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Territories of Resistance: Agroecology as Alternative(s) to Development

A Case Study of (Re)peasantisation in the City of Cape Town, South Africa

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Abstract

Development, with its links to capitalism and Western conceptions of progress, is both impossible to achieve and restricts possibilities of other socially and ecologically just worlds. Neoliberal development has long been promoted in agriculture, leading to corporate concentration and is perpetuated under food security discourses. In South Africa, this maintains apartheid racial inequalities. Alternative discourses and practices have emerged in the form of agroecology and food sovereignty, which have been adopted by actors both internationally and in South Africa. Discourse is one form of power in society, which has material implications. The concept of territories, as socially constructed spaces mediated by power relations, is therefore one way to conceptualise the impact of discourses. In this study, therefore, I explore how agroecological territories can challenge development within Cape Town. I find that there are competing discourses relating to both agroecology and entrepreneurial agriculture, as well as liberal, Marxist and post-structuralist development. I show how all these discourses contribute to a process of (re)peasantisation to varying degrees. I then argue, (re)peasantisatoin challenges development in a number of ways, most radically with pride in being a small-scale farmer meaning *otherness* is articulated as a basis for alternative ways of knowing and doing.

Keywords: agroecology, post-development, discourse, territories, (re)peasantisation, multiple crises, Cape Town.

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List of Acronyms

ALIU – Anti-Land Invasion Unit

ANC – African National Congress

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CT – Cape Town

CoCT – City of Cape Town

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organisation

FS – Food Sovereignty

FSC – Food Sovereignty Campaign

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GMOs – Genetically Modified Organisms

IAASTD – The International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development

IFAD – International Fund for Agriculture and Development

LVC – La Via Campesina

MCD – Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

PHA – Philipi Horticultural Area

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programmes

SPP – Surplus People Project

UA – Urban Agriculture

U.S. – United States

WB – World Bank

WHO – World Health Organisation

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1. Introduction

Development and capitalism are, according to Escobar (2008), the most significant social forces in the world today. As a project aiming to reduce poverty, inequality, hunger and so on, development has not only failed to meet its own goals, but as part of the enlightenment project in search of universal truth has subordinated alternative local ways of knowing (Escobar 2008). Moreover, with development intimately tied to the expansion of capitalism and its never-ending quest for growth, development is an inextricable part of the interrelated crises – social, economic, ecological – which our planet faces and therefore undermines possibilities of socially and ecologically just futures (Tucker 1999; Harvey 2010; Schneider, Kallis, and Martinez-Alier 2010).

The current neoliberal paradigm of capitalism is characterised by the opening up of markets, free-trade and deregulation (Harvey 2005). Neoliberalism has long been promoted in agriculture by institutions such as the World Bank (WB), which has lead to corporate concentration and negative impacts on small-scale farmers (Patel 2007a). Following the recent food crises, the discourse of food security has been mobilised to perpetuate neoliberalism (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012).

Alternatives in the form of agroecology and food sovereignty (FS) have emerged in opposition to neoliberal agriculture, both discursively and in practice, and are being promoted by NGOs, academics and social movements, such as La Via Campesina (LVC) (ibid.). Rather than the dominant efficiency and profit-based models of neoliberal agriculture, these alternative concepts focus on farmer autonomy, control over food and agriculture policy, as well as solidarity amongst producers and consumers. Agroecology and FS have been adopted by some actors in South Africa in response to neoliberal agriculture, which maintains the inequalities produced by apartheid (Jacobs 2011).

Discourses are one way in which power flows through society by determining what can and cannot be spoken about, which has material implications (Foucault 1980). In this study, therefore, I aim to explore how agroecological discourses can challenge development, in the municipality of Cape Town (CT), South Africa. Using the concept of territories, which are socially constructed spaces mediated by power relations (Escobar 2008), I examine how competing discourses and practices relating to agriculture and development interact to produce certain territories. Following Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012), who argue that agroecology is linked to a process of (re)peasantisation, whereby farmers gain increased autonomy or land (Ploeg 2008), I examine the forces affecting

processes of (re)peasantisation and de-peasantisation. In order to achieve this, my research sets out to answer the following research question and operational research questions:

How do agroecological territories challenge development in Cape Town?

Operational research questions:

What discourses surrounding agriculture and development exist among various actors in Cape Town?

What territories do agroecological discourses and practices create, in terms of (re)peasantisation, through interacting with conventional development discourses and practices?

The remainder of the thesis takes the following outline. In section two I discuss in greater detail the problems associated with the "development project" and contemporary capitalism. I also explore the impacts of neoliberalism within agriculture, which is supported by a food security discourse, and examine how this has affected agriculture in South Africa in particular. Section three presents some of the alternatives within agriculture and development, focusing especially on food sovereignty and agroecology, which form part of the resistance to neoliberalism in South Africa. I then introduce CT as the study site. Section five presents the analytical framework of the study, introducing the concepts of territories and (re)peasantisation, as well as a framework for analysing development discourses. Section six outlines the methodology used in the study, including strategies for data collection and analysis. In section seven, I take each of the operational research questions in turn and analyse the findings, before drawing conclusions in the final section, which answers the overall research question and highlights challenges that may obstruct alternatives to development.

2. Setting the Scene: Part 1 - Problems

In this section I will set out the main problems this research aims to address. First and foremost this means engaging with, and challenging, the concept of development as well as highlighting its links to capitalism and modernity. I will argue that these ideologies are fundamentally incompatible with social or ecological justice due to the internal contradictions of capitalism and the colonisation of knowledge. Secondly, the impacts of these ideas will be examined on the agricultural sector, which has gained increasing attention in recent years due to the food crisis and fears over a growing global

population. Here, I will argue that the neoliberal solutions presented are failing to address the root of the problem.

Development and Capitalism

The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape.
Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes, have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story:
it did not work.

Sachs (2010:xv)

Development has, according to Escobar (2008), become the central concept for global design since the Second World War. The "development project" began with U.S. assistance to "underdeveloped regions" to combat hunger, poverty, and the spread of communism during the Cold War. Sachs (2010) famously described development as a crumbling lighthouse. Despite a growing list of failures in its name, for example a growing gap in terms of global inequality[1] (Pickety 2014) and economic growth that is environmentally unsustainable (Sachs 2010), development still guides the aspirations of government officials and grassroots movements towards "progress". In this section I briefly outline the main critiques of development, which I argue is intimately tied to the expansion of capitalism and Western conceptions of modernity, as a case for alternatives.

For some scholars, such as Schuurman (2009:831), development is difficult to define and the object of the discipline was never formalised. Chambers (1995:174) states development simply "means good change", which is deliberately vague to allow a myriad of perspectives especially those of the poor themselves. Tucker (1999), however, argues that development has been narrowly defined as economic growth, industrialisation, and the mirroring of Western institutions. With this definition of development, GDP growth has been the measure of progress globally (Heinberg 2011). In this regard, Sachs (2010) argues that development's real agenda was Westernisation. Furthermore, by using the notion of progress and civilisation the development project has continued to legitimise domination of the global South, economically, culturally, politically, and militarily, just as the same logic was used to legitimise slavery and colonialism (Tucker 1999). For Tucker (1999) development is fundamentally impossible due to contradictions within capitalism. Firstly, as profit is made by

1 In fact the UNDP (1996) show the ratio of the richest incomes to the poorest increased from 30:1 to 61:1 between 1960 and 1991.

exploiting labour, capitalism produces inequality, and secondly the constant need for the economy to grow means it cannot be environmentally sustainable (Harvey 2010). Therefore, all countries cannot reach a "developed" state. Beyond this, the idea of a single path for all nations, is for Dussel (2000) "the development fallacy" and as this universal notion of progress is actually Western, alternative ways of knowing and doing are excluded (Escobar 2008). Thus, for post-development theorists the idea of development itself must be critiqued, not merely its links to capitalism. Although, there are many critiques to this, for example that it romanticises the local, it dislodges the hegemony of Western thought and opens possibilities for alternatives (Ziai 2007).

Development theory, has always been contested and a number of critiques proposed. These can generally be categorised as alternative development (more egalitarian development within capitalism), critical development (development without capitalism) and, most radically post-development (critiquing development itself) (Escobar 2008). I will outline these in section five and use them as analytical frames in this study.

Neoliberalism

Many of the problems with development are associated with capitalism. Therefore, it is important to understand the contemporary capitalist system, which Escobar (2008:7) argues is a main process through which places are shaped. Neoliberalism is the current phase of global capitalism and is typically described as the ideology of financialisation, free-markets and flexible accumulation of capital that has rapidly expanded since the 1970's (Harvey 2010; Escobar 2011). It is claimed that neoliberalism will lead to the greatest well-being for individuals and countries (Harvey 2005:2).

If neoliberalism is simply *laissez faire* capitalism, however, this project arguably ended with the latest financial crisis as the contradictions of capitalism caused collapse at the core, the United States (Gray 2005). Some argue that neoliberalism is known by almost everyone to have failed, but as no viable alternative has emerged yet, we continue with "zombie neoliberalism" (The Free Association 2011). The responses to the global financial crisis, wherein governments attempts to restart the economy have ranged from Keynesian financial stimuli to austerity measures, show what neoliberalism really entails. It is not pure free-markets, given that it requires government control to manipulate markets, but instead it is a system by which states assist the transfer of social wealth into smaller and smaller hands; those of the corporate classes (Mattick 2011). However, as neoliberalism is presented as the "natural" way for the economy to function, this is hidden, and the discourse

legitimises and depoliticises itself (Peck and Tickell 2002).

Mobilising the Food Security Discourse, Perpetuating Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism has long been promoted within agriculture by institutions such as the WB and can most evidently be seen in the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Trade and finance liberalisation polices reduced governments' abilities to control prices and exposed farmers to the competition of the world market. Patel (2007b) argues this benefited larger export-orientated farmers with access to markets, credit, and land, but the majority of small-scale farmers suffered. On a global level, this has caused corporate concentration within agriculture (McMichael 2009). The impacts of the SAPs have been seen in many countries, typically including "widespread unemployment, spikes in poverty, particularly for children, and, in some cases, food riots" (Patel 2007b:5). The general consensus is that the effects of the SAPs were overwhelmingly negative (Stiglitz 2002). Despite this, the WB (2007), and others, continue to promote similar polices in the name of poverty reduction.

Although the recent food crises were caused by price inflation and not related to global food supplies (Bailey 2011; Brown 2011), many, such as Conforti (2011), call for a 70% increase in food production by 2050. Indeed, the food security[2] discourse is being mobilised by the WB, think tanks, universities, agribusiness and so on, who promote ideas of "efficiency, productivity, economies of scale, trade liberalization, free-markets [in order] to feed the world" (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012:3). With food security framed in terms of availability of food, Wittman et al. (2010:3) suggest a strategy of "just produce and/or import more food from somewhere" is being adopted and this includes the "dumping" of food products in export markets, undermining local production. Thus, governments, agribusinesses, and institutions such as the WTO (2002) and FAO (1996) are pursuing food security through increased agricultural trade liberalisation (Wittman et al. 2010), including the use of biotechnology such as genetically modified organisms (GMOs) (WB 2007; Collier 2008; FAO 2011). Holt-Giménez and Altieri (2013) argue these policies main aim is to target global peasantries as a site for profit making by the capitalist classes. Furthermore, Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012) observe growing trends of land-grabbing for monoculture export crops and agro-fuels, which are being driven by falling rates of profits in other sectors, but food security is given as justification. Thus, whilst food security itself is a worthy aim, the discourse is mobilised to perpetuate neoliberal agriculture.

