



**The influence of culture on the acceptability of Community Residential Units (CRU):
a case study of uMlazi T-section, Durban KwaZulu-Natal**

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Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in
Housing in the Graduate Programme in School of Built Environments and Development
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June 2016

Abstract

The development of housing in the context of culture has been an issue that has not received much attention and/or considered within the South African context. The post-1994 era saw a transferring of culture and cultural practices within the built environment of hostels living and lifestyle through urbanisation. During the apartheid era, black people were exposed to two types of housing typology; one which allowed them to practice their culture freely, and the other which limited them in all aspects. Housing in rural areas allowed for black people to practice their culture freely through its house-form layout, whereas housing in urban areas presented limitations and restricted all forms of cultural practices. The study aims at establishing and assessing whether CRUs are responsive to cultural needs, norms and practices.

Information was gathered through qualitative and quantitative methods in forming a relationship between housing and culture. Qualitative information was gathered through human behavioural and development theories such as the Durkheimian and Modernists theories that were used in conceptualising the study whilst creating a link and relationship, and government documents. Quantitative information was gathered through household surveys which were conducted in the community of Wema and a focus group discussion was held in Unit 17 and interviews were conducted with the superintendents representing the eThekweni Municipality.

This research revealed that post-1994 housing especially the CRUs do not take into cognisance households' cultural values. This is reflected in the nature of housing which is not free-standing while certain facilities within and outside the units are shared thereby depriving households of privacy. However, the study also established that there are people who value the ease and convenience of single living and temporary housing depending on economy and their family's financial need. The study recommended that the government should incorporate an environment that is supportive of culture and family living. It also noted that there is need for development of housing on short-tenure basis for people for people who do not want to settle with their families permanently in urban areas and those who are only seeking employment opportunities.

Acknowledgements

¹I lift up my eyes to the mountains—where does my help come from?

²My help comes from the LORD, the Maker of heaven and earth. *Psalms 121: 1-2*

Only through God's Grace and Mercy was I able to walk this path.

May he always live in me and I in him.

My sincerest gratitude goes out to my family –Mr JGM Msimang (My dad), Mrs IM MaDlungwane Msimang (my mom), Mlungisi, Zanele, Nozipho, Mpumelelo, Bongwe, Anele,-
bonke oThabizolo, noNkosi, thank you for your patience and endless support!! May we continuously support each other through all our endeavours. I wish everyone the best that life has to offer.

Dr Pauline Adebayo, thank you for seeing potential towards this study and for encouraging me into pursuing it even through its complexity in the early stage.

Dr Lovemore Chipungu, words can never express my gratitude for your enthusiasm, commitment and motivation. Your continued support, persistence and guidance will forever have a lasting effect in the study and thus producing work reflecting my true potential.

Velaphi Gumede, thank you for always availing yourself selflessly and willing to assist beyond expectation.

Dearest Kholiwe Maziya, thank you for assisting with my data collection and for the advice throughout the process.

To the superintendents of Wema and Unit 17 Mlungisi Mhlongo and Bab'Sithole respectively who assisted and paved the way into gaining a smooth entry into the community. Especially Bab'Mkhize who was always step ahead neutralising the hostile situation in Wema for the sake of the research. My heart-felt gratitude goes out to the community of Unit 17 and Wema who willingly participated towards the study.

To myself, NOXOLO MARY-ANNE MSIMANG:

“may the Lord give me wisdom to know what must be done and the courage to do it”.

-Where our strength runs out, Gods strength begins-

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, **Noxolo Mary-Anne Msimang** declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
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5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed

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ACRONYMS:

ANC	- African National Congress
BNG	-Breaking New Ground
CMHC	-Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
COSATU	-Congress of South Africa Trade Unions
CRU	-Community Residential Units
DIAND	-Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
EBR	- Environmental Behavioural Relations
FGD	-Focus Group Discussion
HRP	-Hostel Redevelopment Programme
IFP	-Inkatha Freedom Party
NFP	-National Freedom Party
RDP	-Reconstruction Development Programme
SACP	-South African Communist Party
UNESCO	-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

1.1 Introduction

“Other people are other. They do not think the way we do. And if we want to understand their way of thinking, we should set out with the idea of capturing otherness” (Darnton, 1984: 4). Darnton’s (1984) statement enables one to understand the different mediums, facets, and meanings of housing to its users, onlookers and housing developers. Housing is the most basic form of human habitation to provide shelter, protection and privacy, and is a universal mode of habitation which is either permanent or temporary, and formal or informal (Mitchell & Bevan, 1992). On the other hand, the housing typology or house-form is not universal or generic for individuals, groups and societies, with the exception of methods that one group or society learns, acquires and adopts from another. House-form differs according to spatial location, traditions and culture; these form habitation systems within the housing setting. Each culture produces its own house-form.

The role that housing plays for beneficiaries varies according to their way of life and family structure (Hareven, 1993). Studies on house selection by Rapoport (1969); Altman and Chemers (1980); Triandis (1994); Ozaki (2002) and Malkawi and Al-Qudah (2003) indicate that beneficiaries base their choice of family living on economic and social influences. More research has been conducted on the economic influences that impact house choice than on the social influences (Jabareen, 2005). Consequently, an in-depth understanding of the social issues that affect housing is lacking, especially in the South African context. It has been observed that cultural factors have barely been considered in the provision of housing at international and national levels.

The study of culture and house-form is a unique topic, on which very little research has been conducted, especially in the South African context. Culture in housing has always been perceived from an architectural physical perspective, where culture is represented through house-form as a tourist attraction (UNESCO, n.d). This study aimed to determine the relationship between culture and house-form by establishing and illustrating how house-form through construction is developed and intertwined with people’s cultural heritage and activities.

South Africa presents a unique case of the relationship between culture and housing for Black people, which is a result of biologically and circumstantially inherited culture imposed by natural traditional spaces and colonial and apartheid policies, respectively. The interdependent relationship between culture and housing has received increased attention in recent years and culture has been identified as a significant determinant of beneficiaries' satisfaction with housing. While this is a complex topic, authors such as Linton (1945); Rapoport (1969); Mumford (1970); Holland and Quinn (1987); Ember and Ember (1998); and Ozaki (2002) identified numerous dimensions of the relationship between culture and housing. They investigated the meaning of housing among beneficiaries from different cultural backgrounds and geographical locations in order to determine the meaning and role that culture plays within the house-form that enables households to function in a holistic way.

This study was thus confined to the relationship between culture and housing using the case study of Community Residential Units (CRUs) in Umlazi with a focus on Unit 17 in T-section and SJ Smith, commonly known as Wema. The study took into consideration the historical background of the respective participants, including their cultural heritage and the impact of apartheid policies. It borrowed from several disciplines in order to map and connect undocumented critical information in linking culture and housing in the South African context.

1.2 Problem Statement

This study recognised the importance of investigating the relationship between culture and housing, especially in the South African context. This relationship has long been recognised at an international level by authors such as Lewis H. Morgan (1965), an anthropologist who has published extensively on American-Indian housing, as well as Amos Rapoport (1969) whose study on house-form and culture focused on the cross-cultural dimensions of human habitation (Low & Chambers, 1989). However, in the South African context, the relationship between culture and housing for human habitation has lagged behind in housing provision. Instead indigenous housing or the display of culture through housing is used for heritage preservation and tourist attractions or as a housing symbol representing different cultures (UNESCO, n.d). As a result, interest is confined to the representation of different cultures through the material used and the form of housing. This creates an association between house-form and culture. However, human behavioural patterns and interactions within

housing are depicted at minimal level, if at all. The behavioural patterns of individuals, groups and society within the housing environment are known as culture and can be understood in terms of Environmental Behavioural Relations (EBR). The concept of EBR is explored in depth later in this study.

This study was motivated by the realisation that the CRU housing policy objectives are not being practiced on the ground by occupants in Unit 17 and Wema. The non-compliance towards the policy is a concern which suggests that there are common issues within the housing environment of hostels. The CRU policy's aim of accommodating families within the apartment units has not yet been accomplished even though the units were constructed and completed in 2008 in Unit 17, with the conversion of the hostels in Wema completed in the same year, and new buildings constructed in 2009. The resistance to accommodating families originates with the occupants themselves. The study identified general reasons for this resistance resulting from the transition from an apartheid government to a democratic government. These are discussed in the following section. However, apart from these general issues, it also examined the relationship between culture and housing in influencing the acceptability of CRUs.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to establish the extent to which hostel upgrading and Greenfield projects through the creation of CRUs are responsive to cultural acceptability and beneficiaries' preferences.

1.4 The Objectives of the study were as follows:

- I. To establish the importance of culture to the beneficiaries.
- II. To establish the link between housing and culture in order to determine the importance of incorporating beneficiaries' cultural preferences in housing projects.
- III. To examine the extent to which housing policies have influenced the development of CRUs.
- IV. To identify CRU features that might affect beneficiaries' cultural integrity.
- V. To provide recommendations for future planning and implementation of CRU housing that is culturally acceptable to beneficiaries.

1.5 Research Questions

Main Research Question

To what extent is the CRU housing typology culturally acceptable to its target beneficiaries?

Subsidiary Questions

- I. Is there a link between house-form and culture?
- II. What is the link between culture and housing typology?
- III. How has South Africa's history contributed to the linkage between house-form and culture?
- IV. What is the meaning of the CRUs house-form to the community?
- V. How have the CRUs house-form expressed and represented cultural aspects?

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One – Introduction to the study

Chapter one presents the background to the research study by briefly explaining the relationship between culture and housing. It also presents the research setting of a unique study on the relationship between culture and housing in the South African context. The study focused on CRUs, which aimed to upgrade hostels into family units. This chapter also maps critical issues relating to the housing provided for Black people during the colonial and apartheid eras which was an early indication of the obscure creation of culture in the South African context. It also presents the problem statement and the study's aim and objectives, and research questions.

Chapter Two – Research Methodology

Chapter two provides a brief introduction to the case studies and outlines the methodology used to collect data for each case study. It discusses the research tools used in the study. The data obtained was used to construct discussions, arguments and conclusions.

Chapter Three – Literature Review

Chapter three discusses the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that underpinned this study and presents a literature review which includes precedent studies on the relationship between culture and housing. The conceptual framework discusses the concepts of culture,

CRUs and hostels. Durkheimian and modernist theories are the key theories discussed under the theoretical framework. The chapter also discusses the relationship between culture and housing using arguments borrowed from different authors on this subject. The literature review establishes the link between culture and housing by making reference to precedent studies.

Chapter Four – Progressive realization of culture and housing: the South African context

Chapter four discusses the progressive realization of the development of housing and its impact and effect on culture in South Africa from a broad perspective. This chapter examines the colonial and apartheid eras, the transition to the post-apartheid era and the democratic South Africa. The housing provided and the relevant housing policies in the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras are examined and inherited perceptions of culture in housing are also highlighted. Amos Rapoport's (1998) EBR is used to map the effect and impact of housing development on cultural factors for Black people in South Africa.

Chapter five – Data presentation and analysis

Chapter five presents the empirical evidence collected from Umlazi T-section (Unit 17) and SJ Smith CRUs (Wema). It analyses the data to show the extent to which culture has influenced the acceptability of CRUs.

Chapter six – Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter six concludes the study by summarizing its findings and highlighting the critical factors that determine the acceptability of CRUs. It also provides recommendations and suggests a way forward in providing culturally responsive housing.

1.7 Chapter one summary

This chapter presented the introduction to the study, the background, problem statement and an outline of its content. South Africa provides generic housing across all cultural spectrums through housing subsidies. The study focuses on CRUs, a housing programme inherited from hostels. The motivation for the study was resistance to CRUs as family units.

2. CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Research methodology is defined as “a systematic process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting information (data) in order to increase our understanding of the phenomenon about which we are interested or concerned” (Leedy, 2005: 2). This chapter identifies and outlines the steps taken in conducting this study from the formulation of the research problem, to the process of data collection and interpretation used to assess the influence of culture on the acceptability of CRUs.

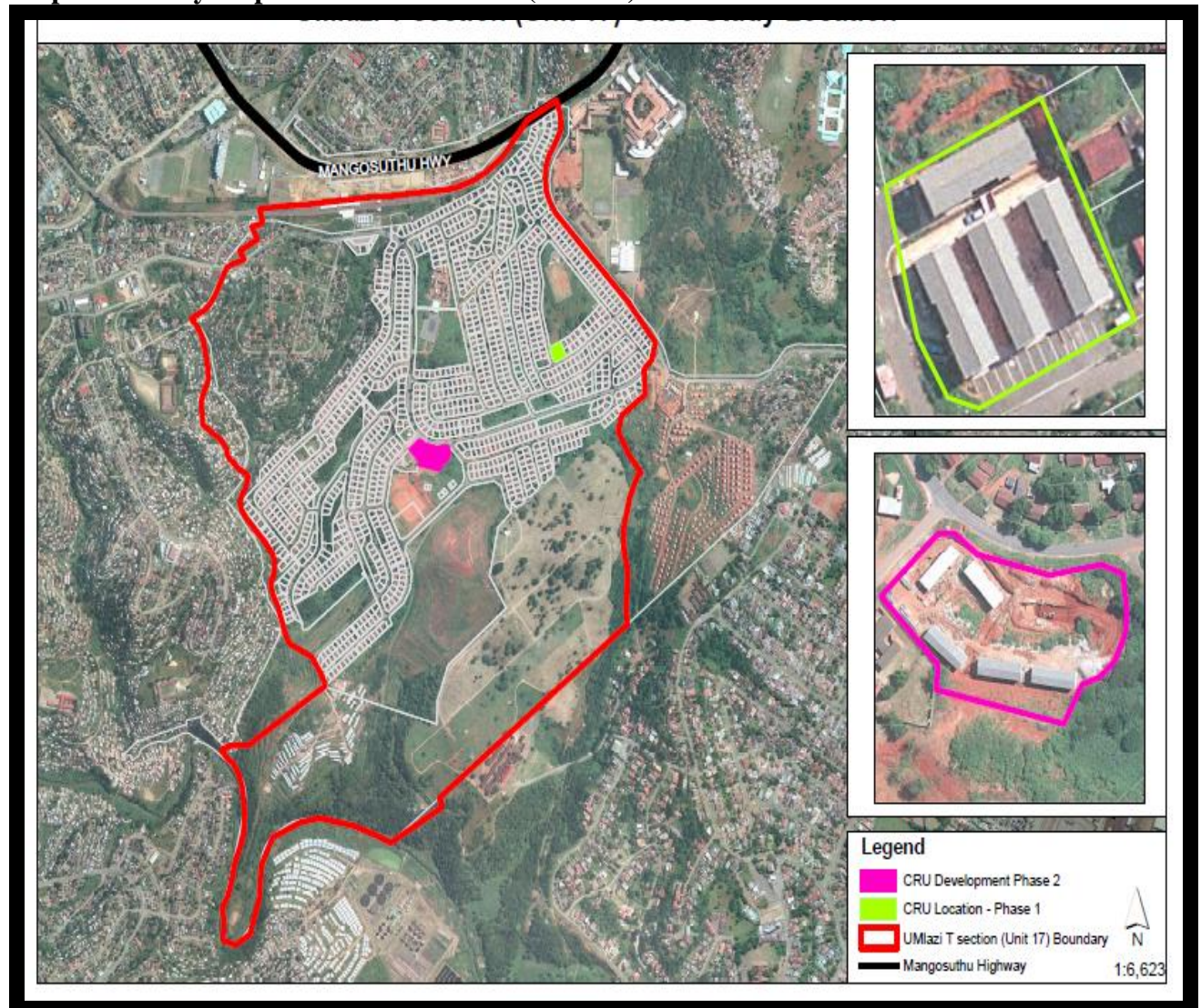
It should be noted that in the early stages (research proposal) when the research topic and study area was selected in 2011, uMlazi T-section presented a proper traditional setting in an urban area which is still very much based and high traditional and cultural norms, furthermore it is still, if not the only urban environment/setting that is male dominated, with no presences of women and children. It has proven to be resistance to change, adapt or conform to the integration ideologies. However, due to political turmoil's that transpired between 2013 and 2014 at a time when data collection was scheduled to commence, the researcher was only allowed limited entry towards data collection by block chairmen who are representatives of the community. Failure to comply with the limitations provided by the block chairmen would have placed the researcher's life in danger.

Following the limitation placed in uMlazi T-section, the researcher sought an alternative case study which also presented a proper traditional setting but differed in characteristic, which is presented in the next section. Two case studies were then conducted with the aim of discovering cultural similarities or differences, and assessing family livelihood related to space design and utilization of respective housing typologies- thus fulfilling the aim of the case. Both case studies are located within the South Central region of Ethekewini Municipality, Umlazi T-section and SJ Smith. The colloquial names used by people in the surrounding neighbourhoods for Umlazi T-section and SJ Smith CRUs are Unit 17 and Wema, respectively. To promote acceptance and maximize the impact of the study, these colloquial names are used throughout.

2.2 Brief introduction and selection criteria for the study areas

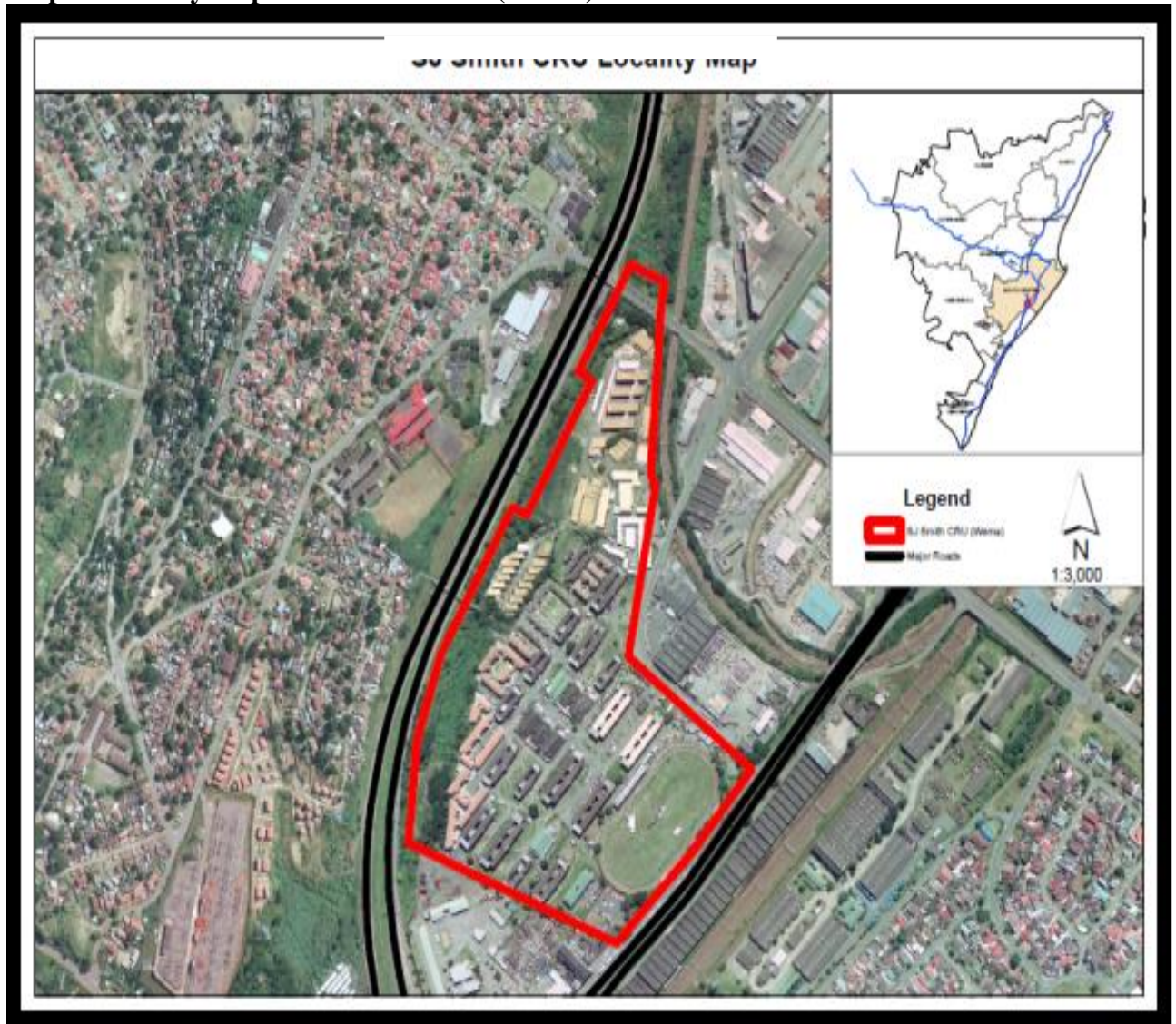
Both study areas were purposively selected by the researcher through a deductive logic research tool. “Deductive logic begins with one or more premises. These premises are statements or assumptions that are self-evident and widely accepted ‘truths’. Reasoning then proceeds logically from these premises toward conclusions that must be also true” (Leeds, 2005: 31). The researcher had prior knowledge and background information about both study areas. The characteristics of Unit 17 (Map 1) and Wema (Map 2, page 8) are widely-known by community members and members of other communities alike and are self-evident in their way of life and their level of acceptance of the CRU policy and its objectives.

Map 1: Locality map of uMlazi T-section (Unit 17)



Source: Researcher, (2015)

Map 2: Locality map of SJ Smith CRU (Wema)



Source: Researcher, (2015)

The case studies were selected due to their unique contrasting characteristics set out in Table 1 below. While Wema and Unit 17 are only 5,5km apart their occupants present very different characteristics. Contrasting case studies were selected in order to explore and determine similarities and differences in cultural issues and factors and relevant issues pertaining to CRUs.

Table 1: Characteristics of Unit 17 and Wema

Case Study	Unit 17	Wema
Province	KwaZulu-Natal	
Municipality location in the City	South Central	South Central
Proximity (distance apart)	5.5 kilometres apart	
Tribal Group	AmaZulu	AmaZulu and Xhosa
Political Affiliation	Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	African National Congress (ANC)
Typology	Greenfield	Grey Development
	low-rise housing	high-rise housing
Characteristics	occupants experience dual households	
	reluctant in accommodating families in CRUs	
	value cultural morals and practices	
	occupants are politically aware of and contain political influence	

Source: Researcher, (2015)

2.3 Research tools

Research tools are defined as “a specific mechanism or strategy the researcher uses to collect, manipulate, or interpret data” (Leeds, 2005: 12). The researcher gathered primary and secondary data to explain the relationship between culture and housing. The use of both kinds of sources facilitated an objective study informed by accredited authors and participants.

The study made use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. This increased the value and reliability of its findings. Research on the relationship between culture and housing touches on several disciplines; therefore, tangible and intangible measurements were required to produce a non-biased study. For example, this study evaluated the CRU housing policy and at the same time established the link between housing and culture. The evaluation of the CRU policy required a substantial measuring tool to produce statistics and figures to determine its success or failure. On the other hand, establishing the link between housing and culture required insubstantial measuring tools in the form of a household survey which reflected the personal cultural concepts, ideas, views, feelings and opinions of beneficiaries and indicated

the role that culture plays within the household. Together with the substantial measurement of the CRU policy and programme, these have the potential to change the CRU housing policy. Therefore, the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods provided a true meaning of the relationship between culture and housing (qualitative), supported by statistics (quantitative).

2.3.1 Secondary Data

The following secondary data sources were used by the researcher in order to construct discussions relevant to the research topic such as: library books, internet and government documents

Library books

Books obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal libraries were used in order to gain background information and knowledge on the relationship between culture and housing. The study of culture and housing borrows information from several disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, history, psychology and architecture; therefore, the use of library books was critical and beneficial because certain information was not available on the Internet, especially in terms of mapping the relationship between culture and housing in South African set out in chapter four. Library books were also used to construct the literature review and the theoretical framework.

Internet journal articles

The use of journal articles obtained from the Internet was critical especially for the literature review and the precedent studies. Journals provided insight and information on recently conducted studies on the relationship between culture and housing at international level and on the African continent. Studies conducted in various parts of Africa greatly assisted in shaping and guiding the research study because culture also influences housing choices in these countries.

Government documents

Government documents were used to understand the CRU housing policy. Relevant government documents such as the Housing Policy, National Housing Policy and Subsidy Programmes, CRU housing policy, and A New Housing Policy and strategy for South Africa were consulted.

2.3.1 Ethical Clearance

The study was conducted in accordance with the University of KwaZulu-Natal's rules and regulations. The researcher took into consideration and adhered to the ethical requirements of UKZN's research policy. The researcher gave precedence to the following considerations: informed consent, privacy and voluntary participation, and anonymity and confidentiality.

Occupants and respondents in both Wema and Unit 17 were informed about the nature and purpose of the study. The researcher followed the proper procedure in conducting research in both communities. Both case studies followed the same entry procedure to gain access and permission. The first step involved consulting the superintendent and gaining critical information pertaining to occupants before approaching the key individuals to gain access for data collection. The second step focused on gaining permission from the ward councilor, who then granted permission to consult with the block chairmen. After consulting the block chairmen, the researcher was granted or refused permission to engage with the occupants. At each stage of gaining permission, the nature and purpose of the study was explained to officials and individuals and they were given an opportunity to ask questions.

The researcher was able to gain entry and engage with occupants in Wema. In both cases, privacy, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality were observed. The household survey in Wema was conducted using a one-on-one approach with respondents in their rooms/flats and the interviews with the superintendents were conducted in their offices. The superintendent represented the municipality because the hostile environment made it impossible to interview key informants from the municipality to respond to issues, hence the superintendent was the main respondent from the Municipality. For the purpose of privacy and confidentiality, "woman 1, woman 2, man 1, man 2, etc." are used in reference to a direct quote by respondents. In the case of photographs taken during data collection, participants' faces have been blurred.

2.3.2 Primary data

Data collection

Data collection is a time consuming process; therefore, data were accurately recorded through the use of questionnaires where responses were documented, field notes written, photographs taken and some sketches drawn in order to illustrate respondents' arguments.

Sampling

Both case studies, Wema and Unit 17, were purposeful selected. Each case study employed a different data collection method. A household survey was used in Wema, whereby respondents were randomly selected according to their willingness to participate in the study. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in Unit 17. Due to political affiliations and insecurities in Wema and Unit 17, not all occupants wanted to participate in the study. The researcher respected potential respondents' wishes. Table 2 indicates the sample size in each institution and the building blocks in the case of Wema where buildings are categorized according to their stage of development by the occupants. These are 'family-units', 'renovated hostels' and 'hostels'.

Table 2: Sampling and population of Unit 17 and Wema

Institutions	Sample size
Unit 17	Interviews (approx. 30 men)
Wema: Renovated	20 households
Wema: Hostels	20 households
Wema: Family units	20 households

Source: Researcher, 2015

The researcher gathered supplementary information through observation in both Wema and Unit 17. These were initially unstructured and free-flowing, where the focus shifted from one thing to the next as new and potentially significant objects and events presented themselves. The observation tools assisted in observing the social behaviour among the men in the CRU environment, and the physical (facilities and amenities) environment. Observation enabled the researcher to obtain unforeseen data sources and information as they surfaced.

Mapping assisted in identifying the location of the study areas as well as the surrounding areas. Mapping was an important part of the study because it facilitated an understanding of the environment in relation to the case study and thus helped the researcher to comprehend the mechanisms underpinning the CRU programme and evaluate facilities within the area. Mapping was used to provide the maps and imagery within the study. It contributed to an understanding of the extent of occupants' acceptance of CRUs.

Both case studies considered and included the views and opinions of occupants, the superintendent representing the government. This assisted in gaining a broad spectrum of perceptions, especially in the study's initial stages. Through this method of sampling, the researcher was able to approach data collection with much caution, following the correct channels. Heterogeneity sampling facilitated an understanding of the occupants' perceptions of CRUs.

Several interviews took place during the course of the research. An open-ended interview was conducted with the superintendent in Wema and a brief unstructured conversation took place with the superintendent in Unit 17.

2.4 Data analysis

Data analysis is defined as the process of revealing the characteristic structure and elements of the phenomenon under investigation by breaking down the data collected into smaller units (Dey, 1993 in Gray, 2004: 327). Data analysis assists in gaining new insights about the data collected in relation to the research questions. In the case studies of Wema and Unit 17, data was analyzed as individual cases and a cross-case analysis was also employed, whereby themes were noted and conceptualized in order to ascertain the respondents' views and perceptions of the influence of culture on CRUs.

