

THE USE OF CAPE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN GATED COMMUNITIES IN THE STELLENBOSCH AREA



A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of

Master of Philosophy in Conservation of the Built Environment

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August 2018

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Stellenbosch Revisited

Stellenbosch is supposedly a classic,
But 20 years ago I chucked it all
out of the window –
“hopelessly overrated”, was what I said,

Like *On the Road*, Paris or the 60's.
Rather live a gritty life and go under with abandon
Than take a sugar-coated pill each day
In *this* retirement home of dreams, thank you!

But it's 20 years later and I can no longer really fathom
what our parochial tiff back then was all about.
I still mistrust Hollywood, France and church music –
Everything that is too artful, tame beautiful or monumental,

But oh, Stellenbosch, it's 20 subversive years later and I'm beginning
to develop a soft spot again for your
bloody beautiful Boland springtimes, your theatrical
sunsets, your self-complacent mountains.

You really don't look one day older; on the contrary
you've had work done on your face; steam rises freely
from your cappuccinos, secure
within the pages of a *Lonely Planet* guide.

Stellenbosch, baby, I'm not okay
and you're not okay
but that's okay –
what you see's what you get, I say,

and now I look, without expectation,
despair or defence, at your avenues,
your oaks, your vines, your radiant, vacuous students,
all your noble sentiments.

You were actually not to blame,
Intellectually abused, like most symbols,
A mighty mirage, birth-sin
of a helpless rich man's child.

on second thoughts, Stellenbosch,
You are a violated classic –
A bergie with an 1840s gable
for a hat, a Picasso with ears
for eyes and mouths for ears; a more tragic
entanglement of light and dark, a better balance
between truth and fabrication
is really inconceivable; but I remain
the period-piece; I am over –

only now in twilight am I able to admire
your architecture; only now
am I peacefully settling like dust
on the botoxed Cape-Dutch lines

of your fragile, your cruel old, barbaric civilisation.

(Danie Marais, *Solank verlange die streep swaai*, Tafelberg Publishers, 2014)

(Translated by Charl J. F. Cilliers)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation contributes to the conversation about gated communities, which has become the fastest growing development sector in the post-apartheid South African city. It is a controversial form of development, due to the country's history of residential segregation, and is regarded by many to contribute to a new form of segregated landscape causing social division and polarisation in the built environment.

The study includes a discussion of the use of vernacular architecture in gated communities, a field largely unstudied by scholars of the built environment. This is explored by looking at some gated communities in the Stellenbosch area where Cape vernacular architecture is used. Stellenbosch is a historical student and tourist town with a townscape that reflects various colonial architectural styles. It is especially well known for its Cape Dutch architecture. It is also a town strongly associated with enduring white Afrikaner privilege and economic power.

The history of the use and revival of Cape vernacular architecture—and specifically Cape Dutch architecture—during various periods in South African history has been well studied, as has its association with white supremacy and with later Afrikaner power. This study explores whether the use of this architectural style contributes to the perception of exclusion created by gated communities.

The study could find no direct proof that this is the case, although there is some suggestion that the use of Cape vernacular architecture is promoted by various parties to enhance and protect a certain townscape, which is associated with a former and, for many, still-existing power base. However, the findings reveal that there are other factors at play in the use of this style of architecture in gated communities. These include a wider nostalgia for a former era, one considered to be a better period in time, as is reflected in New Urbanism developments. Also, developers and their architects believe that its use will enhance their chances of obtaining approval for an often-controversial type of development. They hope that the social status associated with Cape vernacular, and especially Cape Dutch architecture, will attract residents to these developments, which now include members of all racial groups of the South African society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to many people who have assisted and supported me in writing this paper:

Firstly, I want to thank my husband, children and parents for their enduring encouragement and support throughout my study period.

Second, my supervisor, Associate Professor Stephen Townsend, deserves special thanks for introducing me to this study field and providing clear guidance and support in writing this paper, and for expanding my intellectual horizon.

Third, the interviewees who all gave generously of their time and experience.

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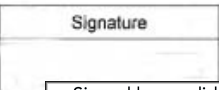
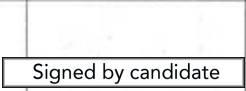
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Locating the Study

This study undertakes a semiotic analysis of the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in post-apartheid South Africa. This is explored by looking specifically at some gated communities in the Stellenbosch area of the Western Cape, South Africa.

I use the term 'gated community' as defined by Grant and Lindsey in their influential article, *Types of Gated Communities*, and used as such in much scholarly research. The definition is as follows:

a gated community is a housing development on private roads closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary access—such developments may be surrounded by fences, walls, or other natural barriers that further limit public access.¹

They further identify three types of gated community, namely: lifestyle, prestige, and security zone communities. In practice, however, most gated communities may show a combination of features from these types.

In the South African context, this type of development is generally referred to as a 'gated estate', a term which appears particularly in both the names and the marketing material of such estates. I have therefore opted to use the term 'gated estate', specifically when referring to the cases explored in this study.

As a global phenomenon, the gated community has attracted a great deal of attention among urban scholars worldwide. It has become a heated topic of debate and the subject of multidisciplinary studies and research. Initially, these debates took

¹ Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittlesteadt, "Types of Gated Communities," *Environment and Planning*, volume 31, (2004): 913-930. Grant and Lindsey refined the typology of gated communities as originally described in Blakely and Snyder's classic book regarding gated communities, *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States* (1997).

place in the social, economic and geographic study realms, but have more recently extended to urban and environmental design.

Writers such as Franziska Pufe start to question this approach, namely that of a single perspective. She states that from a constructivist and critical point of view, particularly with regard to the ideas of the new cultural geography, these generalisations have to be challenged. Methodologies, such as semiotics and iconography, which interrogate the diverse representations accepted by residents, have not been applied so far. Moreover, developers and architects, with their important role in the constitutions for the management of gated communities, have been largely disregarded by these studies.²

Gated communities have become a particularly controversial form of development in the South African context, due to the history of residential segregation.³ They are considered by scholars such as Lemanski and Landman as contributing to a new form of segregated and 'securitised' landscape, which causes social division and further polarisation of our society.^{4,5}

So, even though a substantial amount of scholarly work has been done on gated communities in South Africa, the conclusions often leave the impression that gated communities are primarily evidence of an increased fear of crime, a widened socio-economic polarisation and the privatisation of public goods.

Until recently, very little has been written in the South African context about the type of architecture and urban design found in gated communities. In general, these developments are consciously-designed environments, where producers have used a designated stereotype in order to evoke particular notions, feelings and

² Franziska Pufe, "Unlocking Miami's suburban gated communities: A semiotic and iconographic approach," *GeoJournal* 66 (2006): 43-56.

³ Residential segregation in South Africa was enacted under different laws, the most well known the Group Areas Act of 1950. This resulted in towns being divided into separate 'white', 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'African' areas.

⁴ Dr Charlotte Lemanski is a member of the Infrastructural Geographies group at the Department of Geography of Cambridge University.

⁵ Dr Karina Landman is an associate professor at the University of Pretoria's Department of Town and Regional Planning. She was previously a researcher at the CSRI during which time she published several articles in the field of gated communities in the Southern African context.

impressions. These place-making strategies also draw on specific landscape meanings and values. As a result, one could expect there to be more scholarly writing on the subject from urban designers and architects.

The architecture of gated communities is most often postmodern in nature and, specifically, New Urbanism architecture is a common feature of these developments.⁶ Gated communities are frequently marketed in New Urbanism rhetoric. This makes claims that they will recreate secure and peaceful spaces through, inter alia: seeking the active restoration and re-creation of traditional, 'classical' urban values, with a distinctive identity and style (such as the reconstruction of traditional small town 'European city' models, or the use of vernacular architecture). The material makes assertions that the development will ensure a specific lifestyle and provide its residents with social and economic control. Historical references and romantic images of various Western architectural styles form an important part of these marketing strategies.

Gated communities—their entrance gates, architecture, dwellings, streets, landscape design—are designed and produced by architects and developers, and received, used and interpreted by their consumers (land owners and occupants). Based on this, they can be seen as symbolic texts and images, through which these groups communicate.

Architecture and the built environment, seen as a system of communication, is open to various interpretations and meanings, made by different people at different times. Just as these architectural styles convey messages to the consumers living inside gated communities, they also embody meaning to those living outside these developments.

Does the architectural traditionalism of gated communities only represent the cultural claims of a certain group or class in society? This connects with the thinking of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu. He examines the idea of cultural capital in his influential book, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, and

⁶ The concept of 'New Urbanism' will be explained and explored in more detail in the section, Literature Review.

explores the ways in which architectural taste is seen as a form of 'cultural capital' that residents can harness—to protect their identities, their investments in real estate and their social status.⁷ The use of a specific architectural style can thus be a symbol of power in gated communities. Conversely, for people living outside these gated communities, this form of architecture and urban design can be an offensive symbol of exclusion.

The intention of this study is not to give a detailed history regarding the style and origins of Cape vernacular architecture (which is well documented). Rather, it explores the history of use thereof, and establishes how—and why—it is currently being used so extensively in the design of gated communities in the Stellenbosch area.

The history of the use of Cape vernacular architecture, and especially Cape Dutch architecture, in South Africa during the colonial period (and, more specifically, during the apartheid era) has complex associations. Within this context, this study explores the current extensive use of this architecture in gated communities in the Stellenbosch area. It examines whether the specific use of this type of architecture further contributes to the perception of exclusion created by gated communities in post-apartheid urban South Africa.

The study is conducted in the context of the Stellenbosch area because, as the second oldest colonial settlement in South Africa, it is a historic place. It is a popular tourist attraction and a vibrant student town. Its residents are both students and permanent residents. On the one hand, most of the permanent residents, especially those residing in gated communities, fall within the upper-income bracket, but the town also has neighbourhoods/townships where people live below the poverty line. Stellenbosch is still strongly associated with white Afrikaner privilege and supremacy. This is due in part to the university's legacy as an exclusive and largely white Afrikaner establishment, and because many of the richest Afrikaner businessmen reside in certain areas of the town or on wine farms in the surrounding rural area.

⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1989).

The greater municipal area of Stellenbosch covers approximately 900 km² with much of that utilised for agriculture (mainly wine production). The municipal area includes the historic towns of Stellenbosch, Franschhoek, and settlements such as Klapmuts, Koelenhof, Kylemore, Johannesdal, Pniel, Jamestown and Raithby.⁸ This study specifically addresses gated communities in the Stellenbosch township area.

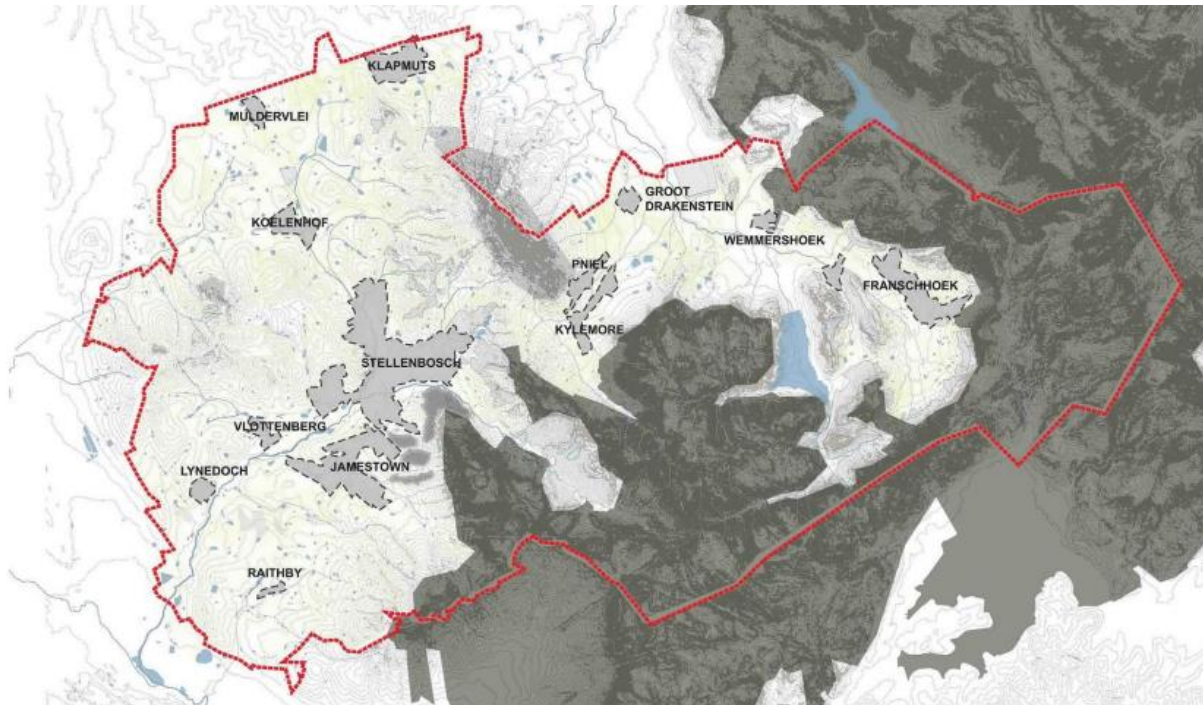


Figure 1: Map indicating the municipal boundaries of Stellenbosch Municipal area (<http://www.stellenboschheritage.co.za>)

Although gated communities in Stellenbosch are a relatively new phenomenon, a University of Stellenbosch-based urban geographer, Manfred Spocter, has shown that the Stellenbosch municipal area has more gated communities than any other municipal area in the Western Cape.⁹ Most are located on the periphery of the town. The vast majority of these developments use Cape vernacular architecture—particularly variations and interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture—for the dwellings, security entrance gates, for communal facilities such as clubhouses and administrative buildings, and for the landscaping features.

⁸ Stellenbosch Municipality, <https://www.stellenbosch.gov.za/>.

⁹ Manfred Spocter, "Rural gated developments as a contributor to post-productivism in the Western Cape," *The South African Geographical Journal*, 95(2) (2013): 165-186.

Local scholars such as Donaldson¹⁰ have expressed concern regarding the exclusionary nature of these gated communities as well as the social, economic and environmental effects of this. The impact of their large, similar-looking, monotonous townscapes on the Stellenbosch cultural landscape and on the identity of the town is another aspect of these gated communities receiving critical attention.

The Stellenbosch Spatial Development Framework acknowledges the rich cultural history of the urban and rural areas of Stellenbosch.¹¹ The Framework also emphasises the need to guard against the erosion of the town's strong sense of place that has become an internationally recognised brand. Similarly, Donaldson states that:

It is ironic that the strong property market at the high end of the scale, driven by the exceptional scenic and small-town qualities found so close to the City of Cape Town has led to strong pressure to develop the exact scenic landscape that it is drawn towards and, in the process, create inauthentic spaces.¹²

Due to the emphasis placed by the heritage authority and local and groups on the importance of the cultural landscape of the Stellenbosch area, I decided to look specifically at the use of Cape vernacular architecture in the Aan de Weber Residential Estate. This is an up-market, gated community, located directly adjacent to Jamestown, on the southern fringe of the Stellenbosch township. Jamestown is a historic mission town which was previously a Coloured Area in terms of the former Group Areas Act, 1950 (Act 41 of 1950).

To understand the context of the Aan de Weber gated community, and to demonstrate the impact of the use of this architectural style in gated communities on the Stellenbosch townscape, this study also refers the development history and architectural style of two adjacent gated communities. These are the La Clémence Retirement Village and the De Zalze Golf Estate, also located in the Jamestown

¹⁰ Ronnie Donaldson, The Production of Quartered Spaces in Stellenbosch. Inaugural address at the University of Stellenbosch, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, September 4, 2014.

¹¹ CNdV Africa Planning and Design. *Stellenbosch Municipal Spatial Development Framework*, prepared for the Stellenbosch Municipality, approved May 31, 2017.

¹² Donaldson, 2014.

node of Stellenbosch. The architectural style of all three developments is an interpretation of traditional Cape vernacular. This study also refers to the architectural style of some other gated developments within the Stellenbosch Municipal area, to offer a broader context.

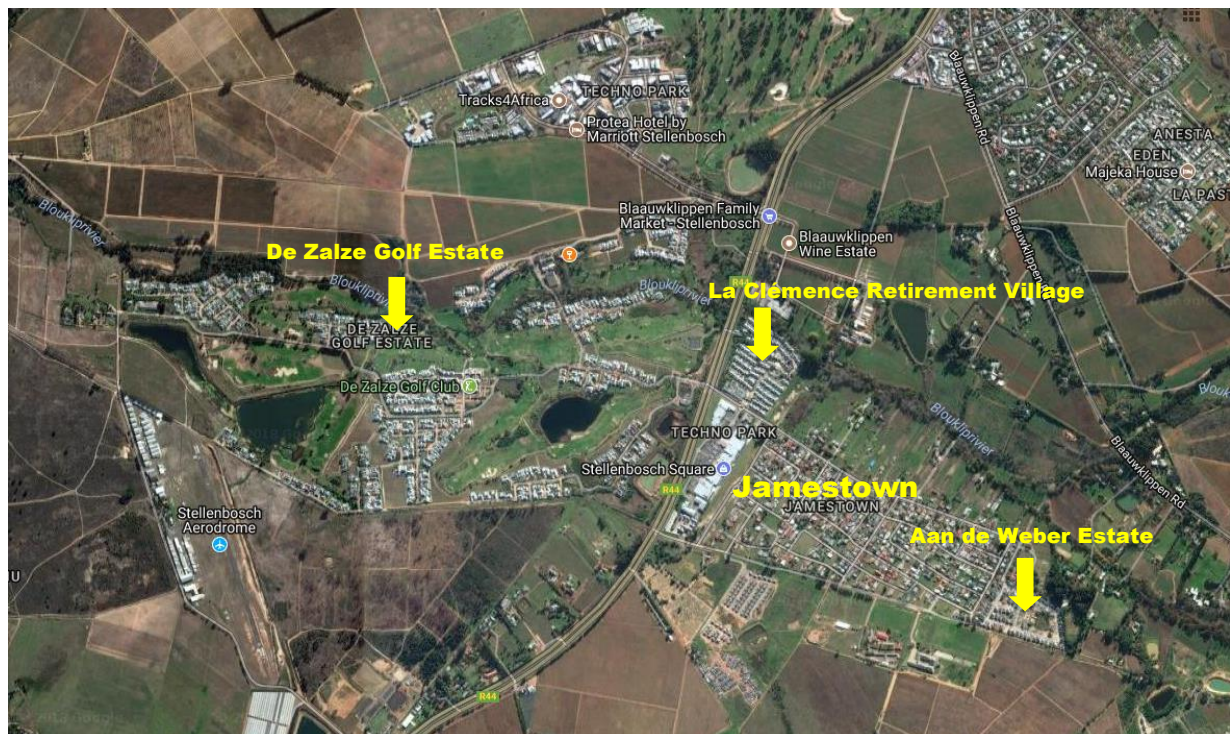


Figure 2: Aerial photograph indicating the position of study cases (Google Earth, 2018)

The cases were chosen because they each have residential components designed and developed by the developer, and single residential erven with dwelling houses designed by the architects of these individual landowners, working according to the architectural guidelines of the estate. All three cases have been the subject of various research studies in diverse academic fields, which offer further insight into the development history, nature and impact of these developments.^{13 14} A further reason for choosing these three developments is that they have been the subject of several recent academic studies in areas related to this one, such as economics,

¹³ Gary Dean Arendse, "Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the 'urban edge': A study of Jamestown, Stellenbosch" (Magister Atrium Degree, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape, 2014).

¹⁴ Carlu Van Wyk, "Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown, Stellenbosch" (MPhil thesis, Environmental Management. Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Stellenbosch University, 2016).

urban geography and sustainable development. These too provide background and valuable insight for this study.^{15, 16}

The development of each of these three gated communities was controversial, and it was opposed by local heritage groups and the Jamestown community.

Arendse, a local resident of Jamestown, in his study, *Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the 'urban edge': A study of Jamestown, Stellenbosch*, argues that the Jamestown node can be considered a good illustration of the destruction of a once authentic urban space—a historical rural hamlet for coloured people—by urban spatial transformation.¹⁷ Donaldson and Morkel give this context, they point out that in a short period, the urban space of this village has undergone a dramatic transformation, from “being a predominantly mono-functional, coloured, dormitory, rural agricultural village to being an eclectic urban spatial mix of squatting, retirement and lifestyle gated developments, a decentralised shopping centre, gentrification and residential desegregation, all quartered”.¹⁸ Arendse explores the notions of urban transformation and gentrification, and the tensions and anxiety felt by Jamestown residents following the new property developments in and around Jamestown. Jamestown has an active Heritage Committee and, in an interview with Arendse, members expressed concern about the ‘Cape vernacular’ theming of the new estate, “as if Jamestown was without heritage in the eyes of the developers, and without a citizenry whose discourse around heritage mattered”.¹⁹ Members were also concerned regarding the lack of a proper heritage impact assessment.

Carlu van Wyk addresses gated communities in the Jamestown area in her thesis, *Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated*

¹⁵ Corrine Cash, “Towards Achieving Resilience at the Rural-Urban Fringe: the Case of Jamestown, South Africa.” *Urban Forum* (2014): 25, 125.

¹⁶ Ronnie Donaldson, The Production of Quartered Spaces in Stellenbosch. Inaugural address at the University of Stellenbosch, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, September 4, 2014.

¹⁷ Gary Dean Arendse, “Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the ‘urban edge’: A study of Jamestown, Stellenbosch” (Magister Atrium Degree, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape, 2014).

¹⁸ Ronnie Donaldson and Jolanda Morkel, “Urban Spaces, Quartering Stellenbosch’s urban space,” in *Sustainable Stellenbosch: opening dialogues*, eds., Mark Swilling, Ben Sebitosi and Ruenda Loots (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2012), 63.

¹⁹ Arendse, 2014, 85.

*developments in Jamestown, Stellenbosch.*²⁰ Her study identifies the social, economic and environmental effects of these gated communities on Jamestown and aims to identify some management tools to address these effects.

Corrine Cash, in her study, *Towards Achieving Resilience at the Rural-Urban Fringe: the Case of Jamestown, South Africa*, takes a slightly different position. Her focus is mostly on the way in which political process affected the developments around Jamestown, and how this allowed gentrification to take place.²¹ This study focuses on the people of the town and it explores their experiences, views and perceptions of the developments. It also offers an interesting perspective on the role of decision-makers in the development of gated communities in the Jamestown node.

