HERITAGE, IDENTITY AND VALUE

IDA'S VALLEY, STELLENBOSCH

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE- MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY: CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT (M.PHIL: CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT) BY

TYRONE GREGORY ONTONG

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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SUPERVISOR: DR STEPHEN TOWNSEND

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ABSTRACT

Heritage sites, inclusive of cultural landscapes, are understood to derive their significance from perceptions of beauty, sense of place and, when it has been impacted by humans, its genius loci and tangible qualities and the overlay of their intangible associations. In order for a site to be recognized concurrence of an Authorised Heritage Discourse whose content is constructed by academics and professionally trained heritage experts and an Autochthonous Discourse defined and expressed by laypersons, occupying or having an association with the site or sites. When Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape underwent processes of identification and declaration (formal process) as a National Heritage Site in 2008 the assumption was that there was consensus between the two views, the Authorized Heritage Discourse and the Autochthonous Discourse.

The hypothesis, then, in the case of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape which lies just beyond the limits of the town, Stellenbosch, was that there was agreement between the AHD and the AD. The question that arose was whether the two readings of heritage value aligned and whether there really was agreement in terms of the significance of the site and the values it represented.

This is found not to be the case. Concerns were raised regarding the manner in which the public participation process was handled, the content of the *statement of significance* around issues of identification, identity and, consequently, its impact on the idea of value. In addition, the issues of land for development, the locus of land ownership and the subsequent value and universal acceptance were placed under scrutiny and severely criticized by the local publics and community groups. The conclusion was that there was no agreement between the two positions. The dissertation describes the exploration of these tensions.

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ACRONYMS USED IN THE TEXT

AHD – Authorized Heritage Discourse

AD- Autochthonous Discourse

CL- Cultural Landscape

CMH- Conservation Heritage Management

IDCL- Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape

SAHRA- South African Heritage Resources Agency

FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The study was undertaken to reveal the understanding of value as an informant to the broader debate on heritage particularly as it applies to Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. The Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape offered an opportunity to explore the issues of value as it is characterized by spatial containment (which enabled the potential for 'orientation' as per Norberg-Schulz) and access to a small but diverse constituency (largely ethnographically defined). A sample of eight people from the local population, i.e. people who had lived and worked on the farms and professionals employed by the local authority, were interviewed. A key question in regard to the case, and to other historical sites in South Africa, is whether the tenets of the authorized heritage discourse approach (as per Smith 2006 n.p.), in its definition of heritage and value, is an appropriate way to address notions of 'heritage' and 'value'. Two types of value understandings were identified early on in the research process- i.e. visual (tangible) and hidden (intangible) value. From the onset it became clear that the underlying significance and value of sites, places and landscapes of the past is essentially of the hidden strain and derive this from the association and exposure that a particular society or subsets has in respect of a site (Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010:56).

De la Torre and others argue that value has always been used in a context where positive characteristics were attributed to heritage objects and places by legislation, governing authorities and other stakeholders. They argue that the characteristics of heritage sites are what give it significance and draws interest to it and significance is arrived at through an analysis of the totality of values ascribed to a site. The value of a place is garnered through a process of identification and elicitation of values using stakeholders' positions of various involvements to a site (de la Torre 2005:5).

Problem Statement

Heritage sites, inclusive of cultural landscapes, are understood to derive their significance from the formal structures (beauty, sense of place and the genius loci) and

tangible qualities and the overlay of their intangible associations. In order for a site to have a recognized value and be recognized requires agreement between the official and professionally trained heritage experts and the publics, the laypersons, occupying or having an association with the site or sites. When a site undergoes processes of identification and declaration (formal identification) the assumption is that there is consensus between the two views, the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and an Autochthonous Discourse (AD) (grassroots) view of significance. A successful identification and declaration process hinges on this or should. Subsequently, if sites are not managed within the frameworks set, the values ascribed to such a site will reflect this failure of agreement. This then is the question: was there 'agreement' between the two overarching views (AHD and AD) as supposed in the case of a declared site such as Ida's Valley, a farmed landscape outside the town of Stellenbosch.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis, in the case of Ida's Valley, is that there was agreement between the AHD and the AD, namely, that the site was indeed a space of shared significance hence the frictionless declaration process. The question then, that ultimately needs to be answered, is, whether the two readings of heritage value align?

Broad view

Universal acceptance and agreement associated with heritage sites allow for senses of shared ownership that enable a responsive sustainability. It is within this context that Ida's Valley was chosen as a means of understanding the idea of heritage value. Two ideas are juxtaposed, that of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and the Autochthonous Discourse (AD) or narrative. The fundamental driver to the study is that, because of the 'relative ease' with which Ida's Valley was declared, it appeared to have had widespread acceptance of its heritage value.

The key to unlocking the hidden perspectives and open a dialogue was through the agency of a set of questions which I reasoned would assist in unpacking the content of the perspectives, primarily that of the local communities and its constituent publics. The next step was to set up a series of interviews to engage the inhabitants of the valley and village. A great degree of suspicion and discomfort met my initial approaches for interviews. The process unfolded only when an architect acquaintance recommended her father as someone knowledgeable about the site and some of its member publics. I followed this path and was then able, individual by individual, through a vetting process, to speak to other members of the two sites (village and valley).

From this approach a complex of conflicting 'readings', understandings and perceptions of the significance, value and status of conservation and the realities of the site, were unveiled. It soon became disturbingly clear that the hypothesis, namely, that it was more likely than not that large scale consensus, regarding the value and significance of the site, as suggested by the public participation process, would be confirmed. Eight interviews were ultimately secured which included an owner, former farm workers, and occupants inclusive of people living in the Village adjacent to the site. The interviews were difficult to schedule because of a number of reasons: it was difficult to consult with most of the owners who had either been away or others who were extremely reluctant to participate; an owner of a cottage on the major farm, an owner of a spa, a winemaker, secretary and some farm workers and a private landowner refused to communicate and deferred to the primary landowner for comment. The eventual outcome was an interview profile that ranged from retired teachers, lay preachers, municipal officials and a person in the hospitality industry. The content of these interviews is discussed in Chapter 3.

In light of the earlier desire, the exploration of the issue of value within a cultural landscape context allowed the interviews to serve as a mechanism to test the hypothesis. During the site visits and interviews it became clear that there was more

afoot than initially understood. The issues went beyond the expected responses and highlighted frustrations around issues such as land use, land use rights, land ownership and access to land and to Ida's Valley itself. The shift resulted in an emphasis on matters of 'orientation' and 'identity' which are critical moments in the evolution of the ideas of place, sense of place and genius loci in respect of space in general and Ida's Valley in particular. The reading of Christian Norberg-Schulz (1976) in this context aided the discussion significantly.

As a town planning graduate employed as a heritage professional and my 'mixed-race' background, my assumption was that such professional and personal qualifications would assuage any concerns my interviewees may have harboured. This was however not the case. It appeared that a number of studies had been done with no tangible outcomes for the 'target' communities and the idea of an 'outsider' coming in and asking a set of questions also raised suspicion around its purpose. The interview process and the research journey were therefore incredible revelations. It revealed the complexities and conflicts that underlie seemingly uncomplicated spaces and 'harmonious' communities. The role of heritage in constructing identity is complex and fraught with pitfalls. Ideas and places of heritage value and significance, without the possibility of identity, will not nor cannot be appreciated or given due value.

The purpose of the study was to determine whether the values pursued by the Authorized Heritage Discourse in juxtaposition to the perspectives of the Autochthonous Discourse were in alignment. The discourse had as a result the formation of new pathways generated as a result of the assessment of the undergirding concerns that a community such as Ida's Valley and Village has. These concerns are that the founding arguments for significance and relevance of the site belie the constructs of identity and identification as implied in the declaration and public participation process. Quite early in the process it became evident that there were problems between identification with the site and its consequent impact on identity creation. The lack of participation in the

identity making processes and, to some extent an active exclusion from all processes of decision-making, led to the rejection of the value and significance of the site. A deep suspicion, that the so-called post apartheid inclusive governance regimes had gone the way of many grand-scheme restorative justice ideals and processes, was expressed by the community. The marginalization of the community and constituent publics in the declaration process has led to a sense of distressed identity. The exclusion of their cultural values and concerns in respect of the declaration of Ida's Valley has lead to a rejection of its heritage significance.

Summary

At the end of the process it was evident that there was a fundamental flaw in the manner in which processes of negotiation, in respect of the heritage value and significance of the site, was conducted. It became clear that undergirding all of the issues was a sense of marginalization. The marginalization progressed and lead to a feeling of political, economic, spatial and social exclusion**.** Finally it appears that the views of the participant community was not authentically considered but had been reverse engineered to facilitate the site's previous declaration as National Monument and then currently as National Heritage Site. The failure of just, fair and transparent processes has had a near terminal impact on all future negotiations and projects within the post apartheid 'heritage project' particular to this site

Chapter analysis

This section seeks to give direction and meaning to the content of the study. It reveals a sequential unfolding of the content of the study.

Chapter 1

This chapter deals with the 'problem definition' and the hypothesis that generated the study. It sets the scene outlining the issues in understanding heritage as both tangible

and intangible. It also introduces the constructs the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and its counterpoint, the Autochthonous Discourse (AD).

Chapter 2

This chapter addresses the physical location of Ida's Valley, its description and the 'sense of place' ideas that have emerged from the formal professional approach to the interpretations of the significance of the case, Ida's Valley. Concerns around the definition of issues such as cultural landscapes, heritage, memory and remembering within the context of the cultural landscape, are addressed. The chapter then, in its flow effectively defines the AHD view of the Valley.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 introduces views and perspectives as reflected in a series of interviews. Prior to engaging directly with the 'informal' content a review of the formal content is done to give context to the ensuing argument.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 analysis the theory and perspectives described in Chapter 3 and bring the two prongs of the Autochthonous and AHD into perspective.

Chapter 5

This chapter argues and concludes that there is a major disjunction between the two views and that alternative approaches to the issue should be sought.

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CHAPTER 2: IDA'S VALLEY: SENSE OF PLACE

According to Schama, in leading into the aesthetics and ideas of landscape, the scenery [of a space] is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock. Schama notes that, 'before it can ever be *repose* for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind' (Schama 1995:10). The word landscape entered the English lexicon by way of the sixteenth century Dutch import, *landscap*. in German phenomenology *landschaft* alludes to 'a jurisdiction' while in Italian it is , *parerga,* the setting for the motifs of classical myth and sacred scripture, the pastoral idyll of brooks and wheat-gold hills (ibid. p.10). Arntzen and Brady have it that the term 'landscape' is understood to mean 'a landscape modified, physically and visibly by humans'. 'Cultural landscape' as a consequence became more restricted in interpretation and meaning. It became defined by the distinctive characteristics of human activity that were valuable from the perspective of ecology, archaeology and history (Arntzen and Brady 2008:11).

Arntzen argues that the idea of a cultural landscape is a 'constituent' part of the making of the 'identity' of human beings. It is here that the value ascribed to Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape is critically important. The interviewees, barring three, revealed the strenuous view that the exclusionary nature of the declared area compromised 'identity making'. The preservation of such landscapes is thus not merely the maintaining of its physical characteristics but involves preservation of 'meaning' as a significant component (ibid. p.18).

The idea of 'locale', which one had hoped would apply to Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, is used to address the material setting in which social relations are allowed to happen and play out. It is seen as the actual shape of place, a place with concrete forms, within which people conduct their lives as individuals. Tim Cresswell defines place as a 'meaningful location'. John Agnew, as quoted by Cresswell, also uses descriptive terms such as *location, locale* and *sense of place* to speak of landscapes (Cresswell 2007:7). On the other hand 'Sense of place' is defined as having a

subjective, emotional content which adds the dimension of an imaginary materiality. 'Place' is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding, and making sense of the world (ibid. p.11).

Location

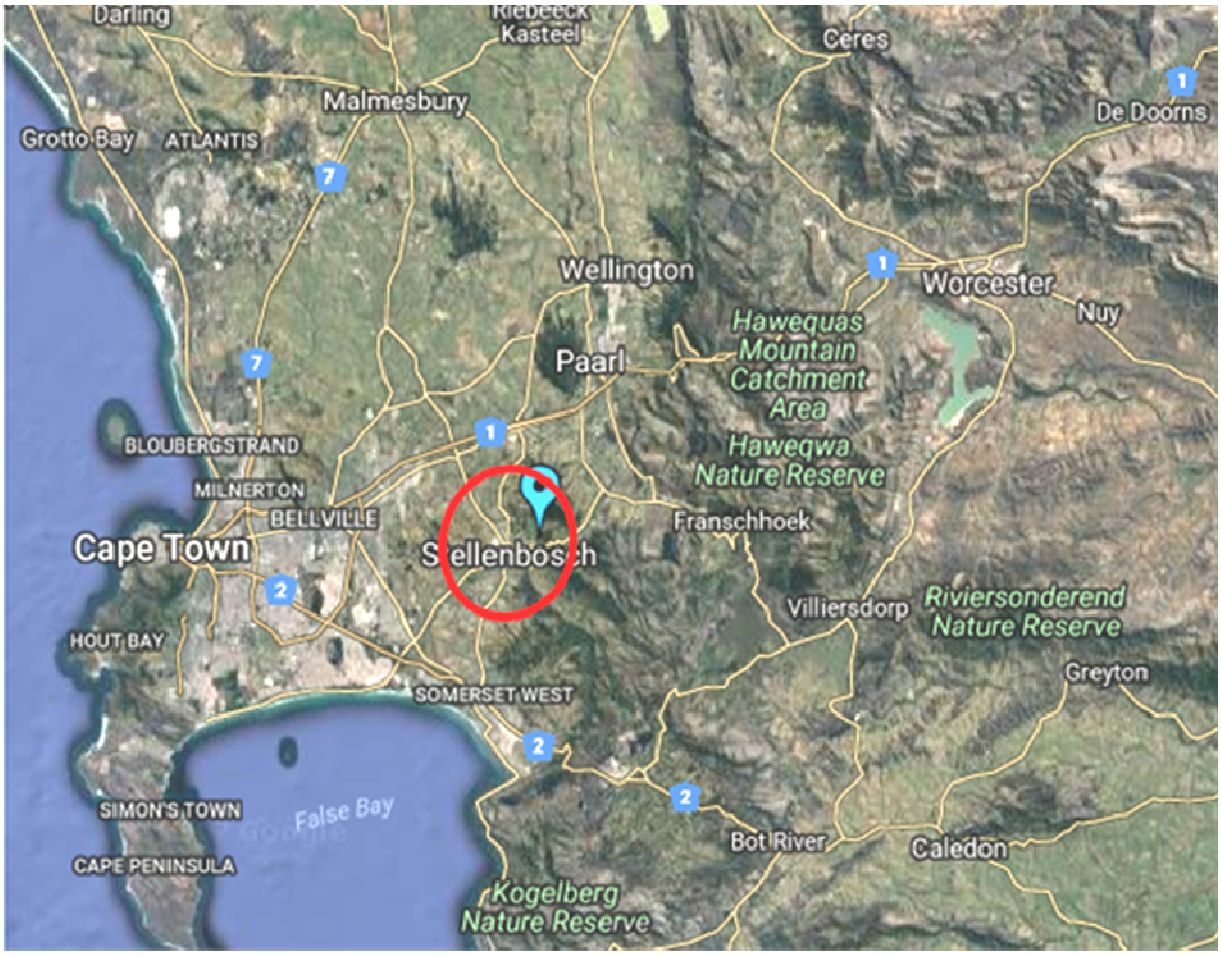

Figure 1: Stellenbosch in regional context (AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd. Google Imagery © 2017 TerraMetrics)

The Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape is located just outside of Stellenbosch, the second oldest settlement in South Africa. It is located in one of the most fertile sub-regions and one of the most aesthetically pleasing sites in the Western Cape. It is located within the boundaries of a regional agricultural town, Stellenbosch, which services a number of

settlements within the Simonsberg mountain surrounds, the most significant landmark in the sub-region. The site is a topographically defined valley with the Simonsberg Mountain visually terminating the site at the northern most point and by Ida's Valley village and the greater Stellenbosch at the southernmost point.

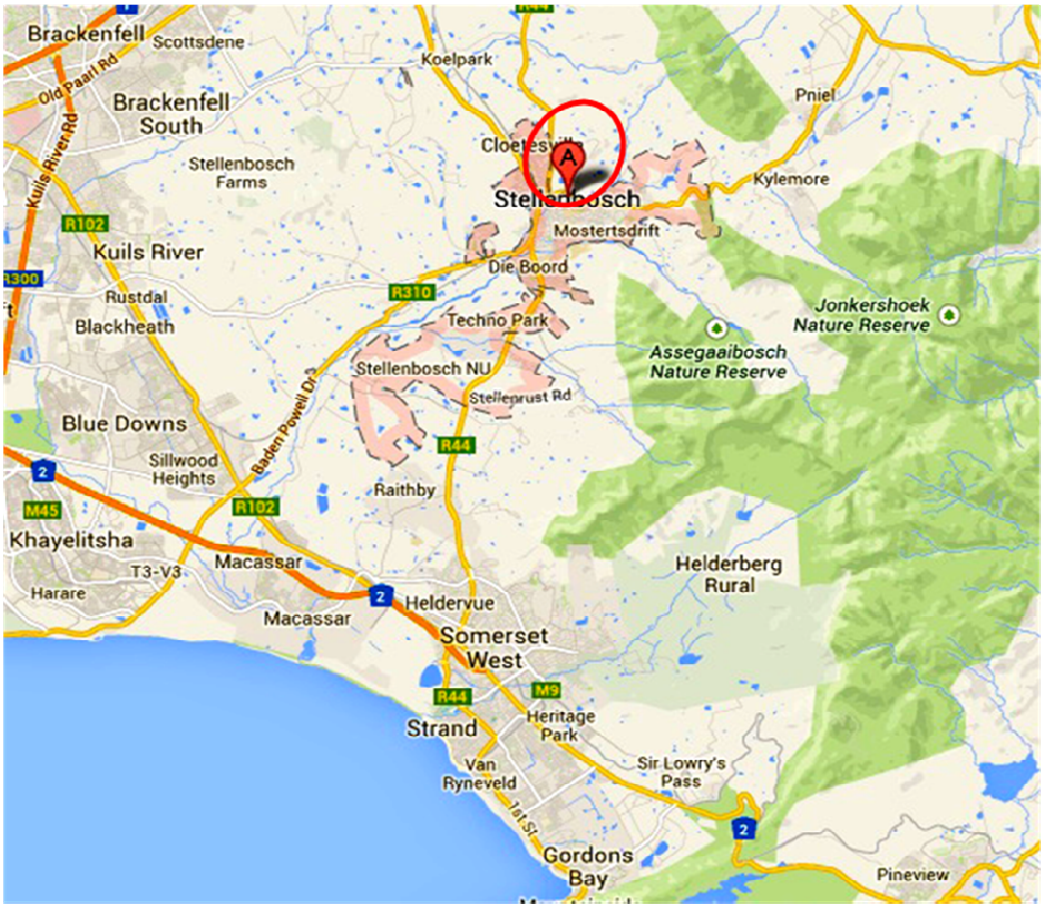

Figure 2: Ida's Valley Sub regional context (Google maps 2013)

Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape (IVCL) is a National Heritage Site, the highest protection in the South African legislation, which was granted formal protection in terms of Section 27 (8) of the National Heritage Resources Act in 2008. The site is comprised of a number of properties with three defining landscape components. The first of these is wilderness, the second, a cultivated agricultural component and, lastly, a built

environmental component defined by historic farmsteads and ancillary agricultural service buildings and workers dwellings. The functional role of the Valley is essentially agriculture with vineyards, orchards, pastures and a vegetated terrain occupying the valley floor up to the lower slopes. The site reads as a cohesive unit both visually and geographically, defined by a ridgeline that circumnavigates the basin (Kantor, Todeschini and Pistorius 2006:9-10).

