based on kinship, professions, spiritual beliefs, race, and socioeconomic level. Dan Rabinowitz takes the definition of community a step further and describes it as “associated with an array of positive connotations such as solidarity, familiarity, unity of purpose, interest and identity.”¹⁰ Communities are social units by which people organize around common beliefs or goals.

The latter definition of community encompasses Muslims in Cape Town. The Cape Muslim community is not place-based. While some Muslim communities abroad cluster into exclusive enclaves, physically separated from mainstream society, Muslims in Cape Town are

⁹ R Joseph Gusfield, *Community: A Critical Response*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975. Print.

¹⁰ D. Rabinowitz, ‘Community Studies: Anthropological,’ in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser & Paul B. Baltes, New York: Elsevier. 2001 vol.4 pp.2387-2389. 2387

spatially integrated amongst other non-white groups. With the exception of Bo-Kaap, Muslims do not cluster in exclusive residential areas.¹¹ While there are areas where Muslims are the majority (Muslims made up over two-thirds of the populations of Rylands, Surrey Estate, and Salt River, according to the 2001 Census)¹², it would be remiss to label these areas as “Muslim suburbs.” Muslims do not flock to these areas to purchase homes, nor do non-Muslims shy away from these suburbs due to the high concentration of Muslims. Both non-Muslims and Muslims have historically lived in high-Muslim density areas with little regard to the religious make-up. Rylands and Surrey Estate were declared for Indian and Coloured occupation respectively after the 1950 Group Areas Act. Salt River was a contested Group Area, which was ultimately allowed to remain an area with both non-white and white populations, due to community protests.

Communities form because of shared values and goals. Humans inherit a set of personal values from their environments, which can include culture, family, or school. In order to live up to these values, emotional and intellectual needs must be met. When people with shared values come together, they realize that they have similar priorities and goals to achieve these values. Individuals are more likely to satisfy their needs by joining together and thus shared values

¹¹ Bo-Kaap is also an area undergoing racial and religious changes. This area abutting the CBD was once described by residents as 100% Muslim. It has seen a decrease of the percentage of Muslim residents throughout the years. According to Census data, the percentage of Muslims in Schotschekloof (the Census Sub-Place Name for Bo-Kaap) dropped from 91% in 1980 to 88% in 2001. Due to its proximity to the Central Business District and relatively low house prices in comparison to other parts of the CBD, Bo-Kaap has become a sought-after residential area for non-Muslims and Muslims alike. However, many Islamic norms are still in place. The Bo Kaap Civic Association is known to vehemently (and successfully) protest the opening of businesses which sell alcohol in the area.

¹² South African Census 2001.

“provide the integrative force for cohesive communities.”¹³ Groups, as opposed to solitary individuals, are better able to reinforce and facilitate each other to meet their goals together.

¹³ Gusfield 13.

ii. The Cape Muslim Community

The base requirement to be considered a Muslim, and thus part of the Muslim community in Cape Town, is the *shahada*, or the declaration of faith. If one believes that there is one God and that Muhammad is God's last and final messenger, then, according to Islamic principles, one is a Muslim. Islam is seen as a universal religion in two ways. Firstly, the religion stresses its proselytizing nature. The Quran and Muhammad's teachings emphasize that Islam is a way of life compatible to all people, regardless of creed, race, or socioeconomic level. Secondly, Islam is a unifying force for those who practice it. Adherents from all walks of life practice the core Islamic beliefs in largely the same way—they pray to Allah, they maintain Muhammad is God's final prophet, and they face Mecca to pray. There is an understanding that Muslims are part of one *ummah*, which transcends ethnicities, borders, and languages. The notion of the Muslim *ummah* is illustrated during the holy month of Ramadan, where Muslims partake from food and drink during the day, as well as during the *hajj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina that all Muslims are obligated to perform once in their lifetime. Moreover, Muslims worldwide show great solidarity with instances of Muslim suffering, such as Palestine and Kashmir. There is a sense that the acceptance of Islam as a religion forges a unique and overarching bond between Muslims worldwide.

Islam is unique in that it is considered a way of life. One author described the religion as “not simply a matter of conscience or private belief. It makes imperial demands. A convert's world view alters. His holy places are in Arab lands; his sacred language is Arabic. His idea of

history alters.”¹⁴ Islam is an all-encompassing belief system. Muslims often say that there is an Islamic way to do everything (from business transactions, to eating, to even bathing) and that nothing is left out of the Quran or the Prophet’s teachings. When one accepts the religion of Islam, he is also accepting all tenants of the religion.

For many Muslims in the Cape, Islam serves as a foundation of their identity and daily routines. In a 1994 survey of a cluster sampling of 838 individuals who self-identified as Muslim in Cape Town, ninety-one percent of respondents indicated they never or rarely used a non-Islamic form of greeting their Muslim counterparts (the Islamic form being an Arabic greeting). The Islamic greeting is seen as a marker of solidarity amongst Muslims. It signifies that one is vocal about his religion and is willing to connect to other Muslims on the basis of their shared belief system. Additionally, 94% had an Arabic name, while 5% had an Urdu name. The most telling sign of Muslim membership is the giving of a “Muslim name.” I have found throughout the various levels of adherence and religiosity in Cape Town, Muslims overwhelmingly name their children “Muslim names,” which are names that are Arabic, Urdu or Persian in origin. It is almost unheard of to find someone who identifies as Muslim to name a child a “Western” name, such as John or Alice. Moreover, converts to Islam, often adopt a Muslim name as an indicator of their newly adopted faith. Finally, 95% of respondents had objects in their homes showing they were Muslim.¹⁵ This survey’s findings show that the majority of Muslims in Cape Town have a deep attachment to their faith and their faith-based communities. They maintain a sense of solidarity with other Muslims, which supersedes race and physical location. Moreover, the Muslim community in Cape Town displayed observable manifestations of their religious belief,

¹⁴ V. S. Naipaul, *Beyond Belief: Islamic Excursions among the Converted Peoples*. New York: Random House, 1998. Print. xi

¹⁵ Gusfield 242.

such as names, greetings, and house decoration. These manifestations are indications of community membership.

The Cape Area Panel Study¹⁶, a multi-year survey taken of youth living in metropolitan Cape Town, supports the assertion that Muslims in the Cape strongly identify with their religion. In a survey asking respondents to identify how important religion is to how they live their life, 92% of people who said that they were Muslim responded that Islam was very important or extremely important to how they live their lives. Moreover, less than 1% of Muslims described their religion as not important or slightly important to how they live their lives. In contrast, 15% of non-Muslims responded that religion was not important or slightly important.¹⁷ These results indicate that Muslim youth in the Cape overwhelmingly look to Islam to guide them in their daily routines. Islam asserts a strong role in their behaviour, customs, and way of life.

Muslims in Cape Town have differing ancestries. Some originate from within the African continent, from the Asian subcontinent, and from the Indonesian and Malaysian archipelagos. There is also a significant number of Muslims in Cape Town who have embraced the religion and who are of European descent, as well as a growing number of conversions in African/Black townships, thanks in large part to the work done by Muslim charities.¹⁸ There are also large numbers of Muslim migrants moving into Cape Town, hailing from countries such as Malawi,

¹⁶ The Cape Area Panel Study Waves 1-2-3 were collected between 2002 and 2005 by the University of Cape Town and the University of Michigan, with funding provided by the US National Institute for Child Health and Human Development and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Wave 4 was collected in 2006 by the University of Cape Town, University of Michigan and Princeton University. Major funding for Wave 4 was provided by the National Institute on Aging through a grant to Princeton University, in addition to funding provided by NICHD through the University of Michigan.

¹⁷ Lam, David, Cally Ardington, Nicola Branson, Anne Case, Murray Leibbrandt, Alicia Menendez, Jeremy Seekings and Meredith Sparks. *The Cape Area Panel Study: A Very Short Introduction to the Integrated Waves 1-2-3-4-5 Data*. The University of Cape Town, 2010.

¹⁸ Lee 67.

Somalia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. However, Muslims in Cape Town predominantly are Coloured or Indian.

Amongst the Muslims in South Africa, great debate has arisen regarding the inclusion of Ahmadis and Shias in the Muslim community. Ahamadiyya is an Islamic reformist movement which believes an additional prophet, Ahmad, was sent to propagate Islam (they thus do not recite the *shahada* in the same way Sunni Muslims do). Shi'ism, which accounts for 10-30% of Muslims worldwide, differs from the more mainstream Sunni Islam over a dispute regarding the succession of rulers after the death of Muhammad. Ahmadis and Shias came to the Cape much later than Sunni Muslims. Their population in Cape Town is marginal (as of 2013, there was only one Shia mosque in Cape Town, which is located in Ottery) and they are not integrated into the larger (Sunni) Muslim community.

The Muslim Judicial Council was established in 1945 to further the goals of the Muslim community in Cape Town. Since then it has gained national clout as the go-to organization for Muslim input and representation. It has also sought to define the identity of the Muslim community. Its constitution stipulates that it is an exclusively Sunni body. There has only been Sunni leadership and no Shias have attempted to partake in the organization's day to day activities. Throughout the 1980s, the MJC, a Sunni-led body, worked to ban Ahmadis and other "unorthodox sects" from mosques, Muslim graveyards, and Muslim marriages. In 1982, in a case brought against the MJC on behalf of the Ahamadiyya population of South Africa, a court ruled that the MJC's exclusionary policies were unlawful. However in 1995, this decision was overturned, when a secular court decided that a body of Muslim clerics was more appropriate to decide issues of religion. The court ruled that Muslim clerics had the authority to excommunicate those whose practices were in opposition to or did not conform to their faith. As a result,

Ahmadis were once again banned from mosques, cemeteries, and were prohibited from obtaining Muslim marriage certificates.¹⁹

In addition to accepting and adopting Islamic history, Muslims in the Cape look to the history of Islam in the region as a source of pride and affinity. Islam was first brought to the Cape in chains. The first migratory movement of Muslims into the Cape occurred between 1652 and 1807, when involuntary migrants (slaves, political prisoners and criminals) from English and Dutch colonies throughout Africa, the Asian subcontinent, and modern day Indonesia and Malaysia were forcibly brought to the southern parts of modern day South Africa. Many but not all of these slaves were Muslim. Despite impediments imposed upon the observance of religion by colonial authorities, Islam continued to flourish in Cape Town.

A slave with the knowledge of the Quran wrote the first Quran in South Africa, which was used to educate thousands of slaves in the Cape Town area. Sheikh Yussuf, a political exile who used Islam as a rallying point for the slave communities in the Cape is also a revered figure in Cape Muslim history. The religion spread rapidly as a result of figures such as Sheikh Yussuf. Today, their shrines or *kramats* are visited by the Muslims of Cape Town. The twenty-two shrines of major Islamic figures in Cape Town's history form a circle around metropolitan Cape Town. They are seen as force of strength for many Muslim residents, as well as a reminder of the struggles that the founders of Islam in the Cape had to overcome to continue the practice of their religion.

The ability to retain and even expand the practice of Islam in the Cape despite slavery and colonial authority is a source of great pride for Cape Town Muslims. Today, Cape Town Muslims continue certain customs unique to the Cape. Examples are the gathering of the

¹⁹ Heinrich Matthée, *Muslim Identities and Political Strategies: A Case Study of Muslims in the Greater Cape Town Area of South Africa, 1994-2000*. Kassel: Kassel Univ., 2008. Print. 135

maankyking, or moon watchers at the edge of Sea Point beach to determine the start and end of Ramadan, the visiting of Cape Town's *kramats* before leaving for the Islamic pilgrimage, special name giving ceremonies for new-borns, and the holding of communal *dhikr*, which is when groups meet to remember God, by reciting Quranic verses and other prayers, often in a sing-song voice. Additionally, the evolution of a unique Cape Muslim culture is evidenced by the evolution of "Cape Malay" or "Cape Muslim" cuisine, featuring elements brought by Muslims of slave and passenger origin, certain spiritual practices found almost exclusively in the Cape (such as visiting the *kramats* around Cape Town), and a certain Cape Muslim vernacular, such as the shortening the traditional Islamic greeting of "As salaamu alaikum" to "slamat" and referring to Ramadan fasts as "*boeka*"²⁰

²⁰ The second migratory movement of Muslims in the Cape consisted of Indians who voluntarily migrated to South Africa as merchants. These groups were referred to as "passenger Indians."

iii. Identity and Conformity

While Islamic law and jurisprudence has provided fairly straightforward requirements to adherents, Muslims, as with adherents of all religions, do struggle to follow all aspects of religious teachings. Not all Muslims pray five times a day or dress in accordance with Islamic teachings. Some Muslims consume alcohol, while others gamble, or consume pork.

Despite that some Muslims do not conform to all Islamic maxims, they are still considered part of the Muslim community. The baseline for inclusion in Muslim community is to identify with being Muslim. If one says he is Muslim, then it is considered a grave sin for other Muslims to castigate him as not. Particularly in Cape Town, there is a strong sense that a Muslim will not be judged by the level of adherence in which he or she practices the religion.

In Cape Town, there is a scale of religiosity practiced, from more orthodox brands, to some of the most liberal Islamic interpretations in the world. One can find Muslim women who don the *niqab*, the face cover, as well as Muslim women who dress no differently from non-Muslims.²¹ Amongst some Muslim families, interaction with the opposite sex is to be entirely limited, while for others, dating is quietly condoned (provided that they are not engaging in sexual intercourse). Sometimes these differences in religiosity can be attributed to the ethnicity of Muslims—Cape Malays tend to have more relaxed gender relations than Indians—but most of the time, it comes down to personal choices and immediate family upbringing. Parents instil in their children the level of religiosity expected of them- whether it is they are expected to wear the hijab, or memorize the Quran, or if it is permissible that they devote their time to studying music (music is frowned upon by more conservative brands of Islam). As Muslim youth reach adolescence, they start making their own choices with regards to the level that they practice their

²¹ The exception is during prayers- throughout the mosques in Cape Town, Muslim women are expected (and do) cover their hair and bodies during prayer.

religion. Sometimes they opt to follow their Islamic doctrine more strictly than their parents and sometimes they opt to be more lenient. Parents respond to their children's shift in religious practice in a range of ways, some condone their children's freedom to interpret the religion as they want, while others insist that their children follow Islam in the same way in which they do or face the possibility of being ostracized. Children who were raised Muslim who choose not to identify with the religion at adulthood are also met with a range of responses, depending on family expectations.

Muslims in Cape Town observe a wide scale of religiosity even within extended families. It is not uncommon for a well-known imam to have extended family members who drink. Many times even siblings differ in the extent of their religious practice. Compared to Durban, where more orthodox Islamic scholars play a large role in community expectations, Muslims in Cape Town interact with each other with little regard to the other's "religiosity." Provided that one stays within certain parameters of Islamic practice, Muslims in Cape Town display various levels of Islamic adherence, with little community judgement.

One of the greater social taboos within the Muslim community, however, is to drink alcohol. Muslim adults who are known to openly drink are stigmatized by the mainstream Muslim community and are oftentimes ostracized—they are not invited to social gatherings, and other Muslims do not make an effort to keep in touch. For those Muslims who do opt to drink alcohol, they tend to drink behind closed doors and not in the presence of other Muslims. They do this in order to not offend Muslim company as well as maintain a sense of respectability amongst the Muslim community. Sobriety is very often a mark of social separation between Muslims and non-Muslims (especially the youth). Since they do not drink, Muslims often feel uncomfortable with others drinking around them (this phenomena can be seen with the active

movement to keep Bo-Kaap alcohol-free). As a result, when Muslims do decide to consume alcohol, it is seen as a slippery slope towards disregarding other Islamic values and distancing one's self from the Muslim community.

Local imams cite that youth make up the largest contingent of Muslim drinkers. Parental responses to this behaviour differ, with some turning a blind eye and assuming it is a phase which they will outgrow, and others threatening to cut ties with their children if they do not stop. According to the Cape Area Panel Survey, 84% of self-reported Muslim youth in the Cape have never consumed alcohol. In contrast, only 40% of non-Muslim respondents answered in the same way.²²

CAPS Survey on Youth Alcohol Consumption²³

How often did you have a drink containing alcohol in the past 12 months?		
	Muslim	Non-Muslim
I have never had a drink containing alcohol	84%	41%
Not in the past 12 months	6%	11%
Once a month or less	4%	19%
2-4 times a month	5%	20%
2-3 times a week	<1%	5%
4 or more times a week	0	2%
Refused	0	0
Don't Know	0	1%

Sex before marriage is also a grave religious and social taboo in the Muslim community.

However, it appears to occur with greater frequency than alcohol consumption. According to

²² Lam, et. al.

²³ Lam, et. al.

CAPS data, 51% of Muslim youth respondents, who were overwhelmingly not married, have had sexual intercourse. In comparison, 74% of non-Muslim respondents indicated that they had sex.²⁴ It is unclear how many Muslim couples engage in premarital sex, but imams have cited premarital pregnancy as a common societal ill befalling the Cape Town Muslim community. In his study on intermarriage between Muslims and non-Muslims in coloured townships, Sindre Bangstad found that pregnancy out of wedlock was a more common occurrence for Muslims in lower-social strata.²⁵ In a survey of extended Muslim families residing in the township of Mekaar,—a working class coloured township—he found that 31% of relationships resulting in children were not in fact a result of marriages.²⁶ This percentage is not necessarily indicative of all working class Muslim families, but it does provide an idea of the possible frequency of pregnancy out of wedlock. If a pregnancy occurs out of wedlock, it is expected that the couple will get married. If this does not occur, the woman and her baby usually reside with the parents. Depending on the woman's socioeconomic status, she may be stigmatized by the community and/or find it difficult to get married.

Although they may struggle to follow all aspects of religious teachings, Muslims in Cape Town do not attempt to reinterpret or reform Islamic teachings in order to make Islamic practice more convenient. While not all Muslims pray five times a day or dress in accordance with Islamic teachings, they do not attempt to justify their actions by reinterpreting Islamic jurisprudence. Rather they understand that their behaviour does not conform to Islamic standards and they either accept their unconformity or they attempt to reform themselves

²⁴ Lam, et. al.

²⁵ Sindre Bangstad. "When Muslims Marry Non-Muslims: Marriage as Incorporation in a Cape Muslim Community 1." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 15.3 (2004): 349-64. Print. 352

²⁶ Bangstad (2004) 354.

iv. Diversity of Muslim Community

While Muslims do form a distinctive community, they are far from monolithic. Muslims subscribe to their religious identity with varying levels of belief. The Muslim identity is one of many overlapping group affiliations which Muslims in Cape Town ascribe to—it is by no means all-encompassing. While most of those who I have interviewed named their religion as being a, if not *the*, primary marker of their identity, this is not the case for all Muslims in Cape Town. Membership in the Muslim community is, ultimately, voluntary. One can easily be born into a practicing Muslim family, yet decide that this identity marker does not apply to him or her. In this case, one may have had a Muslim background, but would not be a member of the Muslim community. Similarly, one can easily join the Muslim community by converting to the religion and thus adopting the practices, expectations, and duties of Muslims. Additionally, one can self-identify as Muslim, yet also identify with the Coloured or Indian groups. Indeed, one can also identify primarily as Coloured or Indian (or even South African) before identifying with the Muslim community.

A 1994 study, however, indicated that an overwhelming number of self-identifying Muslims placed a large weight on their religious identity. Among a random sampling of 838 self-identifying Muslims, 79% of respondents considered being Muslim as the most important classification. The remainder of 21% either named Indian, Coloured, or Cape Malay as their primary classification.²⁷ The study also found that 96% of responders indicated a strong or very strong attachment to the Muslims in the local community in Greater Cape Town. Amongst those surveyed, 87% felt ashamed for when Muslims committed a crime. In comparison, only 54% of respondents reported feeling ashamed for a non-Muslim neighbour who committed a crime and

²⁷ da Costa 241.

only 28% would feel ashamed for a non-Muslim resident located in Cape Town. For majority of the respondents, Islam was a key part of their identity and outlook. They felt a strong connection to other Muslims, even more so than their own neighbours. This survey indicates that for many Muslims, religious bonds supersede even the closest physical bonds.

Today, there are over two hundred fifty mosques in metropolitan Cape Town, accommodating over 380,000 Muslims²⁸ of varying schools of thought and sects. For example, the Claremont Mosque, located on Main Road in Claremont, is known for being a particularly liberal mosque in the city. There, men and women pray side-by-side (as opposed to men praying in front of the women, as is the practice in most mosques). The Claremont Main Road Mosque was also the first mosque in South Africa to allow a woman to give the traditional Friday sermon. Other mosques accommodate Sufi (a type of Islamic mysticism), Murabit (an Islamic movement originating in Spain), Tabligh (a conservative yet proselytizing group), and various other brands of Islam. While most Muslims in Cape Town seem to attend the mosque near where they live or grew up with little thought to the ideological differences between them, there is an opportunity for Muslims to show some diversity in their religious practices.

In addition to diversity in religious beliefs, Muslims in Cape Town also show diversity in political ideologies, socioeconomic status, and even on issues facing the Muslim community today. For example, the Muslim Judicial Council-sponsored Muslim Personal Law bill remains controversial within the Muslim community. While some applaud the greater gender equality embodied in the bill, others have rejected it on the basis that religious law should be adjudicated solely by God and Muslim clerics, not a body of Muslim academics and policymakers. Moreover, ultra-conservative fringe groups, such as “Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders,”

²⁸ 2001 Census.

have criticized the MJC for its support for secular South African law. While issues such as Muslim Personal Law or which political party to support cut across the Muslim community, it by no means fragments it. These disagreements occur across families, mosques, and the larger community, and for the most part, Muslims remain respectful and tolerant for dissent within the community.

v. Muslim Institutions in the Cape

As mentioned previously, the Muslim Judicial Council takes an active role in organizing and advocating for the Muslim community of South Africa. Because it was founded and is based in Cape Town, its policy and membership are directed towards the Cape Town Muslim community. Amongst other duties, the MJC provides halal certifications to restaurants in metropolitan Cape Town, assists Muslim community members in distributing the mandatory *zakat*, or annual alms which every able Muslim must donate, and to advocate on behalf of certain political interests- such as the passage of the Muslim Personal Law Bill. The administrative aspects of the MJC, such as the halal branding and charity drives, are generally accepted by the Muslim community in Cape Town.²⁹

Mosques play a large role in ensuring conformity in standard religious practices. The *ulema*, or Muslim scholars, are a major enforcer of community conformity amongst the Muslim community in Cape Town. Imams' opinions may differ on issues such as whether or not women are allowed to give the Friday sermon or whether or not it is acceptable to base the Islamic calendar on scientific calculations of moon visibility as opposed to physical moon sighting.

²⁹ In Cape Town, the MJC'S authority over halal branding is generally recognized. Nationally, the MJC tends to butt heads with the South African National Halaal Authority (SANHA), which has offices in Kwazulu-Natal, Johannesburg, and the Western Cape.

However, the fundamental precepts of Islam and Islamic practice are agreed upon by the vast majority of Cape Town's ulema.

Moreover, there are Muslim publications and newspapers, which allow community members to voice their opinions on issues concerning the community. Examples of these newspapers include *Muslim Views* and *Islamic Times*. Listeners often phone into the Muslim radio station, *The Voice of the Cape*, to state their views on issues impacting the community—from the certification of halal products, to whether or not it is permissible to base the Islamic lunar calendar on scientific calculation as opposed to physical moon sighting. Shamil Jeppie and Vahed contend that these new forms of media have played a “crucial role in forging and reaffirming a broader Muslim identity internationally across the boundaries of sectarian and national divisions.”³⁰ The Muslim community has been taking advantage of social media and other technology of the digital age, thus enhancing the bonds and sense of inter-connectedness of the Muslim community in the Cape. One can now hear live sermons from Cape Town mosques streaming online, as well as the recitation of prayers.

There are also facilities which Muslim communities demand. They require places to pray, butcheries to purchase halal meat and restaurants which serve halal meat, Islamic schools and madrassas for their children³¹, shops to purchase Islamic wear, and even special burial grounds. With these needs in mind, Muslims in Cape Town have come together, despite their various backgrounds, histories, ethnicities and socio-economic levels, to advocate for these requirements.

³⁰ Shamil Jeppie, Goolam Vahed. 2004. “Multiple communities: Muslims in post-apartheid South Africa.” In *State of the Nation – South Africa 2004-2005*, pp. 252-286. (Editors: John Daniel, Roger Southall & Jessica Lutchman). Cape Town: HSRC Press. 270

³¹ In 2006, there were 8,417 students at the twenty-two Muslim schools in the Western Cape. The majority of Muslim parents send their children to secular schools and require that they attend *madrassa* after school in order to learn Islamic teachings. (Tayob, Abdulkader, Inga Niehaus, and Wolfram Weisse. *Muslim Schools and Education in Europe and South Africa*. Münster: Waxmann, 2011. Print.)

Muslims throughout the Cape interact with each other at the mosque, at Muslim businesses, and during religious celebrations with little regard to ethnic or socioeconomic differences. Rather, they look to their religion as a source of commonality which supersedes superficial and worldly differences. Their religion intrinsically renders them part of a wider Cape Town Muslim community.

vi. A Comparison and Redefinition of Community

Muslims in Cape Town can be compared to the Jewish community of the United States of America. Membership into the American Jewish community is voluntary, and, as with Muslims in Cape Town, faith-based. The American Jewish community is described as a “relatively neutral term...descriptive of the corporate dimensions of American Jewish life, embracing within it both the strictly religious and the not so clearly religious dimensions of Jewish existence, the ethnic ties of individual Jews, and the political strivings of Jews as a group.”³² Jewish life in America can be characterized as both religious and cultural, encompassing spiritual aspects of Jewish being, as well as secular practices—such as involvement in certain charities or community centres.

Like the Jews of America, Muslims in Cape Town have varied backgrounds (although they are largely lumped together as either Cape Malay or Indian), levels of religious adherence, and are mostly urban and suburban-dwellers. Like Muslims in Cape Town, American Jews “are bound by shared patterns of culture and persuasion, have somewhat overlapping memberships, and are governed by more or less the same leadership cadres.”³³ Judaism is not an all-

³² Judah Daniel Elazar, *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry*. Philadelphia [u.a.: Jewish Publication Society, 1995. Print. 5.

³³ Elazar 8.

encompassing identity marker and similar to Muslims and their religion, Jews identify with Jewish culture and religion to varying degrees. Like the Muslim Judicial Council in South Africa, there are a number of Jewish religious institutions which serve to institutionalize religious practice.

Indeed, the Muslims of Cape Town present a more distinctive community than the Jewish community of the United States. Initial waves of Jewish immigrants congregated into immigrant enclaves, this trend diminished in the 1950's, as Jews followed the middle-class movement into American suburbs. Initially, Jews, like other minority groups, moved into in a handful of nearby suburbs. Examples of this movement can be seen in the decrease of Jews in the Bronx and Brooklyn and the subsequent increase of Jewish populations in Westchester County and Long Island, respectively.³⁴ Residential clustering of Jews was aimed at creating a sort of “controlled acculturation,” in which the Jews were able to accept tenants of the mainstream “American culture” and integrate it into existing Jewish culture.³⁵

Samuel Heilman, a historian of American Jews, explained that the movement of Jews into American suburbs in the mid-twentieth century was an assimilationist tactic. Jews wanted to shun the immigrant ghettos and realize the American dream. They thus moved into suburbs and adopted dominant mainstream culture. As a result, “a sense of Jewish uniqueness, tribalism, and ethnic separation would have to wither, while religion would become diluted into some sort of vague Judeo-Christian mix, a matter of personal choice and no longer an expression of collective

³⁴ Elazar 21.

³⁵ Elazar 22.

destiny.”³⁶ Segregation into exclusive Jewish communities, which may have once been condoned or even encouraged by their previous generations, was now rejected.

The ability to acculturate while maintaining a Jewish identity, diminished as new generations of Jews moved beyond suburbs with Jewish clustering. Institutions such as Jewish schools and bookstores, kosher butchers, and synagogues, were difficult to establish, as the Jewish population spread. Jews found they had far less to bolster their Jewish identity.³⁷ Jews started to describe their primary friends as Gentiles and intermarriage between the two groups increased. Younger generations were indistinguishable from other American youth around them, and supplementary Jewish schooling became secondary to secular education and extracurricular activities. Tribal ties were loosening.

The synagogue came to play a larger role in American-Jewish life. Jews no longer lived in the same proximity to each other as they did before. Synagogues were tasked with bringing together the community and maintaining Jewish identity. They established extracurricular religious schools on their premises, in order to supplement the secular public schools which Jewish children now attended. They also started to adopt recreational and social-service functions, which Jewish community centres and local Jewish welfare agencies once undertook.³⁸ Thus, as Jews moved out of these “Jewish hubs,” the role of the synagogue expanded and diversified, giving it a crucial role in maintaining the Jewish community.

Although Jews no longer formed exclusive enclaves, they were still overwhelmingly urban dwellers. In 1957, 96 percent of the approximately five million American Jews were living

³⁶ C Samuel Heilman, *Portrait of American Jews: The Last Half of the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington, 1995. Print. 19.

³⁷ Heilman 2.

³⁸ Elazar 232.

in cities. Eighty-seven percent of the Jewish population were residing in fairly large cities with populations larger than a quarter of a million.³⁹

As differences between Jews and their Caucasian Christian counterparts lessened, Jews in America were faced with a question—if they were not so different from mainstream society, were they still distinctive? A fundamental insecurity of the Jewish population worldwide is the elimination of Jewish presence. This insecurity bolstered the need to claim a distinctive Jewish identity, even if it was not substantially different from mainstream society. American Jews looked to their religion to define themselves, even if they, themselves, were not particularly religious.

With a heightened awareness of the possibility of a “disappearing American Jewry,” members of the American Jewish population made a conscious effort to emphasize their distinctive Jewish identity. In the 1970’s, there was a growth in Habad houses, Jewish consciousness among college students, kosher facilities, Jewish studies, the donning of the yarmulke, and support for Israel.⁴⁰ However, not all American Jews were as willing to emphasize their Jewishness, as some found it alienating and all-encompassing. These individuals adopted a middle-ground approach, which consisted of a symbolic adoption of Jewish identity, but passive practice. This group would occasionally attend synagogue, not strictly follow dietary restrictions, and would discourage out-marriage, but would not sever ties with their children if they did decide to marry outside the faith. A third group decided to shed their Jewish identity all together. By the end of 1980, over one million former Jews stopped identifying as such.⁴¹

³⁹ Heilman 20.

⁴⁰ Heilman 61.

⁴¹ Heilman 74.

Today, Jews in America are largely those who self-identify as Jewish, but are not particularly adherent in terms of practice. They may have bar or bat mitzvahs, a rabbi officiating at a wedding, menorahs during Hanukkah, and occasionally attend a seder, but Judaism is not an active and omnipresent part of their lives. The majority of Jews in America describe themselves as a cultural or ethnic group, rather than a purely religious group.⁴² The high rates of intermarriage among Jews (in 2001, 47% of American Jews married outside the faith⁴³), have resulted in children of these marriages being brought up as only “culturally Jewish” and also more likely to marry outside the religion.

In terms of residential choices, Jews today have been moving into areas with little historical Jewish presence. Between 1985 and 1990, nearly half the Jewish population changed their residences, with the West and the South displaying increases in Jewish populations.⁴⁴ A 2001 survey indicated that Jews living in the Western parts of the United States were less likely to attend services, marry other Jews or celebrate Jewish holidays than Jews in other parts of the country.⁴⁵ Heilman predicts that for the foreseeable future, Jews will be living in areas of low Jewish concentration.⁴⁶ The result of this change in Jewish residential patterns is that it is more difficult to maintain Jewish life and culture across widespread, sparsely concentrated Jewish communities. While there are members of the Jewish population living in small-town America, few small towns can sustain organized Jewish life.⁴⁷ In the latter half of the twentieth century,

⁴² Heilman 102-105.

⁴³ Laurie Goodstein, "Survey Finds Slight Rise In Jews' Intermarrying." *The New York Times* 11 Sept. 2003. Print.

⁴⁴ Heilman 126.

⁴⁵ Goodstein.

⁴⁶ Heilman 127.

⁴⁷ Heilman 85.

synagogues in small American towns have closed down, forcing Jews who hope to maintain ties with other Jews on an organized basis to turn to Jewish institutions in the nearest city.⁴⁸

Today, Jewish identity in America, like Muslim identity in Cape Town, is a self selective act. Jewish identity is the “willingness to publicly mark oneself as a Jew and tie one’s sense of self with the Jewish people, their history, practices, and destiny.”⁴⁹ Heilman concludes that the Jewish identity in America today is ultimately lacking content. There is a false sense of Jewish vitality in America, promulgated by the Hanukkah menorah on the National Mall, Israel parades, and the availability of matzah balls at the local grocery store. However, without the religious practice, the Jewish identity lacks grounding.

At first glance, the Jewish population of America is, in many ways, comparable to the Muslims of Cape Town. They are self-selective, multi-ethnic groups, grounded in a religious belief and common practices. Both labels accommodate overlapping memberships, diversity in belief and adherence, and they are not place-based communities. However, if Heilman’s description of the American Jewish population is to be accepted, the American Jewish population today is one which lacks the conformity and boundaries to render it a distinctive community. Rather, the American Jewish population in the 1950’s and 1960’s, makes a more apt comparison to the Muslim population in Cape Town today.

The American Jews of the mid-twentieth century clustered into suburbs in close proximity to historic Jewish enclaves. They were eager to assimilate, yet still yearned to maintain their Jewish identity and religion. Thus, they created a sort of hybrid identity, encompassing both mainstream American culture and Jewish ideals. They were active in the synagogue and children attended after school religious lessons, as well as Saturday or Sunday school. They valued living

⁴⁸Heilman 85.

⁴⁹ Heilman 135.

in suburbs which were not exclusively Jewish, while taking comfort in the Jewish neighbours and institutions in close proximity. They were able to maintain a balancing act between both embracing assimilation and resisting acculturation. Additionally, Jews in America during this period, overwhelmingly subscribed to the belief that they were part of a larger Jewish nation, which subverted geographic boundaries and language barriers. The acknowledgement of this global community united Jews across the continental United States.

In comparison, the Muslim population of Cape Town is a community which strongly identifies with religion. They prefer to live in areas with existing mosques and other Muslim families. In cases where no such mosques exist, they go to great lengths in order to establish houses of worship. They fervently believe that they are part of a larger Cape Muslim community, as well as a global Muslim *ummah*. While the American Jewish history tells the story of a community struggling to adapt and assimilate, the Muslim population in the Cape, in contrast, has worked to create a permanent and unbending space for their religion. Muslims in the Cape have been in the minority since Islam was introduced into the region. Muslims have historically battled to practice and maintain their religion despite colonial authorities and later apartheid policies. Because their forefathers fought to protect their religion, Muslims in the Cape today are resolute in maintaining it as a part of their daily life and identity.

In the former coloured townships, Muslims maintain an almost seamless relationship with non-Muslim neighbours. Unlike the American Jewry, this is not a result of a concerted effort to assimilate, but rather because non-Muslim and Muslim coloureds have been living side by side since Muslims arrived in the Cape. Additionally, the experience of living in a coloured township creates a sense of camaraderie between neighbours regardless of religion. This is not to say that Muslims are indistinguishable from their non-Muslim neighbours. From my observations,

Muslims in townships display their religious affiliation proudly, by placing a green sticker outside their homes. They also attend mosque, many wear hijab, and they only eat halal meat. Inter-marriage does occur between non-Muslim and Muslim coloureds, but Muslims overwhelmingly marry other Muslims or those who convert to Islam. Imams have cited the highest instances of inter-marriage, pregnancy out of wedlock, and drug and alcohol usage occurs in working-class former townships. Concentrated poverty plays a large role in the predominance of drugs, alcoholism, and teen pregnancy in any neighbourhood. However, the higher rates of inter-marriage may also be a result of the strong relations between Muslim and Christian neighbours.

Muslims in middle-class former non-white areas use their religion to set them apart from their non-Muslim neighbours. While areas such as Athlone, Belgravia, and Rylands are not exclusively Muslim, the establishment of mosques, Muslim full-time and supplementary schools, and Muslim businesses, have allowed Muslims to create religious communities in these areas. Muslims who I interviewed in these areas attest that their primary social circle mostly consists of other Muslims. The Muslim lifestyle in these middle-class suburbs seems to be what the American Jewry of the mid-twentieth century were aiming to achieve. Muslims are an accepted and integral part of the middle-class former non-white landscape. They attend school and extracurricular activities alongside non-Muslims and they have good relations with their neighbours. However, their Muslim identity is a primary marker of group membership. Inter-marriage occurs less frequently than in former coloured townships and there is a large enough Muslim population in these areas to ensure religious conformity to some degree.

The Muslims who have opted to live in former white areas mark the greatest departure from the American Jewry in the mid-twentieth century. While both groups were pioneers in their

new suburbs and were tasked with establishing houses of worship and other institutions necessary for religious survival, Muslims in these areas do not stress the importance of assimilation. Rather, they cling tightly to their culture and religious norms, instilling in their children that they are different from their non-Muslim (overwhelmingly) white classmates. Because these areas do not have large existing Muslim populations, Muslim parents feel it necessary to stress their distinctiveness from the mainstream society. Parents place great emphasis on going “home” to visit family in the areas where they grew up. It is important to them that their children maintain strong roots with the Muslim communities in which they were raised. Unlike the American Jewry, they do not want their kids to assimilate into their new schools and new neighbourhoods thinking that they can seamlessly merge into non-Muslim social groups. In return, Muslims in these areas report feeling isolated and alienated by their non-Muslim neighbours. There is a sense that they do not feel completely at home in former white suburbs, and some respondents reported feeling as if they were outsiders.

