Women as Guardians of the Environment in the Midst of Forced Removals: From Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo[1]

Abstract

This article examines the role of the Sotho-Tswana women in environmental issues who were displaced in Lady Selborne in the 1960s in South Africa and resettled in Ga-Rankuwa. The task of food production has been the work of women in black African communities but forced removals interrupted such roles as many black people lost their fertile lands and were relocated in areas with soils not viable for subsistence farming like Ga-Rankuwa. Women were essentially hit hard by displacements as they were the people primarily involved in guardianship of the environment. It contends that, some women felt happy by owning plots in the relocation areas like Ga-Rankuwa but felt dehumanised because they could not engage with the environment the way they did in Lady Selborne. Such women tried all they could to improve their soils and failed, they then adopted passiveness towards environmental issues. On the contrary, some women maintained their role as guardians of the environment by devising measures to engage with their environment like producing manure to fertilise the soils and cultivate lands for growing fruits and vegetables in their yards. Such measures were not sustainable as

[1] Dr. Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo is an ordained Pastor and Bishop at The People of God Christian Ministries. She is a lecturer at the University of Kwa Zulu Natal; School of Education in Edgewood. Her research interests are in socio-environmental concerns, indigenous knowledge, teaching and learning matters and gender issues. Email address: Kgarimasondo@ ukzn.ac.za.

there was poverty and at times they failed to get food peals. Depicting that, women even in the midst of land dispossession their attachment to environmental engagement does not seize. This article thus proposes that; women's critical role as pillars of the environment in safeguarding environmental sustainability necessitates – active involvement of all stakeholders like – the state, communities and non-governmental organisations

Keywords: women as guardians, environment, forced removals, Lady Selborne, Ga-Rankuwa, Land Tenure system, Sotho-Tswana ideology

Introduction

Gender roles played an important part in defining the Sotho-Tswana's relationship with the land and environment. Any environmental calamity like droughts, floods, lightning etc. was explained as a consequence of one or another infringement or spiritual order – witchcraft or disregard to ancestors and so forth. Thus, women as people who work intimately with nature in any environmental disaster they get severely affected. The history of land loss under the apartheid period is a tragedy that has been under researched in terms of its ramifications on women and their relationship with the environment from before forced removals and after resettlement. This article is based on fieldwork conducted in Ga-Rankuwa in 2004, 2006 and 2014 among those women who were displaced from Lady Selborne in the 1960s. The data collected reveals that women often performed traditional roles such as food-producing agriculturalists and some were ecologists who performed rain-making rituals. But the women were continually oppressed by men and the colonial state.

Women maintained their role as guardians of the environment after land dispossession. Land dispossession through the colonialization, segregation and apartheid period could not stop their role of being nurturers of the environment. Many women resisted with their all to maintain their role of guarding the environment. According to Guy (1990), the history of women in South Africa is one of oppression, and the nature of that oppression is dynamic and has undergone qualitative changes over time whereby women ended up engaging actively in fighting against such discrimination. A lot of

literature on the role of women in environmental issues has been done from a male perspective with women as subordinate and unimportant. Men are perceived as official guardians of lineage and land. Men and women played different environmental roles, but both were traditionally and culturally intimately related to the environment. But, it remains the fact that women carry out most agricultural tasks (Ranger 2003:72). Bryant (1949:73) argues there is interdependence between people and the environment in that 'human beings are servants of their environment and the environment servants of people – because they eat, built, grow food in accordance to what the environment around them determined or allowed'. Hence the Sotho-Tswana, regard the environment as *lefa* (inheritance) from the ancestors who left it for them to utilise and preserve for future generations (Kgari-Masondo, interview Tshweni 2004). Women thus played that role of heritage conservers even under difficult epochs of land loss. Forced removals changed the map of South Africa as it caused black women's day-to-day physical world to disappear because, displacement rearranged residential patterns and made people to move from cluster style traditional settlements into grid plan villages and this had effect on food production too as some of the relocation plots were small and had infertile soils (Hofmeyr 1992:46-47).

The article will show that, although black African women and forced removals have received historiographical attention, they have received little analysis through the multidisciplinary, socio-environmental and indigenous lens. Equally, a historiographical fissure exists in the understanding of historically rooted and contingent perceptions of land by black women, land-ownership and the 'natural world' in the shifting environmental context from the original land inhabited and the resettlement areas. The article draws from indigenous knowledge of the Sotho-Tswana to show that forced removals were not just understood as a mere loss of land but, it was also seen as the result of one or another contravention or spiritual order like; disrespect to ancestors. Thus, also illuminating that even the ramifications of forced removals on women were not only perceived as economic, emotional, physical and political but were also spiritual, psychological, and environmental.

Twelve women were interviewed in 2004, 2006 and 2014 from a qualitative and phenomenological perspective. The phenomenological method is important for such a study as it allows researchers to suspend their judgements about the community studied. Generalization is not the purpose

of the study even though a small sample of interviewees were used. Hence qualitative method is used with the purpose of unearthing deeper understanding on the topic under study. Chow (2008) also supports this by arguing that normally many projects on place attachment and identity use small scale data, I believe it is because of the nature of the project which is involved and requires intense discussions with the interviewees.

The approach of this article is Afrocentric because it establishes: '[a] frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person … it centres on placing people of African origin in control of their lives and attitudes about the world' (Molefi 1991 cited in Mazama 2003:5). In terms of socio-environmental History, an Afrocentric analysis would look at aspects of environmentalism by eschewing comparative study with other ethnicities but focuses rather on the Sotho-Tswana women's relationship with the environment. It is understood that perceptions of the environment vary across the selected study group – based on fissures of generation, gender, class, geographic distribution and idiosyncratic life experiences – but I will focus on similarities while acknowledging areas of difference, particularly those of gender.

