Housing, Development and Cultural Resistance: the amaXhosa of East London, South Africa

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Abstract:
Research on human settlements over the last four decades has changed the views of scholars in the field who now accept housing less as a problem to solve than as an important aspect of overall sustainable development. This led stakeholders to concentrate most of their energy on the economic and, more recently, environmental dimensions of development to evaluate its costs and impacts. The cultural dimension was, however, neglected despite having been identified as being not dissociable from the others in the Agenda 21 at the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (UNICEF, 92).

At the social housing level, under pretext of the pressure created by the state of emergency left by the tremendous needs, the projects tend to propose standard solutions seldom related to the context and that ignore the cultural values of the group or people affected by these projects. This approach often aimed for quantitative results and mainly considers the economic and environmental impacts, and thus engenders its own failure in the near future.

This paper is about the life in the informal townships (squatter settlements) of East London in South Africa, where almost one third of the 560,000 inhabitants of the city reside. Specifically, it looks at the locations occupied by the Xhosa people, who make up 80% of the non-European population living in East London. This port city on the Indian Ocean is wedged between the Ciskei and the Transkei, former homelands where most of the Xhosa people find their roots and where they still migrate back and forth.

Through a recall of parts of their history, the description of objects, spaces, dwellings and building techniques of the amaXhosa (Xhosa people), this paper aims to identify and unveil some signs of persistence and/or resistance of the peasant culture of this group in the urban context. Rather than seeing them at odds with their new setting (Mayer, 63), the goal of this paper is to seek ways to reinforce, and to build on them as important elements of the cultural core of the Xhosa People. These elements are essential for the permanence and continuity of the group, and should be taken into consideration by any project involving the built environment, especially a housing project, that aims to be supportive of the concerned group, and of the blossoming of its culture and identity.

Traditional rondavel built in town beside a church being built of wooden planks salvaged from dismantling transportation pallets – Duncan Village, East London
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Professionals searching for the solution to the housing deficit should not only rely on the use of particular materials, technologies or construction systems. It is important that they understand that the solution goes beyond the project's acceptance by the users as it includes its appropriation and its potential to foster the dynamism of the community. The latter is not only defined by its physical borders and/or the common use of infrastructures but also through the sharing of common problems, hopes and goals (Awotona, 95: 4).

For the built environment to play an important qualitative support role in the development of the community, the project must find its route and roots through the identification and a better understanding of the elements that are part of the fundamental nature of the community. These elements are an essential aid to the definition of the group’s identity. Through these elements the group recognize itself, and others understand it. They become factors in ensuring the group’s own permanence and continuity. The taking into consideration of the group's specificity and cultural values by the project of the built environment provides the kind of support that goes beyond the production or the creation of a milieu that is more humane. The latter, if really playing its role of physical support favourable to the blossoming of the group's culture and identity, could also influence the economic development of the community. This is perhaps even more the case in locations where the needs are important and the means limited (Rapoport, 97: 20-21).

The relevance of studying housing in developing countries needs no further debate. Especially studies of houses of the humble people, which are probably the most powerful bearers of the details and the universal character of a given milieu, must be undertaken in order to improve our understanding of theoretical concepts as well as the practical application of architecture. Comparing this type of setting with historical examples of architecture the first has the advantage of being inhabited, offering the possibility of a more complete study and a better comprehension of the built environment. The extreme conditions that often predominate allow a refined and perhaps more universal reading of the human aspects of the built form as does vernacular architecture (Rapoport, 83), since both show a direct relationship between everyday life and the built form. Looking at this direct relationship (lifestyle and built form) could even help us to determine what could be our own models of rituals today – those which do not necessarily have historical precedents – and, as designers, to respond to them in a perspicacious manner.
Cases of living environments such as squatter settlements where dwellings have been designed to adapt to new surrounding conditions and the materials at hand i.e. salvaged remains, rubbish or waste, to which new meanings and functions had been attributed, were studied by scholars who accepted it as neo-vernacular (Oliver, 97; Rapoport, 88; Peattie, 92; Kellet, 95). Touching on the subject of squatter settlements in his work Rural Shelter in South Africa, Frescura presents the squatter as the link between the rural (peasant) and the urban (citizen) (Frescura, 81:172). We see the squatter settlement as a buffer zone that helps to reduce the shock between these two worlds (rural and urban), where often the values, significations, activities, roles and institutions are confronting each other within the same group or culture. It is where the resistance of the peasant culture takes place when in a new (urban) environment. It is also the place of its transformation and of passing to a new culture.

