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The ideology of African home-ownership: the establishment of Dube, Soweto, 1946 - 1955.

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG
HISTORY WORKSHOP



STRUCTURE AND EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING OF APARTHEID

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TITLE: The ideology of African home-ownership : the establishment of Dube, Soweto, 1946 - 1955.

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An African housing crisis of unprecedented severity erupted on the Witwatersrand in the aftermath of the Second World War. The first post-war election of 1948 was fought, and won, on the question of how to administer the dramatically expanded urban African population. Racial residential segregation was upheld as a fundamental principle for governing the South African city, but the period was otherwise ideologically turbulent. Both Smut's United Party (UP), and later, Malan's National Party (NP) sought to establish a new framework of urban management that would effectively resolve the "urban native problem". While parliamentarians grappled to devise a coherent urban policy, in Johannesburg, where the accommodation shortage was most acute, the City Council turned their attention to rehousing thousands of homeless squatters and sub-tenants. Seeking innovative, cost effective ways to provide shelter an African home-ownership scheme called Dube was sanctioned early in 1946.

The ideological parameters that shaped the Dube landscape changed three times in the decade after its conception. The tenor of debate on African urban administration within the state is reflected by the recommendations of three position papers; the Stallard Commission of 1921 that moulded the provisions of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (NUUA) of 1923; the UP's Fagan Commission of 1947, appointed to draft "Native Affairs" legislation; and a confidential report to the NP, known as the Sauer report, which is alleged to have provided the blueprint of "Grand Apartheid" implemented in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[1]

Acting within the Stallardist framework inherited from the inter-war years, the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) tried to use the NUUA of 1923 to establish Dube as a freehold "Native Village". The JCC's objective of supporting a permanent urban African population through home-ownership contradicted the Stallardist idea of Africans as migrants in white cities. African urban rights were, however, endorsed by the Fagan Commission which drew on lessons from the Dube initiative in Johannesburg. Plans for Dube

were well advanced by 1948 when the NP's victory saw the resurrection of the idea of Africans as temporary sojourners to urban areas. Reluctant to implement Sauer's proposal which undermined the original conception of Dube as an elite residential area, the JCC bowed to the power of the apartheid state and reduced African tenure at Dube.

DUBE IN THE STALLARD ERA: ESTABLISHING A FREEHOLD "NATIVE VILLAGE"

> *The Native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.*[2]

This familiar extract from the Stallard Commission highlights the limited role Africans were to assume in the burgeoning urban economy after World War One. Housing for migrant workers was provided in compounds or hostels close to their place of work. Industrialisation and a growing informal sector encouraged the settlement of an urban African population who were ether not eligible, or else rejected, the austere single quarters offered by hostel life. The development of racially-integrated inner-city slums, that allegedly threatened public health and certainly offended the delicate sensibilities of white residents in Johannesburg, prompted the JCC to establish municipal locations for Africans. The NUUA legislated for both compound and location housing to be provided by the local authority to restrict the influx of Africans and to segregate black from white residential areas. A third type of housing was allowed for Africans under the NUUA; this was freehold settlement in spatially designated "Native Locations".

The concession to freehold included in the NUUA seems anomalous. In fact the law provided that a local authority could offer freehold rights to Africans as long as the settlement was separate from the municipal location, where leasehold rights were restricted to ten years.[3] Only East

London had previously established a Native Village, Duncan Village. Generally, white local authorities were reluctant to establish areas of African residence that fell outside of their jurisdiction. The JCC, for example, publicly voiced their support of freehold rights for Africans, but for decades they neglected to make use of the provisions allowing them to establish such facilities. The JCC was openly opposed to long-established African freehold areas of the "Western Areas" and Alexandra (Fig. 1), but they reluctantly condoned the suburbs; not least because of the cost involved in forcibly removing a large percentage of the African population of Johannesburg. The Dube home-ownership proposal provided a clear break with the urban landscape moulded under Stallardist doctrines. The change in attitude of the JCC to African freehold had to do with the transformation of black Johannesburg in the 1940s.

Figure 1: Location of Alexandra, Dube and the "Western Areas".

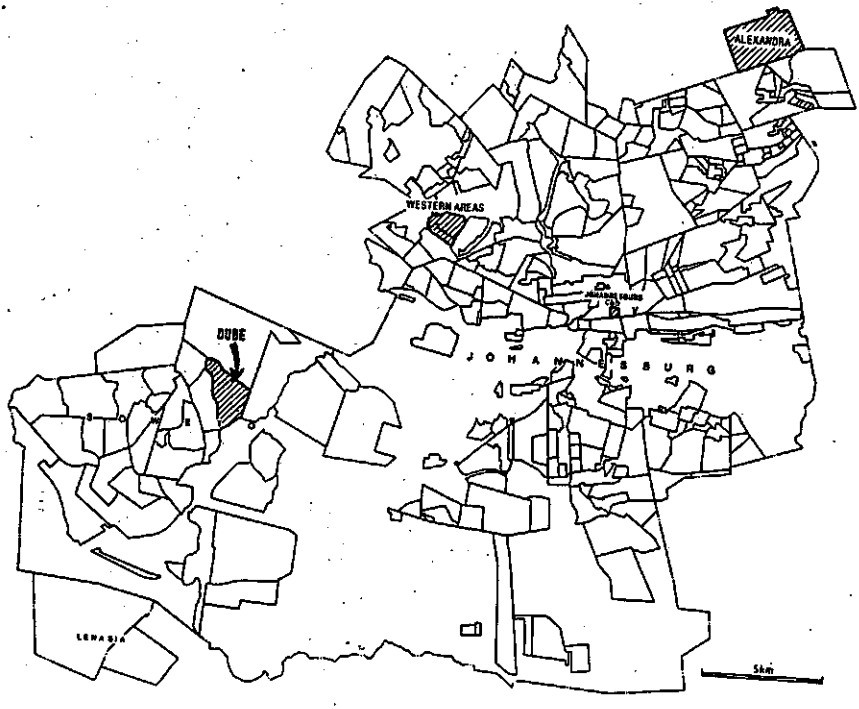


Table 1: Survey of Africans' income to ascertain rent-paying capacity.

