

***CAPITAL, LAND, LABOUR AND THE SOCIAL
IN THE DWARS RIVER VALLEY, CAPE WINELANDS***

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Introduction

- Cape Winelands: wine production, landscape, heritage, lifestyle
- Focus on land relations in Dwars River Valley between Stellenbosch and Franschhoek, with Boschendal Estate at the core. Edited volume in production: students and other researchers
- What are local reactions to 'the limits to liberation' and the contradictory processes that impact on the security of workers?
- What is the outcome of the tension between political transformation and the move from production to finance-based capitalism?

Time perspective on land use

- Stone Age hunting by small bands
- Livestock farming by nomadic Khoi
- 1680-1838 small-scale mixed commercial farming based on slavery by white and freeblack landowners on strips of land
- Dispossession and exit of Khoi herders

- 1838-1898 increased exports based on labour reserve at Pniel
 - Church, school and land provided
 - Economic emancipation, role of church in close-knit community (*Die kerk is die dorp en die dorp is die kerk*)
 - Struggle with church to get control of the land
 - Extension to Kylemore and Johannesdal
 - Heritage of emancipation from slavery, freedom, celebrated

- 1898-2000 more intensive farming by large corporation, with mining capital turned into land investments

Cecil John Rhodes

De Beers

Anglo-American

Extending labour reserves by creating a Herbert Baker designed worker village at Lanquedoc - preference for Cape Dutch architecture

Paternalistic relationship between company and workers

- 1968 Pniel, Johannesdal and Kylemore become part of a Rural Coloured Area
- 1994 South African transition, land claims for land restitution
- 2001 Merger of Coloured Area, rural areas, Franschhoek and Stellenbosch into one municipality

Emergence of name Dwars River Valley

Population of 12 000, mostly 'coloured'

