

CLASS, LAND AND POVERTY

*A STUDY OF THE CLASS DYNAMICS OF LAND
DISPOSSESSION AND LAND RESTITUTION IN DYSSELSDORP*

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
MASTERS ARTIUM (M.A. Degree full dissertation) in the
Department of Sociology and Anthropology,
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By

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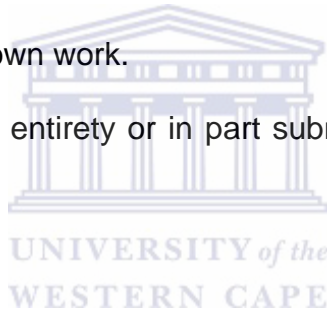
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DECEMBER 2014

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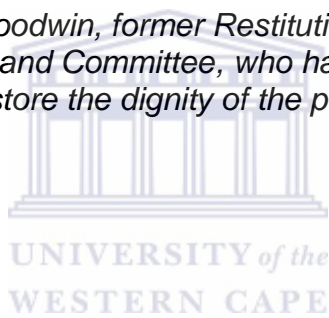


Signed:

Date:

In memory of

The late Eric Goodwin, former Restitution Coordinator for the Southern Cape Land Committee, who had worked tirelessly and selflessly to restore the dignity of the people of Dysselsdorp.



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ABSTRACT

A key criticism of the government's land reform and restitution policies is that these policies were being implemented in the absence of an agrarian strategy and a comprehensive rural development strategy. Furthermore, what were ignored were the class contradictions and class dynamics in rural South Africa and how they impacted on the success or failure of land reform and restitution.

This study aimed to contribute towards understanding how the dynamics of class formation and differentiation impact on and are in turn impacted upon by land restitution processes. It was conducted against the backdrop of both land reform and restitution programmes of the democratic government being viewed by communities, scholars, commentators, civil society and opposition parties as generally a failure.

The objectives of the study were twofold: firstly to develop a view of the class structure before and after land restitution in Dysselsdorp and, secondly, to consider the different ways in which classes were differentiated, combined and reconstituted to different effect in relation to the three restitution models.

Having reviewed the works of Karl Marx and various scholars, three criteria to determine and differentiate class was identified: private ownership of the means of production; exploitation of the labour power of the workers/proletariat to create surplus value and profit; and the production of commodities for exchange and capital accumulation. The assumption was that the processes and consequences of land dispossession, class dislocation, social disintegration and impoverishment of the Dysselsdorp community can best be understood within the framework of a Class Analysis model.

The study thus explored three models of land restitution that the Dysselsdorp community had adopted and ascertained how they had impacted on class formation, class differentiation, mobility and social cohesion. In this regard the study showed how restitution and the different restitution models had varying implications for class relations and the class structure in Dysselsdorp.

Using a qualitative research approach, data were collected in the field through primary research such as structured, unstructured and in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and sampling. In addition secondary research such as desktop studies was also conducted. Respondents who have elected to pursue each or a combination of the were selected

The study revealed that class differentiations have emerged on the back of land reform and restitution in Dysselsdorp. Furthermore, that the different restitution models have varying implications for class relations, differentiation, location and the class structure. The study concluded that a successful land restitution project, which included adequate technical and financial support to develop the smallholder farmers into thriving agricultural businesses, had the potential to impact positively on the class structure.

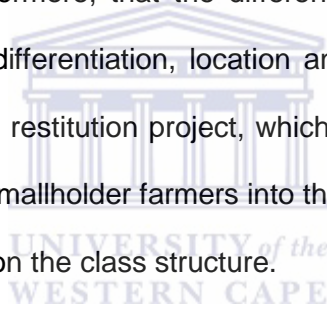


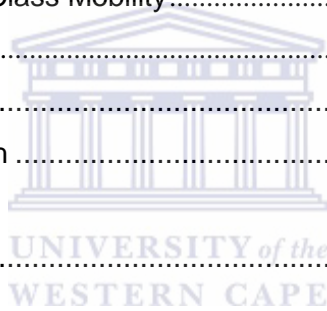
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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Dysselsdorp is a large rural settlement, approximately 25 kilometres east of Oudtshoorn on the road to Beaufort West in the Western Cape. The area was once a thriving, prosperous and stable agricultural location where self-sufficient families lived on smallholdings and practised subsistence farming. However, they were all forcibly removed in the early 1970s from their land on five surrounding farms by the former Apartheid government and relocated to the new settlement of Dysselsdorp, becoming the town's first inhabitants.

Nearly all of the structures and houses in Dysselsdorp today were built from the 1970s onwards as part of a plan by the then Apartheid regime to develop the town as a coloured group area, in terms of the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950. The settlement is essentially a dormitory town with its residents mainly making a living by supplying cheap labour to Oudtshoorn and the surrounding farms. Its character conforms to the vision that Apartheid ideologies charted for coloured people, namely a source of cheap labour for the factories and farms west of the coloured labour preference line¹.

¹ The imaginary line that was created with the passing of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in 1955. The line ran between the eastern and western part of the Cape and placed limits on the number of African people who could access jobs, housing, land and education within a part of the Western Cape.

With the advent of democracy in 1994, the Dysselsdorp community launched a restitution claim for their land and monetary compensation for their losses. However, in the restitution process various (and clashing) interests and demands surfaced from the claimants. It is the contention of this study that these interests and claims have been manifestations of deeper class positions, interests and divisions within and amongst the community. Accordingly, the main purpose of this study was to explore these undercurrents in an attempt to comprehend the land claiming process by the people of Dysselsdorp, and the numerous delays associated with it.

1.2 Social Background of Local Context

In 1836, the farm Dysalskraal² (then some 2 158 hectares) was handed to emancipated slaves and indigenous inhabitants by the London Missionary Society. The farm was surveyed and subdivided into plots in 1872, thereby affording ownership status to the then 576 existing residents. Residents also received agricultural allotments, which had water rights (Southern Cape Land Committee, 1996: 8). In 1966, Dysselsdorp was declared a coloured residential area in terms of the Group Areas Act. Sauls et al and Associates (2008: 17) note that by the early 1970s, the Divisional Council had begun building the first stage of a large housing scheme on a portion of the Dysselsdorp commonage. Between 1971 and 1974 all the residents of the farms Blaaupunt, Waaikraal, Varkenskloof, Doringkraal and Ou-Dysselsdorp were given eviction notices by the Divisional Council and forcibly

² Dysalskraal was later renamed Dysselsdorp

removed by the police and the army to the new housing scheme. Everything people owned was destroyed and structures were bulldozed to the ground. According to Schultz (1997: 4), the destruction was quite formidable: “approximately 700 buildings were destroyed, including several churches, schools, an ostrich feather processing factory, a tobacco processing factory and 120 years’ worth of canal and dam building.”

Through a single act of repression and violent forced removal, the smallholder farmers lost their land, their means of income, their homes and their livestock. Everyone was forced to become a tenant of the state in accordance with the Group Areas Act and compelled to seek employment to feed their families. At present Dysseisdorp is a highly impoverished area, with a litany of socio-economic problems, including high unemployment; low literacy levels; high teenage pregnancy rates; widespread alcohol and substance abuse; high school drop-out rates; inadequate services and high levels of illnesses such as tuberculosis. Schultz (1997: 11) observes that many people were severely traumatised by the events and even today there are still many old people who are afraid to speak of what happened to them for fear of reprisals from those who removed them. People also feel alienated from Dysseisdorp since those who reside there had no part in its design or construction. It is a place of exile rather than a home. As mentioned, the people of the town are largely a source of cheap labour for Oudtshoorn and surrounding farms, more specifically for largely seasonal employment.

With the advent of the democratic dispensation in 1994, communities were urged to submit land claims in an attempt to regain ownership of their land that had been

unjustifiably taken away from them during Apartheid. Accordingly, the Dysselsdorp land claim was submitted in 1996 with the assistance of the South Cape Land Commission (SCLC), a non-governmental organisation of land activists based in George. This was only gazetted by the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights in late 1997. The final settlement was signed on 17 June 2000 with 857 members on the claimant list. The settlement agreement focused exclusively on land restoration and development and, at a later stage, partial financial compensation.

The land under claim consisted of large portions of the land surrounding the current residential area of Dysselsdorp. Sauls et al et al (1998), in their report on development proposals for Dysselsdorp commissioned by the Department of Agriculture, identify several challenges, fault lines and contradictions amongst claimants, especially underlying class contradictions that were exposed during the land restitution process. Firstly, many of the former small farmers expressed a strong desire to return to the piece of land which they were removed from. Secondly, in the majority of cases, title deeds had not been kept and/ or updated and it was unclear as to who the rightful owner should be. This meant that some of the former petty bourgeoisie and smallholder farmers would have to waive their right to restoration of a specific piece of land. Thirdly, the population of Dysselsdorp had almost doubled since the removal in 1972. Fourthly, after the settlement agreement had been signed a substantial group of the claimant community, essentially the smallholder farmers and petty commodity producers, remained “opposed to a clause in the agreement that stipulated that the money from the claim should be utilised for development projects which would benefit the broader community and leave a

lasting legacy” (Sauls et al et al, 1998: 17). They insisted that the money be paid out in cash and this resulted in the formation of the Dysselsdorp Action Group, which delayed the compilation of a development proposal for more than seven years. It is precisely this differentiated process in land restitution that this study sought to explore from the perspective of its class dynamics and its relation to the social cohesion and transformation of the Dysselsdorp community.

1.3 Research Problematic

This study sought to address the formation, location, identity, differentiation and fragmentation of classes that have manifested and unfolded through the process of land restitution. The problematic covered several aspects, starting firstly with land lost during dispossession by the Dysselsdorp community and the models of land restitution they adopted. Secondly, it linked land ownership and access to two aspects of labour relations: labour relations in relation to agricultural production, i.e. in the employment of wage-labour; and labour that was sold in exchange for a salary or wages to supplement farming income. Thirdly, it investigated how agricultural production was realised in market and community exchanges.

The objectives of the study were twofold: firstly to develop a view of the class structure before and after land restitution in Dysselsdorp and, secondly, to consider the different ways in which classes were differentiated, combined and reconstituted to different effect in relation to the three restitution models.

1.3.1 Dialectic of Dispossession and Restitution

The history of Dysselsdorp can be traced back to the pre-colonial land possession period, during which the indigenous Khoi and San people inhabited the Kannaland region, and two successive land dispossessions. According to Peires and Dooling (2004), the first land dispossession is dated to around 1780 during which time white settlers moved from the Cape and expropriated the land from the indigenous inhabitants. In this process the Khoi and San were displaced from their land and subsequently incorporated into the colonial economy as slave and wage labour.

The second land dispossession Peires and Dooling (2004) trace back to the 1970s with the mass removals effected under the Group Areas Act of 1950. During this period, through forced removals, the land was given or sold to white farmers by the government. These land dispossessions reflect that the ownership and control of land and labour power were fundamental in influencing, shaping and determining the nature and structure of relations between classes in Dysselsdorp. What the study has shown in this regard is that class identities were not clearly delineated before the land dispossession of the 1970s and nor have they been subsequently. Moreover, the community of Dysselsdorp has been witness to multiple class identities and has occupied contradictory class locations.

The intention at the heart of the study was to understand the class structure in Dysselsdorp, in terms of a Marxist understanding and analysis of its class dynamics. However, the study recognised that Marx's class analysis did not adequately explain the complexities of modern class society, and the nuances and contradictions it has

produced in the identity, location, differentiation and structure of classes. In order to address this gap the study drew extensively on the theory of contemporary Marxist Erik Olin Wright, with regard to conceptualising multiple class identity and locations. The primary objective of this study was to synthesise a model of class analysis, stemming from the literature review that was then applied to land restitution in the Dysselsdorp community. Thus, in addition to the aforementioned, this study adapted the class analysis models of Cousins (1992), Levin (1997), Bernstein (2003) and the Department of Agriculture (2010) in order to explore the class dynamics (upward – downward class mobility) of the land restitution models adopted in Dysselsdorp.

1.3.2 Land Restitution Models

The study explored three models for land restitution that the Dysselsdorp community has adopted, and ascertained how they impacted on class formation, class differentiation and social cohesion. The advent of the land claim was traced to post-1994 when the Dysselsdorp Land Claim Committee united the community around its claim and the restitution process.

The settlement agreement initially focused exclusively on land restoration and development and, at a later stage, included the claim for partial financial compensation. The restitution models that the Dysselsdorp community were faced with were:

- Community development projects to benefit the entire Dysselsdorp community, regardless of length of residence, including communal trust and the creation of economic co-operatives.
- Land restitution to those who can prove title deed and where it is physically possible to transfer the land; and
- Monetary compensation to those without title deed and a partial payment to all claimants.

However, what was noteworthy was that as the restitution processes unfolded, differences and contradictions emerged between the claimants as they started to articulate divergent interests and needs. These interests ranged from those of former landowners, who wanted their land back so that they could return to being farmers or have some form of economic asset; to those of some former leaseholders, or those who had not been property owners before the dispossession and those that had worked as wage-workers, who only wanted monetary compensation. In addition, there were claimants who were more interested in setting up community trusts and co-operatives for the common good. Preferences in the restitution process also changed over time and were shaped by the (protracted and conflictual) process. Accordingly, this study explored how class differentiation, fragmentation and location of these different groups of claimants and their concomitant needs and demands were expressed in response to the different restitution models.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The study endeavoured to unpack key class concepts and conceptual relationships and how they have interacted and developed in the Dysseisdorp community under the pressures of land possession, dispossession and restitution. Following from this, the study:

- Explored the different models of land restitution and their relations to class formation, differentiation and location;
- Examined class differentiation and its prospects for class mobility both upwards (embourgeoisement) , downwards (poverty) and sideways (stasis);
- Sought to gain insight into the prospect of each model of restitution for the class dynamics of Dysseisdorp and its well-being as a community.

1.5 Significance of the Study

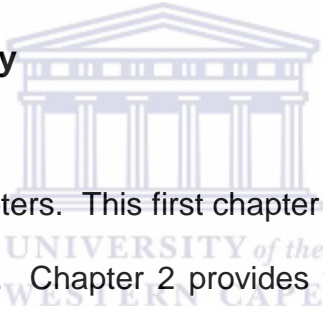


This study aimed to contribute towards understanding how the dynamics of class formation and fragmentation impact on and are impacted upon by land restitution processes. Bearing in mind that the country commemorated the centenary of the 1913 Land Act³, in 2013, land reform and land restitution remain highly topical issues for South Africa. However, despite twenty years of democracy, the country still faces enormous challenges of poverty and inequality and many of the promises made to the electorate in 1994 remain unfulfilled. Rural communities in particular face severe challenges of high unemployment, abject poverty, gross inequalities and lack of access to resources and assets. The land reform and restitution programme of the

³ In 1913 the land dispossession of Africans reached its apex with the promulgation of the 1913 Land Act in which 87% of the land in South Africa was placed in the hands of the white community.

democratic government is generally seen by communities, scholars, commentators, civil society and opposition parties as a failure. A key criticism is that the land reform and restitution programme is being implemented in the absence of an agrarian strategy and a comprehensive rural development strategy (Hall, 2012: 31-33). Also ignored are the class contradictions and class dynamics in rural South Africa and how they impact on the success or failure of land reform and restitution. In the most general sense, this study has been conducted to contribute in a small but meaningful way to understanding the complexities of the class dynamics of rural life which are so often over-simplified..

1.6 Structure of the study



The study consists of five chapters. This first chapter describes the aim, context and general structure of the study. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical and conceptual framework that anchors this study, as well as an exposition of class analysis in light of how it has been applied to the South African land question and its concomitant restitution process. The methodology and overview of the study's research design, coupled with a profile of its research setting in Dysselsdorp, is provided in chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the data in a structured manner and analyses the data collected by bringing together the research problematic, objectives, literature and the primary data into a general interpretive relationship. Chapter 5 concludes with a summary of the main findings of the study as well as suggested areas for future study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The fundamental questions which this study sought to address were: firstly, how the class structure in Dysselsdorp had been altered by politics of land dispossession and restitution; secondly, how land dispossession and restitution had impacted on class relations, differentiation, fragmentation and location; and, thirdly, how these processes played themselves out through the class dynamic of class mobility and its prospects for the community. The premise of this study is that Marxist class analysis offers useful theoretical tools to analyse and understand class relations, structure and differentiation. Towards this end, this chapter reviews Marxist debates concerning class relations, locations, differentiation and rural class formations. Furthermore, the chapter reviews debates around land restitution and its impact on class differentiation.

Taken together, the aim was to develop a theoretical model to analyse the class structure and class relations in rural areas in general, and to apply it to Dysselsdorp in particular. The lens of Marxist class analysis was thus used to understand how land dispossession and restitution have shaped the class structure, relations, formation, differentiation and mobility in Dysselsdorp. In this regard the purpose of this chapter was to work with a Class Analysis model that was germane to the

specific and concrete conditions of land restitution as experienced by the community of Dysselsdorp.

2.2 The Importance of Class

For most sociologists, class is seen as one of the principal lines of social cleavage within society – i.e. the place where the most serious disturbances and disruptions are thought to be traceable. Social class as such is one of the most important and contested concepts within sociology (Wright, 2001: 1). However, as noted already, this study argues that Marx's class analysis does not adequately explain the complexities of modern class society, nor how it has produced nuances and contradictions in the location and structure of classes. To compensate for these shortcomings in Marx's theory, this study opts to draw substantially from the scholarly works of the contemporary Marxist, Erik Olin Wright, who has extended Marx's theory specifically concerning contradictory class locations.

It has been questioned whether the concept of social classes is still relevant for understanding society and whether it provided the most coherent analysis of contemporary South African social stratification. In this regard, Hendricks (2006: 112) warned that the "recent amnesia on the concept of class is premature and that persistent social inequalities provide an abiding challenge to all social scientists". This study is in agreement with Hendricks in that it also moved from the premise that a Marxist concept of class was vital for a correct understanding and explanation of social inequality in South Africa. However, this study argues that, in addition, a class

analysis is needed precisely because race and class have been intertwined and mutually reinforcing in South African society. Considered empirically, Triegaardt (2006: 2) pointed to the majority of the population who live in poverty and inequality and are classified as black. The striking fact that this study confronts is that, even in the new South Africa, this intersection between race and class has continued to survive as the majority of blacks continue to be trapped in poverty, unemployment, landlessness and illiteracy.

The class analysis approach was marshalled to particularly address terms which homogenise the lived realities of rural life such as 'the rural poor', 'landless masses', 'small-scale farmers' and 'smallholders'. In this regard the focus on class differentiations and combinations in this study brought to light inequalities between rural households which tended to be obscured. In addition, significant class-based differences among the victims of land dispossession and primary beneficiaries of restitution in South Africa were similarly surfaced. The approach adopted in this study took up the analytic sensibility of various scholars such as Levin (1997), Hendricks (2006) Bernstein (2009) and Cousins (2010) who have argued that a class-analytic perspective is essential for understanding the differentiated character and diverse trajectories of emerging class differences within the ranks of the poor and landless.

2.3 Criteria for Class Differentiation and Location

The discussion that follows serves to clarify the key criteria upon which class categorisation is based, how classes are differentiated and thus their respective location or locations as the case might be. With respect to the literature, it has been possible to reduce the scope of class formation and relations to three key relations - the means of production, labour and the market. It is accepted that it is in the combined effect of these three relations that classes are constituted and differentiated from each other.

2.3.1 Ownership of the Means Production

What characterises the capitalist mode of production is that the means of production are under the private ownership of the bourgeoisie. In this regard, Marx and Engels (2002: 22) stated that “modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.” The historical process, according to Marx (1999: 23), had reached the point when “private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths.” Given this historical tendency, Marx came to the conclusion that one of the fundamental criteria that distinguish one class from another rested on the particular relation to the private ownership of the means of production. In light of the latter, he specifically co-

identified ownership and control of the means of production (capital, land, factories, mines, equipment, financial institutions, labour, etc.) as the primary determinants of class relations in any society.

Contemporary sociologists have taken up the central Marxist principles involved in determining class location. For instance Swingewood (1975:13) extended the concept by drawing attention to distinctions between property and that of income and status. He argued that whereas the latter two are not determinants of class, the first, i.e. property, is fundamental. Giddens and Held (1982: 37) followed a similar viewpoint, maintaining that classes are “constituted by the relationship of groupings of individuals to the ownership of private property in the means of production. In other words classes do not result from distribution of products, income differences, social evaluation or political power, but emerge right from their relationship to the process of production”. This study has committed itself to the core principle that whatever criteria are accepted for a class-analysis model, these of necessity have to refer us directly to the production process and thus we now turn to labour relations.

2.3.2 Labour Relations and Exploitation

The second criterion which the literature points to in the determination of class is the manner in which individuals relate to one another in the production process. In this regard, Marx (1999) identified the critical relation in capitalism as being that the owners of the means of production exploit the labour power of the workers/proletariat for their own benefit. Marx (1999) argued that the ultimate source of profit, the driving

force behind capitalist production, is the unpaid labour of workers. So for Marx, exploitation forms the foundation of the capitalist system. Thus, to increase their capital, capitalists buy the workers' labour power in exchange for producing goods and services, so as to create profit. Marx (1967: 672) concluded that: "(a)ll surplus value, whatever particular form (profit, interest or rent) it may subsequently crystallise into, is in substance the materialisation of unpaid labour-time". This is the essence of exploitation for Marx: that part of the proletariat's working day is spent generating value that keeps the workers fed and clothed, while the remainder is spent generating surplus value, which goes to the capitalist.

Class differentiation and location is thus determined not only by ownership and control of the means of production, but also by the exploitation of labour power. Wright (2002:14) makes the argument that it is not sufficient to determine class on the basis of the mere ownership and control of the means of production, but rather it is critical whether those resources and assets are deployed in production to create surplus value and profit.

2.3.3 Exchange Relations

The third and final criterion of class differentiation and location is the exchange relations that underpin production. In this regard, the literature highlighted that the main foci of production under capitalism are the production of commodities for exchange, capital accumulation and the creation of wealth for the bourgeoisie. Marx (1999) argued that through adding labour power to production, commodities are

created that have both use value and exchange value. The principle of capital “has one single life impulse, the tendency to create value and surplus-value, to make its constant factor, the means of production, absorb the greatest possible amount of surplus labour” (Marx, 1999: 367).

