



**Gendered Realities of GBV in Khayelitsha to Inform
Safety and Security
in Urban Planning and Policy**

By Ashleigh Petersen
(Supervisor – Kate Laburn Peart)

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In loving memory of GBV victims

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Abstract

Violence against women and gender minorities is a complex social phenomenon and can be affected by the relationship between the built environment and human behaviour. With the South African township of Khayelitsha in the 30 top hotspots for gender-based violence (GBV) globally, this dissertation aimed to analyse the response of organisations and urban policy to violence in Khayelitsha and tried to answer whether these efforts in any way addressed the needs of women and gender minorities regarding Gender-based Violence (GBV) (Maphanga, 2020). With the very high prevalence of GBV in Khayelitsha, the main research question asked: “how have lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, regarding GBV, informed safety and security for urban planning and policy?” On the assumption that cities should provide safe and secure spaces, this dissertation asked: “does the built environment exacerbate GBV?”, “can gendered urban planning address GBV as an urban safety and security issue?”, and “can gender mainstreaming urban policy improve GBV in public spaces?”. Through a qualitative case study approach of Khayelitsha, I explored work done by Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) and urban policy documents. I additionally collected data through semi-structured interviews, indirect observations, and desk research. Ethical constraints limited the study in that vulnerable individuals were not interviewed, but individuals with experience of Khayelitsha’s public spaces were interviewed. Findings revealed that women and gender minorities’ experiences of GBV in Khayelitsha have poorly informed safety and security for urban planning and policy. Traditional solutions have poorly understood gendered spatial contexts, which caused inappropriate prevention methods for GBV. The research concluded with recommendations for safety and security urban planning and policy for GBV in Khayelitsha, thereby contributing to closing the gender gap in planning research in the Southern township context.

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Abbreviations

GBV	Gender Based Violence
WCG	Western Cape Government
GNC	Gender Nonconforming
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual community
VAW	Violence Against Women
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading
CCTDMGSC	City of Cape Town's Design and Management Guidelines for a Safer City
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
SA	South Africa
CPT	Cape Town
WC	Western Cape
UN	United Nations
WHO	World Health Organisation
TWB	The World Bank
WISE	Women in Safe Environments
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development
GAD	Gender and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
CES	City's Environmental Strategy
RSA	Republic of South Africa
GSP & UD	Gender Sensitive Planning & Urban Development
NSP	National Strategic Plan
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
NDP	National Development Plan
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease of 2019

CEP	Council of Europe Portal
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
EU	European Union
JICA	The Japan International Cooperation Agency
GED	Gender Equality Duty
FCSA	Future Cities South Africa
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UCT	The University of Cape Town
W&GM	Women and Gender Minorities
ESKOM	The Electricity Supply Commission
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
LUMS	Land Use Management Scheme
SACN	South African Cities Network
KMPGBDDP	Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Greater Bluedowns District Plan
GIS	Geographic Information System
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
CCT	City of Cape Town

Glossary

Ally	Someone who stands up for, supports and encourages the people around them. The term gets used a lot in the LGBTQIA+ community.
Anthropology	The study of human beings, their societies, cultures and development through time. (GOOGLE,)
Apartheid	Racial segregation under a white government of South Africa which occurred between (1948 to 1994).
Architectural/environmental determinism	The idea/belief that individuals respond or behave in certain ways as attributed to external stimuli of the built environment or climate. It is a behavioural science. (From 'do buildings really shape human behaviour?')
Bisexual	Sexually or romantically attracted to both men and women, or more than one sex or gender.
Cisgender	(cis means "in alignment with" or "on the same side") Describes an individual's gender identity which agrees with their sex at birth. For example a cisgender woman is someone who identifies as a woman and was assigned female at birth and the same is true for someone who identifies as a man. (NSP)
Commission of Inquiry	A tool used to enable investigation of a certain matter brought about by civil society and ordered by the government. This public inquiry is conducted through a public forum other than a court. (https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=137637ae-1e54-4bea-ba93-45f628972ef9)
Conceptual	Involving or derived from mental concepts.
Disability	A societal term used to describe an individual with a physical, intellectual, sensory, psychosocial, and/or neurological impairment who has limited access to participate in all aspects of life fully resulting from impairments but also society and infrastructure failing to uphold the rights and needs of individuals affected.
District	An area of a country or city, one that is characterised by a particular feature or activity.
ESKOM	A South African electricity public utility established in 1923.
Feminine	Having qualities or an appearance traditionally associated with being female
Feminism	A variety of social and political movements and ideologies which share the common goal of: defining, establishing and achieving economic, political, social and personal equality among all genders. (NSP)
Formal Settlement	Settlements that are formally planned according to planning norms and standards and which have gone through a statutory approval process.
Gay	Sexually or romantically attracted exclusively to people of one's own sex or gender (used especially of a man).
Gender	A societal term used to describe socially constructed identities relating to biological characteristics. This concept includes attitudes, feelings,

