Cape Town Cartographies: Which spaces can the youth access?
Mapping the mobilities of 11 University of Cape Town (UCT) students

Sokona Mangane
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Cape Town Cartographies: Which spaces can the youth access? Mapping the mobilities of 11 University of Cape Town (UCT) students

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Abstract

South Africa went through a gruesome system of segregation known as apartheid, from 1948 until 1994 which enforced spatial and racial divisions through limiting access to spaces, places and (im)mobilities. Despite the formal ending of apartheid in 1994, and some changes it brought to the divided and wounded country, the neo-apartheid spatial structure of the regime lives on in some form or other, particularly in Cape Town. This research paper sought to explore the racial segregation in the mother city further, by examining the daily movements of students from the University of Cape Town (UCT), who are part of the so-called ‘born free’ generation, which in the South African context includes anyone born after apartheid into “freedom”. Through a series of mapping and semi-structured interviews, I investigated student mobilities and their access to spaces, to answer the question: do young people of different racial groups access spaces and the city equally in present-day Cape Town? I hypothesized that, although these people are mobile physically, their movements and access to spaces are bounded by politics and history and are unequal; hence, some are ‘immobile’ relative to others around them. The maps and interviews revealed that most female participants had limited access and avoided places purposefully because of safety, particularly from men. However, all students who were white, had a car, or originally from or grew up in Cape Town were more likely to access spaces way beyond the southern suburbs than those who didn’t. Therefore, one’s mobility and access to space were most dependent on their race, class, gender as well as birthplace. These maps were able to shed light on the hidden barriers of race, class, racism, and crime, which remain tied due to the lingering effects of apartheid. Access is no longer bounded by law, as it was during apartheid, yet it’s still bounded by geography, class, race, and gender. The research project revealed that inequality of access and mobility are just a microcosm of larger social inequalities still present in Cape Town.

KEY WORDS: cartographies, Cape Town, (im)mobilities, apartheid, inequality, born-free, racial segregation
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Sokona Mangane

Mangane
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Glossary of Terms and Acronyms Included

UCT – University of Cape Town

SIT – School for International Training

CBD – Central Business District

NYC – New York City

ANC – African National Congress

CPUT – Cape Peninsula University of Technology

UWC – University of Western Cape

Youth – people between the ages of 15 and 24 (Frequently asked questions, n.d.)

Born-Frees – in the South African context, includes anyone born after apartheid, so 28 or younger (Vandeyar, 2019)

Town/City Bowl – In reference to the Cape Town City center, or CBD

Pub – a bar

Jammie – a bus shuttle service free to all UCT students and staff

Townships – racially segregated urban areas that the government reserved for Indians, Africans, and coloured people after the Group Areas Act (examples: Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga, Khayletisha, etc.)

Cape Flats – which is a flat, low area of land, usually sandy, on the periphery of the city of Cape Town

Rainbow Nation – a term coined by Desmond Tutu and later used Nelson Mandela to describe post-apartheid South Africa as a diverse and unified nation, that’s not just black and white but a ‘rainbow’ (Earth From Space: Rainbow Nation, 2006)

Varsity – another word for college or university, used in South Africa
Introduction

"Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it is also producing and produced by social relations" (Hayden, 1997, p. 41). Here, Henri Lefebvre explains how space and social relations co-construct each other. A prime example of this is the way the South African government has limited access to space and mobility based on race, and, as a result, limited “the economic and political rights” (Hayden, 1997, p. 22) of different racial groups during Dutch and British colonization and later, apartheid, a system that enforced racial segregation in South Africa from 1948 until 1994. South Africa used law and geography to segregate races and ensure the dominance of whites. Especially, in Cape Town, the “extreme segregation was carved into [the] landscape over several centuries but primarily it was engineered over the course of the twentieth century” (Kramer, 2013, p. 10). Little has changed about the design of Cape Town after the end of apartheid, as townships and new housing continue to grow far from the city (Kramer, 2013).

Before landing in South Africa, I was told of how beautiful the country was by my friend who used to go to school in Johannesburg. However, I was also told of how deeply segregated some cities in South Africa are. But I was still an outsider, a tourist in the city; I thought that I would only be exposed to the most touristy and beautiful parts of Cape Town. As someone who comes from the ‘hood’, which is another name for a neighborhood, usually in the inner city, that’s perceived as dangerous (as the townships in South African context), I know the beautiful places that people encounter in New York City differs drastically from the everyday lives of those who live there and the spaces I see and move through every day. As soon as I landed, I witnessed both stories I was told of Cape Town. I couldn’t believe my eyes when I saw the mountains out the airplane window. My phone camera couldn’t capture its true beauty. It was a nice sunny day and the palm trees reminded of me of California. Yet as we were driving to our home, I looked to my left and saw several shacks and informal settlements, tightly packed and stacked on top of each other. As I went on more excursions, visited some townships, and read more about the spatial segregation of Cape Town, I came to realize that although some things have changed since apartheid, a lot hasn’t1. This illusion of a progressive country that has moved on from its racist past is almost identical to the rhetoric used in the United States. Considering America’s history, in particular, the American Civil war, one could assume that the Northern states are more integrated than the Southern states of America.

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1 See works from: Dustin Kramer (2013); Bray, Rachel Bray, Imke Geeskens, Lauren Kahn, Sue Moses, & Jeremy Seekings (2010); Charlette Lemanski (2004); Elizabeth Trail (2006); Ivan Turok, Justin Visagie, & Andreas Scheba (2021), especially (Trail, 2006, p. 17).
However, that’s not the case, some of the highest levels of residential segregation is in the American north and mid-west (Most to Least Segregated Metro Regions, n.d.). In the case of New York City (NYC), my birthplace, despite its diversity, the demographics of most neighborhoods are homogenous. Black people live in (and probably move in) particular spaces and don’t experience the beautiful aesthetic of NYC that tourists see, similar to residents in the townships. The layout of Cape Town physically and symbolically excludes these residents (mainly African American, and other minority and immigrant groups) from the same opportunities (jobs, schools, etc.) present in suburbs in the city. This is why the Cape Flats, which is a flat, low area of land, usually sandy, on the periphery of the city of Cape Town (where floods are prone to happen), is characterized as a ‘desert’ (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021, p. 75).

Thus, I wanted to explore the spatial segregation of Cape Town and how it manifests today, in the post-apartheid era. In this research study, I investigated student mobilities and their access to spaces, to answer the question: do young people of different racial groups access spaces equally in present-day Cape Town? I argue that all these 11 student movements and access to spaces are bounded and unequal, mainly by hidden barriers of race, class, or gender. Hence, they’re ‘immobile’ relative to each other, as a result of the lingering effects of apartheid. Taking in to account the relational politics of mobilities, that it is “the differences in mobility that creates relative immobility...[and the fact that] mobility/moorings constitute, and are constituted by, social relations” (Adey, 2006, p. 87), my research paper has answered this research question by considering the following questions:

1. Where do young students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) move in Cape Town today?
2. Why do they move in those specific spaces?
3. Are their movements limited or bounded by anything?
4. Are these boundaries by choice or forced?
5. Do young students of different racial groups today, access all spaces equally?
6. Which groups of students?
7. What does this say about the politics of the space in Cape Town?
8. In what ways do student mobilities reflect contemporary social dynamics in post-apartheid Cape Town?

The organization of the paper is as follows. I provide context and introduce my topic. Afterwards, I review the literature surrounding this topic and what this research paper aims to do. The next section includes my methodology and, it’s justification. I then provide a background of UCT and its location, in relation to Cape Town and of the participants I interviewed and their
backgrounds. Next, I present the findings from the maps drawn and interviews and then my analysis of these findings, supported by other scholarship from other researchers. Lastly, I conclude the paper with a reflection on ethics and my positionality, limitations and my own interpretations of these findings, with directions for future research.

This paper deals with language about race, such as white and black. According to Audrey Smedley, race is a social construct, that attempts to “categorize peoples primarily by their physical differences” (Smedley, 2020). The capitalization of the words black and white, are debated by the media, institutions and in academia, with some arguing capitalizing the b in black is about claiming power and claiming homage to that history (Appiah, 2020). For the purposes of this paper, I will not be capitalizing the words race, white, black and colored. While these identities do exist, race is a social construct. From the words of Zimitri Erasmus (2001), they are “inherited from the very ‘race science’ that was used to justify oppression, brutality and marginalization of ‘bastard peoples’” (p. 12). I won’t be capitalizing these words to reject this, race is a myth. However, this isn’t to say that it doesn’t affect our lived experiences, especially of those who are oppressed. Throughout the paper, I’ll be using the words mobilities and movements interchangeably.

The next section of my paper looks at the segregation implemented before and during the apartheid regime and how that’s connected to mobilities of the past and present, for “we cannot understand new mobilities…without understanding old mobilities” (Cresswell, 2010, p. 29).

**Segregation and Mobility**

Land dispossession from the indigenous people of South Africa, the Khoi and San (Erasmus Z., 2001, p. 21), began when Jan Van Riebeek, and the Dutch East India Company landed and colonized the Cape colony (what is known as Cape Town today) in 1652. Even after Dutch and British colonization, the Parliament of South Africa enacted Native Land Act of 1913, which declared that black people can only own 8% of the South African land area. This percentage increased to 13% under the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 (Apartheid Legislation 1850s-1970s, 2011). The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 “segregated urban residential space and created ‘influx controls’ to reduce access to cities by Blacks” (Britannica, n.d.). White supremacy was entrenched further through urban planning; the architects of apartheid established townships on the outskirts of the city, completely isolated (which is maintained by physical barriers like highways, train tracks, cemeteries), while most places of employment and other, mainly white, suburbs, such as Claremont, remain fully integrated and close to the city center (Kramer, 2013). The National Party, a South African political party that came to power in 1948 and legislated apartheid,
strategically designed the country to be segregated based on race and created the Group Areas Act of 1950. White people were given large central areas of land, black people were placed at the peripheries, and coloureds were placed in buffer zones and all spaces in between (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021). By forcefully removing thousands of people to the townships, which are racially segregated urban areas that the government reserved for Indians, Africans, and coloured people after the Group Areas Act, they have less access to “job-rich locations and suburbs with good schools and quality services” (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021, p. 75), which increases their social immobility. Over the next thirty years, the “creation of these racially divided residential townships” (Trail, 2006, p. 8) continued and expanded. Informal settlements, any form of housing or shelter built illegally that the government isn’t responsible for, were created, and it increased rapidly because there weren’t enough houses for everyone, especially due to the influx of workers from the Eastern Cape (Trail, 2006). Additionally, “road and rail corridors and reserves doubled as a form of social control, deployed as impermeable territorial boundaries and barriers between designated race-spaces” (Pirie, 2015, p. 48). Even outside the city, homelands were created for “African people in rural areas functioned to distance them from [white] people geographically and socially” (Pirie, 2015, p. 46). Thus, “Mobility was effectively doubly racialised: by law and by geography” (Pirie, 2015, p. 47). Legislation before and during apartheid controlled the spaces people could move through, to ensure racial separation. I mean, after all, apartheid literally means ‘apart-ness’ (Lemanski, 2004, p. 102) in Afrikaans. In this way, “the very essence of public space – as democratic, civic, and accessible – was negated by the apartheid system” (Teppo & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2009, p. 355).

After the formal ending of apartheid in 1994, the national and local government passed legislation, such as Development Facilitation Act, Housing Act and the National Spatial Development Perspective, along with local initiatives, to correct the inequalities of the past. However, the goal to correct the apartheid layout lost priority was inhibited by neo-liberal policies, which were adopted to boost the economy (Trail, 2006). The new government quickly realized it didn’t have enough money to fulfil its social goals (Trail, 2006, p. 69).

**Literature Review**

Reviewing the literature about segregation in Cape Town has confirmed what I saw in Cape Town. In regard to the spatial structure of Cape Town today, it continues to be the separated city it was during apartheid; most white people and jobs remain near the city center and far from the townships, where most black people live (Tepper). Dustin Kramer (2013) describes it perfectly when he says that Cape Town is a city of islands. Instead of the islands (neighborhoods) being separated by water, they’re separated by “highways, train tracks, fields,
mangane

mountains, and cemeteries” (p. 10). The structure of Cape Town was done strategically to control and break up the political resistance in these neighborhoods to “corral them away from power” (Kramer, 2013, p. 10). Kramer describes these people, as stateless, because no matter what, their actions are deemed meaningless, and they’re rendered invisible (Kramer, 2013, pp. 15-16). Townships continue to grow, new housing is still built far from the city and gentrification is pushing out those who’re barely surviving; therefore, Kramer argues that segregation in Cape Town has worsened (Kramer, 2013, p. 15) despite the new democratic government creating policies to undo this.

