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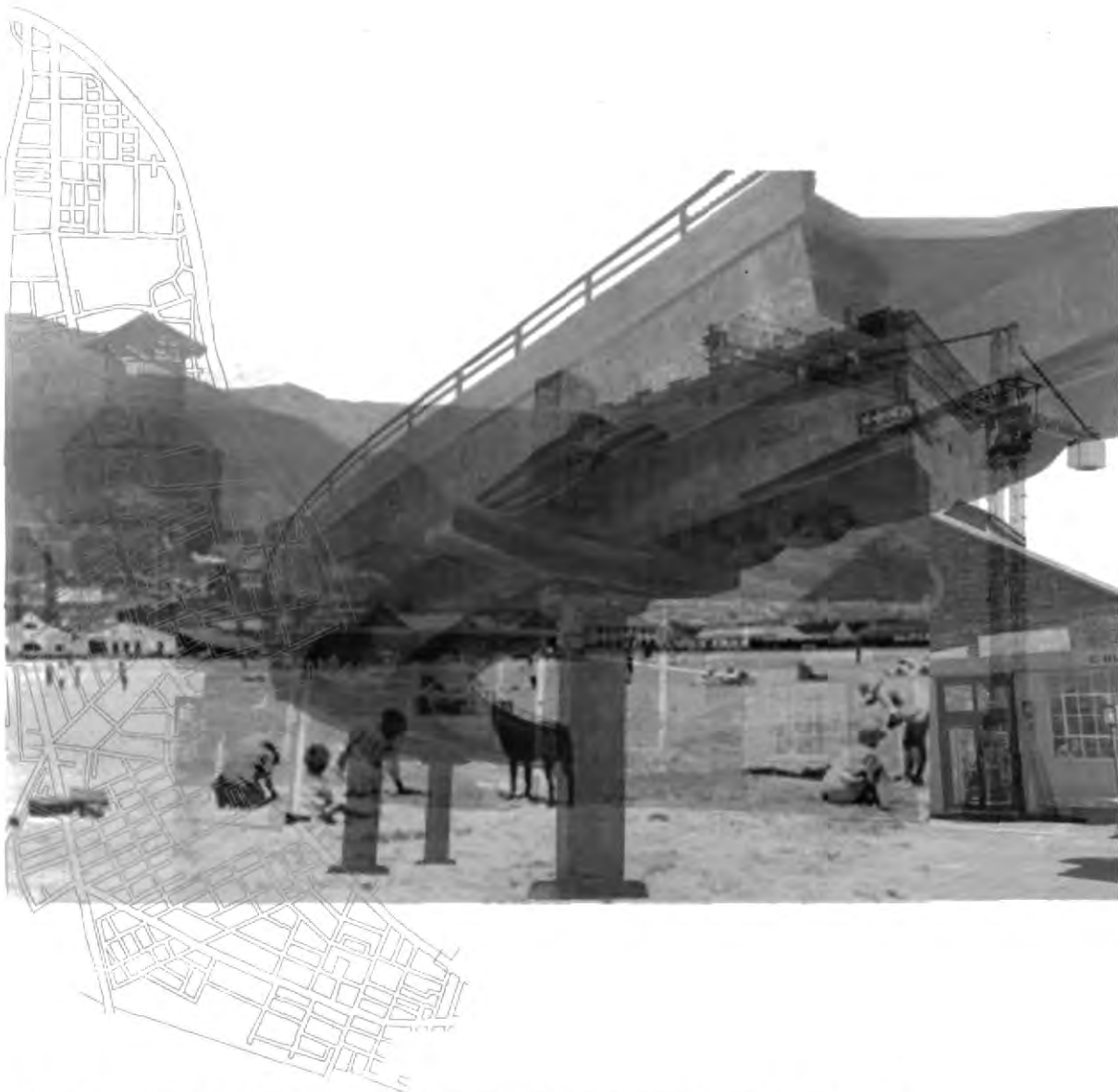
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CONVERGENT DWELLING: NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY + THE LANDSCAPE NARRATIVE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CAPE TOWN

OFF-CAMPUS PROPOSAL

ARIANA MUCA

WOODSTOCK, CAPE TOWN SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR: MARGARET BRYANT

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INTRODUCTION : GENTRIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN LANDSCAPES

South Africa has suffered from gentrification since the Apartheid rule [1948-1994]. The result of the Apartheid rule has left the South African landscape fragmented. Areas were classified as "White Only", "Coloured Only" and "Black Only". Twenty years later one can still see the scars of forcing people to live in certain districts. As time passes from the Apartheid rule South Africans are beginning to move out of their colored classified districts and begin to move into new areas. The Apartheid rule not only divided the country by race but left many Africans of color in extreme poverty unfortunately the connection between race and economic standing are still very much connected in South Africa. Landscape Architects world wide continue to struggle with both the positive and negative effects of gentrification, but little has been done in South Africa within the fields of education or policy to address the negative issues.

One of the greatest challenges facing post-Apartheid is the lack of social cohesion. Urban planners argue that the architecture of the Apartheid city was shaped entirely by the race-based allocations of social, spatial, and economic privileges [Parnell, 1977]. In post-Apartheid South Africa, inequalities continue to manifest creating racially segregated landscapes.

Since the early 1990's, people have been moving out from the city into nearby suburbs of Cape Town such as Woodstock. Garside [2003] and Van der Merwe [2000] established that gentrification in Woodstock which began in the 1980s when the National Commission of Enquire first allowed white communities to decide where racial desegregation could take place. At this time, higher-middle class families began to settle into Lower Woodstock. Due to the Apartheid, Lower Woodstock was a Black area of low economic standing. This shift from low economic statues to higher changed Woodstock's landscape demographics and caused my families who had been there since the beginning of the Apartheid to be forced to move.