INCOME POUNDS PER MONTH	ORLANDO 1948		WESTERN AREAS 1950				WESTERN AREAS 1951				POSSIBLE RENT (POUNDS)
	HOUSEHOLDS	ALL WORKING PEOPLE	NO OF MALE HEADS	% OF TOTAL	NO OF FAMILIES	% OF TOTAL	NO OF ALL HEADS	% of TOTAL	NO OF ALL FAMILIES	% OF TOTAL	
0 - 5		31	1271	7	1824	9	71	17	53	12	0-1
5 - 7.1	11		830	5	2995	15	23	5	18	4	1.1-2
7.1-10		31	3523	20	4931	24	55	13	55	12	2-2.1
10 -12.1			5751	33	2641	13	107	25	98	22	2.1-3
12.1-15			2831	16	1984	16	91	21	74	17	3-3.1
15-17.1	40		1846	10	1001	5	45	10	50	12	3.1-4
17.1-20		5	445	3	1079	29	12	19	21	5	4-4.1
> 20	49	7	1157	6	3843	19	34	7	69	16	>4.1

Johannesburg's African population grew by 49 percent from 229 000 to 371 000 between 1936 and 1946.[4] The number of Africans living outside of municipal locations increased from 86 000 in 1936 to 176 000 in 1951.[5] The dramatic growth in the number of people who lived and worked in Johannesburg during the war years is ascribed to the boom in manufacturing, the vacation of jobs by white men off to war, and the progressive impoverishment of the rural reserves.[6] In addition, for two years during the war, 1940 and 1941, formal restrictions on African urbanisation were lifted.[7] Although far from affluent, most migrants were employed. Despite the great increase in the urban population, unemployment for the years 1936-1946 remained constant at about 5 000.[8] If there was no severe employment shortage, this was certainly not true of the supply of shelter.

In 1946 state controlled housing in Johannesburg comprised hostels, numbering some 11150 beds, and 10640 family housing units.[9] Rooms could also be let in freehold areas that fell outside the jurisdiction of the NUUA, such as the "Western Areas". An estimated 46 percent of Johannesburg's African population were lodgers in the "Western Areas".[10] Conveniently close to the city, notoriously dangerous and overcrowded, the demand for shelter in these suburbs always exceeded supply.[11] The physical resources were strained beyond capacity during the war and conditions in the "Western Areas" deteriorated rapidly, fuelling white protest and calls for the black freehold suburbs to be declared and demolished as slums.[12] Few of the many residents of the insalubrious "Western Areas" were well-to-do, but there was a small prosperous sector within the community (Table 1).[13] Because of the changing division of labour associated with mechanisation, Africans were increasingly employed as operatives or as semi-skilled labour. This 'class', along with the new African professionals, doctors, lawyers, teachers and artists could have afforded better accommodation than that on offer in the black freehold ghettos, but none was available. More typically, however, the wage of the

African workforce was low. Financial strain associated with a housing crisis forced thousands, a large percentage of whom were in fact formally employed, to squat on the periphery of Johannesburg.[14] The squatter movements that sprang up between 1944 and 1949, and the sanitary and political threat posed by critical overcrowding in the "Western Areas" forced the JCC to reconsider its housing programme.

The JCC in 1946 proposed that Dube Native Village be established as a new home-ownership housing scheme under the NUUA of 1923.[15] Land, today part of Soweto (Fig. 1), was set aside for 1 500 sites to house six to seven thousand people who could afford to pay one sixth of their income towards housing.[16] Sites of 50 x 100 feet were laid out, allowing a lower density than elsewhere in the African locations where houses were simultaneously being built on 20 x 20 feet plots.[17] The promise of full home-ownership for Dube Native Village was never fulfilled because the title deeds of the farm Klipspruit excluded the Africans from being the registered freehold owners of property.[18] Instead the JCC offered 99-year leasehold at Dube as "the next best thing" that would attract the "better type of Native" who demanded security of tenure.[19] Because Dube was not freehold it was not technically a "Native Village" as laid out by the NUUA. Although regulations for the Village were drawn up, the dubious legal status of the title tot he land delayed construction. The JCC's proposal that 99-year rather than 10-year leases allowed for municipal locations, be granted at Dube severely challenged the legislative framework of urban African administration.

DUBE IN THE FAGAN ERA:
HOME-OWNERSHIP FOR A STABILISED WORKFORCE

The townward movement of Natives is simply an economic phenomena... it can be guided and regulated, but it is impossible to prevent it or turn it in the opposite direction... We, therefore, have to accept that there is a permanent urban Native population.[20]

Johannesburg's vastly inflated post-war African population attested to the failure of the NUUA to control the immigration of Africans to urban areas, restrict slum development and secure residential segregation. If Smuts' Government required evidence that the NUUA was ideologically and pragmatically flawed, this was poignantly provided by the post-war housing crisis on the Rand. The Dube scheme was one tentative step taken by the Johannesburg local authority to circumvent the contradictions of an outmoded national urban policy. Within a year the UP officially commissioned Justice Fagan to draft legislation on the urban "native" question. The Fagan Commission was receptive to the recommendations made by the JCC, whose ideological persuasions they shared. Frustrated by their inability to implement the Dube project under the NUUA, the JCC anxiously awaited Fagan's report that would formalise a new approach to urban administration.[21]

By establishing Dube as a home-ownership project the JCC acted in its own self interest, which was summed up by its Director of Native Affairs:

> The problem of an urban Native Administrator is to create and maintain in an essentially European society a balance whereunder Natives may live the most productive, healthful and happy lives with the least expense to European comfort.[22]

The JCC believed that an African home-ownership scheme at Dube was in the interests of white ratepayers for a variety of reasons.

