



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled

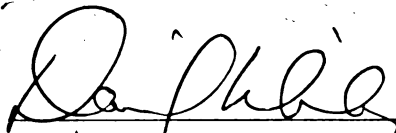
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA:
IMPLICATION FOR HOMELANDS AND OTHER BLACK COMMUNITIES

presented by

Nonhlanhla Jordan

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Sociology



Major professor
Dr. David Wiley

Date August 3, 1994



PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
FEB 06 1999 287 17 1999	_____	_____
287 17 1999	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

MSU Is An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

ct/circ/datedue.pm3-p.1

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA:
IMPLICATION FOR HOMELANDS AND OTHER BLACK COMMUNITIES**

By

Nonhlanhla Jordan

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology

1994

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR HOMELANDS AND OTHER BLACK COMMUNITIES

By

Nonhlanhla Jordan

This study examines environment and development problems in the black homelands and other black communities of South Africa. The focus is on the political economy of environment and development in South Africa's black communities, and it is argued that a combination of apartheid and the capitalist system is responsible for the negative environmental problems that most black South Africans experience. Three key sectors are analyzed: mining, agriculture, and industry.

Contrary to the South African government's allegation that the homelands are areas of development, black communities have not been developed by the industrial sector but have witnessed endless problems and remain in a dependency mode. The relationship of race, class, and gender as intersecting elements in this problem is examined.

South Africa needs to re-think and re-construct environment and development issues to bring the type of life that will provide a healthy and livable environment for its people. Environment and development issues are critical for a progressive and democratic country such as South Africa promises to be.

To my parents
whose moral support and prayers
have been a great inspiration

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my major professor, Dr David Wiley, for his guidance, reassurances and immeasurable support without which I would never have completed my studies at Michigan State University. His mentoring went beyond description. My thanks also go to my committee members, Dr Marilyn Aronoff and Dr Rita Gallin.

My appreciation goes to friends and colleagues, in particular, Teri and Nancy for their support and love, and whose comradeship cannot be repaid; CJ and Heeten for their help and good wishes during this exercise.

I thank my parents for their never unfailing love and trust in me, especially in the face of my self-doubt.

Finally, my husband, Mncedisi, and the children deserve my heartfelt thanks for their incredible patience, understanding and love during the period of my study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND	5
LITERATURE REVIEW	12
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	16
Internal Colonialism and the cultural division of labor	22
ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES	
IN BLACK COMMUNITIES	28
Land and the homelands	33
Mining	38
Agricultural pollution and health issues	43
Border industries and pollution	46
Employment of women	48
Cultural scene	51
CONCLUSION	53
LIST OF REFERENCES	62

LIST OF TABLES

	page
Table 1. Black Women in Manufacturing Employment	
in the Homelands	50

LIST OF FIGURES

	page
Figure 1. South African "Homelands"	9
Figure 2. Diagram of the Theoretical Framework:	
Core/Periphery Relationship	23

INTRODUCTION

As South Africa seeks to move towards a non-racial, non-sexist transitional form of government, the question of redressing environment and development problems looms as an important agenda for the new government. Addressing these issues is a *sine qua non* for a progressive country, which will be the goal of the next South African government. Scholars like Durning (1990), Moleah (1993), Stedman (1994) and Wilson and Ramphela (1989) are treating environment and development issues as paramount for the emerging South Africa. From the writings of these scholars, it is clear that South Africa lags in addressing environment and development issues, especially in the black homelands and other black communities, viz the squatter areas and townships.¹

This paper explores the political economy of environment and development in South Africa. I specifically

1. Homelands are racially and ethnically divided regions created by the South African government where African people are assigned to live. Of ten homelands: Bophuthatswana*, Ciskei*, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa, Transkei*, and Venda*, only four are "independent*". (* stand for the "independent homelands"). The nature of "independence" is such that they are only recognized by South Africa and have no diplomatic international recognition by the rest of the world. The squatter areas have developed through the government's relocation plans as informal settlements that poor people build using boxes or tin-shacks as a way of survival.

examine the environment and development problems created for black people and their communities by the government's apartheid policy. I focus on the black people in the homelands, townships, and squatter settlements and the effects on them of the apartheid policies toward the environment and development. I argue that a combination of apartheid and the capitalist system in this semi-periphery state are responsible for the negative environmental conditions experienced by black people in these communities.

Environment and development problems have emerged in at least three key sectors: mining, agriculture, and industry. The South African government has projected the industrial sectors as alleged "engines for the development" of the peripheries (black communities, homelands in particular), hence it has put the industries very close to the homelands.² I will demonstrate that contrary to government rhetoric and policy, such industries (and their location) have not led to the development of the homelands and other black areas. In fact, the government's approach has yielded the opposite result. The homelands and other black communities are underdeveloped, rather than developed, and

2. For a full treatment of this discussion of how the government has attracted investors to relocate to homelands and built incentives to see that the plan works, see Maasdorp (1974), Seidman and Seidman (1977), and Wellings and Black (1984). As far as the South African government was concerned, the black areas, in particular homelands, needed development and industrialization, and the only way they could achieve this was to establish industries nearby.

dependent rather than independent socioeconomic and political entities.

Untold misery, poverty, unemployment, and ill health are the consequences of apartheid policy toward environment and development. I contend that the relationship between race and class on the one hand, and environmental pollution on the other hand, is critical to understanding these problems. The communities that are environmentally degraded are poor, black areas.

Race and class analysis alone, however, is insufficient for fully understanding environment and development issues in South Africa. Attention also must be paid to the role of gender, which is missing from other studies on the environment in South Africa. A striking feature of the agriculture, industry, and mining sectors is the visibility of gender. Black women are over-represented in industries and agriculture, whereas the opposite is true in mining. The rural homelands are the agricultural and industrial bases³ and consequently have higher levels of agricultural and industrial pollution than urban areas. Women outnumber men in the rural homelands and are the majority of the labor

3. Border industries are industries that were established to the borders of South Africa and the homelands to bring development on the homelands. A full treatment on this topic is found in Woods (1992) "Taiwanese Investment in the Homelands of South Africa" and Wellings and Black (1984) in "Industrialization under Apartheid: An Empirical Assessment of Industrial Decentralization in South Africa".

force in the agricultural and industrial sectors.⁴ As Pampallis (1991:187) attests when describing the homelands, "the bantustans were seen as places where the unemployed could be dumped, far away from the major industrial centers." African women are mostly the victims more than African men. "Many more women than men live in the TBVC⁵ areas as a result of the male migrant labor caused by the apartheid system. An estimated 2,105,000 adult women live in the TBVC areas" (Stedman 1994:86-87). Again Stedman (1994) alleges that more than half of the African women are found in the rural areas excluding the TBVC areas as opposed to the 82 percent Colored, 92 percent Indian, and 96 percent white who are in the urban areas. Therefore, African women are more affected by environmental pollution than black men in the rural homelands.

4. For a very long time the pass was not extended to African women, (Pampallis 1991), which was a constraint for women in that they could not leave their reserves or homelands to find work in the city. This therefore meant that more and more women remained in the rural reserves than men. A pass, later known as a reference book, is a document with the person's picture, name and identity number, home address, father's address, ethnicity, employers' names and addresses, type of employment and length of service per each employer, and giving the carrier permission to be at a certain area or to move from one area to another. It also serves as a reference from each employer a person has had. Failure to produce a pass resulted in imprisonment or a fine or both. See Pampallis (1991) for a discussion on various types of passes p.26-8, 113-5, 184-6.

5. TBVC refers to the "independent" states of South Africa viz. Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei.

BACKGROUND

South Africa provides the crudest example of a society structured on a foundation of socially constructed inequality. Approximately 18 percent of the white population owns 90 percent of the wealth, and the other 10 percent of the wealth is distributed amongst the remaining 82% of the population. (Ramphela 1991). Being black in South Africa is synonymous with poverty, while whites have affluence. This is a result of the apartheid system, as planned by its architect, Prime Minister Dr. Verwoed for the people of South Africa.⁶ Apartheid as a system refers to the social, economic, political, sexual, and religious segregation of people on the basis of race. It is a social construction of society which has remained an explicit policy of the National Party in South Africa. An effort to preserve and reinforce the dominant position in all areas of human activity of the whites over blacks so that the supremacy of the former is maintained in South Africa. In

6. Apartheid as a system refers to the social, economic, political and sexual segregation of people on the basis of race. It is a social construction of society which has remained an explicit policy of the national party in South Africa. An effort to preserve and re-enforce the dominant position in all areas of human activity of the whites over blacks so that the supremacy of the former is maintained in South Africa.

1980, 50 percent of South Africa's population was in poverty with a subsistence that was below the minimum living level (MLL).⁷ The MLL was estimated at 60 percent of black South Africans. People living in the black homelands make up 81 percent of the total population of black South Africans (Wilson and Ramphele 1989). This means that the burdens of uneven development in South Africa are more pronounced in the homelands.

