

Resettlement and the Making of the Ciskei Bantustan, South Africa, c.1960-1976

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The cynical objectives and coercive actions of the apartheid state in engineering forced removals to the Bantustans have been well documented. These 'dumping grounds' were notorious examples of the poverty and human suffering produced in the name of 'separate development'. Processes of mass resettlement in the Bantustans had multiple meanings, far-reaching effects and uneven political dynamics and outcomes. This paper traces local dynamics of power and clientelism in two resettlement townships in the northern Ciskei, as the apartheid government set about establishing indirect rule under this self-governing Bantustan. It explores the role of resettlement in extending the reaches and the influence of the state by tracing the history of local administration and institutions of indirect rule, their everyday operations and political effects. The relations of patronage constructed under the 'white chiefs' of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD), which had starkly gendered dimensions and consequences, formed the critical basis upon which new Tribal Authorities were superimposed, becoming subject to new political imperatives. One of the outcomes of mass resettlement was to foster, through clientelism, new political constituencies for the Ciskei. Through the provision of housing, particularly to former farm-dwellers, apartheid authorities were able to encourage, albeit temporarily, a limited compliance in these areas.

Introduction

Removals and mass resettlement in South Africa's homelands were cornerstones of apartheid. For contemporary commentators, violent and traumatic forced removals and the widespread human suffering caused by homeland resettlement provided stark evidence of apartheid's injustices.¹ These episodes, owing to the enduring impacts they have wrought and the attention that land restitution has generated around them, are vividly remembered in contemporary South Africa.² Between 1960 and 1982 more than

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¹ T. Huddleston, *Nought For Your Comfort* (London, Collins, 1956); C. Desmond, *The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1971); Surplus People Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa: The SPP Reports, Volumes 1-5* (Cape Town, SPP, 1983).

² S. Field, *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, David Philip, 2002); U. Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'Dispossession and Memory: The Black River Community of Cape Town', *Oral History*, 28, 2 (2000), pp. 35-43; 'Tales of Urban Restitution, Black River, Rondebosch', *Kronos*, 32 (2006), pp. 216-243; A. Bohlin, 'The Politics of Locality: Memories of

3.5 million people were directly affected by the apartheid government's programmes of population relocation.³ Many thousands of these people, removed from urban areas under influx control and Group Areas legislation and evicted from rural settlements by stringent 'anti-squatting' measures, ended up in resettlement sites in the Bantustans. Many more, squeezed out of the countryside by racist land laws and by the effects of agricultural capitalisation (the consolidation of land holdings, mechanisation, and a shift towards full-time wage labour were manifest in rapid 'labour shedding' from the middle of the twentieth century), dwellers of the 'white' countryside had few alternatives but to seek accommodation in the new residential areas opening up on the fringes of South Africa's reserves. From the mid-1960s a plethora of rural settlements, established with minimal state planning and provision, rapidly expanded across these areas, which were simultaneously subject to the promotion of Bantustan 'self-government' - the apartheid ideologues' answer to decolonisation and demands for political equality. Commentators struggled to communicate the misery of these resettlement camps: '...miles from a centre where employment is available, a small plot of land for each family, no grazing for livestock, accommodation in tents, no shops, no schools, no medical services, no fuel, very little water, pit latrines...'.⁴

Histories of apartheid relocation have rightly emphasised the coercion employed by the state and the highly repressive nature of these programmes.⁵ Urban removals under the Group Areas Act, around which the majority of the historical literature has focused, exposed the brutality and violence employed by the apartheid state in its projects of social engineering.⁶ Studies that have focused on rural relocation have emphasised the heavy-handed and repressive role of the state in efforts to remove so-called 'black spots' from the white landscape. These plans were met with fierce resistance in the 1970s and 1980s as civic organisations rallied around threatened communities. Recent historical interest in rural resettlement has tended to cohere around such instances of organised resistance.⁷

District Six in Cape Town', in N. Lovell (ed), *Locality and Belonging* (London, Routledge, 1998), pp. 168-188; A. Bohlin, 'Places of Longing and Belonging: Memories of the Group Area Proclamation of a South African Fishing Village', in B. Bender and M. Winer (eds), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* (London, Berg, 2001), pp. 273-287; C. Walker, *Landmarked: Land Claims and Land Restitution in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Jacana Press, 2008).

³ Surplus People Project, *Forced Removals in South Africa: The SPP Reports, Volume 1* (Cape Town, SPP, 1983), p. 6. Well over one million of these people were from farms. Between 1960 and 1970 an estimated 340,000 registered labour tenants and 656,000 unregistered tenants were evicted from South African white farms, and a further 400,000 tenants were expelled between 1971 and 1974. M. Morris, 'Apartheid, Agriculture and the State: The Farm Labour Question', *SALDRU Working Paper No. 8*, (1977), p. 54; M. Morris, 'The State and the Development of Capitalist Social Relations in the South African Countryside: A Process of Class Struggle' (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1979), p. 282.

⁴ M.W. Cluver, 'The Resettlement of Africans in South Africa', *The Black Sash*, 13, 4 (1970), p. 27.

⁵ Surplus People Project, *SPP Reports, Vols. 1-5* (Cape Town, SPP, 1983); E. Unterhalter, *Forced Removal: The Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa* (London, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1987); B. Freund, 'Forced Resettlement and the Political Economy of South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 29 (1984), pp. 49-63; L. Platzky and C. Walker, *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985).

⁶ Field, *Lost Communities*; Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 'Dispossession and Memory'; 'Tales of Urban Restitution'; Bohlin, 'The Politics of Locality'.

⁷ L. E. Wotshela, 'Homeland Consolidation, Resettlement and Local Politics in the Border and the Ciskei Region of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1960 to 1996' (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2001); 'Asiyi eCiskei ["We are not Going to the Ciskei"]: Removals and Resistance in the "Border" Region, 1972-

Anthropological work from the 1980s and early 1990s offered detailed insights into Bantustan resettlement, the processes of settlement that this involved and the social landscapes of impoverished livelihoods that characterised ‘displaced urbanisation’.⁸ This literature has been particularly developed for Qwaqwa, the tiny Bantustan bordering northern Lesotho where the impacts of resettlement were pronounced and the farce of homeland independence glaring.⁹ In the context of mass opposition to the oppression and violence of the homelands system in the 1980s and early 1990s, scholars sought to lay bare the precarious reality of ethnic nationalism from which homeland regimes drew their legitimacy.¹⁰ While the political economy and local political consequences of resettlement have not been overlooked, the role of resettlement in the making of Bantustan regimes deserves further scrutiny.¹¹

This paper explores the making of matrices of power and authority in two Ciskei resettlement sites established during the 1960s: Sada, and Ilinge (see Figure 1). While the National Party’s (NP) rhetoric and pursuit of homeland independence have been well documented, quite how these policies and agendas played out in everyday state interventions in the homelands is less well understood. While a variety of accounts have examined the emergence of homeland elites and the patronage of resources that allowed

1988’, *South African Historical Journal* 52 (2005), pp. 140-69; C. Sato, ‘Forced removals, Land NGOs and Community Politics in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, 1953-2002’ (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2006); S. Schirmer, ‘Reactions to the State: The Impact of Farm Labour Policies in the Mid-Eastern Transvaal, 1955- 1960’, *South African Historical Journal*, 30 (1994), pp. 61-84; ‘African Strategies and Ideologies in a White Farming District: Lydenburg, 1930- 1970’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21, 3 (1995), pp. 509- 527; ‘Removals and Resistance: rural communities in Lydenburg, South Africa, 1940-1961’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 9, 2 (1996), pp. 213- 242.

⁸ C. Murray, ‘Displaced Urbanization: South Africa’s Rural Slums’, *African Affairs*, 86, 344 (1987), pp. 311-329; ‘Struggle from the Margins: Rural Slums in the Orange Free State’, in F. Cooper (ed), *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital and the State in Urban Africa* (London, Sage, 1983), pp. 287- 311.

⁹ J. Sharp, ‘A World Turned Upside Down’, *African Studies*, 53, 1 (1994), pp. 71-88; ‘Relocation and the Problem of Survival in Qwaqwa: A Report From the Field’, *Social Dynamics*, 8, 2 (1982), pp. 11-29; I. A. Niehaus, ‘Relocation into Phuthaditjhaba and Tseki: A Comparative Ethnography of Planned and Unplanned Removals’, *African Studies*, 48, 2 (1989), pp. 157-181; ‘Disharmonious Spouses and Harmonious Siblings’, *African Studies*, 53, 1 (1994), pp. 115-135; L. Bank, ‘Angry Men and Working Women’, *African Studies*, 53, 1 (1994), pp. 89-113.