In comparing the Muslims in Cape Town to American Jews—a community which has spawned a rich literature focusing on their customs, political views, and norms—it is apparent that Muslims in the Cape are far more distinctive from their respective mainstream culture. While the American Jewry has evolved to be a more of ethnic or cultural label, willing to adapt to the needs and desires of the American Jewish population, Islamic religious doctrine remains unchanged. The Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad are taught in the same form for over 1400 years. While liberal interpretations of the religion exist in Cape Town, imams look to Islamic teachings for the basis of their beliefs, rather than seeking to invent their own rules.

Muslims in Cape Town have created a distinctive culture, amalgamating their Islamic teachings with their Cape backgrounds. Celebrations such as Ramadan, Eid, and even the

Prophet Muhammad's birthday, take on a distinctive Cape flavour, while still subscribing to Islamic maxims. Tradition plays a large role in Cape Muslim society and the maintenance of religion is safeguarded. For the minority who do engage in grave Islamic taboos, such as consuming alcohol or eating pork, they do so discreetly and do not attempt to normalize their behaviour. There is a tacit understanding that their behaviour does not conform to the rules and maxims of Islam and they do not attempt to reinterpret the religion to make allowances for their actions.

The unwavering rigidity of the religion has prevented the Muslims of Cape Town from picking and choosing which parts of their religion they choose to believe. While individuals may struggle to adhere to all Islamic teachings, such as the wearing of the hijab or praying five times a day, they accept that these are core parts of the religion. Unlike the American Jewry in which, large segments practice selective Judaism as a form of culture more than a religion, Islam is seen as a way of life, and indeed the only way of life, for Muslims of the Cape.

Religious communities can also form despite ethnic, economic, and residential differences. Gregory Stanczak explored the creation of community and alteration of racial and ethnic identity within the Los Angeles Church of Christ (LACC). Churches in America are overwhelmingly racially or ethnically homogenous, however, the LACC was able to overcome these divisions. Stanczak employs the usage of "strategic ethnicity" to describe the LACC's appeal to its diverse followers. The LACC highlights its multiethnic membership in order to stress its universality to its members.

Explicit references to the diversity of membership were made through exercises revolving around ethnic food or members' native or family languages. Additionally, every LACC service acknowledged the multiracial and multiethnic identity of the church. Church

leaders further stress the link between racial integration and the Bible. Moreover, they emphasize the uniqueness of their church in comparison to other churches, creating an “us versus them” dichotomy. The very identity of the church is found in its multi-ethnicity.

Stanczack notes that while the church contains members of diverse heritages, recruitment works best when it is conducted by people of the same ethnicity as the targeted group. Members are drawn to the multi-ethnic membership, but at the same time, they want to see themselves represented in the seats and aisles of the church. However, once they joined the church, members would join hands, embrace, and socialize across ethnic lines.

The LACC succeeded in creating an overlapping religious identity which was able to unite across ethnic lines. While members retained their distinctive ethnic or racial heritages (for example, a member of Inuit background explained how she was attempting to translate services to Inuit in order to convince her parents to join), they also adopted a broader religious identity. This religious identity not only embraced, but was also grounded in, multi-ethnicity. Its diverse following was seen as evidence of the universality of its message.

Islam purports to have a similar universal following and appeal. It is lauded as a universal religion and globally, its adherents are spread across all continents. The notion of one *ummah* is founded in the idea that there is a global solidarity amongst all Muslims regardless of nationality, race, or creed. On a micro-scale, Muslims in Cape Town have embraced this notion. Historically, Islam was seen as a universal religion for slaves in the Cape to turn to in order to escape from the oppression of colonial authorities. Individuals of all backgrounds and ethnicities embraced Islam, and were absorbed into the wider Muslim network. Once they adopted the religion, they found themselves part of a diverse and active spiritual community within the Cape. Even today, Malays and Indians—two groups with different cultures and ethnic identities—unite around their

common religion with ease. In spiritual spaces, such as mosques, madrassas, and Islamic charity organizations, little thought is given to the racial or ethnic identity of Muslim believers.

Religious communities believe they serve a higher purpose and are above worldly differences, such as race and nationality. Many religious communities are able to accommodate individuals of diverse backgrounds and ethnicities, and are thus suited to being an overlapping group identity. For religions which claim universal appeal, religious communities span wide geographic distances, uniting believers under a common faith and purpose. For some adherents, this religious identity supersedes ethnic, national, and place-based communities.

Muslims in Britain, similarly, form a religious community which subverts class, ethnic, and residential divides. The British Muslim identity, not unlike the Cape Town Muslim community, makes self-conscious links with the global Muslim *ummah*. Dwyer maintains that “the emergence of a self-consciously Muslim or Islamic political identity among British Muslims which might replace other identifications—such as ‘Asian’ or ‘Black’—has been an important challenge to existing discourses of multiculturalism and antiracism.⁵⁰ British Muslims are embracing their religion as an identity marker in addition to, and sometimes instead of, their ethnic identities.

Almost 40 percent of Muslims in England and Wales live in metropolitan London. Approximately 12 percent of London’s population self-identifies as Muslim. Majority of London’s Muslim population, 81 percent, live north of the River Thames in the outer regions of the city.⁵¹ Areas with high concentration of Muslims include Muslims of various ethnicities. For example, Tower Hamlets, the London borough with the highest concentration of Muslims at

⁵⁰ C Dwyer, "Contradictions of Community: Questions of Identity for Young British Muslim Women." *Environment and Planning A* 31.1 (1999): 53-68. Print. 55

⁵¹ M Nawhami, “London – Muslim Population 2011.” London ISOC (2013).

approximately 35 percent, includes residents of Bangladeshi, Somali, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Pakistani and Indian descent. The nearby Newham also contains large populations of Muslims of South Asian descent, as well as Algerians, Kurds, Afghans, Albanians, and Arabs.⁵² These areas have adopted a strong Muslim character, which subverts ethnic divisions. These areas are not fully Muslim, but Muslims are in the plurality of all religious groups in many of the North London suburbs. These suburbs include Muslim schools, halal markets and restaurants, and an abundance of mosques. In this way, Muslims in London form both place-based and spiritual communities. They share common spaces and institutions, as well as religious identity.

The British Muslim identification is not without contestation, as it attempts to subsume a highly heterogeneous group of individuals. Muslims in Britain connect with this identity in disparate ways and the identity coexists with a composite of other, and sometimes competing other identities. British Muslim identity is defined in different ways by different Muslims. For some, it is part of an ethnic inheritance. An example is a British Pakistani youth who found that her religion and her Pakistani culture are largely synonymous. Yet, for others it is used strategically to assert a place in the mainstream society. For example, a Muslim girl of Pakistani and Trinidadian descent found her self-identification as Muslim as a way to define herself without denying her black Trinidadian heritage. A third group defined themselves as Muslim due to their religious beliefs, and were able to distinguish their Asian cultural practices from their religious requirements.

Dwyer maintains that despite the heterogeneity and contestation of the British Muslim community, it constitutes a distinctive group. Dwyer problematizes the term community, by maintaining that there are no natural or self-evident communities. Communities are a constant

⁵² Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census: Aggregate data (England and Wales) [computer file]. UK Data Service Census Support.

process of construction, imagination, and a result of particular discursive and historical moments.⁵³ The British Muslim community is a group which has been mobilized at different times in different contexts. After the publishing of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*, for example, the British Muslim community was highly visible in their organized response to a book which they deemed heretic. Despite the construction of the British Muslim community, it is also a group of individuals which are drawn together to achieve spiritual, social and political goals. Although not inherently organic or self-evident, the British Muslim community still maintains efficacy and political meaning.

The British Muslim community is an example of community in a broad definition of the term. The British Muslim community consists of self-identifying individuals throughout Great Britain who draw upon the religion of Islam as a source of identity. Dwyer is explicit in rejecting that community implies uniformity and stagnation. She defines community broadly, holding that British Muslims constitute a community because they self-identify as one. This self-identification occurs "in relation to, and in resistance against dominant racialised discourses of national community."⁵⁴ Thus, the creation of a British Muslim community is a result of members' desires to assert their religious affiliation in light of current events and national notions of identity and community.

Dwyer argues that all communities are shifting and constructed. They have different meanings for different members. This distinction is particularly true for religious communities, which are most often the result of spiritual beliefs rather than an inherited ethnicity. For some Muslims in Cape Town, religion and Cape Malay or Indian culture is synonymous. For others, their Muslim identity stems from deep seeded religious beliefs, which they connect to the larger

⁵³ Dwyer 64.

⁵⁴ Dwyer 57.

Muslim ummah. Indeed for others, it is a shift—they may have felt a weak identification with their religion when they were young and have started to connect with Islam as they aged, or even vice versa.

Muslims in Cape Town form a more distinctive group than British Muslims. They share a common culture, language and history. The Muslim community in the Cape is a result of interactions between diverse Muslim groups over a course of almost four centuries. While Muslims in Britain still maintain a strong connection to the cultures and customs countries of their ancestry, in Cape Town, a unique Cape Muslim culture has formed, borrowing from Malay and Indian traditions. Muslims in Cape Town, however, are no longer a place-based community. Notions of community have shifted, as Muslims in Cape Town are now spread out residentially, divided in suburbs based on socio-economic standing. However, despite the shifts in community and also level of religious identification, the Muslims of Cape Town still constitute a community. Communities are active and living institutions. Community transformation does not indicate community loss. As long as they self-identify as a separate group and maintain their distinctive belief systems and traditions, Muslims in Cape Town will remain a community.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY: A BRIEF HISTORY OF MUSLIMS IN THE CAPE FROM COLONIALISM TO THE GROUP AREAS

This chapter begins with a brief history of how Islam (and Muslims) reached the Cape. It provides a background into the formation of the Cape Muslim culture and tradition. It also sheds light on the heritage of the Muslims of the Cape. The history of Cape Muslims is a source of unity and pride for the Cape Town Muslim community.

This chapter also examines the residential choices of Muslims in the Cape. Muslims clustered in urban areas, which had high numbers of Muslims, but were not Muslim-exclusive enclaves. The dynamics of the Muslim community is also examined, with reference to Muslim social networks, neighbourhood life, occupations, and practice of Islam. While Muslims recall having good relations with their non-Muslim neighbours prior to 1950, I conclude from interviews, that Muslims still formed distinctive and somewhat exclusionary communities. They were more likely to live in close proximity to, rely on, and marry other Muslims. This chapter illustrates that while Muslims did not self-segregate, they did form an observably distinct community.

i. Muslims in the Cape: Colonialism to Abolition

The history of Muslims in Cape Town is intrinsically intertwined with the history of colonialism, trade movements, and empire. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids attribute the presence of Muslims in the Western Cape to two migratory movements. The earliest Muslim movement into South Africa occurred between 1652 and 1807, when involuntary immigrants

were forcibly brought to South Africa.⁵⁵ Historians estimate that during this period approximately 62,964 slaves were brought to the Cape. Many, but not all of the slaves brought to the Cape were Muslim.⁵⁶

Perhaps the most prominent group that were forcibly brought to the Cape were the political exiles from the Dutch East Indies. Leaders of resistance movements in the Malaysian peninsula were exiled to the Cape, beginning in 1681. Political exiles of high standing continued to forcibly arrive through the 18th century from the Indonesian archipelago. Upon arrival in the Cape, some political exiles were imprisoned or forced to live in designated areas; others were used as domesticated slaves. Many of these individuals were highly-skilled tradesmen. Slaves of Malaysian origin were of a high-value to their Dutch Masters due to their expertise in artisanal trades such cabinetmaking, market gardening, carpentry, building constructors, and tailors. A significant number of slaves also served as fishermen (which required a high level of skill given Cape Town's treacherous waters), domestic servants, and small shopkeepers.⁵⁷

The second migratory movement occurred when merchants from the Indian sub-continent arrived in the country during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These individuals mostly came to South Africa in search for business opportunities.⁵⁸ These 'passenger' Indians first came from the state of Gujarat and were later followed by a group of merchants from the west coast of India, called Koknis.

⁵⁵ Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids,. *Pages from Cape Muslim History*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Shuter & Shooter, 1994. Print. 3-8

⁵⁶ Sindre Bangstad, *Global Flows, Local Appropriations: Facets of Secularisation and Re-Islamization among Contemporary Cape Muslims*. Leiden: ISIM, 2007. Print. 39.

⁵⁷ Western, John. *Outcast Cape Town*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1981. Print.12

⁵⁸ Yusuf da Costa, *Islam in Greater Cape Town a Study in the Geography of Religion*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1989. Print. 28-49; da Costa and Davids (1994) 235.

From the first wave onwards, a significant number of conversions to Islam occurred. The Malay slaves propagated their Islamic religion and culture to slaves of other origins. Between 1770 and 1840, the expansion of Muslim adherents was so great, that by 1840, at least one third of Cape Town's population identified as Muslim.⁵⁹ By another estimate, Muslims made up 1,600 of the 1,900 Free Blacks in the Cape in the 1820s.⁶⁰

Islam became an attractive option for those who were unable to fit into the existing white Christian social hierarchy. Islam was seen as an outlet for slaves who were cast into a world of inequality and brutality at the hands of white slave masters.⁶¹ The adoption of Islam amongst non-whites during this period can also be seen as a form of protest against European oppression and Western culture. Islam created an autonomous and cohesive identity for the heterogeneous non-white population. The Muslim population currently present in Cape Town are predominantly a result of the amalgamation of Afro-Asian national origin groups, as well as conversions to Islam from local southern African peoples and people of European origin.⁶² Subsequently, the term "Malay" came to represent a religious, rather than ethnic group.⁶³

Under colonial rule, the private practice of Islam was tolerated, although public manifestations of the religion were legally repressed. da Costa maintains that Muslims in Cape Town were doubly disadvantaged due to their race and religion. They were denied Burghership rights, were subject to arbitrary arrest, and their homes were entered and searched by authorities

⁵⁹ Achmat Davids, "Muslim-Christian Relations in Nineteenth Century Cape Town." *Kronos* November 1992 19 (1992): 80-101. Print.88; Bangstad (2007) 40.

⁶⁰ Matthée 71.

⁶¹ Bangstad (2007) 40.

⁶² da Costa and Davids 236.

⁶³ Sheila Patterson, *Colour and culture in South Africa: a study of the status of the Cape Coloured people within the social structure of the Union of South Africa*. Taylor & Francis, 1953. 17.

without their permission.⁶⁴ Only after the passage of Ordinance 50 of 1828, were slaves legally allowed to practice their religion outside the bounds of their homes.

The Dorp Street Madrassa was established in 1793 and served as a place of learning for incorporated slaves and free blacks.⁶⁵ The creation of the Dorp Street Madrassa and subsequent other schools of religious learning is largely responsible for the survival and promulgation of the Islamic religion in the Cape. Madrassas became meeting grounds where slaves and free blacks- Muslim and non-Muslim- would meet. Muslim leaders spread their religion at these madrassas, capitalizing on the common sense of bondage, oppression, and social background between Muslims and non-Muslim slaves.⁶⁶ Because the language adopted in mosques was either Afrikaans or Melayu (a Malayo-Polynesian language brought to the Cape by slaves), slaves found services easily accessible- as opposed to the Dutch Reformed Church, which insisted on the use of High Dutch and the English Church, which performed services in English.

The Auwal Mosque became the first mosque in South Africa when it was formed in 1804. Prior to the opening of the Auwal Mosque in Bo-Kaap, Muslims, both slaves and freed men, met on a weekly basis at the homes of freed Muslims in order to recite Quran.⁶⁷ A growing class of spiritual leaders formed Cape Town's *ulema*- Islamic legal scholars responsible for interpreting Islamic law and guiding the community. Because the position of imam was passed down from father to son in Cape Town, there were many conflicts over who led religious

⁶⁴ da Costa and Davids 60.

⁶⁵ Bangstad (2007) 40.

⁶⁶ Da Costa and Davids 62.

⁶⁷ Ruth Sacks, *The Islamic community in Cape Town*. University of Cape Town, 1971. Print. 200.

congregations. Dissenting mosque attendees often opted to create their own congregations, leading to a proliferation of mosques throughout Cape Town.⁶⁸

ii. Post-Abolition Muslim Communities- Coloureds, Indians, and Malays

After the abolition of slavery under the British in 1834 freed Muslim slaves moved into Cape Town from the country-side. Muslims of all ancestries clustered around areas with historically high percentages of Muslims. This allowed them to be close to their religious community, friends and family. They congregated in the areas of District Six, the Malay Quarter, and on Signal Hill. Some started small businesses or worked as farmers in areas such as Constantia, Simonstown, and throughout the Southern Suburbs. Resultantly, there was a high concentration of Muslims in the urbanized Cape Town, while Muslims in the country areas became far and few.⁶⁹

The close proximity of Muslims of all origins resulted in the development of a shared culture. The historian Johannes Stephanus Marais makes the case that the great social cohesion amongst Muslims in the latter half of the nineteenth century welded a common Muslim identity. From thereon, he argues, “the name of Malay was applied which belonged originally only to the Oriental section of it. The present-day Malays are therefore, a religious and not a racial group.”⁷⁰ Islam had become a counter-colonial force, to voice opposition to colonial authorities. These individuals of different ancestries shared a bond which implied submission to an overarching force. Resultantly, they joined together to practice religious rites such as Ramadan, the Muslim

⁶⁸ Bangstad (2007) 41.

⁶⁹ da Costa and Davids 105.

⁷⁰ J.S., Marais, *The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937*. 1962. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. Print. 172-173.

holidays of Eid, and Friday prayers. Their religious choice separated them from their non-Muslim and non-white counterparts.

An important distinction is between Muslims of Malay and Indian origins. Those who currently identify as Malay are descendants of slaves who were brought to Cape Town by the colonial powers. While a large number of these slaves were in fact Indian (and not purely of Malaysian or Indonesian origin, as the nomenclature alludes), Muslim slaves adopted the culture and practices of the slaves and exiles from the Malaysian and Indonesian archipelagos. Indian Muslims in Cape Town, for the most part, arrived in Cape Town voluntarily and took on jobs as merchants and business owners. Many of them have retained their forefathers' language of either Gujarati or Konkan.

Those who identify as Malay overwhelmingly practice the *Shafie* school of Islamic thought, while the Indian communities are divided amongst *Shafie* and *Hanafi* teachings. The differences between Shafie and Hanafi teachings are minimal. The two schools of thought differ merely on small details, such as the calculation of the afternoon prayer time. Hanafi Muslims regularly attend mosques led by Shafie imams and vice versa. Historically, there was even Hanafi representation on the Shafie-led Malay Cemetery Committee. In the 19th century, Hanafis were also seen as community leaders within the larger Muslim community, despite that majority followed the Shafie school of thought.⁷¹ Marriage between adherents of the two schools occurs with little regard to the other's affiliation.

A Muslim of Indian descent summarized relationships between Indians and Malays as such: “..we mixed with the Malay people, because we used to meet in the mosques, then you may meet on the street, or they come to the shop, and Islam always preaches brotherhood and

⁷¹ Matthée 77.

over time we mixed more frequently with them.”⁷² While there was initial uncertainty between the two groups, perhaps also as a result of socioeconomic differences (as Malays were descendents of former slaves and Indians were business people), the two groups learned to overlook their differences. By focusing on their common religion, they formed a formidable opposition to the divide and rule tactics of colonial authorities.

Slight differences did occur between the Indian and Cape Malay communities in the Cape. For example, the Cape Malay Association was created in 1920, which was followed by the separate South African Indian Moslem Congress in 1923. However, organizations such as the Muslim Judicial Council, the Moslem Progressive Society, and the Moslem Teacher’s Association were open to all and only Muslims. When a member of all three groups was asked about why there were Muslim-specific organizations at that time, he explained that Muslims had common goals, which required the formation of separate organizations. Moreover, because “everybody referred to us [those practicing Islam] as the Moslems,” it became the terminology of the time. However, the religious label of Muslim was and is not all-encompassing. Muslims, to varying degrees, identify with ethnic classifications as well (i.e. Coloured/Malay or Indian).

Moreover, intermarriage between prominent Indian and Malay families did occur, thus blurring the differences between the two. Because Indians had a larger middle-class than Coloureds, for some members of the Malay working class, marrying Indians was regarded as an indication of upward social mobility. It was also not uncommon for Indian men to marry Cape Malay women to evade regulations governing restrictions on Indian land ownership.⁷³ Those who I interviewed, indicated that intermarriage between the two groups now occur with

⁷² Zohra Bibi Dawood, *Making a community: Indians in Cape Town, circa 1900-1980s*, University of Cape Town, 1993. Print. 134.

⁷³ Matthée 83.

increasing frequency. Several imams and Muslim community members have noted the increase of intermarriage between Malays and Indians as a positive indication that apartheid's legacy of separating Muslims between Coloureds and Indians is falling by the wayside.⁷⁴

Historically, official racial classifications in South Africa were far from uniform. Censuses in South Africa were devised by local authorities and their methods of classification would often diverge from those used in other regions of the country.

Census enumerators in the Cape were uncertain of how to label the Muslim population. Muslims appeared to be a distinctive group, separate from non-Muslim Coloureds and Hindu Indians. Given the foreign practices and customs of Muslims, it seemed fitting to provide them with an entirely different classification. The Cape of Good Hope Census authorities created a six-fold classification system to represent their region, which included a Malay category to encompass the racially heterogeneous, yet faith-based Muslim group.

The 1875 Census defined the Malay classification as:

“The Malay: originally of Asiatic origin this small class has become so leavened with foreign elements as to owe its distinctive existence to the bond of a common and a uniform faith—Mohammedanism, than to any feeling of race. Designated by themselves as Muslim (Islamsche) the national name of Malay has, to a large number of colonists among whom they live, lost its proper signification and become synonymous with Mohammedan. It results therefore that a great number of persons of mixed race and many negro proselytes have been included in this class because they are Mohammedans, and also that many have been returned as

⁷⁴ Yusuf da Costa. Personal Interview. October 2012.

Malays because of their origin with that mass of the people with whom they are identical in faith.”⁷⁵

Critics of this system described the Malay classification as “by no means scientific.”⁷⁶ Indeed the 1875 Census sought to racially classify a highly heterogeneous religious group, thus distancing them from other non-white groups in the Cape. While Muslims were undoubtedly not a racial group, they had come to form a cultural group—sharing customs, practices, and beliefs distinct from non-Muslims.

Although the wave of passenger Indians in Cape had not fully started at this time, Muslim Indians were originally absorbed into the blanket classification of “Cape Malay.” In contrast, the Indian population of Natal was enumerated in a separate category and in Transvaal, the Cape Coloured population was also separately enumerated.⁷⁷

The idea that Muslims were a separate and distinctive group is mirrored in the legislation of the time. Law No. 3 of 1885 denied ‘persons belonging to one of the native races of Asia, among whom are included so-called Coolies, Arabs, Malays and Mohammedan subjects of the Turkish Empire’ any right to acquire citizenship or own immovable property except in government allocated areas.⁷⁸ Given the 1875 Census classification above, the distinction between Malays and Mohammedans is unclear, but this legislation indicates that in the eyes of the government of the South African Republic, all Muslims (or Mohammedan subjects) were a

⁷⁵ Da Costa (1989) 71.

⁷⁶ Christopher, A.J.. *The Union of South Africa censuses 1911-1960: an incomplete record*. Historia, Durban, v. 56, n. 2, Nov. 2011, 1-18. Print. 8.

⁷⁷ Christopher 8.

⁷⁸ Frances Pierre Rousseau, *Handbook on the Group Areas Act (Act No. 77 of 1957)*. Cape Town: Juta, 1960. Print. 3 (referring to to Law No.3, which was passed by the South African Republic in the Transvaal).

distinctive foreign group. They were seen as foreigners in their country of birth, as well as intrinsically different from other non-white groups.

Further evidence of the “othering” of Muslims in Cape Town is seen during the smallpox outbreak during the 1880’s. In 1882, an epidemic of smallpox swept the city. In response, municipal authorities attempted to sanitize the city, both in physical and metaphorical terms. Actions were taken to clean the city of possible sources of infection, which included the Muslim inhabitants. Religious allusions were adopted by local newspapers, which ran headlines such as “The Smallpox has come! The Angel of Vengeance of outraged Sanitation hangs over the city!”⁷⁹ Christian leaders in the city pinpointed Muslim inhabitants as sources of impurity and disease. The City of Cape Town closed the Muslim cemetery in the city centre, resulting in mass protests by Muslims. In what came to be known as the “Malay Riot,” over 3,000 Muslims protested in the streets in a funeral procession in defiance of the cemetery closures.⁸⁰ After municipal police violently suppressed the riots, urban authorities established a plot for a new Muslim cemetery outside the city. The segregation of Muslim cemeteries foreshadowed the creation of the separate Muslim residential district, Bo-Kaap. An 1882 newspaper editorial declared, “the sooner the Malays are made to reside in a separate district the better for all concerned.”⁸¹ Muslims were singled out as a dangerous and foreign group, unique from other non-whites in Cape Town.

In 1911, there was a move to create a standard classification system throughout the Union. The Director of Census created a three-fold classification system which contained the

⁷⁹ David Chidester, "Mapping the Sacred in the Mother City: Religion and Urban Space in Cape Town, South Africa." *Journal for the Study of Religion* 13.1-2 (2000): 5-41. Print. 16.

⁸⁰ Chidester 16.

⁸¹ Chidester 17.

groupings “European or White,” “Native or Bantu,” and “Mixed and Coloured.”⁸² In 1921, an additional Indian group was added. It must be noted that for these early Censuses, individuals were not given the freedom to define their own race or ethnicity. The Census enumerators were given the final say on how each individual was classified.⁸³ Warnings were given to the 1936 enumerators that, “It is admittedly extremely difficult to discriminate by outward appearances, especially in the Cape Peninsula, and where doubt exists, discreet inquiries should be made...”⁸⁴ Enumerators were thus able to reassign racial classifications based on appearance and behaviour. Distinguishing between sub-categories, such as Malay and Indian, would have been increasingly difficult and subject to the whims of the Census enumerator.

In face of increasing hostility from the government of the Republic of South Africa, as well as growing demands for segregation between whites and non-whites, Muslims in Cape Town decided to formally adopt the label of “Cape Malay” or “Cape Muslim.” This change of nomenclature allowed Muslims to separate themselves from their non-Muslim coloured counterparts, and was thus a further step away from the classification of “Black” or “African.”⁸⁵ Moreover, Indian Muslims could benefit from the “Cape Muslim” title because they would be allowed greater advantages in where they could operate businesses. Moreover, by creating their own classification, Muslims were demanding their own agency to identify themselves.

In 1951, the Cape Malay category was added as another Census category. Cape Malay, as opposed to Cape Coloured or general Coloured, was defined as “a member of the coloured group who adheres to Islam is generally regarded as Cape Malay, while one who had all the essence of

⁸² Census of the Union of South Africa, 1911. Pretoria : Govt. Printing and Stationery Office, 1912-1913.

⁸³ Tom Moultrie and Rob Dorrington, "*Used for ill; used for good: a century of collecting data on race in South Africa.*" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 1 (2011): 1-19. Print. 8

⁸⁴ Moultrie and Dorrington 8.

⁸⁵ Bangstad (2007) 43.

Sumatra in his veins but has become a professing Christian is plainly Cape coloured.”⁸⁶ An alternative definition for Cape Malay was “...any person who states that he is a Cape Malay, unless and until the contrary is proved.”⁸⁷ However, given the small numbers associated with the group, separate tabulations of the Malay population did not occur and they were merged with the Coloured population for most tables. This distinction did not occur again and the Cape Malay classification was wholly discarded in 1957.^{88 89}

As far as official classifications go, there were also instances in which Muslim Indians classified themselves as Malay in order to benefit from the wider trading areas. The conservative National Coloured People’s Party leader, Dr. Clifford Smith, went so far as to make the case that all Muslims be reclassified as Indian to, “prevent the Indian from using the Malay as a bridge to exploit our people.”⁹⁰ Moreover, it was not uncommon for Indians to identify as Malay in order to avoid living in the Indian group areas of Rylands or Cravenby. The instances of Indians living in Coloured areas most often occurred illegally, as in 1978, the Race Classification Court only changed six Indians to the Malay classification, and two Malays to the Indian classification.⁹¹

iii. Post-Emancipation Muslim Residential Patterns

Upon emancipation, Muslims in Cape Town continued to perform artisanal trades. Because most of these artisanal jobs were urban occupations, Muslims continued to flock to the cities. The Dutch East India Company employed Muslims in the fields of carpentry, cabinet making, masonry, tailoring, and various other handicrafts. Others were employed as bricklayers,

⁸⁶ Rousseau 10.

⁸⁷ James Godfrey Wilmot, *T.E. Donges and the Group Areas Act*. Johannesburg: S.n., 1992. Print. 11.

⁸⁸ Rousseau 10.

⁸⁹ Christopher 8-9.

⁹⁰ Western 215. (*Post*, Johannesburg 2 November 1969)

⁹¹ Western 215.

builders, potters, dairymen, grooms, nurses, bookbinders, and gardeners. They were also found as fishermen, laundresses, selling foodstuffs, and in the clothing trades.⁹² Muslims were almost exclusively found in the field of craftsmanship, as the 1875 Census shows that only 25 out of the 6,772 Muslims in Cape Town engaged in “professions” at that time.⁹³ This trend continued at least until the mid-nineteenth century. Few Muslims pursued tertiary education, and the form of higher education that was encouraged was strictly religious.⁹⁴

In comparison to other non-whites, Muslims of Indian and Malay descent were relatively well-off.⁹⁵ Malays engaged in sought-after artisanal crafts, as well as delicate work such as tailors and furniture polishers. They also tended to be contractors who had their own small businesses. Indian Muslims were overwhelmingly businesspeople. They owned fruit stalls along the Grand Parade in the city centre, they owned shops throughout metropolitan Cape Town, and Muslim Kokni Indians were also well known for owning halal butcheries, which would serve entire residential areas-Muslim and non-Muslims alike.

A significant number of Muslims moved to the Southern Suburbs of Claremont, Newlands, Rondebosch, and Wynberg. These were the first suburbs that came into existence in the nineteenth century and the move of Muslims into this area indicates the growing urbanization of Cape Town at this time. The title deeds for the Stegman Road mosque in Claremont date 1901, there is evidence—in the form of personal accounts and oral history—which indicate that the mosque opened as early as 1861.⁹⁶ Some estimates indicate that the original Claremont

⁹² Da Costa (1989) 59.

⁹³ Da Costa (1989) 59.

⁹⁴ CWC2.12 housed at the Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

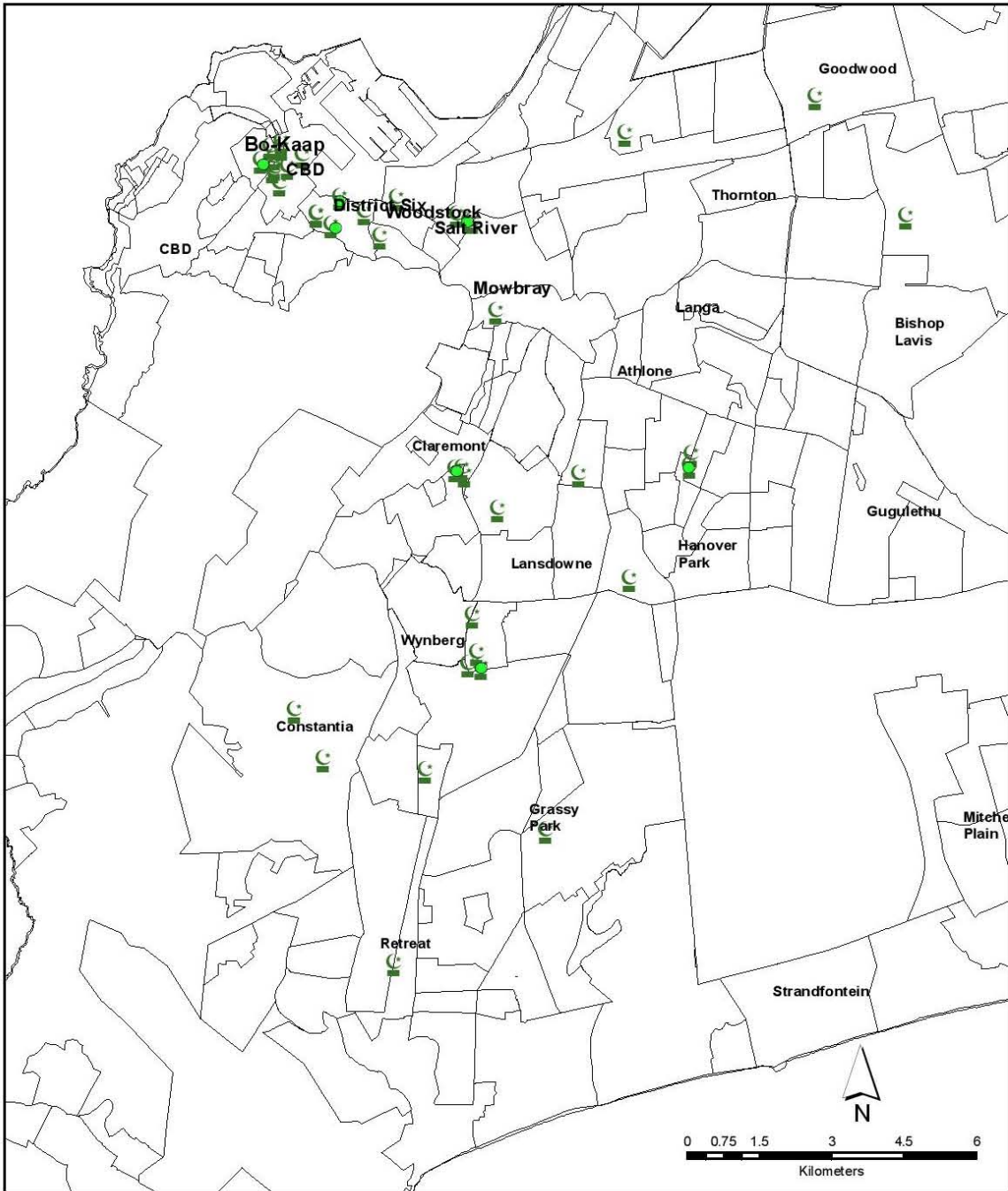
⁹⁵ Western 206.

⁹⁶ Sacks 26.

Mosque membership consisted of sixty Muslim families in the mid-nineteenth century.⁹⁷ As the population grew, commerce and industries also developed in the surrounding suburbs. Muslims moved elsewhere as accommodation decreased in the city and employment opportunities became available in new locations. The greatest evidence of small but notable Muslim communities is the establishment of mosques within the city of Cape Town and the Southern Suburbs.

