Lynedoch EcoVillage: a miniature South Africa?

Living in a mixed post-Apartheid community

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**ABSTRACT**

This study aimed at capturing the social dynamics and developments of the Lynedoch EcoVillage in South Africa. This village, being home to a mixed group of people is unique in the sense that it tries to combine an ecological ideal with a social agenda. This research investigated how the social mix policy arose, how it is managed and how the residents themselves perceive this to be working within processes of inclusion and exclusion. This while taking the broader context and developments within mixed housing and post-Apartheid South Africa into consideration. To capture this reality, 37 interviews have been conducted, combined with (participatory) observations and the analysis of internal documents covering the development over the last 10 years. Lastly, efforts were made to create ‘safe spaces’ in which different people could share and revive stories. These efforts were met with enthusiasm by those residents who were present.

Multiple processes of inclusion and exclusion presented themselves in the EcoVillage, some of a racial, class and historical nature. Besides the importance of the historic development of the village, the Apartheid legacy still influenced people’s behavior. This manifested itself in both the wish to move forward, as the use of this history to explain present day events. Different interpretations and references to Apartheid and it effect were present at the same time. This awareness of history sometimes uneasily co-exists with the wish to move on, becoming more apparent in the use of ‘old’ racial categories.

The development of the EcoVillage and the inflow of different groups time caused discussion and multiple interpretations of the core values and ‘motives’ for moving in. An us and them feeling was expressed by people moving to the village in the first wave, which consisted mainly of subsidized plots and the people moving in after that, mostly buying commercial plots. This historic divide had a race and class dimension resulting in spatial differences. In the first wave predominantly colored and black people moved whereas the second wave consisted of white people. The people in the first wave were first home owners who focused very much on their own house, the ecological dimension of Lynedoch as a developmental experiment was of secondary importance to them.
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Changes in management coincided with the inflow of new residents. The Home Owners Association (HOA) seems to have truly kicked off when the second wave of middle income people came in and took on responsibilities. Before, the Sustainability Institute (SI) and the Lynedoch Development Company (LDC) took on the bulk of the responsibilities for the daily management of the village. The SI as the main job provider in the village, especially for the lower income group, was and is central to the continuation of the village. Opinions on their influence vary and how it impacts on the working and living dynamics of the people in the village. Lower income people feared that speaking out might have a negative impact on their work, which made them feel insecure. This ‘fear’ seemed to have declined with the more dominant role of the HOA.

However, with the growing management role of the HOA and the diminishing role of the SI the lower income group felt excluded. The middle income group is now ‘managing’ the village more actively and the initial idea of including lower income people, they felt, was lost. Recently moves were made to foster inclusion and residents confirm that in the interviews. There is more emphasis on own responsibility and the freedom to voice opinions in meetings were stressed to make meetings more inclusive. Although there are different ‘historic’ groups there is a willingness to interact across groups. People expressed they had to get used to differences, but in it saw an opportunity to learn and develop. This willingness to accept and work with difference was present combined with moments of stress. These moments of stress arose, because of the proximity of the houses and different people. This difference in class and corresponding lifestyle enhanced the preference for sameness. People came together in small groups to socialize and often these groups were homogeneous in race, class or both.

While there is no complete integration or inclusion, the question remains if this is truly what should be aimed for. This study being one of first to research daily life and inclusion/exclusion patterns in a socially mixed intentionally community, hopefully shows it is about more than simply including or integrating. It is about leaving space for the other to be different, but remain included within the same community nonetheless. Talking to a resident about South Africa the rainbow nation, I got the reply: ‘but how do we all mix if we are
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so different?” I would argue you do not have to become one single culture, or ‘colour’. The rainbow has multiple colours, cultures if you wish, but it is still a unity. The Lynedoch EcoVillage might have differences and there might be stress, but striving to be included within the same community with these differences is something that is well within reach.

Key words: Social mix, interracial communication, class, post-Apartheid South Africa.
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This thesis covers the ‘journey’ I undertook to make sense of a new world and how I eventually came to write about this. I am grateful to have been able to do research abroad, which was not only a valuable academic, but inspiring personal experience. This journey has not only allowed me to participate in a different world, but also as a consequence, to reflect on my own. This allowed me to work back to points of seeming certainty and from them to move once more.

My first words of gratitude go out to Mark Swilling and Eve Annecke, who gave me permission to do research at Lynedoch EcoVillage and introduced me to the home owners association. In retrospect it is quite amazing I have been given this possibility, since I only had contact via e-mail and telephone with Mark. I would also like to thank the people who work at the Sustainability Institute who have been nothing but kind to me and willing to assist me when I needed help.

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INTRODUCTION

Apartheid and segregation are inevitably connected to both the past and future of South-Africa. The old system of Apartheid made it impossible for the Black South Africans to develop their skills and participate in all facets of society in an equal manner. As Higginbotham et al. (1990) state: "Many people do not comprehend its pervasiveness and crushing venality. Apartheid affects all aspects of a black person’s life. " Not only was this old system of Apartheid enforced through certain practices, it had an institutionalized backing consisting of various laws that make segregation possible (Christopher, 1990). Apartheid in itself was legalized segregation on the basis of race or ethnicity as becomes clear from the following statement: " Apartheid included denying job and educational opportunities and limiting access to housing, health services, transportation, and economic opportunities on the basis of gender and race. " (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004 pp. 396)

Empowerment of the people negatively affected by the Apartheid past was made possible after the legal end of Apartheid in 1991 and the first democratic elections of 1994 (Ponte, Robert & Sittert, 2007). One of the central features of this new policy was affirmative action. This policy of affirmative action mainly focuses on redistributing resources to groups who had suffered under Apartheid (ANC, 1994). In relation to housing and residential segregation, the period from 1991 to 1996 marked the move towards social re-integration (Christopher, 2000). However, there are critical perspectives on these developments in the post-Apartheid era. The hegemony of the white elite might have been broken, but according to these critical perspectives, this has been replaced by an elite which is both black and white (Leibbrandt, 2010). Because of these developments authors like Leibbrandt (2010) speak of the re-segregation of the South African society. Gated communities are a ‘sign’ of this re-segregation and their number has been growing since the ending of Apartheid in 1994 (Landman, 2005). Developments like these signal that South Africa has a long way to go in leaving its Apartheids past behind and there will be many challenges along the way.

1 With black is meant in this proposal the previously disadvantaged groups, disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid. In the Population Registration Act the different races were given different digits in their ID number. 00 was meant for white citizens, who had full rights, 01 till 07 were for the registering the other races, which had not all the rights white people had.
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Although there are challenges and developments that have a negative influence on post-Apartheid South Africa, there are also projects that aim at a better future for all. One of these projects was the focus of my research, a racially and socially mixed community called the Lynedoch EcoVillage. This project could be seen as a means to counter segregation, and to bring people from different ethnic backgrounds together in one neighbourhood. Nevertheless, research on these inclusive projects in South Africa has been slow, with a focus on exclusive patterns rather than inclusive ones. The research done on linkages between gated communities and its neighbours point to the necessity of encouraging “incorporating low- and high income housing in South Africa... to design more inclusive spaces.” (Lemanski, 2006:20) For long time integration people need to be dependent on one another, which was not the case in study of Lemanski. In contrast, the Lynedoch EcoVillage project is described with a focus on inclusion. The goal of this research was in part to investigate how this was achieved and if it is successful. Research done on exclusion (gated communities), show there is no proof that gated communities create reduction in crime, rather they create a form of spatial segregation, endangering the long term vision of integration (Landman, 2004). These segregationist developments are challenges South Africa must face now and in the future.

My research examined whether the creation of Lynedoch EcoVillage is a way of countering these segregative developments. Research done on social mix projects show that inclusive goals are not always reached and that there is limited interaction between various races/classes. Nevertheless, many authors point to the necessity to do more research on social mix projects, especially from a qualitative angle. My motivation for this research stemmed from a desire to support positive change against the negative social developments in South Africa. The research question of this thesis was designed in order to investigate such a setting. After setting out the research question, the research context will considered, followed by the conceptual- and methodological frameworks devised. The research results and their analyses will offer some indicative conclusions.
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**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The central question addressed by this thesis is whether residents of Lynedoch EcoVillage, which has as its core feature a social mix, still experience processes of inclusion and exclusion. In seeking to answer this question, my research explored the historical development of the EcoVillage, the roles of key stakeholders, the significance of the evolved organizational structures and the determinative influence of foundational guiding policies.

“*How do the policies, daily management of the Lynedoch EcoVillage influence processes of inclusion and exclusions and are there any differences between the views of the organizations and residents of the EcoVillage?***

In order to answer the main question, extensive data collection was necessary. As became clear, the dynamics that played out in and around the village e.g. the residents and Home Owners Association (HOA) had to be contextualized. The social structural factors which are used to frame the expressed experience of inclusion/exclusion include ethnicity, class, relative wealth, property and educational attainment. The following sub questions helped to investigate these dynamics:

1. *How does the history of South Africa impact the residents of the EcoVillage and their behaviour?*

2. *How did the Lynedoch EcoVillage develop over time and what effect does that have on the social mix policy?*

3. *What kind of inclusion and exclusion processes take place at the Lynedoch EcoVillage, and how do they influence the social mix?*

4. *What kind of interracial interactions take place at the Lynedoch EcoVillage, and how are these related to class and inclusion and exclusion processes?*

These sub questions helped to give shape to the conceptual framework, topic list and guided the three months of fieldwork. As a result of improved understanding gained during site visits and interviews, statements have been developed which more accurately reflect the insight than the original research questions. As such the project was a work in progress.
THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL RELEVANCE

My research is relevant to considerations in the field of community studies, and has practical relevance for social development programmes. First, as the number of gated communities has grown after the ending of Apartheid (Landman, 2005) the question arises whether the different classes and races can live together. In comparison to the other racial groups, the white community remains most segregated (Christopher, 2000). During my research I noticed the interest people had in my research. Some making it clear they thought “it could benefit South Africans”, since many people are struggling with the question on how to achieve the ‘rainbow nation’. Some authors argue that the post-Apartheid city has changed into a neo-Apartheid city, where class is now the determining factor. In this new reality it is important to “explore the rich practices of living, livelihood, becoming, imagining and invention that pulse through South African cities.” (Pieterse, 2009:13) I would argue that the Lynedoch EcoVillage is one example of a new ‘reality’ in which South Africans find a way to live together.

While there has been considerable amount of research on exclusive communities (gated communities), research on inclusive programs has been slow in South Africa. In the area of tenure mix there has been some considerable research done, however with a mostly quantitative focus. A gap thus exists in qualitative understanding of social mix and of the lives of residents “We recommend that using detailed observational methods and more in-depth resident interviews in research design would assist here. Given the current predominance of snapshot surveys.” (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006:45). My study addresses this gap by its qualitative nature and attention given to individual stories. Other authors emphasize the social and complex implications of a social mix, making future research needed (Ruming, Mee and Pauline, 2004). Other authors discuss the need for more qualitative research to “increase insight into the successful interactions between different groups and the successful social mixing of natives and newcomers, in the streets and neighbourhoods.” (Smets & den Uyl, 2008:1459). Moreover, the authors discuss the expectation of developers of such communities that physical mixing will lead to social mixing, basically neglecting interethnic contacts, thus making more insight into those contacts necessary.
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From an international perspective, more research has been done on mixed income housing projects and their social impact. Nevertheless, qualitative studies are still scarce, making my research not only relevant in a South African context, but also internationally (Smets & Salman, 2008:1321). In general, the discussion of social mix and whether it is truly beneficial remains inconclusive. Does it enhances tensions or can these be overcome? (Arthurson, 2002:248)

Race and class are important elements within Lynedoch EcoVillage and in South Africa in general. While class differences may have become more dominant in post-Apartheid South Africa, its inhabitants still prefer to live and socialize with culturally similar neighbours (Seekings, 2008). But as the author continues to remark: “But the available evidence on post-Apartheid South Africa is sadly limited – there are still too few ethnographic studies on how ‘race’, ‘class’ and (especially) cultures are made and understood in the lived experience of South Africans, at home, in neighbourhoods, in schools and in workplaces.” (Seekings, 2008:22). My research attempted to address this gap, since it offers qualitative ethnographic account of how race, class and cultural differences are understood in a mixed community.
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CHAPTER 1 – RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter identifies the geographic and salient socio-geographic context of Lynedoch EcoVillage in Stellenbosch South Africa. A detailed account of the development of the EcoVillage is presented in chapter 5.

1.1 THE STELLENBOSCH AREA

The apartheid history is clearly visible in the rural Western Cape and especially in the socio-economic status living conditions of farm workers on the wine farms. There is still much inequality and segregation among different classes and races (Annecke & Swilling, 2012). In the Stellenbosch area, people of colour have suffered exclusion for many hundreds of years. After the abolishment of slavery in 1830 some were given land, but this was taken away later under the Apartheid policies (Ibid). In fact, Stellenbosch can be seen as the place were Apartheid started “The Cape NP, Die Burger as a newspaper and the nationalist intelligentsia of Stellenbosch were by far the most influential forces at work.” (Giliomee, 2003:391).

Even today the damage caused by the Apartheid policies is still visible in the housing and the limited access to quality education, resulting still in educational exclusion. Farm workers were often paid with alcohol. This so called dop-system has a long history. The Liquor Act of 1928 did not abolish the dop system, and only in 1961 payment in the form of alcohol was outlawed. However, this still left the option open to provide alcohol as a gift (London, 1999). The effect was that this practice still went on and today it is one of the reasons the Western Cape has such a high percentage of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (Swilling & Annecke 2006).

Stellenbosch today is a tourist hotspot, home to a large wine industry owned to a large extend by white South African farmers and foreign investors. Land reform in this area is virtually non-existent. Just before the 1994 elections the local authority extended the lease of public land to white farmers for 50 years, thereby inhibiting local land reforms (Annecke & Swilling, 2004). Ironically, the rise of the wine and tourism industries in the Western Cape was an immediate result of the end of Apartheid (Demhardt, 2008). The author mentions that both the wine and tourism industries remain white dominated sectors. This explicitly points to who have benefited most from these developments.
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Significant socio-graphic and economic factors derive from massive immigration from rural provinces, like the Eastern Cape. These populations already have high unemployment. The abolishment of the Group Areas Act creates massive urbanization from the former homelands and poorer areas in the Eastern Cape to the urban areas in the Western Cape. This had a major impact on the demand for houses, resulting in a rise of property prices in the area and subsequently in the EcoVillage. In Stellenbosch the housing prices skyrocketed, while the population of Kayamandi, a black township on the Western outskirts of Stellenbosch, with a population of 33,000 keeps increasing. To reduce the impact of these negative historical developments South Africa is driving development projects with large investments in urban infrastructure. However, with this new approach a number of old problems remain unaddressed creating new dynamics that are particularly relevant for socially mixed communities (Swilling, 2003):

- Historical divisions remain, as developers are hesitant to invest in mixed communities. The fear remains that the rich do not want to live next to poor, so middle class buyers reject the projects.
- When subsidized housing gets build, the houses are often sold for quick money. The poor than move back to informal settlements, while the middle-class owners acquire cheap housing through public funding.
- There has been a slow growth of literature mixed communities, and how to govern such communities.
- The focus of urban design is mainly on the commercially viable projects, which often means housing without the inclusion of schools, crèches etc; these are only later thought off.

These issues will now be explored within the context of Lynedoch EcoVillage.

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1.2 The Lynedoch EcoVillage

The Lynedoch EcoVillage is the first EcoVillage in South Africa which combines an ecological agenda with a social agenda. It is the home of a mixed community of people. In 2000 a group of community leaders came together to talk about transforming the Drie Gewels Hotel, located on a 7 hectare property into a new community. These community leaders consisted of professors, teachers and farmworkers. The Lynedoch Development Company (LDC) was established to provide leadership to this transformation. They managed to secure a donation of $100 000 from Hollard Insurance and a $200 000 bond from a local bank. More importantly, the financial gap was addressed by the Sustainability Institute (SI). It was the relation of the SI to the Spier Estate that brought in funds making it possible to renovate the buildings for the SI and Lynedoch Primary. The SI emerged as an important actor who brought in financial contributors. The goal of the LDC was the possibility of realizing and building an "inclusive living and learning community that would demonstrate in practice what it means to live in a sustainable way." (Swilling & Annecke, 2006:316). LDC is a Section 21 Company, this means it is a company ‘not for gain’ according to the Companies Act. At this time the LDC was controlled, as mentioned, by a board of community members. Nowadays the EcoVillage consists of the following structures (Swilling & Annecke, 2006:317):

- A primary school for 450 children mainly from the families of local farm workers;
- a pre-school for 40 children and a large multi-purpose hall;
- offices and classrooms for the Sustainability Institute;
- conversion of the old Drie Gewels Hotel and an existing residential house into 18 residences that will provide accommodation for participants in the programmes of the Sustainability Institute, as well as a conference venue for general use;
- 42 new residential sites in Phase 2, with 15 earmarked for purchase at a price of R20,000 by people who qualify for a government housing subsidy, and with the remainder being sold at a commercial rate ranging from R90,000 to R275,000 per erf,
  using an urban design layout that does not spatially separate the subsidized erven from the commercially priced erven;
- commercial space for offices or for small manufacturers and crafts people;

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3 Erf is an Afrikaans/Dutch word. The English equivalent is plot.
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- a village green and landscaped areas to be planted with indigenous plants; and
- a traffic environment that limits the number of cars that move around the village and that restricts the parking of cars to designated communal parking areas which, in turn, secures the space for children and pedestrians.

As the above characterises show, there are a few distinct phases in the development of Lynedoch. The LDC defined the 1st phase as aimed at renovating the Main Building for the Lynedoch School, the SI and community hall\(^4\). This first phase is complete. Phase 2 consist of the residential development. This phase is almost complete; there still remain a few plots for house building. Phase 2 is the most important phase for my research, since it deals with the residents and mixed community itself. To provide a framework for the 2 phases, three goals had been developed which served as guidelines for the set-up of the EcoVillage in 2002:

- The EcoVillage must be a mixed community organized around a child-centred learning precinct.
- The EcoVillage should strive to be a working example of a liveable ecologically designed urban system.
- The EcoVillage will be a financially and economically viable community that will not require external funding to sustain itself.

The Board formulated and mounted a capital fundraising strategy which has been partially completed. The capital fundraising strategy was divided into two phases. The first phase was aimed at renovating the Main Building for the Lynedoch School, the Sustainability Institute, and the Community Hall. The brick shed was renovated for the pre-school. The first phase is complete. The second phase consists of the residential development, including the ten units required for rental and student accommodation.

The entity most important for the daily management and governance of the EcoVillage is the Home Owners Association (HOA). The HOA is a company which functions as a separate entity from Lynedoch Development and is also a Section 21 company. The LDC thus acted as the developer. When the authorities approved the development one of the conditions was

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that the HOA was to be created. The HOA can be seen as the responsible body for service delivery. As a Section 21 company it needed to have formal directors, which are in this case three white home owners. This process of transferring power and responsibility from the LDC to the HOA happened over time and after the sites were given to the property owners, the LDC became one of the members of the HOA. The same goes for other companies such as the SI, the public school and residential property owners, whoever owns property has a vote in the HOA. In fact, every home owner is obligated to be a member of the HOA5.