Taken together the three criteria of ownership of the means of production, the exploitation of labour power during the process of production and the creation of commodities for exchange, provide potential points of separation that differentiate classes from one another. Wright (2001: 9) also reminded us that the three criteria must be taken together to constitute class differentiation or class relations: “A capitalist is not someone who owns machines, but someone who owns machines, deploys those machines in a production process, hires owners of labor power to use them and appropriates the profits from the use of those machines.” Thus the main purpose of production under capitalism is not to create livelihoods for the producers or simply to create commodities with use value, but to produce exchange value for market competition and profit.

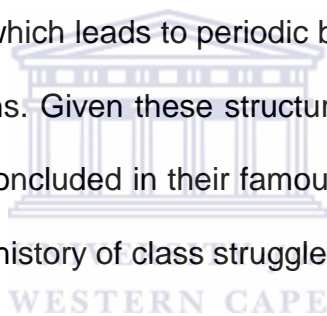
2.4 Class Structure, Relations and Differentiation

2.4.1 Primary Classes: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat

The fundamental thesis of Marxist theory that the literature in the main supports is that all class societies are built around a primary line of division between two antagonistic classes, one dominant and the other subordinate. Marx defined

capitalist society, his main subject matter, as having essentially two contending classes: a bourgeoisie and a proletariat. As Marx (2002: 2) put it: “Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other — bourgeoisie and proletariat.”

However, in contrast to the property owning class of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat has no property, therefore in order to survive and obtain an income for themselves and their families, they must find employment from an employer. Marx (1999) viewed this dependent relationship as exploitative and contradictory with inherent class conflict built into it, and which leads to periodic bursts of strikes, crises, political struggles and social revolutions. Given these structural conditions of class societies Marx and Engels (1969: 14) concluded in their famous dictum that, “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles”.



2.4.2 Secondary Classes: Petty Bourgeoisie and Middle Classes

While the dominant classes for Marx reveal a model of class relations which is basically dichotomous he did however recognise the existence and emergence of other secondary classes. In this regard he identified the petty bourgeoisie which comprised “the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper and the artisan” (Marx, 2002:17). In Marx’s dynamic model of class he predicted that the petty bourgeoisie

as a class would disappear as capitalism developed, with members either moving into the bourgeoisie or into the working class. Furthermore, Marx identified the middle classes, unemployed and lumpenproletariat as additional classes under capitalism.

Using Marx's criteria of relations to the means of production and labour power, the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes often have dual or contradictory class identities and locations. Some of them are owners of businesses, work for themselves and sometimes employ wage labour while others are employed by the bourgeoisie to supervise and manage capital. During the 1970s, Marxist theorists were preoccupied with the problem of assigning class positions to the middle classes who do not fall clearly within the bourgeoisie or the proletariat (Marshall, 1998). The problem revolved around where to place those who occupied intermediate positions such as managers, supervisors, salaried professionals, and so forth. Indeed these positions are employed to manage the accumulation of capital on behalf of the bourgeoisie and, in most instances, assist directly or indirectly in the exploitation of wage labour or the maximisation of profits. However, at the same time they do not own the means of production and their labour power (i.e. generally intellectual labour) is exploited by the bourgeoisie. Marshall (1998) noted that since these contradictory class locations are concerned with questions of class boundaries they are referred to as the boundary debate which is taken up below.

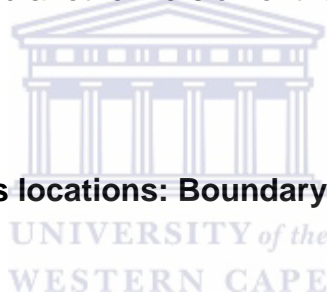
2.4.2.1 'Contradictory Class Locations': Boundary disputes and the Middle Class

The most sustained attempt to solve these boundary issues in the so-called boundary debate was taken up by Erik Olin Wright's theory on contradictory class locations. The existence and expansion of the middle classes under contemporary capitalism has posed serious analytical problems for Marxists in what Wright (1998: 3) referred to as the 'embarrassment of the middle class'. Wright (1998: 87) further argued that the middle classes constitute contradictory locations, or more precisely contradictory locations within exploitation relations. Wright (1998) noted that, on the one hand, they were neither exploiter nor exploited (e.g. petty-bourgeois, self-employed producers), what he calls the 'traditional or 'old' middle class, while, on the other hand, this 'traditional middle class' was capitalistically exploited because they lacked assets in capital, yet they were also skill-exploiters (e.g. as managers, professionals), and thus he respecified it as the 'new middle class' (Wright, 1998: 24).

Furthermore, Wright (1985: 27) argued that while all Marxists view exploitation as rooted in the social organisation of production, there is no agreement among them as to "how the social relations of production should be defined, what aspects of those relations are most essential in defining classes or how classes should be specified within the general notion of production relations". For Wright (1998: 13), classes are not simply defined by various relations of control and domination within the process of production, but also by exploitative and repressive protection of property relations.

The contradictory tendencies above are also evident with respect to the class location of petty commodity producers. What emerged in this regard was that small employers, for example, are simultaneously petty bourgeois and capitalist, in that they are self-employed direct producers. However, to compound the problem of class boundaries, there are also instances where small scale commercial farmers are employers of wage labour and therefore as such are exploiters of labour power. Similarly, an extensive group of so-called semi-autonomous employees (such as salaried professionals) do not own productive means, but still exercise considerable control over their activities within production. For these reasons, the question of contradictory locations was germane to this study, but more importantly because small scale farming represented another version of the boundary debate.

2.4.2.2 Contradictory class locations: Boundary disputes and Small Scale Farmers



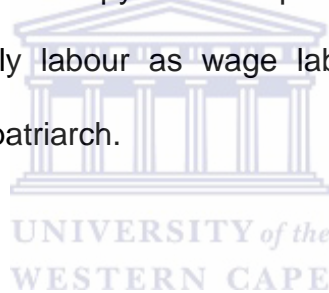
In many capitalist countries, particularly in under-developed and developing countries, small subsistence farmers, who own their own land, also work as wage-workers elsewhere in the economy to augment their income. They occupy class locations that can be described as semi-autonomous petty bourgeois or semi-autonomous wage-earners. Cousins (2010: 10) argued that it is not uncommon within capitalism for the peasantry and small-scale farmers to have contradictory class locations. In similar vein, Bernstein (2001: 31) concurred with this when he said that “the rural labour question is complicated by the fact that some peasant

households sell as well as buy labour power and that the boundaries between poor and peasantry⁴ and the rural proletariat are often blurred.”

One of the reasons for this contradictory class location is that cash income is needed to purchase many other goods for purposes of simple reproduction when cash income from marketed farm produce is insufficient to meet these needs. Family members thus engage in other forms of livelihood, in addition to farming, such as wage labour, crafts or petty trading in order to achieve their simple reproduction. Such producers combine the class places of capital and labour within the enterprise, i.e. they own the means of production, unlike landless workers, and are in these sense capitalists, but they also use their own labour power, unlike capitalists who hire the labour of workers (Cousins, 2010: 10).

⁴ Marx regarded the peasantry as a marginal class that would disappear, with most becoming displaced from the land and joining the proletariat or becoming landowners or capitalist farmers. The peasantry was only compatible with a limited development of industrial capitalism, and Marx insisted that in the longer term the peasantry would be destroyed through impoverishment. For Marx (2010: 22) the evolution of industry has led to the disappearance of the petty bourgeois. Scholars such as Wolpe (1972), Bundy (1979), Hendricks (1995), Ntsabane (2003), Bernstein (2003) and Ntsebeza (2006) concurred with Marx's deduction that the South African peasantry in the classical Marxist sense no longer exists as a result of the penetration of capitalist relations of production in rural areas and the extensive proletarianisation of the rural population. For instance, Bernstein (2003: 6) argued that “those commonly termed peasants today represent different classes: emergent capitalist farmers, relatively stable petty commodity producers, those poor and marginal farmers whose reproduction is secured principally by selling their labour power and peasants who have been proletarianised”.

This is often the case with smallholder farmers whose level of production or enterprises have not yet reached a stage or level of growth that enables them to work fulltime in their businesses and employ additional wage labour. Some may hire occasional labour for specific purposes, but family labour predominates. Like small-scale shop keepers who keep long hours, or craft producers who labour for days to produce items of low market value, small-scale farmers, often exploit themselves within the production process, which is one way of understanding the labour-intensive character of small scale farming. Additionally, Cousins (2010: 10) emphasised that “often the sexual division of labour within the farm-household results in the exploitation of female and child labour by men, who direct the production process and in effect occupy the class position of capital”. This highlights the issue of classifying family labour as wage labour from which a surplus is exploited to the benefit of the patriarch.

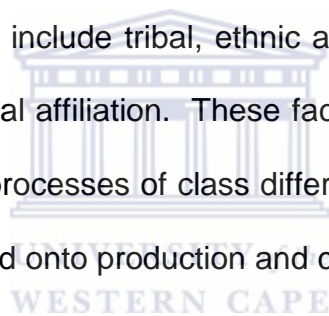


2.4.3 Rural Class Structure: Petty Commodity Producers and Smallholder Farmers

The literature review revealed that rural social formations in South Africa are often portrayed as homogeneous in character, e.g. the view that the vast majority of rural residents have become nothing more than ‘displaced proletarians’ or ‘semi-proletarians’ or ‘rural poor’ (Cousins, 2010:12). Criticising these approaches, Cousins (2010: 12) argued that: “inequalities in income within the rural population are viewed as distributional in character and explained by differences in the wages

or wage equivalents paid to different members of the same class, rather than as deriving from incipient processes of class formation.”

By adopting a class-analytical approach this study was able to differentiate classes in rural areas and understand how the stratification and differentiation in rural communities resulted in different needs and demands when it came to land reform and restitution. However, Cousins (2010) argued that, in practice, such a clear-cut and mechanistic delineation of class identities in rural areas is not always possible. This was attributed to the fact that social identities in rural communities tend to be multiple, overlapping with and cross-cutting each other in a complex manner. In addition to age and gender, Cousins (2010: 12) noted that relevant identities in the rural areas of Southern Africa include tribal, ethnic and linguistic identities, lineage, religion, nationality, and political affiliation. These factors can profoundly shape and influence class interests and processes of class differentiation in specific places and times as they tend to be grafted onto production and class relations.



2.4.3.1 Smallholder Farmers, Subsistence Farmers and Petty Commodity Producers: Boundary Issues

The categories of petty commodity producers, subsistence farmers and smallholder farmers have been introduced in this study to better understand and differentiate class formation in rural areas. Small-scale farming as defined by the VSF Europa (2012: 8) is a “type of production system where the farm unit (i.e. a single farmer, a couple, a family or a cooperative) is at the same time the owner, the worker and the

one making all relevant decisions.” This is thus defined as a small operation, which can be operated and managed by one person or a family.

However, from the literature review it is evident that the concept of small farms and small-scale farming can be approached from a variety of angles. The main point of contention from the literature seems to be the criteria that are being used to describe small-scale farming. These include agricultural activity, farm size, production output, economic viability, profitability and turnover or net farm income (Hazell, 2012: 5).

Taking up the challenge of class categorisation in the rural sector, Narayanan and Gulati (2002: 16) characterised a smallholder “as a farmer practicing a mix of commercial and subsistence production or either, where the family provides the majority of labour and the farm provides the principal source of income”. By contrast Nagayets (2005:1) reduced the scope of such definition to “the size of landholding or livestock numbers”. The latter approach has been challenged by Lund and Price (1998: 102) who have argued that “using land area as a classification of farm sizes can be problematic and is not a good criterion for defining small farms”.

Giving substance to Lund and Price (1998), Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998: 554) cited the counterfactual that “one hectare of irrigated peri-urban land, suitable for vegetable farming or herb gardening, has a higher profit potential than 500 hectares of low quality land in the Karoo.” However, making a counter-argument, Conway (2011: 1) put small scale farming into a different perspective stating that “generally farms of less than one hectare and with a few resources are usually unable to produce a surplus for sale and cannot provide enough work or substance for the family”.

Now bearing in mind South Africa's Apartheid legacy, it is important to note that there is a distinction which has been drawn between the diverse group categorised as smallholder farmers and those referred to as subsistence farmers. Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998: 55) pointed out that before 1994, South African agriculture was considered to have comprised mainly two categories of farmers, namely subsistence farmers in the former Bantustans and large-scale commercial (mainly white) farmers.

The application of this distinction under Apartheid meant that "small-scale" was often equated with backward, non-productive, non-commercial, subsistence agriculture of the former homeland areas. This according to Lahiff and Cousins (2005: 127) is testimony to the fact that smallholder farming in South Africa is "highly differentiated by race, class and gender, with large numbers of very poor black women producing purely for household consumption and a small 'élite', mainly men, producing on a much greater scale.

In reality the literature (Conway, 2011; Kirsten and Van Zyl, 1998) seems to converge on the idea that many smallholders in South Africa are actually petty commodity producers who have food gardens rather than farms and produce for consumption. Furthermore, it is argued (Conway, 2011) that such petty commodity producers would not consider themselves to be farmers in the conventional sense and moreover that relatively few of their products found their way into conventional markets. In sum, what is being questioned in this regard is the potential for class mobility and land restitution with specific reference to the capacity of smallholder farming.

2.4.3.2 Small-scale Farming Class Model

The model that informed the terminology of class categories in this study was mainly drawn from the Western Cape's Department of Agriculture's (WCDOA, 2010: 6-7) unpublished report, which has developed criteria to differentiate between categories of small-scale farmers. Table 1 as presented herein and adapted below sets out these differences in greater detail.



Table 1: Differentiation and fragmentation of small-scale farmers (adapted from WCDOA, 2010: 6-7)

Characteristics/ Criteria	Subsistence farmers		Smallholder farmers		
	Urban/ peri-urban farmers	Survival farmers	Lifestyle smallholder farmer	Smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations	Small commercial farmers
Exchange Relations					
Production for consumption or sale	Predominantly production for home consumption	Predominantly production for home consumption	Predominantly production for market	Predominantly production for market	Predominantly production for market
Intent to farm	Food security	Food security	Way of living	Commercial aspiration	Farm for profit
Market	Home	Home / Informal	Formal	Formal	Commercial
Depend on Agriculture (cash)	<10%	<10%	10 - 50%	10 - 50%	Yes
Means of Production					
Average land size	±0.5ha	>1 ha	1 - 10 ha	1 - 10 ha	1 - 10 ha
Access to land	No	Limited/Communal	Limited	Limited	Yes
Level of technology	Low	Low/indigenous	Some modern technology	Some modern technology	Modern technology
Access to water	Municipal	Limited	Limited	Limited	Yes
Access to capital/credit	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Labour Relations					
Source of labour	Own/family	Own/family	Own/ family/ hired	Own/ family/ hired	Hired

It is noteworthy that in this definition subsistence farmers are differentiated into two class categories, i.e. urban or peri-urban farmers and survival farmers. The urban or peri-urban farmers are generally distinguished first by not owning the land they produce on. Secondly, they make use of their own and family labour and, thirdly, they produce for their own consumption rather than market exchange. Furthermore, they are differentiated on the basis that they rent small plots of land of about 0.5 hectares, which are typically classified as food gardens rather than farms and what that implies. In addition, they have no access to capital and use low levels of technology such as spades and forks, thus limiting their productive capacities. In the main, the difference between urban or peri-urban farmers and survival farmers was that the latter have limited or communal ownership of the land.

The WCDOA (2010) model also further differentiated between lifestyle smallholder farmers (i.e. those who mainly practice farming as a hobby), smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations and small commercial farmers. What they have in common is that they mainly own medium to large and, in some cases, lease land as their primary means of production. They also use their own and sometimes employ labour in their productive activities which are often combined with professional and or salaried employment. Finally, they are all integrated in local value chains and produce principally for exchange in order to generate income and a profit.

The WCDOA model was adopted for this study as it provided ample differentiation to capture the many variations that were encountered in how the settlement options of the respective restitution models were taken up by the Dysselsdorp community.

2.4.4 Labour Reserve, Lumpenproletariat and Poverty

A large section of the population in rural areas is poor and unemployed and does not participate in the production of goods and services. Most of the poor are unemployed and do not sell their labour power but live off the income derived from wage labour, remittances, state welfare and hand-outs. Many of the poor in society are part of what Marx (1969:55) referred to as the lumpenproletariat, i.e. “those marginalised sectors of society where people exist outside of the wage-labour system, make their living through illegal means, or are dependent on begging for their daily existence”. In South Africa, due to the history of Apartheid and racial discrimination, poverty is closely correlated with race and gender, and is most of all concentrated in rural areas. According to Perret, Anseeuw and Mathebula (2005: 9), “72% of the poor population lives in rural places, and so do 81% of the ultra-poor population (the poor defined as the 40% poorest households, and ultra-poor the 20% poorest households)”. In addition the literature points to a gender imbalance in poverty where “female-headed households are more likely to be in the rural areas where poverty is concentrated” (Woolard, 2002: 3-6).

With respect to class differentiation, it is the case that the unemployed and lumpenproletariat are class fractions of the broader proletariat, as they mainly depend on the wages of the proletariat for their survival and livelihoods. However, some of the lumpenproletariat who live off the proceeds of crime such as drug dealing, gangsterism or organised crime, enjoys income levels and lifestyles that are similar to the petty bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie. To compound matters, some of them also employ other members of the lumpenproletariat in wage-labour relations in their

illegal businesses and activities. Thus, the question of determining class locations given the differentiated nature of production relations in small scale farming and within the different classes and class combinations make for a complex rural class structure.

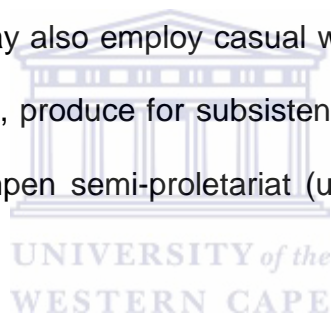
2.5 The Rural Class Model

Bernstein (2009: 30) opened up the main challenge confronting class analysis of rural social reproduction by arguing that while class identities may be useful for identifying and describing broad trajectories of change, they are often difficult to categorise in the analysis of specific empirical evidence. For this reason, he (2009:30) suggested that “rural classes are best theorised by investigating their actual conditions of existence and reproduction through the categories of the capitalist mode of production”.

Furthermore, Bernstein (2001: 30) also noted that “Lenin’s emphasis on the tendency to class differentiation among peasants (and other petty commodity producers) was a fundamental addition to understanding paths of agrarian change, identifying the possibility of dissolution of the peasantry through the formation of distinct classes of agrarian capital and wage labour from within its ranks.” In his discussion of the class differentiation of the peasantry, Bernstein (2001) adopted the approach of petty commodity production and its tendency to class differentiation and

argues that the peasantry can be divided into three classes, namely poor, middle, and rich peasants.

Levin (1997) adopted a similar approach to Bernstein's and also used production, exchange and labour relations as the basis to differentiate rural social formations; in this case petty capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, worker peasants, allotment-holding wage-workers and rural proletariat. For his part, Cousins (1992) also used production and reproduction to differentiate rural social formations into classes, namely: small to medium scale capitalist farmers (who own or lease land, produce for a market and employ wage labour); petty commodity producers (who own or lease land, produce for subsistence and also sell on a small scale to markets, use own and other labour, and may also employ casual wage labour); worker-peasants (who own or lease small plots, produce for subsistence and engage in wage labour to augment income); and lumpen semi-proletariat (unemployed and dependent on remittance).



The class-analytical typologies of rural social formations as discussed above is summarised in table 2 below.

Table 2: Rural class-analytical typologies (Adapted from Cousins, 2010:12)

Cousins et al (1992)	Levin et al (1997)	Bernstein (2003)
A. <i>Petty commodity producers</i> : able to meet their simple reproduction needs through their own production	A. <i>Petty capitalists</i> : engage in petty commodity production, hire some wage labour, some have access to small business	A. <i>Rich peasants</i> : engage in expanded reproduction, able to increase the land and/or other means of production beyond the capacity of the household, able to hire wage labour
B. <i>Worker-peasants</i> : combine wages and own production to secure their simple reproduction	<p>B. <i>Worker-peasants</i>: wage-workers with access to land</p> <p>C. <i>Allotment-holding wage-workers</i>: primarily dependent on wages and pensions, also have access to small garden plots</p> <p>D. <i>Rural proletariat</i>: landless or near landless, dependent almost wholly on wages</p>	B. <i>Poor peasants</i> : subject to a simple reproduction squeeze as capital or labour or both, depressed levels of consumption and reproduction
C. <i>Rural petty bourgeoisie</i> : produce a surplus, invest in means of production, engage in expanded reproduction, often have business-based income, hire some wage labour	E. <i>Petty bourgeoisie</i> : salaried individuals who engage in farming	C. <i>Middle peasants</i> : able to meet the demands of simple reproduction
D. <i>Lumpen semi-proletariat</i> : unable to reproduce themselves without external assistance (family or state)		

The class typologies of Cousins, Levin and Bernstein are typical of the class formations found in many rural areas of South Africa. These frameworks are thus

useful to analyse and understand the class structure of the rural community of Dysselsdorp. In using a Marxist analysis of classes and the thesis of contradictory class locations, together with class models of smallholder farmers and class differentiations, a class-analytical model was distilled to understand the class dynamics of the restitution models adopted in Dysselsdorp. This class-analytical model, called the Rural Class Model, reflects the classes and class differentiations in Dysselsdorp over its history of land possession, dispossession, restitution and or compensation. See table 3 below:



Table 3: The Rural Class Model

Class location	Relation to the Means of Production (M.O.P.), Exchange and Labour
<i>Bourgeoisie</i> : white, commercial farmers, 'feather barons', light industry entrepreneurs, retailers	Own and control the M.O.P. Employ and exploit wage labour
<i>Petty bourgeoisie</i> : retailers, shopkeepers, small commercial farmers	Own and control the M.O.P. Use own and family labour Employ and exploit wage labour
<i>Small commercial farmers</i> : engaged in small-scale production, able to meet their simple reproduction needs through their own production, produce for local market	Own or lease land and equipment Use own and family labour Employ and exploit wage labour
<i>Smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations</i> : engaged in small-scale production, partially able to meet their simple reproduction needs through their own production, produce a surplus for local market	Own or lease land and equipment Have access to other forms of income Use own and family labour
<i>Lifestyle smallholder farmer</i> : engaged in small-scale production, partially able to meet their simple reproduction needs through their own production, produce a surplus for local market	Own or lease land and equipment Have access to other forms of income Use own and family labour Employ and exploit wage labour
<i>Subsistence farmers</i> : engaged in small-scale production, able to meet their simple reproduction needs through their own production	Do not own and control the M.O.P. Use own and family labour Depend wholly on wages Are exploited by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie Landless Unemployed labour reserve army
<i>Middle class</i> : salaried professionals, civil servants, intelligentsia, supervisors, managers, councillors	Do not own and control the M.O.P. Control aspects of labour processes on behalf of bourgeoisie Own and control intellectual capital Labour power is exploited where employed by bourgeoisie
<i>Proletariat</i>	Do not own and control the M.O.P. Own labour power Depend wholly on wages Are exploited by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie

	Landless Unemployed labour reserve army
<i>Lumpenproletariat</i>	Do not own and control the M.O.P. Landless Unemployed labour reserve army Unable to reproduce themselves without external assistance (family or state) Engage in criminal activities Parasitic

2.6 Land Dispossession and its legacy

Land policy in South Africa before 1994 actively supported the emergence of white commercial agriculture and capitalist profiteering through the primitive accumulation of capital. Describing some of these measures used, Guy (2006: 32-35) noted that they were eliminating independent African production and restricting access to land in small communal reserves and townships designated solely for black occupation. According to Levin and Weiner (1991: 92), the overall effect of this by the end of Apartheid was that “approximately 82 million hectares of commercial farmland (86% of total agricultural land, or 68% of the total surface area) was in the hands of the white minority (10.9% of the population), and concentrated in the hands of approximately 60,000 owners.”

