CATA – A FORMER HOMELAND VILLAGE
AFFECTED BY BETTERMENT,
EASTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

Josefina Andersson
Lina Axelsson

Examensarbete i geografi 10 poäng
Landskapsvetarprogrammet
Institutionen för matematik och naturvetenskap
Högskolan Kristianstad
Kristianstad 2005
Cover picture: Cata seen from north
Photo & Copyright © Josefina Andersson, Lina Axelsson
Abstract
This study focus on the house ruins and land use in Nyokana, a former village section in Cata, by looking at their location, number and the people who lived there and their living before the Betterment plan was carried through. This is done by studying an old map and documents of Cata, field studies with GPS-using and by interviewing mostly old inhabitants. The result is a basis for the development of the planned tourism track within the heritage project, which runs by BRC and University of Fort Hare.
Summary
Our aim is to undertake a Minor Field Study in South Africa by studying Cata, a village in the former homeland of Ciskei in the province of the Eastern Cape. Our mission is to contribute further information and documentation of the former homeland village Nyokana’s betterment history. Our study is a part of a larger “heritage project” in Cata, that Border Rural Committee and professor Gary Minkley from University of Fort Hare are in charge of.

We interviewed totally ten different inhabitants who still remember the homeland and betterment period. The main question that we focused on is: how were the inhabitants of Nyokana residential environment before Betterment was introduced, mostly concerning house use, livestock, garden and field? The field work was done with assistance of people from the interviewed families who lived in Nyokana, and by using GPS we plotted the house ruins and produced a map in ArcView 3.3. We also mapped out where the interviewed families live today, after Betterment.

South Africa’s history is characterized by many different periods and social groups, competing for the land. Characteristic of the 20th century in South Africa was a time filled with political disturbances, general dissatisfaction, demonstrations and massacres. In the late 1940’s millions of people were forced to move away from their homes into the homelands - a racist division from an ethnological perspective. The homelands, where 75 percent of the population should live in only 13 percent of the total land area, were concentrated in the bare north-eastern part of South Africa.

Betterment planning started already in the 1930’s in South Africa and from 1948-1950 there was a great research project in six rural villages in Ciskei, and Cata was one of them, to see if the Betterment would have any impact. During the 1960’s the apartheid regime carried out Betterment. This reform forced the inhabitants of the homelands to once again leave their homes and start all over, but this time inside the homeland border where they lived at that time. In 1963 Betterment was enforced in Cata and the official purpose of the Betterment was that the inhabitants would have it “better” if they moved together into a village, instead of living spread out. There was an intense suffering in the homelands after Betterment.

The majority of the houses in Nyokana, a former village section of Cata, were whitewashed and round, made of rectangular mud blocks placed on top of each other with grass roofs. Every family had cattle and if they had many cattle this meant that they were rich because this was how they invest their resources instead of using banks. Almost every family had their own kraal which served two different purposes; to perform rituals and ceremonies and to protect the animals with their young ones during the night. The inhabitants of Nyokana had fields and their own gardens where they could cultivate for their own household requirements. In the gardens they generally cultivated some of following crops; maize, pumpkin, spinach, cabbage, carrots, potatoes, beans, pies and other “small” crops. The majority of the total field size for each homestead varied from two to three morgen (1 morgen = 8 565.3 m²) where they mostly cultivated maize and pumpkin, as in the gardens, but also sorghum (kaffircorn) was one of the most common crops in the fields.

This result should be considered as a basis for further studies about the remaining ruins in Nyokana that has not been studied in this report.
CONTENTS

1. Introduction ................................................................................................................................. 6

2. Background .................................................................................................................................. 7
   2.1. Facts about South Africa ........................................................................................................... 7
   2.2. History ........................................................................................................................................ 8
   2.3. Homeland village ....................................................................................................................... 10
       2.3.1. Betterment – restructuring the homelands and other “black areas” ......................... 11
       2.3.2. Homeland Ciskei .................................................................................................................. 12
   2.4. Study area – the village Cata ..................................................................................................... 13
       2.4.1. Betterment in Cata .............................................................................................................. 13
   2.5. This has been done ..................................................................................................................... 14

3. Material and methods ............................................................................................................... 15
   3.1. Criticism of the sources .............................................................................................................. 15

4. Families and homesteads through Betterment ....................................................................... 16
   4.1. The first settlers in Cata ............................................................................................................. 16
   4.2. Focus on eleven homesteads in Nyokana before Betterment ................................................... 17
       4.2.1. General information about the homesteads in Nyokana .............................................. 17
       4.2.2. Mqalo family ....................................................................................................................... 20
       4.2.3. Nkume family ..................................................................................................................... 23
       4.2.4. Msetu family ....................................................................................................................... 24
       4.2.5. Mqhathazana family .......................................................................................................... 25
       4.2.6. Tete family .......................................................................................................................... 27

5. Discussion of the results ....................................................................................................... 28

6. References ............................................................................................................................... 30

Appendix 1 - Genealogical table over Mqalo family
Appendix 2 - Genealogical table over Msetu family
Appendix 3 - Genealogical table over Tete family
Appendix 4 - Homesteads in Cata
Appendix 5 - House ruins in Nyokana – marked with GPS and used in ArcView 3.3
Appendix 6 - Other interesting information from the interviews
1. Introduction

Our aim is to undertake a Minor Field Study (MFS) in South Africa by studying Cata\(^1\), a village in the former homeland of Ciskei, affected by Betterment, in the province of the Eastern Cape (see Fig. 1). It was a great suffering for the black people during the apartheid regime and by the implementation of Betterment in the 1960’s when they had to give up a lot of their land – a racially determined process of forced villagisation and dispossession of land and stock.

This kind of study has not been done before in this region, and it is important to document the information, about how it was at that time when Betterment was implemented, before the people who actually lived there and still remembers passes away. The study area Cata is chosen mainly because this is the first village to be compensated for the suffering from Betterment. Another reason is that here have been investigations, both before Betterment to see if it would had any impact by the writing “Social Structure” from the middle of 20\(^{th}\) century, and after Betterment with some more recent investigations by Chris de Wet among others. Today there are also different projects in Cata that helps the village to develop a sustainable today situation and future.

Our study focus on the settlement structure and land use at family level before Betterment. The main issues for this study are:

- How many and what kind of houses were used?

---

\(^1\) The spelling of Cata, and other names that occurs in this study, varies. We have chosen to use the spelling that the inhabitants of Cata use.
Can the remains of the houses still be identified in the field?
What kind of livestock were kept?
What kind of crops were grown?

Our aim is to contribute further information and documentation of the former homeland village Cata’s Betterment history, by doing interviews and field work. We focus on the location of these remains, the house use and the people who lived there and their residential environment before the Betterment plan was carried through and also where they were moved to. We will also produce a map in ArcView 3.3 where we plot the house ruins in the former village section Nyokana, which are still visible today, and we also map out their new homesteads after Betterment.

The study is a part of the ongoing “heritage project” in Cata that Border Rural Committee and professor Gary Minkley from University of Fort Hare are in charge of. The purpose of this project is to compensate the black people for the land they had to give up during the apartheid regime and the implementation of Betterment. One stage of this project is to preserve and exhibit the apartheid and betterment history by, among other things, establish an historical museum in Cata and also a tourist route in some of the former homeland village sections. This essay’s result will be used in that exhibition and within the developing work of the tourist route.

We have one supervisor at Kristianstad University, Joachim Regnéll, and one supervisor in South Africa, Gary Minkley from University of Fort Hare, who helps us during the project’s three phases. First, we study the country and make preparations of different kinds at home in Sweden starting at the end of 2004. Secondly, we go to South Africa and Cata for eight weeks in April and May, to do observations, interviews and field studies. This expedition is mostly financed by a scholarship from SIDA since this is a Minor Field Study (MFS). Finally we compile and analyse our results in an essay that will be finalised in June 2005.

2. Background

2.1. Facts about South Africa

South Africa, with the capital Pretoria, is about three times larger than Sweden with a total area of 1 219 912 km². The population is 44.4 million (2001) and there are eleven official national languages (Granrot & Öhrn 2003). The country is divided into nine provinces; Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free state, KwaZulu-Natal, Northwest province, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. The country can also be divided into three major parts based on topography; the lowveld (rather damp areas along the coast), the highveld (grassland in the central parts of the country) and Kalahari Basin (semi desert in north-west) (Lindblad et al. 1997).

South Africa has a long geological history with bare bed-rock, sedimentary rocks and some elements of volcanic rock in the northern parts where one of the worlds most varied collection of minerals appears. The bed-rock has weathered over time and created a plateau that almost has the same location as the highveld area (Ross 2001). This plateau stops the rainy weather systems that come from the Indian Ocean in the summer. That is why the humidity is high along the coast in the south-east between the see and the plateau. Beyond the plateau the precipitation is much lower and the grassland spreads out and in the north-west it turns to semi desert. One exception is the south-west part of the country that has a climate that reminds one of Mediterranean or Californian climate, because in wintertime rainy weather
systems comes from the Atlantic Ocean and creates this, for the country, different conditions (Lindblad et al. 1997).