Figure 3: Aerial view of Stellenbosch and surrounds- Ida's Valley within the green diamond shape.

History of the site

The Cape of Good Hope was established by the Dutch East India Company as a *way* station to the east. Unable to provide in these resources in sufficient quantities, initially reluctant to expand into the Cape, they eventually granted land to *free burghers* in an effort to produce sufficient quantities of resources. Prior to the arrival of the colonists, the site was the scene of the Gorinhaiqua and the Gorachoqua. These pastoralists moved across the landscape in seasonal migrations to and from what is now known as

Malmesbury approximately 50 kilometers away. In the process these transhumance migration patterns, from as early as 500 AD, resulted in paths created by the cattle and the burning of shoulder high fynbos to stimulate seasonal grazing and watering at the local streams. Indeed, it is speculated that the cattle paths and clearings may have influenced the routes later followed and the areas that were farmed by the European settlers (ibid. p.15).

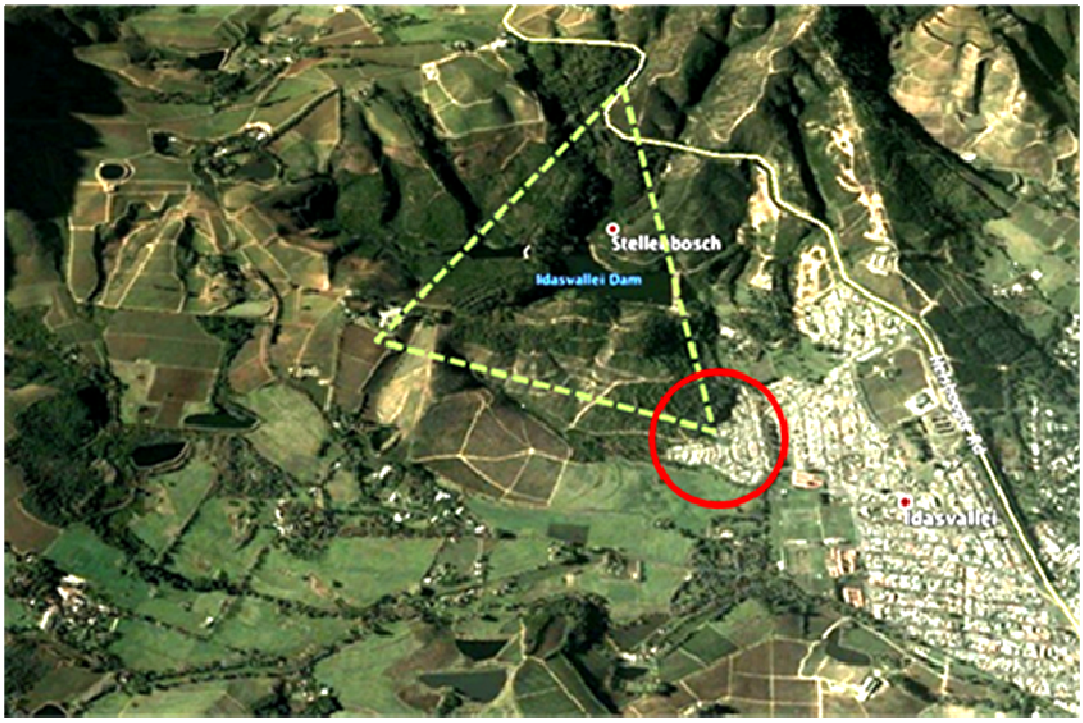

Figure 4: Ida's Valley Sub-Regional Context- triangle represents the IVCL and the circle the Village Aerial Image 2014, Digital Globe, 2014 AFRIGIS (PTY) LTD]

Stellenbosch, established in 1679, was the first colonial expansion beyond the Cape Peninsula. The ensuing expansion pushed the indigenous pastoralists further inland. Subsequent to the establishment of Stellenbosch, three farms were established in Ida's Valley in 1682. Earlier grants in the area were done for Groot and Klein Ida's Valley, Nazareth and Rustenburg. The valley provided fertile soils and water in the form of mountain streams in the lower reaches of the valley. The water was channeled to the

sites occupied by long houses constructed by the owners and slaves, kraals with livestock and developed land that required irrigation. By the 18th century the valley floor was surrendered to wide scale production of wheat, grains, wine, brandy, sheep and cattle (ibid. p.16).

Ongoing wars in Europe in the late 18th early 19th century lead to the increase in production of wine and grains in response to demand. The demand had a positive impact and the resultant wealth allowed the farmers to expand their farms. Homes became more elaborate with the introduction of wine cellars, outbuildings, werf walls and avenues of Oaks planted later (ibid. p.16). Brink writes that, in addition to general farm improvements due to need, wealth afforded the farmers the opportunity of redesigning their homes and introducing gables, among other elements. The redesigning and expansion of homes and the introduction of gables signified the individuals growing status as free-burghers employing built forms and personalizing elements as a narrative of resistance against the tight constraints imposed by the Dutch East India Company (Brink 2008:111). The forms of architecture and farm complexes spoke a silent language of commentary against the social, political and economic (commercial) constraints imposed upon the farmers (ibid. p.109). Further to this development, embedded within the socio-cultural construct of the VOC and the power hierarchy at the Cape, was the desire for the positioning by individuals within the power and social hierarchy of the VOC, the Cape and potentially further a field in Holland. It represented a statement by individuals that they had reached a place of acceptance within "higher levels" of social location (ibid. p.113).

At the end of the 19th century the European economy went into recession. A number of factors impacted negatively on the colony's economic wellbeing, namely, the end of British preferential wine tariffs (1825), the emancipation of slaves (1834) and the phyloxera outbreak (1886). This caused a number of bankruptcies. Huge old farms were subdivided and sold off. Glenbawn and Glenelly were subdivided from Ida's Valley

in the 1860's. Properties of the old Cape families systematically came into British ownership. Diseased vineyards, planted in the alluvial soils along the riverbanks, were removed in this time and replanted slightly higher along the slopes using a phyloxera resistant American stock (Kantor, Todeschini and Pistorius 2006:16-17).

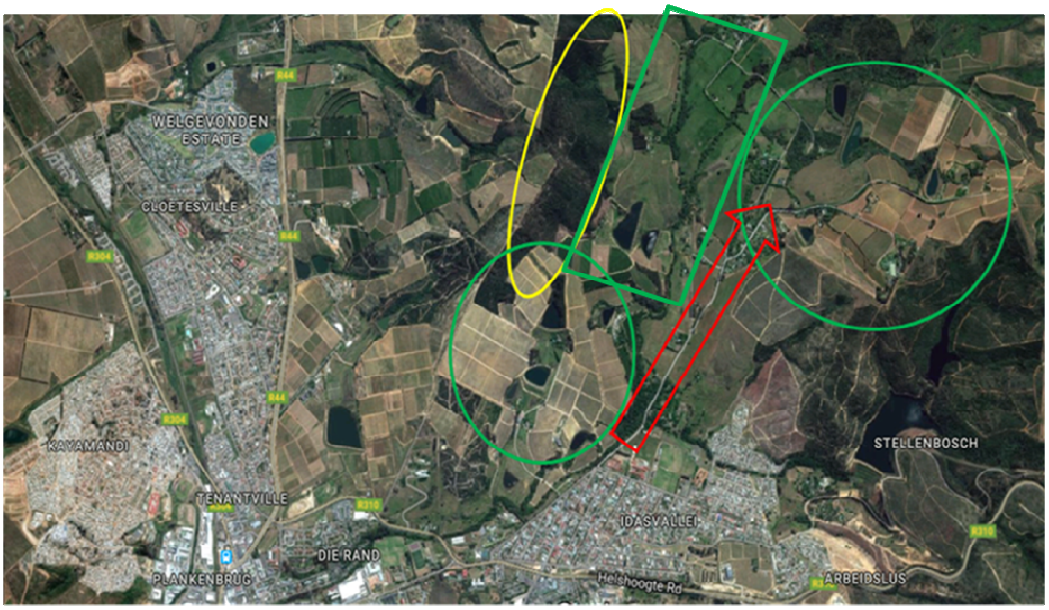

Figure 5: Ida's Valley Village to the south. Red arrow shows access to Ida's Valley. The yellow circle represents forested areas. Green circles and square show agricultural spaces (AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd. Google Imagery © 2017 TerraMetrics)

The Helshoogte pass was constructed between 1900 and 1905 by Thomas Baines which effectively closed off the natural spatial flow of the valley. The introduction of refrigerated ships had a positive result namely the expansion of the orchards and therefore potential economic growth. Additional impacts were felt by the landscape through the reduction of vines, the introduction of windbreaks between orchards and the added plantations of pines and poplars for fruit boxes changing the open landscape into smaller components. The economic viability of smaller farms, due to more advanced farming techniques, encouraged further subdivisions. The result was the creation of a set of smallholdings that included Kelsey Farm, Wedgewood Farm and Hymettus. The

owner of Hymettus started planting Gum trees for purposes of pollination of the orchards which added another layer to the site (ibid. p.17).

During the 1930's, as a result of the Great Depression, food prices again fell and farming in the Valley experienced an economic trauma resulting in a number of bankruptcies. In this phase of the history of the valley, Rustenburg and Schoongezicht was bought by Peter Barlow and restored. This action reunited the two farms which had been subdivided and sold off in 1810. The result was that the Schoongezicht cellar was brought back into commission, old vineyards were replanted and new ones planted high on the surrounding slopes. Indigenous fynbos, high on the mountain side at Rustenburg, were protected and developed as a wildflower garden (ibid. p.17). Figure 4 shows how the site extends toward Helshoogte Road- the uppermost point of the triangle. Existing plum orchards were retained and developed after the purchasing of Cranford (1947) and Glenbawn (1966) by Simon Barlow. In the process of modernization of farming techniques some valuable vernacular cottages were lost with a few remaining at Glenelly (ibid. p.18). Further mechanization enabled the construction of dams which had a material and visual impact on the cultural landscape. During this period Ayreshire and Jersey cows were introduced at Ida's Valley and Schoongezicht, respectively, which resulted in the development of a new dairy at Schoongezicht (ibid. p.17).

By the end of the 20th century vineyards, pastures and fodder crops had become the dominant feature in the middle of the valley. Vineyards were increasingly being planted higher up on the slopes with orchards on the hilly slopes around Glenbawn and Glenelly, Kelsey Farm and High Rustenburg. The remaining historical farm, Ida's Valley, was subdivided and sold off. The municipality engaged in forestry activities introducing Pinus Radiata on the eastern slope of Ida's Valley and also built two dams. The land between the Ida's Valley and Ida's Valley Village was converted into sports fields, schools and picnic areas (ibid. p.18).

Phenomenology of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape

Man has to know where he is and also has to know that he 'is' a certain place, a complete identification .This is gained from the meaning man gains through the actions of 'orientation' and 'identification' (Norberg-Schulz 1976:18-19). It is all of the elements- the streams, ridgelines, vineyards, orchards, pastures, natural vegetation and its relationship to each other that manifests as a cultural landscape. *Man,* Norberg-Schulz argues, has need for symbols which represent 'life-situations' These symbols are keys which humans use to unlock the intangible values and give meaning to the lived experience of space. The 'currency' of these symbols enables man to lock into experiences and values that acquire meaning in the experience of 'living' of life (ibid. p.5). Ida's Valley has a 'meaning' content and retained this content, convincingly, over time which addresses the essential nature of the individuals who have lived and experienced the space. The problem is that the process is understood as having been exclusionary rather than inclusionary. The reason is the manner in which access to the site has been restricted over time. Surprisingly, the physical beauty of Ida's Valley has not been denied by any of the interviewees it is the dispute regarding the value which, because of the public participation process, that it is felt, has been compromised

In order to further Norberg-Schulz's description of the need for symbols I rely on Heidegger (ibid. p.5) who describes this habitat of symbols as the 'world'. The 'world' is composed of 'earth' and 'sky'. In between earth and sky is the 'lived world'. Once such a relationship has developed the world becomes an 'inside'. The 'inside', in the case of Ida's Valley, relates to a particular place with special characteristics which grants it a unique identity. The inside in the case of Ida's Valley is the different landscape components: the spaces of agricultural activity, the forests, the utilitarian structures, the werf walls, the dams and the homesteads within the landscape. Each component is clearly identifiable and through association and experience acquires meaning. Each of these elements has special or unique features which act as markers in the landscape.

These markers have developed associational value. The structures or structuring elements are given senses of personal identity. The identity or 'spirit' grants Ida's Valley its value as a cultural landscape in the 'hearts' of the inhabitants. A 'sense of place' is therefore something that is a universally or near universally accepted experience. It is this component that enables a sense of identity to a place. It is the interaction of the surface relief, vegetation and water bodies which creates places- the valley basin, ravines and plateaus, the hills and mountain, particularly Simonsberg. The former constructs- i.e. the interaction and communication among the various components: surface relief, vegetation, water and climate and micro-climate are comprehensively referred to as *terroir* (the complete natural environment in which a particular wine is produced, including factors such as the soil, topography, and climate).

The hills and sub-valleys create a complex topography that gives rise to a range of micro-climates. The sun's arc across the sky is quite small and, as mentioned above, the foothills creates spots of light and shadow with the clouds and vegetation acting as filters. The site, particularly on an overcast day is fairly 'dark' with millions of points of light as filtered light bounces off millions of leaves. Water is present in the form of created dams and a seasonal river, the Krom River, which runs toward the eastern edge. The air quality also constantly changes. The outcome is a sense of lapsed time, experienced emotionally rather than in a chronological sense.

The Krom River is the main water course in the valley, fed by a number of streams and springs. The Kromme River flows westward and joins the Krom River near the Ida's Valley Farmstead (Todeschini and Kruger 2011:11). The valley floor, because of its rich alluvial soil, created the founding source for a variety of natural flora. The valley basin changed character over time and is now predominantly used for pasture and fodder crops for the Rustenschoon dairy herd. Steep hillsides sport small clumps of Gum trees and Pines. These small forests have been thinned out by the reintroduction of indigenous vegetation driven by the need to conserve water. The higher cultivatable

slopes have been surrendered to vineyards and orchards. A series of windbreaks were also planted on Kelsey Farm and High Rustenberg, remnants of which are still visible. Vineyards predominate on the northern parts of the valley with orchards planted at Glenbawn, Glennelly and part of High Rustenberg (ibid. pp.14-15).

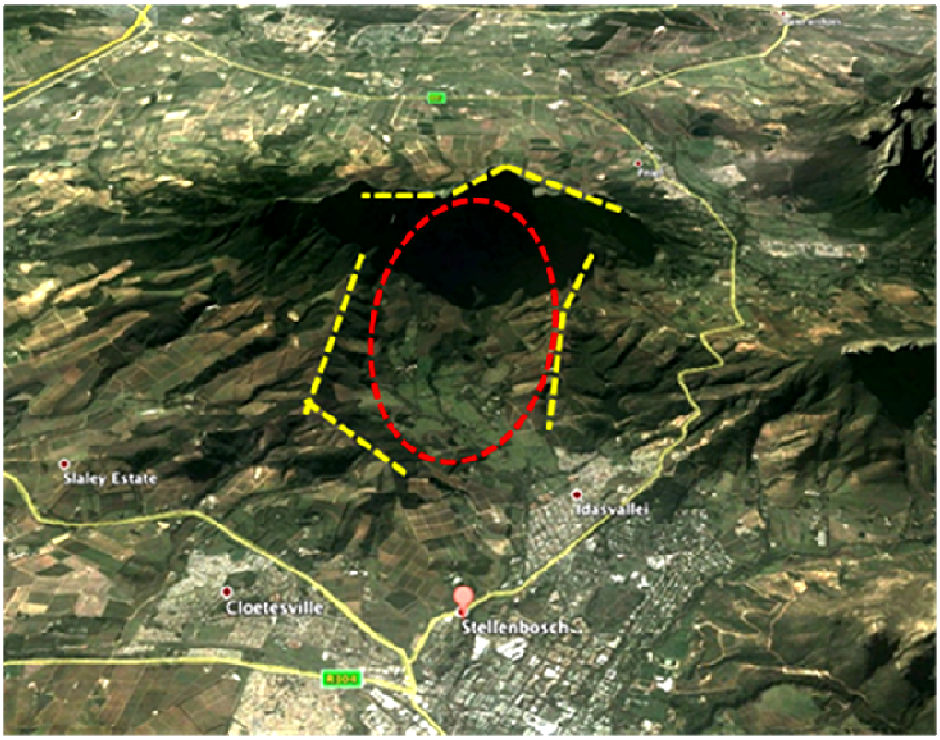

Figure 6: Ida's Valley Sub-Regional Context- Aerial Image 2014,

Digital Globe, 2014 AFRIGIS (PTY) LTD]

Ida's Valley, Rustenberg and Schoongezight homesteads form the core baroque derived vernacular buildings, sitting classically within the landscape, Schoongezight cottage, Glenbawn, Glenelly, Kelsey and the 'Wedges' are minor heritage resources that are of historical and socio-cultural value. They represent a visual record of the evolution and practice in the Valley but also add to the exposition of the settlement patterns in the Ida's Valley rural landscape (ibid. p.17)

Figure 7: Vineyards within the larger cultural landscape context (Rustenberg n.p.)

. The developmental pattern reveals that the typical dwelling pattern placed homes and sites close to streams. The inevitable consequence was that it was located close to the 'folds' in the sub-valley drainage system (ibid. pp.17-18). The degree to which the landscape reveals clarity is an enabler to the local populace to 'orientate' themselves within this context. Heidegger states that man is only really able to 'dwell' when he is able to 'orient' himself within and 'identify' with an environment. In such an instance, a landscape or space will be experienced as meaningful (Norberg-Schulz 1976:5).