2 The WHO (2014) define being food secure as "when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life".

South Africa, Neoliberalism and Agriculture

South Africa's history of apartheid is infamous. Under this system, there was systematic racism and inequality for over five decades (Klein 2008), and life chances were dictated by state racial classifications of Bantu (Black), Coloured, or White.[3] When apartheid ended in 1994, there were hopes of change and the African National Congress (ANC) was elected, promising a more equal distribution of wealth. Greenberg (2004), however, argues that South Africa followed a neoliberal trajectory, orientating the economy to global markets and simultaneously undermining grassroots resistance. Ashman, Fine, and Newman (2011) claim that as a result South Africa is the most unequal country in the world and the Black[4] population are the worst affected (Saul 2012). Thus, Pilger (2007) argues that in economic terms, apartheid did not die but was reproduced through market mechanisms.

Reflecting the global picture outlined above, in South Africa neoliberal polices were implemented in agriculture as well, where liberalisation and deregulation removed almost all government support for agricultural production (Greenberg 2010). Greenberg (2010:3) argues that the "result was concentration of private ownership, the corporatisation of lucrative sectors and nodes in the value chain", labour shedding through mechanisation, and no support for small-scale farmers. Although there has been support for large-scale Black farmers, ultimately this fails to challenge the accumulation process or purpose (ibid.:xi). For Jacobs (2011), commercial farming is both environmentally destructive and dysfunctional for the rural and urban poor; due to the profit motive the sector focuses on high value exports rather than providing food or livelihoods for local populations. In the Western Cape this is particularly the case in terms of vineyards, exporting wine and table grapes to Europe, whilst the local poor are food insecure and malnourished (Ewert and du Toit 2005).

Furthermore, with private property rights upheld, effective land reform, which is necessary following massive forced evictions under apartheid, has been significantly reduced (Klein 2008).

3 Wilkinson (2000:197) defines the apartheid racial classifications as follows: "'Coloureds' referred to an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous group of people descended from the indigenous Khoi and San people, the slave population, and the progeny of sexual contacts between these groups – and Bantu-speaking people – with European settlers; 'Bantu' (or 'Africans') referred to descendants of the groups of Bantu-speaking, iron-working cultivators who had begun to settle the northern and eastern parts of Southern Africa between 300 and 400 AD; 'Whites' referred to descendants of European settlers or more recent immigrants of European stock; and "Asians" referred primarily to descendants of people originating from the Indian sub-continent. The categories, however, were often arbitrarily applied, sometimes with tragic consequences for individual families or households."

4 Black in this thesis is, following a Steve Biko and the "black consciousness" movement, used as a political term, applied to those most affected by racism i.e. Black Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Though each of the sub-terms may be used to identify specific groups. This is the common use of terms in the literature (Saul 2012).

The government's initial commitment to redistribute 30% of land within 5 years of democracy has been pushed back to 2025, and in 2008 a mere 5% of land had been redistributed (Greenberg 2009; 2010) of which much is poor quality (Hall 2004). Thus, the possibilities for small-scale farmers are heavily restricted and the unequal distribution of land under apartheid, which saw the vast majority of the land owned by the White minority, remains unchallenged (ibid.). Yet, land and freedom are still closely linked for many Black South Africans, both due to close experiences with dispossession under apartheid and also due to high unemployment levels, land is seen as a possibility for transformation (Gibson 2009; Walker 2008).

3. Setting the Scene: Part 2 – Possibilities

The above section has detailed critiques of development, neoliberal capitalism and how these have affected agriculture, with particular focus on South Africa. In this section I will outline some of the alternatives, first in terms of alternatives to modernity (with links to modernity being the most radical critique of development) and then discussing food sovereignty and agroecology within agriculture.

Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality (MCD)

Development, from a post-development perspective, is an extension of modernity, which in seeking universal truth, subordinates all other ways of knowing. Despite many critiques of modernity, which is claimed to have emerged in Europe during the enlightenment when reason and science triumphed over religion and superstition, they typically offer no way out. Escobar (2008:167) paraphrases Giddens (1990) to sum up the situation in saying that "it's modernity all the way, everywhere". The MCD approach, however, argues that modernity began with colonisation in 1492 and the subordination of knowledge and cultures of those outside of the European group. Thus, there is no modernity without coloniality (Escobar 2008:168). What this approach offers is a way out, not in terms of an "outside" to modernity but instead that of colonial difference, "the Other as oppressed, as woman, as racially marked, as excluded, as poor, as nature" (ibid.:169). Decoloniality comes from those who are marginalised as Other by modernity, from social movements starting from a place of colonial difference, Otherness, and who explicitly construct their own knowledge in this regard. In this sense *otherness* offers an alternative imaginary to modernity and progress. The MCD framework, whilst showing the limitations of alternative and critical development, also offers a way to bring together these various strategies with their relative focuses on Otherness, as a way to challenge modernity, which is a central concept for development.

Next, I shall discuss the counter-hegemonic discourses of FS and agroecology. As these explicitly aim to challenge neoliberal agriculture, they offer alternatives to the dominant ideologies tied to development.

Counter-Hegemonic Discourses: Food Sovereignty and Agroecology

FS has emerged as a counter discourse to food security, which as I show above, is mobilised to perpetuate neoliberalism in agriculture. FS was originally coined by LVC in 1996 (Wittman 2011) and Windfur and Jonsen (2005:15) argue that it "is essentially a political concept". According to Patel (2012:2) it calls for "communities to have the right to define their own food and agriculture policy", but rather being about self-sufficiency, it is about communities' power over food. Thus, it recognises that hunger is always caused by a lack of power over food, rather than a lack of food (ibid.) and therefore FS is a necessary precondition to food security (LVC 1996).

Bernstein (2014) argues that FS supporters are unrealistic in their expectations of state support. Indeed, as Bentham (2002) argues, rights without a guarantor are meaningless. Patel (2009:668), however, states that a radical aspect of FS is the call for rights at a variety of scales; a variety of "spaces of sovereignty", which "blow[s] apart the notion that the state has paramount authority". Thus, rights can be called for in each of these spaces. However, Patel (2009) argues that it must be based on a fundamental concept of egalitarianism. Further, Patel (2014) suggests that FS is a horizon in which we imagine there is no capitalism, patriarchy or state. Thus, though the state may be called upon to meet its obligations to its citizens, its role is contested within the FS movement.

Agroecology

One of the key pillars of FS is agroecology, which Wezel et al. (2009) argue is a movement, science, and practice. In terms of practice, agroecological principles focus on "recycling nutrients and energy on the farm, rather than introducing external inputs; enhancing soil organic matter and soil biological activity; diversifying plant species and genetic resources in agroecosystems over time and space; integrating crops and livestock and optimizing interactions and productivity of the total farming system, rather than the yields of individual species" (Altieri and Toledo 2011:588). Thus, agroecology is a holistic form of agriculture. Agroecology has been adopted widely, especially within LVC, which Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2014) argue is because when land is acquired it is heavily degraded and therefore techniques are needed to rejuvenate the soil.

Critics may argue that agroecology romanticises the peasantry and large amounts of labour are required to achieve comparable yields to conventional farming (Collier 2009). However, Funes

(2009 cited in Altieri and Toledo 2011) contends that agroecology provides the most efficient production of food in terms of labour, inputs and costs. Furthermore, with unemployment a growing issue globally, agriculture that requires labour inputs throughout the year is a possible avenue to alleviate unemployment (Badgley et al. 2007). More importantly perhaps, agroecological family farming is argued to give individuals a sense of identity and autonomy. By using their passion and hard work they can make a living, rather than a profit (Ploeg 2013).

Food production, according to Tomich et al. (2011:213), "is inextricably linked to the technological, political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the broader food system". Thus, in order to scale up the successes of agroecology Gonzalez de Molina (2012:46) argues that "[p]olitics must develop within the heart of agroecology", which at present is strongest at the local level, and for agroecology to affect the larger politics of food systems it needs to move beyond its original subjects of small farmers. For example, although major international reports such as IAASTD (2009) and De Schutter (2010) have recommended agroecological production, over biotechnology, to feed rising populations, Infante Amate and Gonzalez de Molina (2013) argue this also requires a degrowth strategy in the global North where demands for meat places pressure on resources in the global South. Furthermore, Altieri (2012) observes that the international community is attempting to co-opt the term agroecology (cf. IFAD 2010) by saying that it can be used alongside pesticides and GMOs, which would, like "sustainable agriculture", render it meaningless and apolitical. Thus, to avoid co-option, agroecology must remain political and not merely agronomic.

Importantly, Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012) argue agroecology offers a form of resistance to both the ideas and the practices of neoliberal globalisation, providing a discursive alternative and practices to reduce reliance on external chemical inputs. Jacobs (2011) states that agroecology, however, is not a uniform blueprint, but needs to be designed to fit the geographical and cultural setting, involving farmers as part of a wider political, cultural, and economic transformation. Within LVC, agroecology developed through horizontal exchanges between peasants from different cultures called *diálogo de saberes*,[5] which Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2014) argue has solidified the political aspect and helped to rekindle traditional knowledge, which has been lost in many cases due to top down industrial agricultural extension workers (Rosset et al. 2011). Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012) link agroecology to a process of (re)peasantisation, which is contesting territories, I will discuss this later.

5 This means a dialogue between ways of knowing. Within LVC this has meant a coming together of a number of different worldivews and cultures from around the globe.

Resisting Neoliberal Agriculture in South Africa

Although the ANC have aimed to undermine grassroots movements (Greenberg 2004), post-apartheid South Africa has seen many forms of resistance to neoliberalism (Ballard 2005). Within agriculture this has included a landless peoples movement (ibid.), a farmworkers strike, and the adoption of agroecology within NGOs and movements (Jacobs 2011). Jacobs (2011) argues that agroecology has been used to tackle the cultural, political and environmental effects of neoliberal policies.