Elizabeth Rebeka Trail actually tries to evaluate the effectiveness of policies such as The Development Facilitation Act, Housing Act of 1997, National Spatial Development Perspective, Metropolitan Spatial Development and Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks. She also argues that Cape Town is still segregated, even more than before. Tourism is becoming more important to the economy than overcoming these inequalities, with implementation being led by private developers more than planners (Trail, 2006); thus, city officials are concerned with the aesthetics of Cape Town. This then turns those that are marginalized into “liabilities instead of citizens” (Trail, 2006, p. 62), similar to Kramer’s idea of statelessness and invisibility. The strategy of free markets and trade was successful in many countries in Asia (Trail, 2006, p. 69). As a result, the desire for a “vibrant economy” resulted in the new government (ANC) adopting market-driven policies post-apartheid in order to stimulate economic growth (Trail, 2006, p. 69). As a result of this and other factors, Trail (2006) proves that the national and local policies created to direct development have been hard to implement and have done little since the beginning of the new democracy.

Ivan Turok, Justin Visagie, and Andreas Scheba (2021) also analyzed the socioeconomic and residential patterns of Cape Town between 2001 and 2011, which revealed similar conclusions to Trail’s study. Parts of the areas in Cape Flats increased their socioeconomic status from low to low-middle or low-middle to middle, due to the new housing schemes and some parts of the southern suburbs either “shifted from high to low or polarized” socioeconomic status (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021, p. 86). Additionally, some of the top occupational groups have dispersed into the surrounding neighborhoods (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021). Hence, their statistical analysis has portrayed that there’s a narrowing in the gap (social gradient) between the suburbs and the townships, but there are other trends that suggest otherwise (an increasing polarization) (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021, p. 88). Therefore, the study can’t conclude if desegregation is actually occurring or if it seems like this based on the indicators or spatial units used to measure it and further analysis is needed to
prove it. Regardless, the arguments from the articles above deduce that townships in the Cape Flats and the suburbs are still its own isolated islands.

In particular, Charlotte Lemanski (2004) examines this “fear of crime” rhetoric held by residents of all economic groups in Cape Town and how that affects urban space and form. She argues that these responses of fortification are used as a justification for a fear of difference, which polarizes social groups and is recreating the divisions similar to those of the apartheid state. Cape Town remains polarized, thus “the apartheid legacy appears “embedded” in people’s “institutional and social practices”, facilitating “broad continuity with the past rather than any transformation.” Lemanski argues such practices are driven by this “fear of crime” rhetoric (2004, p. 103). Both wealthy and poor citizens have fortified their residences due to fear, but in different ways. These measures perpetuate the idea that the state can’t protect its citizens, “deepen segregation and reinforce fear by excluding difference and [limit] social mixing” (Lemanski, 2004, p. 108). Lemanski also adds that this rhetoric “masks fear of ‘other’,” where whites see rising crime as a result of “the new (black) government’s inability to rule (i.e. protect citizens)” and blacks see it as a result of “unfinished democracy and African immigrants” (Lemanski, 2004, pp. 108-109). Lemanski argues that fear of crime is an “expression of powerlessness due to loss of control over territory and urban order,” creating an identical “included/excluded sociospatial system” to apartheid. Unlike previous literature, Lemanski argues that not only the physical but “symbolic exclusionism” from apartheid remains and must be overcome as first step to integrating neighborhoods and desegregation (2004, p. 111).

Rachel Bray, Imke Gooskens, Lauren Kahn, Sue Moses, and Jeremy Seekings (2010) all examine the movement of children and adolescents, living in the Fish Hoek valley, their sense of community and understanding of social diversity, to answer the question: to what extent does the born-free generation live in a more integrated society than the previous era? The results of this analysis confirm the negative perceptions of townships as dangerous and physical and social isolation that Lemanski has stated above. By having children map “their” valley and the places they go, it revealed “why young people do go outside of their immediate neighbourhoods, but also why they don’t do so more often” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 136). These children rarely make trips outside of their neighborhoods because of reliance on traveling with their parents; thus, the places they go is bounded by their parent’s perceptions of certain neighborhoods (Bray et al, 2010). Many of the children and adolescents avoided going places they didn’t know, colouring the poor neighbourhoods red to signify danger, which “[endorses] adult codes relating to safety and danger” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 137).
established for coloured people) had of each other also revealed that they were unfamiliar with each other’s neighbourhoods, like the middle-class children of both areas (Bray et al, 2010). These residents also didn’t make daily journeys outside of their neighbourhoods because “of the distances involved” and “prohibitive cost of public transport” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 138). When children did go to other nearby neighbourhoods, “it was those from poorer neighbourhoods entering wealthier ones” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 167). All of the children and adolescents in this study “inhabit local spaces that remain highly segregated…[and] socialise – and the lucky ones even earn and spend – within neighbourhoods that are almost entirely racially homogeneous (in apartheid classificatory terms) and distinct” (Bray et al, 2010, p. 324). Thus, the physical and social isolation of townships from the city centre and other areas has changed little since 1994. Despite government interventions, it’s clear from the existing literature that spatial segregation in Cape Town hasn’t improved and that spaces in Cape Town are still segregated.

Regarding the mobility of South Africans today, Pirie (2015) states that, compared with the USA, there’s been little research done on racialized mobility in South Africa. He focuses specifically on two kinds of mobility, “the micro-spaces inside public vehicles and the larger spaces traversed by buses and trains especially” (Pirie, 2015, p. 41). His paper argues that little has changed, and that mobility remains racialized in post-apartheid South Africa. Despite people having the literal freedom to move everywhere and access all spaces, “racially differentiated mobility and accessibility persists. Many African Americans and other minority and immigrant groups are residentially isolated from new job and service centres in suburbia where public transit is inadequate or non-existent” (Pirie, 2015, p. 40). Train and bus routes continue to be racialised because, as the literature above confirms, “racial residential segregation has outlasted the demise of racist legislation” (Pirie, 2015, p. 48). Although new low-cost housing has been built for poor people since 1994, most of them remain on the periphery of South African cities, which also contributes to racially distinct passengers and public transportation (Pirie, 2015). Like Lemanski (2004) argues, there’s been an increase in fortification of residences all over the city; Pirie (2015) adds a new lens to this, stating that “private cars [which is additional source of protection,] fall into the same category: the defended spaces that reduce social contact in South African cities comprise both fixed territory and mobile spaces” (p. 48). As Pirie (2015) has demonstrated, “mobility apartheid remains embedded in the geography of South African cities” (p. 49).

Christina Culwick, Graeme Gotz, Samy Katumba, Guy Trangoš and Chris Wray’s paper (2015) also studied mobility patterns (in the Gauteng City-Region) and reached similar conclusions. Two maps of trips to work in the Gauteng City...
Region, based on transport surveys, are presented, one map for whites and the other for Africans (Culwick et al, 2015). The two maps reveal “continued divisions inherited from apartheid” with “trips made by white respondents (1048 trips) [concentrating] at the centre of the city-region, while those by African respondents (5423 trips) originate from a much wider area on the periphery” (Culwick et al, 2015, p. 310). Notably, the average distances travelled to work is relatively the same for both groups, which can be explained by:

A number of factors, including the greater proportional access that typically wealthier white residents have to private vehicles, enabling them to travel longer distances to work across the region, as well as the massive development of new gated housing estates and townhouse developments on the urban edge to which the middle-classes are retreating (Culwick et al, 2015, p. 310).

Nevertheless, the average time to work still shows racial differences, with African respondents starting their trips to work much earlier, all of which “mirror the apartheid patterns captured in transport surveys carried out in the 1970s” (Culwick et al, 2015, p. 310).

Andrew Czeglédy’s (2004) paper investigates how urban development in post-apartheid Johannesburg affects the way people move about the city. He also reaffirms the fact that, currently, transportation routes make access to the city hard, (outside the central business district (CBD) specifically) and majority of the poor can’t get “around town” without a personal vehicle, which can “quickly circumvent the obstacles that have been literally designed into the built environment and remain in place well after 1994” (2004, p. 67). The poor can’t afford the private transportation available exclusively in the new suburbs, still relying on trains, buses, and minibus taxis for transportation, as Pirie also illustrates in his article. There’s reoccurring themes of personal automobiles and highly gated communities acting as “island developments [that] cut off significant urban spaces from open (and through) access” (Czeglédy, 2004) in Czeglédy’s paper and the literature above. Czeglédy (2004) ends his paper noting that while the population can move about freely, there’s “a decreasing chance that the sidewalks and the street-corners, the parks and squares, will remain within their public reach [therefore, proving]…they still cannot go where they please” (p. 88). In spite of the regional differences in the papers presented above, it’s clear that South Africans can’t access all areas, largely due to economic reasons and the design of the landscape; this is especially true in some cities such as Cape Town because “the experience of mobility in contemporary Cape Town remains firmly entrenched in the racialized spatiality of the past” (Rink, 2016, p. 64). There has been a considerable amount of research done on mobilities and its
strategies in South Africa and its cities. As the literature above confirms, access to some spaces and places are still shaped by Cape Town’s past. This paper aims to provide another lens to the literature, investigating the mobilities and movements of the born-free generation at a larger scale.

Methodology

According to Elena Moore, qualitative research aims to provide a “in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants” and involves collecting data that may warrant close contact between the researcher and participants (Moore, 2013). Qualitative researchers also do research assuming that “reality is social constructed, complex and everchanging” and seeks to contextualize, interpret and understand actors’ perspectives by searching for patterns (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), p. 6-7. On the other hand, quantitative researchers assume that “social facts have an objective reality” and seek to generalize, predict and explain through experiments and manipulating variables (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), p. 6-7. Since the objectives of my study involve accessing and understanding people’s social’s worlds, specifically the places they move in and why, I employed qualitative research methods.

The inequalities of access can be illuminated by looking at the 11 UCT students’ boundaries and points of access. Hence, my methodology involves cognitive mapping and interviews, where I asked students to draw me a map of ‘their’ Cape Town. This method first appeared in Lynch’s Image of the City, which examined “the relationships people have with elements of the physical city to conduct their lives to produce user-informed city planning” (Gieseking, 2013, p. 713). Lynch also wanted to create a portrait of a city with the maps people produced but noted how “not all Bostonians see Boston the same way” (Hayden, 1997, p. 27). More studies have used it to visualize “dynamics of human–environment relations, such as sense of place, movement, environmental perception and cognition, and even illuminating sociospatial inequalities” (Gieseking, 2013, p. 714). In particular, a study done in Los Angles showed the differences in maps between residents of an affluent white suburb, an inner-city African American neighborhood, and a mixed neighborhood close to downtown...The maps are striking images of inequality of access to the city” (Hayden, 1997, p. 27). Thus, this method visually speaks “through places what words alone cannot articulate” (Gieseking, 2013, p. 714) and “provide an alternative perspective and visibility to different places,” places that are hidden (or underrepresented) and that I, as a researcher, wouldn’t have access to otherwise (Antona, 2018, p. 4). I’ve also decided to follow up with a semi-structured interview because these drawings can’t ‘speak’ for themselves, I want to go more in-depth on the drawings. I wish to investigate the experiences and students’ interpretations surrounding the maps, while also giving them the flexibility to elaborate on locations/spaces of interest. (Denscombe, 1998). The interview was particularly well-prepared, but the structure of the interview is based on what the participants talk about, therefore, it’ll be a semi-structured interview.
Due to effectiveness and limited time, I used thematic analysis to analyze the maps and interviews; for thematic analysis, themes are identified, and meanings are assigned and interpreted by the researcher (Moore, 2013). Themes were identified by coding the data. I listened to the interviews, summarized them, and then coded each for categories such as how were people introduced to spaces, modes of transport, why was it avoided (which was broken into sub-categories). The location of each interview, use of color, the scale and landscape of Cape Town, the amount of detail, whether it looked like a map or ‘journey’ and all the neighborhoods they go to were all themes that I coded for on the map. Together, I include my own interpretations of the maps and interviews, supported with scholarship, on what factors influence their access to spaces.