There are many South African scholars who have contested the rationale for separate development in South Africa, Black (1984), Cooper (1991), Cock and Koch (1991), Moleah (1993), Natrass (1990), Pampallis (1991), Ramphele (1991), Wilson (1977), Motsuenyane (1978) and Sisulu (1990). The system is designed to benefit the white minority population in the country and to suppress and disenfranchise the black majority. The apartheid policy has two objectives for the South African government. First was to divide the races and ethnic groups into separate political and homogenous entities, thus ensuring white supremacy and economic domination. Second was to encourage black tribalism and white unity (Motsuenyane 1978). The cornerstone of apartheid was the division of all South Africans by race (Worden 1994). Further, this was

7. MLL is an estimate of a monthly income ideal for an average family to provide for basic family needs like food, shelter, water, clothing, education, and medical expenses. In 1985 the MLL for an average black family of 5.45 persons was found to be R350.00 (Wilson and Ramphele 1989).

entrenched by the prohibition of the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Act of 1950 which prohibited sexual contact and marriages between whites and blacks, and the Population Registration Act of 1950 that classified people of South Africa into four racial categories. The discriminatory practices extend to all spheres of human activity: residence, cinema attendance, transport, restaurants, as well as sporting facilities. While for whites schooling was free and compulsory, for blacks it was neither free nor compulsory (Worden 1994). Historically, Worden (1994) reminds us that when the Bantu Education Act of 1953 placed education under the department of Native Affairs, it phased out all the independent missionary institutions and introduced a type of education that would only prepare students for manual labor. As far as the government was concerned missionary educators for Africans had misled Africans by "showing them the green pastures of European society in which they are not allowed to graze" (Worden 1994:96).⁸

The history of the homelands begins with the colonial invaders. Basically, it was a struggle revolving around issues of land and the exploitation of labor.⁹ The

8. For a discussion of other discriminatory acts and policies of the apartheid system like the Separate Amenities' Act (1953) and the Group Areas Act refer to Worden (1994:95) and Pampallis (1991:179-89).

9. Molteno (1977) provides a historical treatment of the homeland policy which stimulates and provides guidelines for research, thought, and debate.

homelands have been and still are very cardinal in relation to development and the environment, both politically and economically.

It is important to keep in mind why the South African government wants to retain the homelands in their present underdeveloped state. Together with the black townships and squatter settlements, they provide permanent wage laborers "whose needs are precisely determined from the point of view of accepted white color-caste standards in terms of what is virtually the physical minimum" (Molteno 1977:18). In other words, the government perceives only advantages to keeping the homelands intact in their present form as a ready reservoir of repatriable labor. For the mines, industries, and agriculture there is a ready expendable and cheap labor force of men and women.

The homelands are created in the peripheries¹⁰ of South Africa (see Figure 1) in drought areas of low agricultural productivity. This is very strategic for the white government of South Africa. The availability of especially cheap and plentiful labor in the homelands is obviously a major stimulus. The wage disparities between the homelands and the urban areas of South Africa are also clearly significant. Blacks' skill levels are generally higher in the metropolis than in the homelands; wages range from R107

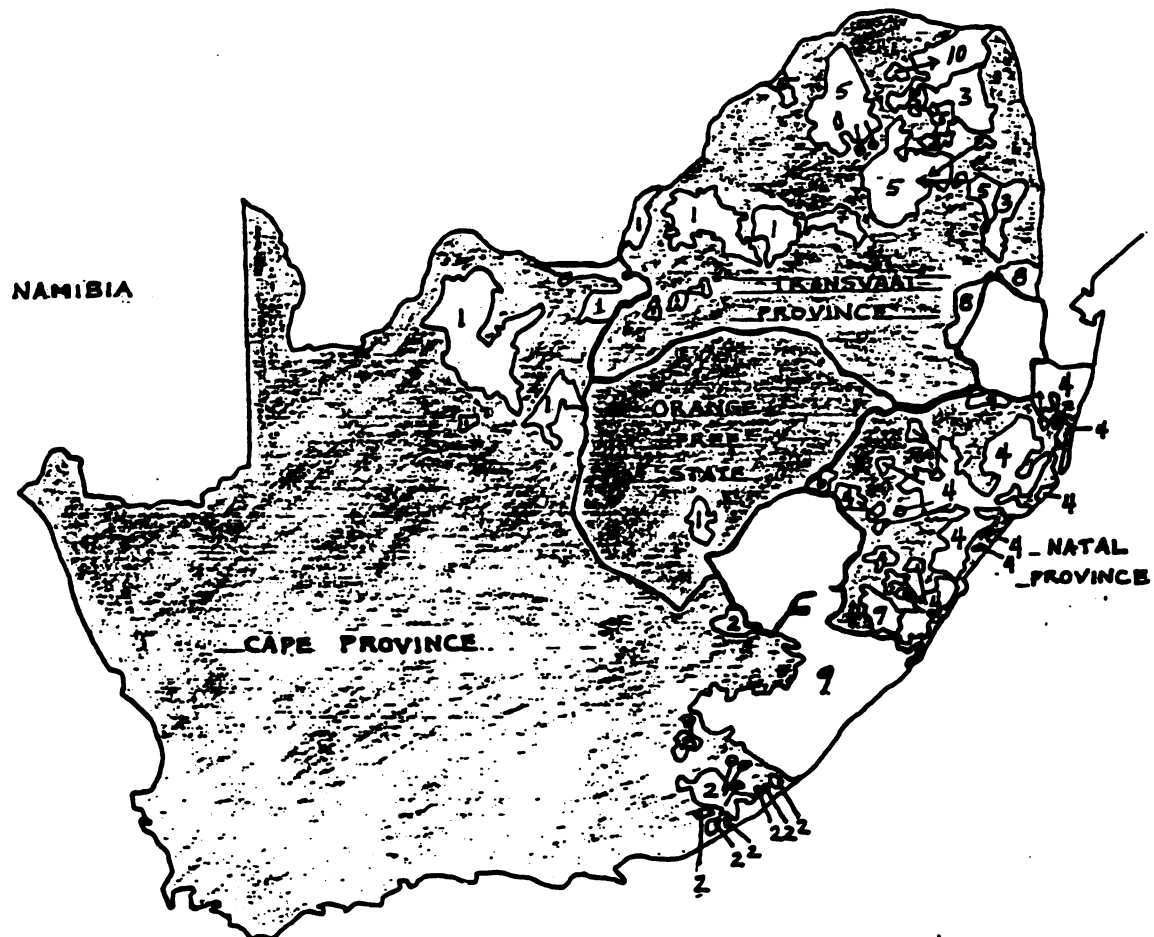
10. A map of the homelands of South Africa shows where the black homelands are situated in relation to the core South Africa (Wilson and Ramphele 1989).

FIGURE 1
SOUTH AFRICAN "HOMELANDS"

- 1 BOPHUTHATSWANA
- 2 CISCHEI
- 3 GAZANKULU
- 4 KWAZULU
- 5 LEBOWA
- 6 QWAQWA
- 7 SOUTH NDEBELE
- 8 S.WAZI
- 9 TRANSKEI
- 10 VENDA

□ 13% OF THE LAND, APPROX. 71% OF THE POPULATION

■ 87% OF THE LAND, APPROX. 16% OF THE POPULATION



per month (US \$321) for rural workers to R285 per month (US \$855) for urban workers (Wellings and Black 1984:25).

Women's wages range from R94 per month (US \$282) in the homelands to R279 per month (US \$837) in the urban areas (Wellings and Black 1984).

Women have been the most exploited, discriminated, and marginalized category in the South African situation under the market economy. The intersections of race, class, and gender must be closely examined in order to explain the effects of environmental apartheid on black women in the homelands. In regard to race, class, and gender I address two central questions in this thesis: (1) how do policies toward environment and development affect the homelands, townships, and squatter settlements? (2) how are black women affected by the policies toward environment and development.

The rationale for this analysis is clear. Black women are demographically dominant in the homelands, comprising 70 percent of the population (Ainslie 1977; Cock 1978). They also are among the poorest of the population (Ramphela 1991). Black women are the poorest paid of all the groups in South Africa yet a large percentage is considered de facto heads of households and "half of the working women (excluding the TBVC areas) are single mothers and heads of households" (Stedman 1994:88). Women form the largest sector of employees in agriculture (Davies 1990) and

industries (Maasdorp 1974). They are the caretakers and guardians of the land because most men move to the city as migrant workers. African women "bore the brunt of economic pressures at home" (Beinart and Bundy 1987:262). Black women are also affected by the environment as the largest segment of consumers, and they in turn also affect the environment as producers and farmers. They are particularly at risk in terms of the environmental survival (Beinart and Bundy 1987). Women together with children form the largest population in the homelands because men go into the cities on migrant labor.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Analysts of South Africa have paid very little attention to environmental degradation in general and environmental apartheid in particular. In contrast, literature abounds on apartheid and the homelands issue, as well as the industrialization and development of black areas abounds. In fact, environmental problems of every type abound in South Africa in every economic sector. Indeed, with a fragile, dryland ecosystem, the country is reported to have the highest acid rain levels in the world. Because of the political nature of the topic, the South African government has avoided addressing environment and development issues in the black areas. According to the leader of the Conservative Party, Andries Treurnicht, "ecological issues are not so important that they will be basic to our (government) policy" (Cock and Koch 1991:4). This statement illustrates the government's approach toward environmental problems. Their neglect of environmental issues is based on an assumption that ecology is not a primary issue and that there are other matters of greater importance (*The Johannesburg Star*, 28 October 1989). The government gives little attention to the ecological issues

which directly affect the well being of the population. But the real source of this neglect is that such issues are political, "deeply embedded in a mass of other issues concerning the distribution of power and resources in South Africa" (Cock and Koch 1991:4).

These attitudes of the South African government have led to the escalation of environmental problems in the country and to a tendency of explaining the environmental issues through the population problem and poverty couched in the victim-blaming framework. Some of the literature that has appeared in South Africa has seriously neglected giving a more balanced approach to the population problem and poverty (see Brookes 1968; Wolpe 1972), paying attention primarily to the biological, non-human consequences of environmental degradation, neglecting to acknowledge the environmental costs of development to humans and ignoring the relationship between environmental degradation and apartheid (see Antrobus 1976 and Thompson 1990).