This paper is about the life in the informal townships (squatter settlements) of East London in South Africa, where almost one third of the 560,000 inhabitants of the city reside. Specifically, it looks at the locations occupied by the Xhosa people, who make up 80% of the non-European population living in East London. This port city on the Indian Ocean is wedged between the Ciskei and the Transkei, former homelands where most of the Xhosa people find their roots and where they still migrate back and forth.

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East London was founded as a port in April 1847. It functioned as a supply station for the imperial troops during the War of the Axe (1846-7). Within a matter of weeks, an early community of soldiers and merchants was established on the western bank of the Buffalo River, close by a Xhosa village from which the new settlers depended on the know-how of its members for their survival in this new environment. A year later the good neighbours became unwelcome on their own territory. The native village was then seen as a Location by the White local authorities.

This was only the beginning of a life of segregation, of carrying of passes, of migrant labourers (1849-50), curfews and repeated forced removals imposed by the White on the amaXhosa of this region. Nine years later (1856), the existing Xhosa village was razed to the ground, its inhabitants pushed further west to a place known as the West Bank Location. In 1890 they were then relocated again, this time, to the north-east, on a site to which the group was removed and relocated once more in 1965, leaving room for extension of the city and its industrial park, where a Mercedes Benz plant stands today (Tankard, 01).

West Bank was not the only Location to be established at that time. In 1890, in order to keep the Native labourers drawn by the port activity outside the town, East Bank Location was created on the other side of the Buffalo River. Then followed smaller locations such as Fingo, Seaside,
Newsam's Town, Wesleyan, and Cambridge. Of these, West Bank, Cambridge and East Bank still exist; the latter being the largest and the most significant.


Initially an outsider wouldn't have been shocked when glancing at these locations. On the contrary, the order that seemed to reign in the East Bank Location – designed and established as a model township – with its wide streets and the wattle and daub round huts built close to the Black townspeople's churches, would have shown a well organized, defined and controlled (temporary) community. Even municipal lodging houses (later known as hostels) were built to accommodate single men working in town. (Tankard, 01) However, twenty years of thrift and neglect on the part of the local (White) authorities had resulted in insufficient accommodation and services overcrowded groups of round huts and a growing number of square tin shacks had drastically changed the quiet appearance of the East Bank Location.

Despite the small numbers of plots and inadequate surface areas with high rents, there was no decrease in migration from the country. The 40' x 40' lots which Charles Lloyd (East London's Location Superintendent for the first thirty years of its existence) deemed to be adequate space for Round Huts became insufficient when the Natives started to build Square Houses, and the location began to be congested. In one of the joint reports with the Medical Officer of Health, Lloyd wrote:

"Initially, the Square House, if it was a 'better type of house' (than the Round Hut), was made of 'poor quality galvanised iron'; but as time went on, it was made more often of tin-lining i.e. the lining taken from packing cases' and of 'any other material to hand: wood, branches, cloth, scraps, mud". (Minkley, 98: 204)."

Perhaps in spite of himself, Lloyd was speaking in praise of the ingenuity of the Native builders and their capacity to easily adapt to their new environment, recognising the potential of the materials within reach. At the same time he was also giving some credit to the Round Hut as a house type better suited for building on small plots, as he declared the square house “built by the Natives, not desirable dwelling places” for sanitary and security reasons. His point was that such
square houses did not have sufficient space between them. Instead of questioning the dimensions of the sites they were renting to the location residents, the council and Lloyd himself preferred to explain the overcrowding situation of the Locations thus:

"the Native is a tribal being... he is not able to think or to build in the same way as the European. As long as he is left to himself the square House he replaces (the hut) with will be undesirable" (ibid.).