The story of Rustenberg began with the birth of the Simonsberg 600 million years ago. The mountain is essentially part of the massive Table Mountain Group. It is, however, seen to be more than a mere mountain because it has characteristics which changes all the time resulting in a sense of tranquility and, because of its scale and location, a sense of permanence (Rustenberg n.p.).

The foregoing sets the scene for the next layer- the key elements that allow man to identify and thereby orientate himself in space. 'Identification' and 'orientation', as mentioned earlier, are primary aspects of man's 'being in the world'. Identification is the basis for the development of a sense of belonging. Orientation on the other hand is that which enables him to undertake a series of pilgrimages (man as homo viator). Man

'dwells' when he is able to concretize the world and distinguish it into objects and spaces.

Figure 8: Plum trees on Glenbawn (Rustenberg n.p.)

Man is able to understand that nature consists of interrelated elements. The landscape where he lives has, or should have structure and must embody meaning. The structure and its associated meanings allow for the development of mythologies. These mythologies are what contribute to the phenomenology of place, *the* Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. When a phenomenological view of nature and environment is embraced, at a primeval consciousness, it is read as a multitude of 'living' forces. This creates a shift whereby nature is experienced as a 'Thou' rather than an 'it', there is a certain reverence of nature. This leads to a system of meaningful places that makes a truly human life possible. It is also at this point where, if man is not enabled to experience this mythologizing, that a sense of distance develops and consequently a sense of disorientation and rejection results (Norberg-Schulz 1976: 23). The Village was not able to access and appreciate the Valley in all its complexity and consequently developed a sense of dissonance for which a remedy has not been found yet. It is understood that in a cultural landscape man 'builds' the earth making its potential

structure manifest as a meaningful totality. It is built on the ideas of 'cultivation' and, as in the case of Ida's Valley contains places, paths and domains which concretize mans understanding of the natural environment (ibid. p.52).

Located next to Rustenberg farm is the Ida's Valley farm, the dowry of a widow, Villion. She left the farm to her son, Pieter Laubscher, who in turn sold it to Hendrik Oostwald. Laubscher did not entirely sever his bond with the valley but built a small farmhouse on Rustenberg. This small farmhouse later became known as Schoongezicht. A person by name of Eksteen took over the farm from Oostwald and built a new wine cellar. Over the years ten dams were built that replaced the old *leibeurt* system. Rustenberg and Schoongezicht eventually were owned of the Barlows. In 1966 Glenbawn was added to the portfolio (Rustenberg n.p.).

Figure 9: East Façade of Ida's Valley- an expression of high baroque in Cape architecture (Simons 2000:119)

The history of Rustenberg manor house reads as a patchwork of interventions over the years as each family who owned the property made alterations to it. The first changes were made by Pieter Laubscher who turned the house into an 18th century house.

Figure 10 displays the house itself, an H-shaped building with wings of 7 meters and beautiful doors and windows of yellowwood and stinkwood with original brass handles. It is believed that the gable at the front of the house became a triangulated pediment in the second decade of the 19th century. A coin was discovered embedded in the foundations assisting in dating the site to about 1779 (Rustenberg n.p.).

The disposition of the manor house constantly draws you into the landscape. The Barlows, in an effort to avert encroaching urbanization and compromise the landscape, spearheaded a drive to have the whole valley declared a National Monument in the 1970's (this was confirmed in one of the interviews). The result is that when you arrive on site via a winding road, you encounter wooded hills and meadows of immense beauty. On the higher mountainous upper slopes of the Simonsberg they introduced Döhne merino sheep (Rustenberg n.p.).

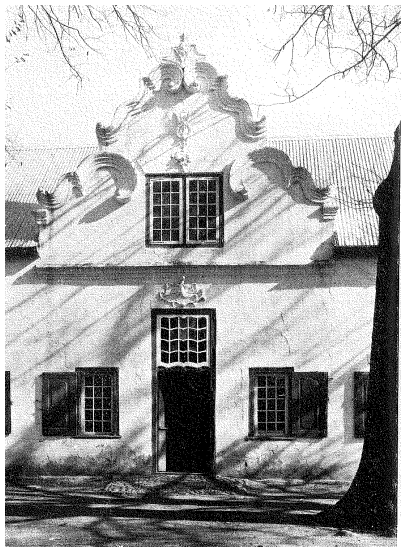

Figure 10: East Gable of the Ida's Valley Homestead (de Bosdari, n.p., 1953)

The amphitheater of slopes and terroir (soil, weather, microclimates) allowed healthy vineyards to develop that yield grapes and wines of exceptional quality (Rustenberg: Stellenbosch 2004:33). A characteristic feature of the house at Schoongezicht is its

replication of the Groot Constantia manor house by Louis Thibault. In 1813 Hendrik Cloete transformed the existing house with a new façade and gable. It was also in this time that the home evolved into an elegant H-shaped house. Under the Barlows the restoration continued and received an award for conservation (Rustenberg: Stellenbosch 2004:27).

The house itself is located on a slight rise reached by a double flight of rounded steps leading to a wide stoep with traditional seats on either side of the front door. A low white-washed ringmuur surrounds the home and former cellar (Rustenberg: Stellenbosch 2004:29).

Figure 11: West Gable of the Ida's Valley Homestead (Simons 2000:118)

Conclusion

Rustenberg and Schoongezicht

The site is a layering of natural and cultural processes. The cultural dimension is composed of a rich layering of features resulting from a long and continuous history of human occupation and transformation. The layering has historical roots but is also the product of people's adaptation for economic, aesthetic and, perhaps, political reasons.

The result is a history of various phases and themes that have had a significant impact on the evolution of the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape. It is in a state of continuous 'unfolding' and 'becoming' in essence, a site as 'living heritage'. (Kantor, Todeschini and Pistorius 2006:15).

Figure 12: Rustenberg: well-proportioned façade (Simons 2000:116)

One of the resources on site, the 'Villonhuis', at the core of the Ida's Valley Homestead,, believed to originally have been located at the juncture of two streams. This farm dwelling was purchased by a Johannes Cats in 1775. In 1789 the house was modified into an H-shape. Increased wealth at the Cape resulted in the introduction of a wine-cellar on site which currently serves as a barn. The then new house was also increased in size with the added feature of elaborate baroque gables, the attestation to a refinement in lifestyle. This refinement of lifestyle reflected his sense of significance n the community. The gables reflected this status through its deeply, roughly and powerfully moulded gables (Kench et al 1981:50). This beauty was marred by the Victorian owner of the house. The roof was altered during the 19th Century, the thatch was removed and replaced with corrugated iron, and the windows by the introduction of glazed French windows destroying the incisively intelligent work by Cats (ibid. p.51).

Figure 13: Interior of Rustenberg Manor (RUSTERNBERG n.p.)

The farm at Ida's Valley saw a variety of styles in life and architecture. The current Ida's Valley is a new creation one done with impeccable taste, balance but unfortunately amounts to a pastiche (ibid. p.52).

Figure 14: Schoongezicht and Wine cellar

Rustenberg and Schoongezicht are seen to represent different approaches to a landscape-building interface. Schoongezicht is the one seen adorned with a *halsgewel* and a *werfwall*. Rustenberg n the other hand is a house with a much simplified gable. Separated by time and ownership, the two farms were brought together by Peter Barlow in 1945 (ibid. p.73).

In bringing this chapter to a close, I wish to repeat the significances mentioned in the declaration document. These are that:

- "In terms of SAHRA's identified themes for national heritage sites, the Cape Winelands is a particularly rich, varied and deeply historical 'class of South Africa's cultural places and places of aesthetic value' and demonstrates or represents a range of historical periods;
- The Cape Winelands is an uncommon landscape type and a rare heritage resource in the broader South African context;
- Ida's Valley is an exemplar and core area of the Cape Winelands;
- The surviving material culture of Ida's Valley is representative of the complex interactions between the place and many people drawn from a range of social classes, inclusive of slaves;
- The rich cultural diversity emanating from slaves in the area contributed significantly to the cultural fabric;
- Enslaved people in Ida's Valley produced some of the very distinctive architectural features for which it is well known, such as the Baroque gables of homesteads;
- Individuals who played a significant role in the history of South Africa farmed in Ida's Valley;
- Ida's Valley is a 'whole' landscape with clear geographic boundaries and a strong identity, is accessible and particularly unspoilt, and it is, therefore,

suitable for establishing the concept of a cultural landscape heritage site in the public mind;

- The site has social value and contributes to the community's sense of place.
- Ida's Valley was declared a National Monument in the 1970s and has been managed as a heritage resource for nearly 30 years. The valley was declared a National Heritage Site in recent times;
- The people of the area support its protection as a National Heritage Site. (Todeschini and Kruger 2011:21-22).

CHAPTER 3: VALUE: GRASSROOTS PERSPECTIVES

'Value', argues Laurajane Smith, describing what she calls the Authorised Heritage Discourse, is something that heritage does not 'have' but that it is through a [cultural] process that speaks about recreating, negotiating and transmitting certain values that sections of communities or publics elect to preserve or pass on (Smith 2009.33). It is a localized and culturally internalized process. Heritage, as a cultural process, and as it is understood in intellectual and other formal circles of management, derived from the AHD tenets, and is concerned with the management and regulation of social value and cultural meanings.

The study was undertaken to explore the underlying trends in the construction of value. From the onset it became clear that the underlying value of sites, places and landscapes of the past derive this from the association and exposure that a particular society or subsets have developed in respect of a site (Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010:56).

Value

History, Smith et al states, is experienced at both the individual and collective level. To take the logic further- individuals, communities and nations define and form a sense of self by the manner in which history is articulated, understood and propagated. At the individual level people value the past for emotional, psychological and intellectual reasons. This position gains momentum and escalates to the point where it and has an impact on the construction of group identity (Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010:18).

Ultimately, this reading is that landscapes are not static in their meaning but are sites of ongoing power struggles over which of the stories should be retained transmitted or represented (Gibson 2009:70). This in fact is the finding of the project- it is a place or battleground for recognition, of identity and for inclusivity. The identification of heritage

places is a process and performance of 'meaning making'. The identity that is derived from this debate is based on senses on issues of authenticity of the space based on ideas relating to its stability and enduring presence (Smith 2009:41).

In concluding this introduction, it should be noted that the value of a landscape lies in the meaning it has acquired or ascribed to it. The meaning ascribed to a site and to the study area alludes to social value and cultural significance. Johnson, in a report by the Australian Heritage Commission, defined places having social value as ones which provide:

- a spiritual connection or traditional connection between past and present;
- a tie of the past to the present;
- help give a disempowered group back its history;
- an essential reference point in a community's identity;
- loom large in daily comings and goings of life of its inhabitants;
- an essential community function that develops into an attachment, and;
- a mechanism that shapes some aspect of community behavior or attitudes in Gibson 2009:73.

Preamble: Place and identity

At the outset of the interview process a list of questions and a consent form were submitted to the interviewees to allay any potential fears and suspicion that may have been harbored. The exact concerns which arose were not resolved but it appears that past experiences coloured the perception of some of the interviewees. Some criticism emerged which centered on and around the need for land for development, issues of accessibility and, lastly, the feeling that the public participation process was flawed or deliberately distorted. All interviews were preceded by casual conversation to create an

atmosphere of ease and open the conversation to the more demanding interview content which followed.

Before these interviews I probed around the issue of heritage sites, their meaning and significance with someone who works with the public on a daily basis. During the conversation he stated that, if the people of Ida's Valley or, more particularly, people of colour were exposed to the idea of heritage, inclusive of the issue of colonial spaces, a different reading of Ida's Valley, built heritage in general, and other cultural sites within South Africa and Stellenbosch, might be had. He argued that, for something to be appreciated it should be made accessible literally, conceptually, ideologically and politically. He used the word 'inclusive' referring to the need of sincere, open and transparent engagement and community participation and some form of social interface with the 'other' constituents of the broader society. He felt strongly that some form of exposure and access to what is aesthetically and geographically a significant space should be available to all without debilitating constraints. Only then, he argued, the site might gain the universal value and acceptance that has, until the present, been denied.

Thematic analysis

It was through the questions (see Annexure A) that specific questions around *sense of place*, *genius loci*, type of landscape and thoughts around *identification*, *orientation* and the nature of the landscape were explored, in some cases successfully and in other cases it required some innovative thinking. In an effort to understand the idea of 'heritage value', a conversation was started with the former occupants, owner and publics directly living on and in the village adjacent to the site, Ida's Valley Village. Undergirding the interview process was a series of questions defining the parameters of the research and also opening to the interviewees the intent and purpose of the interviews. I must confess that the content of the list of questions was read by the interviewees as having all the elements of agreement with the AHD tenets, particularly in respect of the idea of shared heritage value. The understanding was that there would

be convergence and consensus among the owners, occupiers, workers and experts in respect of heritage value as expressed by the AHD. It was soon evident that this was not the case. The perspectives fragmented into essentially three thematic perspectives. These I shall refer to as *apologist*, *aligned* and *non-aligned.*

Perspectives: Apologist, Aligned and Non-aligned

The purpose of the interviews was therefore to determine what the content of the Autochthonous Discourse (AD) was and determine to what extent there was alignment with the content of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD).

The interview process proved to be an obstacle course fraught with suspicion and distrust. In an earlier chapter I mentioned that a vetting process was initiated, an act, as the researcher, I had not anticipated. I therefore could not simply draw up a list, set up the interview time and arrive as prearranged. The list came about through someone who is an architect and whose father had taught in Ida's Valley and was in retirement. The outcome was an interview profile that consisted of eight people who, by way of assessment and recommendation, allowed me access to the next interviewee. I therefore had to submit to this process in order to have access to the views on the ground. I need to mention that I left every interview with a deep sense of l respect and admiration for the interviewees. I was humbled and filled with pride and gratitude for such a special and unique opportunity given me. The result was a level of output of extraordinary high and helpful content.

The process that the interviewees followed created a safety net for them whereby, I, as the researcher, was subjected to great scrutiny. It was as though applying for membership to a secret society. The actions of vetting and assessing by the interviewees came just short of calling the University of Cape Town for verification. I felt that the University itself was seen to be suspect despite its 'notorious leanings to the left' hence the name 'Moscow on the Hill' given by conservatives and right wing

elements. The left was somehow always given a sympathetic ear because of the liberation movement's resistance to Apartheid. Given the history of South Africa, the liberal leanings of UCT and my personal racial classification as 'coloured" which suggested that I had largely travelled a similar journey of historical, spatial, political and economic exclusion from mainstream opportunities reserved for people historically defined as white.

I, as a professional town planner, heritage expert and official, must operate within the constructs of the Authorised Heritage Discourse in order to receive appropriate recognition by professional bodies that are, in the instance of town planning, also the accrediting agencies. The discussion of heritage within academic circles requires very specific language constructs and terminology. The idea that I was of similar racial classification, shared an approximate life experience, both my parents were school teachers and I that had suffered from the same spatial and other exclusionary experiences may have provoked a sense of empathy and allowed me more liberal access. This was clearly not the case because it seems that I suffered from a false belief in this respect. I was the 'stranger in town.' It was clear that there were real and deep concerns underlying this particular site that not even a study by 'one of their own' could convince them to relax their defenses and allow unfettered but controlled access as per professional codes of conduct and ethics.

Overview of the apologist, aligned and non-aligned perspectives

The *apologist* discourse is seen to agree significantly with the content of the AHD and the processes followed in regard to the declaration. Interviewees adopting this position argued for the values of the AHD and tried to explain that there was consensus between their views and that of the broader publics. It is in fact a position where the declaration is justified in spite of the rankling of a potential conflict with the AHD. The interviewees felt that the site contained the merits ascribed to it by the AHD but that greater inroads

should have been made in regard to the marketing of the values, accessibility and universality of the site to the local publics.

Interviews with the *aligned* perspective prescribed and agreed with the content of the declaration without significant "bones of critique" of the processes. In fact it took on a celebratory and conciliatory stance to the general ideas of the AHD and prescribed to it with minor concerns regarding aspects of the participation process and accessibility to the site. They felt, because of their religious upbringing, that greater degrees of gratitude should be exhibited to the landowners, and by extension, the formal structures of government previous and current. They felt that circumstances were not quite as bad as it seemed and is made out to be. They also expressed the idea , as much as there is concern around accessibility to land and opportunities, that such opportunities and relaxations that are experienced should be exploited as a means to personal development and societal development and contributions.

The *non-aligned* perspective represents a vehement resistance to the idea of the value and 'exclusionary' conservation processes as implemented at the Ida's Valley site. The view is that a very strategic and incendiary consultation process had taken place and that the consultation process represented a biased approach to the problem and expressed deep disdain for the western approach to heritage. This view also had it that the declaration of the site, Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, had more to do with frustrating further developmental intentions on and adjacent to the site.

The nature of the consultation process took the form of a strategic marketing process. The conclusion drawn is that the profile of the participant publics was driven by a number of religious ministers who were gathered together by the primary landowner and associates with tacit agreement by the national heritage resources authority. The ministers in their turn again spoke to family members and congregants to facilitate buy-in to the idea of National Heritage Site status. The process was shaped to exclude dissident publics, the non-aligned group of whom I was able to interview three people.

The resistance was brought to the full extent by the **retired history teacher** who stated in no uncertain terms that he was "incensed" by the process. The outcome of the process was that a National Heritage Site was declared to which a great many of the resident community of Ida's Valley Village had no access to. In fact, as heritage official I attended meetings on site where none of the resident communities were present or represented.

List and brief biographical description of interviewees

The **apologist** interviewee group consisted of three people, all male. The first two interviewees were coloured with the last of the three, white). The first interviewee was in his early sixties and was a retired schoolteacher. The second interviewee was just over seventy and also a retired school teacher who still engaged in contractual teaching from time to time. The last person, age not disclosed, was by my estimate late forties or early fifties and the owner of the largest portion of the Valley.

The *first interviewee*, on retirement, purchased some land in Ida's Valley, and through some unspoken 'tragedy' (reported by the second interviewee) apparently lost ownership of the site. I did not pursue the issue of the 'tragedy' because of the potential sensitivity of the subject. He was a **classical and jazz guitarist** who continued to be active in the cultural circles of Stellenbosch. The two interviewees somehow saw; because of their teaching background any opportunity as a vehicle for development and growth, particularly for young people. In addition, this particular person was awareness of the skilled builders of the heritage resources in and around Stellenbosch. He assigned the builders more than a cursory level of building skill stating that they were experts at building and creating particular types of architectures. He spoke of engaging with the colonial and cape vernacular architecture and sites through the spaces that he plays at across the Stellenbosch townscape.

