

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 Dysselsdorp. 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.

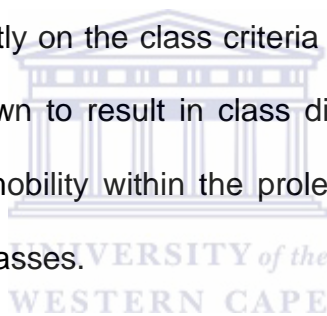
The data showed that SFA project offered a platform for upward class mobility or embourgeoisement to respondents 8, 9 and 13 who are proletarians and who moved to level of fraction of petty bourgeois smallholder farmer with commercial aspirations. However, middle class mobility took the form the study 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 Dysseisdorp. 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 Dysseisdorp.

The Dysseisdorp 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 Dysselsdorp 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 Dysselsdorp 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.



Bibliography

Adams, B, and R Sydie, (2002). *Classical Sociological Theory*. Thousand Oakes, California: Pine Forge

African National Congress, (1969). *First National Consultative Conference: Report on the Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress*. Lusaka.
<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=149> [Accessed 23 April 2013]

Alemu, Z, (2012). Selected paper prepared for presentation at the International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE) Triennial Conference, Foz do Iguacu, Brazil

<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/125411/2/ZG%20Alemu%20IAAE.pdf>

Accessed on: 28/03/2014

Anderson, C, (2010). *Limitations of Qualitative Research*. American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education, http://www.medscape.com/viewarticle/731165_3
[Accessed 11 June 2014]



Andrews, M, Phillan, Z. and Hall, R. (2009). Piloting alternatives in the Breede River Winelands. In Ruth Hall (ed.), *Another countryside: Policy options for land and agrarian reform in South Africa*. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Appel, A, (1988). *Grondbesetting en Grondbesit op Bethelsdorp, 1828 – 1945*.

Contree: Tydskrif vir Suid-Afrikaanse stedelike streekgeskiedenis No 23.

http://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/6399/No_23 Accessed on: 11/06/2013

Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2007). *The practice of social research: South African*

edition, Oxford: University Press

Bernstein, H (2000). “The Peasantry” in Global Capitalism: Who, Where And Why?’ In *Socialist Register Vol. 37*, (ed). Panitch, L and Colin Leys, C. London: Merlyn Press

Bernstein, H. (2003). Farewells to the Peasantry. *Transformation* 52, 1-20.

<http://.history.ukzn.ac.za/transformation/>. [Accessed 4 April 2013]

Bernstein, H. (2009a). ‘V.I. Lenin and A.V. Chayanov: Looking back, Looking forward. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, London: Routledge.

Bernstein, H. (2009b). Peasants And Globalization: Political Economy, Rural Transformation and the Agrarian Question. London: Routledge.

Bernstein, H. (2010). Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change: Writing a ‘Little Book on a Big Idea’. Agrarian Studies Colloquium, Yale University.

Bhorat, H., Van der Westhuizen, C. and Jacobs, T. (2009). Income and Non-Income Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa: What are the Drivers and Possible Policy Interventions? Development Policy Study Unit, DPRU Working Paper 09/138.

Buirski, P. 1983. Aspects of Material Life in Oudtshoorn: 1860 – 1927. Unpublished thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the B.A. (Honours) degree in History, University of Cape Town.

Bundy, C. (1979). The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann

Byrnes, R. (1996). South Africa: A Country Study. Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

Callinicos, L. (1995). *A People's History of South Africa: Gold and Workers: 1886 – 1924*, Vol. 1. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Cartwright, A. (1962). *The Gold Miners*. London: Purnell and Sons.

Claassens, A. (2005). *The Communal Land Rights Act and women: Does the Act remedy or entrench discrimination and the distortion of the customary?* PLAAS. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Coetzee, D. (1998). *Class and Capital: Oudtshoorn Jewry, 1874 – 1914*. Unpublished thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the B.A. (Honours) degree in History, University of Cape Town.