¹⁰ J. Peires, ‘Ethnicity and Pseudo- Ethnicity in the Ciskei’, in W. Beinart and S. Dubow (eds), *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (London, Routledge, 1995), pp. 256-284; ‘The Implosion of Transkei and Ciskei’, *African Affairs*, 91, 364 (1992), pp. 365-387; P. Harries, ‘Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnicity Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa’, in L. Vail (ed), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1989), pp. 82- 117; L. Bank, ‘Between Traders and Tribalists: Implosion and the Politics of Disjuncture in a South African Homeland’, *African Affairs*, 93, 370 (1994), pp. 75-98; ‘The Failure of Ethnic Nationalism: Land, Power and the Politics of Clanship on the South African Highveld, 1860-1990’, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 65, 4 (1995), pp. 565-591.

¹¹ Peires, ‘Ethnicity and Pseudo- Ethnicity’, pp. 264- 267, 259; J. Sharp, ‘Relocation, Labour Migration, and the Domestic Predicament: Qwaqwa in the 1980s’, in J. Eades (ed), *Migrant Workers and the Social Order* (London, Tavistock, 1987), pp. 132- 133; P. Green and A. Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement in the Ciskei: Three Case Studies’, SALDRU Working Paper No. 49 (Cape Town, Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 1983); L. Wotshela, ‘Territorial Manipulation in Apartheid South Africa: Resettlement, Tribal Politics and the Making of the Northern Ciskei, 1975-1990’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, 2 (2004), pp. 317- 337.

for the rise of political elites and a homeland middle class,¹² less attention has been paid to the effects of the reconfiguration of power, the creation of new Bantu Authorities, the expansion of the apparatus of homeland states, the local networks of clientelism that emerged in the course of these processes and their political effects. The analysis that follows shows how the racist, modernist project of the apartheid state - fragmented and uneven as it was – translated into everyday administrative interventions in the Ciskei resettlement townships. It shows how the apartheid state's 'mix of vision and blunder, principle and pragmatism' played out through everyday administrative interventions into a hegemonic project of indirect rule.¹³

The paper traces the evolution of indirect rule in one locality, as rule through the Magistrates and Bantu Commissioners of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD, the renamed Department of Native Affairs) was overlaid with and replaced by new Tribal Authorities (TAs). It examines the gendered vision that underpinned the BAD's administration of the resettlement townships in the late-1960s and the consequences for social control. By describing the new relations of clientelism that developed under the administration of the BAD the article shows how the shift to rule under TAs in this locality was characterised as much by 'blunder' as by 'vision'.¹⁴ In the new resettlement areas, where tribal structures had virtually no historical basis, newly-created TAs inherited the peculiar modernist institutions of the apartheid state and the structures of patronage created in the course of paternalist governance under Bantu Commissioners- the 'white chiefs' of the colonial state.¹⁵ Colonial planning and patronage came to be subject to new political imperatives under the administration of Ciskei. Relations of clientelism, which permeated everyday life, formed the foundations of power and authority for the Ciskei in these localities. Given the upheavals of resettlement, the terrible living conditions that prevailed in the townships and the deep poverty experienced by the majority of residents, the limited resources provided by state planning initiatives allowed for the production of regimes of power and control that had considerable local influence. Agrarian change and the abolition of labour tenancy, which involved widespread eviction of farm-workers, constituted an important dynamic in these processes: faced with little choice but to move to one of the new Bantustan townships, former farm-dwellers formed a crucial constituency for the making of new matrices of power in the Ciskei.

The paper, and the PhD thesis on which it is based, draws, alongside a range of other sources, upon oral history interviews conducted in 2008 and 2009 in Sada and

¹² See especially R. Southall, *South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an 'Independent' Bantustan* (London, Heinemann, 1982); 'The Beneficiaries of Transkeian "Independence"', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 15, 1 (1977), pp. 1- 23; D. Innes and D. O'Meara, 'Class Formation and Ideology: The Transkei Region', *Review of African Political Economy*, 7 (1976), pp. 69- 86.

¹³ D. Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948- 1970', in R. Ross, A. K. Mager and B. Nasson (eds), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Volume 2, 1885- 1994* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 320.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ I. Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (London, University of California Press, 1997), pp. 9- 16, 224-5; M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Chichester, Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 62- 108; T. McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845- 1878* (Rochester, N.Y., University of Rochester Press, 2010).

Ilinge.¹⁶ These interviews explored the first-hand resettlement experiences of men and women resettled in the townships during the 1960s and 1970s. That I was asking often elderly people to reflect on their experiences more than thirty years prior was of course problematic. Moreover, it was extremely difficult to garner any information when I asked directly about Ciskei authorities: because of the history of anti-apartheid protest and the subsequent layering of social memory in these townships, individual experiences have been quieted by a dominant historical narrative of forced removal and repression under Ciskei. When the issue of Ciskeian administration was approached in the interviews more laterally a set of alternative experiences became apparent, revealing the politics of memory at work. I have endeavoured to make best use of this oral evidence by reading it critically alongside a range of written historical sources: official archives, newspapers, published reports and the records of civic organisations. Of the 76 interviews used extensively in the analysis, people had come from the following places: 35 from the farms (11 men, 24 women); 23 from small towns in the Eastern Cape (six men, 17 women); four women removed from small rural railway settlements; eight male ex-political prisoners, and six wives of these banished ex-prisoners. While the sample does reflect the large numbers of women resettled in the township, it is not representative of the townships' population, historic or contemporary.¹⁷

This account of administration and resettlement contributes to the recent revival of historical interest in the homelands and to debates around the making –and implosion – of the Ciskei.¹⁸ In the second Xhosa 'homeland', where the power of chiefs had been decimated by colonial rule on the frontier, Ciskeian ethnic nationalism rested on historical foundations that were paper thin. In this context, appreciating how and with what basis 'tribal' institutions were created in this Bantustan is particularly pertinent and may help to further historians' understandings of the homelands system more broadly.

The Growth of Sada and Ilinge

During the mid-1960s three large rural resettlement areas were established in the Ciskei on land owned by the South African Native Trust (SANT): Sada, Dimbaza and Ilinge.¹⁹ Sada was established in 1963 on land formerly owned by the Shiloh Moravian Mission. The first arrivals at Sada were residents removed from the location at Whittlesea, a small administrative centre for the surrounding white farms. Whole families, often

¹⁶ L. Evans, 'The Makings and Meanings of Homeland Spaces: A Social History of Resettlement in the Ciskei, c.1960-76' (PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2010).

¹⁷ The number of farm dwellers resettled in Sada and Ilinge far outweighs that represented in the sample and former political prisoners are numerically over-represented here. The SPP's more extensive sample provides a better gauge of numbers. In the SPP's 1980 interview sample in Sada, 53% of the households had come from urban areas, and 47% had come from rural areas. Of those rural families, 87% were from the white farms. Surplus People Project, *Forced removals in South Africa: The SPP Reports, Volume 2: The Eastern Cape* (Cape Town, SPP, 1983).

¹⁸ A. K. Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan: A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945-1959* (Oxford, James Currey, 1999); Wotshela, 'Territorial Manipulation'; Peires, 'Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity'; 'The Implosion'; J. Lewis, 'Headmen, Power and Social Transformation in the Ciskei' (Unpublished Seminar Paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, September 1992).

¹⁹ For further discussion see Evans, 'The Makings', pp. 84- 100.

multigenerational, were poorly accommodated in prefabricated one-roomed dwellings (see Figure 2). These people were soon joined by those evicted from white farms in the vicinity and across the Eastern Cape, and other groups forcibly relocated from small towns in the region. By October 1966, there were at least 2,700 people living at Sada, the majority of who were women, children and elderly people.²⁰ From 1967, a major building programme was commenced: between December 1968 and March 1971 the population doubled from 7,000 to 14,000 people, and by March 1972 there were more than 2,400 houses in Sada,²¹ each housing an average of six or seven people.²² The mid-1970s saw a further influx of people from farms in the region, likely due to the availability of sites in the township at the new self-build residential area on its edge, known as *eMadakeni* ('the muddy place').²³ The Surplus People Project (SPP) estimated Sada's population in 1980 at a maximum of 40,000.²⁴ Approximately half of Sada's population in 1980 had been resettled from urban areas and half from rural: most of the latter group were from white farms, forced from the countryside as labourers were retrenched and their families evicted.²⁵ Most former farm-dwellers (79 per cent) 'had left nominally of their own free will', the SPP reported.²⁶

Ilinge was established on a farm called Welcome Valley (purchased by the SANT), on the edge of the Glen Grey District, in 1965. The history of settlement in Ilinge, although always smaller than Sada, shares many similarities: those resettled in the township came from towns and farms across the Cape. As at Sada, a building programme commenced in 1967.²⁷ One reporter described Ilinge in 1967: 'the five hundred one-room shacks, made entirely of corrugated iron, stand row upon row on the slopes of a hill in long, brown grass, with nothing else in sight for miles and miles' (see Figure 2).²⁸ In a valley, surrounded by mountains and accessible only via a long dirt track, the location of Ilinge was especially suitable for the exercise of movement controls. By 1969 there were forty ex-political prisoners who had been resettled in Ilinge under banning orders.²⁹ In

²⁰ D. Streek, 'Sada', *The Black Sash* 10, 3 (1966), p. 31. Of all the resettlement sites that the SPP surveyed in 1980, Sada's population had the highest proportion of people over the age of 64, twice as many as the national average, and the proportion of residents over the age of 44 was higher than anywhere else in the Ciskei. Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, p. 218.