First, the JCC asserted, on the basis of several "scientific" surveys (c.f. Tables 1 and 2) that there were a significant number of Africans, albeit a minority of the population, who could afford economic housing, but who were forced to rent subsidised location housing. Estimates of the number of Africans in Johannesburg who would be able to afford to purchase their homes were calculated by the National Housing and Planning (Table 2) to show that "a considerable portion" of Johannesburg's population, where the average African income was £12. 16s. 6d. per month could afford economic housing.[23] Second, the JCC hoped they would be able to sell houses at Dube for a profit, thereby subsidising extensive losses incurred on other African public housing.[24]

Table 2: Income groups that could afford economic housing, 1950.

OVERALL COST OF HOUSE (POUNDS)	FULLY ECONOMIC RENTAL POUNDS	shillings	ECONOMIC INCOME GROUP (MONTHLY INCOME) POUNDS	shillings
360	3	0	> 15	0
300	2	10	> 12	10
240	2	0	> 10	0
180	1	10	> 7	10

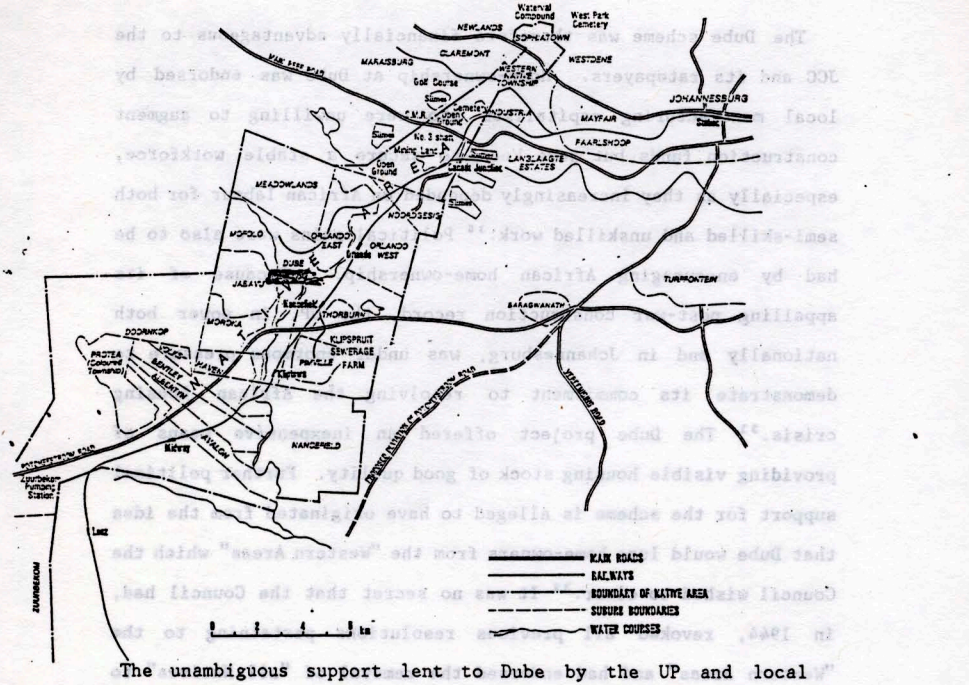
A third reason the Council supported Dube related to the financing of public housing. Although the central state allocated money to municipalities for housing, and carried a portion of the losses incurred in these ventures, it was the local authority which bore the brunt of the cost in developing location housing for which the African population was, generally, too poor to pay. Indeed the reluctance of local authorities to pay for sub-economic housing for Africans is the most regularly postulated explanation for the failure of the NUUA to ensure adequate shelter.[25] As at worst Dube would be a self-financing project, the JCC would not lose money on the scheme as they did on all other sub-economic public housing for

Africans. Fourth, from as early as 1937 the JCC had been petitioned by the Native Advisory Boards to sell houses to those that could afford them,[26] a demand voiced more actively after the war by the Joint Councils and the African National Congress.[27] The JCC was unwilling to consider the sale of geographically isolated units because of the cumbersome and costly administration of economic and sub-economic loan finances within one suburb.[28] Instead they accepted the geographical concentration of home-ownership at the Dube Native Village.[29]

The Dube scheme was therefore financially advantageous to the JCC and its ratepayers. Home-ownership at Dube was endorsed by local manufacturing capitalists who were unwilling to augment construction funds but were keen to secure a stable workforce, especially as they increasingly depended on African labour for both semi-skilled and unskilled work.[30] Political gains were also to be had by encouraging African home-ownership. Because of its appalling post-war construction record, the UP, in power both nationally and in Johannesburg, was under enormous pressure to demonstrate its commitment to resolving the African housing crisis.[31] The Dube project offered an inexpensive means of providing visible housing stock of good quality. Further political support for the scheme is alleged to have originated from the idea that Dube would lure home-owners from the "Western Areas" which the Council wished to clear.[32] It was no secret that the Council had, in 1944, revoked all previous resolutions pertaining to the "Western Areas" and had endorsed the removal of "all Natives" to the Pimville/Orlando area, close to the proposed Dube site (Fig. 2).[33] In a confidential report, the Director of Native Affairs suggested that the "Western Areas", the butt of vociferous protest from white neighbourhood residents,[34] be removed slowly, over twenty rather than five years. Segregation would be assured if

African landowners were offered home-ownership and transport "under attractive conditions". The removal could proceed voluntarily, compelling the Council to use force only in the final stages "in order to complete the policy".[35] Dube was never mentioned explicitly with regard to the "Western Areas" removal, but its conception and marketing, though not its implementation, upheld the spirit of the Director's vision.[36]

Figure 2: Location of Dube in the South Western Townships.[37]



The unambiguous support lent to Dube by the UP and local capitalists must be set against the reactions of other involved parties. When canvassed for their support for the creation an economic housing scheme at Dube, Africans repeatedly stressed the importance of secure tenure. As tenants, African were regularly evicted from public housing during periods of temporary unemployment. Africans demanded freehold rather than long-term

leasehold as it offered greater protection against forced race removals.[38] Unable to accede to the granting of freehold because of the exclusionary clauses in the title deeds of the farm being developed for Dube, the JCC sought to ensure that all other facilities and services commensurate with "a modern urban Native Village" would be provided. When provisional applicants requested that Dube be supplied immediately with electricity, the reticulation of neighbouring Orlando West was delayed so that Dube could assume first priority.[39] A number of services not commonly provided in African townships, including water-borne sewerage and electricity were installed at Dube to enhance its attractiveness.[40]

Two of the major findings of the Fagan Commission, that was appointed in August 1946 and reported in February 1948, were that there was little evidence of African urban unemployment and that the major housing shortages arose from the financial losses incurred by local authorities.[41] Accordingly, the Commission recommended that the central rather than local state should fund African housing, and that Africans should no longer be regarded as temporarily resident in white urban areas. These two recommendations had significant repercussions for the type of housing to be provided for Africans. The UP endorsed home-ownership for urbanised Africans, as the JCC had done at Dube. Loans from state funds were made available to the local municipalities for servicing of land, and to individuals to purchase or build houses.[42] These were new ideals for South African urban administrators to implement.