Similar to Syracuse and other rust belt cities of the United States; Cape Town has experienced a flight to the suburbs. Since the 1970s, South African inner cities and their surrounding areas have experienced decay, disinvestment and "white flight" to suburbs [Kotze & Visser, 2008]. With close proximity to Cape Town's City Bowl District and charming historical architecture, Woodstock began to become a high value real-estate opportunity.



FIGURE 1: SHOWING THE POPULATION INCREASE IN CAPE TOWN

PURPOSE STATEMENT

Literature on gentrification is extensive, both in the United State and South Africa. Landscape Architects continue to come to grips with both the positive and negative effects of gentrification. In the United States policy and planning has began to address these negative issues but South Africa has yet to move forward in their land planning policies. This case study examines the revitalization of the Pyott Biscuit Mill, it's weekly Saturday Market, and the resulting in the gentrifying suburb of Cape Town - Woodstock. It is clear how middle to upper class residents and visitors experience the retrofitted buildings and weekly market though it remains unclear how residents, most of whom do not use the space or attend the market, experience it.

I am researching how residents of Woodstock perceive the changing landscape in order to understand the positive and negative of revitalization and to explore how locals experience gentrification in their neighborhood. The Pyott Biscuit Mill is just one indicator of the change that Woodstock's community is experiencing. My findings indicate that locals who benefit from the revitalization by establishing business or employment within or around the Pyott Biscuit Mill are making this a positive revitalization experience. Locals who are not associated with the market or revitalization movement in contrast, perceive it as an excluding entity within the Woodstock community. My hope is for these findings to incite dialogue between old and new residents so that Woodstock can be an inclusive space for all.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Local Community defined as the community of residents, business owners, and employees found along Albert Road between Argyle Street and Salt River road.

Woodstock Community defined as all residents of Woodstock.

Gentrification an urban process whereby incoming middle class residents displace working-class residents of an area (Patch, 2008; Van Der Fort, 2006).

Old Biscuit Mill the renovated biscuit mill located on Albert Road. The Old Biscuit Mill houses permanent restaurants, cafes, boutiques, and antique shops.

The Neighbor Goods Market a weekly market held every Saturday at the Old Biscuit Mill. Fresh produce, food and drink specialties, and high end goods are sold between 10am - 2pm.

Urban Renewal programs aimed at reversing the "deterioration" of cities (Visser, 2008)

City Bowl District is a part of Cape Town in South Africa. It is a natural amphitheater shaped area bordered by Table Bay and defined by the mountains of Signal Hill, Lion's Head, Table Mountain and Devil's Peak.

Revitalization to give new life to.

OBSERVABLE PHENOMENA

The goal of this thesis is to study the social impacts of the revitalization of the Old Biscuit Mill and the resulting Neighbor Goods Market in order to understand how the landscape in Woodstock experiences gentrification. My research is a quantitative exploration on how the Woodstock landscape has been shaped by redevelopments, new developments, and population growth that is associated with the Old Biscuit Mill. My goal is to see the Old Biscuit Mill as a catalyst and to not categorize it simply as either positive or negative.

My approach to my study is through observation, research and interviews with the Woodstock community. I conducted interviews with employees of the Old Biscuit Mill, store owners outside the Old Biscuit Mill, and residents living around the Old Biscuit Mill. I walked from Salt River Road to Argyle Street along Albert Road. These blocks surround the Old Biscuit Mill providing me a sense of security as I made section cuts through Woodstock.

Data collection through observation was a large part of my study. I gathered information inside the Neighborhood Goods Market, outside the market, in the residential areas and commercial developments. These observations were gathered over a 3 month course [September - November 2014] of the population within and outside the market, the social implication of the market and the urban landscape.

POPULATION ANALYSIS

The Woodstock census shows the population is 67% colored, 26 % White and 7% Indian. 85% of the population is employed and 15% unemployed. This study requires ethical considerations of the diverse and sometimes conflicting opinions of the Woodstock residents and business owners and developers. As the interviewer, I remain neutral and record all opinions expressed in regards to the development of the Old Biscuit Mill.