2.5 Limitations of the study

The researcher experienced several limitations in conducting this research in its initial stages and minor challenges during data collection. At the initial stage of the study it was challenging to obtain readily available literature on the subject of culture and housing, especially in the South African context. Work by authors such as Busisiwe Buthelezi (2005), Dumisani Mhlaba (2009) and Franco Franscura assisted in guiding and directing the study until it took its own shape in line with its focus.

The second limitation was encountered during data collection. Block chairmen in Unit 17 opted for a FGD instead of a household survey. They cited reasons such as being uncomfortable and insecure and a threatened living arrangement within CRUs, and therefore wanted to monitor and evaluate the types of questions in the household surveys. The researcher discovered that there were underlying political reasons for their choice of a FDG.

The issue of 'risk' was understandable given the on-going conflict in the hostels that often has fatal consequences, especially in uMlazi. However, the Wema occupants respected the nature of the study and the manner in which data was collected.

3. CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter creates the setting of the study by discussing conceptual and theoretical issues as well as reviewing the literature on the relationship between culture and house-form. This relationship is explored in order to understand how culture influences the meaning, use and perception of house-form among beneficiaries. In order to understand the relationship between culture and house-form, international and local case studies are examined. The chapter begins by providing a broad overview of key conceptual issues, theoretical underpinnings and the literature review, and then gradually narrows the discussion to the focus of the research.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

3.2.1 Scope and Confinement of Culture and House-form

Culture and housing are individual terms that are broad, abstract and general. Rapoport (2001) observes that there is no clear concrete relationship between ‘culture’ and ‘housing’, unless the term ‘culture’ is broken down into different aspects and characteristics which relate to housing. The broadness in measuring culture and housing is not of equivalent scale; culture covers a larger area than housing, while housing is defined as part of culture (Rapoport, 1998). For the purpose of this study, the terms ‘culture’ and ‘housing’ are broken down and explored in accordance with the relevant aspects and characteristics of the beneficiaries in order to create a relationship between culture and housing (Rapoport, 2000).

It should be noted that the terms ‘culture’ and ‘house-form’ are substituted with applicable relevant terms and used interchangeably within the context of the relevant discussion. The terms ‘culture’ and ‘house-form’ are used as stated in table 3.

Table 3: Key Terms

INITIAL TERM	SUBSTITUTE TERM
Culture	Traditional
House-form	Housing, house, home

Source: Researcher, 2015

The substitute term for culture is traditional, which is rooted in the Latin word, *traditio* meaning to ‘hand down’ (Njoh, 2006). The term traditional has been defined as one generation inheriting “values, practices, outlooks, and institutions” from previous generations (Gyekye, 1997). Gyekye (1997) notes that, the difference between culture and tradition is that tradition encompasses a set of cultural practices that have survived and been handed down through several generations. Therefore, the difference between the two terms is duration even though Gyekye (1997) does not specify how many generations should have survived for a cultural practice to constitute a tradition.

The substitute term for house-form is housing, house, or home. The use of these substitute terms is essential because house-form only defines the physical form of a building and does not represent all the functional aspects encompassed in housing, house, and home. The use of substitute terms expands the context of the study and allows for the investigation of the functional attributes of housing which include cultural, social, and economic as well as psychological factors. The term house-form is a general term that is used throughout the study. Substitute words are used in context in the relevant discussion to express a theme, opinion or argument. This assists in expressing the same thing by using different but related terms.

3.2.2 Meaning of Culture

Culture is a complex term which has no standard definition; it is defined differently from the various contextual perspectives of researchers, professionals, practitioners and disciplines. Linton (1945:4) defines culture as the “total way of life of any society”. For the purpose of this study, the definition of culture is not limited to the housing discipline but also refers to different aspects of life and social phenomena. Anthropologists define culture as the learned behaviours, beliefs, values, attitudes and characteristics of a particular society (Ember & Ember, 1998). Culture is also referred to as the ideas and rules behind society’s behaviour (Holland & Quinn, 1987). It can thus be concluded that culture can be seen as an organised system of shared meanings and behaviours by a particular population or society (Geertz, 1973). Available definitions address the question of what culture is and is thought to be, which suggests three meanings which are; “a way of life typical of a group; a system of schemata transmitted symbolically; a way of coping with the ecological setting” (Rapoport cited in Low & Chambers, 1989: xii Foreword).

“Every culture produces its own house-form, highly reflective of the history and lifestyle of its people. The family house is a symbol of social identity and family recognition; the need to preserve people’s culture and history through their house is crucial to achieving sustainable housing and decent livelihood” (Jiboye and Ogunshakin, 2010: 117). Through the works of several disciplines culture expresses itself in the subjective and objective responses of the environment (Fan Ng, 1998). It is further suggested that the manifestation and concept of culture is represented in the physical environment, through the design of objects including houses and the neighbourhood, as opposed to being contained in people’s perceptions, values, norms, beliefs, customs and behaviours (Malkawi & Al-Qudah, 2003; Fan Ng, 1998; Triandis, 1994). People’s inherited culture, lifestyle and beliefs influence the structure of family housing which is a symbol of social identity and family recognition (Rapoport, 1998). Furthermore, the type of house-form that people construct and occupy carries and preserves their cultural heritage and their history (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010).

Thorough analysis and interpretation of how humans use their housing from the past to the present context assists in understanding the complex role that culture plays in housing within and outside households, and perceptions and interpretations of culture by occupants and non-occupants of that particular housing. Rapoport (1998:2) formulated EBR as a guide in creating a link between culture and housing. The EBR theory is based on explaining and understanding the linkages, patterns and forms of interaction between human behaviour and the built environment. It asks three basic questions (Rapoport 1998:2):

1. What biosocial, psychological, and cultural characteristics of human beings, as members of a species, as individuals, and as members of various groupings, influence (and, in design, should influence) what characteristics of the built environment?
2. What effects do what environments have on what groups of people, under what circumstances and why?
3. Given these two-way interactions between people and environments, what are the mechanisms that link them?

EBR assists in identifying the characteristics of human beings that influence the built environment, how the environment affects individuals and why, and evaluates the mechanisms linking the two (Rapoport). The EBR questions are complementary between culture and housing by making reference to a particular group, the past and present context of the setting and places, and socio-behavioural phenomena (Moore, Tuttle, & Howell, 1985).

3.2.3 Housing: House-form

Housing, house and home constitute shelter and a very basic human need in society (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). Shelter is provided in various shapes and forms as temporary or permanent, and natural or adapted (Ojo, 1998). In every part of the world, housing plays a core role in human well-being (Altman, 1993). The importance of housing can be seen when there has been a disturbance or loss of people's homes and the social, physical, cultural and psychological structure becomes disrupted or disturbed (Altman, 1993). For this reason, housing plays a central role in all aspects of human life. It is safe to conclude that the formation, occurrence and continuation of culture are rooted in people's homes. Housing plays a significant role in the functioning of human life from birth, to marriage, employment, raising children, and death as well as providing a social, political and economic system within the household. Therefore, housing expresses culture through everyday use or purposeful design (Jabareen, 2005). The house-form and design of housing can therefore be either supportive or disruptive of the culture of its users (Bochner, 1976; Ozaki, 2002; Rapoport, 1969).

Housing as a concept has different meanings for different authors depending on their perspectives of housing. Table 4 presents a variety of definitions of housing, house and home.

Table 4: Definition of terms

Substitute	Author	Definition
Housing	Correa (1976)	Provision of housing is more than just building houses and housing is not cells in isolation, but a hierarchy of activities and spaces; secondly within each activity there is a trade-off between spaces which are covered and those open to the sky; and thirdly, the activities themselves are mutually interdependent and there can be spatial trade-offs between them.
	Chambers and Low (1989)	“Housing is a residential development, neighbourhood, physical structure that mankind uses for shelter and the environs of the structure itself which include facilities, equipment and other devices for the physical and social well-being and health of mankind.”
House	Olweny (1996: 20)	“... a building for human habitation, a dwelling, a homeThis is a reference to the act of providing houses for human habitation, and is derived from the verb ‘to house’, meaning to place under shelter for protection.”
	Riddle & Arnold (1864, 456)	The word ‘house’, originates from the Latin <i>Domus</i> meaning “the place for living in, with all the appurtenances, the court, garden, etc.”
	Corbusier (1923: online)	“The house is a machine for living in.”
	Rapoport (1969, 46)	“House is an institution, not just a structure; created for a complex set of purposes. Because building a house is a cultural phenomenon, its form and organisation are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs.”
Home	Dictionary.com	A house, apartment, or other shelter that is the usual residence of a person, family, or household.

Source: adopted from Zami & Lee (2010), modified by Researcher: (2015)

Housing is a product and a process, where the product refers to the visible, tangible and physical form of housing and the process refers to the mode and functionality of provision (Turner, 1976). In the context of this study, housing as both a product and process are relevant because the physical house and the functionality of housing are both a reflection and representation of culture (Rapoport, 2000). Mitchell & Bevan (1992: 12) note that Turner’s theory is based on a cultural perspective and states that housing is a “process which is

fundamental to the cultural well-being of the society within which and by who it is constructed”.

The definition and the extent of housing vary, where housing describes a building or part of a building designed for single family or individual occupancy and includes ‘interior’ and ‘exterior’ space (Keiser, 1978). The broadness of housing extends to the other systems noted by Keiser (1978) and Rapoport (1990). Housing as a system comprises of three parts which are structures, communities and networks of communications and services (Keiser, 1978: 5). Rapoport (1990) further extended the sphere of housing by stating that housing includes all types of environments (tribal, vernacular, popular), all periods, all cultures, and the whole environment (Rapoport, 1990). Housing is thus defined in a culturally neutral manner by clearly defining the extension of the housing sphere (Rapoport, 1990). For the purpose of this study, all the terms and definitions coined by Rapoport (1990) and Keiser (1978) are applicable and are used.

Housing is a system of settings in which human behavioural and lifestyle activities take place. It symbolizes people’s traditions, knowledge, customs, morals, beliefs and habits (Njoh, 2006; Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). While the activities and cultural norms and values of one family are different from another family, a typical African traditional household shares a common cultural factor which is the presence of the ancestors and the need to communicate with them from time to time. A typical traditional African home or house is not just a platform for social interaction, or to pursue a livelihood but is a place for communicating with the ancestors (Osasona, Ogunshakin, & Jiboye: 2007). Housing in a culturally neutral manner therefore expresses the existence and preservation of a family’s history and lineage (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). The importance and meaning of a house lies in the presence of the family. A house without a family; family lineage or family members loses respect in the community (Awotona, Ogunshakin, & Mills-Tettey, 1994). In order to understand the relationship between culture and house-form, one therefore needs to understand the past and present context of housing in a cultural manner and the importance of culture in housing for African people.

3.2.4 Form follows function

The phrase “Form follows function” was coined by American architect, Louis Sullivan in his 1896 article. It is defined as “*the pervading law of all things organic and inorganic, of all things physical and metaphysical, of all things human and all things superhuman, of all true manifestations of the head, of the heart, of the soul, that the life is recognizable in its expression, that form ever follows function. This is the law*” (Sullivan, 1896). The concept is commonly referenced from a modernist perspective but can also be viewed from a traditionalist perspective within the built environment. Housing in a modernist and traditionalist built environment creates housing which elevates function through the elimination of unnecessary form. The house-form is constructed in the manner in which the building will be used. Therefore, from a traditionalist perspective, housing typology is constructed to accommodate cultural norms, values and activities. The concept of form follows function in a traditionalist perspective in the South African context is discussed in depth in chapter 4.

In the modernist African built environment, housing was built for the functionality of accommodating migrant workers who provided labour for industry. In order to comprehend the phrase form follows function one needs to understand the context of the development of housing; for whom and in which geographical location? In the South African context, during the apartheid era, housing for Black people in urban areas was developed as a labour supply tool. This was evident in the location, the typology of building, how it was used, and the function it served in terms of the apartheid economy. The apartheid government provided hostels on the outskirts of cities, which were secluded from the townships yet close to industrial areas. Hostels were high-rise buildings that accommodated only men employed on the mines or in industrial areas within the city. These hostels accommodated the number of workers required by the economy using a dormitory floor layout plan. In a traditionalist built environment, house-form and layout is a single storey detached or homestead environment, which is built according to the traditional functionality supportive of culture which is the case for most Africans (Mhlaba, 2009). The concept of form follows function provides different house-forms for different functions in traditional and modern societies

Culture is described as an element instead of a tool used in development, which suggests that some cultures are fully aware of and attentive to development whereas others are not (Willis, 2005). This has caused conflict between culture and development in that development calls

for a change in culture: the cultural practices of a nation, society and the people (Willis, 2005). Jiboye (2004) states that on the African continent and in other developing countries planners and housing developers give no consideration to cultural differences that might impact on cultural housing satisfaction. According to Jackson (1997), when housing is viewed internally, its cultural interpretation varies based on its form, use, quality and ownership. For example, in comparing housing in Asia, Europe and South America, the cultural use and interpretation will be different based on its location. What constitutes development for one country may not be so for another country or culture because it might be in conflict with or compromise the cultural values of the community or people. The downside of modernism is that it fails to recognise the dynamics in society, especially in African countries and South Africa in particular where there is ethnic and cultural diversity (Willis, 2005).

In the context of the research topic, the degree of the functional value of CRUs was evaluated against employment opportunities versus cultural preferences. The way in which form follows function in CRUs is analysed through its physical form, embedded past use, liveability and the principles of traditional housing for families and the practice of culture. The concept of form follow function was crucial in establishing the influence of culture on the acceptability of CRUs. The use of this concept provided a different perspective on CRUs for development agencies and for everyday use.

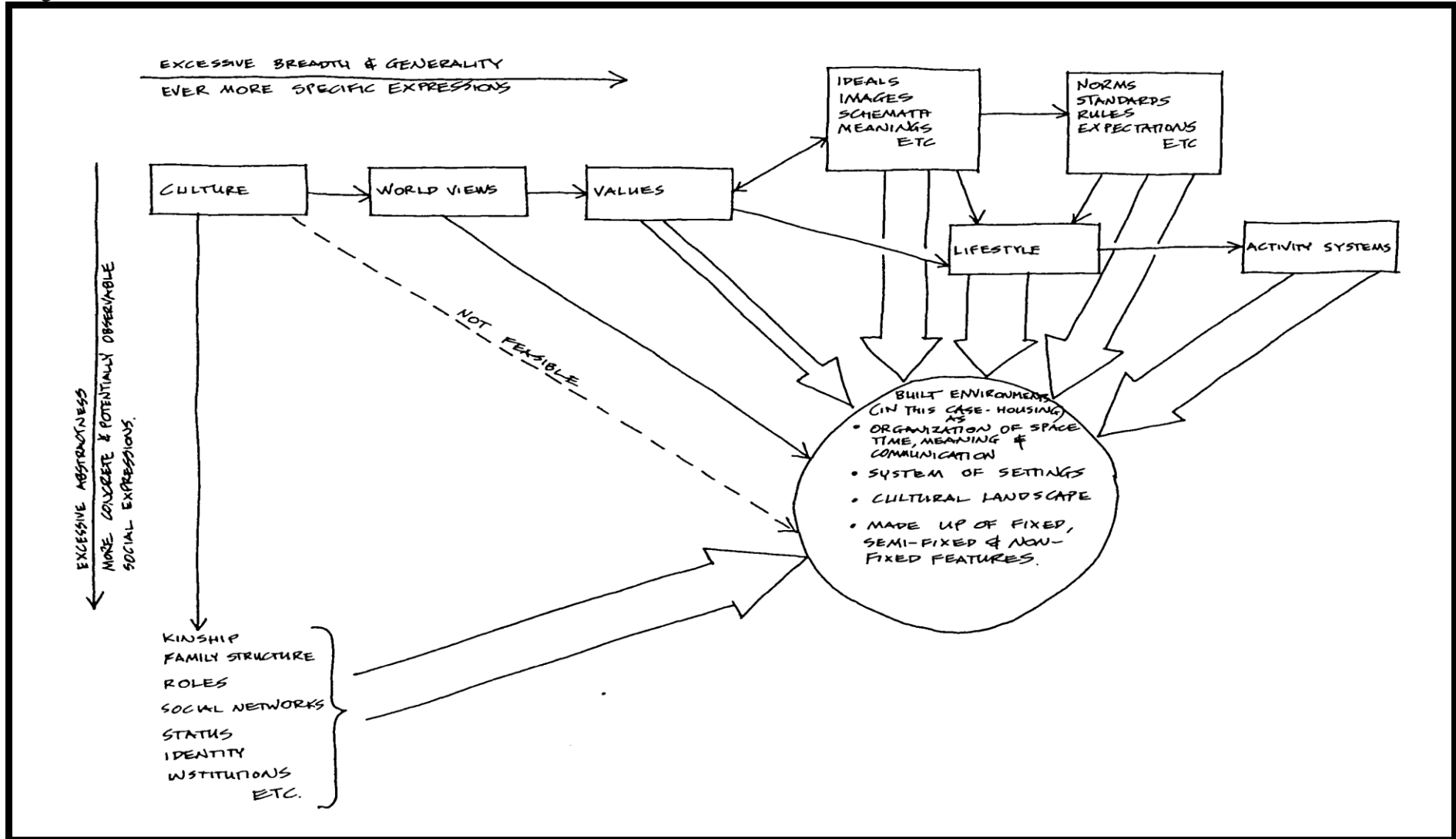
3.2.5 Enculturation: Linking Culture and Housing

The term enculturation is introduced to this study with the aim of forming a link between culture and house-form. Enculturation is defined as “*a group of people who have a set of values and beliefs which embody ideals and are transmitted to members of the group through experience and observation*” (Rapoport, 1980: 9). The definition refers to the passing down of cultural beliefs between members of the same culture from generation to generation. It suggests that the lifestyle and the way of life have a direct link to activities which can only be practiced in the built environment (Kokurina, 2006) and thus a strong connection between the practice of culture and the built environment. Furthermore, the importance of culture and housing can be understood by observing cultural activities, and the connections between the cultural values and lifestyle of a particular group (Kokurina, 2006). It should be noted that human behaviour, lifestyle, cultural norms and values are influenced by their built

environment. People's interaction within their homes offers the opportunity to access their cultural heritage.

Diagram 1 on page 24 indicates the level of importance of the factors relating to culture and house-form through the width of the arrows. Anthology and historical research assist in creating the link by providing various examples of how the system of activities connects with culture in the built environment. Kinship, values, lifestyle and activity systems can be traced through anthropology which maps the role and influence of culture within the household. Lawrence (1986) further states that "even the most basic physiological activities such as cooking, eating and defecation are defined with respect to the values and customs of diverse social groups and institutions" (Lawrence, 1986: 63). This simply means that culture is part and parcel of the household as a lifestyle guided by cultural values and the house-form which is supportive of carrying out that lifestyle. It also means that activities are key indicators in understanding how culture relates to house-form.

Diagram 1: Culture and the Built Environment



Source: Rapoport (1998)

3.3 Theoretical Framework

3.3.1 Durkheimian Theory

The Durkheimian theory was developed by Emile Durkheim, a French sociologist (1858-1917) who studied the transition from ‘traditional’ to ‘modern’ societies in Western Europe (Willis, 2005). He concluded that societies are constructed with a set of morals and ethical norms that individuals are born into and they always strive to maintain them within the society as they grow up (Willis, 2005). The Durkheimian theory provides an explanation of the role that culture plays in society in a prospective and retrospective ideology (Emirbayer, 1996). The continuous existence of the practice and role of a specific culture can be understood through its history or origins. Therefore in order to describe practices, norms, values and customs as culture, the supporting history or origins need to be mapped out (Emirbayer, 1996). Durkheim analysed the relationship between history and sociology by studying human society’s development, structure and functioning to understand the core reasons for the social problems in human society in relation to culture (Ringer, 1992). He conducted studies that demonstrated social phenomena within society, such as *The Division of Labour in Society*, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, and *Suicide*. These studies provided discussion on how societies seek to maintain cultural equilibrium (Durkheim, 2002). In all their endeavours, societies aim to maintain cultural harmony and equilibrium and anyone who causes disturbance would be punished or dealt with accordingly so that the society constantly remains in equilibrium (Willis, 2005).

For the purpose of this study, Durkheim’s *Suicide* and *The Division of Labour in Society* are applicable in understanding the importance of culture in human society. *Suicide* draws attention to the complex, strong structural bonds resulting from interactions in different societies by using an empirical indicator to mark differential suicide rates (Durkheim, 2002). A lower suicide rate reveals a healthy level of integration. Durkheim compared suicide rates among Protestants, Catholics and Jews and concluded that Protestants were more likely to commit suicide than Catholics, and Catholics were as likely to commit suicide as Jews (Durkheim, 2002). The reason was because Protestants came from many different historical and cultural backgrounds when compared to Catholics who hold common cultural and traditional backgrounds inherited from the teachings of the church (Durkheim, 2002). The common denominator among Catholics was the teachings of the Catholic Church even

though they might have different racial and social cultural backgrounds. Jews, on the other hand, were pure in their race, religious faith and origins and were therefore less likely to commit suicide because they shared a common culture (Durkheim, 2002).

Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* argued that in 'traditional societies' individuals work for the greater good and benefit of the family, kin and clan (Willis, 2005). For example, individuals would ensure that whatever they did or obtained benefitted and satisfied the collective. In contrast, in 'modern societies' individuals focus on benefitting themselves through the division of labour which is enforced by the modernist theory (Willis, 2005). In African countries, this was evident in the White elite minority group benefitting from industrial development. While Black Africans were required for labour, they were excluded from enjoyment of the city/urban area as it developed (Njoh, 2006). *The Division of Labour in Society* noted that individualism results in people becoming disengaged from one another and losing their cultural roots and traditions in the process, a common occurrence during the transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies (Willis, 2005). The constant movement of Black African migrant labourers from rural to urban areas had an impact on their culture. Cultural rituals had to be postponed due to the absence of the male head of the household (Mhlaba, 2009).

The individualism identified in *The Division of Labour in Society* resulted in Black African migrant labourers being exposed to different cultures and practices during their stay in urban areas. Individuals gained through what they did, knew and were qualified to do, whereas in traditional societies status was gained through ethnicity, kinship or gender. This exposure gave them a broader understanding of how other cultures operated, but it was not easy to conform to the modern way of learned cultural practices because they were only temporary residents in the urban areas and often returned home to their traditional families and community. However, in urban areas, Black African migrant workers resided with one another in the accommodation provided. This relationship can be compared with that of the Jews in a foreign land, which made it challenging to impose modernist thinking on Black African migrants.

People of the same cultural heritage will always maintain and practice their culture no matter where they are situated because it has been instilled in them. The importance of housing is that it is a platform where culture is practiced. Housing plays a significant role in the

preservation of any culture, which is inherited from the previous generation and the ancestors (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). Furthermore, culture in housing is a symbol of family recognition and social identity; therefore, by preserving culture in housing, households are able to sustain their cultural heritage and practice for the future generation (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). Thus, the socio-cultural phenomena described in *Suicide* and *The Division of Labour in Society* and Rapoport's (1980) definition of enculturation indicate that a society with the same origins, customs, values and culture will maintain and sustain that culture through housing, especially when people of like culture live in the same built environment.

3.3.2 Modernist Theory

Modernist theory has been described as a “condition of being modern, new or up-to-date, so the idea of modernity situates people in time” (Ogborn, 1999: p153). It is based on the ‘development’ and ‘progress’ of a nation, society or people (Willis, 2005). ‘Modernity’ through development involves economic change and social transformation (Willis, 2005) 116. Achieving ‘modernity’ calls for a constant assessment of the economy in terms of economic output (Rostow, 1960). Economic growth requires a shift from subsistence agricultural activities to urban industrial ones, impacting social structures (Rostow, 1960). Furthermore, industrialisation requires investment in new infrastructure (Willis, 2005). As the economy grows, there is an increase in rural-urban migration and consequently, a need for housing development to accommodate the increasing population in urban areas.

In developing countries, urbanisation was the major driver of modernity. Development was first introduced and experienced when Europeans settled in Africa through colonisation. Colonialism is defined as “*the political control of peoples and territories by foreign states, whether accompanied by significant permanent settlement... or not*” (Bernstein, 2000: 242) and is associated with economic and cultural domination (Bernstein, 2002). It cannot be denied that African countries are lagging behind in all aspects of development despite efforts by the West to develop and modernise this continent (Njoh, 2006). Colonial policies were rooted in racial discrimination, capitalism and separate development, which were later adopted by the apartheid government in South Africa (Seidman, 1999).

Urbanisation had far-reaching effects on the livelihoods, and traditional and cultural norms of native Africans. In an attempt to politically control Africans, the Europeans grouped them according to their clans and tribes. While this was intended to control and contain indigenous peoples in one place, it also created strong bonds. It was easier for Africans to share and pass on information amongst one another and from one generation to another. The system enforced by colonisation ultimately created stronger bonds within and amongst African groups. In this way all cultural practices and knowledge remained within society and were passed on from one generation to the next. The only thing that Europeans were able to successfully change about Africans was their clothes; they started to dress in a more modern manner instead of wearing animal skins. Furthermore, Africans started to use money as a means of exchange rather than bartering using animals or grain (Frescura, 1981).

3.3.3 Intertwined relationship between the Modernist and Durkheimian Theories

The Modernist and Durkheimian theories are intertwined and affect each other. The Modernist theory is centred on development and economic growth, whereas the Durkheimian theory is centred on sociological aspects of the social and cultural norms of people, families and the community. It is crucial to understand that development and economic growth affect social and cultural norms, with one culture oppressing another culture. At the same time, the cultural practices of African people were disturbed and affected during their temporary stay in urban areas. Nonetheless, Black people still carried their cultural knowledge with them which enabled them to practice their culture. Durkheim's theory pinpointed the elements that allowed this to be possible.

3.4 Literature Review

3.4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this literature review on culture and housing is to determine the influence of culture on house-form. In order to understand culture and house-form, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the two. Exploring the factors that influence house-form will create a better understanding of how changes in house-form affect and impact the cultural lives of beneficiaries. The review begins by narrowing the broad terms of culture and housing to focus on the context of the study. It discusses international precedent studies to

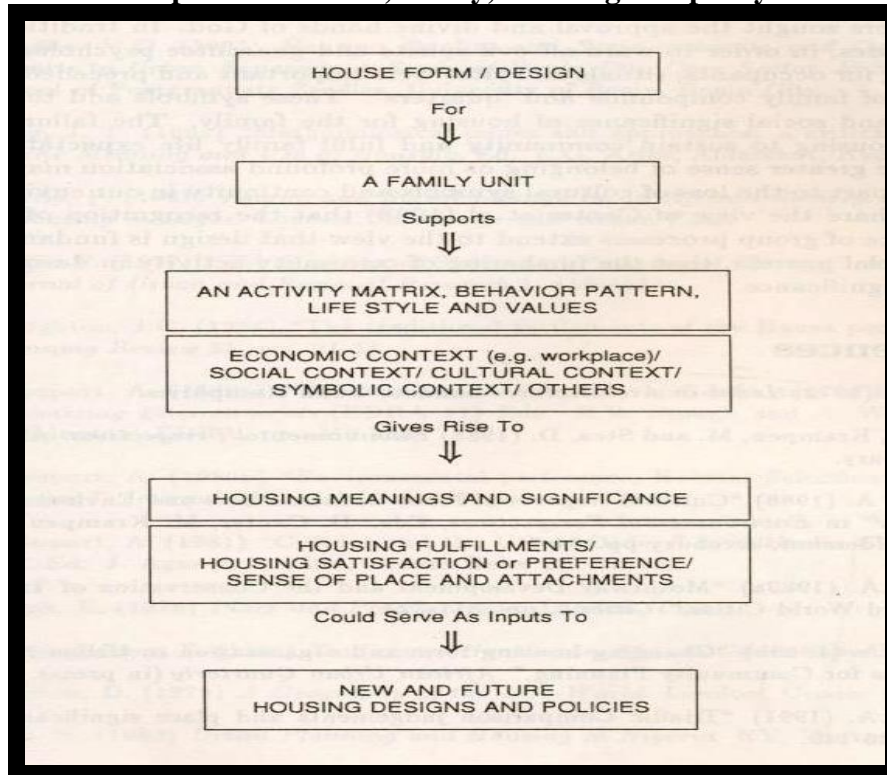
understand the link between culture and house-form and the implications that changes in house-form have for culture.