The Insider Position of the Researcher

My practice, for nearly thirty years, as a town and regional planner in both the public and private sector, triggered my interest in architectural and urban conservation. Thus, studying further was a logical response to my personal and professional interest. I graduated from Stellenbosch University and lived for five years in Stellenbosch. Although I was a student at the time, and not a permanent resident of Stellenbosch, this engagement does provide me with some insight into the area. During my professional career, I have been involved in numerous land use application submissions, including some for gated communities, in the Stellenbosch area. I have also done some consultation work for Stellenbosch municipality, assisting with the evaluation of land-use planning applications.

I am from an Afrikaans-speaking family. Most of my family members studied, or still study, at Stellenbosch University and I have many friends residing in the Stellenbosch area, some of them in gated communities. This provides me with further insight into the psyche of the Stellenbosch community and the local residents' experience of their townscape and rural landscape.

²⁰ Carlu Van Wyk, "Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown, Stellenbosch" (MPhil thesis, Environmental Management. Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Stellenbosch University, 2016).

²¹ Cash, 2014, 25 and 125.

As a result, this study can be considered to be a form of insider research, as it is concerned with the study of my own social group and society. This will have affected the collection and analysis of data. While there are some concerns that insider research may complicate the research process—including a social understanding of the self, bias and lack of detachment from the field—there are also advantages. These include an insider-knowledge of the area and study field, access to information, and interaction with the interviewees. In this regard, I acknowledge that the stories I have been told—how they were relayed to me and the narratives that I form and share with others—are undoubtedly impacted by my personal and professional position and experience.

Exploring the subject has led to some introspection and re-examination of my personal and professional approach to development in the Stellenbosch area as well as to development in general. Reflecting on this sense of self and of place, a poem by Danie Marais, *Stellenbosch Revisited*, especially touched me as relevant to my exploration of the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in Stellenbosch. This poem, adopted here as the epigram, is a translation of the original Afrikaans.²²

The poem is a playful analysis of Stellenbosch as middle-class Afrikaans-centred student town. The poet reflects on how he has experienced this space at different times in his life; first as a grungey, rebellious student and then twenty years later, returning to this space of his youth as an older writer and parent. It is an exploration of the complexities of the town and its culture, with Stellenbosch presented as a contradictory symbol: an icon of creative thinking, but also of oppression; the locus of privilege and guilt, but also of innocence—the town as a symbol which is intellectually abused.

Methodology

This study is primarily descriptive and exploratory, as it seeks to illustrate the complexities of the subject. Although limited by the requirements of a 60-credit

²² Marlise Joubert, editor, *in a burning sea. Contemporary Afrikaans Poetry in Translation* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2014), 174-179.

research paper, the research methodology followed is qualitative in nature. This is in order to gain as rich and as complex an understanding as possible of the underlying reasons and motivations for the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in the Stellenbosch area. I have therefore relied on a series of hypotheses in articulating the research questions within an overarching theoretical idea, which provides a framework for the investigation.

Flyvbjerg argues that it is now widely accepted that one can gain significant and relevant knowledge from the study of a single case, provided the selection of the case has been carefully considered and is able to meet the criteria determined by the objectives of the study.²³ A typical case (or extreme cases) often reveals more information because it activates more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied.

However, Flyvbjerg also points out that when the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample is unlikely to be the most appropriate strategy, and that it may be better to select a few cases, chosen for their validity.

With this in mind, to optimally explore the research question, I decided to investigate the use of Cape vernacular architecture in *three* gated communities on the southern periphery of the Stellenbosch area: **Aan de Weber Estate**, **La Clémence Retirement Village** and **De Zalze Golf Estate**. While I could not find one, stand-alone, gated community development able to fulfil all the requirements and provide a sufficiently rich source of analysis for my research question, I note that these developments form part of a specific identified *node* in Stellenbosch, the Jamestown node, which helps to narrow down the findings of this study.

To investigate whether Cape vernacular architecture is self-consciously adopted in gated communities by the producers (developers, architects and estate agents) to influence the decision-making of the authorities and of the consumers (land owners and occupants) who will choose these developments, and whether the use of this

²³ B Flyvbjerg, "Five misunderstandings about case-study research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12.2 (2006): 219-245.

architecture contributes to the perceived exclusionary nature of gated communities, I address the following research questions in my study:

- Why do the producers of gated communities self-consciously use Cape vernacular architecture in their developments in the Stellenbosch area?
- Is the architecture used in gated communities taken into consideration by the relevant authorities during the land-use regulatory process? In this regard, I explore whether the producers and decision-makers think the developments have a better chance of approval if Cape vernacular architecture is used, especially in the Stellenbosch area.
- Does this architecture have any impact on consumers' decisions to purchase property in a specific gated community?
- Finally, does the use of this type of architecture contribute to the perceived exclusionary nature of gated communities in the post-apartheid South African urban context?

Literature review

The research in this multiple-case study will rely on a literature review:

- The first section focuses on the development of gated communities, specifically in the post-1994 South African context, and provides a brief introduction to the different approaches in the research field pertaining to this type of development. The link between gated communities, New Urbanism and the use of vernacular architecture is explored, as is the notion of architectural semiotics.
- The second section gives a short history of the use of Cape vernacular architecture.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews can be defined as a qualitative research technique. It involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea or situation. This study makes use of semi-structured interviews which consist of a series of pre-determined questions that were specifically prepared to obtain the opinions and insights of the identified stakeholder groups.

The interviews form a central component of both the survey of attitudes and of the case studies. The interviewees were chosen based on their involvement in the selected cases for this study.

The following three interview groups were selected:

1. The producers of the gated communities. This group includes developers, architects and estate agents involved in the selected developments. The intention was to acquire general data, information and opinions from them, as this group market a lifestyle. They provide insight into the reasons why these developments are so popular, and whether the specific nature of the architectural style used (Cape Dutch vernacular) plays a role in their marketing approach.
2. The consumers of these three gated estates, namely the land owners and occupants (representing the 'current community'). The intention of the interviews was to determine if the architecture of these gated communities in any way impacts on their decision to acquire a property in these developments.
3. The authorities and local interest groups involved in the decision-making process regarding gated communities in the Stellenbosch area. This includes local authority officials in the Planning and Economic Development Department of Stellenbosch Municipality, committee

members of the provincial heritage authority, Heritage Western Cape, and representatives of local heritage interest groups.

The sessions with the various participants took the form of individual semi-structured interviews where the questions or issues to be discussed were prepared in advance and the answers took the form of 'unscripted free response' as described by Morse.²⁴ The interviews were open-ended but focused, with the aim to give participants a certain degree of freedom and encourage spontaneity (rather than force them to select from a set of pre-determined responses) and to try to create the right atmosphere to enable people to express themselves. In running through the questions, I found that very often useful insight was gained in the broad discussions around the topic, which add immensely to the richness of the responses.

The list of questions was sent out ahead of the interview via e-mail.²⁵ I noted at the start of the interviews that the Form of Ethics had been submitted to the University of Cape Town. All interviewees confirmed their willingness to be quoted. Some of the interviews were not recorded, specifically the more informal interviews with residents of the gated communities, but detailed, hand-written notes were taken during all interviews. Interviewees were asked if they wished to see a record of responses (a full transcript was not kept nor deemed necessary), but none of the interviewees requested this. Due to capacity and time constraints, the two heritage groups of Stellenbosch responded via e-mail.

It should be noted that although the interviews were structured by a list of questions that were sent to the interviewees in advance, most of these questions were open-ended and I invited the interviewee to speak broadly about each subject. Analysis, of what was often simply a structured conversation, has presented some challenges. The main difficulty is the difference between the responses of parties who answered briefly or in a focussed manner and those who spoke at length and ranged across or around a question.

²⁴ J Morse, "The implications of interview type and structure in mixed-method designs," in *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*, eds. J Gubrium, J Holstein, AB Marvasti, and K McKinney (Los Angeles: Sage, 2012): 193 -204.

²⁵ See Appendix 1 for a list of the interviewees and Appendix 2 for a list of the interview questionnaires.

Site research

A detailed analysis of the process of approval and production of the three chosen gated communities through:

- Site inspections and observations.
- Study of submission documentation, public participation processes, and authority reports/decisions.
- Review of marketing material, websites, and architectural guidelines.

Limitations

Due to the nature of gated communities and the associated security issues, the estate managers were not keen to allow photography within these estates. As a result, most of the photographs in this study—used to illustrate the Cape vernacular architecture of these developments—were sourced from the internet, the marketing websites of estate agents, or from other marketing and promotional material.

Some of the necessary information regarding the approval processes of the cases was difficult to obtain or was not available at the archives of the local authority.

CHAPTER 2: ARCHITECTURAL SEMIOTICS AND GATED COMMUNITIES

Gated Communities

Gated communities are the subject of vehement political and academic discussion. Explaining the nature of, and reason for, this type of development cannot be separated from the overall political bias of the researcher. It is thus not the intention of this study to research the phenomenon of gated communities and the wide-ranging, socio-politically charged, issues around it. Nor does the study attempt to address the deeper issues of class and race divisions, but it does recognise and acknowledge the social destruction gated communities have caused, especially in the South African context where gated communities recall memories of the past and are often seen as new symbols of seclusion. The intention of this study is primarily to focus on those aspects of gated communities affecting the built environment, particularly the architectural imagery and urban design found within these developments.

However, it is necessary to give a very broad overview of the academic debates of recent years related to gated communities. Two main themes can be identified in the literature on the characteristics of gated communities:

The first theme looks at the communities from an economic and socio-spatial perspective, and focuses on the physical features and amenities offered. In this regard, the pioneering study of Blakely and Snyder deals with issues regarding gated and walled communities in the United States.²⁶ Resulting from this work, a typology of gated communities was advanced by the authors to aid an understanding of the social, economic and cultural issues embodied in a study of gated communities.

This typology was further refined by spatial planners Jill Grant and Lindsey Mittlesteadt.²⁷ The three main types of gated community identified by these studies are first, *lifestyle communities*—which include retirement communities, and golf and

²⁶ Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Snyder, *Divided we fall: Gated and Walled Communities in the United States* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).

²⁷ Grant and Mittlesteadt, "Types of Gated Communities," 913-930.

country club leisure developments; second, *elite communities*—which are aimed at the upper-income groups; and third, *security zones*—where existing neighbourhoods are retrofitted with gates or barricades. The gated communities in the Stellenbosch area being explored in this study combine the qualities of lifestyle and elite communities.

In the Southern African context, several papers have been published regarding the impact of fear on the growth of gated communities, and on their segregating nature. Morange et al. examine gated communities in three southern African Cities—Cape Town, Maputo and Windhoek—and argue that they can be considered to be a reaction to the increasing mobility of the poor, and the accelerating racial desegregation occurring in South Africa and Namibia. They further claim that gated communities reflect the desire of the white middle classes to avoid contact with the poor and black people, and to rebuild a sense of territorial control over their direct environment. This type of development is considered to be a hygienist and neo-colonial reaction to a fading physical barrier between African ‘indigenous’ and white cities, a separation no longer being enforced by apartheid laws.²⁸

Lemanski claims that the private erection of ‘fortified enclaves’ reflects a ‘new apartheid’ in South Africa, where the ‘fear of crime’ is put forward to mask a racist fear.²⁹ This was also addressed by Richard Ballard, in *Assimilation, emigration, semigration, and integration: ‘White’ people’s strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa*.³⁰

The subject of gated communities and their long-term impact on the South African city is also extensively researched by Karin Landman of the University of Pretoria, who was previously associated with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) Built Environment Research Unit. Her studies explore how citizens

²⁸ M Morange, F Folio, E Peyroux and J Vivet, “The Spread of a Transnational Mode: ‘Gated Communities’ in Three South African Cities (Cape Town, Maputo and Windhoek)” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36 (2012): 890-914.

²⁹ C Lemanski, “A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. Environment and Urbanization.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 34 (2016): 672-688.

³⁰ Richard Ballard, “Assimilation, emigration, semigration and integration: ‘White’ peoples strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa,” in *Under construction: ‘Race’ and identity in South Africa today*, edited by N. Distiller and M. Steyn (Johannesburg: Heinemann, 2004): 51-66.

in South Africa are responding to high levels of crime and the fear of crime, which leads to major changes in the urban landscape, such as defensive architecture and urbanism. Her studies extensively address the privatisation—due to a perceived lack of service provision by local authorities—of urban space and services in gated communities in the post-apartheid South African city.³¹

Landman also examines the fact that the built environment embodies meaning. She argues that:

such meaning is not only conveyed through urban form (physical space) but also through images or perceptions of space, place or physical interventions and as such meaning can also change over time through behaviour or the specific use of space or as related to specific historical realities.³²

This leads to the second, and more recent, theme of argument around gated communities, where urban scholars begin to focus on the cultural facets. The rapid development of gated communities is, for example, considered to be part of a trend towards New Urbanism. Within this line of argument, the use of historical references is discussed as part of the aesthetic features of gated communities (architecture, urban design and layout) and it is argued that the built environment of gated communities embodies meaning. Urban scholars thus begin to interrogate the cultural politics of gated communities. Walks argues that neoliberalism provides the conditions for realising economic benefits from aesthetic distinctions in the urban form.³³

Similarly, scholars such as Raposa acknowledge that gated communities, being a pre-packaged product, represent a particularly propitious terrain for the deployment of commodification and aestheticisation practices, which in turn seem to account for an important part of their success.

³¹ Karina Landman, "Privating public space in post apartheid South African cities through neighbourhood enclosures," *Geo Journal* 66 (2006): 134-135.

³² Landman, 2006, 134-135.

³³ Alan R. Walks, "Aestheticization and the cultural contradictions of neoliberal (sub) urbanism," *Cultural Geographies* 13 (3) (2006): 466-475.

Raposa focuses on how these practices shape gated communities, and how they are connected to their segregational dimension. She argues that:

Residents in gated communities are thus besides buying a home also buying many other 'things' which include the social 'quality' and behaviour of neighbours, several kinds of social relations, a lifestyle coherent with previous consumer 'choices' and a way to display identity and play the game of social distinction.³⁴

She further argues that besides this *society* element, one is also offered a specific ideal *time and space* in which to live as:

Thanks to aestheticization practices, the entire package comes beautifully 'wrapped', conjuring up the synthetic nostalgic idea that finally one has arrived 'home'. Social relations and social life inside gated communities are depicted as warm, authentic and moral, as is idealistically conjured up by the very idea of community or *gemeinschaft*.³⁵

Developers use local histories, socio-cultural divisions and symbolic imagery to represent gated communities as an ideal living area. Levent and Gülümser explore the rise of gated communities in Istanbul, demonstrating that there appears to be an elite, nostalgic longing for Istanbul's old neighbourhoods, which are seen as homogeneous and harmonious places that are now in decay.³⁶ This is also the case in post-apartheid South Africa where the rapid increase in the development of gated communities with Cape vernacular architecture or other colonial architectural styles is often ascribed to the former white ruling group's longing for the 'good old days' of apartheid South Africa.³⁷

These findings are taken further by Guny who explores how cultural heritage in gated communities in Istanbul is manipulated through the employment of selective

³⁴ Rita Raposa, "Gated communities, commodification and aestheticization: The case of the Lisbon metropolitan area," *GeoJournal* 66 (2006): 51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

³⁶ TB Levent, and Gülümser, "Production and marketing of gated communities in Istanbul," Paper presented at the Congress of European Regional Science Association, Portugal (2004).

³⁷ Richard Ballard, "Assimilation, emigration, semigration and integration: 'White' peoples strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa," in *Under construction: 'Race' and identity in South Africa today*, edited by N. Distiller and M. Steyn (Johannesburg: Heinemann, 2004)

histories, and how it may lead to the creation of a packaged and fabricated image of a 'fake' historic environment simulation.³⁸

From this I conclude that real-estate developers actively re-make landscapes in order to lure a target group of new consumers into gated communities. This is described by Chinese geographer Fulong Wu in *Gated and packaged suburbia: Packaging and branding Chinese suburban residential development*. He addresses the emergence of 'Western'-style built forms in gated communities in Chinese suburban residential developments. He concludes that the existing Western perspective of these developments—such as the 'club of consumption' and the 'discourse of fear'—are not adequate to explain the development of these residential forms in China.³⁹

Various packaging and branding practices, which include using Western place names, borrowing Western architectural motifs, and inventing a discourse of community, are also commonly used in gated communities in South Africa. Marketing strategies for these developments draw on specific landscape meanings and values. Imagined and hybrid Western forms are created and adopted to exploit the commonly-held idea that these styles equate to a modern, high-quality environment.

Zoltán and Andrásy study the reason for gated communities in Budapest and conclude that:

In contrast to mainstream approaches which put the emphasis on social factors (e.g. fear of crime, the exclusionary behavior of the affluent) or economic considerations encapsulated in the public–private dichotomy (e.g. market provision of public goods via a club), the desire of the upper middle classes to indicate their social status, a desire that had to be repressed

³⁸ Zeynep Guny, "Mind the Fakes! Fast Forward Heritageisation in Housing Projects of Istanbul," Paper presented at the 48th ISOCAEP Congress (2012): 4.

³⁹ Xu, M and Yang, Z, "Theoretical debate on gated communities: genesis, controversies, and the way forward," *Urban Design International* 13 (2008): 213.

during the communist era, appears to be a significantly stronger driver than concerns of security and self-segregation.⁴⁰

These studies support the notion that in certain cases the meaning attached to the urban form and architectural style of gated communities can exceed previous representations found by other studies: that the fear of crime, socio-economic polarisation and the wish to privatise public goods, are the main reasons for living in a gated community. This is confirmed by a study comparing experiences of gating in different cities within South Africa.⁴¹ From this study it appears that while respondents in Johannesburg identified crime as the dominant factor. However, residents of security estates in Cape Town identified their prime motivation as the creation of a utopian lifestyle reminiscent of a bygone era, protected and detached from the harsh realities and broader concerns of the outside world, rather than crime per se. From this I conclude that living in a security estate in Cape Town (and we can assume that this would apply in the Stellenbosch area) is a lifestyle choice rather than a security choice. That is not to suggest that crime no longer plays a role but, rather, that it appears respondents in Cape Town attributed it as a contributory factor only, subordinate to creating an idyllic village environment.

The latest research on gated communities is moving away from the hard concept of a 'gated community' to the more fluid one of 'urban gating'. Urban gating restricts access to previously public land through material gating and results in the loss of the right of the public to the use-value of urban land.⁴²

Bagaeen and Uduka argue that the term 'gated' can be more conceptual or psychological than physical.⁴³ This view stretches the meaning of 'gating' beyond the traditional concepts of 'gating' and 'pseudo gating'. It extends the usual conceptualisation of the urban gated community, to wider examination of the term

⁴⁰ Zoltán Cséfalvay and András Gyula, "Gated Communities for Security or Prestige? A Public Choice Approach and the Case of Budapest." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (12 October 2010).

⁴¹ C Lemanski, K Landman and M Durlington, "Divergent and similar experiences of 'gating' in South Africa: Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town." *UrbanForum* 19 (2008): 133-158.

⁴² Karin Grundström, "The rise of urban gating and gated housing in Sweden." *Urban Transcripts. The Journal* Volume 1, Nr 2 (Summer 2017): 18-39.

⁴³ Samer Bagaeen and Ola Uduku, *Beyond gated communities* (Routledge, 2015), 246.

'gating' and to what constitutes exclusion and inclusion in urban spaces within the globalized economies with which people engage today.

New Urbanism and the Use of Vernacular Architecture in Gated Communities

New Urbanism is an urban design movement that began as a critique of the urban planning practices in the United States. Specifically, it critiqued the modern suburbanisation born after the Second World War, and the urban sprawl that resulted from it. It evolved from the views of the social philosopher and historian Lewis Mumford—who criticised the 'anti-urban' development of post-war America—and Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, written in the early 1960s. Jacobs called for planners to reconsider the single-use housing projects, large car-dependent thoroughfares, and segregated commercial centres that had become the norm in the United States' urban development.⁴⁴

The ideas behind New Urbanism began to solidify in the 1970s and 1980s with the urban visions and theoretical models for the reconstruction of the 'European' city proposed by architect Léon Krier, and in the pattern language theories of Christopher Alexander. The organising body for New Urbanism is the Congress for the New Urbanism, founded in 1993. Its foundational text is the *Charter of the New Urbanism*, which advocates the restructuring of public policy and development practices to support the following principles:

Neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.⁴⁵

The ideas of New Urbanism can all be traced back to two concepts, namely: building a sense of community, and the development of ecological practices. The *Charter of*

⁴⁴ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

⁴⁵ "The Charter of the New Urbanism," accessed August 25, 2017, <https://www.cnu.org/who-we-are/charter-new-urbanism> and "Urbanism Principles," accessed August 25, 2017, www.newurbanism.org

the New Urbanism also covers issues such as historic preservation, safe streets, green buildings, and the re-development of brownfield land. Architecturally, New Urbanism developments are often accompanied by New Classical, postmodern, or vernacular styles (although that is not always the case). Emphasis is also placed on beauty, aesthetics, human comfort, and the creation of a sense of place, which—it is claimed—will together add up to a high quality of life.

Several terms, such as *Neo-Traditional Development* and *Traditional Neighbourhood Development*, are viewed as synonymous with, included in, or overlapping with New Urbanism. These terms generally refer to complete New Towns or new neighbourhoods, often built in traditional architectural styles, as opposed to smaller infill and redevelopment projects. The term *Traditional Urbanism* has also been used to describe the New Urbanism by critics of the movement.

New Urbanism has drawn both praise and criticism from all sectors of the political spectrum. It has been criticised both for being a social engineering scheme and for failing to address issues of social equity. In an interview in *Reason*, a right-libertarian magazine, Peter Gordon, a professor of Urban Planning at the University of Southern California, speaks in favour of suburbanisation, claiming that the New Urbanism ignores consumer preference and that cities have moved towards car-oriented development because that is what people want.⁴⁶

In contrast, critics, such as journalist Alex Marshall, have described New Urbanism as essentially being a marketing scheme that repackages conventional suburban sprawl behind a façade of nostalgic imagery and empty, aspirational slogans. In a 1996 article in *Metropolis Magazine*, Marshall denounces New Urbanism as "a grand fraud".⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Online magazine, *Reason's* Managing Editor Rick Henderson and Adrian T. Moore, Director of Economic Studies at the Reason Public Policy Institute, interviewed Professor Peter Gordon in an article "*Plan Obsolescence*", *Reason*, June 1998.

⁴⁷ Alex Marshall, "Building New Urbanism: Less filling, but not so tasty." *Builder Magazine*, (November 30, 1999), accessed on September 29, 2017, <http://www.alexmarshall.org/2006/08/02/building-new-urbanism-less-filling-but-not-so-tasty/>.