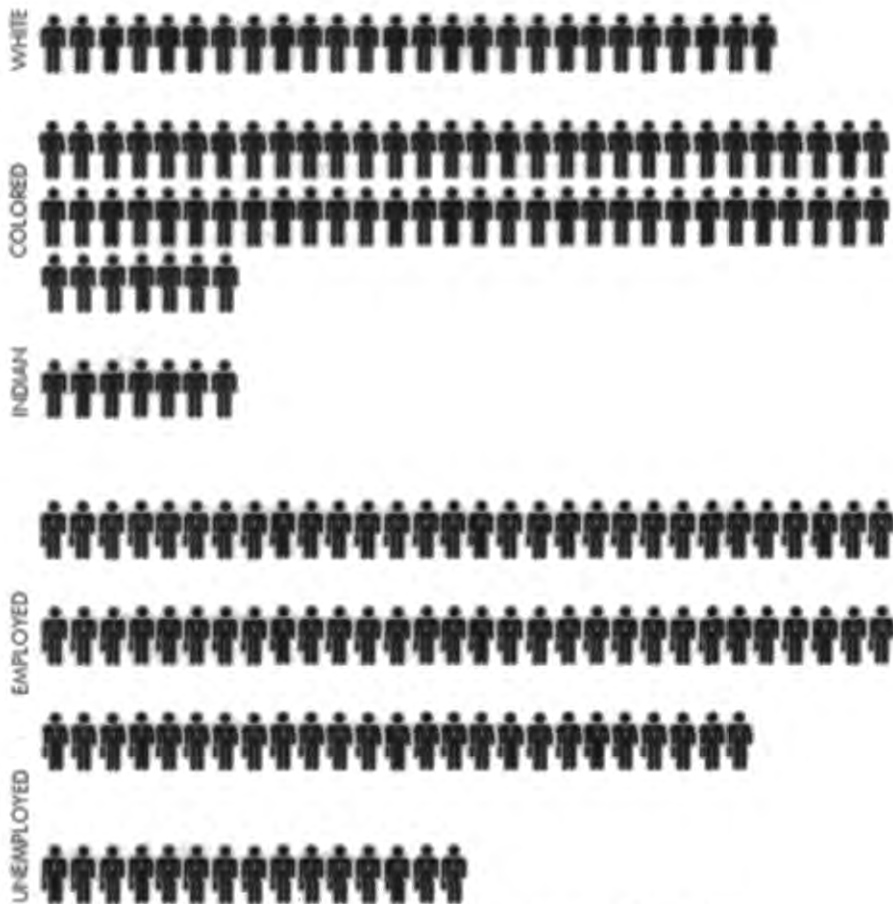


FIGURE 2: POPULATION DATA OF WOODSTOCK

STUDY QUESTIONS

- I. How does the local community in Woodstock experience the Pyott Biscuit Mill and the Neighborhood Goods Market?
- II. How do visitors in Woodstock experience the Pyott Biscuit Mill and the Neighborhood Goods Market?
- III. What was did the Woodstock landscape look before the revitalization of the Pyott Biscuit Mill?
- IV. What does the Woodstock landscape look after the revitalization of the Pyott Biscuit Mill?

METHODOLOGY

The first method of data was through observation. Experiencing the Neighborhood Goods Market as a tourist, visiting the Old Biscuit Mill on non busy days and busy days,

and walking the streets of Woodstock. I recorded my observations with my camera and project notebook. The second method of data collection was through research. Reading historical and current newspaper articles on Woodstock and reading books such as *The Great African Society*. The third method of data collection was finding census data such as employment rate, race, and economics of the people living in Woodstock. The fourth method of collecting data was interviewing local business owners, employees at the Old Biscuit Mill, and residents not associated with the Old Biscuit Mill. The interviews were casual because most of the interviewees were at work but I used a predetermined set of questions.

LIMITATIONS

This study is limited by time and safety concerns. To get a wide range of opinions surrounding the Old Biscuit Mill would require me to spend time getting to know neighborhoods surrounding the mill, which would require time and comfortability. As an outsider to the neighborhood, I felt uncomfortable walking around Woodstock by myself, so I limited the study to the people and shops along Albert Road, and to interviews with community organizations and business owners. I was in Cape Town from September to end of November. The limited 3 month window did not allow me to see how Woodstock went through seasonal change or the high tourist season. This limited perspective cannot completely represent all the opinion on the Woodstock revitalization just a portion.

THE HISTORY OF WOODSTOCK



Woodstock is located eastward of Cape Town's City Bowl District and north of District Six, Cape Town's oldest suburb. Originally Woodstock was a seaside resort but then the first railway was built in 1859. After the railroad Woodstock developed rapidly and the area became more industrialized and densely populated. The industry in Woodstock specialized in glass, leather, textile and food manufacturing. In the 1950s the Woodstock Beach was destroyed to make way for a harbor extension and new rail lines. The industrialization of Woodstock took a toll on the landscape and created a barrier between the suburb and the seafront. From that point on Woodstock developed into more commercial and industrial buildings. These industrial sites are out of scale compared to the rest of Woodstock's one floor residential homes. With the English influence after the British occupation of the Cape influences such as road names and the rows of brick terraces and semi detached houses remain today.

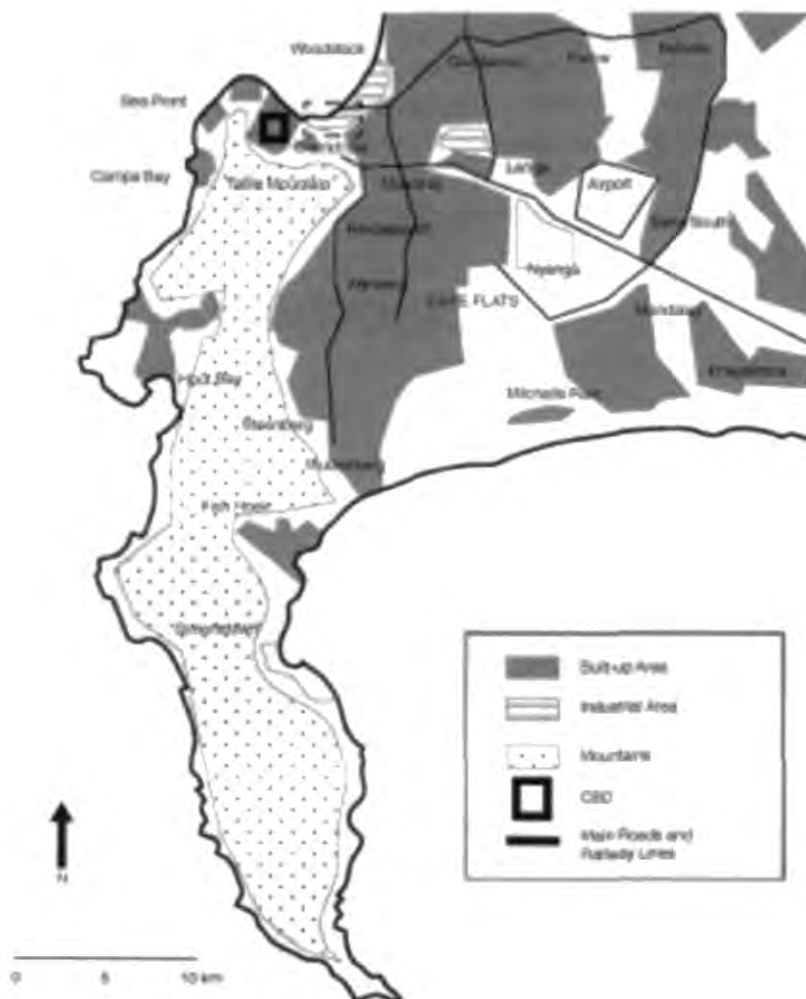


FIGURE 3: SOUTH AFRICAN LANDSCAPE MAP

From the beginning, Woodstock has been a mixed community, both from a race and a religious point of view, a place where white, black and mixed race people, Jews, Christians and Muslims lived side-by-side. Unlike District Six, which was declared as a "White" group area in 1966 forcing all the original 60,000 colored District Six population out [Bickeford-Smith, von Heyningen & Worden 1999, p. 183]. The exclusion of the District Six area created another physical landscape barrier between Woodstock and the City Bowl District. Colored people were not allowed to enter District 6 therefore, they were forced to go around the entire District 6 section to get to work in the City Bowl District.