The intention of the 1923 NUUA had been to administer a population which was not seen as permanent, but was migratory in character. Recognition that half of Johannesburg's population could

be defined as "stable" or "fully urbanised" was used extensively by UP parliamentarians stressing that an economic umbilical cord united white capital and African labour.[43] They argued that this permanent African workforce could not simply be "turned back" and that new tactics would have to be devised to manage the urban areas. Evidence provided by the UP (c.f. Table 3) that a large permanent population already regarded Johannesburg as their home have since been unequivocally substantiated. For example, the ratio of men to women living in urban areas increased from 1,8:1 in 1936 to 2,2:1 ten years later.[44] The number of urban Africans who depended entirely on wages was variously estimated at around half of the workforce.[45]

Table 3: Johannesburg's urbanised population, 1947.[46]

CLASSIFICATION	TOTAL POPULATION	ESTIMATED NUMBERS URBANISED	
a. Natives living under conditions of family life in urban areas and peri-urban areas	216 313	75	162 235
b. Natives NOT living under conditions of family life in			
i) Hostels in urban areas	9 350	50	4 675
ii) Suburban	104 587	40	41 835
iii) Municipal Compounds	10 000	30	3 000
iv) Mines	63 006	2	1 260
v) Peri-urban areas. Farm labourers, Domestic servant.	19 764	50	9 882
	423 020		222 887

Although the UP were at great pains to demonstrate that the African urban population should be tolerated, their shelter proposals were conservative. In public, the UP advocated the wider

use of freehold as a means of encouraging a permanent African workforce who would provide the much-needed semi-skilled labour for the diversifying economy.[47] The JCC's position on African home-ownership was that the most important principle in achieving appropriate conditions of residence for permanently urbanised natives was "to establish *security of tenure* of accommodation to meet the varying needs of different economic groups."[48] In private, several JCC reservations about freehold for Africans were, however, expressed. In 1947, JCC evidence to the Fagan Commission recorded the wish that freehold be restricted to the more permanent population and that it be curtailed in such a way as to prevent sub-letting or other "illegal" methods of supplementing income.[49] Reservations such as these led Fagan to suggest that long-term leases would be preferential to ownership in cases where a local authority deterred from making land available for African housing because of a feared lack of control.[50]

As far as the Dube scheme was concerned there was no option on the granting of freehold. However, another incident at the time confirms that the Johannesburg UP's commitment to freehold was more limited than they were prepared to admit publicly. A private individual, one Mr Ngeme, wished to establish a freehold township for Africans in the Dube vicinity, but was barred from doing so by the JCC. Official explanation for the expropriation of land for the proposed development was that "if the natives are allowed to purchase and resell plots and run it as a native settlement, the council would have no control".[51] Predicting the overcrowding that had developed in black freehold areas during the African housing crisis, the JCC blocked Mr Ngeme's home-ownership development.[52] Committed to freehold on paper, yet reticent to accede to full residential rights for Africans, even where the JCC would not be

financially implicated, the true colours of the UP on the question of security of tenure for Africans were revealed.

At Dube, the model home-ownership scheme, the desire for municipal control proved so strong that the stringent occupational restrictions discouraged African participation. Residents were required to have lived in Johannesburg for five years (unless they were returning soldiers), to be married, to levy a 20 percent deposit, to build to Council specifications within three months of signing the lease and to agree not to sublet any portion of their property.[53] These regulations, combined with deeply felt scepticism about the security of 99 year leasehold, mitigated against the success of Dube as a middle-class housing venture.

Figure 3: Models of "luxury homes" built by the Johannesburg Council at Dube.[54]

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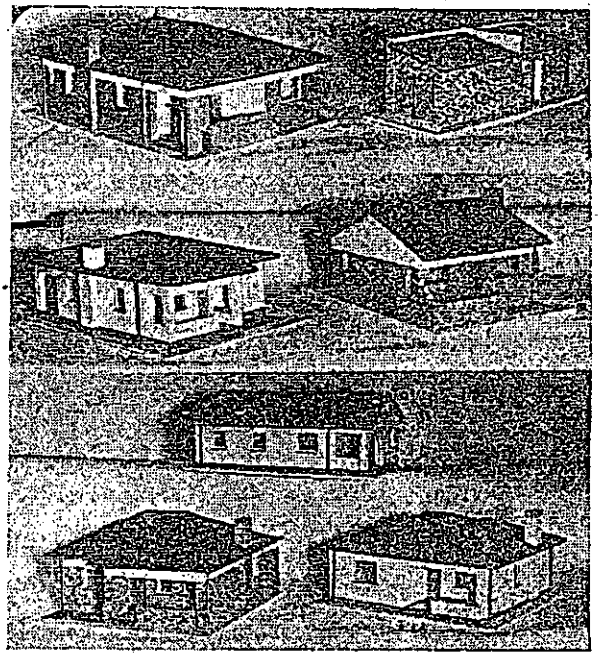

Following African reluctance to build at Dube, the JCC built five homes, all three bedroomed houses with servant's quarters described as "of the superior type of European home" (Fig. 3).[55] At an average price of £1 000 per home the unit's costs were still only half that paid to construct houses for white home-ownership.[56] However, they were four times as expensive as houses elsewhere in the South Western Township (later named Soweto).[57] Before the scheme was started the JCC received 200 "reasonably firm" requests to live at Dube,[58] yet the "models homes" did not sell. Officials rejected the idea that Africans could not afford the twenty percent deposit or the monthly repayments. Speaking of "the Dube mystery" the Director of Native Affairs confessed that although scores of people had been to see the houses, no one had purchased.[59] In 1951 Dube's first, and for many months only resident, Mr Mncube, a University lecturer, blamed the failure of the project on a campaign of "malicious disinformation" spread about the insecurity of tenure at Dube.[60] Although Mr Mncube expressed faith in the JCC's intention to encourage permanent urbanisation of Africans, his confidence in the middle-class housing scheme was not widely shared.