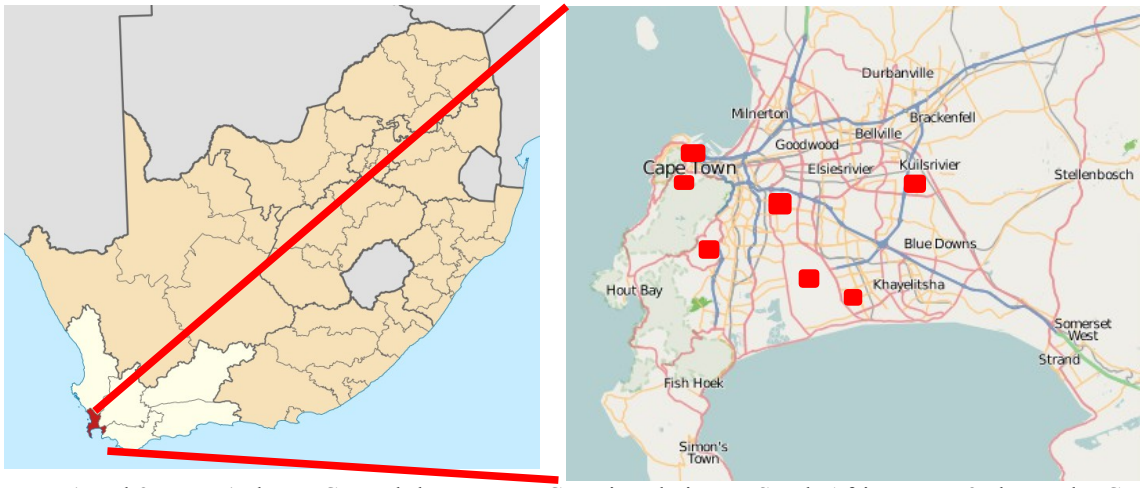
In the Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces, a social movement called the Food Sovereignty Campaign (FSC) was established in 2008, which has adopted agroecology and according to Jacobs (2013:6) consists of "small-scale farmers, farm workers, rural dwellers, forestry communities, and urban farmers" and breaks divisions between rural and urban, as well as between small-scale farmers and farmworkers. According to Witbooi (2011:119) a member of the FSC, the movement aims to "fight the neoliberal system of government and see that land is distributed to Black people" following the slow land reform process. In addition to the explicit use of the term agroecology, Wynberg et al. (2012) argue that traditional South African small-scale farmers have good knowledge of agroecological practices including plant and seed breeding as well as pest and water management. Torquebiau et al. (2012), for example, show that in the Mathenjw area[6] traditional farming practices are compatible with biodiversity conservation, whilst also providing a living for local communities. Despite traditional practices having strong links to agroecology, Greenberg (2011) states little research is being done on it.

A broader response to neoliberalism can be seen in the 2012-13 farmworkers strike, particularly in the Western Cape. This was in response to mechanisation, labour shedding, evictions from farms and worsening conditions, and the strike was supported by NGOs, unions, and movements such as the FSC and resulted in an increase the minimum wage for farmworkers (Andrews 2013).

Wesso (2009:26) suggests that although overall such resistance remains quite small they sometimes "feel bold enough to march right up... and address the main actors". The government may be starting to take note and is currently developing a national strategy for agroecology (SPP 2013). However, Wesso (2009) argues that the overall outcome depends on the ability of movements such as the FSC to unite with other sectors of society.

6 Located in Kwazulu Natal, in the East of South Africa (Torqebiau et al. 2012).

4. Setting the Scene: Part 3 – Introducing Cape Town



Maps 1 and 2: Map 1 shows CT and the Western Cape in relation to South Africa; Map 2 shows the CT Metropolitan Area, with approximate locations of agricultural projects included in the study highlighted in red, adapted by Author (Source: Wikimedia 2011a, b).

Cape Town is located in the Western Cape province, in the South West of South Africa. According to the 2011 census, the population stands at just over 3.7 million, 47% households live below the poverty line of R3,200 (CoCT 2012a) and there are approximately 130,000 structures in informal "shack" settlements (CoCT 2012b). In terms of racial classifications, 42% of the population are "coloured", 39% are Black African, 16% White and the remaining 3% are Asian or "other" (CoCT 2012a).

The history of CT is a distinctly colonial one. Upon this, apartheid and neoliberal policies have left a set of uneven geographies, which mean that spatially the poor are located in Township areas, which, according to de Swardt et al. (2005), are simultaneously dependent on and marginalised from the urban economy. Following slavery, the city was progressively segregated. Forced removals left 200,000 people on the "sandy expanse that separates the wealthy northern and southern suburbs" called the Cape Flats (ibid:101; Western 2002) and informal settlements exploded in number as Black Africans in-migrated towards the end of apartheid[7] (Malan and Lurie 1994). This situation is directly linked to the current levels of food insecurity (Battersby 2011), to which (urban) agriculture is seen by local government and NGOs as a response (Visser 2004).

7 During apartheid the "Pass Laws" meant that Black Africans were confined to their "reserves" mainly in the Eastern Cape and could not travel without permission. Black Africans were banned from CT, which left the Coloured population as the majority (Western 2002).

Following apartheid there has been a shift towards neoliberalism. McDonald and Smith (2004) argue private sector service provision was driven both by government budget cuts and by a hegemonic position of the neoliberal ideology. It is generally agreed that when cities engage with the global economy, social, spatial and economic polarisation occurs (Sassen 1990; 1994). Lemanski (2007) argues in CT this has that at least failed to reduce inequality, if not increasing it, whilst liberalisation caused uncompetitive industries to fail and increased unemployment.

These uneven geographies are directly linked to the situation regarding food insecurity in CT, which Frayne et al. (2010) state affects 80% of households. Battersby (2011) argues that due to apartheid spatial planning, poor populations are located in Townships where it is not economically rational to have formal food markets. Thus, poorer populations are dependent on the informal market, which has less variety, higher prices, and questionable safety. Urban agriculture (UA) is seen as one solution to this issue, as well as being seen as a poverty alleviation strategy,[8] and is being promoted by the CT municipality as well as a number of NGOs (Battersby and Marshak 2013).

Agriculture within CT, however, is not limited to UA. Within the municipality there are also large-scale commercial wine and dairy farms, urban pastoralists, as well as medium-and-small-scale commercial agriculture in the Philipi Horticultural Area (PHA), which is located just outside the official urban zone. This latter area has been a source of conflict due to proposals to rezone part of this area for housing purposes; I will return to this issue in a later section.

Overall, CT has a complex background, where apartheid inequalities maintained by neoliberal development intersect with a variety of agricultural activities in a relatively small area. Thus, I find CT to be relevant location for a case study to examine competing territories relating to agriculture and development.

5. Analytical Frames

In this section I will introduce the analytical frames, which will be used to operationalise the theoretical aspects I have outlined above. Therefore, I discuss development discourses, agricultural discourses, territories, and (re)peasantisation in turn.

8 Reuther and Dewar (2005) argue that the effectiveness of this strategy for poverty alleviation remains contested, although an important debate, in this thesis I do not consider how successful certain agricultural strategies are, rather how they relate to and challenge certain discourses and practices. The effectiveness of agroecology in general as opposed to urban agriculture, however, is important to the overall FS concept, and is supported by major international reports such as the IAASTD (2009).

Development Discourses

In section one, I outlined a general theory of development and broad critique against this idea. Here, I present three broad classifications of theories about development, which will be used to categorise discourses which emerge from interview responses. These categories are based on Escobar's (2008) framework, which he labels as *liberal, Marxist, and post-structuralist.* The key issues in each theory are summarised in Table 1 below.

In dividing development theory into these categories, I shall focus on the ways in which participants *frame* their ideas about development. For example, what do they see development as? Who are the relevant actors in bringing about development and what kind of process brings about their desired changes? It is through this framing of development that I will derive a set of discourses within my study.

Issue	**Paradigm**		
	Liberal	*Marxist*	*Post-Structuralist*
Epistemology	Positivist	Realist / Dialectical	Interpretivist / constructivist
Key concepts	Individual Market	Production (means / mode of production) Labour	Language Meaning
Objects of study	Society Market Rights	Social structures (social relations) Ideologies	Representation / discourse Knowledge-power
Relevant actors	Individuals Institutions State	Social Classes (working classes, peasants) Social movements State (democratic)	"Local communities" New social movements NGOs *All* knowledge producers including individuals, state, movements
Question of development?	How can societies develop / be developed through a combination of technology and individual and state actions?	How does development function as the dominant ideology? How can development be de-linked from capitalism?	How did Asia, Africa and Latin America come to be represented as "underdeveloped"?

Criteria for change	Progress, growth Growth plus distribution (1970's) Adoption of markets	Transformation of social relations Development of the productive forces Development of class consciousness	Transformation of the political economy of truth New discourses and representation (plurality of discourses)
Mechanism for change	Better theories and data More carefully tailored interventions	Social (class) struggle	Changing *practices* of knowing and doing
Ethnography	How culture mediates development and change Adopt projects to local cultures	How local actors *resist* development interventions	How knowledge producers, resist, adapt, subvert dominant knowledge and make their own
Critical attitude concerning development and modernity	Promote more egalitarian development (deepen and complete the Enlightenment project of modernity)	Reorientate development towards satisfying requirements for social justice and sustainability (critical modernism; de-link capitalism and modernity)	Articulate ethics of expert knowledge as a political practice (alternative modernities; alternatives to modernity; decolonial projects)

Table 1: A comparision of development discourse. (Source: Escobar (2008:172f.)).

Liberal theories of development, associated with "alternative development" seek to create a more equitable form of development, within the capitalist framework. A variety of different issues, such as basic needs for the poor (Parpart and Veltmeyer 2011), gender (Kabeer 1994), participation (Chambers 1995), and environmental sustainability (Scoones 1998) can be taken into account within this perspective. Alternative measures, such as the HDI, for instance, whilst moving away from purely economic metrics (Kochak 2006), still frames poverty in terms of a lack of skills or things (Schimmel 2009). The notion of progress, however, remains central and comes about when individuals or institutions interact with the market (Escobar 2008).

Marxist theories of development are more concerned with structural issues, particularly relating to capitalism, which are argued to *produce* inequality (Kay 2006). Therefore, from this perspective these structures must be dismantled in order for development to be egalitarian; there must be development without capitalism. Change from this perspective comes from class struggle, social

movements, a democratic state, and control over the means of production, which from an agricultural point of view means land, water, and other resources. Progress remains an aim (Gray 2005), but it must be socially just and ecologically sustainable.

Post-structuralist theories of development, or post-development,[9] question the entire concept of development due to the authoritarian quality of universal truth (Grosfoguel 2012). Within this perspective, changing ways of knowing and doing are key in order to have a plurality of truths.[10] All knowledge producers are important in this, however, local communities and social movements tend to be a particular focus. Change is linked to decolonisation, which from the MCD framework is linked to identities of colonial difference, of being "other" (Escobar 2008).

Agricultural Discourses: Agroecological and Entrepreneurial

As previously described, agroecology is a movement, science, and practice (Wezel et al. 2009). This means, whilst it is a set of agronomic practices, focusing on nutrient recycling and minimising inputs, it is also explicitly political in being against the industrial chemical model of farming. Agroecology has also been linked with peasant agriculture, which according to Ploeg (2008) primarily focuses on increasing autonomy, through a mode of co-production with nature in the face of marginalisation from neoliberal agriculture, which is fundamentally a system of ordering and control.

Agroecology, therefore, operates from a different logic to conventional farming as it aims to meet a variety of different needs including income but through the application of self-determination, passion, identity, and maintaining the landbase with a long-term aim of maintaining a beautiful farm (ibid.) Entrepreneurial farming, on the other hand, focuses primarily on increasing yields and income (ibid.). Barrett (2004) for example claims that poverty is primarily due to a lack of productivity, especially for smallholders, and therefore advocates increasing productivity and market integration. Again, I will use these different aspects to see how participants *frame* agricultural issues and practices, whether they have a variety of cultural, political, ecological and economic foci, or whether they have a more limited economic focus.

9 A note on terminology, in this thesis I use the terms post-structuralist theories and post-development interchangeably. The same goes for liberal theories and alternative development, and Marxist theories and Critical development.

