

Notes

Preface

- 1 See Mayat (1996).
- 2 Zuleikha Mayat, address at book launch, 7 September 2006.
- 3 See Wardorp (2005).
- 4 In an effort to avoid excessive notes, direct quotes from interviews are not annotated in the text; similarly, where correspondence or other material is quoted, and the dates and other details are provided in the text, notes have been omitted and readers can assume that the relevant documents are available in the archive of the Women's Cultural Group. Please also note that we have deliberately remained true to the spoken language when quoting from interviews. We have also avoided italicising Arabic, Gujurati, Afrikaans or Zulu words for ease of reading and because these are in no sense foreign within the environment that constitutes the subject of this work. A glossary is provided for readers who are unfamiliar with these words.

Introduction

- 1 Extract from the *Leader*, reprinted in Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972, p. 6.
- 2 We draw here on Christina Schwabenland's (2006) definition, which she attributes to a report by the UK-based National Council of Voluntary Organizations, entitled *Meeting the Challenge of Change: Voluntary Action in the 21st Century* (1996).
- 3 Schwanbenland (2006) explores this avenue of inquiry in relation to Indian and British women's societies.
- 4 Clemens (1993: 782).
- 5 Clemens (1993: 782).
- 6 Wedell (1991: 54).
- 7 Schwabenland (2006: 11).
- 8 Blair (1980: 19).
- 9 Watts (1993: 23).
- 10 Kendall (2002).
- 11 Boylan (2002: 218).
- 12 Boylan (2002).
- 13 Alvarez (1990: 29). See also Waetjen (2006: x).
- 14 Lloyd (1999: 484).
- 15 Wittberg (2006: 3).
- 16 Schwabenland (2006: 9).
- 17 Hashem Talhami (2001: 245).
- 18 Chioma Steady (2006: 120).
- 19 Chioma Steady (2006: 125).
- 20 See, for example, Endres (2006); Spain (2001).
- 21 For example, Rugow (1993); Johnson (2004); Wittberg (2006).
- 22 See Schwabenland (2006).
- 23 Address by Zuleikha Mayat to welcome and introduce Dr Yaqub Zaki, 1 April 1977.
- 24 See Chapter 7, this volume.

- 25 Jayapraga Reddy, 'Women's Cultural Group – 25 years of service', *Sunday Times Extra*, 21 June 1981.
- 26 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 86–87).
- 27 See, for example, Cabral (1973).
- 28 See, for example, Appadurai (2006); Mann (2004); Sen (2007).

Chapter 1 – The chow-chow pickle jar

- 1 'Letters from our Readers' *Indian Views*, 1 September 1944.
- 2 'Letters from our Readers', *Indian Views*, date unavailable, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 3 Zuleikha Bismillah to Mahomed Mayat, 4 April 1945, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 4 Zuleikha Bismillah to Mahomed Mayat, 4 April 1945, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 5 Zuleikha Bismillah to Mahomed Mayat, 15 April 1945, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 6 Zuleikha Bismillah to Mahomed Mayat, 8 October 1945, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 7 Zuleikha's seven-page account describes how religious, political and customary arguments were advanced as rational and natural facts of gendered divisions of productive, reproductive and moral labour: 'A mother (referring to my Mummy) could during the busiest period [of shopkeeping] still attend to her babies, whereas a doctor was frequently called miles away. Again, since only a limited number of Indian students could be absorbed in the overcrowded medical facilities, should I not sacrifice my place there for a male student, since [the] latter could always devote more time towards patients, with the result that our community would benefit?' Additional arguments followed when Zuleikha inquired 'whether Maulana or Mr Mayat [Sr] had any objections to my being a nurse'.
- 8 Asiatic Enquiry Commission Report, 1921: 6. National archives, Pretoria.
- 9 The children were: Abdul Hay (1921), Sakina, also known as Bibi (1922), Abdul Haq (1924), Zuleikha (1926), Sadik (1929), and Rukayya (1935).
- 10 Mayat (1996: 51).
- 11 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 14 November 1956; 'Pampoensville' is Afrikaans for Pumpkintown.
- 12 Zuleikha Mayat, memo to authors, February 2009.
- 13 Zuleikha Mayat, memo to authors, February 2009, emphasis in original.
- 14 Mayat (1996: 90).
- 15 Mayat interview, May 2002, by KwaMuhle Museum, transcript in Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 16 Zuleikha Mayat, memo to authors, February 2009.
- 17 Fatima Meer, who became a renowned anti-apartheid activist and sociologist at the University of Natal, became a close friend of Zuleikha and gave her unstinting support throughout.
- 18 Plath also wrote under a pseudonym, publishing her only novel, *The Bell Jar*, in 1963 using the name Victoria Lucas.
- 19 Friedan (1963).
- 20 University of Natal, Department of Economics (1952: 35).
- 21 See Bhana (1991).
- 22 Henning (1993: 81).

- 23 The Franchise Act of 1896 disenfranchised Indians; the Immigration Restriction Act, also known as the Natal Act of 1897, and amendments in 1900, 1903 and 1906, imposed an education, health and means test, which virtually stopped further immigration of free Indians; and the Dealers' Licences Act of 1896 gave licensing officers wide-ranging powers to refuse licences. See Swanson (1983).
- 24 The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act of 1907 required fingerprinting and registration. Led by Gandhi and the British Indian Association, Indians resolved in September 1906 to resist the Act. The Act was passed, and a passive resistance campaign ran until Smuts and Gandhi reached a compromise in January 1908 that the Act would be repealed on condition that Indians registered voluntarily. The compromise broke down and passive resistance resumed in August 1908. Around 3 000 Indians went to prison. The campaign lost vigour by 1910. See Bhana (1997).
- 25 Beall & North-Coombes (1983).
- 26 Swan (1985).
- 27 Swan (1985).
- 28 Joshi (1942).
- 29 See, for example, Burrows (1943); Davies (1963); University of Natal, Department of Economics (1952).
- 30 Supplementary statement submitted by the Natal Indian Organisation to the Judicial Commission on the Durban Riots, 21 March 1949, National archives, Durban.
- 31 Burrows (1943). Zuleikha's experience also bears this out. After spending five or six years with her in-laws, she and Mahomed moved to Foundry Lane, off Pine Street in central Durban, and, in the early 1960s, to Clare Road. Here, there were a few well-off families, such as the Singh, Jooma, Omar and Rajab families, but the mass of Indians around them were working-class descendants of indentured migrants, and she remembers that 'my children then started playing with all the Moonsams and so on – this is how they grew up, very happily' [*laughs*].
- 32 University of Natal, Department of Economics (1952: 255).
- 33 University of Natal, Department of Economics (1952).
- 34 See Rosenberg (2007), which contains recollections by Omar Badsha, Fatima Meer, Rafs Mayat, Aziz Hassim, Ronnie Govender and others about different aspects of the Warwick Triangle.
- 35 Naidoo (2007).
- 36 Estates of the dead, National archives, Pietermaritzburg, NAB, MSCE 2108/1948.
- 37 That place was occupied by the likes of EM Paruk, AH Moosa, HC Coovadia, Dawud Mahomed Asmall and IM Bobat, who owned businesses with transnational links in India, Mauritius and Mozambique, or had multiple branches across Natal.
- 38 Freund (1995: 58).
- 39 *Leader*, 22 March 1947.
- 40 Zuleikha Mayat, memo to authors, February 2009.
- 41 Mayat interview, May 2002, by KwaMuhle Museum, transcript in Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 42 Zuleikha Mayat, memo to authors, February 2009.
- 43 See *Indian Opinion*, 18 September 1925; 18 November 1927.
- 44 *Daily News*, 15 June 1936.
- 45 Calpin (1949: 10).