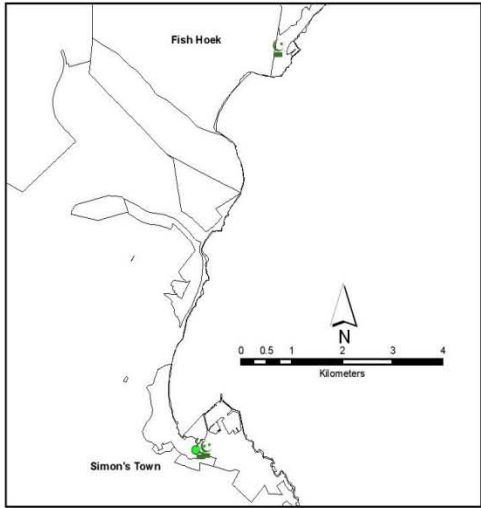
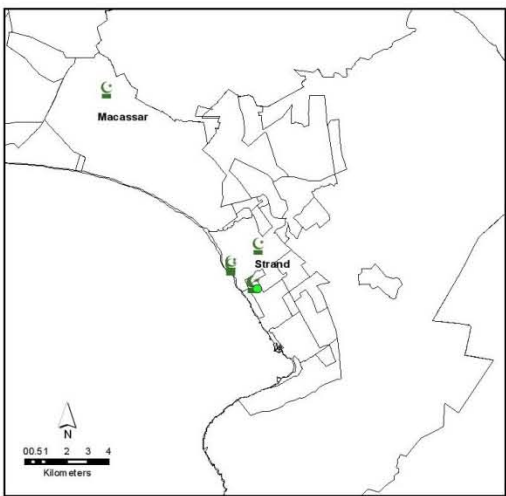
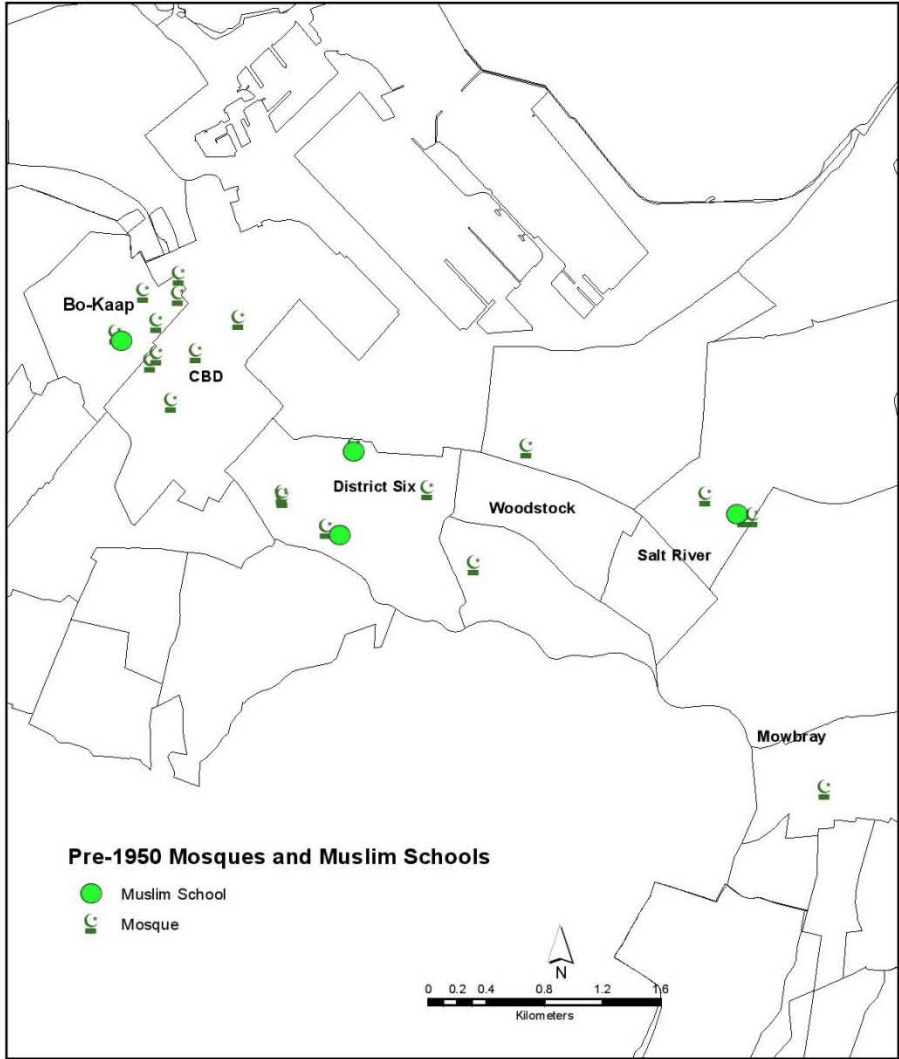
The chart of mosques established prior to 1950 in Cape Town provides a general idea of where Muslim communities were located. Prior to 1950, there were forty-five mosques and six Islamic schools throughout metropolitan Cape Town. The largest concentration of mosques occurred in Bo-Kaap. There were four mosques located in Strand and three each in Claremont and Constantia. The chart below demonstrates Muslims were overwhelmingly urban dwellers. They resided in large numbers in the area of Bo-Kaap, the CBD, and the neighbouring suburbs of Woodstock, Salt River, District Six, Mowbray and Walmer Estate. The Muslim population of Strand was large enough to support four mosques as well as an Islamic school for children. There were also large concentrations of Muslims in the Southern Suburbs—mosques were located in Claremont, Constantia, Wynberg, Lansdowne and Rondebosch East.

⁹⁷ Abdulkader Tayob, *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams, and Sermons*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 1999. Print. 47.



Pre-1950 Mosques and Muslim Schools

- Muslim School
- ☪ Mosque



Mosques established prior to 1950 in Metropolitan Cape Town⁹⁸					
Auwal Mosque	1794* ⁹⁹	Bo-Kaap	Gujjatul Islam	1897	Stellenbosch
Palm Tree Mosque	1777*	CBD	Noorul Mogamadiah	1899	Bo-Kaap
Nurul Latief	1800*	Faure	Habibia Soofie Saheb Jamia Masjid	1906*	Rylands
Nurul Islam	1834	Bo-Kaap	Mughammadiyyah Masjied	1906*	Salt River
Yusuffia Mosque	1838*	Wynberg	Masjiedu Galielol Raghmaan	1908	District Six
Jaavia Masjied	1850	Strand	Sunni Muhammad Masjid	1908	Claremont
Jameah Masjied	1850	Bo-Kaap	Al Jaamiah Masjied	1910	Claremont
Claremont Main Road Mosque	1854	Claremont	Maghmoed Masjied	1913	Constantia
Masjid Monier	1855	Constantia	Nurul Islam Mosque	1914	Salt River
Mosque Shafie	1859*	Bo-Kaap	Azzawia Mosque	1919	Walmer Estate
Masjiedul Jamia	1866	Kalk Bay	Zeenatul Islam Masjid	1922*	District Six
Noor El Hamedia Mosque	1881*	CBD	Darul Qaraar	1923	Wynberg
Worcester Masjied	1881*	Worcester	Husnyne Mosque	1925	Diep River
Nizamia Mosque	1883	Retreat	Nurul Islam	1927	Strand
Masjied Boohaanol	1884	Bo-Kaap	Masjidus Salaam	1928	Athlone
Al Azhar Mosque	1886*	District Six	Quloobul Moe'meneen	1928	Goodwood
Breda Street Masjied	1887	Paarl	Masjidus Sunnie	1930	Rondebosch East
Simons Town Mosque	1888	Simonstown	Shukrul Mubien	1932	Lansdowne
Coowatool Islam Mosque	1889	Bo-Kaap	Suleimaneyah Mosque	1932	Woodstock
Masjied Uthmaania	1890	Paarl	Hidayatul Islam	1938	Kensington
Masjidarashideen	1891	Mowbray	Darun Na-im	1940	Wynberg
Nurul Anwar Mosque	1893	Strand	Ahmedi Jamiah Mosque	1945	Grassy Park
			Siddique Mosque	1945	Elsie's River

⁹⁸ This list was created with the help of Boorhaanol Islam Publications.

⁹⁹ * Date is approximate

The tendency of Muslims to live amongst other Muslims was strong. In neighbourhoods with large numbers of Muslims, Muslims cherished the sense of familiarity, brotherhood and community that was present. These areas also contained mosques and religious schools for children, halal markets, oftentimes burial grounds, and were generally free from alcohol. In 1970, with the exception of Bo-Kaap, there were no predominantly Muslim areas in Cape Town.¹⁰⁰¹⁰¹ Respondents who I interviewed indicated that Muslims got along well with their non-Muslim neighbours and provided that there were facilities such as mosques and madrassas, they seemed content to live in areas where they were not the majority. Additionally, due the Cape Muslim history of assimilating converts into their community, Muslim society in Cape Town was generally open to non-Muslims. They had good relations with non-Muslims. It was not uncommon for a Muslim to have non-Muslim members of the extended family. Moreover, since many Muslims operated businesses from or near their homes, it made little sense to self-segregate into Muslim-only enclaves.

In areas where a few Muslims lived amidst an overwhelming majority of white families, Muslim families felt isolated. A Muslim woman who grew up on the corner of Dorp and Long Streets in the early twentieth century explained that despite her family's proximity to many white families, "they [the Whites] had no contact with us and we had [no] contact with them."¹⁰² She further explained that her family would have preferred mixing with their "own kind." However, she defined her "own kind," as her (Christian) Coloured and Hindu Indian neighbours, as well as

¹⁰⁰ The 1970 Census indicated that Salt River was 51% Muslim, but this is in sharp contrast to the over 90% Muslim areas of Bo-Kaap and Schotsche Kloof.

¹⁰¹ *Bevolkingsensus 1970 : Metropolitaanse Gebied Kaapstad.*

¹⁰² CWC2, 18-25 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

other Muslims. She reminisced on how during the Hindu celebration of Diwali, the whole community in District Six would get involved in making sweetmeats and special milk.¹⁰³

Another important aspect of these Muslim communities is that they generally superseded class distinctions. A university-educated Muslim woman born in 1903 to a wealthy family explained how social events in the Muslim community included guests from all social levels. She describes, “If we went to a wedding we would find that our dressmaker for instance would be invited too. We’d meet her and we’d all be very pleased to see each other. And the wife, say of the cab driver because the Malays, one of their chief occupations was cab driving and the wives would be there and the mother and the sisters and so on...So there was not that distinction in our society or in our community that [there] would be amongst the whites.”¹⁰⁴ However, a marker of status and reverence in the Muslim community was whether an individual had completed the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, called hajj. Whether one was a bricklayer or a doctor, the completion of hajj was a marker that an individual was a holy and pious person and was treated with great respect. Hajj is a requirement in Islam for all Muslims who are financially able and physically capable of completing the strenuous journey. Families would save up for years in order to complete hajj. The sending off of pilgrims for hajj remains a very festive season for Muslims in Cape Town.

iv. Exclusionary Muslim Communities

Former residents of District Six, Woodstock, and the CBD paint a bright and nostalgic portrait of life in their previous neighbourhoods. They cling most strongly to the idea that their former home neighbourhoods were multiethnic and multicultural havens. While they were highly appreciative of the number of mosques and other Muslims residents in their neighbourhood, they

¹⁰³ CWC2, 18-25 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

¹⁰⁴ CWC2, 18-25 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

were also proud of their neighbourhood's religious diversity. Muslims recall sharing in Christmas celebrations with their Christian neighbours and Diwali festivities with Hindu Indians. They recall having strong and warm relations with their neighbours of different backgrounds and religions and explain how these relationships were lost after the Group Areas Act. The lack of religious and racial division is an aspect which many former residents turn to when describing the idealism of the area.

However, on closer examination of the nature of Muslim and non-Muslim relations in District Six, it becomes clear that Muslims were a distinctive and in some ways insular community. Muslim children often attended one of the two Muslim primary schools in the area—Rahmaniyah Primary School, which was opened in 1913, or Muir Street Muslim Primary School, which was opened in 1930. Former residents, both Muslim and not, recall that Muslims were highly adherent of their religious requirements. They refrained from drinking and drugs, which created a social separation from their non-Muslim counterparts. One former District Six resident recalls that even Christian residents would refrain from consuming alcohol during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, as a mark of respect to their Muslim neighbours. On Eid day, Muslim children would deliver plates of baked goods and sweetmeats that their mothers made to all their neighbours, non-Muslims included. However, during the month of Ramadan, plates of savouries and food to break the fast were distributed only to Muslim neighbours. When interviewing former Muslim residents of District Six about their closest friends, they exclusively named Muslims. They also all agreed that they would be more likely to call upon Muslim friends or neighbours during a time of need than non-Muslims. It would be unusual, one former resident of District Six admitted, to have Christian neighbours pop in for tea unannounced, the way Muslim neighbours would. Oftentimes these informal social callings occurred after the sunset

prayers or evening prayers on the walk back from the mosque. While they lived side-by-side with non-Muslims, Muslims tended to have Muslim landlords. Interviewees informed me that in the case where rooms in one house were rented out to multiple families, houses contained either only Muslim families or only non-Muslim families.

Additionally, Muslims were sometimes excluded from membership on local sports teams. For example, the Alliance Football Association had an explicit ban against “Muslims and Natives.”¹⁰⁵ Non-Muslim Coloureds and Indians were allowed entry, but anyone who practiced Islam was automatically excluded. There were cases of certain soccer teams, such as the Bluebells from Wynberg, being rejected from Cape and District Football Association because of the ban on Muslims. The City and Suburban Rugby League based in Mowbray, also did not include any Muslim players. Interestingly, when a Muslim man did convert to Christianity, he was able to become the treasurer of the Perseverance rugby in the City and Suburban Rugby League in Mowbray—a position which he held for fifty-one years.¹⁰⁶ As a result, Muslim-only sports teams and leagues were formed. Examples include the Western Province Muslim League and the Blackpool Football Club.

Similarly, former residents of Claremont and Lansdowne recall their old homes with much nostalgia. In the Southern Suburbs, Muslims and non-Muslims “were like one family,” as described by a former resident of Claremont. Intermarriage did occur between Muslims and Christians, but the Christians most often adopted the Islamic faith. A woman in Mowbray declared, “In 99 percent of the cases when Muslim marries Christian, whatever the sex, it’s the

¹⁰⁵ *Fields of Play: Football, Memories & Forced Removals in Cape Town*. Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2010. Print.

¹⁰⁶ Western 206.

Christian who converts to us.”¹⁰⁷ Muslims who grew up in Claremont fondly remember attending church with their Christian friends and singing Christmas carols during the holiday seasons.

However, once again, Muslims tended to recall other Muslims as their closest friends. Moreover, many Muslim students attended the Islamic primary school Tafalah (opened in 1917), thus limiting their exposure to their non-Muslim neighbours. A former resident who grew up in the Harfield area of Claremont described how after *madrassa*—classes which Muslim youth attend after school in order to gain knowledge of the Quran and Islamic teachings—Muslim students would form one team and play soccer or cricket against the other neighbourhood children.¹⁰⁸ Another woman who grew up in Claremont explained how the long hours spent at *madrassa* after school, as well as the time spent doing homework for *madrassa*, limited her ability to make friends or socialize after school.¹⁰⁹

Not all Muslims attended an Islamic school full-time. At the time, most of the Islamic schools served only primary school and Muslim parents showed little qualms in sending their children to a local secular school if it was more convenient. In some areas, such as Simonstown, Muslim children were explicitly banned from the local parochial school. As a result, the Simonstown Moslem Primary School was opened in 1920. Not all Muslims opted to attend the Simonstown Moslem Primary, as many were accommodated at nearby secular schools. In order to receive their religious education, most Muslims attended after-school *madrassa*. *Madrassa* can take place at the local mosque, or even at people’s homes. Some families would opt to have religious scholars come home and teach their children Quran and Islamic guidelines.

¹⁰⁷ Western 206.

¹⁰⁸ CWC6, 02 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

¹⁰⁹ CWC6, 03 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT

As in District Six, Islamic regulations towards drinking and dancing prohibited Muslim youth from partaking in certain activities with their non-Muslim counterparts.¹¹⁰ A Muslim resident said that if he was found drinking, the Muslim community in Claremont would look down upon him as if he were a *skollie* or someone living on the streets.¹¹¹

Thus, while Muslims and non-Muslims prior to the Group Areas Act had very strong relations, there were still observable markers of difference between the two groups. Socially, there was a sense of separation. Muslims would partake in exclusive activities and non-Muslims would sometimes engage in activities which were contrary to Muslims' religious beliefs. Muslims also seemed more comfortable and familiar with their Muslim neighbours than non-Muslim. While Muslims and non-Muslims appeared to socialize with few problems prior to the Group Areas Act, elements of their religious beliefs resulted in a distinctive Muslim group.

The Malays in the Southern Suburbs were mostly tradesmen or vendors of some sort—selling fish, vegetables, and flowers. The Indian families tended to own shops. However, former residents do not recall a distinction between Indians and Malays. The two groups intermarried with little regard to the other's ancestry. Many former residents of the Southern Suburbs have both Malay and Indian ancestry.

The Muslims in the Southern Suburbs like to view themselves as more upper-class than their District Six or Salt River counterparts. A former resident of Newlands explained that those living in the Southern Suburbs were “gentlemen,” while the people living in District Six were *skollies*, or gangsters. Perhaps a reason for this distinction is the differences in housing patterns. Although residents in Claremont and Lansdowne predominantly rented their homes, they tended to live in single-family homes. This was a big difference from the multiple families renting out

¹¹⁰ CWC6, 02 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT

¹¹¹ CWC6, 01 housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT

rooms in each house in District Six. There was very little crime and no gangs, especially in comparison to District Six.

Despite the relative safety and tranquillity of the Southern Suburbs compared to areas like District Six and Salt River, the Southern Suburbs were not necessarily a destination for the upwardly mobile Muslim families in Cape Town. Most Muslim residents of the Southern Suburbs had footing in the area for generations. Informants explained that in general, they remained in the areas where they grew up, regardless of socioeconomic income. Thus, one sees a great range of wealth within District Six—from wealthy factory owners, to general carpenters. Despite the propensity of Muslims to remain in their childhood suburbs, there was still a great deal of contact between areas such as District Six and the Southern Suburbs. A Muslim woman who grew up in District Six said that she would very often go to the cinemas in Claremont or visit family in Salt River. Muslim social networks overlapped and crisscrossed across metropolitan Cape Town.

Prior to the legal imposition of segregation, Muslims in Cape Town clustered in urban areas, primarily around, but not limited to, the City Bowl and the Southern Suburbs. These areas became homes for generations of Muslim families, both of Indian and Malay descent. They invested in these communities, building Muslim businesses, schools, mosques, and on some occasions, graveyards. They made an effort to know their neighbours, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

While they had strong relations with their non-Muslim neighbours, Muslims' primary social network consisted of other Muslims. Muslims were more likely to turn to those who shared their faith, in times of need, as well as in times of celebration. Moreover, the strict Islamic

norms created a barrier between Muslim and non-Muslim interaction, thus resulting in the creation of exclusive Muslim sub-communities within the larger residential areas.

CHAPTER THREE: THE GROUP AREAS ACT

The Group Areas Act was responsible for the removal and relocation of thousands of Cape Town residents. This chapter examines how Muslims in particular were affected by the Act and how their community was altered. Because Muslims were overwhelmingly urban dwellers, they were greatly affected by the Group Areas Act. They were indiscriminately removed from their homes and their communities, including their mosques, Islamic schools and madrassas, and extended families. The Group Areas Act succeeded in differentiating the Muslim community by socioeconomic status, a demarcation which was previously understated. While there was socioeconomic differences within the Muslim community prior to the Group Areas Act, the legislation deepened these differences and resulted in a starker spatial form. Class differences were now made apparent by forced relocations. Muslims forced into Council-renting schemes struggled to construct mosques by hand as well as maintain an Islamic lifestyle in areas where drugs and crime were rampant. Those who were able to purchase homes described the challenges in maintaining contact with the family who were relocated elsewhere. The Group Areas Act scattered Muslims throughout the Cape Flats, thus chipping away at the cohesiveness of the Cape Muslim community.

i. Apartheid Legislation

In 1948, the National Party came to power in South Africa. The National Party's platform emphasized the establishment of an apartheid state, a republican form of rule, and Afrikaner nationalism. Apartheid, meaning separateness, was an all-encompassing policy which stressed not only the separation of races, but also the supremacy of white minority rule. There were several precursors to apartheid legislation, such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (1923), which declared urban areas of South Africa as "white" and required black Africans in these areas to

carry official passes at all times, the Immorality Act (1927), which prohibited relations between whites and blacks, and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act (1946), which confined Asian ownership and occupation of land to specific areas.

However, the National Party's election in 1948 heralded a new phase in the maintenance of white supremacy as well as the physical and social separation of the races in South Africa. While legislated segregation had long been in place nationally against the Black population, the apartheid state cast its net of exclusionary policies to encompass coloured and Indian populations as well, relegating them to a lower status than previously. The coloured population, a group which is defined by its heterogeneity, was of particular concern to the apartheid project. White lawmakers were terrified of "blood mixing" and impurity of the fragile white population. Prior to 1948, coloureds were viewed as inferior citizens. However, with the creation of the apartheid state, it became particularly crucial that no further "blood-mixing" occurred. Coloureds were painted as degenerates, who required strict segregation and de facto exclusion from citizenship. It was crucial to the apartheid project that coloureds remained distinctive and isolated from the white citizenry.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 required that every South African inhabitant be classified and registered as one of three distinct racial groups. The Act defined the three groups as:

"A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white—and not generally accepted as Coloured—or who is generally accepted as White—and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu. . . .

A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa. . . .

A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu. . . .”¹¹²

Originally, the category of Asian or Indian was included under the definition of Coloured.

Coloured was seen to include seven legislated subcategories—Indians, Chinese, “Other Asiatic Group”, Cape Coloureds, Coloureds in the most general sense, Cape Malay, Griqua, and “Other Coloured Group.”¹¹³ A later amendment to the Population Registration Act added Indian or Asian as a separate racial group from the Coloured category.¹¹⁴

As discussed prior, in 1951, the Cape Malay category was added as another Census category. However, given the small numbers associated with the group, separate tabulations of the Malay population did not occur and they were merged with the Coloured population for most tables. This distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim Coloureds was discarded in 1957.^{115 116}

Under the Population Registration Act, a citizen’s racial classification would be recorded in an official identity document. These classifications would also be entered into a national database, allowing that information pertaining to access of work, social services, taxation, residence, and marital status could be monitored in regards to one’s racial identity.¹¹⁷ The

Upon classifying every South African into a racial group, the apartheid government continued its program of social engineering. They passed the Group Areas Act of 1950, which sought to extend the racial demarcation of residential areas to distinguish separate ‘white’,

¹¹² Population Registration Act, § No 30 (1950). Print.

¹¹³ Western 77.

¹¹⁴ Debora Posel, *The Making of Apartheid*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997. Print.20

¹¹⁵ Rousseau 10.

¹¹⁶ Christopher 8-9.

¹¹⁷ Deborah Posel, "What's in a name? Racial categorisations under apartheid and their afterlife." *Transformation* 47 (2001).54.

‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ areas. D.F. Malan, the Prime Minister of South Africa declared that, “...it is the essence of apartheid which is embodied in this Bill.”¹¹⁸ Moreover, he explained that the separation of the races would lead to a better living environment; “...each one wants to live among his own group and there he finds rest for the soul and happiness for which any human being yearns.”¹¹⁹ Other justifications for the Group Areas Act included: the different racial groups were at varying cultural and political levels; the need to preserve western civilization in South Africa; the prevention of inter-racial conflict; and allowing non-whites a chance at self-government.¹²⁰ Academic (and now politician) Wilmot James also indicated that the Group Areas Act was part of a search for group identity amongst Afrikaner nationalists, the result of Afrikaner aversion to people of colour, and a sense of cultural pluralism which highlighted cultural and pseudo-cultural differences between populations.¹²¹

ii. The Group Areas Act

The Group Areas Act was an all-encompassing piece of legislation. Section One of Act 41 (1950) froze the status quo of each residential area, pending the actual proclamation of the area. It declared all areas as “Controlled Areas”, except for black reserves, urban locations and mission stations. Properties in Controlled Areas could only be transferred to members of the same race. The Group Areas Board was a statutory body established to allocate group areas in all towns and villages in the Republic. The Group Areas Development Board was created in 1955, which was further charged with assisting “disqualified” persons with the disposal of their

¹¹⁸ *Group Areas Occasional Paper No 7*. Rondebosch: Centre for Intergroup Studies, 1983. Print.,3

¹¹⁹ *Group Areas Occasional Paper 3*.

¹²⁰ *Group Areas Occasional Paper 3-4*.

¹²¹ James 3.

properties and finding suitable alternative accommodation for them in their specified group areas.¹²²

The Group Areas Act also created the Land Tenure Advisory Board, which served as an emissary between the state and the public when an area of land was being considered for proclamation. However, quite often the public was not given ample time to appeal to the Land Tenure Advisory Board before a land declaration occurred.¹²³ After the declaration of an area for a particular racial group, a series of events would occur. First, a notice of the proposed proclamation would appear in the newspaper. Objections could be lodged with the Group Areas Board. After the declaration, no “disqualified persons” could purchase immovable property in the area. Furthermore, after declaration, disqualified persons were not permitted to occupy land or premises in the defined area, except with a permit.¹²⁴

In addition to separate living areas, the Group Areas Act brought about a number of secondary results. Group areas dramatically reduced racial mixing, by “circumscribing the propinquity of sexually available populations and minimising points of social and interpersonal—especially sexual—contact.”¹²⁵ This was an issue of particular importance for apartheid-proponents in Cape Town, as the racially amorphous coloured population posed a grave threat to the idea of a distinct white population. Additionally, the Group Areas Act sought to isolate the Indian population in order to distance them from their businesses as well as other races. Throughout South Africa, Indian traders had become a viable economic threat to white-owned businesses. The Group Areas Board hoped to establish Indians as an alien group in South Africa, worthy of suspicion and dislike from all other races in South Africa. By creating an

¹²² Group Areas Occasional Paper 6.

¹²³ Group Areas Occasional Paper 5.

¹²⁴ Group Areas Occasional Paper 7-8.

¹²⁵ James 15.

Indian group area, separate from Coloureds, Indians would live separately from more-established South African races and their businesses would also suffer.¹²⁶ This was a substantial problem in Cape Town, given the long history of racial mixing between Indians and Cape Malays.

It was apparent that the Group Areas Board did not intend to divide residential Cape Town equitably. The most desirable areas of the metropolis were declared for whites only. Areas with significant numbers of both white and non-white residents, such as Claremont, Mowbray, and Goodwood, were almost always declared white. (In 1936, the Southern Suburbs were more than half non-white, containing 62,100 non-whites to 60,400 whites).¹²⁷ In 1977, the government appointed Theron Commission even stated that, “in the Group Areas Act, only the whites have been fully protected from the presence of other groups, while the approval of coloured people has not been sought in making proclamations.”¹²⁸ Africans were forcibly moved to the farthest corners of Cape Town. Coloured areas were declared as buffer-like zones between African townships and the white city centre. Indians, who mostly owned businesses at the time, were forced into two small residential areas, away from commercial hubs. In cutting up Cape Town, it was necessary to utilize buffer zones between white and non-white (Coloured) areas. These buffer zones would take the form of natural boundaries, such as rivers, empty undeveloped spaces, or railroad lines and industrial strips.¹²⁹

Muslims, who historically resided in or near the Cape Town city centre, as well as the bustling Southern Suburbs, were disproportionately affected by the Group Areas declaration. Twenty-seven of the 45 mosques in metropolitan Cape Town prior to the Group Areas Act were

¹²⁶ James 9.

¹²⁷ Western 123.

¹²⁸ Western 133.

¹²⁹ Western 106.

located in areas declared for whites only (See map). The remaining mosques were mostly located in Bo-Kaap, Woodstock, and Rylands.¹³⁰

Cape Town was particularly challenging for the Group Areas Board, as it was the least segregated city in all of South Africa.¹³¹ The declaration of areas in Cape Town was a gradual process, which was met with much protest every step of the way. These protests not only came from the non-white residents of proclaimed suburbs, but a handful of white activists as well. A local activist and community member, Dr. R.E. van der Ross, wrote in the *Cape Times*:

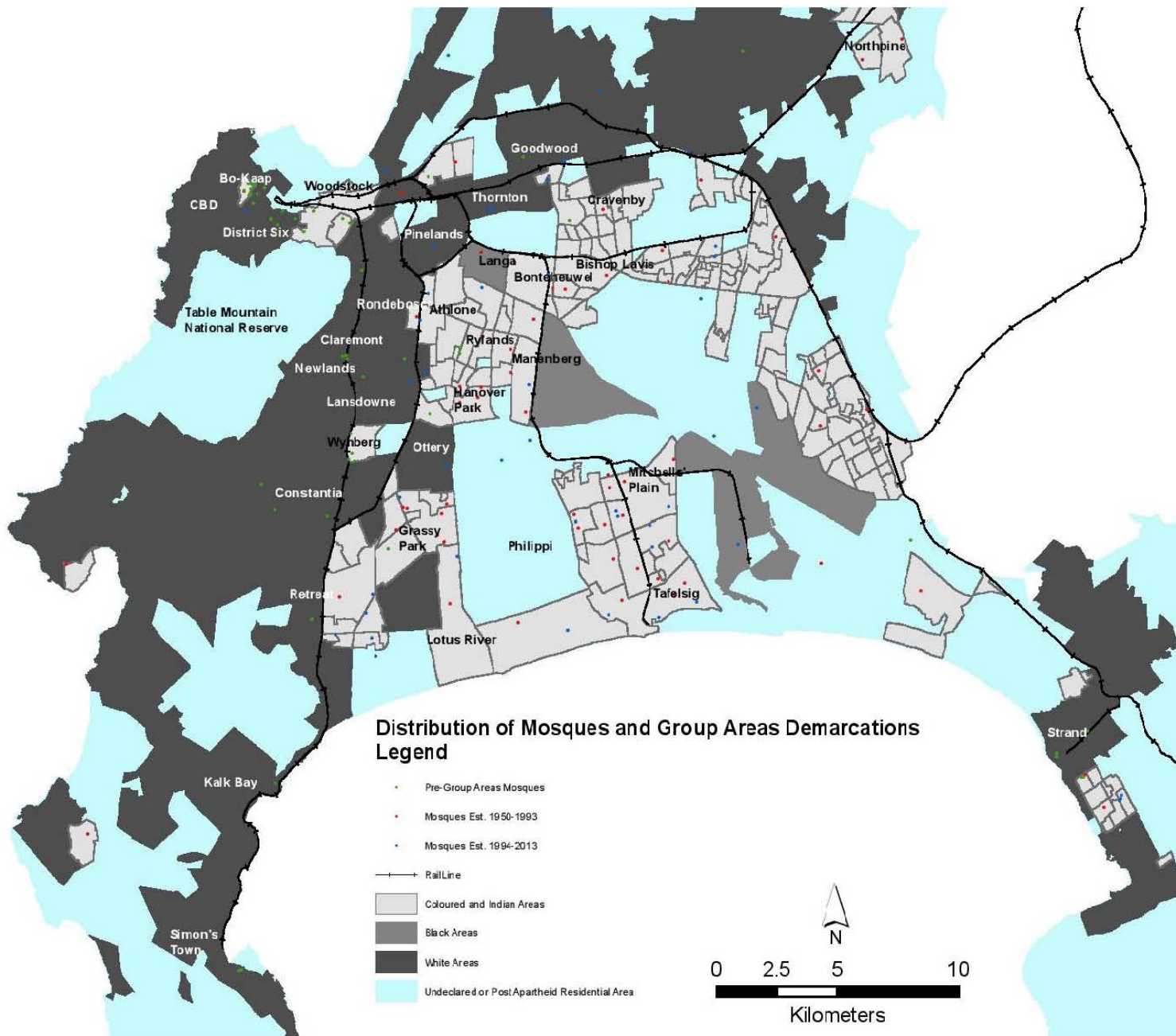
“The first thing that strikes one about the proclamation is its extreme arrogance... The matter of the inequity of practical provision, of facilities, of distance from work, of schools, hospitals, police protection, roads, lighting, sewerage, to mention but a few of the many respects in which the displaced Coloured persons will find discrimination, serve only to emphasize the unfairness of the entire conception of the proclamations.”¹³²

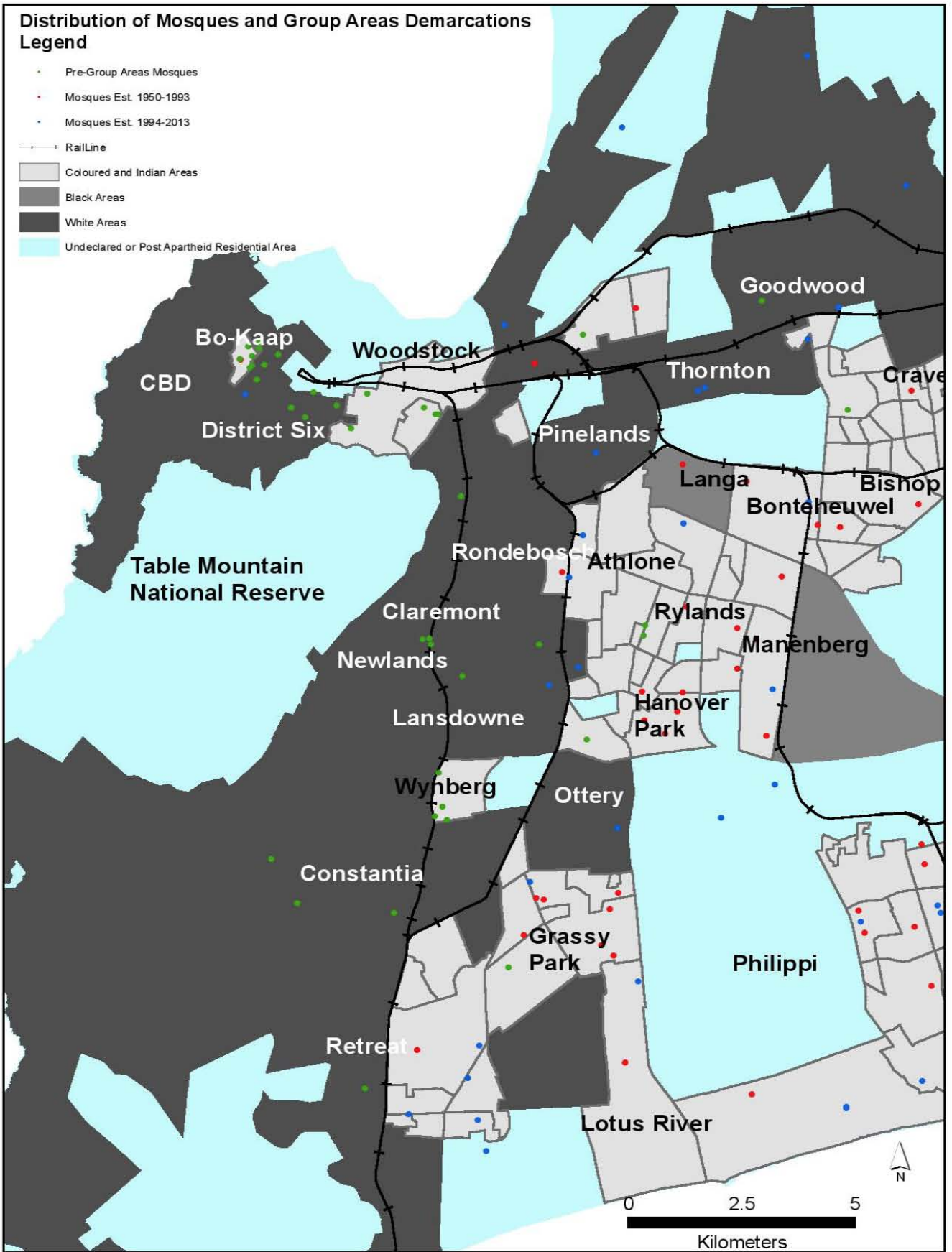
Editorials were also raised in the Cape Argus and it was not uncommon for liberal Members of Parliament to ignite debate on Parliament’s floor.

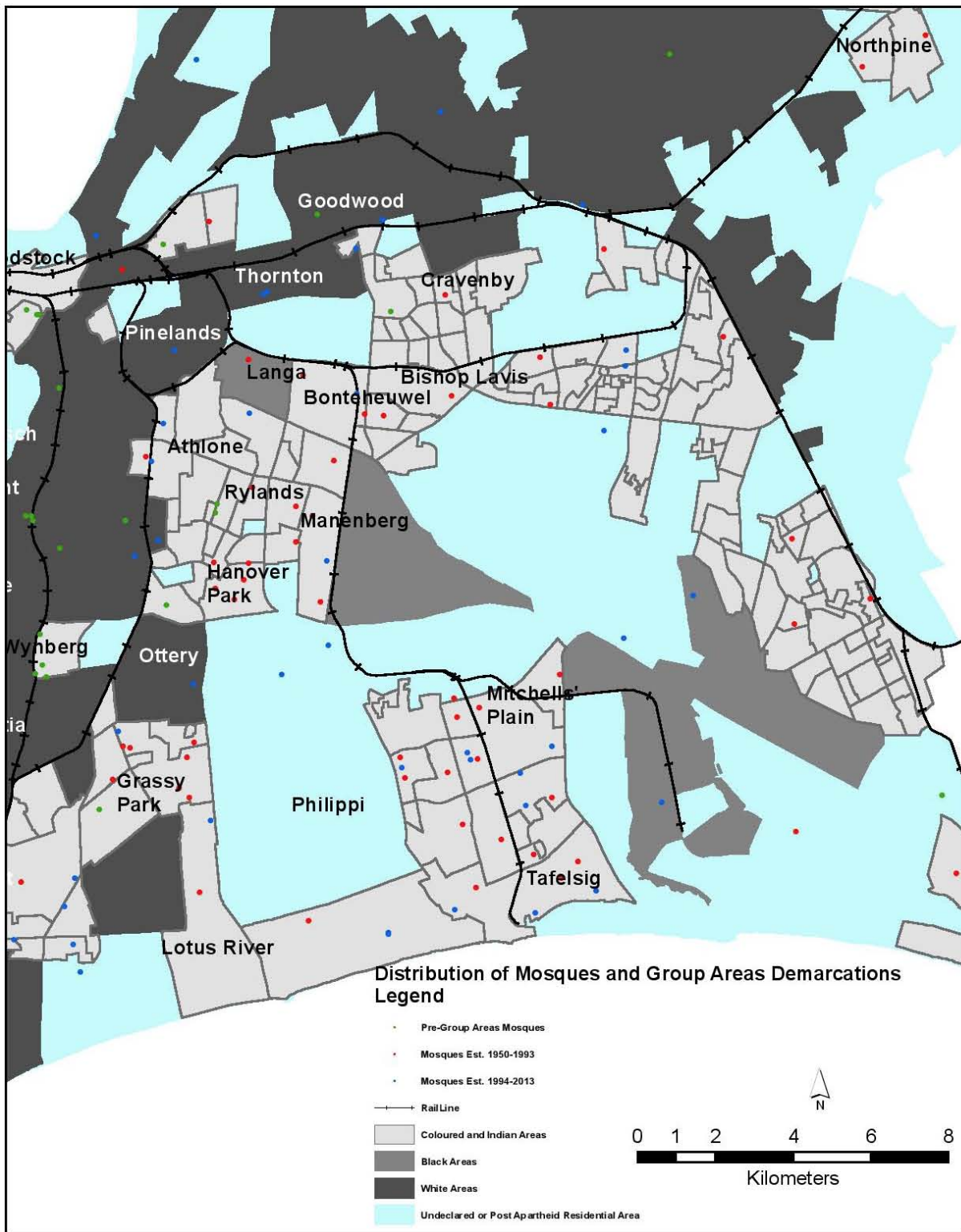
¹³⁰ Group Areas Maps were designed by Nancy Graham as part of her Master’s Thesis. Graham, N. 2007. Race and the post-Fordist spatial order in Cape Town. Master’s thesis, Geography Department, University of Cape Town

¹³¹ Western 3.