10 To use the Zapatista phrase seeking a world "in which many world fit" (Olesen 2004).

Territories

Discourses are one way in which power flows through society, as they determine the limits of what can and cannot be spoken about, and this has material implications (Foucault 1980). Discourses about development are particularly important as this has become the central organising principle of social life (Escobar 2008). In this thesis, I will utilise the concept of territories, in order to analyse the ways in which agroecological discourses come into conflict with other discourses and how this may challenge development.

According to Fernandez, Welch and Gonçlaves (2010) most disciplines define territories superficially, mainly referring to geographically bounded spaces only. This, however, neglects the multidimensional aspects of them and how power constructs them. For Escobar (2008) territories are socially constructed spaces, which are mediated by power relations and ideological forces. Thus, as Fernandez (2009 cited in Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012) argues there are physical (e.g. struggles over land and resources) and immaterial (e.g. competing ideas) territories, and the aspects are always interlinked. The concept of territories has also become important for LVC through the recognition that territory has a greater meaning than that of land, as it is tied to identity, justice and alternative ways of knowing (Rosset 2013).

For Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012:5) agroecology is directly linked to the contestation of territories through a process of (re)peasantisation, for when farmers transition to agroecology they become “more peasant”. Ploeg (2008) argues that (re)peasantisation occurs on two axes: through the use of practices such as agroecology that increase autonomy and through the acquisition of land, either through land reform or occupations. Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012:5), therefore, argue these processes are “analogous to the (re)configuration of space as peasant territory, and agroecology can be, and increasingly is, a part of both”. (Re)peasantisation, however, is not a one way process, and de-peasantisation can also occur as farmers adopt industrial methods, or land is lost to agribusiness (Ploeg 2008).

In this study, therefore, I use the concept of (re)pesantisation to explore conflicts over territories. This will cover both axes of (re)peasantisation and although both physical and ideological aspects of territories will be considered, a greater emphasis will be placed on the discourses which are mobilised in order to contest these spaces.

6. Methodology

In this section I will describe the methodology constructed for this study, which following Chamberlin (2012) does not conform to an "off the shelf" method but is specific to this study. I begin by covering the philosophical assumptions that this study is based on. Next I describe the research design, data collection strategies, and methods for analysing the data. Finally, I discuss the importance of research ethics, in particular focusing on the need for reflexivity.

Philosophical Assumptions

For this study I utilise a critical social theory perspective. This takes a dialectical ontological position, in that it recognises there is a physical world, but that the meaning ascribed to it is socially constructed, which shapes how individuals and society interact with it (Habermas 1978). Thus, it falls mid-way between a constructivist and a positivist stance. Epistemologically this study takes an interpretative stance, aiming to understand how discourses shape how participants view and interact with the world. Critical social theory aims to be emancipatory by deconstructing oppressive processes within society, diagnosing what is wrong, and promoting alternatives (Finlayson 2005:4).

Thus, rather than merely to document the particular processes that are operating in this CT, in this research I aim to take a more active[11] position. In uncovering how discourses of agroecology are challenging the narratives and practices within development, I hope that these can be built upon and further resistance to development, opening possibilities of more socially and ecologically just worlds.

Research Design

In this study I opted to use a qualitative case study design, which was geographically bounded by the City of Cape Town municipality, as such methods are well suited to an in depth inquiry (Cresswell 2013:9). This research is based on a two-month data collection period in CT. In addition to this I spent four months on an internship with one of the rural NGOs in my study, which is also based in CT and works throughout the Western and Northern Capes. This experience has also shaped my understanding of the situation as it allowed me to make continual observations of different actors in the agricultural field, for instance I was able to take part in a number of workshops and attend parliamentary hearings relating to agricultural issues. I feel these observations both give the research a greater depth but also carry with it some element of bias, due

11 Within activist circles there is a shift towards "militant" research. This is "collectively extending forms of antagonism...[and] composing flesh-made words from immanent processes of resistance" which comes out of a process of organising for social change and should not be limited to elite researches but carried out collectively reflecting the principles of horizontality within research (Shukaitis and Graeber 2007).

to prolonged interactions with one set of actors over another. Below I will also discuss reflexivity.

Data Collection

This research primarily draws on primary data, with the main source of data is semi-structured interviews, largely conducted on an individual basis, but these are supplemented with participant observations, informal interviews, and group interviews. Where possible semi-structured interviews were conducted as part of a narrative walk, for example whilst looking at agricultural projects. This meant they took place in a natural setting and allowed for follow-up questions and clarifications. The vast majority of interviews were carried out face-to-face, however some were carried out by telephone and one respondent was only able to answer questions via email. From the interview responses I was able to draw out the various perspectives and discourses.

The sampling procedure was a combination of purposeful sampling of actors within the agricultural field and prior to sampling I conducted participant mapping. Given the wide range of agricultural activities carried out in CT, I did not limit participants to those explicitly promoting or practising agroecology. Instead, I included a variety of actors such as NGOs focusing on "backyard" gardening or permaculture, small-scale farmers (including squatters), commercial (industrial) farmers, government officials, and researchers. A more detailed typology of actors is given in Table 2 below, and these form the units of my analysis. A limitation of this sampling strategy could be that I missed important actors that I did not deem relevant. However, I also conducted snowball sampling, based on participants recommendations, which I feel counters this to some extent. Within the organisations I chose to interview subjects both in formal leadership positions, as well as project staff and beneficiaries. Although I do not have a gender focus I also ensured inclusion of both male and female participants, aiming for equal numbers of each sex. A number of interviews were conducted through gatekeepers, such as accessing project staff of certain NGOs and squatted farmers, yet most of my participants were contacted directly.

Actors	**Description**
Small-scale Farmer	This covers a range of actors who conduct agricultural practices on a small-scale, i.e. less than 1ha.[12] It includes both "backyard"gardeners and community gardeners. These actors were generally connected with the urban NGOs, but also rural NGOs too. Production is both for subsistence and for the market.

12 According to Greenberg (2010), the term small-scale farmer or smallholder is often not clearly defined within South African debates. However, in this case I deliberately use the term broadly in order to cover a range of activities and actors.

Squatter	As above, but occupying land without the permission of the owner, usually the government. These actors tended to be connected with rural NGOs and social movements.
Urban NGO	NGOs active in promoting agriculture, in various forms, within the city, both in poor and affluent areas.
Rural NGO	NGOs who mainly focused on agriculture in rural areas but also had links to CT.
Social Movement	Social movements relating to both agriculture – campaigning on issues of land and agrarian reform and farmworkers rights – and also housing movements – working with those living in informal settlements. These had links to rural NGOs, small-scale farmers and squatters.
Commercial Farmer	Farmers producing mainly for the market, using chemical inputs and mechanised operations.
Emerging Farmer	As above, however, gained access to land through government land reform programmes.
Researcher	Individuals involved in researching issues relating to agriculture and food security.
Government Official	Officials working within the municipality linked to issues of UA or sustainability.
Civil Society	A variety of actors, including teachers, and former NGO staff now working on community projects outside of a formal NGO such as a community market and giving gardening training on a freelance basis.

Table 2: A typology of actors included in the study (Source: Author).

In total 39 participants were interviewed from 22 different organisations, although this does include overlap such as participants who were both NGO employees and members of social movements. Interviews were all conducted in English (therefore no translator was required), mostly semi-structured in nature, typically lasting usually around 1 hour and loosely followed the interview guide (see appendix). However, when additional topics arose or I felt follow up questions were needed I diverged from the guide. Below Table 3 provides a summary of the interviews carried out:

Category	**Semi-Structured Interview**	**Group Interview**	**Informal Interview**
Urban NGO	10		
Rural NGO	3		
Small-scale Farmer	5		1
Squatters	4	1 (4 participants)	1
Researchers	2 (including 1 via email)		
Local Government	2		
Commercial Farmer	1		

Emerging Farmer	1		
Social Movement	2		
Civil Society	4		

Table 3: A summary of the number of actors and interviews.

Participant observations mainly focused on agricultural practices but were also broader in terms of how individuals related to one another. These observations were documented in written notes as well as photographs.

Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) (cf. Fairclough 2001) formed an inspiration for the analytical methods that I used in this study. The methods, however, were adapted to fit this particular thesis. In the CDA, firstly "texts" (spoken, written or visual) are categorised into discourses, secondly wider practices are analysed, before finally some degree of causality between the two is established (Kolankiewicz 2012:135f.). Whilst I did not strictly follow a CDA methodology, I chose to focus on the various ways in which participants framed certain issues, relating to agriculture and development, as well as focusing on inter-textuality, which is how participants framed other discourses or actors. Thus, the objects of my analysis were discourses and practices surrounding agriculture and development. Categorisation was a dialectical process with the analytical frames described above providing the initial broad framework, however others were added as they emerged from the data. I transcribed all of my interviews and coded them using an online data analysis software called dedoose,[13] as well as coding by hand, and both methods allowed me to visualise patterns in the data in different ways. For instance patterns of code co-incidents were provided by the software, but a more general overview of the data was easier to see when written physically written.

Research Ethics

Sultana (2007) argues that as research, particularly that undertaken in the global South, takes place in histories of domination and colonisation, it is imperative that ethical research avoids reproducing these issues. Kapoor (2004), for example, argues that even critical development perspectives can silence the subaltern by attempting to speak on their behalf. In this section I discuss two strategies I applied for ethical research: validation and reflexivity.

In my research I look for ongoing validation, which is a "judgement of the trustworthiness or the

13 www.dedoose.com.

goodness of a piece of research" (Angen 2000:387) and is specific to this research but always open for reinterpretation. This concept has two aspects, ethical and substantive. Ethical validation requires that research questions its moral assumptions and political implications. As stated above I take an active stance and I hope that it will provide a basis for practical action in the future, as well as add to debates about creating socially and ecologically just worlds.[14] Secondly, substantive validation is a process of reflexivity about the understandings I have about the research and the sources from which these came.

Following an interpretive approach means acknowledging that all knowledge production is situated and varies depending on who the knowledge maker is (Rose 1997:306f.). To be reflexive, therefore, means to situate myself as the researcher within the research, attempt to understand my assumptions and preconceptions, and to be open to the unexpected (Sultana 2007). Thus, it is important to recognise my personal and political biases, this includes the fact I term my own politics as radical, seeking a world beyond capitalism. I am also sympathetic to movements such as LVC who promote agroecology and am aware that this may romanticise poverty. I will attempt to keep these biases in mind and reflect on how this influences my interpretations. Self-reflection and reflexivity, however, is not limited to this statement and is an ongoing process throughout the research that will contribute to a validation strategy. Further, Sultana (2007), argues we all have certain markers that indicate we are "outsiders". Therefore, I acknowledge that I enter the "field" in a privileged position as a male, with a university education and Western background, whilst at the same time being a person of colour with mixed heritage, all of which have implications for how I am perceived. One participant, for example, thought that I was American because of my accent and would often refer to how things are not like they are in the U.S., reinforcing my position as an "outsider" and thus affecting the knowledge produced.

Additionally, other validation strategies were applied such as peer reviews within my thesis group and among other peers, which helped to highlight my preconceptions that may affect the research. Whilst I wanted to invite participants to carry out a "member check" to see if my interpretation was matched by theirs, this was not possible due to time constraints and is therefore a limitation of the study.

14 In addition to handing this piece of research into LUMID I will share the document with participants and also aim to get the research published. Further I will present my thesis at the Fourth International Conference on Degrowth and also plan to present it at activist gatherings such as Reclaim the Fields Europe.