3.4.2 Complexity of culture and house-form

Seamon (1986: 17) notes that “*the greatest strength and weakness of this (culture and house-form) research field is diversity, one notes a wide variety of research methods, ideologies, and substantive foci*”. The weakness is seen in the study of the two key words, ‘culture’ and ‘house-form’ as individual terms which stand alone. Seamon (1986) adds that in any intellectual system there should be a set of common values, theories, terms, and methods (Seamon, 1986). “*Although such statements about the association between culture and house form are widely accepted, supporting data have infrequently been carefully marshalled*” (Ozaki, 2002: 209). This argument concurs with Seamon’s (1986) earlier statement. The use of sociological, anthropological, geographical, and architectural disciplines, as well as historical approaches, assists in tracing a link between culture and house-form (Panday, 1990). The study of culture and house-form is not a straight forward formula or prescribed, documented set of rules because every culture has its own uniquely designed house-form that is derived from and is a reflection of people’s background and lifestyle (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010).

On the other hand, Altman (1986) states that the complexity of this research field shows strength in that there is sufficient room to address different aspects of the research problem. This could be done by analysing and understanding the complexity of housing in the past and present context, the cultural role it plays for its occupants and how it is perceived by non-occupants. In addition, the strength lies in understanding, exploring and unlocking different aspects in investigating the macro and micro perspectives of culture and house-form. Diagram 2 shows that anyone can place themselves or their cultural circumstances in the diagram and it will be applicable to them with either the same results or different results from the next person.

Diagram 2: Relationship between form, family, meaning and policy



Source: Chokor (1993: 299)

3.4.2.1 The meaning and interpretation of housing

The study of culture and housing has been centred on the physical attributes of housing and the physical representation of culture. For more than 20 years, culture in housing has been represented through an architectural set of meanings, but in recent years, there has been a shift to a social and cultural meaning (Moore, Tuttle, & Howell, 1985). The ‘meaning’ of housing suggests approaching housing from a communicative angle, whereby communication is an interpretation of information and not merely the transmission of information (Francescato, 1993). Interpretation implies acceptance of the diversity of meanings among different interpreters of the same subject which is dependent on their experiences, goals, intent, and interests (Francescato, 1993).

According to Low & Chambers (1989), culture in housing has been interpreted as cognitive culture, referring to the perceptions and behaviour of people in a spatial environment while culture is the interaction of the social, structural, historical and cultural meanings of the designed environment as well as to the physical housing unit as opposed to cognitive and behavioural factors (Low and Chambers, 1989).

3.4.3 Housing choices and preferences VS cultural dimension

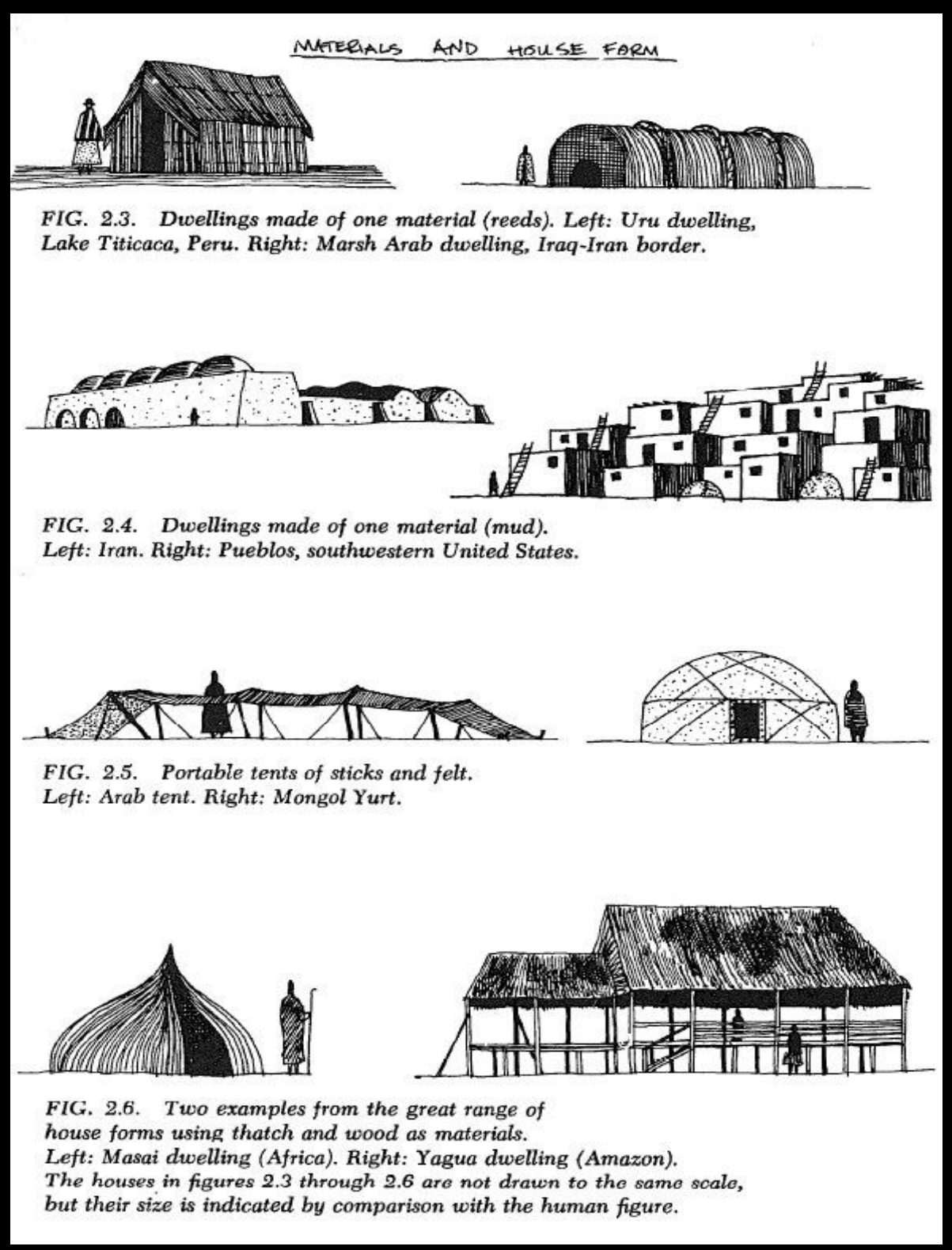
The relationship between culture and house-form is not easily noticeable and understood because culture competes with several other house choice and preference determinants among people (Timmermans, Molin, & Van Noortwijk, 1994). Culture as a housing choice and preference by occupants competes with other variables such as quality, ownership, use, age, the size of the household and economic variables (Jackson, 1997). These variables have been explored and investigated in much more detail than the relationship between culture and housing (Moore, Tuttle & Howell, 1985). They determine the factors that occupants take into account in choosing housing (Clark & Dieleman, 1996). Through the use of anthropological and historical research, Bochner (1975), and Lawrence (2000) suggested that culture is the primary determinant of house-form and that the other variables are secondary or modifying. Variables such as quality, ownership, use, age, the size of the household, economic variables, materials, climate, and technology are regarded as secondary house choice and preference determinants which are considered in the exploration of house-form, but primary attention should be given to the cultural forces influencing house-form.

Rapoport (1969) supports this argument by observing that house-form is not determined by economic factors, technology, climate or site layout, but by cultural and religious factors. In *House Form and Culture*, Rapoport (1996) reports on case studies conducted in Old Delhi and New Delhi, and certain Latin American cities. As indicated in Plate 1, he found that, although houses were constructed using the materials and technology in a similar economy and climate, each culture and different ethnic group produced different house-forms according to their cultural preferences (Rapoport, 1969). The investigation showed that cultural factors determine house-form and that physical forces and secondary sources are merely external forces. In the cases of Old Delhi and New Delhi, house-form functions were an arena where cultural ideals, attitudes, values and images were prolonged and extended within the immediate family and the traditional society (Mitchell & Bevan, 1992). House-form reflects a traditional society's world view, behaviour, codes and ethics (Mitchell & Bevan, 1992).

Housing is believed to be closely linked to culture cosmology, where people refer back to the culture on housing construction for family formation and livelihoods; the house-form, size, culture, and use are dependent on people's respective cultures (Altman, 1993). However

housing is more than shelter; it is a structure for human habitation and the history of house-form and the construction of housing are inseparable from the cultural development of human kind (Listokin et al, 2007 cited in Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). Different groups of people and societies have various cultures depending on their history and background, which results in different house-forms in housing (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010; Altman, 1993). However, housing is still the most central physical setting of human life that is maintained through culture. Every culture in the world has its own culturally ideal concept of housing which they aspire to (Njoh, 2006).

“Every culture produces its own house-form, highly reflective of the history and lifestyle of its people” (Jiboye and Ogunshakin, 2010: 117). This statement corresponds with the EBR questions that are based on the notion that the social identity of occupants and families is maintained through the culture of the biological species that humans belong to (Rapoport, 1995). It is important to preserve culture through housing because housing is a symbol of family recognition and social identity (Jiboye and Ogunshakin, 2010: 117). Even in nomadic societies, where people are always on the move for cultural reasons, they construct temporary housing with the sole purpose of providing shelter for protection but maintain their cultural dimensions in the construction of that shelter (Mitchell & Bevan, 1992: 3).



Source: Rapoport (1969: 27)

3.4.3.1 Modernism and the Importance of Culture in Africa

In Africa, culture is a component of development which has been placed at the top of the policy agenda in developing countries (Njoh, 2006). Willis (2005) states that, in terms of

Durkheimian theory, traditionalist societies always strive for cultural equilibrium and those who disturb that equilibrium would be punished accordingly. Modernisation challenges traditional societies by changing social structures which in turn makes modernity an enemy of such societies. Changing social structures disturbs the social order of traditional societies as people who were accorded social status through kinship, ethnicity, and gender are overtaken by individuals who earned their status through formal qualifications, or different forms of employment which accorded them revenue status. For example, a son who earns more money than his father could now be more respected, make family decisions and head the household because of his financial status. Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* critiques the modernist theory from a traditional point of view where it is regarded as socially incorrect and unacceptable (Willis, 2005). The physical and social structures of a traditional house ensured that all family members and the community maintained their social status through the house-form and spatial layout (Mhlaba, 2009).

3.5 Precedent studies

Two precedent studies were selected in conjunction with the literature review to explore the effect and impact of the socio-cultural parameters presented by housing. In determining culturally acceptable housing, the studies present different situations arising from a change from traditional housing to conventional (modern) housing. The use of these studies aims to assess the provision of housing in relation to culture and allows for comparison of the relationship between culture and housing. The following case studies were purposely selected:

1. *The attitudes of Libyan families to their traditional and contemporary houses*
2. *Housing and culture for native groups in Canada*

The two cases were selected to draw lessons in understanding the relationship between culture and housing. Each case presents a different picture of occupants' responsiveness to housing from a cultural perspective.

3.5.1 Precedent study 1: The attitudes of Libyan families to their traditional and contemporary houses

3.5.1.1 Introduction

The first case study showcases the relationship between culture and housing among Libyan families in their attitudes to traditional and conventional housing in the Libyan Sahara Desert in an old town called Ghadames. Ghadames is located in Gharyan which is one of five sub-regions in the Tripoli region. The study was carried out in November 1995, as a survey of the Ghadames oasis. It revealed different attitudes and responses by Libyan families to their traditional and contemporary houses. Their attitudes were assessed based on five social factors: privacy, security, religion, co-operation in the choice of housing, and prestige.

The social structure of the Ghadames population is based on a tight hierarchy, social status and religious values. The population is subdivided into tribes, from tribes into clans, from clans into sub-clans and from sub-clans into families. Family structure is the most basic and important social structure. However, Ghadames is still a patriarchal society, where females are concealed from the public. Family units and structures result from matrimonial unions and social measures of class; the aim is to keep families as strong as possible.

The settlement pattern and house-form construction is based on three fundamental values: (1) the family's socio-cultural influence and social status, which is evident in the organization of the space and house-form. The house-form and design reveal that the occupants are conservative households, with an emphasis on privacy and security; (2) the house-form is also based on climatic conditions and; (3) geographical location in proximity to water (Piccioli, 1935). The traditional houses were designed by architects who were responsive to the three fundamental values of the occupants as well as the morals and values held by Libyan society. The space is separated according a hierarchy of totally private spaces, from the family home and mosques, to spaces that are completely public, such as market places. The traditional home is likened to an institution whose form and organization are influenced by the socio-cultural environment and way of life.

3.5.1.2 Character of traditional housing

The house is constructed using local building materials to suit climatic conditions and ethnic requirements. The traditional house-form design is vertical, consisting of three or four floors, each representing different uses within the household and for males and females. The upward construction of the Ghadamesian house allows for maximum privacy from outsiders but still ensures that contact with the family and nature is available via the ‘middle home’ and the mezzanine level, respectively. Women have freedom of movement on the second and upper floors. The ground floor consists of a store room for agricultural tools and the main entrance; this is the area where visitors are welcomed and is a waiting room for strangers. The first floor is called the ‘wast El-Housash’ which means ‘middle home’ and is used as the family’s living room; it is also open to guests and visitors. An important sacred room exists on the first floor. Called the ‘elkubba’, it is a small room reserved for two special occasions: the night a woman gets married and for a woman to sleep in when her husband passes away. The second floor consists of bedrooms for family members. The fourth level is a mezzanine which is optional; it consists of the master bedroom, where clothes and grain can also be stored. This floor offers an opening where family members can enjoy the sunlight and is open to all family members during the day, but is for private use at night by the husband and wife.

3.5.1.3 Development and characteristics of conventional housing

The Ghadames settlement grew in the 1980s when 616 housing units were built in response to the economic boom resulting from petroleum revenue. The city initially consisted of 2 120 traditional housing units, mosques, markets and other public spaces. The 616 housing units are labelled as modern (Western) housing by local people, because they were designed and built by a foreign company. In contrast, the 2 120 traditional housing units were designed and constructed by local architects taking into account climate change, the geographical location and the socio-cultural values of the Ghadames people.

The development of modern housing was based on Western housing models and settlements. The contemporary settlement is characterized by high standards of construction and buildings, random grouping of houses, large open spaces and modern infrastructure. More attention was given to public open spaces, parking space, commercial activities, and roads compared to the residential area.

3.5.1.4 Conventional housing clashes with people's culture and traditions

Contemporary housing did not accommodate socio-cultural values. These are the essential principles and laws of Islam in Arab society. The study established that conventional housing consisted of large open spaces which were in conflict with the traditional housing which had closed off spaces, thus ensuring prestige, religion, privacy, security and choice. The conventional housing was built haphazardly without considering hierarchy, social class/status and religion. Middle class households were mixed with lower or upper class households. A family's status and social class is visible through decoration, aesthetic qualities, climatic comfort and the location of the family home in relation to other households of the same class. More importantly, the placement of homes and mosques was disoriented. The mosque was completely disorientated and there was a shortage of mosques relative to the number of people in the new contemporary settlement. In the traditional settlement, there are small mosques surrounded by housing for everyday use and a large, central mosque that serves the whole community for joint prayers on Fridays, which is called *Jummah*. Further problems were experienced by households as the bathroom 'siphonic water closets' were placed so that the user had their back away from the direction of the holy Makkah. This is in conflict with religious beliefs and the water closets had to be re-positioned, leading to problems with the plumbing and sewerage system.

The introduction of public open spaces had a psychological impact on relationships between people. The physical structure was now easily visible from the street. Household activities were no longer limited to family members. Onlookers could see what was happening within the property and the openness of the houses required occupants to add security measures such as burglar guards and a metal door to close off the balcony to deter intruders. In contrast, the traditional home was closed to the public eye and there was a sense of security. The occupants felt much safer and were satisfied with the level of security and privacy. Unlike in the traditional house, females no longer had freedom of movement; guests, visitors and onlookers came into contact with them. The house-form and design of the Ghadamesian people is based on preserving the privacy and security of household members, especially of men and women.

The development of contemporary Ghadames housing lacked community participation; the community was not consulted about the new housing development. This decreased the levels

of satisfaction with the new homes. Furthermore, the contemporary housing lacked durability, was smaller in size, and had an inadequate sewage system, whereas traditional homes offer the conditions lacking in conventional houses and, more importantly were suitable for local climatic conditions.

3.5.2 Precedent study 2: Housing and culture for native groups in Canada

3.5.2.1 Introduction

The second precedent study assists in understanding the impact of a change in house-form, permanent tenure and the geographical setting/location and political influence on beneficiaries' attitudes to and satisfaction with housing. This case study focuses on the relationship between culture and housing for nomadic Indians who remained on the reserves. The recognition of status Indians occurred during European colonization in Canada in the late 1860s. The development of the reserves was supported by the Indians Act of 1968-69 together with the Department of Indian Affairs which "managed the affairs of Indians in an all pervasive way" (Beaver 1979: 26). Funds were set aside for the development of housing and land claims for status Indians, which were held by the government. Government intervention and interference was limited to encouraging Indians to take part in agriculture and to maintain their own educational facilities. This was an attempt to change their socio-cultural lifestyle as nomads, or 'savages'. Farming was meant to tame them and education was meant to modernize and change their way of thinking. To be effective and efficient, these facilities and activities required permanent housing. Housing provision did not fall under the jurisdiction of the government because the government had accepted the status Indians' primitive housing methods. The government was not obliged to provide housing for status Indians; according to the 1867 Constitution, "*the federal government has responsibility not only for undertaking specific functions but also for discharging residual powers not accorded to the provinces. Housing in particular, was the responsibility of the provinces, and therefore the housing on reserves is a provincial problem to ignore or deal with as a provincial government sees fit*" (Mcdowell, 1989: 45).

3.5.2.2 Government's role and indirect interference in the status Indians' lifestyle

At the end of World War Two, the Canadian government exercised its 'residual powers' and created the Indian Affairs Branch. This was in response to the disparities between native housing in the reserves and modern housing in the suburbs. Assistance with farming and the maintenance of educational facilities was placed under the care of the Indian Affairs Branch that also assumed responsibility to provide adequate housing and alleviate poverty among status Indians. The core focus was alleviating poverty which resulted from unemployment and under-employment, poor health, substandard housing, large families, idleness, low levels of education, and an attitude of despair and defeat.

In an attempt to eradicate poverty, it was decided that modernized development was to occur, which would also address the issues associated with poverty. The new policies were based on modern methods and the physical living conditions on the reserves and social services for status Indians were improved to meet more the modern standards of the rest of Canadian citizens. Housing development was therefore based on modern methods, house-forms and the relocation of tribes to a less suitable site.

3.5.2.3 Trial and error of modernized housing provision

The lifestyle and living arrangements of status Indians on the reserves were dispersed and unplanned. The modernized approach conformed to modern ways of housing provision with logically planned and arranged housing. However, this modern way of living was foreign to the status Indians and conflicted with their socio-cultural ways. While services such as sewage and clean water systems, educational facilities, shops and other facilities and services were available in close proximity, status Indians saw this as destroying their culture.

Furthermore, the majority of occupants could not enjoy these services because of under-employment and unemployment as well as factors associated with poverty. The modernized manner of housing provision placed the status Indians in a worse position than when they were left alone in the reserves as nomads. The housing offered to them was not conducive and sustainable. There was no consultation with the status Indians about being relocated and their traditional way of life was not considered. The nomadic (primitive) lifestyle of status Indians meant that their next of kin or non-next of kin were in most cases approximately a

quarter of a mile away (approximately half a kilometer); however the modern lifestyle meant that the next of kin or non-next of kin was one's neighbor living very close to one. The housing provided consisted of prefabricated row housing.

Following acknowledgment in the 1960s that the housing provided by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was a failure, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) was mandated by the federal government to deal with the problem. The CMHC employed private developers and contractors who stated that the failure of the modern houses was based on the lack of consideration of the social and cultural issues of the status Indians. This analysis created the impression that the appointed private developers and contractors had a solution to the problem on the reserves. Their solution was to cluster housing, creating a central green area or to build townhouses. It was claimed that the restructured housing layout addressed and respected the social and cultural values of native groups. However, these groups were never given an opportunity to voice their opinions during the second attempt to provide housing. In the end, the second provision attempt was as inappropriate as the first. Both DIAND and CMHC's efforts not only increased the level of poverty and other associated factors but were also responsible for the high rates of crime and alcoholism on the reserves (Mcdowell, 1989).

In 1969, Indian political groups demanded greater participation in decision making on housing provision and more funds were allocated to address Indians' housing problems. The political involvement of Indians in housing provision saw the birth and development of the Housing Subsidy Program, the CMHC mortgage program and Band Administered Programs. These programs allowed Indians who qualified to borrow money from the government to either build or improve their housing in the reserves. However, over time they proved ineffective for the following reasons:

- The programs lacked flexibility;
- Housing was located in unsuitable sites;
- The housing process lacked local participation;
- There was poor communication regarding financial procedures and programs;
- The housing deteriorated quickly because of the cheap material used; people could not maintain their homes, and substandard building techniques were used;
- There were insufficient funds to furnish homes once construction was complete; and

- More importantly, housing was allocated by the government without consideration of beneficiaries' lifestyle or social structure.

While Indians entrance onto the political stage did not solve the housing problem, it brought to the fore a critical factor which had been ignored in the provision of housing, which is the need for consultation and community participation.

3.5.2.4 Solutions and the way forward in housing provision

In light of the failure of the two previous attempts, it was decided that the approach to housing provision for status Indians on the reserves would be through 'self-help' housing. The provision of housing requires community involvement and participation in the construction of their homes, financial management, maintenance, renovation, and advice or training (Middleton, 1983). The effectiveness of the self-help housing approach could not be measured or evaluated; however, because the government was no longer interfering or involved in housing provision, it is assumed that there was a higher level of housing satisfaction and value in housing as an asset and cultural factor. The status Indians were given a platform to choose the housing typology most suitable for their culture and environment.

3.5.2.5 Case study summary and conclusion

The two case studies were purposively selected because their circumstances resonate with the case of hostels during the apartheid era, which are now known as CRUs. Hostels were constructed to ensure a steady supply of labour and are different from the traditional housing of the occupants. Secondly, the case studies showed that communication and consultation are the key in providing cultural appropriate housing; failure to communicate undermines the beneficiaries' cultural norms and values. This second case study showed that the status Indians' culture was purposely undermined. However, there was less resistance and complaints when the Indians involved themselves politically in the housing provision process, although the final attempt to provide housing also failed. It is noted that even though people's cultural heritage and background might not be documented, it does not mean that there is no cultural reference in their housing construction.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that underpinned this study and presented a literature review and precedent studies to create the link between culture and housing. The conceptual framework narrowed the focus of the study to concentrate on the meaning of the terms ‘culture’ and ‘housing’ in relation to the study. The theoretical framework was based on the Durkheimian and Modernist theories, which were selected to explain human behaviour and the impact and effect of continuous housing development on its beneficiaries, respectively. These theories illustrate how modern development impacts on human behaviour within the household, especially in cases where household behaviour is inherited from the forefathers. There is an imbalance between modern housing development and human behaviour within the household, thus creating conflict. The literature review interrogated the concept of culture in order to establish its link with housing. The existence of this link was also supported by the precedent studies considered in this chapter.

This chapter has provided a comprehensive explanation of the relationship between culture and housing. Furthermore, it revealed the factors which need to be considered in housing satisfaction and the extent of the influence of culture on users’ attitudes to house-form and the housing environment. The theories and lessons learnt from this chapter are used in the following chapters to evaluate the extent to which culture influences the acceptability of CRUs.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: PROGRESSIVE REALISATION OF CULTURE AND HOUSING: THE SOUTH AFRICA CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter creates the setting for the not easily recognizable interconnectedness between culture and housing in South Africa in house-form, which can be visualised in the spatial environment and cultural practices within and outside the household and the cultural and social structure amongst Black people in South Africa. It explores the cultural environment in housing and the household using the EBR formulated by Rapoport (1998). As far as the researcher is aware, no comprehensive study has been undertaken on the interconnectedness of culture and housing in the South African context. Since the definition of culture varies according to the context and discipline, the use of EBR assists in establishing the cultural and social behaviours of Black people in their built environment and households. This chapter exposes the link between culture and house-form through the use of cultural anthropology to explore the social organisation of Black people in and outside their households and the built environment.

4.2 Anthropological mapping of culture and housing through EBR

The relationship between culture and house-form is complex. People produce home structures according to culturally symbolic, meaningful and supportive learned behaviours, beliefs and values (Frescura, 1986). Culture is preserved in housing through house-form (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). The history, social identity, family recognition and lifestyle of people are embedded in house-form and the housing layout (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). The relationship between culture and house-form is not unique to South Africa, but is found throughout Africa and the rest of the world.

This research study drew on a number of disciplines to examine people's history of cultural beliefs, practices, values and behaviours in housing, and the impact of a change in the environment and external factors. It was therefore appropriate to map the place; culture and geographical location of housing layouts from a South African and African perspective using

the EBR questions formulated by Rapoport (1998: 2) in *Using 'Culture' in Housing Design* which are as follows:

- I. *What biosocial, psychological, and cultural characteristics of human beings, as members of a species, as individuals and as members of various groupings, influence (and, in design, should influence) what characteristics of the built environment?*
- II. *What effects do what aspects of what environments have on what groups of people, under what circumstances and why?*
- III. *Given these two-way interactions between people and environments, what are the mechanisms that link them?*” (Rapoport, 1998: 2).

4.3 EBR Question one

What biosocial, psychological, and cultural characteristics of human beings, as members of a species, as individuals and as members of various groupings, influence (and, in design, should influence) what characteristics of the built environment?

In *House-form and Culture*, Rapoport (1969) argues that house-form is primarily determined by culture and religion rather than the climate, site orientation, shelter, technology and the economy. He posits that, “... *Because building a house is a cultural phenomenon, its form and organizations are greatly influenced by the cultural milieu to which it belongs*” (Rapoport, 1969: 46). This statement is highly significant in that housing has been designed and organised to meet the cultural needs of individual respective societies. While the housing typology might not be the same for each culture, the house-form is functional, sensitive and responsive to cultural practices within the household. This is the case with African families where privacy, hierarchy, age, gender separation and gender-specific duties and responsibilities are highly valued components of housing and are supported by the housing typology.

Mhlaba’s (2009) research on “*The Indigenous Architecture of KwaZulu-Natal, in the Late 20th Century*” was used to assist the mapping of the cultural anthropology of amaZulu, in order to respond to EBR question one. Mhlaba (2009) explored the meanings behind the traditional Zulu homestead layout, strategic placement of family members and their roles and

responsibilities within the household. This approach contributes to bridging the research gap on the relationship between culture and housing in South Africa.