Later on it will be shown that there is a connection between these areas with low humidity and the location of the homelands. In these dry areas, where the black inhabitants were forced to settle down, it was hard to cultivate because the soil soon got inferior.

2.2. History
South Africa’s history is characterized by many different periods and social groups, competing for the land. Some ethnic defined groups, still living in the country today, have ancestors from 500 BC, a history that has influenced their present living situation. Studies of this long history can be a great help in understanding the present day situation in South Africa and the relations between the black and the white inhabitants.

The eastern region of South Africa has been occupied for over 2000 years by black inhabitants of different tribes, the same region where the homelands later on were located by the white government. It was around 500 BC cattle breeding was introduced by the hunter-gathering people of Khoekhoe in South Africa, starting with sheep and later with cattle. But they did not totally abandon the hunter-gathering lifestyle, it was a gradual change. At about the same time Bantu-speaking agricultural people came from north into the country, bringing the Iron Age culture with them and the knowledge of domesticated crops. They settled down in the very eastern region where the conditions of cultivating were good, thanks to the well watered coast region, where they cultivated durra, different kinds of millet, pumpkins, melons and different kinds of herbs. After a while they spread out up to the highveld where they pursued a more extensive cattle based framing culture. If they owned a lot of cattle they had a strong social status which they could lose if for example the animals were lost or stolen (Ross 2001).

The Portuguese Bartolomeu Diaz was the first European to reach the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa in 1488 on his way to India. After the Europeans had discovered this sea route to India and Java foreign influences came to South Africa. This was the beginning of the European’s capture and colonisation of the country that brought the black original inhabitants under strict control many decades ahead. More than a century later the Dutch (even called Boer) set up a station in Table Bay in 1652 to provide the seafarers with food, fuel and water by trading with the local habitants - the people of Khoekhoe. This enforced trade with the Khoekhoe soon degenerated into raiding and warfare, and all the black inhabitants were very dissatisfied with the Dutch rulers and banded together against them and their slave-trade (Ross 2001).

The British captured the Cape Colony in 1795 as part of the struggle to rule the oceans. But it was not until 1806 that the Cape Colony formally became a British colony (Palmberg & Strand 1995). From the 1820’s, the Boer’s wanted more freedom and the dissatisfaction with the British rule increased. In 1833 the British introduced another new law that banned slavery, this was the last straw and the start of the Great Trek. Groups of Boers abandoned their farms in the Cape Colony and went to north-easter regions, heading towards the Orange River. A myth said that this land was unoccupied, but the truth was that settlements of black people already lived here and the Boers intruded on their land. Several short-lived Boer republics sprang up the following decades - a time full of confusion and conflicts but always with the aim of acquiring freedom and land (Swaney et al.2003).

Important years during the 20th century
Characteristic of the 20th century in South Africa was a time filled with political disturbances, general dissatisfaction, demonstrations and massacres. The demonstration against the
passport’s laws in Sharpeville in 1960, the so called “slum clearance” in Soweto in 1976 and the Boipatong massacre in 1992 were all examples of occurrences in which many people were killed (Palmberg & Strand 1995). It is also during this century that the homelands and the Betterment plans were enforced by the apartheid regime, this will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Since the latter day history is important in order to understand the present situation regarding South Africa and its people and since this century is more relevant to our study the following main events are briefly outlined year by year.

1912
The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in protest against the injustice of the British land’s law and the union’s constitution that gave no rights to the black people.

1913
The Native Land Act reduced the agricultural land that the black people were allowed to own to areas in designated ‘Native reserves’ which later became the homelands. Black people were not allowed to own land beyond this limited areas.

1948
The National party, with its ideology of apartheid, won the general election. The race politics intensified and were extended in the constitution. One act, called the Group Areas Act, enforced the physical separation between black and white people. There was another act, called the Separate Amenities Act, which enforced this separation in public places; there were for example separate beaches, buses, toilets, schools and park benches. The pass laws were further strengthened and the black people always had to carry identity documents and needed specific permission to visit outside of their designated residential areas. The policy of apartheid also said that black people would no longer qualify for South African citizenship – but would need to exercise their political rights in their own ethnic of tribal homelands.

1960’s
During the 1960’s Betterment reform was enforced in the homelands of South Africa, as one of the many racial laws of ownership and dispossession. The government introduced this reform with the aim of restructuring, regulating and getting control over the land use, via various means, in these areas. It was in 1963 that Betterment was introduced in this essay’s study area, the village Cata.

1961
ANC and PAC (Pan-African Congress) were banned. The armed struggle began and South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth and declared themselves a republic.

1983
UDF (United Democratic Front) was founded as an organisation to coordinate all the 600 antiapartheid organisations that already existed.

1990
The president FW de Klerk released Nelson Mandela after he had spent 27 years in prison. Mandela’s party, ANC, and another party, PAC, were now allowed to work unimpeded. At the same time the political violence increased. There were three main theories for this: poverty, insufficient education and the political power struggle. None of these could explain the political violence by themselves, but the combination of them all created dissatisfaction among the people.
1991
Negotiations of a “new” democratic South Africa began and 17 parties and groups participated.

1993
The apartheid constitution was ended by the white government and a transitional council was found.

1994
The first general democratic election was held and Nelson Mandela’s party ANC won with 62.7 percent. On 10 May he took the president’s oath and the new politicians took their places in parliament (Palmberg & Strand 1995, Swaney et al. 2003).

After this historical election the political situation stabilised and in 1997 Nelson Mandela handed over the position as chairman of ANC to Thabo Mbeki. Two years later in 1999 Nelson Mandela also resigned from as president of South Africa and was succeeded by Thabo Mbeki. A new general election was held and ANC confirmed their standing as South Africa’s most important political party with 66 percent of the votes. But still in 2000 the ongoing projects that should return the land to those who were forcibly removed from their homes, was progressing very slowly (Swaney et al. 2003).

2.3. Homeland village
One part of apartheid was the dream of creating a land with separate black homelands and a white South Africa, a thought which was based on the Natives Land Act from 1913 and the later apartheid homeland policies. A racist division from an ethnological perspective was carried out. Without consideration to the black people’s place of birth they were split into ten different homelands (italics) with respective tribe; Bophuthatswana – Tswana, Lebowa – Lobedu, KwaZulu – Zulu, Venda – Vhavenda, Gazankulu – Tsonga, Kangwane – Swazi, Kwandebele – Ndebele, Qwaqwa – Southern Sotho, Transkei – Xhosa, Ciskei – Xhosa. The homelands were concentrated in the eastern/north-eastern part of South Africa and represented only 13 percent of the total land area (see Fig. 1). This was where 75 percent of the land’s population should live. As this part of the country consists of dry grassland with just a little yearly rainfall in the summer, it was not a good area for cultivation.

 Millions of people were forced to move away from their homes which then were totally destroyed. They were placed in homelands where they never had been before, with people they never had seen before. They were provided with provisions that should last for a short while and then they were expected to become self-sufficient and self-governing states. But this was almost impossible because the soil soon became inferior and they had little infrastructure and no industries. They could not produce enough food for the fast increasing population, and of course they could not get any help from outside the homeland and the government did not care (Lindblad et al. 1997).

In the late 1960’s the government allowed direct investments by outsiders in the homelands, with the purpose of making greater economic viability and giving some legitimacy to the drive to homeland independence. Many foreign investors started different types of industries and made products that were cheap to transport and that required limited skills to produce, for example matches and clothing. The decentralised factories grew more quickly than those in the old metropolitan centres. But it was not only factories that were built, a lot of casinos were built near the ‘borders’, mostly by the Southern Sun hotel group. Gambling of this kind was strictly forbidden by the law in South Africa (the RSA
Government) so many white people crossed the border into the homelands and went to these casinos (Beinart 1994).

2.3.1. Betterment – restructuring the homelands and other “black areas”

The Betterment implies to restructure the homeland’s scattered black settlements and bring them together into larger blocks, and the planning started already in the 1930’s in South Africa. From 1948-1950 the government had a great research project in Ciskei, to see if the Betterment would have any impact. This project was carried through in six rural villages in Ciskei and the village Cata was one of them (Border Rural Committee 2004a). One report that was written during the years before Betterment was the “Reclamation and Settlement Report”, which gave the impression that it was good cultivation conditions in the homeland Ciskei. The white government had among other things written that the “rainfall was good, the soil deep, not easily erodable and still in good heart and productive” (De Wet & Bekker 1985).

But it was not until the 1960’s the apartheid regime introduced this reform, and it forced the inhabitants of the homelands to once again leave their homes and start all over, but this time inside the homeland border where they lived at that time (Border Rural Committee 2004a). The official purpose of the Betterment was that the inhabitants would have it “better” if they moved together into a village and apply peasant farming. Thereby it would be closer to schools, medical services and larger roads for everyone. But these were not real problems for the inhabitants in the first place. The unofficial purpose was to crush a well working and strong community and its effect was to extent poverty and unemployment. In this way the apartheid regime could use the labour in the numerous mines industries and farms instead and it would also be easier for the government to regulate and control the land use in these areas. It was a detailed plan and the people who were included to this plan were forced to obey everything the government instructed (De Wet 1995, De Wet & Bekker 1985).