The developers of gated communities often claim that their developments are a form of New Urbanism, an assertion which is vehemently rejected by the traditional New Urbanism movement. Notwithstanding this, gated communities are often marketed using New Urbanism rhetoric. Claims are made that they will recreate secure and peaceful spaces (seeking the active restoration and re-creation of traditional ‘classical’ urban values) and have a distinctive identity and style (such as the reconstruction of traditional ‘European city’ models or the use of vernacular architecture), with the purpose of ensuring a specific lifestyle and providing social and economic control for its residents. Historical references and romantic images of various Western architectural styles also form an important part of these marketing strategies.

In this regard, the term ‘Critical Regionalism’ is often used by both New Urbanists and architects involved with architectural design guidelines for gated communities. This term was coined by Tzonis and Lefaivre, employing a concept which encourages designers to overcome biases favouring imported or local choices. This is done through questioning and reflection—considering the specifics of the actual situation, the region—while at the same time welcoming what the open world can offer. They state that through interaction and exchange, architects should value the uniqueness of the ‘region’ and the quality of social ties, as well as the physical and cultural resources.

Tzonis and Lefaivre first presented this new approach to regionalism in 1981, in *The Grid and the Pathway*, an essay published in *Architecture in Greece*.⁴⁸ Critical Regionalism differs fundamentally from former uses of the term ‘regionalism,’ which suffer from ambiguity—on the one hand, regionalism has been associated with movements of reform and liberation; on the other hand, it has often been used as a tool of repression, and as a political and marketing construct promoting nationalist movements. Critical Regionalism is not simply regionalism in the sense of vernacular architecture, but a progressive approach to design that seeks to mediate between the global and the local languages of architecture.

⁴⁸ Alex Tzonis and Lilian Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the work of Dimitris and Susan Antonakis,” *Architecture in Greece*, 15 (Athens, 1981): 178.

The idea initiated an abundance of writings, the most well-known being those by Kenneth Frampton. Frampton argues that Critical Regionalism should adopt modern architecture critically for its universal progressive qualities, but at the same time should value responses particular to the context.⁴⁹ He takes the argument further, saying, “A critical *arrière-garde* has to remove itself from both the optimization of advanced technology and the ever-present tendency to regress into nostalgic historicism or the glibly decorative”.⁵⁰ He also suggests that it is important “to distinguish between Critical Regionalism and simple-minded attempts to revive the hypothetical forms of a lost vernacular”.⁵¹

Jill Grant argues that people promoting New Urbanism state that there are radically different premises behind New Urbanism and gated communities.⁵² She claims that, while New Urbanism answers urban challenges with efforts to recapture the strengths of older communities and to supplant unwanted suburban patterns with those believed to have greater resilience and public purpose, gated communities reveal popular scepticism about the potential for improving urban conditions and a consequent desire to retreat to protected compounds.

Grant further argues that:

While gated communities continue the separation of land uses and by gating explicitly resists difference and relies on homogeneity, the intention of New Urbanism is to embrace diversity and seeks to assimilate difference. It is in fact claimed that gated communities reveal popular scepticism about the potential for improving urban conditions and consequent desire by especially the affluent to retreat to protected compounds.⁵³

Ultimately, though, the results of these two types of development are comparable, as both are private places that provide security, community and identity to those within, while limiting membership to the relatively affluent. A further point of similarity

⁴⁹ Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance", in *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Hal Foster, ed. (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵² Jill L Grant, "Two sides of a coin? New urbanism and gated communities," *Housing Policy Debate* 18(3) (2007): 481-501.

⁵³ Grant, "Two sides of a coin? New urbanism and gated communities," 481-501.

relevant to this study is the fact that both gated communities and New Urbanism developments are being marketed as developments which recapture the hometown feeling of yesterday, and thus play on a sense of nostalgia for the past.

Boym writes about nostalgia in New Urbanism and argues that, although nostalgia appears to be a longing for a place, it is actually a yearning for a different time. Modern nostalgia, she concludes:

is a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values. Contemporary architectural constructions and reconstructions in New Urbanism development can thus be considered as a form of material embodiment of nostalgia.⁵⁴

Dickenson argues that due to the fact that new developments are rapidly built on land figured as empty, there is:

often a palpable sense of placelessness in suburban landscapes. It is into this context that suburban housing developments work to create a sense of home, and they do so by striving to suture the home into time and place. The most apparent way that residential landscapes weave themselves into time is by knitting themselves into a historical trajectory and a comforting past. Residential landscapes use two main rhetorical modes of creating a sense of historicity; names on signs and architectural references.⁵⁵

This is also explored by Van Veldhuizen in an article where she analyses the use of historic references in gated communities in the Netherlands.⁵⁶ Over the last few centuries, many architectural styles in the Netherlands have sought to evoke the principles, typology and architectural features of earlier periods. Several explanations have been offered to account for this trend. Van Veldhuizen aims to provide evidence that historical references are used as a symbolic enclosure to create an attractive and socially-acceptable place for higher income households to live. She claims that “architectural tastes are seen as a form of cultural capital that

⁵⁴ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001), 7-18.

⁵⁵ Greg Dickinson, *Suburban Dreams: Imagining and Building the Good Life* (The University of Alabama Press), 74.

⁵⁶ Dewi Van Veldhuizen, “Modern Castles and Country Houses: The use of history in gated communities in the Netherlands” (Afstudeerartikel Duale Master Erfgoedstudies, University of Amsterdam, 2011).

residents can harness to protect their identities, their investments in real estate and their social status".⁵⁷

Thus, there appears to be a direct relation between the heritage industry and New Urbanism and gated communities, and specifically the architectural styles being used. I contend that the historical references in the marketing of these developments are responding to postmodern society's current obsession with the past, which is reflected in nostalgic impulses as well as the glamorising and romanticising of a more 'authentic' lifestyle.

This is one of the main reasons why the developers of gated communities claim that their developments embrace the principles of New Urbanism, especially with regard to the use of traditional or vernacular architecture, and the design thereof promoting a 'sense of community'. The marketing of both gated communities and New Urbanism developments offers future residents 'community' as Utopia. Developers of both types of developments make extensive use of the concept of 'community' in their advertising and promotional activities, as a key selling point. Chamberlain argues that "'community' has become a product, commodified by the real estate industry, thus demonstrating that is possible to commodify not only physical goods but also people's aspirations and desires".⁵⁸

This is often considered as a reflection and response to conditions of the present as well as the future. As pointed out in the literature regarding both New Urbanism and gated communities, these phenomena seem to be connected to specific local political conditions and, in particular, to a 'weak state'. That is, to the absence, failure or abstention of state intervention in the regulation of space and society and in the provision of different kinds of public goods.

In the South African context, it often goes hand-in-hand with the white middle and upper classes' nostalgic longing for South Africa's old neighbourhoods, which are

⁵⁷ Van Veldhuizen, "Modern Castles and Country Houses," 2-4.

⁵⁸ Peter Chamberlain, "Community Commodified: Harnessing community in the marketing and creation of residential developments" (Thesis MSocSci, Lincoln University, 2012).
<https://hdl.handle.net/10182/4352>

seen as homogeneous places that are not in decay. This is addressed in Martin Murray's book, *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*.⁵⁹ His examination addresses the proliferation of mimetic renderings of European architecture in gated communities, especially in the new northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

That this type of architecture can be considered to be the result of a nostalgia for an idealised, Arcadian past, especially within the post-apartheid South African context. This theory will be tested in my analysis of the three cases explored.

The Notion of Architectural Semiotics

Semiotics can be broadly understood as the study of signs and symbols and of their meaning and use. Semiotics is also an investigation into how meaning is created and how meaning is communicated. The basic idea is that sign processes are involved in everything we do.

Architectural semiotics looks at how the formal characteristics of designed forms contain signs or codes, and how these signs or codes constitute a kind of language. In his essay, "*Function and Sign: The Semiotics of Architecture*", Umberto Eco applies his general semiotic theory to the question of architecture and the built environment. Architecture, Eco argues, presents a special case, as it is often intended to be primarily functional and not to be communicative. Nonetheless, architecture does function as a form of mass communication. He draws the distinction between the denotative and the connotative and therefore distinguishes between the primary function—architecture as functional object—and the secondary function—architecture as symbolic object. He notes that in both categories there is potential for "losses, recoveries and substitutions". Eco concludes that architects must design structures for "variable primary functions and open secondary functions".⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Martin Murray, *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg, Reconciling Arcadia and Utopia* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011), 293-318.

⁶⁰ Umberto Eco, "Function and Sign: the Semiotics of architecture," in N. Linch, ed., *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Cultural theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), 190-195.

This specialisation has also brought some attention to the cultural meanings underlying these signs or codes. For example, Gottdeiner refers to spatial semiotics, a subfield within architectural semiotics, as the study of how designed spaces in urban places reflect culture.⁶¹ Barthes argues that if we experience architecture as communication “the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language”.⁶² We thus ought to pay close attention to what is being said by these signs or codes, particularly since we typically absorb such messages in the midst of the multiple distractions of urban life.

The cultural theorist Stuart Hall builds on the work of Barthes and Eco. He has been one of the main proponents of reception theory, first developed in his 1973 essay *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. His approach, ‘Hall’s encoding/decoding model of communication’, is a form of textual analysis that focuses on the scope of ‘negotiation’ and ‘opposition’ by the audience. This theory challenges long held assumptions about how media messages are produced, circulated and consumed, and proposes a new theory of communication. He argues:

The 'object' of production practices and structures in television is the production of a message: that is, a sign-vehicle or rather sign-vehicles of a specific kind organized, like any other form of communication or language, through the operation of codes, within the syntagmatic chains of a discourse.⁶³

His model claims that television and other media audiences are presented with messages that are decoded, or interpreted, in different ways that depend on an individual's cultural background, economic standing, and personal experiences. In essence, the meaning of a text is not inherent within the text itself, but is created within the relationship between the text and the reader.

⁶¹ M Gottdeiner and Alexandros Lagopoulos, eds., *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

⁶² R Barthes, *Elements of Semiology* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 92.

⁶³ S Hall, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse*. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, (Birmingham, 1973), 1-2.

Charles Jencks considers semiotics as the fundamental science.⁶⁴ Accepting that the built environment embodies meaning, Jencks argues that this is then also applicable to architecture, for which he proposes the idea of 'archisemiotics'.⁶⁵ Jencks was also influential in developing the Semiotic Triangle with Baird in 1967. This triad—consisting of thought, symbol and referent—promotes a new mode of observing, interpreting and then making architecture. The value of Jencks' model from a theoretical point of view is not only the introduction of semiotic theory to architecture, but the importance it places on the act of interpretation. This releases semiotics from the realm of abstract theory and allows an open-ended and engaged attitude towards both the creation and interpretation of architecture. This has profound political implications for architecture in the way that it inscribes a political value to interpretation, and appears to be particularly relevant in the context of this study.

It is argued by Harvey that the postmodern era is especially characterised by the way in which images have partially displaced commodities. The search to communicate social distinctions through the acquisition of symbols of status has long been a central facet of urban life. This is reflected in spatial practices, which are never neutral, and always express some kind of class or other social content, frequently the focus of intense social structure. The ability to influence the production of space is an important means to augment social power. Harvey claims that:

those who command space can always control the politics of place even though, and this is a vital corollary, it takes control of some place to command space in the first instance.⁶⁶

Taking the above ideas and studies on semiotics in architecture into consideration, and based on the fact that gated communities (including entrance gates, architecture, houses, streets and landscape design) are produced by architects and developers and then are received, used and interpreted by the consumers (occupiers and land owners), they can be seen as symbolic texts and images through which these different groups communicate with one another. The evidence

⁶⁴ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

⁶⁵ Charles Jencks, "The Architectural Sign," in *Signs, Symbols, and Architecture*, eds. Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt and Charles Jencks (New York: Wiley, 1980), 74.

⁶⁶ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 233-239.

suggests that the type of architecture being used in gated communities cannot only be considered as a form of communication between these two groups, but often also a form of communication with decision-making authorities and people residing outside these developments.

This appears to apply particularly in post-apartheid South Africa, where the freedom of access to public space is often emotionally loaded. Short argues that:

It carries with it a memory of the past and an indication of a possible future. It is, therefore not a surprise that any contemporary interventions in the built environment will also be judged against the past.⁶⁷

There is a wider acknowledgement of the semiotics of the architecture used in gated communities in academic writings from other countries. Pufe specifically addresses it in *Unlocking Miami's suburban gated communities: A semiotic and iconographic approach*.⁶⁸ Arguing from a constructivist and critical point of view, particularly with regard to the ideas of the new cultural geography⁶⁹, she argues that certain generalisations regarding gated communities have to be challenged. The interpretation of gated communities is not stipulated, as the meaning of a built environment or landscape can change over time, or rather, vary concerning the spatial and social context.

Pufe questions past interpretations of the reasons people decide to reside in gated communities, arguing that previous studies have primarily used standardised questionnaires or structured/semi-structured interviews asking, in the main, why residents have moved into them. Semiotics and iconographic methodologies, which are able to ask for diverse representations assumed by residents, have not been

⁶⁷ J Short, *The urban order: An introduction to cities, culture and power* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 140.

⁶⁸ Pufe is associated with the Institute of Geography of the University of Leipzig. Franziska Pufe, "Unlocking Miami's suburban gated communities: A semiotic and iconographic approach," *Articulo-Journal of Urban Research* (5/2009).

⁶⁹ Since the 1980s, a new cultural geography has emerged, drawing on a diverse set of theoretical traditions, including Marxist political-economic models, feminist theory, post-colonial theory, post-structuralism and psychoanalysis. Geographers drawing on this tradition see cultures and societies as developing out of their local landscapes but also shaping those landscapes. This interaction between the natural landscape and humans creates the cultural landscape.

applied so far. Moreover, the opinions of developers and architects, in their important role in the constitution of gated communities, have been treated as incidental.

Interviews with architects and developers in the Miami context made it apparent that specific visual and design strategies were applied in the design and development of gated communities, and that in none of these cases were crime and its prevention at the forefront. Pufe's interviews with residents of these gated communities did not reveal an explicit fear of crime but rather a general distrust of complex city life. It appears that the residents do not see "the gated community itself as an artificial construct that is based on eclectically combined designated stereotypes, but read their surroundings as a private, careless and familial place which enables them to escape from the urban life outside".⁷⁰

This leads me to conclude that gated communities do not represent spaces of fixed meaning to individuals and groups, but that a more semiotic and iconographic analysis is required to uncover subliminal meanings that cannot be seen through mere observations of space. The importance of interpreting them—especially the architecture—as a form of communication is thus open to the various interpretations and meanings attached by different actors at different times. Given that the architectural elements of gated communities (including gates, architecture, houses, communal facilities, streets and landscape design) are produced by architects and developers and at the same time are received, used and interpreted by residents, they can be seen as symbolic texts and images through which these people communicate.

Considering the way in which gated communities are marketed, it appears that real estate developers do grasp the semiotics of the architecture used in their developments all too well. The marketing material and websites of gated communities often imply that the architectural style and urban design used in gated communities will ensure a certain lifestyle for the land owners/occupants of properties within these developments. In the South African post-apartheid city it

⁷⁰ Pufe, "Unlocking Miami's suburban gated communities," 13-14.

appears to feed on the target market's nostalgia for an idealised, Arcadian past and promises a lifestyle increasingly divorced from reality.

The symbolic meaning attached to the use of vernacular architecture, and more specifically Cape vernacular architecture, in gated communities in the South African post-apartheid city needs to be addressed, especially in the context of land-use and heritage regulations.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF THE USE OF CAPE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE

The intention of this study is not to give a detailed history regarding the style and development of Cape vernacular architecture, which is well documented, but rather to explore the history of the use thereof in the more recent past, and how it has been used in gated communities in the Stellenbosch area. The study will also refer to its use elsewhere in post-apartheid South African cities. The intention is further to investigate why Cape vernacular architecture, particularly variations and interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture, have been used in this manner.

In the Cape, under the management of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) from 1652 to 1806, a strict hierarchical structure was enforced.⁷¹ However, this gradually transformed when a second and third generation of free burghers, who were originally classified as peasants and considered low status people, received land. As a result, their perception as 'low' within Cape society, changed. They began to accumulate wealth, which resulted in the stratification of the farming society. As these families grew and became more prosperous, farm owners began to upgrade their simple farm dwellings with enlarged floor plans, and added prominent gables.

According to Brink, Cape vernacular architecture, and, specifically, Cape Dutch architecture, developed its iconic style to interrupt and undermine the VOC discourse of domination and to weaken its power.⁷² Brink presents these Cape farm complexes, which came to dominate the rural landscape, as being structured within what she refers to as a "discourse of dwelling", which had the communicative potential to challenge the oppression of the free burghers by the officials of the VOC.⁷³ She claims that "the permanence of the farm complexes, especially the

⁷¹ Cape Town was founded by the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), (in English, the Dutch East India Company, DEIC) in 1652 as a refreshment outpost. The outpost was intended to supply VOC ships on their way to Asia with fresh fruits, vegetables and meat, and to enable sailors wearied by the sea to recuperate.

⁷² Yvonne Brink, *They Came To Stay. Discovering meaning in the 18th century Cape country dwelling* (Cape Town: African Sun Media, 2005).

⁷³ Yvonne Brink, "Places of discourse and dialogue: a study in the material culture of the Cape during the rule of the Dutch East India Company, 1652-1795. (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1992), 16-17.

newly gabled thick-walled opstallen which began to dominate the rural landscape presented the VOC with an empirical reality that was not going to go away".⁷⁴

It is for this reason that the buildings constructed by the free burghers became very important as symbols of their wealth, elevated social standing and success. Brink claims that "the high, thatched roofs with the large centralised gables 'suggest display', in other words, a spectacle of wealth and culture".⁷⁵ She further argues that this demonstrated the working of a metaphor entrenched in an old Dutch proverb: "*Toon mij uw huis en ik zal zeggen wie u bent*" (Show me your house and I will tell you who you are).⁷⁶



"Toon mij uw huis en ik zal zeggen wie u bent"
[Show me your house and I will tell you who you are].

(Late 18th century triple gabled façade (now altered) of Hoop-op-Constantia with Victorian architrave, c1850, T. Bowler, see Obholzer et al. 1989:112).

Figure 3: *Image of a Cape Dutch dwelling as the 'house beautiful' (Schuurman, 1989)*

⁷⁴ Brink, *They Came To Stay*, 106.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁷⁶ J Schuurman, *Materiële cultuur en levensstijl* (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1989).

It is further asserted by Brink that:

The owner of a Cape country estate almost thrust his house at all who passed that way so that the passer-by could not be left in doubt as to who he was. The gable lifted the little peasant longhouse out of hiding, turning mere house into mansion. As it raised the dwelling to a more noble status, the status of its owner was raised along with it.⁷⁷

It is therefore not surprising, considering the significant symbolism associated with this settler architecture, that gables became central to an ideological campaign in the years leading up to, and following the unification of South Africa in 1910.⁷⁸ They were advanced as 'Cape Dutch' in an effort to promote a common cultural identity to both the English and Afrikaner communities. They were used again after 1948 by the apartheid government to promote Afrikaner nationalism.

Cape Dutch architecture was, however, not always revered and appreciated. Coetzer remarks that towards the end of the nineteenth century many buildings and "especially farmhouses had reached a state of decay, alteration and destruction that signified their loss of cultural capital in the face of Victoria aesthetics, building styles and values".⁷⁹

However, by 1910, Cape Dutch architecture became the focus of a concerted building preservation programme and the icon of a common European culture, which could be mutually claimed by the British and the Afrikaners alike. This prompts the question: what led to this dramatic turnaround in the fortune of Cape Dutch architecture?

After unification, all efforts were made by Cape and English Unionists to promote reconciliation between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans. Coetzer states that:

⁷⁷ Yvonne Brink, "The meaning of the eighteenth century Cape farmstead," *VASSA Journal*, Number 5 (June 2001).

⁷⁸ The Union of South Africa came into being on May 31, 1910 with the unification of four previously separate British colonies: The Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange River colonies.

⁷⁹ Nicholas Coetzer, *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 19.

Firstly, English and Cape politicians were firm believers that this nationalism was a necessary component of the strengthening of the British Empire; only a common identity would secure South Africa's ongoing contribution to the fiscus after the conflict. Secondly, South Africa was not unique, at this point in history in its emergent nationalist rhetoric; the rise of nationalist agendas throughout the world was endemic in this period. Unlike other 'nations' though, English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans arguably had little in common, except, and this was the crux of the matter, their European culture, a heritage made more poignant by being so far flung in 'darkest' Africa.⁸⁰

Katz points out that during this period, after unification, the former colonial government and white society undertook a joint effort to create a fully white 'South African' national culture. He argues that, "This construct traversed the traditional English-Afrikaner dichotomy among European settlers in the region, allowing for the creation of a 'national' idea in opposition to South Africa's non-white majority. The goal was the creation of a 'nation', European in origin and extending dominion over the African, Coloured, and Indian groups present in—and comprising most of the population of—South Africa at the time".⁸¹ This effort was primarily staged in cultural and political arenas. Katz further argues that this effort "was also undertaken in a realm in which the visual and the imaginary intersect, through the creation of a white settler landscape".⁸²

In this regard Katz refers to the work of Foster, who argues that:

"this landscape is a space, created in the societal imagination, in which white settlers are considered to have constructed a new nation. In this 'imaginary geography', a nation is tied to the land and images thereof and to its 'owned' territory".⁸³

⁸⁰ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 21.

⁸¹ Jonathan Paul Katz, "Belonging to a Strange Nation: Paarl Jews, Marburg Norwegians, and the White Settler Landscape in Colonial South Africa, 1890-1930," (BA thesis, The University Of Chicago, April 2014), 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸³ Jeremy Foster, "'Land of Contrasts' or 'The Home We Have Always Known?'" The SAR&H and the Imaginary Geography of White South African Nationhood, 1910-1930," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (2008): 657.

Katz suggests that this specific application of the nation concept is part of a wider world that Benedict Anderson termed 'imagined communities'.⁸⁴ He further argues that "societally, the space is an imagined reflection of the values, desires, and assumed norms of the white society 'inhabiting' it—and is woven with a racial hierarchy that prioritizes whiteness".⁸⁵ In South Africa, such a landscape was formed by the 1920s in what Foster terms the "social spatialization" of a white national culture.⁸⁶ This construct did not tangibly exist but, as Schama notes of all national landscapes, is an idealised "work of the mind".⁸⁷

According to Schoeman, this ideal of unity and a common heritage was pursued through various organisations such as the South African National Union Society and the Closer Union Society, and in their propaganda organ, *The State* newspaper. Each encouraged efforts "to promote such a union of British South Africa as shall be subserve the common interest of all".⁸⁸ Merrington describes it as the cooperation of "a group of architects, artists, writers, historians, archivists and photographers, all of whom were dedicated to the idea of a united South Africa within the context of the British Empire" and "an archive of attempts at nation building at the time of Union", and refers to their activities as the "invention of heritage".⁸⁹ Twidle refers in this regard to Cecil John Rhodes' earlier intention "to promote, or if necessary invent, a white heritage for the Cape".⁹⁰

Cape Dutch architecture, or rather, the Cape Dutch homestead, was promoted as an icon of this 'common European culture'.⁹¹ However, Coetzer points out that this was not a ready-made or unproblematic symbol of English/Afrikaans identity as:

⁸⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), 6-7.