For my study, the sample size was limited to students that attended UCT and that are between the ages of 18-27, because they are considered to be a ‘born-free’, by the South African media at least. Due to the proximity of UCT to my residence, time limitations and a small budget, I’ve decided to interview students from UCT. I also wanted to recruit a minimum of at least 2 students that identified as white racially, 2 that identified as coloured racially, and two that identified as black racially to prevent skewness and interview students from a range of backgrounds; the diversity of students at UCT gives me the best chances of meeting this goal. I only focused on three races, when there’s a whole lot more to capture about other people’s movements as well, yet these three have the biggest population on the UCT campus and that I’m most likely to find. I’ve recruited participants mainly through network sampling, which is the process of recruiting potential participants through people who know current UCT students. I also used social media (mainly Instagram and WhatsApp) and convenience sampling, talking to students at UCT’s upper campus in Rondesbosch who ‘looked’ like they could be a potential fit. I may have ‘misclassified’ people, because race is a social construct, however, when students expressed interest, I made sure to ask what they identify as racially, since many South Africans still use race to identify themselves (Vincent, 2008). Due to difficulty finding male participants, after each interview, I also asked the interviewees to refer me to any male UCT students that would be interested. As a result of the current climate (not all students are on campus due to COVID-19), time limitations, and resources, this was the quickest and easiest way to recruit participants. However, the aim of this research was not to produce generalizable results, as students aren’t representative of the whole South African population. I decided to interview students because of my background as a student, and because their (specifically, students away from home) movements aren’t as bounded by their parents as they were when they were younger. To reiterate what was mentioned in Bray et al’s analysis, the movements of the children in his study were restricted by their parents’ perceptions of a place because they were the ones driving them around and traveling with them (Bray et al., 2010). However, in the case of my

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study, most of the students are away from home and will be going places based on their own or other students’ perceptions, which is what I’m interested in. Students were also more accessible to me, than just finding people to interview around my age range, because I was a student. I think the location of their residences or of where they are staying will be an interesting confounding variable to consider in my analysis.

Each interview lasted about an hour and a half. If the interview was done in-person, participants were provided with a sketch pad, pencils, pens, and markers. Although I had maps of Cape Town and examples of how they could draw their map (from other studies), they weren’t shown to participants unless requested (showed two participants); I did this to avoid influencing the students ‘too much’ and avoid them thinking of it as a model. Most interviews took place in a café, open space on UCT upper campus, or SIT Study Abroad’s (the study abroad program that I’m currently on, which allowed this research to take place) classroom and were recorded.

To ease participants into the interview and make them feel comfortable, I started with casual conversation and offered tea or coffee instead of jumping right in. The age difference and the fact that we were both students made casual conversation easier. I gave participants a copy of the consent form. Before we started the mapping process, I asked personal questions\(^2\) for context and how they relate to the term ‘born-free’, just to get their sense of the term and political climate of the country, also as an icebreaker. Then, I asked the participants to draw me a map of ‘their’ Cape Town. I suggested them to include the places they frequently go to, and which are important to them. I told participants there isn’t an example they should be following and reassured them that it doesn’t have to be a masterpiece but something unique to them. As the students was drawing, I took notes on what they drew first and last, the sizing of things, what they’re spending the most time on, their body language, any comments about while drawing and how long the drawing lasted. Although I could’ve given the student the assignment ahead of time for a very detailed map, I doubt that it will take more than an hour, and I want to retrieve what first comes to mind. Additionally, I also want to be there to provide guidance, as some students may not know where to start and ask for specific instructions, hence why I brought the maps and examples. After they were done, I asked them to take me through their map, why they drew certain things, about the experiences associated with certain locations if any, etc. Subsequently, I asked participants what a safe space means to them, and if they can point out any safe spaces on their map, and what are some places they usually avoid and why. All other follow-up questions were based on what

\(^2\) Refer to Appendix 2: Interview Questions
the participant didn’t talk draw or talk about. However, after conducting my interviews and looking through my notes again, I realized there were some questions I didn’t engage enough and cover with some of my participants, so I reached out to them, asked for their consent, and asked those questions. The structure of interviews that were online were a little different and little less informal. Two interviews (one interview done with two people) were done online. When I interviewed two people at once, they drew their own separate maps, and each person took me through their map. I asked general questions to both and let them answer, then asked maps about each map, so the person could answer individually. I was still able to get a clear picture of the maps and signed consent form from both interviews done online. The first interview done online was the second person I had shown examples to, as per request.

Research Findings

University of Cape Town’s is a public research university which sits on the edge of Table Mountain, and is located in Cape Town, South Africa. It was originally a white university since its inception in 1829, making it one of the oldest universities in South Africa. Both UCT and Stellenbosch University received full university status on the same day in 1918. The university has campuses spread out all across the city\(^3\). However, it’s not required that students go to school on campus. As a result of COVID, there are a limited amount of students staying in UCT student residences on campus, however, UCT is providing student accommodations all across the city\(^4\). Some students have decided to take classes online. UCT provides transportation to all these campuses and student accommodations through the Jammie shuttle, a bus shuttle service free to all UCT students and staff\(^5\). For reference, I’ve also included a maps of

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\(^3\) Refer to Figure 1
\(^4\) Refer to Figure 13 to see all of UCT student residences/accommodations
\(^5\) Refer to Figure 14 in the Appendix to see all the Jammie stops

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Cape Town, the southern suburbs and the peninsula, so that readers are familiar and visually see the spaces students moved in. The map below is one of the examples maps I showed participants, just so that readers can have a sense of where UCT is in Cape Town.

Figure 2, Where UCT is in Cape Town, Source: map | You're Off to Great Places (wordpress.com)

In terms of meeting the minimum requirements for my participants, it wasn’t completely successful; although I exceeded the number of participants, specifically white and black students, that I wanted to interview, I only interviewed one male student (my goal was at least 3 that identified as coloured, black and white) and no students that identified as coloured or any other race outside of my requirements. This could have mainly been due to my methodology, the time period I was interviewing students, and other factors out of my control. Additionally, when talking to students on UCT upper campus, I don’t think I talked to any coloured students (of course, I can’t assume what they identify as though). Nonetheless, I interviewed eleven participants total, 1 man and 10 women, who all go to UCT with ages ranging from 19 to 26 (most participants were between the ages 19-22, with only one 26-year-old). Six participants identified as black (two of which identified themselves as black African) and five participants identified as white. Although all of the students went to UCT, they reside all across the city. Most students were in their own accommodations (not covered by UCT), whereas others were in student accommodations off-campus (provided by UCT with only one participant living in a student residence on campus). They also originated from all over South Africa, including from Cape Town, but also Johannesburg, Limpopo, and Northwest (the two latter are both provinces in South Africa). Out of 10 women,

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6 Refer to Figure 15
7 Refer to Figure 16
four white women and one black woman were from Cape Town, the southern suburbs specifically, which would make sense, since their school is also in the southern suburbs.

‘Born-free’?

I’ve decided to interview students because I am a student, but also because most of them are a part of the ‘born free’ generation, which is exclusive to South Africans. Since the new democracy, the terms ‘Rainbow nation’ and ‘born free’ have been coined by the South African media (Vandeyar, 2019, p. 456). There was hope that this generation could create the “Rainbow Nation” (a term used to describe post-apartheid South Africa as a diverse and unified nation) utopia that Nelson Mandela has talked about (Vandeyar, 2019, p. 468). Growing up at the end of the apartheid era and at the beginning of a ‘new’ one, means that their experiences are undoubtley “shaped by race” (Reiersgord, 2021). There’s been several studies about what does the identity ‘born-free’ actually mean to members of this generation. Saloshna Vandeyar (2019) conducted a mix of semi-structured interviews and field notes on ‘born-free’ students. Two out of 58 total students actually used the term to identify themselves (Vandeyar, 2019).

Statements from members of this group also portray a strong discontent with the term. Malaika wa Azania (2018) characterizes herself as a “product of an epoch of systematic, individualized and institutionalized apartheid,” which is why she feels “nothing about [her] or those who were born after [her] is free” (A letter to the ANC section, para. 3). Sipho Mpongo (2015), a photographer from the Eastern Cape born in 1993, actually finds the term confusing, because according to him, not every youth born after apartheid became free, acknowledging that “the majority of white children were long free compared to the majority of black children” before apartheid ended (Mpongo, Born Free, 2015). The term doesn’t seem to have any significance. In fact, such language is described as “a tool to silence the grievances of the youth” (Forster, 2021). In another visual essay, Mpongo (2016) talks about what it was like to live in the townships:

I thought that life was like a matchbox and that people were the matchsticks. The only way to get out of the township was to be dead, dead like a used matchstick. A lucky person might find the rare opportunity to escape. One could get transported to somewhere else, kind of like when a matchbox falls out of someone’s pocket (Mpongo, The "Born-Free" Generation, 2016).

Students from Vandeyar’s interview also recognize spatial segregation present in their landscapes, where the “physical legacies of apartheid –such as geographical segregation– served as a daily reminder of its presence” (Vandeyar, 2019, p. 468). These accounts from ‘born-frees’ depict the lack of social and maybe even physical mobility that remains after apartheid. To get an idea of what these students think about the term, I’ve decided to ask my participants if they agree with this term and why/why not.

2 people didn’t know what the term meant so I had to explain. Although I didn’t ask all my participants if they use the term in their daily lives, the ones I
Initially, for my first four interviews, I asked participants if they feel that the term born free is accurate. The first three answered yes, in the sense that they were born after apartheid. However, I didn’t engage further and ask why. So after those interviews, I contacted those three again via WhatsApp, and asked if they agree with the term, not in the sense that they were born after 1994, but do they feel as though they were born free and into a free nation. I was able to ask this question for the rest of my interviews. Almost all participants said no, they don’t feel as though they were born into a free nation. Some participants stated that they’re a born-free and to some extent we have some freedom (in terms of the places we can go and access) but many are still dealing with the repercussions of apartheid. Many also stated that systematically, things didn’t change, and that racism still exists in our institutions. Participants stated that “the right to vote doesn’t mean free” (Kara, 2021) and how “changing the law doesn’t correct the balance of so many years” (Olivia, 2021). Specifically, one of the participants stated that this generation “was born free, but black children weren’t born free” (Rosie, 2021). Particularly, participants that identified as white acknowledged their privilege, with a participant saying “maybe I’m a born free, but not others” (Chelsea, 2021) and another participant saying they feel as though they don’t deserve that term and that their “parents grandparents probably supported apartheid” (Kate, 2021). Another student said that they thought they were born into a free nation, until they realized the inequalities in the country. They add that most black people live in rural areas, only seeing one white person and that most white people live in urban areas. Nevertheless, they agree with the term 75%, because they claims that they can still choose everything they do (Mpasinfinity, 2021). Surprisingly, only one participant said yes, they feel as though the term is applicable to them, because they were born after apartheid, so it is applicable, and “hence I never got to experience the full wrath of apartheid” (K, 2021). Despite this comment and as the literature above confirms, there seems to be a general acknowledgement of the lingering legacies of apartheid held by this generation, thus not making them completely born free.
Maps

Map 1: Pink’s Map

Pink is a 1st-year black female student that is studying occupational therapy. They go to UCT medical school (the health sciences campus), which is in Observatory and is walking distance from them (she chose this to live in this residence because of the proximity). They’re originally from the Northwest province of South Africa, but currently resides in a student accommodation in Observatory. Pink’s map is very colorful, using the colors to draw the landscapes and distinct places from one another. Their map includes the places they go to for convenience (Engen, the gas station which is the closest to her and open 24/7), services (groceries, pharmacy, etc), leisure (hang out with friends, shop or study), and campus, with the mountain behind it. Most of these locations are in Cape Town’s CBD, Observatory, and Claremont. Places like the V&A Waterfront (a popular tourist site and shopping center), and Canal Walk Shopping center, have been visited once or twice and the beach occasionally. The first thing they drew is their student accommodation, the black building they call their base, because its where they spends most of their time and if they go out, they “always comes back there” (Pink, 2021). The line in the middle represents Lower Main Road (in Observatory), and all the locations attached to it are on that road. There’s also a pinpoint (in blue) by the V&A Waterfront labeled “room for exploration” because she didn’t explore “that side” (Pink, 2021). They drew the mountains by
the beach because this is the view she saw on the way to the beach. They also
served as a reminder of the fire, which was allegedly started by a homeless man
trying to warm himself up near Table Mountain; the fire spread to UCT upper
campus, burning the Jagger library. Hiddingh campus, which is another UCT
campus for performing arts students, is also on the map, because it’s the closest
Jammie stop to the Cape Town’s CBD and from there, her and her friends walk
to Grumpy and Runt. It seems that Grumpy & Runt and Lekker Vegan Kloof, a
vegan donut shop and restaurant, respectively, near the Cape Town City Center,
is the one of the places of significance and personal memory for Pink. Her
roommate, who’s a 5th year UCT student and is one of her first friends, took her
to these places on her first day in Cape Town. They also told the waiters it was
Pink’s birthday, and they brought them cake. It’s now one of ‘their spots’ and a
place they go to frequently (Pink, 2021).