One woman who was forced away from her home in northern Ciskei to another part of the homeland said: “This thing came so sudden upon us that I can not tell you what happened… they came with guns and police and with all sort of things. We had no choice, the guns were behind us. They did not say anything, just threw our belongings in. We did not know, we still do not know this place. And when we came here they dumped our things. We can do nothing” (Johnson Barker et al. 1994).

There was an intense suffering in the homelands after Betterment. For one example few of the villages had piped water. In the early 1980’s the average women and children spent about three hours per day fetching water. There were no waste of water in the homelands and per capita they only had about ten litres of water per day, compared to a white city-dweller who had over 200 litres. Many homeland families were split when the family father had to leave and look out for a job in the cities or in the mines to bring an income to their families. Before they could leave the homelands they were forced to get a valid passport and official permission. When the number of black workers in the city increased the government took action and forbade black people from becoming shop assistants, receptionists and office workers. They also forbade building of homes in the cities for these black workers. Instead they built huge lodgings for black people only. Even so, they preferred to stay and work there because the situation back in the homelands was much worse and they needed the money to their families back home (Beinart 1994).

The specific number of people who were forced to move under Betterment has not been quantified, but it is confirmed that it is somewhere between 1,3 million up to 2,5 million people. This indicates that these Betterment removals affected more people than any other apartheid dispossession (Border Rural Committee 2004b).
2.3.2. Homeland Ciskei

The former homeland Ciskei was inhabited by the Xhosa and lay between the Great Fish River in the south and the Great Kei River in the north. The size was about 877 500 hectares in the middle 1950’s, this was before the consolidation in 1975 when smaller scattered land areas were brought together in one block. Just before the consolidation took place Ciskei consisted of 20 scattered areas that in the early 1970’s turned into five larger areas that together covered about 942 000 hectares. Parallel with this consolidation there were negotiations between the Governments of Ciskei, Transkei and RSA where it was agreed that Ciskei would cede the outlaying districts of Herschel and Grey Glen to Transkei. In return Ciskei got the Kat River Valley and the Seymour district from the RSA Government. After this the homeland area was a bit reduced to 770 000 hectares but after this it consisted of one single geographic block with seven districts. These were Hewu, Keiskammahoek, Middledrift, Victoria East, Mdantsane, Peddie and Zwelitsha (Malan & Hattingh 1976). This essay’s study area, the village Cata, is located in the province of Keiskammahoek in Ciskei (see Fig. 2).

In 1979 the RSA Government appointed a new Commission that after negotiations recommended that Ciskei would become ‘independent’. Two years later in 1981 Ciskei became an “independent” republic (Joyce 2000). The Commission also proposed that the three towns King William’s Town, Berlin and Hogsback and the farming areas in their vicinity should be incorporated in Ciskei. The Cabinet took the final decision and said that King William’s Town and Berlin would not be incorporated, but the other four areas were incorporated in Ciskei. After this decision there were further land areas that were under consideration in following years but they were never incorporated before the homelands were abolished in 1994 (Benso 1981).

In 1980 the population was about 636 000 people living in Ciskei and about 440 000 Ciskeians living outside the homeland. The citizens of Ciskei were young and 50 percent were under 15 years old and only 7.3 percent were over 60 (Benso 1981).
Xhosa – the people in Ciskei

The Xhosa people have a long history, and still today they preserve their history and traditions by telling the old stories to the next generation. But of course they have been influenced by the modern Western processes and some of their old traditions have been declined. It is especially in the rural areas of Ciskei that these old traditions, with many special rituals, are still alive today, and following parts briefly outlines these “traditional” Xhosa practices.

The Xhosa are traditionally organised within families, clans and tribes. This is an old system with ranking, where every family had a headman, several headmen, in turn, under one of their chief’s counsellors, under a tribal chief, who, with his counsellors, was the most powerful man in this hierarchy. By tradition they apply polygamy, where the husband has his ranked wives in different houses, but this kind of marriage has declined considerably today.

The Xhosa have seven different stages they go through during their lives; birth, infancy, weaning and early childhood, childhood to puberty, initiation, marriage and adulthood. Every one of these stages is paid attention to and marked by different rituals, especially the initiation [intonjane] which is the most important rite when they are given prominence and it marks a great phase of growth (Benso 1981). According to oral accounts the kraal served a very important purpose during the performance of the different rituals, because this was where they got into contact with their ancestors.

2.4. Study area – the village Cata

The small village of Cata was established by the British colonial authorities after the 1850-1853 Frontier War (Wilson et al. 1952). Cata is a former homeland village, placed in the southeast of South Africa in the province of the Eastern Cape, a little more than 100 kilometres north of East London towards Queenstown (see Fig. 2). It is located in the former district of Keiskammahoek in the former homeland Ciskei where the Xhosa people lived, and still today most of the population here is Xhosa-speaking. The village is surrounded by the Amatola Mountains on three sides and with the Cata River running through the middle of the settlement down through the Cata Dam in the south.

2.4.1. Betterment in Cata

Between 1963-1968 Betterment was enforced in Cata, and after this the people’s situation got worse. Before the reform the inhabitants lived spread out in the area and had enough land to survive and be self-supporting. After the Betterment the people were crowded together and the land they could cultivate was much reduced for each and everyone. Even if they had land their cattle stocks were so limited after the Betterment that it would be impossible to have the old size of herds and fields. Some of the families were forced to move only about 50 meters away from their “old” yard, where they had to build a new house. Sometimes they were not even allowed to harvest their own crops from that year in their former fields (De Wet 1995).

One old man in the village, Zithobile Gcilitshana, said that a family could have about 300 sheep and 100 cows before the reform, but when their land was reduced it was hard to feed that many cattle. He said that after three years they only could feed about 20 sheep and 10 cows, the others, were either sold, stolen, slaughtered or they died. The suffering was huge and many people starved, died of deficiency diseases or ran away from the misery.

Cata had one “headman” during the Betterment period, who was a representative of the village’s people for the apartheid regime. His mission was to enforce the Betterment plan. If anyone in the village protested and did not want to move, the “headman” reported them to the police chief in the region and without trial they were imprisoned for three months. Some of them “disappeared” in the prison and never return to the homeland (Ringqvist 041110).
Before Betterment Cata was divided into eight village sections; Ngxangxase and Kolofu (not shown in Fig. 3), Nyanga, Ndela, Skafu, Nyokana, Jili and Marhawule (see Fig. 3). After Betterment these village sections were brought together into three larger sections; Nyanga, Ndela and Skafu.

![Fig. 3: Border of Cata before Betterment (De Wet, 1995, p 70)](image)

**2.5. This has been done**

In 1974 the Swedish organisation Africa groups were founded with the aim of creating development cooperation in Southern Africa. Today, when they have been active for over 30 years, a lot of organisations work under the wings of Africa groups (Afrikagrupperna 041110). One of these organisations is Border Rural Committee, BRC, which is one of the oldest and most effective Eastern Cape non-governmental organisations (NGO). BRC was established in 1982 but then under the name Grahamstown Rural Committee. It was when the organisation moved from Grahamstown in the early 1990’s to East London that they changed name to BRC. The organisation has during the last years mostly worked with communities in the former homelands in Eastern Cape, in cooperation with other organisations jointly called the Eastern Cape NGO Coalition. BRC were initiated as part of a campaign to help and compensate the provinces and villages in South Africa that went through forced removals, including Betterment. The aim in this campaign is to demand compensation and restitution for the land that was taken away from the black inhabitants when the homeland reform was carried through (Border Rural Committee 2004b).

When the apartheid regime was ended in 1993 the new ANC government denied any damages for the forced moves. They said there was no “race connection” which was required to get restitution compensation. BRC brought the matter to court and the organisation tried to prove that there had been racial discrimination in Cata. It was easy for them to prove and they won the case and got 6.4 million rand (about 7.4 million SEK). Every one of the
approximately 200 families got about 16 000 rand each and the rest of the money was intended for different developing project that should generate employment and further money for the village (Ringqvist 041110).

These and a lot of other projects have been done in Eastern Cape, and the work of compensating the black inhabitants after the Betterment is still in progress. Specific for our study area, Cata, BRC has developed a strategic plan for the years 2005 to 2009 called “A New Approach to Poverty Eradication”, with the long-term purpose of eradicate poverty (Border Rural Committee 2004c).

3. Material and methods
Initially we study the background by an old map, produced in the 1950’s, and documents of Cata, which the ongoing “heritage project” provides. During the period of interviews and field work we collaborate with our interpreter Boniswa Tontsi who lives in Skafu. She arranges meetings with inhabitants of the former Nyokana that she considers adequate for our study. We interview totally ten different inhabitants during approximately two to three hours each, mostly old men and women, who still remember the homeland and betterment period. We define to ten informants to interview, and they have information about 12 homesteads in Nyokana. That constitutes about 48% of the homesteads in Nyokana, since we estimate the total amount of homesteads in this village section to 25. In this case these 12 homesteads will be enough to get a clear picture of a typical homestead in Nyokana, but it is also because of time limits that we define to ten interviewees. The information from these semi-structured interviews constitutes the major part of our result. The interviews questions focus on: Who lived in the specific homestead? How were their daily lives and residential environment? Where were they forced to move after Betterment?

