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Johannesburg



Non-European Affairs Department

With the Director's  
Compliments

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATORS OF  
NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS (SOUTHERN AFRICA)  
for 1971/72

at the

FOURTH BIENNIAL MEETING OF OFFICIALS

held at PRETORIA from 13th to 15th November 1972.

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## INTRODUCTION:

Traditionally, the machinery set up by the State to administer its territorial area and the various branches of state activity in such area, does not change easily. Likewise the pattern of administration arising from legislation passed to give effect to particular policies, is not lightly changed.

Also traditionally, there is the tendency in public administration generally, to stick to what is known rather than to risk changes which could possibly have repercussions. The well-regulated state just cannot afford to effect changes to its administrative machinery if it is not completely convinced that a particular change will in fact be an improvement and will function smoothly.

For this reason then repercussions and precedents are the pitfalls in public administration of which the official is particularly wary. There are in fact sound reasons for such carefulness. Errors of judgement and defective advice on the part of the official could land his political superiors in the most serious embarrassment and could cause chaos in the administration where formerly order existed.

Public administration in general is thus characterized by conservatism rather than by progressiveness.

The field of urban Bantu administration is no exception to this general and traditional pattern and approach. If this conservatism is closely studied we will be surprised to find how many approaches and procedures are still being followed today for the reason only that they have been followed for years! It is likely that the initial circumstances and



motivation for these approaches and procedures have changed completely over the years and perhaps by evolution there has been a shifting of emphasis which should have led to adjustments in approaches and procedures. Nevertheless that which is known and proven, is adhered to because of the fear of the possible repercussions which might flow from changes!

It is against this background that the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, 1971 (Act No. 45 of 1971) can justly be described as revolutionary because by this Act changes are made possible in a pattern of urban Bantu administration which is more than fifty years old.

This step was of course not taken lightly, but was necessitated by the circumstances and demands of the seventies which so clearly call for adjustments.

As administrator of urban Bantu affairs I feel encouraged by this legislation to think analytically of other areas of my profession in which adjustments in thinking and approach have now become essential in the light of present-day circumstances, and more important, present-day wants and aspirations of the population group whose interests I serve and who look to me to bring about adjustments. I therefore believe that on an occasion such as this it is not only my right but also my duty to reflect on possible improvements in our field of activity.

The issues to which I wish to refer specifically are in fact not new. They can hardly be new in a field which daily forms the subject of discussion from public platforms and in newspaper columns. Our subject is a topical one which receives the daily attention of almost every citizen of the Republic of South Africa. Both the layman and the most celebrated scholar think, write and talk about this extremely important facet of the South

African situation. The practising administrator is interested in these viewpoints and learns from the thinking and statements of these people but he should certainly not be prevented by such opinions from giving his own views on an occasion such as this. In equity he could also not be accused of advancing the cause of a particular individual or group if his objective view as an official happens to include points of agreement with an approach which has previously been aired in public in one form or another.

The thoughts which I wish to discuss briefly relate to the housing of Bantu in urban areas and in the homelands and the financing of such housing together with other relevant capital projects.

#### HOUSING:

On three occasions during the past year, including a special meeting convened for the purpose, the Institute Council discussed, together with senior colleagues of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, aspects of housing. It is clear that this is a matter which dare not be neglected because the longer the provision of housing is delayed the more serious the overcrowding and the many sociological problems arising therefrom.

Inter-racial relations and the administrative climate are disturbed by housing shortages and we all know from experience how difficult it is to catch up with a backlog in housing.

It is true that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development still approves housing schemes in urban areas but as a general approach it would appear that cities and towns are expected to solve their



housing problems via the homelands as a first step. The Department believes and correctly to some extent, that a house built by a local authority in a homeland could be used to accommodate an unproductive family, possibly an old age couple, from the urban area, and they in turn will make available their house for a productive family who presently live as lodgers with other tenants.

I believe that also the Department would agree that this approach although not without merit, should not be followed rigidly.

Particularly since the promulgation of the Regulations for Labour Bureaux at Bantu Authorities (Proclamation R.74 of 29 March 1968) and the consequential obligation on the worker to interrupt his service contract after a year in order to return to his family in the homeland before he commences his next year of service in the urban area with either the same employer or with another employer, I consider it essential to provide adequate housing in the homeland for the family of this worker. I also believe that local authorities should assist the State in this respect, not only by making funds available, but also by rendering practical assistance because so many of them have technical staff and Bantu building teams who can effectively, fairly expeditiously and cheaply provide houses and the necessary services in homeland towns.

Such practical assistance to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development by local authorities and Bantu Affairs Administration Boards should be encouraged and increased to provide the family of the migrant worker with reasonable housing in the homeland and to assist at the same time with homeland development in general by establishing towns that can serve also as economic growth points.