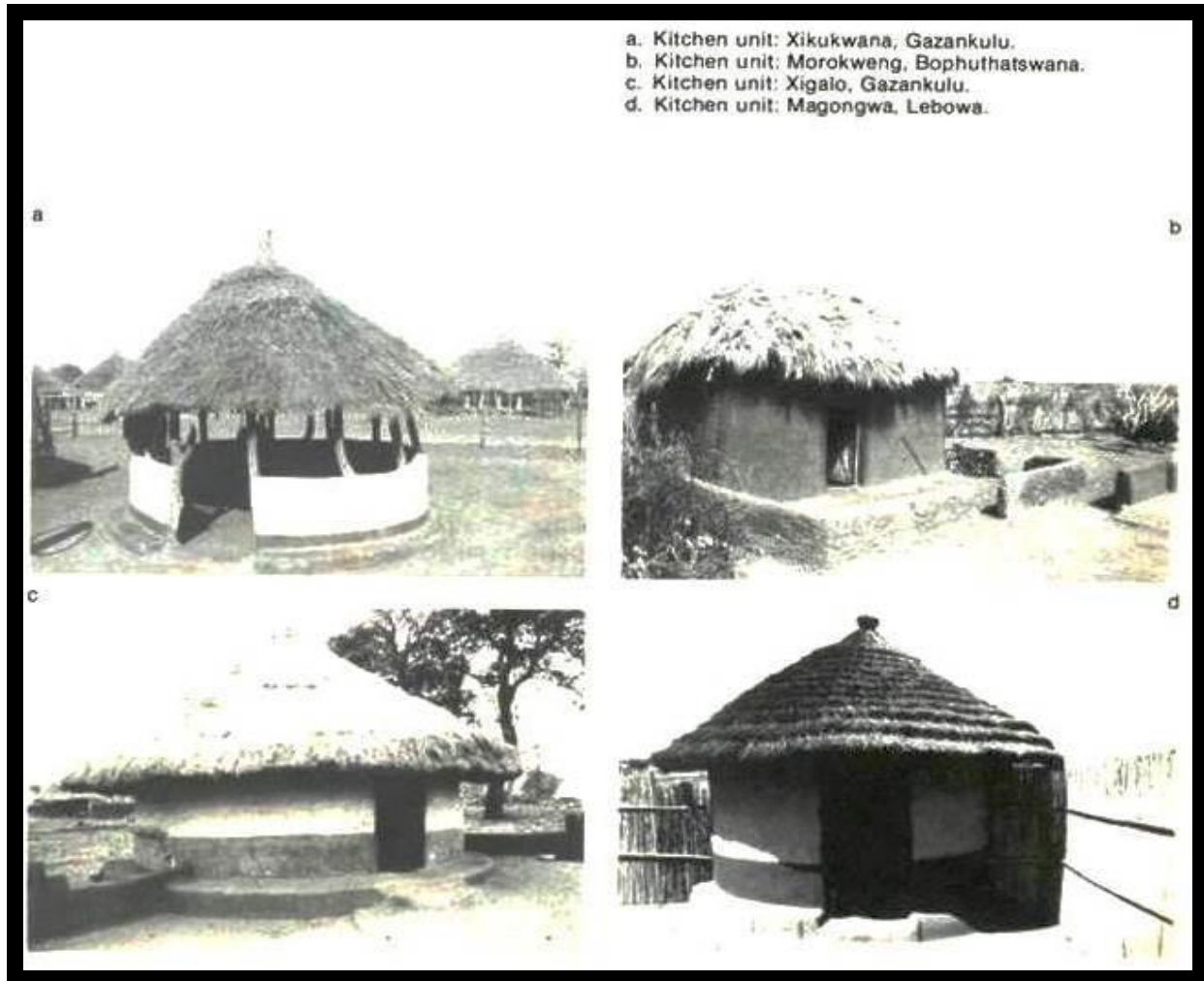
4.3.1 Traditional Homestead layout and the positioning of family members

The spatial layout of the Zulu homestead recognises and emphasises privacy and the independence of individual members within the household (Mhlaba, 2009). It takes into consideration the milestones of family members and their interaction within the household in terms of cultural prescripts (Njoh, 2006; Mhlaba, 2009). The hierarchical position of each family member with respect to gender and age is also taken into account.

The Zulu homestead is designed to maintain social and moral order within families and in society at large. The design and layout enforce values and instil respect between and within genders, age groups and the society at large. The positioning of the homestead enforces social values, norms and respect for the opposite sex, elders and the community by strategically positioning family members within the homestead. Whilst the homestead sustains social identity and order, it simultaneously grooms individuals for their rightful place within the family and community. For examples, girls are groomed to be mothers and wives and boys to be fathers and husbands. Where a child would assume the title of chief they are groomed accordingly and treated as such from a young age within the household.

The establishment of a traditional Zulu household begins with the construction of the core cluster which is occupied by the parents. The next building is the kitchen which serves as a place for social gatherings and the preparation of food. This setup is consistent not only in traditional Zulu households but across different cultures in South Africa. Plate 2 shows that the kitchen is a hut on its own in the four different environments presented in the plate. In all four environments, the kitchen is built after the core building for the parents has been constructed.

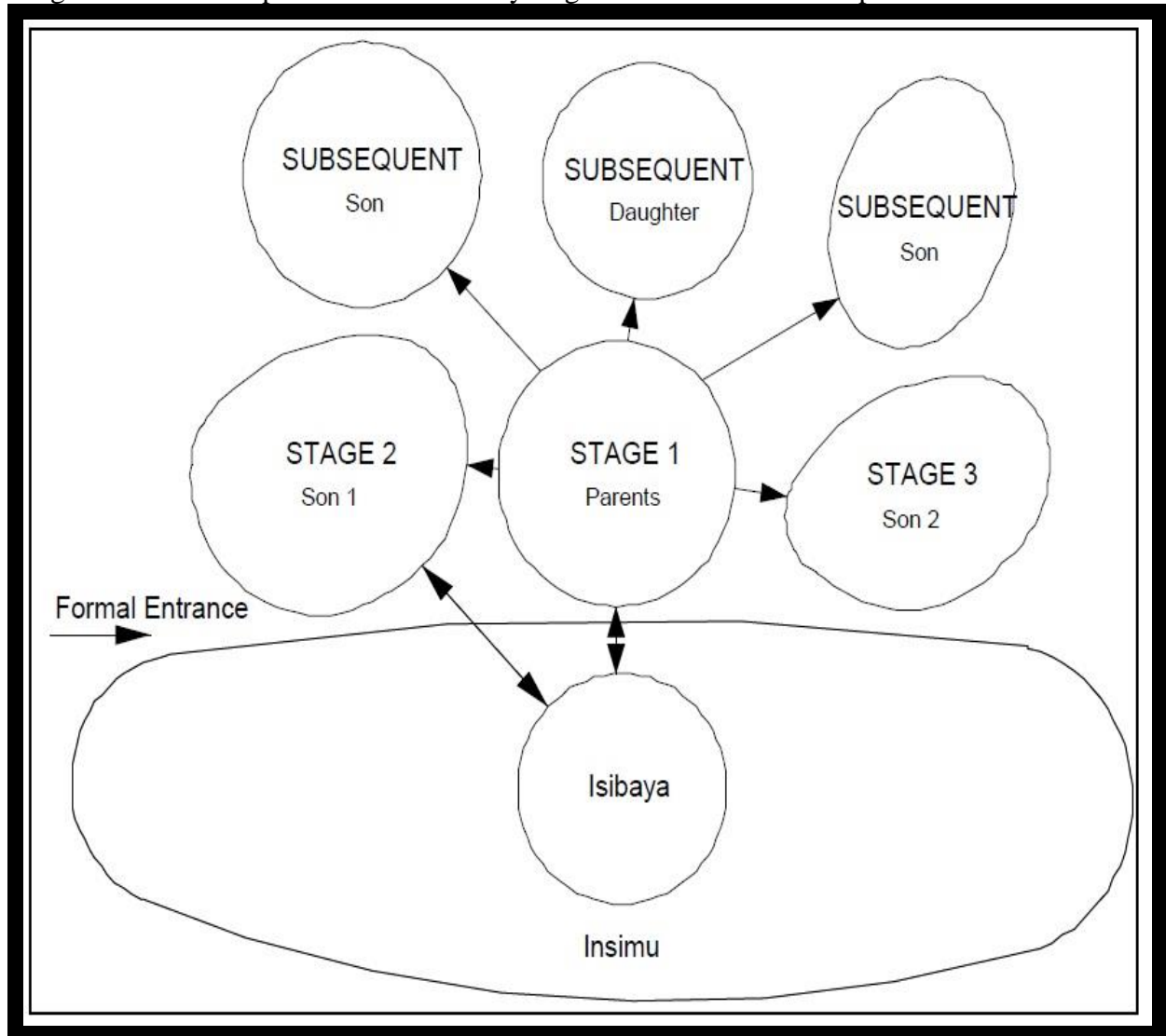
Plate 2: Kitchen structures within the homesteads of different cultures



Source: Frescura (1981:115)

The growth of the household occurs through the outward spread of sons and daughters' huts surrounding the core cluster occupied by the parents as indicated in diagram 3. Diagram 3 that is adopted from Mhlaba (2009), illustrates the positioning of family members within the spatial layout of the household. The growth of the homestead is informed by the cultural background of amaZulu. In stage 1 is the core cluster of the parents' homestead which is surrounded by the sons' homesteads in stages 2 and 3. The first born son is usually placed at the main entrance of the homestead and the youngest son is placed at the rear most end. The daughters of the household are strategically placed to be protected by their brothers but are also accessible to their lovers from the back of the homestead. This setup is consistent across the homesteads found in KwaZulu-Natal.

Diagram 3: Microscopic model of the early stages of homestead development



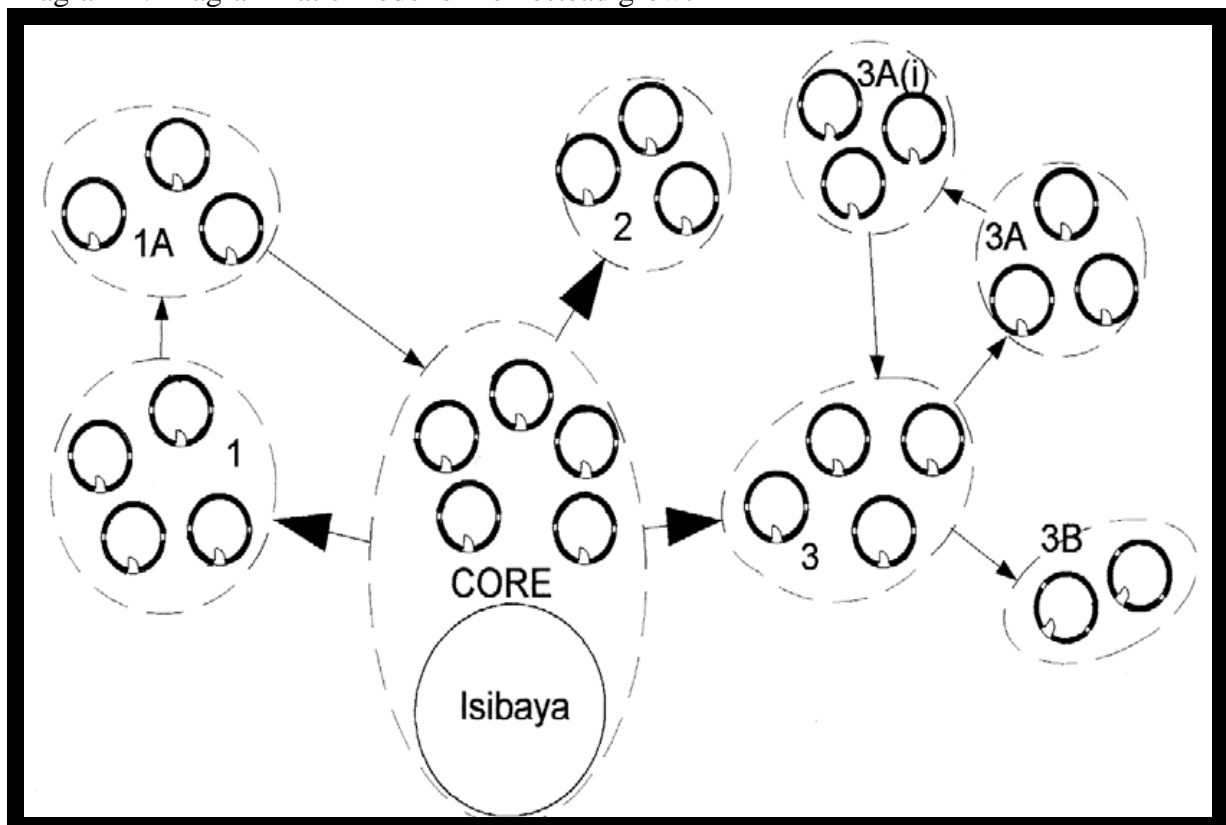
Source: Mhlaba, (2009)

The positioning of the family in diagram 3 confirms the concealed hierarchical system brought about by the homestead layout. In the absence of the head of the household (male), the eldest son assumes his role as the next in line to handle family affairs, such as welcoming visitors at the gate and overseeing the *isibaya* (kraal) (Mhlaba, 2009). The eldest son is strategically placed at the main entrance and in close proximity to the *isibaya* (diagram 3). This allows him to perform his duties with ease in the absence of his father on a temporary or permanent basis in the case of death. The placement of the eldest son also indicates that he is tasked with the role of protecting the rest of the family members and managing the family's assets. Furthermore, the son's close proximity to his father's hut enables him to learn and be groomed by his father; this includes grooming on the household's cultural practices and

customs. The son learns how to take care of the family in case his father passes on and to take care of his own family one day. The second eldest son is also in close proximity to his father's hut and *isibaya* but legally, he cannot conduct duties that should be undertaken by the eldest son. Only when the eldest son has passed on, can the second eldest son legally take over and conduct the duties of his deceased father and brother. Upon the death of the parents, the homestead is inherited by the eldest son who restarts the cycle through his own family.

Diagram 4 represents the family cluster as the family grows, where sons start their own families and the household expands (Mhlaba, 2009). This expansion continues as long as there is sufficient land. The core cluster of the parents remains, and when they pass away the room is dedicated to *amadlozi* (the ancestors), which honours the parents and acknowledges their existence as immortal within the household. The core building is constantly rebuilt and maintained.

Diagram 4: Diagrammatic model of homestead growth



Source: Mhlaba, (2009)

4.3.2 Cultural structure and relationship within a traditional family

The development of housing and house-form varies according to geographical location and cultural values and practices. In Africa and South Africa, family, cultural formations and relationships within the family play a very important role in the African traditional context. The house-form and housing layout is structured and centred on kinship and the extended family (Njoh, 2006). Diagram 4 shows that the family continues to grow in line with the availability of land. This encourages the development of strong bonds between nuclear and extended family members, facilitating the learning of social values and identity; family recognition; and the promotion of cultural practices, beliefs, values and symbols. This is not the case in European and Western traditional families where there is clear distinction between immediate family members and the extended family (Khapoya, 1988) that is evident in the use of language and words such as half-brother, half-sister, step-mother and step-father. In African traditional language there is no differentiation of family members. One would refer to one's paternal uncle as one's father and maternal aunt as one's mother; likewise stepmothers are referred to as mother and are treated as such (Khapoya, 1988). "African families have always been aware of the need for family members to live in unity" (Njoh, 2006: 51). Njoh (2006) adds that such unity produces interconnectedness among family members and, in turn, the transfer of cultural practices from one generation to another.

An African traditional family is often complex, especially in the presence of polygamy which is a common practice in Africa. Thus, the African family goes beyond the nuclear family of a mother, father and children which is prevalent in European and Western societies. African people have a different concept of family from European and Western societies. For African people, a nuclear family may consist of two or more mothers, half-brothers, half-sisters, step-brothers, and step-sisters (Khapoya, 1988). "Africans were never interested in compartmentalising or identifying family members with the degree of specificity common amongst Westerners" (Tembo, n.d. :<http://www.Bridgewater.edu/~mtembo/africantraditionalfamily.htm>).

Kinship in African traditional families refers to relationships based on blood and marital ties (Tembo, n.d. online). The household is a platform for family ties, and nuclear and extended family members and the practice of cultural activities such as traditional weddings, ritual ceremonies and communication with the ancestors which plays a vital role in most African

traditional families (Osasona, Ogunshakin, & Jiboye, 2007). A house therefore becomes a home which expresses its existence, recognises family and preserves the family's history and identity through cultural practices (Awotona, Ogunshakin, & Mills-Tettey, 1994). The kinship system and the layout of the traditional homestead provide an opportunity for all members of the family to know one another whether blood related or related through marriage in order to ensure that people of the same lineage or who share common ancestry are not romantically involved and do not marry.

4.3.3 Ritual ceremonies and communication with the ancestors

Ritual ceremonies are common in any traditional African family. Rituals are performed for every milestone reached by each member of the family throughout their lives from birth until death. Occasions and milestones such as birth, coming of age, marriage and death are marked by rituals which is not the case in Western/European societies. All ritual ceremonies commence with communication with the ancestors or *amadlozi* and can never be practiced without their involvement. Among amaZulu, this usually takes place in the core building of the parents or grandparents who passed on (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010; Mhlaba, 2009). The core building is dedicated to communication with *amadlozi* and in most cases takes the form of a rondavel. It is present in almost every family homestead as it is a sign of family recognition and is greatly respected. During the ritual ceremony, the father or the eldest son in the absence of the father communicates with *amadlozi* and informs them of the ceremony that is about to take place. Ritual ceremonies occur within and outside the household and all kinship and family members take part. The whole family including the extended family have roles and duties during the celebration. This creates strong bonds within families. Tradition and culture are shared verbally or visually and are thus passed on from one generation to the next.

Mhlaba (2009) found that the practice of dedicating a 'hut' for *amadlozi* for prayer or ritual ceremonies is also practiced in the urban set-up. Black people that migrate from rural to urban areas construct a freestanding cone-on-cylinder room behind the modern family cubic home in the urban setting (see Plate 3) (Mhlaba, 2009). While the material used is different from that used in rural areas, the typology remains the same. The construction of the cubic home indicates the importance of the presence of *amadlozi* for traditional Black families; it further indicates the importance of having this feature in the household.

Plate 3: Constructed room for *amadlozi* in an urban environment



Source: Mhlaba (2009: 137)

Ritual ceremonies are usually accompanied by the slaughtering of a sheep, goat, cow or chicken which is consumed during the feast on the day of the ceremony. *Umsebenzi* is the common Zulu word for a ceremony. In rural areas, livestock are kept in the *esibayeni* (kraal) within the homestead; they are a symbol of family wealth (Mhlaba, 2009). Depending on the type of *umsebenzi* that is to be conducted the animal that is to be slaughtered will be kept in *esibayeni* and slaughtered there as well.

4.4 EBR Question two

What effects do what aspects of what environments have on what groups of people, under what circumstances and why?

The second EBR question aims to assess the effect of the built environment on individuals and why in three ways. Firstly, the built environment has an effect on family traditions and cultural activities. The built environment refers to something that surrounds a person and its

nature and function (Lang, 1987). It consists of objective and cognitive images, referred to as tangible and non-tangible images, respectively.

Secondly, the second EBR assesses “*the set of adaptations people have made to their terrestrial and cultural environment*” (Lang, 1987: 81). It is believed that, when the environment in which individuals live changes, they can modify their environment to accommodate their needs, which in turn affects their behaviour and interaction (Lang, 1987). This is true in the urban context in the democratic South Africa. Black people have adopted and adapted cultural traditions in order to continue to practice their culture in the urban context. The rondavel hut in plate 3 is evidence of this. The markets that sell livestock in townships (Umlazi, KwaMashu and Lamontville) are further evidence that culture is practiced even in the urban areas.

Thirdly, the two terms relate in that “*the cognitive image of the objective environment ... forms the basis for behaviour*” (Lang, 1987: 77). Therefore, EBR two is discussed in the urban and rural housing context during the colonial, apartheid and democratic eras in South Africa. In responding to EBR two, the discussion includes external factors such as political influence under colonisation and apartheid as, “*In countries where the archaeology of the colonised is mostly practised by descendants of the colonisers, the study of the past must have a political dimension*” (Hall, 1981: 108). Excluding these external factors undermines the exploration of the relationship between culture and house-form in the African and South African context. Furthermore, the democratic environment experienced in urban areas by South Africans especially by Black people cannot be omitted in answering question two of the EBR.

4.4.1 Nature and function of housing in urban and rural environments

The colonial and apartheid eras in South Africa were characterised by strict racial segregation. Black people were further separated according to their respective tribes and placed in ‘homelands’ (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei) (Christopher, 1976). Segregation led to unequal development of the physical environment, the economy and education and unequal provision of housing in urban areas (Seidman, 1999). The 1913 Land

Act did not recognize Black people as South African citizens; instead they had their own laws that were enforced by tribal chiefs in the homelands (Seidman, 1999).

The separation of Black males from their families during the apartheid era; coupled with the racial and tribal segregation encouraged and resulted in a strong threshold of concentrated tribes and cultures. Within urban areas, the housing environment for black people had an effect and called for behavioural changes that needed to be in line with the nature and function of the housing available for Black people. The nature and function of housing in urban areas was not accommodative of families more especially women and children, rituals, traditions and cultural activities.

Housing was developed and constructed differently in rural areas and urban areas; Housing within rural areas was built according to traditional methods which differed from tribe to tribe but the principle of the homestead layout was maintained by all tribes, this is indicated in page 45, plate 2. Housing in urban areas was modernised through knowledge, standards, techniques and customs introduced by the European government. New and different housing typologies such as row-housing, high-rise and low-rise buildings were introduced. Housing for Black people in the form of hostels introduced and exposed Black people to a culture of no privacy, limitations and boundaries through the dormitory layout sleeping arrangement and the openness of what should have been private places such as ablutions. Furthermore, the row-housing, high-rise and low-rise of hostel typologies created a platform where every Black male was equal regardless of his social status in the rural areas. This was indicated through the equal and limited space provided by hostel setups.

Black people were only allowed in urban areas for employment purposes and were located on the outskirts of the city in townships such as Gugulethu, Soweto, Lamontville, uMlazi and KwaMashu that were established during the apartheid era specifically for Black males (Burgoyne, 2008). The *South African Medical Journal* cited by Rubenstein and Otten (1996: 139) describes the setting and condition of Black people in urban areas as follows: “...workers, shorn of their families, could be channelled according to the demands of the economy, housed inexpensively and returned to the rural areas when no longer needed”. Hostels served as inexpensive housing for Black people because they occupied less land and accommodated a large number of people in high-rise buildings. The rate of four occupants per dormitory room underlined the fact that this was temporary accommodation and no

impression was created that Black people could live permanently in urban areas (Rubenstein & Otten, 1996).

Colonialism and apartheid subjected Black people to “circular migration and dual households” (Department of Housing, 1994: 15). Black people began to translate and perceive housing differently in terms of inherited ‘ways of seeing’ from an urban and rural perspective (Berger, 1972). Being housed in an urban area was without question assumed to be linked to employment opportunities and took the form of a single sex hostel. In contrast, housing in rural areas was a place of retreat with a sense of family (Hareven, 1993).

The hostel system created socially dysfunctional migrant workers who were isolated from their township counterparts and at the same time alienated from their rural roots. Hostels were built by the apartheid government and companies for the sole purpose of housing migrant workers. Within Ethekewini Municipality hostels such as Klaarwater, KwaMashu, Glebelands, Dalton Road, uMlazi T (Unit 17), Jacobs, SJ Smith (Wema), KwaMakhutha and Kranskloof were constructed.

4.4.2 Dual Housing exposure through migrant labour: circular migration and dual households

During the colonial and apartheid eras, Black migrant workers had to adapt to the urban and hostel environments. At the same time, family members left in the rural areas had to adapt to living without males for long periods of time.

Mothotoana (2011) notes that rural-urban migration during the colonial and apartheid era affected people’s mind-set and their perceptions of housing. Constant migration and dual households for Black migrant male workers created a perception that only males were required in urban areas solely for the purpose of employment. Females remained in the rural areas and engaged in subsistence farming in order to sustain themselves and their families. A new hostel culture was created based on migration patterns for men as well as for the women and children who remained in rural areas. This culture subconsciously stated that hostels were housing constructed for the accommodation of men only. This practice continued in the democratic South Africa before the implementation of the CRU housing policy.

Black people were introduced to different housing typologies through the house-form of hostels. The nature and function of hostels was to ensure that the growing economy had the required workforce (Seidman, 1999). The nature/typology of hostels promoted male dominated behaviours in the hostel environment which sidelined females, children and the family structure as a whole. Coupled with the cognitive nature of hostels, this created perceptions that were linked to the typology of hostels. Circular migration and dual households for males reinforced these perceptions.

Circular and dual migration meant that hostel dwellers' perceptions of housing were different from those of other South Africans. In urban areas, high-rise buildings were constructed for Black male migrant workers. In rural areas, single-storey detached housing was available to accommodate the extended family. It is indeed ironic that the White minority constructed detached dwelling units for themselves and their families, thus allowing them to continue their everyday cultural and traditional activities. The White minority was thus aware that housing is a place for belonging and family structure; yet, hostels were designed and built for single sex occupation for Black people. Perceptions of hostels and family housing among Black people during the colonial and apartheid eras distinguished between housing suitable for the family structure and housing suitable for employment opportunities. This distinction was reinforced by constant commuting between places of work and hostels in urban areas, and rural areas where their homes and families were located. Circular migration and dual households instilled perceptions of housing among Black people based on function and use inherited from the colonial and apartheid periods.

4.4.3 The effect of the political sphere on culture, housing and cultural change

Black people were required to participate in development and modernisation in South Africa and helped to build the economy. In the first place, this was a strategy to control Black people by introducing modern ways of living, for example, by introducing the use of money for trading in order to break away from traditional methods of bartering (Mhlaba, 2006). It was hoped that this would undermine cultural activities and lead to the death of culture amongst Black people. Secondly, the bonds between Black people were strong; this was an attempt to break the bonds and culture by removing men from rural society and placing them in hostels in urban areas. Finally, while Black people helped to build the economy, they did not have

any rights in the city and could not enjoy the amenities on offer because their movement was restricted. All three strategies to control Black people had developmental consequences.

The colonial and apartheid eras created a fractured family and household setup. Females and young males were left behind to continue family life without elder male figures (Seidman, 1999). This caused dysfunction and disjunction in the family; children grew up without their fathers and wives without their husbands. Gendered migrant labour policies created male-headed households. Without a male figure in the home, certain cultural and traditional ritual ceremonies could not be performed (Khapoya, 1988).

Rituals held to mark childbirth and the transition to manhood and womanhood and lobola (bride price) negotiations and others which required the presence of the male head of the family were postponed until such time as he was present. This role could only be assumed by a younger male within the household when the eldest male passed on. Thus, cultural rituals were not performed when they were supposed to be performed.

The absence of older male figures meant that women were left to play the roles of both mother and father but could not perform rituals which are a significant part of family life among African people (Jiboye & Ogunshakin, 2010). This also had a negative effect on young males who would one day assume the role of household head and needed to learn the cultural and traditional roles attached to this position. Furthermore, responsibilities traditionally carried out by men such as the management of assets, construction and ploughing were passed on to females (Mhlaba, 2009). This affected different roles in households and the management of assets (Mhlaba, 2009). For example in amaZulu custom, in the absence of the father, the eldest male is tasked to greet and welcome visitors, since he represents his father and therefore takes decisions on behalf of his absent father. The management of assets and family affairs were affected because the son was not properly groomed to take up such responsibility. The African household plays a significant role in family and kinship and the preservation of culture. Thus, the experience of colonisation and apartheid where males were separated from their families and culture led to changes in cultural practices and in some cases the elimination of such practices.

African families have a high sense of obligation to the family unit; respect traditions and culture; and maintain, practice, and perform ceremonial cultural rituals such as traditional

weddings, *lobola* processes and polygamy (Njoh, 2006). The traditional wedding is conducted in stages. In a traditional African family, marriage is viewed as a union between two kin groups and not just two individuals who intend to marry, which is not the case for some cultures in other parts of the world (Khapoya, 1988). Polygamy and *lobola* are customary practices amongst Black people in South Africa and Africa. Both are practiced within the household and require the attendance of respective family members. These practices expand the family and kinship by bringing families together. However, these customs and rituals have been undermined by modernisation; indeed, the colonial authorities sought to eliminate them by all means possible (Khapoya, 1988; Njoh, 2006).

The absence of the male figure in rural areas during the era of migrant labour interrupted *lobola* and polygamy practices and rituals among Black families. The creation of Bantustans and restrictions on movement affected the grazing patterns of cattle. *Lobola* was paid in cattle to the bride's family before the marriage. The small amount of land allocated to Black people resulted in overgrazing which in turn resulted in the loss of cattle (Mhlaba, 2009). This affected the system of *lobola* and the practice of polygamy because men who intended to marry had fewer cattle. This resulted in a slow rate of family growth through marriage, relationships and kinship.

Black migrant workers' involvement in the economy altered cultural norms and practices. These workers were paid in cash which allowed them to purchase and sell goods. The use of money altered the ways in which cultural practices and rituals were conducted (Mhlaba, 2009). Due to the loss of cattle caused by the apartheid system, *lobola* came to be paid in cash rather than in cattle. Thus, while the colonial system did not destroy the practice of *lobola* and polygamy, it altered the manner in which it was conducted, through the introduction of money.