	values , interactions and behaviours associated with being a woman and being a man in society given the culture and setting. These characteristics are influenced by history, society and cross-cultural factors (NSP)
Gender-Based Violence (GBV)	A term used to signify violence which occurs as a result of: unequal power relations between genders within societal contexts and of normative role expectations associated with the gender associated/given to an individual according to their sex assignment at birth. GBV is physical, emotional, psychological abuse or threats, sexual, verbal, coercion as well as economic or educational deprivation. This occurs in private and/or public (NSP)
Gender Identity	A strong and deep internal sense of an individual's gender either being female, male, both or neither. Some individuals have a deep internal sense of identity that matches their sex assignment at birth (cisgender) and others do not (are described through other terms). It is a personal choice. NSP
Gender Inclusive	Ways which do not discriminate against or exclude individuals, ideologies or beliefs regarding gender identity or a particular sex on any basis. (NSP)
Gender Inequality	Discrimination that regularly favours or prioritises one sex or gender over the other on the grounds of sex or gender
Gender Mainstreaming	"Defined by the United Nations as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in any area and at different levels. It is a strategy for making women's and men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." (NSP)
Gender-Responsive	Refers to a policy or programme that fulfils two basic criteria (a) gender norms, relations are considered and (b) measures taken to actively reduce harmful effects of gender, roles and relations - including gender inequality.
Gender-Sensitive	Is to understand and give consideration to socio-cultural norms and discriminations in order to acknowledge the different rights, roles and responsibilities that women and men have in the community and the relationships between them.
Geographic Information System	A computer system that analyses and displays geographically referenced information.
Heteronormative	A term used to describe the forced compliance with culturally/traditionally determined heterosexual gender roles and assumptions. It is considered an oppressive system which considers heterosexuality the norm and further discriminates against individuals who do not identify according to heterosexual norms, behaviours or assumptions. (NSP)
Heterosexist	A system of attitudes, bias, and discrimination in favour of female–male sexuality and relationships.
Heterosexual	Is a romantic attraction, sexual attraction and/or sexual behaviour between people of the opposite sex (usually attraction between male and female individuals who agree with their sex at birth)
Heterosexual man/woman	The same as cisgendered individuals; An individual whose gender identity agrees with their sex at birth. These individuals are also attracted to the opposite sex.
Homophobic	A strong dislike/hate towards individuals who do not heterosexually conform to 'normal' ideas of gender (i.e., belonging to the LGBTQIA+ community)
Homophobic Rape	A hateful act of sexual violence against non-heterosexual individuals. (NSP)