Perhaps the purpose of such slander was to divert the attention of higher authorities from the evidence of neglect by the local council who did not build a single municipal house between 1928 and 1940, a period of heavy Native migration from the country to town. The Municipality eventually built some houses over time but were unable to keep pace with the requirements and by 1955, the majority of the locations residents were still living in overcrowded dwellings they had built themselves, while only one fifth of the residence lived in municipal buildings.

In 1955, *East Bank Location* (officially renamed *Duncan Village* at that time) was far more heavily populated than the other locations, with 44,610 of the 51,340 Bantu living in all the East London's Locations. The population density of this location was 141 inhabitants to the acre (348.4 persons per hectare) while West Bank had 5,660 residents at 166.5 per acre (411.4 per hectare) and 1,070 persons in Cambridge at a density of 85.6 per acre (213.7 per hectare). These numbers contrast dramatically with the average density of 12 persons per acre (29.6 per hectare) for the white urban population of East London for the same period. (Reader, 61: 36-52)

Living conditions in the locations were very similar to those experienced by squatters. The only difference between the two types of residents was in their legal status. Those living within the well-defined limits of the Locations were paying rent to the Municipal government. The Municipality's unwillingness to provide accommodation for the majority of the residents resulted in most newcomers settling in the existing ramshackle wood-and-iron structures, which extended to the limits of the plots. Reader counted 2,089 private houses in the *East and West Bank Locations* with an average of 20 to 24 persons living in a same house in 1955 (ibid.).

Another strategy to increase living space consisted of re-subdividing the existing structures. Some were divided into 10 or more rooms that led out into a corridor which was the only source of ventilation. Most of these rooms accommodated one household of 4 to 5 adults with 4 to 5 children, with all the domestic activities such as cooking, eating and sleeping, taking place in the room. (Minkley, 98: 204)
Most Europeans living in the region were sensitive to the living conditions that prevailed in the locations. In the late 1930s, the Thornton Commission affirmed that *East Bank Location* was probably the worst location in the Union saying it was "a blot to our civilisation that such place exists". On May 11\(^{\text{th}}\) 1949, Councillor Taylor who seemed to share similar preoccupations said that the Natives were "cramming themselves into already unsanitary and second hand houses with no regard to moral and human dignity" (ibid.).

The Europeans fostered the traditional system of homestead production within Native reserves in order to feed and support the male migrant labour system, on which depended the White manufacturing industry and other production activities, but the lifestyle and customs of the African peasantry stood in profound contrast with the Whites' beliefs and values (Walker, 90: 10-14). This contrast became more accentuated when the Natives came to live in the towns.

If Europeans were shocked by the overcrowded conditions in the locations it is likely that their irritability was stimulated more by prudishness than by sanitary concerns. To them, even as a reduced model, the multi-functional single-room shacks suggested the Native life in the round hut of the homestead, with its heart built on the centre of the floor and around which, all the domestic activities took place (Peters, 97: 2154; Walton, 97: 2169).

Europeans considered this pattern of living as primitive. Perhaps in their minds, the huts evoked the medieval European houses, where one large room served as a place to prepare and share the meals, receive visitors, deal with business, and where at night, everyone slept, often in the same bed (Rybczynski, 89: 27-61. Having succeeded in breaking free from this way of living in the 16\(^{\text{th}}\) century, Europeans were now judging this model inappropriate or even fiendish, since they might have considered that, with the whole family living in the same room, children would be traumatised by the experience of witnessing the sexual activities of their parents.

The amaXhosa are polygamous, and their sexual openness was undoubtedly repugnant to the Europeans. On the other hand, even though the customs of the Xhosa society were regulated by very strict codes depending on, and supporting the system of homestead production to which the migrant workers were still intimately linked, such codes and structures, even if not completely
broken down, nevertheless became less rigid in the urban context of the locations. (Mayer, 63: 252)

Life in the locations forced a drastic change in the Xhosa culture. Unlike the Zulu, whose pre-colonial clustered towns could exceed a population of 10,000 people, the Xhosa had no village tradition but lived in large extended family homesteads. These were dispersed on the ridges above valleys of the hilly country where wood and water was easily found. Eight to fifteen round huts were organised in a half circle, facing the cattle kraal (enclosure) where the animals were kept for protection at night, after a day in the pastures. The dwellings faced the rising sun and were built close to the top of the ridges where they were protected from the wind and drained by the downward slope. (Beinart, 94: 16-17; Peires, 82: 3)

Traditional Xhosa homestead, Transkei.