Throughout this article, environmental injustice that black African women suffered through forced removals is highlighted, which prompts the recommendation of the article that, environmental sustainability policies are required in order to restore black African women to their ecological roles of the past. This is to provide a historical context of the worldview and ideologies of the community under study and provide a context for understanding gender issues in environmental history, more specifically during and after forced removals of the Group Areas Act of 1956. Hence Jacobs (2003) has argued that gender is an important feature in environmental history. Cultures are not static and change over time in response to internal and external stimuli, which this article seeks to reflect. Sotho-Tswana patterns of change will be discussed to illustrate that both pre- and post-colonial black African women's history is dynamic. For example, the relationship that existed between the communities and their environment was based on mutual interdependence in terms of sustenance through food production. This relationship has changed over time under political, economic, environmental, philosophical and social pressures. The initial Sotho-Tswana interaction with the environment is termed 'an ecological approach' by Merchant because it purports the idea of nature as a historical

actor and suggests that nature is a whole of which we are but one part, hence we interact with plants, animals and soils (1987:267). When Merchant talks about the 'ecological approach to nature', she uses a certain historiographical approach, but her analysis can also be applied to the lifestyle of the Sotho-Tswana women in relation to nature and, as Worster has pointed out, 'Merchant herself admitted that any theory of nature or society is rooted in its historical conditions' (1987:252).

It is worth mentioning that the Sotho-Tswana women did not always adhere to an ecological approach. Through contact with the West they had to adhere to scientific authority and a new set of social practices and policies, especially in the twentieth century and, with any norm, some Sotho-Tswana were non-conformists and did not follow nature conservation and preservation. Harrison describes the intervention of science in the environmental approach of black Africans and argues that a series of policies regulated black people's relationship with their environment (1987:50). This illustrates that the Sotho-Tswana perceived nature as an active agent in human ecology but there were instances where some deviated from the norms and values of environmental conservation and preservation. But, some of the rituals, idioms and myths were kept intact and ensured that they did not entirely disband with their environmental attachment. Consequently, Sotho-Tswana women's perception and relationship with their environment was a process that kept on changing depending on how the environment treated them. For example, if the environment was unkind to them they would appease it through rituals like rain-making (Manyeli 1992:53). Through rain-making, the Sotho-Tswana environmental rubric was evident as it was a process that involved the whole community and was led by chiefs and women, normally 'queens' (Ranger 2003:78).

Women and the Environment: From Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa

Sotho-Tswana ideology towards the environment, as indicated by scholars like Khan (1990) and Mphahlele (1987) was a positive as it connected the individual to the environment through an intertwined assortment of physical, spiritual and cultural links. For the Sotho-Tswana, '*Motho* (human) is part of Nature and Nature is *Motho's* companion from the beginning. Nature is not

therefore an object for human exploitation, for like the human it came out of the same source' (Setiloane 1985:40). Women are called *bomme and basadi* because they give birth and are left at home to nurture their families by growing crops, fetching water to drink, fetching firewood, collecting wild plants for food and spending time in the rivers and this gives meaning to the understanding and explanation of ecological functions. Both Mukonyora (1999) and Ranger (2003) made a useful observation that women had more intimate relationship with the environment than men because with the latter they were accustomed with the environment mainly through hunting and territorial wars.

Lady Selborne was situated in Pretoria and is currently known as Suiderberg. It was an urban area established in 1905 and accepted black freehold title to land until the 1950s when apartheid forced removals ensued. Ga-Rankuwa was established in late 1961 to accommodate black Africans displaced from Lady Selborne (National Archives Repository, NAR, Department of Bantu Administration and Development, BAO 7818G60/2/1547/1 n. d). It was proclaimed a township by Proclamation 448 of 1965 (NAR, BAO 7818T60/2/1547/1 n. d). The area was named after the Bakgatla headman, Rankuwa Boikhutso. 'Rankuwa' means we are accepted. Then the word 'Ga' was inserted by the community to imply 'we are not accepted'. As attested by an interviewee Motshetshane, the community did not feel happy about the quality of the soil as it was difficult to cultivate food in Ga-Rankuwa as compared to Lady Selborne.

The most important essence of being which was widespread among the Sotho-Tswana from pre-colonial times is participation. It was based on the belief of relationality with other humans, the physical environment and spiritual world – because they believe they are interlocked with other humans, the environment and the non-living world. The fact that some Sotho-Tswana former landlord women interviewed like Tshweni, Sekhu and Manamela declared that in Lady Selborne, they had intimate relationship with their environment, and after losing their plots and relocated to Ga-Rankuwa, they gave up on environmental issues. Being uprooted from their homes in Lady Selborne without their consent is evidence of their questioning of their identity because ownership of their plots affirmed their identity. On the same note men like Andrew also corroborate this view of environmental apathy as an indicator to the apartheid government that the relocated were unhappy with forced removals (see Kgari-Masondo 2008:303-304). Hence Setiloane

(1985) argues that a human being is not only dynamic force, but vital in participation. Suggesting that; the holistic person's participation in life's agents and components is vital. This elucidates that the gender roles that each society has are socially constructed to ensure the smooth running of each community. There were distinct roles that women performed from pre-colonial in Lady Selborne till resettlement in Ga-Rankuwa. Such roles have changed over time due to contact with other cultures and the effects of capitalism and racism – they were not static (Guy 1990:35). Some of the roles that women executed differed from household to household, for example, in the absence of men in the home women had to perform men's duties until a male relative arrived if the absence was due to death *(kenelo)* (Lye & Murray 1980:112).

The history of women in South Africa has been one of subjugation, but they have played a central role in environmental history via agriculture. Jacobs argues that the role of cultivator was a less propitious form of production, but that role was important because it provided subsistence (2003:22) and put women at a pivotal role in the universe of being guardians of the environment. The Sotho-Tswana call such women *basadi* as they remain at home doing vital duties. The role of women in the pre-colonial period in the homesteads was generally to control and direct household affairs and to take decisions pertaining to the disposal of homes (Lichtenstein 1930). Working the land was key to women. Sotho-Tswana women, until the early twentieth century, prepared the ground for sowing by breaking it up to the depth of about four inches with a hoe or mattock (Burchell 1953:413). Maize was planted in August or September, according to early or late rains. They also cultivated *dinawa* (kidney beans), and searched forests for wild spinach or edible wild herbs (*morogo*). They used clay soil and mixed it with chopped grass and ashes to make earthen pots, and wood for spoons, called *lushua* (Burchell 1953:418). This shows that Sotho-Tswana women were core domestic figures and had power to access food – the basis of their social power and influence. Men had authority over women and distributed land to females who in turn had to work it. As a result, women were obliged to provide children so that labour could be accumulated (Guy 1990:34). Barren women were sent back home because they could not fulfil their core duty in the homestead. Pre-colonial Sotho-Tswanan society believed in the accumulation of fertile and productive women to ensure food production.