A small but growing body of literature challenges such representations along with the government's neglect of environment and development and of environmental impacts in black communities. One such challenge is the work of Cock and Koch (1991). In *Green Politics*, they analyze environment and development in South Africa as a political issue firmly grounded in the access to power and resources in society. *Green Politics* seeks to articulate the

interests of the majority of the people of South Africa, whose environmental issues are severe, including having no access to a healthy livable environment: clean water, electricity, and proper sanitation. They link the struggle against poverty and social injustice to the struggle against the abuse of the environment.

Ramphela's (1991) work also challenges environmental apartheid. The author adds an analysis of a critical element largely not fully treated by Cock and Koch (1991) and missing in Fuggle and Rabie's (1992) studies, namely health. While discussing environmental racism, Ramphela (1991) addresses issues in agriculture, explaining how the problems resulting from farming affect the health of the black rural residents of the homelands. Fuggle and Rabie (1992) discuss the concept of environment at length, but they do not give a full application of the concept to the human beings. The concept assumes a global phenomenon and no distinction is made between the environment as it affects the various population groups and as it intersects with race, class and gender. In spite of the fact that this is such a critical publication, and very comprehensive, it nevertheless fails to articulate exactly what polluting the environment has done to the population's weakest, poorest communities and its people. The cultural aspects of the environmental problems are missing from the publication.

Durning (1991) gives a graphic presentation of the environmental problem which he refers to as the environmental toll. The author in this piece is talking from the perspective of the marginalized group, the poor black people of South Africa. Putting the people at the center of the environment and development problems gives a different angle to the picture in question. It addresses the topic from the perspective of the people affected by the environment. It gives a better understanding of the relationship between the environment and the people, how the latter affect the environment and how they are in turn affected by it.

New organizations working at the grass roots have also analyzed the environmental concerns and have presented the perspective of the oppressed. Notable of these organizations are National Environmental Awareness Campaign (NEAC), Earthlife Africa (ELA), Greenpeace, and the South African Exchange Program on Environmental Justice (SAEPEJ). Also the black political parties like the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have been very active on the environmental issues. In this paper I also attempt to insert elements of health problems resulting from environmental degradation and development. As the President of the National Environmental Awareness Campaign (NEAC) attests:

Blacks have always had to live in an environment that was neither beautiful nor clean. We have not had the proper housing, roads or services because the authorities would not accept that we were a permanent part of the city scene. [Cock and Koch 1991:12]

This quotation¹¹ summarizes my hypothesis that apartheid is at the core of the environmental and health problems in black areas. Literature on the environmental issue internationally, reveals that other communities of color and of underprivileged in the global system are grappling with similar issues. For example African-Americans and other groups of color in the United States have taken up the environmental issues. Environmental movements based in communities of color are concerned especially that their communities are or may be used as dumping grounds for waste disposal and question the environmental dangers to which their communities are exposed (Bullard 1993; Johnson 1993). Taylor (1993) in "Environmentalism and the Politics of Inclusion," explains that the formation of environmental movements in the United States in the 1970s did not include minority groups such as African-Americans and developed only recently. Participation began as people perceived connections based on class, race, and political affiliation with exposure to environmental hazards. As a result, the concepts of "environmental racism," "environmental equity,"

11. These were the headlines in the *Johannesburg Star* newspaper June 6, 1988, demonstrating growing environmental awareness among black groups.

and "environmental blackmail" developed. This has fostered the emergence of grassroots activism among people of color within the environmental justice movement (Taylor 1993).

Some parallels can be drawn with the emergence of the South African environmental movements among black people. The black liberation movement fostered a general level of activism. One such type of activist movement are women's groups, like National Environmental Awareness Campaign (NEAC), Zenzele organization, Christian organization, National Council of Women, Women's coalition and many other national liberation groups which are at the forefront of the environmental movement in South Africa, because women and children are most affected by environmental pollution. In trying to protect their children from pollution, women have addressed environmental issues through such movements. The NEAC, for instance is a community-based movement in Soweto which was started as a response to the degraded conditions in the townships. It worked through street committees to organize garbage collection and promote environmental awareness in the community.

Comparing literatures on the environmental movements in the United States and South Africa reveals that South Africa lags behind the United States in addressing environmental issues, the South African environmental movement beginning in the 1990s has begun with a variety of movements mobilizing around concerns for chemical dumps, water and air

pollution, pesticides, soil erosion, housing improvements, and malnutrition. Therefore, joint efforts among environmental groups for research and environmental education programs are less well established in South Africa than in the United States.

In the last decade in the United States environmental studies draw irrefutable conclusions that race, class, and gender place minority communities--and the women and children within them--at higher environmental risk. These studies indicate discrimination in the siting of hazardous waste disposal facilities. Further, inequities within the implementation and enforcement of environmental public health laws have measurably more to do with race than other factors.¹² For example, the United Church of Christ 1987 study, *Toxic Waste and Race in the United States* concludes that clear patterns exist in the siting of hazardous waste-generating and disposal facilities in communities with greater minority populations, primarily defined by race. The study also notes that the nation's largest hazardous waste facilities are located in heavily populated and predominantly minority communities.

Another study undertaken by Clean Sites entitled *Hazardous Waste and the Rural Poor* (1990), found that hazardous waste sites in poor rural areas, which are heavily

12. From: "Siting of Hazardous Waste and landfills and their Correlation with the Racial and Socio-Economic Status of Surrounding Communities," U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. (1983).

dependent upon ground water for drinking purposes, were listed on the Federal Superfund list at half the rate of other sites nationally.¹³ Although the study by Clean Sites was conducted in the United States, the rurality and the poverty of the regions are similar to those of South Africa. The study reveals that high numbers of the rural poor are African-American, and that African-Americans and Native Americans represent the most marginalized groups in the United States.

This study draws parallels to this location of environmental problems in the black communities in South Africa, investigating the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender and the exposure of the less powerful, marginalized, and poor people to environmental hazards.

The South African environmental scenario exhibits several traces of similar practices that have harmed the environment, especially in black communities. Many people flee the rural poverty and environmental hazards of the homelands only to breathe the noxious air of the urban slums (townships and squatter settlements) where environmental waste is dumped in their communities. High levels of mercury have been measured in the Umgeni River, adjacent to the squatter settlements. This is dangerous for the people

13. From: "Hazardous Waste Sites and the Rural Poor: A Preliminary Assessment" (1990).

who use the river water. Liz Clarke, the columnist for the *Sunday Tribune* reports:

if they [samples of water] were taken to the US or Holland they would be classified as toxic waste. It is in this river that children swim and fish and women wash clothing. [*Sunday Tribune* July 6, 1992:7]

The Chrome Company, Thor Chemical Company, and many other toxic industries have reportedly dumped their industrial wastes very close to nearby people and communities (Peacework 1994, *The Johannesburg Star* 1992). Most of these areas are densely populated by blacks, particularly black women and children (Young 1991). This leads one to conclude that race, class, and gender are related to environmental pollution.

On the political front, the African National Congress (ANC) and other black liberation groups (viz. IFP and PAC) have voiced concerns about environmental apartheid. Max Sisulu, head of the ANC's department of Economics and Planning, states that the ANC believes that "a rational ecological protection policy requires the dismantling of apartheid." He believes the degradation of the land in the homelands is a consequence of apartheid: "an environmentally conscious society can only exist in a free democratic political environment" (Kalan 1993). The ANC has further rejected the importation of toxic waste to South Africa. Max Sisulu, head of the ANC's Department of Economics and Planning, responding to the proposed plans of the government

for constructing a huge incinerator near Alexander Bay where foreign waste will be burnt, said that "the planned facility will be dismantled with the rest of apartheid structures in a post-apartheid South Africa" (Albertyn 1990). The government's plans demonstrate its insensitivity to the black communities by wanting to site this incinerator in the Ciskei homeland. The communities at the periphery are marginalized more than the center ones.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