Most of the places on the map they go to is by walking, taking the
Jammie, and if not, Uber. When asked what a safe space means for them, they
indicated that it is a place where they feels protected and where they can act like
themselves, which is their room (Pink, 2021). In terms of spaces they don’t go to,
Pink’s first answer was clubs because:

I don’t like places with a lot of people…especially when people are
drinking. I just feel like a lot happens. People blame alcohol for abusing,
[and] caressing other people…things get out of control and not everybody
knows how to behave so I really avoid places like that (Pink, 2021).

What Pink is referring to here is fear of being sexually assaulted at a club,
especially when there’s a lot of people around under the influence of alcohol. I
asked Pink what are places they avoid based on other people’s perceptions,
besides clubs, they stated that she avoids “Wynberg, Cape Flats…most townships
in Cape Town, I’ve been told they’re not safe…I’m not even going to question it
because I know South Africa and townships can get dangerous…I’ve also been to
Wynberg for emergency accommodation [because of the fire] and yea I wouldn’t
want to go back” (Pink, 2021).
Map 2: K’s Map

K is a 4\textsuperscript{th}-year black female student that’s getting a Bachelor of Social Science in Linguistics and Sociology. She goes to UCT upper campus, which is in Rondebosch, but she still takes the Jammie shuttle to campus. She is also originally from the Northwest province of South Africa, but currently resides in a student accommodation in Rondebosch. K started with her student residence or what she calls ‘home’ in Rondebosch. The arrow pointing towards the Baxter theatre (a UCT theatre) and onward includes her “daily routine” (K, 2021), all the stops that the Jammie bus takes her to when she’s on her way to upper campus (indicating that some of these places she hasn’t been to, she just passed it). The arrow pointing towards Claremont and all others are places she actually goes to. K organized her map by neighborhoods, and then included the locations she goes to most frequently without drawing any other landscape and it’s almost like a journey. Her map also includes the places she goes to for services and leisure (malls, but also restaurants, thrift stores, clubs etc.). K usually goes to Observatory (a residence called Obz Square), Cavendish, Camps Bay, Mowbray, the City Bowl (which is reference for Cape Town CBD), and Canal Walk for leisure. K window shops at most of the malls she included. She not only goes to the V&A Waterfront for restaurants, but in her own words, “to feel expensive once in a while” (K, 2021). Although the mountains aren’t on her map, K has hiked Table Mountain and a hiking trail in Newlands as well.
In terms of what’s not portrayed by her map, similar to Pink, K takes the Jammie when she can, but if its farther away, she takes an uber. A safe space to her is where she feels comfortable and not out of place, which includes her room, but also her friends’ rooms (Obz Square, Mowbray) and Claremont. She that avoids wine farms and generally restaurants with a lot of white people, because: “some of them are rude…and they give you weird looks, it makes you feel like you shouldn’t even be here, especially if you go to a wine farm and in Stellenbosch” (K, 2021). Although K has white friends, she states that “some white people make you feel uncomfortable” (K, 2021). She also avoids the Cape Flats because of what she’s heard from other people, the media, and based on the interviews/the case studies she’s read about the Cape Flats for her courses. Additionally, she mentioned avoiding Yours Truly, a bar on Kloof street, which is in Cape Town CBD, because there was an instance when a bouncer made her feel uncomfortable.

Map 3: Gugu’s Map

Gugu is a 3rd year black female student who is doing a Bachelor of Arts in Digital Informatics. Originally, Gugu is from Johannesburg. She goes to UCT upper campus as well for most of her classes but resides in a student accommodation in Mowbray called Varietas. Although it’s not in the center of the map, when asked about her safe space, Gugu mentioned the “all roads to Rome” (Gugu, 2021) to emphasize that her residence is the center and is her safe space.
space, similar to Pink’s map. Cavendish Square, St. Peter’s Square (a mall in Observatory), and Pick n Pay are places she goes to for services, groceries and shopping. She drew Devil’s Peak because it’s the view she sees out her window. As Pink mentioned, it also reminded her of the fire. She included the Camps Bay because she also goes there for the beach occasionally. Also excluded from her map is Lion’s head and Newlands, both hiking trials she went on. Notably, when I asked her to take me through her map, Gugu started with the airport and the bus station because that’s she enters and exits Cape Town. Most students included Canal Walk because they went to go window or actually shop there, but for Gugu, it was the first mall she went to with her dad, when she landed in Cape Town. She also included Church which she goes to on Sundays or sometimes during the week.

Gugu mainly takes Ubers, minibus taxi’s/walks, the Jammie or the myCiti bus, in that order. She doesn’t really take the train because of the stories of how dangerous and slow it can be. In addition to her residence, Lover’s lane, on UCT lower campus, is also a safe space; it’s a walking area she’s been to once or twice when she was stressed or worried. Gugu said that she hasn’t been to the townships in Cape Town, based on what she heard from people who live in Cape Town and lack of knowledge about those areas. She said that, like Johannesburg, “if you don’t live or know anyone there, then it’s mainly a thing of you don’t go there” (Gugu, 2021). Speaking in broader terms, Gugu mentioned that she stays a home a lot now (she can count on her fingers how many times she’s been to campus). She doesn’t venture anywhere outside of the CBD because she’s unfamiliar with the area and “everything is so far apart transportation wise and it wouldn’t be smart for me to go, unless I’m with a bunch of people… and also you need a certain amount of money to go to places in Cape Town” (Gugu, 2021).
Figure 6, Source: Anya

Anya is a 2nd year white female student studying Psychology and Law. She was born and raised in Cape Town, Kenilworth, specifically, and is currently residing in an apartment in the CBD of Cape Town. Most of her classes are online, so she doesn’t go to UCT anymore. Anya’s map is a representation of all the places that’s important to her or that she visits frequently, with a rough sketch of the Cape Peninsula. The first thing Anya drew was Table Mountain, as a point of reference, because she lives in front of it. Right next to it she draws De Waal Park, which is, in her words “really special because it’s this tiny little oasis in the middle of the city where people take their dogs and people will actually stop, no matter how busy life is, for the ducklings to cross the road, I really love it” (Anya, 2021). She enjoys the scenery at the Rock in Fresnaye (she has picnics and watches the sunset on this rock) and Saunder’s Rock in Sea Point as well. Lions Head and Signal Hill were drawn as points of reference for these places. Anya also includes surf spots she goes to with her partner and friends, such as Glen Beach (near Camps Bay), Cosy Bay Beach (a “hidden” beach in Ouderkraal), Llandudno Beach in Hout Bay, Noordhoek Beach and Muzienburg (goes to restaurants here as well). She also enjoys going snorkeling in Simon’s Town, to Bloc 11 (a climbing gym in Paarden Eiland), doing the Chapman’s Peak Drive (a drive on the Atlantic coast from Noordhoek to Hout Bay) and to Kloof, Long and Breë Street (the latter isn’t included on the map) with friends. Anya also included places she used to go (some of them she goes to currently) with her
mom as a kid, when she lived in Kenilworth: the Chart Farm (a garden in Wynberg), Arderne Gardens in Claremont (went here to “feed the ducks”) and a park with a model of a “train” that kids play on (on the border of Rondebosch and Claremont). She’s hiked Table Mountain but never Lions Head or Signal Hill because there’s too many people. Other places that she goes to that aren’t included on the map is the Garden shopping center in Oranjezicht (for groceries), V & A Waterfront, Cavendish (both for groceries, shopping and restaurants, but the waterfront is faster), and neighborhoods such as Mowbray, Vredhoek, Somerset West (to visit family and friends occasionally).

Anya’s main mode of transportation is her car. She’s never taken the Jammie shuttle; even when her classes were in person, she was staying in Observatory, and didn’t like walking on Main Road at all to get to the Jammie, due to being catcalled. Also, her parents would prefer her drive whenever possible and even “park illegally and pay a fine then something worse” happening (Anya, 2021). However, now that she resides in Gardens, she’d be more willing to take the Jammie because “it’s safer…there’s enough movement” (Anya, 2021). When asked about her safe space she described it as “in the context of South Africa, a place that I feel safe enough to go alone to. There aren’t many of those unfortunately” (Anya, 2021). Glen Beach, and Muzienburg is considered as her safe space because there’s enough people around “if there’s someone unpleasant” (Anya, 2021). Anya recently found out about a “horrible guy who flashes at women and so [she] learned that [she] was one of several victims” (Anya, 2021), at Llandudno beach; thus, it’s a safe space “on a good day…just not the extra trail we take to the rocks because we go through a whole lot of thicket and the issue with that is men…vagrant men ” (Anya, 2021). The places she went to when she was little (Chart Farm, Kirstenbosch, Bloc 11, and “typically” De Waal Park) are also places she considered to be her safe space, including Arderne gardens but only “in the middle of the day, not in the morning or too late in the afternoon” (Anya, 2021). Since being in a relationship, hikes with less traveled routes, and boulders on Table Mountain, Cosy Bay, Long and Kloof Street are “places that [Anya] can go to now that [she] could never go to before because [she’s] with a guy” (Anya, 2021). In regard to the places she avoids, although she’s been to the Northern Suburbs, Anya doesn’t spend any time there because she doesn’t feel welcome there. She doesn’t have any friends there and there’s more stuff to do where she resides (Anya, 2021). She has friends who study at Stellenbosch University and has been there but doesn’t like it there either. She also hasn’t been to the townships because she hasn’t been invited. There are some southern suburbs that she doesn’t go to as well because she knows “no one there or nothing that she does there” (Anya, 2021).

However, everything she drew on the map, is places where she feel safe to be her and can comfortably introduce herself. After the interview, Anya sent me some additional thoughts, stating that a safe space for her is also where she can “be herself and not feel threatened for being herself,” thus excluding Stellenbosch and the Northern Suburbs because she’s not comfortable being herself. She described both of these places as “super conservative, queerphobic, racist, and so as a result [she doesn’t] really feel comfortable existing there… [she feels] super

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protective of [herself] and unsafe when [she’s] in those areas” (Anya, 2021). Anya revealed that if she were seeing a woman instead of a man (she’s bisexual), she wouldn’t feel safe with public displays of affection (such as holding hands) and wouldn’t feel safe dating someone of a different race either because she wouldn’t want to be in a place where her relationship isn’t respected (Anya, 2021). She also revealed to me that she’s been insulted when her partner speaks about her to other people, because her name is Xhosa (a name her parents gave her because she was their first ‘born-free’) and they assume she’s black.

Map 5: **India’s Map**

Refiloe is a 2nd year black female student who is getting a Bachelor of Science in Archeology and Human Anatomy and Physiology. She’s originally from Limpopo, however she moved to Cape Town when she was 8. She’s currently residing in an apartment with her friends in Newlands. Similar to Pink’s map, India also used color to distinct between the object/landscapes she drew and was the only other participant to use only color. I told her that she could use the mountain as a point of reference, and she did. It was actually the first thing she drew. She included it because she can see it from her home. The brown table structure on Table Mountain represents UCT because of its location. She just drew the sun because she liked it and “it was part of the beach theme” (India, 2021). Most of the landscapes on her map include places she goes to for leisure. The Newlands Forest is where she goes to for walks. Hudson’s Burger Joint, in
Claremont, is her workplace but is also a restaurant she likes to go to. Town (representing Cape Town CBD) is where a lot of her friends live and where she goes to for leisure and shopping. Lastly, she also included Long street because it was a huge part of her life, especially when she was a teenager. Now she’s more afraid to go, in her words “the environment has gotten a little bit more aggressive” and she doesn’t party the same way. She’s been to V and A Waterfront, but not often, which is why it’s not included on the map. Dean Street (the street that she lives on, which has a Woolworths, and a shopping center) and Cavendish are also places not included on her map, but visited occasionally for groceries, pharmacy, shopping, etc. She moved around a lot in the Southern Suburbs and lived in Rondebosch during University.