²¹ Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, p. 216.

²² The SPP found in 1980 that on average, households in Sada housed 6 or 7 members. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

²⁴ This figure includes the self-build area at Madakeni. *Ibid.*, p. 216. The population of Sada and its surrounding areas grew dramatically after the middle of the 1970s following the massive population removals of 1976-7 from Herschel and Glen Grey, following a referendum in the run up to Transkei independence. For discussion see W. Cobbett and B. Nakedi, 'The Flight of the Herschelites: Ethnic Nationalism and Land Dispossession', in W. Cobbett and R. Cohen (eds), *Popular Struggles in South Africa* (London, James Currey, 1988), pp. 77- 89; Wotshela, 'Territorial Manipulation'; 'Homeland Consolidation', pp. 153- 170.

²⁵ Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, pp. 208, 211; Green and Hirsch, 'The Impact of Resettlement', pp. 17- 23.

²⁶ Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, p. 211.

²⁷ Desmond, *Discarded People*, p. 92.

²⁸ 'Endorsed Out: What Happens At The Other End?', *Cape Argus*, 8th July 1967.

²⁹ Desmond, *Discarded People*, p. 92.

1973 the population of Ilinge had increased to twelve thousand, and was still expanding.³⁰

Administration and Control Under the BAD, c. 1963- 71: Modernism, Paternalism and Domestic Control

The absence of established local authorities in the new resettlement areas of Sada and Ilinge allowed for the emergence of state structures that held far-reaching influence. When asked about issues relating to local authority figures and structures in Sada and Ilinge, most respondents had great difficulty in answering this question. In the context of the deep and widespread poverty that prevailed in the resettlement areas, particularly in the first years of their existence, local representatives of the apartheid state responsible for the management of infrastructural programmes, housing and rations found themselves in positions of significant influence. When he arrived in Sada in June 1970, G. H. described, there were only two main local authorities to whom disputes might be reported or from whom assistance might be sought. The Township Superintendent and the Superintendent of Public Works, both based at the 'Trust' (SANT) buildings in Sada (also known as the 'rent offices'), were responsible for the recruitment of labour for local contract work and for the management, upkeep and allocation of housing stock. Secondly, the Magistrate at Whittlesea, who was simultaneously the Bantu Commissioner, was often referred to by people in Sada as the 'helping hand' (*isandla*). Destitute people appealed to the Magistrate for help.³¹ J. H. described the sense of isolation that stemmed from the lack of representative political structures in Sada and the limited support and authority of the 'Trust'. When asked who she might have turned to if she needed to report a problem, she replied: 'I don't know. [We] would go to the rent office, the Trust, to tell them about [our] problems... There were no authorities at that time. We were depending only on the rent office... Even if you had a problem you would not go anywhere, just sit with your problem. You couldn't go to your neighbours...'.³²

Control over scarce resources allowed state administrators to occupy influential positions in the new townships. Priscilla Hall, who visited Sada in 1969, described the 'despotic paternalism' exercised by the township Superintendent, Mr. Kirsten: Kirsten exerted almost complete control over legal affairs and the allocation of state resources in the township.³³ Not all cases of law infringement were subject to hearings by the Bantu Commissioner at the neighbouring settlement of Whittlesea. Instead, Kirsten assumed a significant level of responsibility for the local adjudication of legal sanctions in Sada. The course of local 'justice' was thus both arbitrary and autocratic at this time: as Kirsten reported to Hall, describing the procedures of 'justice', "I just take him into my office and give him a good hiding".³⁴ The Superintendent's local influence also derived from the distribution of limited state resources to the local poor. While Sada was in 1969 the

³⁰ M. Horrell and D. Horner, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1973* (Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1974), p. 166.

³¹ G. H. (Sada, 24th August 2009).

³² J. H. (Sada, 26th August 2009).

³³ University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, AE862, G21.4. Report by P. Hall on Ilinge and Sada, January 1969, p. 15 (hereafter Report by P. Hall).

³⁴ Report by P. Hall, p. 15.

direct responsibility of the BAD in Pretoria, Kirsten exercised large prerogative over the township's management. 'There is nothing in Sada that Mr. Kirsten does not control', wrote Hall; "'I'm the Superintendent on paper, but in fact I am the Governor here'", Kirsten commented.³⁵ With an estimated 45 per cent of the township's population reliant on state food rations at the time of Hall's report in 1969, and in the context of high unemployment and reliance on the provision of local casual employment, it is not difficult to see how Kirsten might have regarded himself thus.³⁶ Local officials Mndladlamba (Ilinge) and a woman known as Nonjogovana (Sada), both of whom were township Public Works officials, became local patrons, especially for some of the poorest families most heavily reliant on rations.³⁷ Some resettled people recounted narratives of 'favouritism' which pervaded the allocation of rations and other resources, and of the abuse of power, by state officials, for personal profit.³⁸ Sylvia Malite described how local representatives in Ilinge controlled the food market for their own gain: 'It was difficult to eat meat, there was no meat at all unless the government, someone from the Special Branch comes to sell us intestine. Then we eat meat'.³⁹ As well as for personal profit, officials bent the rules for the benefit of those who most struggled to pay rent and feed themselves.

In the terrible conditions that prevailed in the newly established resettlement townships - high unemployment, impoverishment, housing shortages and extreme dependency on basic food rations distributed by the state - local state institutions came to form the principal sources of patronage and influence. Welfare provisions of the most basic order were central to the state's performance of its racist vision of control, containment and domesticity. Influenced by contemporary racist discourses of social decay that centred on 'immoral' and 'undesirable' unmarried women as the major targets of influx controls in town and anti-squatting measures in the countryside, the allocation of housing, local employment and rent payment in the resettlement townships were governed in highly gendered ways.⁴⁰ The provision of housing and employment became crucial forms of 'governmentality' through which the apartheid state and its local functionaries sought to cultivate both 'willing workers' and 'functional' domestic units, modelled on a highly gendered image of the nuclear family.

During the rapid building programmes of the late 1960s, men living in Sada and Ilinge were employed by the BAD (located at the rent offices in both townships) building houses, grading roads, and digging pit latrines and water furrows for a basic rate salary of

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁷ In Ilinge, N. D. and S. D. (Ilinge, 25th August 2009) reported the importance of Mr. Mndladlamba, who was based at the rent offices there and was in charge of the allocation of housing. Nomgedle Maxhayi (Ilinge, 10th July 2009) also described Mndladlamba as a significant local figure. In Sada, a woman known as Nonjogovana, an employee of the Department of Works during the late 1960s who was responsible for the management of housing and rations, came to occupy a role of benefactor. P. D. (Sada 14th July 2009); Siphon Futshana (Sada, 16th July 2009); Eunice Velani (Sada, 27th July 2009); M. T. Siswana (Sada, 13th July 2009); E. K. (Sada, 23rd July 2009).

³⁸ Elizabeth Gomomo (Sada, 17th July 2009) spoke of a woman, who worked at the rent offices, who would distribute resources to people that she 'loved' She was reportedly corrupt, and had been caught stealing money from state funds. It may be Nonjogovana to whom she is referring, reflecting the mixed experiences of provision and denial by those in power.

³⁹ Sylvia Malite (Ilinge, 15th October 2008).

⁴⁰ Mager, *Gender and the Making*, pp. 26- 28.

