

Chapter Two

Socio-Economic and Political Conditions on the Witwatersrand, 1930-1960

Introduction

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the conceptual boundaries used by scholars to understand subcultures need to be broadened. Placing youth, subcultures and gang formation within the wider social, political, economic and historical context is of equal importance. Most subcultural scholars stress this issue and trace the sociological roots of gang formation back to periods of extreme urban instability. What is clear from these studies is that the formation of gangs and a commitment to subculture is a means by which youths seek not only security but also an identity in the face of harsh and often rapidly changing urban and political environments. The rise of white South African youth gangs and subcultures will similarly be placed within the socio-economic and political context of the city. Between 1930 and 1960 certain sectors of the white community faced periods of poverty followed by affluence. Government socio-economic policies altered accordingly. In the 1930's the government's central concern was unemployment. This was followed by a period of instability, the underlying causes of which were absent fathers and immigrants, and widespread juvenile delinquency was one of the symptoms. This prompted the introduction of 'reconstructionist' educational and housing policies in the Post World War Two period. Some were successful; others were not. There ensued a period of prosperity and employment security experienced by most whites including youths which enabled some youths to tap into the commodity market (such as music and fashion) in the 1950's which in turn led to the emergence of the ducktail subculture. These varied socio-economic conditions will be sketched in this chapter. The central focus will be on immigration, housing, unemployment, education and juvenile delinquency, all of which affected the lives of young urban and rural South Africans and their parents.

Within South African historiography, the impact of the dual processes of urbanisation and industrialisation on African communities have received close attention. This is not nearly so apparent in the case of white urban communities. The work of academics such as I. Berger, D. Berger, J. Bottomley, E. Brink, L. Callinicos, J. Hyslop, K. Jochelson, R. Morrell and S. Parnell outline the poor social conditions that prevailed in the city in the turbulent thirties.¹ However, the post-war period has only been patchily researched, D. O'Meara and J. Lazar's work being the exceptions.² Housing provision, both economic and sub-economic, for white communities has been under researched. An overview can be drawn from the work of K. Beavon, A. Mabin and D. Smit and a few scattered primary sources.³ Crime and in particular juvenile delinquency have likewise barely been considered by most scholars although an outline can be sketched from the observations of two contemporary sociologists – G.K. Engelbrecht and Dr L.F. Freed.⁴ Much the same unevenness applies in the field of education in South Africa, where African education has attracted considerable attention. A profile of white education can be drawn from a few key texts, notably those of E.G. Malherbe, and A.L. Behr.⁵ However writing on white education is mostly discussed within the context of Christian National Education (CNE) a framework which for the present purposes also has various shortcomings.⁶ One major problem with most existing research is that the extent to which youths accepted Christian National principles has not been measured. Secondly, besides a detailed documentation of the evolution of CNE principles and ideologies very little is said about Christian Nationalism as a viable pedagogical tool. The standard of education among white youths has mostly been ignored. This chapter examines these various issues.

Deep Background: 'Poor whiteism'; the Great Depression and Slum Clearances, 1924-1939

During the inter-war years an estimated 19 000 to 20 000 whites poured into the city annually.⁷ Thousands of white rural migrants – mostly Afrikaners - sought refuge in the cities in the 1920's and 1930's. They were pushed off the land by a variety of forces ranging from the 1918 flu epidemic and post World War I drought to the Great

Depression - the effects of which were exacerbated further because of the 1933 drought. Between 1921 and 1936 the population of the Witwatersrand grew from 230 657 to 402 233⁸ and by 1940 nearly a quarter of South Africa's white population lived on the Rand.⁹

The same period also witnessed the arrival of immigrants from abroad. Prior to the 1920s, immigration¹⁰ policies centred on exclusion (primarily of Indian immigrants) rather than inclusion. State sponsored immigration schemes were halted, although independent immigration was still permitted.¹¹ In the early 1920s – as a result of rising unemployment and industrial unrest – restrictions were placed on immigrants entering the Union for employment. In 1930 the government passed the Immigration Quota Act which allowed entry to an unlimited number of whites from 'scheduled countries' (including the United Kingdom, northern and southern Europe – excluding Greece – and the United States) and a limited quota of 50 whites from 'unscheduled' countries (all other countries). An additional 1 000 places were allocated to people from 'unscheduled' countries most of which were reserved for family reunification.¹² The Immigration Quota Act also provided for the establishment of the Immigrants Selection Board which considered applications and appeals. British nationals (those born in Britain) were exempted from restrictions but all other applicants had to obtain permits. In 1924, 5 265 immigrants arrived on the shores of South Africa. This swelled to 7 895 in 1929 and dropped sharply to 5 904 in 1930 and to 3 031 in 1933 but rose again to 10 840 in 1936.¹³ These new arrivals transformed urban areas into cosmopolitan centres, allowing for the interaction of trans-national cultures and, as will be discussed in the following chapters, injected some 'Britishness'¹⁴ into the ducktail subculture. This is particularly evident in the slang that members of the subculture adopted.

Besides exposing certain sectors of the white community to rising unemployment, the combination of rural flight and immigration from overseas confronted them with an acute shortage of cheap housing, inadequate social services and escalating crime.

Bottomley convincingly argues that ‘poor whiteism’ was a ‘crucial aspect of South African public policy; it forced governments to intervene and re-direct the economy to prevent the social disintegration of Afrikanerdom.’¹⁵ He also identifies three different strategies that underpinned new policies, all geared towards the upliftment of whites:

policies designed to equip the rising generation with the education and skills to become part of the white labour aristocracy; policies orientated towards adults designed to stabilise and improve family life for the benefit of the children; and policies designed to increase the employing capacity of the economy so that there would be enough jobs for the white labour aristocracy.¹⁶

In this period, the government was determined to address the ‘problem of poor whiteism’.¹⁷ Jochelson estimates that in 1929-1930, 300 000 whites in the country were classified as poor whites.¹⁸ A range of initiatives to assist ‘poor whites’ (for example vocational training, poor relief and sub-economic housing schemes) were implemented after the Carnegie Commission’s report was published in 1932. The formation of the multidisciplinary Carnegie Poor White Commission funded by the Carnegie Corporation¹⁹ was the first step taken to enquire into the ‘poor white problem’. Its research was geared towards understanding why and how a particular group of whites were trapped in conditions of social displacement, instability, poverty and unemployment.

Brink’s study shows unemployment to have been largely confined to the male workforce. Nation-wide for example, approximately 81 042 white men were registered as unemployed in 1930 a figure which escalated to 187 924 in 1933.²⁰ The Carnegie Commission calculated that one-fifth of Afrikaners were unemployed ‘poor whites’.²¹ Employment was hard to secure; firstly because employment opportunities were limited due to the oversupply of labour and secondly because white workers were confronted with competition from a much cheaper African labour force.

Another reason that the Carnegie Commission isolated these alarming unemployment figures was the lack of adequate educational training and early school leaving. In the 1920s, 85 per cent of students dropped out of school between Standard 6 and 10.²² At this stage education was only compulsory between the ages of 7 and 16. The Department of Education reported that in 1930 44 per cent of children leaving school had not attained a standard VI.²³ It estimated that 58 per cent of boys left school before passing standard VII, while 6 per cent attained standard VIII and a mere 1.5 per cent matriculated²⁴. The Department of Education estimated that in 1930 approximately 18 000 boys completed their schooling. Of these only ‘8 500 find employment in farm work.’ Such standards of education equipped most white youths only to occupy working class positions or to enter an apprenticeship. Partly because of this, in 1931, the pass mark was lowered from 40 per cent to 33 1/3 per cent.²⁵ This did not encourage young people to complete their schooling. In 1934, only 2,22 per 1 000 of the population completed matric.²⁶ The drop out rate of pupils remained surprisingly high (see below Table 1) and contributed towards the rising unemployment figures of the period.

Table 1: Dropout rate per 1 000 pupils, 1928-1932²⁷

Year	Standard	Cape	Transvaal	Natal
1929	VII	50	43	48.9
1930	VIII	36	30	38.0
1931	IX	20	19	18.8
1932	X	20	15	16.0

Enrolments at secondary schools increased by a 1 per cent per annum between 1917 and 1937 (see below, Table 2) even though education was compulsory in the 1930s.²⁸

Table 2: Enrolments at Secondary Schools, 1917-1937²⁹

Year	Enrolment in per cent
1917	3.1 per cent
1920	7.7 per cent
1929	10.3 per cent
1932	11.9 per cent
1934	12.7 per cent
1935	13.1 per cent
1936	14.7 per cent
1937	15.3 per cent

Admission figures at universities (including the University of Cape Town, University of Pretoria, Stellenbosch University and the University of the Witwatersrand) and university colleges (UNISA) were likewise low. In 1933, only 913 graduate and 6 014 undergraduate students held a matriculation certificate and 410 did not.³⁰ Most young people either faced unemployment or secured working class employment.³¹ Measures to alter this position and to assist white youths in obtaining better positions were formulated in the 1920's but only achieved a measure of success in the 1930's.

White youths received government support from the Juvenile Affairs Board (JAB) once it had been formed in 1919³² and a little later after the passage of the Apprenticeship Act of 1922. Apprenticeship was initially introduced after the passage of the Masters and Servants Act (apprentices were indentured) of 1911. Technical Education was controlled by the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 (amended in 1944, 1951, and 1963) and the Higher Education Act of 1923. The number of technical part-time students [apprentices] enrolled at Technical colleges steadily rose (see Table 3), reflecting the commitment of some white youths to carving out a better future for themselves.

Table 3: Apprenticeship contracts and part time students for the years 1930, 1940 and 1950³³

Year	Contracts	Part time students
1930	8 406	7 000
1940	11 683	11 078
1950	24 379	21 659

In the early 1920s the Department of Labour formed JAB in the major urban centres to help bridge the transition from school-to-work (STW). Between 1926 and 1931, 10 000 youths were registered at these centres of whom 40 per cent gained employment. Of those who found work, 60 per cent were placed by the JAB and 40 per cent found jobs independently.³⁴ In 1937, in evidence submitted to the *Native Labour Commission*, the Pretoria JAB argued that complete segregation would ensure ‘the future employment and efficiency of our youth, and the welfare and prosperity of the white and native races.’³⁵ Acting in ‘the best interest of white juveniles’ it called for a raise in African adult wages to lower job competition between white youths and African adults.³⁶ The JAB’s influence in securing jobs for white youths was not as marked in later years which were characterised by full employment for whites. At the same time other institutions, such as the SSB (Special Services Battalion) which catered for the employment needs of whites were set in place.

The SSB was designed in 1933.³⁷ Initially the battalion was comprised of 1 000 unemployed youths between the ages of 17 and 22. During World War Two it was converted into a brigade which was then commissioned to fight in East Africa, the Middle East and Italy. After the war the SSB was transferred from the Defence Force to the Union Education Department and given a new name – the Physical Training Brigade.³⁸ It however did little to alleviate the low levels of education in this period and education continued to concern the government.

Poor education hampered the employment of youths. One of the central problems with education in this period was the lack of an integrated national body to co-

ordinate it. Following a recommendation by the Provincial Finances Commission, a Provincial Consultative Committee was created in 1933 to improve co-ordination between central government and the provinces over educational matters.³⁹ This change did not address poor standards of education. Four years later a Commission of Enquiry into education in the Transvaal headed by Rev. W.M. Nicol was appointed to devise methods to tackle this pressing issue. The Commission proposed that a three-year technical course be introduced alongside the five-year academic course at secondary school level in an attempt to lower the high failure rate.⁴⁰ It also urged the government to devote a more substantial portion of its budget to education. Over the next decade the government gradually invested more funds in education. For example, in 1936, £10 719 621 was invested, a figure which more than doubled to £23 880 786 by 1949.⁴¹ The bulk of these funds was devoted to improving educational facilities and not the quality of education. This coupled with a downturn in the economy caused unemployment in white communities to escalate in the 1930s. In Johannesburg alone 23 526 white men were registered as unemployed in 1930, this increased to 72 400 in 1933 when the Depression was at its worst.⁴²

Declining standards of living and mounting unemployment amongst whites prompted the Hertzog government (1924 -1933) to introduce ameliorative measures. The ‘civilised labour policy’ and other legislation including the Industrial Conciliation Act; Customs Tariff Act of 1925; the Wage Act of 1925 and the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 were passed.⁴³ The overarching aim of such draconian laws was to protect and reserve jobs for whites and in so doing to displace Africans from certain jobs. As a consequence, 8 000 jobs were transferred from black to white workers between 1924 and 1932. Compared to 1933 unemployment figures had halved by 1935 and stood at 36 200.⁴⁴

Besides legislative changes another indicator of the government’s concern over low standards of living, unemployment and widespread poverty in some white communities, was the appointment of an ‘Unemployment Investigation Committee,’ under the

chairmanship of Mr J. Collie, in 1932.⁴⁵ In the same year, the government requested that a 'Cost of Living Enquiry' be undertaken under the direction of Mr F.J. Fahey.⁴⁶ The latter enquiry confirmed that a sharp decline had taken place in the standard of living in most urban communities dating from the time of the depression. It estimated that the earnings of lower income groups had dropped by anything between 30 to 50 per cent, while the earnings of 'skilled artisans' had risen by 33 ⅓ per cent.⁴⁷ The commission pointed out that between 25 and 30 per cent of incomes was spent on rent, a figure, which was considered high when compared to other countries (see Appendix I, Table A). It therefore recommended that 'every effort should be made to relieve these people (the Europeans especially) of the economic pressure which at present is weighing them down.'⁴⁸

The escalating levels of unemployment experienced by working class men resulted in women entering the labour market where they became 'a feature of newly established South African industries, especially of clothing and textile, fruit canning and packing, sweets and biscuit industries and laundries.'⁴⁹ However for some families the second salary gave an inadequate supplement to household income and some turned to the illicit liquor trade and prostitution as a source of extra earnings.⁵⁰ A sign of hard times facing families in this period of poverty, restricted employment opportunities and low wages, was that white men and women turned to crime to ensure the survival of their families. Iris Berger points out that in the in the late 1920s and early 1930's

poor white women continued to see illicit liquor sales as a source of extra income, a temptation because profits were potentially large and the likelihood of detection small. The extent of this trade is difficult to gauge; but contemporary newspaper accounts suggest that prosecutors had shifted their attention from individual sellers to organised criminal groups.⁵¹

In 1928, a total of 771 whites (675 males and 96 females) were charged for supplying liquor to coloureds. Appropriating stolen goods was the second most common crime committed – 357 (333 males and 24 females) whites were arrested.⁵² The situation in 1929 was much the same when a total of 727 (625 males and 102 females) were convicted. At this stage however, serious theft (defined as stolen property exceeding