By 1951 only two of the Council built-homes at Dube were sold and two applications for owner-construction had been received.[61] This unsatisfactory response obliged the UP to acknowledge the project's failure.[62] JCC officials' blamed the poor response on undue African scepticism about 99-year leasehold by Council officials.[63] The African press attacked the insecurity of tenure and the unacceptably harsh Dube regulations.[64] Rejected by the African people for offering too little, the future of Dube as a middle class suburb in a working-class African Township was further threatened by the growing power of the NP over local affairs. Convinced that even if an African population worked permanently in white urban areas they should be dissuaded from regarding the cities

as home, the Dube scheme was remoulded under the new apartheid Government.

DUBE IN THE SAUER ERA: THE EROSION OF AFRICAN RESIDENTIAL RIGHTS

> *...their presence in the white urban areas will be considered as temporary and they will never be able to lay claim to political rights of any kind equal to those of the whites and...they will never be able to own real estate.*[65]

For those Nationalists wholly committed to a South Africa free of all Africans, Sauer's guidelines for the residential status of blacks in "white" urban areas were embraced. At the same time "pragmatists" within the NP recognised that white capitalists were dependant on African labour to maintain and develop the economy. It was difficult to ignore that an African middle-class had emerged, and that this group was, *de facto*, a permanent feature of Johannesburg's population. Particularly in the early years of apartheid rule the NP seems to have oscillated between what was ideologically "desirable", and what was practically viable, with regard to implementing urban policy.[66] The NP negotiated this contradiction with care, beginning with the removal of the most obvious manifestations of a settled African community. Perhaps because of the relatively high profile Dube received as Johannesburg's "model Native Village", or possibly because of the insecure tenure agreement the JCC accepted for Dube in 1949,[67] the elite home-ownership project was speedily rejected as part of the apartheid urban design.

Capitalising on the unenthusiastic response of Africans in Johannesburg to the launch of home-ownership Verwoerd, the NP's second Minister of "Native Affairs", insisted that Dube be rezoned to achieve greater density, and that the leasehold be reduced to

thirty years, without the option of renewal.[68] The JCC conceded the need to reduce plot size and housing standards in order to populate Dube. The Manager of the JCC's NEAD proposed that the existing "high class area" in the south of Dube be reduced to only 330 plots of 50X100 feet, to be known as "the £1000 area". A second portion where homes costing greater than £400 would include 900 40 x 80 feet stands in the central Dube region, while the remaining northern section would be turned over to 780 stands 0f 40X70 feet where a minimum of £200 would be set for houses built there.[69] In addition, the original conception of Dube as having only detached housing was amended and provision for 10 percent of the stock to be row housing and 40 percent semi-detached units were introduced.[70]

The JCC was marginally less pliant on the demand to reduce tenure. Pointing out that those Africans who were willing to build substantial homes for themselves were unlikely to do so if they could only obtain short term tenure, the JCC defended the importance of the 99-year lease.[71] Verwoerd, also known as the architect of "Grand Apartheid", insisted that the original conception of Dube was dead, and with it the notion of granting 99-year leases to Africans.[72] Protesting against the Minister's insistence that Dube houses be leased on a 30-year non-renewable basis, the JCC found the illegality of the 1949 Dube regulations left them with no substantial base from which to resist the undercutting of African tenure.[73] Loudly voicing their support of 99-year leasehold for permanently urbanised Africans the UP Council of Johannesburg nonetheless acquiesced to the NP demand, and granted only 30-year leases to Dube home-owners.[74]

Reacting to the state's reduction in leases at Dube the editors of *Bantu World*, an African weekly newspaper suggested that:

> it is better to live in a location where regular payment ensures comparatively permanent residence, than in a township where each passing year brings nearer the day of packing and going.[75]

Vindicated for their reluctance to build houses on land where tenure was not assured, African scepticism over the meaning of "home-ownership" was endorsed again in 1968 when all leasehold rights were revoked, completing the National Party's deception that Africans were only temporarily living in cities. However, before this brutal age of "Grand Apartheid", the NP acted more surreptitiously to erode the position of Africans in urban areas. Drawing on the age-old method of control through the purse, Verwoerd, whose Department of Native Affairs had by 1953 gained control of African housing,[76] refused to allow the JCC to proceed with building at Dube until the thirty-year lease had been incorporated into the Dube regulations.[77]

Ironically, the reduction in leasehold corresponded with a boom in the number of houses built at Dube. Frustrated by the Africans' reluctance to construct their own homes, the JCC sub-contracted several mini-housing schemes within Dube.[78] Factors that contributed to the sudden building, and purchasing activity at Dube early in 1954[79] included concessions allowing for the use of African building labour,[80] and the intervention of philanthropic volunteer groups (eg. the Citizens Native Action Housing League and the British Ex Servicemens' League, BESL) in the financing of housing loans.[81] The BESL, through favourable loan terms allowed returning soldiers, were able to secure modest, but distinctively superior homes, in the otherwise monotonous dormitory township of Soweto (Table 4).[82]

Table 4: Relative cost of housing for returning soldiers and other Africans at Dube, 1961.