The Woodstock population comprised of the "coloured" working class. By the late 1980s it was proclaimed a free settlement area, meaning anyone of any race could live there under the Apartheid government. To this day, the population still retains pride in being a free settlement area and believes it exemplifies a resilient community.

Unfortunately, under the Apartheid rule, nearly no funding went into maintain Woodstock's industrial areas. By the 1990's, urban decay was rampant and many of the factories such as the Pyott Biscuit Mill were closed down. Hundreds of workers were left jobless and destitute; Woodstock's crimes rate, drug abuse and poverty sky rocketed. Even with such a negative lifestyle, Woodstock's proximity to Cape Town's City Bowl District and rich history had post-Apartheid entrepreneurs interested.

"REBIRTH" OF WOODSTOCK



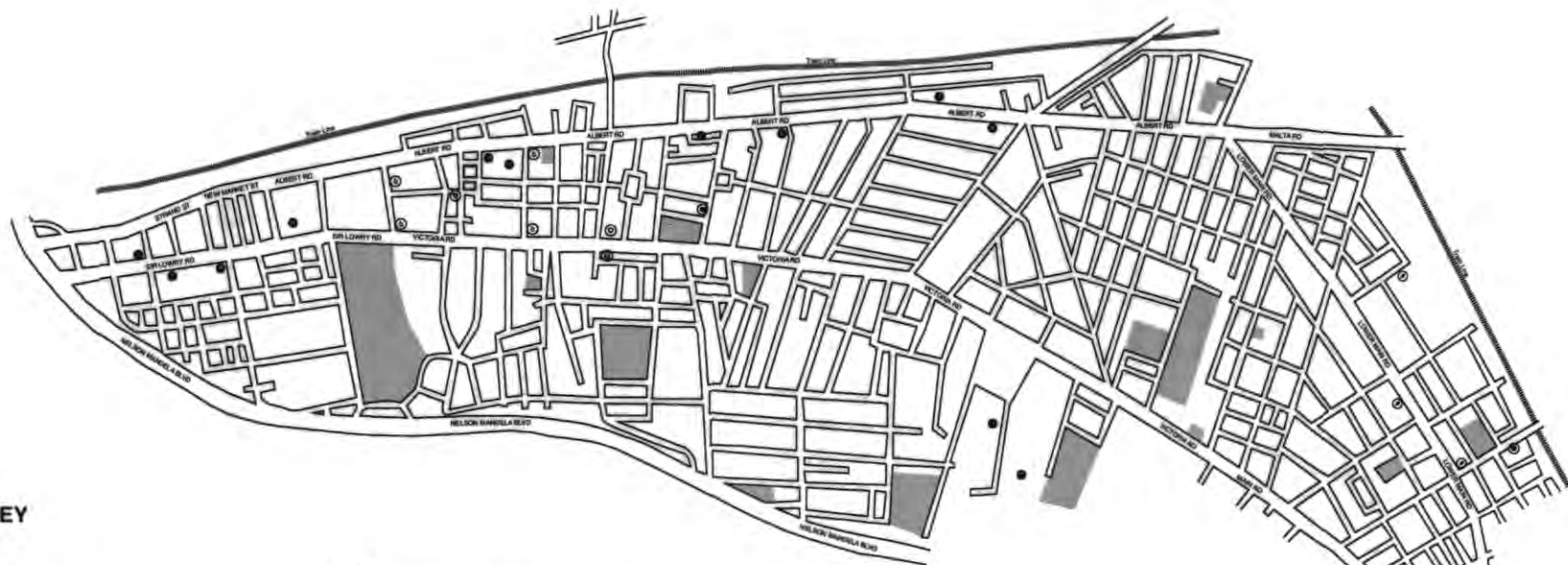
Today, Woodstock is known as the artisan and "hipster" area. The houses built in the late 1800's are still there, but many are painted in bright colors or murals. The first entrepreneurs as Garside [1993,p33] states "were attracted to Woodstock's Victorian architecture, its close proximity to Table Mountain, and hotchpotch mixture of residential, retail and warehousing activities which stood out against the bland uniformity of most suburban Cape Town". This observation displays that the revitalization of Woodstock was not triggered by government assistance but on individual decisions based on private property developers.

After the end of the Apartheid and first democratic election in 1994 there was fresh investment flowing into the South Africa and Woodstock was seen as “development potential”. The building complex called The Old Biscuit Mill is referred to as the pioneering project for the “rebirth” of Woodstock.

The Old Biscuit Mill in Woodstock was transformed in 2005 as a creative retail space. The iconic silo has been transformed into a modern iconic tower. The tower was originally the functional mainstay of the original flour mill - a storage space for grain. After complex and extensive renovations by owners, Indigo Properties, it is now the home of Cape Town Creative Academy, Cocoa Fair Chocolate Factory, The Pot Luck Club and the Neighbor Goods Market. The Neighborhood Goods Market became a very successful local food and design market held on Saturdays, which has become an attraction for affluent locals and tourists.

Architect Kristof Basson designed the redevelopment plan for the Old Biscuit Mill and the redesign of the silo. Basson felt strongly that the historic elements and style should be retained as far as possible but she did not hold back from adding modern elements such as sleek glass, steel lift, and the new canopy that was installed as a weather measure for the weekly Neighbour Goods Market. Basson states “All new work on the building has been done in different material to differentiate between the new and the original structure. It is our vision that each intervention should not be hidden, but should be seen as an added layer to the historic building, the marks of an evolution of the building through a new generation”.