The provision of houses in homeland towns will naturally offer opportunities for re-settlement to unproductive Bantu in urban areas and also to others who voluntarily wish to return to their homelands, perhaps for trading or family reasons, and accordingly houses vacated in the urban areas could then be made available for productive Bantu on the waiting list. In practice however the provision of houses in the homelands has not been such as to permit of a significant movement of families in this connection. It is also seriously doubted whether the extent of such voluntary re-settlement, particularly in the larger towns and cities on the Reef, will reach such proportions that the waiting list of persons who qualify for family housing according to present arrangements, will be eliminated or even significantly reduced.

Provision of houses in the various homelands cannot therefore, in my view, be the final answer to the genuine waiting lists for family housing in urban areas. Whilst housing in the homeland should not be neglected I believe that we should also not fail to provide such housing in the urban areas as may be necessary to eliminate over-crowding and the social and other evils arising therefrom.

A good worker is a worker who is properly housed. If I therefore plead that the migrant labourer should be given proper housing in the homelands, as well as good hostel accommodation during his periods of labour in the urban area, I dare not fail to plead also for similar consideration for the worker who is produced by the urban area itself.

During November 1969 the Department of Non-European Affairs, Johannesburg, at the request of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, tried to determine, on the basis of a sample survey which involved the records of 10 000 male workers, the origin of the



labour employed in Johannesburg. By projecting the results on the total male labour force of the City at that time, the following picture emerged:-

DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF WORKER	ETHNIC GROUP OF WORKER				
	NGUNI	SOTHO	VENDA	TSONGA	EX-COLOURED
TRANSVAAL	54 096	76 968	14 208	17 208	168
NATAL	38 952	840	192	72	-
TRANSKEI	16 032	696	24	96	-
O.F.S.	3 024	3 984	-	24	-
CAPE PROVINCE	3 840	2 040	24	96	24

GRAND TOTAL = 232 608

From a further analysis regarding the centres in the Transvaal from which the labour originated, the following was found:-

(Only districts which produced more than 1 000 workers of a particular ethnic group, are mentioned below.)

DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF WORKER (TRANSSVAAL)	ETHNIC GROUP OF WORKER				
	NGUNI	SOTHO	VENDA	TSONGA	EX-COLOURED
ALEXANDRA	4 296	4 344	192	624	-
BOCHUM	24	1 104	-	24	-
DUIWELSKLOOF	552	2 016	144	2 640	24
HAMMANSKRAAL	984	3 336	24	720	24
JOHANNESBURG	31 920	25 656	1 224	2 616	120
LOUIS TRICHARDT	312	1 824	3 792	1 752	-
NEBO	360	2 304	-	-	-
PIETERSBURG	768	9 360	72	192	-
PILANSBERG	96	1 608	-	-	-
POTGIETERSRUS	960	1 944	120	504	-
PRETORIA	312	1 800	48	72	-
RUSTENBURG	216	3 648	24	96	-
SEKUKUNILAND	168	2 184	-	72	-
STANDERTON	1 248	264	-	-	-
SIBASA	360	480	7 752	4 368	-
SOEKMEKAAR	72	1 824	216	744	-
TZANEEN	552	1 392	336	1 008	-
ZEERUST	96	1 920	96	48	-

From this analysis it became clear that Johannesburg itself had become its biggest supplier of Bantu labour.

It is conceded that some of these workers may well, and others undoubtedly will, move to homelands as the development of commercial and industrial opportunities in these areas crystallizes. For many years to come however I believe that local labour demands will absorb the vast majority of these people.



These workers will have to be given housing and in terms of present rules and arrangements they qualify for family housing.

Other large urban Bantu residential areas will also have reached the stage where they are generating, to various extents, their own labour supply for their respective towns and cities. As in the case of Johannesburg, these people will require housing if over-crowding is to be avoided.

Apart from male workers born in urban areas and absorbed at a later stage in the labour force of the city or town, there are also those workers who are on the way to obtaining a Section 10(1)(b) qualification, i.e. workers who, in the near future, will complete ten years' service with a single employer or a total service period of fifteen years in the urban area in the service of various employers. As soon as this qualification is obtained, family housing is requested and according to existing rules it can be allocated.

By the time this qualification is obtained, the worker concerned already has a family and finds it increasingly difficult to continue living as lodgers with another tenant.

If the relevant legislation remains unchanged, those Bantu workers who arrived in urban areas up to and including the 31st March 1968 and who continue working in such area uninterruptedly, will still, and until the end of March 1983, earn for themselves the much sought after Section 10(1)(b) qualification!

In the planning of housing in the urban area this group should therefore also be duly considered.



The provision of family housing for Bantu by the State through and with the assistance of local authorities and Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, should therefore be of a two-pronged nature: Homelands should receive active attention whilst in urban Bantu residential areas the provision of housing, family housing as well as hostel accommodation, should not be neglected!