The African and the European notion of space and ownership was very different. The latter often describing the African landholding system as *communal tenure*. This is however, an oversimplification of a more sophisticated system where rights to land were set up in function of lineage, chiefdom or family organisation. Hierarchies of age, gender and rank facilitated the control of the production system and exchanges between homesteads. This, being the spearhead of the group, ensured its permanence and continuity (Beinart, 94: 18-19).

For the Xhosa the invisible world strongly influenced the material one. Religious and secular lives were completely intertwined in one and the same world. Success and bliss were directly dependant on one's fervour and faithfulness to the group's rituals which were determined by the diviners through communication with the unseen world (Peires, 82: 67).

Patriarchy was observed through avoidance customs (*hlonipa*) in speech and behaviours expected of women. For instance a wife could not use words containing the names of her husband's male kin, or handle cattle or even drink milk in many situations. Cattle, which express the richness, carried other symbolic meanings. The evidence of this could be seen in the location of the cattle-enclosure at the centre of the homestead. Cattle sacrifices appeased the deceased forefathers. Cattle were the responsibility of the boys and young men who herded them. If polygamy was the ideal it was not necessarily generalised. Women counted for an important part of the production system, and a husband had to pay a *bridewealth* (dowry – *lobolo* in Xhosa) in cattle to his new wife's family. Ambitious men tried hard to accumulate cattle so they could marry and procreate in order to extend their lineage and labour force. (Peires, 82: 4; Elliott, 70: 53).
Women took care of the gardens, prepared the meals, collected the firewood, carried water from the streams and maintained the dwellings (including the roof thatching and the walls plastering), which like all the permanent structures, were erected by the men. The women were also responsible for sewing, making pots, weaving baskets and the reed mats, but the craftwork of wood and iron was the men's domain, as was the preparing of the hides. (Peires, 82: 4; Elliott, 70: 20-21)

![Woman and her daughter carrying home head-loads of wood, Transkei (J. A. Broaster, 1967). Women also collect the straw and reeds which they use to weave reed mats and thatching the roofs.](image)

Each wife lived in a separate hut with her children. When married, a son built his hut for himself and his wife close to his mother's hut. The main hut, being the hut of the first wife, was built facing the gate of the cattle kraal. The second wife had her hut built on the right-hand side of the main hut and was called the "right-hand wife". The hut had only one small entrance, which was raised to prevent the rainwater to flood in. People accessed it by its one, two or three steps. The right-hand side of the hut was reserved for men, while female visitors kept to the left side. The wife, was allowed to sleep on the same side of her husband when not menstruating. It was forbidden, however, for a woman to sit on the men's side in her father-in-law's wife's hut.

If a hut had other openings, they were two small air holes or windows on each side of the doorway. These were closed most of the time in order to prevent evil spirits from entering. During the day, the lower panel of the stable-like door was kept closed to keep out the pigs, dogs and fowl. The open upper panel open allowed in light and air in and created a draft so the smoke from the hearth at the centre of the hut escape trough the thatched roof. At night time the upper panel door was closed and the reed sleeping mats were unrolled and laid on the rammed earth floor, which was often smeared with a mixture of clay, cow dung and water by the female owners of the dwelling. (Broster, 67: 8-9; Walton, 97: 2,169; Peires, 82: 3)

Cattle are important to the Xhosa people as is the cattle kraal ("Uthango"). In front of it, in the yard ("inkundla") formed by the 30-metre or so space between the dwellings and the gate of the cattle fold, most the social and formal activities of the group take place. It is the place where men meet to chat. Here, under the chairmanship of the headman, every man has the right to express his
opinion. The *inkundla* was the traditional location for all the tribal and ritual ceremonies such as weddings or initiation feasts for the young men. In the lee of the kraal walls, protecting themselves against the wind, men drank the beer brewed by the women, who danced around the barrel of the sacred alcoholic drink. (Broster, 67: 128; Mayer, 63: 51; Peires, 82: 3)