- 46 *Indian Opinion*, 20 August 1932.
- 47 Grice later joined the Women's Cultural Group and was a member for many years. Her husband was involved with the South African Institute of Race Relations and served as its president in 1972 and 1973.
- 48 Women's Cultural Group, Events Programme, 18th anniversary celebrations, 1972.
- 49 Bhana & Pachai (1981: 193).
- 50 Van den Heever Commission, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the riots in Durban* (1949: 5). Documentation Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal, UG 36–49.
- 51 Supplementary statement submitted by the Natal Indian Organisation to the Judicial Commission on the Durban Riots, 21 March 1949. National archives, Durban.
- 52 For a discussion of the 1949 riots, see Edwards & Nuttall (1990); Freund (1995); Kirk (1983); Nuttall (n.d.); Webb & Kirkwood (1949).
- 53 Nuttall (n.d.).
- 54 Van Den Heever Commission, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the riots in Durban* (1949). Documentation Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 55 Supplementary statement submitted by the Natal Indian Organisation to the Judicial Commission on the Durban Riots, 21 March 1949. National archives, Durban.
- 56 Elphick & Davenport (1997: 203).
- 57 Cited in Mukherji (1959: 161).
- 58 This was done through legislation such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, the Abolition of Passes Act of 1952, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953.
- 59 Mukherji (1959: 161).
- 60 In the South African lexicon of racism, certain first names signaled a stereotype. This functioned to efface individuality and undermine dignity by playing on the contradiction between an intimate form of address and its generic application. In English-speaking Natal, the word 'Mary' became a racial reference to Indian women and the word 'Sammy' was used to refer to Indian men. One explanation for the appellation 'Sammy' is that many Indian surnames ended with a suffix similar to 'sammy', such as Ramsamy, Appalsamy and Cooposamy. It is not clear why Indian women were referred to as 'Coolie Marys', but that this usage was common is reflected in a 1940s poem by schoolteacher BD Lalla (1946: 7), titled 'Coolie Mary':
- Is my wife a Coolie Mary / And thou a blessed fairy? /
Is my wife a Sammy Mary? /
Is she in any way contrary? / To thy door each bitter morning /
Cold or hot or wind a-storming /
Comes she with her breath a-panting- /
'Nice fruits missus and greens' a-chanting. /
Is she not a blessed fairy / Dubbed as a Coolie Mary? /
If you choose to call her Mary / Think of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
- 61 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 174).
- 62 Mayat (1996: 274).

Chapter 2 – Stepping out

- 1 See Jeppie (2007).
- 2 Jeppie (2007: 50).
- 3 ‘Fahmida’s World’, *Indian Views*, exact date unavailable. Zuleikha Mayat’s archive.
- 4 ‘The Hand that Rocks the Cradle’, *Indian Opinion*, 12 July 1929.
- 5 *Indian Opinion*, 22 January 1909.
- 6 *Indian Opinion*, 14 February 1914.
- 7 The Magazine Barracks was a residential site for Indian municipal workers.
- 8 *Indian Opinion*, 19 June 1936.
- 9 *Indian Opinion*, 28 July 1938.
- 10 *Indian Opinion*, 19 June 1936.
- 11 *Indian Opinion*, 21 September 1934.
- 12 *Indian Opinion*, 2 October 1931.
- 13 See Vahed (1998). Thanks also to Julie Parle and Catherine Burns for discussion regarding societies in Durban, and to Catherine Burns for the concept of ‘silos’. At the time of writing, Mwelela Cele was completing a Master’s thesis on the Bantu Social Centre and its transformation from an instrument of industrial discipline to a space of political protest.
- 14 Durban Women’s Zionist League, Golden Jubilee 1933–1983 (Commemorative Brochure) (p. 5). Killie Campbell Collection, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. (With thanks to Catherine Burns for providing citations about the Jewish Women’s Group.)
- 15 Union of Jewish Women of South Africa, Durban Branch, 1937–1977, 40 Years of Service (Commemorative Brochure). Killie Campbell Collection, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.
- 16 Desai (1992).
- 17 Brochure of the Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj. Durban, 1956. Documentation Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- 18 Kuppusami (1993: 124).
- 19 Kuppusami (1993: 146).
- 20 *Natal Mercury*, 27 November 1935.
- 21 *Indian Opinion*, 6 May 1938.
- 22 *Indian Opinion*, 27 May 1938.
- 23 Letters to the *Natal Witness*, 8 October 1938.
- 24 Letters to the *Natal Witness*, 8 October 1938.
- 25 *Indian Opinion*, 17 June 1938.
- 26 *Indian Opinion*, 23 December 1938.
- 27 *Indian Opinion*, 10 March 1939.
- 28 *Natal Mercury*, 6 August 1934.
- 29 *Cape Times*, 12 August 1938.
- 30 *Natal Mercury*, 5 July 1938.
- 31 *Daily News*, 26 June 1939.
- 32 *Daily News*, 26 June 1939.
- 33 Podbrey (1993: 94).
- 34 VN Naik began his career as a schoolteacher and later became a very successful businessman who donated generously to the building of schools and clinics. The VN Naik School for the Deaf is named after him. He died c.1973.