¹³² Cape Times, 23 February 1961. Quoted from Western, 133.







iii. Forms of Muslim Protest

While mosques were often the meeting grounds for political protest during the apartheid era, the Muslim Judicial Council did not outwardly adopt a political stance. While they denounced the Group Areas Act and apartheid, as well as the Dutch Reformed Church's 1986 declaration that Islam was a false religion and a threat to Christianity in South Africa, they played a relatively passive role in resistance politics.¹³³

The Call of Islam was first established on May 7, 1961 at the City Hall of Cape Town. It was an umbrella body of Muslim organizations and individuals to oppose the Group Areas Act.¹³⁴ At subsequent meetings, thousands of copies of pamphlets condemning apartheid and the Group Areas Act entitled "The Call of Islam" were distributed. Faried Esack, a Cape Town imam and Ebrahim Rasool, a local political activist who later became the premier of the Western Cape, were active members of the organization in the 1980's. The Call of Islam hoped to unite with Christian, Marxist and ethnic opponents of white rule in order to achieve common goals. Islam was seen as a unifying force for Cape Muslims and Islamic elements of justice and equality were emphasized in the protest against the apartheid government.¹³⁵

The Claremont Youth Movement was also developed from the Call of Islam. The Claremont Youth Movement was led by the dynamic Imam Abdullah Haron of the Stegman Road Mosque in Claremont, Imam Haron was a well-known figure in the anti-apartheid struggle. In 1961, he described the Group Areas Act as "a complete negation on the fundamental principles of Islam... (they are) designed to cripple us educationally, politically and economically... We cannot accept

¹³³ Matthee 95

¹³⁴ Farid Essack. "Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice." *Third World Quarterly* 10.2 (1988): 473-98. Print. 475

¹³⁵ Essack 475.

(this type of) enslavement."¹³⁶ Imam Haron was arrested by the apartheid Security Branch in 1969. Four months later he was found dead from suspected police brutality while under incarceration. With 30,000 mourners, Imam Haron's funeral was one of the most widely attended funerals in the history of the Cape.¹³⁷

Another notable organization was the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM), founded in 1970. Academic Farid Esack describes the MYM as a centrist, albeit Islamist organization.¹³⁸ While it looked towards the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt and similar movements in the Sub-continent, the MYM still accommodated change. The MYM were not founded as an anti-apartheid group, per se. Rather, they were a religio-cultural group, which were propelled into politics due to the climate in which they arose.

Following the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Qiblah was established in 1980 in Cape Town. Qiblah was an Islamist revolutionary movement which depended on a non-ethnic Muslim vanguard consisting of black, Indian and Coloured groups protesting against white rule in the name of Islam. The MJC actively attempted to suppress Qiblah and insurgent activities by its members were put down by the state.¹³⁹ Qiblah frequently butted heads with the Call of Islam. While the Call of Islam sought to unite diverse anti-apartheid groups under a uniform banner, Qiblah stressed Islam and an Islamist state as the sole future for South Africa.¹⁴⁰

The relative impacts of these above-mentioned groups varied. Imam Haron's anti-apartheid activism remains a source of pride for Muslims in the Cape. He is referred to as a *shaheed* or martyr for the Muslim cause. The Call of Islam's openness to working with other anti-apartheid

¹³⁶ "Imam Abdullah Haron | South African History Online." *Imam Abdullah Haron | South African History Online*. Web. 30 July 2013.

¹³⁷ Esack 476.

¹³⁸ Esack 479.

¹³⁹ Matthee 96.

¹⁴⁰ Esack 488.

organizations made the organization an easy partner with the African National Congress. Some of its core members ultimately ascended into high-ranking political positions after the end of apartheid. The Qibla Mass Movement, while not incredibly relevant, remains active today. They have called for a boycott of elections and have also organized the Islamic Unity Convention, an umbrella organization for over 250 Muslim organizations in South Africa.¹⁴¹

iv. Declarations

In 1957, the suburbs of Pinelands, Milnerton, and Thornton became the first declared areas in Cape Town. Because these suburbs were overwhelmingly white, they were deemed “non-contentious.” Several other “non-contentious” areas soon followed- the coastal area from Three Anchor Bay to Hout Bay (with the exception of a small enclave in Hout Bay allowed for the coloured population), as well as Gardens and Bakoven, were declared white and Athlone, Kew Town and Duinefontein were declared coloured.

In order to solve the “coloured housing shortage,” complete suburbs were developed to house coloured residents. The Cape Flats, a vast amount of undeveloped land southeast of the city, was chosen to house the city’s non-white residents. Bishop Lavis and Bonteheuwel were among the first townships declared for Coloured housing. These townships consisted of Council Owned homes available to rent and sometimes plots of land, available for purchase. These areas lacked schools, parks, shops, workplaces, and mosques. The first residents of these townships had to travel great distances to do their shopping, attend religious services, and send their children to school.

The Indian group areas of Rylands and Cravenby were also among the first declarations in 1957 and 1958 respectively. Before Indian occupation, Rylands was inhabited by Malay and

¹⁴¹ "South Africa | The World Almanac of Islamism." *South Africa | The World Almanac of Islamism*. 26 Apr. 2013. Web. 30 July 2013.

African residents, all of whom were forcibly removed.¹⁴² John Western argues that Indian businessmen were disproportionately disenfranchised by the Group Areas Act, as many of them were required to leave their businesses in areas such as Salt River, Mowbray, Woodstock and Claremont and operate out of the more isolated Rylands and Cravenby. Ministerial permits which would allow Indians to operate their trades outside their own group areas were scantily granted and easily revoked. The Group Areas Act effectively destroyed many Indian businesses.¹⁴³

The removals of non-whites, indiscriminate of their religious affiliations, demonstrate the political futility of the attempted label of Cape Muslim or Cape Malay. The only exception was that “Cape Malays” were allowed to maintain their own enclave in the Schotsche’s Kloof area, which is also referred to as the Malay Quarter or Bo-Kaap. Because the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, ID du Plessis, had taken on the study of Cape Malays as a subject of personal interest, he went through great lengths to preserve Bo-Kaap and Schotsche’s Kloof for them.¹⁴⁴ This area was set aside for only Malay inhabitants and was closed to other Coloureds who did not identify as Cape Malay in 1957. Laws were set in place to ensure that only Malays could purchase homes in the area and that they were legally obligated to sell to Malays (although very few such transactions occurred, as family transfers was the common practice).

Attempts to establish other group areas specifically for Cape Malays in Surrey Estate and Wynberg were opposed by the apartheid government and religious leaders. Reverend D.P. Botha of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church forcibly opposed this proposal by explaining, “The blood-relationship between the Christian Coloured and the Mohammedan Coloured (Malay) is

¹⁴² Uma Mesthrie. "Speaking about Building Rylands (1960s to 1980s) : A Former Group Area on the Cape Flats." Conference Paper. July 2013.7.

¹⁴³ Western 82.

¹⁴⁴ Wilmot 14.

such that the proposed division would mean large-scale family disruption--and I mean literally--on a great scale.”¹⁴⁵

Certain areas were met with more protest than others. These “contentious areas” included large numbers of non-white inhabitants, yet were almost always declared white. The most notable case was the declaration of District Six as white in February 1966. While the act allowed residents two years to move out, there was such a strong attachment to the area that many residents stayed until days before the bulldozers were scheduled to raze their homes. Non-whites made up the overwhelming majority of residents in District Six. In 1964, the chairman of the Workers Civic League stated that there were 61,976 residents in District Six. Of these residents, 60,000 were coloured, 600 were Indian and 800 were white.¹⁴⁶ In 1966, the city engineer estimated that there were 33,446 residents in District Six, of which 518 were white; 31,428 were coloured; 1,312 were Indian and 188 were classified as “other”.¹⁴⁷

In an interview with the *Argus*, Sheikh Najaar, the imam of the Muir Street Mosque in District Six, struggled to imagine how his mosque would continue to function after it became a white area. He worried that his mosque would have to stop issuing the call to prayer, which ordinarily could be heard throughout the neighbourhood, when whites moved in. He also lamented the possibility that his mosque would have to shut down because mosque attendees were unlikely to travel great distances from the Cape Flats to District Six.¹⁴⁸ A well-attended protest occurred in 1966 at Sheikh Najaar’s Muir Street Mosque, where three-thousand men and boys packed the mosque, while women stood outside in a form of silent protest. Muslims in

¹⁴⁵ *Cape Times*, 15 August 1956; quoted in Western 130.

¹⁴⁶ 2 February 1964 Cape Argus *Many Pleas on Future Zoning of District Six*

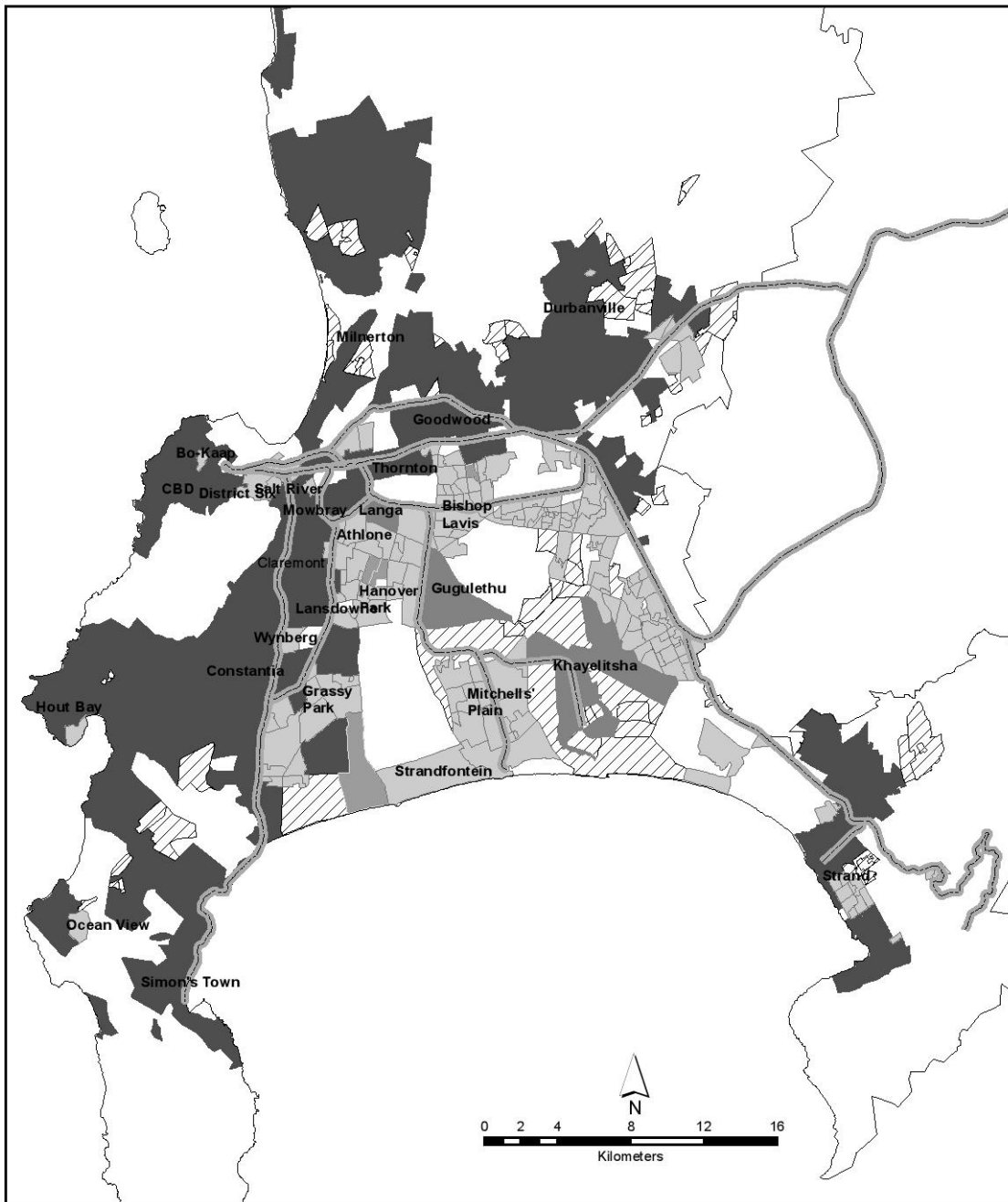
¹⁴⁷ February 1966 Cape Argus *33,446 Live in District Six February*

¹⁴⁸ November 1969 Cape Argus *Mosque in a white area? Cape Argus*

attendance wore red lapel stickers with the words “I am from District Six.”¹⁴⁹ Another indication of the disproportionate effect of forced removals on Muslims is land claims. Henrich Matthee, author of *Muslim Identities and Political Strategies*, found that Muslims formed more than 62% or approximately 1500 of the 2400 land claimants for District Six tenant claims.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Dawood 107.

¹⁵⁰ Matthee 121.



Group Areas Act Demarcations

-  RailLine
-  Black Areas
-  Coloured Areas
-  Indian Areas
-  White Areas
-  Post-Apartheid Residential Area

¹⁵¹ This Group Areas Map was designed by Nancy Graham as part of her Master's Thesis.

Group Areas Act Declarations Timeline¹⁵²		
Year	Suburb	Race
July 1957	Athlone	Coloured
July 1957	Bishop Lavis	Coloured
July 1957	Bonteheuwel	Coloured
July 1957	Boston Estate	White
July 1957	Elsies River	Coloured
July 1957	Matoosfontein	Coloured
July 1957	Pinelands	White
July 1957	Rylands	Indian
July 1957	Schotsche Kloof	Malay
July 1957	Bakoven, Tamberskloof, Orangezicht, Gardens	White
July 1957	Thornton	White
July 1957	Duinefontein	Coloured (including Malay)
January 1958	Brooklyn-Rugby	White
January 1958	Woodstock-Salt River	White
January 1958	Maitland	White
January 1958	Milnerton	White
January 1958	Goodwood	White
January 1958	Tyger Valley	White
January 1958	Bellville	White
January 1958	Kuilsriver	White
January 1958	Kensington/Windermere	Coloured
January 1958	Parow-South	Coloured
January 1958	Bellville-South	Coloured
January 1958	Sarepta	Coloured
January 1958	Vogelvlei	Coloured
January 1958	Cravenby	Indian
March 1959	Cape Town CBD	White
July 1959	Kensington 2	Coloured
July 1959	Maitland	Border Strip
February 1961	Groote Schuur	White
February 1961	Rondebosch	White
February 1961	Vygekraal	White
February 1961	Claremont	White
February 1961	Kenilworth	White
February 1961	Mowbray	White

Graham, N. 2007. Race and the post-Fordist spatial order in Cape Town. Master's thesis, Geography Department, University of Cape Town

¹⁵² Mesthrie, Uma 1998. "Dispossession in Black River, Rondebosch: the Unfolding of the Groups Areas Act in Cape Town." Unpublished manuscript, privately held.

February 1961	Newlands Village	White
February 1961	Wynberg	White
June 1962	Schoonekloof	Coloured
November 1962	Goodwood/Parow	Coloured
March 1963	Goodwood (The Acres)	White
May 1963	Eppinggarden	White
June 1964	Rondebosch East	White
February 1966	District Six	White
June 1966	Harfield Village	White
July 1966	Fraserdale	White
March 1967	Fish Hoek	White
March 1967	Noordhoek	White
March 1967	Kommetjie	White
March 1967	Sunnydale	White
March 1967	Scarborough	White
March 1967	South and east of Kommetjie	Coloured
June 1967	Kalk Bay	White
September 1967	Simonstown	White
July 1968	Woodstock	White
August 1968	Strip between sea and coastal road from Three Anchor Bay to Hout Bay	White
October 1968	Philippi	Coloured
July 1969	Kromboom River area	Coloured/White Border Strip
November 1969	Claremont Lower	White
November 1969	Lansdowne Area	White
November 1969	Elsies River Road	White

The case of the Southern Suburbs was also particularly tragic. Similar to District Six, the residents of Claremont, Lansdowne and Newlands, had their roots in the Southern Suburbs for generations. The area was declared in stages- first the areas along Kromboom Road and Heatherly Estate in 1961, Newlands and the bordering areas of Upper Wynberg in 1964, and finally Lansdowne and lower Claremont (which contained the most non-whites) in 1969. The Muslim community was especially devastated by these proclamations. A *Cape Times* article explained how the 200-year old Muslim community was especially concerned by the proposals

to declare Claremont white. It noted that the two mosques in Claremont date back over one-hundred fifty and sixty years respectively. Moreover, the Muslim school contained over 400 pupils.¹⁵³ In another interview, a Muslim resident of Claremont explained the Muslim presence in Claremont:

“Mr. Behardien said the area in which they lived was originally known as San Souci, but the Malay people called it Beltjiesbos. In the old days there were sports fields there where the Malay people- the best sportsmen in Cape Town- played... when the Malays migrated from Cape Town, they came to Claremont. “The mosque at Claremont is a historical monument for our community. It is most dearly cherished...” Mr Behardien said the Moslems living in the area were not of a low type. “They are educated people, they are among the best in South Africa. I don’t think the government will be so hard as to disrupt us... It makes be bitter that the home for which my father toiled in 1901, should be taken from us. I have owned that house for 30 years.”¹⁵⁴

In 1978, the declaration of a portion of Woodstock and Salt River for coloureds was met with almost universal-dissent from the whites who were living in the area. While the coloureds and Indians living in the area tended to be vocal opponents of the Group Areas Act, some came out in favour of the declaration. Haroun Johnston, the chairman of the Coloured and Muslim ratepayers association explained that he would prefer for the area to stay as it was, however coloureds and Muslims need a housing area close to town, especially in light of the destruction of District Six.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps in response to widespread white disapproval, certain sections of the

¹⁵³ 13 October 1964 Cape Times *Claremont group area hearing in city on October 28*

¹⁵⁴ 28 October 1964 Cape Argus *Premature to apply the areas act to Claremont Cape*

¹⁵⁵ 16 August 1978 Cape Argus *Woodstock: Coloured back move*

Woodstock and Salt River area were deproclaimed and declared as Section 19 Controlled Areas—essentially allowing businesses to operate in the area and maintaining the racial status quo.

Graham Simons Watson studied the unusual case of a suburb he called Colander, a pseudonym for a working class suburb in Cape Town. Colander had large Coloured and white populations that were of comparable economic status. Watson examined the phenomenon of light-skinned Coloured pupils “passing for white” at the local whites-only school. The area was originally slated to be declared coloured, but was declared white, due to the urging of residents, including coloureds, who were “passing for white.” In this way, the white-only status of the school was maintained, and light-skinned coloured students were able to receive a superior education. Watson highlights that it was primarily the non-Muslim Coloureds who opted to “pass for white.”

The Muslims in the area were actually castigated because they did not conform to the community aspiration for passing. Watson describes anti-Muslim prejudice as, “common to perhaps all those who live in Colander (except Muslims) but is found in its most virulent form among Coloureds, where a ‘Malay’ stereotype is well established. According to the stereotype ‘Malays’ practice nepotism, are ‘close,’ proud, do not attempt to pass for White, and are guilty of ‘toenaadering’—of tamely cooperating with the government in the implementation of its policy of racial segregation.”¹⁵⁶ Watson’s findings offer insight into Muslim-non-Muslim relations both prior to the Group Areas Act and during the Act’s enactment. Colander was a multiracial area prior to the Group Areas Act, yet Muslims were still seen as a separate and undesirable entity. While whites tolerated “respectable Coloureds,” Muslims were seen as distinct from non-Muslim Coloureds. If Watson’s quote is indeed representative of the Muslim community, then their

¹⁵⁶ Graham Watson, *Passing for White: A Study of Racial Assimilation in a South African School*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1970. Print. 11

propensity for nepotism and caring for their own, indicates that they, too, saw themselves as separate from the wider Coloured population.

v. Relocation and the Establishment of New Residences

While non-white residents faced the trauma of losing their homes, they also faced the stress of moving into undesirable new locations chosen for them by the Group Areas Board in conjunction with the Cape Town City Council. The Council determined to where one was relocated, depending on where one could afford to buy. Council homes were available for rent, and ultimately fifteen to twenty years later, for purchase. Alternatively, if they had the money, Coloured and Indian families could purchase a plot of land to build their homes in designated areas. However, for those who were being relocated to Council Homes, receiving one's assigned relocation felt like a death sentence. A resident of Claremont with a strong connection to the mosque in the area explained that, "Bonteheuwel has become a word that deeply hurts a Moslem."¹⁵⁷

Coloured neighbourhoods, while some in close proximity to each other, were strictly divided by class. Class divisions were a further means of segregation for the non-white population. A florist in the 1980s living in Bonteheuwel described the situation as, "...When you say you're from Bonteheuwel, some of them look at you down their noses, people from Fairways or Wynberg. I tell them there are decent people in Bonteheuwel, too. We've got social apartheid among ourselves, as well as the big thing"¹⁵⁸.

Assigned relocations divided extended families. A former home owner in District Six, whose family was able to purchase a home in Athlone when they were forcibly removed in 1974 has been living there since. However, he explains that his cousins and extended family who

¹⁵⁷ 29 October 1964 Cape Times *Group area move will produce a trauma*

¹⁵⁸ Western 254.

could not afford to purchase a home had to move to Council Homes in Hanover Park. In the 1970s, transportation between suburbs was not easy, unless one had a car. Bus fare was expensive, and often would require transferring bus routes. Sometimes the bus stops in townships lacked shelters, leaving travellers unprotected from the wind and rain during the winter. And even now, he admits grimly, “you never see them [family in Hanover Park].” The Group Areas Act scattered families and pulled people from their homes and communities. Over half the existing mosques were in areas declared white. These mosques were often left unattended or without a congregation for decades.¹⁵⁹ Another Muslim man who was living in Constantia admitted, “The Group Areas broke the people- not apartheid...It broke families.”¹⁶⁰

Oftentimes, Muslims were moved in “pockets” together- large numbers of Muslims in Simonstown were collectively moved to Slangkop (Ocean View). A large number of Constantia residents moved to Grassy Park. Oftentimes, Muslims who had a choice of which non-white neighbourhood to move into, would choose to follow their local imam.¹⁶¹ However, some Muslims continued to express their disfavour towards forced removals indiscriminate of religion. Sheikh Najaar, a local imam, explained that Muslims feared the loss of their identity and support system because “established communities are being uprooted and the cultural way of life is breaking up.”¹⁶²

Many of the suburbs in Cape Flats were newly developed to accommodate the over 150,000 non-whites who were forcibly relocated. Thus, mosques, halal markets, and schools also had to be established. Mosques popped up throughout the Cape Flats. From 1950-1994,

¹⁵⁹ Sacks 26.

¹⁶⁰ CWC23, housed in Centre for Popular Memory archive, UCT.

¹⁶¹ Sacks 26.

¹⁶² 1 March 1969 Cape Argus.

approximately seventy-five new mosques were established in non-white Group Areas.¹⁶³

Businesses catering to the needs of the Muslim community- such as halal meat markets, specialty spice shops, and stores selling Muslim garb- also appeared. Residents recall that when they first moved to Bonteheuwel, they had to travel all the way to Rylands to obtain halal meat. Butchers, like many other businesses, were overwhelmingly owned by Indians and were thus originally located in Indian group areas.

While churches of various denominations were funded and constructed by the South African government in the newly established townships, Muslims had to go to great efforts to build mosques in their new homes. A Malay member of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council explained that being forced into Manenberg, which lacked a madrassa and a mosque was akin to "being forced to go back in the twentieth century to the slate quarry and the tent."¹⁶⁴ An imam from Claremont estimated that it would cost about two million rand in 1969 to replace more than 30 mosques in the Cape Province affected by the Group Areas Act.¹⁶⁵ Before the construction of the mosque, residents of Bonteheuwel and the surrounding townships would attend the Bridgetown Mosque. During Ramadan, the mandatory Friday prayers, and special holidays, a tent was erected in Bonteheuwel to host these functions. In Bonteheuwel, the Muslim residents worked together to establish a mosque in the area. A founding member of the mosque estimated that in 1963, there were about 400 Muslim families in the area. They all donated sums of money to obtain a piece of land from the City Council for a ninety-nine year lease. A Muslim Indian butcher based in Rylands also donated a large sum of money to help secure the plot. The women of Bonteheuwel also raised funds by selling food items and homemade goods.

¹⁶³ See Map

¹⁶⁴ Cape Times 24 November, 1970

¹⁶⁵ Cape Argus 24 November 1969

Because most members of the Muslim community in Bonteheuwel were craftsmen, they were able to physically construct the mosque. It took over two years for residents of Bonteheuwel to build the mosque. Residents would go to work during the day and then return in the evening and work through the night. The wife of a founding member of the mosque recalls that she hardly saw her husband during the two years when the mosque was being constructed. Residents of the nearby townships also aided in the construction of the Bonteheuwel Mosque. Upon completion of the mosque, Bonteheuwel Muslim residents returned the favour by helping with the fundraising and construction of the Heideveld mosque.

The charts below indicate the distribution of the Muslim population in metropolitan Cape Town in 1970 and 1980. By the mid-1970's, the forced removals and relocation of the Cape non-white population as largely over. Thus, one sees the loss of the Muslim community in Claremont, Crawford, Kenilworth, Observatory, and Maitland between 1970 and 1980.

The large number and percentage of Muslims in Cape Town Centre in 1970, is partly due to the inclusion Schotschekloof (Bo-Kaap) in the city centre's districting. However, the Bo-Kaap Muslim population does not fully account for the 17,155 Muslim residents of the City Centre. Assuming that the Bo-Kaap population stayed roughly the same between 1970 and 1980 at approximately 4,550 residents, there would have been near 12,000 Muslim residents who were moved out of the City Centre at this time. It is possible that the 1970 Cape Town Centre also included the District Six/Zonnebloem area, which is why there was such a massive decrease in numbers. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, what is now Cape Town's Central Business District, was a heavily populated Muslim area.

There are mosques throughout the CBD, some of which date to the eighteenth century. Two mosques in particular come to mind. On Long Street, there is the historic Palm Tree

Mosque, housed in the oldest building on Long Street. This mosque doubles as a home for the imam's family—a tradition which dates to its founding. Further down the street is the Hanafi Mosque, also called Nour el Hamedia, on the corner of Long and Dorp Streets. It is easily recognizable as a mosque by its bright green colour and minaret. These two mosques served the large Muslim populations of Cape Town City Centre. Today, Long Street is the heart of Cape Town's night life district. The mosques stand amongst bars, nightclubs, and restaurants, as testament to the once large Muslim population of the City Bowl. With the exception of the City Bowl Mosques and the Bo-Kaap enclave, all signs that there was once a large, vibrant and bustling Muslim community, have vanished.

It appears that the Athlone population also dramatically decreased between 1970 and 1980. However, Athlone's boundaries were redrawn in 1980- as evidenced by the new suburbs of Belgravia, Athlone West, Silvertown, Bridgetown and Kewtown. It is possible that Bonteheuwel's boundaries were also redrawn in 1980, as it is not listed amongst the suburbs with the largest Muslim populations. Bonteheuwel, however, returns to the list in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses.

With the loss of the Muslim communities in the aforementioned declared white areas, there was a resultant increase of Muslim populations in townships and coloured areas. Hanover Park, Mitchell's Plain, Kensington, and Grassy Park experience massive increases in Muslim residents. It is most probable that the Muslim population from Maitland moved into the neighbouring coloured suburb of Kensington. However, the destinations of those who were removed from Claremont, Crawford, Kenilworth, Observatory and the City Centre are less clear.

Cape Town Muslim Population by Suburb in 1970 ¹⁶⁶			
1	Cape Town Centre	17153	53%
2	Athlone	14489	23%
3	Bonteheuwel	13997	3%
4	Manenberg	11820	32%
5	Grassy Park	6490	16%
6	Elsie's River	4423	7%
7	Retreat	4373	11%
8	Wynberg	4345	22%
9	Heideveld	4332	25%
10	Woodstock	4310	19%
11	Lansdowne	4154	19%
12	Salt River	4137	51%
13	Claremont	2960	12%
14	Rylands	2800	60%
15	Bishop Lavis	2282	9%
16	Facreton	1928	15%
17	Crawford	1198	13%
18	Surrey	575	34%
19	Glenhaven	517	64%
20	Heathfield	415	13%
21	Cravenby	354	61%
22	Kenilworth	319	4%
23	Observatory	311	2%
24	Maitland	309	4%
25	Kraaifontein	240	2%

Cape Town Muslim Population by Percentage in Suburb in 1970 ¹⁶⁷			
1	Glenhaven	517	64%
2	Cravenby	354	61%
3	Rylands	2800	60%
4	Cape Town Centre	17153	53%
5	Salt River	4137	51%
6	Surrey	575	34%
7	Manenberg	11820	32%
8	Heideveld	4332	25%
9	Simons Town	548	24%
10	Athlone	14489	23%
11	Wynberg	4345	22%
12	Woodstock	4310	19%
13	Lansdowne	4154	19%
14	Grassy Park	6490	16%
15	Facreton	1928	15%
6	Crawford	1198	13%
7	Heathfield	415	13%
8	Ottery	154	13%
9	Kalk Bay	168	12%
10	Claremont	2960	12%

¹⁶⁶ 1970 Census.

¹⁶⁷ 1970 Census.

Cape Town Muslim Population by Percentage in Suburb in 1980 ¹⁶⁸			
1	Schotschekloof	4552	91%
2	Hanover Park	10779	75%
3	Cravenby	1553	67%
4	Schoone Kloof	823	64%
5	Surrey	2866	61%
6	Wynberg	3819	61%
7	Scottsville	44	60%
8	Rylands	1039	57%
9	Gatesville	1194	54%
10	Salt River	3877	53%
11	Cravenby	102	48%
12	Primrose Park	825	45%
13	Newfields	1383	37%
14	Belgravia	2413	36%
15	Athlone	1828	33%
16	Elsie's River Indust.	144	31%
17	Walmer Estate	483	31%
18	Manenberg	10748	28%
19	Cape Town Centre	636	27%
20	Zonnebloem	241	25%
21	Kensington	4313	25%
22	Heideveld	4307	24%
23	Athlone West	766	24%
24	Bridgetown	2307	23%
25	Montagu's Gift	3464	22%
26	Vanguard	757	22%
27	Lavender Hill	3117	21%
28	Strand	61	21%
29	Parkwood	2407	20%
30	Hazendal	1120	20%
31	Lansdowne	3064	19%
32	Strandfontein	1104	19%
33	Lotus River	2725	18%
34	Grassy Park	3206	18%
35	Silvertown	1034	17%

Cape Town Muslim Population by Suburb in 1980 ¹⁶⁹			
1	Hanover Park	10779	75%
2	Manenberg	10748	28%
3	Centre Mitchell's Plein	10453	16%
4	Retreat	4738	10%
5	Schotschekloof	4552	91%
6	Kensington	4313	25%
7	Heideveld	4307	24%
8	Elsie's River	3955	6%
9	Salt River	3877	53%
10	Wynberg	3819	61%
11	Montagu's Gift	3464	22%
12	Grassy Park	3206	18%
13	Lavender Hill	3117	21%
14	Lansdowne	3064	19%
15	Surrey	2866	61%
16	Lotus River	2725	18%
17	Belgravia	2413	36%
18	Parkwood	2407	20%
19	Bridgetown	2307	23%
20	Bishop Lavis	1844	7%
21	Athlone	1828	33%
22	Cravenby	1553	67%
23	Newfields	1383	37%
24	Ocean View	1368	15%
25	Kew Town	1219	15%
26	Gatesville	1194	54%
27	Hazendal	1120	20%
28	Strandfontein	1104	19%
29	Rylands	1039	57%
30	Silvertown	1034	17%

¹⁶⁸ 1980 Census.

¹⁶⁹ 1980 Census.

vi. Loss of Community

While Muslims continued to practice their religion and culture in the Cape Flats, many felt that the sense of community that they once cherished in their previous homes was no longer. The loss of community was two-fold. They longed for their old neighbourhoods and the relations with their neighbours there. They also longed for the Muslim community which they grew up around. The nature of the Muslim community, for many Cape Town Muslims, had drastically changed as a result of the Group Areas Act.

While oftentimes a nostalgic memory would overlook the potential vices of their old homes (for example the multiple gangs in District Six), victims of forced removals dearly missed the place-based community they grew up in prior to the Group Areas Act. Victims of forced removals from various suburbs- District Six, Mowbray, Claremont, and Cape Town's city centre—commented across the board about the loss of familiarity and community feeling in their new homes. They remembered their old homes as places of safety. There was a sentiment that “your child was my child,” as one resident of District Six recalled. Everyone knew their neighbours and they would see them on a regular basis.

Residents also seemed to notice a decrease in the once-strong relations between Muslims and Christians. They explained that today, one rarely sees Muslim and Christian children celebrating each other's holidays. A former resident of District Six explained, “People didn't love each other anymore.” In Lavender Hill, a family evicted from District Six, remembers being targeted by their non-Muslim neighbours because of their Islamic faith. Their non-Muslim neighbours informed them that they were different from them and did not belong in Lavender

Hill because of their faith.¹⁷⁰ A former resident of District Six who moved to Athlone also described anti-Muslim sentiments in the Cape Flats. He said that the antagonism between Muslims and non-Muslims was fuelled by the right-wing Christian Cape Town municipality.

Others lamented the lack of safety in their new homes. Residents of Bonteheuwel reminisced over how secure they felt in their former homes in District Six. While there were gangsters in District Six, they did not harm anyone who was unaffiliated with the gangs. One former resident of District Six described them as “Gentlemen’s Gangs,” explaining that these gangsters had great respect for the elderly as well as the professionals, such as the doctors and nurses in the community. They would not break into anyone’s homes and as far as drug use go, they only occasionally indulged in marijuana. However, gangsterism soon became a problem in the new homes in the Cape Flats.

A resident of Bishop Lavis described her surroundings:

“This is a terrible place. We’re very much living in fear in this place. Best of all we were very much safe in Mowbray...Here there are too many shebeens...Three weeks back my eighteen-year old third eldest son got stabbed in the head by skollies outside the house,,,
The police don’t take action. You’re scared to walk. The people are in fear. If you see a rape, you stay indoors. If you see them stealing washing, you stay quiet, otherwise they’ll come and smash your home up.”¹⁷¹

The feelings of fear and insecurity pervaded the experiences of Group Areas removees. Those living in the Cape Flats expressed fear of walking around at night time, as well as a reduction in neighbour-like tendencies. Instead of grouping together to combat crime, residents of townships

¹⁷⁰ “Women of Lavender Hill on Removal from District Six Lavender Hill, Cape Town.” June 6, 1985. Community Video Education Trust

¹⁷¹ Quoted in Western 254-255.

like Bonteheuwel and Heideveld found it was safest to keep one's head down and mind his own business.¹⁷² Furthermore, because of the crime, residents were more likely to spend their times indoors, rather than socializing outside with neighbours.¹⁷³ Resultantly, neighbours were unlikely to know much about each other. Whereas prior to the Group Areas Act, as one interviewee who lived in District Six explained, "you knew who everybody is, who their mummy is, when they are born, and what their daddy does," in these new homes, such familiarity was unlikely to occur.

Perhaps there has always been a lingering sentiment that victims of forced removals would one day be able to return to their homes in District Six or Claremont. One resident of Bonteheuwel declared that "Bonteheuwel's just a roof over my head."¹⁷⁴ The desire to escape the Cape Flats was particularly imperative for residents of Council Housing schemes, such as in Bonteheuwel or Bishop Lavis. They hoped to be able to one day afford homes in middle-class non-white areas, such as Athlone or Walmer Estate, knowing that a better future would await them there. However, even residents of the middle-class Coloured suburbs of Crawford and Athlone expressed their disillusionment after the Group Areas Act. A former resident of District Six of Malay and Indian descent was fortunate enough to be able to afford a home in Athlone. While he was better off than his cousins in Lentegeur and Heideveld, he still felt that Athlone lacked the community-feel that was once present in District Six. He did not know his neighbours the way he did in District Six, the children were not as respectful as they were then, and ultimately it was not home.

¹⁷² Western 237-239.

¹⁷³ Western 237-239.

¹⁷⁴ Western 271.

In 1970, Muslim populations of the Indian-designated suburbs of Cravenby and Rylands were approximately 60%.¹⁷⁵ Residents did not report any increased hostility from their non-Muslim counterparts. However, they did echo the sentiments of others who were forcibly removed, that their new homes lacked the familiarity, community and safety of their previous residences. While gangsterism was not reported to be much of a problem within Cravenby and Rylands, the crime which seemed prevalent in some Coloured townships did spill into the two Indian group areas.

From interviews, most residents attributed the breakdown of neighbour-like relations to the Group Areas Act. The trauma of forced removal and arbitrary relocation resulted in the loss of a community support system. While residents used to turn to their neighbours for aid during their time of need, after the Group Areas Act, residents treated their immediate neighbours as foreigners. It is possible that the deterioration of Muslim and Christian relations after the Group Areas Act is because of the experiences of those who were forcibly removed. Uncertain and insecure with their position in their new homes, people turned inwards to what was familiar. They did not actively seek out company nor did they attempt to make many new friends.¹⁷⁶ Rather, Muslims most likely went to the mosque to socialize, thus limiting their new acquaintances to those within their religious group.