Pre-colonial Batswana used a system of 'assistance' to the poor that

resembled serfdom. Other groups of the poor class were made up of the captives from wars (*batlhanka*), sarwa ('Bushmen') and those citizens who lost their herds' through *go jewa* (punishment) (Comarroffs 1990:206) – and all of these groups looked after the livestock and fields of the rich Sotho-Tswana. A person is 'eaten' *(go jewa)* when they have done something wrong and are fined a herd of cattle. Today people are charged anything from cattle, goat, chicken, liquor and money. The *mafisa* system allowed relatives, friends or neighbours of the rich to care for and milk cattle but they had no ownership rights over that livestock (Jacobs 2003:47). The obligation of the herdsman to the cattle owner is articulated in the Setswana proverb *kgomo ya mafisa o e gama o lebeletse tsela* (you milk a borrowed cow while facing the road). Inferring the *mafisa* cow could be commandeered by its owner at any time. *Mafisa* gave men control over other men and, according to the Comaroffs, 'that control was only open to those with substantial and more important growing herds – supported by food producing wives' (1990:205). The identity of men who had no cattle was transformed and relegated to females. The Comaroffs (1990) describe the *balala* men being called to assist their master's wives in agricultural work.

Since the black economy deteriorated after 1866 because of the need for men to earn money, gender roles changed again. Scarcity of land undermined traditional means of subsistence and the common name for women was *bomme* (mothers) – they had to look mainly after children. In Lady Selborne the soil was fertile and this helped food production to flourish (Kgari-Masondo 2008:294-310). Many women were unemployed and had to engage in subsistence farming which helped in supplementing their husband's wages. Those who were working mothers had to supplement their salaries by cultivating food. This confirms Rangers argument about Zimbabwean women that even in 1974 the aboriginal female among Mutoko District has survived without masculinisation (2003:78). From Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa women were core in environmental issues as they managed to preserve some fundamentals of the older female eco-religion.

Women were also perceived as ecologists because they played a major role in rain-making. Womenfolk as rain-makers played the role of environmental nurturers (Phiri cited in Ranger 2003:76). The rain-making ritual is different from many other rituals because it addresses communal and environmental apprehensions. Queens (like Queen Mojaji of the Lovedu tribe) were seen as vital in procuring rain and their popularity depended

thereon (Schapera 1951:xviii) and they make ecological laws and decisions on behalf of their community. Ranger confirms that even in Zimbabwe the princess's report to chiefs on environmental matters and that they sit with the chiefs to hear domestic cases and enforce traditional ecological laws (2003:78). Men were also involved in rain-making but the majority of prominent rain specialists were women because they were seen to be closer to nature through the act of childbearing. Rain-making provided an explanation of local climatic conditions and was seen as a means of communicating with the ancestors, God and natural forces. It was an activity grounded in the material necessity to succeed in agriculture. Since most Sotho-Tswana settled near perennial rivers where rainfall was scarce, rain-making ceremonies were seen to be crucial (Anonymous author 1977:108). To illustrate the importance of rain, the Sotho-Tswana greeting is *'pula'* (literary, rain), which refers to water, success and peace. The interviews illustrate that rain is still pivotal in black African areas, but since the emergence of modernity and capitalism people's emphasis in the twentieth century was mainly on the job market in urban areas. The focus is more on women's prayer groups for rain *(bomme ba morapelo)* (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Roman Catholic Women's Prayer Group in Lady Selborne in the 1940s

In Ga-Rankuwa the soil was infertile and that posed a serious challenge to women. But their role as environmental custodians is still upheld among the Sotho-Tswana as women try to improve the poor soil of their resettlement areas (Kgari-Masondo, interview, Poo 2014). This emphasis on improving soil quality was maintained by most of the female interviewees, which suggests that women are still the primary ecologists even in relocation areas. This makes them vulnerable to environmental degradation and contamination and hence they are involved in rain-making because they experience environmental problems directly (Dankelman 1988). Ranger also mentioned that in Zimbabwe some women had special responsibility for the environment (2003:75). It is because they know how to engage with nature by appeasing it through rituals like rainmaking to ensure that they get rain so they can cultivate quality food and fight poverty. In environmental history, according to Dankelman and Davidson, it is only from the 1980s that scholars recognised that poverty is linked to environmental problems and this implies an inherent sexism. Indicating that apartheid hit hard on women as it killed their environments through forced removals.

Some women were forced to enter the job market as poverty was rife in Ga-Rankuwa. They empowered themselves with skills beyond the household and agriculture. Like Maphalare who worked as a sewing lady for South African Police in Rosslyn in the 1960s to the 1980s (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2: V. Maphalare at work in Roseline

Also Poo worked at Tony's café as a cashier at Van der Holf Street in Pretoria city centre in the late 1960s (see Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Poo at work in Pretoria Tony's Café in the 1960s.

Thus from pre-colonial to Lady Selborne and to Ga-Rankuwa women's role changed dramatically but their role as guardians of the environment remained important for many females. They also had to share their roles with men, especially the sewing of blankets, milking and herding after the industrial revolution as most of them worked as migrant labourers. Women in some families started performing rituals themselves after 1900 as men flocked to the mines. Statics shows that in 1909 about 18 105 in black men migrated from rural areas to the Transvaal (Union of South Africa Department of Native Affairs 1911:395). While in 1916 the number of migrant black men labourers rose to about 22 539 (Union of South Africa Union Office of Census and statistics 1918:283) and 10 251 moved in certain coal mines in Transvaal (Horrell 1973:291). Working men earned respect from younger male family members (Lye & Murray 1980:109). Modernity and capitalism played an important part in altering gender roles. Capitalism transformed

gender roles by preventing men from working the land. Interviews suggest that women were primarily involved in cultivating food and tending the soil. Male labour was controlled in mines and markets and no longer controlled female labour (Guy 1990:43). Women deepened their environmental roles even though apartheid and forced removals worsened matters and this affected food production and resulted in social and economic crisis. Women, despite the crisis in food making, became more important in society because 'through their fertility they became not objects of exploitation but as bearers of value in the technical and non-technical sense' (Guy 1990:45). They often became more fundamental than males in a practical sense because they provided food and related more to the soil and nature. Hence from the 1930s many unmarried or divorced women started establishing independent households while most men established independent homes through marriage (Lye & Murray 1980:107-108). Women realised that they could survive without men because they managed to subsist historically in their absence as 'food makers'.