£5) was becoming common and a total of 326 males and 33 females were convicted.⁵³ In 1930 liquor offences jumped once again and a total of 990 whites were charged for supplying liquor to ‘natives’ and 5 633 were arrested for drunkenness.⁵⁴ This figure escalated to 6 110 in 1935. However the number of arrests for trading in liquor dropped to 558 in the same year (see Table E in Appendix 1).⁵⁵ This placed pressure on the family and led to unstable conditions of family life and social displacement. An index of mounting stress levels was the high divorce rate. Brink notes that between 1918 and 1921 divorces increased fourfold and between 1921 and 1936 this figure doubled and a total of 10 900 divorces were recorded countrywide.⁵⁶

Heavy work loads for both men and women resulted in children receiving less parental attention and guidance which contributed to an erosion of traditional family structures.⁵⁷ The more visible role of women in the labour force led to a slackening in parental (predominantly maternal) supervision of children, as working mothers spent long hours at work. After-care facilities such as nursery schools and crèches (catering for the ages three to five) were scarce.⁵⁸ By 1934, three nursery schools, all under the control of the Johannesburg Municipality’s Department of Health, catered for children in the suburbs of at Vrededorp, Jeppe and Auckland Park.⁵⁹

In addition to these strains on the family, affordable housing was becoming scarce and inter-racial slums were spreading. Drawing on an article in *The Star*, Jochelson notes that

A visitor to Fordsburg described how ‘Whites and coloured dwell together’ so that ‘here all shades from white to full blooded black may be seen’. In Doornfontein ‘[i]llegitimate children are numerous and of the most mixed description owing to the intermingling of all shades of colour with poor whites.’⁶⁰

Such inter-racial mixing, that was becoming widespread in working class communities, became a concern for both the Purified National Party (PNP) and the United Party (UP). Anxieties expressed by political parties were also fuelled by notions to save the poor whites. Poor whites symbolised the degradation of and undermining of white

supremacy. Jochelson contends that sexually transmitted diseases among whites in the 1920s and 1930s became a metaphor for exploring the transitory racial, class and gendered relationships that were sprouting hence the government's urgency to remove poor whites out of slums. She convincingly argues that

Fears about an endemic of STDs and blaming a particular segment of a population [in this case poor whites] for its spread may reflect wider social fears about social and moral disorder, rather than a real increase in the incidence of disease...disease may act as a powerful metaphor for social and moral disorder.⁶¹

This fear was expressed so Hyslop argues, most clearly in the housing crisis, in which housing reform,

..centred on the idea of saving the white working class from the perils of racial mixing and disintegration of traditional family structures.⁶²

Overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions, the prevalence of crime and the contestation for space characterised these inner-city slums.

Responsibility for the provision of white housing lay with the Central Housing Board (CHB) formed after the passage of section 18 of the Housing Act (Act No 35) of 1920.⁶³ This Act only provided funding for economic housing schemes in an attempt to encourage the middle class worker to become a homeowner. Eleven years later, according to the CHB's 1939 annual report, public agitation forced the government to amend its policy and offer subsidised housing for all classes of whites.⁶⁴ In 1931, the CHB introduced a sub-economic housing scheme.⁶⁵ The Johannesburg municipality erected one of the first housing schemes (of 200 dwellings) for working class whites in Brixton.⁶⁶ Responsibility for developing housing schemes for whites devolved to the local authorities through ordinances such as the Transvaal Townships and Town Planning Ordinance of 1931.⁶⁷ These early initiatives soon proved ineffective. The Transvaal Townships and Town Planning Ordinance of 1931 was, however, influential for the way in which it laid the foundation for the further bureaucratisation, centralisation and the co-ordination of town planning which had been noticeably lacking in the 1920s. The central motivation, however, for introducing integrated

development strategies was to enforce racial segregation.⁶⁸ Despite these policy changes housing shortages were still common. Parnell approximates that in 1933, 1 121 families were in need of housing in Johannesburg alone.⁶⁹

In 1934, further steps were taken to institutionalise and entrench residential segregation through the passage of two new pieces of legislation: the Elimination of Slums Act (No 53 of 1934) and the Housing Amendment Act (No 68 of 1934). The Slums Act signalled an effort by the government to embark on a programme of spatial reorganisation. Local authorities were charged with the responsibility of clearing slums and providing alternative accommodation for those removed.⁷⁰ By 1936, 184 premises had been categorised as slums in Johannesburg.⁷¹ The Housing Amendment Act declared that adequate alternative accommodation for slum residents had to be provided.⁷² In 1935, it was enumerated that 48 per cent of families in Johannesburg requiring re-housing were white.⁷³ Such conditions, one Johannesburg citizen claimed, was turning every suburb into ‘a haunt of *kaffirs* and half-wild white hooligans’.⁷⁴

Lack of co-operation between the CHB, local authorities and a disinterested central government contributed to the backlog in housing. In the mid-1930s, the housing shortfall escalated in Johannesburg. In 1936, 939 houses were needed for whites in Johannesburg and in Pretoria housing requirements for whites stood at 500.⁷⁵ To meet some of these needs a second ‘European’ housing scheme was approved, in Bertrams⁷⁶, to cater for whites who had been removed from demolished slum areas. In Pretoria and elsewhere on the Witwatersrand, a total of £578 832 was allocated for the erection of 718 dwellings.⁷⁷ However, housing delivery still experienced delays mostly because of legal complications in securing access to suitable sites and because local authorities were solely responsible for all losses incurred.⁷⁸

Between 1936 and 1946, Johannesburg’s black population grew by 59 per cent and its white population by 29 per cent.⁷⁹ In 1941 a total of 324 993 white families resided in

urban areas compared to only 147 532 in rural areas.⁸⁰ In 1936 new policies were introduced to combat the problems encountered by the CHB and to encourage greater co-operation between the state and local authorities.⁸¹ The Treasury implemented one important concession, namely a cut in the interest rate charged for sub-economic schemes from 2 per cent to $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.⁸² The government also agreed to share the losses incurred on sub-economic schemes with local authorities.⁸³ This was the first time that the state actively contributed to housing costs. In 1936, the government devoted £5 000 000 of its budget to sub-economic housing schemes in Johannesburg and the surrounding Reef towns⁸⁴ which enabled local authorities to accelerate the pace of house building for those that could not afford to pay economic rates.⁸⁵ The number of sub-economic houses constructed jumped from 235 436 in 1936 to 359 414 in 1937.⁸⁶ This eased some of the pressures that white families were experiencing.

The government also expanded its role in the provision of poor relief. In April 1936, the Minister of the Interior appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee under the direction of Mr S. Maynard Page (the magistrate of Johannesburg) to investigate the distribution of poor relief and the role of charitable institutions in assisting the urban poor.⁸⁷ As a result of the Committee's findings the Union government now distributed poor relief and issued grants to assist with the maintenance of 'destitute' children, orphanages and single mothers.⁸⁸ Another consequence was that the Social Welfare Department was incorporated into the Department of Labour. It was now charged with the

administrative and executive work connected with the rehabilitation of the poor and unemployed and their training for employment, and with social welfare work.⁸⁹

Between 1937-38 the Transvaal allocated £61 910 towards poor relief and distributed £34 487 in grants and aid.⁹⁰ By the late 1930s 'ten benevolent societies, nine combined benevolent and child welfare societies and fifteen branches of the South African Women's Federation' were functioning.⁹¹

At roughly the same time the South African manufacturing industry was 'booming in a variety of fields - food and drink, metals and engineering, clothing and textiles in particular, both on the Rand and in the main coastal cities.'⁹² As noted earlier, in 1935, only 36 200 men were recorded as unemployed compared to the 1933 figure of 72 400. This was in part because of the economic boom but was also due to the government's labour policies. However not all white workers benefited from the government's efforts. In 1939, 28 450 white males were unemployed in Johannesburg.⁹³ This indicates that the government's measures to protect white workers were not as effective as has previously been supposed and that some sectors of the white community continued to experience poverty and declining standards of living.

Besides limited jobs an acute housing shortage also persisted. The years 1937 and 1938 were particularly difficult for the urban poor. The CHB, now headed by Sir Edward Thornton K.B.E⁹⁴, introduced the Additional Housing Act (No 41) of 1937. The CHB adopted British planning policies and unanimously agreed that only one-fifth of family income should be allocated to rental. Methods to decrease the amount of monthly spending on rent were considered and it was proposed that employers take some of the responsibility. The Railway Administration was one of the first employers to set up a scheme to subsidise those workers that were paying in excess of this amount⁹⁵

The Additional Housing Act also extended the government's role in the provision of sub-economic housing. It allowed local authorities to advance funds to building societies who would then grant loans to individual applicants. The Johannesburg City Council was allocated a grand total of £10 000 000 for sub-economic housing in the year of the Act's passage.⁹⁶ The government's participation in the distribution of loans continued to increase. In the period 1938-1939 a total of £150 000 was distributed, a figure which almost doubled to £250 000 in the following year.⁹⁷ In 1939 alone, a total of 1 500 families were moved from slum areas and rehoused.⁹⁸ In

1941 an average of 259 015 whites lived in privately-owned houses and 45 245 in flats.⁹⁹ By 1941 35.2 per cent of white families residing in urban areas cleared over £400 per annum and only 3.5 per cent earned less than £50 per annum.¹⁰⁰

In the 1930s, the CHB's urban planning policies and the Union Education Department policies followed a similar pattern and were aimed at the social upliftment of poor whites. Education policies stressed vocational training and numerous state-aided vocational schools were created to equip the urban poor with technical skills. The decade witnessed the introduction of sub-economic housing schemes directed by the local authorities. Housing delivery for the urban poor had greatly improved compared to earlier efforts. However this would change in the last quarter of 1939 due to the outbreak of war in September and the new Smuts government's insistence that the war effort be given priority.

Immediate Background: World War Two; Demobilisation and Reconstruction, 1939-1947

Jan Christian Smuts (*Oom Jannie, Oubaas*) took South Africa into the Second World War in 1939. 350 000 recruits joined the army, including 225 000 whites (200 000 men and 25 000 women), 80 000 from the Native Military Corps and 45 000 from the Cape Corps.¹⁰¹ The war severely dislocated family life as many fathers and mothers left their homes. One index of family instability was that during the first year of war a total of 5 774 (27.2 per 10 000 of the white population) were classified as children in need of care and institutionalised in Places of Safety.¹⁰² Parental neglect, immigration, war conditions and fluctuating economic conditions characterised Smuts' term of office. One consequence was juvenile delinquency and crime which will be discussed in more detail a little later.

The war propelled South Africa into a period of rapid economic growth, urbanisation, and an alteration in the composition of the workforce. Wartime conditions transformed South Africa from an agricultural to an industrially based economy. In 1920 agriculture

contributed 20.9 per cent to national income. This had declined to 11.7 per cent by 1959.¹⁰³ By 1950, only 37.3 per cent of the economically active population were employed in agriculture.¹⁰⁴ Conversely, between 1925 and 1949 the contribution of manufacturing to National Income soared to £225 300 000 from £30 700 000.¹⁰⁵ The number of workers of all races employed in production rose from 559 675 to 664 568¹⁰⁶ after local industries turned to manufacturing artillery, munitions, uniforms and military equipment. In his study on industrialisation and trade unionism, Lewis points out that the

Requirements of war production and difficulties in obtaining imports stimulated massive economic expansion during the war years. Between 1938/9 and 1944/5 the value of gross output in the manufacturing sector rose from £140,587,000 to £304,083,000.¹⁰⁷

The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) was founded in 1940 with the aim of encouraging industrial development¹⁰⁸ and investing government finance in newly established factories. The Industrial Iron and Steel Works and Industrial Sites for Cape Asbestos Insulations, both devoted to the war effort, were established in Benoni on the East Rand in 1940.¹⁰⁹ The war altered the gender composition and racial structure of South Africa's labour force.

The industrial labour force in particular 'became considerably blacker during the war.'¹¹⁰ The war caused shortages in skilled white labour. The Smuts government responded by allowing black workers to carry out formerly white jobs. Between 1939 and 1946 an additional 134 000 black workers entered industrial employment.¹¹¹ From 1938/39 to 1944/45 the industrial workforce expanded by 53 per cent. White workers grew by 14.2 per cent, Indians by 35.7 per cent, coloureds by 56.9 per cent and Africans by 57 per cent.¹¹² While only 19 000 of the 125 000 workers were white, a significant number were women¹¹³. Most women who migrated to the towns found work in textile and clothing factories. Callinicos estimates that in the clothing industry 86 per cent of wages paid to whites, in 1940, were to women.¹¹⁴

By 1939, 28 450 white males were still registered as unemployed in Johannesburg.¹¹⁵ For most of these the only form of employment available was casual work. Callinicos notes that in 1940 the,

Johannesburg's City Engineer reported that the municipality was employing 500 white labourers in sewerage, sewage disposal (as 'bucket boys) and road maintenance at a wage of 10s (R1) a day. Other 'semi-fit' white workers were employed at a daily rate of 80 cents.¹¹⁶

Young white men also struggled to find stable employment. In April 1940 the Durban municipality urged the General Purposes Committee to consider ways to absorb European labour into the Municipal Service. It advised that 'European youths' should be placed into 'clerical or semi-clerical positions' where the starting salary is over five pounds.'¹¹⁷ Some women also experienced difficulties in securing employment and turned to prostitution to earn (and or supplement) their incomes. Iris Berger records that between 1936 and 1940 in Johannesburg

...at least 90 percent of prostitutes (who could earn incomes of over four pounds a month) were originally employed in semi skilled...occupations.¹¹⁸

The Immorality Squad and the Social Services Association estimated that between 1939 and 1941 3 000 white prostitutes operated in Johannesburg.¹¹⁹ This indicates that the government's initiatives to protect white workers and the urban poor did not help all of its constituencies.