The field work accomplish with assistance of Boniswa and people from the interviewed families who lived in, the approximately 150 hectare large, Nyokana. Together we make inventories during seven days of twelve different homesteads in Nyokana. We plot the house ruins by using SporTrak™ PRO, handheld GPS, with the coordinate system adjust to Lat/Long and the map datum adjust to WGS84. Ten GPS-spots registers in every remaining, that later is calculate a mean value – the one value that is plot on the map. During two days we, together with Boniswa, map out where the interviewed families were forced to move into one of the three new village sections of Cata; Skafu, Nyanga or Ndela. When the collection of information from the interviews and the field work is finished we analyse the results and compile a report with the ArcView 3.3 produced map as a supplement.

The GPS information with the mean values from the field work transfers to ArcView 3.3, by using GPS TrackMaker Version #12,3. One aerial photo, from late 1990’s, and one other map are background maps where every family unit marks with a specific symbol and the same family symbol is in the new village sections where they were forced to move after Betterment. In the attribute table is further information to each and every one of the homesteads, it is information like house shape, house use, who lived there and coordinates. The same information also shows in the report.

3.1. Criticism of the sources
Since our result is based on interviews with Xhosa-speaking inhabitants of Cata, we collaborated with our interpreter Boniswa Tontsi. There could be many problems with having an interpreter, since she could exclude information – intentionally or unintentionally, she could misunderstand both our questions and the interviewees answers and she could also make the relate information look better/worse than it actually were and not stick to fact.
The interviews were mostly with old inhabitants who lived in homesteads in Nyokana, and there is probably some information that has not reached us. Because some information which could be of interest to us could be everyday life for them, and which they took for granted that we already knew. For instance almost non of them mentioned that their livestock also consisted of pigs, chickens and dogs since that was something that was obvious to them, but if we asked them this kind of specific question they almost always had an answer and something more to tell. Contradictory information has sometimes occurred during our interviews, which may be due to the fact that the interviewees are old and had forgotten or got confused. That is why we realized that the best way to confirm the results was to ask the same questions to several people who may remember the way of living in Nyokana.

There were also differences between the information that we got from the older interviewees and the younger men. The older people’s information was a bit limited and we had to ask specific questions if we wanted to know something more, they did not spontaneously give us the information that we required. Their statements were not as detailed as those of the younger men. The younger men’s stories, however, also tended to be a bit overstated and made up, because if we then checked with the older people they told us that what we had been told by the younger ones was not quite true.

The GPS-positions that is plot in the ArcView 3.3 map are mean values, which signifies that the positions fail to absolutely correspond to the actual location of the remains in Nyokana. The GPS, SporTrak™ PRO, is sensitive for different meteorological situations which might affect the exactitude of the registered positions that is used within this study.

4. Families and homesteads through Betterment

4.1. The first settlers in Cata

According to oral tradition, the village Cata was named by the first Xhosa-speaking settlers, including the Gcilitshana family, who were originally from KwaZulu Natal. Before they reached the area that they later named Cata, they went to Peddie, located about 70 kilometres south of Cata and 30 kilometres from the southern coast. Subsequently their chief decided that they should move further north, up to Whittlesea. While living in Whittlesea Nxezi Gcilitshana and his brother Tyothelo went in search of a better area, both for the people and the cattle. When they crossed the Amatola Mountains they looked down and saw the area which they later would name Cata. They found this place attractive and went back to get the other families, originally from KwaZulu Natal, who had remained in Whittlesea.

In Xhosa the word cata means something like “add a small amount”. Oral tradition recounts that when these early ‘black settlers’ stood on the Amatola Mountain and looked down on the small streams flowing down the mountains and converging on the larger river in the valley, they named this the Cata River because of its many sources. Then they named the new settlement Cata after the river.

The people living in Cata and all the village sections belonging to the village were often relatives. Even if not related, they remember life as if people were like one big family. Members of each family lived close together, and the sons of that family and their wives built their homes next to their parents. Almost every household had their own fields, but they always helped each other, for example if someone asked for help with ploughing etc (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).
4.2. Focus on eleven homesteads in Nyokana before Betterment

Next chapter shows that a lot of the homesteads in Nyokana had similar elements, according to all the ten interviewees. Any exceptions to these will be dealt with separately as they arise.

4.2.1. General information about the homesteads in Nyokana

**House – exterior and interior**

Most families had at least two houses probably using one as a kitchen and one as a bedroom, since these were the most important buildings. If they had more houses these could for example be a guest house, store house or further bedrooms. Besides these houses, some of the families, who did not store all their food in the kitchen nor in a specific store house, had a smaller shack made of wood where they stored food – sometimes together with their agricultural tools.

The majority of the houses in Nyokana were round and made of rectangular mud blocks placed on top of each other. The square houses were usually built with another technique; sticks in combination with mud blocks. In both cases they used the same technique as building with bricks nowadays, and the inner walls usually had three layers of daubed mud and the outer walls had only one layer (see Fig. 4). Most of the houses had whitewashed outer walls while the inner walls were mostly painted in two different colours; brown and pink or crème. Clay was collected from the land nearby their homestead to make their own paint. Usually they made some kind of decorative pattern in brown, drawn around the doors and lower parts of the walls. Each family had its own style of decoration, depending on how creative and artistic they were (see Fig. 5, 6, 7, 9).

In the decades before the Betterment was implemented it was possible for the inhabitants of Nyokana to buy roofs made of zinc, but most of them continued to build the grass roofs. One reason was that many thought that this zinc roof would attract lightning, a natural force of which they were afraid. When the Betterment plan was implemented and the inhabitants of Cata had to move, most of them took their precious grass roofs with them. They gathered some men who carried the roofs above their heads all the way to their new homesteads in one of the three new villages; Skafu, Nyanga or Ndela. Some of these grass roofs, which were carried to the new homesteads after the Betterment, are still in use today.

To avoid the wind, that usually came from north or west, the entrances to most houses faced south or east. To further avoid the wind blowing into their houses some homesteads had stable-type doors, divided into upper and lower halves. In that way the smoke from the fire could escape through the upper part while the lower part of the door still provided some shelter. This was an important function because the houses had no chimneys, so the smoke could escape only via the windows or the doorways. Usually the windows were

![Fig. 4: A typical round house in Cata with grass roof](image)

![Fig. 5: House ruin in Nyokana, typical building technique](image)
small, oval or square, with a wooden shutter that was opened either from side to side or tilted up and down.

All floors were made of mud. When newly laid they were greased with fat from the sheep. To keep the floors looking clean, avoid cracks and maintain the same colour for a long time they were cleaned almost weekly with cow-dung. The cow-dung was mixed with water and daubed onto the whole floor, and surplus of cow-dung was removed and thrown away. In every kitchen (sometimes in other buildings too) there were fireplaces in the middle of the rooms. These were made of mud and successively raised about five to ten centimetres above floor level – the fire being made on top of the little mound. In addition, all the homesteads also had a fireplace outside where they cooked if it was too hot inside. Sometimes this was made of mud in the shape of a large cross about 25-30 centimetres above the ground. In this way they could avoid the wind from four different directions.

**Livestock**

Every family had cattle. If they had many cattle this meant that they were rich because this was how they invest their resources instead of using banks. But the cattle were also useful since the oxen were used out in the fields and from the cows they got milk. Some of the families had horses but these were used only for transport. Sheep, goats, chickens and pigs are animals that also occurred in almost every homestead. Many of the families in Nyokana had their grazing animals up on the eastern hills on the pasture ground. On top of the hill there were two old small dams from which the animals got their water. First these dams were dug by hand, but later machines were used to make them deeper and wider.

### Table 1: The family’s livestock in Nyokana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Goat</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Horse</th>
<th>Pig</th>
<th>Chicken</th>
<th>Dog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonasi Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawuli Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford Mqalo</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawu / Baxton Nkume</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalambasi Msetu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayisha Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blayi Mqathamazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Mqathamazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolivalo Mqathamazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson Tete</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kraal**

Almost every family had their own kraal which served two different purposes. The main purpose was to perform rituals and ceremonies. For example when they wanted to have contact with their ancestors they went into the kraal, or when they celebrated something special, like when the boys came from the bush that was a part of the initiation [intonjane], they always used the kraal. The kraal also had a second purpose since it was supposed to protect the animals with their young ones during the night, while the owner of the animals took the opportunity to milk them. The size of the kraal depended on how much livestock they had and the composition of the livestock decided the number and size of sections in this kraal. Usually the cattle kraal was the largest one. These kraals were commonly fenced with plants of aloe vera and sometimes with supplementary wire nets, barbed wire or wattle sticks. In the kraal there was sometimes a rather deep and wide hole where they stored, either the whole ears of maize or sometimes only the grains, for some time. It was important that this
hole was covered carefully so that no air could reach the maize that then would rot, and so that the cattle would not fall through. When the maize had gone through a process, like a light decomposition, the maize was called [isangcosi].