Hot Route	A course taken from a starting point to a destination, possessing significant possibility of danger or violence.
Hot spot	A place of significant danger or violence.
Human Rights	"Rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, gender, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include civil, political, social and economic rights. For instance, these include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination."
Human Scale	The proportion of space in relation to human dimension. It is an important unit of measure for different parts of the building, while keeping in mind who will use each space.
Imbizo	A gathering, especially Zulu people, which is usually called by a traditional leader
Informal Settlement	Areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or to occupy illegally.
Institutional Crime Prevention	An approach to crime prevention focusing on intervening among already high risk populations, to ensure that violence does not occur. Measures such as urban planning initiatives to improve living standards, offer leisure activities for violent adolescents or providing emergency services. Deeper, there is similarly a focus on providing long-term care after acts of violence have occurred and prevent relapses by offenders. These include assisting with rehabilitation of offenders to reduce recidivism, provide efforts to provide support for victims, by offering trauma counselling etc.
Interdisciplinary	Referring to multiple fields of study.
Intersectionality	"Refers to overlapping social identities and the related systems of oppression and domination that use these to marginalise and exclude. Although all women face discrimination some women face multiple forms of oppression because of their race, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic background, abilities and sexual orientation, which in turn shapes their experiences of violence. Intersectionality looks at the relationships between these different forms of oppression and allows for analysis of social problems more fully, shapes more effective interventions, and promotes more inclusive responses" (NSP)
Intersex	A person born with a combination of male and female biological traits.
Land Use Management	Land use management is a system that ensures that the right things get built, in the right place, at the right time. The system consists of legal requirements and regulations that ensure that land is developed in a desirable and sustainable way.
Lesbian	A woman who is sexually attracted exclusively to other women, or to sexual attraction or activity between women.
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning (one's sexual or gender identity), Intersex and asexual/aromantic/agender.
Loadshedding	Action to reduce the load on something, especially the interruption of an electricity supply to avoid excessive load on the generating plant.
Lockdown	A state or period in which movement within or access to an area is restricted in the interests of public safety or health. This occurred during 2020-2021 when the COVID-19 pandemic occurred.
Man	Those who identify as men, regardless of their gender at birth;
Masculine	Having qualities or an appearance traditionally associated with being male
Monitoring	Observe and check the progress or quality of (something) over a period of time; keep under systemic review.
Neighbourhood watch	A strong community of individuals that actively take part in reducing crime and violence in their neighbourhoods.

Pandemic	A widespread occurrence of an infectious disease over a whole country or the world at a particular time. Referring to the 2020-2021 COVID-19 virus. (google)
Patriarchy (Facio, 2013)	A social system where men hold primary power and dominate in various roles in moral authority, control of property, social privilege and political leadership. (NSP)
People-centred	Where the person is supported to lead their own care and treated as a person first.
Precinct	An area in town designated for specific or restricted use normally established for administrative purposes.
Pro-poor	Pro-poor is a term that has become widely used in the development literature. Pro-poor policies are those that directly target poor people, or that are more generally aimed at reducing poverty.
Prospect-refuge theory	Certain environments feel secure and thereby meet basic human psychological needs. There are lots of possibilities in the places that we feel most comfortable being, but we must be in a secure environment at the time.
Psychology	The scientific study of the human mind and its functions, especially those affecting human behaviour in a given context. (google)
Queer	A sexual or gender identity that does not correspond to established ideas of sexuality and gender, especially heterosexual norms.
Rape	"According to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, 2007, rape is the unlawful and intentional sexual penetration of a person by another without consent. The Act defines 'sexual penetration' as including the oral, anal or vaginal penetration of a person (male or female, regardless of age) with a genital organ; anal or vaginal penetration with any object or any part of the body of an animal, or the penetration of a person's mouth with the genital organs of an animal." (NSP)
Reflexivity	Reflexivity is defined as a continuous self-reflection that the researcher undergoes to generate awareness about their actions, feelings, and perceptions and how this might affect the study/research/information generated (Darawsheh, 2014).
Reliability	The degree to which a research tool produces the same results when employed in the same circumstance repeatedly.
Risk Factor	An event or situation increases the possibility of a harmful/negative experience for an individual. (NSP)
Safety	A state free from risks brought on by random natural events or mistakes made by humans
Security	The state of being free from danger or threat.
Sex	The biological and anatomical characteristics which an individual is born with which determines the appearance of external genitalia; a vagina to identify a female and a penis and testes to identify a male. (NSP)
Sexual and Gender minorities	Sexual and gender minority (SGM) populations include, but are not limited to, individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, asexual, transgender, Two-Spirit, queer, and/or intersex. Individuals with same-sex or -gender attractions or behaviours and those with a difference in sex development are also included.
Shacks	A roughly built hut or cabin, made of informal materials.
Situational Crime Prevention	Crime prevention through design of the physical environment.
Social Crime Prevention	An approach to crime prevention that addresses the root causes of crime. The focus is mainly on the social elements that lead to crime such as lack of community cohesion, ignorance, breakdown in family societal values and poor environmental conditions.
Social Norms	Unwritten but socially acceptable/followed rules based on what is acceptable social behaviour within a group. For example the behaviour