Two approaches to the redistribution of land

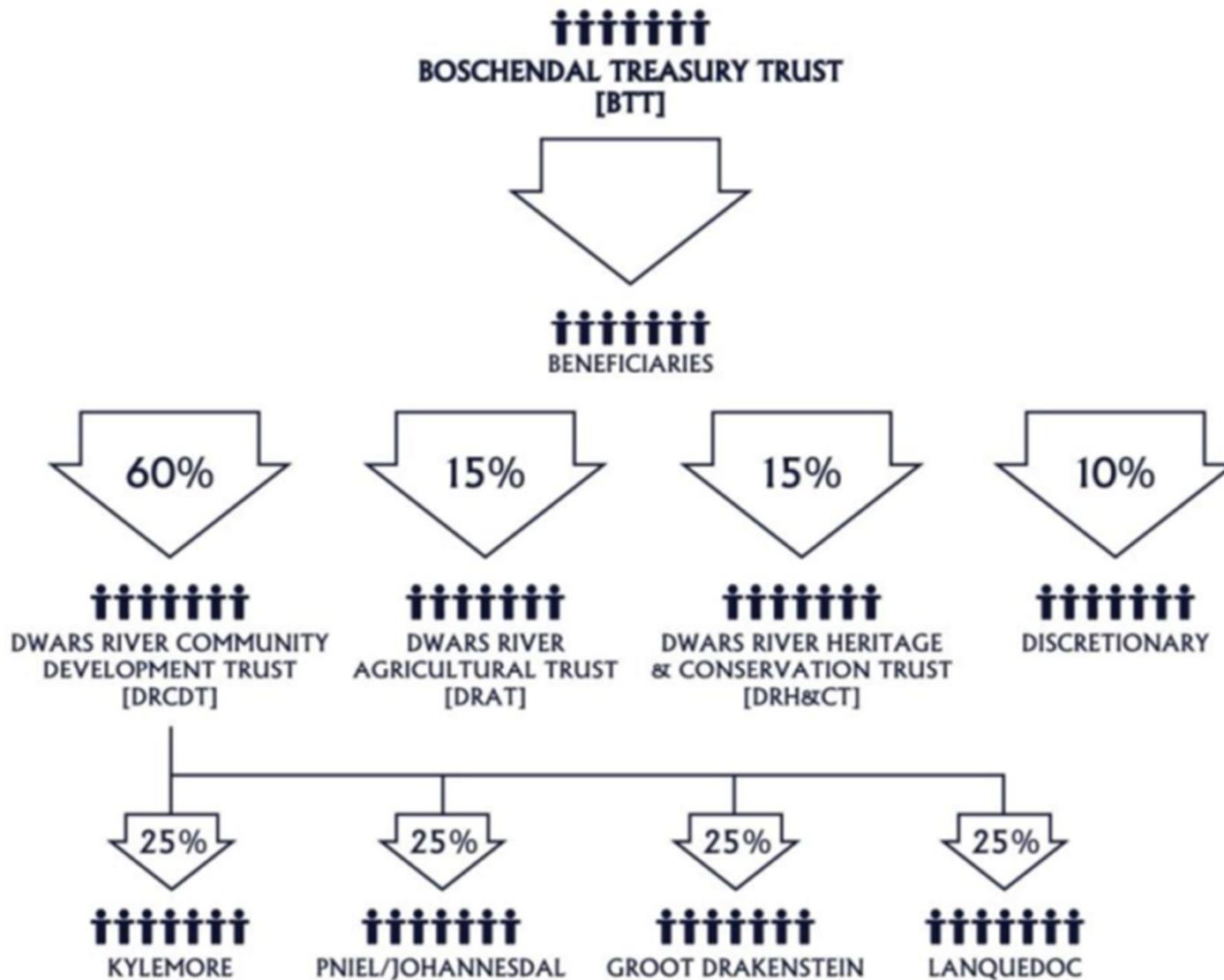
Boschendal

- 1998 focus of Anglo-American shifts to its core business, 2242 ha up for sale (land value turned into mining capital after 100 years)
- 2003 sale to Citation Holdings and Kovacs, with 30% BEE
- Addition of real estate economic value to agricultural land-use: Phase One - sale of 18 'Gentlemen's Wine Estates' on wine-producing lifestyle farms of 20ha each, from production-based to rent-taking financial model
- Directed at high end of market, sales to Gary Player et al, planning by Dennis Moss town and landscape planners

- In 2004 resettlement of 3000 workers and dependants in prize-winning social housing scheme at Lanquedoc, financed by state and Anglo
- Social divisions and criminality, expectations about proud new home-owners becoming 'responsible citizens', mediated by ambition towards 'ordentlikheid'
- Job losses, 'we have been dumped' (despite the better than RDP houses)
- Illegal occupation of houses, protests, court cases and evictions – CPA is compromised to stand with Anglo-American

Boschendal Sustainable Development Initiative

- Launched in 2005 as a corporate social responsibility intervention
- Based on tapping of future capital flows
 - Property development in particular can serve as a major primary economic driver for the implementation of sustainable development. Property development can unlock capital to support, in a meaningful and sustainable manner, economic growth, social development and environmental rehabilitation (DMP 2011:39)
 - 5% from sales of 18 Founders' Estates and other land sales, 0,5% of land sales in the future
- Transfer of 10% of the project's land for housing and agriculture regarded as land redistribution



- Boschendal Treasury Trust: income of R150 million, in addition 2000 jobs
- Majority of working class and ANC support the plans, resistance from outside organisations
- Delays due to EIA, SIA and moratorium by SAHRA
- Financial crisis of 2008 demonstrates volatility of investment
 - Financialization of neo-liberal economy
 - New prospective buyer may not implement Founder's Estates

Impact of gentrification

- Reinvestment of capital by incoming high-income groups, displacement of low-income groups
- Property prices in villages shoot up
- Inequality will increase
 - developments like the exclusive Boschendal Founder's Estates (which will have only 18 homes) are especially attractive to high-flying executives because their stringent security measures enable the buyers to leave home for long periods without undue concern for their families (Cyberprop 2009)
- Tragedy of eviction, gated communities, security
- What will reaction be of the impoverished population?

Solms-Delta

- Alternative approach: philanthropy and holistic development
- Mark Solms realised cumulative effect of slavery, apartheid & poverty: museum as basis for transformative dialogue
- Accessing capital by mortgaging properties: Solms and Astor

- Farmworker equity sharing model of land redistribution
 - Workers as shareholders, redistribution of assets, remain productive
 - Trust, complexity, adaptability, organically, incrementally
 - Continuous involvement rather than formal representation
 - Wijn de Caab Trust: education, health, music, festivals, projects
 - Issues of management and control
 - Replicability of philanthropy?
- Difference with Boschendal: scale, incremental, inclusivity, holistic approach, including needs of Homo ludens = sustainable

Finally

- Analysis of development interventions needs to include irony, paradox, ambivalence
- Complexity, unexpected consequences, resistance
- Different social models used in DRV: finance-based (volatility) and people-based (sustainability)

- Social reactions:
 - Social identifications and divisions, organisation and meaning-making
 - Social resistance: informal power used to bargain, resist domination
 - Occupy houses, marches – until evicted after ‘lawfare’ by Anglo and CPA
 - Turn to charismatic religion
 - Invoking Khoisan identity, being victims of dispossession