Lahiff (2001: 1) observed that black people, “the majority of them poverty-stricken, remained crowded in the former homelands, townships and informal settlements, where rights to land were generally unclear or contested and the system of land administration was in disarray.” These areas were characterised by extremely low per capita incomes and high rates of infant mortality, malnutrition and illiteracy relative to the rest of the country. In sum this was the legacy of land dispossession

that was bequeathed by the colonial government and Apartheid and needed to be turned around through land reform and restitution.

2.7 Land Reform, Restitution and Property Rights

In the early 1990s, after the unbanning of political organisations, there were high expectations among rural people that land confiscated from them and their forebears would be returned to them. There was also an expectation that the advent of democracy would mean that opportunities to own and use land would be opened up across the country (Ntsebeza and Hall, 2007). From 1994, the Government embarked on an ambitious programme to transfer 30 per cent of commercial farming land to 600 000 smallholders through a market-led programme of land redistribution. Furthermore, they were to provide monetary compensation to those people who had lost their right to access to land and other land-related rights.

The government's redistribution policy has taken a 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach, whereby the government has been paying market value for the disputed land before it is handed over to the original owners, who were dispossessed during apartheid. However, Hall (2010) has questioned whether the transfer recipients have retained the farms. In emphasising this point, Cousins (2013: 117) pointed out that there is no national registry of farmers in the country, and currently no tangible way to determine whether the transfer of land to black hands has been successful or transformed the lives of the needy. Critics of the government's land reform programme argue that it has not resulted in the social and economic transformation

expected (Hendricks, Ntsebeza and Helliker, 2013). Very little land has been redistributed and many land reform projects of both commercially viable and non-commercially viable farms have failed to help create sustainable livelihoods (Hall, 2010). Instead rural employment has decreased and farm worker (as well as some new farm owner) evictions have increased.

Land redistribution under the democratic government underwent several changes between 1994 and 2014 in South Africa. The first policy was based on the provisions of *Settlement/Land Acquisition Grants* (1994-1999) to households on the basis of a means test, and was designed to provide modest land for settlement and multiple livelihood purposes. In her critique of this policy, Hall pointed out that it resembled the “market-based model proposed by the World Bank, while being justified in the discourse of pro-poor and participatory land reform favoured by the NGOs and the African National Congress” (Hall, 2012: 243).

The second policy was the *Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development* programme (2000-2006), which initially focused on the emergence of a class of black commercial farmers. This was later moderated to also address the land needs of farm workers, women, emerging entrepreneurs and established commercial farmers.

The third and current policy, the *Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy* (2006 to date) was described as an alternative to the ‘willing buyer, willing seller’ approach. Hall (2012: 1) maintained that this new policy has further obscured the class agenda of land reform, which is to foster the emergence of a black petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in the agriculture sector of South Africa. This has meant a “distinct shift in the South African government’s land redistribution policy away from poverty

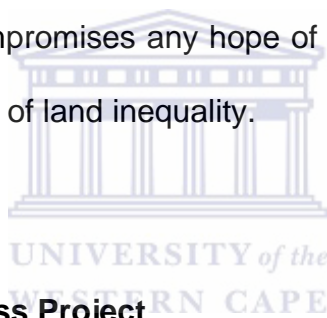
alleviation and group settlement, in favour of settling prospective farmers on their own farms” (Lyne & Darroch , 2003: 4-5).

It is clear from the policy changes during the first twenty years of democracy that issues pertaining to who should be the primary beneficiaries of land reform and restitution remain controversial and contested. In an attempt to provide a solution, Cousins (2010: 4) proposed that land reform should focus on broader agrarian transformation with the aim to support what he termed a process of ‘accumulation from below’. This Cousins (2010) proposed in combination with supporting supplementary food production on small plots and fields by large numbers of rural (and peri-urban) households, in order to enhance their food security and reduce income poverty. Such an approach could have the potential to create rural employment, because it could address key aspects of structural inequality and because investment in small-scale farming can impact positively on poverty.

Hendricks and Ntsebeza (2011: 223 -226) argued that the main problem facing land reform is the fact that the Constitution has legitimised the colonial alienation of land. They point out that, on the one hand, the Constitution guarantees formal equality before the law, while on the other hand it entrenches material inequality, especially in the distribution of land ownership. For instance, Clause 25 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, establishes property rights under which nobody may be arbitrarily deprived of their property. Furthermore, expropriation of property is permitted for public purposes only and subject to the agreement in the payment of compensation. More specifically, Clause 25(3) of the Bill of Rights stated that “The amount of the compensation and the time and manner

of payment must be just and equitable, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interest of those affected” and take into account factors such as the market value of the property. Thus the Constitution has made the possibility of expropriation of land very difficult and open to legal challenges. This has effectively allowed the bourgeoisie and commercial landowners to determine the extent and pace of land redistribution.

Following on from this, Hendricks and Ntsebeza (2011: 225) observe that, under the Constitution, the government must on the one hand protect the property rights of those with property and on the other ensure that the historical injustices of land dispossession is addressed. The Constitution clearly favours the existing property holders and consequently compromises any hope of genuine land reform that could fundamentally alter the pattern of land inequality.



2.8 Land Reform and the Class Project

Under the new democratic government, restitution started to be associated with new processes of class formation and with an emerging discourse of black economic empowerment. Despite the political changes, the literature reviewed suggests that there has been more continuity than change in the racial and class nature of land ownership, distribution and control in South Africa.

In analysing the different land policies, Hall (2012: 243) pointed out that it has become apparent that the class agenda and the “type of agricultural sector being pursued through land reform and restitution were left undefined.” What was clear,

according to Hall (2012,) was that these policies were not oriented towards “resolving either the agrarian question of capital (already resolved through the establishment of capitalist agriculture alongside mining and manufacturing in the twentieth century) or is it evidently contributing towards resolving the agrarian question of the dispossessed” (Hall, 2012: 33). Lahiff (2007) argued that four broad ideological approaches have influenced the debate on land reform internationally since the 1960s, as well as the South African land reform policy before and after 1994. Lahiff (2007:19-20) termed these approaches loosely as:

1. Modernist-conservative/ modernisation (MC), i.e. support the existing structure of agriculture (capital intensive farming in large units) but de-racialise the large-scale commercial farming sector to ease political tensions;
2. Neo-liberal/efficiency & equity (NL), i.e. remove economic distortions, liberalise markets, redistribute to efficient small farmers, acquire land through market-based land reform;
3. Welfarist/poverty alleviation, i.e. land and farming as a supplement to employment and grants, and;
4. Radical populist/structural transformation, i.e. redistribute wealth and power to rural poor, support diverse land-based livelihoods, expropriate land without compensation.

These four ideological approaches have had various degrees of influence and success on the evolution of land reform policy in South Africa. However, Lahiff (2007) argued that actual land reform policy has been leaning more towards the MC

and NL approaches. What is evident is that no fundamental restructuring of the agricultural sector or ownership patterns of land has yet taken place in South Africa. The limited inroads made by land reform and restitution into economic inequality in rural areas serve to undermine the argument for redistributing economic assets (Hall, 2012: 33). Although the present land reform policies do benefit some people, it is not clear what form of economic restructuring is being sought other than to keep the status quo intact.

What is also noteworthy from the literature reviewed is that demands for land reform communities generally do not seek radical and transformative restructuring of land ownership patterns or of the agricultural sector. These demands are largely limited to small plots for housing and food gardens for subsistence farming or for petty commodity production. For example, in a study conducted with respect to the nature of the demand for land in the Breede River Winelands Local Municipality in the Western Cape, Andrews, Phillans and Hall (2009: 175) reported that of the total sample, “75 per cent of respondents said that their households need land. Of those who said they need land, the overwhelming majority said that they need a very small parcel of land, with 61 per cent saying that they would need just one hectare or less, compared with just 3 per cent who said they want more than 10 hectares, and just 2 per cent who said they want more than 20 hectares.”

Andrews *et al* (2009: 175) concluded that the results of this study are consistent with the nature of demand for land elsewhere in South Africa, i.e. the bulk of the demand is for “small plots for smallholder production, primarily to supplement other sources of income, alongside a secure place to live, while the demand for larger plots for

sizeable farming is restricted to far fewer people”. Likewise, Hall (2009) asserted that the majority of rural dwellers who expressed a need for land desired less than five hectares, with a sizeable proportion requesting one hectare or less. An HSRC (2006) study also confirmed that the reasons for wanting land were mostly for food production and secure residence, and a much smaller proportion wanted land in order to increase their income. Furthermore, Andrews *et al* (2009: 176) made an interesting observation that it “could also be that in this context where farming is largely the preserve of the rich, many poorer people cannot envisage themselves farming at anything other than a very small scale.”

It is thus in the light of the aforementioned that this study explored the class dynamics of land restitution in Dysselsdorp with the express aim of contributing to a perspective on its real potential and limits for class mobility, employment and poverty alleviation. Put differently, this study responded to the reality that land reform and restitution policies in South Africa over the past twenty years have not challenged and addressed the patterns of capitalist ownership and control over the means of production and thus questions can be asked as to whether these policies are indeed transformative or mere ‘window-dressing’.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the research design and process that was followed in how the primary and secondary research for the study was conducted. Furthermore, it sets out the methodology that was followed in collecting, collating and analysing the data. Finally, it set out how the data is presented and analysed and closes with and the conclusions reached.

The Research Design and Process chapter is divided into the following areas: Research approach; Qualitative research; Data collection; Secondary research; Primary research; Data presentation and analysis; Validity of the study; Limitations of the study; and Ethics.



3.2 Research Approach: Social Research

The research approach adopted by this study is embedded in social study, i.e. in the scientific study of society. Social research examines a society's attitudes, assumptions, beliefs, trends, stratifications and rules. The scope of social research can be small or large, ranging from the self or a single individual to spanning an entire race or country. Ragin (1999: 3) maintained that social research involves the interaction between ideas and evidence in so far as ideas function to assist social

researchers in making sense of evidence, and researchers use evidence to extend, revise and test ideas. Furthermore, Ragin (1999) noted that social research is based on logic and empirical observations. Social research thus attempts to create or validate theories through data collection and data analysis, and its goal is exploration, description, explanation, and prediction. The methodology of social research can be qualitative or quantitative. For the purposes of this study a qualitative methodology is used.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

This study is qualitative in nature since it pursues an understanding into the attitudes, motivations and behaviour of actors. From the literature reviewed the dominant definition of qualitative research lean more towards understanding the meaning people give to their lived experiences (Shank, 2002: 5; Mack *et al*, 2005: 1). However, this study involves an exploration of the objective social conditions of people and looking for social patterns to understand where and how they fit into society, rather than what they think they do or their social consciousness. These objective conditions are the relations people have with the means of production, labour and market exchange.

In that way the study is more closely aligned to the definition of Qualitative research provided by Locke, (2007:97) "... is a systematic, empirical strategy for answering questions about people in a particular social context. Given any person, group, or

focus for interaction, qualitative research is a means for describing and attempting to understand the observed regularities in what people do, or in what they report as their experience.” The purpose of the study is thus to use data collected from people through interviews on their lived experience to discern class patterns. Key (1997) argued that that qualitative research is effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue may not be readily apparent.

Qualitative research is also appropriate for this study as it involves the analysis of any unstructured data, including: open-ended survey responses, literature reviews, interviews, audio recordings, videos, pictures, social media and web pages (Key, 1997).

Despite its suitability as a methodology for this particular study it should be pointed out, however, that qualitative research does have its limitations and disadvantages. Anderson (2010: 74), for example, noted that it is very difficult to prevent or detect researcher induced bias and the scope of the research is limited due to the in-depth, comprehensive data gathering approaches required.

3.3 Data Collection

A formal and systematic data collection process was undertaken to answer research questions, test the hypotheses and evaluate outcomes of this study. This was necessary to ensure that the data gathered are both defined and accurate and that

subsequent decisions based on arguments embodied in the findings are valid. The data collection methods that were used were primary research such as structured, unstructured and in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and sampling. In addition secondary research such as desktop studies was also conducted.

3.3.1 Primary Research

Primary research methods consisted of interviews with fourteen respondents who were either land owners or tenants who had lost their land during the forced removals. Individual interviews and one focus group discussion were conducted using a combination of open-ended, unstructured, structured, semi-structured, focused and exploratory questions. Green and Browne (2005) noted that the advantage of semi-structured approaches is that “similar data can be gathered from all respondents, whereas the advantage of using unstructured interviews is that they are more likely to elicit the views and priorities of the respondents rather than merely gathering their responses to the researcher’s concerns” (Green and Browne, 2005:54). It should be stressed that, ultimately, the best approach to utilise depends on the aims of the particular study.

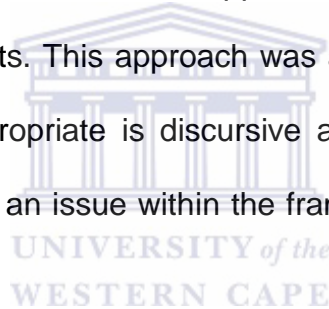
3.3.1.1 Interviews

Interviewing is one of the most common used methods in social study. Green and Browne (2005: 54) noted that “qualitative interviews provide a method of gaining in-

depth information about people's beliefs and interpretations of the world". The interview is a particularly effective method for gathering data about individuals' perspectives. The data gathered through an interview includes subjective thoughts and reasoning, emotions and past experiences.

Interviews were conducted in Dysseisdorp and Oudtshoorn, and all interviews were conducted in the homes of the respective respondents. Respondents were identified by members of the Dysseisdorp Land Claim Committee and the Dysseisdorp Aksie Komitee and in this way included claimants who held different perspectives on how the restitution process ideally should have unfolded.

An in-depth and semi-structured interview approach was used in conducting the interviews with the respondents. This approach was adopted as in-depth and semi-structured interviews are appropriate is discursive and allows the researcher and respondent latitude to explore an issue within the framework of guided conversation Mack *et al* (2005).



Two field trips were undertaken to provide in-depth follow-up research and further clarification and information around issues which were not so clear during the first interviews.

3.3.1.2 Focus Group Discussions

Often of interest to social researchers is how ethnic or cultural groups differ. Mack *et al* (2005) pointed out that focus groups allow social researchers to focus on specific categories of people. Focus groups are particularly suitable for developing general

theories about a specific group's inner workings and to what extent these workings differ from other groups or from the mainstream. In a focus group, the researcher can propose a topic or challenge and analyse the groups' opinions, discussion patterns and problem-solving methods. The registered land claimants in Dysselsdorp constituted the focus group in this study. According to Mack *et al* (2005: 2) semi-structured focus groups are “effective in eliciting data on the cultural norms of a group and in generating broad overviews of issues of concern to the cultural groups or subgroups represented”.

3.3.2 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to identify participants for the individual and group interviews according to preselected criteria based on age, gender, former landowners, former land tenants and people who have moved to Dysselsdorp after the forced removals. Teddlie and Yu (2007) noted that purposive sampling techniques are primarily used in qualitative studies and may be defined as selecting units (e.g., individuals, groups of individuals) based on specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions. Purposive sampling can be defined as a type of sampling in which “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well as from other choices” (Teddlie and Yu, 2007: 77). The sample for the purpose of this study included first and second generation landholders, men and women, as well as different types of small farmers.

One interview and one group discussion were conducted with each of the two leadership committees. The latter was a focus group discussion. A recruitment strategy for identifying and enrolling people to participate in the study was agreed upon with the members of the two leadership committees and they were also enrolled to assist with the identification of respondents and the arrangement of meetings and interviews.

In addition, individual in-depth interviews were conducted with fourteen of claimants from the Dysseisdorp community, representing eight men and six women. The respondents included five first-generation and nine second-generation claimants. These included landowners who had been directly removed from their land and ejected from their homes, residents who had leased land from the government and from other land owners before 1970, descendants of landowners who had been in their youth at the time of the forced removals and residents who moved to the town after the removals. The respondents also included claimants who had been wage-workers and farmers before the removals.

3.3.2 Secondary Research

As part of the secondary study the books, studies and commentaries produced by the authors listed under the Literature Review were consulted as well as additional study material on land dispossession and land restitution. Newspapers and court reports on the forced removals were also consulted. Offices of the South Cape Land

Claims Committee provided reports and documentation on Dysselsdorp and the land claims and additional reports and documentation were made available by the Dysselsdorp Land Claims Committee.

3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

The data was presented in a narrative format and key findings were tabulated in the study. The data was presented in accordance with three broad periods in the life span of Dysselsdorp which coincides with land possession, dispossession and restitution. The land restitution process involved three restitution models that were adopted by the community. These two dimensions were not presented separately but in an integrated manner.

The first part of the Data Presentation and Analysis chapter described the research setting in terms of an overview of Dysselsdorp's geography, history, demographic and socio-economic profiles. The second part describes the class structure of the community. The third part outlines the various restitution models and reviewed them in respect of their terms of offer. The last part of the chapter analysed what the implications of the different restitution models had for class formation, differentiation, combinations and mobility.

The objective of the four sections of the Data Presentation and Analysis was to show what class patterns and combinations emerged in response to restitution and what were its prospects for class mobility. Following on the latter the patterns and combinations established were referred to the literature cited and as such the

applicability of theoretical concepts was tested against the data. The criteria utilised by this study to locate and analyse class dynamics was a combination of means of production, labour and market exchange. The Class-Analytical Framework was useful to understand how the community viewed, interpreted and understood their experiences, aspirations and relationships to one another with regard to land possession, dispossession and restitution. In this regard the works of Lyne and Darroch (2003), Lahiff (2007) and Hall (2012) on land reform and restitution, in particular, was used to understand the policies of the state. In particular it proved useful for thinking through the 'class project' of the state and how it applied in the rural setting of Dysselsdorp.

The Rural Class Model, developed in the literature review, based on the works of Cousins (1992), Levin (1997) and Bernstein (2003) and the Western Cape Department of Agriculture (2010) was used to categorise the class structure that existed during the three period of Dysselsdorp. This model was used to interpret the class implications of the restitution models on class relations, formation and mobility. The inferences, findings and conclusions of the study are presented in Chapter 5, including gaps in the research, recommendations and possible areas for future research.

3.5 Validity of the Study

The study is premised on the understanding that the material conditions that obtain at a given conjuncture in the evolution of society are a direct and indirect

consequence of the underlying socio-political and economic forces at play in society. These material conditions can best be understood by studying and analysing how these forces come into play and how they interact to shape society. The analytical tools employed in the study and data provided suggested that the triple burden of poverty, inequality and social pathologies of Dysselsdorp is a product of powerful societal and structural forces inherent in the economic, social and political history of South Africa. These forces have been the key drivers behind the formation, reproduction, differentiation and fragmentation of classes in South Africa in general, and Dysselsdorp in particular. The dynamics between classes in turn have powerful pull and push effects on the cohesion and dislocation of communities. And finally, the study sought to contribute to understanding how class dynamics have unfolded in light of the land dispossession and land restitution processes, in particular in the Dysselsdorp community.




3.6 Limitations of the Study

A key limitation of the study is that it is not in a position to offer any solutions and proposals as to how to resolve the challenges around land reform and restitution, and the broader agrarian question, in Dysselsdorp. The study merely observed, analysed and explained the phenomenon of class dynamics in the community and how they have impacted on the formation, differentiation and mobility of classes through land restitution.

A second limitation of the study is its empirical scale. Only 14 respondents were interviewed due to practical challenges experienced in the field. However, respondents represented a cross section of the Dysselsdorp demographic as explained under in the 'sampling' above. The small size of the sample thus places certain limitations on the generalizability of the findings and the extent to which they apply to the wider population of the area. However, the main aim of the study was to provide an empirical basis for class analysis of land restitution in Dysselsdorp by examining some of its class locations, differentiations, combinations and mobility in small scale farming.

3.7 Ethics



The critical issue in this regard is that whilst the researcher has the right to search for the truth, it should never be done at the expense of the rights of other individuals in society. Babbie and Mouton (2007: 62) pointed out that the ethics of science is concerned with what is wrong and what is right in the conduct of study. Furthermore, they cautioned that such conduct has to conform to generally accepted norms and behaviour.

This study was only conducted after the proposal had been submitted and approved by the Post Graduate Board of Studies and the Senate Higher Degree Committee of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The following ethical rules were adhered to, namely:

- Participation in the study was voluntary, with no form of coercion used on the participants.
- Confidentiality was guaranteed, and the participants reserved the right to withdraw from the study at any stage and for whatever reason.
- Before proceeding, all participants were informed of the project aims and they needed to indicate their agreement to the interview process, and the general project endeavours, by completing informed consent forms.
- Responsibility was taken in ensuring that all the information gathered was treated sensitively and confidentially as well as in protecting the identities and interests of all participants.
- In signing the consent form, participants acknowledged and gave their permission for the utilisation of the information to produce an academic study report, which would be read by other academics and possibly other parties in related industries and or fields. Should the unlikely need arise to utilise the name and/or identity of a participant, it was agreed to do so only once permission had been granted by the participant(s) concerned.
- It was pledged that all the other legal and ethical requirements of the University of the Western Cape would be adhered to throughout the course of the study.
- The study findings will be submitted to all relevant bodies and will also be made available to the information bank of the University of the Western Cape.
- Lastly, all study participants were informed of their right to consult the findings that have been gathered once the final product is ready to be submitted.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter firstly set out the data that was collected during the desk top research, the field trips, the interviews conducted in Dysselsdorp. Following on the latter this chapter provided an analysis of the data in light of the Marxist Class Analysis Model outlined in chapter two. The chapter was divided into three sections, viz., research setting, class analysis and restitution.