The **male retired contractual teacher**, approximately 70 years of age, referred by the **classical and jazz guitarist** also had extensive experience of the site. The son of a religious minister he often traversed the site delivering Minutes of meetings, pamphlets and purchasing of milk. He confessed that he experienced the site from the perspective of one who moves across the site without consciously engaging with the content of the site. His experience was therefore peripheral rather than one of engagement with the site. He spoke extensively about the good mannered and diligent young people who emerged from these farms.

His children were highly educated but had become isolated from the Valley experience due to the spatial and other modes of social exclusion. His son stays with him because of a lack of land for provision of housing for the younger generation. The **councilor** mentioned that land was at a premium hence the march of young people out of Ida's Valley Village seeking better opportunities elsewhere in South Africa even to the extent of seeking employment internationally. Toward the end of the interview he revealed concern around the lack of heritage resource identification and protection of heritage resources within Ida's Valley Village. In the post interview conversation he produced a plan and erf diagram and asked for assistance in determining the age and significance of the church he was a pastor of in the Village. This served as signifier for the need for local heritage spaces and structures.

The **owner**, on the other hand, was largely blasé about the conditions within and around the Valley. He felt that it was both a responsibility and a matter of custodianship and not ownership that is at play when dealing with heritage resources. He was also critical of the National Heritage Authority who he felt had left him and other owners "up to their own devices". He felt that the presence of the Heritage Authority should be seen and felt. His concerns were the developmental threats and the possibility of a *land grab* by the State in their zest for rapid economic transformation. He posed his concern as the fact "that so much land was in the ownership of just one family". The site has been in

the family for a significant number of years and he felt that they had done significant strides in developing and creating opportunities for development for the workers on the farms. He also expressed an opinion on the adjacent Solms Delta annual harvest festival which he said amounted to an insult to the dignity of the 'coloured' population. He felt that a more dignified way of celebration would do much to allay concerns of the locals.

The **aligned** group formed a second tier in the interview process. Two people interviewed, one male and one female, aligned themselves with the findings of the AHD. The male, incidentally was the last person interviewed in the series of interviews. The female person interviewed disclosed that she was 89 years of age. She was also a **retired female teacher** who taught on the Schoongezicht farm and lived there for most of her life. She had moved prior to her parents passing and the expulsion which normally followed. Tenure was only given to indentured workers. She was recommended as someone to speak to by a (town) council official. I was however not allowed to approach her directly but was referred to a former teacher of the non-aligned disposition. Only after his interview and making a telephone call to his referent saying that "he was on the up and up" was I allowed to approach, set up a meeting and interview her.

She was a very frail lady, with a soft and gentle spirit, who expressed nostalgia for the farm and the quality of life she had experienced. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans with translation having to be done after the interview. She now lived within Ida's Valley Village with her sister and nephew. She was the only person to speak of the slave history recalling the presence of a person who had lived on the farm. She was deeply religious and expressed appreciation for the quality of life she experienced on the farm. She felt that every experience or gift as experienced on the Rustenberg and Schoongezicht should be approached with a sense of gratitude and appreciation. She

felt that the farm owners had done the best that they could for the people living and working on the farms. She expressed the desire to return to the Valley.

The second interviewee of the aligned group, a male of 69 years, the **hotelier** (term used for ease of distinction), works in the hospitality industry. Every evening he walked to his workplace in town, where he served as night porter and bookkeeper at a hotel in town which faces Papegaaiberg, another site loaded with colonial history. He normally returns at ten in the morning and after a short period of rest resumes other duties. Our interview was scheduled in a noisy Cubana Restaurant, his selection, a testament to his still youthful disposition. The conversation started with his retelling the story of the Village and "his" church's longstanding relationship with the Valley community. He mentioned that the involvement of the church led to choirs and ballet dancers being granted scholarships and also opportunities, under sponsorship, to travel in Europe and the United States. He often drifted off on a tangent and sought to speak of the role of the church and often misunderstood the ideas posed to him regarding matters of heritage value. He eventually, through a number of promptings, became more responsive.

His personal ideology was that of gratitude and acceptance. He felt that it was important to grab opportunities in whatever form they came. He expressed concern at the behavior of some of the dissident publics who often took a confrontational approach to local spatial, economic and conventional politics. He grew up on the farms and felt a great sense of gratitude toward those who had helped him through various means of assistance and employment. On moving to town and qualifying he found employment at the Somerset Hospital in Cape Town and lost contact with the site for a number of years. He indicated that he would leave at five in the morning and only return at nine in the evening.

The **non-aligned** group consisted of three men; a ward councilor (Stellenbosch Municipality), an officer within the municipality and lastly a retired history teacher. The

councilor, 48 years of age, because of his position as member of the Mayoral Committee, had access to local concerns within the community of Ida's Valley Village and the Cultural Landscape. In fact he was one of a very few people who had unfettered access across the entire site. His concern, living on the site closest to the farms and also the Krom River, was the spatial constraint that the land immediately to the north placed on any development. As Councilor he had as mandate community upliftment and social development. This became increasingly difficult as social conditions were deteriorating rather than improving due to local and national economic conditions. His concern, due to the soil conditions to the north on a piece of land called Undosa, a high water table and a clay-like sub-soil, was the cost implication of stabilizing and draining the site for development and the cost involved in piled foundations.

He was very vocal about social relationships within the construct of the local 'coloured' community. He raised the matter of colour-differentiation between the local publics and issues of opportunities. He also raised the matter of slave ancestry and the lack of identification and the denial of this historical and genetic strain.

The **officer** within the municipality, early to middle fifties, was most scathing and distressed by the notions of heritage and the value ascribed to the site. He was dismissive regarding the notion of heritage and felt that the whole process was a sham with a few ministers from the local churches herded together to do field work on behalf of the owners of the farms with the National Heritage Authority as consort. He spoke about his vocal resistance to the proposed declaration of the site as a National Heritage Site because of the stripped down and sanitized approach to public participation. In fact, there were "two" interviews; one prior to the formally recorded interview and the actual recorded interview. The first phase, for which there is no sound recording proved to be the most significant. The discussion was informal and he was much more risqué in his opinions. In fact he was quite clear about his political views regarding the current local government, the cost implications of building on the Undosa site, the idea that people

denied their slave and Khoi histories and the fact that the political scene was driven by and facilitative toward some of the richest people on the African continent. He indicated that seven of South Africa's billionaires lived within the boundaries of the Stellenbosch municipal boundaries. This placed all kinds of constraints on his work. It amounted to the propositions that the town was run by the wealthy and that any effort to exercise legislation and procedure was compromised.

The third interviewee I identify as the **retired history teacher**. He was extremely articulate and well prepared. He had notes and addressed the questions with careful consideration. His arguments were well-founded. He had lived in the same house his entire 73 years. He bought the home from his father which enabled him to take care of his parents. He thus had in-depth knowledge of the lives and experiences of his neighbours and people living in the street. He had taught children and had access to the site in his earlier days. He was most articulate identifying the church leadership as the key protagonists in respect of the public participation process.

He also, together with other retired teachers, started writing up the history of Ida's Valley Village. He felt strongly that the relationship between the "Valley" and "Village" could be restored if the "power players", the wealthy and white gentry, could reach out in a comprehensive conciliatory action. He expressed the concern that it might already be too late due to the disappointment and rejection experienced by the Village occupants. Access to the site is the thorn in the side of the local publics and community.

The Interviews

The Apologists

The *first interviewee* was a retired school teacher, **a classical and jazz guitarist**, who retired from teaching. He had not formally occupied the space, Ida's Valley, but had lived adjacent to the site and dealt with a number of learners and parents from the area

over a considerable period. He remarked that the pupils from the Valley were exceptional in their conduct and comportment.

On first moving to Stellenbosch he had lived in a part of town called 'Die Vlakte'. Die Vlakte was bounded by Merriman-, Bird-, Muller- and Joubert Streets. At some stage during their tenure they were forcibly removed and relocated, he, to Cloetesville and other families to Ida's Valley Village on the outskirts of Stellenbosch. Ida's Valley Village was by then a fairly well established neighborhood with private home ownership. People who had the means developed their sites and homes.

The forced relocation had a significant impact on social relationships in the community and as a consequence had a role to play in respect of the reading, appreciation and valuation of what was deemed colonial "white" architecture and spaces. It was at these sites that contact was made with the former farm workers and their children. He reminisced about collecting milk on the Schoongezight farm when he was much younger; part of his early childhood contact with Ida's Valley. He also remembered the *heerhuis* on the farm with its shiny brass pots and fireplaces, places where his grandmother labored as a servant, or in his words, "as a maid". 'Baas Jack', as she referred to the owner, was very supportive and friendly as employer.

He ended up a teacher in Ida's Valley for almost three decades teaching at my "alma mater". The site of the relocated new school was adjacent to Ida's Valley and this is where he taught. He also mentioned that he had a couple of boyhood friends whom he used to visit. On the value of the site he stated that he appreciated it and saw it as a special place. He somehow "valued the place" although with some misgiving. On the issue of whether the place, Ida's Valley, was a site of significance he expressed confusion about whether the reference was to Valley or Village. On clarification he was circumspect and only after some follow-up questions felt that the cultural valley was special based *purely* on the aesthetics of the landscape. He spoke at length about the location, its genius loci, and the views. On the issue of memories and values he referred

to the fact that the centre of Stellenbosch had some of the most renowned heritage buildings in the country adorned with plaques sporting its heritage status. But, because of the country's past, people were never allowed into these properties or onto sites although they were deemed significant. A consequence of this was that a skewed view developed. People do not identify with the sites and somehow felt cheated of a sense of participation and shared heritage.

The whole experience of heritage was contaminated by the idea of exclusion. He wondered aloud how his forebears would have felt about the ideas of 'heritage' in and around Stellenbosch. Further to this he said that he wondered if they had realized that they were creating colonial structures. He stated that the people who built the structures were neither unskilled or merely slave laborers, as is often assumed, but were highly skilled craftsman. In his closing comments on this matter he said that somehow the skill had died with the passing of these craftsmen. He also lamented the fact that the skill, representative of slaves and skilled 'brown' people, was not being celebrated.

He remembered a concert he played, as a classical and jazz guitarist, at Lanzerac and on the break saw the National Monument plaque outside the building. He went on to describe the building and being there felt that it did not embody any special experiences or engendered any positive responses to the place. He articulated this as "I don't have any positive feelings toward colonial buildings" and further, "people don't go for these gabled things anymore not even the young white people".

He went on to state that he was suspicious of the notion of what a 'heritage site' was. He felt that heritage was driven by white gentry, essentially people of good income. His view was that 'brown' people were subtly influenced by what was argued should be preserved. This implied that they were not included or given choices in what was of value and to whom. The feudal and slave history did not impact on his views. He felt that the site, despite these connotations was of such beauty that it overrode the deep concerns he had. The setting was "beautiful, absolutely beautiful, the mountains- the

moment you see it you know". On the issue of heritage he felt that the site was loaded with difficulty. He expressed discomfort in how the town of Stellenbosch made him 'feel', he felt a strong sense of exclusion saying that the protection of built heritage as the primary revealer of heritage was short- sighted because of the exclusionary nature of South Africa's past.

On the issue of the aesthetics of the landscape, when thinking about heritage value, the scenic beauty of the Ida's Valley was certainly appreciated and he felt that, although excluded, it has become part of his 'heritage', inadvertently part of his 'makeup'. A strong sense of ambivalence, identifying with beauty but at the same time feeling a strong sense of exclusion, was expressed. The site, despite its immense scenic beauty, hid a wide range of social ills, alcoholism, foetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), violence, forms of sexual violence and unresolved pain.

He acknowledged that the site had some significance but felt that as long as people were not given an opportunity to engage with it as full participants it would be seen as external to their life's experience. On looking at the site he expressed appreciation for its aesthetic values and the memories associated with Ida's Valley. What was clear was that the sense of dissociation played a key role in the way in which the site was read and this was disturbing. He felt that the architecture with its particular aesthetics was imported from Holland, France and Europe imposing its values on people who 'are now supposed to enjoy it'.

He concluded by saying that heritage sites had an important part to play in referencing individual pasts and blending it into a future of collective remembering. His views are that sites should be properly managed and access made available to the local people and not only to the wealthy and foreign tourists. Access should especially be available to the people living in the area, people who should benefit the most from the sites. This would reinforce their rootedness and celebrate the energies and lifeblood which was ploughed into the land so that the children may derive benefit from the heritage sites.

The *second interviewee,* the **male retired contractual teacher,** and friend to the **classical and jazz guitarist**, is a pensioner who spoke of a cafe in Bloekom Laan (Blue gum Lane), on the edge of the valley, which he still frequented and met up with old friends and, occasionally, some of the owners of the farms in the cultural landscape. This was a 'coffee shop' of sorts where old school friends and people of the valley come to buy bread and newspapers. In this context he felt that the site had some value.

He also reminisced about his personal experiences as a youngster visiting the different farms delivering messages and minutes of meetings as a religious minister's son. In addition to this, his exposure to the site included collecting milk from Schoongezicht farm. He therefore had extensive exposure to the site at a fairly young age. He was also quick to point out that although he traversed the site, having lived in Ida's Valley Village, he also experienced a sense of dissonance. He did not engage at a human or experiential level with the site. He reminisced about moving from home to home delivering church notices. It was in these moments that the site was read as background music. The mountainscape and the vineyards against the hills and mountainous terrain left an indelible mark on his psyche. He later qualified as a teacher and taught at the high school in Ida's Valley.

He was aware that a female slave had lived in a cottage at the entrance to the farm Schoongezight. In this regard he did not speak or acknowledge his association or lineage with slavery, if any.

The **third** *apologist* **interviewee** was one of the primary landowners whose family had owned the farm for approximately 70 years. Again, as stated at the introduction and even earlier, interviews with owners of properties and farms were very difficult to secure. Literally all of the owners of properties on site, including High Rustenberg, referred me to the primary owner as someone to consult. The only other owner willing to be interviewed, however, was on her way to the United Kingdom for her annual sojourn. She was willing to communicate but felt that I should come in about six month's time

after her return. This was clearly not possible or feasible. She was also the only owner who voiced considerable opposition and dismay at the declaration of the site as a National Heritage Site. In fact she did so in the form of a series of e-mails and submissions to the National Heritage Resources Authority regarding her opposition and the claim that the declaration was a collusion between various owners in the Valley whose intention was, the prevention of any development on that site, including her intention to introduce a new structure on the farm on the highest point of the Valley.

The primary landowner indicated that he had travelled all over the world and found Ida's Valley to be "the most amazing place, just pretty, steeped in history, steeped in beauty" and felt that there was no other place that he had been of comparable beauty. It was the exceptional and immense beauty, the quality of wine, which kept the site going. It was the idea of terroir- the weather, soil and climate and ultimately the relationship of people to the earth- that worked in synergy to produce a place of magnificence.

His "fondest memories" were of growing up with a group of young people whom he had played and associated with and who have "developed themselves" and are now members of his staff. With regard to his friends, he stated that apartheid as legislation had not been fully implemented and free association was still possible friendships could be started and maintained without State interference. His view was that "politics just messed things up".

The current declaration as NHS, he confided, was prompted because of the stated intention of the Stellenbosch Municipality in seeking land for development. This was done in similar vein as had been done in the early 1970's when it was suggested that the area was intended as a space for township expansion. His father approached the then prime minister (whose name he was not able to recall- but was Vorster) in 1972. The Prime Minister suggested that the only way to protect the site was by heritage protection. Thus the site was declared a National Monument in 1976. The rationale

behind the site's declaration thus lay in the fears of urban expansion. The protection measures requested, I argue, were sought on the fear of the zoning for township development rather than the intrinsic value and significance the site had as a heritage resource. The same motivation was made in 2008. Again the municipality was looking at land, particularly an area known as Undosa, for development. A process of declaring the site as a National Heritage Site was started. In 2008 this was then re-graded and declared as a National Heritage Site (NHS).

Despite the contentious nature for the site's declaration he stated that it is the oldest agricultural area in South Africa. He also stated that it had been farmed uninterruptedly since its inception. He felt that sites such as Constantia-Tokai and other sites that form part of the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape have gone the way of so many other sites, namely erosion due to developmental intentions and impacts. In a humorous aside he spoke of Simon van der Stel who had said on occasion that 'Cape Town was for work, Stellenbosch for fun and Franschoek for refugees'. He also stated that rumor had it that Ida was a mistress of van der Stel hence the name of the farm, home and eventually the valley.

On Ida's Valley Village, in particular, he felt that the older families in the village owned their properties and therefore had a background, a sense of history and belonging. He argued that they felt part of the greater Ida's Valley. He stated that a "lot of history is going on in Ida's Valley". He juxtaposed this attitude with the: skollies living in Kreefgat" who in his view "did not give two hoots about heritage". The term "skollies" represents people living in an informal settlement and who were generally considered to be thugs and lay bouts. He concluded by stating that if you were to dig deeper into history of the Village you would find that there were people who cared.

On the physical structure of the site, Ida's Valley, he said it was situated in an amphitheatre, that it was reasonably whole and well-controlled. The very nature of development creep would be very difficult to accommodate within the site. The site was

bounded on three sides. Development pressure came from south of the site, the town's side, where land was at a premium. He acknowledged that a lot of control has been lost in the townships around town and used the words "a lot of tertiary stuff" (I presume that he meant informal backyard dwelling, housing and informal settlements) is going on in Ida's Valley Village. This it would seem to support his argument.

He reported that only one boundary was controlled which has created a sense of distance which is read as elitism although limited access is allowed. People are allowed to come on to the farm. The Manor House is opened once a year for people to visit and enter with controls in place. No restrictions are applied but visitors are however confined to certain areas of the farm.

In response to the role and value of feudal history and slavery as a contribution made and exploited he digressed saying that a friend married a German-speaking Swiss woman who always "got into trouble" for the atrocities of Nazi Germany. In this regard his attitude was that "history happens; you have to take history forward" and "you have to take history, leave the worst behind and move forward". He stated that if he were the prime minister in the 60's and 70's things may have been different. He stated that, as a collector of historical and archaeological artifacts, the ultimate message of the site is found in the Stone Age tools that have been discovered on site that have been collected and placed in safe keeping. His point at this stage was that "history was pervasive".

In writing the history of wine making in the Valley he confided that he came to the realisation that an individual may hold title but ultimately "you are merely a custodian- it passes through all different generations". Ownership, he stated, ultimately was a misnomer.