Table 2: The family’s kraals in Nyokana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Kraal</th>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Storehole</th>
<th>Aloe vera fence</th>
<th>Wattle sticks</th>
<th>Barbed wire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonasi Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawuli Mqalo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford Mqalo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawu / Baxton Nkume</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalambasi Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayisha Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blai Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolivalo Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fikile Mqhathazana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson Tete</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Garden and crops**
The inhabitants of Nyokana had fields and their own gardens where they could cultivate for their own household requirements. Just few of the inhabitants sold their crops in town. The gardens were located next to the houses and usually they shared a fence with the kraal on one side. In the gardens they generally cultivated some of following crops: maize, pumpkin, spinach, cabbage, carrots, potatoes, beans, pies and other “small” crops.

Table 3: The family’s crops in their gardens in Nyokana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Garden</th>
<th>Maize</th>
<th>Potatoes</th>
<th>Pumpkin</th>
<th>Spinach</th>
<th>Bean</th>
<th>Cabbage</th>
<th>Carrot</th>
<th>Tomatoe</th>
<th>Pea</th>
<th>Food melon</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
<th>Sorghum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Mqalo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L./B. Nkume</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Mqhathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Tete</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19
Field and crops
Each family usually had one to three terraced fields that were located on the, sometimes rather steep, hillside towards the mountain springs, not far from their homesteads. The majority of the total field size for each homestead varied from two to three morgen (1 morgen = 8 565.3 m²) where they mostly cultivated maize and pumpkin, as in the gardens, but also sorghum (kaffir corn) was one of the most common crops in the fields.

Table 4: The family’s crops in their fields in Nyokana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Field size (morgen)</th>
<th>Maize</th>
<th>Sorghum</th>
<th>Pumpkin</th>
<th>Bean</th>
<th>Food melon</th>
<th>Potato</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
<th>Pea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Mqalo</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/B. Nkume</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Msetu</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>≤1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mqathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Mqathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Mqathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Mqathazana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Tete</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>≈ 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2. Mqalo family
In the latter part of 19th century the Mqalo family, at that time consisting of Mbali and his wife Nonasi, settled down in Nyokana (see Appendix 1). They gave birth to six sons; Pawuli, Fufu, Stanford, Mkhentane, Tom and Isaac. All of them build their new homesteads next to their parents in the same village section, except for Tom who never had his own family and died before Betterment was carried through. Pawuli and his wife Noti gave birth to nine children and one of their sons was Bhushula, who got married in 1958 to Ntombizethu and settled down in Nyokana. Fufu and his wife had two sons who both moved from Nyokana before the Betterment. Stanford and his wife Nomashwa had three daughters who, according to tradition, got married and moved to their new husband’s families in another village or to another village section in Cata. Mkhentane and his wife Nomatyala had six children and Isaac, the lastborn of Mbali and Nonasi, and his wife had one daughter, Thenjiwe, and when both her parents were dead Stanford and Nomashwa adopted her (Ntombizethu Mqalo oral account).

Nonasi’s homestead
When Nonasi’s husband Mbali Mqalo died she got help from her son Stanford’s youngest daughter Nongqele and his adopted child Thenjiwe in the household, while the sons helped her with the farming. She was left with three houses; two round houses and one square house that all were whitewashed with brown patterns on the outer walls and crème coloured with brown patterns on the inner walls (see Fig. 6).

The square house had an entrance that faced south and it was divided in two bedrooms - one where Nonasi slept and one where the two girls slept. There was one metal bed in each room and in the girl’s bedroom there also was a grass mattress that one of them had to use.
Both the round houses had entrances that pointed east, and one of these houses became Nonasi’s bedroom after the square house became a ruin, some years before Betterment. At the same time the girls had to sleep in the kitchen which also was furnished with a cupboard, table, bench and fireplace. The kitchen was divided into two sections by a low fence made of maize stalks, and behind the fence they stored the food. This was also the house where they stored the agricultural tools since they had no shack. The smaller tools on the outer walls were laid on some wires just under the roof, and the larger tools were kept inside the house. In the kitchen ceiling there was a wire across the room where maize was dried to get seeds for the next sow. They peeled the tops from the ears of the maize and bound together the ears in pairs at the top and hung them over the wire to dry.

Nonasi’s livestock consisted of cattle, sheep and goats and these animals were owned and used by all her sons who lived in Nyokana. Each one of these Mqalo homesteads also had their own chickens, pigs and dogs. Nonasi had her own “small” livestock. Since they had the animals together it was enough with one kraal which was located at Nonasi’s homestead and was divided into two sections. One part was for the sheep and goats and one part for the milk cows with calves which came home from their grazing fields in the evenings. A few meters uphill from the kraal they had dug a small trench to lead the rainwater away from the kraal to prevent erosion. In the kraal there was a rather deep and wide hole where they stored some of the maize for some time. When it had gone through a process, like a light decomposition, the maize was called [isangcosi]. This hole was used by all the Mqalo brothers and their families too. Both around the kraal and the garden they had an aloe fence that was supplemented with wattle sticks. In the garden they cultivated maize, potatoes, pumpkin and spinach, which is almost the same as in the fields where the cultivated maize, pumpkin, beans and sorghum. Out in the fields oxen were used to pull the sleigh, which also was common for all the Mqalo brothers. The homestead of Nonasi had a field that was about two to three morgen. Here she got help from her sons when cultivating (Nongqele Mqalo and Ntombizethu Mqalo oral account).

Pawuli’s homestead

Pawuli and his wife Noti with all their nine children was a larger household than the others of Mqalo family. They had four different houses - one kitchen, one bedroom, one house for visitors and one storehouse. All the entrances to these round houses faced south or east and the size varied a bit but they were all decorated in the same style. Inside Pawuli’s houses it was painted brown near the floor and the rest of the upper walls were pink, with a brown curved pattern that divided these two colours (see Fig. 7).

- In the kitchen were benches made of wood collected in the forests, one table and one cupboard. In the middle of the house was a fireplace. This is also where they stored their agriculture tools; the plough inside and the smaller tools on the outer walls laid on some wires just under the roof. On the kitchen floor the kids of the family slept on brown fabric bags that they bought food in when they were in town.
- The parents’ bedroom had grass mattresses, one table and a coffer, in which to keep their clothes.
- The house for the visitors stood empty when there were no visitors. The visitor’s beds were a bit more comfortable than the kid’s, because
they were allowed to sleep on homemade grass carpets instead of the very thin brown fabric bags.

- In the storehouse all the crops from the fields and the garden were stored. This house were divided into two sections, one for the maize and one for the other crops that were stored in brown fabric bags of 100 kg, or just on the floor. The size of the sections varied with the requirements and yield for each year. On top of the maize they put sorghum in sheaves (see Fig. 8).

![Fig. 8: Sketch over Pawuli's storehouse](image)

His livestock consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and chickens, but he did not have his own kraal since he used his mother Nonasi’s. He had his own garden where he cultivated maize, beans and pumpkins and he also had his own field. His field size was two to three morgen where he, besides the crops mentioned above, also cultivated sorghum (Ntombizethu Mqalo oral account).

**Stanford’s homestead**

Stanford and his wife Nomashwa gave birth to four children, but the firstborn died very young. When both Stanford’s brother Isaac and his wife were dead, Stanford and Nomashwa adopted their only daughter Thenjiwe. Stanford owned three round houses and one shack, but one of these round houses was hit by lightning and burned down, about a decade before Betterment. Inside all these houses the walls were painted pink with a brown decoration in a special pattern. The same pattern was outside the houses in the same brown colour but on whitewashed walls (see Fig. 6). All their houses had two small square windows each with a wooden shutter. The doors, which were of stable-type, were painted either blue or green (bought paints) and all the entrances faced east towards the hills.

One of the two round houses was a kitchen where they had one table, two benches and a cupboard. It was also where they stored their agricultural tools and where their two daughters, Nokwanda and Fanelwa slept on mattresses filled with grass. The other round house was a bedroom for the parents, with two metal beds, a table and four chairs and a zinc coffer for their clothes. Next to these round houses was a square shack made of wood where their food was stored on the floor.

His own livestock consisted of chickens, pigs and dogs. Via his mother, Nonasi, he also had the use of cattle, sheep and goats, and together they had horses which were used only for transport. Stanford and his family did not have their own garden and kraal since they used the
ones belonging to Nonasi, but they had their own field of two to three morgen where they cultivated maize, beans, sorghum and pumpkins (Nongqele Mqalo and Ntombizethu Mqalo oral account).

4.2.3. **Nkume family**

In 1913 Jameson Lawu Nkume and his wife Emma arrived at Nyokana from Middledrift, as Lawu had got a job in the village as a teacher. When they arrived they had no relatives or friends there, but in order to get a job it was necessary to move away from your own family, like nowadays. Later on they had five children; three sons and two daughters. Lawu died quite young in 1936 and one of his sons, Baxton, inherited his houses.

**Lawu / Baxton’s homestead**

Just before Betterment the Nkume family owned three round houses, one larger square house and one small shack in Nyokana. Inside the square house the walls were painted brown at the bottom and crème on the upper walls (see Fig. 9), but on the outside it was plain brown with no decorations. The other round houses were brown inside whitewashed on the outside, with no decorative pattern.