4.4.4 Cultural Adaptations

The first outcome was that Black people found a way to incorporate money into their practice of culture, but the practice remained the same. Secondly, a new culture was developed among male migrant workers that lived in the hostels. Thirdly, restricted movement and that fact that their stay and accommodation in the urban areas was temporary created another culture where there was no security of tenure and Black people could be moved anywhere in the

country depending on where they were employed, without their families. Rental tenure options also created uncertainty for Black people in urban areas. Ultimately, apartheid destroyed families and created a new culture in perceptions of housing in South Africa among Black people, but cultural bonds, relations and practices remained embedded in them.

In the urban context, Black people have adopted and adapted cultural practices. The rondavel hut in plate 1 is evidence of this, as are the markets that supply livestock in townships (Umlazi, KwaMashu and Lamontville). Likewise, families and households in rural areas made adjustments and adapted to life without males for long periods of time during the colonial and apartheid eras. Males adjusted to life without their families in hostels that were a foreign typology, as well as to circular migration, dual households, sharing rooms, rental tenure and adhering to the rules and regulations of urban areas. Thus, hostel life impacted the culture of all Black people in rural and urban areas from the colonial era until the dawn of democracy.

4.5 EBR Question Three

Given these two-way interactions between people and environments, what are the mechanisms that link them?

The colonial and apartheid regimes created a wasteful structure of just not the spatial environment based on racial disparities, but sociological issues which constrain housing policy formulation and perceptions of the housing typologies delivered in South Africa, especially for Black people, which need to be overcome (Department of Housing, 1994). Furthermore, both eras created an unfavourable environment for Black people to practice their cultural activities within and outside their households.

During the colonial and apartheid eras, the urban housing environment for Black people in South Africa was characterised by hostel accommodation. This was triggered by the need to control the Black majority and maintain white supremacy (Seidman, 1999). The colonial and apartheid system of economic, labour, political and geographic mechanisms created two-way interaction between people and the urban housing (hostel) environment. Hostels were the only available housing for migrant workers; the transition from rural to urban housing was not evolutionary. The change in house-form from rural to urban housing was rapid. Hostels

did not resemble the traditional house-form in rural areas that black migrant workers were familiar with. Indeed, the hostels were the opposite of rural traditional housing.

Hostels were temporary accommodation for Black migrant workers; this was visible in the inadequate layout, the laws adopted (Khan, 2003), and their location on the outskirts of the city in urban areas and in townships where there was one entrance and one exit allowing for constant control (Levy, 1982). This is visible in the hostels in the townships of Gugulethu, Soweto, Lamontville, uMlazi, KwaMashu (Burgoyne, 2008). Racial segregation enforced by the Groups Areas Act of 1950 (Act 41 of 1950) created circular migration and dual households for Black migrant workers as their stay in the urban area depended on their employment status; if they lost their job, they were required go back to their homes in the rural areas (Mothotoana, 2011). Circular migration and dual households thus instilled perceptions of housing among Black people based on its function and use during the colonial and apartheid eras.

Colonialism brought about modernisation in South Africa and Black South Africans were required to conform to a 'civilised' and modern way of living (Njoh, 2006). They were thus required to alter and adopt traditions and cultures which were not their own. The policies and laws adopted by the colonial and apartheid regimes indirectly impacted and altered the manner in which culture and tradition were conducted within households but did not succeed in doing away with them. This is because African families have a high sense of obligation to value the family unit; respect traditions and culture; and maintain, practice, and perform ceremonial cultural rituals such as weddings, *lobola* processes and polygamy within households (Njoh, 2006).

The colonial era introduced different house-forms in South Africa which were inherited from Europe such as row-housing, high-rise and low-rise buildings and detached housing. Urban areas were largely developed and modernised according to European housing standards, techniques and customs (Frescura, 1981). Housing and housing development in rural areas remained constant and unchanged and Black people continued to build their houses according to what they knew and had always known based on their spiritual, cultural and traditional norms and standards which were important to them and their families (Frescura, 1985). The construction of housing in rural areas was grounded in a series of visual rules and codes that reflect cultural values (Frescura, 1985).

The layout of a Zulu homestead promotes a strong bond between family members and kinship. Durkheim's theory on suicide demonstrates that a society with the same culture and traditional origins is more likely to maintain and continue the practice of their culture (Durkheim, 2002). The Zulu homestead allows for the continuation of culture and tradition through the strategic layout of the homestead. As the household spreads and grows, traditions, customs and culture are shared through social gatherings during ritual ceremonies, and actions, responsibilities, roles and duties within the homestead.

Zulu tradition and culture has stood the test of time and survived colonisation and apartheid through the close knit kinship of the family and the traditional family structure (Mazrui, 1998). The continuation of African traditions and culture can be explained by Durkheim's theory on suicide that emphasises the strong bonds in a society with common origins and the same race, traditions and culture. The amaZulu housing layout enables culture and traditions to be retained and passed on from one generation to another through the interconnectedness of the family and kinship. Through maintaining their traditional and cultural identity, African families have been able to maintain and sustain their cultural beliefs, practices and values. This has surprised White, elite Western and European observers who observe culture and house-form from the outside, especially in light of the external factors affecting African culture (Duncan & Ley, 1993).

Although the policies of the colonial and apartheid regimes were based on racial segregation and separate development, they achieved more than their aims. The democratic South Africa inherited sociological problems such as the perceptions of housing, the creation of dual households, circular migration, high expectations of housing development, cultural and legal impediments to access to housing for women, and hostel accommodation (Department of Housing, 1994). These sociological problems are not tangible like the environmental spatial structure, which was the most obvious and common goal of racial and spatial segregation during the colonial and apartheid eras. Rather, they are intangible and have altered the traditional and cultural way of life for Black people.

4.6 The development of South African housing policy: hostels/CRUs

When it came to power in 1994, the democratic government was confronted by a housing crisis resulting from housing programs based on racial segregation. South Africa faced a severe housing backlog which was visible in overcrowded hostels and the rapid growth of informal settlements. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was released after the 1994 election by the Tripartite Alliance (i.e. the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP)) in consultation with the National Housing Forum as its main policy platform. The Housing White Paper of 1994 arose from the RDP. The White Paper (1994) served as the ANC's 'Housing for all' manifesto, with housing delivered in terms of this policy based on quantity rather than quality.

The RDP focused on individual subsidies for the construction of new houses and neglected other programs such as the redevelopment of hostels, the provision of rental housing for South Africa citizens who do not qualify for subsidies, and other forms of ownership (Pillay, Tomlinson and Du Toit, 2006: 254) that were contained in the Housing White Paper (1994). As a result of RDP houses being given priority, other housing, including the hostel public stock was neglected by the government. In 2001/02, the national Department of Housing conducted a review of the housing strategy in response to housing delivery challenges. This review recognized the need for rental housing through social housing for individuals who did not qualify for the government housing subsidy or loans from formal financial institutions and the CRU program was introduced for low-income households.

4.6.1 Hostel Redevelopment Programme

In 1994, a Hostel Redevelopment Programme (HRP) was established and implemented under the RDP. No more hostels would be constructed and existing hostels were to be transformed from single sex units into family units (Department of Housing, 1994). It was recognized that hostels were an apartheid legacy which promoted the separation of families (Levy, 1982). Their conversion into family units was therefore intended to bring families together (Thurman, 1997). The HRP aimed to create adequate, liveable family units by revamping the hostels' dormitory floor plan by adding wall partitioning for privacy in bed-rooms and common areas; indoor bathrooms and toilets and kitchens and living areas (Department of

Housing, 2005), thus making it a unit suitable for a family. Furthermore, the HRP aimed to socially integrate the hostels with surrounding communities (Department of Housing, 2005).

Hostels lacked basic services, infrastructure and facilities. They also lacked privacy, hygienic ablution facilities and acceptable living conditions. Kok and Gelderblom (1994: 10) argued that hostels were rigid in terms of physical space and payment schedules. They were also static and did not meet the dynamic needs of households that were changing over time (Tomlinson, 1990 in Kok and Gelderblom, 1994). The hostel system had a negative social effect on individual occupants because they were limited in terms of families visiting or living there.

However, very few hostels were converted or upgraded because the HRP did not only focus on hostel redevelopment but also aimed to address the problems of other housing programs such as rental developmental schemes which included social housing, the ownership development scheme through the project-linked subsidy and an alternative development scheme, community centres or schools (Department of Housing, 2000). This also involved acquiring land for housing programs.

The HRP was abandoned in 2006 after attempts by the Department of Housing to revive it in 1994 and 2002 (Department of Housing, 2006). Instead, the focus was on providing various typologies of housing stock such as ownership (credit linked, bonded, or RDP); family or rental units; and alternative uses (Mothotoana, 2011). The failure of the HRP resulted in the development of the CRU Programme in 2006 which focused on fast tracking hostel reconstruction into CRUs (Mothotoana, 2011). The CRU policy aimed to integrate hostels with neighbouring communities (Housing Code, 2000) and focused on one housing typology (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2008; Thurman, 1997). The similarities between the CRU programme and the HRP lie in the creation of suitable and liveable family units for low-income groups earning less than R3 500 per month (Department of Human Settlements, 2006).

4.6.2 Community Residential Units (CRUs)

As a third attempt to redevelop the hostels, the government replaced the HRP with the CRU programme which was adopted in November 2006 as a policy framework and program

(Lemanski, 2009). The CRU policy recognized the need to deal with hostel upgrading in a comprehensive and decisive manner by addressing dysfunctional and distressed buildings in cities; and providing rental accommodation for income groups not viably serviced by social or other housing program (Department of Housing 2006:6). It aimed to facilitate the provision of secure, stable, rental tenure for the lower income group and supported Government's intention of addressing the existing public housing stock.

The CRU Programme adopted expanded provisions which were not limited to the six policy objectives contained in the HRP. These were to promote humane living conditions for hostel occupants; promote stakeholders and beneficiaries' participation; promote integration between hostels and surrounding neighbourhoods; provide plans for occupants who would be displaced during the hostel upgrading; initiate socio-economic development channels that would assist sustainability; and formulate a developmental plan to promote economic opportunities (Department of Housing, 2006). The CRU Programme held local and provincial government liable for on-going operational costs; maintenance; long-term capital development; and remediation of internal services, together with the objectives set out in the HRP (Department of Housing, 2006).

The CRU housing programme aims to provide affordable rental housing to households earning less than R3 500 a month who do not qualify in the formal private rental sector and the social housing market (Department of Human Settlements, 2006). It sets out a framework that addresses problems with existing public sector residential accommodation (The Social Housing Foundation, 2008), one of which is that hostels did not provide adequate housing.

Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for Sustainable Human Settlements (2004), also known as BNG was signed by the Cabinet in 2004. This plan aimed to address the functioning of the entire residential property market. It responded to the demand for housing rather than the supply of RDP housing. BNG also aimed to promote economic growth, alleviate poverty, improve the quality of life of low-income earners, and develop sustainable human settlements through housing development (Pillay, Tomlinson and Du Toit, 2006: 262). Finally, BNG aimed to create a non-racial society through mixed development as a catalyst for the achievement of a set of broader socio-economic goals. New housing development, hostel upgrading and other developments in urban environments should be coupled with

interrelated services, infrastructure and communities facilities. However, the South African government is lagging behind in providing such services and facilities.

4.7 Conclusion

The use of EBR assisted the exploration of the cultural anthropology of the Nguni tribe. It was noted that Black people (males) were exposed to different cultures and housing; yet they were able to adapt their cultural behaviour to each housing environment. Mhlaba (2009) noted that amaZulu experienced biological culture and circumstantial cultural behaviour. Biological culture is derived from inherited ways of culture which originate from the forefathers and ancestors. Circumstantial behaviour resulted from European supremacy and the apartheid era in which Black men were forced to move to urban areas and located in a house-form that was foreign to them. The house-form of hostels did not allow for the practice of culture due to the physical house-form typology, the layout and most importantly, the fact that there was no family structure in the hostels.

In the African context, it has been assumed that culture and housing is related to the physical, architectural representation. This is perhaps the result of misdirected observations by Eurocentric, white, male, elite observers. The Eurocentric observation of house-form and culture is based on an inferior and superior perspective where they provide the rules of representation, exclusion and inclusion, and of antecedent and precedent; basically, they provide the rules of how housing and culture should be interpreted and represented (Duncan and Ley, 1993). This chapter has shown that there is need to represent house-form and culture in an accurate manner that reflects the true meaning of culture in housing in the African, and especially South African context.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides detailed empirical evidence and an analysis of the data on the influence of culture on the acceptability of CRUs. The research findings are based on occupants' outlook and perceptions, analyzed in terms of relevant theories, the literature review, precedent studies and the historical background presented in chapters one to three. In chapters one and three it was noted that beneficiaries have inherited cultural perceptions of CRUs which resemble those of hostels prior to 1994. To a certain extent, this has challenged the aims and objectives of the CRU housing policy which seeks to create family units for previously disadvantaged Black people who were housed in hostels during the apartheid era. While chapter three was constructed on a post hoc fallacy, this enabled culture to be observed in various ways as cognitive, meaning and interpretation by beneficiaries. The analysis and research findings shed light on the cultural perceptions and meaning of housing in house-form.

It is concluded that, even though the hostels have been upgraded, the house-form of CRUs has similar meaning to that of hostels during the apartheid era. Thus, perceptions of the house-form of hostels have been carried through to the democratic era. Furthermore, the occupants have been accustomed to a certain way of life in either the CRUs or their homes in the rural areas that is supportive of their cultural lifestyle and practices. The overall objective of this study was to evaluate the extent of cultural influence on the acceptability of CRUs. As noted in chapter three Rapoport observed that culture needs to be dismantled and chiseled in order to determine what constitutes culture and which housing factors or variables should be considered. Chapter four presented a chronological, systematic account of the way of life of the Nguni people in order to create a link between culture and housing using EBR. Both chapters noted that housing through house-form plays an important role in beneficiaries' practice of culture. The research findings and analysis describe and illustrate the extent to which culture influences the acceptability of CRUs.

The empirical evidence presented in this chapter is based on the research findings on SJ Smith (Wema) and data collected in uMlazi T-section (Unit 17) on the importance of culture

to beneficiaries within the housing sphere. As noted in the literature, the role of culture in housing is obscure because it is not tangible or easily identifiable. Nonetheless, it is of crucial importance to beneficiaries' overall well-being as it preserves their heritage, identity and way of life.

This chapter also assesses whether the following aims and objectives of the study were met:

1. To establish the importance of culture to the beneficiaries.
2. To establish a link between housing and culture in order to determine the importance of incorporating beneficiaries' cultural preferences in housing projects.

These two objectives were met in chapter three, the literature review, supported by the precedent studies. The study of Unit 17 and Wema aimed to determine the relationship between culture and housing, and the importance of culture to beneficiaries in the South African context.

3. To examine the extent to which housing policies have influenced the development of CRUs.
4. To identify CRU features that might affect beneficiaries' cultural integrity.

The third and fourth objectives are discussed in this chapter.

5. To provide recommendations for future planning and implementation of CRU housing that is culturally acceptable to beneficiaries.

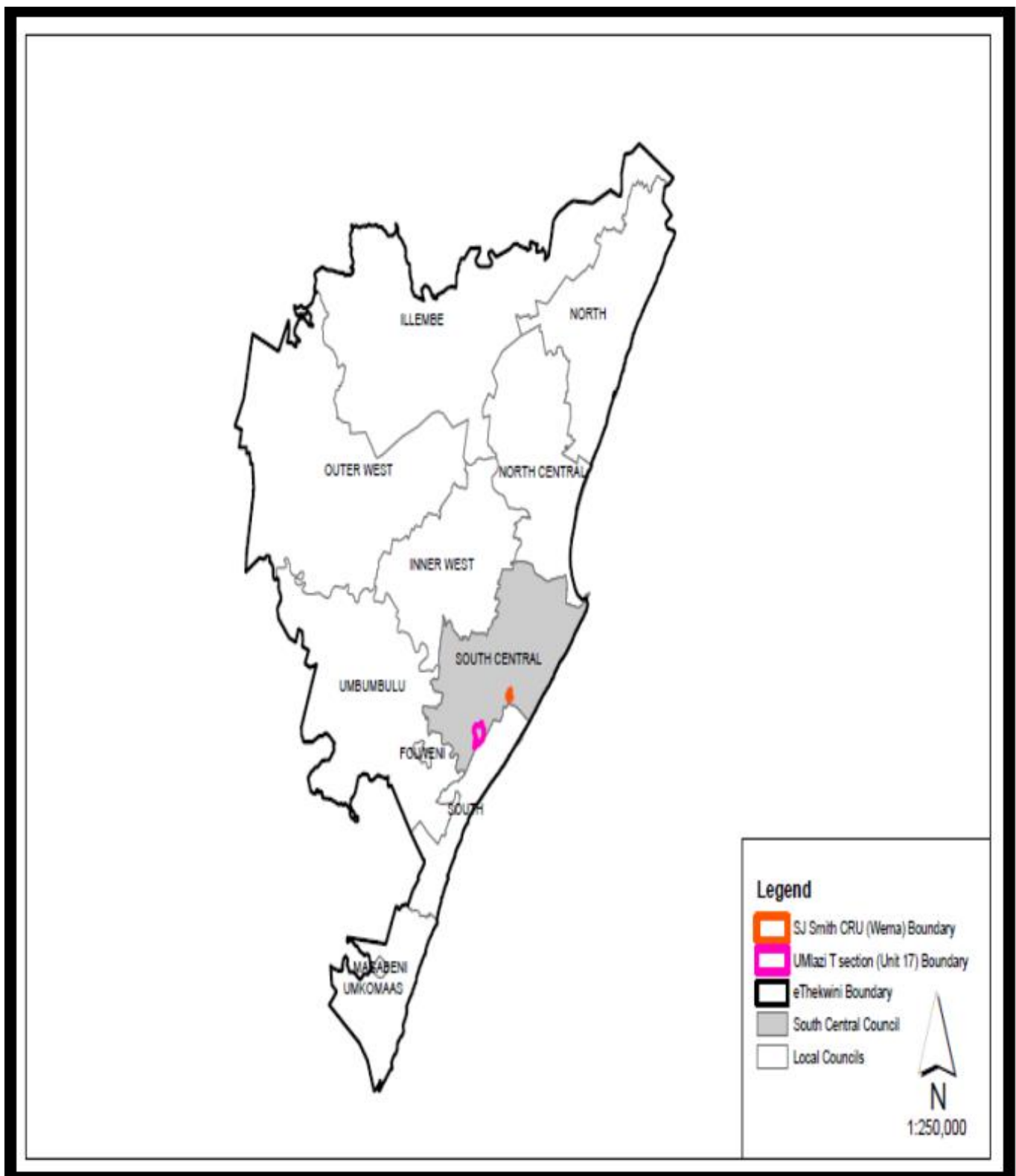
The final objective is discussed in chapter six.

5.2 Data Presentation

5.2.1 Case study Location and Background

As indicated in map 3, Unit 17 and Wema are located in the South Central Region of eThekweni Municipality. Unit 17 is located in uMlazi and Wema is in Merebank. For the purpose of this study, Wema is considered as part of Umlazi. This classification is based on urban apartheid labour and spatial development laws that placed the Southern Basin of Durban under one administrative entity specifically for Africans. This included areas such as Umlazi Mission Reserve and Umlazi Glebe which were stand-alone areas which are now collectively known as uMlazi. uMlazi covers 4 500 hectares of land, consisting of 26 sections ranging from section A to Z and AA to CC. It is estimated that the area is home to 404 811 people according to population statistics conducted in 2011 (statssa, 2011).

Map 3: Locality map of case studies: Unit 17 and Wema



Source: Researcher, 2015

uMlazi Township was established by the apartheid government during the 1950s to house Black people from Cato Manor. Cato Manor was considered a central area that offered access to employment opportunities since it was located approximately 10km from the Durban CBD (Adebayo, 2009).

The Group Areas Act of 1950 was promulgated by the Nationalist Party to enforce racial segregation (Patel, 1995) and was supported by the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, and the Bantu Resettlement Act of 1954 (Minnaar, 1992). Housing for black people was provided on the outskirts of the urban area in KwaMashu and Umlazi Townships, following the state mass housing campaign in the 1960s.

Wema was built to accommodate employees of the SJ Smith Company, which is a welding, safety and industrial supplier. The company is within approximately 30m walking distance from the CRU. Unit 17 was built in the 1950s to accommodate black male migrant workers who worked in white-owned industries in the South Durban industrial area. The hostel typology in Unit 17 was detached housing. Both case studies are located in close proximity to the city's main industrial node, Wema within the industrial area of Mobeni and Unit 17 adjacent to the South Industrial Basin.

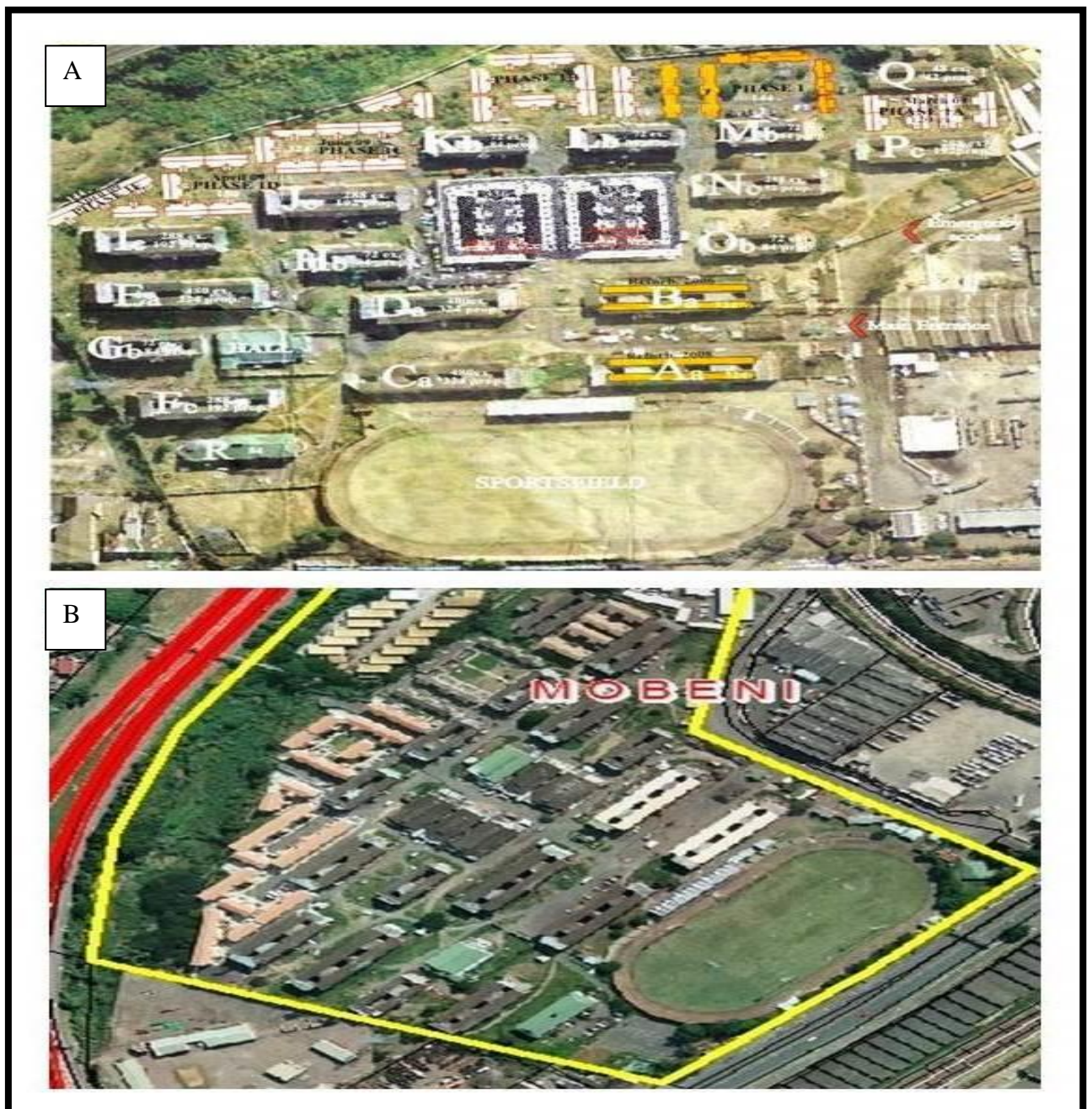
Unit 17 and Wema have been male-dominated communities since the apartheid era. Furthermore, the social arena is dominated by political affiliation. Unit 17 was a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) during the 1980s, but this changed recently and it now predominantly accommodates residents affiliated to the National Freedom Party (NFP). The NFP was launched on 25 January 2011 and the majority of its members were formerly affiliated to the IFP. Unit 17 inhabitants have generally moved from one political party to the next as a community, from being strong IFP territory to being NFP territory. On the other hand, Wema has always accommodated pro-ANC occupants with a portion of IFP and NFP supporters. The presence of IFP and NFP supporters in Wema resulted from political rivalry during the late 1980s and early 1990s between two hostels, Tehuis and the adjacent Glebe hostel which are both located near the entrance to Umlazi Township. This caused many residents to move back to the rural areas or to relocate to neighbouring townships and informal settlements. The IFP/NFP supporters in Wema occupy two blocks.

The development and conversion of hostels into CRU family units in uMlazi T (Unit 17), SJ Smith (Wema) and other hostels in uMlazi have been in the pipeline since 2003. A Steering Committee was set up in 2003 comprising of hostel community leaders, local councilors and developers. The hostels in both Wema and Unit 17 were converted to CRUs in 2006.

The development and conversion into CRU family units was planned to run concurrently with the Mega City Shopping Mall development in 2003. This aimed to revitalize uMlazi Township in line with the city's Integrated Development Plans. It was envisaged as a one stop service centre with a municipal service point and major retail outlets. It aimed to promote the concept of a sustainable neighbourhood with access to economic and social facilities within the community, especially in light of the fact that families would be encouraged to live in CRUs. This initiative was a public-private partnership facilitated by the municipality, a subsidiary of the parent company, and Transnet with a 40 year lease agreement with Pro-prop. It was funded by SA Retail properties and Mart-prop in the amount of R150m.

The development of the Mega City progressed at an accelerated rate and phase one was opened in early 2005 for trade. However, the development and conversion of hostels into family units was slow. While the two were initially intended to run concurrently, the Mega City development is currently in its second phase of development and expansion, while the hostels have suffered neglect and rapid deterioration. In 2005 the Steering Committee and Transnet redeveloped plans to accelerate the development and conversion of the hostels, which were delayed pending a funding commitment from provincial government. The delay and slow rate of hostel development has resulted in tension within the hostel community and anti-development sentiments becoming more pronounced. The development of 24 new 'family unit' CRU blocks in Wema has been completed, but, as shown in Map 4 below, only two of 16 hostel blocks have been converted to CRU family units. The development of Unit 17 CRUs and conversion of hostels in Wema began in 2006. Phase 1 in Unit 17 was completed in 2009 and phase two is in the early stages of construction as indicated in Map 5.