Wartime conditions placed additional hardship on women. The absence of fathers and husbands during the war placed added strain on familial relations.¹²⁰ Inflationary pressures swelled the retail price index by 32 per cent.¹²¹ Consumer goods were scarce. The distributions of military allowances at specific centres forced many women (3 out of every 10 mothers worked at this stage)¹²² to absent themselves from work to collect their money. Again, the lack of nursery schools and after-care facilities aggravated the situation. A number of government commissions¹²³ expressed concern at the lack of pre-school institutions and repeatedly urged the government to provide adequate pre-school facilities. In 1939, 14 nursery schools (for privileged and less privileged

families), and 17 crèches existed in the Transvaal. The government initially allocated R10 per child and R40 at a later stage.¹²⁴ As a result, the Butler Act (Education Act of 1944) was introduced which forced local education authorities to construct nursery schools in their area to meet the demand.¹²⁵ It was also claimed that many whites became hardened drinkers in this period. Welfare officer J.H. Coetzee estimated 70 000 individuals to be alcoholics in the country. Unfortunately the gender ratio is not supplied.¹²⁶ Between 1938-1947 drunkenness among white women increased by 134 per cent.¹²⁷ According to Brink, in 1938 the South African Council for Child Welfare

expressed its concern about the effects of drinking on a father's wages, which would decrease to such a degree that the mother did not have enough to feed their children adequately.¹²⁸

Pressure on the family was aggravated further due to the special treatment granted not only to returning soldiers but also to new immigrants (or *uitlanders*). As early as 1943 the Social and Economic Planning Commission (SEPC) estimated that 70 000 white males and 5 500 white females would have no employment to which to return after demobilisation.¹²⁹ Unemployment continued to soar after the war because of preferential treatment (in apprenticeship and training) accorded to ex-servicemen.

Immigration was interrupted during the war. In 1939, 6 304 immigrants (52.6 per cent were British) disembarked, a figure which dropped to 896 (88.0 per cent British) in 1943.¹³⁰ The Smuts government embarked on a policy of encouraging immigration, particularly from the United Kingdom, in order to bolster the 'European population.'¹³¹ It was relatively successful in this endeavour. Between 1946 and 1948 'the number of British immigrants was almost twenty times greater than Dutch immigrants and nearly seven times greater than all non-British immigrants combined.'¹³² Besides British immigrants, Smuts also engineered 'the arrival of a North Italian and Austrian labour force' to augment the white labour force in the country. According to Sani, 800 Italian ex-P.O.W.'s remained in South Africa after the war¹³³. Not all South Africans supported emigration from Catholic countries. It was believed that a large Catholic population would undermine the Boer *volk*.¹³⁴ In a

debate on immigration policies in 1947, Madeley (then head of the Labour Party) went on record as saying

at the risk of being considered a racist, I will go so far as to say that Italians are not welcome in this country. I would prefer Germans to Italians.¹³⁵

Between 1946 and 1948, 75 726 immigrants were admitted into South Africa, 65 761 (86.8 per cent of the total) from the United Kingdom, 6 389 (8.4 per cent) from Europe and 3 576 (4.8 per cent) from elsewhere.¹³⁶ Smuts' 1946 immigration scheme sought to 'recruit European skills to beat the manpower shortage' and drew 60 000 immigrants into the country.¹³⁷ The government constructed transit camps at Westlake in Cape Town, Milner Park in Johannesburg and Wentworth in Durban to provide them with temporary accommodation. Voluntary Committees were formed in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London to secure employment for immigrants, thereby pushing out South African citizens.¹³⁸

Immigrants received priority in securing employment and in housing at the cost of the rest of the population. Consequently in 1946, 27 759 whites remained unemployed (21 547 males and 6 212 females) nationally.¹³⁹ Young adults in particular were vulnerable in this period. In 1946, 10 374 white men in professional occupations were unemployed some of whom were drawn from the 21 to 25 year old age bracket (1 328 or 13 per cent).¹⁴⁰ For those seeking industrial employment 21 347 men were unemployed of whom 10 991 resided in the Transvaal.¹⁴¹ The majority of these young men were Afrikaans speaking (6 175).¹⁴² A total of 3 579 women were unemployed, the highest portion (603 or 20 per cent) being drawn from the age cohort between 21 and 25.¹⁴³ Countrywide unemployment for women stood at 6 212. The greater portion was concentrated in the Transvaal (2 650).¹⁴⁴ However the majority of these unemployed women were English speaking (1 364).¹⁴⁵ This placed youths regardless of ethnicity in a difficult position and forced some to eke out a living on the streets and seek security in gangs. An added pressure was access to accommodation.

The housing shortage¹⁴⁶ persisted during and after the war primarily as a result of shortages of materials and labour.¹⁴⁷ The government paid little attention to the provision of housing because of its primary focus on the war effort. This shifted when reconstructionist discourses began to permeate many government departments. World War Two, so Mabin and Smit contend, spawned a new

role for planning [that] surfaced much more widely than the tinkering with the location of commercial activities within neighbourhoods and other mainly technical concerns which had emerged in the inter-war years.¹⁴⁸

This transition was propelled by the government's broader goal of post war reconstruction, articulated especially through bodies such as: the Industrial Development Corporation established in 1940, the Post-War Works and the Planning and Reconstruction Committee and the *Social and Economic Planning Commission* (SEPC) created in 1942. The SEPC was formed in as a non-statutory advisory body.¹⁴⁹ Its major function was to:

review policies and programmes of the various Departments and Boards which have an economic or social bearing, with a view to advising the Government as to steps which should be taken to secure their better co-ordination.'¹⁵⁰

It was granted the power to nominate investigative committees, collect data relating to aspects of the social and economic system and to offer advice to the government, via the Prime Minister, on social and economic policies.¹⁵¹ One of the earliest projects it directed was an investigation into the scarcity of housing, the outcome of which radically transformed housing policies. It urged the central government to raise its financial contribution to housing and to create a National Housing and Planning Commission (NHPC).¹⁵² The National Housing Formula (NHF) drafted in 1943/44 was the principal outcome of the NHPC's work. Its aim was to reduce the financial burden that weighed on local authorities and to encourage the construction of houses for lower income groups.¹⁵³ It estimated that 30 000 houses were needed for whites.¹⁵⁴

This backlog was attacked following the passage of the Housing Amendment Act (No 49) in August 1944 which marked the real change in housing policies. Henceforth the CHB was replaced by the *National Housing and Planning Commission*.¹⁵⁵ The newly formed NHPC's main task was to assist returning soldiers in securing accommodation. Returning soldiers were given housing loans and cash on demobilisation. White soldiers received £5 in cash and a £25 clothing allowance.¹⁵⁶ They were able to access loans at an interest rate of 2 per cent repayable over a period of thirty years. A survey of unoccupied accommodation in Johannesburg was also undertaken with a view to allocating empty spaces to ex-volunteers. In 1944, bungalows in military camps were transformed into flats for the use of ex-volunteers. Milner Park was one of the first sites. Tenants had to be 'married with not more than one child (under four years of age)...and ex-volunteers will be given preference.'¹⁵⁷ Thirteen such villages were set up.¹⁵⁸ The NHPC also authorised the construction of new houses. Johannesburg municipality was allocated £2 000 000 for this purpose.¹⁵⁹ Housing schemes were built in South Hills, Roosevelt Park, Killarney, Rosebank and Illovo.¹⁶⁰

The Emergency Powers Act of 1945 was geared towards assisting and rehabilitating ex-soldiers. The Minister of Welfare and Demobilisation could independently approve the construction of additional accommodation for ex-volunteers. The Act, initially intended to operate for three years was extended for another two years to cope with the severity of the crisis.¹⁶¹ Even so, numerous letters of complaint were sent by ex-soldiers to Major General E. Brink (then the Director General of demobilisation) criticising poor and cramped living conditions. One ex-veteran Mr William Dowling argued:

At the moment I, together with my good wife and daughter aged 19, live in one room...I have managed to screen off the ladies portion with a piece of rope, on which is suspended my army blankets..if you know of a place where I could undress decently and not by numbers drop me a line, for my sons will soon be home now and I can't hang them on the wall like pictures.¹⁶²

The government responded to such criticisms and continued to aid ex-servicemen. An indication of its intent in this regard was the formation of the Local Authorities Technical Consultative Committee for the Reef and Pretoria. This committee provided advice on technical building matters and in 1946, under its guidance, 6 000 dwellings were constructed that would be occupied exclusively by 'ex-servicemen, civil servants and other priority groups.'¹⁶³ Attention was given to the urban poor through the revival of the Joint Commission/Building Society Scheme in 1947. This scheme accommodated applicants that did not qualify for private loans or for the committee's schemes.¹⁶⁴

The broader community still faced housing shortages because of the prioritisation of ex-soldiers. As Hart points out, housing in Johannesburg after the war

was in a deplorable state. There was a grave shortage in the middle and lower income categories. Most residential areas showed signs of functional and economic obsolescence and physical decay. There was not only a back-log of homes to be built, but also a back-log of general maintenance to be done.¹⁶⁵

In July 1945, as concern at the backlog in housing provision mounted, an Interdepartmental Housing Committee was commissioned to assess the situation.¹⁶⁶ The Town Planning Scheme of 1931 was revised in the form of the Housing Emergency Powers Act of 1945.¹⁶⁷ This amendment encouraged construction and accorded further powers to the NHPC. The NHPC was now able to authorise loans to applicants who were previously not eligible for funds from local authorities.¹⁶⁸ Most applicants were drawn from middle income groups who did not qualify for private loans. By the end of 1945, 17 000 houses had been constructed (8 502 for whites and 10 204 for Africans).¹⁶⁹ The majority of these new dwellings catered for this economic group. However, the lower sub-economic group did receive some attention. In June 1945 a national housing scheme was approved consisting of 534 dwellings for whites at Welfare Park.¹⁷⁰

Another problem to which the Smuts government attended was the lack of skills present among youths. A National Apprenticeship Board was established in terms of the Apprenticeship Act of 1944 (which was later amended in 1951, 1959 and 1963). Potential apprentices had either to have reached the age of sixteen (the compulsory school leaving age) or to hold a Standard VII. Employers experienced problems with their apprentices. According to Behr and Macmillan, the De Villiers Commission was of the opinion that,

many apprentices were not always suitable for the trades chosen; were complacent after indentures had been signed; tended to believe that they knew all there was to know; lacked power of concentration and were irresponsible at their work, at technical classes, and lacked discipline.¹⁷¹

Apprentices were required to attend evening classes for a period of five years. Despite this requirement the drop out rate was still high. A total of 63 per cent of apprentices with the South African Railways dropped out, while the rate for the motor industry was 80 per cent.¹⁷² Severe shortages of trained artisans existed in most fields resulting in a shortage of 13 000 artisans in the building industry alone.¹⁷³ In order to relieve the situation the Smuts government despatched recruiting teams to Europe. In the space of two years, the number of artisan immigrants swelled from 5 335 in 1946 to 18 113 in 1948. In 1948 alone a total of 35 631 immigrants stepped on to South African soil.¹⁷⁴ This changed after the National Party's strict and xenophobic immigration policies were introduced and in 1950 a mere 6 257 artisan immigrants arrived.¹⁷⁵ More will be said about this later.

Immigrants had to adjust to the South African way of life. So too did South Africans immediately after the re-integration of fathers and husbands into families and the wider society after the war. Combined with this, re-housing and redevelopment placed considerable pressure on families, as new networks and ties had to be forged.¹⁷⁶ The slackening of parental supervision was compounded by poor living conditions (in the form of housing shortages and unemployment). This led some youths to seek security in friendship groups, youth gangs and comfort in subcultural activities.

One result was a growing concern over rates of juvenile delinquency. This will become clear in the course of this thesis. These frustrations encouraged some to vote for the National Party in the 1948 election.

Malan's National Party: Urban Renewal; Social Engineering and Upliftment, 1948-1955

An atmosphere of disillusionment and feelings of anxiety amongst farmers and white labourers placed the United Party in a vulnerable position in the 1948 election. An alleged crime wave, unemployment, slow housing delivery, African urbanisation and a loosening of segregationist policies contributed further to this situation. Smuts (who was almost 78 years old now) had been preoccupied with external affairs resulting in his neglect of his major domestic constituencies. The National Party preyed on these weaknesses and stressed that they would prevent '*swart oorstroming*' whilst promising to purify 'the state and public services of Communists and Communist influences.'¹⁷⁷ The new government, under Dr. Daniel Francois Malan, embarked on a series of nation building policies with the aim of satisfying the needs of its supporters, placing Afrikaners in more privileged positions and maintaining white supremacy. The first step was the transformation of immigration policies, the second was the Afrikanerisation of government and civil servants and the third the implementation of policies of economic patronage.

In the 1948 election campaign, immigration policies were fiercely debated among politicians. The National Party claimed that new immigrants were taking South African jobs and exacerbating the housing problem. Peberdy asserts that

outside the issue of a containing policy for the black population, immigration was a key issue in the campaign, and possibly the National Party victory.¹⁷⁸

The National party was disturbed by the infiltration of 'British-Imperialists'. In 1948, 35 631 immigrants entered the country 86.2 per cent of whom were British.¹⁷⁹ The NP's immigration policies were radically different from the United Party's and were

rewritten in an Afrikaner Nationalist discourse which was vehemently anti-British. The Purified National Party (HNP) apparently believed this British presence would dilute Afrikanerdom and *gesuiwerde* [pure] whiteness. Not only were their policies restrictive and exclusive but they were xenophobic and geared towards recruiting immigrants predominantly from Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In this they succeeded. The number of immigrants from the United Kingdom declined, from 76.1 per cent in 1948 to 44 per cent in 1960.¹⁸⁰ The total number of immigrants dropped from 35 631 (of which 86.2 per cent were British; 5.8 per cent Dutch; 0.8 per cent German) in 1948 to 14 780 (68.0 per cent British; 11.9 per cent Dutch; 3.7 per cent German) in 1949. The annual net gain of immigrants was only 3 904 between 1950 and 1959.¹⁸¹

The interaction of these different cultures sometimes led to conflicts between communities. This period was characterised by an influx of immigrants from Central Europe. For 1948, 64 from Czechoslovakia, 125 emigrated from Hungary and 480 from Poland. These figures remained fairly constant for the whole period.¹⁸² According to Peberdy recruitment missions were dispatched to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and later Poland.¹⁸³ Youths organised themselves into ethnically based gangs as a form of security and defence. Ex-ducktail Andre recalls

the Portuguese guys also formed a group there was conflict between the Portuguese and the Madeira's but also the Greeks and the Cyprians [Cypriots]. *Ja* especially those times in your fifties we had a problem between these different communities. Hungarians, Polish and Czech guys all came into the country in the fifties and you will remember how much conflict there was they explained to us they were used to quite a violent lifestyle back in Hungary and Poland and it was too quiet in South Africa for their liking. They stirred trouble.¹⁸⁴

More will be said about these clashes in Chapter Four. The second major change after the NP's unexpected victory, was the Afrikanerisation of government. In an attempt to enforce white supremacy and Afrikaner political control the Nationalist government,

relied heavily on the services of the Broederbond...[and] pursued a vigorous programme of 'Afrikanerisation' within all state institutions, transforming the

bureaucracy increasingly into an organ of Afrikaner nationalism generally and the Broederbond in particular.¹⁸⁵

All cabinet members were Afrikaans speaking and only two – Eric Louw and Klasie Havenga – were not members of the Broederbond.¹⁸⁶ Government bureaucracies and the civil service underwent a process of ‘Afrikanerisation’. State employment grew by 60 per cent between 1950 and 1960. The number of Afrikaners employed by the state rose by 98.5 per cent while English speakers dropped by 25.2 per cent.¹⁸⁷

The third step towards securing the National Party’s position was the passing of protective policies aimed at improving the economic and educational status of certain sectors of the white community. The government spent R 290 million on housing and food subsidies in the first ten years of its rule.¹⁸⁸ A policy of ‘economic patronage’ for farmers, financial capitalists and the white working class was adopted. Secondary industry expanded and the number of workers of all races in secondary industry grew from 559 675 to 664 568.¹⁸⁹ The end of the war saw South Africa elevated to among one of the ten richest countries in the world.¹⁹⁰ The growth rate stood at 4.3 per cent¹⁹¹ and average white incomes soared. In private manufacturing and construction, between 1948-1961, the average annual earnings of white workers rose from R 1 437 to R1 907, an increase of 33 per cent.¹⁹² In mining the earnings of whites nearly doubled whereas black wages remained fairly constant. After the war, white households received wages that placed them above the minimum standard of living.¹⁹³ For some, this marked the beginning of a period that would be characterised by affluence and improved living conditions. For youths, as will be discussed in the following two chapters, this prosperity allowed them to engage with new types of popular culture such as Rock ‘n Roll music, American films and fashions in the form of stove pipes for boys and fifty-yard petticoats for girls.