7. Discourses in Cape Town: Agriculture and Development

In this section I shall respond to the operational research question: *what discourses surrounding agriculture and development exist in Cape Town?* I shall take each topic in turn, drawing heavily on responses to my interview questions. Although general themes and discourses did emerge, the reality of the is situation highly complex and even when answering a single interview question a respondent may have presented seemingly contradictory views. Therefore, in this analysis I do not attempt to categorise rigidly but rather highlight general patterns and themes. Starting with agricultural discourses, these are separated into those I categorise as agroecological and those I categorise as reflecting more entrepreneurial perspectives.

Agroecological Discourses

As previously outlined, agroecology is not only a form of sustainable agricultural techniques, but also a concept with strong political and cultural aspects, as well as linked to the strive for autonomy. Agroecological discourses emerged in relation to issues of *land/territory, structures, production* and *culture,* often linking these issues to themes of justice, class, and race. Later in this section I describe how entrepreneurial discourses frame the same issues in a more limited way.

Land/Territory

The issue of land was one of the most discussed by interview participants. Gaining access to land is linked to correcting historical injustices of apartheid and colonisation. In fact, some participants do not just want land, they want *their land back.* Not only land, but territory, was important to participants. In understanding territory, as opposed to merely land, Rosset (2013) states that in LVC, the term territory emerged from indigenous members, for whom territory is linked to identity and belonging. This perspective also applies to Black peasants in southern Africa, whose lands were appropriated during colonisation (ibid.). Participants expressing this view often state that their ancestors once farmed on areas of CT such as Camps Bay, which are now frequented by tourists, and the land should therefore be *returned* to them.

In the South African context, the issue of land and justice is also linked to race. Some participants express frustration over the lack of progress when it comes to land reform but also link this to their particular group, for example saying:

> *"...especially in the Western Cape, the Northern Cape I would say is different, but we, our people don't have land. And with that, they don't even have water the ones that do have land don't have water. Because the water rights are with others, with the others."*

Development Facilitator, Rural NGO (2014)

Here access to land, water and other resources is tied to race and identity as it is not "our people", i.e. Black or more specifically Coloured people, that have this access but "the others", i.e. White people. Many participants suggested this issue relates more to the Western Cape, where CT is located, than provinces because Democratic Alliance holds power, which is a predominantly White party and has links to the ruling party under apartheid. Some participants suggest that if the ANC were in power in the Western Cape the situation might be different. Here, however, the lines between Black (political) and Black African become blurry and some Coloured participants specifically want "our people in power" (Squatter 2014).

Furthermore, current land distribution within CT is often linked to apartheid spatial planning and forced evictions. This, participants state, leaves many people on poor quality soils, sandy and in flood prone areas, whilst wealthy communities are located in former farming areas such as Oranjezect[15]. Therefore, land access is not only seen in terms of race but also class.

Land access for agriculture is seen to be in competition primarily with housing, which is unsurprising as an estimated 400,000 people are awaiting formal accommodation (Pollack 2009). Whereas other discourses (to be described later) suggest that this is an inextricable dilemma, some participants, such as in the quote below, felt that the government uses the idea that there is "no land" to disguise the fact that they are not prioritising agriculture, relative to housing and business:

> *"So firstly there's an issue of land, that there's no land. [Don't l]et me say no land, I don't work for government. All I see there's a lot of land lying fallow not being used, you know... there are pieces of land that are lying fallow, but they're prioritising business development".*
> Project Manager, Rural NGO 2014

Although Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012) frame neoliberal pressures on small-scale agriculture in terms of agribusiness, in CT, pressure comes from commercial agriculture in some areas and housing and business developments in others.

In sum, the agroecological discourses about land and territory frame the issue to be one that links race, politics, class, justice, and the pressures of neoliberal profit seeking agendas.

15 Oranjezect is a middle class suburb close to CT CBD. The area used to be the site of a farm and now is the location of an urban gardening project (OZCF 2013)

Structural Issues

In terms of politics, many of the participants framed the challenges in agriculture in terms of the structure of the economy, the role of corporations and issues of race and class. Many for instance, raised concerns about the "open" nature of the South African economy, which allows other countries to "dump" their cheap surpluses and undercut local production, affecting both commercial and small-scale farmers (Urban Agriculture Department 2014). Another participant stated that mechanisation of agriculture was occurring as commercial farms find it harder to make profits and is causing unemployment (Rural NGO 2014). These issues are common to the liberalisation of agriculture and have been seen around the globe (Patel 2007a). For one participant, the issue of supermarkets' power was not being addressed by government and the state's pro-big-businesses approach is detrimental to smaller businesses, including small-scale farmers (Researcher 2014).

Some participants also stated that they are opposed to agricultural corporations. This issue was often tied to health, with participants suggesting that pesticides and GMOs lead to diseases such as diabetes and for this reason they are "against Syngenta and Monsanto" (Squatter 2014), as well as the more common reason that the input costs are too high. Participants who shared this view often expressed feelings of being marginalised by the ways in which corporations or government dealt with them and were therefore forced to find alternative means of getting inputs, often through non-market means. For example obtaining waste food for pig feed. A further reason GMOs were rejected, was the issue of control. Many participants feared that GMOs reduce control over food as they are sterile and therefore need to be purchased each season, rather than being able to save the seeds. Linked to this, for some, was the issue that the technology is not natural and that to be effective other inputs such as pesticides are needed. Similar to the land situation, opposition to corporations was not only expressed in terms of class, but also race, with participants stating that corporations "give [support or cheaper products] to the White person" (Squatter 2014). Thus, in post-apartheid context, the agricultural situation is perceived to be more complex than a matter of inequalities produced within an industrial agro-food system, but is also layered upon a history of racially based inequality.

Agronomy, Production, and Culture

Agroecological farming practices are based on nutrient recycling and farming in ways that are in balance with the local ecosystem. Most participants interviewed stated that they use such techniques, for example organic farming or permaculture, for a variety of reasons, including health,

cost, ecology, increased yields and due to limited access to land or resources. Whilst all of these reasons can be argued to be agroecological in nature (to some degree) possible differences in the purpose of production means that simply *using* agroecological farming techniques, as opposed to subscribing to political and cultural aspects, could be classified as a *partial* agroecological discourse.

Some participants framed production as meeting a variety of different needs, especially the small-scale farmers, squatters, rural NGOs, and researchers. Producing food in order to be self-sufficient was a particularly common response, for example stating that it is important to have food for free (Freelance Trainer 2014). This was often combined with producing for the community, at cheaper prices, or sharing with friends, family, and vulnerable groups. Producing in ways that are not ecologically destructive were also important, both in order to maintain yields without expensive inputs as well as for the sake of protecting nature.

A number of participants expressed that agroecological techniques were necessary on account of the poor soils or other environmental conditions related to the land they were producing on. As discussed above land distribution is often seen as reflecting apartheid spatial planning. In response to this techniques to improve soil fertility were proposed, such as composting. Due to the problems on the land that they are occupying, squatters explained that have been forced to adopt diverse farming techniques, such as mixing crops and livestock:

> *"in winter, this whole area is waterlogged. You actually can't do crop farming here... They are, how can I put it, flexible farmers. They have sheep, they got cows, they got pigs, they got chickens, they got geese and they got crop farming. So all that they do on one farm. So the commercial farmer they concentrate on one factor, we concentrate on plus, minus, 5 or 6 different types of farming. And one person is managing all that"*
> Squatter (2014)

Here, poor land conditions are a reason for adopting integrated farming techniques, reflecting a global picture (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012). The above quote also distinguishes between small-scale farming activities and the monoculture production of commercial agriculture, showing that identity matters. Many participants viewed farming as a passion of theirs to various degrees. Often the link was also made to family history both recent and ancient: "[it's] something that's in my blood, I've got a natural passion for it" (Volunteer, Urban NGO 2014). For wealthier participants, the connection between food and community meant that agriculture was seen as a way to slow down and reduce the stresses of modern life (Urban NGO 2014). Furthermore, some

participants suggested that identity comes from interactions and relationships with the natural environment. One participant in particular expressed: “memories of learning about and the names and taking the indigenous medicinal herbs directly from the ground; this is identity” (Manager, Rural NGO 2014).

In sum, participants expressed a range of ideas that reflect agroecological discourses in the areas of land/territory, structural issues, production, culture, and identity. Often these issues were tied to ideas of justice, race, class. Further, agricultural production was framed as meeting a number of needs such as self-sufficiency, solidarity, and income. These views were expressed by a variety of participants, but more frequently heard from squatters, small-scale farmers, and rural NGOs, though not exclusively.

Entrepreneurial Agriculture

In addition to those I categorise as agroecological, interview participants expressed views that I consider to fall outside of agroecological discourses. For the most part these viewpoints were not neoliberal in their character; they were not advocating *laissez faire* capitalism and free-markets, and perhaps with the exception of a commercial farmer, nor were they advocating further accumulation of capital for capitalist classes. Instead they tended to focus on issues of food security, income generation and agricultural productivity, and therefore are more entrepreneurial in nature. For ease of comparison I describe these discourses in the same order as the agroecological discourses.

Land (not Territory) and Resources

As with the above agroecological discourses, land is discussed as an issue in a entrepreneurial sense, although perhaps to a lesser extent. Most importantly land is often framed in terms of productivity and potential income generation, rather than in terms of identity and justice.

Although land is viewed as an issue, respondents discuss the facilitation of access to land, rather than linking the issue to deeper structural causes, such as the legacy of apartheid. In framing the issue about access, some participants state that there is enough land in CT, but problems arise out of bureaucracy or a lack of skills to negotiate these issues. One participant explained the land situation is:

> *“not [an issue] up to semi commercial level, we can take any little scrap of land in any corner and turn it into a gold mine... you know most of our gardens are situated in little corners and on school grounds and on fence lines... and it's just doing a deal with the land owner, so we can probably have every single person in the city fed, everyone could just grow a few vegetables and every single person employed if everyone who had a job was willing to buy the vegetables.”*

Manager, Urban NGO (2014)

Here a pragmatic approach to land is taken, whereby "deals" can be done with owners and suggesting success should be measured in outputs in terms of food security, employment or being a "gold mine". Similarly, other participants suggested that through innovative practices, such as vertical gardening in space constrained areas, access to land need not be an issue hindering food security. Another participant suggested that though land may be an issue, a bigger issue is access to markets and competition within informal markets, saturated with second grade products from local commercial agriculture (Researcher 2014).

Housing is again viewed as a constraint for agricultural land use but is framed as something "completely necessary" (Manager, Urban NGO 2014) or as an inevitable dilemma, rather than a choice based on a profit seeking motive. In order to negotiate this dilemma some participants suggested that housing developments should include space for gardening and be linked to training. A municipal official in fact confirmed that this is part of the UA policy to assist with food security (Urban Agriculture Department 2014).

Agronomy, Productivity, and the Burden of Culture

As mentioned above, many participants described using agricultural techniques, such as organic farming and permaculture, which are at least partially agroecological. Differences, however, arise in the aims behind the production, with some participants placing greater emphasis on income generation and food security, thus are more "entrepreneurial" (Ploeg 2008). On the whole these discourses were most prevalent amongst urban NGOs and government officials.