On addressing the questions around the idea of genius loci he felt that it spoke to both the tangible and intangible histories of the site. He felt that the house on the farm was well-focused and that the architecture 'tied everything down'. That the landscape

without the architecture was not going to work. He also stated that a one sided commemoration without 'use-value' resulted in memorials. He made his view clear that memorials crumble so that memorializing should be viewed in the long-term. Then , supporting his argument, he referred to Stonehenge and asked who it was created by and for whom. Answers to these questions have been difficult to come by with any certainty he said. He argued that if something is to be memorialized, which timeframe or period should be captured- that's the question- whatever you end up with would be a mere snapshot in time. A transcendent view into the depth of time would be lost.

On slavery he said that 'If you took a snapshot of the world at that time slavery is what was practiced. That is what happened. Very unfortunate but it's happened. Things have changed and we've moved on'. He used Solms Delta as an example where history is annually' recreated' and celebrated. This, he argued, was too hodge-podge. He felt that some respect should be shown to a very serious concern. The idea of getting in 'Kaapse Klopse' (the Cape Minstrels) and mixing it with slavery 'is too confusing'. He felt that it was mere smoke and mirrors. The effect and outcome of slavery was all around and did in fact have a story to tell. More thought should be given to the gravity of the impact of slavery and celebrate it within that type of context.

His concern, when dealing with the farm's National Heritage Site status was that the state might develop the idea of nationalizing the land. The issue of the past and the manner in which it is responded to is a concern. The fear he expressed was the issue of ownership- the fact that there is a perception that one 'white' family was in possession of so much land. He stated that the South African National Heritage Resources Authority was seen as toothless and would be of no help should such a situation arise. The state and status of other National Heritage Sites (NHS's) he saw as problematic. He observed that the general attitude or perception that 'there was no money in heritage' further emphasised the difficulty of conservation and protection of heritage sites.

In conclusion he argued that the declaration as a National Heritage Site served to preserve the site and so assisted the family in protecting the resource. He acknowledged that it represents national heritage as well as the family's history. The preservation of the landscape had to be balanced with practical needs and money has therefore been made available to clear the mountain. An effort is being made to restore the land by keeping historically significant trees and vegetation. Despite this the removal of alien vegetation, oaks, gum trees and other exotic trees and shrubs were of critical importance in sustainable farming methodologies despite its impact on what is seen 'as a cultural landscape in certain quarters'. The oaks were originally planted for the repair of ships. So trees were planted in spaces where they could be used for repairs to ships and this is where the forests of Oaks developed. Despite this the relationship between the old and new mattered.

The Aligned interviews

The aligned perspective is representative of two interviewees who accepted and celebrated the declaration of the site and the arguments for its significance without much debate. In fact they endorsed it irrespective of the concerns that most others have had about the process, the excessive scale of land ownership and inaccessibility of the farms.

The **first interviewee**, a lady, was a retired school teacher of 89 years who was literally born in the arms of this cultural landscape and in her later years moved to what is currently read as the main farm, Rustenberg. Her interview was conducted in Afrikaans. She currently lives in Ida's Valley Village within sight of where she grew up. In fact, on my leaving she pointed to a clump of trees indicating that that is where she had grown up and lived.

She had lived on the farm for most of her 80 years. She initially lived on Glenbawn which was then under different ownership. This farm subsequently fell within the

portfolio of Rustenberg the biggest farm with the most land in the area. She recalls having lived there quite happily. She reported that she never locked the doors to her house. She was of the Christian faith and advised that everything 'you possessed and owned' was protected by 'the higher power'. She reminisced that she still had a deep longing for the farm stating that, if she could, she would 'pack up and return'. The reason she moved, she disclosed, was because her parents had rights to live on the farm but that those rights did not extend to the children, family or offspring. It was in this context that she purchased a home in the village.

On the concerns around the values she attached to the site she said that the experience of nature, physically and visually, is what made the site extraordinary. She remembered and spoke at length about the ease of access afforded them to spaces on the farm and, particularly the mountain, Simonsberg. In fact there was an annual marathon that took place on the farm that lead up into the mountain along the pathways and trails. She recalls being able to see Table Mountain from there. They annually got permission to have picnics and outings during summer: as she taught literacy classes on the farm, she was allowed to take the adult learners up the mountain annually. Near the top of the Simonsberg, on the Valley side, there was a chalet or chalets which had electricity, a television set, showers and reticulated water on to the site. Apparently they could not use these facilities but were allowed to use the external amenities. They also, as a precaution did not make any fires but instead packed picnic baskets. She agreed with the fact that the site was of heritage significance. The grand landscape and the farm buildings played a significant role in her awareness of the 'place' and the setting. She defined it as 'it is as it should be'.

She noted that in earlier times slaves worked in Ida's valley on the farms. She remembered stories of a daughter rumoured to be of slave descent, named Ouma Ragel, who belonged to the 'Volkskerk' of Africa. She had lived on the farm in the old slave quarters. She apparently was given the right to live on the farm; she lived alone

and after her mother passed away, eventually died in the slave quarters. She made the point that many things that could be seen on the farm were as a result of slave labour. Despite being aware of the conditions under which slaves lived and laboured she did not display any negative sentiment toward the issue of the feudal system and its association with slavery. She seemed quite distant or unaware of her own potential slave ancestry one of the key motivations for the declaration of the site as a National Heritage Site.

On a personal level she felt positive toward the idea of Ida's Valley as a heritage site. This was based on her perceptions of the landscape, its beauty, the role that it played in constructing an identity and the owner's attitude and the manner in which he treated the workers. They were provided with electricity and water and hardly ever suffered any shortages. She contrasted her personal experience with that of Glenbawn where there was no water reticulation. She had no problem identifying with the buildings, the landscape and built environment saying that the spirit of place was something physical rather than spiritual. It was about the memories she associated with the material heritage. She felt that it was what you saw that 'spoke' to you and that created that sense of appreciation.

When asked which values she was aware of and how these values were reflected in her experience- she referred to a series of practices such as weddings and cultural dances. In order to illustrate what she perceived as the good relationship that existed between workers and the farm-owner was based in the fact that hall was purpose built for use by the workers on the farm. The hall ended up serving as a New Apostolic Church.

In reference to the broader cultural experiences they had, she spoke of the home they occupied. She displayed exceptional pride in the fact that theirs was a free standing home in the middle of a plum grove on Glenbawn. She emphasized the point that the home was freestanding and not part of the conventional housing blocks used on the farm. Her family often visited the people living in these blocks as though to suggest that,

although they were relatively 'better off' in terms of living conditions, they did not assign themselves a station above other occupants of the farm.

The interviewee went on to describe the landscape as it was during her youth. In order to get to the site you had to cross a bridge to where the three large dams were built. She said that, in addition to their 'own' freestanding home, only two other worker's families lived in freestanding homes. The owner's son lived in a 'large' house adjacent to the hall that served as church and entertainment centre. The location of the interviewee's home, on a hill, was such that they could see the Hydro, 'Groot' (Great) Rustenberg.

On the issue of experience, remembering and memory she said that it was important to have lived on a farm. It taught you to be appreciative of nature, the 'goodwill' of people and the sense of community that was a result of a common 'destiny'. Religion played a big role in the lives of the people and influenced (my interpretation) their cosmology, worldview and relationship to and with nature. This relationship, she reinforced, was expressed through healthy living, humility and respect for older folks. There was a sense of community spirit that extended to the collective raising of children 'by the village'. People, in addition to receiving vegetables and fruit from the owners, also planted vegetables in a communal garden that was accessible to all.

In the concluding part of the interview she mentioned that the protection, in her estimation, preserved the values and perspectives, not only of the heritage constructs but actually the social values and relationships between various people. It created a sense of community which gave the idea of heritage even more value and gravitas. On the declaration she said that it had not changed her perspectives. She said that the declaration should be supported on the idea of the intangible and tangible heritage value and significance.

Interviewee 2, a male of nearly seventy who still worked night shift at a local hotel, identified as the **hotelier**, continued the trend of supporting the status quo as part of the *aligned* group of two. He also spoke of the strict family upbringing based on Christian practice. He said he was born and educated in Stellenbosch. At matriculation level he felt that, in order to study commerce, he needed further grounding and attended a preparatory college of commerce before embarking on university studies. He started at the University College of the Western Cape but shortly left to study in Pretoria (1968) and then returned to Stellenbosch and the valley in the 1970's. For the first part of his life he worked in the medical industry at Somerset Hospital in Cape Town.

In his lifetime he saw the valley's edge develop from an extension of the farming area into a neighborhood. He has lived in Ida's Valley since1963 and experienced the history of the site from an even earlier period. He mentioned with pride that he had strong associations with Ida's Valley. These strong connections and associations with the site derived from the experiences he and his friends had in spending time hiking into the mountains before it became increasingly private.

At the time of growing up fruit trees- plums and pears- were grown on the farms. He feels that the site should not be the subject of development because it should remain for uses of agri-business. The role of the site is, at a higher level of importance, to provide oxygen and also has the function of creating work opportunities at a time when it was much needed. He expressed opposition to the idea of providing housing in the Valley itself and saw this as a threat to the aesthetics and its impact on job opportunities. He felt that the area was supposed to be for the provision of food resources. By using the existing facilities he felt that the communities surrounding the valley are able and should embrace the opportunities on offer to 'grow' themselves as people despite the current socio-economic and unchanged political context.

On responding to the questions he rhetorically asked "what does value mean and what makes something special?" He referred to the role history played in his life and those of

the people and his friends and starting speaking about a 'red house'. He reminisced about the 'red house', which he stated, was the house of the first railway station master, a Mr. Miller. It was the first house that he visited and was allowed to enter. It was in there that he remembered seeing pictures of Napoleon and some 'beautiful' artifacts. He also spoke about Papegaaiberg, a hill of some significance in the development of the colony and related to van der Stel's reign, being 'desecrated' by the erection of illegal structures as part of a growing informal settlement. He felt that the hill site should be treated with more respect. He reported that it was rumoured that the intention was to have the site declared a nature reserve. He stated that the hotel where he works was directly across from the hill on the other side of town. He was virtually always conscious of it. In this respect he said that heritage, in his belief, is a process of engagement with an experience. You have to experience something in order for it to have value.

His experiences of the site were enhanced by his experiences on Schoongezicht with a war veteran whose name he could not recall. What he recalls though, was that there were spiritual practices, social engagements, education, schools, and ballet lessons which were offered to young people in the Methodist Hall. He stated that the veteran looked at everything, took care of the farm, took care of the workers. He felt that Ida's Valley was indeed a cultural landscape. The historical setting and the built fabric was of great value. In addition, the undergirding values, the senses of honesty, respect and the honest opinions, experienced through the site are assets that could continue to even great heights if intentions remain grounded. But if we have a municipality who has an eye on certain portions of the farms there is the danger of an erosion of the physical (tangible) as well as the non-material (intangible) values. He said that 'Growth is important- agricultural- because it develops'.

On the issue of feudalism he said that exploitation by feudal landlords was a fact. On the other hand he felt strongly that the London Missionary Society came with the Bible in one hand and through actions of Christianizing the local population, eventually gained

access to the land. The introduction of slavery had an impact on the landscape. Despite this his view was that the slaves were treated fairly well. The slave houses were 'quite comfortable' but in certain places there was the odd owner who treated them inhumanely. It is very important to notice that William Wilberforce, encouraged by John Wesley, set about the abolition of slavery. This he said as an avowed Wesleyan.

Despite his views of the value of the cultural landscape he lamented the fact that highly capable young people were leaving Stellenbosch because of a lack of housing opportunities. This is where the municipality fought heritage protection because of the frustrations that were emerging. The physical landscape for the interviewee had much more to do with the functional nature of the landscape than its physical beauty. He rated the functional nature of the farms as more important because they provided food and assisted with the gross national product. Open spaces are necessary because built up areas has to 'breathe'. He said the strategies of densification as envisioned by the municipality should be fought. There are open spaces that can assist with development such as the proposed national hiking trail. His feeling was that it would provide employment and not necessarily compromise the value and heritage of the site. In fact, he felt that a cable car was needed in the area. He also stated that the physical was more important than the spiritual. Without the physical there could be no spiritual associations with sites. He stated that, in the remembering of things, the physical was as important so that the memorializing thereof should be given equal attention. The enhancement of the site can and should be made in the physical realm. Space was at a premium and it is therefore important to use it with conservation in mind. As an example he said that people 'do not bury anymore they cremate' because space was at a premium.

The physical, that is, buildings, farms and spaces do have value but should be rated on its functional value and it is therefore important that it be made presentable. A place tells a story if it is 'activated', if not, people may forget its value to society. Preservation

of the physical protects the spiritual inadvertently. The gentleman felt that if the physical is not preserved or appreciated it would 'disappear'. Roots should be remembered and not allowed to be destroyed.

He felt that the whole site was a NHS. He stated that he felt more confident about the status of the site as a declared NHS and argued that the declaration of the site represented his values. He reminisced, in conclusion, that, because he worked in Cape Town for over 30 years and never really saw the Valley in daylight; he appreciated and valued it so much more. His final words were that Ida's Valley contributed to human development in so many ways. Not everything of the past was good but yet not all was bad. It was for this reason that he respected the site as heritage resource even more**.**

The Non-aligned Interviews

The interview of the **first interviewee,** the **official,** of the non-aligned disposition regarding the heritage significance of Ida's Valley, was a fairly harrowing experience for me. The reason was that in the initial phases of the interview he was almost aggressively forthcoming and then settled down in a frame of mind that was still highly disconcerting. He made the statement that 17% of the population of Stellenbosch owned approximately 80% of the land within the municipal district. He lamented the need for land and for housing stating that the municipality was in desperate straits to answer to its mandate. The outcome of this, because of the lack of land for development of the village, an encroaching high middle class development to the south east, the offer of significant sums of money within the local political context lead to frustration, a sense of vulnerability and, a growing sense of being exploited and a consequent sense of marginalization politically and socially. The introduction of access control structures, electrification of fences and the introduction of a number of new homes and additions have resulted in a sense of division and exclusion from economic opportunities arising from potential business and employment opportunities for the next door Ida's Valley Village. Many of these actions also appear to have been done in

contravention of an agency agreement, an existing Conservation Management Plan and legal processes as prescribed by the National Heritage Resources Act This came as a disappointment to me which was confirmed by a legal advisor who indicated that people had gotten 'tired' of the processes related to applications and adherence to the Conservation Management Plan and agreements between the local heritage bodies and the heritage resources authority. This did not read well in the context of the national heritage site status and public participation processes of a site of 'supposed' agreed heritage significance.

The interviewee expressed frustration that he suffered from a lack of identification with Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape as a heritage site and other buildings and spaces within the neighbouring town, Stellenbosch. The reason was the very exclusionary nature of heritage identification and protection processes. He said that this position applied to the greater Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape as well. He expressed the belief that these were neither representative nor inclusive but was 'biased' and 'sanitized' toward the use by a 'privileged white minority'. It came to the point where he stated that it was now incumbent on the 'cultural valley' occupants to *breach the divide*.

The outcome, as the interview unfolded, turned into a discussion about exclusion and inclusion as transcendent themes in the Stellenbosch and the surrounding landscape and regional narrative. The exclusion, he suggested, was coming from the 'power brokers', the 'white' elite and landowners. A fracturing of social relationships, association and access occurred due to this fact. This progressed to the point where a pattern of 'constructive' marginalization had begun to emerge. It was in this context that he felt that heritage sites should have a component of 'joining', 'mending', 'opening up' and of an acknowledgement that the 'other' was actually part of the collective 'us'. 'Us', he confided were the 'black' (coloured, Khoi and Indian) peoples.

At some stages during the interview process it became clear that, at a personal level, I identified with aspects of the history and experiences as expressed by this individual.

He stated that he felt a sense of powerlessness and exclusion based on economics, colour, culture, location and dispossession of land, forced relocation and the general economic condition of approximately 80% of the people of colour. In this regard the questionnaire served as a powerful tool to bring about a sense of control to the interview.

When prompted about Ida's Valley's protection status as a National Heritage Site he made it clear that the declaration may have left him even more disenchanted. In the unfolding discussion he raised the issue of public participation and questioned who the role players from Ida's Valley were, that is the people or publics who were consulted, and what their powers were in regard to the identification and processing phases. In fact, he asked, by whose mandate were they engaged and who did they 'truly' represent. Somewhat cynically he stated that the only information that 'apparently mattered' was what the authorities 'decided'. He questioned whether 'his 'community' in the settlement of Ida's Valley had a 'vote' in respect of the content of the process. He said he wondered what their thoughts, their inputs and views were and whether these had been considered. He raised the question of participation and whether their views were included in the final assessment of the value and significance of the site. He felt if there inputs were not given proper consideration then, clearly, the process was skewed'. His recollection was that a 'couple' of preachers were engaged in the process on whose opinions the public participation process was concluded.

In concluding the discussion, the question was raised whether the site encapsulated or represented his beliefs, perceptions or values. He answered as follows: "let me frame it like this, if value was a crayfish, and you have never seen a crayfish, never heard of a crayfish, and somebody asks you what you think of or what the taste of a crayfish was, that person may not be able to answer you. In terms to these values with regards to Ida's Valley, I cannot before God say that I know what it means. No experience, never

seen it, never heard of it. So in terms of these values relating to Ida's Valley I am acting and reacting and wish to God I could more be proactive".

The **second Interviewee** under the non-aligned perspective is someone who is a **retired history teacher**, seventy odd years of age, his words, and had been living in Ida's Valley, in the same street, all his life. He stated that he knew the 'community' very well. He had in depth knowledge of families and people who have lived in the area over many years

He said at some level that he was aware that Ida's Valley farming area was a site of importance or significance, or more particularly, of some heritage value. It was however a 'different valley' to the one where he had lived and grew up in. His recollection was of 'people who owned the land within and to the north' but who were not part of the 'community'. He stated that he was aware that people who lived in the heritage area operated as if they were not 'really' part of the community in which he lived. On going to school, he said, you met with people who came from Ida's Valley the heritage area and had in common shared life and living experiences. He was aware that, as individuals, people lived different lives to those in the more dense urban areas. They, however, shared their experiences. People who worked and are working on the farms in the main worked in the service industry. There was therefore an emotional, psychological, social and economic 'disconnect' between what you experience and what they experienced living in that particular area.