The religious community for Muslims after the Group Areas Act was also inextricably altered. Muslims had a deep connection to their original neighbourhood mosques. In *Outcast Cape Town*, John Western, a social geographer, surveyed former Mowbray residents in their new Group Areas homes. He found that in 1976, over one-third of Muslim residents who lived in Mowbray prior to the Group Areas Act continued to commute to the Mowbray mosque for

¹⁷⁵ *Bevolkingsensus 1970 : Metropolitaanse Gebied Kaapstad.*

¹⁷⁶ Western 239.

Friday prayers, despite that the tiring journey was hindered by not owning cars and unreliable public transportation. He also found that about a third unwillingly changed their allegiance to their mosque, by opting to choose to attend a mosque in closer proximity to their homes. For this group of people, they still returned to the Mowbray mosque for Eid or Ramadan.¹⁷⁷ By 1976, most of the coloured and Indian townships had established mosques. Yet for these Muslims, they felt that something was lacking in these new mosques. They still had a strong connection to their old homes and would prefer to benefit from the spiritual community with which they were familiar. When I asked former residents why they returned to their childhood mosques in District Six, or Goodwood or Claremont, most answered that they had a sentimental attachment to the place. Despite the change of the imams and the new faces, there was something special about the mosque of their youth. The implication is that despite the effort put into building new mosques, many Muslims did not look at their new homes as an enduring community. On important spiritual days, Muslims would prefer to return to the mosques which they remember with much nostalgia—not the mosques in the sandy dunes of the Cape Flats.

It was not just the particular attachment to their childhood mosques which Muslims lost as a result of the Group Areas Act. Especially in the working-class areas, Muslims worried that their children were losing their Islamic upbringing. Parents worked longer and longer hours and were not around to ensure that their children did not get into trouble. Since most Muslim children do not attend religious school full-time, after-school *madrassas* had to be formed to offer an Islamic education for their children. For many townships, it took many years to establish *madrassas* for the children to gain knowledge of the Quran and Islamic ways of life. With little guidance, more and more Muslim children joined gangs and took to drugs and alcohol.

¹⁷⁷ Western 224.

Pregnancy out of wedlock- once a taboo in Muslim society- became increasingly common in townships. The result of such divergent behaviour on the part of some Muslims, is that Muslims living in lower income suburbs were easily type casted by those living in wealthier areas as having gone astray. Socio-economic status, which was once a non-issue and almost disregarded by Muslim in the Cape, became a differentiating factor within the Cape Muslim community. The division between low and middle class Muslims was heightened by the media portrayal and the stigma of living in a Council renting scheme or Coloured township. Muslims who were fortunate to grow up in home ownership areas such as Wynberg or Walmer Estate, spoke wearily of areas such as Bonteheuwel and Heideveld and were shocked that I had travelled there alone. Some had admitted that they never had been to such places. However, even within the townships, residents were aware of the stigma.

A Muslim council renter from Heideveld complained:

“We’re respectable people—I’m from the imam’s family [of Mowbray]. Why can’t they keep us all together? I’m next to skollies from Maitland, alcoholics from Windermere.

There’s noise till one in the morning. They opened the bar a year ago.”¹⁷⁸

Others noted that they tried to keep their children indoors because there were many ways in which they could go astray. All seem to note that it was their new neighbours, which were the sources of negative influence in the area.

A significant loss for many Muslims as a result of the Group Areas Act was that of strong family structures in their original housing areas. Muslims had a tendency to live amongst their extended family. In Mowbray, before the Group Areas Act, a random sampling found that 70 out of 100 households interviewed had kin at another address in the village, with 49 of them having

¹⁷⁸ Western 241.

family at two or more addresses. Ten households were related to *eight* or more separate households in Mowbray. Of that ten, nine of them were Muslim households.¹⁷⁹ Family support played a large role in Muslims' lives. However, the Group Areas Act divided families across townships and coloured housing schemes. With limited means of transportation, extended families were rarely given a chance to reunite. Many of those who moved to middle-class home ownership areas, such as Athlone or Retreat, expressed that they had lost touch with their cousins or aunts and uncles in Heideveld or Hanover Park. Muslims rely on their extended families to look after their children when they are not around, to provide food for the family when the mother is ill, and for general support and guidance. Extended family members took on the role of extra parents. It was not unusual for an uncle or aunt to discipline their nephew or niece for any sort of wrongdoing. A Muslim woman who grew up in District Six recalled that there was always an uncle who made sure that her cousins and brother would attend mosque for sunset prayers.. Moreover, if a family member was in a difficult place financially, the extended family would help out by cooking meals or helping them find work. However, the Group Areas Act broke down this established support system for many Muslim families. In their new homes, it was easier for their children to go astray and they had little help when they needed financial or social support.

Because the Group Areas Act created housing schemes based on economic levels, mosques, which were once a centre for people of all socio-economic levels, became increasingly economically stratified. In poorer areas, mosques and their supervising imams, could not fulfil their traditional role of helping the poorer community members, by occasionally providing food and offering donations to those in need. Additionally, mosques also served as informal networks

¹⁷⁹ Western 174.

for the Muslim community. It was not uncommon for those without jobs to turn to community members at their mosques for help. However, there was little opportunity for such social networks in mosques overwhelmingly attended by those in lower socio-economic classes. A craftsman from Kewtown, for example, could scarcely find an employer amongst those attending his local mosque.

vii. Conclusion

The Group Areas Act and experiences of forced removals affected all non-whites in Cape Town. The Group Areas Act resulted in a loss of community as well as homes for all those who were forcibly removed. Muslims as a group in Cape Town were uniquely impacted by the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act forever altered the nature of the Muslim community within the Cape. The Muslim community, a group which had been concentrated in specific neighbourhoods in the urban centre and the bustling Southern Suburbs, was wholly diminished by the Group Areas Act.

With the dispersal of Muslims throughout the Cape Flats, the vibrancy and sense of interconnectedness of the Muslim community diminished. Rather than there being a handful of residential areas with the large Muslim populations and a high concentration of mosques and madrassas, mosques had to be built in virtually every Coloured or Indian group area in order to accommodate the area's new Muslim populations. While there were once visible and clear Muslim hubs in the Cape (City Centre, District Six, Southern Suburbs, Simonstown, and Strand), the Group Areas Act ensured that Muslims were divided throughout the vast Cape Flats. These enclaves of Muslim life only existed in Bo-Kaap and to a lesser extent certain suburbs with large Muslim populations.

Especially in the townships, Muslims struggled to build necessary institutions, such as mosques, madrassas and halal food markets. These institutions had traditionally played an important role in their lives and having to go without them was extremely difficult for Muslim communities. Moreover, with only forty-four mosques existing throughout metropolitan Cape Town prior to the Group Areas Act, there were strong allegiances and connections to imams. Muslims revered the Imams of these old mosques and they approached them if they were experiencing any religious, financial or personal problems. However, with the growth of new mosques throughout the Cape Flats, this sense of allegiance to the imams and the mosques lessened. Respondents indicated that they returned to their “home mosques” for special holidays, but due to convenience, they ultimately opted to attend their local mosques for day to day prayers and functions.

As mentioned above, many Muslims did not feel like their new residential areas were “home.” Thus, some did not attempt to build relationships with the mosques and the existing Muslim communities. Some opted to return to their “home mosques” whenever possible. Thus, the relative authority of the Cape Flats imams also diminished as a result of forced removals. Because of their reduced sense of efficacy, imams were less able to influence their congregants to act in line with Islamic standards.

Muslims had built bonds not just within their neighbourhoods, but also throughout the metropolitan Cape Town. One of the founding Imams of the Muslim Judicial Council, an organization founded in 1945 to promote and support Islamic values in South Africa, explained how the organization struggled after the Group Areas Act. He described the manner in which people were scattered from suburb to suburb. Many townships were without religious leaders and mosques for quite some time. The MJC found it difficult to continue their programs (which

consist of religious lectures, educational workshops, youth programs, charity drives, and outreach to non-Muslims), given the geographical separation of Muslims. While events once occurred in relatively central areas, such as District Six or the Southern Suburbs, Muslims now living in far removed townships, which often lacked effective transportation methods, were unable to attend such events. Thus, the sense of unity between Muslims throughout the Cape was also affected by the Group Areas Act.

The Group Areas Act was one of the most devastating occurrences to the Cape Muslim community. What was once a racially and socio-economically diverse and united community, was now divided into separate ethnic and socio-economic units. Apartheid enforced structural divisions to hinder the regrowth of the large and inclusive *ummah* which was once characteristic of Cape Muslim life.

CHAPTER FOUR: Post-Apartheid Muslim Residential Patterns

This chapter examines the residential patterns of Muslims in Cape Town. Using the 1996, 2001 and 2011 Census data, I analyze Muslim movement and non-movement throughout the Cape. I have also drawn upon information such as the location of new mosques and observations from real estate agents. Using this data, I have found that Muslims predominantly still live in former non-white Group Areas. However, there has been noticeable movement of Muslim families into former white areas. The first areas to desegregate were in the former white areas bordering non-white Group Areas. Today, one sees Muslim movement into areas which had no pre-Group Areas Act Muslim populations.

This chapter elucidates the dispersal of the Muslim population since the end of apartheid. It examines how the Muslim community has geographically shifted, opening the question of how these shifts have impacted the Muslim community.

i. Continuities and Shifts

In 1994, South Africa held its first democratic elections. With the revocation of apartheid-era laws, South Africans of all races were given the rights to live where they desired. The first areas to desegregate in Cape Town were the areas bordering the so-called “buffer-zones” between white and non-white residences. Coloured and Indian residents of Crawford slowly bought houses in Rondebosch East. There was, however, a non-white presence in Rondebosch East prior to the end of apartheid. Several Muslim households mentioned that towards the end of the apartheid regime, with the relaxing of the enforcement of apartheid laws, they were able to reside in Rondebosch East, providing that they were able to find a white person

to register as the property owner. Similar racial mixing also occurred on the margins of declared white and coloured areas such as in Woodstock, Salt River and Lansdowne.¹⁸⁰ In 1985, 9 percent of coloured Capetonians were not living within their designated group area—the majority of which lived in border regions of Salt River, Woodstock, Rondebosch East and Lansdowne.¹⁸¹

With the formal repeal of the Group Areas Act, a study performed by the Group Areas Act Research Project on property transfers in 1991 and 1992, found that the largest percentage of inter-racial residential mobility occurred in the medium-income suburbs of Lansdowne, Wetton, Ottery, Crawford and Woodstock. These areas, some of which were divided between coloured and white, have all historically maintained a coloured presence. They are also in close proximity to Coloured group areas. Approximately 64 percent of inter-racial property transfers during the first eight months of 1991, occurred within one of these five suburbs.¹⁸² Other areas which had high rates of inter-racial transfers were Rondebosch East, Kenwyn, Southfield and Plumstead—all which were border areas or areas with a significant non-white population prior to the Group Areas Act.¹⁸³

It is now (in 2013) almost twenty years since the end of apartheid. Many non-whites with the available wealth or income are overwhelmingly moving into formerly white areas. I interviewed eighteen estate agents working in the formerly white suburbs of Ruyterwacht, Thornton, Goodwood, Rondebosch East, and Pinelands. Of those eighteen agents, fifteen mentioned that Muslims formed a significant, if not the greatest, proportion of new homebuyers

¹⁸⁰ Grant Staff, *Changing Cape Town: Urban Dynamics, Policy, and Planning during the Political Transition in South Africa*. Lanham, MD: University of America, 1998. Print. 86

¹⁸¹ Catherine Lowe Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town*. Berkeley: University of California, 2008. Print. 47

¹⁸² Saff 99.

¹⁸³ Saff 99.

in these suburbs. The one notable exception was the suburb of Rondebosch, where estate agents working in the area did not seem to notice a similar trend.

In terms of Muslim percentage growth, there are four noticeable patterns. First, there is significant growth in “border areas” or areas which were abutting the division lines between white and non-white Group Areas. For example, there were dramatic changes in the composition of Rondebosch East and Crawford between 1970 and 2001. Crawford moved from 13% Muslim in 1970 to 50% Muslim in 2001. With its centrality to Kromboom Road and the Southern Suburbs, as well as its convenient highway access, Crawford became a sought-after destination for upwardly-mobile Muslim families. The neighbouring suburb of Rondebosch East, a former white area, showed similar increases. In 1980, this area was only 1% Muslim. Within sixteen years, in 1996, the area became 26% Muslim and by 2001 it was 39% Muslim. Estate agents now describe Rondebosch East as a “Muslim area.”

Percentage of Muslims in Cape Town Suburbs in 1970, 1980, 1996, 2001¹⁸⁴				
	1970	1980	1996	2001
Athlone	23%	33%	32%	10%
Balvenie	-	-	6%	8%
Beacon Valley	-	-	27%	26%
Belgravia	-	36%	37%	40%
Belhar	-	-	10%	20%
Belthorn Estate	-	-	24%	28%
Bishop Lavis	9%	7%	9%	9%
Bonteheuwel	3%	15%	28%	27%
Bridgetown	-	23%	27%	30%
Brooklyn	1%	0%	5%	8%
Cape Town CBD	53%	-	-	6%
Charlesville	-	18%	15%	17%
Claremont	12%	3%	2%	4%
Connaught	-	-	3%	4%

¹⁸⁴ Italicized statistics indicate that unusually high or low statistic is a result of redistricting.

Constantia	3%	>1%	2%	1%
Cravenby	61%	67%	66%	62%
Crawford	13%	3%	38%	50%
Delft South	-	-	15%	6%
Diep River	1%	>1%	2%	1%
Eastridge	-	-	24%	24%
Elfindale	-	-	12%	13%
Elsiesriver	7%	6%	13%	10%
Factreton	15%	-	17%	16%
Fairways	-	11%	14%	15%
Gardens	-	-	2%	2%
Gatesville	-	54%	59%	60%
Glenhaven	64%	5%	4%	-
Goodwood Estate	>1%	>1%	1%	1%
Grassy Park	16%	18%	25%	26%
Hanover Park	-	31%	36%	31%
Hazendal	0%	20%	24%	28%
Heathfield	13%	5%	5%	6%
Heideveld	25%	24%	29%	30%
Kenilworth	4%	>0%	2%	4%
Kensington	-	25%	33%	34%
Kewtown	-	15%	24%	25%
Lansdowne	19%	19%	35%	40%
Lavender Hill	-	21%	18%	19%
Lentegeur	-	-	32%	33%
Lotus River	-	18%	23%	20%
Macassar	-	-	5%	4%
Maitland	4%	4%	24%	28%
Malibu Village	-	-	4%	8%
Manenberg	32%	28%	35%	30%
Matroosfontein	3%	2%	3%	3%
Montagu's Gift	-	22%	26%	26%
Montague	-	-	>1%	8%
Mowbray	1%	>1%	3%	4%
Newfields	-	37%	50%	53%
Newlands	3%	0%	1%	2%
Northpine	-	-	5%	4%
Observatory	2%	2%	4%	5%
Ocean View	-	15%	-	13%

Ottery	13%	>1%	17%	24%
Parkwood	22%	20%	25%	25%
Pelikan Park	-	-	56%	60%
Penlyn Estate	-	14%	56%	60%
Pinati	-	-	36%	40%
Pinelands	-	>1%	1%	3%
Plumstead	-	>1%	2%	4%
Pollsmoor	10%	5%	>1%	10%
Portlands	-	-	25%	28%
Primrose Park	-	45%	56%	61%
Retreat	11%	10%	13%	14%
Rocklands	-	-	20%	22%
Rondebosch	1%	>1%	2%	3%
Rondebosch East	-	1%	26%	39%
Rugby	-	-	2%	5%
Rusthof	3%	-	-	22%
Ruyterwacht	-	-	4%	9%
Rylands	60%	57%	75%	78%
Salt River	51%	53%	61%	67%
Schotsche Kloof	-	91%	88%	89%
Sea Point	-	-	1%	3%
Silvertown	-	17%	21%	23%
Steenberg	-	-	15%	13%
Strandfontein	-	19%	18%	20%
Surrey Estate	34%	61%	60%	68%
Tafelsig	-	-	26%	26%
Thornton	1%	-	2%	7%
Townsend Estate	-	-	3%	6%
Uitsig	-	2%	1%	21%
Valhalla Park	-	14%	17%	17%
Vanguard Estate	-	22%	29%	30%
Welcome Estate	-	-	29%	30%
Westridge	-	-	19%	20%
Wetton	-	>1%	25%	29%
Woodlands	-	-	28%	29%
Woodstock ¹⁸⁵	19%	9%	43%	48%

¹⁸⁵ Woodstock encompasses the area of Walmer Estate, which was demarcated as a separate suburb in the 1980 Census.

Wynberg Central	22%	61%	27%	29%
Zeekoeivlei	-	2%	27%	27%
Zonnebloem	-	25%	26%	20%

Similarly, Lansdowne was declared white in 1961. However, in 1963 an enclave was allowed for Coloureds (although a number of Indian families resided here as well). This area has become a hub for middle class Muslims. In 1970, the area's population was 19% Muslim, but by 2001 it had increased to 40% Muslim. Lansdowne has a distinctive "Muslim-feel" to it.

Lansdowne Road has recently been renamed Imam Haron Road in order to pay homage to the late Muslim anti-apartheid activist. The Islamia Mosque, which includes a full-time school, is located on this major road. There are also many halal takeaways, Muslim businesses and offices, and shops in this area.

Wetton, an area bordering Lansdowne, was also a highly disputed area. Coloureds were originally allowed to live in the area, but it was reclaimed in 1969 for white occupation. Because Wetton was a border-area, not far from Coloured areas such as Belthorn Estate and Lansdowne, it was also one of the first areas to desegregate. In 1980, there were nine Muslim residents in Wetton, making up well under 1% of the population. By 1996, the area was 25% Muslim and in 2001 it was 29%.

Maitland is another border area which was declared white, yet still had a substantial coloured population living within and around the suburb during the Group Areas Act. In 1980, during the enactment of the Group Areas Act, there were still 2,954 non-whites living in the area. However, whites still maintained a majority with 5,300 residents. Maitland is bordered by the former coloured Group Areas of Kensington and Windermere. Due to this racial diversity as well as its proximity to other non-white suburbs, Maitland quickly became a suburb with large

percentages of Muslims and other non-white groups. In 1970, only 4% of the population was Muslim. By 2001, the concentration of Muslims had increased to 28%.

Woodstock and Salt River, areas which were initially declared white and then after protests were allowed to remain as mixed areas have also become increasingly Muslim. Woodstock decreased from 19% Muslim to 48%. Similarly, Salt River increased from 51% to 67% Muslim. Woodstock and Salt River are increasingly seen as desirable suburbs to stay in. The area is seen as affordable, convenient to the CBD, and close to many shops and businesses. A large scale gentrification process has been occurring in Woodstock, Salt River and Observatory, which has resulted in increasing rental rates. Estate agents credit the large percentage of Muslims in the area, despite the changing demographics to the fact that Muslims tend to hand their homes down to younger generations as time elapses. Rather than selling their homes, like many of their non-Muslim neighbours, there are large instances of family transfers.

The second trend is the late movement of Muslims into Group Areas. Since there was a large number of Muslims living in contested areas, such as District Six and the Southern Suburbs, many of them resisted for a long time. Many were not assigned a permanent relocation and thus they moved from Council Home to Council Home before receiving their final relocation. Bonteheuwel's statistics tell the story of forced removals and relocations. In 1970, there were 13,997 Muslims in Bonteheuwel, which made up a scant 4% of the population. In 1980, the percentage increased to 15%. In 1996, 28% of the area's 43,892 residents were Muslim. In 2001, that percentage slightly decreased to 27%. However, the absolute number of Muslims in the area increased from 12,377 in 1996 to 14,825. Thus, the original small percentage of Muslim residents is likely due to the fact that few had been assigned Bonteheuwel yet. However, over the course of the next twenty years, the number of Muslims increased

dramatically and then plateaued. Estate agents in the area also explain that few people move into Bonteheuwel. Rather, people are more likely to live in Bonteheuwel if it is where they grew up. Hazendal's statistics are also of a similar nature.

Similarly, a number of areas were only zoned in the late 1960's or early 1970's, resulting in the low or non-existent initial percentage of Muslims. Belgravia, Bridgetown, Elsiesriver, Kensington, Kewtown, Hazendal, and Surrey Estate are examples of this trend.

The third trend is of Muslims returning to areas of former residence. While it is unclear if Muslim residents in these suburbs actually lived there prior to the Group Areas Act, one can observe a return of Muslim presence in these areas. In these instances, one sees a relatively low, but existing, percentage of Muslims in 1970 (as by this time, most of the forced removals had already occurred), an even lower number in 1980, and a small but gradual increase in Muslim residents in 1996 and 2001. Suburbs which fall under this pattern are Brooklyn, Claremont, Newlands, Kenilworth, Mowbray, Pollsmoor, and Rondebosch. Muslim families are likely to settle in these areas even if they had no ties to them because they contain pre-existing mosques.

The fourth trend is that of Muslims moving into former white areas where there were no significant pre-Group Areas Muslim populations. The working class suburbs of Thornton, Ruyterwacht, and Rugby fall under this category. The preference of upwardly mobile non-whites for moving into former working class white areas, are discussed later in this chapter.

While the end of apartheid heralded the opening of dozens of new suburbs for non-white occupation, not all suburbs displayed a significant change in Muslim concentration. Below is a chart showing the suburbs which changed little or not at all in the years between 1970 and 2001. The suburbs below are a combination of working-class and middle class former coloured and Indian Group Areas. Bishop Lavis, Hanover Park, Heideveld, Lavender Hill, Manenberg, and

Valhalla Park, are among the working-class suburbs in the below list. These areas are sites of former Council Homes. Many residents in these areas find it difficult to gain the capital to move out and few new residents move to these areas. Belgravia, Cravenby, Gatesville, and Surrey Estate have larger middle-class populations, yet the overall Muslim percentage remained roughly the same. These areas are relatively safe and convenient for residents, which may explain why there has not been a great exodus out.

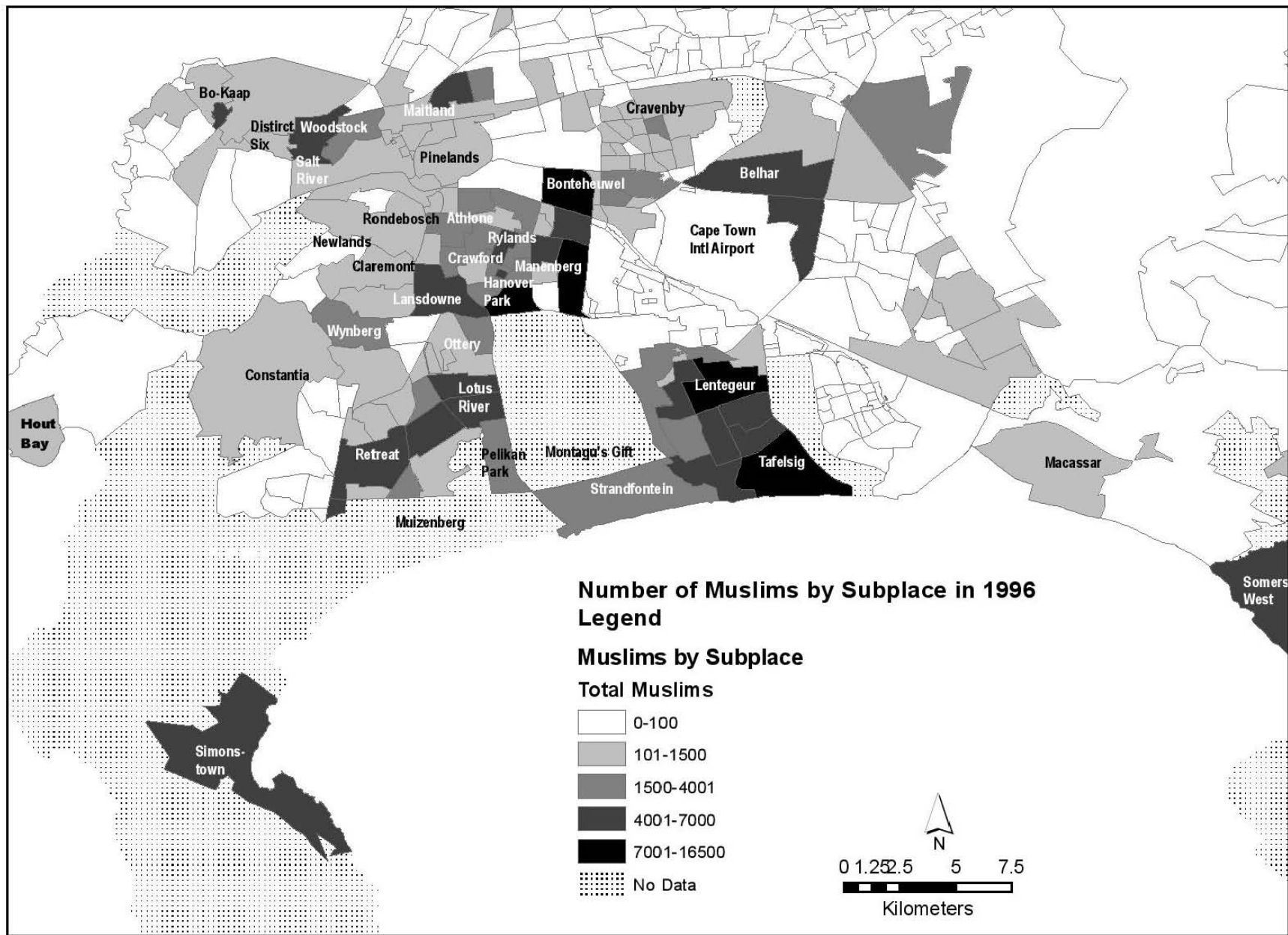
In examining the maps below, one sees similar trends. In terms of Muslim numbers in the townships, populations have largely stayed the same. The greatest numbers of Muslims live in Tafelsig, Lentegur, Bonteheuwel, Manneberg and Hanover Park.. The Muslim population of Belhar appears to have decreased between 1996 and 2001, however, on closer examination, one sees that Belhar was redistricted between 1996 and 2001, thus dividing the Muslim population between various subplaces. The Muslim population in Simonstown dwindled between the two Census years, but in terms of percentage of the whole population, they remained similar. In 2001, one sees that Lansdowne's Muslim population had greatly increased. Additionally, one observes Muslim growth in Newlands, Ottery, and Brooklyn. These areas were in close proximity to white Group Areas and thus were among the first to desegregate.

Suburbs which showed no significant change in Muslim composition between 1970 and 2001			
Balvenie	Eastridge	Lotus River	Rocklands
Beacon Valley	Elfindale	Manenberg	Steenberg
Belgravia	Factreton	Matroosfontein	Strandfontein
Bishop Lavis	Fairways	Montagu's Gift	Surrey Estate
Bridgetown	Gatesville	Northpine	Tafelsig
Brooklyn	Hanover Park	Ocean View	Valhalla Park
Charlesville	Heideveld	Parkwood	Welcome Estate
Connaught	Kensington	Pelikan Park	Westridge
Cravenby	Lavender Hill	Pinati	Woodlands
Diep River	Lentegeur	Portlands	Zonnebloem

Suburbs which showed Significant Muslim Percentage Growth between 1970 and 2001			
Bonteheuwel	Maitland	Retreat	Surrey Estate
Brooklyn	Newfields	Rondebosch	Tafelsig
Crawford	Observatory	Rondebosch East	Thornton
Elsiesriver	Penlyn Estate	Rugby	Townsend Estate
Grassy Park	Pinati	Ruyterwacht	Vanguard Estate
Hazendal	Pinelands	Rylands	Westridge
Kensington	Plumstead	Salt River	Wetton
Lansdowne	Primrose Park	Silvertown	Zeekovlei

Cape Town Muslim Population by Suburb in 1996				Cape Town Muslim Population by Percentage in Suburb in 1996		
1.	Manenberg	15794	35%	Schotschekloof	4145	88%
2.	Bonteheuwel	12377	28%	Rylands	4584	75%
3.	Tafelsig	11390	26%	Cravenby	2221	66%
4.	Lentegeur	10979	32%	Salt River	3988	61%
5.	Hanover Park	10809	36%	Surrey	5479	60%
6.	Beacon Valley	6683	27%	Gatesville	1897	59%
7.	Woodstock	6264	43%	Penlyn Estate	2574	56%
8.	Portlands	6255	25%	Pelican Park	2688	56%
9.	Lansdowne	6163	35%	Primrose Park	973	56%
10.	Woodlands	5670	28%	Newfields	1970	50%
11.	Surrey	5479	60%	Woodstock	6264	43%
12.	Grassy Park	5263	25%	Crawford	2095	38%
13.	Eastridge	5150	24%	Belgravia	3012	37%
14.	Delft	5112	15%	Hanover Park	10809	36%
15.	Heideveld	5052	29%	Pinati	1793	36%
16.	Belhar	4977	10%	Manenberg	15794	35%
17.	Montagu's Gift	4741	26%	Lansdowne	6163	35%
18.	Rocklands	4729	20%	Kensington	4267	33%
19.	Simonstown	4712	6%	Lentegeur	10979	32%
20.	Rylands	4584	75%	Athlone	3679	32%
21.	Retreat	4495	13%	Welcome Estate	572	29%
22.	Strand	4319	8%	Heideveld	5052	29%
23.	Kensington	4267	33%	Vanguard Estate	744	29%
24.	Schotschekloof	4145	88%	Bonteheuwel	12377	28%
25.	Lotus River	4108	23%	Woodlands	5670	28%
26.	Salt River	3988	61%	Zeekoevlei	783	27%
27.	Wynberg	3986	27%	Beacon Valley	6683	27%
28.	Westridge	3856	19%	Bridgetown	3111	27%
29.	Strandfontein	3697	18%	Wynberg	3986	27%
30.	Athlone	3679	32%	Rondebosch East	991	26%

Cape Town Muslim Population by Suburb in 2001				Cape Town Muslim Population by Percentage in Suburb in 2001		
1.	Manenberg	16460	30%	Schotsche Kloof	4140	89%
2.	Bonteheuwel	14825	27%	Rylands	4047	78%
3.	Hanover Park	13404	31%	Surrey Estate	4402	68%
4.	Lentegeur	12932	33%	Salt River	2927	67%
5.	Tafelsig	12382	26%	Cravenby	1619	62%
6.	Portlands	7420	28%	Primrose Park	1051	61%
7.	Lansdowne	7027	40%	Gatesville	1779	60%
8.	Beacon Valley	6867	26%	Penlyn Estate	1456	60%
9.	Lotus River	6850	20%	Pelikan Park	3972	60%
10.	Woodlands	6188	29%	Newfields	2118	53%
11.	Rocklands	5788	22%	Mountainview	1069	51%
12.	Woodstock	5556	48%	Crawford	2649	50%
13.	Eastridge	5334	24%	Woodstock	5556	48%
14.	Adriaanse - Uitsig	5250	28%	Belgravia	3518	40%
15.	Grassy Park	5244	26%	Pinati	1491	40%
16.	Strandfontein	4687	20%	Lansdowne	7027	40%
17.	Athlone	4531	10%	Rondebosch East	1553	39%
18.	Surrey Estate	4402	68%	Wolfgat	202	36%
19.	Retreat	4373	14%	Kensington	3891	34%
20.	Schotsche Kloof	4140	89%	Lentegeur	12932	33%
21.	Rylands	4047	78%	Amandelrug - Zevenwacght	803	31%
22.	Pelikan Park	3972	60%	Hanover Park	13404	31%
23.	Kensington	3891	34%	Vanguard Estate	772	30%
24.	Heideveld	3781	30%	Welcome Estate	466	30%
25.	Lavender Hill	3770	19%	Manenberg	16460	30%
26.	Wynberg Central	3687	29%	Bridgetown	2918	30%
27.	Westridge	3613	20%	Heideveld	3781	30%
28.	Belgravia	3518	40%	Woodlands	6188	29%
29.	Ottery	2962	24%	Arauna - Welgelee	571	29%
30.	Salt River	2927	67%	Wynberg Central	3687	29%