For many, food security and income generation was a main aim of farming and was seen as a cost-effective way to achieve this (Urban Agricultural Department 2014). One participant stated organic farming was chosen based on market research, as well as for sustainability reasons (Municipal official 2014). Another participant said their NGO aims to create commercial farmers, which are hoped to create a new model in agriculture that supermarkets should invest in (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). This suggests that rather than trying to transform the economic system, they aim for a better deal for their beneficiaries' project and thus overlaps with liberal development discourses about equitable growth (Escobar 2008). Others stated that in order to achieve economic success, there must be greater business and management skills. For some participants, however, organic agriculture was unfeasible, due to a lack of market for those products. Some participants felt that it

would decrease yields and profits (Commercial Farmer 2014) or that the change of technique would be too difficult (Emerging Farmer 2014).

With agriculture framed in terms of income generation, culture is often seen as an impediment. Barrett (2004), for example, argues valuing non-material things such as friendship, social networks or identity, can act as "frictions" that "retard" the production process and maintain the status quo, i.e. reduce the efficiency of capital accumulation. Some participants framed culture in this way, for instance suggesting that older farmers are "set in [their] ways" and therefore less likely to adopt new techniques (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Additionally, laziness was also given as a reason for people not farming. Here the explanations ranged though, from culture and individual responsibility to historical reasons such as the "dop system" whereby farmworkers were paid in alcohol (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Another reason given for a lack of progress was that people "are not clear on why they are doing it and where they can sell their stuff" combined with a lack of understanding about "a balanced diet and those things" (Urban Agriculture Department 2014). Thus, both culture and individuals are presented as obstacles to achieving income generation and food security.

In sum, entrepreneurial discourses on agriculture tend to frame agriculture in terms of food security and income. This means that access to land is seen in terms of a productive asset, rather than in terms of justice or culture and problems in agriculture are related mainly to a lack of business skills.

In general, therefore, agroecological and entrepreneurial discourses represent competing ideas about agriculture. In Table 4 below I summarise these discourses.

Discourse	**Key Ideas**	**Actors Expressing These Ideas**
Agroecological	Land/Territory is linked to rectifying historical injustices of apartheid as well as structural economic inequalities. Agriculture is seen as in competition with housing for land, but housing is framed as a neoliberal project i.e. the government seeks to make profit rather than help the poor.	Squatters, small-scale farmers, rural NGOs, researchers, civil society.
	Structural issues such as the "open" nature of the economy, corporations and racism are seen as challenges for small-scale farmers.	
	Production was focused on a range of issues such as self-sufficiency, solidarity and income generation.	

	Agroecological methods are used in response to poor soils as well as for health and ecological reasons. Pride is taken in being a small-scale farmer, rather than a commercial farmer, and this is linked to cultural and family histories.	
Entrepreneurial	Land is framed as a productive asset, access is not necessarily an issue on a small-scale as backyard gardening and innovative solutions can meet food security needs. On a larger scale deals can be done with owners. People often lack the skills to negotiate bureaucracy though to access land.	Urban NGOs, researchers, civil society, government officials.
	The current model of agriculture is seen to be unfair, but rather than change the whole structure, a better deal is sought for the poor.	
	Production is focused on outcomes such as food security, income generation and employment. Agriculture is an efficient means to achieve these goals. Agroecological methods chosen for ecological, health and cost saving reasons. There is generally perceived to be a market for these products. Lack of business skills, responsibility or people being "stuck in their ways" are reasons for failure.	

Table 4: A summary of agroecological and entrepreneurial discourses relating to agriculture (Source: Author).

Development Discourses

Having discussed competing agricultural discourses within CT, I now analyse discourses relating to development. Following Escobar (2008) I claim that these discourses can be categorised into three broad groups: *liberal, Marxist,* and *post-development.*

In general, participants tended to express opinions about development which would resonate with either liberal or Marxist ideas and discourses. Post-development ideas, on the other hand were mixed and framed in terms of pride about culture or more often farming. Often, distinguishing between liberal and Marxist discourses was straightforward, for instance separating individual responsibility from structural poverty. Other issues, such as the role of the state, were more complicated as both discourses can make similar but competing claims for state support. In such cases I found it helpful to question the underlying reasons that state support was being called for in order to distinguish these ideas. For the remainder of this section I will outline and analyse each

development discourse, liberal, Marxist, and post-development, in turn.

Liberal / Alternative Development

Within this study, liberal discourses focused on the role of the individual in relation to poverty and issues of education in terms of gaining employment or starting a business. Additionally, the state was seen as important in providing good education or support to businesses.

Some participants focused on individual responsibility in both causing poverty, such as drug and alcohol abuse, as well as agency to solve poverty. One participant suggested that social grants provides money to fuel people's drinking problems (Commercial Farmer 2014). The same participant suggested that if people were tied to loans or mortgages then they would have to spend less on alcohol; reflecting a conservative viewpoint. This relates to similar strategy promoted in the U.S. to stop striking workers as argued by Harvey (2012). More commonly though, participants suggested if you want to work, you can escape poverty.

Others claim that people do not have the right skills or values to enter the workplace, such as knowing to telling your boss you are sick, which is due to poor education (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Therefore, education is seen as a way to provide skills, knowledge or values that allow individuals to enter the (capitalist) workplace. Poverty is then framed as a result of a lack of these things, similar to Schimmel (2009). According to Veltmeyer (2011) this perspective sees education as a form of capital to exploit in order to achieve economic or human development and has been seen by the WB as a critical factor in the “transition to work” since the 1980's.

Participants who discussed education, often also discussed entrepreneurship and in relation to agriculture this was in terms of selling food, seedlings or offering trainings. These views tended to overlap significantly with entrepreneurial discourses above, again with a focus on the market. Some, however, felt people were unwilling to take responsibility of a business and questioned this goal (Manager, Urban NGO 2014).

Within this liberal development discourse, the state was seen by many participants as a source of necessary support, for example in providing education or supporting businesses. One participant argued that government should support “Black businesses” (Emerging Farmer 2014), which combines both a liberal perspective of growth with more structural issues of justice and shows how these ideas may be mobilised to generate support for individual profit. Yet, in terms of politics, one

participant suggested agriculture in CT was "depressingly apolitical" (Researcher 2014) and when asked about politics many participants responded in terms of politicians rather than broader structures. One participant, however, questioned the current business model in which "the owner walks away with 99.9% of the profit" but claimed that managers and owners deserve more rewards, as the workers rely on the manager's skills and the risk taking of the owner (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Again, reflecting an idea of more equitable growth.

Marxist Discourses / Critical Development

For many participants structural issues such as economic inequality, racism, and the legacy of apartheid were major issues. Education was also raised as an issue but focused on "consciousness raising" or skills for movement building. The state's role here was contested, with some demanding state support for the working class, whereas others expressed distrust towards the state.

Economic inequality was raised as an issue for many of the participants. Some expressed inequality in terms of politics being focused on the "rich people" and not mentioning "us as the poor people" (Small-scale Farmer 2014). Here, class identification with "the poor" is apparent without necessarily an identification of capitalism as the overall structure. Others, however, were more outwardly ideological in their outlook, for example:

> *"if you look at the capitalist system, then the comodification of food is only for the rich and those who can afford it and we have such vulnerable groups as farmworkers and the landless people, migrant workers, seasonal workers, small-scale farm[ers], who can't have food on the table, because they just... don't have the resources to produce their own food"*
> Chairman, Social Movement 2014

Here the role of capitalism within agriculture is emphasised and is suggested that vulnerable groups are food insecure due to a lack of access to the means of production, i.e. land, seeds and water. This resonates with Tucker's (1999) critique of capitalism: that it produces inequality. Control over the food system, or FS (Patel 2009), is seen as a solution.

Many of the participants also called on the state to transform social relations either through an "alliance with the working class" (Chairman, Social Movement 2014) or due to their obligation to citizens (Researcher 2014). Others, however, were more critical of the state and expressed feelings of distrust, particularly in relation to pre-election promises.[16] For some, government promises leads to people "waiting for government to do something for them" rather than acting themselves

16 These were held on May the 7th this year and therefore political parties were beginning their campaigning during the fieldwork period (eNCA 2013).

(Squatter 2014). Another participant felt that the state is actively against the people as money that could be used to build houses is instead funding the Anti-Land Invasion Unit (ALIU) and taking squatters to court (Activist, Rural NGO 2014). This resonates with an autonomous Marxist position who seek to "change the world without taking power" (Holloway 2002) and see the state as an essentially capitalist organisation (Holloway 2010:58).

In approaching the state, participants described a range of strategies including negotiations, protests, and direct action. One participant expressed the latter as "we don't just want it, but we are going to go for it" (Activist, Rural NGO 2014). As these strategies were not necessarily mutually exclusive and are similar to Harvey's (2012:87) double-edged approach, which calls for state provision of public goods as well as self organisation and direct action.

Education was also raised within Marxist frames of development. This was framed in terms of consciousness, where people need to "understand what is happening around their certain area and why they are living in poor conditions (Activist, Rural NGO 2014). This reflects more of a critical pedagogy in which marginalised people are encouraged to understand structures of power affecting their life in order to take political action (Freire 1972). Furthermore, one participant argued that people need skills to lead their own movement and reduce reliance on NGOs (Chairman, Social Movement 2014). Thus, although this focuses on skills, it is not to take part in capitalist social relations, but rather to alter those relations.

Post-development

In this study, the role of culture is a complex one. Though many find it important, its often not seen as something to base a movement or political party on. On the other hand being a small-scale farmer is something many find pride in and was linked to culture or indigenous knowledge. These aspects are therefore positive articulations of being *other*.

Many participants were wary of the idea of culturally or racially based social or political movements. Whilst some were against this idea, many expressed mixed feelings, suggesting it might lead to division or even violence like in Rwanda (Squatter 2014). This ambivalence towards culturally-based movements was linked to the legacy of apartheid, which was based on the separation of racially defined groups. Further, a number of participants, who could be (self) defined

as “Coloured”, stated that they felt “Coloured” people are unsure of their collective past.[17] One participant said “they say have a culture but I'm not so sure if that is true. We almost like on [the side]” (Worker, Urban NGO 2014). This uncertainty about having a culture makes it problematic to use this as a basis for an alternative discourse to development and may again be linked to apartheid policies such as forced removals that tore apart communities (Field 2001). Another participant, however, suggested that diversity of their histories should be a cause for celebration, not shame (Volunteer, Urban NGO 2014).

Conversely, some participants were in favour of movements defending culture, which one participant felt was being affected by privatisation and regulations limiting space for cultural practices (Activist, Rural NGO 2014). Additionally, many participants expressed that farming and food was linked to their culture, traditions or religion. This was often coupled with a pride and passion for *being a farmer,* as well as family histories. Participants also stressed their difference compared to commercial farmers, as they do the work themselves. For many participants small-scale farmers were under appreciated and one participant said they should be “esteemed” like doctors (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Thus, alternative ways of valuing, or knowing, are being proposed. Furthermore, some participants highlighted the role of indigenous knowledge in agroecological farming techniques. Additionally, those who express pride in being farmers already could be argued to be (re)appropriating the term small-scale farmer, which is sometimes seen pejoratively, and turning it into a positive. Thus, *otherness* is articulated in a positive manner, culturally to some degree, but more commonly in terms of being farmers.