India usually takes an Uber or walks. She used to take the Jammie, but due to new requirements (as a result of COVID, you had to be in a UCT student accommodation), she found other ways to move around and stopped relying on it; she does want to get back into it because its free (India, 2021). In regards to her safe space, it was:

less about the space and more about the people [she was] with, and they don’t necessarily have to be [her] friends, [she] just wants to feel comfortable around them and…state [her] boundaries…[she has] been to spaces where [she’s] felt comfortable…being [herself] or very drunk, this has been at the Moveable Feast (a place in Cape Town CBD)…rather than Long street, definitely not (India, 2021).

However, India did want to emphasize that she doesn’t see a place as a safe space, but more like people were. There aren’t paces she actively avoids, but she did say that if she had a friend who lived in the dangerous parts of Cape Town, she wouldn’t say no she’s not going. Places such as the Townships, Cape Flats, and heavily gang populated areas are where she wouldn’t go alone, if she didn’t know someone that lived there, because she “would be a target…[since she’s] not familiar with the area” (India, 2021). However, she doesn’t believe that townships are inherently dangerous.
Chelsea is a white female post-graduate student, currently completing her second year of her master’s in chemistry (same as her undergraduate degree). She was born and raised in Plumstead, Cape Town. Unlike the previous participants, Chelsea was shown a map of Cape Town and examples of other maps. She used Figure 17 as a model for her map, which is why sketch of the landscape is pretty accurate and not overrepresented as the other maps (either is fine). Chelsea used pencil first and then went over that outline with markers and pen. However she
used color to code, where green signifies places she would go and red signifies the places she wouldn’t. She also used to outline color to Table mountain. It seems like the black marker was used to highlight locations she wanted to emphasize and the neighborhoods. She used the blue marker to point out pubs (a bar) and then a wine farm that she’s been to but during the interview, she also used to highlight Kalk Bay, even though it’s not a pub. I’m not sure why she highlighted that, it just may have been the closest marker near her. Any locations that are starred just represent the neighborhood (or general idea she’s talking about, for example, Home), with specifics written underneath it. She grew up in Plumstead, but consider all the suburbs she listed (Wynberg, Claremont, Constantia, Rondebosch) as her home as well, because most of her friends live here and it’s also safer, in terms of security. Buiten (a wine farm), Stones, Pirates, are all places she goes to party, drink, and hangout. False Bay, “[her] favorite place in Cape Town” (Chelsea, 2021) includes spots for leisure that she goes to with her friends as well (restaurants, diving, swimming, hang out by the sea). Chelsea hasn’t highlighted anything in the Northern Suburbs because she doesn’t go there often, “it’s a bit of a drive,” only occasionally to see her partner’s family. Overberg is also a place she goes to occasionally, for holidays. She hikes Table Mountain, a cave in Kalk Bay, and all the mountains until Muizenburg.

Chelsea doesn’t really go to Camps Bay because it’s “a bit too pretentious…very overpriced” for her (Chelsea, 2021). She only included Hout Bay, Cape Point and the V & A Waterfront as landmarks (unless she wants to go on a boat). Although not included on her map, there are about 2 to 3 Pick N Pay’s within 5 km of where she lives and a pharmacy, but she also goes to the Constantia village (the flagship PnP) for groceries and Cavendish for shopping (or Canal Walking if she’s “really looking”).

Chelsea has a car (using mom’s old car) to use and sometimes takes Uber’s as well. She’s only taken the minibus taxi once in her life. She used to the Jammie and the train in her first year, because she couldn’t park on campus, but now that she lives in her own apartment in Plumstead, she still has to drive to Jammie stop, making it inconvenient. When talking about safe spaces, Chelsea states:

The thing is nowhere is safe. I’ve never had to put myself at risk in those situations, I’ve always had transport to and from a place, I’ve never been stuck somewhere I can’t get home…They say Cape Town is really unsafe, I’ve never been in that situation…I’ve never found myself in danger and that’s partly luck and there’s never been an opportunity for something like that to happen…but I don’t walk really, unless it’s for exercise…you don’t want to be walking because it makes you vulnerable…[includes an encounter where her partner got mugged when he lived in Wynberg while walking]…it’s f***** up that some people don’t have the same type of security I do. So, yea I think how safe you are is very much determined by the color of your skin and where you go and how you get from places (Chelsea, 2021).
To reiterate, Chelsea indicated she wouldn’t go to the townships and Cape Flats, but “pretty much everywhere else, [she’s] there” (Chelsea, 2021). She also doesn’t go to Cape Town CBD much due to traffic, COVID (curfew is at 12 AM, so it would be a waste of time) and she has “everything in the near vicinity” to her (Chelsea, 2021), so there’s no reason to go.

Map 7: Rosie’s Map

Rosie is a 2nd year black female student who is currently studying politics and law. She originally grew up in Kenilworth, Cape Town, but was residing in Tugwell Hall, a female residence for students, on UCT lower campus. Rosie drew a map of Cape Town, specifically the southern suburbs, or the parts of she considers home using only pencil. Looking at the map of the southern suburbs in Cape Town, it seems like Rosie’s map only includes three of the southern suburbs: Rondebosch, Claremont, and Kenilworth. Rondebosch is located north of Claremont and Kenilworth and, however she placed Rondebosch to the east of both neighborhoods (there is a Rondebosch east, but I don’t know if that’s what she meant to include). The first thing she started with was her home in Kenilworth, what she describes as “a small, gentrified neighborhood…quite white, very good look, private schools, restaurants, that kind of thing” (Rosie, 2021). She then included Cavendish because it’s the “central help of the southern suburbs,” and it’s where she goes to shop, get groceries, and etc., like other students (Rosie, 2021). Although it’s not the most important place in her life, she
Mangane says Cavendish is “quite significant in terms of the person [she is] today… I remember being in that high school phase and going to the mall and walking aimlessly for hours…it was the activity to do” (Rosie, 2021). She described the southern suburbs as the “safest, most central, for the most part, white areas of Cape Town, the real estate is really expensive, but the amenities are great, libraries everywhere, malls, good private schools, restaurants all in very close proximity to each other. So they are, for the most part, safe, and ideally that’s where you want to be living”; this is her comfort zone, one that she rarely gets out of (Rosie, 2021). Even though UCT is 15 minutes away from where she lives, she chose to live on campus because she “needed the space to grow and vouch for independence…so UCT’s been a really great place for [her] to thrive, find [herself], make connections, make friends, learn a lot” (Rosie, 2021). Other places she goes with her friends include each other’s dorms, her friend’s apartment (Rondebosch), some places in Town, her friend’s family home in Constantia (for house parties), the beach (in Camps Bay, Kalk bay, Fish Hoek), and picnics at Kirstenbosch. Rondebosch main road is also a leisure spot. She only goes to V & A Waterfront on special occasion because its “far, it’s always full, it’s out-of-reach, its expensive, it’s kind of like frivolous, and unnecessary” (Rosie, 2021) and she feels the same way about Canal Walk. The only difference is that Canal Walk is situated in the north, near the Northern suburbs, which she doesn’t go to because she “doesn’t have a reason to” (Rosie, 2021). She would only go there if they have something not in the southern suburbs or other closer malls. She used to go to Muzienburg beach when she was younger, when her dad lived there.

Similar to India’s idea of a safe space, Rosie said that a safe space for her is built out of the intangible things, so the people that she loves, “with little to no effect on [her] location, this [what she was referring to is the location of the interview, which took place in SIT’s classroom] could be a safe space if I was having a quality conversation, where I felt understood or I can trust the people that I’m talking to” (Rosie, 2021). Thus, Tugwell Hall has been her safe space because of the people she met and the difficult conversations she’s had over there, and its where she’s done a lot of her growing. Her home in Kenilworth is also a safe space, in a physical sense, with “little to no influence on whether [her] mom is there” (Rosie, 2021). Rosie also mentioned that the Waiting room, a black- and queer-owned club in Town that she and her friends go to, is a safe space in terms of clubs; there isn’t “any weird groping culture, no old men trying to buy you drinks, a bunch of like-minded people, Cape Town creatives, university students” (Rosie, 2021). For the most part, Rosie takes the Jammie everywhere and then Uber from the closest point to where she’s going. Sometimes she walks if she takes the Jammie to Town because everything is in such close proximity. But since the last bus runs at about 6 pm, if she wants to go out later, her and her friends just take an Uber. Rosie doesn’t have her driver’s license which is why she takes the bus, however, she said that this stage of her life includes a lot of drinking; if she goes out and ends up having drinks, it isn’t safe to drive, and she doesn’t want to limit herself (Rosie, 2021). Because of this and limited parking space, Rosie says that those who do have cars and drive,

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assuming that she was talking about her friends and those around her age group, “quite literally never take their cars anywhere” (Rosie, 2021).

Rosie said she’s not going to places if she’s not visiting someone or without intention and aimlessly. She avoids busy places, especially at peak hours, like the city center. She doesn’t find herself going to the townships either, not because she’s actively avoiding it but because “it’s not necessitated, and also with the immobility of not having a car” (Rosie, 2021). Parts of her family used to live in Khayelitsha but not anymore, so she doesn’t have to go there. She only went to Stellenbosch once for wine tasting, however she avoids going to places that make her feel uncomfortable racially, such as upper-class neighborhoods, Bishop Court, and Constantia. There’s an “excess of white generational wealth, very old money and I feel uncomfortable to be very honest, way too many white people, the only people you see who look like you work there” (Rosie, 2021).

Map 8: Kate’s Map

Kate is a 3rd year white female student who’s studying economics and law at UCT. She was born and raised in Newlands. She lives with her family in Newlands but goes to school at UCT upper campus. Similar to Chelsea’s map, She used pencil first, and then used marker to label some locations and outline the pencil. She organizes her map by specific places but also neighborhoods that she goes to. The color brown was used to draw the mountain and blue to draw
ocean. What’s unique about her map compared to other participants is what’s over and underrepresented compared to other maps. She draws circles, almost like bubbles, to represent places she goes to, the first one representing the southern suburbs as the main area she moves in. Strand beach is located in Somerset West, and far from the townships she listed (Langa and Gugulethu) yet she put them in close proximity. The airport, Table Mountain, Waterfront (although sometimes she goes to market there), and Strand beach are all points of reference. She included the places she goes to quite often such as Kirstenbosch (family traditions on Sunday’s), Cavendish (shopping), suburbs where her friends live (Woodstock, Salt River, Observatory). She only goes to Langa and Gugulethu to see and drop off her housemaid. She works at a Yoga Studio at a gym in Constantia. She visits her grandparents in a retirement village in Constantia as well. Even though UCT’s on the map, she’s been home a lot due to COVID and all her classes being online. She also hikes in Newlands Forest, Table Mountain, and on Lions head. She also goes to the beach at Clifton, Kalk Bay, Kirstenhof, Fishhoek, to Town, or Signal Hill for leisure.