	expected from a woman and man in society where these expectations are embedded in history, culture and institutions.
Sustainability	The capacity to continue at a specific rate or level; the avoidance of natural resource depletion in order to maintain an ecological balance.
Spatial Development Framework	A framework that aims to direct the overall geographical distribution of desired and current land uses within a municipality in order to put the vision, goals, and objectives of the municipal Integrated Development Plan into practice,
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management act 16 of 2013
Tavern	An inn or pub.
Technocratic Planning	Involving specialists or experts that over-rely on science and technology to cater to regional, city and town planning matters.
Tick-box	To fulfil all the requirements, especially as itemised in a list; to have all the needed characteristics; complete all steps in an orderly manner.
The O'Regan-Pikoli Commission of Inquiry	Examines claims of incompetence at Khayelitsha police stations as well as the purported deterioration of relationships between the community and the police
Township	Impoverished which came into existence as a result of the discriminatory apartheid rules.
Transgender	"An individual whose gender identity does not align with their assigned sex and gender at birth". (NSP)
Transport Interchange	A facility allowing commuters to transfer between differing modes of public transport.
Triangulation	Triangulation is the use of multiple data sources and methods to develop a more holistic understanding of phenomena (Patton, 1999). By this, one increases validity as information is converged from different sources (Patton, 1999).
Urban Design	Is concerned with the arrangement, appearance and function of suburbs, towns and cities. It is both the process of creating localities in which people live, engage with each other, and engage with the physical environment.
Urban Sprawl	The quick geographic spread of cities and towns, frequently typified by single-use zoning, low-density housing, and a greater reliance on individual automobiles for transportation.
Validity	How accurately the outcomes among the study's participants reflect actual results among people who are comparable to them outside of the study
Violence	Force exerted on an individual for the purpose of intending harm (NSP)
Violence Against Women	Any act of gender-based violence whether committed in public or privately, that causes or is likely to cause bodily, sexual or emotional injury or suffering to women. This includes threats of such behaviour as well as coercion and arbitrary deprivations of liberty. It refers to violence committed against a woman for being a woman, which disproportionately harms her. Intimate partner violence, non-partner sexual assault, trafficking, so-called honour crimes, sexual harassment and exploitation, stalking, violence associated with witchcraft and gender-related killings are just a few of the many forms it can take.
Voluntarism	The idea that voluntary action should be relied upon.
Woman	In this dissertation, the term refers to anyone who identifies as female, regardless of their biological; this includes not only cis women, but also trans women and femme/feminine identifying genderqueer and non-binary persons. (NSP)
Zoning	The act or process of partitioning a city, town, or borough into zones reserved for different purposes (such as residence or business).
Zoom	A communications platform that allows users to connect with video, phone and chat.

Image reference list

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1: Figure 2.1: Bendl, R., & Schmidt, A. (2013). Gender mainstreaming: An assessment of its conceptual value for gender equality. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(4), 364-381. (Source: <https://web-s-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=a74a6e5d-241c-4e1f-bd25-fb0731a88839%40redis>)

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: South Africa Contextual map. (Source: Ho, 2023)

Figure 4.2: Western Cape Province Contextual map. (Source: Ho, 2023)

Figure 4.3: Contextual Map of Khayelitsha. (Source: Ho, 2023)

Figure 4.4: Map of Khayelitsha Sites. (Source: <https://sjc.org.za/branches>)

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Chapter 5

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation focused on the safety and security of women and gender minorities related to the built environment and how this interaction suggested gender-sensitive urban planning and policy as a solution for improvement. Further, based on findings, the dissertation suggested how urban policy, through a gendered lens, could reduce gender-based violence (GBV), as a complex safety and security issue, through its processes, plans, and implementation. City planning can address GBV from a built environment and policy perspective by either exacerbating or limiting its occurrences (Hallman, Kenworthy, Diers, Swan, & Devnarain, 2015).