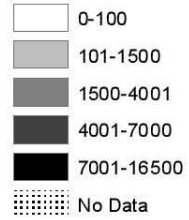


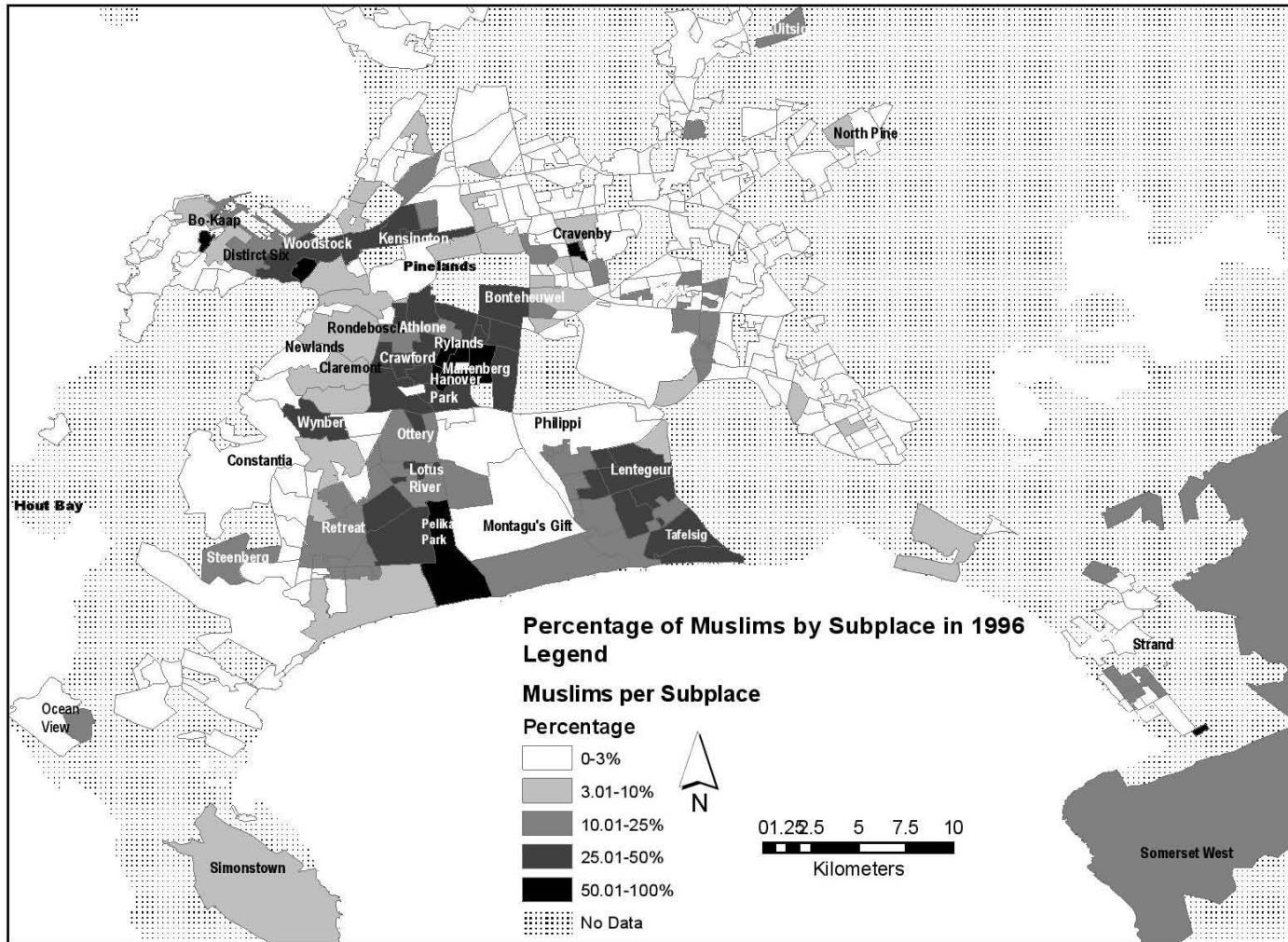
Number of Muslims by Subplace in 1996

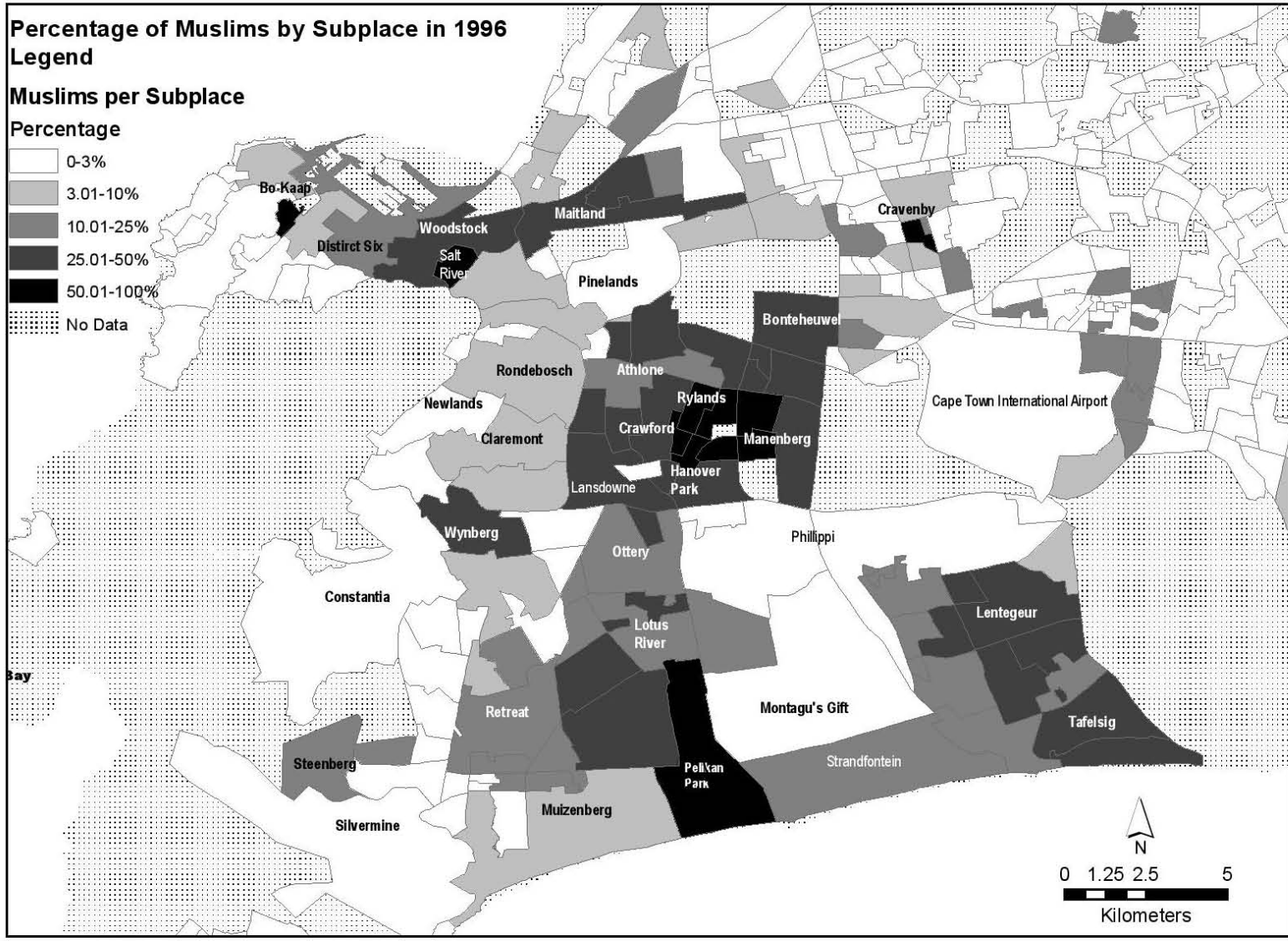
Legend

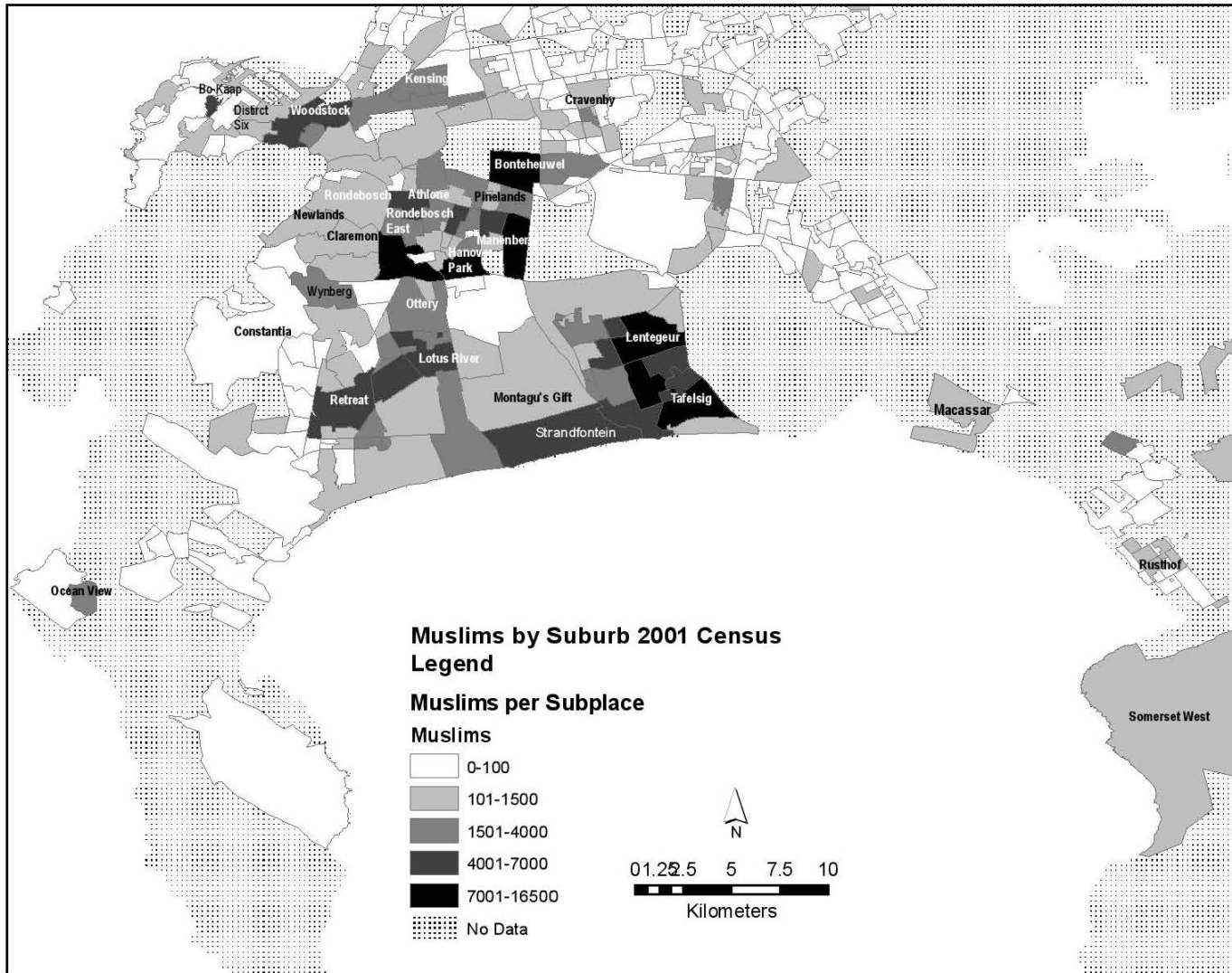
Muslims by Subplace

Total Muslims



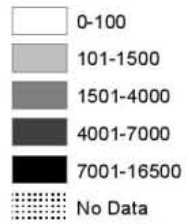


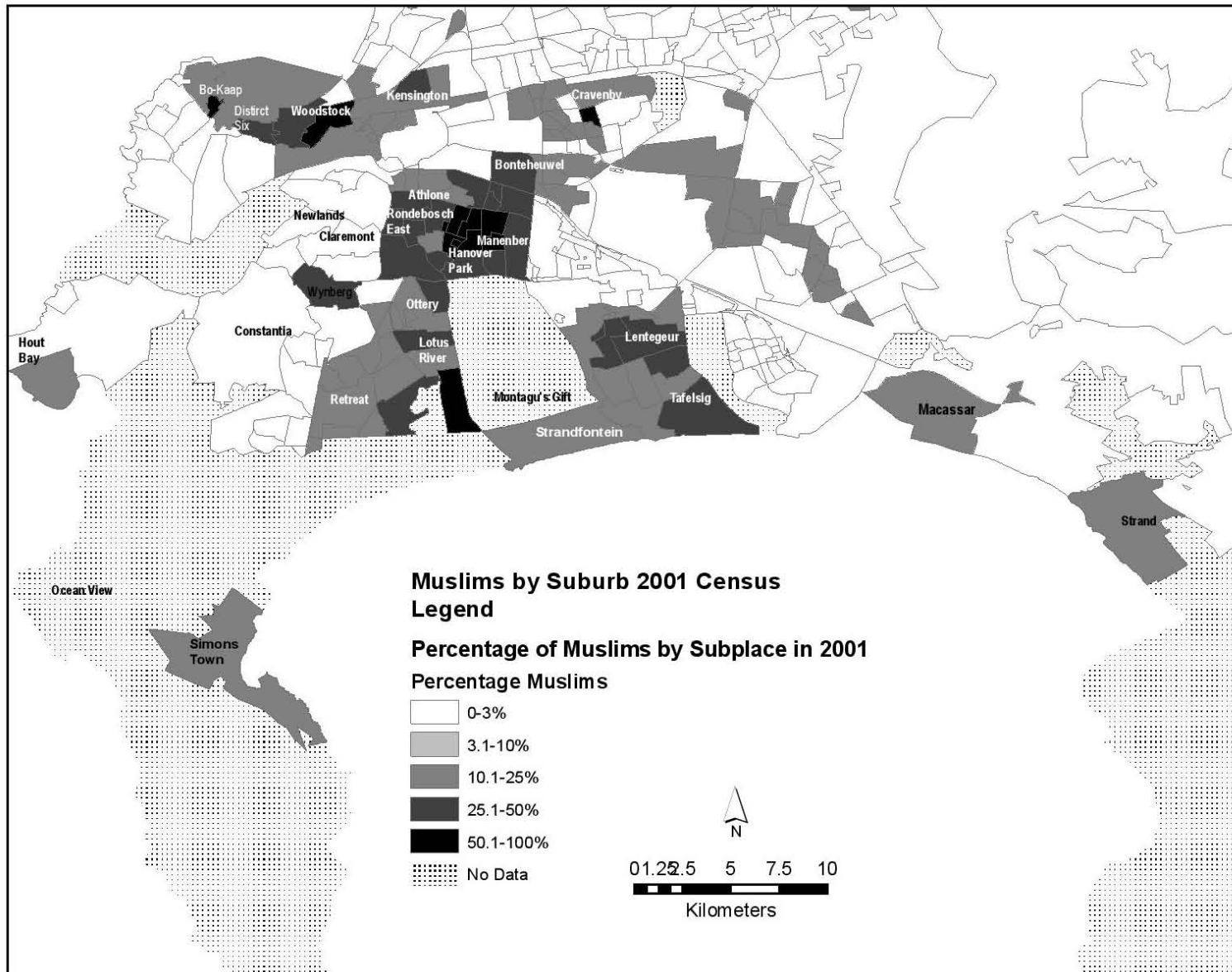




Number of Muslims by Subplace in 2001

Muslims per Subplace





Muslims by Suburb 2001 Census
Legend
Percentage of Muslims by Subplace in 2001
Percentage Muslims

- 0-3%
- 3.1-10%
- 10.1-25%
- 25.1-50%
- 50.1-100%
- No Data



A story which these maps do not adequately address is the movement of Muslims into wholly new suburbs. While I have not been able to use the 2011 Census to indicate Muslim movement in the years from 2001 to 2011, the emergence of mosques in former white areas indicates that the Muslim presence throughout the Cape is expanding. Below is a chart indicating mosques established in former white Group Areas after 1994. From this list, it appears that Muslims have been moving in great numbers to the northern suburbs of Cape Town. These Northern Suburbs include Milnerton, Thornton, Bothasig, Brooklyn, Bellville, Goodwood, Table View, Parow, and Panorama. While estate agents have noted large Muslim movements into other former white areas, such as Rondebosch and Claremont, these areas, by and large, already had local pre-existing mosques.

Estate agents indicate that a large number of Muslims are moving into the Northern Suburbs from areas such as Cravenby, Kensington, Windermere, and Maitland. While Maitland is actually a former white Group Area, since the end of apartheid, it has become an area with a large non-white population. The 2011 Census indicates that Maitland's white population was a mere 3%. Estate agents note that non-whites opt to move into former-white suburbs to show that they are upwardly mobile. The Northern Suburbs are close to places of work, such as the industrial areas, as well as some offices, and as far as former white areas go, they are relatively affordable. Estate agents have noted that there are fewer and fewer white buyers looking to purchase homes in certain Northern Suburbs. Estate agents predict within the next ten years, there will be few, if any, non-whites living in Brooklyn, Goodwood, and Thornton. Indeed, the 2011 Census supports the diminishing number of whites in these areas. The white populations were 30%, 46%, and 20% for Brooklyn, Goodwood, and Thornton respectively.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ 2011 Census.

Estate agents also noted that whites have been moving out to higher-priced former white areas, such as Panorama and Durbanville. (It appears that the Muslims are following suit. The Panorama Masjid was recently established from a converted home in the area). Those living in the area cite racism for the reason for their exodus. However, another unexpected consequence of the Muslim wealth entering Goodwood, Brooklyn, and Thornton, is that some working-class whites are unable to afford homes in the area. As non-white professionals move in, they upgrade their homes, causing property prices to increase. One estate agent noted that this is something particularly prevalent in Muslim areas. He compared some of the homes in Rylands to the Taj Mahal. In this way, there is a sort of gentrification process occurring in the middle-class Northern Suburbs.

Mosques established 1994-2013 Former White Group Areas			
Masjied-Ghiedma-Tiel Islamia	Crawford	Masjiedul Amier	Ruyterwacht
Masjidul Fatgh	Ottery	Brooklyn Masjid	Brooklyn
Masjidul Jumuah Milnerton	Milnerton	Masjidus Sunnah	Bellville
Broadlands Park Musallah	Strand	Masjid Darus-Salaam	Goodwood
Thornton Islamic Society Mosque	Thornton	Jumu'a Mosque of Cape Town	CBD
Al-Furqaan Mosque	Lansdowne	Islamic Centre of Tableview	Table View
Masjidul Hudaa	Muizenberg	Parow Valley Islamic Association	Parow
Pinelands Islamic Centre	Pinelands	Panorama Masjid	Panorama
Masjid Ur Rauf	Ottery	Sulaimani Masjid	Goodwood
Bothasig Jamaat Khana	Bothasig		

ii. Conclusion

The Census data indicates that the Muslim population of Cape Town is increasingly occupying new spaces. There have been noticeable dispersals of Muslim residents to former white areas, many of which did not have substantial Muslim populations prior to the Group Areas Act. While the standard of living differed amongst group areas, Muslims shared common experiences by nature of living in the Cape Flats. However, as now more and more Muslims move to former white areas, they face new challenges and redefine their sense of Muslim

identity. According to the 2001 Census, most Muslims, however, still reside in former Coloured or Indian group areas. Neighbourhood choice plays a large role in determining immediate community affiliation. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the lived experiences of Muslims widely differ from suburb to suburb. Resultantly, the Muslim community in Cape Town is less cohesive than at any other point in Cape history.

CHAPTER FIVE: MUSLIM EXPERIENCES TODAY

This chapter focuses on case studies of Muslim life in the suburbs of Bonteheuwel, Rylands, Ruyterwacht, Goodwood, and Pinelands. I have interviewed residents of each of these suburbs to examine their residential choices, as well as how their religion has affected their daily life in their neighbourhoods. This section illustrates the diversity of Muslim experiences in the Cape. While Islam plays a major role in the lives of all those who I interviewed for case studies, their lifestyles, immediate communities, and outlooks are far from similar. The case studies of Muslim families demonstrate the transformation of the Cape Muslim community, from one which shared similar geographic locations and lifestyles, to one which is increasingly socioeconomically separated. However, these disparate communities still strongly identify with the notion of a “Cape Muslim community,” drawing on their shared history, belief system, and culture.

I. Bonteheuwel: A Coloured Township:

Bonteheuwel is an approximately five-square kilometre area located between Settlers Way (N2), Vanguard and Valhalla Drives. It was proclaimed as a “coloured” township under the Group Areas Act in 1960. It mainly consists of former municipal housing that was sold to the incumbent tenants in the 1980’s. However, residents of smaller council housing schemes are still renting from the government. Estate agents in the area estimate that the average income is between ZAR 3,000-6,000. The 2001 Census found that 49% of Bonteheuwel wage-earning adults earned between ZAR 0-1,600 a month and 47% of the residents earned between ZAR 1,601-6,400. The vast majority of Bonteheuwel’s adult population—97%--had a grade 12 or less

education. Bonteheuwel has the second largest Muslim population of the Cape Town suburbs. Its 14,825 Muslim residents make up approximately 27% of the suburb's population.¹⁸⁷

In many Capetonian's imaginations, Bonteheuwel is synonymous with crime and gangsterism. News reports often carry stories of children who are victims of gang-related cross-fires. Driving into Bonteheuwel, it is easy to notice the uniformity of the homes. Some have additions of a second floor, or a wooden porch. However, there is little room for expansion. Potholes fill the street, and small children curiously look at my car as I drive past. It is midday and they are not in school. All that separates Bonteheuwel from the buzz of the N2 is yard-high thick grass. On more than one occasion, I had to drive onto this grass, to allow a car to pass in the other direction. The residential streets- meant to accommodate traffic in both directions- have scarcely enough room as a one-way.

I met Gadija as I stopped to leave a note in her neighbour's mailbox. She watched me get out of my car and before I said anything, almost frantically, insisted that I come inside. I explained to her that I was conducting research for my thesis and in a very motherly way, she scolded me for venturing into Bonteheuwel on my own. She told me horror stories of what could have happened to me. After a short while, her husband, a whispery elderly man, entered the dining room. He was in shock that I ventured to Bonteheuwel alone and declared, "Allah brought you to us and spared you from anything bad."

Gadija is sixty-one years old. She has been living in Bonteheuwel for the past thirty-three years. She and her husband previously rented a home on Stone Street in District Six. She spent the first years of her life in District Six, living with her family on a home on Russell Street in District Six. Her father was a shoemaker. His parents were from Claremont and passed away

¹⁸⁷ 2001 Census.

before the Group Areas Act. Gadija's mother had converted to Islam and had grown up in Worcester. Gadija's father had died young, so she was sent to live with her maternal grandmother in Worcester. Her siblings were scattered throughout the Western Cape.

After the Group Areas Act, she and her family were forced to leave District Six. The Council offered her and her husband a choice, which to my understanding was a rare occurrence. She could rent a place in either Bonteheuwel or Mitchell's Plain. While Mitchell's Plain was the more established option, Bonteheuwel was new and slightly more central, so in 1979, she and her husband moved to a small Council Home in Bonteheuwel. She was among the last of the District Six removals. Her siblings, who were also grown and married, were relocated to Mitchell's Plain, Retreat and Worcester, as well as Bonteheuwel. She also has family in Hanover Park. Even in these places, she tells me, hijackings and crime are rampant.

After fourteen years of renting a Council Home, Gadija and her husband were able to purchase it. Her husband continued to work in construction, but mainly in Mitchell's Plain and Hanover Park. However, her husband did not find much work, and after thirteen years of marriage, she divorced him. She had three children with him. Gadija is now married to her third husband (her second husband passed away). She refers to him as Boeta Cassim. Boeta is a term of respect used to refer to older men, especially in the Malay community. Boeta Cassim is eighty years old, although he hardly shows it. He grew up in Claremont and is of Arab descent. Gadija is very proud of her husband, explaining to me that he was one of the founders of the mosque in Bonteheuwel, which was established in 1964. Gadija explains how Boeta Cassim is very active around the house- repairing and mending what needs to be done. On this particular day, he is working on his car in the front of the house. Every Friday they walk together to Vangate Mall (which locals refer to as the "Muslim Mall," due to the large number of shops specializing in

Muslim clothing, as well as the halal restaurants- including Cape Town's only halal Mugg & Bean), across the N2. There, they attend Friday prayer services and then walk around the mall. Gadija is exceptionally proud of the trips he takes her on. They have performed the obligatory *hajj* to Mecca and Medinah. He has also taken her to Palestine and last year, as a sixtieth birthday present, he took her to Istanbul. Pictures from her trips are framed and displayed throughout the house.

Gadija's children were raised and educated in Bonteheuwel. Her first-born is living in Worcester. She has a daughter in Salt River, a son in Mitchells Plain and her youngest son is living in Bonteheuwel. She is glad that her children, have for the most part, been able to leave Bonteheuwel. Her daughter in Salt River owns a home with her husband and three children. It has a small yard, but her daughter likes it because it is so central. Her son lives in Mitchell's Plain and he sells paint. She knows he would like to move out of Mitchell's Plain to maybe Goodwood or Parow, and he is saving up in order to do so.

Her youngest, the son living in Bonteheuwel, has been a great disappointment to her. He became addicted to the notorious drug '*tik*' and has resorted to gangsterism and drugs as a way of life. He has been in jail and is now married and living with his in-laws. She refuses to allow him to visit her at her house, and even his father (her first husband) refuses to see or provide for him. She blames her son's downfall on both the environment in Bonteheuwel and him being the last born. "He was spoiled," she admits.

The fact is that the story of Gadija's youngest son is not uncommon. Bonteheuwel seems to be a breeding ground for gangsterism and crime. There are few recreation facilities in Bonteheuwel. In my brief time there, I did not see any parks, sports fields, or open spaces where children could play. Gadija complains of the crime in Bonteheuwel. "They steal the smallest

things – like brass door knobs,” she laments. When I visited, her husband would occasionally look out the front door to make sure nothing would happen to my car. There are also many teen mothers and as their children grow older, they do not attend school. The closest school was on the list of proposed schools to be shut down. However, due to protests from the residents, this proposal was stalled. There are few jobs available for those who have attended school, yet even fewer finish matric. A woman responsible for monitoring the performance of the schools in the Western Cape admits to me, “Soon, you will have the diagnosis for Fetal ‘Tik’ Syndrome... You have children going to school who were raised on tik in the womb. It used to be uncommon for women to use the drug, now it is everywhere.” The cycle of poverty is rampant in Bonteheuwel and does not seem to be improving.

Gadija hopes to move out of Bonteheuwel, perhaps to a retirement village. She says she and her husband have discussed moving to Mitchell’s Plain, to be close to her son, but they will probably opt for a safer area like Goodwood or Parow. Her children are not yet able to purchase a home in Goodwood, but it is still central for them to visit. She would love to return to District Six, but the homes there are far too expensive. She explains that while they themselves are not afraid of living in Bonteheuwel because most of the ‘gangsters’ grew up with their sons and will not bother them, the environment of the area is not a peaceful one. Especially the past few years with the proliferation of ‘tik,’ Gadija and her husband are looking to move elsewhere.

When Gadija and I finish talking, she walks me down the street to the Adams family. They have been living in Bonteheuwel for twenty-six years. Before that, they rented a Council Home in Kalksteefontein for eleven years, but when the place became too small for their family, they moved to Bonteheuwel. The Adams make it very clear that they did not ‘decide’ to move to Bonteheuwel. “You go where the Council puts you,” Mrs. Adams tells me. They would

like to move out. They wish they could live in Mitchell's Plain, which they describe as "quiet and nice," or even Strandfontein or Athlone. But they explain that, "the Council gives you nothing for your home."

The Adams rented their home for fourteen years before being able to purchase it. Their home has similar dimensions to Gadija's, but I can see now that Gadija had done more renovations to her place- adding additional walls and rooms. Like Gadija's home, the Adams also have picture frames on their walls of their hajj pilgrimage. A younger couple sits on the couch next to me, with a baby, but they never speak. The Adams are not as comfortable with English as Gadija was, so our conversation is slower and they offer less detail.

Their home gives off a fresh smell, as their lounge is full of wooden cabinets and drawers, ready to sell. Mr. Adams, who is in his mid-sixties, is a furniture maker. Mrs. Adams tells me that I must give their number to anyone who is looking for furniture. Mr. Adams has been a furniture maker for most of his life, but before that he worked in the swimming baths in town. He grew up in a rented home on Johnson Road in District Six. His father was in the army. Mrs. Adams grew up in Athlone. Her father was an electrician and is still alive. She would have liked to stay in Athlone, but when she was married, there were no available houses for her to move to because of the Group Areas Act. Her two brothers moved to Dellar and Delft.

The Adams have two daughters and a son. They all live in Mitchell's Plain. When I asked her why they decided to live there, Mrs. Adams simply responded, "The Council put them there." Her son works on a shipyard in Woodstock. Like Gadija, she tells me that she has hope that the younger generations will have greater socio-economic mobility than her and her children's generations. However, for the time being, it seems that she and her husband are stuck in Bonteheuwel.

The stories of Gadija and the Adams seem to be quite typical for residents of Bonteheuwel and similar townships. Unable to purchase a home when their neighbourhoods were declared white, they were forced into townships such as Bonteheuwel. While they may have once had the support structure and access to amenities in order to increase their socioeconomic mobility, in Bonteheuwel, such opportunities have been far and few. Their children, for the most part, have been able to leave Bonteheuwel, but they too are still living in working class historically coloured group areas. University education, even amongst the current youth in Bonteheuwel, is relatively rare. Those who do pass matric are more likely to attend local technicons, as opposed to the University of Western Cape or the University of Cape Town. None of the children of those who I interviewed attended university.

Despite the fact that those who I interviewed had been living in Bonteheuwel for close to fifty years, one still gets the sense that residents view Bonteheuwel as a foreign place where they were dumped by the apartheid forces. The bitterness, especially from the Adams, who did not appear as settled as the Abdullaahs, is still apparent. The Abdullaahs, especially Boeta Cassim who was one of the first Muslims in Bonteheuwel, were amongst the pioneers, so to speak, of the Muslim community. Boeta Cassim helped organize the Muslim community in Bonteheuwel as well as establish the mosque. While his heart seems to still be in Claremont, where he grew up, he invested himself into bettering Bonteheuwel. The Adams, however, still appear at a loss as to how they ended up in Bonteheuwel. They have hopes and aspirations to move out, but the legacies of apartheid and the Group Areas Act have robbed them of residential mobility.

Relations between non-Muslims and Muslims in Bonteheuwel are strong. Respondents indicated that they had non-Muslim family members, and a larger number of family members who had converted to Islam. Throughout interviews, it was not uncommon for Christian

neighbours to stop by and help themselves to something in the kitchen or even sit down at the table and offer their own insight. Non-Muslims who I interviewed were also eager to discuss their own connections to Islam, with some describing how they celebrate Eid with Muslim family members.

One way in which Muslims of the Cape Flats differentiated itself (albeit unintentionally) from their non-Muslim neighbours was through PAGAD. With the end of apartheid, residents of the Cape Flats hoped for greater opportunities and an end to the crime which affected their homes. However, instances of crime, drugs, and gangsterism seemed to increase with the advent of a democratic South Africa. Muslims were strongly affected by crime and drugs. The Muslim Judicial Council found that twenty-five percent of clients at the Drug Counselling Centre in 1996 were in fact Muslim. Additionally, one in five Muslim households contained a drug addict.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, law enforcement and the government offered little means in combating the growing problems in the Cape Flats as well as other troubled areas like Woodstock. It was in this context, in which members of the Muslim community decided that they had to form their own protective force.

Muslim-headed community based anti-drug initiatives existed in the Muslim-heavy areas of Salt River, Bo-Kaap, and Surrey Estate since the mid-1980's. In November of 1995, a formal organization, under the banner of People Against Gangsterism And Drugs (which was later referred to as PAGAD) was formed.¹⁸⁹ The leadership derived from many members of the Qibla movement.¹⁹⁰ Initially, PAGAD was an informal community-based movement—meeting in people's houses and without a formal leader. PAGAD organized marches outside the Minister of

¹⁸⁸ Matthee 140.

¹⁸⁹ Matthee 143.

¹⁹⁰ Bill Dixon and Lisa-Marie Johns, "Gangs, PAGAD & the state: Vigilantism and revenge violence in the Western Cape." (2001).

Justice Dullah Omar's house, as well as to Parliament, demanding that Cape Town be rid of drugs and gangs.

While not exclusively Muslim, PAGAD adopted a Muslim rhetoric. Members chanted Muslim Arabic taunts, they called their spiritual leader Hafiz Abdulrazaq Ebrahim "amir", and posters advertised Islamic events such as Eid prayer and iftaar.¹⁹¹ Membership was predominantly Muslim and certain mosques were known to be PAGAD strongholds.

In August 1996, the notorious drug dealer Rashad Staggie was taken from his house in Salt River and set alight, by suspected PAGAD members. A member of PAGAD later called for a jihad against gangsters and drug-dealers. Gangsters responded by threatening to burn down mosques and Muslim businesses. Over the next four years, a number of suspected drug dealers and gang leaders are killed by PAGAD members. Additionally, Muslims who were known to speak out against PAGAD, as well as synagogues, police stations, and the Victoria and Albert Waterfront Mall are subjected to pipe bomb attacks.

Local government fought back against PAGAD and also utilized community members. As part of their anti-PAGAD strategy, local ANC leadership lobbied 50 imams to deliver a Friday sermon in all Cape Town mosques condemning PAGAD and their anti-Islamic behaviour.¹⁹² The government also started to prosecute PAGAD leaders and those involved with violent attacks. With little support from the communities which they charged themselves with protecting, PAGAD's power fell to the wayside. While elements of PAGAD are suspected to be active today and occasionally isolated incidents of violence attributed to them do occur, little attention is paid to their antics.

¹⁹¹Dixon and Johns.

¹⁹² Dixon and Johns 9.

II. Rylands: An Indian Group Area

Rylands was declared for Indian occupation in July 1957. Cravenby, the second Indian Group Area, which is located in the Northern Suburbs, was declared in 1958.¹⁹³ Rylands is an area of land located amongst suburbs formerly declared as coloured Group Areas. Rylands contains the subsections of Rylands Estate, Gatesville, Hatton Estate, and Doornhoogte.¹⁹⁴ Most Indians opted to move to Rylands because of its relative centrality to places of work and it was more established than Cravenby. Uma Mesthrie, a professor of history at the University of Western Cape who focuses on forced removals, notes that the separation between Rylands and the surrounding former coloured Group Areas is more seamless than between white and non-white areas. There are no freeways, parks, industrial areas, or rivers which separates Rylands from Crawford or Surrey Estate, making it difficult to tell where one suburb ends and the other one starts.¹⁹⁵

The majority of Indians in Cape Town are Muslim. Muslims in Cape Town outnumber Hindus and Christians by nearly two to one.¹⁹⁶ In 1970, the percentage of Muslims in Rylands was approximately 60%. In 1980, this number dropped slightly to 57%, yet increased dramatically in 1996 and 2001 to 75% and 78% respectively. Interviewees described the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in Rylands as friendly, but not close. It seems that there is a greater sense of separation between non-Muslim Indians and Muslim Indians than between non-Muslim and Muslim Coloureds.. While there is a sense amongst the Coloured community that the Malays and non-Muslims are of the same brethren, this is certainly not the

¹⁹³ Non-Indian residents were given until January 1960 to leave Cravenby.

¹⁹⁴ Anne Rosemary, *The Impact of Race Legislation on Kinship and Identity Amongst Indian Muslims in Cape Town*. Masters Diss. University of Cape Town, 1980. Print. 63.

¹⁹⁵ Mesthrie (2013) 2.

¹⁹⁶ 1970 Census

case with the Indians. Muslim Indians tend to keep strict boundaries with non-Muslim Indians when it comes to intermarriage and social gatherings. Reasons for such separation include a strong disapproval of the idolatry practiced in Hindu religion, classism on the part of Muslims towards historically less-affluent non-Muslims, and a preference to mix in close family-circles. Some older generations of Indians living in Cape Town who were sent to live with extended family and attend Indians-only schools in Durban or Johannesburg indicate that they had very close ties to Hindus and Christian classmates. However in Cape Town, where the Indian population was smaller, religion is great delineating factor in relationships. In her thesis, social anthropology student Rosemary Hill quotes a Muslim woman explaining why she does not accept invitations from Hindu neighbours to attend wedding celebrations:

“Those Hindus are dirty people. They eat pork. All their pots and cutlery and crockery are infected with pork. All their dish towels too. Also, you know, they drink. Our shari’a does not allow us to touch drink. But with a Hindu, you never know if at a party he’s going to get drunk. Or the young ones put some alcohol into your cup of tea or cool drink.”¹⁹⁷

It appears that there was mutual distrust amongst Hindus and Muslims. In another interview, a Muslim indicated that Hindus would not mix with Muslims because they thought Muslims were dirty for eating meat.¹⁹⁸ Hill includes that there are few cases of marriage across religious lines amongst Muslims Indians and non-Muslims. In the instances where Muslims do marry non-Muslims, it is absolutely necessary that the non-Muslim convert, otherwise the couple will face ostracism by the Muslim family. For those who do convert, providing that they live up to Islamic norms and practices, they are easily accepted into the Muslim community.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Hill 84.

¹⁹⁸ Dawood 134-135.

¹⁹⁹ Hill 85.

In her study on Indian Muslims in Rylands, Hill also found that Muslims do not associate merely on the common basis of being Indian. Faith was the primary criterion of classification for Muslims. In her 1980 study, she found that it was not uncommon for Muslim Indian men to marry Malay women, although Muslim Indian women hardly married Malay men. When Malay and Indian intermarriage occurred, in-laws were easily integrated into existing family circles without a problem. Kinship networks on both sides were utilized, even if extended families were living across Group Areas.²⁰⁰

While statistically, there is little difference between non-Muslim and Muslim coloureds, this is not the case for Indians. Muslim Indians largely arrived in the Cape voluntarily as merchants. Hindu and Christian Indians, in contrast, arrived as poor and unskilled ex-indentured laborers from Natal.²⁰¹ According to the 1970 Government Census, Muslim Indians outnumbered Hindu Indians in the Cape in the sales category by nearly three to two, while Hindus outnumbered Muslims in the service occupations by just over four to three.²⁰² Hill believes the 1970 Census is indicative of the different economic levels between Muslims and Hindus in the Cape. Due to Hindus' lack of financial capital, they sold their labour in the service industry, while Muslims, who had the intergenerational wealth from trading, were able to go into sales.²⁰³

Because of Muslim Indians reliance on trading and businesses, they were disproportionately affected by the Group Areas declarations. About 30% of the Indian population at the time lived in the District-Six and Woodstock-Salt River areas of the city. Like the Cape Malay population,

²⁰⁰ Hill 129.

²⁰¹ Hill 57.

²⁰² Hill 56.

²⁰³ Hill 57.

the rest of the Indian population lived in the Southern Suburbs and in pockets of populated areas between Cape Town and Muizenberg.²⁰⁴

According to Hill, by 1976, 2,134 Indian families, which consist of approximately 10,670 persons, had been removed. This was half of the Indian population. The annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1978 indicated that there were still a further 758 families, or 4,548 people to be removed. Hill predicted that this meant that nearly the entire Indian population of the Cape has been disqualified from the Cape.²⁰⁵ However, some estimates indicate that 10% of the Indian population were already living in Rylands at the time of proclamation, most of which were Hindus working in light industrial works in the neighbouring industrial sites.²⁰⁶

Properties in Rylands were mostly privately owned. There was an extreme shortage of houses for Indians in the Group Areas. Waiting lists for properties were very long and landlords were able to take advantage of tenants by increasing rent at their whim.²⁰⁷ One Muslim resident who resided in the Black River area of Rondebosch before it was declared white in 1966, complained of the difficulty in securing a plot of land in the Indian-declared area of Rylands. Officials needed to be bribed and calls need to be made in order to obtain a new home. If one did not have the money to bribe officials, it was almost impossible to get a property in Rylands.²⁰⁸ The shortage of Indian housing spurred many Muslim families to have Cape Malay friends purchase and register homes for them in Coloured Group Areas, While it has been difficult to obtain

²⁰⁴ Hill 63.

²⁰⁵ Hill 60.

²⁰⁶ Hill 62.

²⁰⁷ Hill 66.

²⁰⁸ Uma Mesthrie, *Dispossession and Memory: The Black River Community of Cape Town. Land, Memory, Reconstruction, and Justice: Perspectives on Land Claims in South Africa*. Ed. Cherryl Walker. Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 2010. 83-99. Print. 91

statistics on the number of Indian Muslims who were able to subvert the Group Areas Act in this way, several Indian families who I interviewed mentioned that they or their families were able to obtain housing in coloured Group Areas.

The Habibia Soofie Saheb Jamia Masjid (called Habibia Soofie for short) is the oldest mosque in the area. Some estimates indicate it was built at the end of the nineteenth century, while others indicate it was built in 1906. The Habibia Soofie Mosque is the largest mosque in Cape Town and is of a pleasant mint green colour. The mosque's grounds contain a kramat to a nineteenth century Muslim scholar, an Islamic Education Centre, a nursery school, a children's home, and is across the road from the International Peace College—an institution which offers undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Arabic, Islamic Studies, and law.

I meet two twenty-five year old women who have grown up in the Gatesville section of Rylands. The first, Rumaysah, studied marketing at the University of Cape Town. The second, Nadia, has trained as a beautician.

Rumaysah's family is originally from Gujarat, although her paternal grandfather was born in South Africa. Her mother is Zimbabwean Indian. Rumaysah's father grew up in Rylands and attended Trafalgar High School in District Six. His family was one of the few Indian families living in the area prior to the Group Areas Act. They owned a business selling wholesale goods. Most of their business was conducted in Rylands and the surrounding area, but occasionally, certain orders would take them to town. Rumaysah believes they settled down in Rylands because it was the best for business. Rumaysah's father studied law, but is now working in another family business, which manages properties. It is a successful business, which employs many members of the family. Her grandfather still lives in Rylands, with her aunt. The rest of her

father's family live in Kenwyn, Lansdowne, Rondebosch East and Johannesburg. Some of her family members used to live in Rylands, but very soon after 1994, they moved out.