R 400 HOUSES BUILT BY GOVERNMENT FUNDS		R730 HOUSE BUILT B BESL FUNDS
Interest and redemption at 6% over 20 years	R 2.87	R 2.32
stand rental	2.50	2.50
water (unmetered)	.30	.30
TOTAL	R 5.67	R 5.12

Further factors contributing to the new interest in Dube homes may have been the realisation that the removal of the "Western Areas" and the enforced relocation of the African population of Johannesburg to the South Western Townships was inevitable. In addition, influx control regulations were tightened in 1952, linking access to urban areas and access to housing, thereby placing a premium on legal accommodation.[83]

Constraints on construction at Dube under NP rule were different from the earlier period, when the JCC enjoyed the full support of Government. Not long after 1948 national housing funds were diverted from Dube, where social and residential differentiation of a permanent African middle-class were encouraged, to developments which more closely supported apartheid ideals. Medowlands (Fig. 2), for example, destination of the people forcibly relocated from the "Western Areas", received electricity before Dube, despite earlier promises of including power at the "Model Native Village".[84]

Whereas the JCC had intended to arrange for the financing of luxury homes, Africans purchasing or building homes at Dube were dependant on the state for funding, there being no building society finance for leasehold properties.[85] Each applicant was restricted

to a loan of £200, a factor that mitigated against the construction of more luxurious housing. Unsurprisingly, the sites reserved for houses over £400 and stands in the "£1000 portion" of Dube were underutilised and, in 1954, further rezoning watered-down the already modified aspirations of affluence included in the original town plan of Dube.[86]

Finally, the recommendations of the Sauer report transformed the geography of Dube by introducing the principle of ethnic zoning.[87] Forced to accept that after World War Two not all Africans were migrants, the NP differentiated between "tribalised" and "detribalised Natives"[88] working in urban areas. Ideologues of apartheid were insistent that, having completed their service in the urban areas, Africans would return to their reserves. It followed then that ethnic ties should be maintained while the worker was in town, and that "detribalisation" should be discouraged. In order to assist in this process ethnic groups should as far as possible live within their own language and cultural environment.[89] In line with the ethnic delimitation of the South Western Township Dube was identified as an Nguni area, a decision that barred the BESL from completing their home-ownership project because too few returning soldiers then qualified to live at Dube.[90]

The UP's short-lived ideal of creating an elite residential facility for the African middle-class of Johannesburg was tarnished by the NP's measures to bring urban administrators in the JCC under its control. Dube nevertheless maintained its image as an elite township well into the 1950s. Whereas other African housing construction in Soweto involved mainly low cost site and service projects,[91] Dube residents could decide on the design and finish of their new homes.[92] In an apparent concession to the JCC, the

Native Affairs Department agreed that, "while it would not normally condone such a scheme", it would allow the construction of larger than normal unfinished houses that cost as much as a finished product usually did, allowing better-off Africans to finish-off their homes at their own cost.[93] This departure from policy, the larger stand already laid-out at Dube, the legacy of wealthier owner-constructed homes, and the involvement of the BESL help explain the persistence of an aura of township-affluence at Dube. Dube remains one of Soweto's elite residential areas, and has a population marginally more affluent and better educated than the rest of the township.[94]

CONCLUSION

Although a brief period in history, the late 1940s were formative years in the laying-out of Dube and in demarcating the pattern of urban African administration in South Africa. The African housing crisis in Johannesburg prompted the JCC to lead the way in implementing a new housing policy. Recognition that a small section of the African working-class and the emerging middle class could afford to pay for their own housing, home-ownership was introduced. Using the legislative framework of a previous doctrinal era, albeit incorrectly, Dube was established under the NUUA. Following the Johannesburg example, the rationale of allowing wealthier Africans to settle permanently became official UP policy. The failure of the UP at the polls in 1948 meant that the recommendations of the Fagan Commission were never implemented. The Dube experience, however, suggests that unless the UP were prepared to support freehold over leasehold, the African population may have spurned the "home-ownership" gesture that left local authorities with

control over African housing conditions and mocked African land rights.

The long-term success or failure of the UP's policy of African home-ownership was academic as the NP repressed all social and spatial manifestations of African urban permanence. Under apartheid the ideology of racial segregation extended beyond the division of the city into black and white residential quarters. In order to ensure white supremacy the urban rights of Africans were revoked. Under the apartheid government attempts to appropriate urban space by, or for, Africans on a permanent basis were thwarted.

NOTES

[1] Report of the Transvaal Local Government Commission, 1921 (Chairman: Stallard) TP 1-1922; Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Operation of the Laws in Force in the Union Relating to Natives in or near Urban Areas; the Native Pass Laws; and the Employment in Mines and the Industries of Migratory Labour 1946-1948 (Chairman: Fagan) UG 24-1948; Verskig van die Kleurvraagstuk Kommissie van die Herstigte Nationale Party (Chairman: Sauer, 1948).

[2] Local Government Commission (Stallard) para 42.

[3] Intrermediate Archives Depot (IAD) West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) File 264/2/1 Dube Regulations; IAD, CHD, File 8/46 City Engineers Report, 2/4/1952.

[4] City of Johannesburg, Annual Report of the Manager, Non-European Affairs Department for the Period Dec. 1944 to 30 June 1948; University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Historical Papers, (Wits) SAIRR Box AD 1756, File Bb, Evidence submitted by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to the Natives Laws Commission (Fagan), 8/1/1947.

[5] Simkins, C., 1982, African Urbanization at the Time of the last Smuts Government, unpub. paper, mimeo, University of Cape Town, p. 24.

[6] Hindson, D., 1987, *Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariat*, Ravan, Johannesburg; Wilkinson, P., 1983, Providing 'Adequate Shelter': The South African State and the Resolution of the African Housing Crisis, in D. Hindson (ed.), *Working Papers in Southern African Studies Vol. 4*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 65-90.

[7] Hindson, D., 1987, *Pass Controls*, p. 55.

[8] University of the Witwatersrand, JOhannesburg (Wits) Church of the Province of South Africa Archive (CPSA), South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Box AD 1756, File Bb, Evidence submitted by the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to the Native Laws Commission (Fagan), 8/1/1947.