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Brief History

Historically and currently men, women and gender minorities have experienced cities in different, if not opposing, ways. This is because traditional city planning rarely understood or considered gender in its endeavours (Saegert, 1980). A primary cause of this is patriarchy, as expressed in chapter 2. This meant that, historically, certain city areas were delegated to men and women, respectively. Modern cities should be built for everyone and do away with unequal socially constructed realities.

Working definitions of gender identity are rarely acknowledged in traditional city planning and tend to be overlooked during planning, policy, and implementation (Burgess, 2008). This resulted from patriarchal operations in the workplace, where men were historically valued as more important than women (Fenster, 2005; Molina, 2018). Men dominated occupations outside the home while women stayed at home and undertook more 'feminine' occupations, i.e., housework and health care (Fenster, 2005; Molina, 2018). This resulted in men dominating the planning profession, who influenced how city planning was contextualised through theory and practice (Haverfield, 1913; Scott, 1969). Cities that benefited men often overlooked how different genders experienced the built environment (Pardo & Echavarren, 2010). These reinforced patriarchal notions of fixed gender roles within the city where the built environment bound women to the home while urban spaces were for the labour of men (Saegert, 1980; Fenster, 2005; Molina, 2018). These endeavours facilitated the formation of technocratic planning where the government or urban planners set out to control society or industry to maintain order for social, political and economic gain (Pacchi, 2018). Technocratic

planning was critiqued by Jane Jacobs, Paul Davidoff, Reyner Banham and Giancarlo De Carlo (forward thinking critical voices in city planning) as having inappropriate and ineffective methods of knowledge production and as such overlooked problems at the core of planning and the needs of citizens (Pacchi, 2018). Moving away from past planning methods to achieve equity and equality, regarding safety and security in cities, marginalised genders must be acknowledged appropriately and made evident in planning policy and practice.

1.2. The Research Problem

In cities where gender-sensitive planning was poorly implemented, the built environment can exacerbate violence and crime against specific genders, known as GBV (Renagh et al., 2011; The World Bank, 2020). Although violence occurs in all cities due to social, political, and economic inequality, it also occurs because of gender inequality. Therefore, how we approach city planning and policy can either reinforce social issues or assist in mitigating their effects (Renagh et al., 2011; The World Bank, 2020).

Traditional and contemporary planning policy and practice have insufficiently acknowledged gender differences and that cities are experienced differently by individuals with intersecting social identities. Therefore, creating various socio-economic, spatial, and political challenges (Burgess, 2008). With the built environment significantly influencing the safety and security of individuals, especially the vulnerable, planners can thus improve planning to improve experiences of safety and security within the context of public spaces.

1.3. Research aims, objectives and questions

The study aimed to analyse the response of organisations and urban policy to violence in Khayelitsha and tried to answer whether these efforts in any way addressed the needs of women and gender minorities regarding GBV. This aim led to the main research question; “How have lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, regarding GBV, informed safety and security for urban planning and policy?”. The structuring research questions were: “is GBV exacerbated by the built environment?”, “can urban planning address GBV as an urban safety and security issue?” and “can gendered urban planning and policy improve GBV in public spaces?”. These guided the literature review and formed the foundation on which the findings would be argued against. The objective was to analyse the lived

experiences of W&GM regarding safety and security within the public realm of Khayelitsha and denote how the built environment influenced this violence.

1.4. Justification for study

Analysing the response of organisations and urban policy to violence in Khayelitsha highlights how the built environment has exacerbated the issue of GBV and how urban planning and policy must acknowledge gendered experiences to plan safe and secure cities. Through this research, urban policy and practice can be informed on the importance of including gendered experiences of the city to plan a sustainable and inclusive future. City planning prioritises the development of spaces to serve its citizens, where all individuals feel included, valued, safe and secure. This dissertation highlighted the research gap in safety and security planning and policy through a gendered lens, especially in South Africa's townships. This forms a base for future urban policy, planning, and implementation. To address Khayelitsha's current safety and security needs, city planning needs to adopt contextually appropriate lessons to ensure that the built environment does not exacerbate social inequalities further.