He has been aware that it was a heritage site since childhood. On whether Ida's Valley the heritage site was a special place, he answered an emphatic 'no' but immediately stated that it could be. His sense was that historically, unfortunately, there has been a 'disconnect' (his words) between the village, the residential area, and the 'other' Ida's Valley. He mentioned the fact that it was interesting that the people who now lived in the urban village initially lived on the farms. This connection between those who owned and those who lived and worked in the area could be restored if 'it' allowed itself to be part of

the 'whole'. Originally some of the people who worked on the farms would live in the village because they preferred not to live on the farms. His grandfather, a coachman for one of the farmers, bought a piece of land in the village and eventually became a small scale urban farmer. He thus argued that he had a connection with the space, Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. He had dual experiences of both being on the farm and also living in the village. This resulted in him becoming disconnected from the farm landscape. The site, Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, *could be* a national heritage site *if* the disconnect could be breached. He felt that the disconnection could not be allowed to remain that way. It should be breached, he said, to avoid perpetuating the sense of 'apartheid' ideas in Ida's Valley and the communities in general. It cannot remain separate while the 'other' Ida's Valley receives special status. It is possible to grant it special status if the two Ida's valleys are allowed to breach the divide and become connected. Reconnection with the 'other' Ida's Valley is important. It cannot remain separate and be granted special heritage or a status above the other Ida's Valley. This would perpetuate the residual and perceived separatist narrative of Ida's Valley and Stellenbosch. He argued that there was a case to be made about the ancestry of the people who now live in this Ida's Valley Village as founding and building members of the cultural valley.

In regard to the role of remembering and history he said it seems if memories have faded and the contact that once was has waned. There hasn't been continuous contact. He said that you are constantly aware that there is a 'different landscape'. He continued by saying that it was the same feeling you get when you go in to Stellenbosch. There was a residual fear even after having lived in the area for more than seventy years. He said he could not nor feel part of 'that' Stellenbosch because of the way in which you are and were forced to view yourself and 'your place', your social, economic and political location, in Stellenbosch. He continued 'You feel like a stranger. I don't feel part of that part of Stellenbosch. The same applies with the heritage farms'. He described it

as like being an alien. On the basis of this he held that Ida's Valley, unfortunately, was not a special place.

On the last of the listed questions he answered that South Africa had this massive history before the colonists destroyed it. What we have at the moment, he continued, was a fraction of the history that should have been available to 'us'. The 'heritage project' was very important one but the approach to the heritage, its structure and methodology should be decolonized. There was a need to look at how discourses are structured. The major challenge that will need attention is how to write a text that is South African. He argued that, unless that is done, we would not be able to unearth the real discourses or heritage resources. Speaking of the African situation he said he was not sure about other African countries such as Nigeria. He said he had not gone on to understand how they operated in terms of similar types of projects. He said despite not having gone in depth in this regard he felt that somehow South Arica was behind in terms of what Africa has done. He speculated that perhaps, for some or other reason, or because we have had a longer period of colonial domination or penetration, that our historical richness and riches have been lost to the young together with an accompanying sense of loss of identity. People have exploited this. He said that the previously marginalized needed to go into this whole area of developing a methodology of heritage research to address this concern but concluded that that was probably an area for experts to explore. He said that it should not necessarily be an African model but a model somewhere out there that could assist in providing a unique approach given our history and the complexity and tensions that still exist. He proposed that we could approach our unique heritage openly and not necessarily bypass difficulties but begin to look at these as resources or opportunities. People, he felt, were being kept away from well-founded research or was being subjected to *polarised* information. He said we should try and discover what it is that would set people completely free from past inequities and perceptions. This needed to be explored. He admitted to entering linguistic and psychological areas of expertise which he was not qualified to enter into.

His leading concern was about how to get behind these kinds of issues and, as a method, how do we 'dig down into people's minds', do an excavation of what people could remember about their shared histories. Connecting with heritage is therefore an imperative to assure fluidity and confluence in respect of the ideas around heritage sites and its status- his words.

He stated that he identified with the scenic beauty which is Stellenbosch and surrounding area. He said that, whether you like it or not, it is actually part of a collective heritage. It is part of a person's psychological make-up-'you want to live in a place that is close to nature'. There is, however, the awareness that the natural beauty hides a social volatility, a number of social ills and social pains. Despite this, he continued, it is important to understand that the space that is Ida's Valley was transformed from a natural rural area into restructured farmlands. Heritage sites have immense value for generations going forward because it fulfills the need that people have to understand where they are coming from. History has primordially changed the site by influences from France, Holland and other European countries. A new know-how and knowledge as well as an aesthetic were introduced and this has become part of the collective history of what the Valley is and has become. It is therefore important to understand the site in order to understand the individual's rights or perspectives.

He continued by saying what needs to be understood is that heritage means a great deal if it is properly managed and made available to the local people. The locals are the people that should benefit most from these sites. He argued that you should not be made to feel alienated from the history and the way in which the area developed. The energy of the people is the life blood that was invested in the space. The children and their offspring should be able to benefit from the inputs of their forbears. It should be a sharing between those who owned and those who developed the place into what it is.

Ida's Valley has a definite a *sense of place* because when you visit countries overseas - there is a feeling that this is home. There is a deep emotional and psychological

affection, he stated, even though you may be critical of the history or have reservations about the place. This particular area is the second oldest settlement of the Dutch and the Huguenots.' If you look at the heritage sites, the buildings, for example, you can clearly distinguish between the present and past; owners and the people who built the sites. It is as much their ownership and those who have funding and ownership. These are the voices that need to be heard and acknowledged. Not just in terms of documentation but as real living people. From that perspective heritage is relevant. It would give the place and people a dignity. With appropriate recognition those with influence can give it a genuine sense of inclusivity. As a start the master-slave relationship needs to be unpacked and resolved otherwise it will remain a space and an area of conflict. People will not be open and honest with each other. It will remain a facile discourse. Do not resurrect the past but use it to enable us to build a future and allow individuals 'the right of being' he said and concluded by saying that self-understanding is critical and the past should be the teacher.

He continued that the whole history of slavery has been dehumanising of people. He unashamedly identified with his slave history. Heritage should make the point of reliving and giving new light or understanding of those who have gone before. Churches have broken away from the so-called missionary churches because of the ideas of social and political collusion. Slavery and identity are proud moments in which to own that history as descendants of slaves and should not be seen as detrimental to individual identity.

On the idea of alienation he said he felt alienated from 'the place' despite wanting to be a part of it. The need, he said, was to; as far as we can, reconnect with the place, the geographical area in terms of its culture and history. People are continually being displaced rather than reintegrated. He felt that that there were perceptions that govern behavior in the area. The first is that of ownership and the other, the commercial aspect. He argued that, in order for the farms to represent a particular 'face' farm workers had to be relocated in order to boost cultural tourism. The result was that people have been

relocated for the sake of tourist accommodation and related facilities. He argued that there was a sense of outrage that this was happening despite the profession that we are from the same religion yet no humanity is shown from one side to the other. The relationship between the two Ida's Valleys is an intricate and difficult one. He continued with his argument saying that he did not know how to speak to people who claim the alternative version of history. He made the following statement: 'If they want me to reconnect to Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, they must reconnect to my Ida's Valley. I must not reconnect to them on their terms. It will perpetuate the status quo'.

Physically the architecture had an immense impact on the village. A copying or patterning across the divide by way of replication and integration had occurred. Some homes in the village have introduced gable-ends that seek to imitate ideas of the Valley into the village. His grandfather was a small farmer who picked up the ability to farm while working on the farms. Beyond the field in Hahn Street his grandfather had a small holding with two dams. In order to illustrate the point of his argument he stated that one of the girls of a neighbor has a very fair complexion. He hereby wished to imply and illustrate that there have been contact between the two races, black and white, which has not been acknowledged. He said that you still don't see 'that Ida's Valley' as part of you. You are always on the alert, always defensive when you think about it and enter into any conversation. He said that he still found it very difficult 'to know how to deal with it'. He continued by saying that, on the one hand you have a comfortable relationship with the Valley on the one hand and at the other hand a relationship of distrust. He said that a heritage site is not just a place or geographical location it had several overlays and meanings. The site was a living experience. This living experience was in your midst and yet the question is 'how do you relate to it and how do you deal with it'.

He argued that the story is a complexity of stories. People do not want a choir-like response; I assume alluding to the collective but would have their individual stories address the issues just the same. That aspect has not been allowed to flourish. His

argument was that the fundamental role of heritage is that it should and could allow new ways of linguistic intercourse to develop. Language has the power to unify but also to divide. Scandinavia has a complex history that is allowed to emerge and to flourish. We, in South Africa, are now faced with new challenges with things that were hidden. He raised the question by which mechanism this was to be overcome because we as South Africans have an opportunity to look at things in new ways. We should make it a shared history. The interviewee also made quite a powerful statement when he said that 'People are not afraid of their stories but how these stories will be interpreted and represented. Afraid of how their stories will impact on their children. It's not just the story telling'. He raised a number of questions within the questions posed by the questionnaire such as 'How do you try and rectify and compensate for what has happened in this country? Recognize hidden dark corners of your collective history, how do you deal with values, how do we overcome what has happened in the past to take and make this a shared experience for our children into the future for our children'. His concluding remark here was that we needed to genuinely acknowledge there was a problem.

In order to resolve the higher order issues raised by the questions he stated that *truth and reconciliation* then becomes part of the issue. He continued by saying that he was not referring to the truth and reconciliation that has been dished up until now because reconciliation was a much more complex and difficult thing. Ultimately the value of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not just about storytelling but also how to try and rectify, compensate or make values common. To the authorities he said that they should give recognition to the heritage but genuinely acknowledge the heritage of other people. 'Recognizing, genuinely acknowledging is not just the remembering it is the living history' therefore the processes will have to be different.

Ultimately he argued that it was not just about preservation or conservation but building on that and developing new ways of thinking about heritage- new ways of social

intercourse- discovering and developing the values that we really want as the underlying basis for our emerging society because we are still a growing country-a very young country. He felt that we could not really speak of a pre-1994 history as that of a country. We were now in a very difficult process a very difficult juncture of building a unified nation. We cannot speak of it as a country we are still growing. We need to go through all these processes. He also spoke and asked about the idea of ubuntu[1]. The leading question he verbalized was what exactly 'we' were talking about as there are different interpretations of the meaning of ubuntu. He stated that if we spoke about culture and cultural values, the question was whether we were really interpreting what used to be or whether we were interpreting heritage and history for convenience, for political purposes. If we begin to unpack our history and turn it into a common property, all sharing in it and all drawing from then we can begin to develop a kind of value system.

If you look into Khoi cultural history- how people related to each other in a preindustrial culture. Values are there that are cherished and that may create a more cohesive society with protocols of discipline. He suggested that we have to take our history and unpack and reconstruct it to find new methodologies.

In coming to the end of the interview he stated that he was very suspicious on how the site was declared. His statement was that it was done for commercial benefit. His feelings about the site, the geographical space, were, as he put it "neutral". He said that it was the way in which the site is being used that infuriated him. He felt that the site could become something quite different. It had the possibility of becoming something active, something that could be treasured together with its benefactors. There would however need to be a changed relationship between the owners and the people who still inhabit part of the area and the people, who for one or other reason have left the site. That is another reason he proposed why the revisitation of the idea of the site as a

[1] ʊ[ˈubuntu /ʊˈbʊntʊ/ *noun* (SOUTH AFRICA) a quality that includes the essential human virtues; compassion and humanity

heritage site had to be done and the authentic voices of the inhabitants made to be heard.

The values employed in the declaration and motivation for the site's declaration and potential inscription as a World Heritage Site as part of the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape does not convince that it has the full support of the 'communities' in close proximity, in fact there is a strong sense of exclusion based on the manner in which the process of public interest was handled. An essentially 'top-down' approach was used to garner support and define issues of materiality, aesthetics and space.

The **third interviewee** was a local politician and public servant, the **councilor** of approximately 50 years of age. He had lived in Ida's Valley for 23 years on the farm called Schoongezight and a portion of the time in the Village. On the issue of Ida's Valley as a special place he said that it was a special place based on the senses of the values and principles of the people who resided and still reside there, he lamented the fact that, after 14-15 years into democracy, freedom of association and freedom of movement the ideals of the constitution and the rights of people sadly (still) had not been realized. He said that as a councilor he had unfettered freedom of movement while the rest of the community did not have this privilege. He said, and I quote 'you almost feel like a baboon on a chain'… 'You see the landscape but you can't access it. …You are told you are free but you are constantly reminded of the limitations of this freedom'. So the question of access and freedom of movement still is a hindrance and discomfort.

He said that places are made special because of a value-association. This value he derived from the fact that every person has value and therefore has significance. He stated that what was lacking in respect of the landscape was a 'value' everyone could appreciate- a common value. Looking at the surrounding farms, he said, they could not access the surrounding mountains. The mountains were visible but not accessible. He felt that it was special and that it had significance because when you looked around you

the farms were unquestioningly beautiful. Yet again the inhabitants of the Valley (workers) and Village could not access the mountains. It could at best 'only be seen through binoculars', he said cynically, because it was surrounded by electrical fencing and access control points; from this perspective he felt that the current state of affairs was very sad.

He made it known that his sense of value was contaminated by other elements such as the issue of freedom of movement and access. He felt that one of the teachings imparted to them in the area was the idea of the acceptance of your 'fate' was a crying shame. It loaded local publics with an added burden of guilt. In fact, he said, you were taught to accept and not question the status quo or the current value system. The system was based on gratitude. Whatever was given you, poor in quality, poor in service, you were taught to receive with humility. The central and undergirding tenet was that you should be grateful for whatever little you receive. 'You accept what you get … if little or nothing'. He continued by saying that the church taught that we should believe in God and the Bible which was used to teach that 'thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's wife, property or whatever'. The fundamental drumbeat was that 'thou shalt not desire'. This is the context of the mindset of the coloured community whose existence was wrapped in a belief in the Bible tenets which left them entrapped by a value system that was being exploited by the haves and its market forces. He said he was often angry with people. The belief of acceptance and not desiring more out of life was a major problem to him because the conditions that he was living under were unacceptable to him. The area within which he was living was problematic. He said that he, at the very least, would like to have more space. He stated 'I do not want to live like this. I want to bring my children up in a nice environment. However, I am robbed of that'. He went further by saying that he believed this is the legacy of Apartheid. He then addressed the situation as though an instruction was given to him saying 'Listen, you have to live there now'. The Bible says that you shall not desire but when he looked at the farms there he could not but feel cheated. He said that: 'I am in a conflict situation, I

look at the areas around me and if I desire it, I am going to hell, if I don't look at these things, at my current situation. I am still going to hell'. This he argued was his dilemma.

In respect of the value debate he argued saying that your values will be determined by your degree of access to something, the landscape. He argued that you could not value it if you had no access or exposure to it. On the question of whether the area and landscape qualified as a heritage site he said that it should not qualify as a heritage site despite the fact that it has historical value it should not be a heritage site. He argued that if you allowed this, granted that it is, you will limit expansion of the site. He continued saying that people needed space for expansion, for housing. The people living in Ida's Valley were moved out of town and 'thrown' into Ida's Valley. 'They had no choice' he continued but now that expansion is necessary development is being curtailed or thwarted. Ida's Valley Village, he said, was surrounded by farms and high end residential developments. It is virtually placed within a box. Cloetesville on the one side has an industrial area and on the other side Khayamandi and a high end housing development which inhibited development within and around these growing communities.

When farms are declared heritage sites- as soon as this happens- people are excluded from the area. Historical farm shouldn't necessary be declared as such. The reason is the selective nature of such actions. He asked why certain areas should qualify for this status. He believed that these actions were done only when a person felt like excluding 'you'. As an example he cited Helshoogte. He said that 'suddenly' it is declared a heritage site. He said that on the other side of the mountain there was land available for development. Because certain 'people' who do not want low cost housing in the area argue that it would disturb 'the environment'. Even the university wants to develop the site next to Ida's Valley Village. The problem preventing the developments has been the lack of infrastructure development. New and more expensive housing is being built at the cost of at least one million rand. Despite benefitting from the Apartheid system the

former beneficiaries are still placed at an advantage. Even the University is growing the numbers of students. In the midst of it all is the confused and biases of the authorities in power, evident in that they, for example, decided that a house shop could be placed next to his home. He felt that his space was being intruded upon but when it came to 'certain people' every mechanism is used to protect that particular group of people. All kinds of mechanism are used to protect the site.

In regard to the 'sense of the grand landscape' he felt that the landscape itself made you excited but also made you angry at the fact that one person could have access 'to all this land'. He said he had a passion for the children. He felt that it was intrinsically unjust that a person had to be born in an informal structure, get married from there and possibly even die from there without anything changing. The feudal history and slave history further contaminated his perspectives and therefore he found it difficult, if not impossible, to view Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape as a heritage site. He was also disturbed about the intention to build a hiking trail up the Simonsberg. He felt that it was only to prevent the local area of Stellenbosch from expanding, placing a further hold on housing and amenity provision. In this regard he reported that the community was angry at this prospect.

He said that when you speak to Coloured people the response is that, sardonically, 'your mother was a *strandloper* and your father was a white man'. In fact, given the cultural background, if you were dark skinned people in Ida's Valley or Village people use the 'K* … word'. In fact, he said, 'what you don't want to be is dark skinned …. You will use creams to be light skinned. If you grow up here with hair that is kinky it was seen as a sin'. He said that when it came to slave ancestry the arguments are 'My grandfather was a German'. Khoi, San or slavery is not acknowledged as part of ancestral heritage. He felt that it was part of an indoctrination process whereby a fair skinned disposition represents alignment with higher cultural values associated with the major landowners and people of high disposition.

He confirmed what at least two other interviewees indicated, namely, that on Schoongezight there was a hall formally a storage space that was converted in to a church. A portion of the site, on the way from Schoongezight is a site colloquially called *Tamatie-Set,* where it is believed slaves were buried. He indicated that on Glenbawn near the peach grove were also graves rumoured to be of slaves.

In continuation of the argument around slavery he said that he was not in a position to appreciate it. It added no value to the site as far as he was concerned. He could not relate to it. The physical, the landscape, the tangible world was difficult to relate to. In regard to the idea of a sense of place views he said there was nothing that he could relate to. His only awareness of the heritage or supposed heritage was that there were certain buildings you could not enter. As an example, the house where the owner lived could not be entered. The only time a person went to his house you only went as far as the *stoep* (porch). The only reason you knew where and in what condition the garden was is because you were instructed to do the gardening. When you were allowed into the house you were only allowed as far as the kitchen. Therefore, he said, the buildings and its environment was associated with bad experiences and memories.

On a more personal level he said that even if they grew up with only candles to light their lives they never thought of themselves as poor. He recalled that the police once came to search their home because it was rumoured that his father had stolen a sheep. He knew from early on that you were not supposed to be near the mountains or the dams. However, it was a natural thing for boys to make catapults, shoot and gallivant all over the place. But soon the realization set in 'informing you' which spaces were accessible and which were prohibited. However, the 'white boys' could go anywhere. The boys could go on to the dams in rowing boats. He mentioned that people still had these instilled fears. He felt that uneducated people were deemed acceptable because they were easier to 'manage'. The result of all these experiences is that people no longer wanted to remember- they prefer to forget and live within a conception that all

was well. The outcome of this form of social and psychological violence is that when someone desires something or aspires to it, he leaves it at that level, nothing is pursued. He does not desire more or pursue the desire to grow himself. A case in point would be a well-known farm worker, who while on his deathbed, asked that the owner please park his tractor behind the hospital for fear someone will drive it while he was away.