The redesign of the Old Biscuit Mill created major changes from the original building's design. To maximize daylight inside the building, a translucent internal wall system was designed to allow light to penetrate throughout the building. By creating more natural light it would minimize the energy usage in the day time as well as help the art students from the Creative Academy. The biggest change of the redesign project was the plan for the new silo. The existing internal concrete walls of the silo were demoed. “The old reinforced concrete silo structure was some 70 years old and we needed to secure it with internal steel bracing struts to demolish the internal concrete walls. The new structure was then built up, floor by floor, using steel beams with precast concrete flooring, all lifted over the top walls by the crane.” [Chris von Geusau, Managing Director of K&T] “The type of structure left the Architect with an industrial look of steel and concrete that suited the intended aesthetic of the new spaces. The steel and concrete roof over the silo is supported by the steel portal frames anchored to the side walls. The project took on a life of its own with a positive spirit amongst all those involved to achieve something different that would attract the attention of all those who visited the venue” concluded Chris von Geusau.



KEY

-  Graffiti
-  Library
-  Garden
-  Police Station
-  Post Office

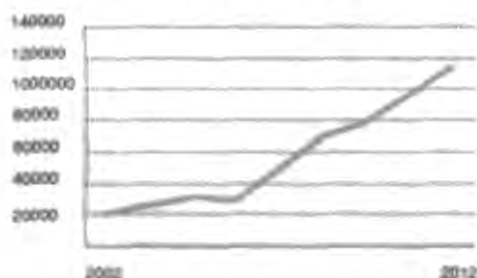
-  Redeveloped Areas
-  1 Brickfield Centre
-  2 Buchanan Square
-  3 The District
-  4 Fairweather House
-  5 Felxmore House
-  6 The Woodstock Foundry
-  7 The Old Biscuit Mill
-  8 The Palms
-  9 Salt Circle Arcade
-  10 Side Street Studios
-  11 Upper Eastside Mall
-  12 Woodstock Exchange
-  13 The Old Castle Brewery

FIGURE 4: MAP OF WOODSTOCK

Large parts of Woodstock have been rezoned as an Urban Development Zone in 2004 to encourage refurbishment and construction of commercial and residential property in Cape Town. The Old Biscuit Mill was conveniently one of those area. "We brought the Biscuit Mill three and half years ago and by that time that are of Woodstock was degenerated, gone down... it has changes the thing... The lure was the character of the buildings, the size... and the fact that you could actually isolate it from the other surrounding buildings because around it was still a dodgy area. So we could create one entrance and we could monitor who comes in " [Interview with property developer, LW 2009]. The developer was concerned about his building being in close proximity to Gympie Street, a narrow side street. Gympie street made headlines in the 1990s because of the high amount of drug-related and violent crimes. In the local newspapers such as Cape Times and Cape Argues when Woodstock's transformation is brought up in articles Gympie street is constantly referred to as the "other" side of Woodstock. The crime and violence that happened in areas such as Gympie street are used as a justification for displacing people. This fear of crime and violence in South Africa has led to less public space and more private public space. The result is a sociospatial divisions from insiders [the people who are allowed into the desired public spaces] and the outsiders [people looking in].

The majority of the creative revitalized spaces in Woodstock are still located in enclosed block developments, where physical access is controlled and private security firms are demonstrating their "power" in protecting people from the "dangerous" outside. Crime is still very high in South Africa and security measures give people a sense of security but creates a fractioned society.

FIGURE 5: PROPERTY PRICES



As Woodstock transformed into Cape Town's art district, the renting prices began to increase forcing the low-income population to flee. Rows of housing properties were sold off to redevelopment. Subsequently, families were served eviction notices and forced to relocation to Symphony Way, a remote tin-house settlement built by the local government 18.6 miles away from Woodstock. Relocated residents face substandard living condition, high crime, and are in danger of losing their

scarce livelihood due to the long and expensive commute to their jobs.

GENTRIFICATION OF WOODSTOCK

On Saturdays visitors and tourists flock to the Old Biscuit Mill for the weekly Neighborhood Goods Market. The visitors create a huge contrast compared to the surrounding working community and landscape. Once entering the iron gates and passing security you enter into a clean environment full of energy and people.

At the market one can buy an array of local grown foods and high end meals and baked goods. The retail vendors sell high end leather goods and handmade clothes. The popularity of the Neighborhood Goods Market has led to media attention with constant articles being written and even presented on travel channels. The Old Biscuit Mill has become a successful tourist attraction as well as spot for the middle-high class community of Cape Town. Outside of this pocket the lower working class community is only seen on the outside of the gates of the Neighborhood Goods Market. Instead the lower-working class are the people helping you park your car or direct you hoping that you will spare ten rand or 1 USD. There seems to be a lack of interaction between these two social groups.

The Saturday Neighborhood Goods Market is a revitalized space where upper class people intermingle and buy "local" gifts and "fresh organic" food. The narratives associated with these terms seem something unique to the white upper class demographic, not only in Cape Town, but also markets I have attended in the United States. Selling expensive foods, fortified with brick walls, gates, and security guards. The Neighborhood Goods Market promotes exclusion of existing residents from the economic and social activities within, creating disconnect between the two groups occupying the same area [Stranack, 2008].

Woodstock today is an intersection of race and class. The wealthy elite are moving to a district that was historically working class. Woodstock was a coloured working class suburb. It has everything that a revitalize district needs to draw wealth into an area. Appealing historic Victorian architecture, ocean views and its proximity to the city center made it a desirable location. Non South African entrepreneurs and investors saw the potential and began to invest into Woodstock starting with the Old Biscuit Mill in 2005. These out of country entrepreneurs and investors built housing and commercial developments that appealed to the needs and tastes of Woodstock's new upper-class population. Some call it *the Woodstock Renaissance*, envisioning a "vibrant, safer, economically buoyant mixed used area of residential and commercial activity, true of Woodstock character and heritage" [Morris,2008]. The local Cape Town media reports two sides of the issue. One is positive towards the development talking fondly about the increase in tourism and creating a sense of hope for residents. The other side is strongly negative with concerns for the current community, character and history of Woodstock [Kotze & Visser, 2008]. Residents deal with these changes in different ways, constructing new meanings of the community and their places within it.