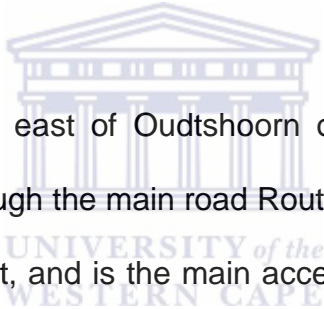
The research setting provided a short overview of the geography, history, demographic and socio-economic profiles of the Dysselsdorp community. The Class Analysis Model section outlined the class structure, mapped the differentiations that set them apart and highlighted the various class combinations that were gleaned from interviews. The restitution section detailed the background to the land claim and the various restitution options the community had chosen. It also explored how restitution had impacted on class relations and class structure, and what this meant for class formation, differentiation and mobility.

4.2 Research Setting

The research setting referred to the place where the data were collected. According to Given (2008: 1) the research setting can be seen as the physical, social, and

cultural site in which the researcher conducts the study. In qualitative research the researcher studies the participants in their natural setting. The primary data for this study was collected in Dysselsdorp. The purpose of the research setting section is to describe the area of Dysselsdorp and is divided into the following sub-sections: geography describing the physical attributes of the area; history of Dysselsdorp – giving a brief overview of the development of the area; demographic profile – describing the population; and socio-economic profile, describing the conditions under which people live.

4.2.1 Geography



Dysselsdorp is situated 23km east of Oudtshoorn on the R26 to Beaufort West. Dysselsdorp is connected through the main road Route 359 which links the town with Oudtshoorn and Beaufort-West, and is the main access route. This is also the main arterial route for public transport which takes the form of minibus taxis. The internal road network is mostly tarred and a few roads in the northern part and towards the southern side, i.e. the periphery of the town, are made of gravel.

The settlement was divided into five villages including Blaaupunt, Waaikraal, Ou Dysselsdorp, Bokkraal and Varkenskloof. The land under claim consists of large portions of the land surrounding the current residential area of Dysselsdorp which includes these five villages. A large portion of State-owned land, known as Waaikraal farm is currently being held in trust by the Western Cape Department of Agriculture who oversees the farming ventures.

The Greater Oudtshoorn area, the Municipality under which Dysselsdorp falls is nestled at the foot of the Swartberg Mountains in the heart of the Little Karoo region. It is defined as semi-arid area with a unique and sensitive natural environment without wetlands. A portion of Dysselsdorp is located within the flood plains of the Olifants River (Rapid Review of Dysselsdorp, 2005:13). The Olifants River is the main surface water source passing through the town of Dysselsdorp. The community does not seem to benefit much from the river since it passes through without any form of interaction. Only a few private farmers on the riverine seem to have access to the river water. The Kammanasie River which feeds into the Kammanasie Dam a few kilometres south of the Dysselsdorp is the main source of drinking and irrigation water for the community. (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010: 9)

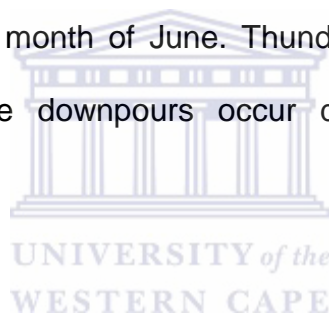


The area has a mixture of high and medium potential soils, which can be quite productive if sufficiently watered (Rapid Review of Dysselsdorp, 2005:13). Good soils are found along the flood plains of the Olifants River whereas poor soils incline with the increase in elevation. Existing crop farming activities (lucerne) is often done at break-even profit level due to the shortage of water over the arable lands and infrastructural incapacity, storage facility in particular.

Ostrich farming is the main farming activity in the municipal area of Oudtshoorn and that can be attributed to its favourable weather conditions. The land is mostly agricultural with Lucerne being the primary crop produced on it. However, agriculturalists indicated that possibly olive trees can be planted on the sands and these trees could be watered with waste water and could also possibly create job

opportunities. A large variety of vegetables are grown by ± 45 smallholder farmers on almost 50 hectare. These smallholder farmers have been given plots of about 4000m² each. Only 15 small farmers are currently farming onion, cabbage, beetroot and spinach on their “own” land with some households leaving their crops to bear seed for the next farming season. One of the big projects in the town is the harvesting of a plant from which liquorice is being extracted and used to manufacture liquorice products. Some of the farmers in the area have planted the plant from which liquorice is produced (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 12)

Dysselsdorp has dry hot summers and mild winters. About 48% - 53% of the rainfall occurs during the winter months. March and November have with the highest rainfall and the lowest rainfall in the month of June. Thunderstorms are distinctive of the summer rains and moderate downpours occur during winter (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 16).



4.2.2 History of Dysselsdorp

Tracing the origins of Dysselsdorp the Southern Cape Land Committee (1996: 1) dates it back to the mid-19th century, during the time when the indigenous peasantry was gradually being proletarianised, with the emergence and development of capitalism in South Africa. Giving an account of the early history of the area, Appel (1988) in turn referred to the many rock paintings and old stone utensils that were found in caves throughout the surrounding Swartberg and Outeniqua mountains as

evidence of an ancient Khoi presence. This area he states was initially known as Kannaland (Appel, 1988)

Milton (1996: 658) recounts that in 1657, with the advent of Dutch settlement; the Colonial government released Company officials from their contracts and allocated them land along the Liesbeeck River. Furthermore, Milton (1996: 658) has noted that over time more and more of the settler farmers moved beyond the Cape and Boland into the hinterland of Kannaland and Karoo, while in the process confiscating land and establishing farms. This process of expansion and interaction between the European settlers and the Khoi (Milton, 1996: 659) pointed out was antagonistic and trade soon degenerated into raiding and warfare. By 1789 over 412 ordinances had been issued by the Colonial Government for temporary farming rights 'leningsplase' to farmers who were in need for grazing land in Kannaland (Milton, 1996: 660).

According to Peires and Dooling (2004) Jan van Riebeeck had introduced slavery and the colonial model of forced labour to ensure a supply of labour to the farms of the Cape Colony. The first slaves were imported from countries such as Benin, Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar and Indonesia (Peires and Dooling, 2004). When the settler farmers moved from the Cape to the hinterland, they took their slaves with them. In addition, the settler farms also employed Khoi workers that were displaced off their land by the invading settlers.

In 1795, Britain took over control of the Cape from Holland and introduced a crucial new element, namely evangelicalism, brought to the Cape by Protestant missionaries (South Africa Yearbook, 2011/12). In this regard it has been noted that several mission stations were established by Dutch and British churches across

South Africa. Most notably was the London Mission Station which established a mission in Dysalskraal later renamed Dysselsdorp in 1836 on a farm granted by the State. The stated objective of the aforementioned was that, “The mission station was established in an attempt to provide shelter for the Khoi and San people who were being systematically dispossessed of their land and forced into labour on the farms acquired by the expanding Boers in the late 1700s and early 1800s” (Sauls et al, 2008: 7).

Ross (1994: 132-134) pointed out that during this period a powerful anti-slavery movement swept through Britain and was taken up by mission stations throughout the British Empire, including South Africa, which eventually led to the abolition of slavery throughout the Empire. The emergence and formation of Dysselsdorp can, firstly, be traced from its earliest roots to Kannaland and the Khoisan and, secondly, to colonialism and colonial expansion by European settlers in the Cape. Notwithstanding it is directly traceable to the emancipation of slaves under Ordinance 50 of 1828, which according to Ross only became fully effective in 1838 (Ross, 1994: 132-134). What followed was taken up by Dooling (1999: 215) who points to the harsh vagrancy laws which served to keep large numbers of people in the service of white farmers. Furthermore, Dooling (1999) argues that the latter served to erode the independence of those who sought a way of life beyond the control of white farmers.

In his study of the post-emancipation Western Cape Dooling (1999) pointed out that some of the liberated slaves found their way to Cape Town, but most of the slaves who left found their way to the mission stations scattered around the Western Cape.

It has been reported that “In the decade after emancipation, roughly 6,000 of the 25,000 former slaves in the Western Cape moved to the mission stations and that a further 1,000 settled on public land” (Dooling, 1999: 215). What is particularly significant is that the dispossessed Khoi as well as emancipated slaves made their way onto the farm Dysalskraal after 1838 and established themselves there (Southern Cape Land Committee, 1996: 2). This recent settlement was formalized when In 1836 Dysalskraal was granted to emancipated slaves and indigenous inhabitants by the London Missionary Society. It was effected after the farm was surveyed and subdivided into plots in 1872, thereby affording ownership status to 576 existing residents (Southern Cape Land Committee, 1996: 3). In addition the remainder of the farm was allocated to the community as a whole as commonage for grazing livestock, and to tenants who leased residential and agricultural plots.

The predominant form of agriculture in this community was small-scale farming, largely for subsistence purposes. Providing for infrastructural development it is reported that in the 1850s, work had commenced on a system of canals to bring land under irrigation (SCLC, 1996:11). The net effect of this was that as inhabitants of Dyselsdorp continued to work on these canals for the next 120 years they developed a sophisticated infrastructure and system of rules for allocating water to develop their smallholdings and created a robust subsistence and small-scale farming community.

The decisive shift in the class character of Dyselsdorp came decades later when in 1957, it was noted that the administration of the area was transferred to the Oudtshoorn Divisional Council. In effect this ushered in and legitimized the “... terms

of the Group Areas Act Proclamation 102/1966, and the Slums Act Proclamation 56/1966. However, what this meant was that Dysseisdorp residents were dispossessed of their land rights and were forcibly removed to a newly established high-density township” (Dept. of Agriculture, 2011: 8). Thus the stage was set for the process of land restitution against the historical backdrop of land dispossession, Apartheid removals and forced proletarianization.

4.2.3 Demographic Profile

The population of Dysseisdorp is relatively modest which according to Stats SA (Census 2011) was estimated at 11047 people. The gender breakdown for the total population is such that females account for 52% which is five percent more than the 48% of males. The potentially economically active group aged between 17 and 50 years constituted “41.3% of the population, while the youth under the age of 17 years made up 41.2%. In spite of the latter there is a low presence in the number of 17-24 year olds which attests to the fact tend to leave Dysseisdorp for employment outside the town. Finally, Dysseisdorp has a very small aging population which only counted for 15.5% of the population being over the age of 50 years” (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 33).

The dominant so-called racial composition in the area is “coloured” people, with the majority of them being adults. This racial classification was used in this study purely to consider how land dispossession and restitution in South Africa have impacted only on certain sections of the population. It is noted that the “Population

Registration Act of 1950”, passed by the Nationalist Party Government during the Apartheid era, required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of four main categories: white, black (African), or colored (of mixed decent) and asian or Indian.

Notwithstanding the latter, however, it is noted that James (2008) considered ‘race’ to be an exceedingly slippery concept which is riddled with apparent contradictions. The reason he gave for this state of affairs is that there are no clear boundaries separating ‘subspecies’ or “races” in the human population as such and therefore strictly speaking one may only accurately refer to one race if at all, namely, the human race. Consequently, James (2008) argued that race, like other social categories such as class and gender, is not biologically real but it has a social reality. Race, then, according to James (2008) is socially and politically constructed via law, public policy and social practices.

When race emerged in human history, it formed a social structure (a racial social system) that awarded systemic privileges to Europeans (“whites”) over non-Europeans (“blacks”). Racialised social systems, or white supremacy, became global and affected all societies where Europeans extended their reach through colonialism and imperialism (Hanchett, 1998). Racial discrimination, domination and oppression serve to protect, underpin, reinforce and reproduce “white” social, economic and political privilege throughout the world. In South Africa, racial social relations have gone hand in hand with the emergence and development of capitalist relations of production which benefited a white minority at the expense of the black majority.

4.2.4 Socio-Economic Profile

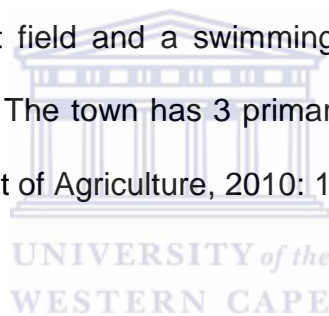
The socio-economic picture of Dysselsdorp evidences high levels of unemployment due to “scarce” job opportunities, according to a report prepared by the Department of Agriculture (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 10). In this regard the agricultural sector provides the most employment opportunities. The majority of the economically active persons are employed elsewhere in the region or on surrounding farms. There is a small industrial area that includes a liquorice processing plant which sells most of its production to the British American Tabaco Company and a feather sorting facility. Dysselsdorp has a handful of formal businesses and shopping is very limited. Bigger shops and major retailers are in Oudtshoorn.

The level of poverty is clearly illustrated by the fact that “85% of households survive on an income of less than R 2000 per month and only 1 % reports an income of in excess of R 5000 per month” (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 34). It is estimated that in Dysselsdorp, “1272 (71%) households receive some form of regular income, whilst 947 (53%) receive some form of social grant, and 652 (37%) receive pensions. In addition, income from people working out of town formed a significant source of household income, with 295 (17%) of households receiving income from this source” (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 36).

In Dysselsdorp land use included residential, commercial industrial and community purposes (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 12). With respect to residential land use this includes formal houses, informal housing and smallholdings. However, there is a backlog with 1250 awaiting houses. To compound the problem the South Cape Land

Claims Committee (SCLC, 1996) reported, that of the aforementioned, about 800 houses are reportedly built on uncompacted / unstable land which have been declared unsafe. On a positive note only 6.8% of the houses are informal structures. In respect of infrastructure most of the properties in Dysselsdorp have access to water, waterborne sewerage and electricity. There is however an exception in that a few households situated close to the reservoir have restricted access or no access to facilities.

The town has a number of community facilities. There is a day hospital which does not include an overnight facility, an old age home and a municipal complex which includes the municipal offices as well as the library. There is also a sports complex including sports fields, cricket field and a swimming pool. The town has a police station and a community hall. The town has 3 primary schools, 1 secondary school and 2 pre-schools (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 17).



4.2.4.1 Labour and dispossession

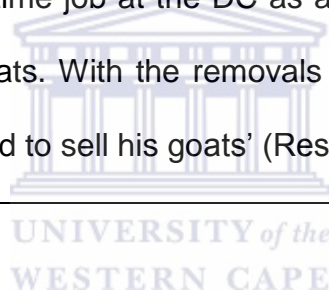
In her report on the effects of the forced removal Schultz (1997) concluded that the land dispossession of 1972 led to the almost total cessation of all productive activities in Dysselsdorp. This had very severe consequences on labour relations, as most of the people lost their access to productive employment (Schultz, 1997: 7). Within Dysselsdorp there were several small secondary industries – tobacco curing, fruit drying, processing of ostrich products – which ceased to exist after the dispossession as most of them were moved elsewhere, such as Oudtshoorn. The

previous productive proletariat and smallholder farmers were turned into a displaced proletariat and labour reserve army of unemployed. As Schultz stated:

“almost overnight, the authorities managed to destroy hundreds of jobs. In the latter process, it was the white commercial farmers who benefitted the most from the glut of labour on the local market” (Schultz, 1997: 8).

The following direct quote illustrates

‘We owned land in Waaikraal on which we farmed with vegetables and goats and also used land outside Dysseisdorp near the Kammanasie Dam for grazing purposes. When I was in my teens my father got a fulltime job at the DC as a general labourer and I looked after the goats. With the removals we lost everything and my father was forced to sell his goats’ (Respondent 5).



Respondents indicated that majority of the economically active persons were employed elsewhere in the region and commuted as migrant labour daily or weekly. According to the respondents farmers came from as far afield as George, Knysna and the Boland to pick up seasonal workers in Dysseisdorp. This had the effect of reducing the wages for workers on the neighbouring farms which were consequently quite low (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 16). The following direct quote illustrates

‘Dysselsdorp is a ghost town and only come to light on *All Pay* days [i.e. days when social, child welfare grants and pensions are paid out]. On these days you see everybody at the shops and in taxi’s travelling to and from Oudtshoorn to spend their little grant money’ (Respondent 3).

4.3 Class Analysis Model

The analysis of the different restitution models chosen are based on their particular relationships to land, labour and market exchange. In this regard the study looked at land lost during dispossession and land restitution in a direct relationship. Secondly, it linked land ownership and access, to labour relations in two respects. Firstly, in so far as the latter’s relation to agricultural production was based on employment as wage-labour. And secondly, in as much as labour power was sold by the small scale farmer to supplement farming income, whether in exchange for a salary or wages. And finally, in relation to how agricultural production was realised in market exchange that is sold for a profit. The objective was twofold: firstly for providing an empirical basis for the mapping of the class structure in Dysselsdorp. And secondly, it allowed for a basis to consider the different ways in which classes were differentiated and combined and thus reconstituted to different class effect.

4.3.1 Classes in Dysselsdorp

The following section gives a breakdown of classes and their relations that have occupied the area of Dysseisdorp over the periods referred to as land possession and access (1836 - 1972), to dispossession (1972-1994). The restitution (1994-2014) period is discussed and analysed below in the section dealing specifically with the Restitution Models (see 4.5). The discussion applied the model of class adopted in respect of how the respondents were classified under the respective categories during the period of possession. And secondly, the objective was to establish how this class structure was transformed over the periods of land possession and dispossession in order to compare it with the advent of land restitution. In this regard the section on classes in Dysseisdorp looked at the following classes and class strata that existed during the periods referred to as land possession and dispossession before considering land restitution and its class dynamics.

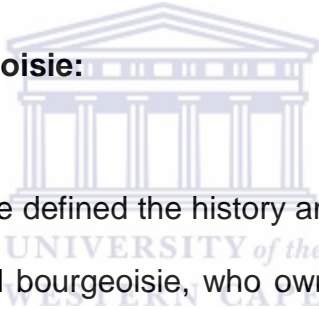
The classes observed and covered are the bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore, class fractions or strata of the working class such as petty commodity producers, unemployed or labour reserve and the lumpenproletariat are also discussed. In addition, classes observed and covered are the bourgeoisie, proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore, class fractions or strata of the petty bourgeoisie such as smallholder farmers with commercial aspiration, small commercial farmers and the middle class are also considered.

4.3.1.1 The Bourgeoisie

The primary criteria for categorising the bourgeoisie or capitalist class was drawn from Marx (2000: 2) who defined the bourgeoisie as that class in society that owned and controlled the means of production, and thereby exploited the labour power of the proletariat which it used to produce commodities for market exchange. Thus in this regard the research indicated that the classes in Dysselsdorp during the periods of land possession, dispossession and restitution were differentiated along the lines of ownership of the means of production, labour relations and exchange.

4.3.1.1.1 Bourgeois Fractions-Differentiation

4.3.1.1.1.1 Farming Bourgeoisie:



The two main classes that have defined the history and development of Dysselsdorp were on the one hand a small bourgeoisie, who owned and controlled most of the fertile land, agriculture, the few factories and shops. This rural bourgeoisie drew on the residents of Dysselsdorp to satisfy their labour needs in their capitalist enterprises. What was interesting is that even though the 'proletariat' were owners of land or lived on leased plots of land they were forced to sell their labour power for a wage to the bourgeoisie as the land was insufficient to sustain them.

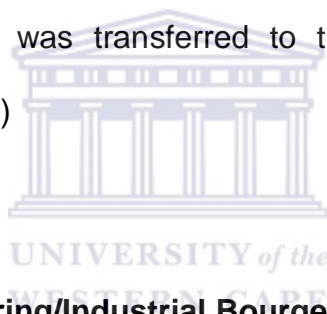
The economy in the Dysselsdorp area, during possession and dispossession was dominated by commercial agriculture, owned and controlled by a bourgeoisie, and was centred on ostrich farming and lucerne production. Coetzee (1998) argued that two factors heralded changes that would shatter the district's slumber. One was the

“introduction of ostrich feathers into women’s fashion of Europe in the 1860, which created a demand for which the Oudtshoorn district was uniquely able to cater” (Coetzee, 1998: 21). Another factor identified was the introduction of lucerne in the early 1860s. In this regard Oudtshoorn with “an environment especially favourable to lucerne – a fodder that produced high quality feathers – emerged as the principal ostrich district” (Coetzee, 1998: 21). Thus ostrich farming which was also practised elsewhere in the Cape Colony at the time, developed on the basis of lucerne production. This partnership was firmed up as “Together, feathers and lucerne provided an unrivalled commercial combination and became the basis for the district’s extraordinarily rapid economic growth in the 19th and early 20th century” (Buirski, 1983: 103).

From the records it seemed that by the mid-1890’s ostrich and lucerne farming constituted the principal productive activity of the district, with farmers having abandoned mixed agriculture in its favour. Buirski (1983) noted that by 1911 ostrich feathers had become South Africa’s fourth most important export after gold, diamonds and wool. The profits gained by ostrich farming resulted in “considerable wealth concentration in the district and the emergence of the so-called “feather barons” of the Klein-Karoo who owned and controlled the means of production in the district (Buirski, 1983: 104). Among the wealthiest of the agricultural bourgeoisie were Issie Baron, Johan Du Plessis, David Schoeman, Manie Du Plessis, Hans Terreblanche, Bennie Terreblanche, Fanie Fourie, Micro Farms and Pen A Boerdery (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 21-22). These capitalist farmers and their descendants still

continue today to own and control most of the large-scale ostrich, lucerne and vegetables farms around Oudtshoorn.