Two central documents explaining the role and responsibility of the HOA and the residents are the code of conduct and articles of association. In the ancillary section of the articles of association social justice is promoted for all members. Also the situation of lower income workers is explicitly mentioned: “To ensure provision of housing and security of tenure for farm workers who qualify as beneficiaries of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (Act 62 of 1997), with specific reference to farms workers living within the surrounding Lynedoch area.” This quote identifies the goal of Lynedoch Development; create housing for farm workers in combination with middle/higher income houses. The Code of Conduct provides a necessary framework for community living.

The formal structure of the HOA consists of trustees who are residents of the EcoVillage elected at an Annual General Meeting (AGM). Currently there are 8 trustees, which are then put in charge of certain tasks like the social committee and treasure function. After the AGM the trustees appoint a chairman and a vice-chairman. The chairman is responsible for the agenda of the monthly Home Owners meeting and chairing these as well as all the meetings of the Board of Trustees. The HOA meets every third Thursday of the month. All home owners are invited to this meeting and receive a copy of the minutes. In these meetings all home owners can share their ideas and opinions, and thereby contribute to the effective functioning of the mixed community.

5 http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/lynedoch-ecovillage10/detailed-story used throughout this part.
CHAPTER 2 - CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses the concepts and theories used in this thesis. Since this research is related to various other domains, this chapter seeks to demarcate the scope. The conceptual framework had to be rewritten to properly explain the data recovered from the field. More specifically, when dealing with the complex context of South-African society, it is necessary to consider its history. Information will be presented on the history of urban segregation during Apartheid. The after-effects of this history are visible in the present and have to be taken into account within the presentation of the collected data.

2.1 HISTORY OF URBAN SEGREGATION

In this part I will focus on the policies and practices of urban segregation from the establishment of the Union of South Africa to the abandonment of Apartheid after the first democratic elections in 1994 and during the post-Apartheid era.

2.1.1 Apartheid and urban segregation

According to Higginbotham et al. (1990) urban segregation took place at two levels: the territorial and urban segregation. The territorial segregation was established by the two Land Acts of 1913 and 1936. These two acts created “homelands”6 and no longer made it possible for Africans to own lands outside of their native reserves (Terreblanche, 2002). These Acts gave the white farmers great control over the African labourers and their wages. The urban segregation dealt with Africans who were permitted to live outside the homelands.

The process of urban segregation was accelerated when the National Party (NP) rose to power after winning the elections of 1948. The election campaigns were dominated by fear for the growing influx of Africans; this was called the Black Danger (Swart Gevaar) by the NP (Posel, 1991). Although the influx-control existed before the NP came into power; it became stricter and lasting till 1986. The term Apartheid can be seen as a term summarizing the National Party’s (NP) efforts to hold white domination and control the modernization process (Terreblanche, 2002). Over a period of 40 years the influx control, by the NP, became

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6 These two acts gave 13% of the land to 73% of the population. Also, the 11 homelands that were created were not situated in the best economic and agricultural locations (Higginbotham et al. 1990).
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The number of workers strikes increased in this period and sporting- and internationally academic boycotts were put in place (Terreblanche, 2002). From the 1980s onwards the NP made economic and social concessions seeking to hold their supremacy, however the eventual downfall of Apartheid proved inevitable (Ross, 2008). Eventually with Nelson Mandela freed from prison and the ban on the ANC lifted, negotiations started between the ANC and NP. After the general elections of 27th of April 1994 Nelson Mandela became the
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first democratically elected president of South-Africa, hereby leaving the Apartheid era behind (Ibid.). However, as Özler (2007) puts it, it left in its wake a population and history with great inequalities across racial groups.

“*There is a fairly short limit to the length of time that a country can live on euphoria, even if the depth of that feeling is as great as that South Africa’s society experienced in 1994.*” (Ross, 2008 pp. 214) Apartheid and segregation policies officially ended in 1994, but their effects remain visible (ibid.). Özler (2007) has investigated the changes in poverty between 1995 and 2000, and concludes that poverty in this period has increased, rather than decreased. Carter (1999) makes the same point and states that the abolishment of Apartheid is only one kind of freedom, there is still significant economic Apartheid. In a more recent study Leibbrandt (2010) observed that, although there is a decline of inequality between races, the inequality within race has risen significantly. The end of Apartheid has created a new Black elite, closely intertwined with the political leadership of the ANC. The construction of this new economic elite created a growth in corruption (Hyslop, 2005). Although, this can in part be explained by the internal party struggles this young democracy has to go through, the ANC nevertheless is under growing criticism of prominent South Africans like former Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It is in this context that this research is conducted and is therefore important to take into consideration (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). Given the impact of history I anticipated it might play an important role in my research.
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2.2 DE- AND RE-SEGREGATION IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Directly related to the topic of this thesis are the developments in urban settlements and housing to reduce segregation. Apartheid and urban segregation as ideologies have been taken over by architects in their designs (Peters, 2004). The result being that entire cities were built to fit the Apartheid ideology. With the ending of Apartheid these policies ceased to formally exist, but it still affect the landscape (Ross, 2008). The breakdown of spatial Apartheid suggests de-segregation (Christopher, 2000), but more recent developments show a complex mix of de- and re-segregation such as mixed and gated communities.

2.2.1 De-segregation

De-segregation has a number of benefits, economically; it has educational gains, sometimes uplifting entire communities. Segregation on the other hand prevents employment opportunities (Bond, 1998). De-segregation could also improve the communities’ ecology; this class integration can create upward mobility for the low-income residents (Ibid.). Furthermore, rising economic opportunities among groups are related to the process of de-segregation and often comparisons are made to the American situation after the 1960s (Christopher, 2000). The 1996 census conducted showed, for the first time in South Africa, a decline in the levels of segregation in all four groups (Blacks, Coloured, Whites, Asian). This trend continued in the 2001 census, showing a slow continuation of de-segregation, but still the majority of urban citizens continue to live in segregated suburbs. (Seekings, 2008:12).

The process of de-segregation has some segregational side-effects. First the growth of suburbs and second, the White population remains the most segregated and resists in the form of gated White suburbs (Christopher, 2000). Pieterse (2009) states that the hopes of a new elected democratic government would undo the segregation were misplaced; rather, South African cities are still segregated and unequal, but without a legislative, ideological backing like Apartheid had. The jury is still out whether there has been clear decline in segregation, with appealing cases made on both side of the argument.
2.2.2 Re-segregation – Gated communities

“Gated communities may be defined as walled or fenced housing developments, to which public access is restricted, characterized by legal agreements which tie the residents to a common code of conduct and (usually) collective responsibility for management” (Atkinson & Blandy 2005 pp. 177-178).

Gated communities take on different forms in different contexts, but the above definition is one that is commonly used. There is a growing international appearance of gated communities, and the choice of such models of housing are determined primarily by fear, privacy and the predictability of a safe environment (Ibid.). Gated communities, according to the authors, crystalize into patterns of social segregation that cause a loss of diversity in neighbourhoods. These gated communities reflect the way in which more affluent members of society can close themselves off from the dangers outside, leaving the poorest to live outside those gates and barriers (Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2003). In the case of South Africa this can be explained as a move towards re-segregation. As mentioned in the introduction, the number of gated communities has grown after the abolishment of Apartheid in 1994 (Landman, 2005). Smets (2009) relates this growth of gated communities to urban governance and formulates the same type of critique as Pieterse (2009) namely, that the more affluent members of society profit from the economic growth. The walls of the gated community make visible the underlying system of inequality. And with the growth of the number of gated communities, more urban bureaucrats and policymakers will live in these types of enclaves, with their focus on high and middle income groups (Smets, 2009). It is this growth of the elite which may lead to more segregated cities, rather than inclusive developments.

Three types of gated communities can be distinguished: Lifestyle, prestige and security communities (Blakely & Snyder, 1997). The description of the security community fits best in the South African context. Although these residents claim these gates keep them safe, there is no evidence that crime decreases. They rather lead to segregation and social exclusion (Ibid.). The South African context clearly reflects fear and an effort to ‘take back’ the community (Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2003). This fear is driven by the perception of crime and does not correlate with the crime rates. In fact, this imagination, when being deprived from first hand conditions/experiences leads to a ‘demonological lens’ (Hook & Vrdoljak, 2002). This fear

Please see appendix 4 for more details on these different types.
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seems not just linked to the perception and experience of crime, but also to the fear for the ‘other’ (Lemanski, 2004). More specifically, this fear of crime becomes in the discourse a code-word the for fear of Blacks (‘Swart Gevaar’).

This excursion on gated communities was necessary to show mainstream developments in the environment the Lynedoch EcoVillage is operating and the challenges it has to take on board. In fact, founders of the village noticed that this independence of richer communities is a detrimental consequence of Apartheid, since this independence does not work the other way around (Swilling & Annecke 2006). The Lynedoch EcoVillage has tried to solve this problem by mixing both commercial and subsidized houses, in order to achieve a social mix, and mutual dependence. The next paragraph will deal with literature on mixed communities such as Lynedoch EcoVillage.

2.2.3 Mixed housing in South Africa

Besides a rising number of gated communities and scientific attention paid to them, there has been a considerable growth of initiatives aimed at mixed housing and residential integration in South Africa (Seekings, 2008). An overview of these initiatives can be found in appendix 5. Of these initiatives those which proved to be of relevance to my research will be discussed in more detail. In general variants 1 to 4 deal with mixed initiative in existing neighbourhoods, while 5 to 7 deal with projects in new neighbourhoods. Variant 5 in this overview shows state-driven low-income housing in high-income areas. This type of integration shows some overlap with the Lynedoch EcoVillage. In this variant the available studies show little actual integration amongst residents. Low-income constituencies grow faster causing a shortage in services and infrastructure, and most importantly, low and high-income residents barely interact (Saff 1998; Dixoin et al. 1994 in Seekings, 2008). Lastly, in this variant it is unclear whether the reasons for not interacting originate from race or class difference. Variants 3, 6 and 7 deal with de-segregation in old or new neighbourhoods, and cover both private and state driven projects. The author concludes that the private or state can put people together, but that there remains little interaction and othering is still common (Seekings, 2008:14). In these variants both negative class and race comments are made by white residents, for instance: “Here, our coloureds are good” (Seekings, 2008 pp.13).
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In short all variants show lows amounts of interactions between different groups, whether it be race or class, and a preference for one’s own race or class. Variant 7 seemed to come closest to the concept of the Lynedoch EcoVillage, this being voluntary integration in new private sector housing areas. While a village atmosphere was tried to be created, there was still little interaction between the ‘different’ neighbours. The Lynedoch EcoVillage differs on some parts with the 7th variant. None of the variants speak of cross-subsidizing which adds another element besides neighbourhood and living to the equation. In the case of Lynedoch this is the ecological element.

Other countries have a longer history of dealing with the phenomenon of mixed housing. In the Netherlands it is believed that social mixing is a logical by-product of the physical housing mix and with mixing low- and middle-income, it is generally believed one mixes race at the same time (Smets & den Uyl, 2008:1440). However, with the improved economic situation of blacks in South Africa improved, race still seems to play a significant role, more so than class (Seekings, 2008). The believe therefore of authors in the Dutch context that by mixing class, one mixes race at the same time, might add up in the South African context.

2.2.4 The social mix concept and gentrification

Related to the concept of mixed communities are the concepts of social mix and gentrification. There has been a large body of work on these two concepts (Lees, 2008). Gentrification is a term with a longer history than social mix and has aroused more criticism (Ibid.). There are many definitions of the term gentrification. I used the definition used by Kennedy and Leonard (2001:5) who define “gentrification as the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighbourhood, changing the essential character and flavour of that neighbourhood.” I have used this definition because of its emphasis on how lower income residents are affected by the influx of higher income residents.

In gentrification programs the middle income groups that are categorized as the ‘natural category’, hereby pushing the idea that everyone should become like the middle class (Lees, 2008). Because they take their situation as the bench mark, the other people living in the area are defined as ‘other’ (Ibid.). It is this experience of otherness that prevents proximity
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(Bauman, 1995). It consolidates the distance as people only see the surface of the other in the public domain. Gentrification is a one-sided strategy. Poor people do not move into middle income suburbs, mostly wealthier people buy into poorer areas. In this class distinction, gentrification often carries a racial connotation, since mostly higher income white people replace lower income minority households (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001). Gentrification shows a direct link to the social mix concept, some authors discuss the effect of disguising gentrification as social mix: “Gentrification disguised as ‘social mix’ serves as an excellent example of how the rhetoric and reality of gentrification has been replaced by a different discursive, theoretical and policy language that consistently deflects criticism and resistance” (Slater, 2006:751) Below I will discuss in more detail the concept of social mix and the way in which it (not) differs from gentrification.

The term social mix is a vital part of the EcoVillage’s development programme. The term social mix suggests that the neighbourhood varies in one or all of its characteristics like: age, tenure, class income, ethnicity and so on (Cole & Goodchild. 2000:351). The goal of social mix programs is to let lower income housing blend in and become invisible (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004). One of the basic premises of the social mix policies is that a mixed community would foster positive change for the disadvantaged residents (Arthurson, 2002:247). It is reported that the majority of mixed neighbourhoods are successful places where people want to live (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006). There is considerable amount of evidence that these mixed income communities have a variety of services, a point that can be easily checked and measured. By contrast it is much harder to channel a diversity of attitudes and behaviour; “such as ensuring that there are households with children across different tenures and social groups” (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006:47). Bringing people together with different attitudes and behaviour is not that easy, especially when you want to assure a certain social mix.

In my study almost all residents are home owners, therefore the same dynamics described in the literature on social mix apply. In terms of inclusion and exclusion it turns out that, although social mix itself is a more nurturing, inclusive goal: “areas of social mix can still actively promote stigmatisation, oppression and exclusion. Policies of social mix in effect can move processes of oppression and exclusion to a smaller, less obvious scale, thus merely giving an
impression of success.” (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004:234). Social mix itself works around difference, only it is difference that may lead to people marking groups as ‘other’. The identification of different groups (us and them) within this mix points to unequal conditions of daily life, for example: “You can always tell where they (public housing properties) are. The grass is long; there are rusty cars in the front yard. After a while you just know” clearly illustrates that there are certain artefact attributed to a certain class. It is this forming of us and them that can create subgroup identities. ‘Liberal othering’, then portrays class as flexible and lower classes as aspiring to be like the rich with their behaviour to be managed accordingly. For wealthier people this might lead to a consuming of diversity rather than engaging with it (Van Eijk, 2010).

These subgroups are often exclusive, homogeneous groups that ignore the difference in the place (Duncan, 1993). This is the ironic nature of a mixed community in which the diverse and inclusive setting itself might foster exclusive behaviour. Also, the problems lower income households might face are often dealt better with by people from the same situation; naturally these people connect playing out the preference for sameness (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004). The author continues to explain the effect of the identification of different groups. Interviewees made comments about two different kinds of community. This identification of distinct communities again allowed people to attribute difference to people in the area. This identification of different communities was related to both spatial and class differences perceived by people. ‘Us and them’ identification by residents is common, but some groups are constructed as better than others (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004).

Most importantly, Rowlands et al. (2007) critique the mechanical attitude towards the mixed communities. Meaningful social interaction should grow organically and not forced (Ibid.). Social mixing will happen more easily in homogenous areas and authors therefore warn against: “The artificial imposition of social mixing at too fine a spatial scale. At too local a scale, it can create tensions—especially when there are marked economic, social and cultural differences between residents—and residents may withdraw rather than mix.” (Rose, 2004:281 in Lees, 2008). Proximity in this sense does not revolve the deeper patterns of segregation, especially when the ‘mix’ is presented as more than it is (Van Eijk, 2010).
2.2.5 Home ownership, services and space

Home ownership is seen as a way of fostering urban inclusion (Charlton, 2010). But there is discussion among scientists if home ownership alone is a feasible way of creating inclusiveness. Claiming access to services and basic infrastructure might be even more important, which is stressed by many social mix researchers as well (Ibid.). Transport is of major importance when it comes to access to internal and external resources, the lower income groups stressed their reliance and the importance of public transport (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004). This not only has an impact on their mobility, but also on the community formation. Because the lower income groups often cannot afford a car they are more reliant on local facilities, especially in South Africa which has about 165 car owners per 1.000 people. To compare this, in the Netherlands this number is 527 per 1.000 people. Besides this dependence, it has other community effects. Taylor (1998) mentions that these people reliance of local facilities identifies them as different or inferior, because others have a choice. People from higher social classes, with access to cars thus have a wider access to services as compared to these lower class residents. The effect being that the local neighbourhood services do not provide a common ground (Ibid.). With this ‘common ground’ is meant the place where people meet and make use of the same services.

Buildings and space might hold different meanings at different times, so in relation to in- and exclusion space can be perceived in different ways by different people (Yanow, 1995). Buildings and space are not neutral objects and can be read as texts, with multiple interpretations. So, not only the literal language used to describe policies are relevant, but also the acts, objects and spaces (Ibid.). The effect of interpreting built spaces as telling stories is that its meaning may be read differently by different audiences at the same time. Recourses and the amount of space used reflect as sign of power and control. Messages of otherness can be communicated by buildings alone (Ibid.)

Otherness can be communicated by buildings and space. Yanow discusses the example of a Community Center which stands in sharp contrast with the surrounding buildings. A

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8 The source: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IS.VEH.NVEH.P3
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message of difference (otherness) is hereby communicated, difference in space, land and material inequalities.

In particular space as power proved to be relevant category for this research, since a large number of villagers work and live at the EcoVillage. Some scholars have argued that was the attempt of industrialists, constructed houses around factories to gain absolute control over employees; ‘Employees and their dependents are encouraged to become dependent, subject to social and cultural discipline.’” Taylor and Spicer (2007:330). Between the ‘organizational’ walls disciplinary power is enacted on these employees (Foucault, 1991). Thus combining living and working space creates the possibility of overseers to control the employees’ behaviour in and outside the organization. Given the context in which a lot of ex farmworkers had to deal with some of these dynamics this connection could not be ignored.

Meanings people assign to places depend on the historical and cultural developments of that place. Sense of neighbourhood is dependent on these developments and is therefore ‘rather an on-going practical and discursive production/imagining of a people.’” (Gieryn, 2000:472). The bond between people and space is not material, but determined by the meaning we invest in it and the length of time people spend living in a place. The longer people live in a place the greater their attachment (Elder et al. 1996). Residents who are involved in local activities feel more attachment to their living space than inactive residents (Gieryn, 2000). This feeds into the notion of ‘place attachment’. Place attachment refers to specific areas where people feel comfortable and prefer to remain (Hernandeza et al., 2007:310). This positive link can be made in relation to a house, but to a neighbourhood or city as well. Besides the importance of length of residence, shared meanings, mobility and social belonging there are other important factors of attachment that determine the degree of place attachment. It turns out that natives have more intense links with the neighbourhood than non-natives. The same results were uncovered when talking about place identity. Place identity looks at how people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a place (Hernandeza et al., 2007:311). Attachment to a place seems to be of vital importance for the feeling of community and vice versa.
2.3 Inclusion and Exclusion Processes

Social inclusion and exclusion are concepts which are increasingly used in policies on organizational, national and international level (Edwards et al. 2001). The theories on inclusion and exclusion will work as my general lens of investigation. First, exclusion as a process creates a process of cultural cloning, the desirability of certain types (race, class etc) which is a (mostly) taken for granted process (Essed, 2002). These preferences for, both racial, gendered or class are interwoven in the fabric of our society, thus making it hard to break through this process (Ibid.). From its initial use, social exclusion has been used in discussions on poverty and social policies, and was later used to understand poverty in the South African context (Du Toit, 2004). This context is different from the European one, especially when taking the historic institutionalized Apartheid into consideration.