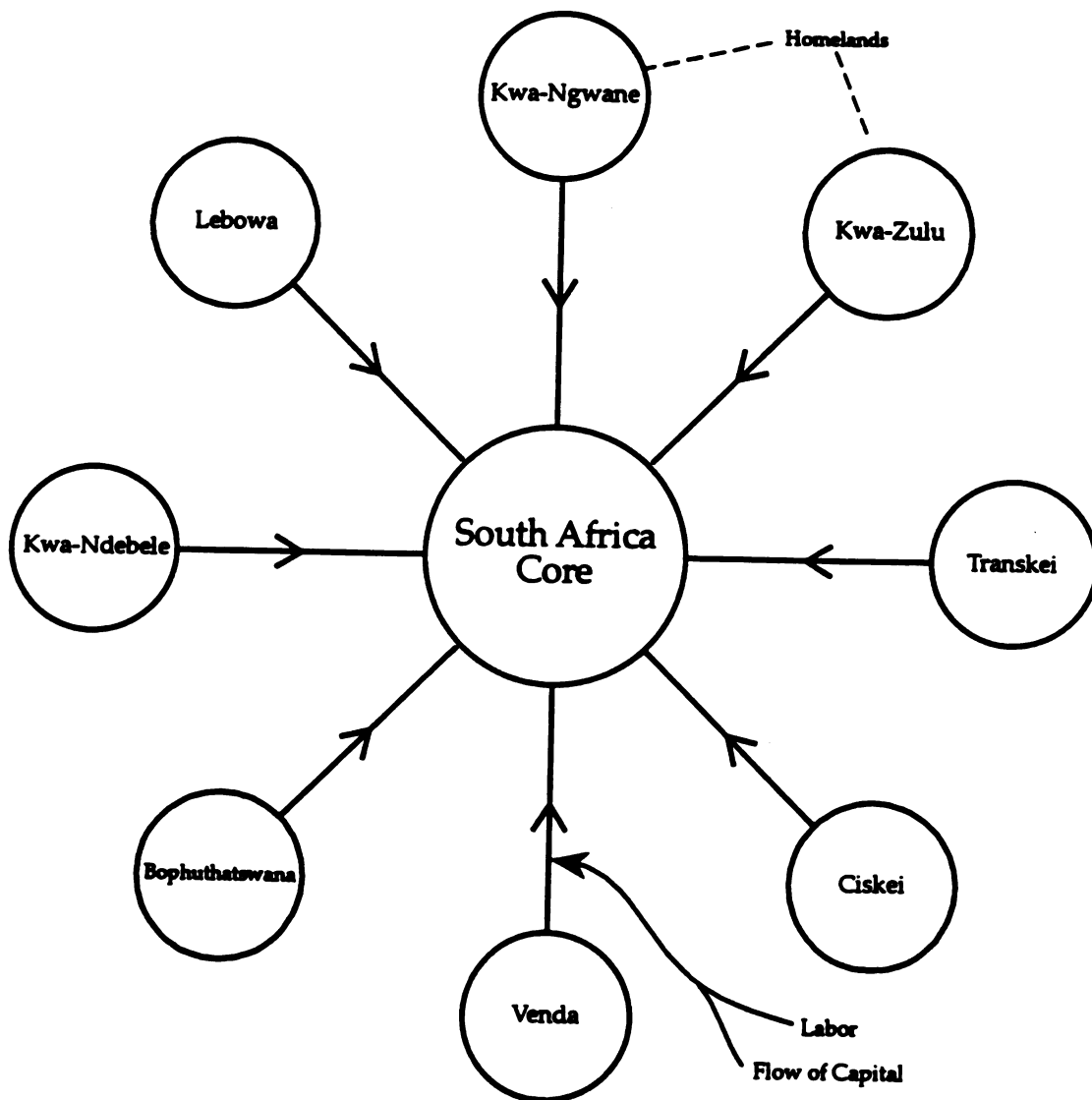
South Africa provides an ideal research context from which to explore some fundamental issues in sociological theory. The same environmental and development problems faced by South Africa also exist in other countries, whether developing or developed. The nature of the capitalist world system is an overriding concern of the Third World nations. The existing relationship between the core (developed countries) and the periphery (underdeveloped or developing countries) (see Figure 2) is one of exploitation by the core (Adam 1980; Banton 1985; Furnivall 1940; Greenberg 1980; Garfield 1965; Hechter 1975). In this study I show how and why this is so and what the effects of this type of relationship are on disadvantaged groups.

Internal Colonialism and the Cultural Division of Labor

The basic premise of modernization and much Marxian theory is that development occurs in a succession of capitalist stages, and that underdeveloped countries today remain in the original stages of capitalist development which the developed countries have long since passed (Amin 1977; Frank 1969; Greenberg 1980; Haggard 1990). Based on

FIGURE 2

**DIAGRAM OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
CORE/PERIPHERY RELATIONSHIP**



this premise, it is believed that development can be accelerated in the poorer Third World countries with technology and economic aid. The periphery then will develop in the image of the core, and development in the periphery will follow the same pattern as that of the core. In developing countries it is assumed that the city, as the core, acts upon the countryside to facilitate the transition of rural areas to more modern status.

Many theorists, however, reject this reasoning and propose different analyses (see Amin 1977; Frank 1969; Hechter 1975; and Sivanandan 1990. They suggest that underdeveloped countries support the developed core countries with their surplus (Frank 1969). Frank argues that

underdevelopment is not original... neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. [1969:3]

Frank's point, that the developed countries were never underdeveloped, suggests that underdeveloped countries cannot become developed. His thesis is that the development of the core--industrially, economically, and socially--does not bring development to the countries of the periphery. Rather, it "de-capitalizes" them, turning them into internal colonies.

Sivanandan (1990) contends that the gap between the rich and the poor, the developed and the underdeveloped nations will never be bridged. His argument is based on the fact that the core is looking for cheap labor and markets in

the periphery. What results is dependent capitalist development, a global economy of dependent development. Only a few are advanced at the expense risk of the many. Wallerstein and Martin locate South Africa in the semi-periphery, linking the core to the more peripheral states of the poorer.

The internal colonial model clearly demonstrates the core-periphery relationship. The core dominates the periphery politically and exploits it materially (Hechter 1975).¹⁴ This model suggests that the uneven trends of modernization within a state results in grossly uneven development amongst different groups and in an unequal distribution of power and resources (Hechter 1975). Hechter uses the concepts of internal colonialism and the cultural division of labor as closely related terms. He was the first to link the two concepts in a political economy debate.

In "Internal Colonialism Revised," Hechter (1985) revisits the concept. The core or superordinate exploits and monopolizes its power through discriminate and unjust laws. The outcome of this is that advantaged groups benefit in the employment, education, welfare, and income sectors, while other groups remain disadvantaged. This is what Hechter terms the cultural division of labor (Hechter 1975).

14. The concept of "internal colonialism" was first seen in the writings of Lenin (1956) and later in Gramsci (1959).

He believes that the cultural division of labor contributes to "the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two groups" (Hechter 1975:9). At this stage, the roles and statuses occupied by members from both groups become entrenched both structurally and psychologically.

Fanon (1967) attests to what it means to be at the periphery psychologically. He argues that the groups at the periphery often are black and therefore not dealt with as humans: "the black is not a man." (Fanon 1967:8). All sorts of images are created when a person is stripped of his or her identity. Fanon states:

Man is a yes that vibrates to cosmic harmonies. Uprooted, pursued, baffled, doomed to watch the dissolution of the truths that he has worked out for himself, one after the other. [1967:8]

According to Fanon, an inferiority complex amongst black people and people at the periphery comes as a result of, first, economic processes, and secondly, the internalization of this inferiority. The two influence each other, and blacks come to blame themselves for their position, instead of creating their own reality and understanding it (Fanon 1967). This is a direct outcome of having been colonized and internalizing colonialism.

Because decisions, even those that directly affect the periphery (like income, for instance) are decided at the core, the result is uneven development (Hechter 1975). This suggests that industrialization does not diffuse into the periphery in the same way that it diffuses into the core.

The periphery is in the dependent mode as a result of regional economic inequalities which continue to persist despite industrialization (Amin 1977; Frank 1969; Hechter 1975).

Internal colonialism does not deny the existence of culturally distinct groups, which tend to be patterned along rural/urban differences and social class (as is the situation in South Africa). Rather, what is important is the domination that develops through social relations based on exploitation. It is in the dominant group's interest to preserve the structure for its own benefit and not for the well being of the other groups. Internal colonialism gives the dominant minority group control of the resources during the development process while blocking the avenues towards social mobility for disadvantaged groups. Integrated into this theory are the power relations that are so visible--those of dependency. The periphery comes to depend on the core for its livelihood.¹⁵

15. In South Africa evidence of this is seen with the allocation of resources. Havens and Flinn (1970) give a discussion of this in their treatment of Marxism.

**ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES
IN THE BLACK HOMELANDS AND OTHER BLACK COMMUNITIES**

This study assumes that the environmental and development problems in South Africa's homelands and black communities have not resulted from poor people and their ignorance, as has been widely purported, but rather that these problems result from the government's racist apartheid policy and its resultant social, economic, and industrial policies. What the government sees as development of the environment through the establishment of the industries very close to the homelands and other places inhabited by blacks has, in fact, resulted in underdevelopment. South Africa is sitting on a toxic time-bomb, and the new government must deal with the poisoned rivers, valleys, gorges, and land which mostly affects the poor majority in the country (Kalan 1994). I argue that environmental apartheid has brought untold harm, pollution, disease, and poverty especially in the homelands and other black communities. Gender is an important criterion to analyze when looking at this topic because women are numerically dominant in the homelands for reasons already cited earlier in the study. In other words, there is a relationship between race, class, gender, and

environmental pollution. I argue that the polluted areas in South Africa are by and large the black communities: the homelands (where women predominate), townships, and squatter settlements.¹⁶

First, there is enough evidence to justify that there is environmental pollution in South Africa, especially in the country's peripheral areas--the homelands and other black areas, both rural and urban. Durning (1990) labels it "apartheid's environmental toll." He claims that apartheid is largely responsible for the environmental problems to which black people are subjected:

Institutional racism has been as devastating for South Africa's environment as for its people. Apartheid has polluted the air, water, pillaged the bedrock, and turned the earth away like flesh. In much of the country the soil indeed cannot keep the people anymore. [Durning 1990:5]

Durning (1990) writes about the environmental problems ecologically, drawing attention to the man-made problems through the apartheid structures. He is referring to the problems of economic inequality experienced by black people in their communities. The homelands, townships, and squatter settlements are not areas of development, but rather of poverty, disease, and death for millions of black South Africans. All this has resulted from the apartheid

16. For a detailed discussion of these polluted areas see Platzyk and Walker (1985), Moleah (1993), and Desmond (1971) for a historical discussion of the African people and the land dispossession. Moleah (1993:446-450) explains how land dispossession is an act of alienation and how it connects with ancestry.