R16.50 a month. Women were employed at the much lower monthly rate of R4 or R5 to plant trees and grass around the townships, to clean streets, and in other ‘ancillary’ capacities. Such employment continued for the BAD’s period of administration, during which time the townships underwent great expansion and houses were rapidly built. When the administration of the resettlement townships was handed over to the Ciskei in the early 1970s, local employment opportunities became more limited except for irregular building work only available to men.⁴¹ At Sada in the late 1970s, the new residential development of Whittlesea North did employ significant numbers of local labourers.⁴² For women such employment was replaced by low-paid casual work in new textile factories.

Local employment was shaped by the prevailing official discourse of ‘self-development’ and an historic ethic of racial paternalism.⁴³ Administrators in the resettlement townships explicitly connected local employment to the inculcation of discipline and an ethic of hard work and preferred to create employment than to provide rations free of charge, even if such jobs were contrived. Hall described the paternalistic motivations of the Superintendent in Sada, and the underpinning rationale of instilling ‘good’ attitudes to work, particularly among unemployed women:

Mr. Kirsten holds that living on rations makes people lazy and apathetic, whereas work is a good discipline and an earned income is a morale booster. He is prepared to employ people on an uneconomic basis for the sake of giving more adults a job and injecting a little more money into the community. This is why he engaged a labour force of 700 women. 500 of them clean the camp. They work on one section, picking up bits of glass and paper by hand, and they move to another area when the first is clean. They also plant trees and water them. 100 women work at the brick factory, and the remaining 100 at the quarry.⁴⁴

The creation of local wage labour in Sada and Ilinge was connected to administrators’ efforts to foster a rent-paying culture. These relations came to be essential ways of managing settlement in the townships. Under the administration of the BAD, the cost of resettlement rations and housing rent were docked directly from wages paid to local residents employed by the administration. The provision of employment meant that households previously exempted from housing rent (the elderly, disabled and very poor single women) became liable for rent (starting at a cost of R1.45 for a one-roomed house and rising to R4.40 for a four-roomed house), which was to be deducted from wages.⁴⁵ After the deduction of rent, and of the rations charge (R1.70 per month), a woman employed by the local administration would take home only eighty five cents from a monthly wage of R4.⁴⁶ Children whose families were unable to keep up rent repayments were encouraged by the township administration to leave school and take up work. These

⁴¹ Evans, ‘The Makings and Meanings’, pp. 95- 96.

⁴² Whittlesea North, now known as Dongwe (meaning Clay), or Ekuphumleni, was an extensive new housing development close to Whittlesea village, where housing became available around 1980. The houses were both larger and of better build quality than any of the structures built at Sada.

⁴³ Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, pp. 9- 13.

⁴⁴ Report by P. Hall, pp. 8- 9.

⁴⁵ Report by P. Hall, p. 9. Department of Arts and Culture, King William’s Town, Ciskei Archives (hereafter Ciskei Archives), Box 573, N13/1/2, 1965- 1968.

⁴⁶ Report by P. Hall, p. 9.

children, of primary school-going age, joined the groups of women who were working on the streets.⁴⁷ Hall described this cost-offsetting as ‘slave labour in disguise’, alluding to widespread dependency upon local authorities who distributed scarce resources.⁴⁸

Employment and rent payment formed the basis of new relations between local residents and the state. Employed residents were entirely dependent on their wages and in the absence of local shops residents were obliged to purchase rations. For those from farms, these circumstances brought even greater food insecurity than paternalist farm rations, which had provided some protection.⁴⁹ Rent payment for local housing enhanced the gendered complex of control focused on the prevention of women’s permanent urbanisation. By trapping resident women into regular employment from which rent was deducted, by binding households into rent payment on a lease-to-buy basis and by tightly regulating the payment of rent, the utilisation of state resources was geared towards the prevention of out-migration to the cities other than through labour bureaux.⁵⁰

These ‘soft’ social controls were coupled with military policing. Entry to and exit from the townships were tightly policed. In Ilinge, where the geography of the valley was conducive to tight control, residents remember how closely the police regulated exit points. Ilinge’s three main exit points were manned by police in order to monitor permits and to control the activities of ex-political prisoners banished to the township.⁵¹ In the late 1960s police patrolled Sada at night, not only to prevent escape but to ‘prevent people from infiltrating into the camp’.⁵² In Sada, the Bantu Commissioner and the Township Superintendent together managed physical movement through the granting of passes and local policing. A pass was necessary to leave or enter the camp. For those not eligible for passes to leave the township - mainly women, the elderly and ex-prisoners - these border controls greatly restricted geographical mobility and the maintenance of social relationships with friends and relatives remaining in the towns from which people had been removed. In that these controls cemented geographical immobility resulting from poverty, they were experienced most bitterly by those who had the greatest means and inclination to leave for town.

The resettlement of single women and female-headed households in Sada and Ilinge revealed the inconsistency of official ideas about family and gender. In practice, the allocation of housing to women was characterised by ‘blunder’ and ambiguity, driven by the localised imperatives of apartheid relocation and housing shortage. While urban township policy granted housing only to men, Bantustan resettlement and the practical realisation of ‘separate development’ made necessary a shift in the state’s position towards housing access for single women and the elderly removed from ‘white’ areas. In the new resettlement townships single women became eligible for housing. As the Superintendent at Sada reported: ‘widows and unmarried mothers with their families of

⁴⁷ Mahlubendile Maqungo (Ilinge, 26th September 2008).

⁴⁸ Report by P. Hall, p. 9.

⁴⁹ For further discussion see L. Evans, ‘Gender, Generation and the Experiences of Farm Dwellers Resettled in the Ciskei Bantustan, South Africa, ca 1960- 1976’, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 13, 2 (2013), pp. 213- 233.

⁵⁰ The payment of housing rent was enforced by the state through house visits: residents were required to produce on demand receipts for rent payments made. MiniJonke Harry Ndolela (Ilinge, 15th October 2008); Joyce Mali and Caswell Stoto Mali (Ilinge, 3rd October 2008).

⁵¹ Nomahomba Miselo (Ilinge, 29th September 2008); Mahlubendile Maqungo.

⁵² Report by P. Hall, p. 8.

small children are given preference...'.⁵³ Single women for whom rural connections could not be established, and who had been removed from urban locations to Sada and Ilinge, were allocated township housing in their own right. The imperatives underpinning the administration and allocation of housing in Sada and Ilinge – the need to accommodate and control the movements of single women - were juxtaposed against gendered ideologies that promoted an image of the 'modern' nuclear African family.

In his study of apartheid relocation in East London, Leslie Bank argues that township planning was characterized by a 'middling modernism' (Rabinow) whereby housing and the domestic sphere constituted the locus of state planning emphasis, as the primary vehicle for social control and transformation.⁵⁴ In Mdantsane, the massive African township-city planned in the 1960s for the relocation of the majority of East London's black residents, resettlement planning was designed to create nuclear families and to 'cleanse individuals and families of [*the*] social pathologies and moral degeneracy of slum life'.⁵⁵ Gender was at the heart of this modernist project. Administrators realised that, in addition to resettling families with male household heads, Mdantsane would also have to absorb a significant number of female-headed households. While these households were not permitted to settle in the new housing schemes established in East London's Duncan Village, which was reserved exclusively for nuclear-style families, in Mdantsane female-headed households were to be permitted provided that they were 'fragmented into smaller units'.⁵⁶ The Secretary of the BAD stipulated in December 1969 that widows and unmarried mothers were eligible for housing in Mdantsane, but that such a policy 'should not be propagated as it could cause general influx to townships from the Bantu rural areas, where the women in question should, in the first instance, be accommodated with their guardians or their relations in terms of Bantu law and customs'.⁵⁷ Each application by single women was to be considered 'on its merits' and submitted to Pretoria for consideration.⁵⁸ While such intensive bureaucratic monitoring as this directive suggested was clearly unviable and stood at odds with the objectives of expediting speedy resettlement, this policy had lasting influence in the minds of administrators, if not in the process of housing allocation, in other of the Ciskei's new townships. This precise correspondence on single women in Mdantsane was repeatedly cited in the administration of housing applications in Sada.⁵⁹ In order to legitimate attempts to minimise housing provision, even within the homelands, the BAD found

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁴ L. Bank, *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City* (Johannesburg, Wits University Press, 2011), pp. 67- 73.

⁵⁵ L. Bank, 'Matrifocality, Patriarchy and Globalisation: Changing Family Forms in a South African City', (Unpublished Paper, Social Trends Institute, Barcelona, 2008), p. 13.

⁵⁶ One of the major effects of removals from East Bank Location to Mdantsane was to break up and disperse matrifocal families. Bank, 'Matrifocality', p. 13. The Mayer's account of resettlement in Mdantsane suggests the uneasy combination of principles that governed the administration of settlement in the township and the unresolved position of women leaseholders in the township. P. Mayer and I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 308- 310.