1.5. Limitations

1.5.1. Scope

This dissertation acknowledges that:

- Safety and security are experienced differently for different areas and people. As such, GBV is only one component of safety and security within the public realm.
- Although the focus is on women and gender minorities in the public realm, it does not discredit the experiences of men.
- Suggestions made are not for women and gender minorities alone but for all individuals.
- While GBV against children occurs, due to time constraints and ethical clearance, interviews with children are not conducted.

- 'Women' used in this dissertation indicates individuals who identify as women i.e., not necessarily those born with XX chromosomes alone.

1.5.2. Research methodology

Due to time, ethics and COVID-19 restrictions (as well as my own COVID-19 experience), the research only used qualitative methods, which, by their nature, are case specific. Adding to the aforementioned restrictions, only two individuals were interviewed. The rest of the research was collected via desktop research and indirect observation.

1.5.3. Resources

COVID-19 placed a significant constraint on gathering information from face-to-face interviews. The impact of the pandemic on the economy caused important organisations that were crucial sources of information for this study, Rape Crisis, the Triangle Project, VPUU, and officials from the City of Cape Town, to be unavailable for interviews. The University of Cape Town (UCT) did not grant ethical clearance to interview vulnerable individuals during this time-limited study. Victims of violence were, therefore, not interviewed, as this was beyond the dissertation's scope. While this research was underway, Rape Crisis Khayelitsha (the organisation I planned to source information and interviews from) was robbed. Their resources and technology were stolen, which further constrained my research, affecting its potential and milestones. Due to the country's unreliable electricity supply and data availability for interviewees, connection and technical issues meant that conducting interviews via zoom/WhatsApp proved problematic. Where some interviewees were not available, information was gathered from secondary sources.

1.5.4. Generalisability of findings

Accurate data/information regarding statistics or experiences of violence is difficult to find (as not all cases are reported), making generalisability impossible. VPUU's work and policy documents were therefore used as guidance for this dissertation. Findings cannot simply be generalised to other areas. Information gathered within the context of Khayelitsha must be adopted and adapted to suit the context of other areas. The findings of this dissertation can influence research for Khayelitsha and other areas regarding safety; however, generalisability and oversimplification must be avoided.

1.5.5. Effects of Covid on me, the researcher

I contracted COVID-19 in 2021, which severely impacted my mental and physical health. This restricted my abilities and the time available to complete this degree. An extension by the university enabled me to rebuild my mental and academic strength.

1.6. Structure

In Chapter 1, the study and its background were introduced, where the importance of considering gender in city planning was identified to improve urban safety and security. With the research problem contextualised to Khayelitsha, objectives, aim, significance and limitations are explored, and their value argued.

In Chapter 2, existing literature on the topic under investigation was reviewed. Here theories, gaps in the literature, and problematic repercussions are explored. Three themes are explored: 'safety, security and the built environment,' 'gender and planning,' and 'gender mainstreaming in urban policy.' This literature review guided research and analysis in chapter 5.

Chapter 3 explored the research methods used to gather and analyse data. A Case Study approach was used to focus on Khayelitsha. Data was collected via semi-structured interviews, indirect observation, and desk research. Here the limitations and mitigations were also explored.

In Chapter 4, the research findings were presented and then analysed according to arguments made in chapter 2. The research was carried out through semi-structured interviews, indirect observation, and desk research. Here the primary focus documents were VPUU's work in Khayelitsha and urban policy and related documents, which spoke to violence prevention. This chapter answered the main research question; "How have lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, regarding GBV, informed safety and security for urban planning and policy?"

In Chapter 5, the research was concluded, and recommendations given for future urban planning and policy for Khayelitsha. Recommendations addressed challenges highlighted by findings and subsidiary questions (generated in chapter 2) to suggest how GBV should be addressed in Khayelitsha going forward.

Chapter 2: Introduction

In this chapter, the dissertation looked at three major themes: safety, security and the built environment, gender in city planning and gender mainstreaming in urban policy. First, I focused on safety theories and security perceptions in relation to the built environment to understand the relationship between these terms. I then moved to understanding the dynamics of gender in city planning and how this affected the relationship of gender with the built environment and ended off with gender mainstreaming urban policy to politically account for opposing and diverse realities of violence against women and gender minorities.