The agricultural bourgeoisie is largely drawn from the descendants of the first wave of Afrikaner settlers who moved inland from the Cape colony to established farms (Peires and Dooling, 2004). They acquired their land through the violent dispossession and dislocation of the Khoi people – the first dispossession - and what Marx (1999: 916) referred to as primitive accumulation. Their exclusive control of the means of production was further cemented with the second dispossession which resulted in the proletarianisation of the petty commodity producers and small farmers in the 1970s (Sauls et al et al, 2008). Some of the fertile expropriated land, on the banks of the Olifants River, was transferred to the bourgeois farmers by the Apartheid State (Schultz, 1997)

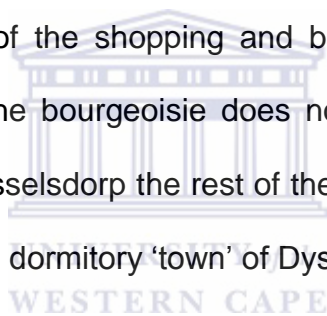


4.1.1.1.1 Agri-Manufacturing/Industrial Bourgeoisie

The agricultural sector was accompanied by a small manufacturing sector, mostly in the form of agri-processing, and the retail and service sectors. These sectors constituted the bulk of the economy in the district, and from the evidence were exclusively owned and control by the bourgeoisie. The three biggest commercial agri-businesses in Dysselsdorp were Micro Farms (Pty) Ltd, Barons Tobacco (Pty) Ltd and MPN Industries (Pty) Ltd, which owned most of the land and were involved in lucerne, ostrich and tobacco farming.

What was noteworthy is that the large-scale farmers used their wealth from ostrich-lucerne farming to also get involved in agri-processing (meat and tobacco), retail, property and other businesses (Buirski, 1983). In addition to commercial agriculture Dysselsdorp had a small agro-processing industry that was linked to the ostrich and tobacco farming such as an abattoir, tannery and feather processing plant and tobacco and liquorice factories (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 22). Respondents indicated that these businesses also provided most of the employment in and around Dysselsdorp.

In addition, one of the commercial farmers Eaton, also owned a shopping mall in Dysselsdorp that is host to a number of retail outlets owned by the local petty bourgeoisie. However, most of the shopping and banking of the community took place in Oudtshoorn. Since the bourgeoisie does not feature as a class category among the respondents of Dysselsdorp the rest of the focus of this study falls on the other classes that reside in the dormitory 'town' of Dysselsdorp.



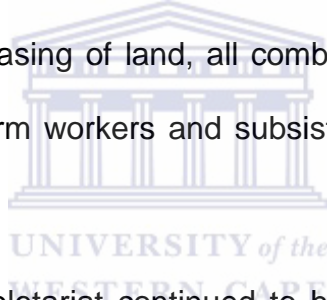
4.3.1.2 The Proletariat

The primary class criteria of relevance for the proletariat was drawn from Marx (2000: 2) who defined the proletariat as the class that did not own and or control the means of production but was compelled to sell their labour power to the bourgeoisie in exchange for wages. However, during the land possession and access (1836 - 1972) period the proletariat in Dysselsdorp was also landowners and small farmers. In some cases they were also involved in market exchange and employment of wage

labour (Sauls et al et al, 2008). As a result they were not in the classic bourgeois-proletariat relationship described by Marx. However, this had subsequently changed during the dispossession (1972-1994) period.

The contradictions of capitalism were starkly apparent in the ostrich and lucerne sectors, which created great opportunities for wealth accumulation, on the one hand, while on the other hand, it prompted the exclusion of the rural poor from access to land. There were certain fundamental factors at work in this instance as summarised by Buirski (1983: 104):

“The lucerne camp, the nature of ostrich farming itself (which makes limited demands on labour only during the period of plucking and quilling), the rise in land values, and the leasing of land, all combined to push large numbers of peasants, squatters, farm workers and subsistence farmers off the land into proletarianisation.”



However, a section of the proletariat continued to have access to land during the possession period, either as landowners or leaseholders, and practised subsistence farming or petty commodity production to augment their livelihoods. Levin (1997) referred to proletarians who engage in subsistence farming or petty commodity production as worker-peasants and allotment-holding wage-workers. Cousins (1992) also defined them as worker-peasants and Bernstein (2000) used the term middle-peasants to denote proletarians who also practise subsistence farming.

Table 4 gives a breakdown of the class differentiation and locations amongst the respondents of this study during the possession, dispossession and restitution

period. The data in this table, related to the first two periods is discussed in the sections below.



Table 4: Class differentiation and locations during possession, dispossession and restitution.

Class during land possession	Aim of production	Land Lost	Labour relations during possession	Class during land dispossession	Class during Restitution + Respondent	Land Restitution / Current Means of Production	
						Own	Lease from State
PCP	Subsistence	S (1-2ha)	Self + family	Proletariat	MC + PCP + SCA Resp.1		S (4000m ²)
PCP	Subsistence	S (0-1ha)	Self + family	Proletariat	MC + PCP + SCA Resp.2		S (4000m ²)
P + SCA	Exchange	S (0-1ha)	Self + family Proletariat	Proletariat	LR Resp.7		
P + PCP	Exchange Subsistence	M (3-4ha)	Self + family Proletariat	Proletariat	MC + SCA Resp.3	S (1-2ha)	
P + PCP	Exchange Subsistence	L (6-7ha)	Self + family Proletariat	Proletariat	MC + SCA Resp.4		L (48ha)
PCP	Subsistence	L (6-7ha)	Self + family	Proletariat	MC + SCA Resp.5		L (48ha)
P + SCA	Exchange	L (7-8ha)	Self + family Casual labour Proletariat	Proletariat	P + SCA Resp.6	S (1-2ha)	
PB + SCF	Exchange	L (10-11ha)	Self + family Casual labour	Proletariat	P + SCA Resp.8		L (48ha)
PB + SCF	Exchange	L (7-8ha)	Self + family Casual labour	Proletariat	PC + SCF Resp.14		S (2ha) L (48ha)
PCP	Subsistence	M (4-5ha)	Self and family	Proletariat	SCA Resp.10	S (1-2ha)	
PB + SCF	Exchange	L (7-8ha)	Self + family Casual labour	Proletariat	MC + LF Resp.11		L (48ha)
SCA + PCP	Exchange Subsistence	S I (1-2ha)	Self + family	Proletariat	SCA + PCP Resp.9	L (60ha) S (1-2ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)
PB + SCF	Exchange	L (6-7ha)	Self + family Casual labour	Proletariat	P + SCA + PCP Resp.13	L (60ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)
PCP	Exchange Subsistence	L (6-7ha)	Self + family	Proletariat	MC + PCP + SCA Resp.12	L (60ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)

P: Proletariat
 PB: Petty Bourgeoisie
 MC: Middle Class
 SCA: Smallholder with Commercial Aspirations
 SCF: Small Commercial Farmer
 PCP: Petty Commodity Producer
 LF: Lifestyle Farmer
 LR: Labour Reserve/Unemployed

During the land possession period four of the respondents (Respondents 3, 4, 6 and 7) provided wage labour to the bourgeoisie in a classic ownership-exploitation relationship, i.e. commercial farmers, the local tobacco, feather and meat factories,

industries in Oudtshoorn and construction companies. However, three of the four proletarian respondents indicated that they were also landowners and the fourth leased land from the Divisional Council. Respondents 4 and 6 owned land which could be described as large, but used for small-scale farming, and respondent 3 owned a piece of land which could be described as medium. Respondents 6 and 7 produced for market exchange and the other two, respondents 3 and 4 produced for both subsistence and exchanged.

All the respondents reported that they made use of own and family labour and one, respondent 6, also employed casual labour when needed. Unfortunately, the production and revenue generated was not sufficient to meet all the livelihood needs of their families and the four proletarian respondents were compelled to sell their labour power for a wage to the bourgeoisie or the state.

The data regarding these four respondents thus confirmed the views of Bernstein (2000: 31) and Cousins (2010: 10) that it is not uncommon for the rural proletariat to engage in small-scale agricultural production, market exchange and employ wage labour. Furthermore, the data also confirmed Wright's (1985, 1998) argument that classes can occupy contradictory and multiple locations.

The data in table 4 also showed that five of the respondents (respondents 1, 2, 5, 10 and 12) were petty commodity producers, a term also used by Cousins (1992), while Bernstein (2000) used the term poor peasants. Although these five respondents owned or leased a plot of land, they differed in that they produced mainly for subsistence, only engaged in barter as a form of exchange, and did not employ wage labour. Another petty commodity producer (respondent 9), however, sold part

of his produce to the local community for cash. In this study the Rural Class Model introduced by the researcher in section 2.5 categorised these subsistence farmers as petty commodity producers which is viewed here as a class fraction of the proletariat. However, what differentiated them from the proletariat proper was that they did not sell their labour power in exchange for wages.

During the period of the 2nd dispossession all fourteen of the respondents lost their ownership and access to land, productive assets and independent means of income or subsistence (Schultz, 1997). All the respondents were proletarianised and compelled to sell their labour power for wages to the bourgeoisie and the state to care for their families. The fourteen respondents were no longer owners of the means of production, did not produce commodities for exchange, and did not employ wage labour. They were thus fully proletarianised or became what Hendricks (1995) described as a displaced proletarians.

Other strata of the proletariat are made up of the unemployed or labour reserve and the lumpenproletariat. None of the respondents fell within these categories. It was also pointed out in the socio-economic profile of Dysselsdorp that 53% of households received some form of social grant, and 37% received pensions (Department of Agriculture, 2010: 36). However, some of the lumpenproletariat also lived off the proceeds of crime. In such cases respondents referred to criminal activities such as housebreaking, illegal taverns/shebeens, drug dealing and gangsterism as the major scourge in rural towns such as Dysselsdorp. It was also observed by the respondents that sections of the lumpen-proletariat employed fellow members of this class stratum in exchange for cash in their illegal businesses and

activities. These sections might thus be more akin to a lumpen-petty bourgeoisie rather than a lumpen-proletariat.

4.3.1.3 Petty Bourgeoisie

During the period of possession there also existed a petty bourgeoisie in Dusseldorp that comprised mostly small commercial farmers and traders who were engaged in the exchange of commodities. They owned the means of production (land or small and medium enterprises) and also employed labour (family and community). The following direct quotes illustrate

‘We lived in Varkenskloof and my parents owned the land. They were farmers. At the moment I work for myself and I am also a small farmer involved in breeding of sheep (30), cattle (16), chickens (30) and donkeys and have also been growing vegetables and lucerne for the past 12 years. All my livestock, lucerne and vegetables are sold to the local community and surrounding farmers’ (Respondent 12).

‘My parents leased land in Waaikraal on which we farmed and lived. It was about 3 hectares in size. My father was a goat farmer but we also grew vegetables. We had close to 300 goats which we sold to the people around here on a regular basis. I helped my father on his farm and looked after his goats’ (Respondent 2).

Four of the respondents (respondents 8, 11, 13 and 14) indicated that during the land possession and access period they were landowners and engaged in fulltime farming. Their land sizes could be described as large and they produced commodities for market exchange. They could thus be categorised as small commercial farmers. All four reported that in addition to their own and family labour they also employed wage labour. When considering the class criteria of Marx (2002) these small commercial farmers owned the means of production, employed labour and produced for market exchange. Hence, they could be classified as petty bourgeoisie. Although Marx did not mention small commercial farmers specifically when describing the petty bourgeoisie, we can deduce he also included them when he said the petty bourgeoisie comprised “the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper and the artisan” (Marx, 2002:17).

The similarities between the petty bourgeois small commercial farmers and the combination of proletarian and small farmers with commercial aspirations were that both class fractions owned the means of production (land), produced for market exchange and employ wage labour. However, what differentiated them was the fact that petty bourgeois small commercial farmers did not sell their labour power to the bourgeoisie as their farm income was sufficient to meet their social reproduction needs. What is also noteworthy is that in some respects the land sizes were similar⁵, giving substance to the view of Lund and Price (1998) and Kirsten and Van Zyl (1998) that land size is a problematic criterion to define small-scale farmers.

⁵ Respondents 4 and 6 also owned large parcels of land.

Some of the petty bourgeoisie were not involved in production, only in the exchange of commodities and services, such as traders and taxi-owners (Sauls et al et al, 2008). After land dispossession the petty bourgeoisie became alienated from the means of production and proletarianised. All small farmers became wage-workers or part of the labour reserve. In her detailed account of the losses the Dysseisdorp community suffered and which were the basis for the restitution claims, Schultz (1997) recorded that smallholder farmers lost access to capital (land, equipment, livestock, and plants), infrastructure (buildings, store rooms, dams, canals, and springs), access rights (grazing and water) and livelihoods (production, income and food gardens). As a result they were forced into wage labour in order to provide for themselves and their families.

Using Marx's criteria of relations to the means of production and labour power, the petty bourgeoisie often have dual or contradictory class identities and locations. Some of them are owners of businesses and sometimes employ wage labour they generally work for themselves if their business operations are not large enough. Thus was the case of many of the small commercial farmers and which is not uncommon as noted by Bernstein (2000) when he discussed the contradictory locations of peasant producers. The four respondents who are classified as petty bourgeois and small commercial farmers also worked fulltime on their farms and employed family and outside wage labour.

None of the respondents indicated that they were employed as professionals for a salary during the land possession period, however, Sauls et al et al (2008) pointed out that during the possession periods Dysseisdorp also had a professional strata of

teachers, nurses, police officers and other civil servants. This stratum is a class fraction of the petty bourgeoisie, which Marx (1967) said were those secondary and intermediate classes who fell between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. As Dysseisdorp developed over time, the area's middle classes grew during the dispossession period with the emergence of more government facilities to provide services to the growing population. A key driver had been the increased levels of education and training opportunities, especially after the dismantling of Apartheid after 1994. This also pointed to upwards class mobility, but through skills development and education rather than production.

4.3.1.4 Smallholder Farmers

As pointed out in the literature review the Marxist criteria for classes cannot be applied mechanistically to rural class structures as the nuances and material reality of rural social formations must be taken into account. Therefore, to better understand and differentiate class formation in rural areas, the categories of petty commodity producers, subsistence farmers and smallholder farmers were introduced in this study. Levin (1997) differentiated rural social formations into petty capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, worker peasants, allotment-holding wage-workers and rural proletariat. For his part, Cousins (1992) differentiated rural social formations into small to medium scale capitalist farmers; petty commodity producers, worker-peasants and lumpen semi-proletariat. Bernstein (2000) adopted a similar approach and argument. The Western Cape Department of Agriculture (2010) has categorized

the types of small farmers into subsistence farmers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers and lifestyle farmers.

The Rural Class Model introduced by the researcher in section 2.5 synthesized these approaches into a class model that was applied to the Dysselsdorp social formation. This Model used the categories of petty commodity producers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers and lifestyle farmers to differentiate small farmers. The differentiations between these fractions of class are also based on the criteria for class, namely means of production, labour and exchange (Marx, 2002).

These categories are not classes per se but class fractions, e.g. petty commodity producers are involved in subsistence farming and are a class fraction that fall within the proletariat. Even though they may own or lease a plot of land, they produced for subsistence and not exchange and did not employ wage labour. The smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations and small commercial farmers are fractions of the petty bourgeoisie as they owned or leased land, produced for market exchange and employ fulltime or casual wage labour. As stated above, they can also be described as emerging or aspirant petty bourgeoisie. The lifestyle farmers are a fraction of the middle class relation to petty bourgeoisie as they owned or leased land, and farmed as a hobby.

As indicated above five of the respondents were categorised as petty commodity producers during the possession period, which is viewed by the researcher as a class fraction of the proletariat since they were involved in subsistence farming and the barter of goods and services. The following quote illustrates

‘We leased land in Waaikraal on which we had a house and also planted lots of vegetables and fruit. We did not have to buy food and would even share some of our vegetables and meat with the neighbours... otherwise it would just rot’ (Respondent 10).

Three of the respondents (respondents 6, 7 and 9) indicated that they were engaged in market exchange during the possession period and intended to become fulltime farmers. All three made use of their own and family labour and one (respondent 6) at times employed wage labour. Hence they were categorised as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. However, two of them (respondents 6 and 7) were also employed as wage-workers to augment their farming income. The third one, respondent 9, used some of his production for family subsistence. The following quote illustrates

‘My father was a goat farmer in Waaikraal. We had close to 300 goats which we often sold to the community for meat. We also sold vegetables. My brothers and I helped my father on his farm and to look after his goats. My father also worked for the municipality and worked on his land in the evenings and weekends’ (Respondent 7).

Four of the respondents indicated that they fulltime engaged in commercial farming, during the possession period, and did not earn any other income. They are categorised as small commercial farmers. They owned or leased land (large tracts),

produced for market exchange and employed wage labour. The following quote illustrates

'We were farmers and owned many cattle, goats, pigs, donkeys and chickens and sold meat and milk to the people around here. We also produced vegetables, wheat, lucerne and fruit which we also sold to the community and the market in Oudtshoorn' (Respondent 8).

However, after the dispossession the small farming sector in Dysselsdorp were destroyed when the farmers lost their land and other productive assets and small scale farming ceased to exist for a long period as detailed by Schultz (1997).



4.4 Restitution

The land reform and restitution processes have offered the displaced proletariat and middle classes of Dysselsdorp renewed opportunities for access to the means of production (land etc.), participation in the production of commodities and for market exchange. By taking up these opportunities the location and position of classes in Dysselsdorp have been altered in indelible ways. In this regard land restitution potentially held unique possibilities as a strategy for societal intervention which involved class relations, differentiations and mobility. This section gives a brief overview of the politics of land restitution and the claim of Dysselsdorp's community.

This set the basis for discussing the various Restitution Models proposed and how it was taken up by the respondents of this study and finally what its class implications were for locations, differentiations and class mobility.

4.4.1 Political Context

The government's restitution policy had taken a "willing buyer, willing seller" approach, through which the government had been paying market value for the disputed and dispossessed land. According to the government, between 1994 and 2013, 4,860 farms have been transferred to black people and communities through the redistribution programme, totalling over 4 million hectares and benefitting almost a quarter of a million people. The costs for this was about R12.9 billion on land acquisition, R1.6 billion on recapitalisation (infrastructure, inputs and support) and R6 billion for claimants who have chosen financial compensation over land restoration (SAnews.gov.za:20/02/2013).

However, it is unclear whether the beneficiaries have retained the farms or sold or leased them out. There was no national registry of farmers in the country, and currently no tangible way to determine whether the transfer of land to black hands has been successful or had transformed the lives of the needy (SAnews.gov.za:20/02/2013). Some scholars (Hall, 2010) and Hendricks, Ntsebeza and Helliker (2013) are of the opinion that the government's land reform programme had not resulted in the social and economic transformation to the extent expected

both by government and society at large. Hall (2010) and Hendricks et al (2013) maintained that not only had very little land been redistributed, but many of the land-reform-farms have failed to help create sustainable livelihoods. They argued moreover that rural employment had decreased and farm worker evictions have increased, including evictions from some of the land-reform-farm-owners.

The government had also admitted that ninety per cent of the 5.9million hectares of land acquired by the state for emerging farmers were not productive (Politicsweb, 03 March 2010). Furthermore, that the process had instead siphoned off government's resources and delayed the reform process considerably as government had been paying twice as much for land restitution as it was for distribution (Politicsweb, 03 March 2010). The press reported that systemic challenges remained such as poor research capacity, delays caused by competing claims, incomplete cadastral surveys, and problems in calculating the value of land have created a huge backlog of thousands of unsettled claims over the last 20 years (Mail and Guardian, 18 August 2014). These challenges have also impacted negatively on the land claims in Dysselsdorp and slowed down the entire process of land reform.

4.4.2 Formulating the Dysselsdorp Restitution Claim

The Dysselsdorp land claim was submitted in 1996 with the assistance of the Southern Cape Land Committee (SCLC), a non-governmental organisation based in George. However, it was only gazetted by the national Land Commission in late 1997. Problems with gazetting arose from the fact that the claim had been submitted

for the entire area of Dysselsdorp. Initially the Commission was reluctant to accept the claim, maintaining that the entire area could not possibly be under claim. However, the SCLC (1996) consistently argued that Dysselsdorpers as a community had once enjoyed land rights to the entire area of Dysselsdorp and that they had lost these rights directly as a result of the implementation of the group Area Act. Hence, every square inch of Dysselsdorp is in fact contested land. The Commission's acceptance of this notion was an important victory for the claimants.

In her detailed account of the losses the Dysselsdorp community suffered and which are the basis for the restitution claims, Schultz (1997) recorded the following: Capital (land, equipment, livestock, and plants); Infrastructure (housing, buildings, store rooms, dams, canals, and springs); Communal property (churches, schools and graveyards); Access rights (grazing and water); Livelihoods (production, income and food gardens) and Dignity (humiliation, culture and trauma). The settlement agreement focused exclusively on land restoration and development and at a later stage partial financial compensation (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 21). The land under claim consisted of large portions of the land surrounding the current residential area of Dysselsdorp.

The Settlement Agreement that was signed between the Dysselsdorp Land Claims Committee and the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights stipulated a monetary value to the compensation, worked out in terms of the value of the rights lost. It is important to highlight that the settlement acknowledged the different types of rights that were held by residents, not just ownership of land – rights to use the commonage, rights of tenants, rights of owners of both residential and agricultural

plots and water rights (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 18). The Agreement stipulated that the “Claimants agree to use the proceeds of the restitution claims for the purpose of development of the community of Dysselsdorp in a manner that will leave a lasting legacy for the community as a whole” (Sauls et al et al, 2008:9).

When analysing the claim and the feedback of respondents it became clear that several important factors affecting the claim must be recognised. Firstly, it was not feasible to untangle all of the individual claims. According to the respondents, many people have a strong desire to return to the piece of land which they were removed from. However, in some instances this land has been utterly transformed. This was especially true of Waaikraal, part of which is now a state farm and another part which is now covered by the new housing scheme.

Secondly, it was evident from the respondents that, in the majority cases, their title was not updated and it is not clear as to who the owner should be. This means that some people will have to waive their right to restoration of a specific piece of land.

Thirdly, the population of Dysselsdorp approximately doubled since the removal (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 10). Many of these new people were born after the removal, and some of them are people who moved to Dysselsdorp from other areas. They cannot be excluded from the benefits arising from the claim without causing tremendous conflict. Hence the decision by community leaders to also focus on development, which would benefit everybody.

Finally, Dysselsdorpers have identified housing and unemployment as their major problems (Sauls et al et al, 2008: 23). This is consistent with the nature of demand

for land elsewhere in South Africa, which is primarily for housing and small plots for food production (Andrews et al, 2009: 175). These problems stemmed directly from the forced removals and as such it was argued should be the main focus of restoration and compensation.