Kate used to take the Jammie first and second year, but now she drives due to COVID, or her parents drop her off to the locations on the maps. When asked about her safe space, its where she feels secure and what’s familiar to her, so her house, “not because of where it is, but because that’s where [she] spends most of her time and where she feels secure” (Kate, 2021). Like many other participants have stated, Kate doesn’t actively avoid but doesn’t go to places due to its distance, and “obviously, there’s dangerous places you don’t go to anywhere” (Kate, 2021). Langa and Gugulethu are places that she’s been to further away, but it doesn’t mean she doesn’t “want to go there” (Kate, 2021). She said her spaces would probably extend to Ottery, another suburb in Cape Town, northeast of Plumstead. Because of encounters of “men saying horrible things, phones being stolen,” (Kate, 2021) she avoids some places in the CBD, which she only goes to for restaurants and not by herself. Locations include “Long street at the bottom and around [the castle], and the bottom of District Six” (Kate, 2021).
Mpasinfinity is a 1st year black male student getting a Bachelor of medicine and surgery. He’s originally from Limpopo, but resides in a student accommodation in Mowbray and goes to UCT medical school (the health sciences campus). Mpasinfinity’s map is a pretty accurate drawing of Cape Town CBD and some suburbs. It’s almost as if he looked at a map online for reference. He put a pin on Mowbray because that’s where he’s staying. All of the “roads” go from there to a location he goes to frequently, with the stars just representing an actual place. With the legend, his map pretty much speaks for itself, in terms of where he goes for leisure (or in his words, entertainment), and shopping. He mainly goes to Observatory or Cavendish for groceries. Although he goes to UCT medical school, UCT upper campus is there because he goes to visit his friends, get food and go jogging. Mpasinfinity also mentioned how heartbreaking it was to go to Observatory, to have to walk by homeless people and the lineup of shacks (on Main Road); he only goes because it’s convenient (Mpasinfinity, 2021).

He walks to UCT medical school or Observatory but takes the Jammie UCT upper campus. He takes an uber to every other place. According to Mpasinfinity, a safe space for him is a place where your information is confidential and when you have the freedom to say, do and be who you want without judgement (Mpasinfinity, 2021). His room is his only safe space. He usually avoids Long street because he doesn’t like drinking and the townships...
because he heard that there’s a lot of crime. He’s been to Canal Walk once but avoids it because of the distance, “unless [he’s] with a group of people whom [he] can share Uber money” with (Mpasinfinity, 2021). He wants to go to Stellenbosch, because he wanted to go to Stellenbosch University and see how the area is, but transport is an issue. He hasn’t been to the Cape Town CBD either because of his perception of the place. It reminds him of the CBD in Johannesburg, which he thinks it’s boring.

Map 10: Kara’s Map

Figure 12, Source: Kara

Kara is a 2nd year white female student studying politics and law at UCT. She’s originally from Franschhoek but is residing in an apartment with others in Rondebosch. Instead of relying on landscapes, Kara drew a lot of infrastructure and buildings and used that to represent each suburb/neighborhood. Rondebosch is in the center because it’s “the biggest part of [her] current life right now” (Kara, 2021). She can get her groceries right in Rondebosch, at checkers and PicknPay, and shops at Cavendish. Franschhoek is her hometown and where she went to high school. Tugwell, Observatory (St. Michael’s park is where her roommate’s dad works and where they thrift, although they go to restaurants there as well), Sea point, Constantia (her roommate’s house, specifically), friends’ houses in Claremont and Long street are all locations she goes to for leisure. She used to go to Woodstock to visit her sister, but she no longer lives there. Table Mountain was just included because you can see it from all the locations on her map, but she has also hiked it.
If it’s in Rondebosch, Kara walks, other than she drives or takes an uber (especially if she’s drunk). A safe space for Kara is where she feels emotionally or physically comfortable, which includes where she currently resides, her home in Franschhoek, Constantia (Olivia’s home specifically), or any residences on her map. In terms of places she avoids, Kara said it depended on the time of day, “that after dark, our [referring to herself and roommate] general rule is that if it’s not within your eyesight, don’t walk there” (Kara, 2021). But in terms of areas in Cape Town, she would avoid any areas notoriously known for being unsafe.

Map 11: **Olivia’s Map**

Olivia is a 2nd year white female student studying Computer Science and Information systems at UCT. She’s originally from Cape Town but is residing in an apartment with others (including Kara) in Rondebosch. Olivia described her map as an evolution of her life and the locations she’s been since she was a child. She was born in Constantia, a southern suburb in Cape Town. She put down Groot Constantia, a wine farm, because she spent a lot of her time there as a child visiting and going on walks with her family and dog. Unlike the other Capetonians I interviewed, Olivia also included her first school because she met good friends there and had a good experience there. She included the Blue Route mall (in Tokai), which she described as her “pre-teen independent experience” and the first place her parents would let her go by herself with her friends, where she wandered aimlessly with them. Similar to Rosie, she describes it as “the beginning of her independence” (Olivia, 2021). Even though it’s not in Cape Town (hence, a “detour”), she visits Keurbooms Plett every holiday with her
family and it’s where she met her cousins for the first time. Franschhoek is where she went to high school (a boarding school). Even though she’s only been at UCT for 6 weeks due to COVID, it consumes a huge part of her life, which is why she wrote it down. She then ends with the flat she currently lives in. Most of the places Kara goes for leisure is where Olivia goes as well, since they live together (additionally when Kara was taking me through her map, she said “we” and “our” throughout). Olivia also goes to the gym (and to shop) at Riverside Mall in Rondebosch and one of their friends’ houses who used to live in Cape Town CBD. She also hiked Table Mountain with her dad when she was little even though it’s not on the map. Sometimes she visits her grandmother in Muizenburg and another in Marina da Gama.

Olivia has her own car which she uses to get to these locations. Both Olivia and Kara used the Jammie shuttle, to get between campuses and the residences. During 1st year, they were able to walk to a Jammie stop, since they couldn’t park on campus. According to Olivia, a safe space is where she feels comfortable being vulnerable and is most likely her own space, so places like her home in Constantia or her current residence in Rondebosch. Similar to Anya and Kara’s idea of a safe space, Olivia feels as though most places in Cape Town “are relatively safe if you’re in a group during the day, but [she doesn’t] feel comfortable anywhere in Cape Town at night, it doesn’t matter if you’re in the safest suburb” (Olivia, 2021). Olivia also agreed with Kara, in terms of the places she actively avoids, which are usually the ones that are notorious for being unsafe, including “any industrial area, whether that maybe Epping or Observatory” (Olivia, 2021).

**Discussion and Analysis**

Drawing times lasted from five to 30 minutes. I’ve noticed that students who came from Cape Town included places they went during childhood, the holidays, or that was influential towards their independence. They also drew more accurate representations of the landscape of Cape Town and seemed to be more familiar with the geography (although one of those participants used a map as a model). However, being from Cape Town didn’t ensure more detailed maps over those who weren’t. Despite the reassurance before they started drawing, some participants felt pressure to make their map detailed, commenting that they don’t go anywhere, how their lives are boring, and how they’re bad with geography. Those who expressed such concerns and doubt didn’t have detailed maps relative to those who didn’t. Regardless, it had little effect on the use of color as a response (to “make up” for the lack of detail”), because only 4 maps used color. All the maps had some type of labeling; however, four out of the eleven maps were the least detailed. I told some participants that it doesn’t have to look like an actual map, which is why four maps looked like a journey of all the places they went to connect the places they go to ‘home’, almost like branches of a tree, including one participant who was shown examples of other maps which had the same characteristics. In particular, Olivia’s map was an evolution of her life, thus her journey had a beginning (which was her childhood home compared to others who started at their residence) and an end. She did ask for an example, however I didn’t realize this until after going through the

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 interview, which would’ve probably changed the map she drew. The mountain was included as appoint of reference for some participants (5) however also included because it was a visual representation of their spaces (many could see the mountain from their room, indicating closeness to the Cape Town city center, compared to the Cape Flats) something they saw visually, from their residence.

To reiterate, pencils, pens, markers and a sketch pad was provided, except to the three who did the interview online. However, only four participants used the markers, two of which only used it to draw over the pencil they originally used to outline. All of the participants that used the markers seemed to enjoy using the markers and complimented on te quality of the markers. In only one of the four colored maps, colors were used as a legend (to signify places they go to or don’t) whereas in all other maps color was used to be creative and represent the landscape. For example, out of the four maps that used color, three used the color blue to draw water by the beach and two of those maps used brown to represent mountains. One map also used the color brown to draw a tree bark and green to draw the leaves and the mountain. Colors were also used on all four of the maps to label and distinct places from one another. The rest of the maps were drawn using pen or pencil. Six interviews took place in an informal setting (a café, in an open area at UCT, or online), whereas the rest took place in a formal setting, at SIT’s classroom in Rondebosch. The 3 interviews that took place online didn’t have access to the same materials the other students did, so who knows if that would’ve changed whether they used color or not. Doing the interview online did make the interviewees online, since they were in their ‘comfort zones’. During one of the interviews, the participant took his time and played the music while they were drawing.

Students traveled to Cape Town city center (includes the CBD and V & A Waterfront) and the Atlantic seaboard (includes Camps Bay, Clifton, Sea point, Fresnaye and Oudekraal), however all students stayed within the comfort of the southern suburbs (Rondebosch, Claremont, Observatory and Mowbray). Students only went to the northern suburbs occasionally for shopping at Canal Walk or to go to the Grand West Casino in Goodwood. A couple of students also went to Stellenbosch for wine tasting. However, map work portrayed those students with cars and from Cape Town were more likely to travel to number of destinations within the southern suburbs (outside of the four listed above) and beyond it (specifically the peninsula). Destinations within the southern suburbs include Salt River, Kirstenbosch, Kenilworth, Kirstenhof, Wynberg, Plumstead, Constantia, Tokai, Bergvliet, Llandudno, Kalk Bay, Muizenburg, Fish Hock, and Simon’s Town. The farthest destinations traveled by students include Noordhoek, Chapman’s Peak, Blouberg, Langa, Gugulethu and other holiday locations outside of Cape Town. Thus, it seems like where you grew up and access to a private vehicle affects your access to spaces in Cape Town, beyond the southern suburbs. The next section will go more in-depth into this and cover what other factors influence the diversity of these maps and each student’s space.
How are these spaces known?

Four students were born in Cape Town, however those who weren’t, were introduced by other students and people from Cape Town. Specifically, the first-year students (Pink and Mpasinifinity) were introduced to new places in the CBD and the V & A Waterfront when they arrived in Cape Town. Most students also don’t feel comfortable going to places alone (Kate, K) and usually explore with their friends (Pink, Gugu). Despite their origin, nine out of eleven participants go out of their suburbs to visit friends and family. Additionally, some participants have to go out of their suburbs for necessities (to go take exams, pick up student ID’s, get groceries, etc.). However, although those who are from Cape Town maybe more familiar with their space and the spaces around them, others don’t and don’t feel the need to. For example, there are places that India doesn’t go to in the Town, due to the lack of exposure. She states that “when you grow up in Cape Town, there’s a fixed set of places you go to, you’re not as exploratory, because you don’t need to be, you’re always going to be there” (India, 2021). This could be a factor in the difference in detail of the maps of Capetonian students specifically. To Rosie already, the V & A Waterfront “is a quite majorly a tourist attraction…you’ll find your branded stores the, which Capetonians don’t really divulge in that much. So, things like Gucci and Louis Vuitton are always empty, and you find the ones that do go there will be tourists…” and she would say the same about Canal Walk, which is an even bigger mall. Thus, for some of the students, the spaces they access are bounded by the knowledge of the surrounding area, which is influenced by one’s birthplace, and friend group.

What is avoided? Why?

8 out of eleven participants avoided places because they were dangerous, particularly women avoided places because of men. About three of these participants mentioned unpleasant encounters that they’ve had with men, and thus avoided those spaces since. In fact, research “has shown how women's mobility, for instance, is restricted - in a thousand different ways, from physical violence to being ogled at or made to feel quite simply 'out of place' - not by 'capital', but by men” (Massey, 2008, p. 24). Anya states that she can go to more spaces freely and is more mobile because she’s with a guy and “there’s enough movement” (Anya, 2021). One of the reasons the Waiting Room is a safe space for Rosie, in terms of clubs, is because “there isn’t “any weird groping culture, no old men trying to buy you drinks” (Rosie, 2021). For this reason, along with the risk of getting sexually abused and caressed, Pink avoids clubs (Pink, 2021). For these 3 and many of the women I’ve interviewed:

Safety here becomes a question of not inhabiting public space or, more accurately, of not moving through that space alone. So, the question of what is fearsome as well as who should be afraid is bound up with the politics of mobility, whereby the mobility of some bodies involves or even requires the restriction of the mobility of others (Ahmed, 2014, p. 70).
According to the students, safety also depended on the time of day and how many people were around. Although I didn’t ask, the one male participant I interviewed didn’t mention avoiding spaces based on any type of danger and safety and went to most places alone. Even though most of my participants aren’t from Cape Town, there’s seems to be common knowledge about which places to go and avoid. Many said that they avoid places that are “notoriously known” for being dangerous,” yet didn’t specify those places. Other students said that they avoid the townships or the Cape Flats because it was dangerous, based on what they heard from people who live in Cape Town. Although Pink wasn’t from Cape Town, she was from South Africa, so she didn’t even “question it because [she knows] South Africa and townships can get dangerous” (Pink, 2021). Specifically, India and Gugu expressed not going there and other places because of unfamiliarity.