Women and the Land Tenure System

Land tenure is defined as a condition or form of right or title under which property is held, permanently or temporally (*Oxford advanced learner Dictionary of Current English* 1987:891). Women were also allocated land but that decision was based on factors such as marital status and age. This did not exclude widows or old unmarried women (Letsoalo 1987:20). Traditional indigenous land tenure systems were institutions defined by social groups, and were communal in that land belonged to everybody and therefore to nobody (Ngcongco 1974:100). Some argue that chiefs were landlords and their subjects' tenants (Ellenberger 1969:265). But, according to Okoth-Ogondo (In Letsoalo 1987:3) and Ngubane (1986:20), this is a misconception which stems from 'people not looking at structural organisation of land tenure system but the rights and obligation which it defines, that is man to man relationships instead of man to land' of which chiefs were merely leaders who had to ensure good administration and management of the land. For the Sotho-Tswana, land belonged to the community and people held it individually on behalf of future generations, and chiefs in return had to rule over people and ensure that they cared for the land. Sotho-Tswana traditional

religion land tenure ideology would never have recognised any sale of land by an individual to an individual as land was not for sale but for residency and subsistence (Brookes cited in Ngcongco 1974:101). As Danquah observes an absolute sale of land was 'therefore not simply a question of alienating reality; notoriously it was a case of selling a spiritual heritage for a mess of portage, a veritable betrayal of an ancestral trust, an undoing of hope of posterity' (cited in Mbao 2002:90).

Those eligible for land tenure included every male that was old enough and was married. Land was not acquired through a capitalist market system. A married man normally received land through his father who would ask the chief *(kgosi)* for it. The chief and his council would then allocate enough land to feed and house people. Some women played roles of landlords in the absence of males. Landlords could transfer their right of use if there was anyone in need.

New economic systems and forms of land administration that emerged from colonisation, industrialisation and capitalism led to the destruction of traditional land tenure systems. This led to the introduction of 'western' systems of land ownership, which were entrenched in various Acts aimed at displacing blacks (Keegan 1988:138.). Men were compelled to pursue wage labour in the late nineteenth century and cash became the means for buying land. The role of females thus became tightened and they started holding title of their properties after 1900, which had not previously been the case as married women were forced to remarry in the same family of dead husbands for them to own property (Platzky & Walker 1985:117). Forced removals, especially those of the 1950s, ensured that many women lost title over their own or prospective properties but got certificate of occupation and most of them could not get compensation and thus had to rent in the resettlement areas (Kgari-Masondo, interview, Tshweni 2004). The new settlements could thus not accommodate the previous sexual division of space and labour. Black wealth was destroyed with the traditional land tenure system and black Africans had to buy land under the new system of colonial administration. For women it was a 'punitive untenable allocation of land and land rights to land' because they were mainly housewives and could not afford to buy plots. Equally the type of land allocated to them was unviable with small plots which to date are not supporting food production but are meant for housing and this hits hard on women who had to work the land (Bundy 1990:11). Areas that were found suitable for white settlers were

appropriated and the Sotho-Tswana system of land tenure slowly but surely destroyed (Bundy 1990:5–7, Desmond 1971:13, Letsoalo 1987:4–5 and 25-27). Black Africans became squatters on their former lands and agriculture was crippled. This transformed the rules on tenure to land which enabled women to start owning land on a larger scale as men had to work in mines. This transition of most black Africans in rural areas from their pre-colonial existence as pastoralist-cultivators to their contemporary status of sub-subsistence rural dwellers, unable to support themselves by agriculture and thus depending on wages earned in white industrial areas or on white farms, is emphasised by Bundy (1988:1) that it disturbed women's role as guardians of the environment as their tenure to land was eroding through title deeds system.

The mode of land tenure practiced in Lady Selborne during the period under discussion was unlike the pre-colonial tenure system of communal land ownership in that land was now owned individually and women could also buy land. This represented a (counter) revolution in the ideology of land ownership as it became industrialised. Such women thrived even under new tenure system they continued to even build shacks in their yards to rent out and became landlords *(mmastand)*. Some interviewed women like Sekhu and Tshweni were privileged to be landlords in Lady Selborne. But, after being resettled in Ga-Rankuwa, without compensation for their lost homes they could not buy land in the relocation areas.

Nevertheless, as Mphahlele (1987) has argued, land continued to play a historical and spiritual role in the memories of the Sotho-Tswana even though the 'spiritual and mystical bond between the soil and its users around which so much of their folklore, poetry, religion and language were constructed was miscued' by interference of the white government. Women were disadvantaged because they lost their invested tenure partnership with their land through forced removals. Hence the South African Human Rights Commission posits that 'the apartheid Human Rights violation is currently manifested in the lack of access to productive land, homelessness and high levels of insecure tenure' (1999/2000:278). Many former women tenants, who lost no property, felt ownership of 'homes' in Ga-Rankuwa because of secure private living spaces and the possibility of buying such plots. By contrast former women landlords found it very difficult to adjust to the reality of Ga-Rankuwa, as they regarded Lady Selborne as their inheritance. Furthermore, they were devastated by the move as they had invested their

houses/properties with cultural and religious meaning. There was thus a sense of alienation. Interviewees emphasised the importance of secure tenure over properties that allow them to engage in food production as providing them with a sense of security and positive identity.