- 35 *Indian Opinion*, 3 September 1914.
- 36 *Indian Opinion*, 28 January 1921.
- 37 Estates of the Dead, National archives, Pietermaritzburg, NAB, MSCE 37673/1943.
- 38 Women's Cultural Group's 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 39 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 14 March 1956.
- 40 Women's Cultural Group 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972 (emphasis in original).
- 41 Halima, daughter of OHA Jhaveri, had married Aboobaker Moosa, the son of Moosa Hajee Cassim (1843–1921), an influential figure in local political and business circles at the turn of the twentieth century. Cassim's father, Hajee Cassim Tar Mahomed Sayani (1800–1895), was at one time the Prime Minister of Porbander. Like their father, Yusuf and his brothers were involved in social welfare, education and politics, and their memberships highlight the number of men's associations and organisations that helped to strengthen gender and class power networks: the Natal Indian Congress, Grey Street Mosque, Macohonocie Porbander State Club, Friends of the Sick Association (FOSA), Merchants Charitable Fund, Muslim Darul Yatama Wal Masakeen, Indo-European Council, All-India Memon Advancement Conference, Indian Surf Lifesaving Club and Porbander State Club. This ethic of organisational involvement was an additional impetus for Zohra's active leadership role in the Women's Cultural Group.
- 42 Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 43 Constitution of the Women's Cultural Group, 20 October 1970, objectives c and d.
- 44 The Jamiatul Ulama KZN is a council of ulema established in 1952, which according to its website, aims to 'guide generally the Muslim public in complete consonance with the laws of Islam'. See <http://www.jamiat.org.za>. However, interpretations of sharia are contested, and not all Muslims adhere to the Jamiat's rulings.
- 45 Zuleikha Mayat, 'Weekly letter: Razia, Queen of India', *Saturday Mirror*, recorded 21 January 1975, broadcast on SAFM on 25 January 1975.

Chapter 3 – Indian delights

- 1 A version of this chapter was published in 2009 as: Kitchen publics: *Indian Delights*, gender and culinary diaspora, *South African Historical Journal*, 61(3): 575–593.
- 2 Frene Ginwala was introduced to Group through Tehmina Rustomjee, who was related to her by marriage. Ginwala, who was exiled as an ANC member, completed her doctorate in History at Sussex University and worked as a journalist while based in London. After her return to South Africa, she was appointed Speaker of the National Assembly from 1994 to 2004.
- 3 Mayat interview, May 2002, by KwaMuhle Museum, transcript in Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 4 Mayat interview, May 2002, by KwaMuhle Museum, transcript in Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 5 *Indian Views*, 25 June 1960.
- 6 Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 7 Mayat (1961: 14).
- 8 Mayat (1961: 14).
- 9 Mayat (1961: 15).
- 10 Mayat wrote in the Preface to *Indian Delights* (1961) that if there was one lesson for the 'new bride' to absorb it was that 'both her in-laws and her husband have stomachs to be placated, and haphazard cooking will not justify'.
- 11 In Mayat (1961: 3).

- 12 A writer named Yaar submitted a review on 31 May 2007 on Amazon, describing the book as having ‘Great recipes Indian Pakistani and Memoni...This book is written by the Indian minority of South Africa, many of them Memons, and hence the recipes are different from the usual Indian Pakistani recipes. I feel that most of these recipes call for a lot more “turmeric” than needed so adjust it to taste or no more than 1/4 tsp. A very unique book.’ Accessed at <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Indian-Delights-Zuleikha-Mayat/dp/0620056886>. This points both to the attempt of the compilers to cater for the diverse range of Indian cooking and the ways in which Indian cooking has transformed in South Africa.
- 13 Mayat (1961: 16).
- 14 Mayat (1961: 5).
- 15 In Mayat (1961: 3–4).
- 16 Mayat (2007: 5).
- 17 Mayat (1961: 15).
- 18 Mayat (2007: 19).
- 19 Mayat (2007: 168).
- 20 Mayat (2007: 161).
- 21 Mayat (2007: 20).
- 22 Mayat (2007: 70).
- 23 Mayat (2007: 289).
- 24 Members prepared the foods used in the photographs. For example, Bhen AK Vawda prepared kopra lagan; Hafsa and Mariam Gori Mahomedy made biryani; Rokayya Motala the jardo; Aisha Mahomedy the mithais; Khatija Ahmed Paruk the stuffed fish; and Amina Yusuf Moosa the falooda. Zuleikha Mayat also thanked Hawa Bibi Moosa, Hafeza Paruk, Bari Paruk, Amina Moosa, Zohra Moosa, and Sakina Mall for assisting in various ways.
- 25 Women’s Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 26 Despite 1961 being the date of first publication given in subsequent editions, the first edition was probably published in late 1960. ‘Fahmida’s World’ of 25 June 1960 describes all the sections in the book and concludes: ‘I can see many people solving their gift problems this year so let us hope that it is in print soon.’
- 27 On 14 February 1961, shortly after the book was published, the rand replaced the South African pound as legal tender and *Indian Delights* was then priced at about R1.95.
- 28 The guarantee was for R27 452. At a conservative growth rate of 10 per cent, the equivalent amount in 2010 is just under R800 000.
- 29 Women’s Cultural Group, Treasurer’s Report, 1975/76.
- 30 By placing the larger order, the Group was able to wholesale the book at R4.75 per copy instead of R5.50 in the hope of quicker sales. The equivalent rand prices in 2010 would be a drop from a wholesale price of R154.00 to R133.00 (Treasurer’s Report, 1975/76).
- 31 Treasurer’s Report, 1975/76.
- 32 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 61). Andrew Verster was based at the University of Durban-Westville at the time and was interested in the aesthetics of Indian art. He was also associated with progressive political circles and it was through Fatima Meer that Zuleikha Mayat met Verster and was able to call on his expertise. GST stands for general sales tax, which was a precursor to value added tax currently imposed on most retail goods in South Africa.