Rumaysah's family intends to move out of Gatesville as well. They are just looking for the right house in a suburb close to a mosque. Gatesville once was very convenient for her father's work, as the company's offices were located down the street. However, they recently opened an office in Kenilworth, so his commute is during peak time traffic. Rumaysah says that her family is looking in Newlands, Kenilworth, and Claremont for a home. She is quite frank that her immediate family did not really choose to live in Gatesville. She explains that they live in Gatesville because her father's family was living in the area before. Rumaysah laments the distance from Gatesville to the Southern Suburbs and the City Bowl. She attended Rustenburg High School for Girls in Rondebosch, so she would experience heavy traffic coming and going to school. Additionally, socializing with school friends after school was always very difficult because of the distance. She has noticed a general decline in the area over the last ten years. She notes that at almost every traffic light, one sees a beggar outside. There are more squatters living in the fields, and she also hears more stories of robberies and crime.

Rumaysah, however, does see some perks to living in Gatesville. She notes that she has good relations with her neighbours—she knows them all by name. All her immediate neighbours are Indian, both evenly divided between Muslims and non-Muslims (she has Hindu and Christian neighbours). She explains that she and her mom can always pop over to her neighbour's house to borrow some sugar, but she does not get the sense that her family living in other parts of Cape Town can do the same. She socializes with her immediate neighbour, a Muslim Konkani family, quite regularly. They have each other over for supper and birthdays fairly often. However, she does not have the same relations with her Hindu and Christian neighbours. While they are on

friendly terms, she does not feel as comfortable asking them for a favour. She does not think this necessarily due to religious divisions, just that she has known her Muslim neighbours the longest.

Rumaysah does appreciate the socio-economic diversity of the Rylands/Gatesville area. She says she knows that some of her neighbours are struggling financially and it makes her appreciate all that she has. She feels fortunate to have friends across the socio-economic spectrum. They keep her grounded and it is important to have friends from different backgrounds. She notes that her Muslim friends in Rondebosch have mostly grown up around people of similar socio-economic backgrounds and so they do not seem to recognize how fortunate they are. While she does see some perks to living in Gatesville, she is also looking forward to moving out.

Nadia lives down the street from Rumaysah in Gatesville. She is Konkani Indian and has spent most of her life living in Gatesville. She moved to the area in 1995, when she was four years old. Previously, her family lived in Newfields, a coloured housing area. They were one of the few Indian families living in the area. Her father had owned a fast food takeaway in Grassy Park, but sold it a few years after moving to Rylands. Her family moved to Rylands from Newfields in order to get a bigger house. Her father now works at a packaging company. Her mother stays at home, but occasionally sells home-cooked meals for students and other people living nearby. Neither of her parents attended university.

Nadia's older sister attended the University of Western Cape to study business. However, she did not complete her degree. She stays at home with her family. Nadia took a beautician course at a local institute. She works at a small salon operating from a house down the road in Gatesville. She hopes she can eventually get the expertise to open her own salon. She decided on

cosmetology because she knew she was not interested in studying. She saw her sister struggle through university and knew she would not enjoy it herself.

Nadia attended Islamia College, a private Muslim high school in Lansdowne. Rattling off about ten names from the top of her head, she notes that many Muslim children from Rylands and Gatesville attended Islamia. She describes it as a good school that provided her with a solid Islamic education. Many of her cousins attended Islamia as well. She explains that in order to attend a former Model-C or non-Muslim private school, she would have to go through a large application process and she most likely would not get in because of where she lives. She described school fees at Islamia as “high,” but still more affordable than other private schools. As of 2013, Islamia College secondary school’s tuition was approximately R27,000 per academic year. Nadia’s parents opted to send her to Islamia because her older cousins attended the school as well. They wanted her to school in an environment which fostered an Islamic identity and education. Every day, Nadia would have an Islamic Studies and Quran class in addition to a standard academic curriculum. There would be breaks for prayer and the boys and girls were housed in separate buildings.

Most Muslim children do not attend a full-time Islamic school. Some parents opt to send their children to an Islamic primary school, such as the Habibia Soofie Primary School in Rylands, and then send them to a secular high school. One parent noted a preference for Islamic primary schools because they provide young children an Islamic grounding. In Islamic primary schools, they learn what it is to have a Muslim way of life, there is an emphasis on memorizing the Quran and Islamic prayers, and they get into the routine of praying five times a day. However, for high school, she noted that she would prefer a secular institute, as they tended to have better course offerings and teachers. She also echoed an opinion that the discipline would

be better in a “white school.” Another Muslim declared that he would never send his children to any full-time Islamic school. He explained that it was necessary that his children know how to interact with children of all religions and that he did not want to limit their exposure to only Muslims. Moreover, he believed that his children could gain whatever necessary Islamic teaching at an after-school madrassa.

Most of Nadia’s classmates went on to attend university at the University of the Western Cape or University of Cape Town. However, she does know a few students who decided to attend technicons or pursue a particular training program, as she has. As a result of her schooling, Nadia has few non-Muslim friends. She notes that when her sister attended university, her primary group of friends were Muslim, but she did study and socialize with non-Muslims as well. Nadia is not concerned about the homogeneity of her social group, as she is most comfortable with other Muslims. She explains that she was raised in a Muslim environment and thus prefers to maintain certain boundaries with non-Muslims. Nadia has not thought about where she would like to send her children for school. She said a big part of her decision will be based on where she is living. She has not eliminated the idea of sending her kids to a Muslim school, but she does note that her friends at “white schools” had better facilities, extracurricular opportunities, and academic offerings.

Nadia says that she likes living in Gatesville. Many of her friends and cousins are in the area. She grew up around the Gatesville community and she enjoys the sense of familiarity that her neighbourhood has. When she gets married, she would like to stay in the area, or possibly move to Crawford or Rondebosch East. There, she notes, there is still a strong community feel, but it is nicer. It is cleaner, convenient to get to other places (like Cavendish Mall or the Waterfront Mall), and it is safer. She does note, however, there is crime everywhere, and she

does not necessarily feel unsafe in Gatesville. On further contemplation, she decides that Gatesville has the added perk of being close to her mother, which is important to her.

Nadia says that her parents are settled in Gatesville and appreciate the community there. She cannot imagine them moving elsewhere. She describes her community as a handful of neighbours and family friends, and her large extended family living nearby. She does not know many non-Muslims, mostly because her family does not know them.

Nadia seems to be more optimistic about living in Gatesville than Rumaysah. She explains that there is a lot of wealth in the area and that the neighbours look out for one another. It is true, that there are notable signs of wealth throughout Rylands and Gatesville. On any given street, one can find enormous houses, which have been recently renovated. In driveways, there are BMWs, Audis, and Mercedes Benzs. Some Muslim families have chosen to upgrade and renovate their homes rather than moving to “nicer” suburbs elsewhere. They are invested in the community and see it as a permanent home. However, there are still very notable signs of poverty. There are squatters living in a nearby tunnel, and there are beggars at many street corners. Not all the houses are so elaborate. On many homes, the paint is peeling and their modest sizes are dwarfed by their more extravagant neighbours. There are also a large number of apartment buildings, which also caters to residents of the area. The socioeconomic diversity of this former Indian group area is evident.

There appears to be no one “Gatesville Muslim experience.” Residents cherish and appreciate different aspects of living in the area. While the Coloured population was large enough to subdivide into different socio-economic housing areas, the Indian population was shafted into only two areas. Thus, Indians in the former Group Areas have been living side by side despite their different socio-economic status. While there is a lack of residential economic

segregation, there seems to be levels of social segregation at play. Both Nadia and Rumaysah did not know anyone who attended the local public high school- Rylands High School. Their existing social circles consisted of Muslim family friends who had similar financial statuses. For example, Rumaysah's parents' friends were mostly business people, accountants, and doctors. Nadia's family friends owned butcheries and fast food takeaways. Nadia's existing social circle is predominantly Indian Muslim. Rumaysah, who went to a school in Rondebosch, mixes with non-Muslims, and both Muslim Indians and Malays.

The Rylands and Gatesville areas are socioeconomically diverse and increasingly racially diverse suburbs in the Cape Flats. As of the 2011 Census, Rylands was 77% Indian, 13% Coloured and 8% Black. Gatesville was 70% Indian, 21% Coloured, and 5% Black. With the movement of non-whites around the Cape Flats, the Indian presence in these areas will slowly lessen. However, as evidenced by the large number of businesses geared towards Indian food, dress, and Bollywood movies, this section of town remains distinctly Indian.

III. Ruyterwacht/ Epping Garden Village: A Historic "Poor White" Area

Ruyterwacht, or an area historically known as Epping Garden Village, was created in 1938, with the explicit purpose of housing (and uplifting) poor whites. The "Poor White Problem" was a major issue for the White government at the time. Whites were supposed to be economically and socially superior to all other races in South Africa, yet the existence of poor whites challenged this notion of supremacy. Poor whites also risked mixing with other races and thus could potentially pollute the ethnic purity of the white race. In order to combat this problem, housing areas were established in every South African city with the express purpose of uplifting poor whites and ensuring their respectability.

Epping Garden Village, an area situated on the Cape Flats, was designated to solve Cape Town's Poor White Problem. Annika Teppo, an anthropology student who studied Epping Garden Village, describes the measures taken to transform the poor whites into "good whites" as a form of rehabilitation. Social workers and "respectable" whites were employed to guide the residents of Epping Garden Village in the areas of cleanliness and health, morals and sexuality, bodily appearance and behaviour, family life, social and racial relations, and correct use of space and spatiality.²⁰⁹ The ultimate goal of the rehabilitation process was to transform the suburb's residents into successful and respectable citizen, who could then move to a middle-class area. Many of the poor whites of Epping Garden Village did not manage to leave the suburb.

Rent in Epping Garden Village was initially extremely subsidized. A resident of Epping Garden Village remembered that her first rent in 1976 was a meagre £2.10. In comparison, a jar of jam would cost 89 cents.²¹⁰ Teppo's research on economic mobility in Epping Garden Village found that the majority of second-generation residents of the suburb managed to ascend to the ranks of the middle class.²¹¹ With the end of apartheid, state subsidies and extensive social worker support for poor whites were withdrawn. Young professional coloureds started moving into Ruyterwacht. In the 2001 Census, coloureds made up approximately 40 percent of the residents. The poorest whites moved out to caravan parks, granny flats and squatter camps.²¹²

The movement of non-whites into Epping Garden Village was always a concern for the suburb's white residents. Elsie's River, an initially poor coloured area adjoining Epping Garden Village was a constant threat to the white racial purity of the neighbourhood. Under the Slum

²⁰⁹ Annika Teppo, "The making of a good white." *A Historical Ethnography of the Rehabilitation of Poor* (2004). 16.

²¹⁰ Teppo 49.

²¹¹ Teppo 51.

²¹² Teppo 56.

Clearance Act, Elsie's River was declared a slum in 1966. The area was razed, and its poor residents were sent to the neighbouring Bishop Lavis Township to find homes. Elsie's River became home to middle-class coloureds. However, a fence was placed between Epping Garden Village and Elsie's River to demarcate the boundaries between white respectability and undesirable coloureds. Vigilantes in Epping Garden Village enforced the racial barrier by intimidating coloureds who dared to venture into their neighbourhood with the use of violence and dogs.²¹³

In 1981, Epping Garden Village was formally renamed Ruyterwacht, or mounted guard. The name is both an allusion to Afrikaner nationalist history as well as the name of the Broederbund youth organization, Ruitervag. Ruyterwacht had a reputation of being a racist and National Party stronghold.

Today, Grandwest Casino serves as an imposing neighbour to Ruyterwacht. The service entrance demarcates a border between the Casino and the residential area. The houses in Ruyterwacht are reminiscent of an idyllic suburb. Homes are pastel colours, have fenced yards both in front and behind the home, and houses are evenly spaced apart. The roads are named after both British royalty- Princess Margaret, Anne and Elizabeth and King George- as well as (white) stately figures in South African history- Paul Kruger, Cecil Rhodes, Jan Van Riebeeck .

Estate agents maintain that a sort of renewal or gentrification is underway in Ruyterwacht. With the presence of professional and upwardly mobile coloureds in the area, one can see home renovations and newer cars throughout the suburb. A few homes even have pools, double stories, and large garages. Coloureds residing in Ruyterwacht overwhelmingly own their

²¹³ Teppo 174.

homes, consist of nuclear family units, and have young children.²¹⁴ Ruyterwacht is seen as a sort of an interim or bridge between a poor coloured area, say like Bishop Lavis, and a wealthier increasingly coloured area like Goodwood. Ruyterwacht is attractive to many home buyers because there are small paved roads, neat houses and plots, and it is also close to several major employers—Grand West Casino, Epping Industrial Park, and Trans-Net Railway. According to the 2011 Census, Ruyterwacht was 50% Coloured, 33% White, and 12% Black.²¹⁵

The Imam of the mosque in Ruyterwacht dates the start of a formal Muslim community to about 2002. However, in 2001, the number of Muslims in Ruyterwacht totalled 589- making up approximately 9% of the community.²¹⁶ This was more than double the Muslim population from 1996, which was approximately 4%.²¹⁷ Today, he estimates that there are about 400 Muslim households in Ruyterwacht and he can imagine the area becoming 80-90% Muslim in the future. The Ruyterwacht Mosque serves both the residents of the area as well as those working nearby. For the Friday prayer, the mosque has about 300 congregants. On Islamic holidays, the mosque is packed to capacity with 750 people. Muslims have been moving to Ruyterwacht for the same reason why many other non-whites have- it is central, affordable, and in comparison to other working class suburbs, has a lot of greenery and pleasant architecture. The Imam of the mosque explains that many new residents of Ruyterwacht are moving in from Bonteheuwel and Manenberg. Ruyterwacht is the stepping stone between somewhere like Bonteheuwel and Goodwood. When residents have earned enough, they tend to move to nearby Goodwood or Thornton, which were white middle class areas under apartheid.

²¹⁴ Teppo 208.

²¹⁵ 2011 Census.

²¹⁶ 2001 Census.

²¹⁷ 1996 Census.

Muslims describe relations between white and non-white neighbours as poor or non-existent. One resident, who works as a beautician, described whites' reactions to her as almost like "jealousy." She explains that the white residents have been staying in Ruyterwacht for many years. Muslims have been moving into Ruyterwacht, fixing the houses up and driving nicer cars and then moving to nicer suburbs. They have been able to show upward mobility, whereas the whites have remained stagnant.

IV. Goodwood: A Middle Class White Area

The Muslim presence in Goodwood dates to the founding of the suburb. Goodwood was founded in 1905, initially with the hopes of it becoming a horse racing centre. In 1906, the Directory entry on Goodwood contained Muslim-owned businesses.²¹⁸ Before the Group Areas Act, Muslims also sat on the Village Management Board and later in the Town Council.²¹⁹ In the early 1920's, more and more Muslims moved into Goodwood as businesses grew in Parow and Bellville. Goodwood was the chosen suburb because it was not very far from the Muslim areas of Salt River, Woodstock and Bo-Kaap.²²⁰ In 1928, the Muslim residents of Goodwood formed the Qu'looboel Moe'mieneen Society- or the heart of the believers in Arabic. This group was charged with serving the religious needs of the Muslims in the community- ensuring there was a space for prayers, religious holidays, and dealing with conflicts of a religious nature which may have arisen. Most Muslims settled in an area called 'De Akkers' or The Oaks after the many oak trees in the area. The Oaks was an overwhelmingly poor area, with most of its residents living wood and iron dwellings. The Muslim community established a short-term prayer area- called a

²¹⁸ Rosenthal, Eric. *Goodwood and Its Story*. 1980. Print.17.

²¹⁹ Rosenthal, Eric 76.

²²⁰ "Our History." *Goodwood Islamic Society*. 5 Mar. 2009. Web. 30 July 2013

Jamaat Khaanah- also made from wood and iron. However, due to the poor construction of the prayer area, there was a need for a more permanent space.

The Muslims in Goodwood, consisting of both Malays and Indians, viewed themselves as a separate community from the non-white population, with specific needs. For example, in 1942 the “Moslem Bazaar” opened in Goodwood, with the blessing of the Town Clerk.²²¹

In 1937, the Muslim community approached the Village Management Board for permission to build a permanent mosque in Goodwood. Prior to the erection of the mosque, Muslims in Goodwood would pray in a ginger beer factory on Kimberly Street on special holidays (Millar 55). The Village Management Board granted the Muslim community’s request- they understood that there was a large Muslim population in Goodwood, which were without a permanent space. The area where they requested to build the mosque was still largely underdeveloped at the time, so there was little resistance from the community.

The majority of the Muslim population in Goodwood were without a large amount of means. While the mosque was approved easily, the construction of the mosque took four years. The Muslim community worked together to build the mosque, fundraise, and gather materials from within the community. Artisans and labourers from within the community built the mosque on Saturday afternoons and Sundays, as they worked during the week. The construction of the mosque was not without delays, as many of the community members also had to tend to their wood houses- mending and renovating them due to weather conditions (Millar 55). Construction workers also had to walk as far as two miles each day to the mosque site; the paths to the mosque were often flooded and marshy.

²²¹ Rosenthal, Eric 76.

The Goodwood Mosque was finally opened in 1941. The mosque became the social and religious centre for most Muslims living in Goodwood. A madrassa operated from the mosque and the mosque would also host an array of Islamic activities. In 1954, renovations were made to the mosque. Prior to the Group Areas Act, there was approximately 400 Muslim families living in Goodwood. However, in the late 1960s, the Group Areas Act was enforced upon Goodwood, thus removing Muslim residents to areas such as Ravensmead, Elsies River, Belhar and Bishop Lavis. Attending the Goodwood Mosque became increasingly difficult for former Goodwood residents- the mosque fell into gradual disuse and new mosques were established in the outlying areas where residents were relocated. Former residents would return to the mosque during special holidays

The Natha family, a Muslim family of Indian descent, were able to circumvent the Group Areas Act and continue to reside in Goodwood. They owned a general convenience store in Goodwood, which sold groceries and basic household goods, for residents. Due to the necessity of their “corner shop” to the residents of Goodwood, the family was allowed to stay in the suburb despite the white declaration. The Natha family was appointed caretakers for the Goodwood Mosque and charged with its upkeep during the apartheid era. A member of the family who lived in Goodwood and worked in the shop explained that despite the family’s roots in Goodwood, there was no sense of neighbourliness between them and their white neighbours. She laughed at the prospect of having white neighbours over for tea or popping into a neighbour’s house to say hello. Muslim family members and friends would come and visit them in Goodwood and they would make social calls to Cravenby, but they would never socialize with whites living in the area. Even when she worked in the shop, she was always mindful to be polite and it was expected that she address her white customers as “sir” and “madam.” Despite the nonexistent

relations with neighbours, this former Goodwood resident did not find her stay in Goodwood to be particularly lonely. She was grateful that Cravenby was so close, so she could visit friends often.

In 1992, in preparation for the dismantling of apartheid, the mosque was renovated once again. With the eradication of the Group Areas Act, more and more Muslim families started to move to Goodwood. Many of these families had grown up in the area prior to the Group Areas Act, while also a substantial number moved in without connections to the area. Muslims who did not grow up in Goodwood tend to be attracted to the area because it is relatively close to the areas where they might have lived under the Group Areas Act, such as Elsie's River and Maitland. At the same time, there is a tendency for non-whites to move into historically white areas because these suburbs were once closed off to them. A suburb like Goodwood is ideal because it has the infrastructure and conveniences of a "white area," while still having a well-established mosque and Muslim community.

In 2002, a second mosque opened in Goodwood on the top floor of a commercial property. This mosque caters primarily to the people who are working in the Goodwood area, although residents attend as well. There are many businesses and commercial interests located in Goodwood and the employees of these places lacked prayer facilities.

In April 2013, a third mosque opened in a former church on Anderson Street in Goodwood. The mosque was purchased by a private individual who hoped to provide an additional place of worship for residents of Goodwood.²²² The president of the Muslim Judicial Council lauded the opening of the new mosque, given the history of the suburb. "The opening of this masjid is a breakthrough for the Muslims of this area and speaks to the future developments

²²² "Church Now Mosque." *Voice of the Cape*. 28 Mar. 2013. Web. 2 Aug. 2013.

of the ummah... As we see more Muslims returning to this area, can we imagine the growth of Islam in Goodwood in the next fifteen to fifty years? We remain committed to the unity of the community, its growth, the preservation of Islam and our Muslim identity as a people who can peacefully co-exist with non-Muslims in this country.”²²³ The opening ceremony for the Anderson Street Mosque, which is officially called the Sulaimani Masjied, was a joyous and symbolic occasion. Speakers referenced the history of apartheid and Muslims’ struggles with forced removals in order to demonstrate how far the Goodwood Muslim community has progressed. For those in attendance, there was a sense that the opening of the Sulaimani Masjied was a triumph against the legacies of apartheid.

The opening of the Sulaimani Masjied is not without controversy. Segments of the Muslim population in Goodwood feel that the new mosque was opened without the input and consent from the historic Quloobul Moe’mineen Masjid. Factions of the Goodwood community were upset that the Muslim Judicial Council had announced the mosque’s purchase and opening extremely suddenly and without even consulting the Quloobul Moe’mineen imam. However, most of the community members interviewed seemed to support the idea of the new mosque, noting it was a positive sign of the growth of the Goodwood Muslim community.

The historic Goodwood Mosque remains the spiritual and social hub for the Muslims in Goodwood. Increasingly, former residents have been returning to the Goodwood mosque for weekly Friday prayers, and even more people attend during religious holidays. There has been a massive jump of Muslim families in the area in recent years and this is witnessed by the huge overflow in the mosque. One Goodwood resident associated with the mosque estimates that approximately one hundred Muslim families have moved into Goodwood in the last five to ten

²²³ "Sh Raed Coming." *Voice of the Cape*. 02 Apr. 2013. Web. 2 Aug. 2013.

years and that there are currently between nine hundred and one thousand Muslim families residing in Goodwood. Currently, it is not unusual for the Friday congregation to spill outside due to the mosque being packed to capacity. Not all Muslims are moving to Goodwood because of the mosque, but the Secretary of the Goodwood Mosque, Whalied, attributes the mosque for people staying in the area.

He explained that when he moved to Goodwood, he did not even think of the historic role that Muslims have played in Goodwood's history. He chose to move to Goodwood about six years ago because the area was affordable and safer compared to his previous home in Wetton. He explains his choice to move to Goodwood as "divine intervention." When he went to the mosque for the first time, he found a close-knit community. The imam approached him immediately after the prayer to ask him who he was and if he was a new resident. He never had to introduce himself to the imam again. From that day onwards, the imam knew his name and would always greet him when he saw him in the mosque or elsewhere in the area. Whalied grew up in Athlone, so he is used to being around a large number of Muslims. But in an area like Athlone, he was just one in the crowd. He tells me that he will never move out of Goodwood because he appreciates the intimacy of the Muslim community. He describes the community around the mosque as a "big family" which has brought him closer to God.

Despite the influx of Muslims moving into Goodwood, there has not been a substantial backlash from the older residents in the area. Many white families have moved to Panorama or Durbanville, although Muslim residents do not attribute this to racism. Interestingly, very few whites move into Goodwood today. However, Muslims have not experienced hostility from their non-Muslim neighbours. Whalied explains to me that since Muslims have always had a presence in Goodwood, the residents of the area are used to them. Having Muslim neighbours is not an

alien phenomena because Muslims have always been in Goodwood- today, they are merely returning. The Goodwood Mosque has also had excellent relations with the neighbours in the vicinity. Islamophobia does not seem to be a problem in Goodwood.

V. Pinelands: An Upper-Middle Class White Area

Pinelands is a leafy suburb comfortably located between the N1 and N2 highways. Pinelands was historically a large farm called Uitvlugt, but in 1919 the land was converted into a residential area. In the 1950s, Eric Rosenthal described Pinelands, “With a population of more than 5,000 Europeans it now takes its place as one of the happiest and most enterprising communities in the land while for beauty of situation and almost uniformly high standard of architecture and town-planning there is hardly anything to be compared with it.”²²⁴ The 2001 Census indicated that the population of Pinelands was 10,618. Whites consisted of approximately 84% of the population, Coloureds were approximately 8%, Black Africans were 6% and Indians just over 2%. There were 274 Muslim residents of Pinelands in 2001, making up just about 2.6% of the suburb’s population.²²⁵

Today, Pinelands is lauded as the “ten-minute suburb.” Located between Cape Town’s two major highways, it is easy to commute to the Central Business District, the Southern Suburbs and the airport. Old Mutual, a major employer in Cape Town, is also located in Pinelands. People move to Pinelands because there is a value for money in the area. The suburb is comparable to Rondebosch in terms of size and quality of houses, but they tend to have larger yards and are significantly cheaper. Pinelands High School is regarded as an academically rigorous government school. At the same time, Pinelands residents can opt to send their children to one of the esteemed Southern Suburb schools, given the relatively short commuting distances.

²²⁴Rosenthal, Eric. "History of Pinelands." *Gadgeteer*.. Web. 02 Aug. 2013.

²²⁵ 2001 Census

The residents of Pinelands are distributed among all age groups- young couples, new families, established households, as well as retirees. While there are many new residents in Pinelands, a common trend is for those who live in Pinelands to move within the suburb. Elderly residents tend to downscale their homes or move to one of the area's many retirement villages. New families often purchase a small home and then move into a larger one in Pinelands as their families and savings grow.

While Pinelands is predominantly white, real estate agents say that the majority of new residents are coloureds and Muslims (real estate agents referred to coloureds and Muslims as two separate racial groups). One real estate agent working in the area stated that there are approximately 400 Muslim families living in Pinelands, out of the 4000 properties. What particularly draws some Muslims to the area is that Pinelands is dry- the sale of alcohol is forbidden. Estate agents say that the presence of Muslims in Pinelands is evidenced by structural renovations and expansions on the old Pinelands homes. One agent suggested that Muslims and Coloureds tend to renovate their homes to try to prove themselves socially. She explained that they want to show that they can afford a larger home in a formerly white suburb, or a fancier car. The most vivid evidence of a growing Muslim community in Pinelands is the creation of and controversy surrounding the Pinelands Islamic Centre.

The Pinelands Islamic Centre was spearheaded by a group of Pinelands Muslim residents called the Pinelands Muslims Association (PMA). The PMA was formed in 2001 in order to serve the specific needs of the Muslim community. In 2002, they formally started the search for a permanent prayer hall and Muslim facilities. They decided to name their project the Pinelands Islamic Centre, because they hoped for the facility to contain much more than just a prayer hall. They envisioned it to hold an Islamic school for children, child care, facilities, and a hall for

functions. They saw an advertisement that the City Council wanted to sell a few vacant lots. The PMA put in a proposal for the mosque, but the Council rejected it on the basis that the property had to be used for an educational purpose. The PMA found a precedent for allowing a religious institution to be included as an educational institution, when a convent was allowed to fall under the banner of an educational vicinity. The Council begrudgingly accepted their proposal, but the battle for a mosque was far from over. One of the trustees for the mosque explained how throughout the building and zoning process, the Council continually gave the PMA an uphill battle. He explained that first they stated it had to be an educational zone. When the PMA had their lawyers clear up that issue, the Council later attempted to stall their proposal by demanding that there must be ten meters of land around the whole property. Once they changed their blueprint to accommodate this change, the Council insisted that the Islamic Centre be placed a certain number of meters above the flood line. Despite that other homes and buildings in Pinelands also located on the river bank were far below the Council's declared flood line, the Islamic Centre complied with their demands.

While the struggle to build a permanent mosque and Islamic Centre continued, Pinelands residents rented a small area on Morningside Road to conduct prayers and hold an after-school *madrassa* for children. The Pinelands Muslim Association also consists of a Ladies Forum which has been active in donating food and funds to local communities in Langa and Maitland Garden Village.

When I asked a trustee of the Pinelands Islamic Centre what was the reason behind the Council's constant objections to the mosque, he boiled it down to Islamophobia. He explained that the residents of this historically white neighbourhood did not have anything against his skin colour, specifically, but more against the practice of his religion. He owns a guest house in

Pinelands and when he was in the first stages of setting it up, he remembers a woman walking by asking in a concerned voice, “Is this where the madrassa will be?” While madrassas in South Africa are usually a term referring to an Islamic school for children, the owner of the guest house took this woman’s query to denote the extremist institutions where terrorists are trained, as is often described in the media. He explained to me that not many non-Muslims would know that what South African Muslims call madrassas are really after-school programs where children learn the rules and practices of Islam as well as how to read Quran. He believed that the woman who walked past his guesthouse was under the impression that an extremist institution was taking hold in Pinelands! The Islamic Centre trustee said that the objections to the mosque mostly came from the elderly Pinelands residents and Council members, while the younger members tended to be more open-minded. However, the Pinelands Muslim Association attended a public meeting and managed to garner the general support of the ratepayers.

After ten years of contention, the first phase of the Islamic Centre was completed in October 2012. This phase consisted of a carpeted prayer area. The second phase will include the school and hall and the third phase will be the general aesthetics and landscaping. With the construction of the Pinelands Islamic Centre, the Pinelands Muslim Association has made their presence a known and lasting facet of the Pinelands residential community.

Not all Muslim residents of Pinelands have experienced Islamophobia in their community. Zareena, who moved to the suburb with her husband and three children two years ago, has nothing but optimistic stories about her experiences in her new home. She glows about her neighbours’ kindness and openness, despite their different faiths. She feels comfortable knowing that her neighbours are looking out for her house and her family, in the same way that she is looking out for theirs. Yet, at the same time, she admits that she still tends to gravitate

towards the other Muslim families in the area. Her closest social circle consists for four or five other Muslim families whose children attend the same school as hers. She feels at ease knowing that her children have at least one other Muslim friend either in their class or in their playgroup. She tells me that this year is the first time that her seven-year old daughter does not have a Muslim classmate. She is thankful that her daughter is of an independent nature because a lot of the non-Muslim girls in her class have a pre-existing social circle because their parents are also friends.

Islamophobia in Pinelands, however, is not an isolated incident. Yusra has been living in Pinelands for seven years. She explained that when she first moved into the area, her neighbours were “a bit racist.” Her neighbours to one side were an old couple, who she said, were always complaining about something- their dog barking, leaves falling on their lawn, and a lot of other things. She sensed that they would look at her and her children funny and they would never stop to make small talk, often even avoiding eye contact. She said another neighbour, who they lived next to for four years, only spoke to them on one occasion. What was more hurtful was that this neighbour had children the same age as Yusra’s. But whenever Yusra’s children came out to play, the mother would call her own children in. She did not want her kids to play with Muslim children. The same neighbour took steps, which Yusra felt, was to distance themselves from their Muslim neighbours. They built their wall higher and they got another dog. Yusra explained that where she grew up, neighbours were supposed to watch and protect each other. They were supposed to be a source of support and strength. Yet in Pinelands, her neighbours were cold and distant.

When their first Pinelands home became cramped for her growing family, Yusra and her husband had a choice- either renovate or move. She knew that they would have trouble getting

their neighbours to approve any sort of structural renovations and fortunately a suitable home came on the market not too far away. Yusra and her family have been living in their second Pinelands home for three years now. She says her relationship with her new neighbours are better, but marginally so. She believes her neighbours are only friendly because they rely on her to carpool their kids to school. While her kids and the neighbours' kids are friends, her neighbours still do not hesitate to call her when her alarm goes off in the middle of the day- not to ask her if everything is okay, but to complain about the noise.

All the same, Yusra is happy in Pinelands. Before living in Pinelands, they lived in Surrey Estate, but they moved in order to attend the higher quality schools in the area. Ultimately, she said, you have to make the best decision for your family. Initially, she found it difficult to adjust being away from a large Muslim community. Yusra grew up in Mitchell's Plain. While Mitchell's Plain is not even a majority Muslim area, the Muslim community was quite strong.

Both Yusra's parents initially lived in District Six. Her paternal grandfather had passed away when her father was five years old, so money was tight in her father's home. Under the Group Areas Act, her father and grandmother were relocated to a Council Home in Hanover Park, where they lived until they could purchase a home in Mitchell's Plain in 1977. Her father worked in construction and as a house painter. Yusra's mother was trained as a nurse. Yusra's maternal grandfather was a French Polisher- this is a speciality trade dealing with the care of ornate furniture. Her maternal grandmother was a dressmaker. Her mother's side of the family were relocated to Mitchell's Plain.

When Yusra's parents were married, they first rented a room in Grassy Park and then later moved to Portland, in Mitchell's Plain. When I told Yusra I was looking at the diversity of

Muslim experiences in Cape Town, she was adamant that it was the choices which people made which determined where they are today. She explained that she worked exceptionally hard in high school in order to be accepted to the University of Cape Town. At that time, there were certain higher level classes which one needed to be accepted. However her high school, Woodlands Secondary School, did not offer those classes. She took classes on Saturdays in order to take higher level physics and mathematics. Very few students followed this path. She estimated that from the forty students in her class, only five were able to seek professional careers and move out of the area. The rest, she explains, were too consumed with partying and having a good time. Since these children's parents were working, there was no one to oversee their education. It is not that Yusra's parents were around any more or less than other parents, but she had taken an extra effort to ensure she received an education. Her siblings, one older and one younger brother, however, are still in Mitchell's Plain. One is a mechanic and the other is involved in maintenance work. Yusra is concerned that her nephews and nieces will not have the same educational opportunities as her own children.

Yusra received a nursing degree from the University of Cape Town, where she met her husband, who was studying medicine at the time. Her husband's siblings have all been able to pursue professional careers. His sister is a physiotherapist in Bo-Kaap, his brother is in the Information Technology field, and his other brother is an accountant. Yusra uses her father-in-law as an example of the need for independent drive and ambition. Her father-in-law started off doing filing work. From there he studied further and later opened up video shops. He became a successful businessmen. Yusra tells me, you need to make the effort early on in order to achieve success.

Similarly, Zareena is very happy in Pinelands- she enjoys the large backyard where her children play, the good government schools, and the centrality of the suburb. When Zareena and her husband first married, they moved to Hazendal. However, they knew they would not live there forever. She explained there was no future for her children there, there were no good public schools and the crime rate was high. At the time, they could not afford to live elsewhere. However, she grew up in Bo-Kaap and she does miss the Muslim community that she had there. She grew up in a home on Upper Longmarket Street, near the Noon Gun. Her father had converted to Islam after spending time in Bo-Kaap. He was a chauffeur-his boss had assisted in purchasing the plot and building their home in Bo-Kaap. As is tradition in many Muslim families, her brother now lives in the family home in Bo-Kaap. Their home on Upper Longmarket has been in the family for over fifty years. Zareena's family spends Eid in Bo-Kaap, which is also the home to her mother's family. However, even an area as steeped in South African Muslim history as Bo-Kaap, is losing its sense of familiarity. Zareena laments that Bo-Kaap is no longer a dry area, as it once was. She also used to know all of her neighbours, but with the high prices that a central home in Bo-Kaap goes for, many Muslim families are selling and young non-Muslim professionals are moving in.

Zareena's husband is also an example of the fruits of hard labour. He was born in District Six and his family built a home in Grassy Park when they were relocated. When his parents divorced, they lost the home in Grassy Park. Zareena's husband and his siblings moved around with their mother, as they rented homes in multiple suburbs during the time. Zareena rattles off a list of areas she remembers that they lived in- Lansdowne, Rylands, Crawford- they moved about ten times. In 1998, they bought a home in Athlone. However, her mother in law currently lives

with them. Her husband received a bursary and became a civil engineer. He now works for the City Council.

It is during times like Eid, when Zareena and Yusra miss their old homes the most. Yusra says that she makes sure that her children continue to deliver plates of savouries and goodies, as is South African Muslim custom, to their neighbours before the breaking of the fast in Ramadan. “It is something that they have to do, because if you don’t continue that, then what will they have?” she tells me. Zareena spends every Eid in Bo-Kaap and Yusra in Mitchell’s Plein. They explain that over there, it is unheard of to have an empty home during Eid- family and friends are constantly in and out of each other’s homes. They also both wish their parents would stay with them in their new homes. However, the older generations do not feel comfortable in a historically white area, even if there are now about four hundred Muslim families in close proximity. Their elderly parents miss being able to walk to the mosque or being able to pop in and out of their neighbours’ and families’ homes unannounced. Despite that the local Pick’n’Pay sells halal meat, both Zareena and Yusra prefer going to Muslim-owned butcheries for their meat. Zareena prefers Good Hope Butchery in Salt River or Wembley in Belgravia. Yusra says that she drives all the way to Mitchell’s Plain for her meat because the butchers there know her. Her mother bought meat from them and they know what types of cuts she likes and they are also likely to give her a discount.

Living in a historically white area has its trade-offs for Muslim families. While new Muslim communities are forming in areas such as Pinelands and Goodwood, many families still have a foot in the neighbourhoods where they grew up- such as Mitchell’s Plain, Lansdowne, and Bo-Kaap. Muslims in Pinelands seem to be acutely aware of their “Other-ness” in their new home. The preference for Muslims to socialize with Muslims and Whites with Whites (as is seen

when Zareena refers to her daughter's playgroup) indicates that segregation endures even when living in a close proximity. Even residents like Zareena, who has a warm and friendly relationship with her neighbours, find the Pinelands community lacking. Zareena and Yusra have taken strides to ensure that their children receive the best education possible, but at the cost that they have lost the vibrant Muslim community they may have had in Mitchell's Plain or Bo-Kaap.