⁵⁷ Central Archives Depot, Pretoria, BAO 2/2/87, T61/2/347/1764/1, Vol. 1. Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development to the Director of Community Affairs, Ciskeian Territorial Authority, 1st December 1969.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Application for housing for E. N. Masiza, *Ibid.*

utility in 'traditional' Xhosa patriarchies to control the movement of women. Thus while the process and administration of women's endorsement out of urban areas had been streamlined through mass removals, in part owing to the difficulties of establishing through correspondence a domain of patriarchal control to which African women could be sent,⁶⁰ the allocation of housing in the resettlement townships still upheld domestic patriarchy, constructed in part through an image of the 'modern' African family, as an appropriate institution through which to govern African women.

If housing administration in the resettlement townships served to reinforce unequal gender relations through the allocation of housing to male household heads, it placed single women in a particularly vulnerable position. Those unable to keep up rent payments were subject to eviction: a predicament that was common among those unable to rely on remittances. To deal with the high demand for housing, officials were known to keep a close eye on housing occupancy: if a house was found to be unoccupied for more than a few days, even if rent payment was up-to-date, belongings and furniture were removed and the house re-allocated to another applicant.⁶¹ Retaining a house was extremely difficult for households without multiple adult members, one of whom could remain resident. Single people forced to migrate to cities to seek work were often unable to retain housing in their own right. As Nobendiba Lucas explained: 'What was happening here, if you happen to go and work elsewhere, the Superintendent would come, open your house, take your goods, clothes and everything, store it in a store room, and then somebody else is allocated the house. You come [*back*] without a house. It happened to me...'.⁶² The imperative to establish reciprocal networks in the resettlement townships was thus likely reinforced by the need to secure and retain housing.

Prior to 1972, local labour recruitment in the resettlement townships was also influenced by concerns to reshape the African family by rewarding 'functional' households. The highly differentiated pay scale for men and women in the employ of the local administration is one revealing, if obvious, example of the emphasis placed by the state on the 'proper' gendered division of labour. In both Sada and Ilinge, consideration of the marital status of both men and women was a paramount consideration in the selection of employees. There seems to have been a general policy that precluded the employment of more than one member of each family: in Ilinge there was an explicit drive to ensure that only single women would be employed by the township administration.⁶³ The Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Whittlesea, concerned by the number of 'unattached women with illegitimate children' being resettled in Sada, made representations in 1966 for the creation of employment for these women whom he considered both dysfunctional and over-sexualised: they were, he believed, 'sitting around doing nothing... and probably breeding more children'.⁶⁴ If such employment

⁶⁰ Evans, 'The Makings and Meanings', p. 79.

⁶¹ Nomahomba Miselo; Nompumelelo Qcizinyathi (Ilinge, 21st July 2009).

⁶² Nobendiba Scholastica Lucas (Ilinge, 2nd October 2008).

⁶³ Sylvia Malite; Joyce Mali.

⁶⁴ Ciskei Archives, Box 251, File (107) N3/13/21 Part 1. Bantu Affairs Commissioner (Whittlesea) to Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (King William's Town), 27th May 1966. Official condemnation of 'undesirable' and 'oversexualised' African women shaped other aspects of government services in the resettlement townships. In Ilinge, the small and inadequate health clinic established in 1968 focused closely on 'family planning', and the provision of contraception for women. 'Spotlight on Ilinge', *Daily Dispatch*, 1st September 1971.

practices tied single women into earning and rent-paying arrangements, they also denied even poorly paid employment to women who were married but unable to rely on their husband's remittances.

The stabilization of the ideal urban African family – which had characterized urban planning in late-colonial British Africa and shaped urban planning initiatives in 1950s South Africa even with its particular segregationist strategy - was at odds with state planning imperatives to reproduce migrant labour.⁶⁵ The discussion above reveals the beginnings of a vain and blundering effort by apartheid bureaucrats to marry these competing agendas and to legitimate Bantustan independence by encouraging the development of 'functional' migrant households in the homelands. In 1969, the BAD was considering a scheme through which married migrants would be obliged to remit home through direct wage deductions. The maintenance of women in the homelands and of the marital ties of obligation between migrants and their wives were regarded as the foundations of the migrant labour system. As Director of Bantu Labour Du Randt posited in 1969 in relation to this scheme: 'The ties with the homelands must be maintained and the best way of doing this is to keep the women in the homelands...'.⁶⁶ In Sada, the Superintendent chose to employ married men over single 'bachelors', in order, according to Hall, 'to keep as many families as possible intact'.⁶⁷

The effects of resettlement planning in Sada and Ilinge - in the form of housing allocation, rent payment and local employment - were thus profound. The administration of resettlement centred on the control of women, their movement and sexuality, and reinforced male power in the townships. The development of local administrative institutions extended the reaches of the state into the intricate realities of daily life in the townships.

State Resources, Clientelism and Resettlement: Sada and Ilinge Under Ciskei, c.1971-6

The above account of administration under the 'white chiefs' of the BAD has demonstrated how the politics of patronage were already well established as central features of rule in the resettlement areas by the time of the administrative handover from the BAD to Ciskei Tribal Authorities after 1971.⁶⁸ With the handover of administration to the Ciskei, the patronage of state resources became overlaid with and subject to new political imperatives as Bantustan elites jostled for influence.

⁶⁵ F. Cooper, 'Industrial Man Goes to Africa', in L. A. Lindsay and S. F. Miescher (eds), *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., Heinemann, 2003), pp. 128- 137; D. Hindson, *Pass Controls and the Urban African Proletariat in South Africa* (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987). Mager, *Gender and the Making*, pp. 47- 71.

⁶⁶ 'Home savings for Africans may become compulsory', *Daily Dispatch*, 15.th October 1969.

⁶⁷ Report by P. Hall, p. 8.

⁶⁸ M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*. The handover of administration of the Ciskei resettlement townships from the BAD to the Ciskei Territorial Authority took place between 1971-2. Under the TA, housing was managed by the Ciskei Department of Community Development, in collaboration with, from 1972, the newly created Bantu Affairs Administration Board. The creation of the latter was a result of the apartheid state's continued efforts to centralise and consolidate influx control measures. Evans, 'The Makings', pp. 95- 6. S. Bekker and R. Humphries, *From Control to Confusion: The Changing Role of Administration Boards in South Africa, 1971-1983* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter, 1985).

Pippa Green and Alan Hirsch's 1983 report on resettlement in the Ciskei comprises an important resource for this analysis of administration in the resettlement townships. Their detailed political economy of three Ciskei resettlement townships, including Dimbaza and Sada, provides key observations and analytical insights that complement and support the historical sources upon which the following account of patronage and state power is based. 'In Sada', they argue, 'as in other parts of the Ciskei, political control over contract workers, their families and the unemployed has been extended primarily through the powers of economic allocation ceded to the headmen and local officials'.⁶⁹ In the absence of economic opportunities, these authors argue, access to the state was almost the only way of gaining economic security and resources. While Green and Hirsch's analysis focuses on the 'functions' of control that clientelistic networks served for the apartheid regime, this account traces the historical development of local state patronage in the resettlement areas as the Ciskei Bantustan took shape. Owing to the nature of the available historical sources, the following section focuses largely on Sada to explore these dynamics.

Under the Ciskei's administration, Sada township (which fell under the Zulukama Tribal Authority and the Hewu Regional Authority) was divided into zones, each of which was allocated a headman. These headmen comprised an intermediary committee through which housing, pensions and employment contracts (local and migrant) were allocated.⁷⁰ Residents (and prospective residents) of Sada were thus obliged to gain the support of the headmen's committee, through whom applications to the township's Superintendent were made. Given the high demand for housing and the heavy reliance on pensions, these state goods were crucial means through which local functionaries of the Ciskei state could secure loyalty and political control: obtaining housing or pensions required that residents prove their membership of CNIP and payment of their party dues.⁷¹ The committee of headmen held final say over eviction for failure to pay rent. Those to whom houses were reallocated were often required to pay rent arrears: a major down-payment that excluded many.⁷² This helps to explain the social differentiation that emerged in housing occupation, as the poorest and unemployed were pushed out to site and service schemes and informal settlements on the fringes of Sada and Ilinge. Existing procedures for eviction and reallocation were overlaid by new political imperatives under the Ciskei, as clientelists jostled to consolidate their support through housing settlement (see discussion of Myataza below.) The distribution of migrant labour contracts through the Ciskei's Tribal Labour Bureaux hinged on favour and clientage, both locally and in the higher echelons of politics in the Bantustan. While the local committee of headmen in Sada wrested control over the direct allocation of labour contracts to registered workers, formal administration of this process was centralised in Zwelitsha, where contracts were allocated to particular TAs.⁷³

The SPP's research showed that 'virtually all' those questioned in Sada relied on the Ciskei authorities 'for everything'.⁷⁴ Excerpts from their interviews indicated

⁶⁹ Green and Hirsch, 'The Impact of Resettlement', p. 63

⁷⁰ Peires, 'The Implosion', p. 385.