In summary, discourses relating to liberal, Marxist and post-development are all present within my study. In general, liberal discourses focused on the role of the individual, education and business skills, Marxist discourses highlighted structural issues relating to racism and inequality, as well as an uncertainty towards the state, and post-development discourses raised the idea of pride in being a farmer, which was linked to culture. A more detailed comparison can be seen in Table 5 below.

Development discourse	**Key ideas**	**Actors expressing these ideas**
Liberal	Individual responsibility relating to poverty, both in terms of cause and the agency to rectify the situation.	Urban NGOs, commercial farmers, emerging

17 This can be traced back to either the indigenous KhoiSan people or to slave populations from Malaysia (Wilkinson 2000).

	Education in terms of skills and values to enter the workplace. Entrepreneurial skills as a possibility in relation to agriculture. State's role is to provide quality education and support (Black) businesses.	farmers, government officials, civil society.
Marxist	Structural issues in relation to poverty, especially inequality which is due to capitalism and a legacy of apartheid. Education framed in terms of "class consciousness" as well as skills to lead movements. State should support the working class, but there is also distrust towards the state.	Social movements, squatters, small-scale farmers, rural NGOs, researchers, civil society.
Post-development	Pride in being a small-scale farmer is linked to cultural and family histories. Culture could be a basis for movements but this idea is contested due to fears of divisions.	Small-scale farmers, squatters, rural NGOs, researchers, civil society.

Table 5: A summary of development discourses within this study (Source: Author).

7. (Re)peasantisation and Territories of Resistance

Having described and analysed the broad discourses relating to agriculture and development, I will now link these to broader territorial (material and ideological) struggles within CT. In this section I shall argue that both a shift in practice and claims to physical space are taking place in CT as forms of resistance and will show the links between these processes and the earlier discourses. These processes are, of course, not one way in nature and there is always the risk of de-peasantisation. I shall, therefore, also indicate limiting factors in the (re)peasantisation process as well as counter struggles.

Peasant Practices: Agroecology, Collaboration, and Alternative Markets

Ploeg (2008) argues that peasant practices are those which lead to greater autonomy and develop a system of co-production with nature, based on a healthy landbase. Agroecological practices can form a part of this in so far as they further these aims (Ploeg 2010). Most participants within my study described using or promoting various agronomic practices which could be described as agroecological, such as composting, inter-cropping, saving seeds and integrated farming. These were also confirmed by my observations. These practices were used out of a combination of choice, such as striving for healthy food, and necessity. Squatters in particular felt forced to adopt creative techniques, such as integrated farming combining livestock and crops, due to poor soil quality and a

lack of support. Further, they felt they were marginalised from the economy, due to race and structural issues. Thus, they frame their situation in terms of politics and therefore their practices are political too, in that they refuse to accept their marginalised positions. Ploeg (2008) argues that through marginalising small-scale farmers, neoliberal agriculture produces its other: peasant agriculture. I argue that the above is an example of this taking place within CT.

The squatted farms were linked to some extent with the rural NGOs and social movements. These groups expressions were part of discourses which I classify as agroecological and Marxist, with political and structural foci. This also allowed them to draw links to wider international struggles such as with LVC, and link the issues to neoliberal processes, such as the "open" economy and the state favouring large businesses over small-scale farmers. I argue that these discourses form part of the immaterial territories and further politicise the experience of marginalisation. The relationship is undoubtedly dialectical, however, with discourses and experience mutually reinforcing, and altering, one another.

Ploeg (2008) contrasts peasant agriculture with entrepreneurial agriculture, which primarily focuses on income generation. Whilst urban NGOs were also generally promoting agroecological farming practices, these, however, were often tied to a liberal discourse, framing benefits in economic terms and food security. This, therefore, promotes entrepreneurial farming, and contributes to de-peasantisation. This, however, was contested by small-scale farmers and they reworked projects to suit their own aims. One participant, for example, said a project could be making more money if farmed more efficiently, but the women were content only working 3-4 days a week (Manager, Urban NGO 2014). Thus, small-scale farmers exert their own agency, resisting the purely economic focus of projects and opting for a variety of benefits instead; they express their autonomy within projects.

A "food security network", primarily made up of urban NGOs is promoting UA within CT. Participation from small-scale farmers in these meetings, however, has been limited, possibly due to a belief that there is a lack of (business) skills. This could be a major blocking factor for the (re)peasantisation process. Firstly, because it takes autonomy out of the hands of small-scale farmers and secondly because it limits the horizontal exchanges between farmers, which Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2014) argue has been crucial in developing agroecological theory and practice within LVC.

Peasant practices, and agroecology, are not limited to production, but also relate to exchange and reciprocity. Within CT a number of alternative markets have been set up, including three linked to NGOs or groups within this study. The largest of these is Harvest of Hope, a community supported agriculture scheme providing 400 vegetable boxes each week (Abalimi Bezekhaya 2013). Though the NGO which initiated this scheme expresses a combination of liberal and Marxist discourses, an aim of the project is to develop commercial farmers (Manager, Urban NGO 2014) and therefore supports entrepreneurial farming. Ploeg (2008), however, argues that the importance of such initiatives should not be underestimated as by connecting producers and consumers more directly, neoliberal logics are subverted. This is because where the food comes from matters, rather than following a strictly market logic where this is inconsequential (ibid.:270).

As well as alternative market exchanges, for instance selling informally, participants also described non-market means of distribution and collaboration. Many participants stressed the importance of sharing food with family or vulnerable groups. Some squatted farmers also described a livestock bank scheme, whereby new members could be given livestock on the condition that once they had offspring they would reciprocate. Ploeg (2008:270) argues reciprocity is an important aspect of peasant practices and can be seen in many aspects of agriculture, such as seed sharing. Again, this was partly due to a marginalised position, meaning alternatives had to be sought. Many participants, however, expressed pride in these practices and linked them to cultural traditions. These are important aspects when Holloway (2002:217) argues that "the countervailing power resides in the dignity of everyday life" and Ploeg (2008) argues that these practices form an important form of resistance, in addition to protests and demonstrations. These practices may be at risk, however, as urban NGOs encourage entrepreneurial activities such as selling seedlings as a business. This may undermine reciprocal relations when monetary values are included. However, the income generation aspect could also just form one part of a pluriactivity, which helps to strengthen autonomy (ibid.).

For Ploeg (2008:278), peasant autonomy means reduced dependence on the state, as the state and corporate agriculture are increasingly interlinked. Whilst many actors desire support, there is also distrust of the state to deliver on its promises. This is leading to a "double edged" approach (Harvey 2012) of making demands and taking direct action through strategies such as squatting. Whether or not this will displace the desire for state support overall is unclear. Its role, however, is being contested, in ideas and practice, leading to alternatives such as agroecological practices.

In general, a number of activities are contributing to (re)peasantisation in CT, including the

adoption of agroecological farming methods and alternative exchange mechanisms. These are to some extent being supported by agroecological and Marxist discourses, which can assist by linking lived experience to wider issues and struggles. Urban NGOs are contributing to (re)peasantisation in some ways, as well as challenging it by promoting liberal discourses and entrepreneurial agriculture. Therefore, the territory is being contested and negotiated by different actors, including beneficiaries or urban NGOs who rework projects to fit their own needs.

Land/Territory

The second aspect of (re)peasantisation is claiming land from other land uses. In CT land is acquired through land reform, deals with owners and, most radically, squatters are physically taking land, as a form of "land reform from below" (Rosset 2013), due to ineffective land reform policies. The scale and longevity of this strategy varies, but can be significant. One group of squatters has occupied land for around 20 years and consist of 157 farmers (Haysom 2012). The government's attempts to evict farmers in order to build houses, means participants see the government against them and was again linked to structural issues of race and class. Furthermore, squatting not only contests physical space but also ideas, as a number of participants argued it is a legitimate form of land reform. The FSC has even declared squatting as the new way of doing land reform (SPP 2012). Unsurprisingly this is a highly contested topic as it questions the idea of private property, which is enshrined into the national constitution (Klein 2008). Both participants advocating squatting and those against used the example of Zimbabwe to validate their claims, which reflects a contested picture in the literature as well (Scoones et al. 2010), though in terms of productivity, Moyo (2011) argues that the process has been successful.

Another area of struggle over territory is the PHA, which is a 3300ha high yield agricultural area just outside the official urban zone. Developers wanted to claim part of the area for housing, but plans have been sidelined so far (GCTCA 2014). A number of discourses were mobilised to justify preventing the housing development, including food security, climate resilience and to protect small-scale farmers, and this was reflected within participants views. Food security was one of the main reasons given for protecting the PHA and Battersby-Lennard and Haysom (2012) argue food prices would increase if the PHA was lost, disproportionately affecting the poor. The conceptualisation of food security is contested locally, for example with a government official claiming that food should be more than just a commodity and citing the negative effects of South Africa's trade liberalisation (Urban Agriculture Department 2014) and many participants favouring

local food production. Despite this, however, with an economic focus on food security, the argument for protecting the PHA could weaken if the global food prices change and it lacks the political and cultural aspects of FS.

Additionally in arguing to protect the PHA to support small-scale farmers, is problematic as the majority of the area is used by (White) commercial farmers, using chemical inputs, yet even here techniques such as growing windbreaks have been adopted due to harsh conditions (Battersby-Lennard and Haysom 2012). Although there are (Black) emerging farmers too,[18] who are argued to be transitioning to organic methods (ibid.). A commercial farmer that I interviewed was keen to show how these emerging farmers had failed and that not everybody could be a farmer, stressing that small-scale farmers could maybe produce for themselves but not provide for the market. Thus, these ideas are being mobilised to protect the PHA from (re)peasantisation and maintain the status quo.

Although housing and agriculture might seem to inextricably be in conflict, their interactions have interesting have results. Firstly, in the current UA policy, farmers are not permitted to live on the land (Urban Agriculture Department 2014). However, some for participants the fear of theft means they have to live on-site. This is one reason some squatted farmers refuse to accept sites offered by the government, as they would have to live off-site (Squatter 2014). Therefore, policy is, in some cases, effectively encouraging squatting. Secondly, possibilities exist for housing and agriculture to support one another. This could fit within a liberal discourse, such as combining new housing developments with space for gardening and training (Manager, Urban NGO 2014; Urban Agriculture Department 2014). Or it could be more radical, for example building links between housing movements, such as Abahali baseMjondolo,[19] and small-scale farmers, both of which want to occupy land and produce food (Activist, Rural NGO 2014). Both possibilities offer opportunities to increase autonomy and claim land to varying degrees. Furthermore, a recent court ruling in favour of Abahali baseMjondolo, against the city's ALIU illegal destruction of homes (Booi 2014), both gives weight to the idea of occupations as a form of land reform and contests neoliberal property rights.

The picture of (re)peasantisation in terms of land and territory is a complex one. Struggles are occurring in both directions of the process, with land taken by squatting as well as being threatened

18 According to Battersby-Lennard and Haysom (2012) 2368ha is used by larger scale industrial farming and only 160ha is used by small-scale farmers with mixed farming techniques.