Another theme that pops up is students avoiding places where they don’t feel welcomed and uncomfortable racially. Both K and Rosie expressed not going to places with too many white people, due to discomfort and excluded. Rosie and Anya both avoid the Northern Suburbs and Stellenbosch (mainly inhabited by white Afrikaners) for this reason. As K and Anya suggest from their own experiences, some neighborhoods racism is still prevalent in some white communities in Cape Town and in this case, acts as a barrier. This is an example of a hidden barrier, where the mobility of certain communities causes the immobility of others. The distance to certain locations was also a barrier (Rosie, Chelsea, and Kate). In particular, both Mpasinifintiy and Gugu stated not being able to go to certain spaces, unless they were with a group of people with whom they could share Uber money with. Money becomes a factor as well. Spaces, such as, Town are avoided due to personal preferences as well (too many people, too much traffic, don’t drink).

Getting to and from spaces

There’s no doubt that transportation affects your access to space. When going somewhere within the suburb of their residence, almost all participants walk. What sets these students apart from other students and people their age, is their access to the Jammie shuttle which a lot of students rely on. Because it’s a free service, students use it between campuses, residences, and to Cape Town CBD (and then walk to their destination from there). Rules to get on the bus have gotten tighter due to COVID, its required that you live in a student accommodation provided by UCT, have a “health check” (a daily questionnaire students must answer on any symptoms they may have), and your student ID. This has prevented two students from taking Jammie but didn’t necessarily limit the spaces they accessed. Having access to the Jammie was extremely convienet. Uber was also something students relied on outside of the shuttle. However, participants also stated that they wouldn’t go certain distances, unless they were in a group of people to share Uber money with. Thus, money and class is another factor that comes into play when taking Ubers, especially to places outside of the southern suburbs. Eight out of eleven participants used Uber as a mode of transport. Two of the eight have cars, but only take Ubers when they’re drunk.
The other three students who don’t take Ubers also have their own cars. All the students with cars identified as white. As stated above, those with cars were able to access places beyond the southern suburbs, making it a crucial factor in the spaces these students can access. Even without a home, having a car “acts a form of mobile wealth.” Although they may be cheaper, its not a surprise that only one student stated that they also use minibus taxi’s and the myCiti bus, considering the high “risk of abuse and assault” (Pirie, 2015, p. 48) when using taxis. Additionally, the myCiti bus has routes along the Atlantic seaboard, the CBD, Woodstock, and in Blouberg, up to Atlantis; it’s completey non-existent in the southern suburbs, but useful, if you’re trying to get around the CBD and Atlantic seaboard. Three students have alsoexpressed their access to certain spaces being bounded by not having transport, especially in a city where “everything is so far apart transport wise” (Gugu, 2021). As portrayed above, a lot of places were avoided due to safety, which participants believed their car provided (Anya, Chelsea). In fact, Chelsea believes that “walking makes you vulnerable” (Chelsea, 2021). Hence, Kara’s general rule is “that after dark... if it’s not within your eyesight, don’t walk there” (Kara, 2021). Pirie (2015) further corroborates this, specifically speaking about the dangers of public transport in South Africa:

Travellers who can afford to escape unreliable public transport prefer to use cars than risk unpleasant incidents and attacks, especially on late night services. In South Africa, car travel is a shield, a defensive mobility practice (p. 49).

It’s no wonder Chelsea states that your safety is “very much determined by the color of your skin and where you go and how you get from places” (Chelsea, 2021); at the end of the interview, she also claimed that South Africa “is one of the dangerous places in the world, but it all depends on what color your skin is, where you live and how you grew up” (Chelsea, 2021). Notably, Rosie claimed during her interview that having a car can be a burden sometimes, at this age due to drinking, and that those with cars don’t take it anywhere (Rosie, 2021). She stated that she actually likes exploring places alone (going thrifting, record shopping, to cafés to study) in the southern suburbs (Rosie, 2021). However, she says what’s nice about the southern suburbs is that “everything is close to each other, and you don’t really feel unsafe or like people are watching...if you had to get home in a hurry you could” (Rosie, 2021). Thus, living in the southern suburbs offers her that protection, even without the security of a car. Thus, having access to a car, which is also tied to safety, is another barrier to certain spaces in Cape Town.

Southern Suburbs: a bubble

Every student I’ve interviewed resided in the Southern suburbs (except for Anya, who lives in the CBD) when I interviewed them, and all of them move in that space regularly. Hence, it’s no wonder Cavendish Square, as Rosie’s stated, is “the central help of the southern suburbs” (Rosie, 2021). However, as the analysis above has confirmed, the spaces they have access to or accessed depends on a number of factors: where they originally grow up, where they currently stay, transportation, class, race, gender, personal preferences, etc.
Another reason why spaces are avoided is because “there’s nothing to do there” and having all their necessities near them. Participants stated that they don’t have a reason to go to the townships (Rosie and Chelsea). Gugu stated that, just like in Johannesburg, “if you don’t live or know anyone there you don’t go” to the townships (Gugu, 2021). There are some places in the southern suburbs where Anya doesn’t go because there’s “nothing [she] does there” (Anya, 2021). To reiterate, As Chelsea said, she doesn’t need to go to the CBD because she has “everything in the near vicinity” (Chelsea, 2021) to her. As Rosie states, the southern suburbs is designed where everything is in “very close proximity to each other…ideally, that’s where you want to be living” (Rosie, 2021). The design of these white, urban spaces, ensures these students and those who live there, don’t need to venture out if they don’t want to. The city was designed “to prevent the free movement of the people, to maintain people within dormitory suburbs” (Kramer, 2013, p. 20). It seems not much has changed.

Notably, when participants and I finished discussing the map, I asked if they had any questions for me and many wondered how the maps was useful in my research. After explaining to them its purpose, many acknowledged their privilege. Anya stated that it is a “privilege to move in the spaces that [she does]” (Anya, 2021). India also stated that:

while I am black, I do come from a point of privilege in South Africa. I went to a private school in the southern suburbs, around white people, and I grew up around white people and that affected my idea of access. I naturally would go to places where other white people went into because that’s who I grew up around. Only later did I realize oh I can also have free access to the places go, but I didn’t do that when I was younger because I didn’t have that many black friends. So, my Cape Town as a black South African would be different to another person (India, 2021).

There were times during the interview where Chelsea also talks about her privilege, saying that she’s lucy because a car has always been accessible to her though her family. She states that how expensive it is to live in the southern suburbs, and how she was able to live there because her grandfather lived there, who is Afrikaans. She also says going to a Model-C school, formerly white South African public schools that are considered the best, is what helped her go to UCT. Therefore, some of these participants are cognizant not everyone has access to the spaces they do, illustrating that one’s class position also has an effect on one’s access to space.

**Ethical Reflexivity**

Participants created their own maps, and, as a result, had agency in the knowledge production process. Despite the semi-structured nature of the interview, I’m still asking certain questions, guiding the conversation and providing examples of maps from other studies, therefore I’m directly involved as a researcher in the knowledge production process. My age and the fact that I was a student may have also reduced those power dynamics. However, power dynamics always exist, I am still a researcher, and they are still participants, thus
power is “disproportionately on the side of the researcher” (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992), p. 117. Despite being black, an identity occupied by most of my participants, I’m still a U.S. American. In fact, it is the reason I was in South Africa, that I was able to go to an elite institution, and study in another country. Race has always been a topic I’ve been interested in, thus, it’s also why I chose this topic. However, my positionality as a black American women may have been helpful to the research processes, causing participants to relate to me more (one participant’s dad was from the US) and to be more transparent, or more harmful, because the participant may get “distracted” by my identity. I say all of this because of the perceptions people have of America, “of ‘privilege’, ‘ignorance’, ‘superiority’, and ‘novelty’” (Maxwell, Abrams, Zungu, & Mosavel, 2015, p. 7), which may draw them to be in an interview with me or even skew what the person is saying. In particular at the end of the interview when I asked if the interviewee had any questions for me, one participant asked, “what is it like being an American in South Africa?” We then continued talking about my experience in South Africa and the differences between the two countries (America and South Africa). I don’t believe that my identity ‘distracted’ any of the participants but is the reason why some participants may have been eager to participate and ask those question about me, in addition to the topic of the study of course.

Students also expressed avoiding places because of the racism present and that fact that “there’s too many white people.” Thus, being black may have allowed those participants (both of them identified as black) to feel comfortable enough to say that. Additionally, my identity as a woman also may have also allowed for the female participants in my study to tell about their bad experiences with men, with was one of the major findings in this project.

As I began the process of analyzing the data and listening to the interviews, I realized there were certain question that I could’ve delved deeper into with my participants and asked why. I missed what some of my participants said because I was nodding and saying “mm” in agreement with the participant, which led her to cut her sentence short and said yea (I was agreeing with her, so I assumed she didn’t feel the need to continue). This led to me either trying to guess what she and other participants said or cut it short. This was something I was used to doing when in conversation with others, to show that I’m listening and that I understand what they’re saying. However, in the context of the interview, it may have hindered some of my findings and analysis. Due to unfamiliarity with the whole of Cape Town and being an American, it was hard to understand exactly what the participants were saying and how to spell them. Sometimes the map helped, however, when listening to the interviews again, it was hard to double check some of these spaces.

I made sure to tell all participants that there’s a possibility this research paper could get published. Although participants shared information about themselves about their sexuality and encounters with men that may put them at risk, I made sure to ask participants to give me a pseudonym of their choice. However, I didn’t realize that I didn’t give participants a choice and ask if they wanted their names included in the paper in the first place. Additionally, I also didn’t ask my
participants what their preferred pronouns are, which I only realized as I started writing my findings.

**Limitations**

When trying to recruit participants, I told them my study was about student mobility and racial segregation. Based on that, if students were interested, I would have them look over the consent form⁸, which has information about exactly what the interview will entail, and either give me verbal or written consent if they were still interested. At the end of all but one of my interviews, I asked them if they had any questions for me. Four students asked me how exactly the map is useful to my research, and three students told me that they expected me to ask more uncomfortable questions; in particular, one participant said she expected it to be more “race-based and on history” (Pink, 2021). Another participant asked if I have any harder questions to ask, or questions that I was hesitant to ask (Rosie, 2021). The way I presented my project has led many to believe they were going to be asked uncomfortable questions about race. This may have drawn participants to my study but also may have pushed away others, leading to the skewness in the gender and race of participants I interviewed. In fact, a potential participant told me that they don’t want to participate because they want to avoid topics about race and oppression, even though only one of my questions was directly related to that. When I started my research, it was also exam time for students, thus, this could’ve reduced the number of students who wanted to participate due to stress about exams.

I wanted to interview students from one campus, because they’re all coming from or back to one place, therefore reducing the confounding variables involved and making comparison between maps easier. However, due to the current climate, COVID-19, students are studying online, or living in student accommodations or residences, which are dispersed across the city. Additionally, UCT has multiple campuses and participants don’t all go to the same campus (and don’t necessarily need to go to all), which is another factor that differentiates the spaces they go to and makes comparison harder. Class, economic status, ethnicity, and other factors also influence how participants move through these spaces. Interviewing students from Cape Town specifically would’ve produced different results and maybe more insightful, to eliminate that as a confounding variable, however, it would’ve made getting participants harder as well. Although they’re members of the born-free generation, they are still students, thus, the spaces that they access and go to is shaped by that very fact. Thus, they’re not expected to have full time jobs, which also influences the spaces they go to.

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⁸ Refer to Appendix 3 for the Participant Informed Consent Form
Additionally, interviewing participants online meant that they couldn’t receive the same materials that those in person did. I also couldn’t see what they started with and the overall processing of drawing, even though I was able to look at their body language. When listening to the interview again, I noticed one of the participants asked to see an example about 5 minutes in, however, I didn’t hear and thought they were conversing. If this interview were in person, maybe both participants (since they were together) would’ve drawn different, more interesting maps. Interviewing two people at once did have some limitations as well. During the interview, when asking both participants questions, one person spoke for the other. Had I done their interviews separately, the interviewee could’ve provided their own, maybe different, answers. I felt as though I didn’t dive too deep into either of the maps as a result, since the interview was short considering it was two maps (an hour). However, the two participants lived together and went to most places together. So, when I asked one participant a question, the other was able to answer and include things that the other participant forgot and vice versa, so it did prove to be helpful.