- 33 The Group made a profit of R82 000, of which R50 000 was kept as working capital, R10 000 was set aside for an activity centre they were trying to build, and the balance was given to charity (Monthly General Meeting, August 1982).
- 34 Monthly General Meeting, December 1982.
- 35 Treasurer's Report, 1983/84.
- 36 Secretary's Report, 1983.
- 37 The *Red Edition* was printed as follows:
- | | | |
|-------------------|------|---------------|
| First impression | 1982 | 25 000 copies |
| Second impression | 1983 | 25 000 copies |
| Third impression | 1985 | 25 000 copies |
| Fourth impression | 1987 | 10 000 copies |
- The Group always insisted on getting quotes from different printers with a reputation for quality and reliability in printing high quantities. They avoided smaller printers that, in Mayat's words, 'may not deliver to expectations...As long as a printer satisfies our requirements, we stick with them. We only move on when more competitive terms are received.' The Group has worked with a few printers over the years including Robprint, Interpak and Impress.
- 38 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 39 See Chapter 6, this volume.
- 40 Treasurer's Report, 1984.
- 41 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 23–25).
- 42 Monthly General Meeting, January 1986.
- 43 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 44 'Women's Cultural Group launches new book', *Post*, 3–6 August 1988.
- 45 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 46 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 47 Mayat (1998: Preface).
- 48 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 49 Mayat (1999: 12).
- 50 Monthly General Meeting, February 1988.
- 51 Monthly General Meeting, September 1987.
- 52 This and the next two quotes: Mayat (1999: 12).
- 53 Monthly General Meeting, January 1999.
- 54 President's Report to Committee Meeting, July 1999. Mayat thanked Shirin Mayat and Nafisa Jeewa and singled out Mana Rajah, Ayesha Vorajee and Shameema Mayat for assisting with proofreading.
- 55 The full title of this book is *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives*. It forms part of the Cambridge World Encyclopedias series, edited by Francis Robinson.
- 56 'Zuleikha Mayat', *Impact News*, 29 July 2001. (*Impact News* is a Mauritian weekly newspaper with a focus on the local Muslim community.)
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|-------------------|------|--------|-----------------|------|--------|
| 57 6th impression | 1990 | 20 000 | 10th impression | 2000 | 10 000 |
| 7th impression | 1993 | 20 000 | 11th impression | 2003 | 10 000 |
| 8th impression | 1996 | 10 000 | 12th impression | 2006 | 10 000 |
| 9th impression | 1998 | 10 000 | 13th impression | 2007 | 20 000 |

- Those who assisted with the *Red Edition* are acknowledged in every issue, namely: Sabera Desai, Nurjehan Raboobe, Khorshed Nadvi, Hawa E Moosa, Mariam AH Mahomedy, Mariam EG Paruk, Manjra Beemath, Ayesha EA Mayat, Zuleikha Kadwa, Zuleikha Bobat, Fawzia Kaje, Laila Ally, Khadija Mall, Fatima Mahomedy, Fazila Shaik, Farida Jhavery, Gori Patel, Bibi Shaik, Khatija Vawda, Zohra Moosa, Ayesha Vorajee and Shameema Mayat.
- 58 Monthly General Meeting, October 1987.
- 59 Treasurer's Report, 1977/78.
- 60 Treasurer Report, 1977/78.
- 61 Monthly General Meeting, September 1982.
- 62 Monthly General Meeting, November 1985.
- 63 Zuleikha Mayat to Grace Kirschenbaum, editor, *World of Cookbooks*, 16 February 1988.
- 64 Monthly General Meeting, January 1986.
- 65 Monthly General Meeting, April 1986.
- 66 Monthly General Meeting, March 1986.
- 67 Joint President's/Treasurer's Report, July 1988.
- 68 See Chapter 4 for more about this book.
- 69 Monthly General Meeting, November 1988.
- 70 Monthly General Meeting, January 1989.
- 71 Correspondence dated respectively: 9 March 1998, 16 July 1998, 11 September 1998, 17 March 1992, 25 June 1993.
- 72 Correspondence dated respectively: 18 January 1999; 2 October 1996; 4 May 2005; 5 January 1994; 17 February 1994.
- 73 Correspondence dated respectively: 26 February 1998; 5 May 1998; 23 November 1993; 27 May 1998; 2 August 1994.
- 74 Correspondence dated June 2000.
- 75 Article republished in Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972. The date of the article is not stated.
- 76 'Indian Cook Book launched', *Natal Mercury*, 27 June 1960, cited in Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 77 Reprinted in Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972. The date of the article is not stated.
- 78 Roughly translated, this reads as follows: 'From Zuleikha Mayat's *Indian Delights*, the South African woman will therefore be able to learn many of the things that have, until now, only been known in Indian homes. The recipe book is adapted to South African conditions.' An undated photocopy of this article appears in Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 79 Mayat (2007: 5).
- 80 Correspondence dated 11 August 1998.
- 81 Correspondence from Lorgat to Mayat, 8 February 1990; and from Mayat to Lorgat, 2 March 1990.
- 82 Correspondence from the fast-food franchise manager to Zuleikha Mayat, 12 October 1999.
- 83 Correspondence from Zuleikha Mayat dated 13 February 2000.

Chapter 4 – Fahmida’s worlds

- 1 Mayat (c.1958). Original in Gujarati; this translation also by Zuleikha Mayat.
- 2 This was the translation of the title that appeared on the official programme. The title has also been translated as ‘A Few Moments of Sorrow’ as, for example, in Women’s Cultural Group, 35th Anniversary Brochure, 1989, p. 6.
- 3 This and the next quote: Zuleikha Mayat, notes to authors on *Be Ghadi Ghum*, 27 February 2009.
- 4 Women’s Cultural Group, 35th Anniversary Brochure, 1989, p. 6.
- 5 Zuleikha Mayat, notes to authors on *Be Ghadi Ghum*, 27 February 2009.
- 6 Mayat (c.1957).
- 7 Women’s Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 8 *Leader*, 13 September 1957 (reprinted in Women’s Cultural Group, 35th Anniversary Brochure, 1989, p. 6).
- 9 ‘Fahmida’s World’, *Indian Views*, 14 March 1956.
- 10 ‘Fahmida’s World’, *Indian Views*, 7 January 1959 (emphasis added).
- 11 Beteille (1969).
- 12 Beteille (1969).
- 13 Passenger migrants from Gujarat were divided ethnically, but there were further divisions related to class and region. For example, Memons were divided into the (wealthier) Porbanderites, who came from Porbander, and Jodhyas, who came from the surrounding villages; Surti status was determined by distance of migrants’ homes from the city of Surat – generally, the further one’s village from Surat, the lower one’s standing. Then there were the Hyderabadis, a term into which all the descendants of indentured migrants were collapsed even though very few of them came from Hyderabad. Marriages between descendants of passenger migrants and those of indenture background, as well as between passenger migrants divided by ethnicity, were not common.
- 14 ‘Fahmida’s World’, *Indian Views*, 24 October 1956.
- 15 ‘Fahmida’s World’, *Indian Views*, 18 September 1957.
- 16 See Meer (1968).
- 17 Women’s Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972.
- 18 Mayat (1981: 8).
- 19 Mayat (1981: 8).
- 20 Verster (1981: 7).
- 21 Verster (1981: 7).
- 22 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 45), letter dated 11 April 1981.
- 23 Models included Bushra Ansari, Zakera Jadwat, Shameema Mayat, Khadija Moosa, Kulsum Moosa, Ahmed Lockhat, Fatima Ismail Paruk, Bibi Ismail Paruk, Gori Patel, Nafisa Jeewa, Zubeida Seedat and Rashida Vaid.
- 24 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 43).
- 25 Verster (1981: 7).
- 26 Constitution of the Women’s Cultural Group, 20 October 1970, clauses 2d and 2e.
- 27 See Jeppie (2007: 67–71, 84–95). The Baha’i faith was founded by Bahá’u’lláh (1817–1892), an Iranian who claimed to be a messenger from God in fulfilment of the eschatological prediction of Islam. In 1947, the Al-Azhar Fatwa Committee in Egypt ruled that the Baha’i faith was a mixture of various religions and could not be considered part of Islam.