The lack of interaction between higher, middle, and lower classes surrounding Woodstock is import and for landscape architects, entrepreneurs, and the Cape Town government to consider before more development in Woodstock continues. A better understanding of this problem can assist and encourage Woodstock business owners to make their services inclusive and beneficial for all residents not just those of a higher socioeconomic status.

On a South African national level gentrification is a problem that exemplifies the struggle to achieve inclusivity over all racial and social barriers that were left by the apartheid.

RESULTS

Observation

Color Palette

Neighborhoods project their identities in many forms and in Woodstock the buildings and landscape tell a story about the character and culture of Woodstock's built environment and those that inhabit it. The spectrum of industrial and rustic colors of Woodstock juxtapose with the graffiti colors of the Woodstock community. The graffiti art and colors project their own histories, cultures, and characteristics through material and color. The visual and experiential symbol of identity distinguished two different communities amongst the Woodstock community. It is an example of physical, visual, and cultural indicators of neighborhood identity.



FIGURE 6: WOODSTOCK COLOR PALLET



FIGURE 7: WOODSTOCK COLOR PALLET

Section Cuts

The graphic represents the effect that Albert Road, Dublin Street, and Salisbury Street has on sensory perception, in specific which senses are most intensely engaged within the section boundaries. Each section is the summation of a walk. I recorded data as I walked on the section cut.



FIGURE 8: LOCATION OF SECTION CUTS

Key

Vision, sound, smell, and touch are the senses I judged on my walk. I took the next step and divided the the senses into negative or positive. If I felt unsafe, uncomfortable or was in a place I did not want to spend long periods of time in, I put it as negative. In contrast if I felt safe and comfortable and would spend more time in an area I put it as a positive.

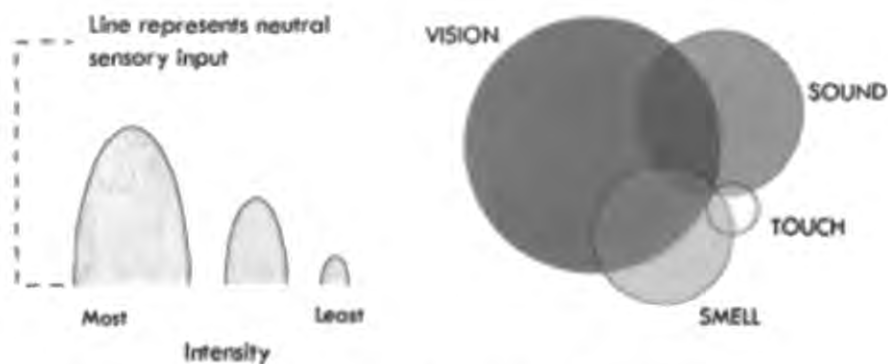


FIGURE 9: SENSORY UNDERSTANDING



FIGURE 10: ALBERT ROAD SOUTH SECTION CUT

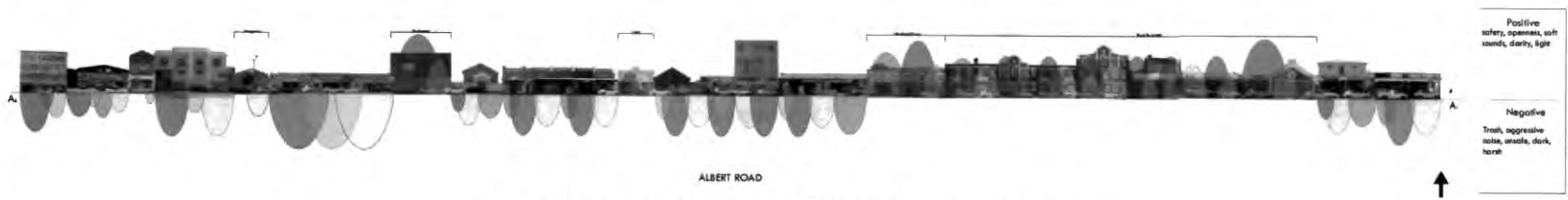


FIGURE 11: ALBERT ROAD NORTH SECTION CUT



FIGURE 12: DULBIN STREET SECTION CUT



FIGURE 13: SALISBURY STREET SECTION CUT

Interview

Over the course of three months I interviewed eight residents of Woodstock. My conversations with the interviewees was centered around the Old Biscuit Mill. During these eight separate conversation I concluded that there were two viewpoints. The conversations revealed either positive and negative feelings towards the Old Biscuit Mill no one felt neutral about the space.

The main road [Albert Road] in Woodstock has been rezoned from industrial and residential to industrial and commercial. This means that the Albert Rd no longer has residential properties on it instead it has been replaced with new restaurants and retail stores. Four of the eight interviewees were business owners. Out of the four only one had been in business since before the Old Biscuit Mill had opened. The three other interviewees felt opened once the Old Biscuit Mill had been redone and that the revitalization of spaces like the Old Biscuit Mill is the reason for their finical success.