Afrikaners in particular were singled out for special treatment by the government. This favouritism was made possible by the racial allocation of work-roles. The *Van Eck Commission* believed that,

that more unskilled Europeans should at the same time be placed in industrial occupations, at adequate wages in those branches of industry in which Europeans have favourable prospects...¹⁹⁴

Even so, youths did not always occupy a favourable position in the labour market. They competed with an abundant supply of disenfranchised, lower paid unskilled black labour.¹⁹⁵ According to Bonner et al, urban industrialists preferred lower-paid African migrant labour to white youths. The Minister of Economic Affairs drew the attention of industrialists to ‘the increasing tendency in certain industries to replace European by non-European labour.’¹⁹⁶ Afrikaners still occupied lower paid jobs. Approximately 40 per cent of Afrikaner workers were employed ‘as unskilled labourers, mine workers, railway workers and bricklayers.’¹⁹⁷ Unemployment among whites was nevertheless largely eliminated so much so that there was scope to switch jobs on a regular basis. An East Rand ducktail Prop recalls that

Danville again was a very poor community, a working class community. There was a lot of work there you could go from one job to another you would just say ‘*cheers my china*’.¹⁹⁸

Prop’s testimony also shows how youths displayed little commitment to work and a certain amount of reluctance towards full time employment. Ducktails in particular had a strong anti-work ethic. In an interview with Engelbrecht three Belgravia based ducktails informed him:

They explained that they did not work because they did not want to. They said that they drew money from the unemployment benefit and when that ended they went to work for a month or two.¹⁹⁹

This they could afford to do because of the economic and National Party political context in which the subculture unfolded. Prop in a discussion on Braamfontein remembers

that Braamfontein was where the bad ducktails were – the *Braamie Boys*. It wasn't a very rich area so you had a lot of working class guys: they would be operators but they wouldn't keep a job for long.²⁰⁰

Engelbrecht likewise found that:

During the morning and afternoon there is a large number of young people lounging around in the streets and in places like cafes and bio-cafes. They seem to have no set aim or activity, and merely drift along...Such a regular display of leisure at that time of a weekday morning cannot but be significant of a marked degree of absenteeism or unemployment; a lack of discipline at such an age will not encourage any juvenile to become a useful and law-abiding citizen.²⁰¹

For some engaging in the illicit liquor trade and prostitution seemed to be a more lucrative option. In 1955 a Johannesburg welfare office reported that:

Die groepe jeugdige, blank sowel as nie-blank, wat werkloos is en doelloos op straat ronddwaal in bendes, val maaklik prooi van die drank – daggahandel. Dit is bekend dat sommige blanke seuns tot £5 per dag verdien deur dranksmokkel. Daar dien op gelet te word dat die jeugdige by laasgenoemde verskynsel betrokke nie die groep is uit die laer maatskaplike stand nie, maar ook die jeugdige insluit uit die gemiddelde maatskaplike groepe.[The groups of youths, white as well as black that are unemployed and aimlessly roam the streets are prone to alcohol – and dagga dealing. It is well known that some white boys earn up to £5 per day through the illicit liquor trade. It has been found that the aforementioned youths do not only come from poorer communities but also from more wealthier communities.²⁰²

Prostitution was also common in this period. Engelbrecht's researchers maintain that young girls and younger and older women were engaged in the sex trade. Apparently there were:

two brothels in Jeppe street...six women were working in the one. These women are all European and the organisation is run by Europeans...We observed many girls who were roaming the streets at night...If something could be done about such girls, the number of future prostitutes in the city would be greatly decreased.²⁰³

Statistics show that only 9 per cent of whites earning in excess of R 2 000.00 were Afrikaans speaking compared to 17 per cent of English speakers who cleared R 2 000.00.²⁰⁴ By 1960 the per capita income for English speakers was 56 per cent more

than Afrikaans speakers; suggesting that there was still an uneven distribution of wealth in white communities.²⁰⁵

A similar pattern of inequality is revealed in the sphere of education. Although access to educational facilities had improved in this period, huge gaps in educational attainment existed between English and Afrikaans speakers. Only 16 per cent of Afrikaans standard six pupils in the Transvaal had completed secondary education by 1955 and by 1960 this figure had risen to a mere 29 per cent.²⁰⁶ Afrikaners were still educationally disadvantaged compared to English speakers.

To redress the situation the government devoted much of its time and money to education. Numerous laws were passed to restructure white education along strictly Christian National principles and to encourage academic achievement.²⁰⁷ All subjects ranging from religious studies and history to geography and civics were now taught with the aim of cultivating a Christian-National philosophy or way of life.

Early legislation, such as the New Language Ordinance (No 19 of 1949),²⁰⁸ reversed the United Party's bilingual policy²⁰⁹. English and Afrikaans speaking youths were progressively segregated from one another, whilst Christian National Education (CNE) became firmly entrenched in the syllabus. On the other hand, the number of children that could speak both official languages grew from 42.3 per cent in 1918 to 64.4 per cent in 1936 and then to 73 per cent in 1951.²¹⁰ At the same time the proportion of children that were instructed in Afrikaans rose sharply. This partly explains the ease with which ducktails engaged in and conversed in their unique and linguistically amalgamated argot.

Improving educational standards was still a concern. Two more commissions of enquiry into education were appointed - the Lynch (1950) and the Steyn (1951) commissions. Both stressed the importance of academic achievement especially for white youths. Their collective recommendations were accepted.²¹¹ For white children

this meant three years of compulsory secondary education which raised the legal age of school leaving to sixteen.²¹² Educational achievement rose compared to earlier periods. In 1948, the Transvaal took the lead with a matriculation pass rate of 70 per cent; the Cape and the Orange Free State were not far behind with pass rates of between 60 per cent and 65 per cent Natal attained an average rate of 55 per cent.²¹³

Overall national spending on primary and secondary education for white youths grew in this period, although the percentage of provincial expenditure on education declined. Between 1945 and 1957 Cape Town's budgetary allocation to education decreased from 72.9 per cent to 51.5 per cent; the Transvaal's from 56.6 per cent to 34.8 per cent, the Orange Free State's from 62.4 per cent to 43.1 per cent and Natal's from 54.7 per cent to 37.1 per cent. However central government's contributions increased tenfold.²¹⁴ Provincial funds declined because other social services such as housing and spatial reorganisation were given priority²¹⁵ under the government's wider social engineering project.

Spatial reorganisation, residential segregation and the prevention of inter-racial mixing were primary goals of the NP government. Urban planning policies in this period were firstly 'devoted to the creation of a formalised city'²¹⁶ visible in the provision of accommodation, the construction of offices, flats and new commercial centres. Beavon observes that between 1940 and 1949

approximately 400 000 m² of business space was erected in the downtown, of which 25 per cent was for office accommodation. The remaining 300 000m² was split equally between retailing, warehousing, industry and apartment buildings, with the latter group favouring the north-eastern corner of the downtown.²¹⁷

Secondly steps were taken to racialise the city to a point where it became 'more structured and quartered than anything that had preceded it.'²¹⁸ A major feature of this process was the encouragement of white suburbanisation. In December 1948, the *National Housing and Planning Commission*, mentioned earlier, unanimously agreed to

restrict its building activities within the municipal areas of large cities that must overflow in the near future to surrounding areas, and direct its main attention on the creation of garden villages on the outskirts...²¹⁹

As part of this suburbanisation programme local authorities were given the power to transfer sub-economic housing schemes into economic ones in an attempt to uplift the working class to the level of the middle classes. Additional changes were implemented under the guidance of I.L. Walker. In 1948 in response to the financial limitations imposed on all government departments, the NHPC agreed that central government should only subsidise the construction of houses if the local authorities and or private enterprise could not generate the required funds.²²⁰ Despite land constraints and shortages the NHPC succeeded in constructing 3 884 houses, 1 313 more than in the previous year.

The year 1949 marked a quoin in the history of planning practice in South Africa. The most notable policy changes were the curtailment of housing funds, the introduction of a long term planning vision and new policy procedures,²²¹ the most significant of which was dubbed the 'Five Year Programme'. It was drafted by the NHPC's seven regional offices in consultation with the Natal Housing Board.²²² By December 1949, the major aims of eliminating unemployment and alleviating the housing shortage through the institutionalisation of 'proper regional planning and development' programmes were outlined and would guide the implementation of the Five Year Programme. The programme ambitiously aimed to construct 52 776 houses for whites.²²³ For whites, access to adequate housing would, under this scheme, become easier.

In 1950, the new head of the NHPC, Mr W. Burhmann, was appointed to execute the Five Year Programme. The National Housing Office, headed by Mr F.G. van Heerden, was founded in order to transform the Housing Branch of the Department of Health into an independent sub-department.²²⁴ This sub-department transformed

urban planning into a professional entity equipped with a network of skilled staff²²⁵ geared towards formulating viable policies of urban governance. However, these transformations did little to ease the difficulties experienced by local authorities that were still primarily responsible for sub-economic housing. Local authorities voiced a series of criticisms. They claimed that their escalating debt was firstly due to the provision of 'assisted' housing 'particularly for natives' and secondly because certain tenants in sub-economic schemes could now afford economic rentals due to the NP's policies of 'economic patronage'.²²⁶ In response to these complaints the NHPC decided to apply a policy of supervision that would strictly monitor which applicants would receive state aid. Measures were introduced to modify 'economic' and 'sub-economic' housing schemes to ensure that the government would not incur losses. In 1952, the Health and Social Affairs committee recommended that the South Hills sub-economic housing scheme be upgraded to an economic selling and letting scheme.²²⁷ It also proposed that nine blocks of flats be constructed in South Hills to alleviate housing shortages experienced by the lower middle-income group.²²⁸ The government was attempting to uplift whites in the lower income group to the economic group thereby blurring class differences. In this process of privileging whites, blacks were removed from 'white spaces' particularly through the strict implementation of pernicious legislation such as the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950. The GAA 'set in motion what must rank as one of the most dramatic exercises in social spatial engineering anywhere in the world.'²²⁹

At the same time as enforcing racial segregation the city centre not only expanded but also underwent a process of gentrification²³⁰ through urban renewal schemes and expansion. Between 1950 and 1952, 200 blocks of flats²³¹, 90 office blocks, 70 factories, 135 shops, 9 hotels and 50 warehouses were constructed in Johannesburg.²³²

The Johannesburg City Council played a pivotal role in urban renewal and isolated various areas in the city centre including Doornfontein, Bertrams, Jeppestown and

Troyeville for maintenance and upgrading. Mr R.G. Thomas (a member of the Johannesburg City Council), considered Jeppestown to be one of the worst white slum areas that was allegedly becoming a 'breeding ground for ducktail boys, teenage gangs and dagga smokers.'²³³ Freed observed that poorer areas generated crime and violence. He estimated that in the mid 1950s eleven assaults per day were committed by black and white youth gangs in Johannesburg alone and specifically in Jeppestown.²³⁴ Germiston and later Boksburg based ducktail Mike Malony recollects that

if you went to the poorer areas the guys there were bad guys and they were in a gang situation either part of the gang or not so a lot of them were victimised and so they joined gangs. In places like Fordsburg, Fitas, Jo'burg areas, Bez valley and if you drove past the guys were sharpening their knives in the road.²³⁵

The city centre had the highest crime rate followed by Jeppe, then Belgravia and Brixton, Booyens and Turfontein, Braamfontein, Malvern and Melville and finally Mayfair, Vrededorp and Westdene.²³⁶ Downtown areas were the first areas to undergo urban renewal programmes. Urban renewal programmes, via betterment schemes, were extended to lower income groups located in the inner city. Middle income groups were encouraged to move beyond the boundaries of the city centre. Areas to the North of the city centre expanded.²³⁷ This led to the emergence of distinct class based areas. There was:

a strong high-status sector to the north of the Central Business District, middle-status communities in sectors on either side of it, low-status communities in the western area, the Southern Suburbs and in the inner parts of the eastern sector.²³⁸

Urban expansion did not mean that housing shortages were solved. More demands for accommodation were produced by a wave of urbanisation from the rural areas and from abroad. Between 1951 and 1960, a net gain of 39 079 immigrants arrived from abroad.²³⁹ The new urban dwellers encountered two other major problems on arrival to the city. Firstly, they were faced with job competition from English speakers and Africans. Afrikaners were placed in the least skilled sections and were displaced by lower-paid African labour and increased mechanisation. Preferential treatment in

apprenticeship and training opportunities was still being accorded to ex-servicemen and foreign immigrants.²⁴⁰