I’m asking varsity (in South Africa, varsity means college) students to draw a map, they may see this activity as “babyish” (Fragas Malet, McSherry, Larkin, & Robinson, 2010, p. 88) or in other words, child-like, especially because they’re not used to this, which may lead to a lack of engagement and partial view. This could explain the lack of detail and color in some of the maps drawn by my participants. Additionally, showing maps from other studies as examples and having a map of Cape Town for reference, was helpful but also had some limitations. For the first participant, showing him the map, allowed him to draw a very clear map (as in it was clear where he went to for entertainment and shopping) that he took his time with (his drawing lasted about 25 minutes). He included characteristics from the examples on his map. For the other participants I showed, it proved to be beneficial as well because she was able to put all the places she goes to clearly. It made sense for her to draw an outline of the Cape peninsula because the spaces she moves in expands beyond just the southern suburbs. Thus, looking at their maps, it was evident that showing them the examples influenced their drawings, which may have limited their individual ideas/imagination. However, it is inevitable that the students will portray “these spaces in the light they [want], representing [the maps] in a particular and actively constructed way” (Antona, 2018, p. 7) and also chose not to reveal certain information in their drawings and dialogue, for various reasons, such as privacy. Therefore, their maps and my interpretations are a “partial perspective and viewing” of the spaces they move through (Antona, 2018, p. 7).

Considering the literature surrounding the topic and my own assumptions, my hypothesis was that these student movements and access to spaces are bounded
and unequal. Because of this, I didn’t expect safety to be a recurring theme among my participants (also didn’t expect to be interviewing all women). As a result, for the interviews that occurred later, I asked participants about traveling places alone (if they haven’t already talked about it). However, it wasn’t something I was able to ask all my participants, which may have also hindered my analysis.

Only one participant stated using the myCiti and minibus taxi. Considering that “public transit [including the myCiti bus,] is inadequate or non-existent” (Pirie, 2015, p. 39) in suburbia, I should’ve asked Gugu about specifically where she takes the myCiti bus and minibus taxi and why. Additionally, 10 of my participants indicated using Uber. I didn’t ask about where and why. Asking these questions would’ve gave me more insight on whether such transportation strategies were used because it was convenient or cheaper, which would’ve be useful in my analysis. I also didn’t find any literature on use of color on maps. I also didn’t follow up with participants about why they used color or only pencil/pen and instead adding my own interpretation to why they did so. Maybe such answers could’ve also been insightful, in terms of my analysis of the maps.

**Conclusion and Future Directions**

The aim of this paper was to explore how spatial segregation manifest in Cape Town today. By mapping and having in-depth interviews with 11 UCT students, I found that students usually moved in the southern suburbs, the city center, and the Atlantic Seaboard. They moved in those spaces because all students’ residences (whether it was provided by UCT or not) were located here, thus it would make sense that they move in this space, to go to school, purchase groceries, shop, hang out with friends, and visit family, if they have any. 8 participants go to the city center for restaurants and clubs, especially on Kloof and Long Street. All but 1 participant go to the Atlantic Seaboard to walk or hang out in Sea Point or to go to the Beach (however, Chelsea goes to the beach in False Bay). The spaces students’ movements in certain spaces outside of these areas were guided by their birthplace, their familiarity with Cape Town, access to a person vehicle, and their friends (and their friend’s perceptions of places). 3 student movements have also been limited to the southern suburbs as a result of money, distant locations, and the immobility of having a car. 3 students also expressed their movements in the northern suburbs, Stellenbosch, upper class neighborhoods (such as Constantia or Bishops Court) or places with “too many white people” being limited due to discomfort and the racism present. All of the above are movements that are bounded by force, due to the politics of certain spaces in Cape Town (for example: clubs being known for being unsafe for women and the northern suburbs being known for its exclusivity) and class. However, students also restricted their movements based on personal choice. 8
female students limit their movements in spaces they perceived to be unsafe, at night or when they’re alone, as a result of crime and sexual assault by men. One student avoided Town because there’s too many people, another because of the traffic, and another avoided specifically Kloof and Long Street because they don’t drink, and they thought the CBD was boring. All but one student don’t access any spaces in the Townships because they’ve been told its dangerous, they don’t anyone, have no reason to go or are unfamiliar with those spaces.

All in all, my findings have confirmed by hypothesis and revealed that young students of different racial groups don’t access all spaces equally. There were 5 students who were white, and all had or had access to a personal vehicle, thus accessed spaces beyond the southern suburbs. One’s mobility and access to space were dependent on their race, class, gender as well as birthplace. Those who are from or grew up in Cape Town, in the southern suburbs specifically, had more access to different spaces, outside of the southern suburbs, due to familiarity. Evidently, student mobilities reflect the current social dynamics of Cape Town, that “social class continues to be intertwined with race, even if the relationship is less direct than it used to be” (Turok, Visagie, & Scheba, 2021, p. 72). Student mobilities also illustrate that the politics of space in Cape Town are still guided by one’s race, echoing the legacy of apartheid. My results confirm the nature of segregation, mobility and space that was presented in my literature review; to quote Rink again, “the experience of mobility in contemporary Cape Town remains firmly entrenched in the racialized spatiality of the past” (2016, p. 64). However, my paper also adds a news lens to the literature, depicting that racism and the risk of assault also shapes the mobility of those in Cape Town.

Nevertheless, the South African government, and its white minority, has completely “remolded society by deliberately manipulating space, and the legacy of those spatial arrangements continues to shape life after apartheid” (Tepper). Even in a small study, mobility is racially differentiated and white suburbs, like the southern suburbs, are still worlds apart from poorer neighborhoods, such as the townships. Even though access and mobility are no longer bounded by law, these maps have illuminated the hidden barriers of race, class and even gender and racism, which contributes to the maintenance of divisions. The small percentage of black, colored and other minority groups moving from lower to middle- and upper-class economic statuses hasn’t changed the fact that white economic and social mobility prevails at the expense of others. In the words of Bradley Rink (2016), South African society remains a place where “communities and the mobility strategies accessible to them continue to be distinguished by race, and where the infrastructure of post-apartheid urban life favors automobility for the privileged” (p. 63). The research project revealed that inequality of access and mobility are just a microcosm of larger social inequalities still present in Cape Town. These barriers will keep Cape Town “a city of islands” if there isn’t any structural change. But who knows if this complex, militaristic manipulation of space can ever be reversed?

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To reiterate, this was a small-scale research project. Thus, researchers, with more time and money of course, should interview students from Cape Town, from all different races, maybe from different economic groups as well, which would all eliminate some confounding variables which I had in my study. Looking at students that go to another school such as CPUT (Cape Peninsula University of Technology) or UWC (University of the Western Cape), which are other universities in Cape Town, would also be an interesting study since they don’t have access to something like the Jammie shuttle. Researchers can also interview ‘born frees’ that are no longer in college produce a generalizable study about the generation.
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Appendix 1: Maps

Relevant information or data that does not belong in the body of the text (maps, charts, extra illustrations and photos, etc.)

Figure 14, UCT Residences Map, Source: https://www.uct.ac.za/main/contacts/campus-maps

Figure 15, Jammie Shuttle Stops, Source: https://www.uct.ac.za/main/contacts/campus-maps
Figure 16. Southern Suburbs of Cape Town, Source: https://ontheworldmap.com/south-africa/city/cape-town/southern-suburbs-map.html
Figure 17, Cape Town Peninsula, Source: [https://www.capetown.travel/travel-wise/maps-guides/](https://www.capetown.travel/travel-wise/maps-guides/)
Appendix 2: Interview Questions

PERSONAL QUESTIONS

1. Pseudonym of choice
2. What are you studying in school
3. How old are you?
4. What year are you?
5. What do you identify as racially?
6. Where are you from?
7. Where are you staying?
8. Do you identify as a born-free? Why is that?
9. I would like you to draw me a map of “your” Cape Town
   a. Can include places that you go to frequently, and are important to you
   b. “Doesn’t have to be a masterpiece but unique to you”
   c. Mark on the maps any areas that you perceived to be particularly unsafe or dangerous

10. What are the places you go to frequently? (daily movements)
11. What does a safe space mean for/to you? Any on the map?
12. What are the places you avoid and why?
13. Are there any sites you used to go but not anymore/have been demolished?
14. Any sites that you go to now more because of COVID?
15. Places for leisure
16. Places for services (groceries, shopping, pharmacy)
17. Any family in Cape Town? Places to visit friends/family members
18. Questions about friends from UCT, where they live
19. Main mode of transport? Do you take the Jammie?
20. Places you haven’t been to in the city, don’t go to? Why is that?
21. Do you usually explore places alone or with friends?
Appendix 3: Participant Informed Consent Form

Title of the study: Cape Town Cartographies: Which spaces can the youth access? Mapping the mobilities of 11 University of Cape Town students

Researcher name: Sokona Mangane

I would like to you to participate in a study I am conducting as part of the SIT: Multiculturalism and Human Rights Study Abroad Programme. Your participation is voluntary. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand before deciding whether to participate. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form, and you will be given a copy of this form.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Despite the formal ending of apartheid in 1994, the spatial structure enforced during previous era still remains today. Considering this and the resemblances between my home (in Brownsville, New York City) as well, my research explores the racial segregation of Cape Town a little further. I want to study the mobilities of UCT students, looking at the places they go to (or don’t) to answer the question: do young people access spaces in Cape Town equally?

STUDY PROCEDURES

First the participant will be asked to draw what first comes to mind when they think of Cape Town. When drawing, the participant should draw places that first comes to mind, places that they go to frequently and which are important to them, and places they usually avoid. There will be a map of Cape Town for reference and then another piece of paper for the participant to draw on, along with other materials, which will be provided. I’ll be there during the interview to provide guidance if necessary and to take notes. There’s no right or wrong answer or “correct” way to draw the map, it will look different for everybody. Participants shouldn’t focus on every single detail but on what they can remember. However, if the participant doesn’t know where to start, then several examples will be provided of how they can start. After they’ve finished drawing, we will talk about what they drew and why. I will ask the participant to take me through their map, and tell their stories, if there is one, associated with the locations they drew.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study and no penalties should you choose not to participate; participation is voluntary. During the interview you have the right not to answer any questions or to discontinue participation at any time.

PONTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR SOCIETY

This research has the potential to highlight the social inequalities still present in Cape Town. I will be listening to and validating their stories. As a part of the research process, I’ll also be sharing my results with the participant. It can also help participants explore creativity and reflect on their spaces as well as draw parallels, by defamiliarizing the familiar.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any identifiable information obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential unless you choose otherwise. Participants will be given the opportunity to select/be given pseudonyms that will be reflected in the final research report. Any photos or audio recording taken will be stored on the researcher’s computer, to which only they have access, and will remain there for the duration of the research project. In the event that the researcher wishes to use this data outside the scope of this research project, participants will be contacted first. Information gleaned from this project will not be used in other research without the express consent of the participants. If the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no identifiable information will be used, unless otherwise chosen.

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PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation is voluntary. Your refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study.

I have read the above and I understand its contents and I agree to participate in the study. I acknowledge that I am 18 years of age or older.

Participant’s signature: Date:

Researcher’s signature: Date:

Consent to quote from interview

I may wish to quote from the interview either in the presentations or articles resulting from this work. The chosen pseudonym will be reflected in this quotation.

_________(initial) I agree to…

_________(initial) I do not agree to….

Consent to Audio-Record Interview

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

_________(initial) I agree to…

_________(initial) I do not agree to….

RESEARCHERS CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or want to get more information about this study, please contact me or my advisor.

Sokona Mangane Paballo Chauke

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT–IRB CONTACT INFORMATION

In an endeavor to uphold the ethical standards of all SIT proposals, this study has been reviewed and approved by an SIT Study Abroad Local Review Board, or SIT Institutional Review Board. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about your rights as a research participant or their research in general and are unable to contact the researcher please contact the Institutional Review Board at:

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