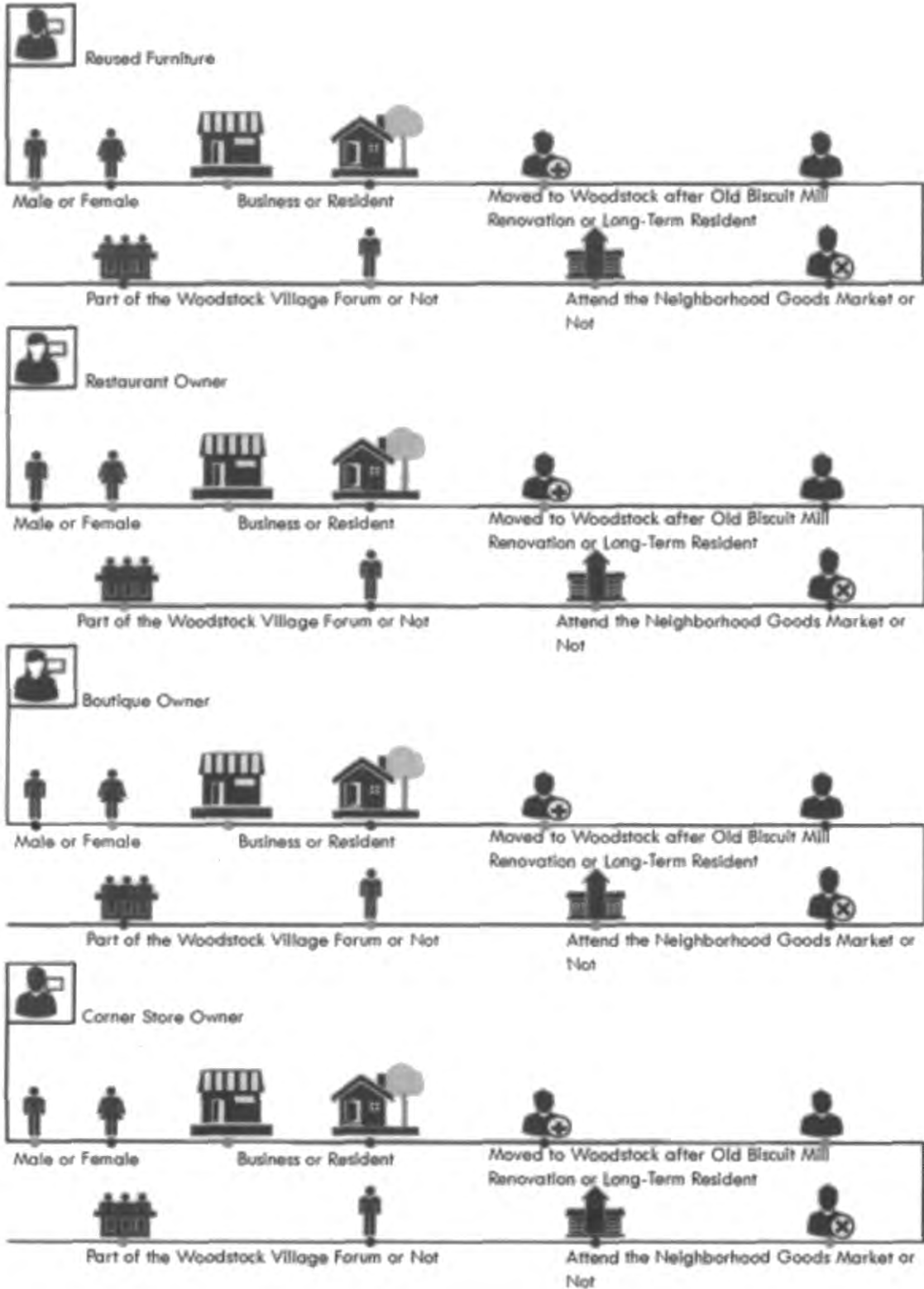
The one business which spoke negativity about the Old Biscuit Mill had a much different perspective on the changes of Woodstock. The business owner has been in business for over forty years and says the Neighborhood Goods Market on Saturdays does not affect his business. His customers are not young or particular well-off but are families and children who are making small food purchases. When asked how he felt about the change, he responded "there has not been a change in crime like they promised". The owner seemed disappointed that the changes in Woodstock had not actually positively affected the Woodstock community.

The two people I interviewed that were directly involved in the Old Biscuit Mill's Neighborhood Goods Market spoke very positively. The manager of the property really believes in the area and feel that its on the "up and up". He did admit though that the Old Biscuit Mill does little for the surrounding Woodstock community. The parking attendant also spoke positively about the Old Biscuit Mill. He enjoys talking to the tourists and meeting new people. On Saturdays with the Neighborhood Goods Market he makes the most money and obviously enjoys that.

Finally I interviewed two residents of Woodstock. One is a masters student who moved to Woodstock after the revitalization of the Old Biscuit Mill. She frequents the Old Biscuit Mill and says it is one of the major reasons she moved to the area. In contrast, the other residents I interviewed has lived there for decades. He is member of the Woodstock Village forum and speaks negatively about the Old Biscuit Mill. Not because of the new people it is bringing or that it is causing prices to go up, but instead resents how excluded the community is from such large design decisions in Woodstock.

Who Was Interviewed?