Following Malan's re-election at the 1953 general election, the government took on an even more interventionist role in spatial reorganisation. They became the sole providers of funds for housing for the poorer sections of the white population. Together with the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act of 1945 the Joint Commission - Building Society Scheme - implemented in 1953 - allowed the NHPC to build houses at a low cost. By March 1954, 2 629 of such houses had been erected.²⁴¹ However, the NHPC's policies were criticised from various quarters. A recurring complaint related to delivery and particularly to the growing backlog of houses for whites. Mr J.W. Scott Millar (the Johannesburg Medical Officer of Health) estimated that in 1952-1953, 4 330 white families were living in slum conditions in Johannesburg.²⁴² In 1953, the *Rand Daily Mail*, reported that

In spite of the expenditure of £10 500 000 by the National Housing and Planning Commission during the last financial year the backlog in the provision of European Housing in the Union is so tremendous that the authorities in Pretoria hesitate to estimate the total number of dwellings urgently needed...in most towns of the Transvaal...there are European families living in garages, single rooms, disused stables and other unsatisfactory buildings which normally would have been condemned as unfit for human habitation'.²⁴³

Mr. H Miller (the mayor of Johannesburg) blamed the NHPC and its funding procedures for the slow delivery in housing. Funds were allocated on an annual basis (with April as the deadline) but were only received by successful candidates much later causing delays in the construction process.²⁴⁴ *Municipal Affairs* expressed a similar view;

Under the conditions imposed by the government it has never been possible for the local authority to make full use of the funds provided...At best, this practice is a farce, and its operation has caused untold heartbreaking frustration.²⁴⁵

In response, the government appointed an Inter-departmental Committee to investigate these housing shortages in 1953.²⁴⁶ The committee was of the opinion that

additional housing schemes would relieve ‘immediate’ housing needs. An initial economic scheme in Casseldale (Springs) benefited the white middle class because it did not cater for applicants classified in the sub-economic group (who actually needed it more).²⁴⁷ Lower paid youths did however, benefit in the 1950s. It was believed that:

Low wages paid to apprentices and beginners in employment compel many young persons not residing with their parents or relations to live under undesirable conditions and in poor surroundings. Reports in connection with conditions under which some low paid workers live indicate that improved housing conditions are an imperative necessity.²⁴⁸

In 1951, the Johannesburg local authority secured a loan from the NHPC to build a hostel in Bertrams to accommodate 126 ‘lowly paid youths’.²⁴⁹ Within two years, a total of twenty-two hostels had been constructed in the country, nine based in Johannesburg alone.²⁵⁰ The decision to give priority to the needs of youths coincided with the government’s concern over poor living conditions which at times led to the rise in juvenile delinquency. The number of white youths in the age group 7 to 16 that were prosecuted rose from 1 943 in 1949 to 2 591 in 1953 see table 4 below. For youths between the ages of 17 and 20 a total of 7 656 were prosecuted in 1949. This swelled to 9 682 in 1953 (see Table F and G in Appendix 1).

Table 4: Number of Prosecutions of White Youths, 1949-1953²⁵¹

Year	Age Group 7-16		Age group 17-20	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1949	1 818	125	7 174	482
1950	2 052	153	7 463	541
1951	2 237	159	7 748	619
1952	2 320	217	8 422	570
1953	2 371	220	9 016	666

Youth crime coincided with the phenomenon of ducktailism, both of which became more widespread as white communities enjoyed improved living conditions and wealth. Youths – those involved in crime or recently employed and dependent on the family – had disposable income to engage with new cultural forms such as music, fashion and new forms of entertainment. This will become clear in the chapters that follow.

In sum, under Malan's rule, the NHPC's urban renewal schemes were directed towards preventing the white working class's living conditions from deteriorating in the inner city. It also marked the beginning of educating youths along strictly Christian National lines whilst segregating English and Afrikaans speaking youths through the enforcement of single medium schooling. The early 1950s also signalled a turning point in urban planning when it transformed into a professional practice setting the foundation for integrated urban planning commencing with the Five Year Plan which later proved to be successful in alleviating the white housing shortage. This combined with the enforcement of the GAA forced blacks into depressed living conditions whilst privileging whites and marked the beginnings of urban apartheid. Dr Malan (now 84 years old) retired at the end of 1954 and was succeeded by J.G. Strijdom – Lion of the North - who amongst other things was totally devoted to residential segregation, with a view to saving the white working class and ensuring that white supremacy remained in place. To achieve this goal he built on the educational and housing policies, initially introduced by Malan, aimed at saving whites and improving their standard of living.

Strijdom & Verwoerd: Urban Expansion, White Suburbanisation and Urban Renewal, 1955-1964

The national distribution of wealth between Afrikaans and English speakers was still uneven; Strijdom and later Verwoerd devoted much time and energy to altering this ratio. In this they succeeded. Between 1921 and 1960, all professional occupations grew at a rate of 3.0 per cent, with engineering professions rising by 4.5 per cent.

According to the United Nations World Economic Survey, South Africa was not faring too badly compared to other countries, as table 5 below indicates.

Table 5: National Income per head of the population compared to GNP²⁵²

	National Income per head 1960 (in Rands)	Average annual rate of growth of the growth of the gross domestic product 1950-1959 (in per cent)
U.S.A.	1 640	3.3
Britain	770	2.5
Italy	380	5.7
South Africa	270	5.0
Japan	240	9.1
India	40	3.0

A budget survey of white households carried out, in Johannesburg, in 1955 reported that 79 per cent of household income was obtained from the 'head of the family', 10 per cent from the wife's wage and 11 per cent from other sources (mostly rent).²⁵³ The earnings of women and older youths were now less crucial for family survival. Afrikaner men in particular continued to benefit from the Strijdom government's policies as epitomised in job reservation provisions in the 1956 and 1957 amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Act. In 1957, employment in the clothing industry was reserved for whites. Later in 1958, the operation of lifts was confined exclusively to white men.²⁵⁴ Lazar estimates that in 1959 only 13 314 whites - less than 0.5 per cent of the total white population, and only 1 per cent of the white workforce - were registered as unemployed.²⁵⁵ However, the country lacked skilled workers.

A shortage of between 85 000 and 90 000 skilled white workers was recorded in 1955.²⁵⁶ Skilled artisans and entrepreneurs were now encouraged to settle in South Africa.²⁵⁷ Another wave of immigration occurred in the 1950s, although the policy of excluding British and favouring Dutch and German immigrants continued. Immigrants from Europe came mostly from Central Europe (Poland and Czechoslovakia), Holland, Germany, West Germany, Italy and Portugal.²⁵⁸ South

Africa gained a total of 19 848 tradesmen and production workers between 1945 and 1960 (see Table 6 below).

Table 6: Occupation of Immigrants & Emigrants, 1945-1960²⁵⁹

Occupation	Immigrants	Emigrants	Gain/Loss
Professional & Technical	26 223	13 984	+ 12 239
Administrative & clerical	26 787	20 448	+ 6 339
Farming & fishing	5 394	3 805	+ 1 589
Mining & quarrying	4 287	2 836	+ 1 451
Tradesmen & production workers	41 384	21 536	+ 19 848
Transport	1 554	2 058	- 504
Services	3 661	1 750	+ 1 911
Other	8 689	3 601	+ 5 033
Independent	4 529	1 979	+ 2 550
Dependent	129 946	90 195	+ 39 751
Total	252 454	162 192	+ 90 262

The shortage of skilled workers was also the consequence of low enrolments and high failure rates in the apprenticeship schemes in this period. Most white youths – in this period – were simply not interested in embarking on further education. Ex- ducktail Mike Millroy, then living in Port Elizabeth, sums this up:

Duckies didn't keep their jobs and they wouldn't get educated either. There was no need to in those days. They were not career orientated at all. The *joll* was the thing, live for the moment live for the *joll*.²⁶⁰

Enrolments in technical education were low resulting in shortages of trained artisans in technical professions. In 1955, in the building industry, a shortfall of 4 300 apprentices, 15.5 per cent of the total required was recorded. In engineering shortages of 10 700 artisans were recorded.²⁶¹

In part, this was because of the lack of funding for technical education. In 1931, 0.09 per cent of National Income had been devoted to technical education by 1959 this

figure had only risen to 0.05 per cent.²⁶² Discussing apprenticeship in the 1950s Millroy remembers that;

White people used to get a job easily. There were lots of jobs for *appies* [apprentices]. When the guys left our school everyone got a job. There was no unemployment for whites. Especially down there [Port Elizabeth] you had the tyre factories and motor factories...You would leave school with the minimum qualification to become an *appie* [apprentice] cos in tech they did a motor mechanics trade, fitter & turner, carpenter, electrical electrician that was the four trades we had at school...there was lots of places taking *appies* in those days all the motor firms they would take a std 6 *guy* and train him up as an *appie*....²⁶³

In contrast to this, educational achievement more generally improved vastly in this period largely because of the abundance of funding that was secured between 1946 and 1961. Total investment in education reached R49 million (3.16 per cent of GNP) in 1946; and grew to R122 million (2.84 per cent of GNP) in 1956 and to R159 million (2.95) in 1961.²⁶⁴ Coinciding with the subsidisation of education the Matriculation pass rate progressively improved. Between 1954-55, 7 346 pupils obtained a Matriculation exemption 4 849 received a School Leaving Certificate (60:40). The number of children that remained in school beyond the statutory age was also quite high compared to other countries (see Table 7 below).

Table 7: Enrolment ratios for all types of education according to age, 1957/58 in per cent²⁶⁵

Age	France	Germany	Netherlands	Norway	United Kingdom	South Africa
10-14	95.2	94.3	93.7	96.9	98.1	98.2
15	53.7	57.9	64.5	58.1	39.1	94.4
16	43.9	40.7	52.7	49.7	24.9	74.9
17	28.3	27.5	41.3	30.65	15.91	43.9
18	16.6	14.6	30.4	27.0	8.6	-
19	10.0	9.0	20.6	17.8	5.8	-

The number of white youths that finished school and successfully gained a matriculation or a senior school leaving certificate rose steadily between 1955 and

1965. In 1955, 4.66 per 1000 of the population completed school, a figure which nearly doubled to 8.68 in 1965 (see Table C, Appendix 1). Speaking about educational attainment in this period Durban, then Benoni and Boksburg based ducktail Lynton Johnson, maintains that

if you did bookkeeping at school you got a job in the bank because it was guaranteed that's why you did it. There was no A-levels and O-levels and that nonsense if you got a matric exemption you could go to university and you could go anywhere to varsity because you were white. You were really privileged. If you were a girl and you did not get a matric exemption you could get a secretarial job your mum or dad probably knew half a dozen uncles and aunts that you could apply for a job you didn't have to do this and that....you wanted to have the money to be part of the parties and the booze.²⁶⁶

Between 1958/9, only 17 per cent of youths entered tertiary education²⁶⁷ (of whom only 50 per cent graduated).²⁶⁸ Youths were reluctant to further their education. After interviewing a *sheila*, Engelbrecht researchers reported that

...she was supposed to be at technical college, but she disliked the place and her teachers so intensely that she stayed away whenever she had the opportunity²⁶⁹

Tertiary education was not a necessity to ensure comfortable living conditions for whites. Fred recalls;

Education wasn't valued, standard six was the thing...All you had to do was get a job at any civil department, university wasn't encouraged. A standard 8 was ample.²⁷⁰

The government ensured that most whites earned substantially more than their educated African counterparts. Of whites that held a standard VI certificate, 76 per cent cleared more than R 2 000.00 which was equivalent to the earnings of Asian and Coloured graduates and postgraduates.²⁷¹

Education in the 1950s therefore accorded more privileges for whites and Afrikaners in particular even though some youths were not interested in pursuing education or a career. Housing was another area in which the government prioritised whites.

The 1950s, was a decade in which urban re-structuring was a central aim of the government not only for the purposes of racially segregating society but also to place whites in a more secure socio-economic position. Mabin and Smit note:

The scale of urban expansion in the fifties and sixties surpassed anything which had preceded the period. While significant densification took place through high rise residential and commercial building, a hallmark of the period lay in the suburban boom...fairly strict policing of racial reservation of land created space for middle class, white suburbanisation...²⁷²

Urban segregation and racial zoning was extended and entrenched through amendments to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1952 and through the consolidation of the Group Areas Act in 1957 and 1966.²⁷³ The government also launched an intensive slum clearance programme in the 1950s to remove ‘black spots’ in the cities.

The NHPC (still under the chairmanship of Mr. W. Buhrmann) announced that from 1955 onwards it would only construct houses for ‘selling purposes’.²⁷⁴ The housing situation had improved compared to the crisis after the war. However the ‘demand throughout the country still exceeded the supply.’²⁷⁵ According to local authorities, this was largely because of delays in the provision of cement.²⁷⁶ Buhrmann also decided that special attention should be given to the housing needs of public servants and government officials.²⁷⁷ A housing loan scheme for public servants was announced through the Treasury Circular No. 7 of 1956. This enabled the *Public Service Commission*, the Treasury and the Building Societies to commence a scheme in which public servants could secure housing loans using their pensions as surety.²⁷⁸ An additional service offered in the same year was the building of houses for staff of the Department of Defence and Prisons. In 1956, villages that were originally used to accommodate ex-servicemen were reconverted to house the local staff of the Department of Prisons.²⁷⁹ Programmes of urban renewal also remained on the government’s agenda. In 1956, local authorities throughout the country were instructed to survey the living conditions of whites. It was established that the worst living conditions were in the eastern suburbs of Johannesburg. Smit notes that 14.6

per cent of 7 100 units were classified as 'slum dwellings'.²⁸⁰ Engelbrecht described the overcrowded and deplorable state of houses in this area. One house

Had a bathroom, toilet, kitchen and three bedrooms. At certain times up to twenty and even thirty young men lived in the house. The house itself is part of a semi-detached and from the outside it appeared to be in a bad state of repair. It had no garden whatsoever, only a very small veranda.²⁸¹

Engelbrecht also isolated the city centre and in particular Jeppe and Belgravia as high crime areas and suburbs where youth offenders resided:

Die stadsgebied is nie slegs 'n area met 'n hoe omvang van misdaad nie...maar dit is ook 'n area waar jeugoortreders woonagtig is. Dit maak veral 'n blanke jeugmisdaadarea uit. Van al die jeugoortreders (alle rasse saam) het 82 of 4.0 per cent in die area oortree...word bevind dat 56 of 11.3 per cent van die blanke oortreders in die area misdaad gepleeg het. Die voorstede maak die gebied waar die meeste blanke jeugoortreders oortree het, uit. [The city is not only an area with a high occurrence of crime...but it is also an area where youth offenders [juvenile delinquents] in particular reside. Of all juvenile delinquents (of all races) 82 or 4.0 per cent contravened/transgressed... it was found that 56 out of 11.3 per cent of white delinquents committed crime there. This suburb is the area in which most white juvenile delinquents commit crime].²⁸²

One of the earliest urban renewal schemes was the Jeppe Fairview Troyeville Pilot Scheme.²⁸³ At the same time, the construction of flats proceeded at a rapid rate. Between 1945 and 1965 a 250 per cent increase was recorded.²⁸⁴ Flat residents comprised a mixture of residents from within and beyond South Africa's borders. Beavon notes that these new immigrants chose to live in Johannesburg:

Accustomed to high density living, the Continentals eagerly occupied the new and attractive apartments in the rapidly expanding Hillbrow and contributed to its cosmopolitan character.²⁸⁵

A total of 62.9 per cent of occupants were born in South Africa or the British protectorates, and 13.1 per cent were immigrants originating from the United Kingdom.²⁸⁶ Flatland was predominantly an English speaking area,²⁸⁷ and rapidly gained a reputation for being 'the haunt of bohemians, artists, intellectuals, prostitutes and homosexuals.'²⁸⁸ By the mid 1950s Johannesburg, so Engelbrecht and Freed

contend was full of strip clubs, gambling dens, geisha parties, 'swinging' parties, jazz clubs, opium dens and gang warfare.²⁸⁹ Such changes in city life, so the NGK's *Commission of Enquiry into Family Life* asserted, was responsible for the high divorce rate. Between 1954 and 1956 there, one divorce took place for every seven marriages and in three out of every five divorces there were children. Drawing on the Commission's findings the *Rand Daily Mail* reported

Every year about 4 600 children suffer from the separation of their parents, mostly at an age when they need sympathetic parental care.²⁹⁰

Divorce inevitably led to the disintegration of the family and placed youths in a vulnerable position. For some this resulted in clustering in youth gangs in the city.