- 28 The widely accepted interpretation is that Jesus was not crucified but was substituted and will return before the Day of Judgement as a follower of Islam.
- 29 *Leader*, 19 September 1978; 4 October 1978.
- 30 Zuleikha Mayat's archive, memo dated 1976.
- 31 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 30–32), letter dated 28 September 1979.
- 32 The anthology was compiled by Mawlana Imdaad Saabree and published by the Saabree Academy, New Delhi, in 1978.
- 33 Mayat & Kathrada (2009: 30–31), letter dated 28 September 1979.
- 34 Monthly General Meeting, 7 May 1980.
- 35 Funagalo is a pidgin dialect based on Zulu, English and Afrikaans.
- 36 Zuleikha Mayat's archive, Memorandum of the Jamiatul Ulama to the Orient Institute, dated 1958 (in author's possession).
- 37 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 17 September 1958.
- 38 Zuleikha Mayat's archive, Memorandum of the Jamiatul Ulama to the Orient Institute, dated 1958.
- 39 Jeppie (2007).
- 40 Jeppie (2007: 109).
- 41 Jeppie (2007).
- 42 Olivier (1968: 40).
- 43 Mayat & Kahrada (2009: 166).
- 44 See Vahed (2003).
- 45 Schulz (2006: 213).
- 46 'Muslim Culture', *Indian Opinion*, 10 October 1938.

Chapter 5 – Iqraa

- 1 Qur'an, 96: 1–5, translation by Mahomed Jasser.
- 2 'Muslim Culture', *Indian Opinion*, 10 October 1938.
- 3 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, March 1956.
- 4 Metcalf (1994: 11).
- 5 Red Square is now known as Nicol Square, and is at the corner of present-day Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker streets.
- 6 Khatija later became Khatija Vawda, a member of the Women's Cultural Group.
- 7 Until the 1970s, the law confined Indians to Natal and required them to obtain permits to enter the Transvaal.
- 8 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 12 March 1958. After serving her internship, Fatima Mayet worked at King Edward, McCord and RK Khan hospitals and taught at the Medical School, where she became a professor. She retired in 1988.
- 9 Woods (1954: 80–81).
- 10 'Education has freed South Africa's Indian women', *Daily News*, 10 July 1967.
- 11 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 17 December 1958.
- 12 'Letters from our Readers', *Indian Views*, 1 September 1944.
- 13 Brain (1983).
- 14 Previous quote and this statistic cited in Henning (1993: 167).
- 15 The Indian government agreed to co-operate with a repatriation scheme that offered financial inducements to Indians to return to India. In return, the South African government agreed to 'uplift' the condition of those Indians who remained (Pahad 1972).

- 16 Ginwala (1974: 292).
- 17 'Neglect of Indian Education', *Indian Views*, 30 July 1949. See also Woods (1954: 84), who notes that in 1952, only 33 of Natal's 237 schools (14 per cent) were government schools.
- 18 Kajee et al. (1947: 48).
- 19 'Relief for Barracks' children', *Indian Views*, 3 May 1941; the Hajee Moosa Charitable Trust was run by the family of Group members Amina and Zohra Moosa.
- 20 This and the quote from AI Kajee above are from 'School for Wyebank', *Indian Views*, 26 March 1941.
- 21 Broome Report and Corbett Report cited in Corbett (1947: 74).
- 22 Broome Report, par. 421, cited in Corbett (1947: 75).
- 23 Burrows (1943: 25).
- 24 Corbett Report, par. 339; cited in Corbett (1947: 74).
- 25 Corbett (1947: 79).
- 26 Palmer (1957: 165).
- 27 'Shortage of schools for Indians', *Daily News*, 25 February 1971.
- 28 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 15 February 1956.
- 29 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 28 January 1959.
- 30 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 28 January 1959.
- 31 Woods (1954: 84).
- 32 'The education of Indian people in Natal', *Natal Mercury*, 2 November 1960.
- 33 MacMillan (1961: 99).
- 34 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 14 November 1956.
- 35 *Indian Opinion*, 5 February 1910.
- 36 'Report of May Street Mosque AGM', *Indian Opinion*, 15 April 1921.
- 37 Mahida (1993: 57).
- 38 'Moolla Pledge', *Indian Views*, 26 February 1958.
- 39 Palmer (1957: 167).
- 40 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 28 January 1959.
- 41 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 4 February 1959.
- 42 Manjoo (1972: 381).
- 43 Woods (1954: 84).
- 44 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 28 January 1959.
- 45 *Daily News*, 24 March 1969.
- 46 *Daily News*, 24 January 1973.
- 47 'Indians can cope too', *Daily News*, 29 January 1967.
- 48 Naidoo (1989: 116).
- 49 'English usage among Indian children', *Daily News*, 9 August 1972.
- 50 Cited in 'Education has freed South Africa's Indian women', *Daily News*, 10 July 1967.
- 51 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 14 March 1956.
- 52 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 22 February 1956.