19 Abahali baseMjondolo is commonly known as the shackdwellers movement.

by housing developments or commercial agriculture. Whilst official land reform policies remain slow and ineffective, urbanisation continues and the city maintains a neoliberal focus, these tensions are unlikely to be resolved. This combined with the peasant practices, such as agroecological farming and alternative markets, all together makes for an interesting case. These processes are generally being supported by what I term agroecological and Marxist discourses. Liberal discourses, however, offer both support and challenges. What does, though, this process mean for the concept of development overall? I shall tackle this question next, in the concluding section.

8. Conclusion: How do agroecological territories challenge development?

What have we learnt in the process of this thesis? Is agroecology presenting a challenge to the ideology of development and capitalism along with it? And if so, is it enough in the face of the multiple crises facing our planet? In this final section I shall attempt to answer these questions.

In this thesis, I framed development as a problem, due to its links with the expansion of capitalism and Western conceptions of progress, arguing that it is both impossible to achieve and restricting possibilities for other socially and ecologically just worlds. In agriculture, neoliberal development has long been promoted by institutions such as the WB, and is perpetuated under the discourse of food security. In the South African context, neoliberal agricultural policies have mirrored the global picture of corporate concentration and undermining small-scale farmers, whilst at the same time maintaining the inequalities of apartheid. Agroecology, a part of the FS concept, has been mobilised as an alternative discourse and set of practices to neoliberal agriculture, both in South Africa and internationally. Using the city of CT as a case, I aimed to explore how agroecological discourses can challenge development. In order to do this, I used the concept of territories, which are socially constructed spaces that are mediated by power struggles (Escobar 2008) in conjunction with (re)peasantisation, which is the striving for autonomy and access to land (Ploeg 2008). (Re)peasantisation is fundamentally a struggle over territory. In the analysis, I began by outlining agroecological discourses – which focused on land as territory, justice, self-sufficiency and solidarity – and entrepreneurial discourses – focusing more on land for productivity, income and food security – within ideas about agriculture. Then, following Escobar's (2008) framework, I outlined *liberal, Marxist* and *post-development* discourses, which focused in particular on: a) skills and values to enter the workplace, b) structural issues of class and race, and c) pride in being a farmer and culture, respectively. This, then led to a discussion on the process of (re)peasantisation

in the previous section, which together with de-peasantisation I found to be occurring both ideologically and in practice.

How then, does this process of (re)peasantisation *challenge* development in CT? As many small-scale farmers in my study feel marginalised from the economy by corporations and the state, so they turn to agroecological practices such as integrated farming on marginal soils, and sometimes squatting land, increasing their autonomy and therefore become "more peasant" (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012:5). These farmers often take pride in both being small-scale, as opposed to commercial farmers, as well as their practices – such as self-initiated livestock banks – which are linked to cultural histories. Thus, (re)peasantisation is linked with pride for being *other*, which for Escobar (2008) is a way out of modernity. This radically challenges the idea of development and offers an alternative imaginary upon which to construct other ways of doing and knowing, in this case with farmers stressing the importance of sharing and solidarity as a basis of exchange.

The process of (re)peasantisation is also interlinked with Marxist discourses, as marginalisation leads to questioning the structures relating to the economy and racism, as well as these discourses offering explanations for marginalisation, for example the apartheid spatial planning of CT, which leaves the poor (i.e. Black) on poor soils. This links to agroecological discourses of territory, that many participants do not just want land to produce, but they want *their land back*. In CT, territory is therefore intertwined with justice and marginalisation and the relationships between discourses are dialectical, mutually reinforcing and altering each other. This lead to many see politics or development as something for the rich and therefore marginalisation in terms of class or race, is also a form of *other*, which causes structural inequalities of capitalism to be questioned. As development is intimately tied to capitalism, through a focus on never-ending GDP growth as a proxy for well-being, the questioning of these structures also challenges, to some extent, development. Liberal development discourses, were associated with projects that promoted both (re)peasantisation, through agroecological techniques, and de-peasantisation, through having entrepreneurial foci. To some extent neoliberal structures were questioned, for example the unequal distribution of wealth, however, typically with a goal of reforming them to create a more equal outcome, rather than tearing down the structures. Nevertheless, these projects also offer opportunities, in facilitating access to land and resources or promoting agriculture they give people the opportunity to re-work their projects, away from an entrepreneurial focus, such as the women who choose to work less, and take pride in their work. This relates to Escobar (2008:198) who argues, the liberal, Marxist and post-development perspectives are partially in conflict and partially

complement each other and the tensions between them can have interesting results. Overall, therefore, the ideas of development and capitalism are being challenged in a variety of ways and through practices that reduce dependency on markets and inputs, as well as claiming land that could otherwise be used for profit making.

Is this process of (re)peasantisation inherently anti-neoliberal? Sinwell (2011) argues that academics from the global North have been placing their own ideological views on social movements in South Africa. He argues that this fails to recognise that the main aim of movements is to improve living conditions, rather than dismantle capitalism, despite any rhetoric the leadership may use. According to Scott (1985), material conditions such as land and bread are the driving principle of peasant resistance and to suggest that they should be selfless or ideological is utopian and "slanders" the status of material needs. For Ploeg (2008), however, (re)peasantisation is fundamentally a drive for improving conditions, which is also against the dominant form of agriculture, precisely because neoliberal agriculture marginalises small-scale farmers. In this sense, because the corporate form of agriculture produces its other in peasant agriculture and agroecology, there is hope in these contradictions (Bloch 1959). As Holloway (2010) argues, in trying to *do* things differently, one comes up against the contradictions and limitations of the capitalist system, as well as its policing by the state. Lynd and Grubcic (2008), for example, suggest that the Zapatista uprising also began as a movement for land and attempted to overthrow the Mexican state, but when it was repressed it became more systematically anti-capitalist and post-modern; seeking plurality. Here, discourses can help to make sense of these experiences, and rather than raise consciousness, *draw it out* from lived experiences (Holloway 2010:77). In this sense, I would argue that (re)peasantisation through agroecology is inherently anti-neoliberal (and anti-capitalist), but there is always the risk of de-peasantisation. Thus the role of discourses in linking experience to wider issues, making it possible to feel part of a bigger movement, allowing learning from other struggles are vital and help to widen the "cracks" in capitalism and development. At the same time, however, it is important not to place Southern movements as a new vanguard, but to link their struggles with our struggles, for example with agroecology in the North being a strategy for degrowth (Infante Amate and González de Molina 2013).

The last, and perhaps most important question, is: will it be enough? In the face of multiple planetary crises, can agroecology contribute to a paradigm shift that will displace development and capitalism as the central ideas governing social and physical world? It is unlikely that development and capitalism will crumble under their own contradictions or the march of history; they need a

push (Kovel 2007; Sachs 2010). The debate on how capitalism will end is ongoing. Whilst, Holloway (2010) argues that by *doing* in other ways, we can stop making capitalism, others, such as Jensen (2011) and Werner (2012), argue direct action and organised resistance movements are needed. Fortunately, agroecology offers opportunities for both. In this case, for example, farmers take pride in *being* small-scale farmers, *doing* peasant practices and link this to cultural histories. Thus, alternative imaginaries are created based on *otherness*, offering possibilities for decolonisation (Escobar 2008). Simultaneously, those occupying land in CT directly confront notions of private property and ideological territories, tying together structural issues around class and race and may allow for broad alliances to be made, such as between housing and farming movements, as suggested by some participants. Much of the literature asks how to scale up agroecology with focuses on youth (Ranaboldo and Venegas, 2004), social movements, farmer-to-farmer exchange (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012) and multi-scalar forms of governance linked to FS (Patel 2009), which cross both forms of resistance. Future research, however, may be useful in exploring the possible links between struggles, such as for housing and agriculture or producers and consumers, in order to further this political struggle. Overall, agroecological discourses, though, support a diverse set of practices, which alongside many others, can allow us to move against-and-beyond development and capitalism. And instead moving us towards a myriad of socially and ecologically just alternatives.

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Appendix: Interview Guide

Date: ..... Place: ..... Time:.....

INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEE

Name and surname: ….....
Organization s/he belongs to: .....
What kind of organization is it? : .....
Function inside the organization: .....
Address: .....
Phone number:.....
Short biography of the interviewee: .....

Organisational Questions

- What are the purposes and aims of your organisation?
- Who are your members? Why do they join?
- What kind of structure does your organisation have?
- Is your organisation part of any networks? Why did it join? What are the benefits/challenges?
- What other organisations are part of this network?
- What other organisations does your organisation work with? How frequently do you meet?
- What is the outcome of these interactions?
- Are there any organisations with which you have conflicting goals or political perspectives? If so, why? How do you manage these conflicts?
- How does your organisation work with the local/regional government?

Questions about agriculture:

- How long have you been farming / working in agriculture?
- Do you have other means to make a livelihood in addition to farming?
- Who else works on your farm/plot? What is their relation to you?
- What is the most important aspect of your farm?
- What are the main difficulties you face?
- What crops do you grow? Why? What limitations are there affecting the crops you choose? (e.g. economic, environmental, social).
- What kinds of seeds do you use? Why?
- What do you use your products for? (Subsistence, market?)
- Where / how do you sell your surpluses? What are the limitations to do this?
- Do you practise a specific kind of agriculture (agroecology)? Why?
- What visions do you have for your farm in the next 5/20 years? What do you need to make this vision a reality?

Questions about economic life:

- What do you consider are the main social, economic problems (in general terms) in Western Cape? And in [this municipality]?
- Which are the local and non local actors that affect, influence or somehow shape the economic life of the population in [this municipality]? How are they doing that?
- What would you consider are the main problems that the agriculture (non)smallholders have to face every day? In terms of production, commercialisation and living in the municipality.

• What is the position of the agricultural smallholders within the economy?
• How does the natural environment affect the smallholder agriculture production?
• How is the use of land in [this municipality] restricting the possibilities of agricultural development? (e.g. environmental conservation areas, industrial areas, etc.)

Questions about political and social life

• Which are the local and non local actors that affect, influence or somehow shape the political life of the population in the Municipality?
• How is the political situation of the agriculture sector? What are their demands and achievements? What are the main struggles? Has it always been like this? Is there any difference within the province?
• How is the grassroots organization of agricultural smallholders here? What are their possibilities and difficulties? Why do they organize? Do they do it by themselves or with external help?

Discourses about rural poverty and development

• Do you know about the development policies in the Western Cape? And in [this municipality]? What are the aims? How does it affect smallholders?
• What is the position of this organization about the development policies are present in the Western Cape and in [the municipality]?
• What do you consider are the causes of poverty in the Western Cape? And in [the municipality]?
• How do you think the problems of poverty in [this municipality] can be subverted / overcome? And in the Western Cape?
• What are this organisation's visions for [this municipality] for the next 5/20 years? And the Western Cape?
• What kinds of actions made jointly in [this municipality] intend to bring about economic, political and social changes?
• What is the role of smallholders' organization in general for the rural development in Western Cape? And for the development of [this municipality]?
• Do you think there are enough interventions from NGOs and public agencies to battle poverty in [this municipality]?
• How much do you consider that land access is a problem for economic, political or social organization of the smallholder sector?

Questions about identity / culture

•Can you briefly describe your family history, in say a few sentences?
•What are some important aspects of your identity? [gender, sexuality, class, race, culture...]
•What would you say is your ethnic / cultural identity? What defines this? Do you have any traditions relating to food?
•What are your views on ethnic or culturally based political organisations? +ve or -ve