The square house had two entrances that faced west and east respectively and a roof made of zinc. This differed from the other houses which had grass roofs. This square house was divided into five different rooms:

- One kitchen with homemade benches and a table, made of wood from the forest, and a cupboard.
- One dining room with a table and some chairs.
- One bedroom with a metal bed, shared by the two daughters Nontuthuzelo and Nobantu, and one coffer.
- One bedroom with a metal bed where the youngest brother Solomon slept.
- One bedroom with a coffer and two metal beds where the parents Lawu and Emma slept.

In one of the round houses, with the entrance facing south, there was one more bedroom where their son Baxton and his younger brother Mzwandile shared one metal bed. The smallest of the round house was an extra house that was empty most of the time. Both this house and the last round house had entrances facing east. In the third round house was the fireplace where all their food was cooked, but if it was too hot to be inside they used a fireplace outside next to the cattle kraal. For example in the autumns when the maize was newly harvested, they sat outside in front of the fire and lightly warmed up the maize next to the fire [braai], instead of boiling it.

The shack was a round house made of wood in front of the other houses where the family stored their food. Inside the shack they put wooden sticks on the floor so that the food, that was not stored in bags or other containers, would not stand directly on the floor and rot. They also had one rather deep and wide hole covered with a big stone or a plate of zinc inside the cattle kraal where they stored some of the maize.

Their livestock consisted of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens and dogs. All the cattle grazed on the hillside to the east, where they also fetched their drinking water. There were three different kraals; one cattle kraal which was the biggest one, one sheep kraal and one kraal for the goats. The kraals were fenced with strong trees that they collected from the
forest in the east. Every evening the animals went home into these kraals. In the garden - all surrounded by an aloe fence, supplemented with wire netting, they cultivated pumpkins, potatoes, cabbage, spinach and carrots. The Nkume family had bought a cart made of wood [tentjie] in town. It was designed to be pulled by two horses, and was used when they went to town. They also had an ordinary sleigh that was used out in the fields and pulled by oxen. Their total field area was about three morgen and this was where they cultivated maize and sorghum (Baxton Nkume oral account).

4.2.4. Msetu family

Mfazwe Msetu and his wife with the clan name Mamiya, gave birth to six children (see Appendix 2). The oldest son Mabhoyisana and the youngest son Makhaya moved from Nyokana to the village Gwiligwili before Betterment was introduced. One of their twins, Sithethi, was blind so he stayed with his brother Malayisha and his wife Nomakula. The other twin, Salela, got married locally and she and her husband lived in Nyokana until Betterment when they were forced to move to Nyanga. They gave birth to three daughters, who all married and moved to other villages. They also had one son who passed away before Betterment. Mfazwe’s second oldest son Khalambasi and his wife Nongaboni gave birth to three daughters. Two of them married and moved from Cata, and the third daughter moved to Nyanga, but died a few years later. Malayisha, Mfazwe’s second youngest son, and his wife Nomakula gave birth to three children and this couple stayed in Khalambasi’s house and helped him with the farming until they built their own homestead in Nyokana (Nomakula Msetu oral account).

Khalambasi’s homestead

Khalambasi Msetu and his family owned three round houses which were whitewashed and had a brown straight pattern on the outer walls. The inside was pink with the same brown pattern (see Fig. 9). One of these houses was an extra room for visitors, with a fireplace, which usually was not in use, a table and a bench. Another house was a bedroom for Khalambasi and Nongaboni furnished with a metal bed, a wooden coffer and a bench. These two houses had entrances that faced east towards the hill. The last round house, with an entrance that faced south, was a kitchen with a fireplace in the middle, a cupboard and a table. This was also where Malayisha and Nomakula slept on grass mattresses before they moved to their new own homestead in Nyokana. Next to these houses was a wooden shack where they stored tools and food and dried the maize on a wire in the ceiling to get seeds for the next sow. For the same reason there were also sacks of bean seeds placed up in the ceiling.

Their livestock consisted only of cattle, but his brother Malayisha had one horse that was available for them to use whenever they needed transport. Every evening the milk cow came home while the other one was still out grazing in the pastures. Both the kraal and the garden were surrounded by an aloe fence and in the garden they cultivated spinach, tomatoes, cabbages and potatoes. Khalambasi’s fields faced west towards the Cata River and were about two morgen in size. Here they cultivated maize, sorghum, beans, pumpkins and a kind of “food melon” [intyabontyi] (Nomakula Msetu oral account).

Malayisha’s homestead

Malayisha and Nomakula Msetu gave birth to three sons; Mbuyiseli, Malungisa and Mthuthuzeli, who all live in Cata today. While this family built their own homestead they lived in Malayisha’s brother, Khalambasi’s homestead. When the new homestead was ready it consisted of three houses which were all whitewashed on the outer walls and painted pink with brown patterns on the inner walls (see Fig. 9). All three houses had two small square
windows each with wooden shutters. Two of these houses were round and one was rectangular. The rectangular house, with the entrance facing south-east, was divided into two rooms; one bedroom and one dining room. In the bedroom there was a grass mattress and a coffer. The dining room was furnished with a table and benches. One of the round houses had an entrance that faced south and was used as an extra house that was dedicated to their ancestors. It contained a table and two benches. The other round house’s entrance faced west and this was the family’s kitchen with a cupboard, table and a bench. They also had a wooden shack where they stored their food and agricultural tools.

Their livestock consisted of cattle, two sheep, one horse, one pig, one dog and chickens. They had one kraal that was surrounded by an aloe fence, but around the garden the aloe fence was supplemented with barbed wire and wire-netting. When Malayisha and family moved to their new house they got their own fields too, that faced towards the valley and the Cata River, with a field that was about a half to one morgen in size. Here they cultivated maize, sorghum, beans, pumpkins and a kind of “food melon” (Nomakula Msetu oral account).

4.2.5. Mqhathazana family
Blayi Mqhathazana was first married to Mahlabanisa, which was her clan name, and together they had five children. One of them was Wilton who later had a son, Fikile. When Mahlabanisa died he married Nonto who gave birth to four children. When Blayi died Nonto stayed in Nyokana, in the geographical section of Cata called Qwaka, with her four children (Fikile Njameni oral account).

Blayi’s homestead
Blayi owned four houses; three round and one oval house [inqugwala] and all of them were painted pink on the inner walls with a special brown pattern (see Fig. 6) which was the same on the outer walls – but instead of pink they were whitewashed. In the oval house, which was the parent’s bedroom, there was one zinc coffer and two metal beds. One of the round houses was the children’s bedroom, in which were one metal bed and grass carpets. This was also the place where the family stored their agricultural tools. The second round house was a kitchen furnished with a cupboard, bench, table and some wooden blocks to sit on. In the kitchen they also stored their food behind a fence made of maize stalks. All three houses mentioned above had entrances facing west. The largest round house had an entrance that faced southeast and was only used for special occasions and traditional ceremonies, otherwise it was empty.

Their livestock consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, one or two pigs and one horse. The kraal was only for the sheep and goats, and the cattle with calves used his son Wilton’s kraal. Both the garden and the kraal had aloe fence. The garden was downhill, west of the houses, where they cultivated maize and potatoes. Their fields were located in two different places the size being two to three morgen in total. Here they cultivate sorghum, maize, potatoes, pumpkins and beans (Fikile Njameni oral account).

Wilton’s homestead
Wilton Njameni2 and his wife, with their four children, owned all together six houses when they lived in Nyokana. Three houses were oval, two round and one square house. All these houses had inner walls painted pink with the same brown decoration as Blayi’s houses. The outer walls were whitewashed with the same brown decoration (see Fig. 6).

2 He changed surname from Mqhathazana to Njameni that was his grandfather’s first name.
• One oval house was used as a shelter for the sheep and goats when it was rainy weather. This was also used when they sheared the sheep prior to sell the wool in town.

• The next oval house had an entrance that faced west and it had small square windows. This was the bedroom for the three children and was furnished with two metal beds. As a result two of the children had to share a bed.

• The last oval house, with an entrance that faced west, was an extra house and was only used as a bedroom when the family had visitor, otherwise it was empty.

• The first round house, with an entrance that faced south-west, was a bedroom for the son Fikile and his wife Nosaji while they build their own homestead in Nyokana. In this house were a cupboard, table, bench and a metal bed.

• The second round house, had an entrance facing east, and was where they cooked and where the parent’s slept. It was furnished with two metal beds, a cupboard and benches. This was what they called the family house, as this was where the family gathered if it was necessary to make decisions.

• The square house had an entrance facing north and had two square windows in the front and one square window at the back. This was an extra house that could be used if more space was needed for shearing the sheep or for shelter in the lambing season. The house was divided into sections since it was here the family also stored all their food and their agricultural tools. In the ceiling they dried the ears of maize over a wire, to get seeds for the next sowing. To dry their beans they built a low “table” with gaps, made of maize stalks, on the floor against a wall. It had to be high enough for a cat to pass below so that it could hunt the mice which would otherwise eat the crops.