form of government. Through South Africa's segregation system, at times enforced through forced removals, the environment has been destroyed in areas where people have been forced to chop trees and destroy vegetation to survive. Disease has been widespread because of overcrowding and people's survival has been threatened (Young 1991). Poverty has been identified as a crucial element in the environmental problem (Young 1991). The struggle against apartheid is not only for political rights but also for the quality of life for all people. Apartheid does not only destroy the people and animals, but it degrades the earth, the air, and the streams (Young 1991). Beinart and Bundy (1987) provide a rich illustration of how the environment has completely changed as a result of the apartheid structures. In a study of Herschel in the Eastern Cape, he contrasts the district before the turn of the twentieth century with the situation now and how it has been damaged through the apartheid processes. According to Beinart and Bundy (1987), the African peasantry previously was able to take care of its own inhabitants by producing more food than it actually consumed while at the same time exporting both crops and pastoral produce. However, by the turn of the twentieth century the population could not produce sufficient food, even in good years (Beinart and Bundy 1987). They state that the region was suffering from high rates of labor migration and overcrowding by people and

stock, resulting in soil erosion and depletion of natural resources especially firewood. Further, land was in short supply and there was constant conflict over allocation of arable land (Beinart and Bundy 1987). The region has since been characterized with wide spread poverty despite the attempts that the African people of the region have made, such as migrating to work in the cities and using protest demonstrations against apartheid machinery (Beinart and Bundy 1987). One concludes that the political upheavals and the resistance in the Herschel district, and indeed in the rest of the country, have been engineered by the apartheid system that has denied the African people a decent and healthy lifestyle. Bundy (1979), in his earlier publication, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, writes on the emergence of the women's movement which organized boycotts in the early 1920s for the first time in the Herschel region. Their complaints were about, among other things, the land issue, forced migrant labor and the general food price hike.¹⁷ Bundy's (1979) study is one example that demonstrates the nature of the rural struggle and the environmental hardships of the African people in South Africa, exacerbated by apartheid.¹⁸

17. For a more detailed treatment, refer to Beinart and Bundy (1987:222-69) and Bundy (1979) in Marks and Atmore (1980).

18. For a detailed treatment of the historical processes in traditional and modern South Africa see Davenport (1991).

Indeed, South Africa's ecological problems are not unique (Durning 1990, Cock and Koch 1991). Countries all over the world have suffered environmental problems of soil erosion, toxic waste, nuclear contamination, and other forms of ecological disaster. South Africa's apartheid laws, however, stand out as the most extreme form of institutionalized racism in any country, developed or "underdeveloped." Environmental apartheid is very devastating for the environment and people. Many of the black areas are deficient in water supply and fertile lands. Further no steps have been taken to alleviate the devastation of the environment and to protect human life. Durning (1990) states that it is very difficult not to hold apartheid responsible for environmental traumas because of the escalating racial practices¹⁹ that have been institutionalized in the country. It is through apartheid that we have so much poverty in the peripheries of the country. It is through apartheid that we have witnessed so many health problems amongst the black population, and it is through the same phenomenon that black areas are still underdeveloped today despite "development" having been brought to their doorsteps. Cardinal in all the above mentioned apartheid ills, is the land question.

19. Racial practices foisted by the apartheid laws are seen in the Land Act (1936), which prevented black people from buying land and staying in what has been designated as white areas of South Africa.

Land and the Homelands

It is impossible to do justice to the environmental pollution forced on black people without a brief analysis of the land issue.²⁰ The link between environmental matters and apartheid and economic inequality is particularly striking in patterns of land ownership. The land issue goes back to the 17th century with the colonial interpenetration by Dutch and the British in South Africa. That invasion led to today's multiracial and multi-ethnic South African society (Xihu 1987). This picture is graphically illustrated by Jan van Riebeeck in his diary:²¹

[The Khoi Khoi] strongly insisted that we had been appropriating more and more of their land, which had been theirs all these centuries, and on which they had been accustomed to let their cattle graze etc. They asked if they could be allowed to do such a thing supposing they went to Holland, and they added: It would be of little consequence if you people stayed here at the fort, but you come right into the interior and select the best land for yourselves. [van Riebeeck 1652:185]

Under the terms of the government's Native Land Act of 1913, subsequently revised in 1936, less than 7.5 percent of South Africa's land was set aside as reserves for Africans (over 70 percent of the population) for purchasing (Durning 1990, Pampallis 1991). This meant that Africans who still resided on the land outside the marked reserves had to work

20. See Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-61*, for a treatment of the Native Land Act of 1913 and 1936.

21. Jan van Riebeeck was the leader of the settler expedition that established a Dutch colony on the Cape in 1652.

for the land owners as wage laborers or as tenants (Pampallis 1991).²² Needless to say, this was met with wide resistance from the Africans, notably the African National Congress (ANC), which organized a major campaign of opposition to the Act (Pampallis 1991).

The Native Land Act of 1913 prohibited blacks from acquiring land outside certain demarcated areas. The act was aimed not only at securing more land for whites, but it also destroyed the economy of the black people, causing overcrowding and ultimately starvation in the black areas (Best 1977).²³ The dispossession of the land was a powerful force to drive people away or force them to work in the mines for South Africa's economy. Thousands of Africans were evicted from their land and forced to become farm laborers, and many wandered in search of land, suffering hardships and being forced to kill or sell their starving animals to keep themselves alive (Pampallis 1991).

However it is not within the scope of this paper to fully address the land issue. My purpose is to demonstrate the existence of inhuman injustices affecting black people

22. Pampallis (1991) suggests that the reason for the revision of the Act in 1936 was because the government realized that the allocated land for the African was insufficient for purposes of subsistence farming that the African was expected to practice, and therefore would not augment the low wages that the migrants received in the city.

23. For a further treatment of the land issue and dispossession of the black people, see Moleah (1993), Pampallis (1991), and Worden (1994:5) who raises a very critical point of what he says has been a myth perpetuated until recently that "colonists moved into an 'empty land', or at least only began to settle in the interior of the region at about the same time as the indigenous pastoralists and cultivators...."

as a result of land evictions and dispossession.²⁴ The dispossession and control of blacks in South Africa have created environmental problems, which continue to be related to the land issue to this day (Davenport 1991). Suffice to mention that the Land Act marked the beginning of the end of the limited independence of the African farmer and this drove the Africans to the reserves (later to be termed homelands) and to migrant labor.²⁵ The situation for blacks in the homelands is typified by overcrowding, poor infrastructure with no running water, no electricity, and no proper sewage system. This overcrowding and inequality in the land has meant poor living standards for the majority of the black population. Poor land management and overgrazing have resulted in untold erosion. The government has forcibly relocated 3.5 million blacks from their homes (Schonfield 1993). For instance, the QwaQwa homeland had 329 people per square kilometer, compared to an average of just 17 people per square kilometer in white South Africa (Schonfield 1993). In 1989 ten homelands had 16 million people, which is 43 percent of the nation's population (Schonfield 1993). The environment in the black areas is a threat to human life. Herding approximately 87 percent of

24. Plaatjie (1987) gives an account of the devastating effects of the Land Act on the reserves.

25. An analysis of the homeland formation is given in Davenport (1991), Stedman (1994), Smit and Booysen (1977), Wilson and Ramphele (1989) and Worden (1994).

the black population into 13 percent of the country's territory (comprising the homelands) in itself spells environmental disaster. The homelands include four that are supposedly "independent." These apartheid structures were created by the South African government against the wishes and hopes of most black South Africans. The exceptions are those who benefitted from these puppet state governments with positions and sometimes even wealth. (They have poor quality, fragmented patches of land, poor infrastructure, and few natural resources.) They are literally a dumping ground, reserved for what the white minority government has defined as "surplus peoples" (Platzky and Walker 1985). This derogatory term of "surplus peoples" refers to women, children, and infirm old men who are not needed by capital and therefore not expected to be part of South Africa.

It has been found that poverty is rampant amongst children, in the homelands with high rates of malnutrition, stunted growth due to deficient calorie intake, poor eyesight, and many more health problems (Wilson and Ramphele 1989). The authors highlight poverty as a special case largely because an economy with a large proportion of its population being poor has a structure of demand that does not encourage the production and marketing of the most needed goods (Wilson and Ramphele 1989). The scenario that pertains in South Africa is unpardonable in that there is poverty amidst wealth. The most striking feature of poverty

in the country is the degree of inequality that exists (Wilson and Ramphela 1989). Writing on the same topic, Fuggle and Rabie (1992:51) state that "poverty and injustice are morally offensive and politically dangerous". Their suggestion is that much attention should be focused on the income gap between the rich and the poor.

Upon entering the cities of South Africa one is greeted by gruesome poverty of shanty towns built from cardboard and wood boxes and houses of tin containers. These are homes belonging to the poor black people. Driving further into the suburbs, one sees a contrast of this poverty with the beautiful mansions of rich and famous South Africans. Meanwhile, while international tourists enjoy the game parks, relocated black residents live in poverty-stricken and environmentally degraded homelands and townships (Schonfield 1993). Schonfield brings the inequalities created by environmental apartheid alive in South Africa when she reports on the binary opposition regarding the lives of the black and the white people in the country. In spite of the fact that South Africa has large deposits of coal and uranium and is able to shunt 60 percent of its electricity to its neighbors within the African continent, 70 percent of its population did not have electricity in their homes by the 1980s (Schonfield 1993). This situation has a direct effect on the environmental degradation because people resort to using wood and high-sulfur bituminous coal

for cooking and heating causing rapid deforestation and pollution of the environment. The picture that is given of KwaZulu homeland is that the homeland has destroyed 200 of its forests since 1936 and only remains with 50 (Schonfield 1993). One is led to assume that a similar situation pertains with the rest of the densely populated regions of the country, notably the homelands.