The original *Xhosa* dwelling, the *ngqu-pantsi*, with its thatched beehive dome is very similar to the nomadic pastoral, *Khoikhoi* (wrongly called *Hottentots*) portable and re-usable hut which is distinguished by a high degree of refinement. It appears likely that the *Xhosa* possibly borrowed and adapted the design for their own use during an early period of commercial exchanges and intermarriages. (Walton, 56; Frescura, 81: 33-4; Davenport, 91: 8). These huts had a light sapling framework. The vertical structure was distributed in a circle that reached about 4,2 metres in diameter, fixed into the ground and brought radially to a central crown. Taking the shape of rings, the horizontal structure was distributed from the ground to the apex, each section being smaller on its way to the top. While the *Khoikhoi* used leather strips to tie the uprights and horizontal bracings together, the Xhosa, less preoccupied by the concept of portability and re-usability at that time, simply used woven grass ropes to secure the structure together. The *Khoikhoi* covered their portable hut with reed mats, closely woven for protection against rain. In a more permanent way, the Xhosa covered their beehive domes with thatch. (Kolbe, 1,727; Walton, 97: 2,169)

The first image on the left represents beehive hut frameworks from different groups – a: Sotho, b: Zulu/Swazi, c: Xhosa (F. Frescura, 1981). The second illustration shows the *Khoikhoi* pastoralist (*Hottentot*) beehive dome structures which are very similar to the Xhosa structures (image c, bottom left). The second illustration is called: “How the Hottentots build their Houses” and was drawn by Peter Kolb (Kolben) (1719) published in: *Capnt Bonea Spei Hodiernum*. Nurnburg: P.C. Monasth.

The use of this kind of beehive dome as a permanent *Xhosa* house was not recorded after the 1920s, this form having evolved over time to at first a cylindrical structure with a dome at its top, (*isi-tembiso*), and finally as the structure we know today, the *rontavuli*, which is a cone on cylinder, similar to the Afrikaans rondavel (Duggan-Cronin, 39; Japha, 97: 14; Walton, ibid.). In early versions of the *isi-tembiso* (dome on cylinder), the *ngqu-pantsi* (beehive dome) structure
remained. Branches were horizontally intertwined and the monolithic structure was finally plastered with clay and dung on both sides. This was a great technical improvement against fire hazards. Otherwise, the structure was surrounded by a 2-metre (6.5 feet) vertical wall made of sod or stone. The roof was thatched with long grass that was sewn to the framework and then secured by a spider web-like grass rope network on top. Depending on the site and material at hand, today the Xhosa build their ronantwuli (cone on cylinder) of adobe (clay and straw sun-dried blocks) – as the Afrikaans rondavel – or sod and stone. Very often, however, they build with wattle and daub. They make a vertical sapling structure on which branches are intertwined, and cover the basket-like framework with a mud plaster made of a clay and dung mix, to which different colours may sometimes be added. (Peires, 82: 3; Walton, ibid.)

The ngqu-pantsi (beehive dome) is still in use today in its original shape, but only on temporary basis in two particular moments related to the amaXhosa traditions and rituals. A beehive hut is built as the ritual lodge where the young men will live for the time of the Abakweta (initiation into manhood). When the ceremonies are over, the hut is burned. (Broster, 67: 138; Eliott, 72: 92). Even in urban conditions, the persistence of the Abakweta is strongly manifested in the Xhosa culture. Some parts of this initiation ritual such as circumcision, may be related to early contacts through commerce and intermarriage with Arab traders (Soga, 31: 8-10). In the country, the headman of a homestead builds a beehive dome as a first home for his son and his bride until the end of the wedding ceremony. It is here that the couple lives until they build their own house, or until the son goes to establish his own homestead (Walton, 97: 2,169).