Already backlogs which can only be eliminated with great effort and at great cost, have developed in some cities and towns. The position in Johannesburg at the end of September 1972 was as follows:-

ETHNIC GROUP	* PRIMARY WAITING LIST	+ SECONDARY WAITING LIST
NGUNI	2 428	4 362
SOTHO	1 236	1 965
OTHERS	843	790
	<u>4 507</u>	<u>7 117</u>
* Male persons who are heads of families and who possess Section 10(1)(a) and (b) qualifications.		
+ Male persons who are heads of families and who are approaching Section 10(1)(b) qualifications but who have already placed their names on the waiting list.		

The natural increase of families in Johannesburg is estimated to be at least 2 000 per annum.

Against the waiting list in Johannesburg, housing schemes comprising 2 965 houses were approved during January 1972, but the Department of Community Development has not yet been able to allocate the necessary funds amounting to R1,8 million.

A further 1 377 houses are presently awaiting Ministerial approval. The capital required to build these houses amounts to R890 000.

Neighbouring cities and towns also have impressive waiting lists.

Thought is presently also being given to rapid transport systems between homelands and those cities and towns to which they supply labour. If rapid transport crystallizes, it will obviously be possible in the case of some towns and cities, to curb the provision of further accommodation in their urban Bantu residential areas. Again however it is a question of doing the one thing whilst not neglecting the other. The investigation of this important aspect, namely rapid transport, should continue and be expedited, but meanwhile the over-crowding in the existing inadequate number of houses in some urban areas and the evils arising therefrom, should also be tackled in a positive manner.

Sight should never be lost of the total picture and accordingly the housing problem in urban areas should not be neglected while we are waiting for the abovenamed schemes to crystallize!

The availability of funds for the construction of houses either in a homeland or in an urban area, proves to be a very serious obstacle, particularly over the last few years. There is little point in adopting a two-pronged plan for the provision of Bantu housing if the necessary capital funds are lacking.

This side of the problem should also be seriously considered!

#### FINANCE FOR HOUSING:

The method of financing Bantu housing in urban areas is well-known, namely capital advances by the Department of Community Development after



approval also by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Bantu Housing Board. Over the past two years specifically the Department of Community Development has experienced a particular shortage of capital funds and has needed the wisdom of a Solomon to keep going the provision of European; Indian; Coloured and Bantu housing from available funds.

Also in respect of the erection of school buildings in urban Bantu residential areas, for which local authorities are responsible, similar problems in regard to the provision of capital funds are experienced and the Department of Community Development is unable to allocate funds for the building of the schools required by the Department of Bantu Education and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

It is this lack of capital funds on the part of the State which prompts the administrator of Bantu affairs to reflect on possible alternative means of financing Bantu housing schemes and schools in urban areas, as well as development projects in the homelands.

If consideration is given to the present method of financing, the first question arising is why the relevant State Departments cannot assess annually, before the Republic's budget is formulated, the housing needs of the various population groups and why, in respect of Bantu housing, an amount cannot be provided which can be applied directly by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. This view is also held in respect of schools. The correctness and logic of the present pattern, namely, that funds must be provided by the Department of Community Development for Bantu schools in urban areas, is questioned. The State could, with great advantage, examine these methods with a view to streamlining present procedures as far as the Bantu in urban areas are concerned.



But another source and method of financing come to mind. I have already indicated that in the case of Johannesburg, the City has become its own greatest supplier of labour. I also expressed the view that the same pattern will be found, to a larger or lesser extent, in all the larger centres.

The question now arises whether these complexes in which millions of rands have been invested so far, should not be used as capital generators for purposes of housing in general and other relevant capital works.

I believe that in the case of the larger centres and Johannesburg in particular, where capital assets in respect of houses and hostels already exceed R65 million, methods could well be found which could place the relevant centre in a financial position where it will not have to look to the State for funds to meet its own requirements as far as the provision of housing and schools are concerned or for the development, at the same time, of housing and other facilities in the homelands.

If large urban Bantu residential areas are to be used as capital generators it must obviously be accepted that these Bantu residential areas in European towns and cities form the outside dormitories of the various homelands on a permanent basis, and that the Bantu families living in these urban complexes basically have the choice to remain in the urban Bantu residential area where they are presently living legitimately in order to sell their labour or to proceed to the homelands to exploit the opportunities which have already been created there or will still be created for them in these areas.

However, as long as the Bantu who lives legitimately in the urban area at the present time, prefers to sell his labour in the relevant urban area, I believe that he will also prefer to be placed in a position to make

his present housing as attractive and comfortable as possible. There is an increasing desire with the Bantu who already lives under family conditions in urban areas, to own the small stereotype house which is made available to him on a mass production basis and to convert it into something bigger, more attractive and more comfortable.