Wilton’s livestock consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens and dogs. He had two different kraals; one for the cattle and one for the sheep, both surrounded by an aloe fence supplemented with barbed wire. The garden had a fence similar to the kraal. In the garden they cultivated potatoes, maize, sorghum, beans, peas, pumpkins, “food melon” and tobacco. The tobacco was not only for the household as they sold a lot to their neighbours and even to the townsfolk. They cultivated the same in the fields which were about two to three morgen in size (Fikile and Nosaji Njameni oral account).

Jolivalo’s homestead
Jolivalo Mqhathazana was a brother to Wilton and he owned three round houses in Nyokana before Betterment. All these houses had the same colour and decoration as Wilton’s houses (see Fig. 6). One of these had an entrance facing north-east and was where they stored all their food, and where the children slept. In the second house they stored the agricultural tools but there they also had a zinc coffier for their clothes. Both the second and the third house had entrances that faced south-west. The third one was furnished with a cupboard, table, bench and a bed for the parents. This was the house where they cooked and it was also used by the whole family in special occasions and for traditional ceremonies.

West of the houses was a kraal for the cattle, fenced with branches from the forest nearby. Except from the cattle, their livestock consisted of pigs, dogs and chickens. The family had one garden that was surrounded by an aloe fence, where they cultivated only maize and tobacco, but in the fields of about two to three morgen they cultivated maize, sorghum, beans, pumpkins, “food melon” and potatoes (Fikile Njameni oral account).

Fikile’s homestead
Fikile and his wife Nosaji gave birth to eight children, but only four of them were born before Betterment. In Nyokana the family lived in a round house, with the same decoration and colour as Wilton’s and Jolivalo’s houses (see Fig. 6). Since they had only one house all their belongings of different kinds were stored in this single house. They had another round house
under construction north of this house, but it was not completed before they were forced to move away from Nyokana. Next to their house they had a garden where they cultivated maize, sorghum and potatoes, and it was fenced with aloe supplemented with barbed wire. Fikile and his family did not have their own livestock, kraal or field, but they helped and shared these with his father Wilton (Fikile Njameni oral account).

4.2.6. Tete family
In the 19th century the father of Tete, Maguntswana, moved from Healdtown to Nyokana. When he came to Cata he saw that the village had neither a church nor a school, so he and some other men started to erect these buildings. It probably took a few decades to finish the work. Maguntswana and his wife gave birth to seven children (see Appendix 3) and six of them married and had their own families. The last born son Bunny was the only child who stayed in Nyokana and he and his wife gave birth to five sons and one daughter. Willie, their firstborn son, moved to Johannesburg and the fourth born son, Wilmod, passed away before Betterment. All the other children stayed in Cata and moved to either Nyanga or Skafu when the Betterment was introduced. Bunny’s lastborn son Benson gave birth to seven children. Their four youngest children have their own families in Cata today. The firstborn died before Betterment and the other two girls moved to other villages (Vusumzi Tete oral account).

Benson’s homestead
Benson Tete and his wife Mercry gave birth to seven children, and they lived in five different houses in Nyokana. All the houses were whitewashed on the outer walls and painted pink on the inner walls. The same decoration of a straight brown line was used both inside and outside (see Fig. 9).

- One of the round houses had an entrance that faced south and was a storehouse for the agricultural tools. When the weather was bad it was also used as a shelter for the sheep and goats.
- They also had a square house that was a bedroom for the parents. It had one entrance that faced north-west and one facing south-east. Inside were a cupboard, a table with four chairs, a sideboard, metal beds and a wooden coffer. Just before the Betterment plan was introduced this house was hit by lightning and burnt down and never rebuilt.
- One round house had an entrance that faced north-west and was used as a storehouse for food. It was divided into two sections by a low log. On one side they stored maize and on the other they stored pumpkins, “food melon”, sorghum and bags of beans on the ground.
- Another round house was the children’s bedroom where they slept on grass carpets. It had an entrance that faced north-east, and was furnished with a table in which to put buckets of water and dishes, and a bench. In the middle of the room there was a fireplace and a flat stone used for grinding their maize.
- The last round house was the kitchen with the entrance facing north. There was a fireplace in the middle of the room, a table for dishes and two benches.

Benson’s livestock consisted of cattle, sheep, goats, two pigs, chickens and two dogs. The kraal was divided into a northern part for the sheep and goats and a southern part for the cattle. In the kraal they also had a hole where they stored some of their maize. Both the kraal and the garden had aloe fences supplemented with branches. The garden was located north-east of the kraal and shared the same fence. Inside there grew wild peach trees but they also cultivated some other “smaller” crops there. The family had a field block west of their houses where they cultivated maize, pumpkins, “food melon”, beans and sorghum (Vusumzi Tete oral account).
5. Discussion of the results
The interior of the houses in Cata look very much the same nowadays as they did 40 years ago before Betterment was implemented. In the 1960’s a typical house was round and whitewashed with grass roof with a floor made of clay and polished with cow dung, and only some of the houses were more modern with zinc roof. The biggest difference between the 1960’s and the houses of today’s Cata is that the number of square house, with comparatively less decoration, has increased at the expense of the round houses. Zinc roof and floors with plastic carpets are more common today, and nowadays all the households has electricity.

As have been seen in Table 1, the livestock’s most common animals in the 1960’s were cattle, pigs and chicken. During our stay in Cata in 2005 we observed that the number of families that got pigs has decreased. Probably this might depend on that the population does not cultivate that much nowadays (among other things maize), and it is too expensive to buy forage in town to the pigs. It is easier to breed different kinds of grazing animals since they find their own food on the hillsides around and in the village. It also seems like the horses purpose has changed, from being used only for transport to be more like a pet owned just for fun.

The kraal has always been ritual and ceremonial important, and almost each family has their own kraal still today, even if they nowadays do not have that many animals. During our stay we also notice a difference in the fencing of the kraals, because today more “modern” material, like bob wire and boards, are used instead of aloe fence.

As the Table 4 shows the most common field size was between two to three morgen, that is what most of our interviewees estimated their fields to. According to Chris De Wet (1995) there lived 375 families in Cata 1948-1950, sharing 890 morgen arable land, that implies that each family had about 2,37 morgen.

With a closer study to the Tables 1-4 and with focus on Baxton Nkume’s living situation it is clear that he in the 1960’s was a bit wealthier compared to the other families, probably because his father was a teacher. As been seen in the tables Baxton had a lot of different animals, three sections in his kraal, cultivated a lot of crops and had large fields (three morgen). During our visit in Cata it was interesting to see that he still in 2005 is quit wealthy and stays in a, for the village, modern house with quite a lot of facilities.

As previously shown in this essay the location of the homelands is concentrated to the areas with one of South Africa’s poorest soil with bad natural conditions, and in these dry grassland areas in the eastern/north-eastern part of the country there is just a little yearly rainfall in the summer. The report “Reclamation and Settlement Report”, that was written by the white government before Betterment was carried through, gave the impression of the opposite conditions (De Wet & Bekker 1985). They talked about deep soil, good rainfall, not easily erodable and productive areas, but in the comparison in Table 5 it is obvious that the white farming areas have much higher fertility.

Table 5: Yields in Ciskei – black compared to white farming (De Wet & Bekker, 1985, p 90)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>Black farming areas</th>
<th>White farming areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bags of maize per hectare</td>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>18-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bags of wheat per hectare</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>20-25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Clement Gillman’s research from 1936 in Tanganyika, populations came to existence and lived as scattered settlement if water was available all year round in abundance. In other areas where it was harder to fetch fresh water the settlements lived concentrated (Widgren & Sutton 2004). Applied to Cata, where it was easy to get fresh water,
this probably is the reason why the first settlers lived outspread on the hillsides. The population lived like that until Betterment was carried through in 1960’s and they were forced to move together into three concentrated village sections (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

This essay shows two different accounts of what happened when Cata was established and it is interesting that they are contemporary. One version says that the village was established by the British colonial authorities after the 1850-1853 Frontier War (Wilson et al. 1952). The other version tells us that Cata was established and named by the first Xhosa-speaking settlers, who were originally from KwaZulu Natal. One of our elder interviewees Zithobile told us that his grandfather Nxezi Gcilitshana, born about 1830, was one of the first settlers (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account). We consider these two versions do not have to be contradictory since both the British and the Xhosa-speaking settlers might have come to the village area at almost the same time. After the establishment period we assume that both ethnic groups gave prominence to their participation and it is the first-mentioned version that is generally conventional.

Since Cata is relatively poor in conventional resources the development of tourism could be a good tool to create long-term employment for the local inhabitants and increase the economic turnover. The work on the Strategic Plan, which BRC has worked out, for the years 2005 to 2009 is in process. One part of the plan is to develop and improve the tourism resources in Cata, but it is important to make a scientific analysis of the area’s resources before the realization. “…in tourism, as in agriculture, basic landscape resources can be used again and again, provided that bad management does not overexploit and eventually destroy them” (Ferrario 1978). To avoid unexpected occurrences, that might be a sequence of overexploit of resources, a scientific analyse of good and bad consequences of using the land is recommended to develop long-term sustainable tourism.