According to the respondents, a cash payment option, emerged among them once the settlement agreement was signed. A substantial group of the claimant community was opposed to a clause in the agreement that stipulated that the money from the claim should be utilised for development projects. According to the respondents this group insisted that the money be paid out in cash and this resulted in the formation of the *Dysselsdorp Action Committee (DAC)*, which delayed the development of a proposal for more than 7 seven years.

What is interesting to note for class analysis, though it is not conclusive in itself, as labour and market relations need to be considered in tandem, is that the DAC consisted mostly of claimants who had leased land from the Divisional Council under possession. As such these claimants were only entitled to cash compensation and were thus differentiated from those claimants who previously owned the land they farmed. The interests of this group took on a political expression with direct impact on the cohesion of the Dysselsdorp community. In this regard respondents reported that the leadership of this group used party political differences to divide the claimants. Furthermore they mobilised parts of the community to resort to protests and violence to press their demands.

A compromise was eventually reached on the modalities of the restitution claim. The claimants agreed on several restitution models to meet the different [class] needs

and [class] interests of the community. The claim was subsequently submitted to the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights in 1996 and is the subject of discussion of the next section.

4.5 Restitution Models

This section unpacks the three restitution models, adopted by the community and evaluates each one against their impact on the criteria for class location. These are: Model 1: Cash Payment; Model 2: Land restoration; Model 3: Community Development. The latter has four options: community development projects, emerging farmer development, smallholder commercial farming and communal trust. Each of the three models are described and discussed, followed by an analysis of their implications for class relations and class structure. Thereafter, the emerging patterns of class differentiation, combinations and mobility are drawn out and evaluated to understand how restitution is shaping the social structure of Dysselsdorp.

The discussion on the impact of the restitution models on class relations took account of the problematic of multiple and contradictory class locations. The discussion is also framed by the respondents' experiences of the Dysselsdorp Land Restitution Claim, which is fraught with challenges and delays. Finally, an assessment of the possible success or failure of the state's class project in rural areas is given.

The next data set, Table 5, sets out the class structure in Dysselsdorp for each of the three periods, i.e. possession, dispossession and restitution. Secondly it lists the

land holdings that were lost and the current land ownership/access that exists. Thirdly, it details the current means of production, labour and exchange relations. This data will serve as the basis for discussion of the implications of the different restitution models on class relations in Dysseisdorp, which will be dealt with in the next sections.



Table 5: Restitution Overview

Class position: Possession	Class position: Dispossession	Class position: Restitution + Respondent	Land Lost	Current Means of Production: Restitution		Current Labour Relations	Current Income Source	Current Exchange Form	Current Average Income p/m
				Own	Lease				
PCP	P	MC + PCP Resp.1 - CD	S (1-2ha)		S (4000m ²)	SL	O	CC, O	10K
PCP	P	MC + PCP Resp.2- CD	S (0-1ha)		S (4000m ²)	SL	MS	CC, O	40K
P + SCA	P	PP Resp.7- CP	S (0-1ha)				O		5K
P + PCP	P	MC + SCA Resp.3- LR	M (3-4ha)	S (1-2ha)		SL, F	MS, O	CC	5K
P + PCP	P	MC + SCA Resp.4- CD, LR	L (6-7ha)		L (48ha)	SL		CC	20K
PCP	P	MC + SCA Resp.5- CD, LR	L (6-7ha)		L (48ha)	SL	MS, O	CC	20K
P + SCA	P	P + SCA Resp.6- LR	L (7-8ha)	S (1-2ha)		SL, F, WL	W, O	CC	4K
PB + SCF	P	P + SCA Resp.8- CD, LR	L (10-11ha)		L (48ha)	SL, WL	W, O	CC	5K
PB + SCF	P	PB + SCF Resp.14- CD, LR	L (7-8ha)	M (3-4ha)	S (2ha) S (1 - 2ha) L (48ha)	SL, WL	O	CC	12K
PCP	P	SCA Resp.10- LR	M (4-5ha)	S (1-2ha)		SL, F, WL	O	CC	3K
PB + SCF	P	MC + LF + SCA Resp.11- CD, LR	L (7-8ha)	S (1-2ha)	L (48ha)	SL, WL	MS, O	CC	30K
SCA + PCP	P	SCA + PCP Resp.9- CD	S (1-2ha)	L (60ha) S (1-2ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)	SL, F, WL	O	CC	5K
PB + SCF	P	P + SCA + PCP Resp.13- CD, LR	L (6-7ha)	L (60ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)	SL, F, WL	O	CC	3K
PCP	P	MC + PCP + SCA Resp.12- CD, LR	L (6-7ha)	L (60ha)	S (4000m ²) L (48ha)	SL, F, WL	O	CC	4K

Legend:

P: Proletariat
 PB: Petty Bourgeoisie
 MC: Middle Class
 SCA: Smallholder with Commercial Aspirations
 SCF: Small Commercial Farmer
 PCP: Petty Commodity Producer
 LF: Lifestyle Farmer
 PP: Pensioner
 S: Small
 M: Medium
 L: Large
 SL: Self Labour
 F: Family
 WL: Wage Labour
 CC: Cash Crops
 O: Other
 MS: Monthly Salary
 CP: Cash Payment
 LR: Land Restoration
 CD: Community Development

4.5.1 Model 1: Cash Payment

The Cash Payment Restitution Model is based on the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, which specifies that land claim beneficiaries may elect to choose monetary compensation for land rights lost or restoration of their land ownership, as a result of dispossession or forced removals. Furthermore, the Act also provided for beneficiaries to claim compensation for loss of housing, grazing and water rights as a result of land dispossession or forced removals. With respect to the former legal provision it held furthermore that beneficiaries, who chose the cash payment in lieu of land lost, forfeited their ownership and access to land. This option also applied in cases where restoration was no longer practically feasible.

What unfolded in the Dysselsdorp Restitution Claim with regard to the monetary compensation involved two elements to accommodate both communal and personal interests: Firstly, there was a cash payment of R19 000 which was available to everyone in Dysselsdorp who lost housing, grazing and water rights during the forced removals of 1972. Secondly, an additional cash payment of R110000 was also available to those claimants who had their land dispossessed and for which they had a title deed, in 1972. One of the respondents (respondent 7) opted for this cash settlement.

The community leaders developed a proposal to use all the restitution money to kick-start socio-economic development in Dysselsdorp as a way to address the challenges of poverty and unemployment. However, after objections from certain sections of the community and negotiations with the Department of Rural

Development and Land Reform it was agreed that R9000 of each claim of R19000 be set aside for development purposes. Later this was changed and the community agreed that the entire R19000 plus interests (R42000 in total) be paid out to all the claimants. Instead the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and made available a separate R30million for community development (Sauls et al et al, 2008).

According to the respondents eight (respondents 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14) of them had received their payment or part thereof and the rest is being paid out as National Treasury made funds available. The following direct quotes illustrate

‘My parents leased land from the DC in Doringkraal on which we had a house and a large food garden. We only qualified for the cash and got R10 000 in 2011 and the other R9 000 plus the interest this year’ (Respondent 3).

‘My brother and I helped our father on farm in Doringkraal. Today both my parents and brother have passed away, but my husband and I are too old and sick to go back to the farm. We have decided to take the cash payment and have been told that we will get R110 000 in total. I have only received R42 000 and still wait on the rest of the money’ (Respondent 7).

‘My parents leased land on the commonage from the DC on which we my father built a house. We had only received the R10000 two

years ago which was divided between my two brothers and I. We are still waiting on the balance of the payment' (Respondent 6).

Of the eight respondents who had received payment, only five of them had received the full R19 000 for loss of rights. At the time of the interviews, three of them had received only R10 000. As stated the former land owner only received R42 000 of the R110 000 at the time of the interview. The R110 000 was in lieu of land lost. It is, however, unclear what formula the government is using to determine land value. It is also doubtful if this determination is based on market values or whether the same formula that is being used to compensate "white" commercial farmers, at market related values, also applied to restitution claimants. This could be a possible area for future policy research.

The interviews yielded no evidence that showed that cash was invested in the means neither of production, land improvement nor in raw materials or technology. Furthermore, in order to establish the class impact of Model 1 it was equally necessary to track changes in the employment of wage labour in farm production and market exchange for profit. In both cases there was no evidence to support that the cash payment was used for such purposes and thus it was concluded that the class impact was minimal as far as Model 1 was concerned.

According to the respondents the cash payment was primarily used for poverty alleviation, debt relief and basic consumption and was of such a nature as to be considered a token gesture rather than meaningful compensation. Clearly the amounts involved in compensation for personal and communal losses were not commensurate. And finally neither was the compensation for land lost adequate as

this too bore no real relationship to the market value of the land which was dispossessed.

4.5.1.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

The Model 1: Cash Payment cut across classes as every eligible claimant, regardless of class location, qualified for cash compensation. All the respondents, who occupied a range of class locations, were eligible for this model. However, only Respondent 7, a pensioner who was a former proletarian and petty commodity producer opted for cash payment in lieu of land restitution. This respondent reported that the money was invested into their household and not in any productive activity.

The Model 1: Cash Payment provision had very little effect on class mobility except perhaps for a movement downwards. In this regard it has been noted that since no land transfer was involved the means of production remained unaffected and thus precluded production and exchange. And since the means of production, labour and exchange are the main criteria of class (Marx, 1996; Swingewood, 1975) Model 1: Cash Payment has thus no impact on these.

Furthermore, Giddens and Held (1982) reminded us that income is not a criterion for class and hence the model does not impact on class differentiation and upward mobility. To conclude the Model 1: Cash Payment has been observed to have the least impact on class structure, differentiation and mobility. This was evident in respect of respondent 7, the pensioner, who opted for this model and was part of the proletariat under dispossession, has remained within this class location.

4.5.1.2 Pattern of Class Differentiation

Under Model 1: Cash Payment very little class differentiation also takes place. As this model does not affect or change the criteria for class, means of production, labour and exchange, as articulated by Marx (1969) and Swingewood (1975) class differentiation among the community did not appear. Income is also not a criterion for class (Giddens and Held, 1982). The model thus has limited implication for class differentiation. Although the data in table 5 showed class differentiation and multiple locations for the respondents, these cannot be attributed to Model 1: Cash Payment.



4.5.1.3 Pattern of Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

Since Model 1: Cash Payment has no implication for class structure, differentiation and fragmentation no new classes are formed under this model of the restitution. Hence the model also has no implications for class combinations and contradictory class locations. If those who gained access to land used cash payments for production it would serve as a point of differentiation. However, none of the respondents indicated that this was the case.

4.5.1.4 Pattern of Class Mobilities

Under Model 1: Cash Payment offers very little opportunity for class mobility as it does not affect the criteria for class location and income is not a marker for class

(Swingewood, 1975; Giddens and Held, 1982). Where cash payment in lieu of land restoration takes place Model 1: Cash Payment on the contrary undermines class differentiation and mobility. It thus has the potential to lead to more proletarianisation and impoverishment or pauperism. Cash compensation does not affect class relations and hence no upwards or downwards mobility takes place. Mobility is only sideways, in other words the class position remains the same as before receipt of cash stable, which can result in more proletarianisation and impoverishment or pauperism. Respondent 7, therefore, who occupied a proletarian location during dispossession (which already was a downwards movement due to proletarianisation) underwent a sideways movement when exercising Model 1: Cash Payment.

The cash payment option had more of an effect on poverty alleviation rather than class location. In the case of compensation for loss of housing, water and grazing rights there was no implication for class relations and the class structure. However, in instances where cash was chosen over land restoration it did change the relations in terms of the primary means of production. Those claimants, who could have become potential owners of the means of production (land) and consequently engage in production and exchange, in effect forfeited this right.

This cash compensatory option was simply too little and to compound matters the payments were staggered. According to the respondents the cash was primarily being used to pay for food, transport, clothes, school fees, settling of debt and their day to day living expenses and did not last long. It also came in two or three instalments and in many instances was shared among more than one descendant. Clearly a cash payment of R42 000 or R110 000, that is staggered and potentially

divided between more than one descendant amounts to very little money. It is thus understandable that given the poverty trap many claimants found themselves in and the pressures for immediate relief make productive investment of the cash payment highly unlikely if not impractical.

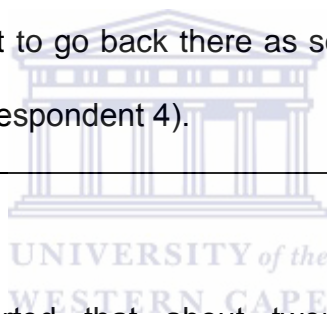
4.5.2 Model 2: Land Restoration

In terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, land claim beneficiaries who do not choose monetary compensation still have access to land redress for land lost through dispossession of forced removals. However, the Act also stipulates that this option can only be exercised in cases where it is physically and practically feasible to get access to the land again. In this regard it has been noted that the new housing scheme in Dysselsdorp was built on land previously owned by some of the claimants and respondents. In such cases the beneficiaries would have no choice but to accept the monetary compensation under Model 1: Cash Payment.

Hendricks (1990: 4) noted that a central feature of the Apartheid government's strategy of land dispossession was to divide the rural areas into residential, arable, agriculture, forestry. The purpose behind this strategy Hendricks (1990) noted was firstly to create communal grazing land and to create concentrated villages all over rural South Africa. In effect people were forcibly relocated if they occupied land outside the demarcated residential areas and are in fact a mirror image of the impetus behind the creation of Dysselsdorp which was a direct result of this policy.

According to Schultz (1997: 5) there were approximately 153 families who owned land and 688 families who leased land from the government. Sauls et al et al (2008: 4) reported that the majority of the 153 claimants indicated that they prefer to have their title to the land restored, as they regard land as a productive and investment asset that could improve their lives. Ten of the respondent's (respondents 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14) indicated that they had submitted claims for land restoration. The following direct quote is illustrative:

'Farming is in my blood and I am very passionate about it. When I was young I helped my grandfather and father on their land in Blaapunt. I have submitted a claim for our family farm in Blaapunt and want to go back there as soon as the transfer has been completed' (Respondent 4).



The respondents also reported that about twenty claimants had 'occupied unofficially' their land and are already practising small scale farming successfully. Respondents 3, 6 and 14) admitted that they were part of this group and had occupied their original land on which they are currently farming. The following direct quote is illustrative:

'Between 15 – 20 of us have decided not to wait for the Commission to give us the title deeds and have started to farm on the land that belongs to our parents. The sizes of these plots vary

from 0.5hectare to 3.0 hectare. No one is using the land and it has been lying fallow since our removal' (Respondent 6).

The study showed that most of the claimants (10 from the respondents' group) chose Model 2: Land Restoration and that it had particularly strong support among the former smallholder farmers and small commercial farmers as it spoke directly to their latent class interests. According to the respondents the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights had already transferred 40 of these title deeds and the rest were going through the system for finalisation.

Model 2: Land Restoration offered the proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, middle classes and small farmers the opportunity to acquire ownership of the means of production in land. Thirteen of the respondents indicated a strong desire to engage in small-scale commercial agriculture whereby they could produce for market exchange. Model 2: Land Restoration therefore had widespread class implications. Not only did it result in ownership of the means of production, control over the production of commodities and participation in market exchange but also resulted in changes in labour relations of their farms.

4.5.2.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

Model 2: Land Restoration as such created opportunities for the proletariat and middle classes to get ownership, access and control of land, as the primary means

of production. This has by extension created opportunities for small-scale farming, the production of commodities for market exchange and the employment of wage labour to take place. The changes in the class structure of Dyssseldorp as a result of Model 2: Land Restoration has resulted in the emergence of class differentiations in both the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. With respect to the proletariat the study observed it in petty commodity producers and smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. However, with regard to the petty bourgeoisie it was evidenced in categories such as small commercial farmers, lifestyle farmers and middle-class farmers.

Three of the respondents (respondents 9, 12 and 13) who were proletarians during the dispossession period have joined the state's emerging farmer project which seeks to nurture petty commodity producers into small commercial farmers. Two of the middle class respondents (respondent 1 and 2) have also joined this project. There were five respondents who accessed state land (4000m² plots) and engaged in small-scale farming for exchange and also for subsistence. However, they did not as yet employ wage labour in their farming activities.

Ten of the respondents (respondents 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13) have obtained access to the means of production (land) on which they produced for market exchange. Four of these respondents (respondents 3, 6, 10 and 14) are farming on portions of the land which they owned during the possession period. Respondents 9, 12 and 13 are farming on a farm (60 ha) they bought as part of the Dyssseldorp Development Trust. Nine of the ten respondents (respondents 4, 5, 6,

8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13) are also practising commercial agriculture on a 48ha farm they are leasing from the state.

The latter nine, who were all proletarians under dispossession, have accessed land under restitution through a combination of ownership and leasing. They are all using the land to produce for market exchange and employ wage labour. However, the scale of their production is not large and viable enough to cater for their social reproduction and hence they also make use of non-farm or other income. They are therefore categorised as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, which is a fraction of the petty bourgeoisie. The study views the latter as a new class strata and location that has emerged as a category under land restitution in the Dysseisdorp experience.

Respondent 10, who is a salaried professional and part of the middle class also practised farming as a hobby on his own land. This respondent was not engaged in production for market exchange but employed wage labour when needed, in addition to his own and family labour. Respondent 10 is categorised as a lifestyle farmer, which is a class fraction of the petty bourgeoisie. This is a third class sub-category and location that has similarly emerged under restitution.

Respondent 14, who was also a proletarian under dispossession, has obtained access to his own land and also leased different pieces of land from the state and a bourgeois farmer. This respondent has been engaged in commercial farming for market exchange and employed wage labour in addition to his own and family

labour. Respondent 14 is fulltime engaged in production and his turnover is sufficient to meet his entire social reproduction requirements. He is differentiated within the petty bourgeoisie and as such falls in the sub-category of small commercial farmer, which is then a class fraction.

4.5.2.2 Pattern of Class Differentiation

Model 2: Land Restoration impacts on the criteria for class location, namely ownership of the means of production, exploitation of labour and exchange relations as defined by Marx (1969). It also leads to the emergence of different class fractions among the respondents - under the restitution process: five petty commodity producers, which are a fraction of the proletariat; eleven smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, one small commercial farmer and one lifestyle farmer - which are class fractions of the petty bourgeoisie. The points of differentiations of these class fractions are around the three criteria for class, i.e. means of production, labour power and exchange.

The five respondents who are petty commodity producers are differentiated from the other small farmers in the sense that they also produce for subsistence and do not employ labour. The 11 respondents who are smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations are differentiated from the other small farmers around the size of their operations in that they require additional non-farm income and hence are employed elsewhere.

Only Respondent 14, who is a small commercial farmer, is differentiated from the other small farmers in that he no longer requires additional non-farm income and has

reached the full stage of the petty bourgeoisie. Respondent 11, who is a lifestyle smallholder farmer, is differentiated from the other small farmers in that he does not produce for exchange but practises farming as a hobby.

The emergence of these new classes is directly linked to the opportunities for small-scale farming, the production of commodities for market exchange and employment of wage labour that Model 2: Land Restoration offers. This model thus had significant implications for class locations and differentiation.

4.5.2.3 Pattern of Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

The data showed that these different class fractions also occupied more than one class location or combinations of locations. In some cases classes occupy contradictory locations, for example smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations can also be in fulltime employment as wage-workers or middle class salaried professionals. Wright (1985, 1998) noted that middle classes tend to occupy contradictory locations within exploitative capitalist relations of production. Cousins (2010) also argued that it is not uncommon for the peasantry and small-scale farmers within capitalism to have contradictory class locations.

The study surfaced evidence of contradictory class locations such as for example, five respondents who are members of the SFA and categorised as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations are also as part of the emerging farmer development project. Hence they are also categorised as petty commodity producers. Respondents 6, 8 and 13 are proletarians i.e. who are employed as wage

workers, but at the same time are also smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations.

Respondents 1 and 2, who are middle class professionals, are at the same time also petty commodity producers. Respondents 3, 4 and 5 who are also middle class salariat professionals are at the same time also smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. And Respondent 11 who is also a middle class salariat professional is at the same time also a smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations. In sum Model 2: Land Restoration has the highest incidence of class combinations and contradictory locations as initiated under restitution.

4.5.2.4 Pattern of Class Mobilities

This section looks at the implications of class mobility for Model 2: Land Restoration. The above discussion showed that Model 2: Land Restoration impacted on class relations in several ways and has upwards, downwards and sideways mobility implications for the different class categories. It opened up possibilities to the proletariat and middle classes to differentiate into petty commodity producers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers and lifestyle farmers.

All the Dysselsdorp claimants were smallholder farmers of different types, who owned or had access to the means of production and were engaged in small-scale farming. The 2nd land dispossession proletarianised the respondents which in effect was a movement downwards of class mobility. Model 2: Land Restoration under

restitution resulted in an upwards mobility as ownership of the land was and is being transferred back into the hands of the claimants. As the data showed all eleven respondents who have opted for Model 2: Land Restoration experienced upwards mobility.

Firstly, Respondents 1 and 2 (middle class) who have taken up the petty commodity producer locations have moved downwards, as the latter is a proletarian location. Respondents 3, 4, 5, 11 and 12, also middle class, all underwent upward mobility by having taken up smallholder farming with commercial aspirations (petty bourgeois) locations. Respondent 11 underwent a double upward mobility as a lifestyle smallholder farmer (also petty bourgeois location).

Secondly, Respondent 6, 8 and 13 (proletarians) also underwent upward mobility by taking up the smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations (petty bourgeois location) location. However, Respondent 13 also underwent a sideways mobility by having taken up the petty commodity producer (rural proletariat) location. Respondent 14 also underwent upwards mobility – from a proletarian location under dispossession to petty bourgeois under restitution.

Of the two restitution options, discussed thus far, Model 2: Land Restoration has the greatest impact on class relations as it opens up most of the class differentiation between the different classes and their fractions and combinations in Dysseisdorp. In this Model 2: Land Restoration as far as this study has been able to show offers the best prospects for upward mobility and ‘embourgeoisement’ as it places ownership of the means of production in the hands of the rural proletariat and the rural petty bourgeoisie with their multiple differentiations, locations and

contradictions. Finally, unlike the case of Model 1: Cash Payment the beneficiaries of Model 2: Land Restoration have a chance of creating a more sustainable livelihood for themselves and their families. Thus we can conclude that Model 2: Land Restoration has significant implications for class mobility in Dysseisdorp.