Inclusion is focused on difference, sensitivity towards cultures and recognition (Ghorashi, 2011). Beall, J. (2002) mentions mistakes local efforts on inclusion make, namely not recognizing the wider context. As the above shows, the relation between inclusion and exclusion, sameness and difference is a paradoxical one (Ghorashi, 2011). Either it essentializes sameness or it focused on difference, leaving intact the structures or processes that create inequalities in the first place (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013). This limited approach creates tokens, people of a minority group that are presented as showcases. This makes these people highly visible and does not allow them to make mistakes (Ghorashi, 2011). This false inclusiveness does not create durable inclusion into the organization or for that case community (Ibid.). The relation between inclusion and exclusion is a complex one, which is dealing with multiple perspectives. Therefore, some authors argue for a more integral approach which reveals how exclusion and inclusion are reinforced in daily practices (Ghorashi, 2011). A dance of perspectives, a constant reflective attitude towards the normalization taking place in the organization is a way to achieve this integral approach (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013). These concepts helped to understand the EcoViillage, since the basic structure of the project is bent on including. These concepts further assisted me to discover whether an inclusive framework is really inclusive, or if it creates a process of cultural cloning.
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By looking at both the formal and informal social processes and tensions between inclusion and exclusion it becomes clear that; “The elimination of social exclusion as a practical activity is unachievable. There can be no sense of difference in a condition of homogeneity in the same way that it makes no sense to talk of equality without inequality, normal behaviour without a sense of deviance, or being educated without a sense of what it is to be uneducated.” (Edwards et al. 2001 pp. 426). My focus has been on what kind of inclusion and exclusion processes take place and how these processes were perceived. If social exclusion is seen as a problem in South Africa, social inclusion is not per definition the solution (Du Toit, 2004). Creating the same access for the poorer to systems and infrastructure as the elite in South Africa (or for that case middle class) does not necessary helps out these people.

2.3.1 Race, class and interaction

Race and class interactions show important overlap in relation to inclusion and exclusion processes and are particularly important when dealing with a racial research context. Lareau and Horvat (1999) in a different context, mention the race and class effects on inclusion and exclusion. Minority (black) middle class families belonged to the same class as white families, but the institutional setting still created a privilege for white families (Ibid.). A societal privilege can thus be translated and re-created by institutions, without themselves realizing the privilege. Only including people in certain way, trying to fight of symptoms does not itself challenge the decease. This is described by Oscar Wilde (1891), when you give people access to a system to include them, but do not re-evaluate the basic foundations on which the system is build, it will not achieve inclusion in the end.

Seeking and Nattrass (2005) make the case that economic racial discrimination has largely died out in South Africa, but remain visible in terms of identity and social interactions. This is called by Telles (CF. 2005) the horizontal dimension of discrimination, race being important in cultural and social dimensions. While the vertical dimension of discrimination depicts race as being important in economic life. In the context of mixed neighbourhoods it is not per se a hostile attitude towards the racial others, rather it manifests in a social preference for similar neighbours (Seekings, 2008). While there was a lot of scientific interest for South African race relation in the Apartheid era, this his shifted to studies of class.
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However, Gibson (2004) emphasises this does not mean South Africans enjoy much inter-racial contact. It turns out that people have more contact with people from other racial groups at work (16%), but that this number sharply declines when asked about contact outside work (6%). I assume this number is in part explained by the still highly segregated cities/towns in which people live. It therefore seems that the proximity of people working in the same environment allows for greater interaction.

Some authors argue that exclusion based on gender or race will have material or class based effects, and these two are thus interlinked (Labonte, 2004). I anticipated this connection between race and class might be of influence at the EcoVillage as well. When reviewing the articles about the link between race and class, it becomes evident that in the case of South Africa mixing class inevitably means mixing race as well. While there is a growing group of high/middle class black people, they do not necessarily end up in high/middle class neighbourhoods. It was therefore important to be sensitive to the relation and observe how it impacted my research site.

Relating this to the notion of interracial interaction, Plant and Devine (1998) made a distinction between two reasons why non-black people might communicate to black people, namely personal or normative reasons. The personal reason reflects an internal wish to communicate without prejudice, while the normative reason reflects the fear of punishment if one does not communicate without prejudice. I assumed that in the case of the residents of the village the personal reason is best fitting, since these people choose to be part of this village and known beforehand it is a mixed one. The personal reasons cause less anxiety when talking to a black person, this results in more connections between the two and approaching the connection with egalitarianism (Plant, 2004). In the same study by Plant (2004) the same proves to be the case when the reasons why black people might communicate with white people are observed. This positive outlook on communication between black and white people does not negate biases or exclusive processes.
2.3.2 The pervasiveness of racial categories

“This is the false ideology of white superiority that has entered the psyche of both black and white in South Africa and has been internalised by both.” (Manning, 2007:528). Although Apartheid itself has been dealt with in a historical context it still has effects on the present day lives of people in South Africa, this section will deal with the pervasiveness of these racial categories. South Africa today remains racialized in which people still see themselves in the categories of the Apartheid era (Seekings, 2008). Posel (2001) argues that the epistemological underpinnings of racial classification were used by the states as control and surveillance tools. The point being that the architects knew of the construct of these categories, but thus wielded great power of control. As a construct these categories were ever present and enweaved in everyday life. In the new black empowering legislation it is race which forms the basis on which people are hired. These criteria for racial classification are not made clear, but at the same time false self-classification is not allowed (Ibid.). So in the past these racial classifications were seen as part of privilege and racism, they have now been redressed to construct social realities (Posel, 2001). These authors both illustrate that race thinking uneasily co-exists with a wish to transcend the racial categories and divisions’ altogether.

It is therefore to be assumed that (traumatic) historical events in South Africa or in the lives of individuals will attempt to manifest themselves in the present (Bowman, Duncan & Sonn, 2010). However, while a lot has been written about grief and trauma, less research has been done about historical memory (Ibid.). Apartheid continues to shape everyday relations and ways of thinking in South Africa; real transformation can according to the authors only take place when the importance of remembering is addressed and not just the material redress (Ibid.). This reclaiming of memory and history done by individuals can become a source for control over history or denial of the past (Apfelbaum, 2000). To help people voice their experience, space needs to be made available in which the many experience of Apartheid can be shared, in a sense linking the everyday to the historical (Bowman, Duncan & Sonn, 2010).

Related to this ‘making’ of space is, I would argue, the creation of safe spaces. Safe spaces are spaces were new discourses can emerge, also the creation of these spaces is important to revive forgotten or supressed stories (Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2013). In the context of
organizations the authors discuss that inclusion of diversity should not mean neutralizing it, but instead make difference. By creating spaces to engage with different discourses besides the dominant ones and invite storytelling by different participants in their study, alternative spaces were created. It are these spaces which allow discussion on the dominant discourses.

2.3.3 Paternalism

Social scientists are often preoccupied with the victimized; focusing on the inherent problems the former disadvantaged may have (Word et al., 1974). This focus on the victims, especially when dealing with the Apartheid legacy, is not a surprising, or wrong choice. However, when focusing on previous disadvantaged persons as victims, paternalism is lurking. Paternalism can be defined in the following way, according to the free dictionary9: “A policy or practice of treating or governing people in a fatherly manner, especially by providing for their needs without giving them rights or responsibilities.” Paternalism is thus an act that intervenes with somebodies liberty, justifying this by referring to that person’s welfare or good (Dworkin, 1972). Paternalism has shaped many ways of working in South Africa, such as the dop system, a policy in which farmworkers were paid in alcohol and shows an ambiguous character (Du Toit, 2004). While it provides power for the elite, it also creates responsibilities for them to provide basic services (Ibid). For the people working on the farm, all aspects of life are bound up with this world. To lose your job would mean to lose your house. The farm workers are thus completely dependent on the farm owners (Du Toit, 1993).

In a sense by keeping farmworkers out of civil society the farmers have managed to remain in control (Ibid). A sad side effect of helping to protect the poor with the Extension of Tenure Security Act of 1997 was that farm owners evicted farmworkers and began to invest more in technology. This created more impoverishment by diminished access to the benefits on the farm (Seeking & Nattrass, 2005). According to the authors this decline created a generation of ex farmworkers who now moved to shack settlements around towns. Given this context, using observations, interviews and analysing those with discourse analysis can help to uncover how language functions as a social practice in a specific context (Janks, 1997). This

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9 Source: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/paternalism

[33]
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approach is appropriate if one wants to uncover if and how paternalism might play a role in the research field.

The reason why I chose to be on the outlook for paternalistic processes was because of its historical importance. Some of the residents of the EcoVillage are ex-farmworkers and experienced living and working on the farm. Because the EcoVillage is a mixed income community with cross-subsidizing I figured paternalistic attitudes might be present. In other words, do the rich feel they need provide a caretaker role and/or do the poor feel they need to be taken care off. Finally, a parallel between the EcoVillage and farm work is the working and living dynamic. I found out beforehand that a lot of residents live and work at the EcoVillage. This in itself does not mean there are paternalistic attitudes, but provided me with a process to be aware off.
CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will deal with the methods of data gathering and type of analysis used during the course of this research. These methods of data gathering and analysis led to the reshaping of the research questions and answers thereof. In this chapter I will present my assumptions and thoughts on my research beforehand, reflect on those and outline the ethical considerations.

3.1 CASE SELECTION

This research is a case study of the Lynedoch EcoVillage in Stellenbosch. Eisenhardt (1989) in her signature article explains that a case study focusses on the dynamics present in one specific setting, but can also focus on multiple levels of analysis. This research focused on the management of the EcoVillage as well as the lived experienced of those who live here. This was done while at the same time taking the historical background and thus broader context into consideration. Chapter 4 deals with the history of South Africa which until this day influences people within and outside of the village. With regards to the organization of the village, specifically the workings of the HOA and who are represented there were important. The HOA meets every 3\textsuperscript{rd} Thursday of the month and on the 21\textsuperscript{st} of February 2013 formal permission for this research was given by the HOA. From that point on more interview appointments and observations within the village were made possible. Chapter 5 will deal in detail about the historical development of the EcoVillage and its inner workings.

As is the case with most case studies, multiple research methods have been used in order to answer the main question (Eisenhardt, 1989). This does not mean that one should neglect the broader context. In my research the historical developments in the broader context needed to be taken into consideration (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). As a researcher the challenge consisted in being able to juggle between focusing on this specific case study and wider context. This proved to be a challenge, since only a period of three months was allocated for doing field work abroad. With the privilege of hindsight these three months proved to be a period of time in which I could become rooted in the workings of the village and leave at the moment when I started to feel more like an insider than an outsider.
Feeding into the use of multiple research methods was the use of organizational ethnography as a general approach for this research. Organizational ethnographers try to understand the everydayness of organizational settings, and as with a case study, multiple methods can be used with a specific focus on observation and action (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). This approach underlines the importance of moving between data and theory, zooming in and zooming out, which was of particular relevance to my research. This method proved to be suited for this type of research in which interaction with participants was emphasized while still being concerned with the overall context (O’reilly, 2005). Although research questions were formulated beforehand, using ethnographic method no hypothesis was formulated in advance. This inductive focus allowed for more attention on the meaning making process between participant and the researcher (Yanow & Schartz-Shea, 2006). This meaning-making process relates to how people make sense of the world around them by using stories, symbols and artefacts. This approach was used to see how residents living within the EcoVillage made sense of themselves living there.

The importance of an iterative-inductive approach of data gathering became evident to me throughout this research. The iterative approach has in particularly made me aware of the relationships between social actors and how these actors construct social reality. While this meant I have adjusted my interviews to the persons and circumstances I nevertheless had a clear idea of my central questions and information needed to answer these questions. For instance, I made a list with persons I would like to speak to or interview, while taking their role in the EcoVillage into consideration. The multiple methods I used to gather my data are discussed in the next paragraphs.
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3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

Three sources of data have been vitally important to capture the complexity of the social process in the Lynedoch EcoVillage; interviews, observations and internal documents. These three sources allowed for the possibility of triangulation. During my fieldwork this created more complexity, but as an effect it allowed me to find accounts of inconsistency and patterns within the data (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). This balance and comparing between theory and collected data made me more sensitive towards this complexity and allowed me to readjust my approach when needed. The three main sources of data will be dealt with in detail below.

3.2.1 Interviews – The unstructured importance

Interviewing is one of the most commonly used, and powerful ways to understand people (Hermanowicz, 2002). Moreover, it were qualitative research methods like these that provide a richer and more dynamic understanding of the field (Lance and Van den Berg, 2009: chapter 9). In the case of this research conducting interviews was the central approach, since some aspects were not revealed by observations alone. Furthermore, some residents could only be reached via the e-mail or telephone to make an appointment and it proved hard to gather all data via observations. The types of interviews conducted were of a semi-structured and unstructured nature. The use of semi-structured interviews was anticipated beforehand. Some themes and central questions needed to be answered, but this approach still left room to deviate (Saunders et al. 2009).

However, due to complex and sensitive nature of this research I decided that a more unstructured approach was needed to obtain certain information. This more unstructured nature of the interviews allowed interviewees to tell their stories about living in the EcoVillage, while retaining considerable control over the interview process (Corbin & Morse, 2003). Something I emphasized as researcher was my wish to hear the interviewees story and how they experienced living in the village, this unintentionally proved to be an element of unstructured interview, or the “grand tour” design in which people walked me through their story (Spradley, 1979). Two additional characteristic of unstructured interviewing proved to be present throughout my interviews. First, although unstructured interviews are
not counselling sessions, it happened that some of the events or experiences which were of
great importance to my interviewees were at the same time of interest to me as researcher
(Corbin & Morse, 2003:339). It is in this nature of reciprocity mentioned by the authors that I
have sometimes given information or advise when I felt this would help the person in
question.\footnote{For example, there was some tension between two people in the village after a meeting. After me
sharing some information to one of the persons on the point of view of the other this person seemed a
bit more relieved and thanked me for my consideration.} Second, some residents might never have told their story before, or might not have
been given the opportunity to do so (Ibid.). My research has provided in such an opportunity
since, according to multiple interviewees, it was the “first time“ a study such as mine was
done.

During my research I have seen multiple tours through the village, in which most attention is
(almost naturally) directed towards certain houses. This was also mentioned by an
interviewee: “I would like to kinda create a picture article on every home, and not just some of the
homes, everyone... make sure that every home-owner here gets his equal place to stand and we don’t
just focus on certain homes, and that is very easy to trigger, we all go to (Person), because he’s got this
very interesting stunning house etc. But in all of them you have got a whole lot of different people that
are actually involved.” This quote illustrates the need for a broader focus of attention and this
is something which I have been doing both consciously and unconsciously. A way which I
think helped in letting people tell their story was the use of an overview of the EcoVillage
(appendix 1). This overview as a blank map of the EcoVillage allowed me to ask questions
about space and interaction in a different way. People were quick to point out where they
lived and other places as well, helping me to get a feel of how space for them works.

The interviews were in-depth in nature, explicitly questioning the aspects that are of
particular relevance for answering the main question (O’reilly, 2005:113). I have tried to
achieve this even though some interviews were unstructured in nature, thus harder to
control. Again, this sense-making process was of importance, because the interviewees gave
me their vision and truth about the Lynedoch EcoVillage. These interviews as expected not
only made sense, but also gave sense hereby alluring to a desired reality (Gioia &
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Chittipeddi, 1991). As interviewer I tried to make sense of these stories, but as already mentioned, these interactions were not one-dimensional. As sense maker I could also influence the sense giver, which demanded caution and sensitivity to the people I interviewed (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld, 2005). However, in the vein of reciprocity I have deliberately made decisions to influence the sense giver.

Although I think most interviewees were open and shared sensitive information with me, for instance if they still want to live at the EcoVillage, or other more personal information, there is always the chance of people censoring themselves. In some cases interviewees might perceive questions as threatening and thus answering them in a more social desirable way (Baker, 1999:138) I especially noticed this when asking interviewees about the role of the SI within the EcoVillage. Most people answered the question straight forward, but with others this took a little longer. I noticed that when I was about to finish my interview that people suddenly explained their feelings in more detail. This became more evident when people expressed more negative opinions towards the SI or EcoVillage, but afterwards mentioned there were positives as well, or that in every development there is something: “I don’t want to be negative – Every place has got something - I think (Person) knows that there are things going on, the project is still in its first phase, it will be alright” Still in light of the possibility of social desirability, which is present in my interviews as well, I feel I have been able to reach people on a personal level. Multiple interviewees have given me a compliment afterwards, explaining they could tell me how they felt and that my presence helped them achieve that.

3.2.2 Interview sample criteria and characteristics

In the research proposal some initial key figures were identified who seemed to be in close relationship to the home owners or residents themselves. At the time this was all information that could be gathered on residents and management of the village, as these persons were the only ones mentioned on the website of the Sustainability Institute. During my first month I had mostly interviewed residents who also worked at the Sustainable Institute, which is located on site. My presence and office space were located there, so it made it easier to connect and plan interviews. With help of these first interviewees I was able to construct an
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overview of the village\textsuperscript{11} and its residents. In this case snowball sampling helped to gain further access to different and new respondents (Saunders et al. 2009). Also, by using a purposive sample where I only interviewed people who met my research needs (Baker, 1999:138) I was able to make decisions as to who to or not to interview. My goal after one month was to conduct one interview per household and achieve a 100% sample rate, although I knew this might not be doable in the course of just three months.

The 42 plots available in the first phase of the development were owned by 37 people, some people owning more than one plot. Of these 37 plot owners, 23 have completed building their homes and now live in the village. Since the majority of people who have started or not yet started building do not live in the village only 6 of 14 were interviewed. Of the 23 home owners 17 have been interviewed, leaving 6 home owners who did not have time, wish to participate or rented out their house and did not live at the EcoVillage. Only one person did not want to be interviewed, explaining: "I am sorry, I made a decision a while ago to not participate anymore." I eventually had an informal conversation with this person in which I learned of his views in general. I do feel that had I had more time I would have been able to reach a 100% sample rate. Once I had the time to speak to people and they saw me around, they were mostly willing to be interviewed.

In total 37 people have been interviewed, this difference is accounted for that some people were interviewed a number of times, not only home owners but also people who also live in the same house have been interviewed and some people who have lived or work with the HOA have been interviewed. The choice for interviewing certain people had to do with meeting the research needs. To make it more specific an overview\textsuperscript{12} has been made showing how many people have been interviewed from the different racial and plots groups. In this overview the 3 interviews conducted with non-plot owners and non-residents have been excluded. Beyond of my initial goal to reach at least one person per household I managed to gain a representative sample of the people living in the village when making a distinction in race and type of plot (subsidized and commercial). This was only discovered later since my

\textsuperscript{11} Please see appendix 1 for an overview of the Lynedoch EcoVillage.