Women in Partnership with the Environment

Land was perceived to be pivotal as a (re)source that gave birth to humanity as evidenced by the Sotho-Tswana creation story about the origin of humanity that – human beings came from the 'hole in the ground' (Setiloane 1985:5–7). In this regard an analogy with a woman is used as the females have womb thus they also are seen as more connected with the land. In reciprocation or as an act of reverence towards the earth that was seen as accommodating the ancestors, the Basotho would perform rituals on the soil to attempt to communicate with the deceased. Thus it can be suggested that the women of Lady Selborne were in partnership with their land in addition to depending on it for water, food and shelter. Women became 'pillars' of their communities as environmental guardians and overseers of the land.

Land formed part of their source of life. It became part of the community or individual's history since it was kept in trust for future generations. People were born on a particular site, grew up, socialised and buried their relatives there. Land became a history and told a story, and hence peoples' umbilical cords were buried in the land as a mark of connection thereto. Land is a religion as it is a place to perform rituals. The administration and management of the burial was done mainly by older women to mark the close relationship women have with the land. This practice still continues but is mainly followed only by those who still adhere to African Traditional Religion. Such a practise on the land and women relationships with the land makes them to be eternally attached to the environment.

As cultivators they engaged more with plants and used them for different purposes. Plants like green mealies, sorghum, *morogo*, sweet reeds, sweet melons, pumpkins and kidney beans *(dinawa)* were ploughed and eaten. The Sotho-Tswana acquired maize through trade with the United States of America and Australia in 1898 (Lye & Murray 1980:73). The amaPedi rejected it after a year because they preferred sorghum (Wilson

1982:142). Maize became widely used after 1930 because it requires less labour and has great adaptive capacity (McCann 1999:126 and 165). Sugarcane was planted and vegetables and fruits were introduced by European settlers in the 1840s (Moffat 1846:152). They used grass to make mats, and the stems of wild dates to make brooms. Herbs are still used medicinally by many Sotho-Tswana, especially those who adhere to African traditional Religion.[2] Some of such traditional healers were women like Maphalare in Lady-Selborne (see Fig.4).

Figure 4: A. Maphalare who was a traditional healer in Lady Selborne.

[2] Examples of some of the herbal remedies used – *kgoma* to heal sores and swollen feet, tobacco oil to kill snakes (Campbell 1822: 31), *lengana* to cool a fever, *sehoere* as a painkiller during male circumcision (Manyeli 1992:70), and a*marula* was used against kwashiorkor (Mpinga 1994:23).

Animals were also very important for women as they provided food, material and herbs (Burchell 1953:392). For an example the frog (*letlametlo)* was eaten in Lady Selborne and it allegedly tastes like chicken (Kgari-Masondo interview, Kgari 2004), and grasshoppers were considered a delicacy. They made clothes for kings and chiefs with leopard skins, ostriches were used for umbrellas, blankets were manufactured from kudu, gemsbok and domestic goats' skins, and cloaks were made from bird feathers (Burchell 1953:416). Some animals were used medicinally, for example jackals' bladders and snakeskin were combined with herbs to combat bewitchment and snake's poison was used to heal someone bitten by a snake (Ellenberger 1969:249).

Accordingly women as partners with nature had to teach their children about their heritage – the fauna and the flora. The ideology of environment as a heritage had to be delivered to children through *bomme* that – *Modimo* (God) gave them natural resources to preserve for the benefit of their own and future generations. Kunnie further elaborates this point by saying that, 'indigenous peoples are the original biodiversity teachers of our world' because of their traditional conservation ethics that precluded killing certain animals or plants' (2003:138). Thus loss of land through forced removals destroyed the initial partnership women had with the land and had to restart that cordial relationship in another area. This obliged them to realise that apartheid policy was a system that was destroying their religious, moral, environmental, economic and historical patterns of existence. Apartheid enforced anti-partnering of women with their environment. Hence an interviewee Tshweni who was displaced from Lady Selborne and resettled in Ga-Rankuwa states that: 'by losing our houses in Lady Selborne during forced removals, our humanness was impacted negatively because we lost the places where we performed rituals. And we lost our homes, our inheritance from our parents'. The loss of their environment meant death of their land and partnership – a painful spiritual disconnection that Tshweni refers as 'a pain as if an umbilical cord is expurgated from the mother to the child'.

Towards a Sustainable Guardianship of the Environment by Women

The Sotho-Tswana women have many traditions of environmental conservation that are not based on modern conservation principles (Hean &

Mokhehle 1947:69; and Anonymous author 1977:183). Timberlake considers the challenge of conservation 'the saving of the vast amount of human knowledge of African wild life possessed by people of Africa' (1985:135). The concept of environmental conservation is called *goboloka tlhago*, which means to preserve, care, sustain, and respect nature. *Tlhago* (to emerge / come out) implies 'everything that has been created by God like the soil, mountain, trees, stones and people'. This means whether a person is in the urban, slums or rural areas, *tlhago* is still in their midst. The United Nations Environmental Programme report on apartheid and the environment in 1982 maintains that: 'Apartheid is a killer and by far the most dangerous on the South African veld. It kills not only people but their land and environment as well' (cited in Timberlake 1985:152). Thus, one can argue that apartheid killed many women's sustainable engagement with their environment as they had to be moved from one place to the other through forced removals policy. Furthermore apartheid killed their positive perceptions of the environment in Ga-Rankuwa, hence they kept on resurrecting and reviving the soils in the resettlement space. This led to unsustainable engagement with the environment for women.

Forced removals led to environmental crises especially for women as 'whites seized the best land by force while local blacks became landless labourers or forced to move into marginal areas which were much more easily degraded' (Harrison 1987:49) (see Fig. 5). The environmental calamity emerged because most resettlement areas were infertile and 'land, particularly healthy soil, is the foundation on which life depends. If the land is healthy, then agriculture and pasturage will yield food in plenty. If not, the ecosystem will show signs of strain and food production will become more difficult' (Dankelman & Davidson 1988:7). Our case study is a good example, as the community could not plant food in Ga-Rankuwa unless they fertilized the soil intensely. This presented an almost insurmountable problem as most resettled people were poor and could not afford manure (Kgari-Masondo, interviews, Tshweni 2004; Maphalare 2004 and 2014; and Poo 2014). Such women could not just allow their close relationship with the land to die, they looked at creative strategies to fertilise the soil. Selected women interviewed argued that they tried measures to try remedy their soils – some tried measures like using vegetable peals to create their own manure (see Fig. 6).