4.5.3 Model 3: Community Development

The state land reform and restitution policies make provision for several strategies and programme to encourage economic development in rural areas. These policies according to Lahiff (2007), Hall (2012) and Lyne and Darroch (2003) are geared towards fostering the emergence of a black petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in the agricultural sector of South Africa. Towards this end the land reform and restitution strategies comprised programmes to finance community development projects, provide support to emerging farmers, set up communal trust and provide support to small commercial farmers.

In Dysseisdorp several community development initiatives had been launched by the community and the government as part of the restitution process. These are grouped together under Model 3: Community Development. This model is not necessarily an alternative to Model 1: Cash Payment and Model 2: Land Restoration, nor is it exclusive but it is open to all the residents of Dysseisdorp – claimants and non-claimants alike.

The study registered that Model 3: Community Development received strong support from community leaders as they were the key drivers behind it and hence embraced

the benefits of sustainable and collective public goods. This section discusses and analyses the four options that became available under Model 3: Community Development. These were namely Community Projects, Dysselsdorp Development Trust, Emerging Farmer Project and Small Farmers Association. This study established that the four options to some extent reflected different class interests as articulated by different classes or fractions of classes in Dysselsdorp. The implications for class relations, structure and differentiation are taken up in under each option.

The programme is being

4.5.3.1 Community Development Projects

The community, with the support of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and the Provincial Department of Agriculture, has launched three projects under the government's Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) in Dysselsdorp (Sauls et al et al, 2008). Dysselsdorp was selected by government as the pilot site for the CRDP in the Western Cape. The CRDP focused on enabling rural people to deal with rural poverty through the optimal use and management of natural resources, as well as investment in economic and social infrastructure. It is a three pronged strategy namely:

- *Agrarian Transformation* includes increasing all types of agricultural production; optimal and sustainable use of natural resources; the use of appropriate technologies; food security.
- *Rural Development* includes improving economic and social infrastructure.

- *Land Reform* including restitution, redistribution, land tenure reform.

(Department of Agriculture, 2010: 1-2)

The community development approach was originally agreed to by everyone in order to overcome possible divisions between the claimants and the rest of the community who did not qualify, but also because it was a more sustainable model which would leave a lasting legacy. At that stage there was no talk of financial settlements. However, the study revealed that as a result of the vehement opposition raised by some of the claimants the original idea was amended to first partial payment and part of the money being used for development. Later the DRDLR agreed to pay out all the money and to provide additional finance for community development. The following direct quotes illustrate



‘The Minister of Land Affairs has allocated R30million for community development. We have already started several projects such as cooperatives, skills development, enterprise development and an IT centre. As community activists we believe that this is a more sustainable approach that will benefit everybody in Dysselsdorp’ (Respondent 1).

‘We are 16 women who have decided to form a co-op called the Lovty Group in 2012, with the aim to get training in farming. The Department of Agriculture has given us a piece of land on the state farm to start food gardens.

These plots are about 4000m² big. We also received seeds, basic equipment and training from the department. Most of us are planting potatoes, onions, carrots, green beans, beetroot and cabbages. We use it for our families but also try to sell as much as we can to people in the community' (Respondent 12).

The community development projects are administered by the DRDLR and the provincial Department of Agriculture. A Council of Stakeholders had been established which include representatives of all the organisations, institutions, schools and businesses in Dysselsdorp (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010). All the local, provincial and national government department and public entities with a footprint in Dysselsdorp are also represented.

According to the respondents, 42 initiatives had already been launched under this approach such as infrastructure upgrades, business cooperatives, a skills training centre, food security projects, employment creation projects, etc. This model appears to be successful and serves as a pilot and best practise case for similar initiatives elsewhere in the province (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010).

None of the community development projects under Model 3: Community Development involved private ownership of or access to the means of production, labour or exchange relations. The projects are instead geared towards creating public goods which the community can benefit from, e.g. a computer training centre

with a free internet café, or resources and services to facilitate enterprise development. As such the projects do not directly impact on class relations, structure and differentiation but may indirectly improve the community's chances of upward class mobility.

4.5.3.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

Most of all, however, since Community Development Projects have no direct impact on the basic criteria of class relations viz., ownership of the means of production, production, labour and exchange (Marx, 1996) their implications for class differentiation, location and formation are limited. Consequently, the Community Development projects under Model 3: Community Development similarly has no direct implications for class mobility. However, the development projects do have the potential to create conditions conducive to business development training and thus for a class dynamic to emerge.

4.5.3.2 Dysselsdorp Development Trust

This section explores the second option under the Model 3: Community Development, the Dysselsdorp Development Trust, which is based on a communal Trust. In regard to the Dysselsdorp Development Trust is a form of cooperative that is provided for under the land reform and restitution policies of Government. Towards this end provision was made for the financing of these communal trusts and for technical support by the relevant government departments. The purpose behind the

Dysselsdorp Development Trust was to provide a business entity that could protect its members from the financial and corporate governance risks normally associated with companies.

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust is one of the options categorized as Model 3: Community Development was established in terms of the Trust Property Control Act, No 57 of 1988. Provision for this was made by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR) as part of the government's land reform and restitution policy for which it made funding available to be taken up. The Model 3: Community Development option offered any qualified group of people, in terms of the DRDLR policy, the opportunity to apply for a subsidy of R25000 per person to jump start a rural development project that will benefit its members.

Seizing upon this initiative fifty two of the claimants, who were originally in favour of community development, had decided to start a community trust called the "Dysselsdorp Development Trust". The latter did not preclude members of the trust from exercising their rights as claimants of due cash payments and or land restoration. According to three respondents (respondents 9, 12, and 13), who are part of the Trust, the aim of the Trust was to develop an agri-tourism village, on a well located piece of land, as a commercial enterprise for the benefit of the members of the trust. In this regard the Dysselsdorp Trust purchased a farm with a loan obtained by the Land Bank.

And following on their commitment the DRDLR provided technical and business development support to assist the members to develop the farm into a viable enterprise that could generate sufficient income and provide employment. At the

time of the study the project was still in its infancy, but has been touted with much potential as it is located on fertile arable land. The following direct quotes are illustrative:

Our decision to establish a trust was based on our love for farming and belief that it is better to invest the money rather than to use the cash for short term needs. We plan to produce and sell vegetables, herbs and also set up a farms stall as the farm is next to the Oudtshoorn/Beaufort-West road. (Respondent 8).

'I am the chairperson of the Dysselsdorp United Development Trust. My parents lived and leased land in Varkenskloof on which my father grew vegetables and also reared goats and sheep. My siblings and I have received the monetary settlement as our parents were not land owners, but I have also decided to be part of Trust and applied for the subsidy of R25000' (Respondent 12).

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust option as part of Model 3: Community Development allowed the members to set up a substantial commercial venture in which they could acquire ownership over land and thus their means of production. The Trust also enabled its members to engage in the production of commodities (goods and services) which were exchanged on the market for income and profit. And completing the class relations The Trust also enabled its members to employ

wage labour and thus to exploit the proletariat. These benefits of the Dysselsdorp Development Trust unlike Models 1 and 3 though like Model 2 directly relate to the criteria for class differentiation and location and as such impact on class relations and mobility.

4.5.3.2.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust option of Model 3: Community Development had allowed the two proletarian respondents (respondent 9 and 13) and respondent 12 (middle class professional) to access land, the means of production, to engage in the production of commodities, the market and to employ wage labour, the proletariat. Given the latter class relations the researcher has categorized three respondents as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. Thus the Dysselsdorp Development Trust initiative of Model 3: Community Development impacted very directly on class formation and differentiation as evidenced.

4.5.3.2.2 Pattern of Class Differentiation

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust option of Model 3: Community Development registered that three smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations (respondents 9, 12 and 13) main points of differentiation were their communal ownership of the means of production (60ha land), their engagement in commodity production for market exchange (agri-tourism farm) and their employment of the proletariat, wage labour. Based on changes in their class criteria, (Marx, 1967; Swingewood, 1975; Giddens and Held, 1982), the two proletarian and one middle class respondent also occupied petty bourgeois locations - as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. This brings to view that they are not only differentiated but that they occupy contradictory class locations.

4.5.3.2.3 Pattern of Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust initiative under Model 3: Community Development had opened up opportunities for multiple and contradictory class locations to respondents 9, 12 and 13. Respondents 9 and 13 are simultaneously occupying proletarian and petty bourgeois (smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations) locations – which are contradictory. Respondent 12 occupied both middle class and petty bourgeois (smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations) locations – which is a combination. In addition, respondents 9, 12 and 13 also occupy another contradictory location as petty commodity producers. The Dysselsdorp Development Trust under Model 3: Community Development thus offers significant implications for class combinations and contradictory locations.

4.5.3.2.4 Pattern of Class Mobilities

The implications which the communal option under Model 3: Community Development has for class relations, structure and differentiation are taken further in this sub-section. The Dysselsdorp Development Trust initiative under Model 3: Community Development offered its members ownership of the means of production and participation in a commercial venture as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. Respondents 9 and 13 are proletarians who have simultaneously moved upwards into a class fraction of the petty bourgeoisie, as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations.

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust option under Model 3: Community Development thus offered prospects for upward class mobility or embourgeoisement to the proletariat, petty commodity producers and small subsistence farmers. Its implication for class relations and differentiation lies in its differentiated impacts on the class criteria of ownership of the means of production, labour and exchange. We can thus conclude that the Dysselsdorp Development Trust option under Model 3: Community Development has had a transformative impact on class relations and the class structure in Dysselsdorp.

4.5.3.3 Emerging Farmer Development

The emerging farmer development project is another of the four options under Model 3: Community Development which the claimants and respondents had decided to

pursue. In this regard the emerging farmer development option represents what Lahiff (2007) and Hall (2012) have identified as the class project of the state in rural areas. The aim of the state it was noted is to encourage the emergence of small commercial farmers through the provision of land, infrastructure and technical service. In respect of the State's approach it's class project was clear as it was not to transform capitalist class relations of production but to entrench it with the nurturing of a class of black entrepreneurial farmers in rural areas.

Dysselsdorp came under the purview of this class project which, when this study was conducted, was represented through a group of petty commodity producers who were being trained by Government agencies to become small commercial farmers in the future. Five of the respondents (respondents 1, 2, 9, 12 and 13) indicated that they had joined the state project and are currently producing vegetables on these plots. These petty commodity producers were given plots, which were not fenced off, of about 4000m² each on a state farm and were supported with seeds, technical advice and equipment. The government remains the owner of the land while the petty commodity producers do not pay any rent. The petty commodity producers focussed on the growing of a variety of vegetables, which they used for family consumption and also exchanged for cash to the community. In the main labour is provided by themselves and other family members, however, on rare occasions they also employ casual labour when needed. It is generally believed that should these producers be successful after a few years they may graduate to bigger tracts of land, projects and operations. The following direct quote is illustrative:

'I am unemployed and have decided to take part in the small farmer's scheme until our land claim is settled. I am producing lucerne and vegetables which I sell to the community. I would like to become a bigger commercial farmer when I have my family land back in Waaikraal' (Respondent 8).

4.5.3.3.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

The Emerging Farmer Development project option of Model 3: Community Development offered opportunities to the proletariat and middle classes to access state land and engage in petty commodity production. Respondents 1, 2 and 12 who are middle class professionals are now also categorised as petty commodity producers, a proletarian class fraction. Similarly, respondents 9 and 13, who are proletarians are now also categorised as petty commodity producers, a proletarian class fraction. Thus we can say that the Emerging Farmer Development project option of Model 3: Community Development has resulted in multiple class locations and categories amongst the proletarian and middle class respondents.

4.5.3.3.2 Pattern of Class Differentiation

The Emerging Farmer Development Project of Model 3: Community Development as a class project of the state is geared towards creating class differentiation among the

proletariat and middle class, with its emphasis on entrepreneurial farming. It created access to the means of production, encouraged commodity production for market exchange and provided opportunities for wage labour employment. Respondents 1, 2 and 12 were differentiated from the middle class by their access to the means of production and involvement in commodity production. However, their aim was subsistence and food security and they do not employ labour but use their own and family labour.

4.5.3.3.3 Pattern of Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

The Emerging Farmer Development project of Model 3: Community Development saw different classes occupy more than one class location, a combination of locations or contradictory locations. This class phenomenon has been theorised by Wright (1985, 1998) at the general level of Marxist theory and Cousins (2010) in relation to its rural translation. In these study Respondents 1, 2 and 12 have both middle class and petty commodity producer locations, which means they have both middle class and proletarian locations. Respondents 9, 12 and 13 on the other hand have both petty commodity producer (proletarian) and smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations (petty bourgeois) locations. The Emerging Farmer Development project of Model 3: Community Development thus has direct implications for class combinations and contradictory class locations.

4.5.3.3.4 Pattern of Class Mobilities

The Emerging Farmer Development project under Model 3: Community Development has limited impact on class mobility. This state project mainly offers the proletariat in Dysselsdorp the opportunity to become petty commodity producers. The latter is in itself a proletariat class position and thus it's a sideways movement to rural proletariat since their production is on small plots and geared only towards subsistence. In its current form the Emerging Farmer Development project is largely a poverty reduction and food security intervention. However, its other aim is to foster the development of emerging farmers through the provision of training.

Respondents 9 and 13, who are proletarians, have moved sideways when they took up the petty commodity producer's model. Respondents 1, 2 and 12 have moved downwards when they became petty commodity producers.

Future prospects for upwards mobility under this model is not too bright as the emerging farmers in the Dysselsdorp state project have all plots of 4000m² in size which are too small to produce at a level that can fully provide for their social reproduction. Conway (2011: 1) argued that "generally farms of less than one hectare and with a few resources are usually unable to produce a surplus for sale and cannot provide enough work or substance for the family". Participants in the state project, therefore, rely on other non-farm sources of income to support their livelihoods such as wages for the proletariat and salaries or fees for the petty bourgeoisie.

The state's class project in its current form in this Model 3 and as represented in this study has shown a limited impact on class relations and the class structure. Notwithstanding, it is noted that the Emerging Farmer Project was making an

important contribution towards food security of the petty commodity producers (rural proletariat). And, moreover, that this EFP project has been active in providing skills, knowledge and experience in crop production and may yet have the state's desired effect

4.5.3.4 Small Farmer Association

The Small Farmer Association (SFA) is the fourth option under Model 3: Community Development, which the community pursued as part of the restitution process in Dysselsdorp. It is noted that the SFA is part of the class project of the state in rural areas as discussed by Lahiff (2007) and Hall (2012). The aim of the state is to encourage the emergence of small commercial farmers through the provision of land, infrastructure and technical service and thereby entrench and expand capitalist class relations of production.



The SFA is legally listed as a Section 21 company as provided for under the Companies Act No 61, of 1973 and comprised of 75 smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. The project was initiated on 48 hectares of state owned land for which the smallholder farmers did not have to a pay lease to the state. In line with the restitution policy in respect of Model 3: Community Development, the SFA project had been given access to water and infrastructure by government. These included mainly store rooms, tractors, plough balers, sprayers, lucerne cutters, mouldboards, hay rakes, disc ploughs, fertilizer spreaders, tie implements, earth breakers, chisel ploughs and wagons. The latter stemmed from the agreement

between the SFA and the Department of Agriculture which held equipment should be made available to all small and emerging farmers – at a small hiring fee.

Agricultural production among members of the SFA had mostly been involved in lucerne production, which is a lucrative cash crop and suitable for the soil and climate of Dysselsdorp. They harvested four times a year and sold their produce to commercial and small commercial livestock farmers in the immediate district. The profit derived from market exchange is collectively owned and divided or reinvested in the SFA business entity. However, because the turnover and income from the farm was not sufficient to meet all their social reproduction needs, most of the SFA members shared a dual class location both as small holder commercial farmer (petty bourgeoisie) and simultaneously were also employed elsewhere for a wage (proletariat) or even in cases a salary (middle class).

With respect to the data set it was found that eight of the respondents (respondents 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14) reported that they were members of the SFA. And since this is a Community Development model meant that the respondents were also eligible for land claims which they lodged in accordance with Model 2: Land Restoration (see 4.5.2). The labour needs of the SFA project was mainly provided for by the members themselves and their families. However, with 48 hectares being farmed necessitated that the smallholder farmers also employ wage labour as and when needed. This petty bourgeois class character was firmed up in the fact that the main purpose of their agricultural production is to generate goods which they can sell for a profit and thus income.

In comparison to the Dysselsdorp Development Trust and Emerging Farmer project the SFA project as part of Model 3: Community Development appeared to be the more successful of the state's two class projects in Dysselsdorp. Thus given the size of the land and the availability of government resources the farm has the potential to diversify and expand quite significantly. However, the part-time nature of its management continues to be one of the main constraints to its growth. Despite the latter and considered in relation to the main class criteria it has been observed that the SFA Project option has impacted meaningfully on affording access to the means of production (land, instruments, raw material, etc.), employing wage labour and in engaging market exchange relations. It thus has significant implications for class relations, differentiation and mobility in the direction of petty bourgeois class formation and location.



4.5.3.4.1 Pattern of Class Categories and Location

The Small Farmer Association (SFA) initiative of Model 3: Community Development is also another class project of the state in Dysselsdorp to develop a class of black entrepreneurial. As discussed above under the Emerging Farmer Development model and eloquently argued by Lahiff (2007) and Hall (2012), the state encourages the emergence of small commercial farmers through the provision of land, infrastructure and technical service.

The Small Farmer Association (SFA) initiative of Model 3: Community Development to reiterate offered opportunities for access to state land, the production of

commodities for exchange and the employment of labour to the proletariat and middle classes. As a result the SFA has impacted on the criteria for class differentiation (Swingewood, 1975) and resulted in the creation of a new class fraction of smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. While it is noted that the SFA leases the land as well as instruments and infrastructural needs from the state it is the smallholder farmers who control the production process i.e. the use of land, equipment and labour and the product of such production and the proceeds of market exchanges. Thus in terms of the literature referred to it is the latter that are critical in class categorisation and location.

With the latter in mind respondents 8, 9 and 13 were proletarians in wage labour but were also active as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations as a result of their participation in the SFA project option. By contrast respondents 4, 11 and 12 are both middle class (salaried) and smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations as part of the SFA project. The SFA project in light of the above initiative is taken as clear indication of how land restitution has contributed to the emergence of a specific class sub-stratum or fraction described as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. Thus it is held that the SFA option of Model 2: Community Development is thus directly implicated in class dynamics of formation, multiple location and differentiations across the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie.

4.5.3.4.2 Pattern of Class Differentiation

The data showed that the SFA project has grown into an entity with almost 75 smallholder farmers as members under restitution. Through its 48 hectare

agricultural project the SFA has offered its members access to the means of production, commodity production, market exchange and employment of labour. By impacting on these criteria of class location as enunciated by Marx (1969) the Small Farmer Association project of Model 3: Community Development has had significant implications for class differentiation.

In this regard Respondents 8, 9 and 13 who are proletarians are differentiated from the proletariat based on the criteria for class location as developed by Marx (1969). These respondents have obtained through their participation in the SFA access to the means of production (48ha farm), engagement in commodity production for market exchange and employment of labour. These conclusions also hold true and apply to the middle class members of SFA, namely respondents 4, 5, 11 and 12. Respondent 14 shares the same criteria with the petty bourgeoisie generally, i.e. access to the means of production, commodity production, market exchange and employment of wage labour, however crucially does not participate in wage labour and produces a modest surplus to reproductive needs which is partially reinvested.

4.5.3.4.3 Pattern of Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

The Small Farmer Association (SFA) project of Model 3: Community Development also offered up production relations that made for multiple and contradictory class locations. The SFA comprised a broad spectrum of class fractions ranging from proletariat to petty bourgeois with much in between which made for some interesting class combinations. In the main these fractions included the proletariat, petty

commodity producers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers, lifestyle farmers and the petty bourgeoisie. The researcher noted that respondents 8, 9 and 13 are proletarians but were also categorised as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, which is a petty bourgeois class location, and a seemingly contradictory location.

While respondents 4, 5, 11 and 12 are middle class professionals (petty bourgeois intelligentsia) but were also categorised as smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, similarly petty bourgeois, this in turn appears to be a complementary combination. Thus it is held that the SFA project under Model 3: Community Development offers real development for potential petty bourgeois class formation and its manifold differentiations.



4.5.3.4.4 Pattern of Class Mobilities

The implications which the SFA as part of Model 3: Community Development has for class relations, structure and differentiation are taken further in this sub-section. In this respect the Small Farmer Association (SFA) initiative under Model 3: Community Development offers real opportunities for collective models because it changes the scale of the operation. By way of a comparison the difference that holds in respect of the different options outlined in this Model 3: Community Development is contrasted by 48 hectares versus 4000 sq. metres. Consequently, with very different potential for class mobility as previously discussed. However, whereas the latter's impact is

nominal the former SFA project has impacted qualitatively on the criteria for class differentiation (Swingewood, 1975). This is directly attributable as far as the study has been able to show in the development of a petty bourgeois stratum of smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations.

The members of the SFA were mostly drawn from the ranks of the proletariat, which as such constituted upwards mobility or 'embourgeoisement' while the dynamic for the middle class was more akin to sideways movement in that it seemed more about consolidating and firming up the class location of rural petty bourgeoisie.

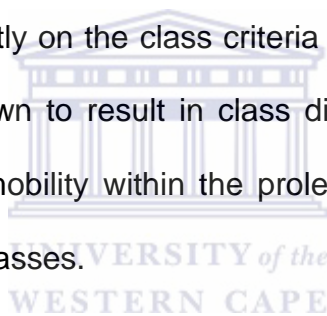
The data showed that SFA project offered a platform for upward class mobility or embourgeoisement to respondents 8, 9 and 13 who are proletarians and who moved to level of fraction of petty bourgeois smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations. However, middle class mobility took the form the study contends of a sideways or lateral movement as was evidenced by respondents 4, 5, 11 and 12. Respondent 14 seems to have had the steepest climb from proletariat to petty bourgeois commercial farmer.

What is most noteworthy is that under restitution these respondents have become small-scale farmers and joined the SFA to further their class interests. The SFA is thus a class project of the state which is directed particularly at the rural proletariat and unemployed in order to facilitate a process of 'embourgeoisement'.

4.5.3.4.5 Class Implications of Model 3: Community Development – Small Farmers Association

The SFA option under Model 3: Community Development the study has shown has enabled access and control over the use of means of production in order to allow for the development of a stratum of smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations. It also enabled them to exercise ownership and control over the production of commodities for market exchange and employ wage labour. Taken together this model had demonstrably impacted significantly on the three criteria for class differentiation and location and has had direct implications for class relations and the class structure of Dysselsdorp.