The black people that have fled life of the homelands have run to the urban townships hoping to find life better, but they are greeted with overcrowding, disease, unemployment, and homelessness. The position of blacks in the urban townships was made very clear by the Local Government Commission. Its report of 1922 states:

It should be a recognized principle that natives--men, women and children--should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for as long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the whites population...The masterless native in urban areas is a source of danger and a cause of degradation of both blacks and white. [Report of Local Government 1922]

Blacks were exploited for their labor with no regard for their welfare as people, and their presence in white areas was a temporary one, for labor purposes only.²⁶

Mining

The mining industry's need for an exploitable labor force and the government's need to restrict black ownership

26. The Pass Law, enacted as far back as 1895 was used as a measure to control the movements of blacks.

of land resulted in the development of a migrant labor system in the early 20th century. It was mining, especially for gold, that changed the nature of socio-political course of events in South Africa (Stadler 1987). The success of the system was depended on keeping wages low. This had implications for miners' families in the homelands because they could not support their families in the reserves, resulting in poverty of the homelands.²⁷ Environmental apartheid is found everywhere around the life of the black people in South Africa (Schonfield 1993). Mining not only creates poverty in the homelands, it also creates environmental degradation through the dumping of hazardous wastes from mining operations. Economic activity has given rise to great prosperity the world over, however, simultaneously it also has given rise to environmental damage and risks at the same time. The asbestos mill²⁸ is a hazard to the neighboring black areas, which are exposed to asbestos dust. Many hazardous dump sites are located very close to black communities in South Africa (le Grange 1992, Kalan 1994). In the Eastern Transvaal Highveld at Sasolburg, a coal mine has high pollution levels (The Johannesburg Star 1/25/1992). This mine is located very

27. For further insight into the life of the miners and their families, see van Onselen's *Chibaro* (1976).

28. The asbestos mill is near Mafefe Village in north Eastern Transvaal and the Mohlaphutse River which runs through it is affected by the dumping of toxic wastes from the mining operations.

near the Zamdela community. Black children in the community are experiencing high levels of allergy-related symptoms such as asthma, itchy palates, runny noses, and infected eyes, reportedly related to toxic waste exposure (Schonfield 1993).

South Africa is one of the world's largest producers of gold, uranium, chromium, platinum, coal, and manganese, yet the industry is not properly handled. These economic activities have resulted in more problems for the ecosystem causing rainfall that is more acidic than before, destroying the ozone layer, causing loss of species, and changing the weather patterns and elevating the sea levels due to the "greenhouse effect" (Fuggle and Rabie 1992). During the production of gold and coal, acid seeps through the ground, and toxic gases escape from the furnaces polluting the environment (Fuggle and Rabie 1992). The communities that are most at risk from these degradations are the poor ones which happen to be black. "Most of the land downwind and downstream from mining operations is inhabited by black communities" which are most affected (Schonfield 1993). As the acid rainfall damages the fresh water ecosystem, polluting ground water, rivers, lakes and fishes and birds as well, it is the poor that drink the water from the rivers and lakes; therefore, they, with no basic infrastructure, are more at risk. Schonfield (1993) provides an example of the prevalence of asbestos in the village of Mafefe in the

eastern Transvaal, which has 19 asbestos tailing dumps, which are referred to as the "dumps of death" by the local people. As a result, the asbestos tailings are found throughout the villages, at the children's playgrounds, in rivers where women wash clothes, and in their homes and schools as building material (Koch 1989). The author in the *Weekly Mail* (6/2-6/8, 1989) reports that some of the highest dust levels found in the village are 100 times more than would require immediate attention in the United States. No attention has been paid for all these years to the pollution in the village because "only" poor black people live in the area. Brittain (1992), writing in the *Sunday Times Metro* also reports on the lack of attention given to the Alexandra Township, a black township, where waste is dumped from the white neighborhoods.²⁹ Because the residents of Alexandra do not have the money to stop the practice, it continues unabated. Acid rainfall also destroys the natural forests and agricultural crops too.

Fuggle and Rabie (1992) highlight the severity of air pollution in the Eastern Transvaal highveld, an active industrial cite with coal fields and a dense population that

29. *Sunday Times Metro* (10/11/92). Similar reports have been cited in other newspapers, including: *The Weekly Mail* (August 1992) reports on possible exposure of 14,500 workers to lead poisoning; *Sunday Times Metro* (3/31/1992) notes that the Germiston townships were exposed to dust from three mine dumps in the area; *The Johannesburg Star* (6/2/1991) reports on the closing of the Bulembu asbestos mine due to pollution from the asbestos plant; and *The Weekly Mail* (1/25/1991) reports on Katlehong asbestos poisonous dumps used by children as sports field.

burns domestic coal in their homes. Electrifying the homes would partly relieve the urban pollution.

Anderson (1990), basing his reports from large mining corporations and scientific journals, notes the prevalence of tuberculosis (TB) among black South Africans. He reports that the risk of TB for blacks in gold mines is high and that amongst whites it is not a killer at all. Writing on the impact of the migrant labor system on the heterosexual relations of miners and their susceptibility to the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), Jochelson, et al (1991) found that the migrant labor structure has generated a market for prostitution in mining centers. Women prostitutes are particularly vulnerable to contracting HIV from the mine workers. Van Onselen (1976) exposes some of the problems brought about by the mining/migrant labor system, namely encouraging promiscuity among the workers so as to avert the real problems such as the low wages paid to the mine workers and the conditions around the mines. Also by condoning this activity, the management seeks to protect their wives from being victims of rape from the workers (Jochelson et al. 1991; van Onslen 1976). But the cruelty of the system is seen when the workers are repatriated to the homelands once they are HIV-infected (Jochelson 1991). In other words, the system merely exports the HIV problem to the homelands where there is no infrastructure to offer palliative treatment of the condition.

Agricultural pollution and health issues

Rural South Africa's pollution and resulting health conditions are little known and have been little researched. The roots of environmental apartheid are to be found not in the mines so much but buried in the farms where agricultural production is controlled by white farmers where the relationship between white master and black servant was forged long before the word apartheid was ever conceived (Ainslie 1977). The cruelty of whites against blacks is greatest in the rural areas, where the white farmers continuously demand more land and cheaper labor from the black people (Ainslie 1977). Ainslie suggests that the farms provide an example of the exploitative nature of the apartheid system. "Nowhere is the face of apartheid uglier than in the harsh and beautiful spaces of the veld" (Ainslie 1977:7).

Ainslie (1977) writes on the conditions for farm laborers in rural South Africa. While the average white farmer's income was over R6,000 (approximately \$2,000) per year, the black laborer earned R144 to R192 (approximately \$48 to \$64) in cash and kind. Not only were the wages extremely low, but the conditions on the farms also were poor. Workers labored 14 or more hours, seven days a week, with no holidays, paid or sick leave and had no access to medical services except for injuries (Ainslie 1977). The

employment of young children on the farms is common (Davies 1991, Ainslie 1977).

Housing for the workers on the farms is generally very poor. Often they are expected to build their own houses with mud. Very few farmers provide housing to workers, and if they do, it is often inadequate with no running water, sanitation, or lighting (Davies 1991). Often workers are housed in barracks with shared toilet facilities (if any at all).

They lived in an L-shaped compound which had once been whitewashed and may have served as stables. Some of the windows were merely holes in the walls...There were no toilet or water facilities apart from an outside cold water tap. There was no light, and fires had to be made on the floors in winter for both warmth and light. [Davies 1991:16]

As expected with this lifestyle the general level of health is very low. Infectious diseases are on the increase because of both poor sanitation and lack of proper sewage system. Diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid, cholera, malnutrition, scabies, gastroenteritis, and ringworm are all on the increase (Davies 1991).

Apart from the poor health that plagues the workers on the farms, the latter are still faced with work-related problems. Workers fall victims to occupational hazards received from work (Davies 1991; Ainslie 1977). Because no protective clothing is provided by the farmers, workers often are exposed to chemicals which can cause diseases and

even death. "Lethal substances used in agriculture have multiplied. Pesticides, fertilizers, fungicides, dipping chemicals, paint, and fuel pose health risks for workers..." (Davies 1991:18). Davies gives the statistics supplied by Department of Health in 1981 on pesticide and chemical poisoning as 100 deaths and 92 poisonings. Those of the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimate deaths from chemical poisoning at about 1,600 every year (Davies 1991). An explanation to the vulnerability of the workers is given by Davies (1991:18) quoting Hendrikz:

Many farm workers cannot read. They don't know what they are using pesticides banned elsewhere are used in South Africa, although there is very little information about this....The whole environmental question has hardly entered people's consciousness in South Africa.

Many of the children are said to be losing their eyesight, and the condition is exacerbated by the pollution in the rivers, air, and soil. Children also suffer from allergy-related diseases like asthma, itchy palates and streamy noses (Young 1991). All this is indicative of the amount of pollution in the environment. Agricultural productivity in the overcrowded homelands fell as the latter became overcrowded and labor was scarce because men were working as migrant laborers in the urban areas. This resulted in the environmental degradation of the homelands. Referring to the Transkei, the 1932 Native Economic Commission noted the:

denudation, donga erosion, deleterious plant succession, destruction of woods, drying up of springs, robbing of the soil of its productive

resources, in short the creation of desert conditions. [Daphne 1984:34]

The same report also noted low agricultural productivity and impoverishment leading to malnutrition and death.

Daphne (1984) argues that historically the reserves were not so impoverished. Until the introduction of the Native Land Act of 1913, African people were able to own land and secure livelihoods (Daphne 1984). With the dispossession of the African people through the Land Act, the African economy was destroyed in order to create a stable labor force for mining, agriculture, and industry (Daphne 1984). The homelands then became the major supplier of cheap labor in mines, industries, and cities.

Since the 1960s, we conclude that the homelands have served two functions for South Africa: they have provided a good source of migrant labor as well as shelter for the "surplus people" excluded from South Africa's economy.

Border industries and pollution

In exchange for the constant flow of labor, South Africa hoped to bring development to the homelands through industries. However, the government has failed to achieve its mission, namely to develop the homelands through the creation of industries. As discussed below, in fact the industries are located in the border areas of white South Africa, rather than directly in the homelands themselves.