2.1 Safety, Security, and the Built Environment

Safety and security were important for making a city accessible, comfortable, and without fear. With women and gender minorities experiencing high levels of violence within cities, the built environment had to be explored and adapted to minimise safety and security risks of vulnerable individuals. This section focused on the effects of the built environment on the experiences of women and gender minorities regarding safety and security. Here I define the built environment, safety, and security and how this shaped the experiences of women and gender minorities, I explored theories on safety and uncover how safety and security were approached. The literature indicated that different genders experienced different degrees of safety and security in relation to the built environment. How Western notions of safety and security theories and perceptions were applied were relevant in South African areas like Khayelitsha, especially with safety being a basic human right.

2.1.1 Defining the built environment

According to Lawrence & Low (1990), when the natural environment was rebuilt by humans, through construction, it was called the built environment; human intervention which redesigned natural spaces on earth (Seta, Biswas, Khare & Sen, 2016). The built environment was designed to protect, shelter, and define spaces of activity (Lawrence & Low, 1990). These built forms included dwellings, business buildings, places of worship as well as spaces which were not enclosed such as streets, plazas, and open fields/spaces. While the built environment was physical, the non-physical/abstract aspect of the built environment also existed. This non-physical, complex and somewhat abstract aspect of the built environment included social and physiological experiences of individuals who interacted with these built

forms (Lawrence & Low, 1990; Goldhagen & Gallo, 2017). The built environment and its design was a result of and influenced by factors such as era, culture, socio-economic, spatial dimensions, demographic, and social factors i.e., it was usually a product of its time and often spanned multiple generations until change was needed (Næss, 2016). Therefore, as generations evolved and the above-stated influences changed, the built environment usually followed suit.

2.1.2 The importance of safety and security in the built environment

The built environment, which offered abstract/psychological experiences, occurred with the theories of the cultural evolution. Anthropological concern grew alongside the first theories of the cultural evolution. Early understanding of this people-environment relationship suggested that humans both created and were influenced by the environment which, in turn, influenced their behaviour (Lawrence & Low, 1990; Goldhagen & Gallo, 2017). Understanding this relationship led to various theoretical perspectives which conceptualised these relationships. One of these related to the relationship between safety and security with the built environment.

2.1.3 Safety and Security are different

The terms safety and security were often used interchangeably and as synonyms which led to confusion or misuse in literature and daily language (Marcuse, 2006; Nas, 2015). This, then, led to a misunderstanding of public safety and, more importantly, the rights to the city and individual experiences thereof (Marcuse, 2006). Their differences were illustrated through their definitions.

2.1.3.1 Definition of safety

Safety was defined as a state void of hazards caused randomly by natural forces and/or human errors (Nas, 2015). A safe environment was one which protected against dangers and the risk of harm caused by the loss of personal property. Such loss may have been social or economic, and the concept of public safety, as used in this dissertation, thus included protection from danger and loss of personal property (Marcuse, 2016).

2.1.3.2 Definition of Security

Security was defined as a state void of hazards caused by deliberate human intention to cause harm (Nas, 2015). The source of harm was posed deliberately by human(s) (Nas, 2015). It was linked to perceived danger where insecurity was the anxiety felt about the

perceived lack of protection against danger (Marcuse, 2006). Security was, therefore, linked to the psychological effects of the built environment and included social factors which caused anxiety and, therefore, affected an individual's experience and/or feelings of security (Lawrence & Low, 1990).

2.1.4 How safety was perceived

The built environment played a unique role in influencing the individual's perception of safety and security (Kruger, Landman & Liebermann, 2001). Certain built environments made one feel safe and secure while others induced fear, even when crime levels were low (Kruger et al., 2001). This resulted from the structure and form of buildings in relation to the environment which gave the perception of safety and, hence, the feeling of security. Therefore, planners and designers developed measures and guidelines of how people classified a place as feeling safe and secure (Kruger et al., 2001). Understanding perceptions of safety and security should have allowed for a greater understanding of how safety was experienced in different areas and how safety could be appropriately redefined and adapted to unique contexts in various areas to increase/improve feelings of security (Kruger et al., 2001).