In summation of the three restitution models, Model 2: Land Restoration and Model 3: Community Development offered the best opportunities for upward class mobility as it impacted more prominently on the class criteria of means of production, labour and exchange. This was shown to result in class differentiation, multiple locations and different types of class mobility within the proletariat and middle class and at times intersecting these two classes.



4.6 Restitution and the Prospects of the Class Project

As stated at the onset the study endeavoured to unpack key class concepts and conceptual relationships and how they have interacted and developed in the Dysselsdorp community under the pressures of land possession, dispossession and restitution. Following from this, the study:

- Explored the different models of land restitution and their relations to class formation, differentiation and location;

- Examined class differentiation and its prospects for class mobility both upward (enrichment) , downward (poverty) and sideward (status quo);
- Sought to gain insight into the prospect of each model of restitution for the class dynamics of Dysselsdorp and its well-being as a community.

Following from the analyses and discussions above the following observations can be made with regard to implications land restitution has had for the class agenda of the state in rural areas. Firstly what is critical for a successful embourgeoisement project, based on agricultural production, is access to and control of over land, production and exchange. This can be either through direct ownership or long-term lease but as shown in Model 3 is not necessarily dependent on the former i.e. private ownership.

Furthermore, production must be geared towards producing commodities for market exchange in order to generate income and profit. Finally, the landholding and business operation must be substantial to warrant the employment and exploitation of wage labour. Without these conditions present, according to Marx (1967, 1969) and confirmed by Swingewood (1975) and Giddens and Held (1982) class differentiation and 'embourgeoisement' i.e. upward class mobility cannot take place.

From the foregoing analysis of the different restitution models it is now clear that Model 2: Land Restoration, the Small Farmer Association project and the Dysselsdorp Development Trust initiative under Model 3: Community Development holds out the best prospects for class differentiation and upwards mobility or embourgeoisement. These models also give the claimants the largest access to land, e.g. the 48ha from the state and the farm of 60ha, bought by the Dysselsdorp

Development Trust. Land restoration also offers claimants access to their own land, which in some instances can be classified as medium to large. Out of all the available models these three models also offer the best opportunities to transition into small commercial farmers and thus enter into the class location of petty bourgeoisie proper.

Model 2: Land Restoration, the Small Farmer Association project and the Dysselsdorp Development Trust under Model 3: Community Development thus have the greatest impact on affecting changes in the criteria for classes, i.e. ownership of means of production, labour and exchange relations. In this regard it is in the latter that the researcher traced the class dynamic to, and where the study was able to consider the empirical manifestations and the conceptual issues that bore on the class relations and the class structure of the Dysselsdorp Community.

The study has largely confirmed the view that the location and identity of classes are not neat and clear-cut and as such has been described as boundary disputes. This is largely the case as class categorization of respondents in many instances have displayed and occupied multiple and contradictory class locations. According to Wright (1985, 1998) and Cousins (2010) this is not a strange phenomenon as certain class relations have contradictory relations between them or the boundaries between classes are also seen to overlap. As the study indicated, the respondents have different class interests and aspirations, which are highly influenced by their past and present relations with the means of production. Most of all it was noteworthy that these social relations with the means of production have had a strong bearing on

how the respondents perceived their current and future status in the Dysselsdorp class structure.




CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study has attempted to understand how issues of class, i.e. class formation, location, differentiation, mobility and social change have manifested and unfolded through the process of land restitution in Dysveldorp. Towards this end the study concludes with the key theoretical and empirical findings, recommendations and areas for future research.

5.2 Theoretical framework findings

5.2.1 Criteria of Class Relations



This study has taken the position that class structure, location and differentiation in society are best understood through the lens of Marxist class analysis. Having reviewed the works of Marx (1967, 1969, 1999, 1994) three criteria to determine and differentiate class were identified: private ownership of the means of production; exploitation of the labour power of the workers/proletariat to create surplus value; and the production of commodities for exchange for profit and capital accumulation.

These criteria are given support by Swingewood (1975), who argued strongly for the centrality of private property relations in determining class differentiation. Giddens and Held (1982) also pointed out that the relations of production are fundamental to defining and differentiating classes from each other. Taken together, the three

criteria of ownership of the means of production, the exploitation of labour power during the process of production and the creation of commodities for exchange, provide pivotal points of separation that differentiate classes from one another.

5.2.2 Contradictory Class Location

This study revealed that the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes often have dual or contradictory class identities and locations. Some of them are owners of businesses who work for themselves and sometimes employ wage labour, while others are employed by the bourgeoisie to supervise and manage capital. Classical Marxism could not adequately explain these so-called boundary problems of class differentiation and location. The modern Marxist sociologist Erik Olin Wright (1985, 1998) provided a possible solution to these boundary disputes with his theory of contradictory class locations. Wright (1985) argued that the middle classes constitute contradictory locations within exploitation relations as they are neither exploiter nor exploited. Wright (1985) pointed out that the middle classes are exploited because they lack assets in capital, yet they are also skill-exploiters (e.g. as managers, professionals). For Wright (1985), classes are not simply defined by various relations of control and domination within the process of production, but also by exploitative and repressive protection of property relations.

5.2.3 Rural Class Differentiations

The study found that the Marxist criteria for classes cannot be applied mechanistically to rural class structures as the nuances and material reality of rural social formations must be taken into account. Cousins (2010) argued that it is not uncommon for the peasantry and small-scale farmers within capitalism to have contradictory class locations. Such producers combine the class places of capital and labour within the enterprise, i.e. they own the means of production, unlike landless workers, and are in these sense capitalists, but they also use their own labour power, unlike capitalists, who hire the labour of workers and are therefore petty bourgeois. The same argument was made by Bernstein (2000) who pointed out that the rural labour question is complicated by the fact that some middle peasant households sell as well as buy labour power and that the boundaries between poor and peasantry and the rural proletariat are often blurred.

From this study we saw that in Dysselsdorp, both during land possession and under restitution, that the proletariat also engaged in smallholder farming and used their own labour, family labour and at times wage labour. This is often the case with smallholder farmers whose levels of production or enterprises have not yet reached a stage or level of growth that enables them to work fulltime in their businesses and employ additional wage labour. In such cases they may hire occasional labour for specific purposes, but family labour predominates.

5.2.4 Rural Class Structure

The literature reviewed suggested that rural social formations in South Africa are often portrayed as homogeneous in character, which may be at odds with empirical evidence. In general, the tendency is to view the vast majority of rural residents as nothing more than 'displaced proletarians' or 'semi-proletarians' or 'rural poor' or 'landless masses'. Marxist scholars have criticised these approaches and argued that a class-analytical approach is able to differentiate classes in rural areas and understand the stratification and differentiation in rural communities.

Levin (1997) used production, exchange and labour relations as the basis to differentiate rural social formations into petty capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, worker peasants, allotment-holding wage-workers and rural proletariat. For his part, Cousins (1992) also used production and reproduction to differentiate rural social formations into classes, namely: small to medium scale capitalist farmers; petty commodity producers, worker-peasants and lumpen semi-proletariat. Bernstein (2000) adopted a similar approach of petty commodity production and its tendency to class differentiation and argues that the peasantry can be divided into three classes, namely poor, middle, and rich peasants.

The class categories used by this study for the Dysselsdorp social formation are also not very different from those used by Cousins (1992), Levin (1997) and Bernstein (2000). Proletariat is similar to the rural proletariat of Levin (1997); petty commodity producer is similar to the petty commodity producer of Cousins (1992) and poor

peasant of Bernstein (2001); smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations is similar to the worker-peasant of Cousins (1992) and Levin (1997); and small commercial farmer is similar to the rural petty bourgeoisie of Cousins (1992), petty capitalist and petty bourgeoisie of Levin (1997) and rich peasant of Bernstein (2000). The difference may be apparent in the names used but the similarities and consensus lie in the class criteria of means of production, labour and exchange.

5.2.5 Small-scale Farming and Smallholder Farmers

From the literature review it is evident that the concept of small farms and small-scale farming can be approached from a variety of angles. The main point of contention from the literature seems to be the criteria that are used to describe small-scale farming. In the main, these include agricultural activity, farm size, production output, economic viability, profitability and turnover or net farm income (Lund and Price, 1998; Narayanan and Gulati, 2002; Kirsten and Van Zyl, 1998; Nagayets, 2005; Conway, 2011).

Instead, for the purposes of this study, the categories of types of small farmers (subsistence, smallholders with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers and lifestyle farmers) introduced by the Western Cape Department of Agriculture (2010) has offered a more useful description of rural class structures. These are not classes in the classical sense but fractions or strata of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. However, the categories and descriptions provided by the Western

Cape Department of Agriculture (2010) reflect more accurately the economic activity of these class fractions and strata. Furthermore, the term peasant or peasantry has no longer any relevance in modern day South Africa (Wolpe, 1972; Bundy, 1979; and Hendricks, 1995).

5.2.6 Land Reform and Restitution

The study has highlighted some of the problems associated with the government's restitution policy of a "willing buyer, willing seller" approach and concluded that it has not resulted in the desired extent of social and economic transformation expected both by government and society at large. The literature has revealed that in effect very little land has been redistributed through restitution. Furthermore that many land reform projects of both commercially viable and non-commercially viable farms have failed to help create sustainable livelihoods. And to compound matters, rural employment has decreased and farm worker (as well as some new farm owner) evictions have increased.

Lahiff (2007) and Hall (2012) maintained that different versions of land reform and restitution policies over the past 20 years have obscured the class agenda of land reform, which is to foster the emergence of a black petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in the agricultural sector of South Africa. Lyne and Darroch (2003) argued that the South African government's land redistribution policy has shifted away from poverty alleviation and group settlement in favour of settling prospective

farmers on their own farms. Cousins (2010) proposed that land reform should focus on broader agrarian transformation with the aim of supporting food production on small plots and fields by large numbers of rural households, in order to enhance their food security and reduce income poverty. Hendricks and Ntsebeza (2011) argued that the main problem facing land reform is the fact that the Constitution has legitimised the colonial alienation of land through its protection of private property.

The literature review showed that land reform and restitution policies in South Africa are geared towards a class project of entrenching capitalist relations of production. The aim of the state is to foster an entrepreneurial class of formerly disadvantaged commercial farmers in rural areas and not to address poverty and food security. However, the slow pace of land reform and restitution has up to now not resulted in massive economic transformation of the rural landscape.



5.3 Key findings of the study

5.3.1 Dispossession and Proletarianisation

The study showed that the development of Dysselsdorp and the processes of its class formation have broadly followed the contours of the historical emergence of modern day South Africa. From the empirical evidence collected it was clear that early and post-colonial Dysselsdorp had become differentiated and fragmented into various classes and class strata.

The study described how Dysselsdorp went through two periods of land dispossession. The first took place during the period of colonialism, when the land was forcefully expropriated from the indigenous Khoi people by European settlers who had moved inland in the Cape Colony to establish farms and towns. The second occurred in 1972, with the forced removals under the Group Areas Act during the Apartheid era. With the first dispossession the means of production were removed from the indigenous pastoral, hunter-gatherers in Kannaland. While the second dispossession the means of production were removed from the subsistence and small farmers in Dysselsdorp.

The study concluded that both land dispossessions led to the proletarianisation of petty commodity producers i.e., the subsistence and small farmers in Dysselsdorp. The first was incomplete, as the land was returned to the emancipated slaves and a class of subsistence farmers developed. The second dispossession virtually flattened the indigenous class structure, created a displaced proletariat and left in its wake a dichotomous class structure of bourgeoisie and a differentiated proletariat.

5.3.2 Class Formation and Differentiation

The data showed that class differentiation has slowly re-emerged in Dysselsdorp with the development of small-scale farming over the past twenty years. A class of petty commodity producers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations, small commercial farmers and lifestyle farmers have developed over the restitution period. These class differentiations have emerged on the back of land reform and restitution.

Ownership, control and access to the means of production in the form of land have again been placed in the hands of small farmers. This has also resulted in changes in the labour relations as small farmers had started to employ wage labour and produce goods for market exchange to generate profit. In addition to the above classes, a middle class of salaried professionals and a petty bourgeoisie of traders and producers had also developed.

5.3.3 Class Combinations and Contradictory Locations

The data revealed that the class structure in Dysselsdorp confirmed the theoretical assumptions in the literature review that classes occupy contradictory and multi-dimensional locations and combinations. In the working class combinations, some of the proletariat with access to land are also petty commodity producers or smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations i.e. engage in market exchange and in other similar cases employ wage labour. In middle class combinations, some of the middle class were petty commodity producers, smallholder farmers with commercial aspirations or small commercial farmers. The former engaged in subsistence farming and the latter two engaged in production for market exchange and also employ wage labour.

5.3.4 Restitution and Class Differentiation

The study showed that restitution and the different restitution models have varying implications for class relations and the class structure in Dysselsdorp. The community development dimension of the restitution process can create business opportunities and support for entrepreneurs and employment opportunities for the unemployed. Cash compensation did not affect or shift class relations as it was given to all the beneficiaries on the restitution list and the amounts, though substantial for poor people, are not significant in the long term. Only the land restoration option has had the potential to place ownership of the means of production in the hands of the claimants and in so doing initiate changes in class relations and structure significantly, in Dysselsdorp.

The Dysselsdorp Development Trust has provided an opportunity for everyone, including former landowners and leaseholders, to access government funding and set up a communal trust to buy land for farming and agri-business purposes. Since this initiative had only been started at the time of this study it was too soon to pronounce on its success except to say that if successful, the communal trust model has the potential to alter class relations. By contrast the petty commodity producers' project of the state will in the short to medium term not have significant influence on class mobility as it is largely a poverty alleviation driven and a small farmer development strategy. However, successful producers have the potential to mature and graduate to become small commercial farmers if they can access the broader benefits of the project and thus realise its class project of upward mobility.

The study has also shown that although the former subsistence and small scale farmers were proletarianised through dispossession, their class interests and

aspirations did not necessarily disappear. The restitution process has revealed divisions and fissures around the needs and demands emanating from differentiated class interests. These differences reflect the underlying class differentiation and locations among the claimants. This has resulted in the articulation of different models for restitution.

5.3.5 Restitution Models and Class Mobility

It has been noted that a successful land restitution project, which included adequate technical and financial support to develop the smallholder farmers into thriving agricultural businesses, had the potential to impact positively on the class structure. While the majority of the local population may remain part of the proletariat, a successful land restitution process may fragment and differentiate the class structure as the emerging and existing petty bourgeois smallholder farmers begin to own the means of production and employ and exploit wage labour.

Of the different restitution models, land restoration offers the greatest possibilities for class formation, upward mobility and economic empowerment along the lines sought by the class project of the state. However, as has been noted by commentators on land reform it depends much more than merely on land redistribution but equally crucially on a complex support structure necessitated to make a commercial success.

The records of the South Cape Lands Claims committee showed that many of the 153 claimants had owned medium (3-6ha) and large (6-11ha) farms during the possession period. As indicated above, title to 40 of these farms has already been restored by the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights to date. A successful land restoration process will open up opportunities for many of these landowners to become smallholder farmers once again. This access to the means of production, together with the necessary support from the government (infrastructure, resources, water, training, finance, etc.), will enable the claimants to engage in commodity production and exchange. It will also create employment opportunities and allow the smallholder farmers to employ labour. This in itself will be a far more radical and transformative approach to address rural poverty and unemployment.

One of the respondents (Respondent 11) has demonstrated that a successful enterprise can be built provided the land size is adequate, the resources and infrastructure are available and the business acumen to deal with the vagaries of agriculture is present. Thus under Model 2: Land Restoration the class category of smallholder farmers can grow substantially which can result in upward mobility towards the petty bourgeoisie for a greater number of the proletariat and middle classes.

The Small Farmer Association Project and the Dysseisdorp Development Trust under Model 3: Community Development also hold out good prospects for class differentiation and upwards mobility or embourgeoisement. These two options under the Model 3 also give the claimants the largest access to land, e.g. the 48ha from the state and the farm of 60ha, bought by the Dysseisdorp Development Trust. Both are

substantial landholding and have good prospects as commercial enterprises. They also offer good opportunities for embourgeoisement.

Model 2: Land Restoration, the Small Farmer Association Project and the Dysselsdorp Development Trust under Model 3: Community Development thus have the greatest impact on affecting changes in the criteria for classes, i.e. ownership of means of production, labour and exchange relations. Out of all the available models these three models also offer the best opportunities to transition into small commercial farmers and thus enter into the class location of petty bourgeoisie proper. In this regard it is in the latter that the researcher traced the class dynamic to, and where the study was able to consider the empirical manifestations and the conceptual issues that bore on the class relations and the class structure of the Dysselsdorp Community.

The Emerging Farmer Development project option of Model 3: Community Development also offers excellent opportunities to address the wide scale poverty and hunger in Dysselsdorp. This project is only implemented on a portion of one of the three state farms. The reports from the respondents are that this project provides much-needed food security support and occasional income through the cash sales. There is potential to ramp up the project and expand it to more of the state farms so as to include more families. The state can also acquire more land through its “willing seller willing buyer” or expropriation mechanisms and really massify this project to address poverty and food security.

5.3.6 Land Claims

The data also showed that the restitution process in Dysseisdorp has been slow and fraught with challenges. Only a small proportion (40 out of 153 claims) of the land has been transferred into the names of the original owners and payment of compensation has also not been completed. However, the restitution process has begun to open up opportunities for land ownership and small farmer enterprises. Furthermore, the restitution process has created class mobility and differentiation along the lines of ownership of the means of production, labour relations and market exchange.

5.4 Recommendations



All the respondents expressed frustration with the slow process of paying out cash compensation and in transferring title deed of the land back into the names of the claimants. Over the past eight years, since the application was lodged by the Dysseisdorp Land Claims Committee countless community meetings have been held by claimants to air their grievances, in addition to petitions and submissions made to the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights and Department of Rural Development Land Reform. Cabinet Ministers, including the State President, have visited the area but the resolution of the land claims remains intractable.

One possible way to deal with this problem is for the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights to outsource the transfer administration process to an external

service provider who can be remunerated based on delivery against clear milestones and targets. This can bring dedicated resources and focus to bear on a speedier resolution of the claims. Communication with beneficiaries also needs to be improved to ensure that the process is more transparent and that claimants are better informed about the blockages and progress.

It is also recommended that the Department of Agriculture, including the different small farmer groups and other relevant stakeholders should develop a joint agriculture development strategy and plan for Dysselsdorp. Moreover that this strategy should also be focused on the local and regional value chains for the different crops/commodities that are being produced in Dysselsdorp, including possible new crops/commodities. And finally in this regard due recognition should be focused on how to support small farmers inter alia through training and development, market access, infrastructure and water.

A more strategic approach to agrarian reform is needed in South Africa. This would require that the state should invest more of its energy and resources to expand the petty commodity producer project to address poverty and its smallholder farmer project to develop the agricultural sector as a means to address economic inequality and unemployment in rural areas.

5.5 Areas for future research

The study did not delve deeply into all the underlying issues of class relations, differentiations and locations. One area that requires more research is the livelihood strategies of petty commodity producers and smallholder farmers who are unable to depend fully on farm income. A deeper analysis of their farm and non-farm incomes will be helpful to understand not only how they manage their social reproduction but also at what point they become dependent on farm income. And in closing another area for future research is to consider questions of class identity and class consciousness. In particular mind should be given as to how the articulation of class relations, differentiations and contradictions of the rural class structure shape their thinking and interests and how this bears on community cohesion and improved quality of rural livelihoods.



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Individual Interview Consent Form



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE



A STUDY OF THE CLASS DYNAMICS OF LAND DISPOSSESSION AND LAND RESTITUTION IN DYSELSDORP

Researcher:

Please initial box

- 1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
- 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at any time)
- 3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
- 4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
- 5. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(If different from lead researcher)

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Date

Signature

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher:

Supervisor:

HOD:







A STUDY OF THE CLASS DYNAMICS OF LAND DISPOSSESSION AND LAND RESTITUTION IN DYSELSDORP

Researcher:

Please initial box

- 6. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
- 7. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher at any time)
- 8. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
- 9. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
- 10. I agree for to take part in the above research project.



Name of Participant
(or legal representative)

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent
(If different from lead researcher)

Date

Signature

Lead Researcher
(To be signed and dated in presence of the participant)

Date

Signature

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Schedule of interview questions



Schedule of interview questions

Life before land dispossession:

1. In which part of Dyssseldorp did you and your family live before the forced removals?
2. Did you (or your parents) own or lease the land? If the latter, from whom did you lease and how did you pay rent?
3. Were you involved in farming, and if yes what type?
4. Where you subsistence or commercial farmers – or both? Who were your customers?
5. Who in your family worked on the land?
6. Were you or your family members involved in wage labour, where and what kind?
7. What were the socio-economic conditions under which you and your family lived?
8. What were the socio-economic conditions under which your neighbours and the broader community lived?
9. How would you describe the standard of living of your family before the forced removals?
10. How would you describe the standard of living of your neighbours and the broader community before the forced removals?
11. What were the social conditions under which the community lived?
1. How would you describe the cooperation among and support for each other in the broader community before the forced removals?

Life after land dispossession:

1. How did you experience the forced removals?
2. What happened to your family's possessions and assets and what did you lose?
3. How would you describe the resistance against the removals?
4. How did you find life in the new township and what were the conditions like?
5. How did you and your family adapt to the new circumstances in the new township?
6. What impact did the removals have on you and your family?
7. What impact did the removals have on your neighbours and community?
8. What were the social and economic conditions like during the first few years in the new township?
9. How did you and your family survive financially?
10. How did your neighbours and community survive financially?
11. How would you describe the cooperation among and support for each other in the broader community after the forced removals?
12. How would you describe life and the conditions in Dysselsdorp today?
13. Why do you think are there so many social problems in the community and what are their causes?

Land claim and restitution:

1. Have you submitted a land restitution claim and what are you claiming?

2. What has the outcome of your claim been?
3. Do you prefer to have your land back and why? What do you want to do with the land? Who will work the land?
4. Do you prefer a cash pay-out and why?
5. Do you support the idea of cooperatives? Why? Why not?
6. Why do you think the beneficiaries have these different land claims?
7. What do you think of the two leadership committees and which one do you think works in the best interest of yourself and the community?
- 8.** How do you see your future, and that of your family, in Dytsseldorp