The South African city, and in particular Johannesburg, radically altered in this period. New forms of entertainment, overt misbehaviour by youths, the illicit and inter-racial liquor trade and deteriorating living conditions generated panic in the government. Suburbanisation became a new strategy for segregation and a means to clean up the city and patrol white behaviour.

In August 1958, J. G. Strijdom died of heart disease and was succeeded by extremist Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd - 'Die Hollander' or 'Die Rots'.²⁹¹ Under his administration (1958-1966) urban apartheid and separate development was even more rigidly implemented. Forced removals of Africans continued unabated whilst the suburbanisation of whites was enthusiastically promoted. Through such policies, it is evident that, 'architecture and urban planning contribute to the dominance of one group over another.'²⁹²

White suburbanisation and the removal of Africans from the city centre was made possible through technological and transportation advances leading to the rapid construction of residences on the periphery 'away from the core'²⁹³ of the city. In his seminal text *Writings on Cities*, Lefebvre argues that increased suburbanisation sets

in motion ‘a process...which decentres the city.’²⁹⁴ In South Africa, suburbanisation was achieved through a variety of infrastructural developments. These included: the enforcement of residential segregation, slum clearances, the construction of a new railway station, the building of the Civic Centre in Braamfontein; the implementation of the Reid Traffic and Road Plan, the establishment of the Escom centre in Johannesburg,²⁹⁵ the use of the motor car and the ‘elimination of trams and their replacement with electrically-driven and diesel-powered buses.’²⁹⁶ All of these advancements made access to the CBD easier and facilitated development that ‘spread well beyond the city’s boundaries to produce new nodes of growth while the city centre retained its commercial and financial dominance as the region’s core and major employment centre.’²⁹⁷ Most workers that were employed in Braamfontein resided in the Northern suburbs. Engelbrecht found

Die bevolking van Braamfontein het al meer en meer mobiel geword. Waar die meerderheid werknemers vroeër in die area woonagtig was en slegs in die middestad weksaam was, word Braamfontein vandag hoofsaaklik gekenmerk deur ‘n dagbevolking besyaande uit werknemers wat soggens die gebied binnekom om alleen daar te werk en saans die area weer verlaat. Die meeste blankes wat gedurende die dag in die voorstad werk kom uit die noordelike voorstede. Minder as 20 per cent van die bevolking van die voorstad woon vandag daar. [The population of Braamfontein have become more and more mobile. In the past workers resided in the city centre, today Braamfontein is mostly characterised by a daily population of employees that come there only to work and then leave the area. Most of the whites that come to the suburb during the day come from the northern suburbs. Less than 20 per cent of the population of the suburb live there today.] ²⁹⁸

In Johannesburg suburban living was spatially divided and characterised by variegated standards of living. Homes in Hyde Park, Morningside, and Houghton were comfortable, luxurious, and spacious, whereas homes in Doornfontein, Fairview and Jeppe were overcrowded and dilapidated. Similarly, flat living in the city centre contrasted sharply to that in Killarney or the northern suburbs.²⁹⁹ As wealthier homeowners moved to the suburbs lower paid workers remained in the city and a large proportion resided in flats. Jubber³⁰⁰ estimates that in 1960, 390 759 whites took up residence in Johannesburg and surrounding suburbs, of which 76 per cent resided in houses and the remaining 21.4 per cent in flats.³⁰¹ Occupation of flats was

convenient for those without access to private transport and because the bus and train routes were adequately linked. A total of 53.5 per cent of Johannesburg residents owned a car whilst 44.8 per cent had no access to transport.³⁰² By 1960, only 272 153³⁰³ whites (over the age of 18) lived in the central Johannesburg metropolitan area. This alone indicates the effects of suburbanisation. By 1960, 76.5 per cent of all Afrikaners were residing in urban areas in contrast to 69 per cent in early 1950s.

Suburbanisation is also only made possible through growth in household incomes. In the context of South Africa, this was achieved by the Nationalist government's policies of economic patronage. Engelbrecht points out that the economic status of residents in Hillbrow also altered in this period.

Voorheen was dit hoofsaaklik kantoorpersoneel en geskolde ambagslui wat die gebied bewoon het. Vandag is dit hoofsaaklik arbeiders en persone met 'n onsekere heenkome wat die gebied bewoon.[Before it was chiefly office personnel and trained artisans that lived here. Today it is chiefly workers and people with an uncertain future that live in this area].³⁰⁴

Through the strict implementation of the industrial colour bar, the position of Afrikaners in the labour market was greatly improved. By 1960, Afrikaners constituted 45 per cent of the white male fitters and turners, and 52 per cent of carpenters. In 1960, only 2.4 per cent of Afrikaners employed were unskilled.³⁰⁵ Public sector employment was generally the domain of the Afrikaner. The central government employed 60 000 Afrikaners as civil servants.³⁰⁶ In the short span of three years the number of whites employed as public servants, provincial administrators and local authorities rose by 10 per cent.³⁰⁷ The contribution of the manufacturing industry to National Income steadily rose, from 22.5 per cent in 1949/50 to 28 per cent in 1963.³⁰⁸ Occupational restructuring was one of the major achievements of the Nationalist Government. The Afrikaner community reaped most of the benefits.

This affluence and higher standard of living was isolated as a contributing factor to parental neglect and delinquency. In 1958 the Department of Social Welfare declared that

*Daar is ekonomiese druk en ook die strewe na hoer lewensstandaarde en om te deel in die moderne luukse wat daartoe lei dat albei ouers werk. Hul kinders word nie onder behoorlike toesig en beheer tuis gelaat nie. [There is economic pressure and also the aspiration to attain a higher standard of living to live in modern luxury this results in both parents working. Their children are not given the proper supervision and direction].*³⁰⁹

One consequence was the formation of youth gangs. In 1959, Engelbrecht interviewed 100 youths residing in Hillbrow of this 53 per cent admitted to belonging to youth gangs.³¹⁰

Prosperity did not however last indefinitely. Between 1960 and 1961, the country was thrown into another economic depression partly because of the Sharpeville massacre and the attempted assassination of H. F. Verwoerd. Industrial production and foreign investment declined. Between January 1960 and June 1961, a total of R248 million left the country.³¹¹ Immediately thereafter the process of separate development was intensified. Smit asserts that this was largely as ‘a response to the growing political militancy of the 1950’s and the Sharpeville crisis of 1960.’³¹² As Verwoerd enforced urban apartheid additional ‘space for middle class, white suburbanisation’³¹³ was created. Rising incomes and upward job mobility coupled with infrastructural developments and the expansion of businesses beyond the city centre facilitated the process of suburbanisation. The first shopping centre (renting 15 shops including Checkers) was built in Southdale in the Southern Suburbs in 1961.³¹⁴ In the same year the construction of the M1 (North to South) and the M2 (from east to west) commenced.³¹⁵

Planning practices were also altered and a number of new local authorities were created to regulate and govern urban development. Initially the Johannesburg municipality decided not to extend its boundaries but rather received assistance

administratively, and in the provision of health services, from the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board in Pretoria. However, as the pace of expansion accelerated these services became inadequate. The Randburg municipality was established in 1959 and self-contained regional offices on the Witwatersrand were formed to control housing in 1962.³¹⁶ A Sandton municipality was set up in 1969.³¹⁷ Alongside these new municipalities, the government invested more of its budget to urban development. In 1962, R 585 million was spent on building and construction, an amount that rose to R 674 million in 1963 and to R 795 million in 1964.³¹⁸ In 1962 construction on a new housing scheme, for whites, started in Northmead Extension.³¹⁹ A waiting list of between 300 and 350 applicants requiring economic housing in Johannesburg was recorded in June 1963.³²⁰ The demand for economic housing was due to the adjustments in income limits introduced in 1963 to accommodate the transformation in wage structures for the majority of whites.³²¹ By the mid 1960s the South African economy had recovered leading to another influx of 180 000 immigrants.³²²

To deal with these transformations in the economy and an expanded urban population the government reassessed its housing policy again and amalgamated existing legislation such as the Housing Act (Act No 10 of 1957)³²³ into a single integrated Planning Act.³²⁴ This was completed when the Housing Code was passed in 1964. The Department of Community Development (DCD) was born and was delegated the responsibility of administering and implementing central government's housing policy.³²⁵ Conditions for Africans deteriorated whilst the white populace occupied a highly advantaged position within South African society and undertook a movement out of the city centre into exclusively white suburban spaces.

Educational policy similarly altered commencing with the repeal of earlier legislation and the implementation of the 1961 National Education Council Bill.³²⁶ Educational facilities and government spending also greatly expanded in this period. So too did the number of youths that passed through the school system. The per capita expenditure per white child stood at R114 per annum in 1960 compared to R13.50

per black child.³²⁷ In 1946 the number of white pupils in the country stood at 257 156. This rose to 645 000 in 1961 (see Table D Appendix 1). Between 1961-62, 10 035 obtained a matric and 11 589 a school leaving certificate (46.4:53.6).³²⁸ In 1962, the National Education Council established a National Education Advisory Council (NEAC).³²⁹ It functioned as an advisory body to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science and provided guidance on policy, training, curriculum, and manpower needs.³³⁰ Through the NEAC, central government played a more direct role in white education. The enrolment of students at Vocational Schools increased threefold after these fell under Central Government. Between 1961 and 1968 as a result of the central government's financial support, 26 new vocational institutions were established.³³¹ These new changes centralised education for whites. Schools steadily increased their hold over youths and 72.9 per cent of youths remained in school over the statutory age. Mass education of whites had been achieved which marked a shift in focus in the quality of education.

By comparison, technical training, and apprenticeship in particular, was of a poor quality. In an attempt to improve standards, training apprentices were forced to undertake a ten-week continuous training programme in the early 1960s. This was not very successful and the pass rate remained low. In 1960, 20 per cent of candidates passed and only 34 per cent (172 out of 495) qualified under the Training of Artisans Act.³³² In 1963 only 23 000 white youths were registered in apprenticeship courses when an estimated 49 000 apprentices were needed.³³³ Even so, Afrikaners, under the 'benevolent' care of the government, were more skilled compared to earlier periods. By 1960, only 2.4 per cent of Afrikaners employed were unskilled.³³⁴

Similarly urban planning policies were also centralised through the formation of the DCD. Racial segregation was widely enforced and strictly monitored by government officials. White poverty had largely been eradicated and a process of white suburbanisation was well underway, enabling most white communities to experience increased affluence. This allowed youths to keep up to date with the latest subcultural

trends – in fashion, music and entertainment. Coinciding with this period of prosperity the number of youths that appeared in juvenile courts in the major urban centres across the country steadily declined from a total of 394 in 1959 to 334 in 1961 and 257 in 1963³³⁵ showing that delinquency was less of a problem (see table E and F in Appendix I).

Conclusion

Between the 1920s and 1960s, the South African economy underwent a cycle of slumps and booms that greatly affected living conditions in most communities. The interrelated processes of urbanisation and industrialisation were tied to these economic cycles. Due to the accelerated and unregulated pace of urbanisation, certain sectors of the white community were faced with an acute shortage of cheap housing, overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions, social displacement, increasing unemployment, deficient social services, inadequate educational provision, escalating crime and the contestation over urban space. Social and government policies governing whites accordingly shifted from a focus on ‘poor whiteism’ and slum clearances in the 1920s and 1930s to the privileging of ex-servicemen in the 1940s, to urban renewal schemes and suburbanisation incentives in the 1950s. Education policies (aimed primarily at alleviating white unemployment and encouraging affluence) followed a similar trend from accentuating vocational training and apprenticeship to mass education and specialisation. Both policies were influenced by the politics of the ruling regime, volatile economic forces, oscillating trends of urbanisation and industrialisation, and waves of immigration.

This sketch of the Witwatersrand reveals the radically different worlds through which youths and their parents moved. The rate of technological change, improvement in educational opportunities, the ability to secure employment (features of the 1950s and 1960s) contrasted sharply with previous decades that were characterised by urban instability and struggles against the depression, the impact of World War Two and the government’s transitory and inconsistent urban planning and educational policies.

These structural differences deepened the divide between parents and children. More often than not, the implementation of urban planning policies and redevelopment incentives resulted in rehousing and the breaking up of neighbourhood links and networks. Similarly new urban dwellers (migrants and immigrants alike) had to forge new ties and construct community identities in environments that were often foreign and alien to them. This coupled with the shortage of adequate social services, overcrowding, inadequate housing, unemployment, poor education and poverty in general led youths in particular to seek security on the streets and within street corner gangs. The period prior to and immediately after World War Two marked the beginning of the rise of white youth gangs, which by the late 1950s, after increased affluence replaced poverty, mushroomed into the Ducktail subculture. The following two chapters explore the dynamics of the subculture itself setting the tone for the final part of the dissertation where generational conflict and societal response is the focus.