\textsuperscript{12} Please see appendix 3

[40]
goal was to interview one person per household and get to know their story. The purposive sample determined whom I spoke from these household, since it were mostly one or two people in a household that were most active in the village.

During this research a topic list was used for the semi-structured interviews, which can be found in Appendix 2. This topic list was constructed by using the tips of Hermanowicz (2002). However, the nature of my research demanded a more unstructured approach, so even in the semi-structured interview the topic list was used more as an indication. This adjusting of questions lies in the iterative nature of qualitative research in which I have altered my questions as I have learned more (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). I have recorded all conducted interviews which allowed me to focus more on the interviewing itself and non-verbal behaviour (Saunders et al. 2009). I have not observed any nervous behaviour because of the recording device, my interviewees understood the recording would be essential for maintaining accurate and that their privacy would be of the utmost importance (Hermanowicz, 2002). I noticed that my interviewees needed to get used to the interview setting and did not start telling their story immediately. “As trust builds, gradually more of the story unfolds.” (Corbin & Morse, 2003:342). As the authors state this exact moment of ‘trust’ is often not clear, but I had the feeling that after the first 15 minutes of the interview, the interview moved to a more open conversation.

3.2.3 Presentation of the interviewees
Anonymity and privacy is one of the main concerns when presenting quotations from interviewees. Therefore, all interviewees are presented as male, but when this is relevant a reference will be made to the person’s racial group. I explained to the interviewees beforehand that they would remain anonymous in my research. Furthermore, when the content of a quote is such that the person behind the quote can be to easily identified I have adjust the quote in such a way it will not jeopardize its meaning, but guarantees privacy at the same time.
3.2.4 Observations

Besides interviews, observations formed an important part of this research. Observing added an additional dimension to the interviews. Since it is not only about the language people use, there is also non-verbal behaviour (O’reilly, 2005). There are many ways in which one can observe, but within the social sciences participatory observation is the most commonly used. It allows researchers to feel and share experiences with their participants (Gill & Johnson, 2002:144). My preference for participatory observation allowed me to choose from various roles. Saunders et al. (2009) mention four types, of which the observer as participant and the participatory observer seemed most suitable.

In the first, the focus is on observing rather than participating, which allowed me to observe were participation was not possible, in, as during the meetings of the Home Owners Association (HOA). During these meetings my focus was on who were presented, who spoke and what they said. These interactions were also observed in terms of the different classes and races as represented in the community and the possible differences among them. I would make a habit of writing down what ‘groups’ where or where not represented and reflect upon that afterwards. The presence of multiple ‘groups’ allowed me to see how they reacted on statements made by others. Paying attention to seemingly ‘neutral’ issues, such as Wendy Huts, allowed me to see the different meanings people attributed to that discussion. I often discussed these meetings in interviews, allowing me to triangulate and see what the respondents saw in those meetings.

Besides observing people and practices as discussed above, I took the time for spatial exploration, trying to make local sense of the area of Lynedoch EcoVillage. This helped to place the practices and people in context (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). I have looked at the types of houses, the people that lived in them and the way the space was used. Especially the public space and if and when people used it was important as well as the way residents would move through the village. I wondered if people would be comfortable in walking to the other end of the village, or would feel the urge to go there and socialize. Besides walking around and chatting with some villagers, I mostly kept a ‘low profile’ too see what the residents themselves were doing. Most information was collected in just looking at the space itself and
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then again asking interviewees about that space by referring to my own observations. I have not observed a lot of interaction between residents during the day and also during the weekends I have spent at the EcoVillage. I believe this is mainly due to the fact people work and have lives outside the village as well. Maybe if I was to live in the village for 3 months or longer I might have been able to see more of this interaction. This could be seen as one of my limitations which I will address later.

The second role as participant observer allowed a more interactive role, for instance in participating at the Sustainability Institute. At the Institute I made use of the internet. I could move office space a few times and so get to know people better. I was becoming another employee. People noticed when I missed out one day. Multiple people asked where I had been. I tried to make a presence by greeting people, walking around the building and village nearly every day. I thus worked in the same place were a lot of residents worked, and walked around and interacted with villagers. Actively being present in and around the village distinguished me from students who were mainly active around the Sustainability Institute.

I was not only passive in observing interactions amongst residents, I also participated. On more than one occasion when I walked through the village I had a long conversation with one of the residents, sometimes resulting in an interview appointment. My most active participation in the life of the villagers was when I was invited to their homes for dinner or a casual chat. Sometimes more a group of villagers was present at these social gatherings, allowing me to see what was discussed and who was present.

This being present was in part intentional, but also in part unintentional I actually feel it is part of my personality. Some of my fellow students actually remarked that: “Do you need to be there 5 days a week, aren’t you enjoying South Africa?” For me being part and active was the reason I came to South Africa and the opportunity to engage with people who actually live here made me feel part of the South African experience. Also, on my last day there was some cake, coffee and people were invited to say something to me. A lot of people made remarks that they appreciated my presence and someone remarked: “You coming in, in the office in the
morning and saying good morning made a difference.” I was glad to hear this, because it showed me just being present and active in and around the village paid off. Another activity I was engaged in was the community work which is common for Master Students to do at the EcoVillage. Besides the community work with the students, I have spent my first month doing some gardening work to get a sense of what is happening around the EcoVillage. These activities proved to be of less direct importance to my research, but still it is context in the end which provides for meaning (Bateson, 1979:13). Context proved to be of vital importance throughout my research.

Finally, when writing down my observations, I have used a style described in the book of Ybema et al. (CF. 2009) as enhanced ethnography. In this descriptive setting, the author is a character in the narrative, and emotions of the author itself are relevant (Ibid.). The effect being that I fully accepted the influence of my own personality. This type of writing down observations shows some relation to techniques used in novel writing. My reason for choosing this type of writing is that it gave me the freedom to use my own emotions, capturing dialogues, but at the same time not reducing the observations to works of fiction. Throughout my stay of three months I have written down observations and personal ideas nearly every day.

3.2.5 Documents

“The future is made of the same stuff as the present.” (Simone Weil) This quote illustrates the conviction of many researchers that ethnographic research does not begin in the field, but in the library (Rock, 2001:33). Before I went to South Africa I have read all the available data I could find on the Sustainability Institute website and weaved this into the context of my research. I hoped that by contrasting these documents to what I found in the field I might find things that did or did not overlap (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). Also, my expectation beforehand was that there was probably more internal information available than the information made available via the website. After three weeks at the EcoVillage this expectations proved to be correct. During an informal conversation related to these documents this person remarked: “Those documents must be somewhere, you should take these documents into consideration”
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A few weeks later I was indeed given access to about 10 years’ worth of documentation on the EcoVillage. This documentation consisted of plans, meetings, financial reports and other such documents. Of the initial 1,269 files a selection was made, I have read 31 relevant documents in more detail. This selection was made by ruling out more technical and financial documents not directly related to this research. In this thesis, when such an internal document had a specific author, it will be referred to in the way scientific literature is referred to. If this is not the case, a reference to the documents is made in a footnote. These internal documents proved, just as the observations to give extra input into the conducted interviews. Because these documents gave insight into the developments and plans of the village I could ask more specific questions to the persons who were present at that time.
3.3 Data analysis

Various techniques will be used to analyze the data gathered during the fieldwork period. In part this research has been deductive, since I worked with existing theories and will explain my findings in relation to these theories (Saunders et al. 2009). However, as mentioned juggling between the data and theory and directly analyzing the data I had gathered proved to be very important to my understanding of the research context. This movement between data and theory allowed me to re-adjust my research questions and topic list throughout the field work period, which is a more inductive way of data analysis (Ibid.). This iterative process of data collection eventually led me see similar patterns emerge, which signals data saturation (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). After two months in the field I began to pick up similar patterns in my interviews and data collection. I will not be so bold as to state I have reached data saturation. I might have reached a point of saturation within the context of my research, but as for the complexities in the field this is not the case (is this ever the case?). The limitations and conclusions chapter will in greater detail deal with the scope of my research.

An important part of my data analysis was the transcription of the interviews. Transcribing the recorded interviews and putting them into text is a process that is relatively unexplored and can often create difficulties for the researcher (Ibid.). For me the process of transcribing was rewarding, but at the same time mixed with moments of anxiety; have I understood that correctly, is the transcript correct? Because the interview transcripts form such a central part of my research I decided to make explicit that I do not believe in objectively writing down the interview. I agree with Green, Franquiz and Dixon (1997:172) that a transcript is a text that “re-presents an event; it is not the event itself” It is this subjective element which I want to stress, also when it comes to the selection of quotes. The act of choosing these quotes is also influenced by my own assumptions and interpretations. The quotes collected from interviews and observations are presented in italics and blue. Lastly, due to the number of interviews I conducted I decided to make selections in what and what not to transcribe. In the interviews I have chosen to leave out details which were not of relevance to my research and focus on information which was. This has led to some interviews being worked out in more detail than others. The transcripts collected from my interviews and observations have
be coded with the program Atlas.TI. By using open, axial and selective coding to identify codes used in the observations and interviews patterns or relationships between codes where discovered (Saunders et al. 2009). Most quotes will feature in the results and analysis chapter. As anticipated, most of the analysis has happened during the post-fieldwork period. The first phase of this analysis required a re-reading and analysing of the gathered data, in this phase open codes have been formulated (Emerson et al. 1995). After having formulated these first open codes, the second phase of reviewing placed them under axial codes, themed codes. This second phase allowed me to gain more understanding of the interactions between codes, and patterns became clearer.

In my research I have tried to let the data speak as much for itself as possible. But this process itself remains subjective, since I did the interviews, transcribing and selection of the quotes. For the reader of this thesis this means one reads as much through the data of the fields as through the interpretation of myself. One might very well draw different conclusions from the same data I have collected.

I have used discourse analysis to shed more light on the words, language used by the interviewees and reveal more patterns (Taylor, Wetherell and Yates, 2001). This approach was particularly useful when analysing words used by the participants referring to inclusion and exclusion. However, within the social sciences there are many different ways of using discourse, covering micro and macro perspectives (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Since this research is a case study and aimed at a micro setting, the discourse analysis must follow this approach. The discourse analysis I used showed a more myopic, local context bound phenomenon to be studied in detail (Ibid.). Related to the data analysis is the discussion whether to use an etic or emic approach, the first using an imposed frame of reference, while the latter uses the framework sketched by the participants (Taylor, Wetherell and Yates, 2001:16). This research used the framework sketched by the participants themselves by looking for frameworks they use when discussing inclusion/exclusion processes.
3.3.1 Storytelling

The use of storytelling as a method was not anticipated beforehand, however it turned out that a lot of interviewees told stories about Lynedoch and the way they saw its development. That is why I decided to include storytelling as a concept in order to make more sense of the stories being told. Within the context of organizational theory, storytelling is used a lot more with a growing tendency to connect it to the broader context (Gabriel, 2004). In storytelling, especially in my context where I have heard a lot of stories which sometimes conflict, it is the meaning that counts and not if they are accurate (Ibid.). Boje (1991:106) mentions this incompleteness as well, each story is but part of a “unravelling process”. Storytelling is one of the preferred sensemaking ways in organizations, and when new decisions are being made often old stories are recounted and compared to the new situation (Ibid.). Stories have many other functions besides being used to make decisions. Stories can for instance be used for socializing new members and generating commitment or stories can be vehicles for social control (Boyce, 1996:7).

An organization is not a neutral storytelling machine, this goes for individuals as well and these stories are in part affected by who is the listener (Gabriel, 2004). Different people will tell different stories about the same historical development and incident (Boje, 1991). It is in these different stories that official and unofficial narratives arise. These narratives can then confirm or challenge the dominant power (Gabriel, 2004). The author makes clear that the telling of certain stories are highly dependent on the context and persons around: “At times, the mere presence of a certain person or a particular look may be enough to put an end to a venture in the unmanaged terrain.”. This quote illustrates the power dynamic around stories that are not part of the official narrative. In relation to this research, a lot of storytelling has focused on its community building functions, because stories can build a common culture and understanding (Delgado, 1989). But when they can build they can also break, and the author gives examples that oppressed groups have used stories throughout time to deal with their situation, promote group solidarity and create counter narratives. These counter narratives or counter stories can be used as a method of telling the stories of people whose voices are not often heard, or are at the bottom of societies well (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).
3.4 ASSUMPTIONS AND ETHICS

3.4.1 The researchers’ assumptions and reflections

Before I entered the field I realized I took myself into the field. This might sound ambiguous, but as a researcher I needed to cope with my own cultural taken-for-granteds and blind spots to unleash my full potential (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). By holding my assumptions to the light I believed this would not only enhance the trustworthiness of my research, but also allow me to reflect on myself. This part will deal with the assumptions and feelings I had towards the Lynedoch EcoVillage before I left. I viewed Lynedoch as a way forward on both the social and the sustainable dimensions. In the face of the Apartheid legacy and the growth of gated communities, I believed doing nothing was simply not an option. My focus could be summarized by a quote from Albert Camus: “The idea is being neither victim nor executioner” which partly originated from the initial contact I had in which I was advised: “In the past, we have not had good experiences with people who arrive with idealistic images in their mind, and then get disappointed when the reality does not match their own selfish image of what Lynedoch should be. You need to free yourself from judgement (positive and negative) and let the place speak to you, as it is, as it comes to you.” This reaction led me to focus my attention on the place itself and the stories people tell, instead of letting my own judgements carry me. I feel I have succeeded in such an attitude, since my focus was constantly oriented towards the stories the people tell me and collecting their viewpoints.

This being aware of assumptions is part of the overall reflexive attitude, being conscious about yourself as a researcher. This is in part determined by the way I gained access to the EcoVillage, and certain expectations were shaped accordingly (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). I gained access mainly by e-mailing the Sustainability Institute several times, hereby obtaining the contact information of persons who could give me access. After initial fast and positive contact I needed a further three weeks to gain certainty about my research and access. I learned later that this was mainly due to me being the first person to do research at the EcoVillage concerning the social dynamics. In the end I was the first person given access to conduct such a research, which made me feel both privileged and aware of the uniqueness of the situation. Both the people I gained access through and my supervisor agreed that doing
voluntary work was a good way of getting insight into the lived experience of people in the EcoVillage. I realized in advance that getting and being close might cause me to go ‘native’, and that by using reflexivity I might hold surprises and experiences in the field ‘fresh’ (CF. O’Reilly, 2005 & Ybema et al. 2009). In hindsight I believe that doing voluntary work made me appreciate the life and work around the residents more, but it did not necessarily bring me closer to them per se. I feel that me being present and walking around the village everyday had a much bigger impact. People started to recognize me and I managed to get closer to people in that way.

Besides assumptions related to the EcoVillage, I felt I should be aware of my own identity, which would per definition influence the way I communicate to people, and how others perceive me (CF. Ybema et al. 2009). Therefore, since I am from a Western-European country, I thought this would influence outcomes of interviews/conversations. However, from what I have gathered I do not think that me being a foreigner influenced my research in a negative way, rather I have heard on more than one occasion that me not being from South Africa might be an advantage when dealing with these complexities. Also, the SI being part of the EcoVillage provides a constant influx of people from a lot of different cultures and countries. I think that villagers, especially those who work at the SI and live there, are more used to having Europeans around. An assumption that arose during my research at the EcoVillage is that me being an outsider and not directly related to the SI might have been an advantage. “That is why I asked if you are part of the SI, so I don’t have to censor my opinions.” This explicit quote illustrates that my outside position might have been an advantage and one of my assumptions thus is that this has been the case.

To capture my assumptions and development I have kept an audit in which I explained changes to my research and general feelings towards the research (Saunders et al. 2009). I have written down some of my observations and ideas nearly every day I was at the village. A final way of creating reflexivity was using insights from other fields (Sabelis, 2008). I am interested in a wide variety of literature; however it is hard for me to in point exact influences. Nevertheless, I had anticipated some pitfalls and difficulties some of which proved more relevant than others. One of the difficulties I expected was to get all the
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interviews done, a fear which has not come true, considering the number of interviews conducted. Another pitfall could have been that I misinterpreted interactions and discussions during my observations/interviews. I avoided this by member checking, asking the interviewees during the interview if I understand them correctly by summarizing and also by asking different interviewees of their interpretations. Finally, on a more personal note, I anticipated that my decision whether or not to live at the EcoVillage itself had certain consequences. In the end I have chosen to stay at Stellenbosch and travel to Lynedoch in the mornings. I feel that considering my three months stay and wanting to be a bit more of an outsider this has been a good decision. However, I believe that for a more in-depth study, such as a PhD staying the village would be of added value.

Throughout this methods chapter I have discussed various personal experiences and reflections on the approaches I have used. However, as my supervisor rightfully remarked, there are not too many pitfalls mentioned. This is exactly were one of my pitfalls presents itself. Because the research presented itself to me as a constant flow and my ‘style’ of being present seemed to pay off I at that moment did not encounter that many pitfalls. With the power of hindsight, my style of being presented might for some have been too intrusive. Although I had anticipated this in the field, my enthusiasm might have prevented me at the time to observe it more closely. A more under the surface approach might have unravelled different data.

Related to this pitfall was my urge to perform and connect various disciplines to my studies. Although at the time I thought it brought me new insights, I also realized it led me away from the core issues at hand. This ‘urge’ in the beginning of my research almost led me to focus on my main research goals. It was by explaining and discussing my research with others I time and time again had to refocus at the core. One of these moments happened at the first HOA I was present. After explaining my ideas and research one of the persons present remarked “Oke, but what exactly is your focus?”. This led me to question and re-invent myself, what exactly was my focus?
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3.4.2 Ethical clearance statement

While the Vrije Universiteit and the faculty of Social Sciences endorse ethical research process, neither has a formal ethical clearance procedure. However, when conducting research in South Africa with groups which have been negatively influenced by the past, it is necessary to write an ethical clearance statement. It turned out that because I am not part of an University in South Africa, the rules of my University in Amsterdam applied. Also, in this case this was seen by most respondents as a positive rather than a negative thing. In the case of South Africa one has to let the interviewees sign in a form before conducting the interview. Something I feel has a negative impact on the relation between the interviewer and interviewee, especially in my case where I wanted to establish a more conversational like setting.

Lastly, I have used an explicit cover described by Ybema et al. (CF. 2009), which means I made an announcement of my presence and goals. This happened after two weeks in the HOA where I stated what I wanted to research and the methods I would use. This was then communicated to all residents making them aware of my presence, in a sense giving me informed consent to start my interviews and observations more actively in the village (Corbin & Morse, 2003). I think that me being explicit about my role as research establish my role within the village more clearly and has added to the trust people gave me. However, this might also produce certain limitations to my research, since people know new my ‘intentions’ and might therefore alter their stories.
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**ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

Chapter 4 to 7 will deal with the analysis and results of the fieldwork, which accumulate in the eventual limitations and conclusions chapter. The central focus of the results will be the case study of the Lynedoch EcoVillage, but since context and history play such a vital role in the case of the village and South Africa, the influence of the broader context will be dealt with first. The answers to the sub questions and main question will follow in chapter 8 along with the conclusions and limitations of this thesis.
CHAPTER 4: THE LINGERING HISTORY

This chapter deals with the influence of the history on the residents of the Lynedoch EcoVillage. Before my research I had done preliminary research on South Africa’s history, I assumed it might still influence connections and behaviour of people. History, especially the legacy of Apartheid still influences people and it is part of explaining their sensemaking. Whether people state Apartheid is or is not relevant, it is still a force to be reckoned with.