The movement of Muslims into new spaces has resulted in changes in the landscape. Mosques have popped up throughout the Northern Suburbs, a previously white section of metropolitan Cape Town. Halal meat is sold in more and more grocery stores, such as Pick n'Pay and Woolworths Foods. Major restaurant chains, such as Spur, are opening branches in areas like Claremont which sell only halal meat. It appears that Muslim movement into these areas has had a chain effect. Mosques and businesses catered towards Muslims are on the rise and in conjunction, more and more Muslims are considering former white areas as potential new residences. With the growth of Muslim families in former white areas, the perception that these suburbs are isolating for Muslim families has become less.

VI. Conclusion

Muslims are more widely dispersed throughout Cape Town than ever before. With the end of apartheid, Muslims have had the opportunity to move into their former suburbs as well as entirely new areas. As a result, Muslims in Cape Town are now separated by socioeconomic status, rather than race. Muslims living in former townships, former non-white home ownership schemes, and former white areas, have widely different day-to-day experiences. Their sense of immediate community, relations with their neighbours, school choices, and occupations are shaped by their residential choices. Resultantly, Muslims are not as cohesive as they once were. While Muslims in Cape Town were never monolithic, their lived experiences prior to apartheid,

were much less disparate than they are now. Residents of Bonteheuwel experience unique challenges and day to day struggles from Muslim residents of Pinelands. Residents of Goodwood interact in different spaces from Muslims in Rylands. Before apartheid, networks existed amongst the main hubs of Muslim life (the City Bowl area, Southern Suburbs, and Woodstock). However, apartheid has diminished the connections that many Muslims have to their extended families living across townships and suburbs.

Despite these differences, Muslims in Cape Town still strongly subscribe to the notion that they are part of a wider, all-encompassing “Cape Muslim community.” This community is derived first and foremost by their shared faith. It is strengthened by a shared history—a history that encompasses the struggles of Muslim slaves, the memories of Muslim life areas such as Constantia and District Six, and the challenges of forced removals.

During Islamic holidays, this notion of a wider Cape Muslim community is on display, as community members from across the Cape engage in the same traditions and customs. The larger mosques are packed with Muslims across the socioeconomic spectrum, hoping to listen to the best recitation of Quran. At the end of Ramadan, Muslim men from throughout Cape Town assemble in Sea Point to search for the moon in order to officially declare the Eid holiday. Throughout the year, Muslims tune into the same Islamic radio stations, offering religious and personal advice, recipes, Islamic lectures, and Quranic recitations. They also are generally supportive of helping Muslims abroad, such as Muslims in need in Palestine and Syria. Islamic obligations, such as performing the *hajj* also unites Cape Town Muslims around a common experience.

This wider Muslim community is not as concrete as a place-based or ethnicity-based community. It is an imagined community, constructed by its members to accommodate an

important identity marker. Islam plays a crucial role in many Cape Town Muslims' lives. Even if they are not highly observant, for many Muslims, Islam is a strong identity marker. Muslims view their religious identity as something distinctive, which makes them different from others. The acknowledgement of a wider Muslim community is a means to acknowledge and pay homage to this identity marker.

CHAPTER SIX: ISLAMOPHOBIA IN CAPE TOWN

In this chapter, I examine the impact of Islamophobia on the Muslim community in Cape Town today. Islamophobia has a major effect on the lives of Muslims in former white Group Areas. Many Muslims feel that their religious beliefs are challenged by their new non-Muslim neighbours. As a result, they feel compelled to emphasize their religious identity and presence in former white Group Areas. Moreover, they are less likely to interact with their non-Muslim neighbours than their Muslim counterparts in former coloured or Indian Group Areas. Thus, their sense of identity and community has been altered by Islamophobia.

i. Islamophobia

Islamophobia is a term coined by the Runnymede Trust, a British think tank devoted to issues of equality and multiculturalism. In 1997, the Trust published a report which defined Islamophobia as, “the unfounded hatred towards Islam.”²²⁶ Islamophobia also encompasses the idea that Islam has little in common with Western culture (and is often in direct contradiction to it), its belief system is monolithic and static, and that the religion is considered “other and separate.”²²⁷ The idea that all Muslims are a foreign and homogenous group has a long history. Samuel Huntington penned the idea of a “clash of civilizations” first in 1993 and later in a book by the same name in 1996. His thesis was that in the future, conflicts would be waged on ideological grounds. The greatest rift will be between the “West” and “Islamic countries.” The ideologies adopted by these Muslim countries, Huntington argues, are so alienating that they

²²⁶ Runnymede Trust, London (United Kingdom);. *Islamophobia a challenge for us all*. 1997. 11.

²²⁷ Runnymede Trust 11.

only serve to separate their adherents from democratic Western nations. Conflicts based on these polar-ideologies are inevitable.²²⁸

After September 11, the issue of Islamophobia gained new significance. Anti-Muslim actions and rhetoric, especially throughout Western Europe and the United States was on the rise. Immediately after September 11, the MJC in Cape Town was victim to an arson attack, as well as abusive phone calls. Muslim organizations, local radio stations, as well as Muslim-orientated newspapers received hate mail.²²⁹

It seems difficult to connect South Africa, a nation with a very different political culture as well as political goals from Western Europe and the United States, could also share Islamophobic tendencies. I am not suggesting that South Africa, as a nation, is Islamophobic. Indeed Muslims in South Africa enjoy far-reaching rights, unparalleled in any other Muslim minority country. Muslims can opt to follow certain elements of Muslim Personal Law, including a Muslim Marriages Bill, which recognizes non-official, yet Islamic marriages. There is also a plethora of halal food and restaurants, there are many notable Muslim members of Parliament, the former Premier of the Western Cape was a practicing Muslim.

However, time and again, there have been patterns of isolated and localized Islamophobia. Goolam Vahed and Shamil Jeppie, two leading academics on Muslims in South Africa, have recounted a number of instances when South African media and public figures have propagated Islamophobia. Amongst others, they cite journalist Max du Preez questioning the loyalty of Muslim citizens to South Africa, in light of the Paradise Mombasa Hotel attack. Martin Schonteich from the Institute of Security Studies connected Muslim South Africans

²²⁸ Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 1993. Print.

²²⁹ Shamil Jeppie and Goolam Vahed. "Multiple communities: Muslims in post-apartheid South Africa." *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005* (2005): 252-254. 272.

disapproval of the War on Terror with growing fundamentalism. He stated, “The threat of Islamic terrorism is linked directly to the rising fundamentalist sympathy in the Muslim community. Polarisation will see more radical sections within that community come to the fore, with even traditionally moderate Muslim leaders becoming increasingly outspoken.”²³⁰

Schonteich’s statements were met with disapproval by the MJC and other Muslim leaders.²³¹ I argue, from my research, that there are specific prejudices against Muslims, as a group that is separate from their perceived race. These instances of Islamophobia occur almost uniquely in areas which were designated for whites under the Group Areas Act.

i. The Struggle to Build Mosques

In interviews with imams and community members of Thornton, Ruyterwacht and Pinelands, I found that there was a pattern of less than welcoming behaviour from the non-Muslim community towards their new Muslim neighbours. This behaviour came mostly, but notably not exclusively, from the white residents in these areas. Thornton, Ruyterwacht and Pinelands were among the first group areas designated for whites. They were deemed “non-contentious,” meaning there were few, if any, non-whites living in these suburbs prior to the Group Areas Act. With the fall of apartheid and more and more Muslims moving into these areas, there was a demand for mosques.

In Thornton, for example, Muslim residents are still in the process of creating a permanent space. They have been leasing premises—an unused sports area—from the City Council since 2002. Their lease is on a yearly basis. They hope to eventually buy the plot, however the City Council has continually rejected their attempts to purchase the area. One of the

²³⁰ Citizen, 13/02/03 as quoted in Jeppie and Vahed (2005).

²³¹ Jeppie and Vahed 275.

trustees of the mosque in Thornton explained how the past ten years has been a constant uphill battle to secure the space. At a local ratepayers meeting recently, residents were opposed to the creation of a permanent mosque in Thornton. Muslims were surprised to find that even their coloured neighbours were vocal in their opposition. The reasons which many residents had given against operating the mosque were that they did not want the call to prayer, which is traditionally given from a mosque's minaret for all those in the vicinity to hear, and that they were worried that there would be parking congestion. Those involved in the creation of the mosque, including the imam, assured residents that there would not be a loud call to prayer and that they would continue to hire full-time employees to direct the traffic in and out of the mosque's premises. However, the opposition towards the mosque continues to occur. Most recently, in October 2012, the Thornton Muslim community was about a day away from obtaining a more permanent signed lease, when a member of the City Council vetoed it. The Thornton Muslim community, which in 2001, numbered 332 residents, or approximately 7% of the suburb's population, is currently still in limbo.

For those who exhibit Islamophobic tendencies, mosques are particularly troubling. Mosques are a permanent part of communities. According to Islamic law, the grounds on which mosques sit are consecrated. Mosques cannot be demolished or removed. Thus, mosques become a permanent symbol of Muslim presence. Especially since Muslims in Cape Town have a tendency to return to the mosques of their youth, a mosque indicates that Muslims will forever have a place in the community surrounding its location. Moreover, Muslims seem more willing to purchase a home in an area if there is a mosque in close proximity. Thus, mosques also encourage more Muslim settlement. In order to prevent such a domino effect, those who are uncomfortable with the Muslim religion are more likely to protest mosque proposals.

It is possible that residents oppose to the creation of mosques with such fervour because they find it disconcerting to see hundreds of Muslims, oftentimes wearing Islamic garb, attending Friday prayers every week. Many Muslim men don either a fez hat or a skullcap to mosque and all Muslim women wear a hijab and an *abaya* (a loose dress, which covers the entire body and is usually black). While many Muslim men and women do not dress radically different from their non-Muslim counterparts on a day-to-day basis, the sight of them attending mosque wearing such garments may be a cause for alarm for non-Muslim residents. It is possible that Muslim forms of dress conjure images of extremism or Middle-Eastern nations—both of which have no connection to South Africa. The two Pinelands residents who asked if a Muslim-owned bed and breakfast was a *madrassa* (most likely referring to schools which espouse Islamic extremism, as opposed to the after-school Quran classes), illustrate that some non-Muslim Cape Townians believe Muslims in Cape Town are not very far removed from the extremism practiced in other parts of the world.

Equating mosques to hot beds of terrorism is not unique to Cape Town. Sydney Muslims experienced similar struggles to the Muslims of Cape Town in the construction of their mosques. In 1998, the Land and Environment Court ruled in favour of the Bankstown City Council against the creation of a mosque in a former Presbyterian Church. A Bankstown City Council member had argued, “A mosque operates in a different way from a Christian church...it operates from sunrise to sunset, with people praying up to five times a day.”²³² It was not just the increased traffic in the area which was a concern for Australian non-Muslim residents. Residents feared that a mosque in the area would result in more Muslims moving into the area, which would compel non-Muslim residents to sell-up or convert to Islam. They did not want their

²³² Dunn, Kevin M. "Representations of Islam in the Politics of Mosque Development in Sydney." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 92.3 (2001): 291-308. Print. 299.

neighbourhoods to become Muslim enclaves. In other areas, proposed mosques were described with rhetoric which implied a hostile takeover. Terms such as “foothold,” “invasion,” “intrusion” and “occupied” were used to describe the social effects of the mosque.²³³ Residents and Council Members decried the “imposition” of this “alien culture” upon their locality, describing it as out of character for their suburb.

ii. Negative Reactions from Neighbours

Many, but not all Muslims, living in former white areas noticed unfriendly reactions from their neighbours when they moved to their new neighbourhoods. Yusra, the resident from Pinelands, was particularly vocal about the negative relationships she had with a handful of neighbours. Muslim residents in Rondebosch and Ruyterwacht also shared similar stories.

In Ruyterwacht, Muslim residents were split as to whether or not their white neighbours had come to accept them and their religion. Most noted some discourteous behaviour when they initially moved in. This came in the forms of neighbours refusing to make eye contact or greet them. Some would purposefully complain about issues such as a tree bordering their property or about making noise in the evening. Residents felt this behaviour was based on their race as well as their religion, although some reported that white residents tended to be more unfriendly towards Muslims. While some Ruyterwacht residents explained that this behaviour went away after a few months, others continue to complain about it. One resident explained that once he and his family showed their new neighbours that they were no different from them, they have had a fairly cordial relationship. Another resident of Ruyterwacht however was quite contemptuous when referring to the “poor whites.” He did not think that they would ever change and he was

²³³ Dunn 298.

quite adamant that he did not want to take it upon himself to befriend them either. In Ruyterwacht, some Muslims seem to in fact look down upon their white neighbours because of their socio-economic status. Non-whites who have moved into Ruyterwacht tend to be, according to estate agents working in the area, higher-earning and more professional. Ruyterwacht is undergoing a dramatic demographic transformation. As the area becomes more non-white, it is likely that Islamophobia will decrease.

I was hard-pressed to find Muslim residents in Rondebosch who did not have at least one confrontation with either neighbours or the local Ratepayers Association. Similar to the Muslim residents of Pinelands, Muslims in Rondebosch have also experienced cold or rude interactions with their neighbours. A Muslim lawyer who often dons Islamic wear recalls how his neighbours would occasionally place the trash in front of his property. He would routinely remind them to place their trash elsewhere. However, after this occurred a number of times, he sent them a legal notice to stop. His neighbour approached him and yelled, “We let you people live in these areas and this is how you act!” The Muslim resident took the issue to the City Council, where he received a formal apology. While it is unclear whether or not the Muslim from Rondebosch was being targeted because of the colour of his skin or his religious beliefs, the gentleman perceived it was a result of his religion. He believed that the woman was prejudiced against non-whites, but her prejudice was possibly exacerbated by the fact that he also chose to wear Islamic clothing on occasion. The woman’s personal prejudices are uncertain; however, this gentleman’s story does indicate that he is both acutely aware of his non-whiteness and his identity marker as a Muslim. Rather than attributing this incident to only racism, he displayed that he was perceived his sense of being the “Other” in the eyes of his white neighbours was exacerbated by his religious beliefs.

A Muslim couple—the husband Indian and the wife coloured who converted—moved to Rondebosch approximately three years ago in 2010. When the family moved in, the wife called the surrounding neighbours to introduce herself. Upon hearing the woman introducing herself by her last name, the neighbour to her immediate left, an elderly white man whose daughter, quite ironically was active in the anti-apartheid struggle, exclaimed, “Oh thank goodness! We thought Muslims were moving in!” When this neighbour discovered that Muslims were indeed moving in, he went through great lengths to veto their plans for renovations. At first the Muslim couple assumed their neighbour’s concerns were legitimate and they decided to scale down their plans. However, when their (white) contractor went to a local ratepayers association meeting, he discovered that this very neighbour was actually riling up other residents to protest against their plans! The couple sent a strongly-worded letter to the neighbour, accusing him of Islamophobia. They also informed him that they had decided to continue with their renovations in the form of their original plan. They did not hear any complaints from their neighbours again.

One Muslim resident recalls how when he first moved in, his neighbour stopped by to introduce himself, as well as to remind him that there was a prohibition against renovations in the title deeds for the houses in his cul-de-sac. The Muslim resident felt that his neighbour was concerned that he would raze his house and rebuild a much larger and perhaps more ostentatious looking house.

These are among the dozens of anecdotes and stories Muslims have shared with me about their living experiences in Rondebosch. Non-Muslim non-whites living in the area also indicate that they experience the occasional racism or rude remark from neighbours. However, they did not perceive racism to be a huge problem in the neighbourhood and their relations with neighbours seemed far friendlier.

Estate agents throughout Cape Town noted that Muslims do have a tendency to renovate and expand on their homes, as opposed to selling their home and purchasing a larger one. In the upper-middle class (now) non-white suburbs of Crawford and Rondebosch East, a certain type of architecture is prevalent. One sees many multi-story houses built with imposing pillars, painted concrete slabs, and shiny silver and gold gates. As Muslims have been moving into areas such as Pinelands and Rondebosch, a sprinkling of houses with this type of architecture is becoming more noticeable. While estate agents in Pinelands have specifically credited Muslims for enhancing their properties and increasing their property values, it seems that many residents in these areas are very much against such changes. The homes in Pinelands and Rondebosch are quaint and old, and while many require some sort of work, residents who have been living in the area for some time, are reluctant to see this old-style of architecture go.

It is unlikely that antagonism towards Muslim goes only as far as architectural choices. The vehement opposition to the construction of mosques and consistently less than friendly behaviour towards Muslim residents in former white group areas, indicate that there is something more sinister at play.

iii. Residential Steering

As part of my initial research, I attended open houses on Sundays in various neighbourhoods to gauge what the typical buyer looks like in each suburb. In Pinelands, I was greeted by a number of friendly and helpful estate agents, who openly offered me any information I required about the home and the suburb. In Pinelands, estate agents were very eager to tell me that there are many Muslims in the area, as well as a mosque. When I asked if they were mostly Malay or Indian, the estate agents did not know. To them, they were simply

Muslims. From my observations, the clientele in these houses was a diverse array of coloureds, whites and Muslims (both Malay and Indian). Most seemed to be new families.

I also attended a few open houses in Rondebosch. The potential buyers at the open houses were also young families, however they were almost overwhelmingly white (The one exception was a home sold by an Indian Muslim family—the potential buyers, curiously, were almost all non-white). A noticeable difference was that estate agents in the Rondebosch homes seemed less willing to provide me information about the house and the suburb. It is possible that this is because the open houses in Rondebosch were busier than those in Pinelands. However, I suspect that an element of racial (or in this case, religious) steering was also at play.

Racial steering is when real estate agents purposefully direct potential buyers away from or towards a certain neighbourhood because of their race. Steering can also take the form of providing potential buyers of a certain race less information about the home, the suburb, or how to finance the home. In the United States, racial steering may occur in order to prevent African Americans from purchasing homes in certain white suburbs, as they believe that an African American presence will result in a reduction of property value. In Cape Town, it is possible that steering does occur to maintain the “lily-white” reputation of certain suburbs.

In the case of one home I visited in Rondebosch, I posed as a potential buyer. I explained to the estate agent that I was searching for a home for my parents and my brother who are from the United States. I told her that they are originally from South Africa and they are hoping to come back and settle down in the area. Instead of asking me what type of house they were searching for, what was their price range, or any other questions, she immediately said that she did not think Rondebosch would be a good suburb for us. I asked her why she thought this was and she responded that people move to Rondebosch for the access to the schools in the areas.

This was a fair point, but I reminded her that my brother is fourteen years old and would also be attending schools in the area. She asked me which school will he be attending and I responded that it would either be the American school in Constantia or he is exploring the application process for other schools in the area. She seemed quite adamant, however, that Rondebosch was not the ideal suburb for us. She suggested that we look along the Atlantic Seaboard (perhaps she was suggesting Bo-Kaap?), as my parents would be more comfortable there. I assured her that my parents wanted to stay in the Southern Suburbs, as they have many friends living in the area and that they were not trying to retire. After giving her my parents budget (a lofty 8 million rand), she finally provided me with two flyers of properties which may be of potential interest. Upon handing me the flyers, she asked if we planned on doing renovations on the property, and I told her it would depend on the property. Throughout our interaction, which lasted approximately seven minutes, she did not attempt to sell the property to me. She did not offer any positive points about the suburb or the specific house, nor did she ever encourage me to continue looking in the suburb. In fact, she spent most of the time trying to convince me to look at houses elsewhere!

Whether or not I was being steered due to my race or religion is unclear. While I wear a headscarf, I do not think that people can always differentiate as to whether I am Malay or Indian. To this particular estate agent, I was either simply non-white or Muslim. Given the experiences of other residents of Rondebosch and noting that she specifically asked me about plans to renovate, I have a strong sentiment that she was responding to my religious background, rather than simply because I was not white.

These examples of the “other-ing” of Muslims echo popular discourse of modern-day Orientalism. In 1978, Edward Said published *Orientalism*, a book which focused on the

representation of Middle Eastern and East Asian cultures by the United States and Western Europe as foreign, exotic, and fetishized. Implicit in his discussion of the portrayal of Middle Eastern, Asian and North African societies, was the idea that these cultures are static and undeveloped. They retain a sort of quaint and archaic identity, ultimately making the West seem superior and progressive²³⁴.

While Muslims have a long and storied history in Cape Town, there remains a sense of “other-ness” between Muslims and non-Muslims. I would like to qualify this statement by noting that Muslims in South Africa, and most especially Cape Town, are active and integrated members of society. However, oftentimes there remains a perceived idea of separateness, which seems to be projected especially from the white community. In rejecting proposals for mosques, being antagonistic towards Muslim neighbours, and even steering potential Muslim buyers away from houses in specific suburbs, there are instances when Muslims in Cape Town are treated as a foreign and distinctive “other.” There is a rejection of the Muslims’ right to live and belong in Cape Town. While certain areas, such as Bo-Kaap, have been preserved to almost remind the city of the role which Muslims have played in Cape Town’s history, there is an element of Cape Town’s population which seems to believe that Muslims should remain in these areas. Bo-Kaap and to a lesser extent suburbs like Rylands and Belgravia, have taken on an almost orientalist element. Bo-Kaap exists to portray the quaint and simplified life of Cape Muslim culture, all the while rejecting that in fact most Muslims in Cape Town live beyond these few streets on the foots of Signal Hill.

²³⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978. Print.

CONCLUSION

A Reanalysis of Muslims as a Distinctive Group

A major takeaway from the discussion of Muslim residential patterns in Cape Town is that communities are not static. Communities do not remain immobile, resistant to intergenerational changes and transitions. Rather, community dynamics change as its members change. Today, Muslims do not constitute the same closely-knit community as they did prior to 1950. While Muslims in Cape Town are not a historically place-based group, they were deeply affected by spatial rearrangements resulting from apartheid and later desegregation. Apartheid divided Muslims by class—a distinction which hitherto did not define residential choices. When Muslims lived in mixed-class neighbourhoods, there was greater cohesion amongst the Cape Town Muslim community. However, forced removals created a spatial-class segregation, which was later exacerbated by post-apartheid “free market” movements. As a result, Muslims are scattered across metropolitan Cape Town, divided by space and class.

Despite the physical barriers amongst the Muslim population in the Cape, resulting in different life experiences, (Sunni) Muslims continue to constitute a distinctive community. They are still united around their common belief system and values. They fast, pray and celebrate holidays in the same way as they did in the mid-twentieth century. They continue to practice some traditions and customs which are unique to the Muslims of Cape Town. They still ascribe to being a part of the global Muslim ummah.

In her analysis of British Muslim identity, Dwyer maintains, “Communities must be understood as always constructed or imagined, produced within particular discursive and historical moments....the imagination of community cannot be fixed or essentialised in any

permanent way, but must be recognised as contextual, contingent, and political.”²³⁵ Communities transform to meet its members needs, and members also turn to their community affiliations at various points of their lives. As Muslims move in and out of formerly racialized spaces, their sense of identity and community differ.

I argued that Muslims shared a unique experience of forced removals and community rebuilding as a result of the Group Areas Act. Those in townships disproportionately struggled to raise funds and physically construct mosques and madrassas, as well as ensure their families maintained an Islamic way of life. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, Muslims in townships have not had a dramatically different experience from their non-Muslim township dwelling counterparts. In post-apartheid South Africa, it is now the Muslims with greater socio-economic mobility who are experiencing difficulties with maintaining or building “community”, as they move into formerly white suburbs. While in townships, limited socio-economic mobility provided a hardship towards building mosques and establishing madrassas, in the new South Africa, it is the vestiges of racism and Islamophobia in former white group areas, which have proved to be a great challenge for establishing a lasting and meaningful Muslim presence in these areas.

Prior to the Group Areas Act, there was little division between Muslims of different socio-economic levels. Whilst there was, in most neighbourhoods, great socio-economic diversity, Muslims would nonetheless socialize with others across the socio-economic spectrum. For example, a wealthy businessman in District Six would attend the same mosque as someone who worked as a fisherman. Their children would interact on the same streets and it would not be unusual for them both to attend the Islamic school in the area. They could rely on each other

²³⁵ Dwyer 64.

during times of need and they would also see each other on special days such as Eid or a wedding. They were part of the same overarching Muslim community in Cape Town. However, the Group Areas Act stratified the Muslim community. Those who had money were able to afford to purchase homes in Athlone or Walmer Estate. Some who were not able to afford to purchase a home, were still able to rent from private owners in Athlone or other home ownership schemes in the Cape Flats. However, the poorest among the Muslims were sent to live in Council Homes in isolated townships. Thus the Muslim community became economically stratified. The experiences of Muslims living in Athlone were radically different from the experiences of Muslims living in Lavender Hill or Bonteheuwel. This economic stratification of the Muslim experience continues today.

Originally, religion resulted in different life experiences between Muslims and non-Muslims in coloured townships. Muslims inhabitants of townships initially experienced great difficulty in establishing their sense of home after the Group Areas Act. Unlike Christians, whose churches were supported and built by the state, Muslims had to fundraise and physically construct their places of worship by hand. They had to use unreliable public transportation to attend mosque services in their previous homes or in nearby suburbs. Additionally, most of the townships were without halal butcheries and thus residents had to travel distances to in order to obtain meat. Once these necessary institutions were established, the Muslims' daily challenges in the townships became largely the same as non-Muslims.

Today, Muslims in townships strongly and readily identify themselves by religion. Most display a green sticker visible from the outside of their house, usually in the shape of a moon and crescent or a mosque with a minaret. All the houses I entered included religious imagery, either in the form of pictures of pilgrimage or Islamic calligraphy. While they readily and openly

identify themselves as something separate from the majority of residents in their neighbourhood, there are also fewer barriers between them and their non-Muslim neighbours. The communal nature of township living has allowed for close friendships to be forged across religious lines. Muslims in townships do not lead a drastically different life from their non-Muslim neighbours. Their children attend the same schools, socialize with each other, and inter-marriage is more common than in more affluent areas. Several Muslims who I interviewed noted that they had a child or a sibling who married a non-Muslim who converted. A 2001 study of intermarriage between Muslims and non-Muslims in coloured townships, found that 28% of Muslims married someone who was not born into the religion.²³⁶

The notable exception is that Muslims in Bonteheuwel attend mosque on a weekly basis and have strict rules regarding alcohol, drugs, and pre-marital relations. Muslim children who disregard these rules are more likely to be ostracized by their parents and family. However, as the statistics in the first chapter suggest, not all Muslim youth adhere to the abolition of pre-marital sex and alcohol. Both Christian and Muslim residents of Bonteheuwel explain that everything else is more or less the same. The butcher in the area is Muslim, as are most butchers in the Cape Flats. A Christian resident of Bonteheuwel explained that her family rarely eats pork because they have to go to a Chinese butcher quite far away in order to purchase it. For Muslims in former coloured townships, the Muslim community is most apparent during holidays and other religious celebrations. These celebrations are strictly religious, but may include non-Muslim members of the family. While Muslim township residents strongly identify with their religion, they do not demonstrate an urgency to emphasize differences between themselves and their non-Muslim neighbours.

²³⁶ Bangstad (2004) 355.

Non-Muslims also frequent Vangate Mall, a shopping complex located between the N2 highway and Vanguard Drive. It is sometimes referred to as the Muslim Mall. While the mall caters specifically to Muslims' needs, non-Muslims are also able to perform their errands and shopping there as well. Everything in the mall, in terms of restaurants and food stuffs, is halal (except for a small section at the Pick n' Pay labelled "non-halal"). There is also an area of the mall called "the Souk," which sells Islamic wear, Qurans, Islamic tapes and CDs, and certain spices and herbs which many Cape Malay and Indian recipes require. There is a large prayer space, which can host about 200 people. The prayer space offers all five daily prayers in congregation, weekly Friday sermons, as well as a full program during Ramadan. There are also special events which occur at the mall for Eid and Ramadan, as well as Christmas and Easter. While the mall does cater to the special needs for Muslims, it by no means exclusively serves them. The Mall is a part of a larger area called Vangate City. The construction of secure apartment buildings (called Marrakech Village and Rabat Village) are also underway. The Vangate Development Company consists of two co-directors, both of which are Muslim.

Not all Muslims, however, frequent Vangate Mall. A Muslim woman, whose family owns a successful business, explained that she hardly ever goes to Vangate Mall. Despite living blocks away, in Rylands, she explained that the wrong sort of crowd goes to Vangate. A Muslim engineer who was raised in Athlone joked that "only the gangsters go to Vangate Mall." A shootout that occurred in the mall in 2012, which left one man dead, did little to improve Vangate Mall's reputation amongst middle and upper-class Cape Townians. Vangate Mall is an example of the economic stratification within the Muslim community. Working class Muslims frequent the mall, as do their non-Muslim neighbours. However Muslims with greater wealth, are wary of the shopping centre.

For those in middle-class former non-white suburbs, religion plays a larger role in defining interactions with neighbours. Muslims in Athlone, Mitchell's Plain, and Rylands had a combination of Muslim and non-Muslim friends. Those who grew up in Athlone and Mitchell's Plain recall having close non-Muslim friends both in school and in the neighbourhood. However as they grew older, they tended to drift apart. A resident of Athlone explains that he will always stop and chat with his non-Muslim childhood friends. However they seemed to have less and less in common as they became adults. In university, his friends would go out drinking and to clubs, and as a Muslim, he did not feel comfortable with that behaviour. Ultimately, as an adult, he interacts almost exclusively with Muslims on a social level. Similarly, his parents also seem to only have Muslim friends over for tea and braais.

For the youth currently growing up in formerly white areas, it appears that they have little to no interaction with non-Muslims beyond at school. Muslims living in areas which were declared white under the Group Areas Act seem somewhat isolated from their non-Muslim neighbours. While Muslim parents may interact with non-Muslim parents to arrange a lift-club or discuss extramural activities, the prime social circle for Muslims in areas such as Pinelands and Rondebosch, consists exclusively of Muslims. Growing up, Muslim children rarely interact with non-Muslim children in the neighbourhood and many have said it was unusual that they would bring non-Muslim friends home from school for play-dates. The biggest social differences are between Muslims and whites. Muslims of all generations have grown up having non-Muslim coloured and Indian friends. However, when it comes to friendships with whites, there appears to be mutual apprehension on both sides.²³⁷ A Muslim mother explained how white mothers had

²³⁷ Across the generational spectrum, those who I interviewed noted that they had little interaction with Blacks. This can be attributed to the continued residential segregation of Blacks in Cape Town, as well as their limited access to schools not located in townships.

pre-existing social, close-knit social groups, and it was unlikely that she or her daughter would fit into it. A Muslim who attended South African College High School said that he would interact with white students in school, but they tended to form their own social group, usually including one or two black or coloured students, and the Muslims would also have their own group, which would consist of non-Muslim coloureds and Indians as well. This demarcation became even more noticeable when his non-Muslim classmates started drinking. Muslims moving into these areas explain that they have become particularly aware of their religious status since they are clearly in a minority. They have worked harder to instil in their children Islamic religious values and explain how they are different from their non-Muslim classmates.

The recent trend of Muslims to relocate to former white areas, which are devoid of Muslim communities, is not evidence of the breakdown of the Muslim community. Muslims opt to move to these suburbs for the same reasons as other new residents—they are safe, central, and have good schools for their children. Despite that they have chosen to move into areas with few Muslims, interviews with the Muslim residents of Pinelands indicate an extremely strong connection with the Muslim community. Muslims in these areas are aware of their minority status and as a result, they try even harder to maintain their Muslim identity and sense of community in their new homes. They go to great lengths to establish mosques, ensure their children attend madrassa after school, maintain linkages with their Muslim family friends living elsewhere, and facilitate friendships between their children and other Muslim children in the area. For those who I interviewed in Rondebosch and Pinelands, maintaining a Muslim community and identity for their children was a major priority. The result of such proactive measures was that Muslim children in former-white areas, have grown up attending majority white schools, but are still very much aware of their Muslim identity. While they may have

socialized with non-Muslims, their parents had instilled in them that they are different and thus their primary social circles were mostly Muslim. Muslims in these new areas are attempting to replicate the communities in which they grew up. A possible trend is that as more and more Muslims are drawn to these suburbs which now contain mosques and growing Muslim communities, certain suburbs, such as Pinelands and Thornton, will develop a stronger Muslim identity. We may see a resurgence of Muslim clustering in middle and upper class former white suburbs.

Middle and upper class Muslims in Cape Town experience a completely different Cape Town from those living in townships. They are more likely to frequent halal restaurants in the Central Business District and Waterfront areas. A number of non-Muslim-owned restaurants, that were unable to receive the Halal Certificate from the Muslim Judicial Council because they serve alcohol, have adopted the term “halal friendly.” This means that while they serve alcohol, all of their meat is halal. These restaurants oftentimes do not serve pork and their staffs are well-versed on which menu items contain alcohol. Restaurant owners have seemed to discover that there is a value to using halal meat. To disregard the spending value of the Muslim market is to suffer a considerable loss.

Middle and upper class Muslims in Cape Town are increasingly interacting in spaces once reserved primarily for whites. The University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University both have large organizations devoted to improving Muslim life on their respective campuses. On weekends, one sees many Muslims in Camps Bay, Clifton, and Constantia. There are Muslim prayer spaces at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Mall, Cavendish Mall, and Canal Walk. These malls also display posters and signs wishing Muslims a pleasant Eid or Ramadan during the appropriate seasons. One finds non-Muslim owned restaurants offering Muslims dates and a

traditional milk drink to break their fasts during Ramadan. The popular fast-food chain Nandos once even had a commercial targeted at Muslims during Ramadan. The commercial featured a Muslim man sitting on a beach waiting for the sun to set so he could bite into his Nandos chicken.

A social gathering spot which deserves attention is the Wembley Road House. The Wembley group of companies started in 1931, as a local convenience store on Belgravia Road in Athlone by a Muslim Indian. Today, Wembley Road House is surrounded by a number of other Wembley businesses, including a butchery, convenience store, bakery, and travel agency. The Road House is in the style of an American 1950's drive-in diner. Customers drive into the parking lot, and waiters come to the car and take their orders. The food offered at Wembley is a variety of South African Indian and Malay style fast foods. There are burgers featuring the famed "Whopper Sauce," hot-dog and chip rolls, milkshakes, as well as more traditional curries and salomies. The Road House is open until past midnight and has become a popular social spot for youth and even adults. On any given night, one can see Muslims from all walks of life gathered at the Road House's window counter waiting for their orders. It is a lively atmosphere and it highlights the diversity of Muslim experiences in Cape Town.

The Group Areas Act froze existing inequalities within the Muslim community, and then expounded them by creating separate residential areas for each income bracket. Those who were left renting Council Homes in townships such as Hanover Park or Bonteheuwel had to work exceptionally hard in order to afford the rent elsewhere. Oftentimes the only homes where former Council-renters could afford to rent were in marginally better, but still "rough" areas, such as Mitchell's Plain. Children growing up in these areas had to go to great lengths if they wanted to attend university, as the schools were ill-equipped to prepare children for tertiary

education. While the cycle of poverty is not as prevalent in Mitchell's Plain as it is in Hanover Park, socioeconomic mobility is still an ambitious aspiration. For the families who were able to purchase homes in Athlone, Rylands, or Walmer Estate or move in with family in Bo-Kaap, their children have experienced various degrees of socioeconomic mobility. Their children have been able to attend university and pursue professional careers. Others have been able to expand on family businesses.

As a result of the Group Areas Act and the subsequent demise of apartheid, one sees radically different living experiences between Muslims in townships and less affluent former non-white group areas and those living in middle and upper-class suburbs. Despite the differences in residential choices and lifestyles of the Muslim in Cape Town, they remain a distinctive community. Community does not depend upon complete homogeneity. Community allows and accommodates differing levels of adherence as well as practice. In the case of Muslims in Cape Town, the core community requirement is belief in Islam. Despite different residential choices and lifestyles, all those who believe in Islam, make up one community. They attend many of the same mosques, interact at Muslim businesses and restaurants, and celebrate Islamic holidays in the same way. While they may lead very different lives from those living in coloured townships, many Muslims who are residing in middle and upper class areas have strong connections with working class suburbs. They may have grown up in a working class area, have siblings or cousins living there, or have even recently moved from these locations. This familiarity allows Muslims across the socio-economic spectrum to unite over their shared faith. The fact that a Muslim who grew up in Claremont but was forcibly removed to Hanover Park can return to the Claremont Main Road Mosque, which is now frequented by upper-class

professionals who are living and working in the Southern Suburbs, and still feels a sense of Islamic brotherhood, speaks to the nature of the Muslim community in Cape Town.

Index of Islamic Terminology

Ahmadiyya: A reformist movement derived from mainstream Islam which believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was the last prophet.

Dhikr: An act of Islamic devotion, which usually requires reciting prayers from the Quran, or supplications to God.

Hajj: Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah which is obligatory for all Muslims to perform once in their lifetime.

Halal: Literally meaning “permissible,” refers to meat which is cut according to Islamic regulations.

Hanafi: One of the four schools of thought in Sunni Islam.

Hijaab: Literally meaning “covering,” refers to headscarf Muslim women choose to wear.

Imam: The head of a mosque congregation.

Kramat: A term used in Cape Town to describe shrines where notable Islamic leaders of the Cape are buried.

Madrassa: A school for Islamic studies; in South Africa, it is used to describe after-school classes which Muslim youth attend to learn the Quran and Islamic teachings.

Niqab: Face covering which some Muslim women choose to wear.

Shahada: Declaration of faith that one is a Muslim.

Shafie: Islamic school of thought.

Sheikh Yussuf: One of the main figures in Cape Muslim history.

Ulema: Islamic scholars

Ummah: Global Islamic community

Zakat: Mandatory alms all Muslims must donate annually.

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