Figure 5: Ga-Rankuwa: type of soil – red, sandy and infertile. Worsened by animal overgrazing.

Forced removals dispossessed women of their attachment to their fertile land in Lady Selborne and this resulted in anger and a history of poverty that proved difficult to mend. Interviewees argued that many black African women became environmentally apathetic as they found themselves in a hopeless situation and this represented an important resistance strategy. Hence Ntsoko claims that environmental apathy was a strategy utilised by the community to fight against the effects of land dispossession with the view that the apartheid government would feel pity on their lot. She states that 'land makes a woman feel strong like a man and loosing big plots like the ones we had in Lady Selborne made women hurt and angry especially former landlords (*bommastand*). Henceforth we ended up not caring for our environment in Ga-Rankuwa' (Kgari-Masondo, interview 2014).

Figure 6: Poo using peals from fruits, vegetables and leaves to create manure.

It is clear that environmental apathy was not planned but occurred spontaneously. Gibson, a psychologist, argues that 'perception occurs as response to a specific stimulus' (cited in Bechtet 1997:129). This was the case among women in Ga-Rankuwa as some of those resettled developed negative perceptions of their new environment (Kgari-Masondo, interviews, Tshweni, Sekhu, Motshetshane 2004; Poo and Ntsoko 2014). Gibson's theory also implies that perception is dynamic. This explains why some former *mmastands* women like Tshweni and Sekhu responded to stimuli like discrimination, low self-esteem, anger and hatred and became negative about conservation.

Apartheid perpetrated environmental injustice and undermined traditional conservation values that women believed in that had been

sustained by religion, ethics, myths and idioms (Seboni 1980; Hean & Mokhehle 1947; Anonymous author 1977:183). The Sotho-Tswana relationship with the environment was embedded in their way of life, *mokgwa wa go etsa dilo* ('the way we do things').

The Tswana people have a long tradition of nature conservation. The customs and taboos, which promoted the preservation of indigenous fauna and flora, were not based on modern conservation principles but they certainly contributed very much to the fact that in many tribal areas several species of wild game and magnificent specimens of indigenous trees are still to be found (Anonymous author 1977:183).

Pre-colonial traditional values and cultural taboos placed constraints on the use of certain plants, animals and areas. This policy was often successful and several species of wildlife and indigenous trees are still to be found in many tribal areas. Women adhered to a well-developed land ethic that was founded on the belief that an individual was an integral part of nature until the period of drastic land dispossession in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century (Mabuza 1982 cited in Khan 1992:5). Traditional environmental perceptions were positive as they connected the individual to the environment through interwoven physical, spiritual and cultural links (Mphahlele 1987).

Women as guardians of the environment believed in sustainable engagement with the environment by embracing conservationism in the sense that, 'they used resources wisely with the goal of maintaining its future availability or productivity or as a saving natural resource for later consumption' (Norton & Passmore cited in Krech 1999:25). Such women were preservationists because they 'protected an ecosystem or a species to an extent possible from the disruptions attendant upon it from human use' (Norton cited in Krech, 1999:25). Chiefs punished anti-conservationists and anti-preservationists and traditional courts (*kgotla*) enforced cultural norms and beliefs (Anonymous author 1977:183-184).

The Sotho-Tswana enforced environmental conservation through the ethic of respect: *go hlompa*. The ethic of *go hlompa* refers to 'avoidance rules' but also includes positive actions and means 'respect, avoidance rules between people and between persons and certain places and objects' (Kuckertz 997:312). These sustainable conservationist and preservationist tendencies do not preclude pragmatic decisions but do mean that women did not (on the whole) wilfully waste, despoil or exhaust their environment. Of

course some negative impact on the environment was inevitable, and we cannot romanticise pre-colonial South Africa as an untouched utopia because the environment was a scene of daily conflict as women struggled for survival against nature. Pre-colonial populations were small which minimised environmental damage (Wilson 1982:153). Written descriptions of the flora and the fauna life found by early callers at the Cape and accounts left by travellers to the interior attest to light pre-colonial environmental impact (Hart 1967).

These environmental preservation ethics were beginning to fade by the early twentieth century as black Africans were displaced on a large scale. Hoffmann (2001) argues that it is because the white government was oblivious to prevailing social, economic conditions and cultural practices of blacks and this irritated communities and heightened resistance to soil conservation efforts encouraged through governments Schemes like Betterment in the 1940s. Forced removals caused many environmental problems for women as resources like water and wood became scarce and were degraded, and there was overgrazing near villages. According to Showers, environmental problems were exacerbated by the fact that 'conservation measures introduced by Europeans were of a coercive measure to no negotiation with Africans, they were told what to do' (1994:1). Such measures disturbed traditional land use systems and blacks were allocated 13% of land under the Land Act of 1913, which crippled subsistence farming which was the corner stone for women's survival. This resulted in increased unavoidable and unsustainable pressures on the landscape, pressures that led to cultivation in marginal lands and thus degradation of pastures, deforestation and soil erosion (Showers 1994:2).

Khan (1990) argues that post-colonial conservation ideologies in South Africa have been dominated by racist paradigms and Euro-centric environmental perceptions. Black African women were seen as environmentally destructive and thus the white government saw its role as paternalistically didactic. Blacks tried to establish conservation organisations but most of these were elitist and Euro-centric, and failed financially (Khan 1990:33; Fuggle 1992; Carruthers 1995). For example, the African National Soil Conservation Association (ANSCA) was formed in 1953, The African Wildlife Society was established in Natal, and The National Environmental Awareness Campaign (NEAC) was established in Soweto in 1970, together with other organisations like the African Conservation Education (ACE) and

Native Farmers Association. These organisations were hampered by their elitism and exclusion of traditional conservation laws and ideas. Such Conservation Associations thus became alien to most black Africans who were illiterate and couldn't afford the luxury of conservation. It is worth noting that though the nature conservation associations had their drawbacks they achieved some environmental improvement in black areas. But there is a need for organisations that would encompass both traditional and western environmental ideologies to ensure that food production sustainability occurs for women.