4.1 HISTORY AND LYNE DOCH

“There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forget not by the offended but by the offender himself.” (Karl Marx, 1857) Something I noticed during my stay in South Africa was the still lingering Apartheid history, especially in the pervasiveness of racial categorization (Seekings, 2008) and the way talked about it. Obvious signs of history are the still glaring inequality and segregation, present throughout the landscape of South Africa.

During my research I slowly became aware of some of these patterns. It was mostly in my interviews that people discussed their past and present dealings with Apartheid. In general I noticed a willingness to overcome the ‘Apartheid mind-set’. Both white, coloured and black people told me about instances in which they had to struggle to overcome “Sometimes I feel things coming back from Apartheid, but I want to lock them, but I cannot lock them because it is there – I want my mind to stop this mind-thinking.” Or “I would think they are acting that way because they are coloured people and 10 to 1 it is just because they are people – we grew up in a country where you would see colour.” It is clear that this race thinking co-exists with the wish to overcome it. Another pattern connects to the quote of Karl Marx and the wish to overcome. When discussing racial tension, inequality or Apartheid it were mostly white people that expressed the wish to leave the Apartheid past behind “they cannot keep blaming Apartheid”, “the whole Apartheid thing, it was supposed to end in 1994” or “it is almost like reverse Apartheid”. Whether it be people talking about the wish to leave apartheid behind or people discussing still being influenced by it, respondents acknowledged its influence. Some used it to explain current tensions “It could be difficult to get totally integrated with the people down there, because in the previous government they were regarded to be higher than us blacks and that concept still lingers.”,
or “Don’t come and force your ways on us, and we just say: ‘Ow ja Baas, oke Baas’ Sorry that I use the word Baas, because it was used on the farm.” As mentioned these feelings were expressed by respondents of all races, but it were mostly the white people which most strongly linked this to a wish to move on and own responsibility “You want to carry the Apartheid baggage, then I believe that is you problem, your issue that you have to deal with.” With ‘you’ in this case is meant the individual who ‘carries’ the baggage, in this case that would mean (mostly) non-white residents.

The past was not only used to explain or look at current tensions, it also popped when new ideas for the village were discussed. I have encountered two notable examples of this, which clearly show the manifestation of historical events in present day lives (Bowman, Duncan & Sonn, 2010). The first example was of a plan put forward by a few white ladies. The plan was to create a playground for the village children, because they did not had an allocated playfield separate from the school children. This idea was in turn interpreted by some that the white people wanted a park of their own, or that it would be only for their children. This, I would argue, relates back to the history of segregation. This story was told by multiple respondents, each telling the story from their perspective. A second example was the idea of a village pledge, an idea also put forward in one of the HOA meetings. In the meeting no direct remarks were made, but afterwards when I spoke to a white person present he expressed to me; “you know the first thing that popped into my mind was the Broederbond”. These two examples show that a seemingly neutral or harmless idea can be interpreted differently, because of past experience. The effect of Apartheid on present day interactions can be explained using a quote from the Slovene philosopher Slavoj Žižek who remarked in an interview: “A believe functions even if no one believes in it.”. It is not that people ‘believe’ in Apartheid, but because of its history this old believe still functions.
CHAPTER 5: THE DYNAMICS OF THE LYNEDOCH ECOVILLAGE

This chapter aims at tackling the many dynamics surrounding the Lynedoch EcoVillage. There will most likely be some overlap concerning the inclusion and exclusion patterns discussed later. However, I wanted to discuss some of my findings here, since they deal with tensions between multiple aspects of the EcoVillage.

5.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF LYNEDOCH ECOVILLAGE

The EcoVillage has known a long period of development to get to where it is now. This paragraph will outline these developments, since they in part influence the way in which the village operates and villagers interact today. Internal documents, which helped me to construct the development of the EcoVillage in more detail, will be mentioned by name or referred to by footnote. It was the Lynedoch Development Company which jumpstarted the idea of developing a community together with the Sustainability Institute. The LDC eventually obtained approval to build 144 houses, of these, 100 houses would be allocated for purchase by farmworkers. Meaning they were supposed to be bought by people qualifying for government and employer subsidies. Of the 144 houses that got approval, the LDC planned to develop 115\(^{13}\). In other documents (Swilling & Annecke, 2004) 110 housing units ranging in price from R90.000 to R480.000 were mentioned. Finally, the building of in total 120 plots is mentioned (Swilling, 2003), this was to be built in four phases. In these documents the plans to sell 100 subsidized houses to farmworkers had changed to 45 houses who qualify for government and some form of employer subsidy. The reason given for this change and number of subsidized houses was: "To go higher than this would be risky, because there needs to be sufficient income from all owners on a monthly basis to cover the cost of service provision." (Swilling, 2003:6) In interviews this change from lower income farmer housing to a mixed community has been discussed as well. "The original plans looks like it was for farm worker houses, then two things happened." The first deals with the financial issues, because the application for the housing was delayed for about 22 month there were a lot of holding costs which meant that "the longer it took the more income you needed to settle the loan. - Well how do you get more income, by reducing the number of subsidy people and increase the number of middle

\(^{13}\) (2003) Basic Design Concepts for the Lynedoch EcoVillage, internal document
class people.” Another dynamic popped up in relation to the farm housing. Local farmers started to demolish farmhouses and supporting the village idea “It meant they could re-locate their workers here – so the net result is not going to be an increased amount of housing.” The second dynamic was the effect of housing so many farmworkers into Lynedoch. It was feared that by getting only farmworkers in that the negative social effects would be imported as well. For the founders, who had a focus on children as well seemed unthinkable “we got this beautiful school, it is going to be the same old rubbish that the children go through.” Because of the social and financial dynamics the concept of a mixed community slowly arose. This idea was not anticipated beforehand or just arose suddenly, as becomes clear from the following quote “In that grinding grinding mess were the sparks for something which I think has become pretty unique. But nobody just woke up and said; let’s do a mixed income place.” However, the mixed income idea proved to be a solution to the social- and financial difficulties. This idea was incorporated in the meetings of the LDC and after extensive discussions the decision was made to turn the land into an EcoVillage.

To realize the mixed community there needed to be cross-subsidizing from the revenue of the middle class to the subsidized plots. The way this was done was by having two prices per plot, one subsidized and one commercial. These prices were 700 Rand m3 if you did not qualify for a housing subsidy and 120 Rand m3 if you did. To achieve this smaller plots were provided, which made it possible to avoid allocating plots in the beginning (Swilling & Annecke, 2012:293). So, even with the delay and raising waiting costs a sufficiently large group of initial middle class people bought plots, making the start of the village possible “I think it was bit by bit, luckily there was a sufficient number of middle class buyers in the beginning who were prepared to buy, if we didn’t have that this who thing could have crashed.” Furthermore, this initial buying in of middle class people made it possible to start with the building of the subsidized plots. The people buying these plots could choose these plots themselves. One of the reasons for starting with the subsidized plots was “To let the low income group set the tone for the village, rate to have middle class buyers set the tone for the village.”. The first commercial houses were built a few years later; this meant that the subsidized home owners lived here before the commercial home owners. Gradually over time middle class people came to live
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and build their houses changing the place from a majority subsidized to a now majority commercial housing place.

In the first plans the building of 35 farmhouses and 50 middle class homes where mentioned, but eventually these plans evolved to how they were described in the research context. As mentioned, the plans were divided into different phases, with phase 1 dealing with the school, Sustainability Institute and community hall complete. Phase 2 is near in completion; almost all of the 42 plots are filled up. In a 2004 document\(^{14}\) more details were provided about this 2\(^{nd}\) phase. Of the 42 plots, 4 had already build structures on them and 3 of them would not be developed. Of the remaining 35 plots, 20 would be commercial and 15 would qualify for government housing subsidies. As is evident from the data above the plans and exact number of plots being subsidizes changed over time, while the goal remained the same (referring to the plans once the idea of a mixed community had been established), to realize South Africa’s first multi-class socially mixed ecologically designed urban development. During my research period it turned out that were 42 plots available, owned by 37 people. Currently 23 of these plots are developed, of which 11 are subsidised houses. The vacant plots or houses that are being developed at the moment will be (mostly) commercial houses.

The plans of developing the Lynedoch EcoVillage changed frequently depending on the circumstances. One of the founders when asked during a tour through the village if there was any master plan replied “No, it just evolved. There was no master plan, I can assure you.” This quote sums up quite well how the village got were it is now. The uniqueness and difficulty of starting a village like this are apparent as well. This was the first socially mixed, ecological village in South Africa, which meant there were not a lot of examples to learn from, if any.

5.2 Management, representation and groups over time

“There is a group of people that used to live around, they were original occupiers of property here.”

Before the development of the Lynedoch EcoVillage there were people living in Shacks on site and working for the old Drie Gewels Hotel. Some of these got the opportunity to get a subsidized house on the Lynedoch EcoVillage, others were provided with other housing elsewhere. The original settlers and other movements of people throughout time made it possible to identify these groups and look at their effect on the EcoVillage. The development of the EcoVillage has had consequences for the way it has been organized and managed. The development started with the LDC working together with the SI to start the EcoVillage. The LDC consisted of locals of which some eventually came to live in the village. Eventually after many interviews and meetings the building of the subsidized plots began. The original occupiers and others from the same lower income background became the first residents.

For years these people were the only residents in Lynedoch, although middle income people had bought into the development. Of these middle income groups only 1 or 2 actually started building, the rest took longer to start or sold of their plot eventually. One respondent quite accurately described this as “the wave of non-development” The HOA at this point was established, but not yet fully operating. The SI at this point played a major role in facilitating and helping to the run the village with the LDC. “The board of the SI and LDC would overlap, basically worked together.” At this point three years ago the SI managed the financial elements of the HOA. However, around this time this changed when the new chairman restructured the HOA, split the finances of from the SI and hereby made it a more separate entity. Most people with whom I discussed this period with mentioned the “increase in structure”, meaning the putting in place of structure which the HOA could use to manage its own affairs. This change in management and role of the HOA coincided with the inflow of new residents from middle class backgrounds. More people told me that it was actually this group that made the working of the HOA possible “This group were articulate, middle class, professional, mainly white people, who had lots of ideas and these people came to form the HOA. – The HOA never came down until they took their position.” While new people came in and worked with the HOA, some of the middle class people who moved in earlier moved out.
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In the wake of these developments and inflow of new people a more direct sense of history seems to have grown with the first group who came to live at Lynedoch. “You have a sense of ownership, proprietary sense that people that come later don’t have.” This confirms what Elder et al. (1996) described as place attachment, which is dependent on how long people stay at a certain place. This group described a loss or change to the original plan, the way it should be, but is now viewed differently by new people coming in “New people that came who weren’t part of the development right from the beginning – they don’t understand the initial idea of the village in terms of social connection between the higher and lower incomes.” Or “Things have changed a bit from where they originally started.” One respondent made explicit that this developed created a division between the older and newer group “In the first wave we were really close, the second wave come in and there grew a gap between us.” Because the new people moving in were middle class and mostly white a class and race element was added to view of two groups “everybody who came in later had a car, nobody in the first group had a car – transport is an issue for people, they have to come with the train and deal with all that stuff.” An example of a more race related comment, which is related to class as well “Ja, so most of the newcomers are unfortunately white, who can afford. You will find that subtlety or sometimes not so subtlety there is this divide between the us and them’s.”

When asked to make more explicit what has changed, or what in the original plan had changed the first wave residents mostly expressed they felt it became a more expensive, exclusive community less focused on creating housing for the poor “I am just afraid we are moving from providing to those who need to an elitist area.” Another respondent remarked “The initial idea of the poor family also being able to bring in something, to be happy and able to live here, that is not happening.” It is in abandoning these ‘initial plans’ as set forth by the respondents that some of them felt side lined “Coloureds were living in the development, then the whites had an idea of the village and pushed it in a direction to get that idea to work.” To this perceived change of the initial plan class and race elements are attached. These elements together with the idea of lifestyles will be discussed in more detail as well, since some of them manifested in what seemed to me ‘neutral’ topics.
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This feeling of ‘historic’ divide expressed by the older residents is acknowledged or interpreted differently by the newer residents “I think they feel they have lost their voice somewhere along the line - they didn’t end up as part of the system as they thought they would be.” Part of this acknowledgement is that this first group of residents might not be part of the development anymore as they used to be, there are questions among people whether the first residents, especially those from the lower class/education understood the process they were in “We brought them in by giving them homes and making them part of the community. How much choice did they have in it and how much did they understand?”. Other respondents talked about the higher educated who drove the development and that the people who lived there, ended up being subject to the ones “who could buy in there”.

The part above is relevant for how the HOA has developed and in how far people feel it is representative. With the inflow of new people the HOA started to take a more active role, the SI at this time took a step backward leaving more room for the HOA to become more active. In the paragraph about the SI their role will be discussed in more detail. This increased participation however came mainly from the middle income group. This increased the representation of people in the HOA, the HOA became more “democratic, more tolerant of different ideas and opinion than before.” While the HOA became more democratic and open to possibilities the first wave group still expressed feelings of not being heard, this seems to go back to the period were the SI ran the HOA “before it was a bit of hierarchy with the management of the SI and workers below them.” This idea of more hierarchy was confirmed by people who started the village, it was hard to find people who could take on responsibilities and had the capacities to fulfil them. In this vacuum of development there seems to have been less room for people to speak out. The space opening up for home owners to participate was thus filled by mainly white middle class people “In the end of the day they go over to voting and the majority rules – that is why I feel it is no use going to the meetings.” With the majority is meant the “Decision making is still in the hands of the whites even though we have a say.” Therefore, even though more space was created a group of the first residents felt they still had no power over the situation and that ‘they’ will not listen. Yet at the same time there is awareness of more space “Three years ago I would not participate – now the chairman of the HOA had the decency to talk to me, that goes a long way.”
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From the point of view of the mainly white middle class people who stepped into the space available there was this acknowledgement of more space “Individuals start to take charge in the village, get a bit more involved.” Another respondent remarked “listen we need to take ownership of our village”. While this group of middle class people became more involved they did notice others not participating “certain groups/clusters are not participating regularly”. Reactions to this where varied, most agreed that there was space and stress own responsibility to make use of this space “We need to say to people; you sit at home and criticise, but you need to be in the meeting and get with program.” Nevertheless, almost all respondents seemed to agree that besides responsibility there should be an effort made to include more people in the HOA meetings and village in general “Let’s make this a less exclusive meeting”. To do this it was stressed that restoring faith in the system was essential “We need to gain the trust of people that do not trust the system.” Some had tried to convince people that the system has changed and that there is now more room “We try to get it through; it is not the way it used to be.”

This is where the village is at now; with more and more plots being filled up and more people attending the meetings room to participate has grown. People also want everyone to participate, but it remains a difficult job to include everyone. This is expressed by both the first and second wave group of people who attended and want to include others. “I would be sad to hear if people feel they are left behind, because it is really from the HOA, Trustees side that they try to get more people included.” One of the positive movements has been the attention of the new chairman to the social dynamics and the re-evaluation of the system. As might become clear from the previous quote there is a movement towards more inclusion into the system. One of the ways they wanted to implement this is by changing the way of electing people as Trustees at the AGM. “To many feel uncomfortable the way it is being done now.” Some people did indeed expressed they found it difficult to just speak out in a group. Unfortunately I was not around to observe the effect of this system change, but it definitely falls in line with the “momentum” felt by people to make positive changes.
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5.3 The Sustainability Institute

More entities and organizations were involved around the residents than I had at first anticipated. Therefore, I constructed an overview of the entities surrounding the residents which can be found in appendix 6. There are three main entities involved in the EcoVillage; the HOA, SI and Public School. My focus will be on the SI and its influence on the residents.

The SI as entity has been part from the beginning and worked together with the LDC to develop the village. In a sense the SI is “the mother ship that helped to launch this whole initiative.” Some of the people present from the beginning and part of the development also pointed out that it has been the SI who provided most development facilitation and that it set up the other entities; “In history it will show that the SI basically started off everything, we started up Lynedoch Development; we started off the Lynedoch Home Owners. I think we pioneered those, and then they were basically ready to run.” This pioneering role is acknowledged by many of the respondents, some stating the village would not have been there without the SI. Besides the SI being the pioneer, it has a voice in the HOA, because it is a home owner. The role and power of the SI in the village has been a constant, but changing one, with people interpreting their influence in different ways. While some feel their influence as too big or “disturbing, they are the power under which the HOA falls.”, others including those who express concern feel that the SI is a “hub which allows things to happen”, or provides support. In general residents perceive the SI as an entity which makes things happen and an important driver of change over time, however some express concern about the amount of influence.

One of the ways in which the SI has directly influenced the village is through its financial contribution “Actually the SI pays a massive amount of levies, so that the levies can stay so low.” This realization of the SI paying a disproportionate amount of levies was something that became more of a discussion during my time at the village. This effect on the levy is an important one, because a levy increase would have social consequences in the village. Another pattern was the changing role of the SI over time. Almost all respondents saw a change in the activity of the SI in the village and HOA “Between the SI and the EcoVillage there is a close knit, maybe it was too overwhelming at first, but that has now taken a step back.” This is seen as part as a move from the villagers themselves “So what happened now in the last year or
two, other people took over the control of the village and I think that has been really positive.’’ Some seeing possibilities for further separate development in the future, this being contrasted with some who do not see this happen, especially when taking the financial situation into consideration. One striking observation of one of the respondents was the position of the picture of the residents “The pictures hang in the Sustainability Institute, but they actually not belong there.”, hereby making clear that the home owners and SI are separate entities. Another way in which the SI and HOA overlap is that the place where the HOA meetings take place is in the SI main building. This was something I observed and was not further stressed by people, but it still shows the strong relation between the two entities.

Most if not all information on the EcoVillage can only be accessed via the SI’s website. This is also how I collected my first data and crafted my research proposal. As with most research proposals the reality can be different than anticipated, but one interesting ‘assumption’ I made was that I saw the SI as the daily management of the village instead of the HOA. One person I interviewed made the same ‘mistake’: “The SI’s websites seems to be one of the very few places where you can get information. - I expected it had its own website, but obviously it fall under the SI, that is fine.” This idea of an own website or more emphasis on the home owners was shared by others as well “you don’t find out a lot about the home owners, you find out about the SI – I think it would be good to give the home owners more of a platform to stand on.” In terms of what people thought about what was presented of the village to the outside world, most portrayed a double feeling. On the one hand their backing and representation gave it more “credibility, because it gives it an academic background.” Via the SI people got to know the village and became familiar with its history and goals. Some felt the portrayal of the village was not completely representative “they are selling it for more than what it is” or “Sure, it is not as fancy as they make it” people making these remarks felt the positive aspects of the village were over-represented and that it would be good to also highlight the tensions or struggles experienced. This would in turn benefit to the representation of all feelings experienced in the village “There are other people who live here and who experience the living in the EcoVillage from a different level.” Finally, a majority of respondents remarked they felt part of an experiment or something new in the positive sense, but mentioned this sometimes felt a bit too much like an experiment “in some ways it feels a bit like being part of an experimental community in a way,
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under a microscope. But in another way it also feels like you got like a pioneer leaders that start things up” This dual feeling people expressed was reinforced by incidents. For instance, when some tourists or students would just walk into somebody’s garden without permission or somebody’s personal situation was discussed during a tour through the village.