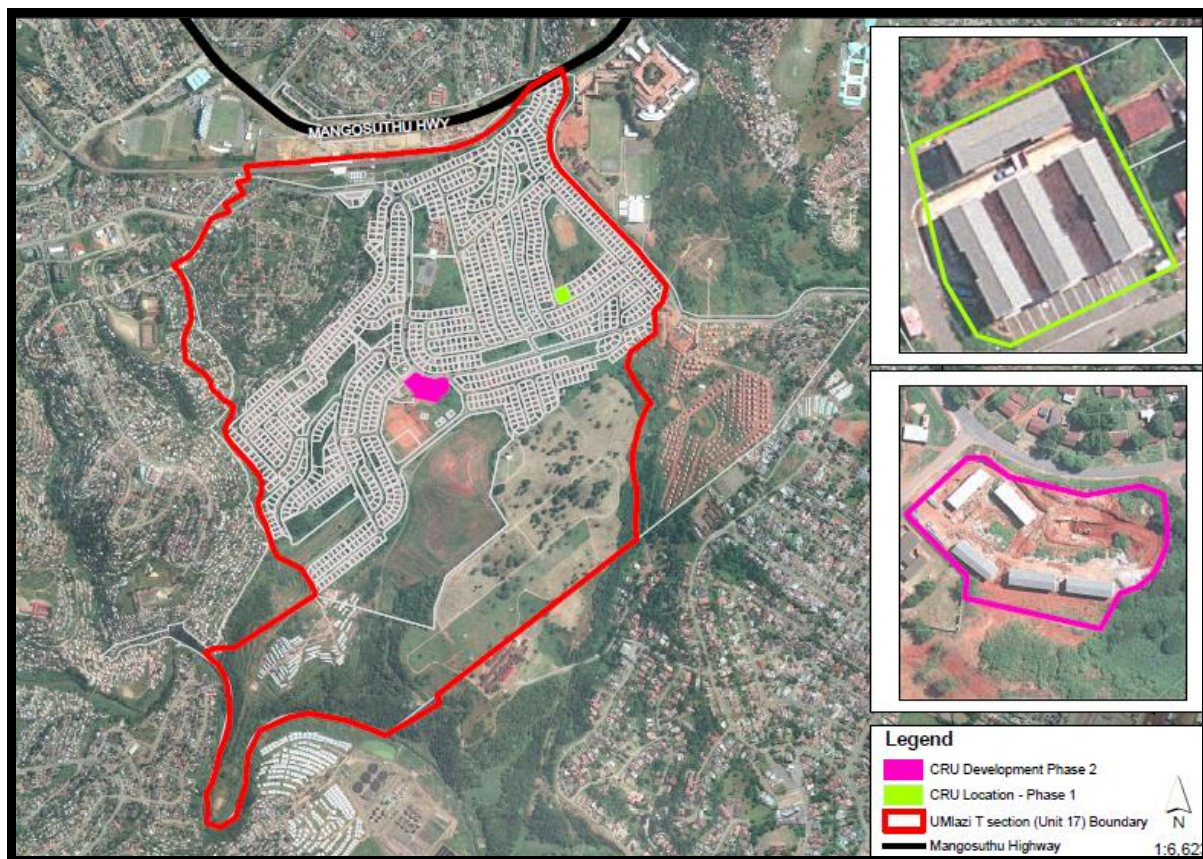
Map 4: Areal view of Wema



Source: Part A: (Ethekwini Municipality (2005) Part B: Researcher, (2015)

Part A displays the initial layout plan of Wema with the proposed 24 new CRU blocks. Part B displays the completed 24 additional blocks.

Map 5: Arial view of Unit 17 displaying phase 1 and phase 2 CRUs



Source: Researcher, (2015)

5.2.2 The CRU Programme for Wema and Unit 17

Unit 17 and Wema were developed and converted in line with the *Policy Framework and Implementation Guidelines for The Community Residential Units Programme* (2006). CRUs aim to stabilize rental housing by creating secure tenure and healthy, safe living conditions for low-income people. The development and conversion of Unit 17 and Wema were mandated by the provincial Housing Department and implemented by eThekweni Municipality. As table 5 shows, both tiers of government intervened to stabilize the hostels.

Unit 17 and Wema remained untouched from the RDP and hostel redevelopment programme until the 2006 post Mega City development. The Unit 17 CRU was constructed to relieve overcrowding in the detached housing built during the apartheid era to house male migrant workers. The policy also aimed to create family housing in the detached housing as well as CRU housing.

Table 5: Interventions in CRU Development and Conversion

Case study	Intervention	Description
Unit 17	New buildings on Greenfields site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CRUs constructed on open spaces (as indicated in map 5)
Wema	Hostel Conversion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Layout of hostels changed from dormitories to self-contained units through alterations, replacement, re-decoration and addition of fittings and finishes as required • Dormitories reconfigured to contain kitchen, dining area, ablution facilities and small bed cubicles or communal sleeping halls • Self-contained units of bachelor, single or multi-bedroom flats with kitchen, dining area, ablution facilities and small bed cubicles or communal sleeping halls
Wema	New buildings on existing site	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New buildings constructed with self-contained units as part of site densification in open spaces • Self-contained units of three bedroom flats with kitchen, dining area, ablution facilities and small bed cubicles or communal sleeping halls

Source: Researcher, adopted from Policy Framework and Implementation Guidelines for The Community Residential Units Programme (2006)

During the apartheid era, Wema was male-dominated since it was designed to accommodate men entering the urban environment for the first time for employment purposes. It was a dirty, run down, neglected and overcrowded hostel with unhygienic waste and ablution facilities. Wema is currently home to 5 500 occupants, with 4 408 beds. The conversion into family units is estimated to accommodate 2 468 people with 516 secure, dignified and decent family units.

5.2.3 Occupants' perceptions of CRUs

The data revealed that some of the respondents residing in Wema were not aware that they reside in a CRU housing programme. Instead, they categorized sections/blocks according to the nature of development and conversion into:

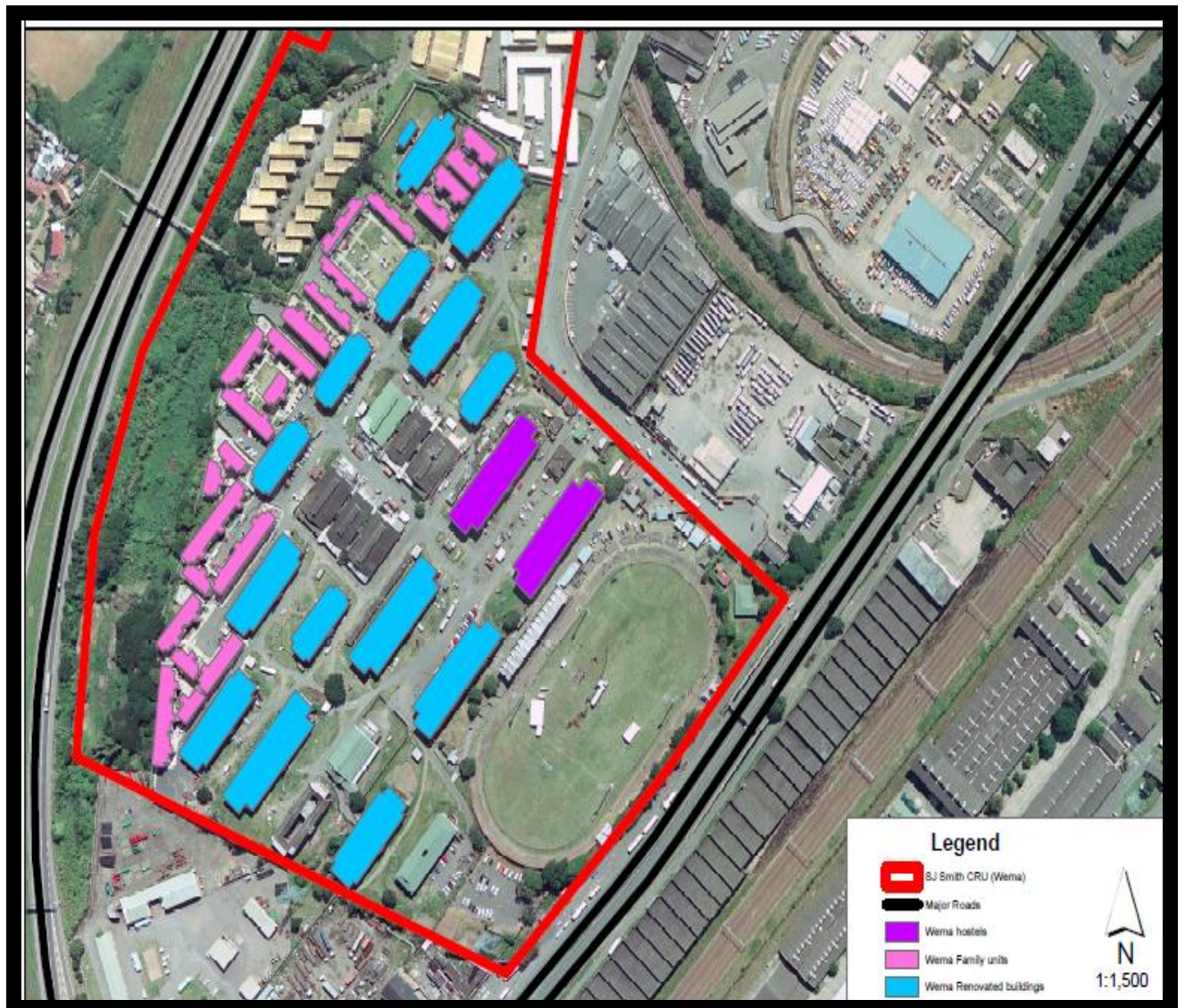
- 'family units' for the new buildings on existing sites,
- 'renovated units' for buildings that have been converted into CRUs, and
- 'hostels' for buildings which have not yet been converted.

Thus, buildings were categorized according to their use and function. Hostels are buildings that have not yet been renovated. The setup remains a one room dormitory accommodating 10 people. The renovated units are those that have been refurbished and converted into three bedrooms accommodating five occupants. Family units are the newly-built three bedroom apartment buildings that accommodate three occupants per unit. Map 5.1 shows the different types of buildings categorized by the respondents.

The responses to the questionnaires revealed that respondents have a limited understanding of the CRU policy and CRU programme. Some respondents at both Wema and Unit 17 stated that CRUs are 'family units', while others said that they did not know what CRUs are or understand the concept of 'family units'. However, respondents in Unit 17 had a better understanding of CRUs than those in Wema. They were able to provide a better response without using technical terms. The responses further revealed that respondents who reside in the 'family units' in Wema had a better understanding of what such units are.

The interviews with the superintendents of Wema and Unit 17 revealed that internal politics interfere with the management of these areas. They stated that several meetings had been scheduled with the community of Wema where government officials discussed the transformation of hostels into CRUs. They were invited to provide clarity on issues pertaining to CRUs. However some residents did not bother to attend, while others purposely stayed away due to political agendas. Therefore, the superintendents concluded that the lack of understanding of the CRU policy is the result of occupants not attending meetings. Those that did not attend gained insufficient knowledge about the policy through the grapevine.

Map 5.1: Building Categories in Wema

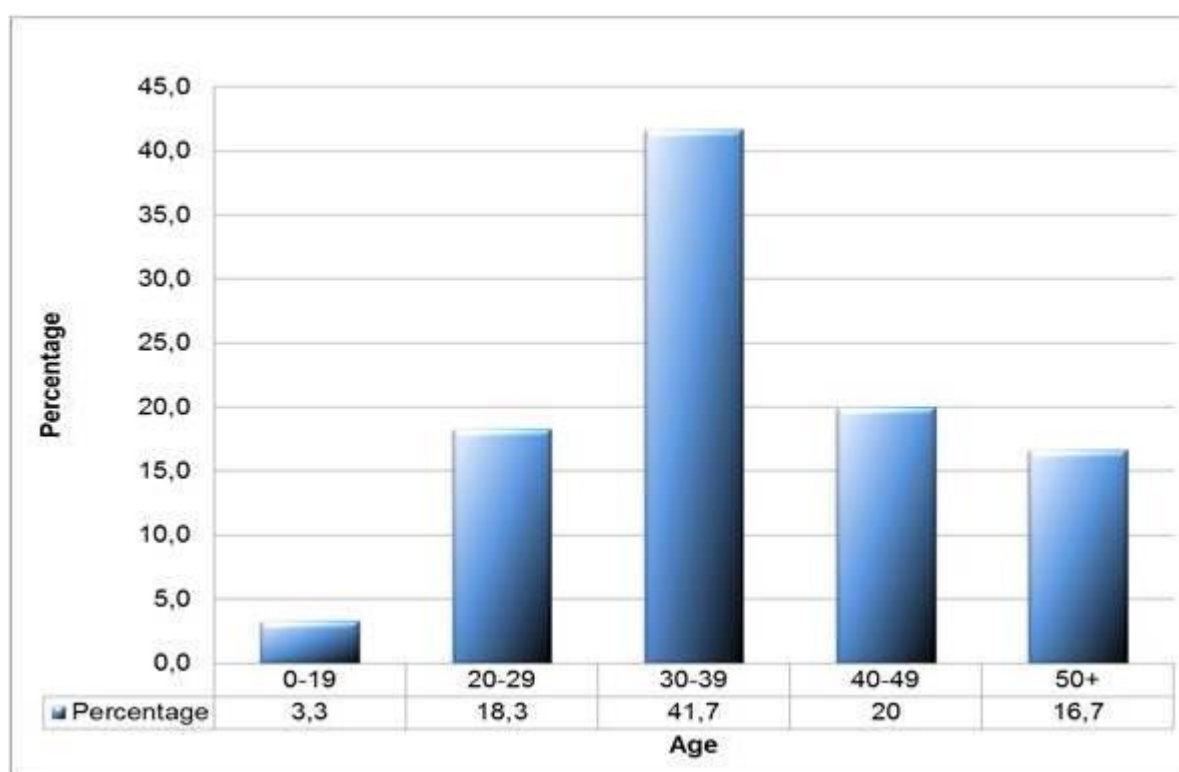


Source: Researcher, (2015)

5.2.4 Demographic Profile of Respondents

Chart 1 below indicates the range of 0-19 represents people who are residents in Wema CRUs. The age group that participated ranged from 18 year olds to more than 50 years old. Thus, the researcher was able to explore and compare perceptions across a wide range of ages. The age groups were strategically categorized to determine different groups' perceptions and understanding of housing (hostels and CRUs), culture and family.

Chart 1: Age group represented of people who are residents in Wema



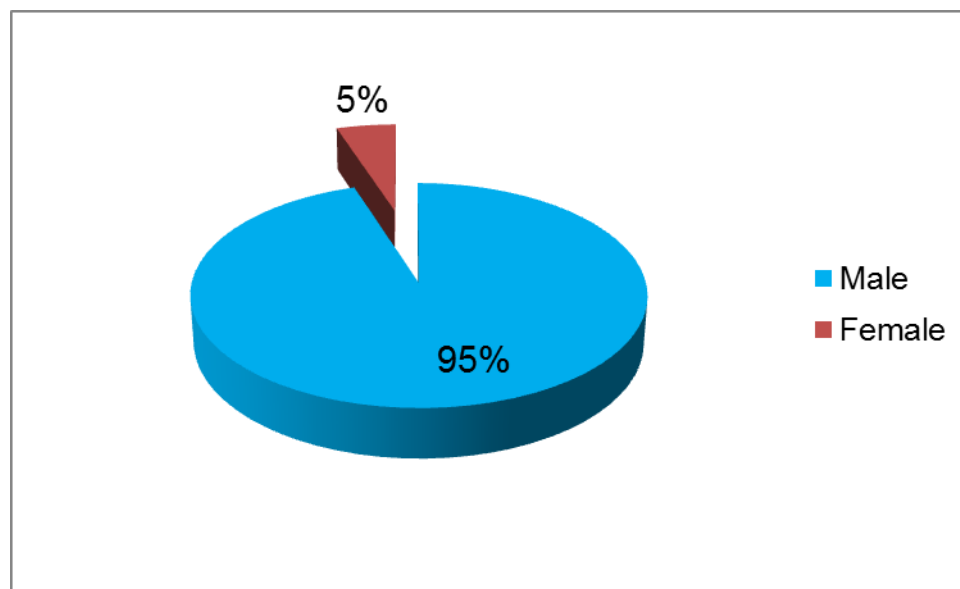
Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

The majority of participants (41.7%) were between 30 and 39 years old. They are employed in the city and support their nuclear family or their own household in the rural areas. This age group is old enough to have experienced apartheid and to have passively inherited the hostel culture from their fathers, as well as to have inherited their biological culture in the rural areas. The youngest respondents were aged 18 and 19 year olds who were furthering their studies at tertiary level. Respondents between the ages of 20 and 29 were between furthering their studies and seeking employment. Some participants experienced the impact of circular migration on their families. The age group above 40 years was permanently employed in the urban area and planned on being employed until they reached pensionable age. This age

group presented an interesting background as they lived in hostels during the apartheid era, although not necessarily in Wema. However, those in the over 50 age group all resided in Wema during the apartheid era and had thus experienced the development and changes occurring at the hostel.

Chart 2 below indicates that the majority of respondents are men. This is due to the fact that hostels were established to accommodate only male workers. Thus, it was surprising to find that 5% of the respondents were females residing in Wema, even though they are not registered as occupants with the superintendent. The rooms that they occupy are still registered under a male relative or spouse. In the case of a relative, the male had returned home to the rural areas, but remained registered as a Wema occupant. This is done in order to enable their children to secure affordable accommodation whilst seeking employment or furthering their studies in the urban area.

Chart 2: Gender distribution of Occupants



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

The females residing in Wema stated that even though they were not related to their housemates, they were expected to perform the chores traditionally done by females such as cleaning common areas (see image 1 on page 77). In apartments with male only occupants, there is a cleaning roster in which all occupants participate. The female respondents further stated that Wema is still very much a male-dominated area where they felt out of place since

they were prohibited from being registered as occupants. They were expected to leave once the registered male beneficiary passed away.

Image 1: Female performing 'traditional' chores in an apartment in Wema

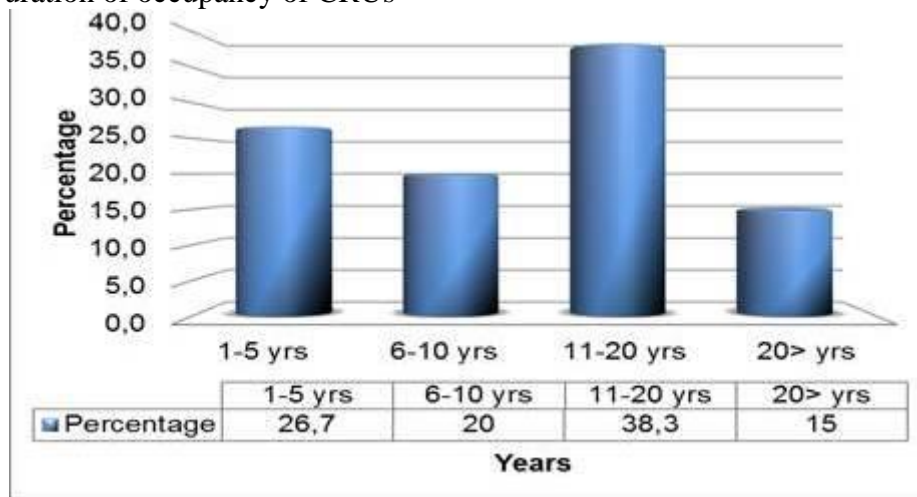


Source: Researcher, (2015)

The study revealed that occupants are still experiencing dual-migration; they live in CRUs for various reasons but still have a home in rural areas where the rest of their family is located. The occupants in Wema were from various rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, whereas Unit 17 occupants were from Zululand. They occasionally travel back and forth for funerals, cultural rituals or ceremonies, and/or to check on the well-being of family members. As noted in Chart 3, the respondents had experienced dual migration for many years. It was also found that some respondents had lived in Wema since the apartheid era.

Fifteen per cent of the respondents stated that the living arrangements and setup in Wema were constant and had not changed. They referred to: 1) the male-only living arrangements; 2) the sharing of rooms in some hostels and; 3) the minimal presence and tolerance of women occupying CRUs. These comments were supported by the superintendent, although he noted that the living conditions in CRUs are more humane than in the hostels during the apartheid era, which was the most critical visual change.

Chart 3: Duration of occupancy of CRUs



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

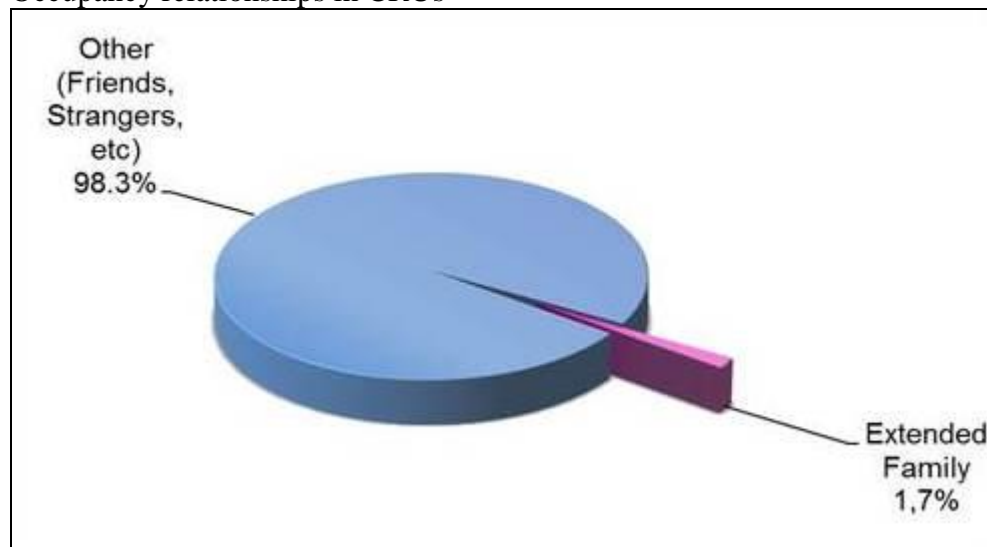
Respondents stated that they did not anticipate a change in culture in Wema from male-only accommodation to accommodating females, unless new buildings were constructed as family units. The renovation and restructuring of the buildings did not have an effect on how they perceive Wema. Even though they were tolerant of females, they controlled access by not allowing them to register as legal occupants.

Unit 17 provided contrasting views on the development of new buildings in changing the male-only culture in CRUs. As a Greenfield housing development, Unit 17 has no tolerance for women living in CRUs and the respondents did not even consider such an idea. They argued that their families were too big and that accommodating families would displace some of the original occupants. This would have a negative impact on the well-being and sustainability of the occupants and their families in rural areas. They also feared unpredictable financial implications that the occupants might experience in their new accommodation due to the impact on employment opportunities and transport costs.

5.2.1.1 *Occupancy Relationships in CRUs*

The data revealed that one respondent (1.7%) resided with her cousin-brother in Wema, shown in chart 4. This respondent was one of three female respondents; the other two were married and lived with their spouses. These respondents were located in the family units section in Wema. The majority of the occupants in Wema reside with strangers as roommates or housemates from different backgrounds and households. This is also the case in Unit 17.

Chart 4: Occupancy relationships in CRUs

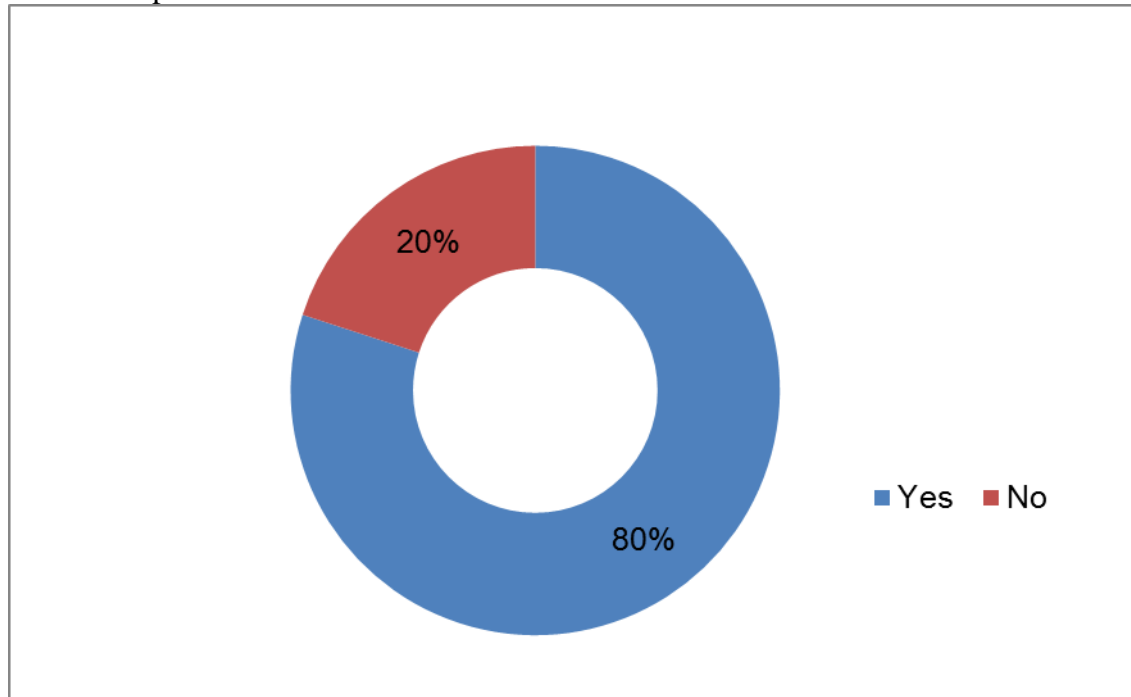


Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

The respondent who resided with her cousin-brother did so through a special arrangement made by the occupant's father before he moved from Wema back to the rural area with his brothers who also resided in Wema. The women's father and brothers arranged to become housemates in Wema with the intention of handing their rooms over to their children once they relocated to the city for employment or higher education. The main aim was to secure accommodation in close proximity to employment opportunities and educational facilities. Health and other facilities were secondary considerations.

Chart 5 shows that the majority of the respondents chose to reside in Wema and were fully aware of the rental, temporary and shared nature of the accommodation on offer. They came from poverty stricken backgrounds and required cheap accommodation whilst seeking employment in the city. Although 20% of the respondents chose to reside in Wema for financial reasons, they stated that their fathers had previously resided there. The majority of the respondents that stated that they did not chose to stay in Wema (20%) fell into the 18-30 age group and either lived at Wema because they were looking for work or because they wanted to further their education. Many ended up conforming to the lifestyle after being shown the ropes by the older generation residing in Wema.

Chart 5: Occupants' own choice to reside in Wema



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

Respondents accepted and indeed preferred the non-family nature of the accommodation because they were only in the city for employment reasons. Furthermore, they were not bound to live there when conditions became unfavourable. Hostels/CRUs are sufficiently flexible for them to relocate as they please. Generally, the respondents were not concerned about the occupancy relationships in Unit 17 and Wema because they understood the economic function that the hostel played for their families.

Secondly, respondents stated that the role that hostels/CRUs play is far greater than what 'family units' would play in sustaining their families in rural areas and themselves. Approximately half of the occupants will be relocated through the conversion of hostels into CRUs and this will affect their economic situation since the majority is employed in the surrounding areas. This was also of great concern among occupants in Unit 17 who noted that relocating families from rural to urban areas would result in financial hardship. Families will be worse off in CRUs compared to remaining in the rural areas due to the expenses they will incur in the city. CRUs do not offer vacant land which occupants/ families will be able to cultivate in order to sustain themselves and supplement their income. Respondents said that they are content with their lifestyle in CRUs as they have come to accept that the overall

well-being of their family is best provided for in rural areas, in terms of both financial and spatial considerations.

5.2.5 House-form and cultural characteristics

Unit 17 is a two-storey Greenfield housing development consisting of 16 apartment units. It is designed in a courtyard spatial layout with apartments facing the open communal space indicated in Image 2. Each unit consists of three bedrooms, a bathroom, and a kitchen and living room.

As a Greenfield development, Unit 17 was built with family units in mind as prescribed by the CRU policy; therefore, it was constructed with communal shared facilities such as the courtyard space, washing line, and a card electricity meter per unit. The high level of shared communal facilities is predicted to cause internal conflict between the tenants over for, example, the electricity bill. For example, in light of the culture of non-payment in Unit 17, occupants are uncomfortable with the card electricity meter.

“Unemployed occupants will benefit at the cost of employed occupants, whereas unemployed occupants use more electricity because they spend more time in the apartment watching TV, listening to radio, or cooking. But they do not have money to buy the electric card. This will cause conflict on the usage of electricity by each housemate and who should buy the next electricity card amongst the three occupants residing in each apartment unit” (Respondent 1, 2013)

Image 2: External view of Unit 17 (A)



Source: Researcher, (2015)

Image 3 External View of Unit 17 (B)



Source: Researcher, (2015)

Some respondents believed that CRU development in Unit 17 is a tool to break the dominance of the NFP/ IFP in the Unit. They said that the presences of families will destroy the strong social bonds and lengthy political meetings held in Unit 17. Males would be indirectly encouraged to spend more time with their families and less on political affairs. They also believed that the facilities incorporated in CRUs will cause unnecessary conflict between the occupants should they live with their families. The following potential conflicts were identified by the respondents:

1. The courtyard open space: conflicts over the performance of cultural rituals and ceremonies should two families decide to conduct ceremonies on the same day.
2. Internal and external design and layout of CRUs: internal (living room) and external (courtyard) communal spaces will cause social conflict through the high level of interaction between men, women and children, which is frowned upon by tradition.
3. Social status and inequality: the provision of standardized units will cause conflict over social standing and status. In traditional societies, the household reflect the status of the family in society, for example, the Chief's house. CRUs deprive occupants with social status of that privilege.