Conway, G. (2011). *On Being a Smallholder*. Paper presented at the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) Conference on New Directions for Smallholder Agriculture, Rome, Italy, 24-25 January
<http://www.ifad.org/events/agriculture/doc/papers/conway.pdf> [Accessed 7 November 2014]

Cousins, B, Weiner D and Amin, N. (1992). 'Social Differentiation in the Communal Lands of Zimbabwe', *Review of African Political Economy* 53: 5-24.

Cousins, B. (2010). Working Paper 16: What is a 'Small Holder'? Class-analytical Perspectives on Small-scale farming and Agrarian Reform in South Africa. , PLAAS. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Cousins, B. (2013). Smallholder Irrigation Schemes, Agrarian Reform and 'Accumulation from Above and from Below' in South Africa, *Journal of Agrarian*

Change, Vol. 13 No. 1, January 2013, pp. 116–139.

Denzin, N K & Lincoln, Y S. (1994). "Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research." In N K Denzin and Y S Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. pp. 1-18. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Department of Land Affairs, (1997). *White Paper on South African Land Reform Policy*, Pretoria.

Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, (2010). *Comprehensive Rural Development Programme – Draft Status Quo Report*. Unpublished report. Cape Town.

Western Cape Department of Agriculture, (2010). *Smallholder Farming*. Unpublished Report. Cape Town.

Dooling, W. (1992). *Law and community in a slave society: Stellenbosch District, South Africa, c.1760-1820*. Cape Town.

Dooling, W. (1999). The Decline Of The Cape Gentry, 1838 - c. 1900, *Journal of African History*, 40 pp. 215 - 242. United Kingdom. Cambridge University Press

Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (1979). *The Shaping of South African Society: 1652 – 1820*. Cape Town: Longman Penguin.

Gelb, S. (2003). *Inequality in South Africa: Nature, Causes and Responses*. DfID Policy Initiative on Addressing Inequality in Middle-income Countries. Johannesburg: The EDGE Institute.

Giddens, A. (1971). *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press.

Giddens, A. and Held, D. (1982). *Classes, Power, and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Given, L. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Charles Sturt University, Australia, SAGE Publications, Inc.

Green, J., Browne, J. (2005) *Principles Of Social Research*, McGraw-Hill International, Open University Press, Berkshire.

Guy, J. (2006). *Remembering the Rebellion: The Zulu Uprising of 1906*. University Of KwaZulu-Natal Press

Hall R (ed.). 2009. *Another Countryside?: Policy Options for Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa*. PLAAS. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape

Hall, R. (2010), *The Parameters and Practises of Land Restitution in South Africa*, in C Walker (ed) *Land, Memory, Reconstruction, and Justice: Perspectives on Land Claims in South Africa*. Ohio University Press

Hall, R. 2012. *The Reinvention of Land Redistribution: Three Cycles of Policy 1994-2012*, PLAAS. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape

Hanchett, T. (1998). *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975*. University of North Carolina Press

Hendricks, F. (1990). *The Pillars of Apartheid: Land Tenure, Rural Planning and the Chieftaincy*. Stockholm, Uppsala: University of Uppsala

Hendricks, F. (1995). 'Is there a future for the black peasantry in South Africa?', *Comparative Studies for South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. XV, No. 1, pg. 46 - 57

Hendricks, F. (2006). Who owns the Jewels: Perspectives on Social Class in South Africa. In T. Marcus (ed) *Shifting Boundaries of Knowledge*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press

Hendricks, F. and Ntsebeza, L. (2011). Black poverty and white property in rural South Africa. In *Zuma's own Goal: Losing South Africa's 'War On Poverty'*. B. Maharaj, A. Desai and P. Bond (eds)., Trenton NJ, Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc.