⁷¹ Green and Hirsch, 'The Impact of Resettlement', pp. 63, 66.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-9.

⁷⁴ Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, p. 245.

heavy reliance on state support and strong expectations of further help.⁷⁵ The SPP observed how structures of patronage through the Ciskei authorities pervaded every aspect of local politics:

The CNIP is popularly seen as the one way to get ahead materially. It [*membership of CNIP*] is a precondition of just about every job in the Ciskei. People in Sada even felt that CNIP membership had helped them to get pensions, housing or anything else where they had to apply to officials... it all boils down to appealing to the Ciskei government, to authority, as the source of everything. People therefore tend to try for things through a chain of influence. It makes for very complex relationships which get more complicated still as key people cannot produce the goods.⁷⁶

Klaas Dastile described how in the late 1970s all dealings with the authorities, including paying rent and other taxes, required the production of a CNIP card.⁷⁷

Individuals with political aspirations sought clients for their own enterprises. According to Green and Hirsch, the SPP and other testimony, member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, one time leader of CNIP and local shopkeeper Myataza was 'the most powerful man' in Sada in the 1970s.⁷⁸ Throughout this decade, Myataza developed far-reaching networks, establishing himself as an important figure and benefactor through whom many sought access to state resources: housing, pensions and employment in local public works. His local businesses – amongst which a shop – allowed Myataza to further consolidate his local patronage by extending credit to the poor. To what extent this was an economically profitable exercise is unclear, but some linked his insolvency to his political decline.⁷⁹ According to Green and Hirsch's informants, the growth of Madakeni, the mud settlement on Sada's fringe in which many farm-dwellers settled, was closely associated with Myataza. The residents of Madakeni were widely referred to as 'Myataza's people' because he had encouraged them to settle there from the farms.⁸⁰ Towards the end of the decade, he fell out of favour with the local committee of headmen which was aligned with Sebe, whose local influence was being bolstered by his powerful relative and local businessman, Hebe.⁸¹ Myataza's decline may also have been connected to the rise of new chiefs aligned with Sebe: in 1976-7, nearly 5,400 families were relocated from Herschel and Glen Grey to the Hewu area, lured by Ciskei politicians who promised a 'land of milk and honey' and compelled to opt for residence in a self-governing Ciskei as the lesser of evils on the eve of Transkei independence.⁸² These contests for local influence, battles for control over resources to secure it, and the fickle political alignments of intermediary headmen impacted heavily on those whose

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁷⁷ Klaas Dastile (Sada, 22nd July 2009).

⁷⁸ Green and Hirsch, 'The Impact of Resettlement', p. 65.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*; Wotshela, 'Territorial Manipulation', p. 332.

⁸² Wotshela, 'Territorial Manipulation', pp. 326- 7. As founder of CNIP, Lennox Sebe became the Chief Minister of the Ciskei in 1973. He later became Ciskei's President following the Bantustan's nominal 'independence' in 1981.

‘benefactors’ fell out of local favour and influence. ‘Myataza’s followers’ were allegedly purged from parts of Sada by the committee of headmen sympathetic to Sebe.⁸³

Commentators of class formation in the Bantustans have often emphasised the role of state resources and patronage in the making of a Bantustan middle-class or ‘petty bourgeoisie’.⁸⁴ But it was not only those who aspired or became part of a middle strata in the homelands who relied on the homeland authorities for access to resources: migrants working for starvation wages and the dispossessed and unemployed were drawn in to the orbit of these patronage networks in order to secure the most basic means for daily survival. The ever-present threat of violence, arrest and economic exclusion undoubtedly contributed to the power of homeland regimes.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the pervasive nature of clientelism in these resettlement areas and the particular experiences of those resettled from farms (who comprised the majority population in these areas) also contributed to a set of material circumstances that were conducive, but not reducible, for longstanding projects of apartheid statecraft.

Constituting the most significant demographic moving into the resettlement areas, the relocation of farm workers proved a crucial dynamic in the making of Bantustan authorities at a local level. Apartheid administrators had long been aware of the importance of resettlement schemes for bolstering Tribal Authorities (TA). As one Bantu Affairs Commissioner reported in 1959, ‘to be successful, a tribal authority must grow in strength. It can only survive in a populated area’.⁸⁶ The success of TAs, one administrator surmised, depended on their ability to retain and provide plots for young families and to prevent their permanent migration to the urban areas.⁸⁷ Certainly, the TAs created in Sada and Ilinge were fanciful constructions with virtually no historical foundation: residents of these new resettlement areas came from a variety of places across the Cape, both urban and rural. Nevertheless, the high demand for residential plots in the Ciskei was a key dynamic shaping the possibilities for the formation of new authorities through resettlement. A large number of farm-dwellers who moved to Sada and Ilinge in the 1970s described how new housing, the availability of residential plots and access to secondary education made the resettlement townships attractive alternatives to insecure, highly regulated and exploitative living conditions on commercial farms.⁸⁸

In the scattered reserves of the Ciskei, where geographical contiguity necessitated a major programme of land purchase and resettlement in the years preceding ‘independence’ in 1981, the resettlement of people from commercial farms in the vicinity of the Ciskei played an integral role in the forging of new chiefly power structures, as Jeff Peires has shown. Through the Ciskei’s land consolidation programme, resettlement enabled aspirant chiefs to claim ‘ancestral’ land, to achieve territory and a base of patronage simultaneously. Resettlement thus fostered the rise of new chieftaincies in a

⁸³ Green and Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement’, pp. 64- 5.

⁸⁴ Southall, *South Africa’s Transkei*; ‘The Beneficiaries’; Innes and O’Meara, ‘Class Formation’.

⁸⁵ Posel has emphasised how ‘performances of statecraft’ were powerful tenets of the apartheid project. For the subjects of this colonial regime, the spectre of state violence and surveillance ‘created abiding insecurity, necessitating constant vigilance and improvisation in the practice of everyday life’. Posel, ‘The Apartheid Project’, p. 365.

⁸⁶ Ciskei Archives, Box 51, (49) N1/15/6, Vol. 2. Annual Report: Bantu Affairs Commissioner: King William’s Town (1959).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ For further discussion see Evans, ‘Gender, Generation...’.

region where elected headmen had hitherto largely replaced hereditary chiefs.⁸⁹ Chiefly ‘tributes’ (salaries) were calculated according to the number of ‘followers’ residing in an area of jurisdiction, thus the connection between resettlement and ‘retribalisation’ was direct.⁹⁰

Unlike the areas examined by Peires and Sada’s neighbouring areas (the focus of Wotshela’s research), which emerged in the late 1970s under the jurisdiction of Ciskeian authorities, for the period in which Sada and Ilinge grew rapidly these townships were centrally administered by the BAD.⁹¹ In the context of the high demand for housing among farm workers and widespread deprivation in resettlement townships, through the distribution of housing, limited local employment, and food rations, the state was able to forge structures of social control. Thus while the particular historical moment in which Sada and Ilinge emerged precluded the direct association of resettlement with the growth of new chiefs, the influx of former farm-dwellers and paternalist township administration nevertheless extended the reaches of the Bantustan state on the ground.

The cultural and moral economy of farm paternalism that shaped the experiences of those who resettled in Sada from white-owned farms helps frame an understanding of responses to the Ciskei regime in this locality.⁹² The social world of farm paternalism from which most former farm-dwellers came may well have shaped their engagement with the clientelist political economy that developed in the resettlement areas. Precisely because seeking a patron and buying in to relations of patronage was necessary for survival in the resettlement areas, particularly for those at the bottom of the economic pile, farm-dwellers may have been more disposed to ‘buy in’ to the Ciskei’s political regime, if indeed not the myth.