5.3.1 The working and living dynamic
The strongest relation the SI had with the village was through its role as job creator, at least 8 households are more or less dependent from work from the SI. The majority of these households fall in the subsidized, lower class segment. Residents who lived and worked in the village made clear that it had an impact on the way they behaved. Some of them saw it as part of a lifestyle “sustainable living is about that. It is a positive aspect that we could potentially work and live on the same property - Everybody that lives here should be working here.” or “you can make a difference where you live.”. Others portrayed the role of the SI as job creator more as a care-taker role “They look like they make sure everybody in the village is working – the SI makes sure it is working”. But in this care-taker role the respondents made clear that if the SI would disappear this would have a great impact on their lives “SI is acting a big role haha. Ja for example I if SI bend down, ahw we would be down. – we are dependent if they go away we must go on the street and look for a job.” In general the more lower class coloured people expressed the relation of working and living at the village more as a way of making a living. While the more middle class white people attributed a lifestyle importance to it. To me it seemed that the lower class saw it as work related opportunities and middle class as a deliberate (lifestyle) choice. The dynamic between the ecological and the social will be further discussed in paragraph 5.4.

Most respondents pointed to the tensions of working and living. This included people who did and did not live and work at the village. In general this tension came up, because people working for the SI saw each other in their living environment as well. Therefore some felt they had to be careful what they do or do not tell “I might say something I am not supposed to say”. This effect rubs off on residents who might not work at the SI themselves, but whose family members work there, some felt they needed to be careful when speaking out.
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The clearest tension was in the dynamic of being employed by the SI, but at the same time living in the village and thus being part of the HOA. The SI itself as an entity is part of the HOA, but employs people from the village and is in the middle of this tension. Some people had trouble speaking out or voicing concerns, fearing it might influence their living or work. “Sometimes I feel I must be careful to say some things, because I work here, and I don’t want that to influence my living.” These feelings come from a fear saying something wrong or thinking that critique will not be tolerated. At the same time people realized there might be no consequences when speaking out “The people at the top might be open, but still there is that fear you know? – In fear of losing what they worked for, for the past years they keep quiet.” This feeling of fear is infused by stories told by people in the village, these stories included adjustments of work contracts when voicing complaints “As soon as they complained about stuff the SI would revise their employment contract.”. I could not get stories from people experiencing it first-hand, but it shows that these stories circle around and influence people even if they were not correct. People not working for the SI and observing this relation were often more outspoken about the relation and shared stories they heard as well expressing more than once “you can’t bite the hand that feeds you” or “you don’t think people will speak out against their bosses right?”. Some of these people not working for the SI felt they could voice their opinions more openly, sometimes in a sense speaking for others “I do not talk around the point, I don’t work for the SI.”

These stories, which especially the lower income people told me, show an important historical element. As ex-farmworkers they are used to living and working at the same place, but also were ‘victim’ to the stress surrounding that. “If you stay at the farm that isn’t your house. You can’t do whatever you do, because that guy told you it isn’t your house.” This uncertainty of when losing you jobs equals losing your home is present in the minds of these people. And while SI as a job provider does not wield the power to remove people from their homes (nor has the desire to do so), people might interpreted their role according to their previous (negative) experiences. This ambiguous relation might be strengthened, because the SI is viewed as a caretaker at the same time. This shows an overlap of the way farms (used to) operate as well, being a care taker, job providers, but a powerful entity at the same time.
5.4 The Eco and the Village

The Lynedoch EcoVillage is unique in that it combined a socially mixed neighbourhood with an ecological agenda. In this research I have been mainly concerned with the social dimension, but came to see ecological as a social indicator. During my research it struck me that the term EcoVillage is interpreted in many different ways. Some respondents feel there is a tension between the Eco and the Village, discussing that the one aspect is focused on more than the other and also pointing to others as living there for different reasons.

First, there were many opinions whether the social and ecological worked together or should work together. Some saw it as two distinct things, or not interacting “there is a wall between it, it is just two different things.” or “I don’t think they necessary co-exist”. Others saw it as two parts working together “a combination of the social and ecological I think it is extraordinary and that is why I want to be part of it. We need places like this to show it actually is possible”. When discussing this with one of the founders of the EcoVillage it was mentioned that other EcoVillages failed, because they are comprised of a homogenous kind of people, something other respondents noticed as well “These very rigid greens, they can be so dogmatic that you end up with a very conflicting community”. This village was constructed differently in that it had something else to it than just building a community “You cannot build a community for its own sake – it needs to have something beyond itself.” Besides the founders this idea was shared by other residents remarking that “Sustainability could be used to bring us closer together” or “the ecological is kind of devoid of history.” Remarks like this seem to point to wish to not focus on the mix all the time, hereby drawing attention away from looking at ‘difference’ all the time, preventing reinforcing it. This is in line with what Rowlands et al (2007) discuss, mixed communities should not be forced, but grow organically.

Nevertheless, residents also pointed to differences using the ecological or social aspect of the EcoVillage. Especially the ecological aspect was seen as part of a lifestyle, the social as a lifestyle was hardly mentioned. Especially most white middle class residents first became interested in the ecological aspects and often later learned about the social “I remember the

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15 It is the first ecologically designed, socially mixed, intentional; community in South Africa (Annecke and Swilling, 2012:282)
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"First time I went onto the website to go in there with the perception of eco and then you start reading about the social mix and those kind of things." and "I think for a lot of people and our big attraction was the ecological, less so the social, that was what we started learning about." As these quotes show the middle class residents mainly came in on the ecological ticket and later learned about the social aspect. This differed from the intentions of the lower class residents, most of whom were amongst the first to live in the village. For them the social, not the mixed element per se, but the prospect of owning a house, often the first they ever had was important "There was a lot of pressure just to get a house, they couldn’t care how we got the water, how we looked after their shit. They didn’t care, and I don’t blame them." For this lower income group the ecological aspect often involved more learning and getting used to "I never understood what organic means – for me it was very strange, but I accepted everything they told or taught us." This need for learning and less interest about the ecological aspect showed in the recycling behaviour of residents, as one expressed "We are still learning. They must help the people, because don’t get it, there is less people recycling here in Blikkiesdorp, I think (person) is the only one who recycles here." Blikkiesdorp refers to the lower part of Lynedoch were a group of coloured people live. Paragraph 7.1.1 will deal in detail with these nicknames.

It were these intentions and different interests of the lower income group that were perceived by new middle income residents as an important, sometimes disappointing difference "Many people that live here, it is mostly for practical reasons – they didn’t apply for a subsidy because they want to live in an EcoVillage, they come here because there is work." This quote quite clearly illustrates that ‘they’ do not come for the lifestyle, but another reason. Another person positively remarked that "the community has broken barriers of race if not gender and culture, but whether if all those members are eco cautious is doubtful. – The government grant homes, I don’t think they fully comprehend it." The quotes and information above illustrate that the ecological aspect might intend to provide a more neutral construct moving away from a focus on diversity. It is however the ecological aspect that seems to become a way of determining difference, often attached to a class element.
CHAPTER 6: THE SOCIAL MIX IN PRACTICE

This chapter is concerned with how residents ‘live’ the social mix. It has already been discussed that although there are more people active in the HOA, still some individuals and groups are more active than others. Besides some general information on Lynedoch there was not a lot of information available discussing how this worked out in practice.

6.1 NEIGHBOURS AND INTERACTIONS

During my many walks through the village and subsequent observations, the village itself looked quiet with most activity centred on the building of one or two new homes. During the week the village mainly remained quiet and most activity was around the SI, Guesthouse or Lynedoch Primary. This did not surprise me, since a group of residents work at the SI, thus move their activities and others work outside of the village. During the weekends I have spent at Lynedoch the place was quieter than during the week. Most activity during the weekend seems to be around the place where most coloured live (Blikkiesdorp). Music can be heard throughout the day, people are braaing and youngsters walk in and out the village. It might sound stereotypical, but to me it seemed that indeed the coloureds were the most active group. This was also confirmed by coloureds themselves “down here we have youngsters who love music and stuff like that.” Another respondent stated more explicitly “There is also social differences because people of colour are naturally loud, outspoken you know, they party you know haha.”

However, as I later learned there was more interaction during the weekends, people met in smaller groups at home or went out. There are many examples of people meeting in separate groups, as with the coloured people described above, their youngsters have parties and people interact most amongst each other. A group of white people have dinners with each other, one of these participants remarked “we need to be careful, because this is becoming a white exclusive dining club.” To this quote another person remarked that it should not matter, because if you like each other you seek each other out. This process of seeking out others which are like you was present in the village and was addressed by many respondents

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16 In this part I mean with village, the residential homes.
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“Somehow it ends up mixed more with people that may speak the same language, who have the same interests.” Or “The people that have a few things in common, obviously friendships will form.” Besides lifestyle or interest, people formed bonds reflecting in what stage of life they were. “My friends here, people with children of the same age, we walk around in the afternoons” or “With us it is specifically linked to children, the social interaction with other parents.” Children seem to have an unique way of getting people together. It are children who make use of the community space most often. Some did express some concern about certain groups bonding without getting others involved “Only a certain group will share meals, only a certain group will get in their cars and go out together to the same place, because they can afford it and others can’t.”

As with many of the results people saw interactions change over time and being influenced by the inflow of new groups of people. Something I observed was that not all residents knew each other’s name and how many people lived in the village “I think this moment… actually I can’t say how many people live here… I can say about how many houses, about 30.” The little interaction between the ‘historic’ groups was mentioned by one respondent “I don’t know two or three families that live here and they were part of this new wave.” Furthermore, some people expressed that although there is interaction it was not really integrated “People do not take the time to understand each other – we just don’t know each other’s names.” Other people confirmed this by stating that Lynedoch is mixed, but not (yet) integrated. Some in this sense felt the village resembled your average suburb with its own unique elements “People are friendly, there is not communal spirit I pick up, it is just another suburb really. – but still this is a more friendly environment and more friendly kind of suburb than your average suburb.” While there is the feeling of historic groups and sometimes little interaction, people feel there is positive change and efforts to interact more. This was also visible in the HOA representation dealt with in paragraph 5.2. A black person described one of the things that have changed for the better. “Things are going in the right direction, I think it is us being close to one another, just learning to see the other persons for who they are overcoming what you don’t like from that person and try to incorporate them as people. - For instance if I walk now everybody greets me, what has brought about this change I do not know.” Especially this greeting part was considered as important, the little things by which you acknowledge somebody else existence.
6.1.1 The wish for informal interaction

With the move towards more interaction amongst residents the wish arose to have more ‘informal meetings’ or spaces for interaction. This is connected to the HOA and the feeling of (some) people that this is not the place for informal interaction “You basically bring your problems to the meeting or come to listen to somebody else his problems haha.” Another example “Not everybody attends these meetings and I think that it is so formal it definitely is a factor.” This is enhanced by the feeling that there are not enough activities were the village can come together. Multiple respondents voiced the possibility of organizing more braais and other such activities. Only this organizing of informal events such as a braai seemed to produce certain side effects in the minds of some respondents “The only time when people socialize is when there is something to eat, when they are having a braai. - when you are at a party you are going to be careful how you eat, because you don’t know what the next person will think of the way you eat etc etc. You know things like that, you are not comfortable.” This creation of differences when going to a braai was expressed more clearly as well “We want to make a big fire; everybody brings whatever the feel like braaing - And somebody stood up and said that is not a good idea, I say why? Because this one will bring stead, that one will bring lobster, that one will a little kidney, that one will just have a bone to braai. That will not be fair, because than people will see some can bring more than others.” In this case the respondent did not agree with this premise, but it shows that it is in the minds of people.

An example of an informal event was a monthly meeting of the village’s women. Every month one of the women would organize an event; dancing, fondue etc. “All the women in the village would come together on certain Sundays. I think that was one of the ways to get to know people and it stopped this year. But that actually did work quite well.” These meetings stopped for no apparent reason, but seemed to have provided some insightful learning moments “The next meeting was to dance at a Sunday afternoon. And some people are religious and they don’t like dancing on Sunday, so that meeting for example was very badly attended. In retrospect we realized what the reason was, they didn’t tell us, that they don’t want to dance at a Sunday, they just didn’t attended.” These meetings seemed to have showed some differences between people, in turn making people more sensitive and aware of the differences.
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6.1.2 Future expectations

“If it can’t be achieved here, shit, were the hell in the country are you going to be able to achieve it?”

During the interviews and observations many people made remarks about their future expectations for the EcoVillage. Some felt that the EcoVillage had to succeed, because if it would fail, what hope would be left for South Africa as a whole? An expectation recurring more than once was that Lynedoch would become a community for rich people “I can’t see how a poor person, or normal people like me can afford to live here in the future.” These people can see rich black/coloured people buying in, which would facilitate a mix, but on a class level it remain more higher income people coming in “At the end of the day if will be only the rich people, it doesn’t matter if you are white or black or coloured.” Many respondents expressed expecting positive developments for the future. These positive expectations seemed to align with optimistic expectations regarding the daily management and interactions between people in the EcoVillage. “I believe in the future everything will play out the way it should.”

An expectation mentioned by respondents from all backgrounds was the idea that their (grand) children would eventually be the ones to truly break with the past. It’s the children who already make most use of the community space “Well I mean children are children, they don’t seen boundaries or borders or they don’t listen to the adult issues, so the children play all over the place, which is nice.” A different residents remarked “The children do not see division, the children don’t have luggage you know, they just live.” The children to a lesser decree carry the Apartheid legacy and are thus seen as the generation that will move the country and EcoVillage forward.
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6.1.3 Safe space

During my research I came across instances where people mentioned that ‘room’ to air their views should be made, especially when it comes to (HOA) meetings “I think that is what democracy is all about, that you have a safe space to air your views and opinions.” As previously discussed attempts are made to make it easier or more comfortable for people to air these views. However, this might be difficult to achieve in a formal setting where some people feel less at ease than others. “Even though they have formal meetings, people are scared to stand up.” Some respondents expressed a wish to have a place where “different backgrounds meet each other, it is time to find a platform where we are equal and no one is above the other.” or to be able to deal with the past “One needs to leave people the space to be okay with what has happened in the past.” Formally nobody is above anybody else in the HOA meetings, but in reality some still feel there is a certain hierarchy.

I found that there were such instances where space was created for different kinds of voices to be heard. In January of 2013 a workshop ‘beyond racism’ was organized by the SI, people of the village were also invited to join. The workshop was about dealing with the past, allowing people to tell their story and because of that to learn from each other. In all instances I have discussed this with participants I received positive feedback. “Yes, it is 20 years ago, but it was an eye opener how different people experienced Apartheid”. Or expressed by another participant “They had the opportunities to share stories, to hear each other talk about things that are so difficult and the sources of mistrust.” For some it provided a possibility to speak out, even though they might feel scared “I really liked the workshop, because some people are scared to say something you see. – there were a lot of feelings in there, people came together you see?”

The impact of the workshop was noticed by people “People that were in that workshop, you can see the changes – the way they say hi and morning to me is different, it made a huge difference.” To conclude, the workshop might have been seen as a success by those present, but there were comments tempering the enthusiasm “I don’t think you can have meetings to say well there is trust. I think trust is built over time and through relationships.” Challenges remain and a constant effort is necessary to build trust and understanding.
CHAPTER 7: INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION PROCESSES IN THE LYNEDOCH ECOVILLAGE

This chapter is concerned with discussing the inclusion and exclusion processes at the Lynedoch EcoVillage. The topics highlighted in this chapter are issues brought up by the respondents of my research.

7.1 SPACE AND HOUSING

One of the most fascinating parts of my research had to do with the meanings attributed to spaces and houses by respondents. The use of space and houses holds a strong relation with the historical development of the EcoVillage. The Lynedoch EcoVillage itself is closed off by a gated and fence. When reflecting on my audit (dairy) and observations it shows I had to get used to the idea of gates. Slowly but surely I adjusted and began to see the EcoVillage not as a gated community, but as a very open community. That not all gates are alike became clear after living for some time in Stellenbosch, were the idea of safety, gates and security are more stressed and visible. Residents of Lynedoch acknowledged that “it is not a traditional gated community” Lynedoch does not feel like a traditional gated community. Another contrast with Stellenbosch is that in town all houses have bars for the windows, while in Lynedoch only a few have them.

The amount of space between houses was mentioned as difference from how (mostly) middle income residents used to live “living in South Africa this is too close for me, it is too close living. They might have tried a little too hard getting in as much houses as possible.” In the words of a different respondent “I know that is the mood of the whole system, but geez there is going to be another house between this one and that one?” These concerns are less vocalized by the lower income groups. One of them expressing that they were used living close to each other “You have people that grew up in quiet neighbourhoods – you also have people, like where I am coming from who live next to each other.” These concerns however did not came from a resentment of being close to others, but from the disappearance of vacant plots now used as communal space and not being used in living in such close proximity. This closeness of plots has been enhanced, by allowing plot owners to build on the plots lines “what people now do is that they park their cars on public space, because they have built their house as big as possible.”
Nevertheless, proximity to others was not experienced as something bad per se, rather both lower and middle class income residents saw it as an opportunity to learn or ‘experience’ the other. “You see a situation similar to your own, but when you come out of your door and see something different you might understand it better.” And “I never lived to rich people when I grew up so I did not understand them and here is the opportunity to learn and know them.” I want to give one more example, one which I in particular liked. One of my respondents explained how it was normal to have Sunday as a rest day, but during the first Sunday he spent at the village he heard drums playing, disturbing his rest: “why were they interested in playing the drums at that time of day. That is because it symbolises something greater in their culture and you think; I would have never known that, if you didn’t live across from one another. And now on a Sunday afternoon when those drums wake me, than I realize well you are not the only person on this earth, I mean not the only person thinking a certain way, we are all different. Being reminded of that, it makes you appreciate your own culture so much more.” As the quote shows, the proximity makes for interaction with the ‘other’, but at the same time heightens the awareness of one’s own culture. Other respondents expressed similar awareness of their own culture, because they saw how others were doing it differently. However, as will be discussed the following pages, the overall close proximity did not mean that all residents interacted with everyone in the village. “You get to know your neighbours; I don’t know (person) because he is on the other side of Lynedoch. So I think it definitely has an impact on where you stay.” This quote illustrates that neighbours tend to interact more, because of people seeking out others who resemble themselves, but also because of proximity.