Non–aligned perspective: Email communication

As mentioned earlier, one of the owner's who was unable to meet with me expressed her dismay at the declaration and particularly the ensuing debate around an application she had submitted for the development of a house on a site she owns at the northern most part of the valley. The e-mail summary is included as they are matter of record at the national heritage resources authority and adds to the ongoing debate around the issue of value and significance and particularly around the content of the public participation process and its niche-carving methodology. A methodology that neatly and, by evidence gained from the interviews, excluded some of the key owners in the valley and other people such as the workers on the farms

In response to the development around Undosa, the respondent reflected on the issues of access and movement through the site and debates the position of the local heritage body. She wrote that she had read The National Heritage Site Nomination Form written around 2003/ 2004 and the National Heritage Site Draft Guidelines for Conservation and Development dated November 2011 and felt it pertinent to comment on its content and arguments.

The writer contested the idea of the valley as a contiguous site of heritage significance and value and raised this with the committee which included the National Heritage Resources Authority. The introduction of this fact reinforces the idea that no large scale consensus was ever reached and even publics with significant political and economic resources were overlooked.

Conclusion

Fundamental to the understanding of the issues raised during the interview process is the reading of the construct, heritage, and its important undergirding construct, 'value', which, as it stands, is clouded in the controversy surrounding the interpretation of the past, particularly in the case of Ida's Valley. The background to this is the fact that the *past*, in and of itself, is a contested space because different groups remember different pasts and compete with each other for the power to shape public memory. This is particularly poignant if one considers that the construction of public life and its associated legislation created economic, social and political polarities in South Africa. This stands in contrast to the post-apartheid narrative where subaltern groups have been encouraged to find a new voice. This has been the 'new' narrative yet at the same time its operationalisation has shown the same biases to power and the continuation of disempowering narratives with even greater momentum. The impact of this marginalization has ever greater impacts on the economically and politically fragile. The content of the narrative was supposed to address and encourage the reinterpretation of landscapes and memories which should have stimulated and charged the atmosphere around much larger questions governed by current debates over public memory and identity politics (Seefeldt 2005:170). A concern expressed by one interviewee was around the matter of how history has and is being interpreted and written particularly in regard to the broader history of Ida's Valley, a place like Stellenbosch and South Africa itself. The conclusion reached by this study and the feedback gained is that the protection of the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape has not captured the multivocality and complexity of the publics within the context of Ida's Valley. The publics were read as a largely homogenous group and not one rich in homogeneity. The reactionary and often confrontational nature of the public debate in the adjacent Ida's Valley Village puts a lie to the academic and official processes and readings of the value of the site and its publics' relationship to it. Any interpretation of memory and consequently, value, is fraught with pitfalls because the raison d'être for the existence of memories is that it

provides security, authority, legitimacy and identity to the inhabitants of these spaces. If this defined goal is not reached, heritage becomes a battlefield and a space of conflict rather than spaces of shared value (Seefeldt 2005:171).

In order for Ida's Valley to be read as a heritage resource a sense of identification, recognition and a *sense of place* needs to have been arrived at by the key publics. The development of a 'sense of place', the basis of which is *empathy* with the site is much influenced by residential status, a strong sense of attachment amongst collectives who were raised in a particular place and who remained there for their lifetime. The idea of the development of a 'sense of place' thus goes deeper and is an intrinsic part of what is essentially a wider human developmental process. As an aside, 'sense of place' differs from 'place attachment' because it considers the social and geographical context of 'place bonds' and the sensing of places through aesthetics and a feeling of *dwelling* (Hay 1998:5).

Hay alludes to, among other aspects, a dimension in evaluating the development of a sense of place namely 'residential status'. In the case of Ida's Valley, a particular set of concerns such as partial, personal, ancestral and cultural status applies. The factor behind residential status is the time a person has lived in a particular area. In this case particularly, Ida's Valley (ibid.p.5).

Of the 8 people interviewed, 25% held fond memories of Ida's Valley and one lives as, more importantly an (white) owner on the farms, and the other a teacher, had great nostalgia and desired to return. 75% of the interviewees, all of mixed race, felt a deep sense of disconnect with Ida's Valley referring to the heritage site as 'the other' Ida's Valley. The AD thus stands in direct opposition to the AHD. It creates an alternate reading of heritage and a great opportunity for a journey of reconciliation and discovery has potentially been lost.

Imposed sense of heritage

It was soon evident that the relationship digressed into essentially two groups, owners, professional, heritage 'experts' on the one side with, in certain instances, a radical or ground zero position questioning the idea of heritage value, particularly around significance and matters relating to constituency. It became clear that there were other issues, issues of land ownership that holds a hegemonic control over site access, specific to farms and the site as a whole.

A more universal understanding of 'value' can be defined as something that is intrinsically experienced at several sensory levels. In order to get one's head around the idea of 'sense of place' there has to be a real and tangible experience of a space so that it may develop into a 'sense of place language'. Concerns have been raised by the interviewees that it was very difficult to value or appreciate an object or site which you did not access to or something that could not be visited or you were not allowed to experience. 'Something' on your doorstep. Access was therefore an important concern and a factor that tainted perceptions of what a heritage site was and what value it had. The outcome of such an approach to value was that it has heritage value for 'another'. The land, its scale and the pressing need within Stellenbosch and the surrounding townships was such that it has become a serious political and spatio-economic concern. The introduction and protection of the 'grand' architectural buildings in the Valley and town was deemed problematic because it excluded the inputs from the slaves, their descendants and the First Peoples who occupied and used these spaces. The skills that slaves had brought to the country and applied impacted on the cultural fabric, creating these distinctive architectural features so celebrated at the exclusion of the descendants mentioned above. This added to the sense of exclusion and rejection that lead to the subsequent 'heritage standoff'.

The argument is that the skills, alluded to above, allowed an aesthetic, driven by knowledge of the plasticity of local materials together with the elements of imported

ideas of architecture, to develop giving the sites and buildings its distinctive 'Cape vernacular' form. Ideas of 'land grab' and 'religio-political interference' were suggested as impositions on the countryside, a manifestation of the presence of foreigners.

Another impact, in the context of the IVCL, was the dire and urgent need for land for development of affordable and low cost housing to meet the mandate of the municipality and the need of the economically challenged inhabitants of Stellenbosch. An interviewee expressed his concern that over 80% of the land in the area was owned by approximately 11% of the people who lived within the municipal district. Of this percentage seven of South Africa's billionaires' reside within the Stellenbosch Municipal District. The perception derived from this is that market forces meshed with 'political machinations' were the driving forces behind the perpetuation of colonial approaches to problems.

One of the non-aligned interviewees suggested that, on their emancipation, slaves were given land for development. This allocated land, by the van der Stel's- father and son, was supposedly along the Eerste River. In this regard he said he 'sensed' that the declaration or the significance and values identified, was about protecting 'white' interests and that these histories and values were being 'rejuvenated' for the rest of the world to appreciate at the exclusion of the local community.

Findings: the Authorised Discourse

The list of questions enabled the deconstruction of community perspectives into a tripartite relationship that read as part phenomenology, ethnography (the ethnicity of the group of interviewees) and communication). In respect of the foregoing, 'reflexivity' allowed me the opportunity of revising and modifying initial findings and to align these with insights gained from the interview process (Hays 1998:8).

The methodology included looking at 'place' from a phenomenological perspective. The interviews were the key element in the process of uncovering perspectives on value

and significance. The ethnographic aspects of the interview profile spoke to the matter of ethnic background and notions of shared cultural values. This was found to be largely consistent because of the fact that 90% of the interviewees were defined as 'coloured' with only one white male being interviewed. During the interview process the matter of colour surfaced again within the group defined as mixed-race or 'coloured'. Within this construct a disturbing layer of prejudice regarding levels of skin tone was revealed. 'Fairness of skin tone' was seen as a form of higher evolution, education, economic and social potential. The perception was that being 'fair' opened up more opportunities which seemingly were denied the darker skinned among the coloured population of the research area. The potential for such opportunities, it was suggested, sat with power brokers, namely white economic power. Ida's Valley and Ida's Valley Village in particular was mentioned by two of the participants. The same discomfort applied to the response in regard to the idea of slave ancestry. It was revealed that the same form of prejudice, revealed in respect of skin tone, was applied to the notion of slave descent. Slave ancestry was one of the cornerstones of the motivation for national heritage site status and, therefore, when such ancestry is denied or found to be an area of discomfort, it raises questions in respect of the content of the public participation process and whether the arguments put forward for its declaration, by the applicants and the national authority, were authentic.

The reflexivity of the research process allowed me the opportunity to revise and adjust the research program and influence the process in an ongoing and iterative manner impacting the design and its findings during the research process. The selected approach to the problem of authentic value determination and ascription was through the case study of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. The trajectory of the narrative would include the unpacking of a range of understandings and values associated with the site.

The study was undertaken to explore the underlying trends in the construction of value, the approaches by the AHD and the AD, and whether such value is universal as an informant when speaking about heritage. In extrapolation of the foregoing it is argued that value is sometimes far less contained in the historicity of the content of a resource than by the histories and memories captured or associated or ascribed to these sites, places and landscapes. Although value is often used generically it has become apparent that there are different concepts or readings of cultural value. The different readings among professionals (both academics and bureaucracies), the general public, people of different ages, community constructs and regional biases allowed for the triangulation of recorded statements (Okumura 2010:56).

'Identification', the 'feeling and believing' component, with a heritage resource is a fundamental requirement for the development of individual and group identity. It is in the act of identification with a site that value is ascribed to it. The transmission of tangible and intangible resources, that is, shared stories, objects, symbols, performances, group values, is done by the act of 'transgenerational transmission'. Transgenerational transmission opens up a continuum of memory that, because of 'mediation and negotiation over competing values, create forums for civic cooperation and participation'. In addition to the opportunities that arise from 'transgenerational transmission' personal and participatory experiences manifested and assisted in creating authentic identities' (Russell 2010: 33).

Deborah Mattison sums up the debate by making the statement that "experts 'think' and 'know' whereas people 'feel' and 'believe'" (Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010:30). This belief translates into identification with a resource which allows for an opportunity for the development of a 'language' of trusteeship and stewardship (Russell 2010: 32).

Figure 20: Farm workers in Ida's Valley (Rustenberg n.p.)

The valley was declared a National Monument in 1976 and a National Heritage Site in 2008. Below is the direct quote from the document:

"Ida's Valley is a typical and, at the same time, a special example of this landscape type. It is particularly unspoilt in the context of the Cape Winelands generally, largely because a large portion of it has been protected by its owners and by heritage authorities for almost 30 years, since it was declared a National Monument in 1976."

Finally, Figure 20 is an indicator of local population engagement and involvement in the 'project', the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. They are the ones who should have had ownership of the value ascribed to the site. It appears that this was and is not the case.

CHAPTER 4: Authorized Heritage Discourse

Heritage as dialectical experience

In 'New South African Keywords' edited by Nick Shepherd and Steven Robbins, the undergirding rationale is that heritage contains, inherent in its construction, a paradox. Heritage sites have in common sets of values or objects experienced at a universal level yet read at a personal or individual level. The idea, or even the content, of heritage, hovers, suspended between individual consciousness and 'collective conceptions' of history. This duality translates into challenges both to academia and the everyday experiences of the philosophically defined *plain* man. The idea of heritage becomes even more complex because it reads that each of the 'heritages' has a unique language. These languages are defined principally by what is under scrutiny. 'Heritage is of the past in the present' creating a complex and tense dialectical relationship.

The South African Heritage Resources Act has amongst other ideals the role of defining a shared cultural identity that is aimed at the development of 'collective spiritual wellbeing'. This again, it is held, may engender a political and social 'sense of cohesion' and, ultimately, contribute to nation building. Shepherd and Robbins (2008) write on the duality inherent in heritage saying that embedded in the construct is a benign quality that has the power to play the role of social remedy and may even possess some kind of 'social magic' . Despite the fact that this view seems laudable it simultaneously harbours a potential discomfort– it is both inclusive and exclusive. It also translates as a tension between the forces of memory and forgetting. The conflict in the duality is that, in the 'self-mythology' of heritage, its content is remembered spontaneously 'from below' with no clear or cohesive structure whereas the 'structural footprint', the AHD, in practice, comes from 'above' (Shepherd 2008:118). Ida's Valley is a complex of physical realities and underlying and invisible, intangible realities that may have a more significant contribution to make about notions of heritage and value than can be observed at a cursory glance or is revealed during the public participatory process.

At its exclusionary pole the AHD narrative argues that heritage, such as Ida's Valley, is fragile, finite and non-renewable. This fragility requires special understanding and knowledge therefore specialized knowledge is required and, therefore, only the 'expert' is best placed to interpret the past and consequently act as its steward. These experts are deemed to possess expertise and understanding and are therefore able to communicate ideas of value of heritage sites to the 'nation'. Here Smith (2008), in her paper, 'Class, Heritage and the negotiation of place' at the 'Missing out on Heritage: Socio-economic Status and Heritage Participation' Conference', makes the point that the AHD principally gives the nod to the professional realm versed in space and memory and underwrites archaeologists, geographers, spatial planners, architects and historians. In order to appropriately protect these public works legislation was developed that addressed the need for maintenance, protection and conservation (Smith 2006:18). Securing, protecting and conserving of the 'artifacts' created space for a 'pastoral role' ultimately occupied by these experts, i.e. architects, archeologists and others, claiming professional expertise over the created material culture. This included identifying the appropriate monuments that had to be protected under legislation, specifically developed for this purpose. Flowing from this a conservation ethic, a duty, was born which required that the public be educated about the meaning and value of historic buildings and monuments in the framework of an 'inheritance' (*patrimoine*) (ibid.p.19).

The idea that value is intrinsic and innate to heritage and heritage resources, particularly those defined as aesthetically pleasing and those deemed to be representative creates the idea that heritage, in its broadest guise, defines all that is good and important. In addition to this, heritage is about 'identity construction' and, specifically, in regard to notions of national identity in the proposed *inclusive narrative* of South Africa's post-apartheid idealism. In this regard the designation of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape as a NHS was, by all intentions, to have provided a vehicle to national identity creation by bringing 'diverse cultures' together celebrating a shared heritage within the spatial constraints of a cul-de-sac valley.

In England, a particular shift resulted in an ethic being incorporated into their legislation, and, under the ideals of 19th century Romanticism, the perspectives of Ruskin and Morris became embedded, resulting in the protection of 'anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique or substantial'- inter alia, any work educated, artistic people would consider worth protecting. Romanticism, particularly driven by paintings of the period, saw rapid urbanization and industrialization as a threat and began to speak of a 'rural idyll' which structured the inclusion of the natural environment (pristine wilderness) into the discourse (ibid. p.20).

Undergirding all of the charters and guidelines, the Ruskinian approach, the 'conserve as found' school, is still viewed with an optimistic idealism that it may lead to authenticity of all that is found to be worthy of protection. This ideology became more pervasive in application with the adoption of the *Burra Charter: the Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* as *the* standard for the protection and conservation of heritage resources in Australia and South Africa. The focus of the Burra Charter was on the fabric of places, buildings and historical sites. This charter was revised in 1999 to begin to address some of the deficiencies in its construction and address greater community participation in conservation.

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage further entrenched the 'conserve as found' ethic by addressing the question of the protection and conservation of sites of universal significance in 1972. This universalized Western thought, values, epistemology and practices. Heritage was seen as that which was monumental and universally significant (ibid. pp. 24, 26, 27).

The result of the foregoing is a narrow managerialism within a rigid and technicist definition of heritage value, particularly regarding public consultation and participation, was and is being practiced. The challenge is that, in the current époque, publics are beginning to express their dismay at the fobbing off of their concerns. The result is that management has digressed into managing the energies of liberationist discourses

rather than pursuing the ideals of an inclusive approach to the content of 'heritage'. In response to these discourses 'ad hoc' citizen groups have formed to develop more radically accountable forms of public heritage discourse framed around notions of public memory and historical redress (Shepherd 2008:122). Heritage discourse, Shepherd suggests, is one of the principal sites where issues of culture, identity and citizenship are negotiated in post apartheid South Africa. Citizens are at once persons of a modern secular state in which their rights are defined as individual rights governed by a Constitution while simultaneously subject to cultural rights and obligations. The power of an inclusive heritage discourse, which is the desired space, has the power to assist in the mediation and nuancing of alternative modes of existence. Heritage allows a way "of 'speaking culturally' in a context in which histories, identities and bodies of experience are fractured, ambivalent' and in competition- simply put, it has the power of uniting collective interests instead of dividing them (ibid. pp.124, 125).

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1995) express the idea that heritage is a culturally constructed concept which has an inherent 'time' and 'spatial component'. The milk has been soured further by the fact that, when seeing heritage as a product, which, as we will see to be the case in respect of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape's bias to a tourist-agro-economy owned, occupied and managed by a highly privileged minority, has raised tensions which seems to be inherent in heritage place-products particularly in a job- starved and 'positive identity'-deprived South Africa. The tension between 'heritage for heritage sake' and the need for the 'use-function' [of heritage as a means to financial and social upliftment programs] is contaminated by a filtering process of access to sites to enable unshackled participation in the 'experience' of the 'product' by the descendants of the heterogeneous publics who helped 'build' the site.

Ida's Valley has moved in conception and perception from pure heritage with a passive economic and marketing disposition to a space that is being marketed fairly aggressively driven by the conditions of the world economy specifically around the wine

industry. This marketing reflects the attitude adopted by the broader Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape. In addition, the contaminant here is most likely the acquisition of values which has moved the heritage experience of Ida's Valley into the realm of spatial politics because of, amongst other issues, the shortage of developable land and access to basic services such as housing and related infrastructure. Underlying these tensions is the fact that the custodian organizations of heritage, the South African Heritage Resources Agency, Heritage Western Cape and –Stellenbosch, use a resource-based definition of their task while the producers of heritage use a demand-based definition. The tensions are fueled by accusations of over-interpretation, trivialization of the memory of constituent publics, dishonesty and distortion on the side of custodian organizations (owners and heritage organizations) and elitism, obscurantism and the ascription of irrelevance to the marginalized, the inhabitants of the neighboring Ida's Valley Village (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1995:11).