⁸⁵ Katz, "Belonging to a Strange Nation," 2.

⁸⁶ Foster, "'Land of Contrasts' or 'The Home We Have Always Known?'" 657.

⁸⁷ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1995), 7.

⁸⁸ Karel Schoeman, *Imperiale Somer: Suid-Afrika tussen Oorlog en Unie 1902- 1910* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2015), 94 -95.

⁸⁹ Peter Merrington, *The State and the 'invention of heritage', in Edwardian South Africa', in The Round table, the Empire/Commonwealth and British foreign policy, ed. Andrea Bosco and Alex May* (London: Lothian Foundation, 1997), 128.

⁹⁰ Hedley Twidle, "All Like and Yet Unlike the Old Country:" Kipling in Cape Town, 1891–1908 — A Reappraisal," *English in Africa* Vol. 39, No. 2, *South African Literary History Project: The End of Empire and the Making of Modern South Africa* (August 2012): 85-109.

⁹¹ Nicholas Coetzer, "A common heritage /an appropriated history: the Cape Dutch preservation and revival movement as a nation and empire builder." *South African Journal of Art History*, 22, 151.

the English only arrived at the Cape at the beginning of the nineteenth century, just as the production of Cape Dutch homesteads was on the wane. They had had very little to do with the production of Cape Dutch architecture. And the same could be argued with regard to the Afrikaners. Though largely the descendant of the original Dutch and other non-English settlers at the Cape, they had developed a distinctly non-Dutch identity forged at the frontier of the Groot Trek and its resulting tribulations.⁹²

Nevertheless, Cape Dutch architecture was co-opted and used by the ‘architect of empire’, Cecil John Rhodes, who enlisted the services of architect Herbert Baker and others to forge a common English/Afrikaner identity as the standard-bearer of Western Civilisation in the construction of South Africa. Herbert Baker, in an article in a 1910 edition of *The State*, “recommends the Old Cape Dutch style of building as offering an appropriate sense of simple Palladian elegance and clean white washed surfaces, suited to the climate”.⁹³ He adapted this style and constructed many palatial homes in this so-called Cape Dutch Revival style, for many wealthy clients in the Cape and the Transvaal. This style became synonymous with the wealthy landowners and businessmen known as the ‘Randlords’.

Cape Dutch architecture was not only used in grand villas, but was also found in suburban areas, prominent public buildings, schools and government residences throughout the country. One of the most peculiar examples of the use of Cape Dutch architecture during this period was a project constructed in Tongaat, in Kwazulu Natal. In 1936, the Cape architect Robert Gwelo Goodman was invited by the Saunders family, who owned Tongaat Sugar, to design a ‘model native township’ in the Cape Dutch Revival style for their Tongaat Estate in the province of Natal (as it then was).⁹⁴ This initiated an ongoing tradition in Tongaat whereby a Cape vernacular aesthetic was applied in a comprehensive plan for the improvement of working and living conditions, race relations and morality. Merrington explores how Cape Dutch patrician aesthetics were applied for the purpose of welfare and townscape improvement, within an agricultural and industrial context that was singularly remote—the Kwazulu-Natal North Coast—from the origins of this heritage

⁹² Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 21.

⁹³ Quoted by Coetzer in “A common heritage,” 163.

⁹⁴ Peter Merrington, “Cape Dutch Tongaat: A Case Study in ‘Heritage’.” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:4 (2006): 693.

tradition, but governed by an equally patrician and influential lobby of ‘sugar barons’.⁹⁵ He also examines the intersection between landscape, architecture, and ties to invented national heritage in this planned town.

Merrington concludes his analysis by stating that questions of heritage are re-emerging in the post-colonial New South Africa:

usually with a conservative and separatist cast to them, notably in the emergence of a very vocal Khoisan first-nation political and cultural lobby in the Western and Northern Cape provinces. At another edge of the spectrum there is a peculiar rise of conservative nostalgia for a vanishing world which is inter alia reflected in the development of expensive real estate such as ‘golfing villages’ with themed colonial-style parklands and houses.⁹⁶

In the face of fractured and multiple cultural identities, Cape Dutch Revival architecture drew on a nostalgic strand from the past, and projected it into the future to promote a common, new, post-Union national identity. English and Afrikaans speakers were provided with a common architectural language derived from this adopted common Dutch heritage.

However, Coetzer points out that, despite all efforts to promote Cape Dutch architecture as a national style, it enjoyed limited success in the Cape and less so in the rest of South Africa, and did not dominate the production of new domestic architecture. “Cape Dutch as a revival style was only ever afforded great interest by those actively promoting it—largely those who were involved in shoring up the Empire”.⁹⁷

By the mid-1930s, opinion among architects, particularly as expressed in the increasingly modernist *South African Architectural Record*, was starting to turn against Cape Dutch as the prevailing and dominant South African style. Coetzer

⁹⁵ Ibid., 683-700.

⁹⁶ Merrington, “Cape Dutch Tongaat,” 698.

⁹⁷ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 37.

states that from the 1930s, they began instead to promote modernism and the International Style over Cape Dutch vernacular traditions.⁹⁸

Van Graan argues that the Afrikaans media of the time was attempting to persuade its readers that they needed to shrug off the dead imperialist and European past so that they could establish a material Afrikaner identity. He refers to articles by the artist Jacob Pierneef and the architect Gerard Moerdijk in which they wrote about:

the need to establish a style that is derived, de novo, from the Afrikaner spirit. This was, to a certain extent, driven by a desire to find an architectural expression other than the Romantic Vernacular Revival of Herbert Baker. Baker's appropriation of Cape Dutch gables and the elements of the Cape farmhouse to create his Cape style resulted in its rejection as a 'foreign style' by both Moerdijk and Pierneef. In an article written by Pierneef in the April 1920 edition of *Die Boervrou*, he says that: 'The Cape Dutch style is not ours, no, we look for a pure Afrikaans (style), that will carry the stamp of our volk spirit'.⁹⁹

Van Graan further indicates that "in the end, Baker's Cape Dutch style became architecture of division and not mediation, an architecture of appropriation and not appropriateness. In creating a Dutch connection, he lost the South African connection".¹⁰⁰

This Afrikaner position regarding Cape Dutch architecture did not persist once the National Party came to power in 1948. "The apartheid state of the National Party proceeded to promote and preserve white cultural heritage, the VOC and Cape Dutch architecture being some of the symbols of this nationalist 'white heritage construct'".¹⁰¹

This was reflected in restoration projects by architects such as Gabriël (Gawie) Fagan and Dirk Visser, where buildings were restored to their original Cape Dutch

⁹⁸ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 43.

⁹⁹ André Van Graan, "Herbert Baker: The Dutch connection Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa," *VASSA Journal* (Number 19 June 2008): 13.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰¹ Nicola Susan Darke, "Afrikaner Nationalism and the Production of a White Cultural Heritage An analysis of selected works undertaken by Dirk Visser and Gabriel Fagan from 1967-1993," (MPhil minor-diss., University of Cape Town, 2012), 29.

state, with later Victorian additions removed. Some of these projects were financed by the National Government, such as the early 1970s restoration of Church Street, Tulbagh, following severe damage by an earthquake, and the restoration of the Castle in Cape Town over a period of several decades.

All the conservation work completed during the apartheid era was controlled by the Historical Monuments Commission (HMC), established in 1934, or the National Monuments Council (NMC), which replaced the HMC in 1969. In his study analysing and surveying the activities of the NMC, Frescura states that these bodies were tasked by the state with the "preservation of old buildings and artefacts through a process of selective 'monumentalisation'".¹⁰² He further argues that:

at a time when South Africa's white minority found its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it is natural that it should have sought to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure by elevating examples of its material culture to the status of 'monuments'.¹⁰³

Frescura demonstrates that the HMC/NMC declarations of national monuments have an:

overwhelming orientation towards the Cape and that these declarations over a time frame of 54 years show that two-thirds of the national monuments were sited in this province, as well as 97 per cent classified as representing white cultural heritage. The rate of declarations also reflects a sudden increase from 1974 to 1989, the years of greatest government oppression in this country.¹⁰⁴

Frescura further argues that this can be attributed to the increased public interest in cultural heritage; however:

factors of a political and economic nature must be taken into consideration. These events were the death of Steve Biko, the Soweto riots, increased

¹⁰² F Frescura, "National or Nationalist? Critique of the Monument's Council, 1936-1989," in *Proceedings of the National Urban Conservation Symposium*, eds., D Japha, and V Japha (Johannesburg, Oakville Press, 1991).

¹⁰³ F Frescura, "Monuments and the monumentalisation of myths. Myths, monuments, museums: New premises?" *Proceedings of the University of the Witwatersrand, History Workshop. Johannesburg*, (University of the Witwatersrand, 1992), 6.

¹⁰⁴ Frescura, "National or Nationalist," 18.

guerrilla activity by the ANC, international disinvestment and the State of Emergency of 1985. This is probably indicative of a mind-set which has not progressed much beyond a settler mentality, seeking to emphasise immigrant roots and to justify a white presence at the tip of an otherwise 'dark continent'.¹⁰⁵

The question of why this celebration of Cape vernacular architecture should be a significant marker of Western civilisation has been addressed extensively by scholars such as Coetzer. He interrogates the role architecture may have played in the construction of apartheid, in South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular, at the dawn of the twentieth century, and also investigates the hidden and patent meaning of Cape Dutch architecture in this regard. Coetzer argues that a closer reading of settler history and Nationalist-preservationist discourse around Cape Dutch architecture shows how this style “comes to be defined as a counterpoint to the ‘barbarity’ of Africa”.¹⁰⁶ He refers to various newspapers and other articles in which, in particular, gabled Cape Dutch homesteads were seen as:

emblematic of civilization of the ‘late flowering of the Renaissance’ in Africa – and it is worth noting the metaphor of rootedness of Western civilization in the soil of Africa. Time and again, the gabled Cape Dutch homestead was represented as a cipher for Western civilization and became the focus of preservation efforts; their preservation was tantamount to the preservation of civilization itself.¹⁰⁷

Coetzer also suggests that the whitewashed walls of the Cape Dutch dwellings were seen as “a brightness in the landscape that fitted well with the tired trope of bringing light to the ‘dark continent’”. He quotes Lewis Mansergh the Public Works Department Secretary of the Union, who used the metaphor of Cape Town as a “source of light to the rest of the continent” in a public lecture on the history of ‘old’ Cape Town.¹⁰⁸

This idea of *whiteness* in the settler landscape was further explored by Katz, referring to the studies of Van der Meulen and Foster regarding the use of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 17-18.

¹⁰⁶ Coetzer, *Building Apartheid*, 45.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 53.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

whitewash.^{109, 110, 111, 112} It is argued that whitewash does not begin with imagined nostalgia in post-apartheid South Africa. Classic whitewash is created using slaked lime and chalk—hence the term ‘witkalk’ (white chalk) in Afrikaans. The use of chalk-based building washes dates to the earliest Dutch colonial presence at the Cape in the middle of the seventeenth century. The use of whitewash and other lime-based paints was possibly imported from the Netherlands, where it was commonly used, at least from the Renaissance era, in certain colloquial architectural modes. However, the spread of whitewash in settler architecture through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was probably a function of its low price. By the early twentieth century, whitewashed exteriors were readily identified as a common feature of Afrikaner and other settler architecture in several regions of the Cape, including the area around Stellenbosch.

According to Katz, Anglo-South African adoption, and integration into a ‘national architecture’, shifted the use of whitewash in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. British colonial elites adopted whitewash as ‘local colour’ in their own constructions.¹¹³ Such buildings were built in Cape Town, Durban, and other urban centres to convey a sense of heritage and belonging, and recall a certain local, settler legacy. One example is the ‘Cape Dutch’ architecture of Cecil John Rhodes’ Groote Schuur in Cape Town. In the nation-building enterprise that commenced after the Anglo-Boer War, whitewashing was readopted as part of a national vernacular. It was considered “an ‘indigenous’ yet wholly ‘white’ action that recalled early European settlement at the Cape, and successful early towns such as Stellenbosch”.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Whiteness studies is an interdisciplinary arena of inquiry that has developed beginning in the United States, particularly since the late 20th century, and is focused on what proponents describe as the cultural, historical and sociological aspects of people identified as white, and the social construction of ‘whiteness’ as an ideology tied to social status.

¹¹⁰ Katz, “Belonging to a Strange Nation,” 23-25.

¹¹¹ Jan van der Meulen, “Northern European Origins of South African Colonial Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22 (no. 2, 1963): 51-52, 61.

¹¹² Jeremy Foster, *Washed With Sun: Landscape and the Making of White South Africa*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 689, 694.

¹¹³ Merrington, Peter. “Cape Dutch Tongaat,” 698.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 690.

¹⁰³ Barbara Burlinson Mooney, “The Comfortable Tasty Framed Cottage: An African American Architectural Iconography,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 1 (2002): 54.

¹¹⁴ Katz, “Belonging to a Strange Nation,” 24.

Katz refers to the work of Mooney in his argument that, "Whitewashing was also connected with wider trends around the world of using the maneuver to present 'clean' and 'modern' spaces. The technique was in use by French colonists in Algeria and middle-class African-Americans in the United States in the same period for similar purposes."¹¹⁵ He quotes Cosgrove, who argues that similar efforts in Australia and New Zealand sought to construct white settler landscapes, the creation of a new European space on an assumed *tabula rasa*. Cosgrove refers to the use of gardens in colonial Sydney to create images of European pastoralism, or the rhetoric of 'sportsmanship' in New Zealand that creates spaces both masculine and white (and non-Maori).¹¹⁶

In *Cities of Whiteness*, Shaw explores how the architecture of inner-city Sydney that is considered desirable is a remnant of the colonial past, and how it has become imbued with whiteness and its processes:

Inner Sydney is now stamped as a landscape marked with a very specific 'heritage' script that is symbolic of British settlement and its history. The reimagined inner city landscapes, with their (British) Victorian pasts sit in stark contrast to an increasingly impoverished and out-of-place urban Aboriginal community.¹¹⁷

Painter looks at how architectural manoeuvres were used to mark spaces as 'clean' and Western in settler societies.

The use of 'American' as code for 'white' or the use of Manifest Destiny to claim a *tabula rasa* for White American settlement both show the ties between space, whiteness, and settler identity in the United States as present in the vernacular imagination.¹¹⁸

Katz concludes that the use by white South Africans of these techniques of spatial demarcation was part of a global trend in this era and that in all cases, and

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Amanda Cosgrove and Toni Bruce, "The Way New Zealanders Would Like to See Themselves': Reading White Masculinity via Media Coverage of the Death of Sir Peter Blake," *Sociology of Sport Journal* (22 (3), 2006): 336-355.

¹¹⁷ Wendy S Shaw, *Cities of Whiteness*(Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 86-87.

¹¹⁸ Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: WV Horton, 2010).

especially in South Africa, this use of whitewash was as vernacular as it was elite. In part, this use stemmed from a desire to be seen as elite and to imitate members of higher classes. However, the widespread rhetoric around whitewashing indicates that a popular adoption among whites of the ideals associated with the ‘manoeuvre’ plays a key role in its use.

As indicated earlier, this rhetoric was regularly employed in South Africa during the period after unification. Katz refers to an article in *The State* newspaper in which Herbert Baker advocated the use of whitewash in order to help create a ‘South African architecture’ that would build ‘noble examples’, against the Baroque tastes of the ‘yearning of masses’. Whitewashing was portrayed by Baker as a specifically Europeanising measure, allowing South Africa to become comparable to his examples of Nancy, in France, and Athens, in Greece.¹¹⁹

After 1948, whitewashing and ‘Cape Dutch’ gables would be memorialised by preservation groups such as the Simon van der Stel Foundation, as markers of cleanliness and as part of “proof of our [White South Africa’s] Western civilisation.”¹²⁰ Thus, *whitewashing* became a marker of European identity, which, as noted previously, is interchangeable with *whiteness* in South Africa.

This ideal has faded, in post-apartheid South Africa, and more recent literature has sought to examine the role of landscape in the construction of white South Africa, as well as other settler societies, more broadly. In part, this continuation is still demonstrated locally throughout South Africa in continued settler memories, and the maintenance of whitewashing, ornamentation, and other vernacular architectural devices, especially in gated communities—as will be demonstrated in this study. According to Foster, “these manoeuvres are now idealized in the framework of a ‘Cape Dutch’ heritage, and rhetoric is used by whites in this post-apartheid era to tie their spaces not to their African neighbours, but rather to the supranational whiteness associated with European heritage in cleanliness and punctuality.”¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Herbert Baker, “The Architectural Needs of South Africa,” *The State*, (Pretoria, 1909): 512, 522, 523.

¹²⁰ Trefoir Clemens et al., *Our Cape Gables – Onse Kaapse Geuwels* (Cape Town, Simon van der Stel-Stigting, 1970), 72.

¹²¹ Foster, *Washed With Sun*, 1-3.

Hall explores the manipulation of certain symbols in everyday forms of domination, and looks specifically at the way references to architecture abound in popular images of the past that emphasise harmony and genteel living. He describes the role that material culture, and specifically the use of Cape Dutch architecture, played in asserting dominance in colonial Cape Town. He also explores how the genre of Cape Dutch architecture has been massively expanded in modern reconstructions and motifs:

Electrical sub-stations, farm stalls, petrol stations, shops and offices have been built in eighteenth-century style, or with eighteenth-century references. Holiday homes – the escape from the city – routinely recall simple frontier architecture or more elaborate pretensions. The architecture of past dominance becomes the architecture of dominance in the present.¹²²

In *The Architecture of Patriarchy: Houses, Women and Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century South Africa Countryside*, Hall argues that the mythology of the eighteenth-century Cape has contributed in a major way to the naturalisation of white domination and colonial control. He says that the “image of the benign patriarch sitting at ease behind the oaks, in front of his whitewashed façade, smoking his long clay pipe in satisfaction and contemplating the securing of civilization against the barbaric chaos of Africa, permeates popular history.”¹²³

Hall specifically refers to the meaning attached to the Cape gable, and states that “the ebullient gables that fronted symmetrically planned houses, set in regimented vineyards and wheat fields, were indeed part of the signification of the colonial countryside”.¹²⁴ Although the Cape Dutch homestead, as a whole, signifies colonial control and dominance, the gable stands for excess that must be contained within order. Hall argues that they “were the clearest possible display of the opulence, and thus of the status, of their owners”.¹²⁵ His argument takes this point further,

¹²² Martin Hall, “The scholarship of inequality: the South African case,” in *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as power*, eds., George C. Bond and Angela Gilliam (London: Routledge, 1994), 180-182.

¹²³ Martin Hall, “The Architecture of Patriarchy: Houses, Women, and Slaves in the Eighteenth Century South African Countryside,” *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 79, (1995): 61-73.

¹²⁴ Hall, “The Architecture of Patriarchy,” 62.

¹²⁵ Martin Hall, “The Secret Lives of Houses: Women and Gables in the Eighteenth-Century Cape,” *Social Dynamics*, 20 (1994): 67.

suggesting that the gable constellated a collection of interrelated metaphors including—critically for the later history of South Africa—racial differentiation. He says: “Cape Dutch architecture, rather than being reminiscent of a civilized age prior to institutionalized racism, is implicated in a crucial, formative stage of racial discrimination.”¹²⁶

The significance of the use of gables is also confirmed by Van Zyl who writes that it plays an integral role in the Cape Dutch Revival style, and “not only reflected the social position of the residents of the house, but also the status they aspire to”.¹²⁷

Some of these assertions regarding the use of Cape Dutch architecture are questioned by Kathy Munro in her review of Coetzer’s recent writings on the subject. She maintains that other reasons for the use of Cape Dutch architecture should also be acknowledged and argues that Coetzer misses:

the economics behind land ownership by the affluent in the Cape, in other words, the making as well as the spending of money. Architectural forms are also an expression of financial and business achievement and invariably make a loud statement about status, class and positioning in a society.

She continues:

The problem lies in the particularity and single focus of Coetzer’s interpretation. He is so determined to see all his historical material through the prism of pre-apartheid scheming that the complexities and nuances of Cape Town’s 300 years of city settlement, and urban history becomes hidden.¹²⁸

This study will examine the current extensive use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in the Stellenbosch area, where we again see the use of gables, whitewashing and other Cape Dutch elements. The different points of view with regard to the use of this architecture—and how it is perceived by the different parties

¹²⁶ Hall, “The Architecture of Patriarchy,” 68.

¹²⁷ Annemarie Van Zyl, “’n Vergelykende ondersoek na die residensiële argitektuur van die Victoriaanse periode in Engeland en Suid-Afrika: Die impak van abstrakte determinante op uiterlike vormgewing,” (PhD thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2014), 228.

¹²⁸ Kathy Munro, review of *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town*, by Nicholas Coetzer, *Heritage Portal*, February 5, 2017. 3.

involved in the design, approval, marketing and use of these gated communities—will be explored in the next chapter. By looking at specific gated communities in the Stellenbosch area, the study will examine the intersection between notions of space, the use of symbols from the (neo) colonial past(s) and identity in these contested urban spaces. It will also address the impact of the use of this form of architecture on notions of inclusion and exclusion in the built environment in this historic town.

In this regard, it should be noted that the demographics of the residents of gated communities in the South African city, and also in Stellenbosch, are changing. As such, the meaning of gated communities and the associations with the use of Cape vernacular architecture in such developments may also change over time. However, this does not mean that the current signs of segregation, and the relationship between yearnings for the past and power in spatial interventions in our cities, should be ignored.

CHAPTER 4: THE GATED COMMUNITIES IN THE STELLENBOSCH AREA

Stellenbosch

Established in 1679, Stellenbosch is South Africa's second oldest colonial settlement after Cape Town. Stellenbosch and the surrounding cultural landscape reflect an architectural vernacular that has developed over a period of more than three hundred years. Its value as a historical, architectural and cultural resource is widely acknowledged. The history and heritage of both the Stellenbosch town and the surrounding cultural landscape have been well documented, and the area has active and well-informed local heritage interest groups and committees.

The town has a varied architectural legacy and the main architectural styles and modes found in the area include Early Cape Vernacular, Cape Dutch, Georgian, Victorian, Edwardian, Arts and Crafts, Art Deco and Cape Dutch Revival. Many of the buildings have been altered over the years to conform to the vogue of the time, reflecting changes in lifestyle and technology. Others have been restored to earlier Cape Dutch, Georgian or Victorian styles.

The study area falls within the Cape Winelands Biosphere Reserve, an internationally-proclaimed area located within the Cape Floral Kingdom (a formally declared UNESCO Serial World Heritage Site).¹²⁹ It was demarcated in accordance with the Western Cape Provincial government's bioregional approach, which regards it as essential that landscapes are managed in a holistic and integrated manner so as to ensure the consolidation and continuation of ecosystems and habitats.

More importantly, Stellenbosch also forms part of the Cape Winelands, a cultural landscape that was placed on the Tentative List for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage Sites in 2009.¹³⁰ Todeschini describes the Cape Winelands as "possessing a scenic combination of small historic towns, farmlands and wine estates. The area

¹²⁹ Cape Winelands Biosphere Reserve (2016) Location and Extent, accessed online, <http://capewinelandsbiosphere.co.za/biosphere-reserve/location-extent>.

¹³⁰ UNESCO (2009). Tentative List South Africa, accessed online, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5455/>.

is the product of a complex history and comprises heritage resources of local, regional, national and even international value.” He further states that the Cape Winelands is “an outstanding example of a cultural landscape: it is situated in a splendid natural environment of seascape, dramatic mountain ranges and scenic valleys comprising a range of terroir conditions ideally suited to viticulture”.¹³¹

South Africa’s 2009 justification for the outstanding universal value of the Cape Winelands, as submitted in the Tentative Nomination to the World Heritage Committee, was as follows:¹³²

The Cape Winelands cultural landscape developed at the beginning of globalization, enriched by influences accumulated from four continents (Africa, Asia, Europe and North America), natural elements ideally suited for viticulture and situated in a dramatic environment where a unique vernacular architecture developed. With its vineyards, orchards and fields and farmsteads, cellars, villages and towns, including the oldest city in South Africa nestling on the slopes of the Cape’s mountains or on the plains along water courses, the Cape Winelands illustrate the impact of human settlement, slave labour and agricultural activities, and more specifically the production of the Cape wines, since colonialization in the mid 17th century on the natural landscape.

This makes it clear that the unique style of vernacular architecture, which is an intrinsic part of the Cape Winelands cultural landscape, is especially valued and considered an authentic cultural object.

This area is internationally renowned for its beautiful environment, with many places of interest, wine farms, street cafes, restaurants, quality wines, historic buildings and excellent educational institutions. However, Stellenbosch has another association: it inhabits a ‘special place’ in the Afrikaner psyche. Deon Wiggett of *City Press* argues that “unlike similar places such as Franschhoek or Paarl, Stellenbosch has free-thinking academics, freeloading students and achingly rich Afrikaners who may not

¹³¹ Fabio Todeschini and Liana Jansen, “Heritage Inventory of and Management Plan for the Tangible Resources in The Stellenbosch Municipality,” Project1 Prepared by Cape Winelands Professional Practices, January 26, 2017, accessed on line at http://www.stellenboschheritage.co.za/wp-content/uploads/PHASE-2a-Report-REVISED-JAN-2017_with-Figures-1485347143901.pdf

¹³² In 2009 an application was submitted to UNESCO to get the Cape Winelands declared as a World Heritage Site.

be from there, but love calling it home. If you want to leave South Africa, Stellenbosch is a great place to go. The town constitutes a *mélange* of pastoral Europe and apartheid”.¹³³

Stellenbosch University has always been considered the most prestigious Afrikaans university in South Africa (although now also catering to English-speaking students). It has a traditional student residence life, with its ritualistic orientation practices, and is famous for rugby, the dominant Afrikaner sport. It is also known for its dominant patriarchal culture, being associated with ‘old boy networks’ formed in schools such as Paul Roos High School and certain of the university’s student residences.

Stellenbosch is perceived by the wider South African society as the bedrock of white, mostly Afrikaner, capital. According to the most recent Forbes list, five of the wealthiest forty South Africans live in or close to Stellenbosch. The perceived wisdom is that Stellenbosch is a legacy of apartheid, and that most of this is ‘old money’ originating from the days when whites had access to protected markets and state resources.

Many South Africans also associate the town with the former Broederbond, and more recently with the so-called ‘Stellenbosch Mafia’, a term used to loosely describe the Afrikaner-run industrial complexes based in the town. These include businesses such as Remgro, Mediclinic International, PSG and the now-disgraced Steinhoff, all managed by Afrikaner men.¹³⁴ Julius Malema, leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), one of the major opposition parties in Parliament, claims that “the Broederbond or Stellenbosch Mafia, and not the ruling ANC, is in control of South Africa”.¹³⁵ He further claims that “they control the judiciary, they control the economy, they control the land, they control the chain stores, they control the mines and they control the banks”.¹³⁶

¹³³ Deon Wigget, “The Afrikaner privilege machine,” *City Press*, December 17, 2017.

¹³⁴ The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) (meaning Afrikaner Brotherhood) or Broederbond was a secret, exclusively male and Afrikaner Calvinist organisation in South Africa dedicated to the advancement of Afrikaner interests.

¹³⁵ The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is a South African revolutionary socialist political party.

¹³⁶ A speech by Julius Malema given in Cape Town. Jan Cronje “‘Stellenbosch mafia’ controls SA – Malema,” *News 24*, March 15, 2014 accessed online <https://www.iol.co.za/new>

It is thus clear that Stellenbosch is experienced by many as a sharp race and class frontier where, at the top end of the real estate market, wine farms, expensive neighborhoods inhabited by the super-rich and more recently exclusive, gated residential compounds have multiplied, while many people in the township areas live well beyond the poverty line.

Gated communities have become a significant component of the housing market in post-1994 South Africa.¹³⁷ A recent article in the 'Homefront Annexure' of the *Business Day* newspaper stated that research shows that South Africa currently has more golf and lifestyle estates than any other country in the world. It is estimated that the estate residences currently make up approximately 5.1% of the overall residential market and account for approximately 15.1% of the overall market value. It was also estimated that there are currently nearly 7 000 gated communities in South Africa with 355 000 residential properties valued at R800 bn. About 50% of all estate properties are located in Gauteng, with 25% in the Western Cape.¹³⁸

This is also reflected in the Stellenbosch housing market, where gated communities have been developed at a rapid rate, both through infill development within the existing township area, and especially through new developments on the periphery of the town. As mentioned earlier, Manfred Spocter, a University of Stellenbosch urban geographer, has shown that the Stellenbosch area has the most gated communities of any single municipality in the Western Cape.¹³⁹

These gated communities currently include some of the most sought-after properties in the Stellenbosch housing market, favoured by South African buyers from Gauteng, as well as overseas buyers. Estate agents indicate that there is a lot of movement between Gauteng and the numerous multinationals headquartered in Stellenbosch and, because of the nature of the residential landscape in Johannesburg in particular, upcountry buyers tend to feel more comfortable in properties on security

¹³⁷ In 1994, South Africa transitioned from the system of apartheid to one of majority rule. The election of 1994 resulted in a change in government with the African National Congress (ANC) coming to power.

¹³⁸ Report by Andrew Amoils of New World Wealth and Paul-Roux de Kock, analytics director at Lighthouse Property. Andrew Amoils and Paul-Roux de Kock, "Pioneering estate living," *Business Day Homefront*, January 26, 2018.

¹³⁹ Spocter, "Rural gated developments as a contributor to post-productivism in the Western Cape," 165-186.

estates. International buyers are also generally looking for a secure environment in a luxury version of lock-up-and-go, where their properties are safe and their gardens tended when they are out of the country. Additionally, many local residents in the higher income bracket sell their properties and relocate to these gated communities, while some first-time home owners opt to buy into the higher density gated developments. Others buy properties in these developments as an investment opportunity since—being a student town—there is an active rental market in Stellenbosch.¹⁴⁰

The gated communities are mainly found on the periphery of the town with the majority of them making use of Cape vernacular architecture, especially variations and interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture, for their dwelling units, security entrance gates, communal facilities such as clubhouses, and administrative buildings, as well as the features used in the landscaping of these developments. Generally, the developments have European, and specifically Dutch, sounding names and street names.

The architectural guidelines of these gated communities claim to promote a modern/regionalist interpretation of Cape vernacular, but in a stripped-down form. Although all Cape vernacular architecture has its origin in the Western Cape, the guidelines show that, specifically, variations of Cape Dutch vernacular architecture are to be considered the preferred type of architectural style in gated communities in the area. The architectural guidelines further suggest that modern adaptations of, for example, Victorian or Edwardian architectural styles, which are also historically found in the area—or any additions in these styles—are discouraged in these developments.

While the architectural style of these developments is described by developers and their architects as a form of a regional, or critical regionalist, style, others such as Donaldson and Morkel consider it “as the proliferation of massed-produced, look-alike developments distinguishable only by their slightly different European, and especially Dutch, names”. They argue that the gated communities on the periphery

¹⁴⁰ "Secure Stellenbosch estate homes," Property 24, August 20, 2014, <https://www.property24.com/articles/secure-stellenbosch-estate-homes/20464>.

of Stellenbosch, and “especially in the Jamestown area [the study area], have already dramatically scarred the rural landscape and transformed it into urban quarters of homogeneity”.¹⁴¹

Concern in this regard was also expressed by local Stellenbosch Heritage Groups. Jolanda Morkel, of the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation, stated in an interview that, “One does not want hundreds of white-washed, similar-styled houses in a vineyard. It stands out and diverts attention from the overall landscape.”^{142, 143}

Ironically, the impact of this artificially-created Cape vernacular architectural style in gated communities in the Stellenbosch area achieves the opposite of the architects’ and developers’ claimed intention. The number and the scale of these gated developments could, eventually, have a substantial impact on the authenticity of the Stellenbosch cultural landscape, which is so highly valued by local heritage groups and authorities.

Gated communities at the upper end of the market are of a lower density, and are mainly located on the southern and eastern fringes of the historical Stellenbosch township area. These includes developments such as De Zalze Golf Estate, Aan de Weber Estate and La Clémence Retirement Village, as well as the Brandwacht Aan Rivier, Mont Blanc, L’Hermitage, Vallee Lustre and Den Bosch Estates. These developments have both general residential and single residential units, but the majority erven are single residential, developed with double-storey dwelling houses. The dwelling houses on the single residential erven are individually designed by architects of the land owner’s choice, but the designs have to comply with very strict architectural guidelines. These are applicable to the specific estate and have to be approved by a controlling architect who is appointed by either the developer or, during later stages of the development, by the Property Owners’ Association. The

¹⁴¹ R Donaldson, and J Morkel, “Quartering Stellenbosch’s Urban Space,” in *Sustainable Stellenbosch: Opening Dialogues*, eds. M Swilling, B Sebitosi and R Loots (SunMEdia: Stellenbosch, 2012), 57-67.

¹⁴² The Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation is a local heritage group which is registered with Heritage Western Cape and the Stellenbosch Municipality as an interested party and stakeholder, with the right to comment on planning and development matters in the Stellenbosch area.

¹⁴³ Interview with Jolanda Morkel of the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation, July 24, 2017.

group housing type of dwellings, which are normally in a similar style, are designed by the developer's architects and are also built by the developer.

The residents of the higher density developments on the north-eastern fringe of Stellenbosch such as Welgevonden, Nuutgevonden, Capolovoro and Nooitgedacht, tend to be first-time buyers, university staff and small families. Dwelling units in these developments are usually designed by the developer's architect and most are built by the developer. Any extensions or alterations to such units are also controlled by the architectural guidelines of the development.

Although there is no specific policy for gated communities in Stellenbosch, the Stellenbosch Municipality Spatial Development Framework (2017) acknowledges that "the largely sustainable development patterns established in the Stellenbosch municipal area over the last 300 years are being threatened by 'security estates' on agricultural land situated far from major transport systems".¹⁴⁴ This framework also states that "projects catering to low, middle and high income groups should be designed as larger integrated settlements rather than stand-alone townships or gated communities".¹⁴⁵

The local authority uses a range of tools in an effort to manage the development of new gated communities. The Zoning Scheme regulates the zoning of land, and also lays down development parameters and provisions for specific zoning and land use. The Zoning Scheme also lays down specific requirements pertaining to the detail required in site development and landscaping plans for these developments. Decisions in this regard were previously taken by Council committees but, in terms of the new Stellenbosch Municipal Planning Bylaw of 2015, decisions are now taken by a Municipal Planning Tribunal. The members of this Tribunal include municipal officials and independent professionals in planning and related fields. Stellenbosch Municipality also has a Planning Advisory Committee which advises its Council on important matters relating to the cultural landscape and built environment, with specific reference to heritage resources as defined in heritage legislation. Members

¹⁴⁴ *Stellenbosch Municipality Spatial Development Framework*. Prepared by the Sustainability Institute , CNdV Africa (2010), approved on May 31, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

of the community, community organisations and some local professionals participate on a voluntary basis in this committee, which is chaired by the heritage official of the municipality.

Some of these developments are also referred to the provincial heritage authority, Heritage Western Cape, if the development proposals trigger any of the listed activities in the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act 25 of 1999). Several of these gated communities have been developed on historic farms in the area, with the original manor houses converted into clubhouses or other communal facilities. Any amendments to these buildings may require approval from Heritage Western Cape in terms of Section 34 of this Act.

Both the Stellenbosch Municipal Planning Bylaw and the Heritage Resources Act require some public participation with regard to land use applications and heritage impact assessments. Further public participation is required if an environmental impact assessment is needed in terms of the National Environmental Management Act. Stellenbosch has active and well-informed local-heritage interest groups such as the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation and the Stellenbosch Interest Group. These bodies are offered the opportunity to comment on any rezoning application, or where a heritage impact assessment is required, such as for a gated community development. There are also other interested and affected parties—adjacent land owners, local ratepayer groups and local ward councillors—who are notified of developments.

Jamestown

Jamestown came into existence in the 1880s through two men: James Rattray, a butcher in Dorp Street, and Jacob Weber, a Rhenish missionary. They were believed to have owned this land, then a part of the Blaauwklippen farm, when they decided to divide it into 25 narrow 'watererven' along the bank of the Blouklip River. The nature of these 'watererven' can be seen in Figure 4. Houses were built on these

plots and sub-let to members of the Rhenish church. After a certain rental period, the housing units would become the property of the tenants.¹⁴⁶

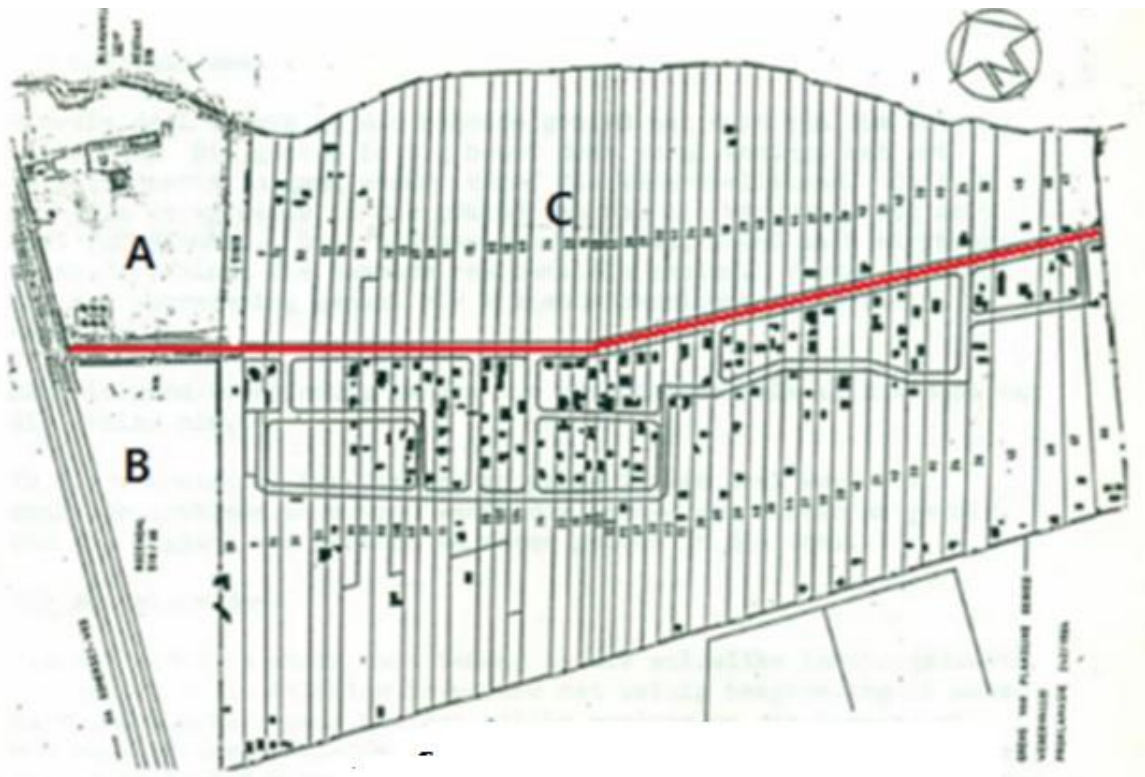


Figure 4: *A plan of Jamestown indicating the plot distribution and various land uses. A: Section of Blaauwklippen Farm, B: Lawn/agricultural farming, C: Agricultural land allocated for Jamestown residents. (Jamestown Structure Plan, 1989)*

Although many of these traditional ‘watererven’ have since been subdivided several of them still exist, especially those to the north, adjacent to the Blouklip River. This can be seen in Figure 6, a recent aerial photograph of the Jamestown area.

¹⁴⁶ Van Wyk, “Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown,” 108-109.



Figure 5: Photograph of Jamestown 1881 (Arendse 2014)

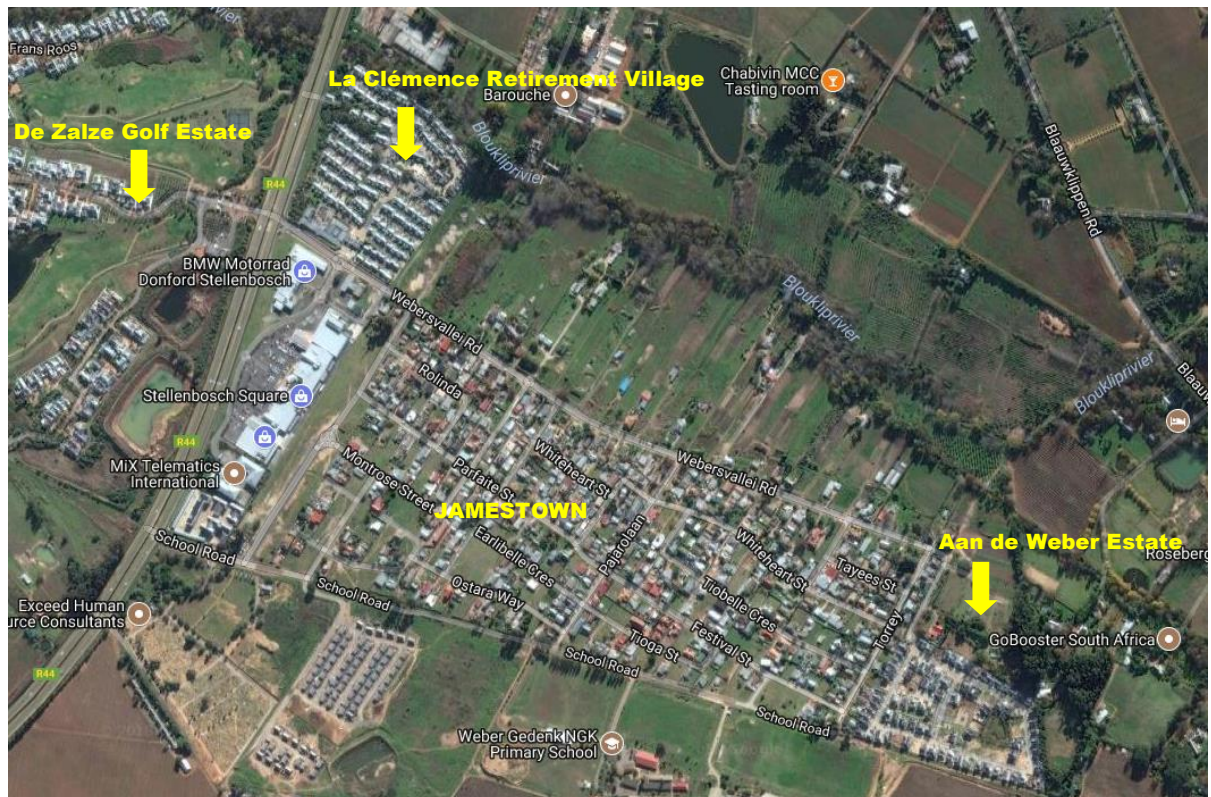


Figure 6: Aerial photograph of Jamestown, 2018. Although many erven have been subdivided, the settlement still has a scattered pattern and the original “watererven” along the Bloukliprivier. (Google Earth, 2018)

The first mission church opened its doors in 1924 and, during that same year, it was also opened as a school for the community. Today, the original building is still being used for church events. It has been renovated in recent years. The town was first named Jamestown after Jacob Weber. 'Jacob' was the Dutch form for James and the name was Anglicised to Jamestown. It was later renamed Webersvallei at the request of the State. Dean notes that "the name was however in later years changed back to Jamestown as residents of the settlement were very unhappy and it was decided to change the name back to Jamestown and name the road leading into the area being named Webersvallei Road".¹⁴⁷

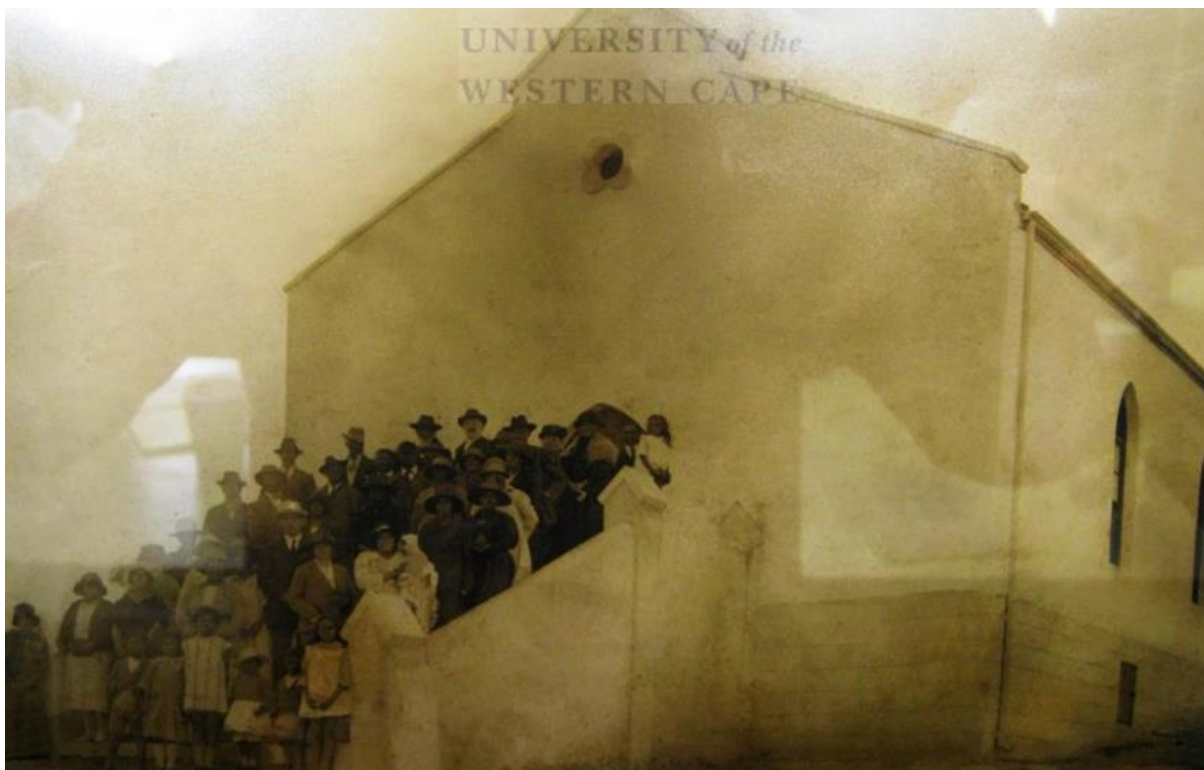


Figure 7: The first Mission church and school which opened in 1924. (Arendse, 2014)

In 1965 it was proposed that Jamestown be declared a White Group Area in terms of the Group Areas Act. However, in 1966 the decision was made to save Jamestown from forced removals and its declaration as a White Group Area, after which it was declared a Coloured Group Area. Following 1994, Jamestown was included in the greater Stellenbosch municipal area. Arendse states that "contemporary Jamestown remains the home to many descendants of the original families who still live and farm

¹⁴⁷ Arendse, "Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the 'urban edge'," 34-36.

in a self-sustainable manner”.¹⁴⁸ Over time, the residential units “have been passed down the family tree from father to son, thus leading up to the strong heritage and feeling of a family village in Jamestown”.¹⁴⁹

This was also confirmed in the Environmental Impact Assessment done for the Aan de Weber Estate. This document states that “the people consist of a closely-knit, fairly homogenous community who consider Jamestown a very special place and a village distinct from Stellenbosch and the surrounding residential developments”.¹⁵⁰



Figure 8: An example of strawberry farming in Jamestown (Photo, Havenga 2018)

Jamestown was also one of the first places in the Western Cape to farm strawberries on a large scale and a majority of the Jamestown residents were employed on these strawberry farms. Figure 8 shows one of these original ‘watererven’ in Jamestown where strawberries are still cultivated. The townspeople have an annual strawberry festival to commemorate this aspect of their heritage. The Aan de Weber site was developed on two erven previously used for strawberry farming.

¹⁴⁸ Arendse, “Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the ‘urban edge’,” 6-7.

¹⁴⁹ Van Wyk, “Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown,” 108-109.

¹⁵⁰ Aan de Weber Residential Estate, Stellenbosch, Western Cape (2006/08); Environmental Impact Assessment by Withers Environmental Consultants.

Jamestown today reflects an eclectic architectural style as can be seen in the figures below.



Figure 9: The original converted Rhenish Mission Church in Webers Valley Road adjacent to a faux Tuscan residential dwelling house (Photo Havenga, 2018)



***Figure 10: General Dealer on Webersvallei Road opened by J G C Williams in 1946
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamestown,_Western_Cape)***



Figure 11: *Some examples of residential dwelling houses in Jamestown (Photographs, Havenga 2018)*

Aan de Weber Residential Estate

Aan de Weber Residential Estate lies to the east of Jamestown, and is bounded by residential development to its western boundary and agricultural development to its eastern side. Access is obtained via the main road of the Jamestown settlement, Webervallei Road, which intersects with the R44 regional route connecting Stellenbosch and the Strand.

This gated community was developed by the Propvest 21 development company on two vacant properties at the eastern border of Jamestown. These properties comprised approximately 5.4 hectares and formed an almost rectangular shape wedged between the town and the adjacent agricultural area. At the time of the rezoning application the land was used for agriculture/market gardening (vegetables and strawberries).



Figure 12: Aerial photograph indicating the position and layout of Aan de Weber Residential Estate (Google Earth, 2018)

The development consists of 102 residential erven, and areas dedicated to transport and open space. The erf sizes vary between 300 and 550 m².¹⁵¹ The erven were sold to the public for the construction of single- and double-storeyed dwelling houses in accordance with strict architectural guidelines.

The development required various applications in terms of different legislation which applied during that period, such as the Environmental Conservation Act, 1989 (Act 73 of 1989) and its applicable Regulations, the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (Act 25 of 1999), the Land Use Planning Ordinance, 1985 (Ordinance 15 of 1985), the Subdivision of Agricultural Land Act, 1970 (Act 70 of 1970), the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act, 1983 (Act 43 of 1983) and the National Water Act, 1988.

¹⁵¹ First Plan Town and Regional Planners: *Motivation Report for Rezoning application* (November 2005).

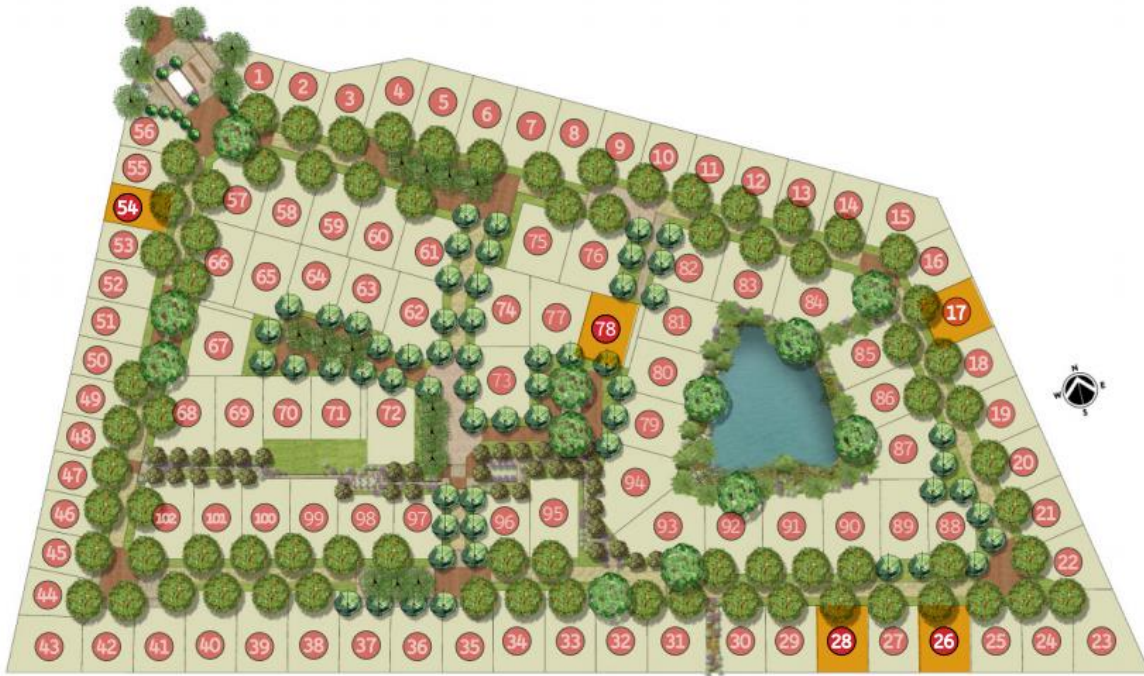


Figure 13: *Layout Plan for Aan de Weber Residential Estate*
(<http://www.dmp.co.za/projects/aan-de-weber>)

Several specialist studies were required to obtain approval for the development. These included a town planning motivation report, engineering services reports, a traffic impact assessment, an environmental impact assessment and an archaeological impact assessment report. Since the area of the proposed rezoning exceeded 5 000m² a Notice of Intent to Develop was submitted to Heritage Western Cape in terms of section 38 of the heritage resources act. The Record of Decision issued by Heritage Western Cape stated that no heritage or cultural resources would be impacted and that no further heritage studies would be required.

The development further required an application for the amendment of the Urban Structure Plan of the Cape Metropole, Stellenbosch, previously commonly referred to as the 'Guide Plan', which indicated the area's use as agricultural purposes. It also required a rezoning from Agricultural use to permit the residential development.

Although the then Urban Structure Plan for the Stellenbosch Area (1988) indicated a portion of the site for urban development, another portion, located outside the identified urban edge of that time, was indicated for agriculture. The Jamestown Spatial Development Framework (2002) identified the subject property as part of the

future expansion area of Jamestown. However, the development was eventually considered to be consistent with the proposals of the Urban Structure Plan, and was also supported by the Provincial Department of Agriculture.¹⁵²

The Jamestown Spatial Development Framework identified certain guiding principles for development including that Jamestown's "rural and restful atmosphere must be maintained to become a village that attracts tourists and that the close-knit nature of the community should continue".¹⁵³ In the 2005 town planning motivation report it was stated that the development approach was to "enhance the quality and character of Jamestown, provide a buffer between Jamestown and the existing agricultural area and to create a quality environment based on the so called 'woonerf' concept, including ample open space and landscaping and architectural guidelines".¹⁵⁴ It was further stated that it was "the intention to create the Aan de Weber Residential Estate with a specific architectural style unique to the development in which traditional Cape proportions, architectural elements and colours features are promoted which are in harmony and complement the local vernacular of Stellenbosch".¹⁵⁵

The application involved a public participation process in terms of both the Land Use Planning Ordinance and the Environmental Conservation Act. This required notices in the local newspapers, notifications to the adjacent land owners, the local ratepayers' association and to local ward councillors, as well as consultation with local authority and provincial officials. A pre-submission scoping meeting in terms of the environmental consultation process was held in October 2005 at the nearby school hall, where a presentation of the issues identified during the scoping process was tabled and a development concept was presented. Because of the poor attendance (only 10 people) at the first public meeting, a second open day public meeting took place at a different school hall in Jamestown in August 2006.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² First Plan Town and Regional Planners: *Motivation Report for Rezoning application* (November 2005).

¹⁵³ Jamestown Spatial Development Framework, 2002

¹⁵⁴ A woonerf is a living street, as originally implemented in the Netherlands and in Flanders. Techniques include shared space, traffic calming, and low speed limits.

¹⁵⁵ First Plan Town and Regional Planners: *Motivation Report for Rezoning application* (November 2005).

¹⁵⁶ *Aan de Weber Residential Estate, Stellenbosch, Western Cape Environmental Impact Assessment*. Withers Environmental Consultants, 2006/2008.

Notwithstanding the apparent lack of interest in the public meeting, the development was very controversial and was vehemently opposed by local Jamestown residents and Stellenbosch heritage groups. A total of 64 individual land owners objected and a petition was signed by 31 people. The Stellenbosch Interest Group submitted an objection during both the environmental scoping process and during the public participation process pertaining to the rezoning application. The objectors expressed concern regarding the perceived lack of community participation, the fact that the proposed development would change the character and lifestyle of the town, that the development would not integrate with Jamestown and that it would lead to gentrification which would not benefit the local community.¹⁵⁷

The Stellenbosch Interest Group objected to the fact that no heritage impact assessment had been undertaken and argued that a management plan needed to be prepared for Jamestown by conservation planners. It argued that “the development should not be considered without taking into account the historical and cultural background of Jamestown”. It referred to the process to prepare a heritage inventory for the Stellenbosch area and argued that the:

historical and cultural significance of Jamestown as a living example of 125 years of the traditional way of life of this small community is of great importance and should be protected at all costs. Any development which disturbs the settlement pattern will undermine its valuable contribution to the heritage of Stellenbosch. The presence of small farming enterprises surrounding the town give it its special character which in time to come will also be a major tourist drawcard, just as Stellenbosch is favoured for its setting in the Winelands.¹⁵⁸

The Stellenbosch Interest Group made no specific mention of the proposed architectural guidelines and prescribed architectural style. However, it stated that although Jamestown is “situated on a slope and clearly visible from all vantage point, it is not visually intrusive in the surrounding landscape due to the scattered housing pattern and copious trees and gardens”. Concern was expressed regarding “the urban nature of a formal high-density walled estate with tenants who will have little or

¹⁵⁷ First Plan Town and Regional Planners: *Response to objections*, September 15, 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Stellenbosch Interest Group. Objection dated 14 September 2005 made during the Environmental Scoping Process and objection dated 7 August 2006 as a response to the rezoning application.

no interaction with the community and a development which will not only disturb the present rural appearance of Jamestown but affects character and lifestyle". It also considered the perimeter walls of the complex to be "aesthetically sterile and offensive to neighbours on the western side", and claimed further that the "unbroken perimeter walling (to the north and west) will have a negative visual impact from the R44. It will serve to focus attention on the bulk of the development, and are at odds with the present scattered settlement design."¹⁵⁹

The development was approved by the Stellenbosch Council in 2006. No mention was made of the architectural style of the development in the Council report. Construction started in 2007 and the Aan de Weber Residential Estate is now fully developed.

The promotional website of the Aan De Weber Residential Estate describes it as a development where the "architectural and landscape architectural guidelines have been carefully developed to complement the traditional Cape vernacular style typical of the Stellenbosch area, based on the 'woonerf' design philosophy—where private spaces and landscaped street piazzas come together to create a unique sense of community—and pedestrians have right of way!"¹⁶⁰ The *Urban Design, Architecture and Landscape Architecture Design Framework* prepared by the developers' architect further specifically refers to the concept of critical regionalism and states the purpose of this design framework is "to create a qualitative place that will resonate positively with a sense of place, history, craft and nature of the Stellenbosch Winelands."¹⁶¹

The guidelines state that: "It is preferred that the designs of the houses should be derived from regional Cape architecture that is in harmony and complement the local vernacular of Stellenbosch. However, regional Cape architecture for example 'Cape Dutch', 'Cape Victorian' or 'Cape dorps huis architecture' in its pure traditional form are not considered suitable. It is proposed that a style of architecture unique to Aan

¹⁵⁹ Stellenbosch Interest Group, Objection dated 14 September 2005

¹⁶⁰ Aan de Weber, accessed September 21, 2017, <http://www.aandeweber.co.za/>.

¹⁶¹ Dennis Moss Partnership, "The Urban Design, Architecture and Landscape Architecture Design Framework," (2014 revision), accessed September 21, 2017, http://www.aandeweber.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Aan-de-Weber-Architectural-Guidelines-23May2014.pdf_9-12.

de Weber, in which traditional Cape proportions, architectural elements and colours feature, is promoted". It also states that "the intention is not to replicate traditional houses, but rather to adopt and use the traditional elements derived from regional Cape architecture, such as the proportions, simplicity, scale, massing, traditional plan form, vertical proportions, human scale, detailing and colours in a unique and cohesive manner to achieve an attractive homogenous architectural language". The guidelines further specifically stipulate that "no Victorian embellishments will be allowed."¹⁶²

The guidelines promote the use of gables, sash windows, traditional Cape chimneys, low Cape walls, pergolas and verandas, which are typical elements of Cape vernacular, and specifically Cape Dutch architecture. It is also stated that the core-building must conform to the traditional 'letter of the alphabet' building form of Cape Dutch vernacular architecture. Specific guidelines are laid down with regard to the colour of the outside walls of dwelling units, which basically limit use to white and a very light beige colour.

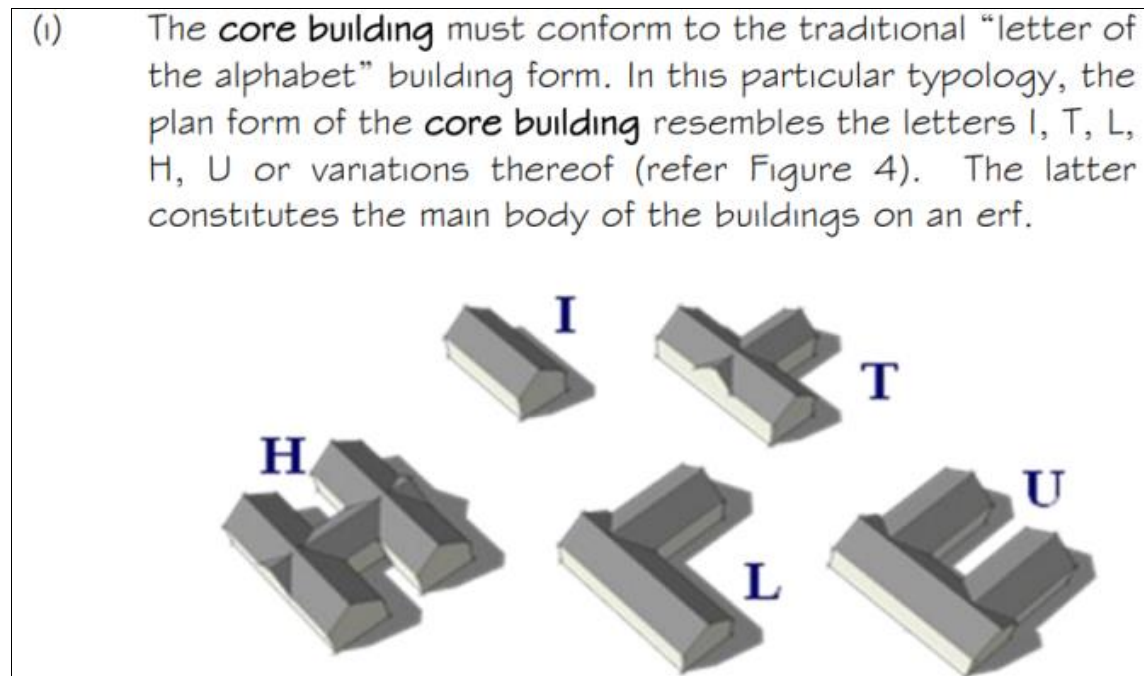


Figure 14: Guidelines regarding the building form of the dwelling houses in Aan de Weber Residential Estate (<http://www.aandeweber.co.za>)

¹⁶² "Urban Design, Architecture and Landscape Architecture Design Framework for Aan de Weber Estate" (2014 revision), accessed September 21, 2017, <http://www.aandeweber.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Aan-de-Weber-Architectural-Guidelines-23May2014.pdf>



Figure 15: Further images in the guidelines regarding the design of the dwelling houses in Aan de Weber Residential Estate (<http://www.aandeweber.co.za>)



Figure 16: Image from the official Aan de Weber website showing the nature of the security access gate and architecture of the development. (<http://www.aandeweber.co.za>)

The architecture of the dwelling houses in this gated community reflects variations and interpretations of Cape vernacular architecture, as prescribed in the *Architecture and Landscape Architecture Design Framework* for the development. Most of the houses are either white or light beige, with Cape vernacular features such as gables, sash windows, traditional Cape chimneys, low Cape walls, pergolas and verandas. Due to the relatively small erven (300 to 550m²), most houses are double storey and

the erven are fully developed, which gives the Aan de Weber gated community a high-density character. These smaller, fully-developed, rectangular erven with Cape vernacular architecture lie in stark contrast to the lower-density, scattered development pattern of Jamestown, with its traditional long ‘watererven’ along the bank of the Blouklip River and the Victorian and later architectural character of the town.



Figure 17: Artistic presentation of the ‘woonerf’ concept being found in the Aan de Weber Residential Estate (<http://www.dmp.co.za/projects/aan-de-weber/>)

As can be seen in Figures 17 and 18, the residential dwellings in the Aan de Weber development reflect a large extent of whitewashing, as is typically embodied in traditional Cape Dutch architecture. This is considered to be totally out of character with the historical Jamestown cultural landscape. In this regard Donaldson and Morkel are also of the opinion that the Jamestown node is a “good illustration of the destruction of a once-authentic historical rural hamlet”.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Ronnie Donaldson, “The Production of Quartered Spaces in Stellenbosch,” Inaugural Address, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch, September 4, 2014.

It is ironic that one of the streets in Aan de Weber is called Watergang Street, while the nature of development and the architectural style in this street is the complete opposite of the historical character of the Jamestown township area with its long thin 'watererven'.



Figure 18: Streetscape in Aan de Weber, Watergang Street. (Photograph Havenga 2018)

It is noteworthy that it was decided to give all the gated communities in the Jamestown node (except La Clémence) Dutch names. This trend is also reflected in the street names of these developments. While Jamestown has English street names such as Titan Street, Festival Street, School Street, the street names in the gated communities are typically Dutch/Afrikaans, such as Watergang Street, Rhyn Crescent and Paddanes Street.

Arendse says that in recent years, and in the face of the rapid property development in the area, residents of Jamestown became aware of how important it was to document the history of the area. In 2005 a committee known as the Jamestown Heritage Committee was formed in order to document various activities which took place throughout the years, but also to plan for events for the near future. For his study he interviewed some local residents who claimed that “the modern new engineered road to the Aan de Weber gated community destroyed some of the historic urban character of the small town”.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Arendse, “Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the ‘urban edge,’” 52.

Arendse refers to a newspaper article in the *Eikestad News* of 12 June 2013, wherein it was stated that the residents of Jamestown complained that, not only did the traffic circles on the new access road take away from the historic character of the town, but also construction was poor. Even though all these complaints were reviewed by the Stellenbosch Municipality, the residents claim that it continued with the construction of these circles, and the road upgrade was completed in June 2014. Arendse states that “this sense of the invisibility of Jamestown’s historic urban character was in direct conflict with the envisioned ‘Cape vernacular’ theming of the new estate, as if Jamestown was without heritage in the eyes of the developers, and without a citizenry whose discourse around heritage mattered”.¹⁶⁵

La Clémence Retirement Village

La Clémence Retirement Village is located on the northern boundary of Jamestown, directly east of the R44 road linking Stellenbosch with Somerset West. It has been developed on a portion of the Blaauwklippen farm. This luxury retirement village includes 138 housing units, a communal clubhouse, and a health care centre.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Arendse, “Private property, gentrification, tension and change at the ‘urban edge’,” 52.

¹⁶⁶ La Clémence Retirement Village, accessed October 5, 2017, www.laclemence.co.za.



Figure 19: Aerial view of La Clémence Retirement Village (Google Maps, January 2018)

The development, which started in 2005, did not entail any listed activities in terms of the Environmental Regulations (1997) and development was not subject to an environmental assessment process. Therefore no specialist studies were done at the time. No heritage study was required as no heritage resources were identified during the submission of the Notice of Intent to Develop. Although there was some public participation in terms of the rezoning application, there was a more limited opportunity for the public of adjacent communities to participate, compared to the development submission process of the Aan de Weber Estate. Although less controversial, some objections were received from the Jamestown community.

According to Van Wyk, the La Clémence Retirement Village has contributed directly to inequality and fragmentation in Jamestown, in the same way as other gated developments in the area. She also asserts that residents of Jamestown were of the opinion that “this development only beautifies the periphery of Jamestown and not

the core of the town” and referred to an interview with a resident who mentioned that it is as if “they want the inside of Jamestown to be kept away from the outside by building all these fancy places on the edge of the town”.¹⁶⁷

The same architects as Aan de Weber were responsible for the design of the development. All units in this development were built by the developer. Architectural guidelines only apply if owners want to alter or extend their units. The official website of the development states that the architecture and design of La Clémence is “a contemporary interpretation of regional Cape architecture that is in harmony with and complement the local vernacular of Stellenbosch”. It is also indicated on the website that “the architect-designed homes are a stylish interpretation of a modern Cape-Dutch vernacular, set amidst beautifully landscaped gardens”.¹⁶⁸ The architectural style and features used in the La Clémence development are thus similar to those of the Aan de Weber development, that is: an interpretation of Cape vernacular—and more specifically, Cape Dutch—architecture. This is reflected in the total whitewashing of all the structures, as well as the architectural style of the individual dwellings, communal facilities, and the entrance gate to the development, which all display various Cape Dutch elements such as gables, sash windows, traditional Cape chimneys, low Cape walls, pergolas and verandas.



Figure 20: *Security entrance of La Clémence Retirement Village. Note the gable doors and water feature. (Photograph Havenga 2018)*

¹⁶⁷ Van Wyk, “Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown,” 131-132.

¹⁶⁸ Dennis Moss Partnership, accessed January 25, 2018, <http://www.dmp.co.za>.



Figure 21: Street scene in La Clémence Retirement Village (<http://www.laclemence.co.za/>)



Figure 22: Individual dwelling units in La Clémence Retirement Village (<http://www.laclemence.co.za/>)

De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate

Of the three gated communities in the Jamestown node, the De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate to the west of Jamestown, on the opposite side of the R44 road, has the greatest impact on the rural and cultural landscape of Stellenbosch. De Zalze is a 300 ha estate on the banks of the Blaauwklippen River. The name De Zalze originates from the three adjoining wine producing farms namely, Groote (large) Zalze, Kleine (small) Zalze and De Vleie. The historical buildings on the estate, including a manor house and precinct, date back to 1838. The design and development of the greater estate started in 2000 when a developer purchased an

interest in the property.¹⁶⁹ The estate has become one of the most sought-after real estate investments in the country, featuring on the top ten lists of residential estates in South Africa, including the World Wealth Report 2015 of top residential estates in the county.¹⁷⁰



Figure 23: Aerial photograph of De Zalze Golf Estate (Google Maps, January 2018)

The estate includes 120 ha of vineyards, an 18-hole championship golf course, various dams, the Kleine Zalze winery, several olive groves and lavender fields, a restaurant, the De Zalze Lodge, and the Winelands Golf Lodge. It comprises 522 properties in total, grouped in 14 separate villages, positioned around the golf course¹⁷¹.

When the application for the development was submitted in 2000, the Municipal and Regional Services Council officials initially commented negatively on the proposed development plan of De Zalze Golf Estate. The development was considered “to oppose the vision of growth inside of the urban edge of Stellenbosch”.¹⁷² Despite this the estate was approved in 2000 prior to the environmental regulations being activated, and no environmental authorisation or public participation in this regard

¹⁶⁹ De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.dezalzegolf.com/about-de-zalze>.

¹⁷⁰ “De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate,” *Estate Living Magazine*, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.estate-living.co.za/estates/de-zalze-winelands-golf-estate/>.

¹⁷¹ De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.dezalzegolf.com/about-de-zalze>.

¹⁷² Van Wyk, “Identifying and managing the social, economic and environmental effects of gated developments in Jamestown,” 121-123.

was required.¹⁷³ I could find no records of any heritage studies for the initial development. However, later extensions to the estate did involve environmental impact assessments, archaeological studies and heritage impact assessments.

Cash states that local residents of Jamestown believe that the De Zalze Golf Estate conflicts with the ideals of post-apartheid development in Stellenbosch. Local residents, as well as municipal officials, feel that the gated nature of De Zalze causes fragmentation in the area and that the development is solely aimed at high-income people. De Zalze does allow public access to the golf club, but the local residents of Jamestown cannot afford the club and its amenities, so they remain excluded—economically and socially.¹⁷⁴

The estate's official website declares that in the development:

History comes alive through De Zalze's architecture and landscaping, designed to capture the essence and charm of Stellenbosch and its Western European heritage. You will find clustered homes, boulevards and a homely village feel with landscaped common areas, surrounded by bubbling fountains, and cobbled streets, all adding to the visual heritage that inspired Stellenbosch. Buildings share a distinct architectural character and form through high pitches and gables. Their stylistic standard expresses common values and a way of life, yet leaving room for individuality through a choice of finishes and textures.¹⁷⁵

The text of this marketing website reflects the typical rhetoric of New Urbanism. It refers to traditional 'classical' urban values and the development having a distinctive identity and style—such as the 'sense of community' and the reconstruction of traditional 'European city' models or the use of vernacular architecture—which will ensure a specific lifestyle. It also appears to be specially aimed at the intended target market's nostalgia for a former (European/Colonial) style of living, which is perceived to be superior to the nature of the post-apartheid South African city.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Corrine Cash, "Understanding decision-making at the rural-urban fringe: the cases of the Cape Winelands Biosphere Reserve, South Africa and the Niagara Escarpment Biosphere Reserve, Canada," (PhD thesis, University of Waterloo, Ontario, 2014), 134.

¹⁷⁵ De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate, aesthetics, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.dezalzehoa.co.za/aesthetics.php>.

The De Zalze development has a combination of general residential and resort development, built by the developer, and lower-density single-residential properties where owners build their own houses in accordance with the architectural guidelines of the estate. The *Architectural Guidelines for De Zalze* were drafted by the same architect responsible for those of Aan de Weber Estate and La Clémence Retirement Village. The guidelines are very similar to those of Aan de Weber, yet more restrictive in terms of the various architectural elements—such as gables, windows, specified type of plastered walls, low boundary walls, windows, doors and shutters—to ensure compliance with traditional Cape Dutch vernacular architecture. Traditional ‘letter of the alphabet’ building types are again encouraged, and only white colouring is allowed for exterior walls. In this regard, the referencing to ‘white’ is even more extensive, the architectural guidelines, for instance, state that:

Timber windows and doors (excluding garage doors), shutters, clerestory windows and ventilators may be varnished, or alternatively painted in the following colours as per the international chart reference. Pure White/Brilliant White, Westminster, Vineyard and Greymore. Timber garage doors must be painted either pure white or to match the colour of the wall in which they are mounted. Aluminium garage doors must be epoxy powder coated in pure white.¹⁷⁶



Figure 24: Entrance gate to the De Zalze Golf Estate (Photograph Havenga, 2018)

¹⁷⁶ Dennis Moss Partnership, “De Zalze Winelands Golf Estate Architectural Guidelines (2012),” accessed January 26, 2018, http://www.dezalzehoa.co.za/document/1_e885edb475379f4c7b80e80a3c0df0ab.pdf.

The use of certain traditional Cape vernacular elements, such as coach door entrances and low walls, is also encouraged, as can be seen in the images from the Architectural Guidelines in Figure 25.



Figure 44: Typical view of type II erven with courtyards

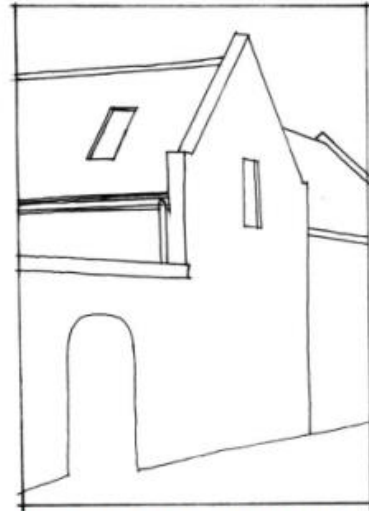


Figure 25: Gable wall with double-pitched roof and parapet.

Figure 25: *Figures De Zalze Golf Estate Architectural Guidelines*
(<http://www.dezalzehoa.co.za/documentation.php?id=5>)



Figure 26: *Group housing units built by developer in De Zalze Golf Estate*
(<http://www.dezalzehoa.co.za/>)



Figure 27: *Some interpretations of the architectural guidelines as applied to single residential dwellings in the De Zalze Golf Estate (<https://www.property24.com>)*

CHAPTER 5: CAPE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN GATED COMMUNITIES

From the analysis of the three cases, it is clear that the common theme is the use of Cape vernacular architecture, specifically variations or interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture. All three developments have very rigid architectural and design guidelines, which promote architecture with very strong Cape vernacular elements such as gables, sash windows, shutters, a specified type of exterior plasterwork for the walls, traditional low boundary walls and coach door elements. Traditional 'letter of the alphabet' building types are also encouraged and, in most cases, only white or, in certain cases, very light beige colouring is allowed for exterior walls. The same trend is also found in the majority of the other gated communities in the Stellenbosch area.

A second common theme, found in marketing brochures and websites for the three gated communities, is the extensive use of New Urbanism phrases such as: 'use of vernacular architecture', 'critical regionalism', 'creating a sense of community', 'restoring the values of a former era', 'pedestrians have right of way', the design being based on the 'woonerf design philosophy', 'a sense of place' and sections of these developments being referred to as 'villages'. Landscaping is also considered important and references to it play a major role in the marketing of these developments.

This is also the case in the marketing brochures and promotional websites of various other gated communities in the Stellenbosch area. For example, the design of Nuutgevonden Estate is described on the website as, "A village with an architectural style in line with the traditional Cape Farmhouse aesthetics of Stellenbosch".¹⁷⁷

The large Welgevonden Estate gated community located on the northern periphery of Stellenbosch accommodates 1 200 houses ranging from smaller lock-up-and-go apartments to large 4-bedroom houses. It is another gated development being promoted using New Urbanism phrases. The development's website states that "it offers community living that resembles something of a gentle gone-by era", and that

¹⁷⁷ Nuutgevonden, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://nuutgevonden.co.za> website.

“residents are used to seeing others during late-afternoon strolls, neighbours still talk to and interact with one another, and children safely play on beautiful open spaces before going indoors for supper”.¹⁷⁸

The Welgevonden Estate website also makes specific references to a sense of community:

The lifestyle only offers a description of an overall picture - in the end it is the Welgevonden people who make Welgevonden real and who give the estate the warm and comforting character that it has become renowned for. It’s about a community that supports and contributes towards the Welgevonden values, a community that cares, and a community that wouldn’t hesitate to reach out when someone is in need, whether it’s for a major cause which requires effort or for a trifling personal matter made known via social media late at night. Welgevonden Estate is about a lifestyle. But, more so, it’s about the Welgevonden people.¹⁷⁹



Figure 2: Welgevonden Architectural Language illustrating “spirit of place”

Figure 28: An illustration from the Welgevonden Architectural Directives and Design Guidelines illustrating a spirit of place (<https://www.welgevonden.co.za/>)

¹⁷⁸ Welgevonden Estate, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.welgevonden.co.za/>

¹⁷⁹ Welgevonden Estate, Architectural Directives and Design Guidelines made by the Welgevonden Home Owners’ Association (2017): 12, accessed January 17, 2018, <https://www.welgevonden.co.za/>.

The *Architectural Directives and Design Guidelines* (2015 version) was again prepared by Dennis Moss Partnership, and the reference on the company's website has the following specific New Urbanism claims:¹⁸⁰

Welgevonden has narrow internal streets that widen into village squares and focal points reduce traffic speed and make the estate a pedestrian friendly development where the motor vehicle does not dominate.¹⁸¹

These Guidelines also refer to a certain 'spirit of place', as can be seen in Figure 28.

The ultimate New Urbanism development is the 240 ha Gemeinschaft Nooitgedacht Village development. This gated community was developed on a portion of the historic Nooitgedacht Estate in the rural area to the north of Stellenbosch. Nooitgedacht Village has been designed with a mix of residential, commercial and retail components. According to the development's website, the architecture has been inspired by "Old Cape and historic Bo-Kaap district living, embracement of a community-driven lifestyle with principles of centuries-old European hamlets".¹⁸²

The development consists of seven residential precincts with names such as the 'Village Walk', the 'Village Square', the 'Village Workshop', the 'Village Corner', the 'Village Retreat' and the 'Village Close'. The promotional pamphlet being used by the sales team states that, in Nooitgedacht Village, residents will "live their dream in a village rich in architecture, history and heritage, where age-old traditions, customs and celebrations transport us back to an era of craftsmen, village festivals and timeless tranquillity". The website also states that future residents can "join the village lifestyle at Nooitgedacht Village—where old-world charm meets modern sophistication—a place which offers endless opportunities to simply enjoy the beauty of life, where neighbours become friends and a sense of community is embraced".¹⁸³ With regard to the 'Village Square', where some 'traditional' bakeries, delicatessens, boutiques and an underground wine cellar are found, it states that it "typifies the tradition of community. It feeds our senses with the smells and textures and sounds

¹⁸⁰ Dennis Moss Partnership, "Architectural Directives and Design Guidelines for Welgevonden," (2015, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://www.dmp.co.za/projects/welgevonden-estate/>).

¹⁸¹ Welgevonden, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.welgevonden.co.za/about>.

¹⁸² Nooitgedacht Estate, accessed January 18, 2018, <http://nooitgedachtstate.co.za/village/>.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

we associate with home and happiness. Fresh baked bread, the aroma of brewing coffee, cobbled walkways, plant and flower scents, trickling fountains that lift our spirits.”



Figure 29: *Some image from the Nooitgedacht Village website indicating the European features of the architecture in the estate as well as the New Urbanism marketing which is reflected in some of the images, e.g. ‘a sense of community’ and ‘village life’. (Source: <http://nooitgedachtestate.co.za/village/>)*

Nooitgedacht Village was developed on a dilapidated industrial/business zoned portion of the farm located outside the urban edge. This out-of-town location meant there was less of an outcry at the time of development. Although claiming to reflect ‘Old Cape’ and ‘historic Bo-Kaap’ quarter of Cape Town architecture, the development also incorporates many European features such as the extensive use of stone and stone towers. While initially, some concern was expressed regarding the higher density nature of the development in this rural area, the local interest groups did not oppose the style of the architecture or its impact on the Stellenbosch

cultural landscape; at the time it was considered to be an improvement on the previous activities of this portion of the farm.

The use of New Urbanism slogans and vernacular architectural and urban design features in the marketing of gated communities is a worldwide trend. It is linked to modern society's distrust of the modern city and its scepticism about local governments' ability to improve urban conditions. This results in the need to retreat into protected compounds, be they labelled New Urbanism developments or gated communities. The use of New Urbanism historical references is also the result of modern society's nostalgia, or longing, for the return to an earlier mythical place and time, which is associated with a certain lifestyle and a specific set of values. In this regard, the references to a 'sense of community' are an important component of such marketing strategies.

The marketing material of the case studies, as well as that of most other gated communities in the Stellenbosch area, shows evidence of a very specific claim that the use of vernacular architecture and urban design elements in these developments will contribute to recapturing the hometown feeling of yesterday and create a sense of community. This plays on a sense of nostalgia for the past, which is generally considered to be a 'better place in time'.

As stated earlier in the study, it is often claimed that the sharp growth in gated communities using colonial or vernacular architectural styles goes hand in hand with—especially white middle- and upper-class groups'—nostalgic longing for South Africa's old neighbourhoods, which are seen as homogeneous places that are not in decay. Although this may be the case, there is also evidence that the demographic profile of gated communities throughout South African urban areas is changing rapidly. A very large percentage of new buyers comes from the affluent, professional black group, who buy into these developments primarily for security reasons, but also for the lifestyle offered and the prestige associated with living in such a development.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ "Megarich black buyers snapping up luxury properties," *City Press*, February 23, 2014; Personal interview with Gerhard Jooste, iGrow Wealth Investments, January 26, 2018.

The evidence in this study suggests that a correlation can be found between the extensive use of Cape vernacular architecture, and more specifically variations and interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture, in these exclusionary gated communities and the association of the Stellenbosch town and rural landscape with a former era of white privilege and economic power. This would confirm the claims of Coetzer and Hall, that the use of this type of architecture serves to affirm white supremacy and in the case of Stellenbosch, also Afrikaner economic power.

Considering the above assumption, it also appears that these large seas of similar-looking whitewashed dwelling houses with Cape Dutch features contribute to the 'whitification' of the Stellenbosch town and rural landscape, and that it is a deliberate process. This can be seen as the creation of an imagined landscape, reflecting a nostalgia for an earlier settlement landscape where whiteness was considered to confirm a certain lifestyle, colonial values and a connection with Europe rather than with the African continent

In the section examining the history of the use of Cape vernacular architecture it was recounted how whitewashing was readapted in the 1920s as part of the national vernacular in the nation-building enterprise that commenced after the Anglo-Boer War. At this stage, it was considered an 'indigenous' yet wholly 'white' action that recalled early European settlement at the Cape, and early towns such as Stellenbosch. It was also explored how after 1948, whitewashing and 'Cape Dutch' gables were memorialised by preservation groups, such as the Simon van der Stel Foundation, as markers of cleanliness and as evidence of white South Africans being part of Western civilisation.

The post-1994 period saw the emergence of numerous gated communities, where we find the recovery of various forms of colonial architecture, and specifically Cape vernacular architecture. At a time when South Africa's white minority finds its legitimacy being challenged from a variety of sources, it is natural that it would seek to reinforce its precarious claim to tenure through the maintenance of whitewashing, ornamentation, and other 'vernacular' architectural devices. Foster argues that "today, these manoeuvres are idealized in the framework of a 'Cape Dutch' heritage, and rhetoric used by whites in this post-apartheid era to tie their spaces not to their

African neighbours, but rather to the 'supranational whiteness associated with European heritage' in 'cleanliness and punctuality'.¹⁸⁵

Below and following are some aerial photographs showing the impact of these large whitewashed developments on the Stellenbosch landscape.



Figure 30: De Zalze Golf Estate. (Source: <http://www.dezalzegolf.com/>)



Figure 31: Nuutgevonden Estate. (Source: nuutgevonden.co.za/)

¹⁸⁵ Foster, *Washed With Sun*, 90.

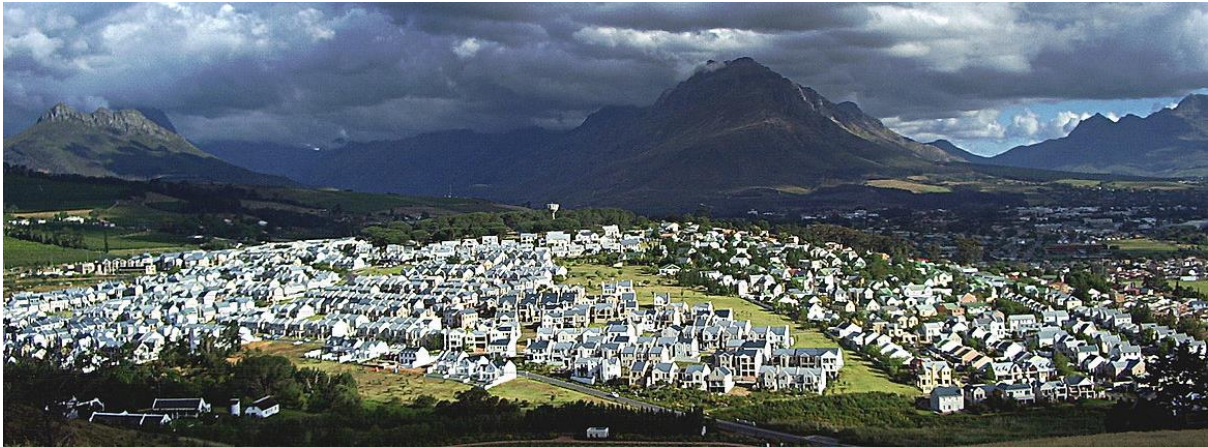


Figure 32: Welgevonden Estate. (Source: <https://www.welgevonden.co.za/>)

However, this is not unique to the Stellenbosch area. Similar examples of large ‘whitewashed’ gated communities, using Cape vernacular architecture, are also found in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town, for example in Steenberg (Steenberg Estate, New Court Estate and Nieuwe Steenberg Estate), Tokai and the Constantia Valley. Cape vernacular, and specifically Cape Dutch architecture, is also found in gated communities outside the Western Cape, such as the Boardwalk Meander and Morgenhof Golf Estates in the Pretoria area. The website of Morgenhof specifically refers to the “classic Cape Dutch Style Architecture” of this gated community.¹⁸⁶



Figure 33: Examples of the use of Cape Dutch architecture in the Morgenhof Lifestyle Golf Estate to the north of Pretoria.

¹⁸⁶ Morgenhof Estate, accessed December 15, 2017, <http://www.morgenhofestate.co.za/images/slicer.png>.

The same architectural firm involved in the gated communities surrounding Jamestown has since been appointed by the Stellenbosch Municipality to prepare an Urban Design Framework for yet another new extension to Jamestown. The development is aimed at the middle- to lower-income sector, and approximately 500 units will be built. The firm's website states that the objective of this study is "to enhance the qualitative dimension of Jamestown and to create the conditions that would help put Jamestown on a sustainable development path".¹⁸⁷ The design concept shows that Cape vernacular architecture is proposed for this extension. Houses are either whitewashed or a very light beige, with typical Cape vernacular features such as verandas, traditional chimneys and gables.

It seems peculiar that it was decided to specifically recommend the use Cape vernacular architecture for the extension and upgrading of Jamestown, which is a historic mission town with its own character and heritage. Due to the scale of the proposed extension, such a development will further contribute to the 'whitification' of the Jamestown node.