Finally, there were instances in which the closer proximity seemed to cause stress. In one case the people in Blikkiesdorp played loud music, which was not appreciated by others in the village or even greeting: “We are different cultures here, I am staying in a township - I tolerate a neighbour making a noise because I am used to that. In one of the meetings a big issue, apparently there were these quests that went into some house and when they were leaving instead of saying: bye bye, what they did was to hoot; Pop pop. They communicated and said bye bye, but they hooted. And the other guy made this a big deal. A BIG BIG deal.” Learning or being stressed by others seem closely related.
7.1.1 Spatial differences and nicknames

The spatial and housing differences described by respondents proved to be one of the most interesting outcomes of my research. After a few weeks of interviews and observations it became clear to me that residents saw different kinds of clusters in the EcoVillage. The cluster most frequently mentioned was the cluster of subsidized houses at the lower part of Lynedoch. These houses in turn were occupied by coloured people, most of whom were part of the first group of people moving into the EcoVillage. It should be stressed that these people were not allocated, but had the opportunity to choose their own plot. However, not all respondents seemed aware of this historical development. ‘If you look at where the placement of the subsided houses, they are kind of in little clusters, which already makes them a little community within a community. Instead of have one – one – one. Which would have mixed us even better, there are little clusters.’’ Another middle class resident remarked on this cluster as well ‘‘The division between types of housing are very visible and it seems to be clustered – Unfortunately there is only one subsidized house on the top.’’ This ‘top’ and ‘down’ are locations in the EcoVillage. The village is constructed in a sort of valley, which automatically creates a higher and lower part. It was thus not only the subsidized plots at the lower part which were seen as a cluster, but also the more commercial houses at the top of Lynedoch. These two clusters which are home to more subsidized and commercial homes added a racial element to it. This was described accurately by one respondent ‘‘There is a bit of a bo-dorp and onder-dorp – there is a bit of a clear almost division along class lines which also coincide with race.’’

The coloured people living in at the lower part of the village at some point came up with a nickname; Blikkiesdorp17 and Smarties Town. When I asked about the origins and meaning of these nicknames I got the following response ‘‘If you look in a straight line there is no mix, so we call ourselves Smarties Town or Blikkiesdorp. Blikkiesdorp because we are the noisy ones – the upper one’s come and say put your music down ahah.’’ The emphasis here is mainly on the class element, more people living in Blikkiesdorp made this distinction and mentioned nicknames for the upper part of the village as well ‘‘The rich people stay in Hope Town and the people who

17 Blikkiesdorp is an actual informal settlement in Delft, Cape Town. It is home to about 15.000 people living in poor conditions.
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*are poor stay in Blikkiesdorp*. Besides Hope Town, another nickname for the upper part was used more frequently “The others we all classified as Opschuldbuild we give no colour or what tot that – you people with a lot of money they have a lot of debt.” This nickname holds a class element, and not so much a racial element. Lastly, the people living in Blikkiesdorp had fun in sharing the nicknames and could see the humour in them “We laugh about it, it is good to laugh about it.”. Appendix 7 portrays the location and space of these nicknames. In the first overview the two locations described are above are illustrated, the second overview will be discussed below.

The awareness of these nicknames was widespread among the residents, some did not know the names, but had heard of the existence of nicknames. This awareness and ‘spread’ of the nicknames in turn meant different interpretations by other people. Some new names and locations were pointed out, one of them being Stofland, which sort of lies in between Blikkiesdorp and Opschuldbuild “We named this place Stofland for the funny reason that that area at the top was paved, so when you come here your car is always full of dust, stof.” This name seemed related to dusty road and was not seen as a negative name “Then we kind of joke and say the next area would be Stofland, because there is nothing happening there, it is just dust.” Nevertheless, a more negative nickname also popped up which was the name White City referring to the upper part of the village. This nickname was mentioned by mostly white residents, I have not heard it in any of my interviews with people from Blikkiesdorp “For some reason we live in White City, again we are being labelled as being white.” It was this name that had a clear relation between race and class “I would say Stofland is positive, Blikkiesdorp is positive, Whitecity I don’t see that necessarily in a positive light - I think they assume whites with being wealthy.” It should be mentioned that people in the lower income groups did point out that “These whites all stay at the top of the hill” feeding back into this awareness of a higher and lower part of the village. “We don’t want to say that the white people live on the high part of the village and the less fortunate people do not. But unfortunately that’s the facts.” This quote explains the awareness that race and class function together.

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18 Small town in South Africa located in the Northern Cape Province. Over 90% of the people living there speak Afrikaans.
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Some conceived the nicknames as negative to the village and people themselves "When you got a nickname for a place that is actually derogatory to themselves then you know you got a problem." And "I think it is damaging to the people that create the name, it emphasises their loss and trauma – it also damages the attempt by the rest of the village to get them together." However, most saw the nicknames not as essentially bad (with the exception of White City) and stressed the humour of it "They are very interesting names and we laugh about it quite a lot, it is like living in a town and you got suburbs." One respondent even purposed celebrating and joking about these differences once the community stood more firm "The better we know one another, the better we can understand one another, the better community we can build. Then we can start to joke and say; why not come up to braai at Whitecity tonight, it is going to be a ball, because everything is grand as sparkling up here. Or ach no it is much more fun at Blikkiesdorp."

There was an important overlap between the interpretation and use of nicknames when explaining situations. One of the most evident examples was the way in which the pavement of the village was seen. The village its roads were slowly being paved, but before this process was complete they ran out of funds. This meant the top of the village was paved, while the bottom was not. Most people confirmed this story and simply explained it was a lack of funding which left the paving incomplete, but some still expressed feeling neglected or forgotten. One respondent acknowledged this possibility "For the fact that even the pavement reach their area you know, it is really saying something. That is something that really needs contemplated, because you can feel that these people are, maybe they feel they are being excluded in the community you know." This is something the people living in Blikkiesdorp expressed, although they were aware of the lack of funding "You know sometimes – you feel like those people don’t care". The nickname White City came up when a few white people shared the story of the pavement and the way it was interpreted "I remember it was a story with the road as well, they paved the road and they started here in White City." This story I have encountered multiple times where people had heard that the lack of pavement was turned into a racial issue. Finally, as the nickname ‘white city’ shows and the other references to race, is that both white, coloured and black residents are aware of colour.
7.1.2 Home ownership and meaning making

The EcoVillage, because of its ecological element leaves room for the development of many different houses in different styles. The respondents identified differences between houses, in particular between the commercial and subsidized houses. As discussed earlier, the first houses that were build were the subsidized houses, these fell under certain costs and hereby building constrains. The group of people moving in later, most of whom from middle class backgrounds had more financial means and thus more possibilities of determining their own design. “Our homes were built with basically modern straw at that stage nobody said anything about used brick.” Or as another respondent remarked “The houses of the second wave were under the control of the people moving in, were in this case the people had to accept the design.” These constrains had the effect of creating more uniformity among the subsidized houses, especially when compared to the commercial houses. As one commercial home owner remarked “Our houses even got nicknames; that would be the townhouse, the bird house and the modderhut – I mean we joke with one another’s places and then you look at the subsidy houses and you think; but there is no character in there. Even if you paint it whatever colour you don’t know how to joke with these place, because there is no personality, no character in it.”

The idea that some houses attract more attention than others is something I observed during a few the tours around the village. I had joined on a couple of occasions with new people who got a tour through the village and I noticed that more time was spend on the commercial, more diverse houses “This is my favourite house” one of the tour guides remarked when we stood before a commercial house. “Sometimes there are complains, how the bigger houses, the richer people tend to get more of the attention” This class element of the bigger, commercial houses was as mentioned seen in the spatial location of the house, the bigger houses being on top and the lower at the bottom of Lynedoch.

How people looked at their house and subsequently life style proved to be something where groups laid different emphasis. For most subsidized home owners it is the first house they ever owned and the house functions as a source of pride and gratitude “We are from the farm, I never dreamed to have my own house, it was for us it was really big. I appreciate it and every day I thank God for what I have.” Another respondent made clear he would never move “I will never sell my house for any money, because it is my first house, I never had a house for myself.” However,
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some of the subsidized home owners felt that because of the gratefulness of their fellow residents, they did not speak up or voiced their opinion anymore “You know sometimes we coloureds don’t talk because we are so grateful, we have a house of our own, we just accept stuff most go on as it is and we don’t stand up for ourselves.” This relates back to the effect of history on present day interactions. Since these ex-farm workers experienced that the loss of their job would mean instantly losing their house, this hesitation to speak out is to be expected.

For the (lower income) residents who did speak up this sometimes was a source of irritation or bewilderment. “It is my people that don’t want to come to the meeting, I don’t know if they are scared or afraid of asking questions, or got a raw deal in the past.” This quote alludes to the feeling of fear or idea of consequences when speaking up. Another respondent while acknowledging that fear, whether it be justified or not, also mentioned “Maybe people think I got my house now so don’t worry – In the beginning there were no houses, the meetings were full I can tell you.” Owning their own house for the lower income groups was a great source for empowerment “The fact that we have a house first and foremost, you can’t have empowerment without that.” As Charlton (2010) pointed out and which is clear from the quotes, home ownership is important, but access or for that case participation in services is at least as important. People interpreted their house in a different ways. Whereas for most lower income people this was their first house, for the middle income group it was more of a lifestyle choice “Somebody said the other day in the meeting that moving here was like a dream come true, because all of the sudden each of the family members have got their own bedroom. So for them it was moving to a castle, but my experience was I had to downscale hugely.” This falls in line with that most middle income people emphasized the little space around their homes, while I have not heard this expressed by the lower income groups as much. This in part confirms what is discussed by Swilling and Annecke (2012:229) that the lower income group were at Lynedoch because of the possibilities to get an own house, in contrast with those “who were dreaming of some form of ‘eco-escape.’” Finally, for the lower income households having a house for the first time was a learning process “it is our first place and it is such a new thing for us, we are still learning. They must help the people, because don’t get it” This is in contrast with people from middle income households, many of them have had house before.
7.2 **Race and class interactions**

Throughout this thesis interactions between race and class are described, however in this paragraph I want to give some more examples of how the two interact in relation to the Lynedoch EcoVillage. What struck me was how a seemingly neutral topic was interpreted in a class and/or racial way by others. These different interpretations proved to be a source for disagreement among residents. This paragraph links with chapter 4, white respondents more strongly rejected the racial connotations than other groups and expressed the need to not interpreted everything as race related “You need to manage the idea that not everything is race related, there is a difference between race and the system.”

7.2.1 Management and the constitution

The ‘white majority’ in the village and subsequently meetings were a source of stress for some people (Paragraph 5.2). “Most people who live here now are whites and at the end of the day who will have most say in the village?” This idea of being in a minority created the feeling white people are the ones in control “Sometimes the white people just do want they feel they need to do and they don’t take us along with that, you must just fall in.” This feeling of being overruled manifested itself in discussions on the constitution. The constitution being developed over 10 years ago became a source for active discussion, with a growing group of people discussing the need to recommit and update the document. Especially in instances where people comprehended the rules as not equally applied to all tensions arose “He wants a flat roof, they said you can’t get it, but if you look at (person) they got a flat roof.” These changes were noticed by various residents and those active in management.

Other discussions dealing with topics in the constitution were perceived as racial. The constitution mentions that Wendy Huts are not allowed, but in practice multiple households have one. The racial elements came in, because (almost) all owners of Wendy Huts are white. It was explained to me by owners of Wendy Huts that it was not so much using the Huts as storage room that was the problem, but using them as extra living room. This implicitly showing a fear that lower income people might use Wendy Huts in the ‘wrong’ way. “The constitution must be equal for everyone, not because you are white you get advantage and if you are coloured you don’t.” This remark was vocalized in one of the HOA meetings as well, to the
dismay of others present. One white person relating back to the whole idea of making things into racial issue remarked “People are over-sensitive about things – it was said the constitution must have been written for coloured people, because all the white people have Wendy Huts, but not the coloured people. That is nuts, they have not asked, people that have Wendy Huts have asked and got permission for it.” Reflecting this back to the coloured community, some expressed “They want to force their lifestyle onto us, I asked; you were the first people to live here, so why is the constitution based on their lifestyle and not on our level?” One person active in the management described this ambiguous history and whether people present in the first meeting had the capacity to be truly involved “There were quite a lot of coloureds in that meeting for the constitution, to say it is drawn up by the whites for the coloureds, you need to be careful when you say that. – Who was really involved in that constitution and how much did they understand?”

7.2.2 Levy and security

In contrast to the management and constitution, where there were mostly race related links, the security and levy discussion showed a clearer interplay between class and race. “Levy issues, you can clearly see there is a class dynamic and it does come with a race dynamic” The discussions on the levy where mostly centred around whether to or not to raise the levy for the upcoming year. This question divided the village with on the one side mostly people of middle class background who saw a need to raise the levy to update services and to account for other costs “As life increases in expenses you can’t let your levy stay behind” Some felt it would be unfair for people to pay less while make use of the same services “If we all going to be equal, if we all going to be the same, than why not pay the same.” These remarks were related to the option people had to get a reduction on their levy. Some felt this reduction was undeserved “why is it the case that the rich have to carry the poor?” This quote refers to a limit of willingness to help out, or ‘carry’ the poor. For this predominately white middle class group the levy was a discussion about class, but they nevertheless saw how they as white were perceived as rich “They assume white with being wealthy”. Another example “And you will very easily get the finger pointed at me to say: Well if you afford this and that, of course you can afford a higher levy.” These tensions seemed to be a source of frustration for this group of people, explaining the remarks why the rich have to carry the poor. A good example of this frustration was expressed during a HOA meeting. One of the white participants jokingly
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remarked that “If we just say the levies go up 100% they will attend.”. Referring to the ‘others’ only being interested when it concerns financial issues.

For the lower income group the levy discussion was more often turned into a racial discussion “The levies being increased and several white people who are rich, they can maybe afford it, but for black working class people this is now a tension.” For this group this levy tension was connected to the ‘fear’ that only rich people will be able to buy into Lynedoch and enhanced the idea that the initial idea of the rich helping out the poor was forgotten. At the same time a group of these people did acknowledge there were possibilities to get a reduction on the levy “They do understand your situation.” But asking for a reduction for some affected their self-worth “It immediately touches your sense of self-worth so if you feel you don’t have enough money to cover your levies, so now I need to go to that person and ask for them to excuse me.”

Finally, some did not understand how to make use of this reduction and also were reluctant to make use of it “I want to be the same and do what others do, but when I hear others do not pay the same, that makes me feel sad’’. This last part referring to his income “I pay the full levy, but I earn less than people not paying the full levy.” This example illustrated and warned me against generalizing too much. People in the same income group do not necessary agree. This pointed to the ambiguities present in the levy system, allowing for different interpretations on how the levy structure is working, or how it should work.

The discussions on the security produced various opinions and different interpretations by groups, especially between the lower- and middle income groups. For a group of middle class white people the concept of security was something they were used to, as one remarked “It is a culture you kinda grew up into”. Others, in particular the lower income group, never had to deal with security as a concept. This was recognized by the middle income group as well “But the other side is you got home owners living in here that never lived in a security concept, never in their whole life.” This difference in lifestyle was something I noticed in the way lower income people talked about the village, more emphasis was laid on the quietness and safety, which is logical given that they often have come from relatively unsafe neighbourhoods, farms or townships. One remarked “There is no robbery here. It is nice and safe.”, which is in
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contrast with experiences of middle income people, some of which had multiple break-ins since the time they moved into the village.

For the lower income group a potential raise in levies was linked to the wish of the predominantly white middle class group to have better security “If you look at the issue of security, for the richer people security might be a big issue, because they got a lot to lose if a burglar goes into their house. But the poor person might think why do I have to pay higher levies to pay for security when I got nothing that can be stolen, do you understand?” In this case I would argue there is a stronger class related division of interpretations, which only in part is seen as racial, or at least less express as such. Another way in which became clear that security has different levels of priority for people were the different levels of participation in volunteering. This village has a gate with a guard who is present throughout the evenings and weekends. A system has been created to give one home owner a walky talky, so the guard in the case of an incident of question could contact a home owner. Every week another home owner would take over the shift. “So one family must hold the walky talky for connecting with the guard that does the rounds in the evenings. So some families would just say they are not interested – they feel safe enough in their homes and they do not need it.” When I asked who did participate, it again proved to be predominantly white middle class residents.

In the future the system whereby the gate can be opened might change. Now by simply dialling a number on can open the gate. This number can be easily passed on, thus posing risks to security. One idea was to give every household a specific code, hereby making the household responsible for people making use of the code. Another discussion was about whether or not to place a camera by the entrance, because the gate had been damaged on a number of occasions. For some placing this camera might help to prove who were responsible, some pointing to the lower income group, because they had a lot of youngsters moving in and out the village.
CHAPTER 8 - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of my research have been diverse and complex in nature, often linked to multiple findings. This chapter aims at getting all these outcomes together into a coherent conclusion. After formulating these outcomes the limitations will be sketched as well as a reflection on the work as a whole. Lastly, I will give some recommendations for future research.

8.1 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

In answering the research question I have contrasted the outcomes with the theory used. This allowed me to consider if the available theory agrees or disagrees with my findings. Below I will discuss the main question while taking the sub questions into consideration. Finally, paragraph 8.1.1 compares the theory on mixed communities with Lynedoch EcoVillage as an initiative.

“How do the policies, daily management of the Lynedoch EcoVillage influence processes of inclusion and exclusions and are there any differences between the views of the organizations and residents of the EcoVillage?”

Besides the development and history of the EcoVillage, the history of South Africa and the Western Cape region in particular affect the Lynedoch EcoVillage in a number of ways. Residents wanted to overcome the Apartheid legacy and leave it behind, but acknowledged that it still influences their lives and drives their attitudes towards current developments. This manifests itself in particular (Bowman, Duncan & Sonn, 2010) in the pervasiveness of racial categories as testified by many authors and my own findings. There is an uneasy co-existence of the usage of racial categories and the wish to overcome them (Posel, 2001 & Seekings, 2008). There is a mixture of using the past to explain the present, but at the same time the wish to ‘be’ in the present without the past, creating stress for some residents who don’t know how to deal with this. Residents found it distressful to reclaim their history (Apfelbaum, 2000). The fact that the village is a heterogeneous group complicates this. A focus on ‘difference’ can obstruct the sense of control over history, since residents are confronted with other interpretations of ‘their’ history. This enhanced identifying groups as ‘other’ due to differences in interpretation of history (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004:234).
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Related to the impact of history is how to deal with it. The creation of safe spaces in workshops helped residents to deal with history, multiple interpretations and gain a sense of control (Apfelbaum, 2000). Links between the everyday experience and the historical were established in these workshops and makes it possible to share stories (Bowman, Duncan & Sonn, 2010). However, people felt that creating this space should be part of a constant effort, as temporary safe spaces will not resolve the issues. As Ghorashi and Ponzoni (2013) argue these workshops are places where besides the dominant discourse people can speak up and present their own individual and group viewpoints. Finally, there are ‘formal’ open spaces like the HOA meetings, were residents can voice their opinion. These meetings are not open enough for all residents, illustrating that it might create safe space on paper, but in practice it is subjected to other effects. The processes of inclusion and exclusion are thus not influenced by the development of the village, but the general historical developments.

Locally, the policies and daily management of the Lynedoch EcoVillage have shaped and directly influenced the social mix. Different entities have over time been responsible for managing the development and setting the goals for the village. In the beginning with the LDC and SI jumpstarting the village, later with both of them redrawing and the HOA moving to the forefront.