If heritage is a created construct, as stated earlier; any creation of heritage with a particular bias and an attitude of exclusivity about the past disinherit someone else's conceptualisation of heritage. This action is most likely unintentional but does have long term impacts. In respect of this the approaches taken in respect of the public participation processes, as it relates to Ida's Valley, has revealed some concerns from parts of the 'community'. The heritage 'artifact', Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, by the processes of public participation and subsequent deconstruction has created a sense of self- or auto-disinheritance by the community and publics of the adjacent Ida's Valley Village and former workers and residents of the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. The reading by most of the respondents was that local 'groups', of which they assumed themselves to be constituent members, had their historical, spatial and socio-political experiences discounted and thus concluded that the marginalization experienced under apartheid had simply acquired a new guise. If a greater sense of 'ownership' was experienced by the 'marginalised', the debate which currently is raging as sustained by the Khoi and San groups a different response may be had. The difficulty of access,

opportunity to 'use' or experience such sites, access to the use of structures and places of formally recognized national or regional significance, has fueled a 'conflict' which may have been avoided. It must be mentioned, and this was expressed variously during the interview process that, fear of the forces of economic privilege in the Stellenbosch municipal area, seven of South Africa's billionaires reside within its urban context, is what has kept the resistance and reaction to the status quo to murmur. Recent events in South African cities, in respect of the damage and removal of public memorials, attest to the fact that there is a growing revulsion to the manner of memorialisation and the ring-fencing of spaces and places designed to be representative of culturally identity strong and economically powerful minorities. From the interviews the idea is suggested that a national heritage site should, at the very least, be accessible for enjoyment to all of its citizens. The view was that access should be enabled whether it is to merely experience the aesthetics and functionality of the natural and constructed environment so that the values might be seen and experienced in a more positive light.

The danger lurking beneath the surface is the idea that some form of disinheritance had already taken place in respect of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. It was also felt that the stigma of disinheritance and historical pain created may result in a sense of a voluntary 'disinheritance' based on social partitioning and the continued sense of disempowerment which will impact and foster the desire for an alternative heritage identity and identification. The disinheritance and exclusion may result in the desire for the removal, destruction, intentional neglect, decay and marginalization of heritage resources, in South Africa's Case, resources of the former regime and those celebrating particular political and social victories over the majority of citizens (ibid. p.32). One interviewee expressed this frustration by stating the expectation that he had hoped 'things would be different after apartheid'. The implication is that, should the status quo be maintained it will become fertile ground for more than mere disgruntlement and could add further fuel to the current protests of the ilk of #Rhodesmustfall during 2015/6.

The current South African debate around social cohesion and nation building is one which seeks the articulation of the idea of national identity. Within this the AHD manifests in its actions an 'authorized mentality' which challenges and ultimately excludes understandings of heritage that sit 'outside' or in opposition to it- the dialectic referred to earlier. The discourse itself is part of the 'heritage process of value and meaning creation, arbitration and negotiation' that is able to 'legitimize or de-legitimize cultural and social values' (Smith 2009). The impact of this is that it places a constraint on the idea of what legitimate heritage is by simultaneously negating the potential impact it might have on the ideas of social inclusion and, more particularly, in regard to South Africa, ideas of social cohesion. The discourse also concerns itself with getting people 'to come to' authorized heritage. This is despite the consideration whether the heritage that is being preserved is in fact "representative of the diversity of historical and contemporary social and cultural experiences" of the Valley or Village (Smith 2009). When this approach is taken, with its particular vision of history and its national and cultural identity creation and intention of history, the AHD both excludes and includes other heritages with a negative impact on what is perceived as heritage and the key aspect of this study, *value*. In the 'inclusive' mode it attempts to provide a cultural and historical narrative that explains and legitimizes value and *sense of place* arguments as defined under the tenets of the AHD.

The heritage 'artifact', Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, by the processes of public participation and subsequent deconstruction has created a sense of disinheritance by the community and publics of the adjacent Ida's Valley Village and former workers and residents of the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. The reading by most of the respondents was that local 'groups', of which they are constituent members, had their historical, spatial and socio-political experiences discounted and thus concluded that the marginalization experienced under apartheid had simply acquired a new guise. If a greater sense of 'ownership' was experienced by the 'marginalised', a debate currently raging in the Khoi and San groups, then the concerns that have been raised should no

longer be of concern. The difficulty of access, opportunity to 'use' or experience such sites, access to the use of structures and places of formally recognized national or regional significance, has fueled a 'conflict' which may have been avoided. It must be mentioned, and this was expressed variously during the interview process that seven of South Africa's billionaires reside within its urban context. This is what has kept the resistance and reaction to the status quo to a murmur. Recent events in South African cities, in respect of the damage and removal of public memorials, attest to the fact that there is a growing revulsion to the manner of memorialisation and the idea that heritage is ring-fenced to be culturally representative of powerful minorities. From the interviews the idea was gathered that a national heritage site should, at the very least, be accessible for enjoyment. It was felt that access should be enabled whether it is to merely experience the aesthetics, a combination of aesthetics and functionality of the natural environment, the values might be read and experienced in a more positive light.

Heritage as process

In terms of heritage resources management and the mechanisms that give effect to it, Laurajane Smith argues that 'value' is a central concept to the idea of heritage and also to that of framing of policies and practices. The sites that are declared are done because of the values they are deemed to 'have' or represent. These values further define how heritage is preserved, conserved and managed. She argues that heritage does not 'have' value but that heritage is a cultural process that is about recreating, negotiating and transmitting certain values that sections wish to preserve or pass on (Smith 2009 :33)

Despite the hegemony of the formal discourse, resistance in post-colonial countries, including South Africa, has steadily risen against the constructs *heritage resource* and the idea of a *domain* of the privileged expert. The resistance to the idea of 'top down' approaches to the understanding, definitions and management of heritage has resolved in to a demand from the 'bottom' for greater community participation. Clearly this is the

cry that is contained within the interviews that was conducted to gain a reading of the processes and procedures in respect of Ida's Valley. In fact one of the outcomes has been the desire to revisit the construct 'community'. The purpose is to extend its brief to become inclusive of all marginalized groups of common social, cultural, economic and political experiences who are not part of the value and significance discussion. This argument particularly focuses on the discussion as to what the content of value is and how that which is found to have these characteristics should be presented, conserved and preserved. A meta-question arises from the debate which seeks to understand what the nature, meaning and use, even value of the construct 'heritage' is. The reason for this concern is that management actions flow from these ideas which often have a fundamental impact on community and community identity (ibid. pp. 26, 28 and 35).

The debate as it unfolds has had implications on the manner in which public and community participation processes have been conducted. Some agencies have begun to address this approach but were confronted by conceptual problems and constrictive legislative frameworks. Although legislation and policies are available to deal with issues related to public participation, there are problems in the manner of execution. The mechanisms whereby public participation should be conducted are still vulnerable. This vulnerability lends itself to abuse particularly when processes are biased toward a particular outcome that may be driven by local and regional interests (read politics). Despite these difficulties there has been an increasing desire to identify and engage authentically in community participation in heritage management, interpretation and conservation work if only to gain legitimacy and support for its processes and readings (Smith 2006:35).

History, Smith states, is experienced at both the individual and collective level. Individuals, communities and nations define and form a sense of self by the manner in which history is articulated, understood and propagated. At the individual level people value the past for emotional, psychological and intellectual reasons which often gains

momentum with an impact on group identity (Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010:18).

Conclusion: The Intangibility of heritage

In bringing this chapter to a close it is important to recognise that one of the features of the formal heritage discourse places emphasis on the value of material culture over the intangible aspects of heritage. The question which arises from community consultation, as currently practiced, is whether the remedial processes whereby groups on the periphery of heritage discourses are given access to authentic group identity work that is acceptable, sincere and actionable (Smith 2006:36). The negotiation process, a non-negotiable, should embody an active engagement between community understandings and values and those of practitioners. If it is not sincere it becomes mere gestural politics (ibid. p.38). Indeed this has been demonstrated in the interviews and exploring the processes of the declaration and its impact on Ida's Valley. The interviews were a mechanism for determining whether an open process was followed giving the 'community' an authentic understanding of the values of universal concern. Remedial action must be considered, however late.

From the interviews it became clear that a certain reality, a reality governed by a number of biases had emerged in historical South Africa. The heritage project started under colonial governance in various guises. The resultant physical infrastructure had a political rationale behind it – that of Afrikaner Nationalism. Post this period an entrepreneurial approach to heritage has given way to a reevaluation of the landscapes of apartheid abuses turning them into heritage landscapes having its own specialized clientele who do not know nor necessarily care for the entrenched histories of abuses (Petersen 2015:3). These actions have as context the reconstruction, repackaging of the heritage industry governed by the guiding principles of nation-building and social cohesion and unification (ibid. p.13). Heritage as practice has enabled an entrepreneurial cadre to trademark culture taken it as their own and in the process

sidelining communities and publics such as Ida's Valley and Ida's Valley Village. Heritage has now gained a 'new life' based on a selective interpretation, exclusive ownership and reading of history inclusive of the 'struggle narratives'. In further development these marketing mercenaries have naturalized behavioural norms, sidelined minorities, dissidents and other non-conformists who challenge the status quo thus forging a new form of exclusion (ibid. p.19). Rolling forward this type of marketing has resulted in the development of unequal and undemocratic local government. Bearing in mind the political, social and economic profile of Stellenbosch mentioned earlier. Culture and heritage has become the property of a particular group of people who engenders and invites a market of decadence (ibid. p.27). The pain of the past is revitalized in the current 'heritage space', memorialisation, participation and diversity sabotaged by the greed of cultural tourism.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Prior to the Renaissance the concept of landscape was tightly bound to specific types of outdoor environments, the garden, grove, vineyard, harbour and estuary, places of physical and spiritual refuge. Landscapes have the power to actualize 'webs of memory' and emotions associated with particular conjunctions and confrontations that provides man with a range of discrete categories, categories that facilitate a sense of progression and change. It enables the capacity to move back to beginnings or forward to ends (Roskill 1997:1).

The cultural landscape is a meeting place of the present with the past. This was demonstrated through at least three interviews where allusions to the impacts of farm workers and slave labour on the landscape have been made. At any point in the history of a landscape, humans make choices that concern their relationship in the present to a history that allows them to connect to their 'own' heritage. A separation, culturally, economically and spatially, when allowed to happen, has a negative impact on this relationship coloring the reading of the landscape particularly as was revealed through the interviews. A cultural landscape embodies a distinctive narrative, a story of its developmental stages and its significance to its occupant's irrespective of social, political or economic standing. Humans have the capacity to impact on this unfolding narrative in one of two ways- they can disrupt or continue it. This landscape narrative is the land's "meaning dimension". This meaning dimension has at its heart a community's spiritual, emotional and intellectual value (Arntzen and Brady 2008:15).

Cultural landscapes in addition to the foregoing have real political, cultural and social impacts on the present. This reality subjects landscapes to ongoing power struggles over what the stories are that should be told or which not. This was very clearly revealed in the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape. Ida's Valley- has become a battleground for recognition, identity and inclusivity. The stories that are being told have

been discolored by the fear of potential bias which has reinforced the slant to furthering an exclusionary narrative to what could be an inclusive narrative.

The processes reported to have been engaged in during the declaration of Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape are seen to have been neglectful of the experiences, perspectives and recollections of both individuals and collectives associated with Ida's Valley. A dissonance therefore developed in relation to the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape, the issue of land and property ownership which is connected to a larger historical atrocity, apartheid and the issue of the land act (1910) and its later 'redistribution' after 1948. The examples of District Six and 'Die Vlakte' in Stellenbosch are but two cases of evictions and destruction of spaces of social, cultural and heritage cohesive spaces, the list is endless.

Despite the hegemony of the formal discourse, which is discussed in Chapter 4, resistance in post-colonial countries, South Africa included, #Rhodesmustfall and other campaigns have highlighted the steadily rising resistance against the constructs of heritage and its value as the domain of the privileged expert and communities. The resistance to 'top down' approaches to the understanding, definitions and management of heritage and its associated values has resolved into a 'bottom up' perspective with an increasingly vociferous demand for greater community participation. This argument particularly focuses on the discussion as to what the content of value is and how *that* which is found to have these characteristics should be presented, conserved and preserved

In the case of post colonial nations it is understood that the above problem is pervasive and endemic and that staunch questioning of the traditional theoretical framework for management processes have and are happening. This has triggered a number of questions that relate to ownership, control, power, knowledge, stewardship and the 'public'. It has become imperative to consider different cultural, historical and social values as of contributory significance if not, at least, of equal weight. The key argument

for a significant period has been that value resides in the materiality of the object or environment, leaning on an externally imposed culturally and historically specific meaning. The preservation or conservation of such an object or space has cultural, economic, political and social consequences. Its protection signifies or asserts its importance and therefore the specific culture or history associated with it. Sites that are protected are often integrally linked to the identity or identity formations of particular communities and its subsets of communities.

In the interview with the primary land owner interviewed, it was mentioned that during the 1970's land for the development of African and coloured townships was sought. It was during this phase that the first effort to protect the site emerged. The site was declared a National Monument, the first and largest landscape that was declared during this period. It is clear from this anecdotal response, that heritage, or particularly conservation, was used as mechanism to starve development rather than address the issue of significance. The new National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 places particular emphasis on public participation in heritage management and socio-economic development. The idea was to incorporate notions of redress and the recognition of, Shepherds words, "previously marginalized narratives and the introduction of the constructs of intangible and living heritage" (Shepherd 2008:121).

Smith (2009, n.p) writes that the Authorized Heritage Discourse acts as an agency privileging grand, old aesthetically pleasing sites and driving 'consensus fables of nationhood'. Perhaps the notion of consensus fables of nationhood should be read in conjunction with the writings of Shepherd and Robbins. It is understood, from the writings of the AHD that those who lack the 'appropriate cultural capital' can, if exposed to the appropriate sites, places and artifacts, be "culturally and socially developed" (Smith 2009 n.p.).

The critique therefore is that the AHD constructs in its actions created an 'authorized mentality' which excludes understandings of heritage that sit 'outside' or in opposition to

it, the AD. The discourse itself is part of the "heritage process of value and meaning creation, arbitration and negotiation" that is able to "legitimize or de-legitimize cultural and social values" (Smith 2009).

Conclusion

The outcome of the study and through the power of reflexivity it became clear that one would have to 're-imagine' the expert-community relationship in an attempt to open a space for constructing understandings of 'value' (as per the discussion by Hay (1998) and later Shepherd (2008)). Ida's Valley thus opened an opportunity to explore ways in which a reimagination may take place, if necessary, resulting in outcomes that would give value and may lead to meaningful social inclusion practices using as mechanisms, community cohesion and cultural heritage based on issue of 'identity', 'orientation' and, 'access' (Waterton 2005:310).

The idea of a complex interaction between the 'place' and many people has largely been negated during the interview process. The number of people who can access the site to foster and continue the idea of a complex relationship is not possible. In the interviews it became clear that the site is a place of work and in many cases nothing more than that. The space is an 'office' or workshop. A complex interrelationship should include spiritual, social and other relationships. Access to the site is severely compromised because of closing of hedges, access routes and most importantly, the ability to travel unimpeded from the Ida's Valley Village up to Helshoogte Road.

The key issues which derive from the underpinning arguments in Chapter 4 as well as the interview process described in Chapter 3 is that there is a disjuncture between conceptions of what heritage is, what it means, and, ultimately whose heritage is being protected. In addition to the foregoing there is the anticipation and expectation that communities and publics should be able to derive some benefit associated with the 'heritage' designation of Ida's Valley. The disjuncture is as a result of the juxtaposition of

alternative values and readings of the same site. The interview process makes it explicitly clear that there was and is a dissonance in the understanding of the values and value of the Ida's Valley Cultural Landscape.

The fundamental outcome is the creation of 'two' 'communities', one that occupies the Valley and the other, the residents of the neighbouring village of Ida's Valley. These alternate readings of heritage, particularly in a post-colonial experience has not only confined itself to Ida's Valley but includes the greater national context, regional and local area surrounding Stellenbosch. It is clear that it is a universal problem illustrated eloquently through the interviews. A fundamental question that has arisen from this exercise is, ultimately, the question, one that has been asked before, 'whose heritage is this?' From the previous text, particularly as it relates to Ida's Valley, there is a clear dissonance in the reading of the value by the constituent groups. There are those who believe that the site is fundamentally representative of their heritage supported by ideas of 'Heritage' versus those who hold the belief that it is not their 'heritage' and present a number of reasons for this perspective. In addition to this the outcome of the research has in fact made it clear that there are vast differences socially, economically and politically. All these factors have had an impact on social relations in the valley, village and further afield.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF QUESTIONS

TYRONE GREGORY ONTONG **QUESTIONAIRE** **Student number:** ONTTYR001

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT: Cultural Landscapes- Spaces of Memory: Idas Valley as Case

QUESTIONAIRE

1. How long have you lived in Idas Valley?

2. Do you think it is a special place? Why or why not?

3. What memories do you harbour about Idas Valley?

4. What do you understand *value* to mean when applied to heritage sites, generally? What makes a place special?

5. What *values* do you attach to Idas Valley?

6. Do you think Idas Valley qualifies as a heritage site? If so, on what grounds? If not on what grounds? (What makes you *feel* or not *feel* that it is a heritage site?)

7. What senses do the *grand* landscape, its vistas and architectural set pieces create within you? (awe, humility ... etc)

8. Idas Valley has a feudal and semi-feudal history- it owes its construction and maintenance to the exploitation of servants, estate workers and slaves.

    i. How does this impact on your perception of Idas Valley as a heritage site?

    ii. To what extent do you identify with slavery as an ancestral history?

9. Are there *messages, impressions, cultural* or *social meanings* encapsulated by the site? What do you think, feel or understand these to be, if any?

10. Do the ideas in *Question 7,* above, grant you a sense of identification with the site? Does it make for an intricate relationship with the site or not?

11. Which of the following-

    i. Physical- [tangible] (landscape, buildings, farms, spaces) elements do you rate significant when thinking about Idas Valley? What is the value that it has for you?

    ii. Non-physical- (intangible) [genius loci- spirit of place, views, practices (dance, ritual, performance art, oral tradition) memory] elements do you rate significant when thinking about Idas Valley? What is the value that it has for you?

    iii. Tangible and/or intangible- (mentioned above) elements and values do you rate higher or more significant when thinking about Idas Valley? Do think it is both? Is it none of the above binary ideas? - Please describe or define generally, and if possible, more specifically your bias.

12. Do you think living, experiencing, memorialising and commemorating a site is important? Is it important how it is done?

13. Do you think conservation and preservation tells a story, helps tell a story or assists in remembering?

14. Do you feel that the preservation and conservation of the physical, material, heritage become the preservation and conservation of certain desired values and cultural meanings?

15. Does the fact that Idas Valley has become a National Heritage Site in any way changed your perceptions of how you value the site? Do think it has changed the way you see or feel about the site?

16. Do you feel that the argument for declaration of the site as a NHS represent your values, significances, perceptions, understandings and beliefs - both tangible and intangible?