ENDNOTES

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¹² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

¹⁴ The role that Britishness has played in the construction of South African whiteness has not been widely explored. Vivian Bickford-Smith's recent investigation into Anglicisation in the

Cape Colony sets the foundation for exploring the mixture of ethnic and national identities. See for example V. Bickford-Smith, 'Revisiting Anglicisation in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol XXXI, Jan 2003, No 1, pp. 82-95.

¹⁵ Bottomley, 'Public Policy and White Rural Poverty', p. 375.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ For more details see Berger, 'White Poverty and Government Policy' and Bottomley, 'Public Policy and White Rural Poverty'.

¹⁸ Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease*, p. 55.

¹⁹ The Carnegie Corporation worked through the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the Union government, see R.B. Millar, 'Science, and Society in the Early Career of H.F. Verwoerd' in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4, December, 1993.

²⁰ Parnell, 'Johannesburg Slums', p. 101.

²¹ T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (London, MacMillan, 1991), p. 289.

²² Malherbe, *Education*, p. 285.

²³ *Annual Report of the Department of Education Arts, and Science*, UG 51 '38, 1938, p. 6.

²⁴ *Annual Report of the Department of Education Arts, and Science*, 1930, UG 36, '31, p. 8 and Basola, 'Household Treasures', p. 20.

²⁵ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 447.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁷ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 183.

²⁸ This is according to Malherbe, *Education*, cited in Basola, 'Household Treasures', p. 19.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Department of Education Arts, and Science*, 1938, UG 51 '38, p. 11.

³⁰ *Annual Report of the Department of Education Arts, and Science*, 1933 and 1934, UG 46, '35, table one.

³¹ For more details on youth employment for the 1920s see Berger, 'White Poverty and Government Policy', pp. 402-408.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³³ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 183.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³⁵ *The Star*, 'Natives in Urban Areas: Competition with Europeans', 12/10/1937.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 165.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³⁹ *Annual Report of the Department of Education Arts, and Science*, UG 46, '35, 1933 and 1934, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Basola, 'Household Treasures', p. 21.

⁴¹ N. Atkinson, *Teaching South Africans: A History of Educational Policy in South Africa* (Salisbury, University of Rhodesia, 1978), p. 246.

⁴² Parnell, 'Johannesburg Slums', p. 79.

⁴³ For an outline of these policies see Davenport, *South Africa*, pp. 503-517 and Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease*, p.74.

⁴⁴ Parnell, 'Johannesburg Slums', p. 102.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Unemployment Investigation Committee*, SRP, 6/234, 1932, UG 30-'32.

⁴⁶ The evidence of the commission was obtained from a series of sittings at which witnesses explained their conditions. Unfortunately copies of the evidence was not located at the archives. National Archives of South Africa (NASA), Department of Social Welfare (VWN),

246, SW46/23-SW46/32, BV79, UG No. 37-1932. Also see GG 227, 3/5099, Board of Trade and Industries, Report No 125, Cost of Living Enquiry, October 1931.

⁴⁷ NASA VWN, 246, SW46/23-SW46/32, BV79, UG No. 37-1932, p. 7-14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁹ Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p.52.

⁵⁰ See Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', pp 99-108 for a fuller discussion of prostitution in this period.

⁵¹ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, pp. 59-60.

⁵² *Annual Report Commissioner of Police*, 1928-1929, UG 13-'30, p. 27.

⁵³ *Annual Report Commissioner of Police*, UG 43/1930, 6/218/SRP, p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Annual Report Commissioner of Police* for 1930-31, SRP, 6/228, p. 18.

⁵⁵ Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland, No 7-1934-1935, pp. 347-348.

⁵⁶ Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p. 83.

⁵⁷ For more details on the 'loss of parental authority' see Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p. 146.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87 and chapter 5.

⁵⁹ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 88.

⁶⁰ Jochelson, *The Colour of Disease*, p. 56.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶² Hyslop, 'White Working Class Women', p. 80.

⁶³ The CHB had to report to the Department of Health although they did retain a certain amount of autonomy. It functioned as an advisory board to local authorities to control and monitor funds granted for the purposes of housing whites. P. Morris, *A History of Black Housing in South Africa*, (South Africa Foundation, 1981), p.16.

⁶⁴ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1938*, UG 27 - '39, SRP, 6/307, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁵ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1934*. UG 21-'35, SRP, 6/259, p. 6.

⁶⁶ This scheme involved the construction of 200 dwellings that were rented on a weekly basis for between 10s and 12s. 6d. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Cited in Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's Cities?', p. 200.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁶⁹ Parnell, 'Johannesburg Slums', p. 82.

⁷⁰ The first task that the municipalities of Bloemfontein, Capetown, Durban, East London, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Pretoria undertook was to survey slum areas – a method which was to become a central part of their repertoire in the future. *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1934*, UG 21-'35, SRP, 6/259.

⁷¹ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1936*, UG No. 23-1937, SRP, 6/280p. 7.

⁷² *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1934*, UG 21-'35, SRP 6/59. pp. 2 - 5.

⁷³ Parnell, 'Johannesburg Slums', p. 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1935*, UG 18 – '36, SRP, 6/259, p. 7-8.

⁷⁶ Pretoria followed suit after a loan of £50 000 was allocated to provide housing for whites at Mayville, Wonderboom South and New Muckleneuk, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁷ The funds for white housing needs were allocated as follows: £239 352 for 230 dwellings in Pretoria; £123 271 for 185 dwellings in Springs, £110 814 for 160 dwellings in Brakpan and £105 395 for 143 dwellings in Benoni. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ F. Frescura and D. Radford, 'The Physical Growth of Johannesburg: a Brief Survey of its development from 1886 to date' Conference on Urbanisation South African Institute of Race Relations, October, 1982, p. 39.

⁸⁰ NASA, SES47, A1/121, Estimated number of European families in Union, 1948 and 1951, p. 1.

⁸¹ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1936*, UG No. 23-1937, SRP, 6/280, p.4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸³ Through this new sub-economic scheme the government lost £25 per annum on every £1 000 lent, while local authorities incurred losses of £12.10d per £1 000 invested. *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1936*, UG No. 23-1937, SRP, 6/280, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁵ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1937*, UG 20 – '1938, SRP, 6/294.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ NASA, *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Poor Relief and Charitable Institutions*, UG 61-37, SRP, 1937, 6/288.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁰ These amounts were not granted to individual applicants but rather to charitable organisations (benevolent societies) that endeavoured to assist people in need of care. NASA, *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Poor Relief and Charitable Institutions*, UG 61-37, SRP, 1937, 6/288, p. 9.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹² Davenport, *South Africa*, p. 280.

⁹³ Figures based on Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p. 47.

⁹⁴ Mr R.S. Gordon (of the Department of Public Health) became deputy chair, *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1938*, UG 27 - '39, SRP, 6/307,

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ NASA, VWN, 1261, SW69/50), NASA, TPB 2491, TALG 7/1/057-TA 12/11057 Letter from J. Combrink (Central Housing Board) to the Department of Public Health, 4/7/1939.

⁹⁷ *Report of the Central Housing Board for December 1939*, UG 19 - '1940, SRP, 6/135, p. 4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁹ NASA, SES, 47, A1/121, Estimated number of European Families in Union, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ P. Alexander, *Workers, War and the Origins of Apartheid* (Cape Town, David Phillip, 2000), p. 17.

¹⁰² NASA, VWN, 747, SW109, vol 3, *Inligting verskaf aan Mev P.M.K. Le Roux*, p. 1.

¹⁰³ *Education for South Africa: The 1961 Education Panel First Report*, (Witwatersrand University Press, for the 1961 Education Panel, Johannesburg, 1963), p.4.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁶ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, pp. 132-3.

¹⁰⁷ J. Lewis, *Industrialisation and Trade Union Organisation in South Africa, 1924-1955* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 88.

¹⁰⁸ N. Mandy, *A City Divided: Johannesburg and Soweto*, (Johannesburg, Macmillan, 1984), p. 47.

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- ¹⁰⁹ NASA, VWN, 746, SW108/7, 108/7, Memorandum 'Housing and Social Conditions in Areas Contiguous to Military Camps and New Factories: Report on Benoni Area, 20/08/1942.
- ¹¹⁰ Alexander, *Workers*, p. 17 and Lewis, *Industrialisation*, pp. 89-9 and pp. 144-153.
- ¹¹¹ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, p. 24.
- ¹¹² Alexander, *Workers*, p. 17.
- ¹¹³ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, pp. 132-3.
- ¹¹⁴ Callinicos, *A Place in the City*, p. 19.
- ¹¹⁵ Figures based on Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p. 47.
- ¹¹⁶ Callinicos, *A Place in the City*, p. 11.
- ¹¹⁷ Natal Archives Depot, 3/DBN (Durban Town Clerk's Files), 199A, 'Report of the Municipal Staff Board', meeting held on 17/04/1940.
- ¹¹⁸ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, p. 60.
- ¹¹⁹ L. F. Freed, *European Prostitution in Johannesburg*, (Pretoria, Juta, 1949), p. 3 and p. 51 respectively.
- ¹²⁰ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, pp. 132-3.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- ¹²² NASA, South African Police (SAP), 476, 2/9/50, vol I, 'Ons Jeugdige' by J.H. Coetzee, undated, p. 4.
- ¹²³ Including the Nicol Commission (1939), the Provincial Education Commission of Natal (1946), the De Villiers Commission (1948), The Pretorius Commission (1951), the Steyn Report (Committee on Differential Education, 1953). Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, pp. 90-159.
- ¹²⁴ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 363.
- ¹²⁵ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 88.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ¹²⁷ L.F. Freed, 'Annual Report of the Chessa Kadisha', p. 3.
- ¹²⁸ Brink, 'The Afrikaner Women', p. 84.
- ¹²⁹ UG 9-1943, Social and Economic Planning Council, Report No 1, 'Re-employment, Reconstruction and the Council's status', October 1942, p. 1.
- ¹³⁰ Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p.197.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- ¹³³ Sani, 'History of the Italians', p. 309.
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 309.
- ¹³⁶ Donsky, 'Aspects of Immigration', p. 23.
- ¹³⁷ Davenport, *A History of South Africa*, p. 320.
- ¹³⁸ Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', pp. 208-9.
- ¹³⁹ *Report on the Population Census of 1946, Volume V*, UG 41/1954, SRP 6/460.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.12-13.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87
- ¹⁴⁶ NGOs and CBOs made an effort to alleviate some of the shortages, for example in 1941, the SuidAfrikaanse Vroue Federasie Utility Company utilised a sub-economic housing loan to

the value of £31 650 to erect a hostel for girls in Berea. NASA, TAB, TPB, 2494, TALG 25/11057-TA 27/1057, Supplementary Report of the Public Health Committee, 22/09/1941.

¹⁴⁷ The Natal Housing Board was not part of the NHPC., *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission, for December 1949*, UG 12-'1950, SRP, 6/409, 1949, p.7.

¹⁴⁸ Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's Cities', p. 203.

¹⁴⁹ SEPC had twelve part-time members under the directorship of Dr. H.J. van Eck. Dr. H.J. van Eck was also the Managing Director and Vice Chairperson of the Industrial Development Corporation, P. Wilkinson, 'A Discourse of Modernity: The Social and Economic Planning Council's fifth report on Regional and Town Planning, 1944,' presented at the Symposium on South African Planning History, Pietermaritzburg, September 1993, p. 249.

¹⁵⁰ Social and Economic Planning Council, UG 38-1945, First Annual Report, October 1945, p.2.

¹⁵¹ Social and Economic Planning Council, UG 9-1943, Report No. 1, Re-employment, Reconstruction and the Council's Status, Annexure 1, p. 8.

¹⁵² Cited in Department of Public Health, *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, UG 43-1945, SRP, 1945, 6/354, p. 1.

¹⁵³ R.W.A Yeld, 'The Problem of Costs: Some Financial and Legal Implications', paper read at the South African Health Conference at Cape Town on 3/02/1949 as part of the symposium presented on behalf of the *National Housing and Planning Commission*. Reproduced in the *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission for 1949*, pp. 13-21.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ The chair of the *National Housing and Planning Commission* rotated over a period of three years. It was comprised of a full time chairperson a deputy chair and eight other members. Provincial executives and municipal associations were also represented through the establishment of a National Housing Council.

¹⁵⁶ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years* p. 20.

¹⁵⁷ NASA, KOG, AOD, 677, 1720, Emergency Housing: Flat in Converted Army Camps Conditions of Tenancy, 20/10/1947, p.1.

¹⁵⁸ *Joint Annual Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission* and the National Housing Office for the financial year 1955/6, UG62-'1959, SRP, 6/528, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ A total of 33 economic schemes were approved with 25 awarded to Europeans and 8 to coloureds. Department of Public Health, *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, UG 43-1945, SRP, 1945, 6/354, p.16.

¹⁶⁰ G.H.T. Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial Pattern of White Residential Development and the Housing Market in Johannesburg', PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, 1974, p. 237.

¹⁶¹ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1950, UG 46/1951, SRP, 6/424, p. 12.

¹⁶² NASA, DGD, 190, 46/1, VOL II, Letter from W. Dowling from Pretoria to the chairman of demobilisation, 3/6/1945.

¹⁶³ Department of Health, *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1946, SRP, 6/390, 1948, p.1.

¹⁶⁴ Through this, a loan limit of £2 800 was finally approved in 1950. UG 46/1951, SRP, 6/424, *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1950, p. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 234.

¹⁶⁶ NASA, Department of Labour (ARB), 3949, 1612/53-5, Minutes of the first meeting of the Housing Inter-Departmental Committee 25th of July 1945, p.1.

¹⁶⁷ The amendments converted land in areas of Joubert Park, Argyle, Hillbrow, Wanderers View and Eastern Braamfontein from special to general residential areas. Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 234.

¹⁶⁸ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1950, UG 46/1951, SRP, 6/424, pp. 6-7.

¹⁶⁹ These figures are based on estimates made by the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants. NASA, TPB, TA 3/14 999, Letter from Provincial Secretary to the Johannesburg Town Clerk, 5/5/1945.

¹⁷⁰ These houses were to the value of £1 095 204 NASA, DGD, 190, 46/1, VOL II, Notes on Housing for ex-volunteers, 1945.

¹⁷¹ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 223.

¹⁷² Malherbe, *Education* p. 184.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Of these 86.2 per cent were British, 5.8 per cent were Dutch and 0.8 per cent were German. Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p. 211.

¹⁷⁵ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁶ Berger, *Threads of Solidarity*, pp. 132-3.

¹⁷⁷ O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, p. 34.

¹⁷⁸ Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p. 214.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.204.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 390.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 258, note 114.

¹⁸⁴ All interviews were conducted by the author. Andre, interview, Pretoria, 1996.