A few examples demonstrate some rather less-than-hostile attitudes towards the Ciskei authorities held by people from white farms. M. F., for example, recalled how former farm workers in Sada were inclined towards support for the Ciskei because ‘they were getting a lot of things’, including access to grazing or employment on the Shiloh Irrigation Scheme.⁹³ Eslina Ndeleni had been resettled from a farm at Dordrecht to Ilinge. In 1976 she moved to Hewu (the TA under which Sada fell) along with the people removed from Glen Grey in the political resettlements that accompanied Transkei

⁸⁹ Peires, ‘Ethnicity and Pseudo- Ethnicity’, pp. 264- 267, 259. Colin Murray’s account of Solomon Lion is a particularly interesting case study of the rise of a patriarch-chief through resettlement. C. Murray, ‘The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: Resistance and Abuse in the Life of Solomon Lion (1908- 1987)’, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 29, 3 (1999), pp. 341- 386.

⁹⁰ R. Southall, ‘Containing the Chiefs: The ANC and Traditional Leaders in the Eastern Cape, South Africa’, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 37, 1 (2003), p. 53.

⁹¹ Wotshela, ‘Territorial Manipulation’. The Ciskei resettlement area of Ndevana, for example, was established in 1976 when Sebe brought 23 landless families from Mgwali (one of the ‘black spot’ areas threatened with eviction) ‘to form the nucleus of his tribal domain’. Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, pp. 72- 73.

⁹² C. van Onselen, ‘The Social and Economic Underpinning of Paternalism and Violence on the Maize Farms of the South-Western Transvaal, 1900- 1950’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 5, 2 (1992), pp. 127- 160.

⁹³ M. F. (Sada, 26th August 2009). While plots on the Shiloh Irrigation Scheme, former farm-dwellers and other resettled people described the employment opportunities that had existed at the scheme, part of which was managed by the Ciskei government as a ‘Tribal’ farm. There were clearly relations of political patronage that surrounded the allocation of irrigated plots and wage employment on the scheme. A. S. (Upper Shiloh, 27th July 2009). Green and Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement’, p. 61.

independence. Given the choice of voting in a referendum for either Ciskei or Transkei, she decided to 'vote for the one that had already helped me' and therefore for the Ciskei. As a result she was forced to move out of Ilinge, to Sada.⁹⁴ Zongezile Mdlanga, described the relative efficiency of the Ciskei administration in Ilinge: 'There were no hassles. You just hear that Sebe's done that thing, and it would take place. Sebe built schools and then there was that factory, the initiative of Ciskei'.⁹⁵

In Ilinge, some residents denied that headmen had gained any kind of local recognition: rather, their influence stemmed from their direct connections to state resources. As Mahlubendile Maqungo, who was an active ANC member in Port Elizabeth before his incarceration and banishment to Ilinge, commented: '...there was resistance, but the imposition of headmen was not so stiff and rough. Not stiff and rough. It was only if you want something then they said you should go to the headmen'.⁹⁶ While Maqungo's testimony does reflect how illegitimate he considered the TAs to be, it also suggests the 'normalised' character of administration in the Ciskei resettlement areas in the early 1970s. After the Ciskei took over administration for the townships in the early 1970s, a number of former political prisoners entered the local administration in Sada and Ilinge as clerks, foremen and other officials.⁹⁷ They did not consider their participation in the township administrative structures to be necessarily antithetical to African nationalist politics. Since better-paid employment was scarce for those with high-school education, these men did not regard their employment as 'collaboration' but rather as an opportunity to help improve living conditions in the townships, while continuing their participation in networks of underground political activity.

The influence of the committee of headmen in Sada derived from their powers of discretion: discrimination, preferential treatment and the taking of bribes in the allocation of state resources empowered these functionaries of the homeland state as individuals.⁹⁸ Such were the outcomes of indirect rule through tribal authorities, which were upwardly accountable and promoted the power of individual state functionaries with control over resources. Discretion, bribery, administrative incompetence and the fact that massive demand outstripped paltry supply all elevated the promise of provision as a powerful political tool in fostering compliance and social control. These promises were performances of power that were as much part of clientelism as the material exchanges to which they referred. Under TAs, and within the obsessively racist and modernist apartheid project that promised development in ethnic homelands while being

⁹⁴ Eslina Ndeleni (Ekuphumleni, 4th October 2008).

⁹⁵ Zongezile Mdlanga (Ilinge, 2nd October 2008). In comparison to the extreme violence of the Transkei authorities, which administered Ilinge after 1976, the Ciskei authorities were considered to have been relatively benign. Victor Maxongo (Sada, 23rd July 2009) described the more lenient treatment of political prisoners in Ilinge under the Ciskei's administration, in comparison to the administrations that preceded and followed: 'The Ciskei were not so much on our necks, things were better'. While having no sympathy with the homelands, Z. M. M. (Sada, 27th July 2009) described the efficiency of the Ciskei administration in Sada, the better standards of building work, and its relatively well qualified personnel.

⁹⁶ Mahlubendile Maqungo.

⁹⁷ Nsindleko Ntenetyana (Ilinge, 13th October 2008) became a foreman working for the local administration at Ilinge; G. H. worked as a Clerk for the Ciskei authorities in Sada; V. Maxongo worked as a Foreman in Sada; Z.M.M. worked in various posts in the township administration in Sada, where he was eventually appointed under the Ciskei as the Superintendent of Public Works. Thandikile Siswana (Sada, 16th July 2009) was employed by the Department of Public Works in Sada for many years.

⁹⁸ Green and Hirsch, 'The Impact of Resettlement', p. 65.

underpinned by an overwhelming spectre and threat of violence,⁹⁹ the promise of resource distribution by clientelists comprised an institutional mode of indirect rule, encouraging ‘compliance without consent’ and offering a glimmer of hope for a stake in a system of exploitation from whose benefits the majority were excluded.¹⁰⁰

Sada and Ilinge expanded rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. While plots in the townships were generally larger than in the towns and cities and presented some limited opportunities to cultivate vegetable gardens, they were far too small to secure a sustainable food supply. The keeping of livestock in the township was widely prohibited, and in any case, grazing was not available. There were no obvious opportunities for residents or administrators to acquire further land, except for the very few in Sada who may have managed to secure access to a plot on the Shiloh Irrigation Scheme through personal connections. Without land to allocate, and with local power influence dependent on the continued allocation of such limited non-agrarian state resources as the apartheid state’s Bantustan budgets and Ciskei’s political feuds permitted, the promise of provision of residential plots, housing, pensions and labour contracts by patrons constituted a precarious basis for political power.¹⁰¹ As the SPP described, ‘Promises work for a time, but then leading figures find their own power base eroded by failure of the administration to supply what Sada needs...’.¹⁰² Green and Hirsch reckoned that ‘the imposition of “tribal” ideology in a situation where there is no material basis for it, poses severe problems for the local ruling class in their attempts at containment and control’.¹⁰³ By 1983, the farce of this flimsy cloak of promises was becoming increasingly obvious to the residents of Sada.¹⁰⁴

John Sharp has argued that the absence of control over agricultural land was at the centre of the failure of traditional authorities to gain ‘legitimacy’ in Qwaqwa; ‘[t]he *indunas* do not control any resources which people need, and can therefore have no positive functions at all’, he concluded.¹⁰⁵ While Sharp focuses on the failure of this Bantustan to establish enduring political legitimacy and power, the limited power that TAs did wield through the patronage of non-agrarian resources deserves greater analytical emphasis, as this paper has tried to show. The extension of the state administration through resettlement and the creation of clientelist networks around the provision of basic goods, housing and the allocation of work contracts played key roles in extending the presence of the Ciskei state on the ground and in bolstering, albeit temporarily, limited support for the Ciskei regime. These networks of patronage were indeed reliant on external support from South Africa. Without the power or resources to continue allocating land, the Ciskei authorities in Ilinge and Sada were reduced to the

⁹⁹ Posel, ‘The Apartheid Project’, p. 364- 5.

¹⁰⁰ Przeworski, cited in Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*, p. 297. Recent anthropological work on state planning highlights the role of modernist planning (for example planned housing developments) in managing the present through the ‘allure’ of a promised future. S. Abram and G. Weszkalnys, ‘Introduction: Anthropologies of Planning- Temporality, Imagination and Ethnography’, *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology*, 61 (2011), pp. 3, 3-18.

¹⁰¹ Green and Hirsch highlight the reliance if the committee and other government officials upon ‘an ideology of of promises’. Green and Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement’, p. 67.

¹⁰² Surplus People Project, *The SPP Reports, Volume 2*, p. 244.