[9] Hellman, E., 1949: *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town. The 1946 census figures suggest the distribution of population in Johannesburg to be: Municipal location, 89249; "Western Areas", 52879; Municipal hostels, 11150; mine compounds, 42000; domestic servants, 69000; licences to live on employers' premises, 376111.

[10] Wits CPSA Box AD 1756, File Bb, Extracts from Report by the Manager, Non-European Affairs Department, December 1946.

[11] Pirie, G.H. and Hart, D.M., 1985, The Transformation of Johannesburg's Black Western Areas, 1905-1962, *Journal of Urban History* 11, 387-410.

[12] IAD, CHD, File 8/46, Report of City Engineer 2/4/1952

[13] IAD, WRAB, File GRF/JNL, 8/7/1952; see also Proctor, A., 1979, Class struggle, segregation and the city; a history of Sophiatown 1905-1940, in B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Labour, Townships and Protest*, Ravan, Johannesburg, 49-89.

[14] IAD, CHD Reoprt of the Manager NEAD, 4/6/1949.

[15] IAD, WRAB File 264/2/1, Dube Regulations.

[16] IAD, CHD, Box 6 File D 426, Summary of Contents on the Draft Regulations for Dube Township.

[17] The emergency camps of Moroka and Jabavu established at the same time as Dube, allowed plots of 20 x 20ft, see IAD, CHD File 27/4/7, Report of the City Engineer on the Western Areas Scheme, April, 1952.

[18] IAD, CHD, Report of Manager Non-European Affairs Department, 11/7/1952.

[19] IAD, WRAB, File B71/4/8/2, Extract of Report of Town Clerk8/8/1952; IAD, CHD, File 27/4/7, Extract of Report of Town Clerk to Non-European Affairs Committee, 3/3/1949.

[20] Fagan Report, Para 28, p. 19, para 65 (1) (2) (3), p. 49.

[21] IAD, CHD File 8/25/10 Acting Manager Non-European Affairs Department, (NEAD) to the JHB Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, 10/2/1948.

[22] IAD, CHD File 8/25/10 "Native Administration: Some Problems and a Plan", Director of NEAD 9/7/1948.

[23] IAD, CHD, Box 6 File D 429, Summary of Comments on the Draft Regulations for Dube Township, 1946; Union of South Africa, Report of the National Housing and Planning Committee and the National Housing Office, 1950, UG 46/1951; see also Rheinallt Jones J.D., 1951, native Housing in Urban Areas with Special Consideration of its Social Aspects, *Race Relations Journal*, 63, 96-119.

[24] Parnell, S., 1989, Shaping a racially divided society: state housing policy in South Africa, 1920-1950, *Environment and Planning C* 7, in press; Wits CPSA, Box Ad 1756 File Bb, Response of the JCC (?) to the Questionnaire of the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry (Stallard), 1947.

[25] cf. Suzman, H., 1948, *G. Digest of the Native Laws (Fagan) Commission*, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg; Wilkinson, P., 1983, *op. cit.*; Morris, P., 1981, *A History of Black Housing in South Africa*, South Africa Foundation, Johannesburg.

[26] IAD, WRAB,
File 122/1/8 Extract of Native Affairs Agenda 9/11/1937.

[27] IAD, WRAB, File 122/1/8 Matters arising from the Joint Native Advisory Board and Non-European Affairs Committee, 29/8/1948; IAD, WRAB, File 122/1/8 Town Clerk to Manager Non-European Affairs Department, 25/2/1946.

[28] The cost of servicing land in preparation for building was subsidised by the National Housing Commission for low-income housing, but not for economic housing developments.

[29] IAD, WRAB File 122/1/8 City Treasurer to Manager Non-European Affairs Department, 18/10/1948.

[30] Hindson, D., 1987, *Pass Controls*, *op.cit.*

[31] cf. *Hansard* 1945 Col 8455f, 1946 col 233f and 1754.

[32] Morris, P., 1981, *A History of Black Housing*, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[33] IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File 8/26/10 Vol. 2, Report of General Purpose Committee, 7/1/1950.

[34] A deputation of 7000 White residents insisted that the Johannesburg Council remove the black population of the Western Areas in accordance with policy adopted in 1944 see IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File 8/26/10 vol. 2 Report of the Western Areas Sub-Committee.

[35] IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File 8/26/10 vol. 2, Confidential Report of the Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Town Clerk, 9/1/1950.

[36] In fact none of the first residents of Dube's elite portion were from the Western Areas. Most were tenants of the Council in other parts of the South Western Townships.

[37] SAIRR 1953

[38] IAD, WRAB File 264/2/1 Dube Regulations, Extract from Minutes of Meeting of Finance Committee, 20/5/1952; *The Star*, 19/2/1948.

[39] IAD, WRAB File W/122/8/3 Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Manager Electricity Department 22/3/1986 (?).

[40] c.f. *Bantu World* 20/8/1949.

[41] Suzman, H., 1948, *op.cit.*.

[42] *Rand Daily Mail* 27/4/1947; IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File 8/25/1 Vol. 1, Report of the Non-European Affairs Department to the Special Housing Committee, 5/2/1948; Extracts of Minutes of Special Housing 21/4/1949.

[43] *Hansard* 1944, Col. 8828; 1945, Col. 8454; 1946, Col. 29f.

[44] Hindson, D., 1987, *Pass Controls*, *op.cit.*, p. 53.

[45] Wits CPSA Box AD 1756, File Bb Response of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce to the Fagan Commission; Transvaal Steel Pressing Syndicate Ltd., to South African Institute of Race Relations. 17/3/1947.

[46] Wits CPSA Box AD 1756, File Bb, Response of the City of Johannesburg to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry.

[47] Suzman, H., 1948, *op.cit.*; Stallard Report, *op.cit.*.

[48] Wits CPSA 1756, File Bb, Response of the City of Johannesburg to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Suzman, H., 1948, *op.cit.*, p.9; Stallard Report, para 37.

[51] *Rand Daily Mail* 5/2/1951.

[52] *Rand Daily Mail* 6/1/1951.

[53] IAD, CHD Box 6 File D 429, Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting of the Non-European Committee, 24/9/1946.