Before self-building schemes and home-ownership schemes were discontinued in urban Bantu residential areas at the beginning of 1968, many of these little houses were purchased and certainly in Soweto there are many beautiful examples of how these modest houses were transformed into attractive and comfortable living units. The most attractive houses in urban Bantu residential areas are those which were built when self-building schemes and purchase schemes were still permitted!

I therefore strongly urge that home-ownership in urban Bantu residential areas be re-introduced!

Apart from the advantages to multi-national relationships which such a decision will bring about, urban Bantu residential areas will be transformed into mighty capital generators which should to a considerable extent, if not altogether, relieve the State of further capital responsibilities in these areas.

I do not wish to elaborate here on the advantages which house-ownership will bring in regard to the relations with Bantu nations in the Republic except to say that urban Bantu administrations quite obviously will derive great benefit from the partnership with their Bantu populations, who will then enjoy a real and valuable share in their areas and to whom the need for discipline and order in their residential areas, will assume a new significance.



When I suggest that it should be possible for every house in an urban Bantu residential area to be bought by a male head of a family, i.e. if he and his family are legally in the area and are entitled to family housing in terms of existing arrangements, I regard it as unimportant for him to be placed also in the position to buy the site on which the house is built. I do not believe that the Bantu is particularly interested to buy the stand on which the house has been erected. If the ground is made available to him or to his heirs for periods of 30 years at a time and he pays site rental rather than assessment rates, I do not believe that he can feel strongly on freehold title. I therefore do not advocate freehold title, but only home-ownership as it existed previously, but with an extension thereof so that every single house can be sold on the basis explained at the cost of construction plus any cost incurred in connection with the house since its erection.

True enough, the average Bantu in urban areas is still poor and in the light of rising living costs, there is still agitation for higher wages. I believe notwithstanding that there is an increasing portion of the urban Bantu population in Johannesburg who will make use of a home-ownership scheme and who are in a financial position to buy their houses over a period and thereafter to improve these houses in comfort and in appearance. Such a scheme will incidentally also provide the security which, according to Bantu Welfare Workers and Bantu leaders, is lacking at the present time and which they advance as one of the main reasons for alcoholism and crime!

On the personal level, home-ownership in itself is of course also a capital generator for the man who wishes to avail himself of the opportunities of the homelands at a later stage and who then will need an asset which he can convert to cash.



If I advocate home-ownership in urban Bantu residential areas as the outside dormitories of homelands, I am again mindful of the total picture and accordingly I wish to establish a sound liaison with the homelands in this matter.

To me one of the most important pieces of legislation in recent years is the Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act, 1970 (Act No. 26 of 1970) which seeks to link a Bantu in an urban area to his particular homeland by means of citizenship. Although ethnic barriers in urban Bantu residential areas appear to become obscure at times, there are in fact many examples in practice indicating that the pride of own nationality is deeply rooted and forms a solid foundation of which urban Bantu administration should take due notice. Mindful therefore of the ethnic linking of the urban Bantu with his homeland and mindful also of the system of "representatives" (ambassadors) in urban Bantu residential areas and the Councils which they appoint to assist them, I believe that the homeland government should be involved, through these representatives in the allocation of home-ownership in urban Bantu residential areas!

Such liaison will have the advantage of giving to the representative and to his homeland government, an influence on the capital spending by their nationals in urban Bantu residential areas and over a period they will also become familiar with moneyed Bantu in urban areas who, as opportunities arise, can be approached by the homeland government, again through the representative, to launch particular projects in the homelands or to take over running concerns.

I see great material and psychological benefits in the involvement of homeland representatives in the proposed scheme of home-ownership. I believe that such involvement is correct in principle because I agree that

urban Bantu residential areas and the various homelands should not be considered and developed separately and away from each other.

Along these lines I therefore see merit and logic in home-ownership in urban Bantu residential areas. As capital generators these complexes will place Local Authorities in a position to render colossal assistance to the State in regard to housing and related projects both in their own Bantu residential areas and in the homelands. Local Authorities also have the knowledge, experience and the building teams to make a great contribution.

CONCLUSION:

I realise only too well that the thoughts expressed above are contentious from the point of view of present policy. I believe however that circumstances in urban Bantu administration in the seventies unquestionably demand positive and extraordinary adjustments. I believe that the adjustments which I propose above will be in the interests not only of the Government authorities in whose service we are employed, but also in the interests of those who have been placed in our care and who look to us to bring about the changes which are necessitated by the circumstances and demands of our times.

J.C. DE VILLIERS.  
PRESIDENT.

**Collection Number: A1132**

**Collection Name: Patrick LEWIS Papers, 1949-1987**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

*Location:* Johannesburg

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