First, it is important to examine how South Africa succeeded in bringing industries to the poverty-stricken border regions. Although these industries were designed to improve the homelands, they were located on the South African side of the border. Why? The South African government did not wish to take responsibility for the homeland laborers and their social overhead capital costs. The laborers lived in the homeland and commuted to work in "South Africa" where the industry was located. Meanwhile, the poorer homeland was responsible for all social costs of schools, housing, urban services, infrastructure, social welfare, and medical support when the laborers or their families were ill. Furthermore, the tax on industrial production and profits derived to the South African government and local authorities and not the homelands. Sick miners working in South African mines are repatriated home when they fall sick to become the responsibility of the homeland that has no basic infrastructure to care for the sick (Jochelson 1991; van Onselen 1976).

Certain facts stand out as key issues in enticing international companies to invest in South Africa.³⁰ South Africa was successful in this exercise only because it

30. Woods's thesis (1992), *Taiwanese Investment in the Homelands of South Africa*, provides a detailed treatment of the inducements offered by the South African government in attracting investors to the border areas of the homelands. Although his thesis is on Taiwan, he analyzes what was happening with the multinational companies investing in South African borders.

promised incentives for the prospective industrialists which included low wages (Woods 1992). The welfare of the laborers was never a consideration. The only time that management showed concern was when productivity fell because of the moral of the sick laborers (van Onselen 1976). South Africa has benefitted at the expense of the homelands through the tax revenue she receives from the industries' profits.

A key factor in attracting industries was the availability of a large sector of low-cost workers, mainly women. Due to the South African influx control system that has put a curb on the movements of blacks into the cities, black women have had fewer opportunities to migrate to the cities than men. Women find themselves trapped in the homelands, where they become easy targets of exploitation in the border industries around the homelands. "Employers regard women as more reliable than men as well as being cheaper to employ..." (Wellings and Black 1984:25).

Employment of women in industries

Border industries³¹ are the largest employer of black women in the homelands. Women are paid less than men because employers define them as secondary wage earners; their fathers, husbands, or brothers provide "the primary

31. See Seidman (1978), Wellings and Black (1984), and Woods (1992) for a fuller treatment of border industries.

income" for the family. Clearly, it is presumed that the head of the household is a man. This gender bias is blind to the fact that a large number of black women head families for very many reasons.

Chief among these reasons is the migrant labor system. In its quest for cheap labor for the mines, this system has robbed the family of its means to survive by dismantling the family system and separating members from each other. The migrant labor system recruits able-bodied, semi-literate, medically and physically fit young men. Left out of this exercise are women, children, and infirm old men. In addition to working in agriculture and the border industries, women must care for children and the infirm men. Most of these elderly men have previously been involved in the migrant labor system and have been exhausted, squeezed dry, and dumped by the system. Emerging from this extraction of young men from the homelands is a disproportionately large population of women who constitute a labor reservoir in the homelands. This is underscored by the latest population statistics showing the predominance of black women in factory employment in the homelands.

Table I documents the ratio of black women to black men in factory employment in five homelands. The figures are skewed towards female employees. The clothing and textile factories in the homelands constitute 24 of the 104 factories, and women constitute 92 percent of the workforce

in these industries (Pudifin and Ward 1986). The labor implications suggested by these figures have relevance for the foundations for development in the homelands.

Industries have exploited black women's labor by paying low wages and creating dangerous, unhealthy work conditions at work and in black communities. What black women are experiencing is triple oppression arising from the intersection of race, class, and gender.

Table 1. Black Women in Manufacturing Employment in the Homelands.

Homeland	Year	Total	Male	Female	% Female
Venda	1976	765	279	486	63.5
Ciskei	1982	5,530	1,977	3,553	64.2
Bophuthatswana	1982	16,006	7,597	8,409	52.5
Lebowa	1983	2,157	1,087	1,070	49.6
Zulu	1985	14,030	5,313	8,717	62.1

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg (1986).

In industries, women are preferred to men because they are believed to be more easily manipulated, docile, willing to do boring or repetitive work, patient, and skilled at tasks requiring manual dexterity. Men, in contrast, are viewed as restless, impatient, and prone to becoming frustrated with monotonous work (Cockburn 1988; Feuntes and Ehrenreich 1981). All of this is suggestive of the assumed malleable nature of women.

In a study in the Kwa-Zulu homeland male wages averaged R3,284 per year (approximately US \$9,852), whereas female wages were R1,224 per year (approximately US \$3,672), or 37 percent of male wages. In the same study in 1984 in the Venda homeland, three quarters of the 4,500 women employees received less than R60 per month (approximately US \$180), and less than 5 percent were paid more than R100 per month (approximately US \$300) in wages. Comparing South Africa's homeland wages with those of the United States and Taiwan, one Taiwanese industrialist states that electronic workers are paid \$600 a month in the United States, between \$200-\$400 in Taiwan, and \$50 in South Africa (Woods 1991).³²

Cultural scene

A significant aspect of the destruction of the environment is the impact on the traditional life of the people. At a cultural level, people are more concerned about their values, practices, traditional beliefs, and customs, which provided a deeper meaning to nature. Now the culture is being eroded and is likely not to be communicated to the coming generations. No respect is paid to their past. The social processes that underpin people's lives are seriously hampered as society's solidarity weakens and as the society is torn apart through the migrant labor system,

32. Woods (1992) conducted interviews with Taiwanese industrialists in one homeland, Kwa-Ndebele.

for example. As people go separate ways in migrant labor, their cultural heritages are lost because of the weakening of social ties. This deprives the poor and marginalized of the values and cultural integrity which gives life meaning.

CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on the dialectic between development processes and the degradation of the environment in South Africa's black communities. Apartheid has created structural problems for the majority of the population of South Africa through its racist Laws, which are detrimental to the black members of the population. The black areas (homelands, townships and squatter settlements) have been very crucial to the political economy of the environment and development in South Africa. The black areas have provided the country with a readily available and permanent labor force, whose expendable nature was exploited by the mining, agricultural, and industrial sectors.

From this analysis, it is clear that the homelands and the other black communities have not been viable entities for the black population, contrary to the image proffered by the government. The creation of industries adjacent to the black areas did not bolster economic development in the homelands and other black areas. In contrast, it brought all sorts of problems, ranging from diseases to landlessness as well as animosity and conflict between the different homelands. The exigencies of apartheid obstructed effective

job creation in the homelands. As a result, the government's homeland policy proved unsuccessful. It has led to poverty, misery, poor health, ethnic wars, and lack of infrastructure within those black communities.

Apartheid is responsible for the environment and development problems that blacks experience in their communities. In this paper I focus more on the homelands and the reasons for their establishment because they are the most degraded and polluted black areas. "Borders of the homelands were carefully drawn and sometimes redrawn to exclude anything of value... [including] mineral resources and fertile land" (Durning 1990:8). In other words, the South African government was giving away what it did not want to the homelands.

Environmental problems arise when we fail to put people at the center of the problem, when we do not address local needs of the people. It is clear that the goals of apartheid were first and foremost to protect the interests of white South Africa. There was never a concern for uplifting the homelands. When the border industries were created, with all the concomitant variations of incentives that accompanied this practice, they were built on the white side of the homeland boundaries, for reasons of ideological and racial purity and for tax benefits. This meant that the homelands were deprived of ever receiving economic and other benefits, they only had their wages to contend with--wages

that were dismally low. The very idea that the industries were positioned on the side of South Africa, proves my thesis that the industries were not meant to develop the homelands.

Because the industries did not have much to offer, especially to women, they left the homelands and joined white South Africa. This opened new forms of employment for black women in the informal economy. The informal economy arises as a result of a scarcity of jobs as well as the poor wages determined by the apartheid structure.

South Africa's political tool of the homeland system has failed in its overall aim because of its neglect of the environment, an important aspect for the success of its economy. In trying to boost the economy, secure resources, and protect white minority rights, South Africa has seriously endangered its black population and its environment and therefore, the long-term welfare of the entire country. All this was created under the banner of "development," which is couched in the apartheid system. The time has come to overhaul the system and bring changes to the environment and the people of South Africa through the establishment of democratic policies that will afford the people of South Africa a healthy environment and quality of life without creating any dependency amongst its people.

It is a sobering realization that environmental degradation and pollution is a much debated topic within the

national liberation struggle in South Africa. People within the liberation movements have become aware of apartheid's legacy for the environment. This legacy in black communities is evidenced by the lack of infrastructure, unemployment and landlessness. The inequalities become more acute when one internally compares white South Africa (the core) with the periphery (black communities).

The political actors in the transition of South Africa have a positive stance on environmental issues. This is unlike the past regimes in the Nationalist Party, which showed a lack of interest in environmental issues and displayed a contemptuous attitude towards black South Africans. The determination expressed by the major political players for the new South Africa on the environmental question is encouraging. The African National Congress (ANC) promises to "counter with vigor any degradation of the environment" and sees the abolition of apartheid as essential to halting institutional environmental damage like that caused by the homeland system (Frontline Magazine 1990:10). The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) believes in a holistic approach to issues on the environment and in balanced planning that takes into consideration the needs of all people. Interestingly, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) has expressed its views in a negative manner: "We have better things to do than get on a bandwagon with ignorant white people who need

an interest to fill their time" (*Frontline Magazine* 1990:12). Dr Gomolemo Mokae, Vice President of AZAPO states: "The Greens leave me cold" (*Frontline Magazine* 1990:13). His comment expresses views widely entertained by most blacks in South Africa, who saw the environmental question as a white rhetoric, something to pass time with, to entertain. They felt that the government was deliberate in stressing the black communities and that it did not intend to change its apartheid norms. The Unity Movement and Inkatha Freedom Party stress the link between socioeconomic disadvantage and environmental damage. They feel that the issues involved are basically survival issues and that they should be treated as such. The National Party's (NP) rhetoric bears no relation to its past thinking; like the Democratic Party (DP), it calls for a holistic, integrated approach to the environment. The Conservative Party (CP) views the situation as follows:

Serious cultural differences exist between the various races. The CP sees development regarding a future new South Africa...only along the lines of separate development.... [*Frontline Magazine* 1990:18]

It seems, therefore, that most organizations in South Africa have a positive approach to the environment, except AZAPO and the CP. There is hope for redressing South Africa's environmental and development problems. When the new government comes to power it will have the task of addressing these issues and correcting the wrongs of past

regimes. Ultimately, whatever development is promoted in South Africa must be meaningful for the country's political economy and must avoid the environmental degradation created by years of environmental apartheid.