Hendricks, F, Lungisile N and Helliker, K. (2013), Land questions in South Africa, in F Hendricks, L Ntsebeza and K Helliker (eds.). *The Promise of Land: Undoing a Century of Dispossession in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jacana

Human Sciences Research Council, (2006). 'Assessing the alignment of South Africa's land reform policy to people's aspirations and expectations: A policy-oriented report based on a survey in three provinces'. Report for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) study on Measuring Human Rights, Democracy and Governance: Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

James, Angela. 2008. "Making Sense of Race and Racial Classification," Pp. 31-45 in *White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology* Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (eds). New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Jenks, C. (1998). Core Sociological Dichotomies. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Jordan, P. (1985). The Nature of the South African Ruling Class. African National Congress. <http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/anc/1985/nature-ruling-class.htm> .

[Accessed 22 April 2013]

Kariuki, S. (2009). Agrarian reform, rural development and governance in Africa: A case of Eastern and Southern Africa. Policy Brief 59. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies. <http://www.cps.org.za> [Accessed 9 September 2013]

Key, J. P. (1997). *Qualitative Research*. Retrieved July 24, 2007, from <http://www.okstate.edu/ag/agedcm4h/academic/aged5980a/5980/newpage21.htm>

[Accessed 10 May 2014]

Kirsten, J.F. and van Zyl, J (1998). Defining Small-Scale Farmers in the South African Context. *Agrekon*, 37 (4), December 1998.

Lahiff, E. (2001). Land Reform in South Africa: Is it meeting the challenge? *PLAAS*. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape

Lahiff, E. & Cousins, B. (2005). Smallholder agriculture and land reform in South Africa. *IDS Bulletin*.

Lahiff, E. (2007). Land Reform and Poverty in South Africa. *PLAAS*. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Levin, R. and Weiner, D. (1991). The Agrarian Question and the Emergence of Conflicting Agricultural Strategies in South Africa. In S. Mathape and A. Munz (eds.) *Towards a New Agrarian Democratic Order*. Amsterdam: SAERT

Levin, R. (1997) *When the Sleeping Grass Awakens: Land and Power in Swaziland*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press

Lipton M, (2005). The family farm in a globalizing world. The role of crop science in alleviating poverty. International Food Policy Study Institute, Washington.

Locke, K. (2007). Qualitative research approach. In S. Rogelberg (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*. (pp. 650-652). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952651.n249> [Accessed on 22 October 2013]

Lund, P. and Price R. 1998. The Measurement of Average Farm Size. *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 49 (1).

Lyne, M and Darroch, M. (2003). Land redistribution in South Africa: Past performance and future policy. In Nieuwoudt W & Groenewald J (eds), *The challenge of change: Agriculture, land and the South African economy*. Durban: University of Natal Press.

Machethe, C. (2004). Agriculture and poverty in South Africa: Can agriculture reduce poverty? Overcoming Underdevelopment Conference, Pretoria.

http://sarprn.org/documents/d0001005/P1125-Agriculture-Poverty_Machethe_2004.pdf [Accessed 20 September 2013]

Mack, N. Woodsong, C. Macqueen, K. Guest, G. and Namey, E. Qualitative Research Methods: A Data. (2005) Family Health International, North Carolina

Mail and Guardian, 18 August 2014, <http://mg.co.za/>

Marshall, G. (1998). "Contradictory class location." *A Dictionary of Sociology*. *Encyclopedia.com*. [Accessed 3 September 2013]

<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-contradictoryclasslocatin.html>

Marx, K. (1967). Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. 3: *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*. NYC: International Publishers.

- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1969). *Selected Works*, Vol. 1. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Marx, K. (1999). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1. Moscow: Progress Publishers <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/> [Accessed: 17 June 2013]
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (2002). *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Penguin Classics.
- May, J. (2000a). The structure and composition of rural poverty and livelihoods in South Africa. In B. Cousins (ed.) *At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century*. PLAAS. Cape Town: Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape.
- May, J. (2000b). Growth, Development, Poverty and Inequality. In J. May (ed.), *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: Meeting the Challenge*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Mufeme, E. (1999). *Land: Breaking bonds and cementing ties*. University of Zimbabwe. <http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/jpc/echoes-16-05.html> [Accessed 18 June 2013]
- Nagayets, O. (2005). *Small Farms: Current Status And Key Trends*. Prepared for the Future of Small Farms Study Workshop, Wye College, June 26–29.
- Napier, M. (1993). Housing problems in South Africa: Ideological perspectives. *Forum 2*. <http://study.ncl.ac.uk/forum/v2i1/Housing.pdf> [Accessed 18 May 2014]
- Narayanan, S. and Gulati, A. (2002). *Globalization and the smallholders: A review of issues, approaches and implications*. Washington: World Bank