The social mix concept organically developed and eventually became one of the central features of the village. With over 10 years of development, the village became a place of active meaning making. The SI in particular, because of its job creating element includes people by providing work, both at the other hand created stress in others who feel unable to participate. The HOA, although formally including everyone became a place where some felt more represented than others. Some respondents stated that, whether justified or not, they sometimes felt they had to be careful with what they said. This resulted into less participation in meetings of the HOA. This falls in line with the dimension of space as power described by Taylor and Spicer (2007:330). Some of the work norms might flow over into the living norms. While it fits within the ecological concept of working and living, it has unintended consequences. The dependence of people on the SI (especially the lower income group) creates cultural discipline, or as Foucault (1991) would call it “disciplinary power”. In
fact, residents were well aware of the ‘influence’ of the SI and knew that hesitating to speak out might be based on irrational fear. Some stories floated around the village where the SI was portrayed as not tolerating any critique. Whether these stories were true was not relevant; the effect of storytelling and reflecting is part of people trying to make sense of their situation.

With the development of the village new waves of people moved in. The village started with the building of subsidized homes, with plots later being filled up with mainly commercial homes. With the inflow of new people and changing roles of the HOA, SI and LDC discussions about the history and ‘initial’ plans of the village arose. Especially the way in which a policy such as the levy or the Constitution was seen determines whether it served to include or exclude. This contributed to the different subgroup identities present. These are a logical by-product of living mixed, people do tend to interact with those ‘like’ them (Durcan, 1993). However, the formation of these subgroup identities differs on critical points of the description of Durcan (1993) and Rurning, Mee and Pauline (2004). The formation of these subgroup identities in the case of the authors were strongly linked to class/race, while in the case of the EcoVillage space, location and history were at least as important.

The location of specific groups in specific parts of the village allowed for the possibility of nicknames for parts of the village. These nicknames were being used in a variety of ways; pointing to differences, expressing frustration/stress or to convey a joke. The differences in space enhanced the feelings of being part of a separate group in the village. The pavement ending at a certain part of the village, made some residents feel they were part of a separate section of the village. The nicknames used ‘labelled’ difference, mainly the difference between the higher and lower income houses. In the Lynedoch case residents were aware of difference, both spatial and social and thus created groups to make sense of the situation. Groups might be marked as ‘other’, but this does not mean there was no wish to interact or interaction between the groups.

Besides history and development, race and class played significant roles within Lynedoch and are related to inclusion and exclusion processes. In agreement with Charlton (2010) and
Rowlands et al. (2007) it was confirmed that lower income groups made more use of local facilities, while middle income groups moved out more easily. The working and living dynamics can be seen as processes in which both higher and lower income groups connect with each other. But after work, the connections seem to be more homogenous. Outside of work interracial contacts decline and inter-class contact as well (Gibson, 2004). People still live near each other and connect, but the more serious interactions were between people who were more alike. People more dependent on local facilities were not seen as inferior, but rather having a different lifestyle or priorities. The intentional aspect of the village and awareness of difference in this sense seemed to make residents less ‘shocked’ when they stumbled upon differences. Therefore, the suggestion of Rose (2004:281) that too local scale mix makes people withdraw rather than mix does not align with my findings. ‘Too local’ does not necessarily equal less interaction or mix. Proximity can trigger stress and insight in the lives of ‘others’, hereby fostering more understanding and toleration. This paradoxical nature of proximity is something residents expressed and dealt with on a daily basis.

People do connect and socialize more with others who look like them or are in the same situation (Rurning, Mee and Pauline, 2004). This applied to race, class and lifestyle. Despite being aware of this preference for sameness, people did not seem distressed by it, rather it was seen as a normal process interacting more with those who are like you. Nevertheless, people attributed certain behaviour or artefacts to class/race (Ibid.). Lifestyle in particular proved to be closely connected to class because of the visibility of differences in lifestyle (Ibid.). Visibility was enhanced by the differences in homes and location. Attached to the discussion on lifestyle was the intention of living at the EcoVillage. When taking the ecological and social dynamics of the village, class differences and focus on either one of those dynamics were mentioned. The historical development of the EcoVillage was vital and used to express the ‘original intent’ of the place. Especially the ‘lower class’ felt that they had to become like the middle class, or that their lifestyle was the benchmark to strive for (Lees, 2008). The ecological and social dynamics played an underlying role in this. However, different from the description of the author was that although some middle income people took their position as the more neutral one, a majority wanted to deal with the difference. ‘Liberal othering’ (Van Eijk, 2010) in this sense were the lower classes can aspire to become
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like the middle classes lacked in explaining the complexity. A willingness of people to
discuss difference and to engage was present, which allowed a situation where the middle
income groups might aspire to take on some of the ‘behaviour’ of the lower class.

The anticipated connection between race and class was uncovered in the EcoVillage
(Labonte, 2004). I have found many examples were a perceived difference in class was
translated by respondents into a racial difference and vice versa. Examples are the levy and
security. These started out as a class discussion, ‘richer’ people could afford higher levies and
wanted more security, but since a majority of the higher income group is white this was
translated as ‘the white people can afford’. Another example, showing among other things
that dwelling type and size matter for a social mix (Rowlands et al., 2007) was the
development of the EcoVillage over time. With the inflow of more middle class people,
bigger and different houses were built, these showing a difference in class and subsequently
a difference in race. History and development themselves seem vital for explaining inclusion
and exclusion processes and may themselves be responsible for that link between class and
race.

The Lynedoch EcoVillage is thus home to very different people and multiple organizations.
Its social mix influences the processes of inclusion and exclusion as this diversity of people
makes for a range of interpretations. These individuals are drawn to organizations active in
the village which function as common platforms for working together. It is by interacting in
these common spaces, whether this is stressful or not, that people can learn from each other
and work together towards inclusion. Differences exist between both the residents and the
various organizations active in the village. Residents are represented in multiple
organizations which hold different views on how to manage the village. While some voices
might be more powerful than others, a general feeling of including all entities present is
communicated by most. It are in these ‘spaces’ that common ground for inclusion might be
found.
8.1.1 Lynedoch EcoVillage as a mixed community

Reflecting on the Lynedoch EcoVillage and contrasting this with body of material out there (appendix 5) on mixed communities, the EcoVillage is unique in some aspects. First, it is not merely integration into a new neighbourhood; it is integration into a new village, with a public school and institute. The cross-subsidizing and ecological living was not found in any of the other mixed communities, adding besides a residential a lifestyle element as well. This different approach suggests one should re-examine the critique on social mix projects. For example, the blending in of lower income groups, making them invisible, which in the end fails; because people see difference (Rurning, Mee & Pauline, 2004) is different in the EcoVillage. People who buy into the village know beforehand that there are differences; the goal is not to create a ‘uniform’ resident. The struggles and tensions that do exist are influenced by different elements and many differ from those present in other social mix programs.

Social mix is related to many factors, some of whom played a bigger role than others. A general feeling that the community should develop organically, which is expressed by Rowlands et al. (2007) was also mentioned by the respondents. Not stated by the authors is the need residents might feel for more informal activities or the creation of safe spaces in order for a community to grow organically. There is a middle way between mechanically forming a community and ‘laissez-faire organic development’. Most studies deal with a mixture of tenure and home ownership, mentioning that access to services might be more important than home ownership itself. However, in Lynedoch (almost) all residents are home owners. In this case I would argue home ownership is at least as important, if not more important as a prerequisite for the social mix than other authors state (Charlton, 2010). Especially in the case of South Africa with a high housing shortage, owning a house is a powerful inroad towards inclusion. This became apparent in the village as well, because of the emphasis put on the empowering effect of owning a house by the lower income class.
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8.2 LIMITATIONS

Acknowledgement of the limitations of our knowledge lies at the root of the whole western tradition of Socratic philosophical reflection. (Cilliers, 2000:27) Following this tradition some limitations of my research are discussed below.

The link between the broader context and this case study should not be blurred. Although the broader context can be used to explain patterns and developments in the village, the patterns found in the village do not necessarily apply to South Africa as a whole. The mix in the village is a more representative mix of the Western Cape Province, although the percentage of black people is still far behind this broader context. As a case study my research is more representative, although given the qualitative sense-making nature of this research I am not fully comfortable using this term. I have been present at the EcoVillage for 3 months and in this period tried to make sense of the complexities as well as adjusting to a new country altogether. I consider that being a stranger in another world was an advantage, but was this period enough to get through to the complexities, is there ever enough time?

Furthermore, given the complexities I was dealing with; history, race and class to name a few, provided a lot of challenges. A strong point of my research, the number of interviews, observations and internal documents could possibly limit my possibilities of interpreting all this data. Although I feel this thesis has become a lot stronger because of the vast amount of data, I nevertheless wanted to stress my natural limitations as researcher. A related limitation was my choice not to live at Lynedoch. This choice left me with fewer observations during the evenings, weekends and possibilities to fully ‘integrate’ and ‘become’ a resident myself.

Reflecting on my time in South Africa at the Lynedoch EcoVillage, I feel I have wholeheartedly tried to make my research period a successful one. Regard for the ethical and social dynamics have been of central importance. I feel I have succeeded in giving people the feeling I truly was interested in their story and given them the room to speak. I only wish I had the time to speak to every resident in the village, I feel each story counts and holds something new.
8.3 Recommendations for future research

While the quote of Cilliers might acknowledge the limitations, merely accepting these is not enough. There is a need to shift the boundaries of knowledge and to overcome so called ‘limitations’ (Cilliers, 2000:27). My first recommendation would be to address the qualitative gap of understanding socially mixed neighbourhoods by going further than Tunstall and Fenton suggest (2006:45). This by entering the field devoid of boundaries, using grounded theory as an approach. The complexities of a socially mixed community, especially in South Africa almost per definition rule out simple theoretical frameworks to explain what is out there. As a research method I would advise living amongst the residents for a longer period of time engaging in the same activities and hereby living the ‘mixed’ life. Besides a more in depth qualitative angle, future research on mixed community should incorporate more sensitivity towards space and housing differences. Research I read on mixed community only display sparse accounts of how space is lived and interpreted by the different kinds of people living there.

The material on mixed communities deviates from this research in a number of ways, which would be worthwhile to research. Integration into a new village instead of a neighbourhood puts emphasis on different elements than usual research on social mix projects. These include; the working/living and the ecological/social dynamic. Research on the effect of these dynamics on the nature and evolvement on social mix programs might provide new insights in how people make sense of their ‘mixed reality’. These insights might also help to understand which of these dynamics influence processes of inclusion and exclusion, if so, if some do this more than others.

Research on mixed communities seems to downplay the importance of home ownership, stating that inclusion is not all about that. These studies pointed out that the relation between housing and social mix is not a strong one (Musterd & Andersson, 2005), services might be of equal, if not more importance. However, these studies were not conducted in the context of South Africa were housing shortage is dire and for some people is a major source of empowerment. In is in this context I would encourage research to look more closely at the importance of home ownership and inclusion/social mix.
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Research has been done on storytelling within organizations and in my case the technique helped uncover relevant information. I would argue that this technique should be used more in explaining the complexities of mixed communities. The importance of nicknames in my research is something I would encourage researchers to look into. It seems that nicknames are an important vehicle for explaining social dynamics and connected to storytelling. Storytelling might also help to uncover lost stories by people feeling marginalized. I would encourage more research in the way storytelling might help to explain the effect of the past on the present. Lastly, such a focus might help to explain how the development of an organization (in this case the HOA, SI) helps to create multiple stories about the initial plans and focus. More research on how such historical groups both in- and outside of organizations could help to explain group relations.

Development of management and leadership proved to be carriers of changes in the development of the EcoVillage. From the beginning where the LDC and SI pioneered with new ideas until the HOA now taking over responsibilities the village’s attitudes and development morphed with these changes. I encourage in-depth research on the way changes in management changes the running of an entire village and these past developments affect the present workings. These interpretations and the way people make sense of these developments can become sights of struggle of legitimacy. It would be interesting to see how people get to this process.

More research is needed on the ambiguous relationship between proximity and stress. Where some authors have suggested that too local social mixing will make people withdraw rather than mix (Rose, 2004:281), my study suggests stress is logical, perhaps needed in a situation where people need to live in such a different reality. I would suggest focusing on this stress and examining when or how it is exactly triggered might provide new insights in the way people deal with ‘others’. Important for the relationship between proximity and stress is the creation of safe spaces. In my research I had not specifically looked for these spaces and their impact on the residents, but I nevertheless think that they can be vitally important. Although research has been done on the creation of safe spaces, this has mainly been from an organizational point of view. Future research on the creation of such space is
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(mixed) communities and how to sustain these might provide more insight into their workings.

Race and class interactions were among the most important, if not most difficult dynamics of my research. Research on both of these topics has been extensive, as well as their connections. The use of artefacts to identify a certain class or person was present in my results as well (Arthurson, 2002). My research revealed in particular, how a discussion on class gets ‘turned into’ a racial issue. It would encourage researchers dealing with race and/or class to be sensitive to this ‘turning’ and be aware of the role stress and proximity might play.
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LITERATURE

ACADEMIC LITERATURE


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Wilde, O (1891) The Soul of Man under Socialism.


SECONDARY LITERATURE


Lynedoch EcoVillage code of conduct (2003)


Website of the Sustainability Institute: http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/lynedoch-ecovillage10/detailed-story
APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1 - OVERVIEW OF THE LYNEDOCH ECOVILLAGE

A list of the entities/actors:
1 The Guest House
2 The Public School
3 The Sustainability Institute
4 Playfields
5 The gardens
6 The biolytic system
7 Water management system
8 The gate
9 The Farm House
10 Crèche Youth Club
11 Spier / Olive leaf House / ECD

This overview was constructed with help of an internal overview of the EcoVillage. I have added it to not only show the village but the other entities (School and SI) as well and add in numbers pointing out what building represents what.
A list of the owners (The green numbers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Home Owner</th>
<th>Home Owner</th>
<th>Home Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Started or not yet started building</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Started or not yet started building</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Started or not yet started building</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td>49 &amp; 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Lynedoch Development (Not relevant)</td>
<td>37 and 38</td>
<td>51,52 and 53 (Not relevant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Home Owner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Rented)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Rented)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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APPENDIX 2 – TOPICLIST

Introduction (warming-up)
- Can you tell me a bit about yourself; what kind of work, school did you do?
- Can you tell me when you started living in the EcoVillage?
- What were your expectations of living here?
- How did the EcoVillage change over the time you have been here?
- What were the expectations of this relation?
- What are your future expectations of the EcoVillage?

Social and neighbourhood

It has been said about the EcoVillage that it is: “the first ecologically designed, socially mixed, intentional; community in South Africa”. How do you find yourself in this definition?

When discussing the difficulties of realizing a social mix the authors stated the following: “How to enable a social mix without allocating poor and rich people to separate designated areas (thus replicating the worst of South Africa’s apartheid past)?” In what way does the village succeed in achieving this?

- What kind of community do you think this is?
- How do you define yourself in this village?
- Do you know everyone who lives in the village?
- What is your relation with your neighbourhoods?
- In what way does living here differ from living in another village/city?
- What is your perspective on mixed communities?
- Do you think it works in practice?

Structure and housing

- How does the structure of the EcoVillage promote its living conditions?
- In what way does the structure of the village promote neighbours from coming together?
- What do you think about car-use and dog-ownership in the EcoVillage?
- Showing picture: Can you tell me about what you see in this overview?

Services and the HOA

- What kind of services does the village offer? (to you?)
- What do you think of all the other activities in the EcoVillage?
- What do you know of the Home Owners Association (HOA)?
- Can you tell me something about the history of the HOA and the people in it?
- Do you think the HOA is representative of the people living here?
- Are you an (active) member of the HOA, and what do you do for the HOA?
- In what ways does the HOA promote a mixed community?
APPENDIX 3 – INTERVIEW CATEGORIES

Interviews with residents of the Lynedoch EcoVillage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial group</th>
<th>Subsidized plots</th>
<th>Commercial plots</th>
<th>Total interviews</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total interviews</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of households in the Lynedoch EcoVillage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial group</th>
<th>Subsidized plots</th>
<th>Commercial plots</th>
<th>Total home owners</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In both overviews the 100% point to the total of interview or households. The three other percentages expresses how this 100% is divided over the three main racial categories.
APPENDIX 4 – TYPES OF GATED COMMUNITIES

The following table is an overview of the types of gated communities (Blakely & Snyder, 1997):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lifestyle</td>
<td>These projects emphasize common amenities and cater to a leisure class</td>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>age-related complexes with suite of amenities and activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with shared interests; may reflect small-town nostalgia; may be urban</td>
<td>Golf and leisure</td>
<td>shared access to amenities for an active lifestyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>villages, luxury villages, or resort villages.</td>
<td>Suburban new town</td>
<td>master-planned project with suite of amenities and facilities; often in the Sunbelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestige</td>
<td>These projects reflect desire for image, privacy, and control; they focus</td>
<td>Enclaves of rich and famous</td>
<td>secured and guarded privacy to restrict access for celebrities and very wealthy; attractive locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on exclusivity over community; few shared facilities and amenities.</td>
<td>Top-fifth developments</td>
<td>secured access for the nouveau riche; often have guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security zone</td>
<td>These projects reflect fear; involve retrofitting fences and gates on</td>
<td>Executive middle class</td>
<td>restricted access; usually without guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>public streets; controlling access</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>City perch</td>
<td>restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Suburban perch</td>
<td>restricted public access in inner city area to limit crime or traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barricade perch</td>
<td>closed access to some streets to limit through traffic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[109]
The following table is an overview of the type of research which is done on residential integration, taken from Seekings (2008:13):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of integration</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
This overview I have constructed myself on the basis of my interviews, observation and internal documents.
APPENDIX 7 – NICKNAMES AND LOCATIONS
This study aimed at capturing the social dynamics and developments of the Lynedoch EcoVillage in South Africa. This village, being home to a mixed group of people is unique in the sense that it tries to combine an ecological ideal with a social agenda. This research investigated how the social mix policy arose, how it is managed and how the residents themselves perceive this to be working within processes of inclusion and exclusion. This while taking the broader context and developments within mixed housing and post-Apartheid South Africa into consideration. To capture this reality, 37 interviews have been conducted, combined with (participatory) observations and the analysis of internal documents covering the development over the last 10 years. Lastly, efforts were made to create ‘safe spaces’ in which different people could share and revive stories. These efforts were met with enthusiasm by those residents who were present.

Multiple processes of inclusion and exclusion presented themselves in the EcoVillage, some of a racial, class and historical nature. Besides the importance of the historic development of the village, the Apartheid legacy still influenced people’s behavior. This manifested itself in both the wish to move forward, as the use of this history to explain present day events. Different interpretations and references to Apartheid and it effect were present at the same time. This awareness of history sometimes uneasily co-exists with the wish to move on, becoming more apparent in the use of ‘old’ racial categories.

And while there is no complete integration or inclusion, the question remains if this is truly what should be aimed for. This study being one of first to research daily life and inclusion/exclusion patterns in a socially mixed intentionally community, hopefully shows it is about more than simply including or integrating. It is about leaving space for the other to be different, but remain included within the same community nonetheless. Talking to a resident about South Africa the rainbow nation, I got the reply: “but how do we all mix if we are so different?” I would argue you do not have to become one single culture, or ‘colour’. The rainbow has multiple colours, cultures if you wish, but it is still a unity. The Lynedoch EcoVillage might have differences and there might be stress, but striving to be included within the same community with these differences is something that is well within reach.