Conclusion

Capitalism, colonisation, segregation and apartheid alienated black African women from their land and this promoted environmental apathy. Hardoy, Mitlin and Satterthwate (2001) argue that, a successful city must instil a sense among its inhabitants that their culture and history are esteemed as part of the city and are mirrored in its form and layout. Relating to the South Africa and the case study of Lady Selborne, it was not the case as black African women lacked a sense of ownership of their environment in the relocation areas. But some of the women interviewed for this article fought tirelessly to maintain their role as guardians of the environment they enjoyed before land dispossession. A western environment ideology of land as just an estate was privileged and this undermined black African people's environmentalism – that perceives land as being more than property but a religion, heritage, history and contributing to humanness.

Though some religious and cultural norms and environmental values survived, Sotho-Tswanan women's ideas of humanity (or humanness) were partly eroded because they lacked interconnectedness with each other and their landscape because of forced removals. Women's partnership they enjoyed in their former townships (Lady Selborne) was impacted negatively but some women adhered to revival and resurrection mode of dealing with the environment. As Williams corroborates that 'what is often being argued in the idea of nature is the idea of man or vice versa' because humanity cannot survive without the environment (cited in Peterson 2001:1). As the Sotho-Tswanan cosmology ensures that it links humanity and nature to display interconnectedness (Setiloane 1985). Implying that for the women of

Ga-Rankuwa the death of the fertile land of Lady Selborne environment meant disruptions in their ideology of what it means to be human but they could not give up but fight to ensure their custodian role.

This means that the women's idea of a person was disrupted and arrested through loss of land. It made them experience a sense of rapture in their attachment with nature. But, the Comaroffs (2001:269 and 271) argue that the Sotho-Tswana saw a person as a constant work-in-progress, not a state of being but a state of becoming. Hence women interviewed they all in one way or the other are active in guarding the environment because the environment for them means inheritance. Some focused on spiritual landscape engagement while others on food production or both. This explains the environmental apathy by some women in areas like Ga-Rankuwa because 'not only are ideas of humanness and of nature wrapped up with each other, but they also shape ethical systems and practices' (Peterson 2001:1). Which suggest that, there is hope in ensuring the sustainable engagement role that women played in pre-colonial era and in Lady Selborne over environmental issues. Proposing that for environmental sustainability to occur– there must be active involvement of all stakeholders like – the state, communities and non-governmental organisations. More so, there is a need of policies by the government on environmentalism that accommodate traditional environmental conservation rules. To use Walker (2006) the task now is to manage the juncture of the previously corresponding discourses around women's rights and customary rights in practice, in such a way that the fundamentals established by that principle are not undermined on the ground. This will be a pilgrimage towards re-cementing women to their role as guardians of the environment because despite the dominance of patriarchy in South Africa land ownership, inheritance and politics women still play a major role in ecology.

References

Anonymous author 1977. *Republic of Bophuthatswana.* South Africa, Johannesburg: Van Rensberg Publications.

Bechtet, R.B. 1997. *Environment & Behaviour: An Introduction.* London: Sage.

Bryant, A.T. 1949. *The Zulu People.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter.

Bundy, C. 1990. Land, Law and Power: Forced Removals in Historical Context. In Murray, C. & C. O'Regan (eds.): *No Place to Rest: Forced Removals and the Law*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bundy, C. 1988. *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.

Burchell, W.J. 1953. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa.* London: Batchworth Press.

Campbell, J. 1822. *Travels in South Africa: A Second Journey*. Glasgow: Francis Westley.

Carruthers, J. 1995. *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Chow, K. & M. Healey 2008. Place Attachment and Place Identity: First-year Undergraduates Making the Transition from Home to University. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 28: 62-372.

Comaroff, J. & J. Comaroff 1990. Goodly Beasts, Beastly Goods: Cattle and Commodities in South African Context. *American Ethnologist* 17:195-216.

Comaroff, J. & J. Comaroff 2001. On Personhood: An Anthropological Perspective from Africa. *Social Identities* 7, 2:267-283.

Dankelman, I. & J. Davidson 1988. *Women and Environment in the Third World: Alliance for the Future*. London: Earthscan.

Desmond, C. 1971. *The Discarded People: An Account of Africa Resettlement in South Africa.* London: Penguin African Library.

Ellenberger, F.D. 1969. *History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern*. New York: Negro Universities Press.

Fuggle, R.F. 1992. Environmental Management: An Introduction. In Fuggle, R. & A.R. Marinus (eds.): *Environmental Management in South Africa*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta.

Guy, J. 1990. Gender Oppression in Southern Africa's Pre-capitalist Societies. In Walker, C. (ed.): *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Harrison, P. 1987. *The Greening of Africa – Breaking through in the Battle for Land and Food.* London: Paladin Grafton.

Hardoy, E. *et al.* 2001. *Environmental Problems in an Urbanizing World: Finding Solutions for Cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.* United Kingdom, USA: Earth Scan Publications.

Hart, R. 1967. *Before van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa from 1488 to*

1652. Cape Town: Struik.

Hean, A.F. & N.C. Mokhehle 1947. Some Basuto Beliefs about Wild Life. *African Wild Life* 1-4: 69.

Hofmeyr, I. 1992. Gender Patterns of Story Telling and Forced Removals: A Transvaal Perspective. *The Societies of South Africa in the 19th Century and the 20th Century* 18: 46-47.

Hoffman, T. & A. Ashwell 2001. *Nature Divided: Land Degradation in South Africa.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Horrell, M. 1973. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1972.* Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Jacobs, N. 2003. *Environment, Power, and Injustice: A South African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, N. 2002. The Colonial Ecological Revolution in South Africa: The Case of Kuruman. In Dovers, S., R. Edgecombe & B. Guest (eds.): *South Africa's Environmental History: Cases & Comparisons*. Athens and Cape Town: Ohio University Press and David Philip.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Interviews, Ga-Rankuwa.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Kgari, R. Domestic worker, Isando. 27 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Madumo. Housewife. 30 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Manamela, M. Housewife. 2 July 2004 and 28 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Maphalare, V. Housewife. 21 March 2014, 28 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Matlaila, Housewife. 29 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Motshetshane, J. Cleaner, Ga-Rankuwa Hospital. 13 April 2006 and 27 June 2004

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Mvula, I. Domestic worker; Johannesburg. 21 March 2014, 15 September 2006 and 24 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Mohlahledi, Housewife. 28 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Poo, L. Housewife. 21 March 2014.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Ntsoko, H. Entrepreneur, Mabopane. 22 March 2014.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Sekhu, Housewife. 28 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. (Personal Collection), Tshweni, T. Domestic worker, Isando 28 June 2004.