National Land Committee (1995). Land reform policy proposals. Johannesburg: National Land Committee.

Ntsabane, T. (2003). A Comparative Analysis of Two Labour Reserves in Early 20th Century Southern Africa. PULA: *Botswana Journal of African Studies* 17.

Ntsebeza, L. (2006). Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of Land in South Africa. (African Edition) HSRC Press, Cape Town

Ntsebeza, L. and Hall, R. (2007). The Land Question in South Africa: The Challenge of Transformation and Redistribution. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Peires, J. and Dooling, W. (2004). Turning Points in History: The Impact and Limitations of Colonialism Book 2. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Perret, S., Anseeuw, W. and Mathebula, N. (2005) Poverty and livelihoods in rural South Africa. Investigating diversity and dynamics of livelihoods. Case studies in Limpopo. Unpublished project report. Num.05/01, Kellogg's Foundation / University of Pretoria.

Politicsweb, 03 March 2010, <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/>

Ragin, C. (1999) Constructing Social Research: The Unity and Diversity of Method, North-western University. Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks; London New Delhi

Ross, R. (1994). Beyond the Pale: Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa. Johannesburg. Witwatersrand University Press

Sauls, F and Associates, (2008). Dysselsdorp Community - Land Claims Project: Business and Implementation Plan. Unpublished report. Oudtshoorn: Department of

Agriculture.

Schultz, K. (1997). The farm Dysselsdorp – South Cape, owner and tenant claim.

Unpublished report. George: South Cape Land Claims Committee

Seleti, Y. (2004). Turning Points in History- Book 3: Migration, Land and Minerals in the Making of South Africa. Yale University.

Shah, A. (2010). World hunger and poverty. Global

issues. <http://www.globalissues.org/issue/6/world-hunger-and-poverty>

[Accessed 05 July 2012]

Shank, G. (2002). Qualitative Research. A Personal Skills Approach. New Jersey: Merrill Prentice Hall.

South Cape Land Committee (1996). Dysselsdorp: A Forced Removal. Unpublished report. George: South Cape Land Committee.

Swingewood, A. (1975). Marx and Modern Social Theory. London: The Macmillan Terreblanche Press Ltd.

Teddlie, C and Yu, F. (2007) Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology with Examples.

Journal of Mixed Methods Research, SAGE Publications

<http://sociologyofeurope.unifi.it/upload/sub/documenti/Teddlie.pdf> [Accessed 10

November 2013]

Weideman, M. (2004). *Land Reform, Equity and Growth in South Africa: A comparative analysis*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand

Wolpe, H. (1972). Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: From segregation to Apartheid. *Economy and Society* 1 (4) 425-56.

Woolard I. (2002). An overview of poverty and inequality in South Africa. Working

Paper prepared for DFID (SA), July 2002

http://sarpn.org/documents/e0000006/Poverty_Inequality_SA.pdf.

[Accessed 12 October 2013]

Wright, E. (1985). *Classes*. London: Verso.

Wright, E. (2001). *Alternative Foundations of Class Analysis*,

<http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/Soc929.pdf> . [Accessed 22 July 2013]

Wright, E. (2002). *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Wright, E. (1998). *The Debate on Classes*. London and New York: Verso.

Wright, E. (2009). *Understanding Class: Towards an Integrated Analytical Approach*.

New Left Review 60, 101-116.



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:





Focus Group Interview Consent Form



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

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.

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 Dysselsdorp