- 53 The Women's Cultural Group's archive shows the following figures:
- | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1972 – R 2 000 | 1981 – R 15 922 | 1996 – R250 000 |
| 1975 – R 2 886 | 1982 – R 12 000 (29 students) | 1997 – R241 767 |
| 1976 – R 4 661 (19 students) | 1983 – R 16 032 (31 students) | 2000 – R350 000 |
| 1977 – R 5 826 (19 students) | 1984 – R 19 049 (27 students) | 2003 – R420 000 |
| 1978 – R 4 953 (19 students) | 1988 – R 27 852 (23 students) | 2004 – R451 200 |
| 1979 – R 8 513 | 1990 – R 35 385 | 2005 – R480 000 |
| 1980 – R11 735 | 1995 – R200 000 | 2009 – R600 000 |
- 54 Treasurer's Annual Report, 1993.
- 55 Memorandum issued during restructuring in June 2004.
- 56 Women's Cultural Group, Annual Report, 2003.
- 57 Other examples include donations from the Assanjee-Haffejee family, DA Mayat, Ahmed and Fatima Mayat, Mahomed and Zuleikha Mayat, MH Cassim Bhabha and family, MS Mall, Amina Moosa, Noor and Mariam Jhavary, GHA Mayat, SA Parak and family, Sol M Paruk, Yusuf and Fawziah Jamal, Sakina Mall, MH Bismilla and family, Ebrahim and Hawa Moosa, CI Mahomedy, Aboobaker and Zuleikha Dinaat, and several others.
- 58 The Group has received an average of R50 000 per annum over the past five years in zakaat funds, though 2007 was exceptional, when the Group received around R250 000 due largely to a very large contribution from a single donor.
- 59 1976 – R4 661 (18 bursaries given to Ayesha Barmania, Banu M Shaheen, Betty Chiliza, Wadival Govender, Rokaya Kharwa, S Ahmed Mall, Shenaaz Mehtar, Joyce Mhlungu, Lawrence Mkhizi, Patience Mkhizi, AH Moola, Fawzia Motala, Xoliswa Nguhana, Sagela Pewa, Joseph Phlahla, Dawood Shaikh, Prakash Singh, Gideon Shpago. In 1983, the 14 non-Muslim recipients were Michelle Nicholas, Nomusa Mnzani, Prudence Nxumalo, V Naidoo, Padmini Thaver, N Singh, Sandhya Singh, Frank Anderson, Dianathee Naidoo, Dhanpal Govender, D Madurai, Lucky John Swaartbooi, B Ndlovu, and Sibongile Dube).
- 60 'The Loan Bursary Fund', Women's Cultural Group, Jubilee Brochure, 2004, p. 10.
- 61 'The Loan Bursary Fund', Women's Cultural Group Jubilee Brochure, 2004, p. 10.
- 62 'Dangers of secular education', *Al-Jamiat*, May 1998.
- 63 See Vahed (2000).
- 64 Statistics South Africa. *Census 2001: Key results*. Accessed at <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/html/C2001KeyResults.asp>

Chapter 6 – Bake, jumble and trust

- 1 Adapted by Zuleikha Mayat from verse Surah Al-Ĥadīd 57: 7.
- 2 Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972, p. 28.
- 3 See, for example, Women's Cultural Group, Meena Bazaar Report, 1983, p. 1.
- 4 Memorandum to the South African Cricket Board, c. August 1992. The Group was trying to get visiting Pakistani cricketer Imran Khan as guest speaker. The visit did not materialise.
- 5 Following a visit from Dr Saleha Mahmood, then editor of the *Journal of Muslim Minorities*, the Group wrote to her on 19 August 1996: 'Group members bemoaned that life had lost its lustre after your departure. But not to worry for they have since rolled up their sleeves for our annual Food and Fun Fair and the Centre kitchen stalls are full of atchars and chutneys.'
- 6 Zuleikha Mayat's speech at the 18th AGM, June 1972.
- 7 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 5 August 1959.

- 8 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 19 August 1959.
- 9 Zuleikha Mayat, speech at the 18th AGM, June 1972.
- 10 Zuleikha Mayat, speech at 2007 Banquet, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 11 The event was named after the famous Meena Bazaar in India, renowned for its wide range of products and excellent craftsmanship.
- 12 Zuleikha Mayat to Essop Randeree, 28 June 1978.
- 13 Mariam Moosa, Nafisa Jeewa, Fatima Mayat, Shairbanu Lockhat, Bibi Paruk. Zuby Paruk (Mobeni Heights), Selma Motala, Gori Vahed, Rabia Patel, Zuby and Fazila Shaik, Laila Ally and Farida Jhavery were mentioned by name.
- 14 The duties allocated reveal the extent of planning and the involvement of a wide spread of members. Public Relations: Mariam Moosa; Information: Orient Old Boys; Co-ordinator: Nafisa Jeewa; Personnel Office: Fatima Loonat; Reception: Gori and Zuby Patel; Cosmetique: Rejoice and Laila Ally, Bibi Paruk; Flora: Mrs Seedat and Tehmina Rustomjee; Old Magazine Stall: Halima Iman, Aisha Gani; Villa Victoria: Shairbanu Lockhat; Indian Delights Stall: Shehnaaz Mehtar; General Nuisance: Zuleikha Mayat; Harem: Zubeida Seedat; New Clothing: Hawa Bibi Moosa, Albertina Nguni, Hafsa Mahomedy; Old Clothing: Hafeza Paruk; Underwear: Khatija Moosa, Zakira Motala, Muna Mune, Zube Paruk; Arts and Crafts: Bibi Sheikh; Grocery Stall: Sayedah Ansari; Auctioneer: Albertina Nguni and Shairbanu Lockhat; Kitchen: Amina Moosa; Jhavery's Shoe Shop: Farida Jhavery; Piece Goods: Khaja Ma; Rajah's Greengrocer: Mana Rajah; Dry arrangements: Mana Paruk; Cooking Demonstrations: Mariam Motala, Aisha Kajee, Khaja Ma, Khurshid Nadvi, Raziya Mayat, Zubie Ganie, Zubieda Seedat, Mrs M Mohamedy. Zohra Moosa and Fatima Mayat went around every half-hour to update floats and provide a signed 'chit' for money taken.
- 15 Monthly General Meeting, August 1978.
- 16 Treasurer's Report, 1978/79.
- 17 Women's Cultural Group, Meena Bazaar Report, 1983, p. 1.
- 18 Zuleikha Mayat, Zohra Moosa, Laila Ally and Shairbanu Lockhat.
- 19 Monthly General Meeting, September 1983.
- 20 Report presented at the Annual General Meeting, 23 May 1984.
- 21 Women's Cultural Group, Meena Bazaar Report, 1983, p. 1.
- 22 The library opened on 24 January 2009. Many South Africans contributed towards its construction and to the training of its staff.
- 23 The poem was read in Urdu and the full English translation was printed and given to guests.
- 24 Ferial Haffeejee to Women's Cultural Group, 6 July 2005.
- 25 Monthly General Meeting, October 1998.
- 26 Monthly General Meeting, July 1998.
- 27 Monthly General Meeting, October 1998.
- 28 In all, 8 members worked for 3 hours on 11 Tuesdays; 30 members for 5 hours on 11 Wednesdays; 5 members on 11 Thursdays for 1 hour; and 40 members for 6 hours on 5 days. Zuleikha Mayat to Al Baraka Bank, 14 October 2000.
- 29 The 'Currie Cup' is a provincial rugby competition and this food pun helped to popularise the Group's event.
- 30 Sakina Mall died on 1 April 1979 and was replaced as a trustee by Hawa Bibi Moosa on 15 August 1979; Fareda Habib relocated to Johannesburg and was replaced by Khatija Shaikh on 8 September 1980; Amina Moosa died on 11 October 1983 and was replaced by Shairbanu