Wema comprises of three-storey buildings categorized as 'renovated ', 'hostel' and 'family units' by the occupants. Each consists of the following features which distinguish them from one another:

1. Hostels: Dormitory setup with 10 beds within one apartment
2. Renovated Hostels: Three, two or bachelor units. The renovated hostels merged two dormitory apartments by breaking down the common wall, and partitioning was used

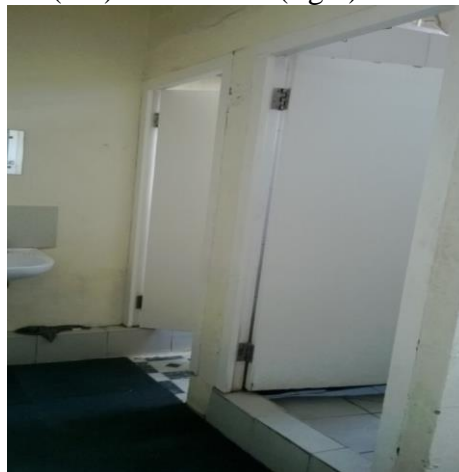
to separate the unit into bedroom/s, a kitchen and a shower. There is no living room in the renovated hostels. Images 4 and 5 show the internal layout of the renovated units.

Image 4: Internal layout of Wema (Renovated building)



Source: Researcher, (2015)

Image 5: View of ablution facilities (left) and shower (right) in the renovated apartment



Source: Researcher, (2015)

3. Family units: are the newly-built buildings in the outer section of Wema as indicated in map 4. These comprise of three-bedroom apartments with an open plan kitchen leading into the living room and bathroom as shown in image 6.

Image 6: Internal Arrangement of the 'family unit' apartments in Wema

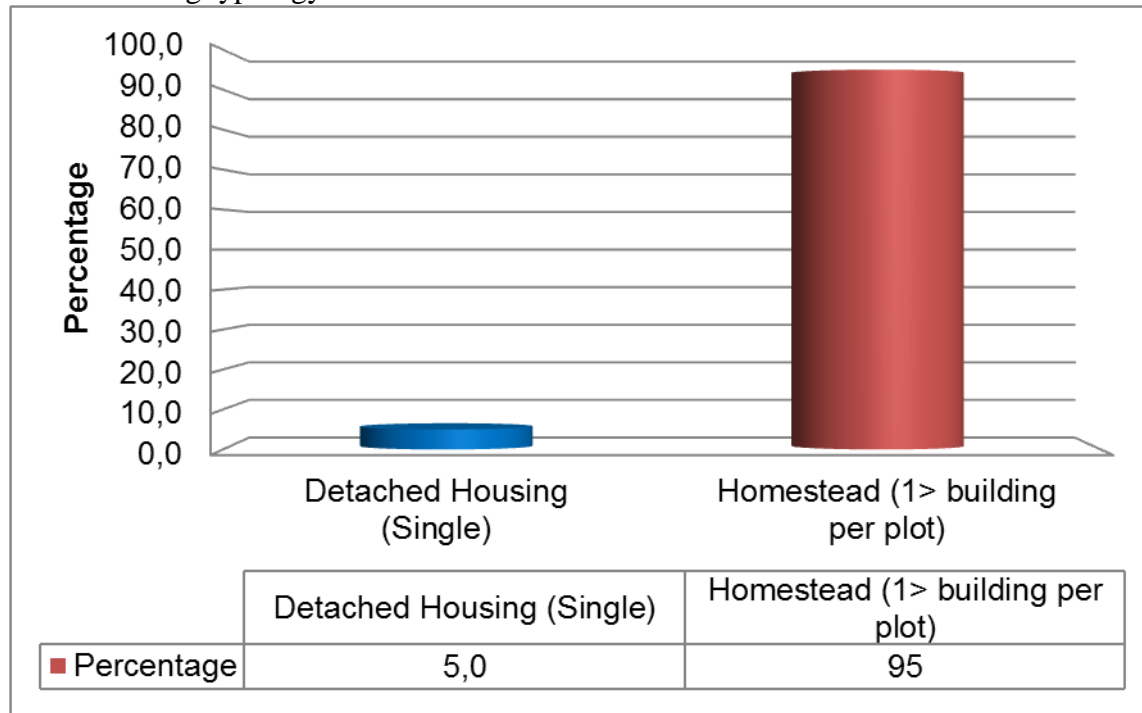


Source: Researcher, (2015)

5.2.5.1 House-form- (Rural areas and CRUs)

The respondents were also asked to compare the CRUs to their rural homes. They indicated that the housing typology in rural areas varies from detached housing to homesteads as shown in chart 6. There are no high/low rise buildings. Homesteads have more than one building on the family plot inclusive of a hut demarcated for the ancestors known as *amadlozi* in isiZulu. The respondents described *isibaya* and *amadlozi* as the space allocated for specific functions within their homesteads in the rural areas. They have not yet had the experience of adapting or adjusting their cultural norms and activities in the urban environment; therefore, for them *isibaya* is literally a kraal and *amadlozi* are believed to literally occupy their own hut within the boundaries of the homestead.

Chart 6: Housing typology in rural areas



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

Housing together with house-form in rural areas was said to accommodate all family members and was described as the ideal setup to raise a family. The land on which the detached home is located has sufficient internal and external space to allow for growth and development within the homestead as the family grows; it also provides a safe environment for children to play. The respondents stated that the design of CRUs does not relate to the background of its users, the family size and reproductive needs. One of the respondents in the age group 30-39 said:

“I currently have three children and I plan to have more children. Even if the males agree to be relocated into another housing development, how will I live in a three bedroom apartment with my three children and my future children? I plan to have more than three children?” (Respondent 2, 2015)

CRUs present a fixed housing typology that cannot be extended to accommodate a growing family. Respondents in the age group 30-39 responded in a passionate and emotional manner to the size of CRUs in relation to house-form and space availability in the rural areas. This age group is at the stage of either creating a family or expanding their family; the space allocated for each household in CRUs limits them in fulfilling this purpose. Overall, the respondents concluded that there is more stability in the rural housing environment as this

environment supports their cultural lifestyle and activities. This is further supported by the tenure arrangements which secure a permanent home for the wife and children should anything happen to the breadwinner.

5.2.5.2 House-form tenure arrangements

The CRUs are purely rental accommodation. The respondents stated that the difference in tenure options affects the manner in which CRUs are perceived for family living. They felt that CRUs offer temporary accommodation which is risky and does not provide for a stable home to raise a family. This has caused tension between households, block chairmen and the government and also undermines the role of men within their households through the imposition of rules that conflict with those of a traditional household.

It was alleged that the current ward councilor changes rules to promote his political career and garner support for the next elections. Upon assuming duty in Wema, the ward councilor erased all the outstanding bills of occupants. This meant that the city lost revenue for electricity, water and service fees. Rural areas present a different scenario where the head of the household makes and enforces rules according to their cultural morals and values. In the case of CRUs, the head of the household falls into the third tier of the hierarchy, with the government and the block chairmen above them.

The respondents raised several issues with regard to tenure arrangements once the registered occupant passed away. Some of the male respondents who stated that they would not mind living with their families in CRUs were apprehensive about allowing females to register in Wema. Families will be evicted once they pass away, and at the same time their home in the rural area would have been neglected or abandoned during their stay in CRUs. This concern was also expressed by the occupants in Unit 17 who added that due to financial constraints, they cannot manage and maintain two households (rural and urban areas); therefore one would be neglected, abandoned or sold. This becomes a problem if the rural home is the one that is neglected, abandoned or sold especially on the passing away of the head male figure (husband/father).

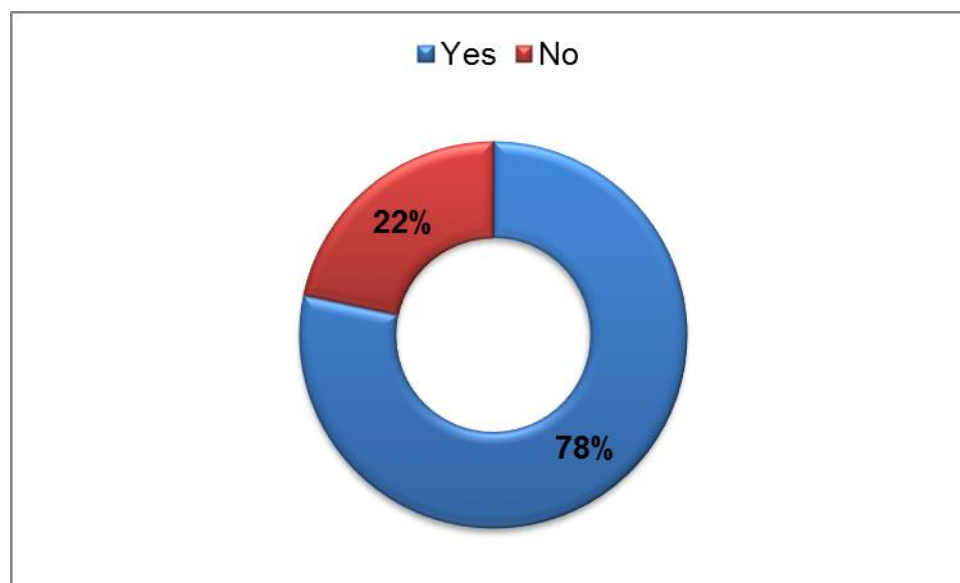
If the widower chooses to marry again, the children will grow up not knowing and understanding their paternal ancestors and cultural ways. In addition respondents in Unit 17

stated that, it is the duty of the father/husband to build a home for his wife and children. Should the widow remarry she will have to move to her new home and perform the cultural traditions and activities of her new family. This places the children of the deceased in an unfavourable position especially if they reside in CRUs where they will be misguided and experience a different culture while their own culture might be abandoned. If the family home remains in the rural area, there is stronger family support and guidance from the next of kin from the paternal side in close proximity to assist children, especially in the practice of culture. This is especially critical for boys since they are expected to retain and pass on knowledge about the ancestors and cultural practices.

5.2.5.3 Link between culture and house-form

It was found that 78.3% of the respondents agreed that there is a link between culture and house-form, with 21.7% stating that there is no link.

Chart 7: Link between Culture and House-form



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

It is believed that a home is a home by virtue of the presence of *amadlozi* which keeps the home in existence; it is able to gain and maintain social status and respect from others because family members demonstrate acknowledgement and respect of their home. As individuals, we are born into an already existing history; lineage, way of life, clan name, cultural values and practices that are a reflection of family life and of one's identity. This

history exists through the presence of *amadlozi* that are believed to be humans who have passed on and are now recognized as the family anchor. Through *amadlozi* and an individual's clan name one is able to trace one's heritage and existence. This knowledge is passed on in the household environment to the next generation. When an individual needs to trace their heritage, they use the names and clan names of family who have passed on and are now *amadlozi*. The link between culture and house-form is made through the declaration of the family home to *amadlozi*. Once a house is declared a family home, it needs to be declared to *amadlozi* for the protection of the family. The process of moving house and constantly introducing the next home to *amadlozi* is not easy or simple because it requires financial capabilities and the presence of critical family members.

The respondents stated that the link between culture and housing is intertwined based on the belief that *amadlozi* are present in every household. They noted that *amadlozi* cannot be introduced to residents in CRUs because of its rental tenure nature; there is always the risk of eviction. The issue of *amadlozi* was a very sensitive one amongst the respondents and moving them from one home to another is a complicated process which requires a cultural ritual and slaughtering a cow, sheep, goat or chicken, depending on the family's financial capabilities. The ritual requires proper planning where *amadlozi* are communicated with by burning *imphepho* (incense) and informing *amadlozi* that the family will be moving. Once the family is residing in the new home, it must be introduced to *amadlozi*. A similar ritual is performed when a new building is erected within the boundaries of the family home. Without the presence of *amadlozi* and the supportive environment there is practically no link between culture and house-form.

In linking culture and housing, the respondents emphasized the role of permanent housing with secure tenure in providing stability and minimal disturbance of *amadlozi*. Under favourable conditions, a house can last more than a life time, providing security and assurance for the family and the next generation. The link between culture and housing is thus reflected in the house-form and layout of a traditional homestead where there is maximum support and the promotion and preservation of culture and cultural activities.

The respondents further stated that a person's identity is rooted in their cultural origins; it is a phenomenon that they have been brought up with, the habits that one has adopted and become accustomed to for one's survival and upbringing. They acknowledged that cultural

beliefs and norms differ among ethnic groups and families. The respondents identified two forms of housing (1) as a home and (2) as a house. In isiZulu the terms home and house are *ekhaya* and *indlu*, respectively. These terms contain substantial meaning which gives one an idea about the type of housing in which a person resides. They also give an idea as to whether or not someone is living with their family. For example *indlu* (house) indicates that a person is living by themselves and *ekhaya* (home) indicates that they living with their family.

Housing as a home (*ekhaya*) refers to a built environment where the ancestors (*amadlozi*) are present and the family is free to express their cultural values and activities. On the other hand, housing as a house (*indlu*) refers to a built environment which is believed to be temporary, and cultural practices are limited; thus *amadlozi* are not present. The term *indlu* extends to a room or the space which a person occupies. The respondents used these isiZulu terms to explain the difference between housing as house and as a home. This offers a rational explanation for how CRUs are viewed and perceived; it also provides insight into why CRUs are perceived as housing that is not suitable for family living.

The respondents referred to CRUs as *indlu* because 1) it is temporary accommodation, 2) occupants are still sharing, and 3) occupants experience limitations in practicing their culture. CRUs are referred as *indlu* because the bed space is rented or people occupy a room in ‘family units’. Furthermore, there are limitations on what they can and cannot do within their space because they need to be considerate of their roommates or housemates. This compromises cultural practices. Limitations such as living with a stranger force them to go back to their rural homes where there are family members, privacy, and suitable facilities such as *isibaya* and a *rondavel* to perform cultural rituals. This suggests that they are mere tenants in CRUs.

“Indlu does not have the presence of amadlozi especially in the case of CRUs. iKhaya has the presences of amadlozi because respective rituals have been performed in that arena. In the case of us living in hostels/CRUs, amadlozi are aware that we live here for employment purposes and for those who practice certain cultural rituals in hostels/CRUs they have probably followed the right pathway of doing so with their ancestors. Otherwise under normal circumstances cultural rituals are performed ekhaya (home)” (Respondent 3: 2014)

Another respondent stated that:

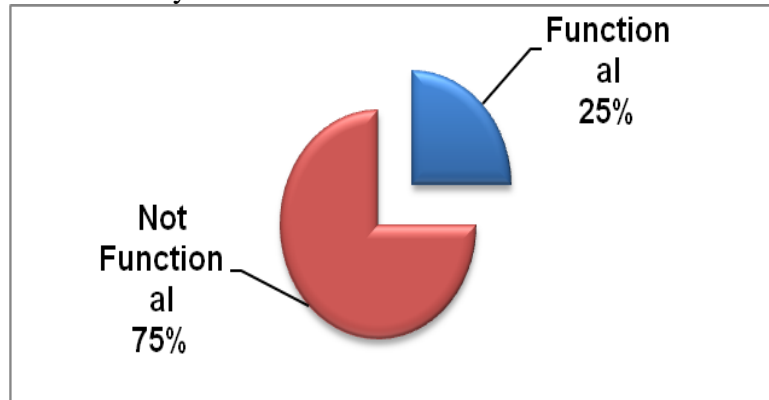
“Indlu lacks respect because there are different people coming in and out of someone’s room, drinking, smoking, making noise, or behaving in a disrespectful manner with each other in other people’s space. Whereas ikhaya commands respect because occupants are aware about how to conduct their themselves and behaviour around certain areas within the home or homestead so as to maintain the respect within the home and the home to gain respect within the community at large.”
(Respondent 4: 2014)

Generally, the respondents considered family housing to be detached housing where all family members reside under one roof or are confined to the same yard in the case where outside buildings exist. Such a house setup is considered as *ekhaya* (home) because it serves the family as a unit and can cater to all family members and cultural activities. On the other hand, a house-form that cannot cater to a family as a unit is considered to be *indlu* (house), which is merely a house with an individual purpose and function. According to the respondents, CRUs are *indlu* because everyone residing there does so for their own individual purpose, which is either to further their studies, seek employment or explore the opportunities presented by the urban environment.

5.2.5.4 Cultural functionality and satisfaction with CRUs

The perceived cultural functionality of CRUs varied from respondent to respondent. Chart 8 shows that 25% of the respondents stated that CRUs are culturally functional while 75% disagreed with this statement. Those that stated that CRUs are culturally functional argued that certain cultural practices can be conducted within CRUs but in one’s bedroom space such as communicating with *amadlozi* through burning *imphepho*. However, this act can be limited or cannot be performed when respondents have roommates. The respondents added that an animal can only be slaughtered in CRUs when space allows because there is no *isibaya* or demarcated place to do so. Should space allow for slaughtering animals for cultural rituals, management issues could arise such as overlapping ceremonies and the rituals that need to be performed.

Chart 8: Cultural Functionality of CRUs



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

Respondents that stated that CRUs are not culturally functional argued that the limited space available in CRUs undermines cultural rituals and activities. They further stated that occupants who perform cultural rituals in CRUs lose their dignity, respect, social status and identity because it is an indication that their identity and upbringing is not well rooted and based on inherited cultural norms and values. Performing rituals in CRUs is regarded as a haphazard act, because CRUs are referred to as *indlu*, and because they contain various people with different surnames, clan names and cultural practices. Therefore performing rituals haphazardly without the recognition of *amadlozi* reflects negatively on a person as someone who is not well grounded and has no substantial cultural norms and values. They are perceived as having floating *amadlozi* which robs *amadlozi* of their sacredness and respect. Such people are not allowing their ancestors to guide them in their traditional and cultural ways, thus creating a new set of cultural practices which does not belong to their heritage or family clan.

CRUs are a non-sacred environment for cultural rituals or ceremonies for individuals and families. More importantly there is disrespect for *amadlozi*. No cultural ceremony or ritual can begin or end without consulting *amadlozi*. CRUs do not allow residents to show the level of respect that is needed and satisfactory for *amadlozi*.

Several cultural problems arise in the practice of culture in the CRUs as male-only settlements or as family units. As a male-only settlement, it is expected that an occupant request permission from his housemates or roommates before conducting cultural rituals in the apartment. This will restrict some cultural rituals or activities if they negatively affect

those residing in the same apartment. An example is a ritual that involves making a noise, and the roommate works night shift and wants to sleep during the day. A family residing in an apartment in Wema would require the permission of neighbours or several neighbours depending on the cultural ritual or occasion. The fact that the apartments are so close to one another means that some cultural rituals will depend on the neighbours' tolerance. This takes away the freedom and the right to freely practice culture in their homes as they would in the rural areas. The combination of overcrowding of family members or strangers in apartments in the case of male-only accommodation and the need to request permission from neighbours and/or housemates in a family environment creates a lack of privacy for any cultural ritual or ceremony. Image 7 shows the closeness of the apartment units which prevents household privacy. This is also evident in the exposure of clothing and intimate personal items to the public. The situation also challenges the power of a man to make decisions in his household. He now has to request permission from another man, possibly younger than himself to perform rituals which are believed to be critical and beneficial for his family.

Image 7: Closeness of apartment units and lack of privacy



Source: Researcher, (2015)

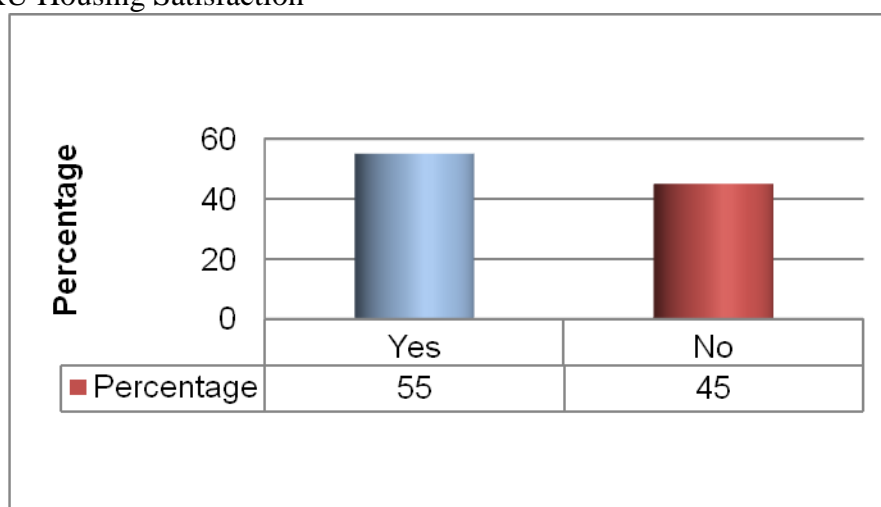
Cultural rituals and ceremonies usually require the presence of the elders and extended family members. It is expected that they stay the night before the ceremony to either assist in preparations or to be present during communication with *amadlozi*. The limited space available in Wema and Unit 17 will challenge preparation for cultural rituals and ceremonies. The respondents stated that it is more affordable for them to travel home to the rural areas

than for their family members to travel to the CRUs. Furthermore, the house-form of rural areas poses fewer challenges to cultural rituals than the CRUs.

5.2.5.5 Levels of satisfaction with the CRU house-form

Chart 9 shows that the respondents in Wema expressed mixed feelings when it came to satisfaction with the CRU house-form, with 55% stating that they were satisfied and 45% citing dissatisfaction. Those that were satisfied said that CRUs offer accommodation that is affordable, temporary and in close proximity to employment opportunities and transport routes. They valued these factors more than they valued living with their families. They were satisfied with the house-form of Wema and Unit 17 based on their understanding of the nature and function of a hostel/CRU that is not a family unit. As indicated in chart 5, they knew what type of environment to expect but more importantly, it was in line with their individual lifestyle and the need to be accommodated for the well-being of their families in the rural areas. These respondents were concerned with the financial cost of having their families live with them in CRUs as transport and school fees are more expensive in urban areas. Thus, the respondents felt that it would be more financially feasible for their families to remain in the rural areas than to reside in urban areas. They will continue to travel back and forth. Another issue raised by the respondents was that they can easily relocate to another city or province in search of better employment opportunities without interrupting the rest of the family's lifestyle due to relocation. Therefore, it is much easier to sustain their families in the rural areas than in urban areas.

Chart 9: CRU Housing Satisfaction



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

The respondents that were not satisfied with the CRU house-form were those that had considered bringing their families to Wema, but factors such as the lack of maintenance depicted in image 8, unequal social development (a spatial environment largely dominated by male facilities), and limited space made this an unattractive option. Dissatisfaction was based on how these respondents currently view CRUs, for themselves as individuals as well as for their families; and how the CRUs are managed by the government, block chairmen and ward councilor. These respondents believe that the three above-mentioned stakeholders and male heads of households will be unable to work hand-in hand due to self-seeking behaviour. The lack of maintenance depicted in image 8 below is due to current conflicts and disputes between the government, the ward councilor and the community about which parastatal is responsible for maintenance.

Image 8: Lack of maintenance of buildings



Source: Researcher, (2015)

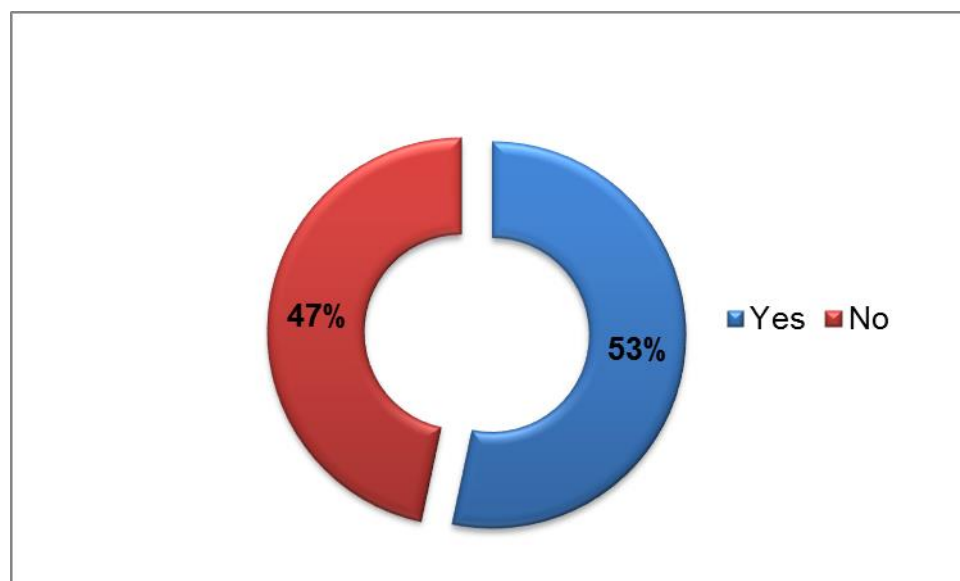
Such issues affect levels of satisfaction especially if there are disputes concerning management and maintenance issues. The lack of maintenance is blamed on the large amount of unpaid rent, the ward councillor's writing off rent owed in CRUs and the inability or slow pace of eThekweni Municipality in transforming the CRUs. Each party blames the other. This situation filters down to the daily operations of occupants and increases confusion about who is really in charge of CRUs among the three parties. The constant changing of rules and regulations by the parties in conflict would negatively affect the running of the household. In

addition, occupants are not willing to invest in maintaining buildings that offer only temporary accommodation.

5.2.5.6 Need for CRU improvement in catering for culture

Wema and Unit 17 are rental housing developed within well located areas that are close to employment opportunities, infrastructure, amenities, and bus and taxi routes. All these factors support occupants' sustainable livelihoods in CRUs and help to sustain their families in the rural areas. However, Chart 10 shows that 53% of the respondents would like to see an improvement in CRUs in catering for culture, whereas 47% disagreed and felt that maintenance issues should be thoroughly addressed. The respondents were ambivalent in responding because CRUs offer a convenient lifestyle that cannot, however, be synchronized with that of their culture. The house-form of CRUs is incompatible with the norms and values of culture due to the nature of the overall built environment and the limited space for personal use.

Chart 10: The need for CRU improvement to cater for culture



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

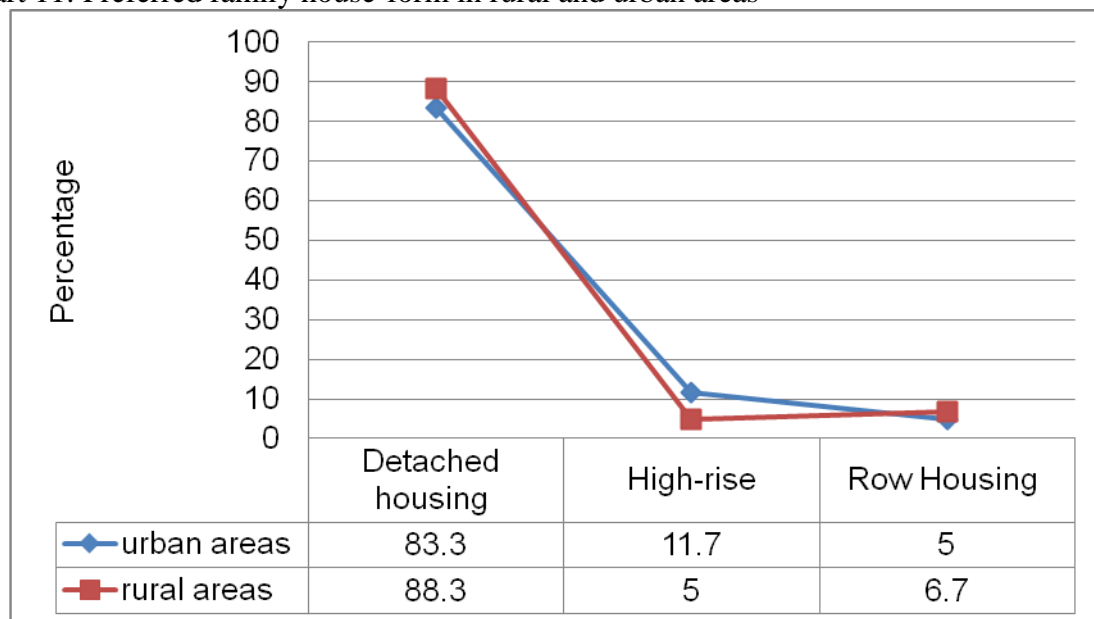
Respondents who expressed the need for improvement did so based on the belief that the government will eventually force them to live in CRUs as family units. This is based on the changes enforced since 1994. If change is to be imposed, the authorities should ensure that the CRUs are family-friendly and supportive of culture. Respondents who did not see the

need for cultural improvement felt that CRUs will still undermine their culture due to the limited space to accommodate *amadlozi* and *isibaya*. They added that the spatial arrangement in Wema is already limited and therefore, nothing can be done to ensure that CRUs cater for culture. The incorporation of cultural facilities will further promote disrespect and the undermining of the ancestors through compacting facilities that are not compatible with each other such as placing *isibaya* next to a children's play area or near the beer hall as well as the issues previously mentioned in the discussion on cultural functionality and satisfaction with CRUs.