Kgari-Masondo, M.C. 2008. *A Superstitious Respect for the Soil? Environmental History, Social Identity and Land Ownership – A Case Study of Forced Removals from Lady Selborne and their Ramifications, c. 1905 to 1977.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Stellenbosch.

Khan, F. 1990. *Contemporary South African Environmental Response: An Historical and Socio-Political Evaluations with Particular Reference to Black.* Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Cape Town.

Khan, F. 1992. Black Environmental Experience as a Facet of Current South Africa Environmental Perceptions. Unpublished paper Department of Environmental and Geographic Science, University of Cape Town.

Keegan, T.J. 1988. *Facing the Storm: Portraits of Black Lives in Rural South Africa.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.

Krech, S. 1999. *The Ecological Indian*: *Myth and History.* New York: W.W. Norton and Co.

Kuckertz, H. 1997. Ukuhlonipha as Idiom of Moral Reasoning in Mpondo. McAllister, P. (ed.): *Culture and the Common Place*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Kunnie, J. 2003. The Future of our World: Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Philosophies, and the Preservation of Mother Earth. In Reid, J.M. (ed.): *Religion and Global Culture: New Terrain in the Study of Religion and the Work of Charles H. Long.* USA, Lexington Books.

Letsoalo, E.M. 1987. *Land Reform in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Skotaville.

Lichtenstein, M.H. 1930. *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806.* Cape Town: The van Riebeeck Society.

Lye, F.W & C. Murray 1980. *Transformations on the Highveld: The Tswana and Southern Sotho.* Cape Town: David Philip.

Manyeli, T. 1992. *Religious Symbols of the Basotho.* Lesotho: Mazenod Printing Works.

Mazama, A. 2003. The Afrocentric Paradigm. In Mazama, A. (ed.): *The Afrocentric Paradigm*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 3-34.

Mbao, M.L.M. 2002. Undoing the Injustices of the Past: Restitution of Rights in Land in Post-apartheid South Africa, with Special reference to North

West Province. *Journal for Judicial Science* 27, 2:88-114.
McCann, J.C. 1999. *Green Land, Brown Land Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa 1800-1990.* Oxford: Heinemann Portsmouth.
Merchant, C. 1987. The Theoretical Structure of Ecological Revolutions. *Environmental Review* 11, 4:265-274.
Moffat, R. 1846. *Missionary Labour and Scenes in Southern Africa.* London: John Snow and Paternoster Row.
Mphahlele, E. 1987. Foreword. In Letsoalo, E. *Land Reform in South Africa: A Black Perspective*. Johannesburg: Skotaville.
Mpinga, J. 1994. Learning from History. In Johnson, M.P. (ed.): *State of the Environment in South Africa.* Zimbabwe: Southern African Developing Communities.
Mukonyora, I. 1999. Women and Ecology in Shona Religion. *Word & World* XIX, 3:72-86.
National Archives Repository (NAR), n.d. Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAO) 7818G60/2/1547/1. Factual Memorandum with regards to the relationship of Captain Motsepe.
NAR, BAO 7818T60/2/1547/1. n.d. Memorandum drawn by the Tswana Vigilance Committee. Commissioner General, Tswana Territorial Authority.
Ngcongco, L. 1974. *Imvo Zabantu and Cape Native Policy 1884-1902.* Unpublished MA Thesis, University of South Africa.
Ngubane, H. 1986. *Original Peoples: Zulus of South Africa*. England: Wayland.
Ranger, T. 2003. Women & Environment in African Religion: The Case of Zimbabwe. In McGregor, J. & W. Beinart (eds.): *Social History and African Environments*. Oxford: James Currey.
Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary of Current English 1987. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Peterson, A. 2001. *Being Human: Ethics, Environment and our Place in the World.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
Platzky, L. & C. Walker 1985. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
Schapera, I. 1951. Introduction. In Schapera, I. (ed.): *Apprenticeship at Kuruman: Being the Letters of Robert and Mary Moffat.* London: Chatto and Windus.

Schoffeleers, J.M. 1978. *Guardians of the Land.* Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
Seboni, M.O.M. 1980. *Diane le Maele a Setswana.* Alice: Lovedale Press.
Setiloane, G.M. 1985. *African Theology: An Introduction.* Braamfontein: Skotaville.
Showers, K. 1994. Early Experience of Soil Conservation in South Africa: Segregated Programmes and Rural Resistance. Unpublished paper, African Studies 184, Boston University.
South African Human Rights Commission 1999/2000. *3rd Economic & Social Rights Report.*
Timberlake, L. 1985. *Africa in Crisis: The Causes, the Curses of Environmental Bankruptcy.* London: Earthscan Publications.
Twigger-Ross, L. & D.L. Uzzell 1996. Place and Identity Process. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 16: 205-220.
Union of South Africa Department of Native Affairs 1911. *Blue Book on Native Affairs 1910.* Cape Town: Government Printers.
Union of South Africa Union Office of Census and Statistics 1918. *Official Year Book of the Union for 1910-16.* Pretoria: The Government Printing and Stationery Office.
Walker, C. 2006. Women, Gender Policy and Land Reform in South Africa. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* 32,2: 297-315.
Wilson, M 1982. The Nguni People. In Wilson, M. & L. Thompson (eds.): *A History of South Africa to 1870.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.
Wilson, M 1982. The Sotho, Venda and Tsonga. In Wilson, M. & L. Thompson (eds.): *A History of South Africa to 1870.* Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip.
Worster, D. 1987. Theories of Environmental History. *Environmental Review* 11, 4:251-253.

Maserole Christina Kgari-Masondo
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Kgarimasondo@ukzn.ac.za