Lockhat on 9 November 1983; Mary Grice resigned in 1992 and was replaced by Fatima Mayat; Khatija Shaikh resigned in 1993 and was replaced by Farida Jhavery on 20 January 1993; Hawa Bibi Moosa died in 1993 and was replaced by Ayesha Vorajee on 8 June 1994; Mariam Motala resigned in December 2002 when she moved to Newcastle and was replaced by Shameema Mayat in June 2003; Hafeza Paruk was replaced by Zarina Moolla on 20 March 2002; when Fatima Loonat passed away in October 2003, her place was taken by Fatima Randeree on 15 October 2003. At a meeting of the Trust on 16 November 2005, Hajira Omar was co-opted as reserve trustee. At the time of writing, in 2009, the trustees were Zuleikha Mayat, Ayesha Vorajee, Shameema Mayat, Zarina Moolla, Fatima Randeree, Fatima Mayat, Hafsa Mahomedy, Zohra Moosa, Farida Jhavery, Shairbanu Lockhat and Hajira Omar.

- 31 Treasurer’s Annual Report, 1998.
- 32 Women’s Cultural Group, Meena Bazaar Report, 1983, p. 1.

Chapter 7 – In the family of humanity

- 1 Qur’an, verse 107, trans. Marmaduke Pickthall.
- 2 *Indian Views*, 15 February 1956.
- 3 Payton (2008: 27).
- 4 Payton (2008: 27). Such organisations are variously referred to in the literature as non-profit, non-governmental, voluntary organisations, or civil society organisations.
- 5 Payton (2008: 29).
- 6 Payton (2008: 28). Payton makes a distinction between charity and philanthropy. Philanthropy is an umbrella term for all voluntary action, while charity is used more narrowly to refer to actions to relieve immediate distress, such as, for example, providing blankets and food to refugees. Philanthropy from this perspective would include actions to get the refugees ‘back to their homes and on the road to recovery’ (Payton 2008: 35). For Payton, charity is therefore accommodated under the umbrella of philanthropy. However, in keeping with their everyday usage, these terms are sometimes used interchangeably in this chapter.
- 7 The ‘racial’ composition of Durban’s population, 1904–1949:

Year	White	Coloured	Indian	African	Total
1904	31 302	1 980	15 631	18 929	67 842
1911	31 903	2 497	17 015	17 750	69 165
1921	46 113	4 000	16 400	29 011	95 524
1931	59 250	4 240	17 860	43 750	125 100
1936	88 065	7 336	80 384	63 762	239 547
1949	129 683	11 280	123 165	109 543	373 671

Source: *University of Natal, Department of Economics (1952: 35).*

- 8 Burrows (1940: 29).
- 9 University of Natal, Department of Economics (1961: 19).
- 10 Report of the Assistant Estates Manager to Town Clerk, 6 July 1946. National archives, Durban.
- 11 Natal Indian Association, ‘Memorandum submitted to the Secretary for Public Health setting forth its objections to the expropriation proposals of the Durban City Council’, 22 December 1941. National archives.
- 12 Kuper et al. (1958: 243).

- 13 CS Smith to Town Clerk, 14 February 1940. National archives, Durban.
- 14 Cited in Ginwala (1974: 303).
- 15 'Malnutrition rife among Indians', *Daily News*, 8 June 1944.
- 16 Woods (1954: 87–89).
- 17 'Fahmida's World,' *Indian Views*, 8 February 1956.
- 18 Palmer (1957: 169).
- 19 *Indian Opinion*, 21 July 1922.
- 20 Govender (1987: 14).
- 21 'Administrator praises Indians', *Indian Opinion*, 28 January 1921.
- 22 Mahida (1993: 68–69).
- 23 This and the previous two quotes: 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 18 February 1959.
- 24 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 16 July 1958.
- 25 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 1958, exact date unavailable, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 26 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 16 May 1956.
- 27 Zuleikha Mayat, speech at 18th AGM, June 1972.
- 28 Women's Cultural Group, 35th Anniversary Brochure, 1989, p. 10.
- 29 These organisations run the gamut from the the Natal Indian Blind Society, the KwaZulu Water Development Fund, Imbeliyezwe Primary School, the Inchanga Centre, the VN Naik School for the Deaf, the *Daily News* Milk Fund, Zamokuhle, the Sibisiwe Child and Welfare Society, the Golden Gate School for the Handicapped, Natal Indian Cripple Care, the Durban Diabetes Association, and the Nosizwe Community Project.
- 30 J Reddy, 'Women's Cultural Group – 25 Years of Service', *Leader*, 1979 (exact date not available). This article appears in Women's Cultural Group, 35th Anniversary Brochure, 1989, p. 9.
- 31 Farida Timol and Mariam Moosa publicised it in the press; Farida Jooma spoke to Mall's Hardware for timber to manufacture furniture; Fatima Loonat and Zubie Ganie approached Mr Joosub of Atomic Demolishers for donations. Zuleikha Mayat, Rashida Vaid and Zohra Moosa then registered the school with the Department of Indian Affairs and the City Health Department in February 1980.
- 32 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 15 February 1956.
- 33 Women's Cultural Group, 18th Anniversary Brochure, 1972, p. 28.
- 34 This was the launch of *Dear Ahmedbhai*, *Dear Zuleikhabehn* (Mayat & Kathrada 2009) at the Women's Cultural Centre, which was also attended by Ahmed Kathrada.
- 35 See Tayob (1995).
- 36 During 1996, 135 complaints were recorded, mostly from married women subjected to physical and emotional abuse, often resulting from substance addiction, gambling debts or stress caused by the husband losing his job.
- 37 'Women's Counselling Line', *Daily News*, 28 January 1997.
- 38 The first committee consisted of Hajira Omar, Aziza Mayat, Zuleikha Mayat, Shirin Minty, Zarina Moolla, Jamila Patel and Fatima Randeree.
- 39 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 7 November 1956.
- 40 Letter from AB Mahomed to Zuleikha Mayat. Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 41 Letter from Zuleikha Mayat to AB Mahomed. Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 42 The first committee consisted of Mana Rajah and Nafisa Jeewa (beds and linen); Fatima Patel (crockery); Ayesha Vorajee (sewing); F Patel and K Amra (counselling); Latifa Latkaya (nurse aid); and Zuleikha Mayat, Aziza Mayat and Zohra Moosa (funding).