Abakweta or initiation into manhood ritual where the ngqu-pantsi (Xhosa beehive dome) is built for two or three months, to shelter the initiate or umhwetha (plural Abakweta) during the overall period of the ceremonies (A. Elliott, 1970)

Despite the important presence of the Red people, a conservative group among the amaXhosa today, the loss of traditional know-how is evident through the deterioration of the housing stock in the country around East London. A thatched roof used to last a minimum of seven to ten years. The roofing materials on today’s houses must be replaced every two years. Sometimes, new materials add to the confusion because they are unsuited to traditional techniques and materials.

This process of cultural loss began when the missionaries arrived and "regarded the abandonment of traditional economic practices and material culture, including architecture, as a visible signifier
of conversions, and strove to promote it" (Japha, 97: 8). Dispossessions, relocations and overnight evictions also interfered with the transfer of the culture from generation to generation, with the shift from use of traditional building techniques to new methods provoked by temporary necessity. In the same way that apartheid policies affected the traditional building techniques, buildings in the locations, now called townships, were also affected. Here, with minimal manpower, the developed form of a temporary building can be built, dismantled, moved and rebuilt within 24 hours. These buildings are constructed from materials provided by the surrounding urban environment.

One important resource available to the township dwellers of East London today are the wooden pallets used in transportation. They are cleverly reassembled into panels of about 3 metres wide by 2.20 metres high for reuse by the township dwellers. Despite a lack of cross bracing, these prefabricated panels create perfect modules and many of them are sold to residents to build their own homes. They have, in fact, become very important to the flourishing informal local housing industry. It is likely that this ingenious way of building is connected in some way to the group's prior experiences. If so, the researcher who looks closely at the group’s early history should not only put this technique in the context of the evolution of the overall group material culture but perhaps also imagine its place in the group’s future and prepare the ground for the next steps.

An important resource for the East London townships dwellers: the wooden transportation pallets.

Without a complete understanding of the lives of the townships residents, it is difficult for an outsider to connect everyday life in these settlements with the rituals anchored in a tradition that external factors have almost eliminated. Unfortunately, the inadequate understanding of the facts too often confirms the prejudice of the outsider. Yet greater awareness and assimilation of such details in the planning of the built environment could have a tremendously positive impact on the development of the community. Understanding of life in the townships today should be rooted in a more thorough knowledge of the group's background, its ritual traditions, its religious and secular activities. Its use of building techniques and materials and the configuration of the available space are also fundamental to a complete grasp of the group’s past, present and possible future. All these elements join together to form a picture of the nature of the community and changes it has undergone that influence its life today.

An outsider walking in a township today might not see the order that exists amidst the apparent disorder. A walk at night in this extremely violent place where all residents lock themselves in after midnight would also reveal that, despite the lack of fences around the gardens, nobody touches the crops. This sacred respect for private garden is rooted in the traditional homestead, where the head man allocated a piece of land to each of his relatives to grow the sorghum to which
was later added to the maize, the mielies (corn cobs) still being a very important ingredient of everyday life of Xhosa people today. Where individualized urban agriculture takes place in townships today, the traditional African landholding system is agitating for new forms of cooperatives where women, who developed their ability in trading and who gained emancipation in town, could play an important role.

The outsider who walks in the township might be also very impressed to see the frail silhouette of a seventy-year-old men facing a group of tsotsis (young delinquent men), keeping order in a township where the police do not go after dark. This situation illustrates the confrontation between the traditional and the modern, showing how traditional patriarchal authority has taken a foothold in the townships after being challenged by the women and their sons. It too has been forced to adjust to a new environment.

*O'Martin*, headman of C.C. Lloyd Township. Urban agriculture in C.C. Lloyd and Duncan Village Townships.

An enlightened outsider in the location in a peaceful evening, with no wind to carry away the smell of the kerosene lamps, or the voices of men and women whose faces seem sculpted by a shadowy light, might not misjudge the people enjoying a beer outside their one-room shack where the kids are sleeping. Hopefully he would be able to relate them to the people in the traditional homestead Inkundla (yard) in front of the Uthango (cattle kraal) where women used to dance and men spoke their voice sharing the sacred alcoholic drink. Finally, if the outsider happens to be a designer involved in the planning of the built environment for a community, the minimum he could do is to try to recognise these elements that are parts of the group's culture core and to make room for them in the designing of spaces where they and the community, could happen.
References:


