Human Geographies of Stellenbosch

Transforming Space,
Preserving Place?

EDITOR
Ronnie Donaldson

1. Stellenbosch as laboratory for human geography research

Ronnie Donaldson

Introduction

In July 2020 one hundred years had passed since Petrus (Piet) Serton, a human geographer from Utrecht University in the Netherlands, was appointed to the then Department of Geography at Stellenbosch University as head and as first professor of geography in South Africa. Human geography formed the basis of geographical research and teaching in the department from the onset. Surprisingly, it took 70 years since Serton's arrival for any scholar from the department to publish a piece of research that focused on the town in which the university is located. The paper by Bührmann and Van der Merwe in 1989/90 described the activity patterns of white and coloured children in Stellenbosch. Human geography scholarship at Stellenbosch in the 1960s and 1970s typically mirrored patterns in Anglo-American geography with the accent on spatial organization. At the time when the quantitative revolution began to be questioned elsewhere, Stellenbosch human geographers' positivism-centred research defined their urban scholarship (Van der Merwe, Visser & Donaldson 2016). Despite the revolutionary re-imagination Marxist and critical geography brought to the discipline during the late 1970s and the 1980s, its impact on and relevance to human geography was never mentioned in the geography department's research at the time (Van der Merwe, Visser & Donaldson 2016).

Scholarly research publications about the impact of apartheid on society in general and Stellenbosch in particular were absent. The year 1990 ushered in a new era in South Africa with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and soon afterwards the scrapping of the two key apartheid legislations, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act. Apart from the above single paper, Stellenbosch was a blank canvas for geography academics at Stellenbosch University to paint a picture of the dramatic socio-political changes taking place over the next 30 years. From the mid 1990s onwards the transformation of South Africa and Stellenbosch offered boundless opportunities to human geography scholars in the department for reviewing and/or providing critical commentary on the ways the transition to democracy and the first democratic period under Mandela as president would played out in the human geographies of Stellenbosch. Moreover, critical research scholarship on how the post-apartheid government was contradicting its own policies and strategies or

assessments of the legacies of apartheid planning in the city were absent, mainly due to the general lack of engagement in research during this period as well as the staff's defined research interests (Donaldson 2020; Donaldson & Ferreira 2020). Since the publication of Bührmann and Van der Merwe's (1989/90) paper, only 16 peer-reviewed papers on Stellenbosch followed, namely, Penderis and Van der Merwe (1994); Van Niekerk and Van der Merwe (1994); Cedras and Van der Merwe (1999); Adendorff and Donaldson (2012); Ferreira and Müller (2013); Hamilton and Ferreira (2013); Musakwa and Van Niekerk (2013); Donaldson et al. (2014); Musakwa and Van Niekerk (2014); Musakwa and Van Niekerk (2015); Ferreira and Hunter (2017); Bordelon and Ferreira (2018); Du Plessis (2019); Ferreira and Beuster (2019); Visser (2019); and Visser and Kisting (2019). These papers all related to the urban and tourism geographies of Stellenbosch. The 1990s saw four papers, the 2000s none and the 2010s thirteen. To fill the gap in this astonishing lack of knowledge about and inquiry into human geographical issues on the doorstep of the department, is one of two main reasons for the production of this edited volume. As a second reason, the book serves as a compendium to celebrate the department's centenary in 2020 through the research conducted (mainly by students) on themes of Stellenbosch human geographies.

A context for Stellenbosch as research laboratory

Affectionately referred to as a university town over the past 100 years, Stellenbosch has started to reposition itself within the shadow of the Cape Town metropolitan area since democracy in 1994. The university town has undoubtedly undergone dramatic spatial and demographic transitions since the 1990s. The university enrolled around 15 000 students in 1990 and by 2020 the number has more than doubled. The town's population grew from 29 955 in 1970 to 77 476 in 2011.¹ The exceptional growth in population has had three unexpected effects on the town's urban space, namely, pressure for accommodation of students, pressure for accommodation of migrants mostly from the Eastern Cape, and pressure for accommodation of the affluent desiring secluded lifestyle environments (Donaldson 2014).

Stellenbosch has been identified in two consecutive studies to have the highest growth potential in non-metropolitan Western Cape (Van der Merwe, et al. 2005; Van Niekerk, et al. 2010). Over the past ten years, Stellenbosch has moved away from being seen primarily as a university town to being classified as one of the country's 21 secondary cities (Marais, Nel & Donaldson 2016). Subsequently, the local economy has transformed from its original agricultural and educational base to service-related niche sectors, such as finance, business, tourism, and science and technology. Although the university still plays a major role in the town's image and economy, Stellenbosch has become reputed to be the non-metropolitan area with the most Johannesburg Stock Exchange listed or private equity companies in South Africa. Stellenbosch and its surrounds are where two thirds of South African billionaires are located and where there are a number of corporate headquarters (Cash 2013). Hence, Du Toit's (2019) references to the 'Stellenbosch mafia' and the 'billionaire's club'. Stellenbosch, more often than not,

¹ The most recent official census data.

is considered to be insulated from the harsh realities of South Africa and, no wonder, it is referred to as 'Stellicon Valley'. Stellenbosch is now at the interface of transitioning from a town to city (Donaldson 2014). Although becoming a (secondary) city in its own right, Stellenbosch still has a (small) town feel. For this reason, Stellenbosch is interchangeably referred to as a town or a city in this book.

Concerning its development, the city is clearly bursting at its seams, a feature that is unlikely to disappear soon. The city had been at the crossroads for a while (Donaldson 2014). In the context of Van Kempen's (2002, p.50) argument that "cities are not 'naturally' divided: they are actively partitioned" a number of urban spatial processes are at work in the partitioning of urban space, including clustering, segregation and desegregation, congregating, walling out (the process of formation of an exclusionary enclave), fortification (process of the formation of a citadel), and the quartering of space. Empirical studies have found spatial patterns that share the characteristics of more than one of these spatial processes (Marcuse 2000. Particularly in urban contexts, globalization has led to a number of different and often conflicting identities (across issues such as race, income status, nationality and ethnicity, etc.). The contemporary South African city "is not only the site of new kinds of dwelling) activity and interaction; it is also a setting for the production of new urban imaginaries, through which the city is made intelligible and its social spaces rendered legible" (Popke & Ballard 2004, p.100). Manifestations of socio-spatial restructurings of urban space are increasingly related to urban form. According to Garrido (2013), the emergence of a quartered city (consisting of parallel patterns of residential and business space) poorly describes the reality of segregation in cities of the global South, despite the simple addition of the informal city and the city of illegality. For cities in the global South the pattern of urban segregation "commonly associated with polarization – urban landscapes fragmented into networks of privatized elite spaces overlaying the public city – has more to do with colonialism than with globalization in its contemporary manifestation" (Garrido 2013, p.167). Urban quarters "are slices of the [urban] form that are experienced as distinct spaces in contrast to the city that surrounds them" (Rink 2020, p.75). As the title² of this book indicates, the collection of chapters provides broad questions and inquiry into the transformation and/or the preservation of space as manifested through the human geographies in Stellenbosch. Although these 'slices' appear to be very broad and disjointed, there are there three broad themes within which to frame the chapters to present a collective look at human geographies in Stellenbosch. In the following three subsections the contexts for the next 12 chapters are set.

Policy, inaction and unwanted outcomes

A common thread running through most of the chapters is the way in which local policy effects the way in which human geographies and spaces are shaped, for good or bad. Stellenbosch is probably one of the most segregated cities in South Africa. Very little residential desegregation (other than that which has been observed regarding the university campus residences) has taken place since the scrapping of the Group

² Acknowledgement is due to one of the double-blind peer-reviewers who suggested this title for the book.

Areas Act in 1991. The literature alerts us to three probable reasons for the lingering pattern of segregation. *First*, the failure of the government and its policies to implement integrated and spatial planning and provide access to public services and social facilities or to secure the equality and integration of settlements. Chapter 2 by Du Plessis and Horn, provides an overview of how Stellenbosch has attempted to undo its spatial legacy of apartheid planning through various generations of spatial plans.

Second, insufficient vacant land is available in well-situated spaces. This land is scarce and expensive, making the development of low-income residential areas difficult. Instead, market forces dictate development trends and in Chapter 3 Kruger and Donaldson's research exemplifies how, in the absence of proper densification and studentification policies, certain (historically significant) areas in Stellenbosch are being transformed into newly created quarters of segregation. Sprawl is aggravated by the wealthy relocating to peripheral areas (mostly in the form of gated communities). This phenomenon of gated developments on the periphery of Stellenbosch is explored by Light and Donaldson (Chapter 5) in the historic hamlet of Jamestown.

The *third* reason concerns the intricacies of socio-economic integration. The process of change has been accompanied by various social tensions which are dominated by economic, social and political power struggles. One of these has its roots in the NIMBYistic attitude mentioned by many authors on socio-economic integration. The critique on the handling of the street traders in Stellenbosch, in the investigation by Hillier and Horn (Chapter 10) is a case in point. Extant research has shown that poor areas suffer most from segregation. Even though the White Paper on local government warned that poorly delivered services would heighten segregation levels, service delivery has continued to be substandard in low-income settlements (see Turok & Parnell 2009). The case study by Moreland and Zweig on the lived experience of Kayamandi residents regarding communal ablution facilities (Chapter 7), Makan and Spocter's investigation on backyarders and backyard dwellings in Smartie Town in Cloetessville (Chapter 8) and a look by Cele and Pharoah at the community waste-disposal behaviours in informal Kayamandi (Chapter 9) are testimony to the inadequacy of services in the town's low-income areas.

Landman (2020) highlights safety, exclusion, opportunity and segregation as socio-spatial contradictions in South Africa. Critical viewpoints on gating revolve around issues of lack of spatial integration, proposed policy on social mixing, access to natural and urban public spaces, spatial fragmentation, social exclusion, economic segregation and the inability of local authorities to render proper services (Lemanski et al. 2008; Spocter 2013; Landman 2020). According to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC 2006, p.5), gated developments "cause social division, dysfunctional cities and lead to the further polarisation of our society." This is a scenario patently evident in Stellenbosch. Although the number of gated developments in Stellenbosch is continually growing (Spocter 2013), the existing ones on the periphery of the town are already dramatically scarring the rural landscape and transforming rural spaces into urban quarters of homogeneity. Much has been debated in the local media on this scarring of the ruralscape of Stellenbosch, because the spatial outcomes of these gated developments are making direct impacts on the town's identity. Land for development

is running out. It is my contention that the *de facto* local authority emerging from this is the property developer who will insist on walling a new development that happens to be located in 'undesirable spaces' near a township or low-income area. Welgevonden, De Zalze and La Clémence, as well as the 'Berlin-styled' Mount St Simon, wedged between Kayamandi and Cloetesville, are cases in point.

The desegregation of a highly segregated Stellenbosch is disguised through these developments where affluent developments wrap around previously black and coloured group areas. This is illustrated in Chapter 5 by Light and Donaldson. The urban and the rural in Stellenbosch are inextricably linked to provide its distinctive character. The immigrants driving the demand for changing the countryside tend to be middle- and upper-class urbanites whose key motivations are the quest for an improved lifestyle in exclusive housing units; the need to be close to nature and unspoilt areas; and for a higher degree of personal and property security compared to that obtaining in metropolitan areas. These spaces are slowly being transformed into a picture of urbanized rurality that may be embedded in the minds of the immigrants and their vision of the services needed to cater for their lifestyle.

It is significant that concomitant with the development of residential sites in non-metropolitan areas is the development of commercial and retail services which further change the character of these tranquil spaces (Donaldson 2018). This bears a striking similarity to the remaking of urban spaces in Jamestown (Chapter 5), whereas Venema, Spocter and Donaldson's Chapter 4 illustrates how the shopping centre in Jamestown has been struggling to retain tenants. The Jamestown interdependent node presents a strong juxtaposition of varying urban space best exemplifying the inherited spatial complexities of partitioned urban spaces (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Another 'slice' provides an intriguing contestation over space where the interplay of densification, studentification and heritage conservation are all taking place within a context of policy inaction. Kruger and Donaldson (Chapter 3) spotlight this interaction. As a result of regime changes in the local authority since the 2000s (Seethal 2005), the local authority failed in its function and a blind-eye approach became the norm so ignoring the growth of student housing in the areas abutting the university campus. Control of student housing did not feature as a priority on the political agenda at the time. Between 1999 and 2005 there was no change in land use in the historic suburb Die Weides. Since 2008, however, the urban geography of accommodation in Die Weides has changed dramatically and signalled the end of the suburb's historic status. Notwithstanding the accolades the municipality received for managing the town's historical heritage, Buchanan and Donaldson (Chapter 4) tease out the weaknesses in the execution of policy to protect and to further expand the conservation of heritage properties. Student-purposed accommodation developments have, by 2020, spilled over into the historical area of Dennesig (see Chapter 3) contrary to calls from heritage preservation interest groups not to allow densification and a call for including Dennesig into the urban heritage conservation area fell on death ears. Another layer of heritage will soon be wiped from the urban space.

Abandoned quartered spaces

No discussion about quartered spaces in a South African urban context can ignore the so-called 'abandoned spaces' (Marcuse 1989). Bourdieu (1993, p.127) has contended that:

the ability to dominate space, notably by appropriating (materially or symbolically) the rare goods (public and private) distributed there, depends on the capital possessed. Capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things thereby minimising the necessary expense (notably in time) in appropriating them.

But conversely, the "lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude: it chains one to a place" (*ibid*). Abandoned spaces, as characteristic of quartering of Stellenbosch, are the spaces the indigent are 'chained to'. Here we have urban space for the "very poor, the excluded, the never-employed and the permanently unemployed, the homeless and the shelter residents" (Marcuse 1989, p.705).

Nationally, a crisis of urban discontent appears to be brewing, and there is consensus that informal settlements are at the heart of this urban 'revolution'. A binary of disgruntlement perhaps best mirrors the dual nature of the post-apartheid city of today. On the one hand are the affluent (of whom a significant proportion are now categorized as black diamonds but who are not yet present in notable numbers in Stellenbosch) who have retreated into new laagers, this time gated, fenced and protected by private security firms. On the other hand are the indigent, those who have yet to experience spatially segregated, free urban living - those who are living in the informal settlements, RDP estates, the unemployed and the homeless. It is an urban living we have become accustomed to over the past two decades. Despite attempts at the reconstruction of the South African city, it has generally remained separated.

The inability to think proactively and creatively about undoing the abandoned spaces in the urban space resonates with the notion of the geography of difference in Stellenbosch whereby politicians and government officials are acting as disabling agents. Policy suggestions like the "provision of low-income housing that is sustainable requires a new urban form, different to what has recently (the last 50 years) been accepted as the norm. This new urban form [that] should reflect the uniqueness of the surrounding setting as well as being affordable and capable of rapid development" (CNdV Africa 2005, p.3) remain worthless unless they are implemented and urban spaces are used better. The challenges of backyard housing are addressed by Makan and Spocter (Chapter 8) and those of infrastructure provision by Moreland and Zweig (Chapter 7) on ablution and Cele and Pharoah (Chapter 9) on waste removal.

The latest attempt of the municipality to undo and integrate abandoned spaces is the Adam Tas corridor development, flagged as Stellenbosch's emerging urban transformation district with the vision "to create an integrated urban-development corridor that is liveable, safe, resource-efficient, socially integrated, economically inclusive and globally competitive, in which all citizens can actively participate" (Stellenbosch Municipality 2018, p.14). Expanded housing opportunities for a broader

range of groups - including lower-income groups and students - are promoted for the corridor. This development will be the final test for the municipality to show that they are indeed serious about undoing the spatial past. My prediction is, however, that a neoliberalism approach will again (like elsewhere) capture the process and keep the marginalized groupings in society from benefiting in the process. I would delight in being proved wrong.

Authenticity, character and sense of place

Rowley (1998) has suggested a number of considerations for meaningful place-making: functional and social use, sustainability, visual characteristics, and quality of the urban experience. Complexity, surprise, diversity of activity and users, vitality, a sense of time and historical continuity are some of the key requirements for any meaningful urban experience (Rowley 1998). To retain a particular local quality and to protect the character of a place, the spirit or sense of place has to be preserved. There is growing concern about the disappearance of sense of place in Stellenbosch, as evident in the placeless approach of modernism. A persistent theme in the Stellenbosch Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is the formulation of a goal to "conserve the architectural, historical, scenic and cultural character of the settlements, forms and areas" (CNdV Africa 2010, p.7). The SDF emphasizes the need to guard against the erosion of the city's strong sense of place that has become an international brand (CNdV Africa 2005). The concept of sense of place has been valued much because of its respect for the conditions of the authenticity and the integrity of heritage in contemporary conservation practice. An analogy can be drawn between the work of Guignon (2004) on how a person, in order to become authentic, first has to discover the 'you' in 'yourself', and then our understanding of how urban space needs rediscovering. According to Guignon (2004, p.13) this you "that is discovered is a you that is for most part concealed, hidden, lost, displaced, almost totally forgotten", and therefore a "project of self-transformation." In other words, the "ideal of authenticity is a project of becoming the person you are" (ibid:13). In drawing on Socrates' notion of 'know thyself', Guignon (2004, pp.13-14 & 34-35) argues that:

to know yourself, then, is to know above all what your place is in the scheme of things. Only because finding your place in the scheme of things is what is truly important does it become worthwhile to assess your personal nature. The modern outlook brings to realization a split between the Real me - the true inner self - and the persona (from the Greek word for "mask") that one puts on for the eternal world. With this division comes a sharp distinction between the way one appears in public life and what one truly is in one's inner self.

The proclamation of authenticity needs introspection. In 2020, the urban spaces of Stellenbosch as appearance in public life and urban space as an inner self, are opposites. The destruction of the 'true inner self' - in other words the built environment heritage of the town and ruralscapes - is slowly but surely masking a persona of progression, class advancement, almost uncontrolled (post)modernisation, and untouchability. However, a good surviving example in Stellenbosch of such a meaningful open space (with the potential of being further enhanced) as third places (gathering places to enhance

the lives of residents are called third places and provide a place to connect with the people in communities, as well as a place to exchange ideas and news) (Waxman, 2006) is *Die Braak*. Here the landscaping reinforces the rural character and allows views to the mountains (balance); here all people are free to act out daily life (freedom and equity); and here quiet and busy, sunny and shaded spaces are provided, and defined by harmonious yet varying facades (necessary complexity). *Die Braak* is visible and accessible (integration), and provides a strong sense of belonging and identity (community), at least in terms of planning and urban design theory, but it also provides for a contestation of its use by street traders (see Chapter 10 by Hillier and Horn).

For communities struggling to adequately feed, house and ensure the health of their citizens, the devotion of time and energy to authenticity goals may appear to be a luxury not shared equitably. Why then the need to search for authentic historic and lived urban spaces in Stellenbosch? Place, rather than site or building, must now be the focus for protecting authentic urban environments. Strategies directed to places mean “preserving what is valuable from the past even while adapting to change with new buildings and the creation of new landscapes” (Ferris 2002, n.p.). If left unchecked the authentic urban spaces of Stellenbosch could be completely transformed within the next 20 years into new townscapes depicting the current trend of a fantasizing lifestyle based on escapisms. 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 (CNdV 2005), has led to strong pressure to develop the exact scenic landscape that it is drawn towards and, in the process, create inauthentic spaces. Desires manifest spatially in various ways through the production of specific urban quartered spaces, such as gentrification spaces (or bourgeoisification after Lefebvre 1991), studentification spaces, the changing production of the countryside through gated developments and multi-use landscape spaces, and abandoned spaces.

According to Du Plessis (2019, p.271) “many of the issues influencing spatial change in Stellenbosch require a relational view of space, recognising interactions at multiple scales.” Changes to sensitive urban environments must respect the spirit and the prevailing character, the *genius loci* of a place otherwise it will lose its identity (Norberg-Schultz 1984). How may the *genius loci* (atmosphere of a place) be preserved under the pressure of new functional demands? What is to be conserved? What is to be changed? How much can be changed? In order to maintain a sense of place while simultaneously allowing for urban change, these questions should be incorporated into an urban policy-making vision. However, respecting the *genius loci* does not equate to copying old models. The challenge is to determine the identity of the place and to interpret it in everfresh ways. Development is seen to be in direct opposition to conservation and vice versa. The opportunities presented by appropriate development should not be overlooked in any attempt to resist development. Change is necessary, provided that it is appropriate and reinforces, rather than erodes, the local identity or distinctiveness. In order to manage a sustainable socio-spatial transformation in Stellenbosch, it has to be acknowledged that some changes are inevitable.

Urban places without a sense of place are sometimes referred to as 'placeless' (or inauthentic) places. Placeless landscapes are those having no special relationships with the places in which they are located – they could be anywhere, such as gated estates with pseudo-vernacular styles or monotonous studentified residential spaces. The arts (visual public art and street performers), as well as long-running traditional locally-based events, such as the Stellenbosch wine festival, all add to the creation of a sense of place and these are addressed in turn as case studies by Adams and Donaldson (Chapter 11), Viljoen and Donaldson (Chapter 12) and Ferreira and Gordon (Chapter 13).

Conclusion

There is always tension between continuity and change in a city (Liu 2009). Although there is a symbiotic relationship between urban (town) and rural (countryside), Lefebvre (1991) has proclaimed that the urban becomes a privileged focal point. To him, the "town seems to gather in everything which surrounds it, including the natural and the divine ... As image of the universe, urban space is reflected in the rural space that it possesses and indeed in a sense contains" (Lefebvre 1991, p.235). He refers to Jane Jacobs's forceful demonstration of how "urban space, using the very means apparently intended to create or re-create it, effects its own self-destruction" (*ibid*, p.364). As seen in all these chapters about Stellenbosch, cities today, according to Marcuse (2000, p.270), "seem fragmented, partitioned – at the extreme, almost drawn and quartered, painfully pulled apart." The exceptional population growth and intense pressure for urban expansion (especially for student accommodation, gated estates and informal settlements) experienced over the past two decades call for an imaginative re-look at how authentic spaces with a sense of place are to be conceived and produced over the next 20 years in and around Stellenbosch.

The process of sustainable transformation is ongoing but needs to be skilfully managed to achieve appropriate urban socio-spatial development. Spatial approaches to growth and development may include the following: avoiding the destruction of the traditional agricultural landscapes; guarding against transformation of the rural-urban linkages into a post-productivist countryside; preventing the erosion of the urban historical fabric; appropriately managing the process of studentification of urban space; guarding against the expansion of fortified spaces; and sensibly dealing with socio-spatial urban processes such as gentrification and social integration. The restructuring of partitions or exclusions, either by design or by decay, is a non-negotiable course.