¹⁸⁵ D. Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise*, (South Africa, Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 270.

¹⁸⁶ Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p. 215.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁸⁹ Lazar, 'Conformity and Conflict', p. 86.

¹⁹⁰ It was not only the war that induced economic expansion, the discovery of gold in the Orange Free State facilitated growth further. O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, p. 21.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁹² Lazar, 'Conformity and Conflict', p. 89.

¹⁹³ Cited in M. Beittel, 'The Witwatersrand: Black Households, White Households in J. Smith and I. Wallerstein (eds), *Creating and Transforming Households: the Constraints of the World-Economy*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 216.

¹⁹⁴ M. Legassick, "Legislation, Ideology, and Economy", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1, 1, 1972, p. 11.

¹⁹⁵ P. Bonner et al, 'The Shaping of Apartheid' in P. Bonner, P. Delius and D. Posel (eds), *Apartheid's Genesis, 1 935-1962*, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1993), p. 4.

¹⁹⁶ Legassick, 'Legislation, Ideology, and Economy', p. 12.

¹⁹⁷ Callinicos, *A Place in the City*, p. 120.

¹⁹⁸ Prop, interview, 11/09/1996.

¹⁹⁹ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 142.

²⁰⁰ Prop, interview, 11/09/1996.

²⁰¹ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 128.

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- ²⁰² NASA, VWN, 748, SW109, vol 5, *Jeugmisdaad en Losbandigheid*, p. 27f.
- ²⁰³ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 131.
- ²⁰⁴ Afrikaners comprised 58 per cent of the total white population in this period. Lazar, 'Conformity and Conflict', p. 92.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- ²⁰⁷ For an overview of legislation and educational matters in South Africa see R.M. Rupert, *The Education System*.
- ²⁰⁸ Hofmeyr, 'An Examination of the Influence', p. 65.
- ²⁰⁹ For more detail see Atkinson, *Teaching South Africans*, p. 245, Malherbe, *Education*, p. 49 and p. 673; M. Cross, 'Culture and Identity in South African Education', 1880-1990, PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, 1994, p. 64 and Hofmeyr, 'An Examination of the Influence', p. 64.
- ²¹⁰ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 33.
- ²¹¹ Outlined in Departmental Circular Minute No. 58 of 1950.
- ²¹² Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 158.
- ²¹³ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 448.
- ²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 588.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 590, footnote 38 and p. 591.
- ²¹⁶ D. Smit, 'The Political Economy of Urban and Regional Planning in South Africa: 1900-1988, Towards theory to guide progressive practice' PhD, University of Natal, 1989, p. 100.
- ²¹⁷ Beavon, *Johannesburg*, pp. 156-157.
- ²¹⁸ Davies, 1976 cited in Smit, 'The Political Economy', p. 100.
- ²¹⁹ Department of Health, *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission, for December 1946*, SRP, 6/390, 1948, p. 4.
- ²²⁰ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, December 1948, UG 12-1948, p. 27.
- ²²¹ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1949, UG 12-1950, SRP, 6/409, 1949, p. 2.
- ²²² The Natal Housing Board was not part of the NHPC. *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1949, UG12-1950, SRP, 6/409, 1949, p. 2.
- ²²³ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, for December 1949, UG 12-1950, SRP, 6/409, 1949, p. 7.
- ²²⁴ *Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission*, 1950, UG46-1951, SRP, 6/424, p. 1.
- ²²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ²²⁷ A maximum of 313 dwellings were allocated to the sub-economic scheme with the remaining two-thirds for the economic category. NASA, TPB, TALG, 46/11057, Urgency Report of the Health and Social Affairs Committee, 28/10/1952, p. 808.
- ²²⁸ *The Servitas: Housing Review*, July 1953 in NASA, CAD, MSP, 18/1/2-2/1/4/15.
- ²²⁹ Smit, 'The Political Economy', p. 103.
- ²³⁰ For a detailed account of this process and of urban expansion in Johannesburg from 1886 to 2003 see Beavon, *Johannesburg*.
- ²³¹ Flat development in Johannesburg started in the 1920s in Hillbrow see F. Frescura and D. Radford, 'The Physical Growth of Johannesburg: a Brief Survey of its development from 1886 to date' Conference on Urbanisation South African Institute of Race Relations, October 1982.

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- ²³² *City Engineer*, 1953 cited in Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 245 and Beavon, *Johannesburg*, pp. 153-155.
- ²³³ Cited in Freed, *Crime in South Africa*, p. 133.
- ²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- ²³⁵ Mike Malony, interview, 12/06/1997.
- ²³⁶ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', table 21, p. 102.
- ²³⁷ Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 239.
- ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 260.
- ²³⁹ Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p. 390.
- ²⁴⁰ Bonner *et al.*, "The Shaping of Apartheid" in *Apartheid's Genesis*, p. 20.
- ²⁴¹ *Joint Annual Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission and the National Housing Office for the financial year*, 1953/54, UG 41-1956, SRP 6/486, p. 3.
- ²⁴² Cited in Freed, *Crime in South Africa*, p. 132.
- ²⁴³ *The Servitas: Housing Review*, July 1953 in NASA, CAD, MSP, 18/1/2-2/1/4/15
- ²⁴⁴ The National Housing and Planning commission was headed by Mr. W. Buhrmann *The Servitas: Housing Review*, July 1953 in NASA, CAD, MSP, 18/1/2-2/1/4/15.
- ²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴⁶ NASA, CAD, MSP, 81/1/2 - 2/1/4/15, Office of the Administrator of the Transvaal, 27/07/1953.
- ²⁴⁷ The middle-income group were once again the main beneficiaries and were allocated 104 houses at Casseldale Extension No. 2. NASA, MSP, 81/1/2 - 2/1/4/15, Memo drafted by the Town Clerk C.L. Coles for the Town Council of Springs Public Health Department 24/08/1953.
- ²⁴⁸ NASA, CAD VWN, 457, SW, vol 8-9, Department of Labour Memorandum on the Worker's Hostels subsidy.
- ²⁴⁹ NASA, CAD, TPB, 2500 TALG 59/11057.
- ²⁵⁰ NASA, CAD VWN, 457, SW, vol 8-9, Department of Labour Memorandum on the Worker's Hostels subsidy, Annexure I.
- ²⁵¹ NASA, 747, SW 109, vol 3 *Jeugmisdaad en Losbandigheid*.
- ²⁵² Education for South Africa: The 1961 Education Panel First Report, Witwatersrand University Press, for the 1961 Education Panel, Johannesburg, 1963, p.9.
- ²⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁴ Davenport, *A History of South Africa*, p. 512 and Peberdy, 'Selecting Immigrants', p. 233.
- ²⁵⁵ Lazar, 'Conformity and Conflict', p. 90.
- ²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵⁷ Donsky, 'Aspects of Immigration', p. 12.
- ²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ²⁵⁹ Adapted from Donsky, 'Aspects of Immigration', annexure E, p. 77.
- ²⁶⁰ Mike Millroy, interview, Kempton Park, 10/04/1997.
- ²⁶¹ *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 81.
- ²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
- ²⁶³ Mike Millroy, interview, Kempton Park, 10/04/1997.
- ²⁶⁴ *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 121.
- ²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- ²⁶⁶ Lynton Johnson, Kempton Park, 6/03/1997
- ²⁶⁷ For tertiary education in 1960 per capita expenditure was R320. *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 127.

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- ²⁶⁸ This figure was quite high compared to other countries, the equivalent figure for the United Kingdom was 7.7; Australia, 8.0; Canada, 18 and in the USA, 30. *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 120.
- ²⁶⁹ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 139.
- ²⁷⁰ Fred, interview, Jet Park, 11/09/1996.
- ²⁷¹ Malherbe, *Education*, p. 635.
- ²⁷² Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's Cities', p. 25.
- ²⁷³ For an overview of this legislation see Davenport, *A History of South Africa*, p. 538. For a more detailed account see N. Niefertagodien, 'The Implementation of Urban Apartheid on the East Rand, 1948-1973: the Role of Local Government and Local Resistance', PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2001 and Niefertagodien, 'The Making of Apartheid in Springs: Group Areas and Forced Removals', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1995.
- ²⁷⁴ Joint Annual Report of the *National Housing and Planning Commission* and the National Housing Office for the financial year 1955/6, UG62-1959, SRP, 6/528, p.1.
- ²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷⁷ This was achieved through policy changes introduced by the National Housing Office (NHO). In 1956 Mr J.H. Viljoen succeeded Mr T. F. Naudè as Minister of Health and hence as head of the NHO. Under his directorship, new projects and roles were adopted that served to distinguish their duties more clearly from the NHPC.
- ²⁷⁸ It was the NHO that would handle the administration of this scheme. *Joint Annual Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission* and the National Housing Office for the financial year 1956-57, SRP, 6/528, p. 1.
- ²⁷⁹ Joint Annual Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission and the National Housing Office for the financial year 1955/6, UG62-1959, p. 3.
- ²⁸⁰ Smit, 'The Political Economy', p. 135.
- ²⁸¹ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 142.
- ²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- ²⁸³ Smit, 'The Political Economy', p. 135-138.
- ²⁸⁴ Cited in Jubber, 'Some Aspects of High Density Flat Living: With Special Reference to Flatland, Johannesburg, MA, University of the Witwatersrand, 1973, p.2.
- ²⁸⁵ Beavon, *Johannesburg*, p. 156.
- ²⁸⁶ Jubber, 'Some Aspects of High Density Flat Living', p. 86.
- ²⁸⁷ Jubber estimates that English was spoken by 76.8 per cent of flat occupants with 62.3 per cent of all Johannesburg residents speaking English. *Ibid.*, p. 67-68.
- ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4
- ²⁸⁹ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 129 and Freed, *Crime in South Africa*, p. 99.
- ²⁹⁰ NASA, VWN, 558, SW81/14, *Rand Daily Mail*, 'Striking Facts of D.R.C. Inquiry: Divorce ends more Marriages than Death', 20/10/1959.
- ²⁹¹ Cited in O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, p. xxxviii.
- ²⁹² Based on the ideas of Foucault and Rabinow in S. M. Low, 'Cultural Meaning of the Plaza: The History of the Spanish-American Grid plan-Plaza Urban Design' in R. Rottenberg and G. McDonogh, *The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space*, (London, Bergin and Garvey, 1993), p. 75
- ²⁹³ Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 261.
- ²⁹⁴ H. Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (translated and edited by E. Kofman and E. Lebas), (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 77.

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- ²⁹⁵ Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 244.
- ²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238. According to Mandy the last trams withdrew from service in March 1961, Mandy, *A City Divided*, p. 57.
- ²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 263.
- ²⁹⁸ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 176.
- ²⁹⁹ For a detailed outline of living conditions in flats in Johannesburg see Jubber, 'Some Aspects of High Density Flat Living', p. 32
- ³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- ³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- ³⁰³ Of this 48 per cent were men and 52 per cent were women. Of this 71.6 per cent were married and 28.4 per cent were unmarried, widowed or separated. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³⁰⁴ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas', p. 176.
- ³⁰⁵ Lazar, 'Conformity and Conflict', p. 119.
- ³⁰⁶ *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 21.
- ³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-29.
- ³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- ³⁰⁹ NASA, VWN, 747, SW109, vol 3, *Jeugoortreding in Suid Afrika*, p. 4.
- ³¹⁰ Engelbrecht, 'Jeugmisdaadareas' p. 201.
- ³¹¹ Davenport, *A History of South Africa*, p. 360.
- ³¹² Smit, 'The Political Economy', p. 151.
- ³¹³ Mabin and Smit, 'Reconstructing South Africa's Cities?' p. 207.
- ³¹⁴ This was under the initiative of Cecil Behrmann, cited in Mandy, *A City Divided*, p. 56.
- ³¹⁵ The highway, according to Mandy was only completed in 1974, see *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- ³¹⁶ Cited in Hart, 'The Evolution of the Spatial', p. 266.
- ³¹⁷ Mandy, *A City Divided*, p. 57 and Beavon, *Johannesburg*, p. 152.
- ³¹⁸ NASA, MB, 2/3/60 Ah 1 (1) – Ah1 (2), Circular 15/11/1962.
- ³¹⁹ This was at a cost of R 139 500. NASA, MB, 2/3/60 Ah 1 (1) – Ah1 (2), Circular 15/11/1962.
- ³²⁰ NASA, MB, 2/3/60 Ah 1 (1) – Ah1 (2), Letter from Regional Representative of the Department of Housing to the Town Clerk, 12th June 1963.
- ³²¹ The maximum income limit for families in the economic group was R 180 for whites, coloureds and Asians. In the sub-economic group, R 80 per month for whites, R 50 for coloureds and R 50 for Asians NASA, MB, 2/3/60 Ah 1 (1) – Ah1 (2), Letter from Secretary of Housing to Town Clerk of Benoni, 28/06/1963.
- ³²² Mandy, *A City Divided*, p. 54.
- ³²³ This Act was the precursor to the Housing Code, which served to racially separate the structures and government departments responsible for housing. Through this legislation, a National Housing Fund was developed as well as a National Housing Commission (NHC), a Bantu Housing Board (BHB) and a National Housing Office, NASA, MSP, 79, 3/4/869, Union Gazette Extraordinary, 15th of March 1957. The National Housing Commission was a body corporate with at least 7 and not more than 13 members one of whom had to be a woman. Their major function was to regulate approve or reject proposals for projects. The Bantu Housing Board was comprised of seven members and performed similar functions to the *National Housing Commission* except in relation to African housing. The National Housing Office was a regulatory body responsible for carrying out the objectives and aims of this act.

³²⁴ Discussions on this issue actually commenced in 1955 but were only resolved in the 1960s. See *Joint Annual Report of the National Housing and Planning Commission* and the National Housing Office for the financial year 1954/1955, SRP, 6/488, UG49/1956, p. 2.

³²⁵ NASA, MPA, 79, 3/4/869, Housing Code, 1964.

³²⁶ Atkinson, 'Teaching South Africans', p. 250.

³²⁷ *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 121.

³²⁸ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 191.

³²⁹ Atkinson, 'Teaching South Africans', p. 250.

³³⁰ Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, p. 19. Other departments that were responsible for education include: the Department of Agricultural Technical Services, the Department of Defence, Department of Mines, Department of Police, Social Welfare and Prisons, South African Railways and Harbours. Behr and Macmillan provide a detailed and thorough account of the administration and organisation of the various departments of education in the country.

³³¹ Increased from 56 to 82. Malherbe, *Education*, p. 331.

³³² *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

³³³ *Education and the South African Economy*, p. 88.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³³⁵ NASA, VWN, SW109, vol 5, fax dated 26/2/1964.