Figure 34: *Some images of the proposed use of Cape vernacular architecture in the Jamestown Urban Design Framework (Source: www.dmp.co.za/projects/jamestown-urban-design/)*

¹⁸⁷ Dennis Moss Partnership, accessed December 15, 2017, <http://www.dmp.co.za/projects/jamestown-urban-design/>.



Figure 35: *An image from the Jamestown Urban Design Framework, showing some ‘whitification’ of the existing Jamestown landscape (Source: www.dmp.co.za/projects/jamestown-urban-design/)*

The proposed use of Cape vernacular architecture to ‘upgrade’ Jamestown can be compared to the use of the Cape Dutch Revival style architecture at the Tongaat Estate where, in 1936, the Cape architect Goodman was appointed to design a ‘model native township’ in the Cape Dutch Revival style. In the Tongaat case, Eurocentric aesthetics were also applied in “a comprehensive plan for the improvement of working and living conditions, race relations and morality”.¹⁸⁸ The evidence suggests that developers, architects and authorities still consider Cape vernacular architecture as a ‘higher’ form of architecture to be imposed on people for their ‘upliftment’.

In my interviews with local and provincial heritage authority officials, local heritage groups, developers and local architects, I questioned them about the reasons for

¹⁸⁸ Merrington, “Cape Dutch Tongaat: A Case Study in ‘Heritage’,” 683-700.

their support for, and requests for the use of, Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in Stellenbosch. It appears that their main argument in favour of the continued use of this type of architecture is the protection and enhancement of what they perceive to be a certain townscape and rural character, which they often referred to as the 'Stellenbosch cultural landscape'. Although nobody chooses to affirm that they intentionally support and promote a townscape seen as representative of a former era of white privilege in the Stellenbosch area, it is implicated by their preference for the continuous use and promotion of an architectural style widely associated with, in particular, white Afrikaner privilege.

In my interview with the Stellenbosch Municipality heritage official, Kaizer Makati, he indicated that the municipality is in favour of the use of Cape vernacular architecture in developments due to the fact that "Stellenbosch has a specific character and architecture as well as heritage style" and that "the municipality wants to protect this heritage style as it tells a certain story". Although he doesn't reject alternative styles, "history is the guide for the building environment in Stellenbosch". He also said that it is "what tourists want to see when they visit Stellenbosch". When I asked about the heavily secured Mount Simon Estate directly opposite the Khayamandi township area and how people outside these estates perceive this type of development and the traditional Cape vernacular architecture used in it, he stated that the local authority does not consider Cape vernacular architecture to be divisive or more excluding than any other type of architecture. He also stated that for "African people in South Africa, heritage is in a specific environment or site and that they do not value buildings or architectural styles as such".¹⁸⁹

Makati's viewpoint seems surprising, in light of the stark resistance by the residents of Jamestown to the gated communities adjacent to their township and, specifically, with regard to the nature of the architectural style of these developments.

No academic writings or research could be found on the experience of black South Africans regarding the continued use of Cape vernacular architecture on a large scale, especially in gated communities and in other public and commercial

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Kaizer Makati, heritage official of Stellenbosch Municipality on 7 July 2017.

developments. However, an interesting perspective was given in a BBC article by Brian Hungwe about Zimbabwe's surprising bid to preserve its colonial past. He writes about Zimbabwean authorities' fight to protect old farmhouses, in order to preserve the country's colonial heritage. This comes as something of a surprise, given former President Robert Mugabe's anti-Western rhetoric and the eviction of most of the country's white farmers. In the last 15 years, about 4 000, mostly white, farmers have been forced off their land, leaving behind properties with an eclectic mix of designs, often rich in Victorian features and Cape Dutch-style architecture. One of these evicted farms, the Impala Source Farm, was given to a nearby mining company, Unki, which in 2013 planned to build houses for about 1 000 mine workers. A Heritage Board report drafted for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), concerning the Impala Source Farm, says of its farmhouse that such buildings should be preserved because they "are a testimony of a new people in a society that had its own culture in architecture". It specifically referred to the veranda, which "was the recognition by the white man of his tropical environment, the neo-classical facades behind were a means to recreate the world from which he came".¹⁹⁰

This is in stark contrast with some of the opinions of the war veterans who were questioned in this regard. Hungwe cites the case of Joseph Chinotimba, a veteran of the war of independence who spearheaded the farm evictions. Hungwe reports that he says "there is nothing sacred about the old farmhouses and they should not be celebrated." In Chinotimba's words: "They remind us of the bad things the white farmers did to us. They evicted our ancestors from those lands, and built their own houses. They lived [the] good life, while our ancestors lived in poor grass thatched houses. It doesn't remind me of anything nice—in fact, those houses should be destroyed."¹⁹¹ He adds that, "New farmers were welcome to live in the old farmhouses if they chose, but as they were symbols of 'white supremacy', 'nice new houses' were preferable".¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Brian Hungwe, "Zimbabwe's surprising bid to preserve its colonial past," BBC News, Shurugwi, May 16, 2013, accessed online at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22524537>.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

Hungwe quotes the civil engineer charged with the 2013 development of the farm, who says: “The design, the typical Victorian and Cape Colony architecture is worthwhile. In the colonial era, these houses were for the masters, the white farmers who because of weather patterns preferred to have these large verandas where they could sit outside and enjoy summer that the climate of this country affords them. In modern houses we don't see these anymore.”¹⁹³

The two main heritage groups in Stellenbosch, the Stellenbosch Interest Group and the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation, both contend that the Cape vernacular architecture used in these gated communities does not contribute to the exclusion created by this type of development. Jolanda Morkel, speaking for the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation, says that “the fact that a community is gated, regardless of the architecture, creates exclusivity and separation.” She adds, “It is debatable what role the architectural typology of the guidelines plays. I question the assumption that the Cape vernacular approach/typology ‘promotes’ exclusion, more so than for example, a Tuscan, Tudor, Modern or eclectic approach.”¹⁹⁴

Frik Vermeulen, a former a member of a decision-making committee of Heritage Western Cape, where some of these gated communities have been discussed, does not agree that Cape vernacular architecture is contributing to the exclusion of gated communities. He says, “This type of architecture also has positive associations and is, for example, considered a triumph for Malay craftsmen, thus not only an association with the Dutch, but also a monument for these craftsmen”.¹⁹⁵ This viewpoint is shared by Cindy Postlethwayt, a former member of the same committee, who feels that gated communities, by their very nature, are exclusionary and that the type of architecture used does not really have an impact.¹⁹⁶ She argues that the impact would rather be in the contrast between the nature and scale of the dwelling houses when directly adjacent to those of a lower income area. She is also of the

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Jolanda Morkel, of the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation on 24 July 2017.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Frik Vermeulen, former member of the Impact Assessment Committee of HWC on 5 May 2017.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Cindy Postlethwayt, former member of the Impact Assessment Committee of HWC on 7 May 2017.

opinion that few people really care about the architectural style of their house, and that it would not really impact on the choice to reside in a gated community.

Chris de Hart, an architect involved in the design of various gated communities in the Stellenbosch area, argues that it is important to acknowledge our architectural heritage. He is of the opinion “that Cape vernacular architecture is a true South African ‘volk’ style, which reflects a conglomeration of influences and is the result of its conscious response to the making of place and the specific circumstance in the country”. He argues that it is not an oppressive architectural style, and is concerned about the fact that it is politicised. He further states that “it is necessary to densify and that it is considered desirable to use an architectural idiom which fits into the Stellenbosch landscape”.¹⁹⁷

The Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation indicates that “they never refer to an ‘architectural style’ in their comments, but prefer to rather focus on design principles and typologies, urban streetscape, cultural landscapes and sense of place. But, any ‘applied style’, that is not generated from the context should be discouraged”.¹⁹⁸

In contrast to the above comments, the Stellenbosch Interest Group argues that “it should be a priority to comment on architectural styles, but experience has shown that objections to styles are unsuccessful. It is, however horrific what type of styles have been approved by authorities. Intrinsic good design should respect the built surroundings.” They further stated that:

It is difficult to judge if the use of Cape vernacular architecture will improve the prospect to obtain an approval for a gated community. The use of this type of architecture could be merely a pastiche, which is not supported, but then again compared to other styles, the Cape vernacular architecture may be the preferred choice. We would not specifically reject a certain architectural style, but are concerned that the degree of densification and visibility from scenic routes, more than architectural style, can have very negative impacts. But then again, we would be opposed to absurd styles (such as Tuscan) as being unsympathetic to the Cape vernacular. We are, however, concerned about the impact of these large gated communities on

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Chris de Hart of Chris de Hart Architects on 31 January 2018.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Jolanda Morkel of the Heritage Foundation on 24 July 2017.

the cultural landscape. One does not want hundreds of white washed similar styled houses in a vineyard. It stands out and diverts attention from the overall landscape.¹⁹⁹

Both local conservation groups claim to protect what they consider to be the unique character and sense of place of the Stellenbosch area. Taking into consideration the demographics of these groups' membership, it can be assumed that their view of the Stellenbosch heritage does not necessarily reflect the collective view of all Stellenbosch residents. From the interviews, it appears that they do grasp the impact of the large-scale use of Cape vernacular architecture in these gated communities on the Stellenbosch landscape. Their responses also show that they do not consider this type of architecture to be divisive or specifically affirming the privileges of one specific group. However, it should be noted that these groups' membership is mostly made up of those perceived to be the privileged grouping in this area—although not necessarily, primarily, a group of only Afrikaans-speaking people whose main aim is to protect 'Afrikaner privilege' in the Stellenbosch area.

Considering the response of the local Jamestown heritage organisation to the architectural style of the gated developments in the Jamestown node, it does appear that it is indeed considered to be divisive by some communities in the Stellenbosch area. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this group considers the use of Cape vernacular architecture to be divisive in the wider Stellenbosch context, where it is also used extensively in new non-residential developments such as office blocks, petrol stations, shops and other public buildings.

The concerns of the heritage groups regarding the impact of these gated communities on the Stellenbosch townscape have also been addressed by other writers such as Professor Ronnie Donaldson of the University of Stellenbosch, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies. He argues that there is a growing concern about the disappearance of 'sense of place' in Stellenbosch in that:

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Berta Botha of the Stellenbosch Interest Group on 9 October 2017.

Recommodification of historical areas that have been purposefully touristified (such as the inner historic core of the town) and standardised massification of housing development results in such places losing their sense of place. Place, rather than site or building, has now become the focus of protecting authentic urban environments. It is ironic that the strong property market at the high end of the scale, driven by the exceptional scenic and small-town qualities found so close to the City of Cape Town, has led to strong pressure to develop the exact scenic landscape that it is drawn towards and, in the process, create inauthentic spaces.²⁰⁰

In the light of the comments of the interviewees and the marketing material of these gated communities, other reasons for the extensive use of this type of architecture in the gated communities of Stellenbosch need to be investigated. One notion worth exploring, is that the Cape vernacular architectural style is deliberately used in gated communities as developers and their architects believe that it will improve their chances of gaining approval for their developments.

The main controversy with regard to the development of gated communities in the Stellenbosch area, is the fact that most of these developments are located on the edge of town, in former rural areas, and the concern is expressed regarding the impact of these higher density developments on the perceived 'cultural landscape' of Stellenbosch.

It does not appear that the architectural style of these gated communities was identified as an issue during the decision-making processes relating to the cases addressed in this study. Heritage Western Cape and the local authority's planning advisory committee only become involved when there are identified heritage resources on the original farms. Furthermore, they only consider the impact of the development on heritage resources, such as a manor house, or qualities of an environment as an agricultural or cultural landscape. At the time when these developments were approved, little attention was given to the Stellenbosch cultural landscape as a heritage resource. This may change in future as a result of the

²⁰⁰ Donaldson, "The Production of Quartered Spaces in Stellenbosch," 2014.

recent finalisation of the draft Stellenbosch Municipality's Heritage Inventory and Management Plan²⁰¹.

Gerhard Jooste, a developer involved in the development, marketing and the sale of properties in Nooitgedacht Village, and other developments in the Stellenbosch area, suggests that it does indeed appear that a Cape vernacular style of architecture is preferred by the local authority and local heritage groups, "but it also depends on who is making the decisions at the time". He feels that the particular interpretation of Cape vernacular architectural style, which is now prescribed in the urban design and architectural guidelines of most gated communities in Stellenbosch, "has in fact been 'branded' by Dennis Moss Partnership, the architects responsible [...] and is promoted by them as 'critical regionalist architecture'".²⁰²

Despite various requests, it was not possible to arrange an interview with Dennis Moss Partnership. Based on a review of the architectural guidelines of the gated communities where the firm has been involved, it appears it has, indeed, 'branded' a specific interpretation of Cape vernacular architecture, which it describes as a form of critical regionalism. It further appears that developers in the Stellenbosch area believe that this is the architectural style which the local authority and heritage authorities will support. Developers normally follow the path of least resistance to obtain fast approvals for their developments and it can be deduced that this is one of the main reasons why they use Cape vernacular architecture.

The final assumption I tested was that the Cape vernacular architectural style of these gated communities impacts on the decision of buyers to purchase properties in these developments. Due to the fact that the managers of gated communities do not want to provide information regarding land owners, it was difficult to arrange formal interviews with residents. In some informal conversations with residents of the identified gated communities in Stellenbosch, they expressed surprise that the architectural style of these developments is considered to be Cape vernacular

²⁰¹ Draft Stellenbosch Municipality's Heritage Inventory and Management Plan prepared by Cape Winelands Professional Practices In Association ((Fabio Todeschini and Liana Jansen), September 2016

²⁰² Interview with Gerhard Jooste of IGrow Wealth Investments on 26 January 2018

architecture or an interpretation of Cape Dutch architecture. There does not appear to be a general appreciation of the specific type of architecture used in these gated communities. Some comments were made that in Stellenbosch “your gable shows who you are”, thus a certain status being associated with living in a Cape Dutch homestead. It was also acknowledged that the use of Cape vernacular architecture does recall images of a former era in the history of South Africa, which is considered by some residents as a better place in time.

Jooste, one of the initial developers of the Nooitgedacht Village gated community development, indicated that during the planning phase of the development a social media survey was done by the developers about the type of architecture and other urban design and landscape features future residents would prefer. From their responses, it seems that they favoured Cape vernacular architecture, but also wanted some European elements in the design. People were also concerned about ‘place making’ in the development, and there appeared to be a definite element of nostalgia for “a former era when suburbs were still safe and children could play in the street, people knew one another and shared the same values, communal space were well maintained and there is still a small-town feeling”.²⁰³

As indicated earlier this study, developers and marketers of gated communities sell a certain type of lifestyle to people. The interviews confirm that the use of a Cape vernacular architectural style, and, more specifically, a typical Cape Dutch style with features such as gables and whitewashing, does contribute to the evocation of a former era and lifestyle, perceived to be a better period, for potential land owners. That is not to deny that other aspects—such as the security and facilities which these developments offer, and the fact that services and maintenance of communal areas are privatised—are not a consideration for buyers. However, it can be concluded that owning a house in this architectural style is often perceived to enable a new land owner to become part of the existing Stellenbosch lifestyle and assume the prestige associated with being part of a specific privileged component of the Stellenbosch community.

²⁰³ Interview with Gerhard Jooste of iGrow Wealth Investments on 26 January 2018

The reading of an architectural style is open to various interpretations and meanings attached by different parties. Notwithstanding the local heritage groups and officials denying the possible divisive nature of this variation of Cape vernacular architectural style, and given its association with (especially Afrikaner) power and influence in the Stellenbosch area, it appears that there is an implicit assumption that this is the *only* appropriate architectural style to protect what they perceive to be the specific character and heritage of Stellenbosch.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The core question explored in this study set out to determine if the extensive use of Cape vernacular architecture, and, specifically, interpretations of Cape Dutch architecture in gated communities within the Stellenbosch area, contributes to the exclusionary nature of this type of development.

Interviews with heritage groups and authorities—developers and their marketing agents, architects involved in these developments, and residents residing in these gated communities—suggest that there is a deliberate use of Cape vernacular architecture. Cape vernacular architecture is favoured for very different reasons by the respective groupings.

Developers and their architects are of the opinion that it will improve their chances of gaining support from heritage groups as well as obtaining approvals from the local authority for their developments. Their marketing teams are well aware of New Urbanism trends in gated developments as well as the semiotics attached to Cape vernacular architecture, especially within the Stellenbosch context. They primarily sell a certain type of lifestyle to people.

The interviews confirm that the use of a Cape vernacular architectural style, and more specifically a typical Cape Dutch style with features such as gables and whitewashing, does contribute to evoking a former era and lifestyle, perceived to be a better period in time. Owning a dwelling house in this architectural style is often perceived to enable a new land owner to become part of the existing Stellenbosch lifestyle and the prestige associated with being part of a specific privileged component of the Stellenbosch community.

Local heritage officials and organisations claim that this is the most appropriate architectural style to protect the unique character and sense of place of the Stellenbosch area. Notwithstanding these groups denying the possible divisive nature of this variation of Cape vernacular architectural style, and given its association with, especially Afrikaner, economic power and influence in the Stellenbosch area, it appears that there is an implicit assumption that this is the only

appropriate architectural style for the protection and enhancement of what they perceive to be a much valued 'cultural landscape', one with a very specific character, which needs to be protected at all costs.

Taking into consideration the demographics of the membership of the two main Stellenbosch heritage groups, it can further be assumed that their view of the Stellenbosch landscape does not necessarily reflect the collective view of all Stellenbosch residents. These groups' membership is mostly made up of people who are perceived to be the privileged group in this area—although not necessarily primarily a group of only Afrikaans speaking people—whose main aim is to protect and affirm Afrikaner interest in the Stellenbosch area.

The response of the local Jamestown Heritage Committee to the Cape vernacular architecture of the gated communities directly adjacent to Jamestown demonstrates that this architectural style is, indeed, considered by some to be divisive. This group is of the opinion that there are also other local vernaculars which are part of the Stellenbosch landscape and which also need to be acknowledged as part of the heritage of the area. To some inhabitants of Stellenbosch, the use of Cape vernacular architecture, and especially within gated communities, may thus present some symbolic enclosure and a reflection of a conservative nostalgic design preference which feeds on the white middle- and upper-classes' desire to hang on to a vanishing world. In this context, the large number of recently-developed gated communities, with dwelling houses, entrance gates and communal buildings in a Cape vernacular architectural style, can be experienced by some as an affirmation of the still-existing economic power of a previously advantaged group.

It should be acknowledged that the interpretation of an architectural style is open to various interpretations, with different meanings attached by different parties. It is further important to realise that the target market of gated communities are no longer only middle and upper income whites, but a large percentage of this market is now also the upper income black group. For many residents of gated communities, the previous associations with Cape vernacular architecture would thus be irrelevant. The primary reason for most people residing in gated communities is the lifestyle and security it offers as well as the associated social

status. It may be that this privileged lifestyle is perceived as divisive in the very unequal Stellenbosch society, not necessarily the architectural style of the structures found within these developments.

My analysis of the use of Cape vernacular architecture in the gated communities has findings that go beyond previous assumptions found in other studies. It confirms that there are various factors which affect the subliminal meaning attached to this type of architectural style, which are not always immediately apparent.

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APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

De Hart, Chris:	Practising architect in Stellenbosch, director of Chris of Chris de Hart Architects
Botha, Berta:	Member of the Stellenbosch Interest Group
Jooste, Gerhard:	Former developer of Nooitgedacht Village Stellenbosch. Now General Manager, New Developments, IGrow Wealth Investments
Makati, Kaizer:	Heritage official of the Department of Planning and Economic Development of the Stellenbosch Municipality
Morkel, Jolanda:	Member of the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation
Postlethwayt, Cindy:	Heritage consultant and former member of the Impact Assessment Committee of Heritage Western Cape
Vermeulen, Frik:	Heritage consultant and town planner, former member of the Impact Assessment Committee of Heritage Western Cape

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A MEMBER OF A HERITAGE AUTHORITY

1. What type of heritage resources are considered when your Department comment on an application for a new gated development?
2. Do your Department consider the nature of the architectural style of a gated development when commenting on a new gated development?
3. What is your opinion on the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in the Stellenbosch and Somerset West areas and would it impact on your decision to support/or not support such developments?
4. Would you rather have preferred an alternative style of architecture?
5. Are there any instances where your Department will reject a certain architectural style and consider it as being detrimental to the built environment of the area?
6. Do you think a heritage authority has a role to play in determining the architectural style of a gated development?
7. Will objections from local heritage groups regarding a certain architectural style have an impact on your decision to support a gated community development?
8. Do you think the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated developments contributes to the perception of gated developments promoting further exclusion in the post-apartheid South African city?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A DEVELOPER OF A GATED COMMUNITY IN THE STELLENBOSCH AREA

1. What type of heritage resources is taken into consideration when you consider the architectural style and guidelines for a new gated community (development) in the Stellenbosch area?
2. Are you of the opinion that using a form of Cape vernacular architecture, e.g. Cape Dutch architecture would improve the chances of a gated community being approved in the Stellenbosch area?
3. Would you rather have preferred to use an alternative style of architecture?
4. Do you think a heritage authority or local heritage group has a role to play in determining the architectural style of a gated development?
5. Do you think the architectural style of a gated community influence the decision of someone to purchase a property in such a development?
6. Gated communities are often described as a new form of apartheid. Given the history of the use of Cape vernacular architecture and especially Cape Dutch architecture pre-1994, are you of the opinion that the use thereof in gated communities contributes to the perception of such developments promoting exclusion in the post-apartheid South African urban landscape?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AN ARCHITECT INVOLVED IN THE DESIGN GUIDELINES FOR A GATED COMMUNITY IN THE STELLENBOSCH AREA

1. What type of heritage resources is taken into consideration when you prepare architectural guidelines for a new gated community in the Stellenbosch area?
2. Are you of the opinion that using a form of Cape vernacular architecture would improve the chances of a gated community being approved in the Stellenbosch area?
3. What are your opinion on the use of Cape vernacular architecture in gated communities in Stellenbosch and the impact thereof on the cultural landscape, especially with regard to larger developments of this nature?
4. Would you rather have preferred an alternative style of architecture?
5. Are there any instances where your company will reject a certain architectural style proposed by a developer and consider it as being detrimental to the built environment or cultural landscape of the area?
6. Do you think a heritage authority or local heritage group has a role to play in determining the architectural style of a gated development?
7. Gated communities are often described as a new form of apartheid. Given the history of the use of Cape vernacular architecture and especially Cape Dutch architecture pre-1994, are you of the opinion that the use thereof in gated communities contributes to the perception of such developments promoting exclusion in the post-apartheid South African urban landscape?