References

- Adendorff, M. A. & Donaldson, R. (2012). Knowledge-based service industry in a South African university town. *Development Southern Africa*, 29(3):418-433. [https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2012.706038].
- Bordelon, L. A. & Ferreira, S. L. A. (2018). Going off-road: the Stellenbosch winelands as a mountain biking destination. *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Sciences*, 24(4):659-672.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). Site effects (pp.123-129). In P. Bourdieu, et al. (eds.). *The weight of the world. Social suffering in contemporary society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bührman, M. H. & Van der Merwe, I. J. (1989/90). Die ruimtelike gedrag van stadskinders in Stellenbosch, Kaap Provinsie, Suid-Afrika. *South African Geographer*, 17(1):53-64.
- Cedras, L. & Van der Merwe, I.J. (1999). Landelik-stedelike interaksie en plaaslike owerheidsbestuur in die Stellenbosch-distrik. *Acta Academica*, 31(2):185-202.
- Cash, C. (2013). Towards achieving resilience at the rural-urban fringe: the case of Jamestown, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 25:125-141. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-013-9204-2]
- CNdV Africa. (2005). Integrated development plan: preliminary spatial development framework. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- CNdV Africa. (2010.) Spatial development framework. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Municipality.
- Donaldson, R. (2014). The production of quartered spaces in Stellenbosch. Inaugural address, Department of Geography and Environmental studies, Stellenbosch University, September (online). <https://bit.ly/36PujBV>
- Donaldson, R. (2018). *Small town tourism in South Africa*. Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-68088-0].
- Donaldson, R. (2020). Introduction to reflections on a century of geography at Stellenbosch University. *South African Geographical Journal*, 102(3):273-281. [https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2020.1795917].
- Donaldson, R., Benn, J., Campbell, M. & De Jager, A. (2014). The impact of studentification on reshaping urban space in two South Africa centers. *Urbani Izziv*, 25:176-188. [https://doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-supplement-013].
- Donaldson, R. & Ferreira, S. L. A. (2020). A century of human geography at Stellenbosch University: reflections on urban and tourism geography. *South African Geographical Journal*, 102(3):327-343. [https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2020.1795916].
- Du Plessis, D. (2019). Stellenbosch: change comes to a historical university town (pp.249-174). In L. Marais (ed.). *Space and planning outside the core: reflections from South Africa's secondary cities*. Stellenbosch: African Sun Media.
- Du Toit, P. (2019). *The Stellenbosch mafia. Inside the billionaire's club*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Ferreira, S. L. A. & Beuster, L. R. N. (2019). Stellenbosch coffee society: societal and locational preferences. *Urbani Izziv*, 30:64-81. [https://doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2019-30-supplement-005].
- Ferreira, S. L. A., & Hunter, C. A. (2017). Wine tourism development in South Africa: a geographical analysis. *Tourism Geographies*, 19(5):676-698. [https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1298152].
- Ferreira, S. L. A. & Müller, R. (2013). Innovating the wine tourism product: food-and-wine pairing in Stellenbosch wine routes. *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 3:72-85.
- Ferris, J. (2002). Conservation and regeneration in the Nottingham Lace market (online). <https://bit.ly/35GxP2e>. (Accessed 20 December 2019).

- Garrido, M. (2013). The ideology of the dual city: the modernist ethic in the corporate development of Makati City, Metro Manila. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(1):165-185. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01100.x].
- Guignon, C. (2004). *On being authentic*. London: Routledge. [https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203646793].
- Hamilton, J. & Ferreira, S. L. (2013). Leisure and tourism activities of international students at Stellenbosch University. *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 3:234-246.
- Landman, K. (2020). Gated communities in South Africa: an emerging paradox (pp.55-74). In R. Massey & A. Gunter (eds.). *Urban geography in South Africa*. Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25369-1_4].
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lemanski, C., Durington, M. & Landman, K. (2008). Divergent and similar experiences of 'gating' in South Africa: Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 19(2):133-158. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-008-9030-0].
- Liu, W-K. (2009). Everyday life, morphology and urban conservation: An interdisciplinary approach to urban change (online). <https://bit.ly/3fcdSDw>. (Accessed 20 December 2019).
- Marais, L., Nel, E. & Donaldson, R. (2016). *Secondary cities and development*. London: Routledge. [https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315667683].
- Marcuse, P. (1989). 'Dual city': a muddy metaphor for a quartered city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 13(4):697-708. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.1989.tb00142.x].
- Marcuse, P. (2000). Cities in quarters (pp.270-281). In G. Bridge & S. Watson (eds.). *A companion to the city*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Musakwa, W., & Van Niekerk, A. (2013). Implications of land use change for the sustainability of urban areas: a case study of Stellenbosch, South Africa. *Cities*, 32:143-156. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2013.01.004].
- Musakwa, W. & Van Niekerk, A. (2014). A monitoring urban sprawl and sustainable urban development using the Moran index: a case study of Stellenbosch, South Africa. *International Journal of Applied Geospatial Research*, 5(3):1-20. [https://doi.org/10.4018/ijagr.2014070101].
- Musakwa, W. & Van Niekerk, A. (2015). Monitoring sustainable urban development using built-up area indicators: a case study of Stellenbosch, South Africa. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 17(3):547-566. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-014-9560-7].
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980). *Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture*. London: Academy Editions.
- Penderis, S. P. & Van der Merwe, I. J. (1994). Kaya Mandi hostels, Stellenbosch: place, people and policies. *South African Geographical Journal*, 76:33-38. [https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.1994.9713568].
- Popke, J. E. & Ballard, R. (2004). Dislocating modernity: identity, space and representations of street trade in Durban, South Africa. *Geoforum*, 35:99-110. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(03)00002-2].
- Rowley, A. (1998). Private-property decision makers and the quality of urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(2):151-173. [https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809808724423].
- Rink, B. (2020). Enclaves and quartering in urban South Africa (pp.75-84). In R. Massey & A. Gunter (eds.). *Urban geography in South Africa*. Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25369-1_5].
- SAHRC (South African Human Rights Commission). 2006. Road closures/boom gates report. Pretoria: South African Human Rights Commission.