A. Muca



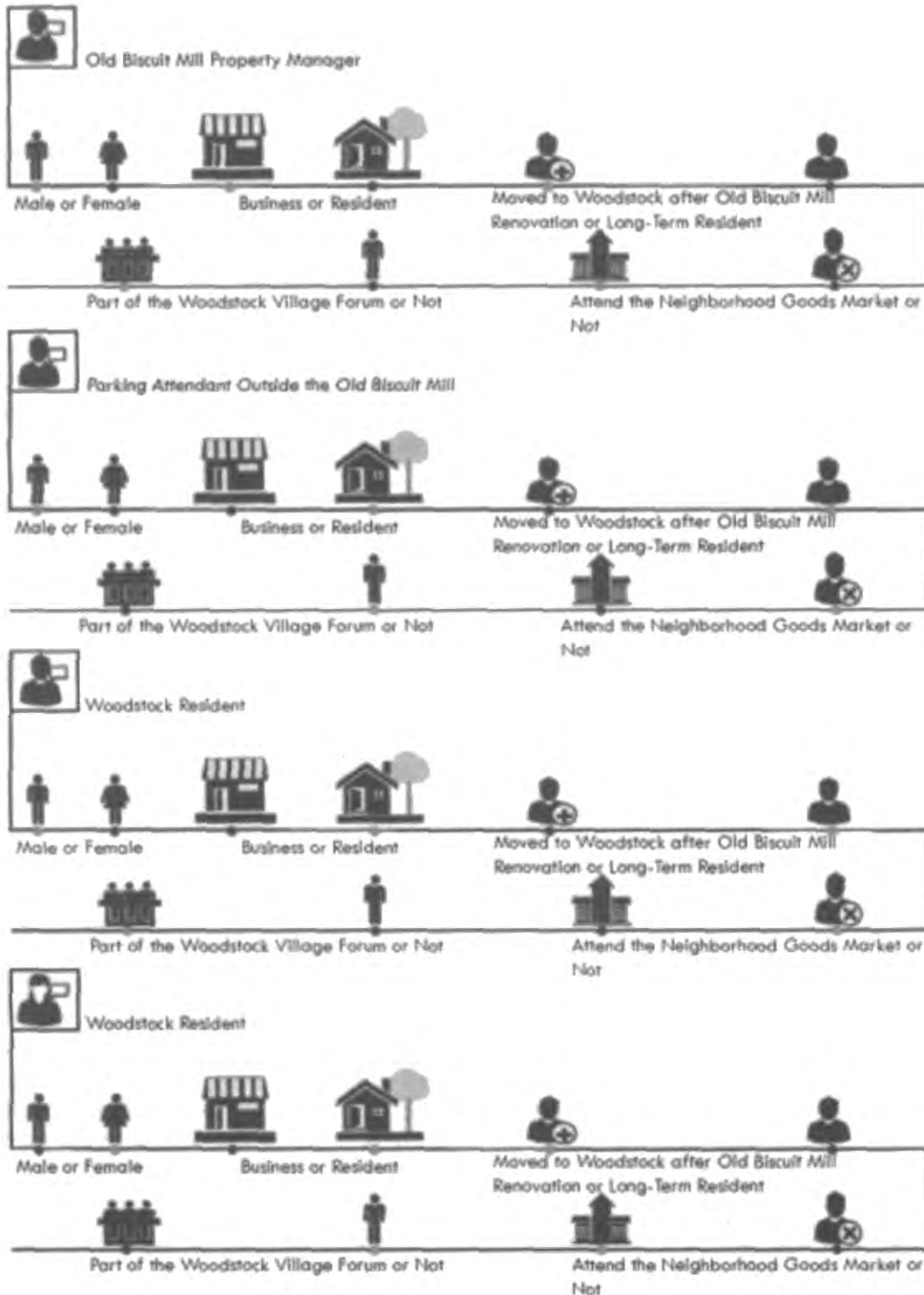


FIGURE 14: INTERVIEWS

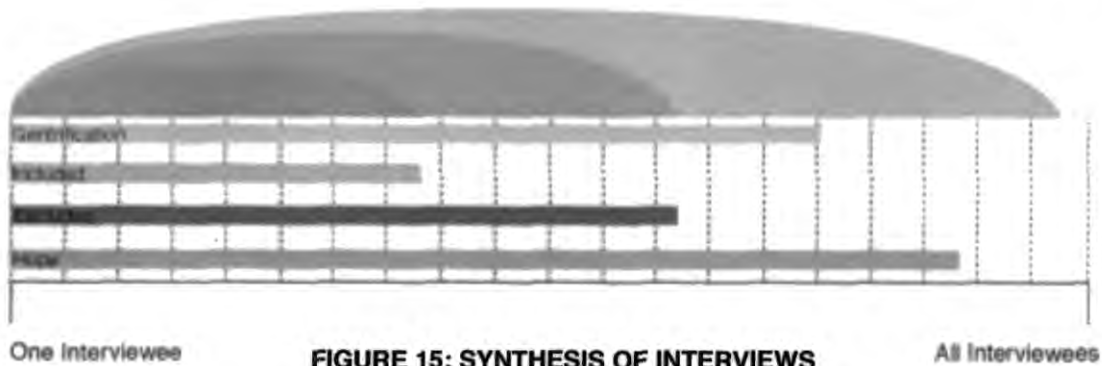


FIGURE 15: SYNTHESIS OF INTERVIEWS

In conclusion, those people who are profiting from the revitalization of the Old Biscuit Mill find it a positive part of the community. Whether they are managing the property, parking cars, or establishing businesses down the road these interviewees can thank the revitalization of the Old Biscuit Mill and the weekly Neighborhood Goods Market for their economic success. They see the Old Biscuit Mill as a positive aspect of the community and a magnet for creating positive change in Woodstock. In contrast, residents not involved with the Old Biscuit Mill see it as negative. They perceive the changes associated with the redevelopment of the Old Biscuit Mill with the process of gentrification.

THE MARKET AS A SYMBOL OF GENTRIFICATION

The Neighborhood Goods Market is a “symbol of gentrification” among Woodstock residents. When asked if there were any negative consequences of the Neighborhood Goods Market, many residents mentioned the word “gentrification”, bringing up topics such as “increasing property values”, “rent increase” and “people moving out”. The Old Biscuit Mill and similar revitalized properties represent to the residents the gentrification process that attracts a high-middle class population which in turn displaces the lower-income population.

Patch [2008], calls gentrification spurred by commercial developments like the Old Biscuit Mill, “street gentrification”, in which neighborhoods are physically and socially transformed by investment into businesses and storefronts. This type of gentrification is exemplified within the private space of the Old Biscuit Mill. Some residents feel that the Old Biscuit Mill and the Neighborhood Goods Market “are only there to make money”. Resident who's families have been in Woodstock for generations now have to deal with a changing landscape. New public and private spaces have developed and are not designed for them. This represents the social tensions that Woodstock residents experience as developers and entrepreneurs gradually “reinvent” their community.