Thus, while some respondents recognize the need for improvement in CRUs, this is not necessarily for cultural accommodation but for general health and well-being.

5.2.5.7 Preferred house-form for the family in rural and urban areas

Chart 11: Preferred family house-form in rural and urban areas



Source: Fieldwork, (2015)

The majority of the respondents stated that detached housing is the most suitable typology for cultural purposes in both a rural and urban context, at 88.3% and 83.3%, respectively. However, row-housing would also be an option depending on housing availability and circumstances. Chart 11 shows that row housing could be an alternative option at 6.7% in rural areas, where high-rise buildings are the least favoured at 5%. The respondents stated

that row-housing would fit the spatial arena in rural areas because land is available in the yard/plot demarcation which provides privacy and space for extension in the case of family growth. Furthermore, cultural activities could be conducted within the household without interference from non-family members. However, for urban areas, 11.7% of the respondents favoured high-rise buildings and 5% row housing. Those in favour of high-rise buildings stated that they are convenient and accommodate a large number of people, easing migration from one area to the next according to employment opportunities without moving the whole family.

5.3 Data Analysis

5.3.1 Introduction

This section presents an analysis of the data collected in Wema and Unit 17, including an interview with the Wema superintendent. The discussion is based on the findings, and the researcher's observation on the relationship between the house-form of CRUs and cultural activities, values and lifestyle; and how culture influences the acceptability of CRUs among occupants as individuals and as part of a family. A reference to the household environment in the rural area was included in the questionnaire in order to observe similarities, differences, alterations and/or compromises in cultural values, norms and activities as a result of differences between the housing typology of CRUs and those of the detached housing typology found in rural areas.

The extent to which culture influences the acceptability of CRUs was measured by comparing biological cultural activities, norms and perceptions and the lifestyle of occupants in CRUs and those of a traditional homestead in rural areas. The extent to which biological culture is compromised or limited can be considered as the result of the extent to which CRUs are culturally acceptable to their occupants and their families. The expected outcome of this discussion is to understand how to design new housing stock or restructure existing housing stock for optimal use by beneficiaries. More importantly, this study aimed to emphasize the importance of culture in housing.

While similarities and differences were noted between hostels and CRU housing the similarities outweighed the differences. Even though the CRU policy managed to bring

families together through the reconstruction of floor plans, there was adequate infrastructure and services. The following similarities were noted:

- I. Both CRUs and hostels are rental accommodation and are thus temporary.
- II. The housing typology of CRUs and hostels is the same, high rise or low rise.
- III. CRUs are being constructed on the outskirts of the city, which is where hostels were constructed during the apartheid era.
- IV. The CRUs accommodate Black South Africans, which was also the case in hostels.
- V. Political factors still dominate hostel life.

5.3.2 Policy Analysis and understanding

Since 1994, the South African housing sector has continuously sought ways to improve and manage sustainable living arrangements for hostel dwellers. The government took over hostels that were owned by private companies during the apartheid era. It assumed 'landlord' responsibility for hostels/CRUs and was thus supposed to provide adequate housing for occupants. Through its CRU policy, the government has succeeded in providing dignified, improved and sustainable secure rental housing for low-income occupants. However, CRU provision must be considered in a holistic manner to enhance its social and economic value to occupants. The economic aspect of CRUs in Wema and Unit 17 has been catered for, but the social aspect, especially culture, is still lacking. This section presents a discussion based on the study's findings on how government has overlooked cultural aspects, thus affecting the level of cultural acceptability of CRUs.

5.3.2.1 Policy understanding

The manner in which the respondents desire to manage themselves is directly opposed to what is contained in the CRU policy.

The meaning could also be lost through the political agenda and affiliation, where occupants expect the worst from government or the ruling party and therefore remain constantly on guard and resist change, especially in the case of Unit 17. Political issues have superseded the well-being of residents in Wema which has completely locked out women and children due to political tension. This has prevented constructive development in this area.

5.3.2.2 Acculturation: Institutional Arrangements

The occupants of Wema and Unit 17 have been living in male-only accommodation since the apartheid era and 13 years into the democratic era (at the time of commencing data collection). This has strongly affected their willingness to change from a male-dominated environment to an environment that caters for women and children. Male dominance has been maintained despite changes in politics, governance and policies. This resistance to change, which is evident in not allowing women to register in CRUs is due to the many years of colonial and apartheid rule when male dominance was encouraged and enforced. In contrast, policies that encourage and support a family environment have a much shorter history.

The collective decision to prevent women from registering in CRUs in both Wema and Unit 17 highlights the realities of post-apartheid life, inherited from the apartheid era. Despite the protection afforded to women and children by the Constitution, and legislation and policies on the right to adequate housing and equity, women and children are still shut out of the hostel/ CRU arena. This suggests that men have a sense of impunity, which is understood as men's sole entitlement to housing. The refusal to allow women and children into the CRUs affirms and encourages the chauvinist ideology subscribed to by male CRU occupants that is unfortunately buttressed by the pro-male facilities in CRUs which encourage the performance of masculinity and male bonding spaces. This continuously asserts male dominance in CRUs. The act of rejecting female registration is a territorial act which is expressed in controlling women's movement in CRUs, which supposedly reaffirms their masculinity against the government.

A battle is raging between colonial and apartheid ideology and the current democratic ideology. Preventing women from registering for housing violates their constitutional right to equality and right to housing. Men have purposefully chosen to maintain or adopt practices inherited from the colonial and apartheid eras that only benefit them. At the same time, they demand adequate and hygienic housing, which is enshrined in the South African Constitution as shown in the data collected regarding maintenance. They also acknowledge the need for their families to live with them, which is enshrined in the housing policy. However, in both Wema and Unit 17, the need to maintain male dominance has superseded that of women and children's right to housing as stated in the Constitution.

5.3.2.3 Form Follows Function

The house-form and physical environment of CRUs, including the social facilities comprise of features that translate to the ideal usage of CRUs by occupants. Migrant workers adhered to the rules imposed by the apartheid government and conformed to the function and use of the hostels that were dictated to them. There is an omnipresent relationship between occupants, the house-form of the hostel/CRU and its environment which has manifested since the apartheid era. Non-material and material objects in CRUs are of value to an individual and the single lifestyle but are not of value and suppress cultural values, norms and standards for family living. The data revealed evidence of how CRUs affect traditional culture due to inadequate space, through shared and unisex facilities, and the limited space to accommodate family members and the extended family during cultural ceremonies.

The house-form of CRUs was constructed by the apartheid government for a specific purpose. The occupants of Wema and Unit 17 will not easily accept that it should now become CRUs even though it is being continuously modified. Occupants still recognize the history behind the house-form, its geographical location, the role it still plays in employment opportunities and the convenience it offers for family sustainability and livelihoods. The house-form of CRUs in no way reflects the culture, traditions, history and lifestyle of its occupants; instead it symbolizes the culture of a hostel lifestyle. CRUs symbolize and still address the need for temporary, affordable, individual housing which caters for occupants' 'nomadic' nature in searching for job opportunities.

Wema and Unit 17 have for a long time offered access to economic resources that are gendered, favouring male occupants. Hence, men understand hostels/CRUs as a male space to which they are entitled. This questions gender citizenship in CRUs. This standpoint is similar to that identified in Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society*; through modernisation the house-form of hostels/CRUs has encouraged individualism and selfishness in the form of gender-specific housing. The lack of female-specific employment has also encouraged male's entitlement to hostels/CRUs. It was more beneficial to the family for men to reside in hostels in urban areas. The development of Mega City and the recently completed KwaMnyandu Mall has ensured that there are no longer gendered or sexualised employment opportunities. However, rejecting female registration in CRUs encourages the disengagement of families and increased economic opportunities for all family members. Men focus on

benefitting themselves through the division of labour whilst also trying to entrench cultural traditions and practices by shutting women out.

The study revealed that adolescents and young adults were more open to CRUs as family units. This group has adapted to urban life and tends to be more 'modernised' than the older generation. However, they remain influenced by older occupants and cultural values. The hostel culture is strongly embedded in the older male generation to the extent that they do not identify with the CRU environment for themselves or their families since they almost at retirement age. Even though they have lived in hostels/CRUs for more than 20 years they still perceive themselves as 'migrant workers' who only live in the city for employment opportunities.

5.3.2.4 Perpetuation of hostel culture

"An individual's behavior is a function of his or her motivations, the affordances of the environment, and the images of the world outside direct perception and the meanings those images have for the individual" (Lang, 1987, p.97). Lang's (1987) statement reflects what is happening in Wema and Unit 17. The occupants of both CRUs want to maintain male dominance and are therefore bent on making the living conditions and lifestyle unattractive for family living to respondents in Wema who indicated that they would like to live with their family. Men's perceptions of CRUs as hostels are depicted in their behaviour and habits that have not changed since the apartheid era when they were not in agreement on certain issues with the apartheid government. They perpetuate hostel culture within the CRU environment which is evident in the culture of non-payment of rent. Rival political parties, the ANC and IFP and more recently the NFP, still exist and male dominance is secured through male-only accommodation. The government is perhaps also at fault for not providing complementary facilities parallel to CRU upgrading and construction. The presence of male-friendly facilities creates the impression that the government supports such an environment even though the Constitution and BNG dictate otherwise. This also encourages perceptions that males have preference and a right to CRUs.

The development and reconstruction of CRUs in conjunction with Mega City created its own problems, even though it has contributed to economic gains among some occupants in Wema and Unit 17. The Mega City development offers greater employment opportunities,

intergration and compaction to residents living in close proximity. The joint development of CRUs, Wema and Mega City promised to improve their livelihoods. However, the call for family living in CRUs indirectly calls for more than half the current occupants to be displaced which defeats the purpose of economically empowering the targeted/initial occupants. The current location offers increased employment opportunities in not only industry but commercial outlets. CRU occupants have adopted coping strategies and mechanisms to prevent people from being displaced; these strategies perpetuate the hostel culture of the apartheid era.

Occupants in both Wema and Unit 17 are purposely slowing down the transition from individual/single living to family living. This is an indication of their unwillingness to expose or diffuse their culture and to conform to the foreign culture of the CRU house-form.

5.3.3 House-form analysis

The house-form of CRUs is very foreign to occupants as family units, but they are well acquainted with it as individuals. It is possible that they fear the unknown culture that is to be developed or they fear losing their male hostel culture. Either of these possibilities will affect their biological culture which is preserved in a detached house typology. This could subsequently result in them neglecting their rural homes when all family members move into CRUs. Family life and, consequently, cultural norms, values and standards will be affected.

As noted in chapter three, culture and house-form are intimately related. A change in traditional house-form should lead to a change in the traditional culture of the occupants (Rapoport, 1980). Continuous changes and the implementation of policies on hostels upgrading from the RDP, to HRP, BNG and CRUs has subjected occupants to the modification and alteration of hostel culture. While male dominance has been maintained, social changes have resulted from changes in policy, the improvement of CRUs in the case of Wema and the development of Unit 17. These changes have modified and altered culture in both CRUs. For example, occupants have moved away from sharing communal facilities and dormitory rooms to less dense sharing arrangements. The improvement of the house-form has decreased social interaction within apartment units, thus improving privacy within the unit. In contrast, there is a lack of cultural privacy due to the fact that prior approval is

required for cultural practices. For the occupants, cultural privacy is more desirable than individual privacy.

5.3.3.1 Space contact/interaction

The courtyard layout of CRUs offers less cultural privacy and more human interaction outside of the apartment which is the opposite of the traditional environment. The presence of strangers in the confined space of CRUs initiates and encourages culturally prohibited interactions through constant informal, personal, face-to-face, and intimate contact. Such interactions are not common in the traditional household (Gordon, 1964).

The data revealed that the occupants of Wema and Unit 17 need a culturally supportive environment if they are to accept family units. Both case studies have a homogeneous community from the Nguni tribe that shares similar cultural norms, values and practices, thus making it easier to create a supportive cultural environment. Indeed, Wema occupants are already clustered in cultural and political groupings.

5.3.4 Cultural satisfaction: Biological and Circumstantial

Different satisfaction outcomes were obtained for single/individual and family living in CRUs. For single/individual living, CRUs offer a higher level of satisfaction, comfort and convenience than for family living, where there is dissatisfaction based on perceptions of the house-form and space provided by CRUs. Rapoport (1978) states that factors that promote stress (stressors) are subjective and therefore variable and depend on the correspondence of the environment and the latent activities of the cultural group. CRUs can be stressful for a family lifestyle but not for a single/individual lifestyle. The stress in family lifestyles in CRUs is caused by the lack of space for family members, and a change in the social and cultural environment. This requires families to adapt to a new house-form as a family unit, which will change its socio-cultural environment.

5.3.4.1 Cultural conflicts and overlapping

The study found that CRUs are culturally functional to a certain extent, but, as illustrated by graphs 5.1 and 5.1, the house-form of CRUs is inappropriate for the practice of culture. This suggests that while culture may be practiced in any given house-form, the desired outcome of cultural practices, norms and behaviours will be compromised, altered or eliminated. For the

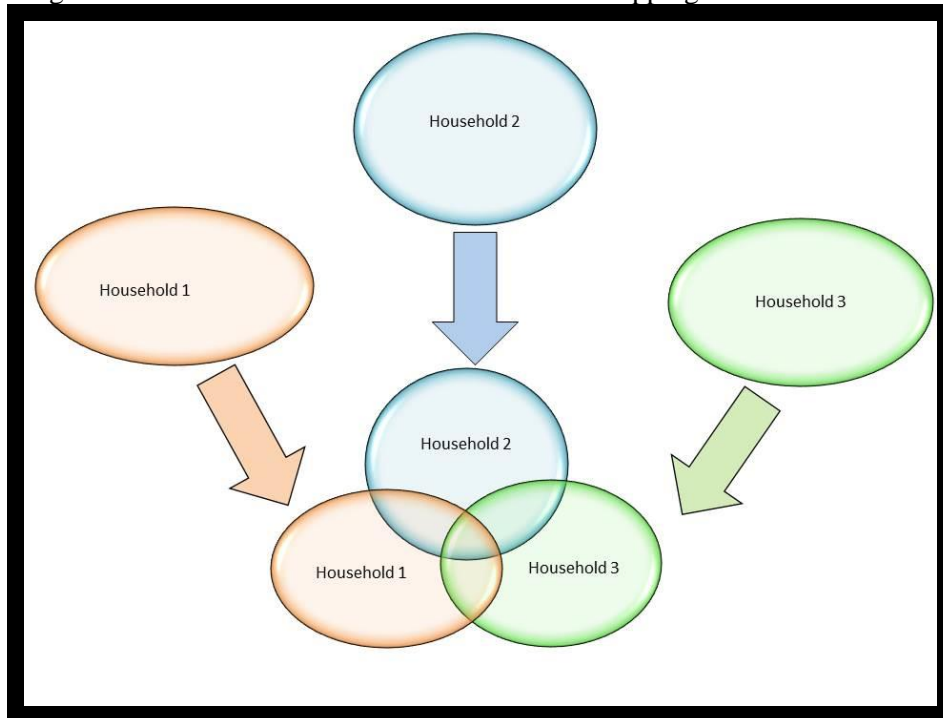
practice of culture to occur, two criteria need to be met: 1) a respectable area for *amadlozi* needs to be demarcated and 2) family members, including elders need to be present. The challenges and limitations of practicing culture in CRUs are that it is confined within the boundaries of the apartment. It is believed that culture in the CRUs' built environment will clash or intertwine with that of the next household if it is practiced outside.

Freedom to practice culture is limited to the boundaries of the apartment and/or an individual's room. Culture may be practiced in CRUs when minor cultural rituals need to be observed, such as when only the burning of *imphepho* is required but no slaughtering. Even though occupants might be free to practice cultural activities within the boundaries of their rooms or in the apartment; they need to consult their housemates or neighbours before proceeding. When cultural practice depends on obtaining permission from an outsider, the ritual loses meaning and is undermined because the intentions of cultural rituals are a secret that is only known to the family; disclosing to an outsider might defeat the purpose of performing cultural rituals.

Occupants may use communal areas in Wema for cultural activities. Such areas may be used as *isibaya* to slaughter the animal required for *umsebenzi*. Each household needs to have its own *isibaya* for slaughtering and carrying out cultural rituals; even if *isibaya* does not exist, the slaughtering of an animal needs to be performed within the boundaries of the household in a respected and specifically demarcated area. While 25% of the respondents said that they were willing to compromise their culture by sharing communal facilities for cultural activities and rituals, they acknowledged that there will be a clash of *amadlozi* when rituals are not performed correctly. Furthermore, there would also be a clash should two or more families pick the same day to perform their rituals in the communal area. The sharing of communal areas may cause conflict amongst families especially if both families feel that their ritual is more important. In the long run, the community might not live in harmony.

The figure below is a metaphorical image of cultural conflicts which could arise in CRUs. It was constructed by the researcher and aims to visually depict the potential cultural conflicts in CRUs identified by the respondents. Since culture is abstract and may differ from location to location, it portrays a visible yet possible scenario of cultural conflicts and the intertwining of *amadlozi* with the sharing of communal areas and households accommodating different occupants from different families.

Diagram 5: Illustration of cultural conflict and overlapping



Source: Researcher, (2015)

CRUs undermine culture and promote disrespect for cultural activities through their house-form. They lack the desired cultural privacy in the form of distinctive demarcation of sacred space for each household or occupant for cultural activities. Cultural rituals cannot be performed by two or more people with different surnames under one roof; this portrays a disrespect for *amadlozi*, and an individual's heritage and dignity. The practice of one's culture in CRUs spatial circumstances does not create a good impression of their home's dignity; it is an indication that a man does not have a home and good communication with his family. More importantly, he does not respect his ancestors. Occupants who do perform rituals immediately lose the respect of their housemates and roommates. During cultural rituals, a respectable person verbally communicates private issues with *amadlozi*; therefore, if these issues are stated in the presences of others who are strangers, private family matters will be known by all and respect will be lost. Furthermore, a man without a home loses respect in the community because he is supposed to provide shelter for his family and to pass on his family's heritage to the next generation. A man without a house creates an unstable cultural environment.

6. CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This investigation into the relationship between culture and housing in CRUs found that the influence of culture on the acceptability of CRUs is based on the biological socio-cultural constraints of the occupants which are hidden behind policy implementation and the political sphere in order to protect their families and cultural norms, values and practices. As noted in chapter three, Rapoport (1993) demonstrated the complex nature of the relationship between culture and housing and further argued that each culture will produce its own house-form regardless of the type of materials used. It is in terms of this principle that the respondents resist bringing their families to Wema and Unit 17 even though this argument has not yet been noted by the government in any official document.

The review of the literature on culture and housing assisted in understanding and mapping the relationship between culture and housing. The data collected by means of household questionnaires and interviews with eThekweni municipal officials revealed that the acceptability of housing in terms of cultural preferences goes beyond the social realms of the occupants indicated in Rapoport's model of culture set out in chapter three; it involves policy development and implementation and the nature of the political agenda and influence. The overall housing policy has neglected cultural diversity in housing provision; instead it has adopted and produced houses largely influenced by European culture through colonization.

6.2 Summary of major findings

This research study explored the relationship between culture and house-form in determining the influence of culture on the acceptability of CRUs. Culture is represented in the geographical location, house-form, and interior and exterior spaces of apartments. However, the study found that the issue of culture is to a certain extent concealed by occupants and the government and in housing policies. Politics and economic and social factors are commonly presented as impacting the success/failure of CRUs. However, culture is also a major factor that probably supersedes politics, and economic and social factors but has no voice in the built environment. While culture is part of social factors and issues, its importance is

undermined to such an extent that it is not even considered. Occupants have chosen to gloss over the importance of culture because they do not want to be seen as primitive or not urbanized. This is encouraged by silence on the issue of culture in South African housing policies. While a request for culturally supportive environments in housing would probably be considered bizarre as compared to a request for economic and social amenities, it is equally important.

The study provided an understanding of occupants' cultural needs in CRUs and the housing environment. Meeting these needs would offer a supportive environment. The findings suggest that the house-form of CRUs determines perceptions of their use in relation to the house-form considered ideal for culture and family living. These are based on historical backgrounds and cultural norms, values and standards. Furthermore, the potential for CRUs to be culturally supportive environments lies in their ability to be altered through extensions in order to support the family size and cultural activities and criteria. Occupants are open to adaptation to a different house-form provided that the cultural aspect is secure.

Numerous subsidy programmes in South Africa have offered choices to poor and low-income citizens in choosing housing for their families or housing for employment opportunities. This could be the reason why occupants are reluctant for CRUs to become family units. The limited attempts to adjust or extend CRUs to become a culturally supportive environments, reinforces such perceptions.

Understanding what constitutes a culturally appropriate environment for AmaZulu and Xhosa beneficiaries should guide spatial planning and usage. Since the house-form and cultural norms and standards of these ethnic groups are similar, CRUs could provide space for cultural practices and rituals. There is no need to develop ethnic-specific guidelines in the development of CRUs. The only conflict that could be expected is in the overlapping use of communal spaces for cultural rituals.

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has revealed that the acceptability of CRUs is determined by politics; social relations; and components of culture which are mainly determined by kinship, gender, sacred spaces, and space limitations. It also showed that male occupants are very protective of their families, especially female family members.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the study's findings, the following recommendations are made:

In order to prevent occupants from deviating from the CRU policy intent and use, the municipality needs to be more efficient in completing CRU projects, especially the transformation of hostels into CRUs. From the onset, CRUs need to be supportive of family living and thus supported by facilities that represent such, such as play areas for children.

It would be unfair to write off CRUs as an unsuccessful concept without fully exploring the manner in which they are being managed. Ethekwini Municipality should appoint property management agencies to manage hostels prior to and post upgrading to CRUs. This would result in an increase in property values (Cloete, 2001: 3). Property management agencies should enter into an agreement and contract with the municipality that outlines their responsibility for day-to-day operations, short term and long term maintenance and management issues. This would include management of an occupant database and the structural integrity and maintenance of buildings.

The explicit role of the government should be minimal due to political affiliations and issues and should be limited to the following:

- Provide or continue to provide consumer education, making information on the housing subsidy, and especially information on CRUs constantly available to beneficiaries. Regular and constant training of beneficiaries is needed that highlights CRUs' aims and objectives, the issue of family units and displacement issues. The training should also highlight beneficiaries' duties and responsibilities as occupants of CRUs and the role of property management agencies.
- Allocate a maintenance budget to property management agencies in order to improve service delivery.

The councillor and Ethekewini Municipality should work together on CRU issues, especially concerning decisions made by the councillor about rent payments. The government should consider taking steps to prevent councilors from taking decisions which place beneficiaries at a disadvantage.

CRU programmes should be planned concurrently with national housing programmes. These projects should cater for CRU beneficiaries who are culturally sensitive with regard to house-form but want to live with their families in the city.

Should culture persist as an issue in CRU development, the government should design clear strategies to guide implementing agencies on culturally sensitive housing.

In order to change the mindset of occupants from hostel and its house-form to family unit housing, the government needs to invest in more CRU buildings and their characteristics even in rural areas as temporary accommodation. Temporary accommodation is supportive in sustaining the nomadic nature of occupants seeking employment opportunities in rural and urban areas.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This study conducted in Wema and Unit 17 has raised issues which could be further explored in future studies as they could not be addressed in detail in the current study. They include:

- The exclusion of women and children from CRUs.
- The meaning of the term ‘family’ contained in the CRUs policy versus the meaning and understanding of beneficiaries.
- A comparative analysis of housing development between different political party wards/ regions.
- Political influence on constitutional rights and policy implementation in relation to housing.

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8 ANNEXURE: HOUSEHOLD SURVEYS

Demographics

1. Age

0-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
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2. Gender

Male	female
------	--------

3. Were you born in this area?

Yes	No
-----	----

4. How long have you live in this area (Respective CRU: Unit 17/Wema)?

1 -5 years	6-10 years	10-20 years	20 years and above
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5. What are your reasons for living in this area (Respective CRU: Unit 17/Wema)?

.....

6. Who do you live with and what your relationship between these people?

Nuclear family	Extended family	Other (specify i.e friends, strangers etc
----------------	-----------------	---

7. Do you have another house/home in the rural areas?

Yes	No
-----	----

8. Who lives in the house/home in the rural areas what is relationship between these people?

Nuclear family	Extended family	Other (specify i.e friends, strangers etc
----------------	-----------------	---

9. What type of housing typology is the house in rural areas?

Detached housing (single)	High-rise building	Homestead (>1 building per plot)
---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------------------

10. What is the tenure option in rural areas?

Urban	Rental	ownership	Sectional title	Other (Specify)
Rural	Rental	ownership	Sectional title	Other (Specify)

Cultural and policy issues

11. Which housing typology do you live in, in urban areas?

Detached	High rise	Row housing
----------	-----------	-------------

12. Which housing typology is preferred to live in with the family in rural areas if different options were given?

Detached	High rise	Row housing	Other (specify)
----------	-----------	-------------	-----------------

13. Which housing typology is preferred to live in with the family in urban areas?

Detached	High rise	Row housing
----------	-----------	-------------

14. Did you choose to stay in this type of housing (CRU)? (y/n explain)

Yes	No
-----	----

Explain:

.....

.....

15. Do CRUs allow for cultural activities?

Yes	No
-----	----

16. List the cultural activities that are conducted inside and outside of a traditional household

.....

.....

17. Which housing typology is suitable or appropriate for your respective culture lifestyle and traditions?

Hise-rise housing	Detached housing
-------------------	------------------

18. How do CRUs limit cultural activities?

.....

.....

19. Is there a link between culture and housing?

Yes	No
-----	----

a. What is the link?

20. What do you understand about culture and housing explain?

.....

.....

21.What is your understanding of the CRU policy/programme/housing? (aims and objectives of policy)

.....

.....

Beneficiaries' cultural satisfaction

22.Where you involved in the planning and the implementation phase of the CRU housing project?

yes	No
-----	----

23.Are you satisfied with merely obtaining a house or do the cultural aspects in housing matter as well?

.....

.....

24. What could be incorporated or changed in the CRU typology in order to cater for culture?

.....

.....

General Questions

25. What do you most like and dislike about the CRU?

.....

.....

26. What are the household responsibilities of each member in the house in CRU?

.....

.....

27. What are the household responsibilities of each member in the house in the rural homestead?

.....

.....

28. When think of being at home (eKhaya), do you think of being in the urban area or rural area?

.....

.....

29. When you recall elements of your house/home in CRU and in the RURAL, what do you recall as the most special? (common factors if any)

Interview with the eThekweni Municipal officials

- a. What position do you hold within the municipality?
.....
.....
- b. What role or involvement do you have in the implementation of CRU housing projects?
.....
.....
- c. Please take me through the beneficiary allocation process of CRUs in uMlazi T-section?
.....
.....
- d. What rules govern the occupants in CRUs?
.....
.....
- e. How did the beneficiaries receive their housing, i.e has there been any complaints or are they satisfied?
.....
.....
- f. How was the CRU typology design decided upon?
.....
.....
- g. What problem is government facing in terms of CRUs?
.....
.....
- h. Which is/are the most preferred housing programme in the outskirts of the city i.e uMlazi, Lamontville and KwaMashu?
.....
.....
- i. Can the CRU programme be adjusted to design housing with cultural meaning for beneficiaries?
.....
.....
- j. Is there a link between the CRU programme and the Hostels provided during the apartheid era?
.....
.....