With the military onslaught that has been orchestrated from within and without South Africa, the environment has been severely poisoned. Both the industries and the South African government have felt justified in polluting the environment because of the "crisis of the total Communist onslaught against South Africa," and have thereby subjected everything else, including black welfare and health, second to survival of white interests. It is up to the new South Africa to make right the wrongs and bring the country back to its proper place that will be conducive for human development.

South Africa should not embark on the road that seems to have been followed by the rest of the Western nations, notably the United States, of excessive consumption associated with affluence. Fuggle and Rabie (1992) warn that more attention should be given to the promotion of economic development for the alleviation of the pressure on the resources. The authors are critical of the conservationists who advocate for population control as way of curbing poverty and thereby reducing environmental degradation, but rather advocate for economic growth or redistribution. As far as they are concerned focus should

be on building growth and encouraging redistribution of resources and not turn a blind eye to the excessive consumption by the affluent (Fuggle and Rabie 1992). They contend that alleviation of poverty is more important than population control because this scenario can curb environmental deterioration directly by reducing pressure on the critical resources exploited by the poor while indirectly reducing the high population growth rate (Fuggle and Rabie 1992). People can be an asset or liability depending on how prepared and ready they are to play a productive role in society.

In South Africa, the combination of apartheid and capitalism has brought hardships for the majority of its people, the black population. First, the land dispossession of the black people forced them to migrate to the city and to contribute to the capital production, mainly in the mines. Second, this migration meant that the men were separated from their families for lengthy periods. Third, the earnings that they received from the mines were too low to support the miners and their families in the homelands.

It should not be forgotten that these black communities, in particular the homelands and townships were designed and created by the state's policy of rural dispossession and forced relocation and that the squatter settlements is an attempt to repel state control and repression in an effort to represent the people's struggle

for survival in urban areas. However the people's struggle still continues because the problems on the environment manifest themselves everywhere in various forms where the poor black people try to make a living.

There is still a long way to go in solving the environmental issues in South Africa, particularly as they affect the poorer blacks. Even though the major political parties in South Africa supportive of the environmental concerns, the problem lies in correcting the damage already done. Who has to pay for the remedy of the environment? Given the debt crisis of South Africa, what resources will the country have to reforest, care for aquatic resources, and for rehabilitating lives? How will the decisions be made in the future toward the environment when environmental protection will increase costs of industries and, the latter will argue for the cutting down of profits for stockholders and the government's taxes. Will it be possible to strike trade offs regarding development and environmental upliftment? Or must we assume that the time has not yet come for South Africa to squarely address the environmental problem while still saddled with other much more pressing problems, including debt crisis, wide unemployment, and other problems? Is this a critical issue for South Africa? Can a high priority be placed on the environmental issues and development? Can South Africa go ahead on a road to democracy without first addressing this issue?

These are critical questions that need to be addressed when we look at the question of environment and development. The way I conceive development as applied by the West on the Third World countries basically means dependency and the exploitation of resources and the raising of profits. In the mainstream discourse, development has come to mean transformation, that has more often than not led to dependency and degradation. There is a need for reconceptualizing these broad and often demystified terms. The Third World conception of development must center around people's needs, most important, being democracy. Likewise, environment has also been restricted to concerns isolated from development. Environment and development need to be redefined since they address similar issues. We need to develop a framework in which environment and development become mutually intelligible concepts in terms of one another.

There is a long road ahead of South Africa as she seeks to redress these issue in political debates, and it seems the answers are still a long way off.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Adam, H. 1978. "Minority Monopoly in Transition. Recent Policy Shifts of the South African State." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 19(4) 611-26.
- Ainslie, R. 1977. *Masters and Serfs: Farm Labour in South Africa*. International Defence Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.
- Amin, S. 1977. *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. Monthly Review, New York.
- Andersen, N. 1990. "Tuberculosis and Social Stratification in South Africa". *International Journal of Health Services*, 1990, 20(1) 141-165.
- Beinart, W. and Bundy, C. 1987. *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*. Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Biko, S. 1979. *I Write What I Like*. Heinemann, London.
- Bullard, R. 1993. *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*. South End Press, Boston.
- Bundy, C. 1979. "The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry" in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa*. McMillan, London.
- Cock, J. 1978. *Maids and Madams*. David Philip, Cape Town.
- Cock, J. and Koch, E. 1991. *Going Green: People, Politics and Environment in South Africa*. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
- Cooper, J.H. 1991. "Distributive Justice, Welfare Economics and Liberation." *South African Journal of Economics*, 59(1).
- Daphne, P. 1984. *Organising Against Underdevelopment*. The Center of Research and Documentation: University of Zululand, Kwa-Dlangezwa.

- Davenport, T.R.H. 1991. *South Africa. A Modern History*. 4th edition. McMillan, London.
- Davies, W. 1990. *We Cry for our Land: Farm Workers in South Africa*. Oxfam, Oxford.
- Durning, A. 1990. *Apartheid's Environmental Toll*. World Watch Institute, Paper 95, United Nations.
- Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Grove Press, New York.
- Feuntes, A. and Ehrenreich 1981. *Women in the Global Factory*. South End Press, Boston.
- Frank, A.G. 1969. *The Development of Underdevelopment*. Course Pack, Sociology 830 of 1993, Michigan State University. (K. Kelly).
- Fuggle, R. and Rabie, M. 1992. *Environmental Management in South Africa*. Juta and Co. Ltd, Cape Town.
- Furnivall, J.S. 1940. *"Netherlands India" and "Colonial Policy and Practice"*.
- Gordon, R. 1977. *Mines, Masters and Migrants*. Raven Press, Johannesburg.
- Greenberg, S. 1980. *Race and State in Capitalist Development*. Yale University Press.
- Haggard, S. 1990. *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
- Hamilton, C. 1993. "Coping with Industrial Growth," in Bullard, R. *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*. South End Press, Boston.
- Hechter, M. 1975. *Internal Colonialism. The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Johnston, B. and Button, G. 1993. "Maquiladora: US and Foreign Industry at the Mexican Border" in Bullard, R. *Who Pays the Price? Examining the Sociocultural Context of Environmental Crisis*. Society for Applied Anthropology, Oklahoma.
- Kalan, H. 1994. *"Apartheid and the Environment: Polluting the Poor" Toward Freedom*. SAEPEJ. MA.

- Koch, E. 1992. "Lethal Crop of Poisons on South Africa's Farms." *Johannesburg Weekly Mail*, March, 1992.
- Le Grange, C. 1992. "Dumped Toxic Waste Burns Children." *The Johannesburg Star*, February 6, 1992.
- Maasdorp, G. 1974. *Economic Development Strategy in the African Homelands: The Role of Agriculture and Industry*. South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.
- Moleah, A.T. 1993. *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession*. Desai Press, Delaware.
- Molteno, F. 1977. *Social Dynamics- A Journal of the Social Sciences* v.3(2). University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Motsuenyane, S.M. 1978. *The Economic Implications of Separate Development*. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.
- Nattrass, N. 1990. "South Africa: The Homelands and Rural Development." *Development of Southern Africa* 7:517-534.
- Pampallis, J. 1991. *Foundations of the New South Africa*. Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg.
- Platzky, L. and Walker, C. 1985. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*. Raven Press, Johannesburg.
- Pomeroy, J.W. 1971. *Apartheid Axis*. International Publishers, New York.
- Ramphela, M. 1991. *Restoring the Land: Environment and Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Panos Institute, London.
- Schonfield, A. 1993. "Apartheid's Toxic Legacy." *Earth Island Journal*. Summer 1993.
- Sisulu, M. 1994. "African National Congress Document on Environment." SAEPEJ. MA.
- Stedman, S.J. 1994. *South Africa. The Political Economy of Transformation*. Lynne Rienner, Colorado.
- Sunday Times Metro 1992. "People are Living There." October 11, 1992.
- Sunday Tribune 1992. "Dust Has Not Settled Over Asbestos Risks." February 1992:16.

- Sunday Tribune 1990. "Industrial Pollution threatens Natal." April 1990:22.
- Taylor, D. 1993. "Environmentalism and the Politics of Inclusion" in R. Bullard *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*. South End Press, Boston
- Tiryakian, E.A. and Rogowski, R. *New Nationalism of the Developed West*. Allen and Unwin, Boston.
- Van Onselen, C. 1976. *Chibaro*. Pluto Press, London.
- Wellings, P. and Black, A. 1984. *Industrial Decentralization Under Apartheid: An Empirical Assessment of Industrial Decentralization in South Africa*. University of Natal, Durban.
- Wilson, F. and Ramphela, M. 1989. *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*. W.W. Norton, New York.
- Woods, G. 1992. *Taiwanese Investment in the Homelands of South Africa*. PhD Dissertation, University of Ohio.
- Worden, N. 1994. *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid*. Juta and Co. Ltd. S.A.
- Young, N. 1991. "You Work in Order to Live." Environmental Monitoring Group, Johannesburg.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293009604368