- Seethal, C. (2005) Postmodern urban politics in South Africa: the case of Stellenbosch (2000-2004). *South African Geographical Journal*, 87(2):141-151. [<https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2005.9713837>].
- Spocter, M. (2013). Non-metropolitan gated developments in the Western Cape. Patterns, process, purpose. PhD dissertation. Stellenbosch University: Department of Geography and Environmental Studies.
- Stellenbosch Municipality. (2018). Stellenbosch municipality: Spatial development framework (online). <https://bit.ly/3IMFO3g>. (Accessed 2 April 2020).
- Turok, I. & Parnell, S. (2009). Reshaping nations: The role of national urban policies. *Urban Forum*, 20:157-174. [<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-009-9060-2>].
- Van Der Merwe I. J., Zietsman, H. L., Ferreira, S., Davids, A. J., Swart, G. P. & Kruger, D. (2005). Growth potential of towns in the Western Cape. Report commissioned by the Western Cape Provincial Government. Stellenbosch University: Centre for Geographical Analysis. Stellenbosch.
- Van der Merwe, J. H., Visser, G. & Donaldson, R. (2016). Stellenbosch: the birthplace of Geography teaching at South African universities (pp.9-32). In G. Visser, R. Donaldson & C. Seethal, (eds.). *The origin and growth of geography as a discipline at South African Universities*. Stellenbosch: African Sun Media.
- Van Kempen, R. (2002). The academic formulations: Explanations for the partitioned city (pp.35-56). In P. Marcuse, & R. Van Kempen (eds.). *Of states and cities: the partitioning of urban space*. Oxford: Oxford Geographical and Environmental Studies.
- Van Niekerk, A., Donaldson, R., Du Plessis, D. & Spocter, M. (2010). A revision of the 2004 growth potential of towns in the Western Cape study. Research study for the Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning. Stellenbosch University: Centre for Geographical Analysis.
- Van Niekerk, L. O. & Van der Merwe, I. J. (1994). Socio-demographic neighbourhood change: a case study of Stellenbosch. *Tydskrif vir Stads- En Streekbeplanning*, 36;31-38.
- Visser, G. (2019). Leisure tourism space and urban change: lessons from Cape Town and Stellenbosch to contemplate in urban South Africa (pp.173-188). In R. Massey & A. Gunter (eds.). *Urban geography in South Africa - perspectives and theory*. Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25369-1_11].
- Visser, G. & Kisting, D. (2019). Studentification in Stellenbosch, South Africa. *Urbani Izziv*, 30:158-177. [<https://doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2019-30-supplement-011>].
- Waxman, L. (2006). The coffee shop: social and physical factors influencing place attachment. *Journal of Interior Design*, 31(3):35-53. [<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1939-1668.2006.tb00530.x>].