- 43 F Patel and K Amra agreed to provide counseling; MA Lockhat and Z Methar were tasked with organising an activity hour once a week; Shameema Mayat and Mana Rajah volunteered to teach sewing skills; Fatima Patel was to organise a hobby club; and Zarina Moolla was to take care of accounting. It was also agreed that volunteers would take residents shopping for personal items. Residents were to be allocated kitchen duties.
- 44 Proposal to Iqraa Trust Board, re: Retirement Village, February 2006, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 45 Proposal to Iqraa Trust Board, re: Retirement Village, February 2006, Zuleikha Mayat's archive.
- 46 'Market debate continues', *Daily News*, 13 April 1973.
- 47 Submission to the South African Law Commission by the Women's Cultural Group, 15 January 2003.
- 48 See, for example, Jane Duncan, 'Anti-Terrorism Bill will stamp on Human Rights', *Sowetan*, 14 January 2003.
- 49 See Buccus & Nadvi (2005) for a more detailed discussion of this process.
- 50 See D Strumpf and N Dawes, 'Khalid Rashid: Govt's cover is blown', *Mail and Guardian*, 9 June 2006. Accessed March 2010 at <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2006-06-09-khalid-rashid-govts-cover-is-blown>.
- 51 Accessed March 2010 at http://www.justice.gov.za/salrc/reports/r_prj59_2003jul.pdf.
- 52 See Amien (2006: 742).
- 53 'Muslim Marriage Law Case: Judgement Reserved', 29 May 2009. Accessed 31 May 2009 at <http://www.dispatch.co.za/article.aspx?id=317019>.
- 54 'Muslim Marriage Law Case: Judgement Reserved', 29 May 2009. Accessed 31 May 2009 at <http://www.dispatch.co.za/article.aspx?id=317019>.

Chapter 8 – Haven of our dreams

- 1 'Fahmida's World', *Indian Views*, 2 September 1957.
- 2 Monthly General Meeting, July 1979.
- 3 Monthly General Meeting, November 1979.
- 4 Monthly General Meeting, 7 May 1980.
- 5 Fatima Loonat, Bibi Shaik, Fatima Mayat, Shairbanu Lockhat, Zohra Moosa, Farida Jhavery, Sayedah Ansari and Zulekha Moolla.
- 6 Monthly General Meeting, 15 October 1980.
- 7 Monthly General Meeting, 14 March 1981.
- 8 Monthly General Meeting, August 1982.
- 9 According to the minutes of the Monthly General Meeting of December 1982, the negotiation team was made up of Fatima Loonat, Zohra Moosa, Amina Moosa, Mariam Moosa and Zulekha Moolla. In addition, a special committee was constituted to supervise the kitchen development that included Amina Moosa, Zulekha Moolla, Hawa Bibi Mehtar, Gori Patel, Zohra Moosa and Khatija Ganie.
- 10 Secretary's Report, 1983/84.
- 11 Monthly General Meeting, April 1985.
- 12 Monthly General Meeting, November 1985.
- 13 Monthly General Meeting, March 1986.
- 14 Monthly General Meeting, September 1986.
- 15 Monthly General Meeting, October 1986.

- 16 Including Laila Ally, Shameema Mayat, Zuleikha Mayat, Fatima Mayat, Shairbanu Lockhat, Zohra Moosa and Zulekha Moolla. The kitchen co-ordinator was Shaida Ebrahim.
- 17 Monthly General Meeting, November 1987.
- 18 Monthly General Meeting, March 1985.
- 19 Monthly General Meeting, February 1987.
- 20 Monthly General Meeting, August 1985.
- 21 Joint President/Treasurer Report, July 1988.
- 22 Monthly General Meeting, August 1988.
- 23 Letter to various donors advising them that the project had been put on hold, 16 September 1991.
- 24 Monthly General Meeting, November 1988.
- 25 Monthly General Meeting, September 1988.
- 26 Monthly General Meeting, November 1988.
- 27 Monthly General Meeting, September 1989.
- 28 Monthly General Meeting, October 1989.
- 29 Monthly General Meeting, November 1989.
- 30 Monthly General Meeting, February 1990.
- 31 Monthly General Meeting, December 1990.
- 32 Monthly General Meeting, January 1991.
- 33 Monthly General Meeting, October 1991.
- 34 Monthly General Meeting, February 1992.
- 35 Monthly General Meeting, March 1992.
- 36 The letter was signed by Zohra Moosa, Khurshid Nadvi, Fatima Coovadia, Hawa Mehtar, Hawa Moosa, Subuhi Choudree, Laila Ally, Fatima Mayat, Shameema Mayat, Fatima Ismail, Zulekha Moolla, Shairbanu Lockhat, Mariam Lockhat, Mariam Motala and Khajama Gani.
- 37 Monthly General Meeting, May 1992.
- 38 Monthly General Meeting, May 1992.
- 39 Memorandum from Mayat to the South African Cricket Board, no exact date but according to Zuleikha Mayat it was early August 1993.
- 40 Monthly General Meeting, September 1992.
- 41 Memorandum prepared by Zuleikha Mayat, January 1994.
- 42 Memorandum prepared by Zuleikha Mayat, January 1994.
- 43 Memorandum prepared by Zuleikha Mayat, January 1994.
- 44 Al-Ansaar, established in 1993, focuses on education – tarbiyah and dawah. The organisation currently publishes a monthly newspaper, conducts Hajj seminars, has a radio station, holds regular fêtes, and is in the process of completing a multimillion-rand building, which will include a bookshop, library, hall and sports centre. In many ways, the establishment of a centre such as that being constructed by Al-Ansaar is what the Group had aspired to.

Conclusion

- 1 Letter from Zuleikha Mayat, 20 September 2008.
- 2 Most recently, this involved a book titled *The Muslims of Gujarat*, published by the Women's Cultural Group in 2008.