¹⁰³ Green and Hirsch, ‘The Impact of Resettlement’, p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Sharp, ‘Relocation, Labour Migration, and the Domestic Predicament’, pp. 132- 133.

status of administrators, dependent on the continuity of state funding in order to establish and preserve any form of resilient control.¹⁰⁶ While Ciskei elites may have sought legitimation from the performance of ‘tradition’, however invented, their authority stemmed more from their status as clientelists of the modern colonial state.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to understand the production of power and authority in Sada and Ilinge, first under the administration of the South African BAD, and later under the administration of the Ciskei regime. While it is far beyond its limits to account for the collapse of the Ciskei regime, the analysis contained herein describes localised negotiations of power, their material bases and the circumstances that may have shaped the upsurge of resistance that was soon to follow. The paper contributes to understandings of the making of the Ciskei Bantustan and its ‘implosion’ and to debates around the rise and fall of ethnic nationalist homeland regimes.¹⁰⁷ It offers a contribution to historians’ developing understandings of the social and cultural processes that underpinned the making of ethnic identities, which found little support as nationalist projects but nevertheless in some places, in particular moments and among particular groups, were platforms that found appeal.¹⁰⁸ Mass resettlement and housing development were instrumental in the making of TAs in the northern Ciskei. The paper contributes, along with Wotshela’s account, to a materialist history of the Ciskei that explores the local-level and blundering processes that shaped the construction of indirect rule in this Bantustan, the shaky material foundations underpinning these authorities and the social dynamics that helped precipitate their decline.¹⁰⁹

Extreme deprivation in the new resettlement townships, the social dislocation that many experienced on arrival and the power vacuum that initially existed in these settlements produced the conditions in which dependency upon the local institutions of the BAD was widespread. Through the regulation of housing provision, employment, and the creation of a culture of rent-payment, the BAD’s administration created structures of control that had far-reaching influences in the daily lives of the townships’ inhabitants. The analysis has shown how state interventions and were fundamentally gendered.

¹⁰⁶ Frederick Cooper’s analysis of the ‘gatekeeper’ state in postcolonial Africa is instructive for understanding the relationship between the Bantustan regimes and the South Africa colonial state. F. Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 465.

¹⁰⁷ Peires, ‘Ethnicity and Pseudo- Ethnicity’; ‘The Implosion’; Mager, *Gender and the Making*; Bank, ‘Between Traders and Tribalists’; ‘The Failure of Ethnic Nationalism’; P. S. Jones, “‘To Come Together for Progress’: Modernization and Nation-Building in South Africa’s Bantustan Periphery. The Case of Bophuthatswana’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25, 4 (1999), pp. 579- 605.

¹⁰⁸ Sekibakiba Peter Lekgoathi, “‘You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Corporation’: Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership, 1960–1994’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35, 3, (2009), pp. 575- 594; ‘Chiefs, Migrants and North Ndebele Ethnicity in the Context of Surrounding Homeland Politics, 1965-1978’, *African Studies*, 62, 1 (2003), 53- 77; I. Niehaus, ‘Ethnicity and the Boundaries of Belonging: Reconfiguring Shangaan Identity in the South African Lowveld’, *African Affairs*, 101, 405 (2002), pp. 557- 583; D. James, ‘A Question of Ethnicity: Ndzundza Ndebele in a Lebowa Village’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16, 1 (1990), pp. 33-54.

¹⁰⁹ Wotshela, ‘Territorial Manipulation’.

The effects of state interventions in the resettlement areas were to entrench forms of rural 'efflux' control, preventing the out-migration of women and promoting regimes of domestic patriarchy and dependence on male migrants' wages. The availability of housing in the resettlement townships and the inculcation of rent-paying on a lease-to-buy basis was intended to encourage permanent settlement in the Ciskei and prevent uncontrolled migration to the urban areas. This study has offered new insights to inform reassessments of the rural dynamics of apartheid movement controls and the central importance of residential developments in the homelands for the state's reorganisation of influx control during the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹⁰

Under the administration of the 'self-governing' Ciskei, relations of patronage were subject to new political imperatives, as aspiring chiefs jostled for control over state resources to secure their influence. Caught in the middle, as intermediary state functionaries, headmen operated on political terrain that was constantly shifting, with dramatic effects for those most reliant on patrons to secure their survival. Dependent on the provision of non-agrarian resources from the central state, the Ciskei authorities' hegemonic project was thin and precarious.

Local tolerance of aspects of Bantustan authority in the Ciskei resettlement areas did not represent the emergence of any sort of coherent ethnic nationalist sentiment. Ciskeian ethnic nationalism, which emerged in the highest echelons of Ciskei politics as a result of Lennox Sebe's need to broaden his own support base after the 1973 election, 'lacked any basis in historical reality', had little support in popular and educated opinion, and was the result of the suppression of 'whatever genuine ethnic feeling had once existed' amongst Rharhabe and Mfengu Xhosa-speakers in the Ciskei region, Peires argues.¹¹¹ This study has shown that in the crucible of change created by the National Party government's promotion of Bantustan self-government and homeland independence – a blundering construction of a peculiarly modern system of indirect rule - limited state resources and processes of social and economic change in the countryside presented possibilities for unexpected and strategic alliances to be temporarily formed.

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¹¹⁰ D.C. Hindson, 'The Pass System and the Formation of an Urban African Proletariat in South Africa: A Critique of the Cheap Labour-Power Thesis' (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1983), pp. 12, 303.

¹¹¹ Peires, 'Ethnicity and Pseudo- Ethnicity', pp. 261- 270, p. 271.

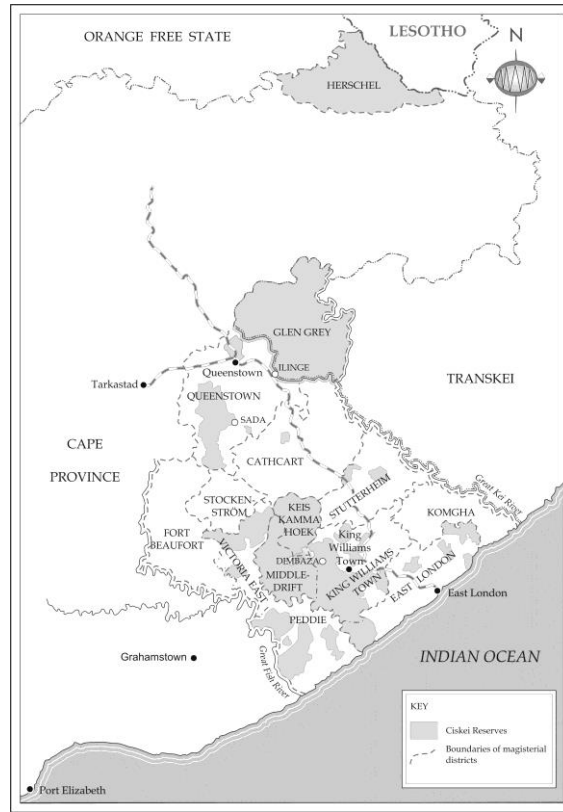


Figure 1. Ciskei Reserves and Resettlement Townships, c. 1968

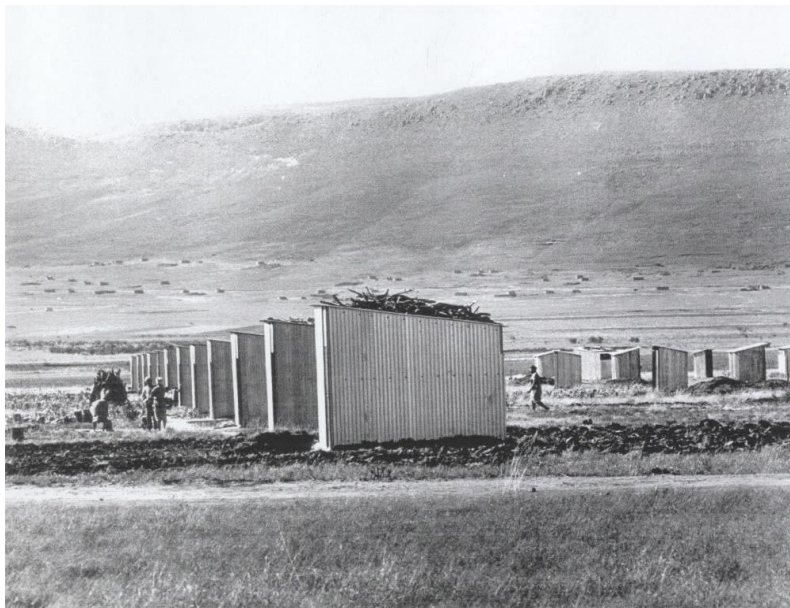


Figure 2. Prefabricated houses, Ilinge, c. 1969. Source: University of the Witwatersrand, Historical Papers, AD1788, file 19, no. 2