We emphasize that this result is not comprehensive, covering all the homesteads in Nyokana, and needs completion with remaining homesteads. Since the result is based on interviews with old people who still remembers and had lived in Nyokana, we recommend that this work will be continued quite soon. Our experience is that second-hand information is not that reliable. We can see advantage of having Boniswa Tontsi (our interpreter), hopefully in cooperation with another person, continue this study since she knows the organization of the work. One way to encourage the inhabitants of Cata to be more cooperative and to have a more positive attitude towards this tourism project is to involve them during the stage of development, and to tell them all the advantages that tourists could generate for the whole village.
6. References

Afrikagrupperna. (041110). *Samarbete i Afrika*. [Internet] [fetched 05-02-09].


Ringqvist, P. (041110). *Den gamla byn återupptär*. [Internet http://www.afrikagrupperna.se/fakta/sydafrika/byn.htm] [fetched 05-02-09].


Oral accounts

Gcilitshana Zithobile, Skafu
Msetu Nomakula, Nyanga
Mqalo Nongqe le, Skafu
Mqalo Nombizethu, Skafu
Mqalo Vuyani, Skafu
Njameni Fikile, Nyanga
Njameni Nosaji, Nyanga
Nkume Baxton, Skafu
Tete Vusumzi, Ndela
Tontsi Boniswa, Skafu
Genealogical table over Mqalo family

Mbali ♂ & Nonasi ♀ Mqalo (†)

Pawuli ♂ (†)  Fufu ♂ (†)  Stanford ♂ (†)  Mkhentane ♂ (†)  Tom ♂ (†)  Isaac ♂ (†)

Totally nine children, Bhushula ♂ is one of their sons (†)

Peter ♂  Sandla ♂  Fanelwa ♀ (†)  Nongqe ♂  Nokwanda ♀  Sizinzo ♂  Baskiti ♂  Dumalisile ♂  Lizeka ♀  Mcebisi ♂  Mcebisi ♂  1 dead ♂

Vuyani ♂  Mandisi ♂  Thobile ♂  Ncediwe ♀  Mluleki ♂
Genealogical table over Msetu family

Mfazwe ♂ & Mamiya ♀ (clan name) Msetu (†)

- Mabhoyisana ♂ moved to the village Gwiligwili before Betterment
- Khalambasi ♂ (†)

- Salela ♀ (†)
- Sithethi ♂ (blind) (†)
- Malayisha ♂ (†)

- Mbuyiseli ♂
- Malungisa ♂
- Mthuthuzeli ♂

- Makhaya ♂ moved to the village Gwiligwili before Betterment

twins

- Matiti ♀
- Nombulelo ♀
- Nomaza ♀ (†)

- Baba ♀
- Randile ♂ (†)
- Linda ♀
- Nodoli ♀

all of the girls moved from Cata
Genealogical table over Tete family

Maguntswana ♂ & Mamthembu ♀ (clan name) Tete (†)

- Eyeboom ♂ (†)
- Charlie ♂ (†)
- Wright ♂ (†)
- Douglas ♂ (†)
- Philly ♂ (†)
- Bocklain ♂ (†)
- Bunny ♂ (†)

- Vuyiswa ♀
- Zide ♂
- Stella ♀
- Oatry ♀
  all moved from Cata

- Tozi ♀
  Magqadaza ♂ (†)
- Sopasi ♂
  all moved from Cata

- 2 daughters
  Sonwabo ♂
  Lungile ♂
  all moved from Cata

- Elder ♀ (†)
  Entiwe ♀ (†)
  Zabo ♂ (†)
  Mantshiyane ♂ (†)

- 2 daughters, moved from Cata
  Willie ♂ (†)
  Nomatye ♀ (†)
  Sbokwana ♂ (†)
  Wilmod ♂ (†)
  Bennett ♂ (†)
  Benson ♂ (†)

- Thandiwe ♀ (†)
- Thobeka ♀
- Ntombizethu ♀
- Vusumzi ♂
- Zamile ♂
- Nondiva ♀
- Siyabonga ♂
Homesteads in Cata

- Nyanga
- Ndela
- Skafu
- Nyokana

Homesteads before and after Betterment:
- Mgalo
- Msetu
- Nikume
- Tete
- Mqathazana

- Methodist church
- Northern dam
- Southern dam

- Garden/Kraal
- The new borders after Betterment
House ruins in Nyokana – marked with GPS and used in ArcView 3.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>House use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pawuli Mqalo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Storehouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhushula Mqalo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Guesthouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Storehouse for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford Mqalo</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Ruin before Betterment, no visible remaining today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonasi Mqalo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for grandchildren after the square house become a ruin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Ruin before Betterment hit by lightning, 2 rooms; bedroom Nonasi, bedroom grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom Nonasi, after the square house become a ruin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baxton Nkume</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Storehouse for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Fireplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>5 rooms; kitchen, dining room, 3 bedrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Extra, empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalambasi Msetu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Extra / guest house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for children (Malayisha &amp; Nomakula meanwhile they built their own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayisha Msetu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Extra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>2 rooms; bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson Tete</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Storehouse for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Bedroom for parents, ruin just before Betterment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Shelter for sheep and goats / storehouse for tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blayi Mqhathazana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / storehouse for food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Extra / special occasion and traditional ceremonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for children / storehouse for tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton Mqhathazana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Extra / guest house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / family house, when they had to get together and decide or decide something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>Extra / storehouse food and tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for Fikile and Nosaji when they got married, meanwhile they built their own house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Bedroom for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Shelter for sheep and goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolivalo Mqhathazana</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Storehouse for tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Bedroom for children / storehouse food / for special occasions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>Kitchen / bedroom for parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fikile Mqhathazana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Round</td>
<td>“All-function-house”, had one house under construction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other interesting information from the interviews

- When the black people in the middle of 20th century heard that the government was going to force them to move into special black homelands, a lot of them quickly changed their identity to a “non-African” surname. In that way their prospects to stay outside the homelands and to keep their jobs were more optimistic (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

- The last part of the main road from Keiskammahoek to Cata was built in 1935 by the government. Previously the road was further eastwards and passed through Marhawule before crossing the Cata River and today there are still visible remains from the former road. The new road passed through many fields where some inhabitants of Cata farmed, but the government had no mercy on them and those farmers received no compensation for their lost field areas (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

- There was no distinct boundary between Nyokana and the other neighbouring village sections of Cata; Ndela to the north and Marhawule to the south. It was the single family who knew which village section of Cata they belonged to. For example three homesteads in Tyhalibonga3 belonged to Marhawule, which means that two of Mqalo’s homesteads and another family called Ntshingwa belonged to Marhawule (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

- The Methodist church in Nyokana had an entrance that faced north-east and only the inner walls were whitewashed while the outer walls were a brown mud colour. The church had a grass roof, two square windows with wooden shutters and it was furnished with benches (Baxton Nkume and Vusumzi Tete oral account).

- The school in Nyokana, which was mentioned both under “Nkume family” and “Tete family” was located north-west of the Methodist church and was built of wooden sticks and mud. This square house had a grass roof and differed from the other houses in Nyokana because it was not painted on the outside or the inside. When the school moved to Skafu in 1904 to the newly built church (built in 1903) they brought the interior fittings with them to the new place, and the old school building in Nyokana was left empty (Baxton Nkume and Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

- All the households were self-supporting, they had only to buy sugar, tea, coffee and salt in town (Zithobile Gcilitshana oral account).

- To get rid of cockroaches in their houses they took out all the furniture except the table which they turned upside down since that was where a lot of the creatures lived. They then made a small fire of cow dung in the middle of the room to smoke them out. When the fire started to fade they closed the door and the windows to keep the smoke in the room and kept it locked for a few days. When the door was opened again they found all the cockroaches dead on the floor (Vuyani Mqalo oral account).

- When the sheep came into the kraals in the evening they counted them, using burdocks which they kept in their hands and through on the sheep as they passed. If, for example they owned fifty sheep they would hold fifty burdocks in their hands when they started to count. If there were any burdocks left in their hands when all the sheep were inside the kraal, they knew there were still some left out in the grazing area. This was a job for the younger boys, and if all the sheep did not come home, the boys were punished (Vuyani Mqalo oral account).

- No newly married woman was allowed to go inside her new homestead’s kraal, and she could be a “bride” for many years, only if she got permission from the family she could enter. It could be the same for other areas that were dedicated to the honour of

---

3 A geographical section of Nyokana.
the family’s ancestors. Those areas were only for the “original” family members (Ntombizethu Mqalo oral account).

- As mentioned above the rituals and ceremonies were important to the people. For example, they could not just slaughter cattle, goat or sheep to get food. It had to be a special occasion calling for a celebration. It was only occasionally that they slaughtered a sheep or a goat just to obtain food. When food was needed they slaughtered either pigs or chickens (Boniswa Tontsi oral account).

- The inhabitants of Nyokana used crop rotation and planted the crops successively so that they had fresh crops all year round. The maize was planted at the beginning of the summer (November – December) and harvested in the autumn (May – June). When they harvested the maize they planted peas in their place (Vuyani Mqalo oral account).