[54] *Bantu World* 20/8/1949.

[55] IAD, WRAB File D429, Town Clerk to Manager, Non-European Affairs Department 12/11/1951.

[56] Average cost of post war home ownership housing at South Hills in Johannesburg was £ 2000 per unit (??) see IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File C369, Joint Report no. 1 of Town Clerk, City Treasurer, City Engineer, Medical Officer of Health, Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Special Housing Committee 31/1/1947.

[57] Average costs of township housing were £ 200 for a 51/6 or matchbox see IAD, CHD Unsorted Box File D 429, Joint Report of the Acting Town Clerk, City Treasurer, City Engineer and Manager Non-European Affairs Department 8/4/1948.

[58] IAD, CHD, File 8/25/1 Vol. 1 Report by Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Special Housing Committee, 5/2/1948.

[59] *The Star*, 27/7/1951.

[60] *The Star* 17/6/1951.

[61] IAD, WRAB N 264/2/1, Report of Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Special Land and Development Committee, 5/5/1952. By August 1952 a further six applications for houses costing £ 1000 were processed but delayed. Loan funds were not granted and therefore they fell outside the National Housing Commission description of 'economic' housing.

[62] IAD, WRAB File 122/1/8, Manager, Non-European Affairs Department to Town Clerk, Port Elizabeth 10/11/1952.

[63] IAD, CHD, Report of Non-European Affairs Department, 11/7/1952 *The Star* 14/8/1952.

[64] *Bantu World* 27/7/1951 and 2/8/1952.

[65] Sauer Report, para 32, p. 10.

[66] Posel, D., 1987, Influx control and the creation of apartheid, 1948-1961, D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford; Lazar, J., 1989, Verwoerd versus the "visionaries": the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) and apartheid, 1948-1961, Unpub. Paper, Balliol College, University of Oxford.

[67] Impatient to develop African home-ownership, the Dube regulations were promulgated before Parliament sanctioned the new tenure. backfired once UP control of government was replaced in 1948 by the NP. Assurances that the matter of legalising longer tenure for Africans would be attended to were unfulfilled, as the Minister declined to put issue to parliament as it would have divided the party. Dube's regulations were nonetheless passed in 1949, knowingly including legal flaws.

[68] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19/8/1952; *The Star* 14/8/1952; IAD, WRAB File B 71/4/8/2, Extract from Report of Town Clerk, 8/8/1952.

[69] IAD, WRAB, File B 71/4/8/2 Confidential Report of the City Engineer to the Special Land Development Committee 27/6/1952.

[70] IAD, WRAB File B 71/4/8/2 Extract of Minutes of Ordinary Meeting of City Council of Johannesburg, 26/8/1952.

[71] IAD, CHD File 27/4/7 Minute of Town Clerk, 4/8/19//; IAD, WRAB File 122/1/8 Manager, Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department to Town Clerk, Port Elizabeth, 10/11/1952.

[72] IAD, WRAB File N264/2/1, Town Clerk to the Manager NEAD, 25/8/52.

[73] IAD, CHD File 27/4/7 Report of Manager Non-European Affairs Department, 11/7/1952; Extract of General Purposes Committee 12/8/1952; Report of the Finance Committee, 22/9/1952.

[74] IAD, CHD File 27/4/7 Non-European Affairs Department Resolution to reduce tenure to 30 years approved, no date; IAD, WRAB, File B 71/4/8/2, Extract of Minutes of the Ordinary Committee of Johannesburg Council, 26/8/1952; Extract from Report of Town Clerk to Non-European Affairs Department 25/2/1954.

[75] *Bantu World* 18/4/1953.

[76] Posel, D., 1987, *op cit.*

[77] IAD, CHD City Engineer's Report, 29/1/1954.

[78] IAD, WRAB File 122/8/4 Draft Report of NEA and Housing Committee, 22/5/55; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 7/8/52; *The Star*, 12/12/53.

[79] *The Star*, 23/1/54.

[80] *The Star*, 21/1/54.

[81] *Bantu World* 8/8/1953; *The Star*, 16/2/53; IAD, WRAB File 122/8/3 Acting Manager BESL to City Treasure, 14/8/1954.

[82] IAD, WRAB File 122/8/3 Additional houses for Bantu ex-servicemen, RVR 26/7/1962.

[83] Hindson, D. 1987: *Op.Cit.*

[84] IAD, WRAB, File 36/8/1 vol. 1. Extract from Dube Advisory Board Minutes 8/3/1955.

[85] IAD, WRAB File N 264/2/1, Report of Manager Non-European Affairs Department to Special Land and Development Committee, 5/5/1952.

[86] IAD, WRAB File B 71/4/8/2 Extract of Report of Manager Non-European Affairs Committee 1/4/1954. The move was opposed by the Dube Village Advisory Board who felt the change to be a further break in faith on the promise of better quality housing see IAD, WRAB File 36/8/1, Extract from Dube Advisory Board Minutes, 19/12/1956.

[87] IAD, WRAB Extract of Report of Manager NEAD, 1/4/1954; IAD, WRAB Acting of Manager NEAD to City Engineer, 20/10/1955.

[88] Pirie, G.H., 1984, Ethno-linguistic zoning in South African Black townships, *Area* 16, 291-298.

[89] Suzman, H. 1948: *Op. Cit.*

[90] IAD, WRAB, Secretary of National War Fund to Non-European Affairs Department 26/7/1962. The first of 200 British Ex-Servicemen's League-funded homes were sold in 1954, see IAD, WRAB Chairman of British Ex-Servicemen's League to City Treasurer, 14/8/1954.

[91] Morris, P. 1981: *A History of Black Housing*, *op.cit.*

[92] This was true even of the downgraded, higher density units constructed by the British Ex-Servicemen's League see IAD, WRAB File 219/30/1 and N 122/8/8.

[93] IAB WRAB N122/8/3 NEA Committee Draft Report, 2/11/1959.

[94] The Urban Foundation, 1980, *Soweto*, Urban Foundation (Transvaal Region), Johannesburg.