2.1.5 Existential security and gender minorities

In line with these definitions, this dissertation emphasised that women and gender minorities needed reduced threat from intentional and deliberate harm that often related to social phenomena which was then experienced as security anxiety (Lawrence & Low, 1990). Gender minorities' sense of insecurity related to existential insecurity, which was defined as an individual's psychological sense of danger relating to a deep threatening anxiety (Marcuse, 2006). Existential insecurity assumed that risk was uncertain in probability and scope and without confidence in a specific course of protective action, yet the action had to be undertaken to ensure protection in some form. False or inappropriate responses to situations of existential insecurity may have resulted in an increase in existential insecurity in cases of GBV (Marcuse, 2006). It was usually assumed that these false safety responses increased security, however, they may actually have decreased it, i.e increasing police surveillance (as a safety response) had a dual effect as it may have given the appearance of security but also suggested the potential for danger as well as increased citizen anxiety which actually increased insecurity (Viegner, 2005; Marcuse, 2006). Therefore, with safety appropriate responses, within the built environment, security could have been increased even though certain social phenomena were out of the built environment's control.

2.1.6 Planning for safety and security must focus on the vulnerable

For effective city planning, planners had to maximise security for all, especially the vulnerable, by increasing safety precautions through redesigning the built environment to allow individuals to feel safe and, hence, secure in interpretation and interaction with the built environment. How the built environment was designed accounted for safety. How the built environment was interpreted, accounted for feelings of security. How The built environment was designed therefore allowed one to either feel secure or not. The built environment may not have directly increased security, but it could have indirectly influenced social behaviour where people were less likely to behave in ways which caused deliberate harm to others (Lawrence & Low, 1990; Goldhagen & Gallo, 2017). It was important to note that the built environment could only have influenced human behaviour in the public realm (Goldhagen & Gallo, 2017). Private spaces were dominated by personal beliefs, ethics, culture, and overlapping and interdependent (intersectional) understandings of the world and were beyond the scope of this dissertation (Næss, 2016).

2.1.7 Safety and security as a basic human right

In this dissertation urban safety and security was understood as a concern for human security, as a basic human right, policy goal and social demand (UNHabitat, 2007; Tulumello, 2016). Human security was defined as the protection of fundamental freedoms. It included the protection from severe and widespread threats and situations i.e., GBV. Such protection was achieved through building on people's strengths and aspirations through creating social, economic, political, environmental, and cultural systems that assisted people in living healthy, enjoyable, and productive lives (UNHabitat, 2007). According to the United Nations (UN), governments had an obligation to protect its citizens and provide appropriate security. Such an approach acknowledged the human right of individuals to safety and security, particularly within the built environment where the obligation rested with the government and not individuals. (UNHabitat, 2007).

2.1.8 The importance of people-centred solutions

This dissertation further acknowledged that city planning formed part of local municipality and governance. It also recognised a principle, established by Gans (1969), that the need of the individual was greater than the need for development and, as such, the needs of the individual had to shape and inspire appropriate development. With this understanding, people-centred solutions to safety and security had to be pursued to ensure successful implementation (UNHabitat, 2007).

2.1.9 The built environment's effect on safety

2.1.9.1 Theories on safety and security in cities: Theories: Wood's design for visibility

Theories about safety in cities dated back to the 1960s, when Elizabeth Wood, an American sociologist, worked on public housing projects in high-crime areas. Her view was that despite insufficient numbers of police officers, caretakers and other crime prevention staff, the social goals of safety were attainable through physical design. (Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021). She adapted physical design to improve the residents' quality of life by improving appropriate and contextual security conditions for environments; improving the aesthetic quality of the residential environments; improving housing unit visibility by other residents; and creating residential areas where neighbours could monitor residents. She promoted design for visibility, to encourage accidental or casual communication amongst neighbours and residents. Designing for visibility made large areas visible to neighbours and residents from any point on the property and so, prevented individuals from loitering and other deviant activities occurring which could potentially have reduced safety in a neighbourhood (Wood, 1961; Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021).

2.1.9.2 Theories: Jane Jacobs' four qualities

In addition to Wood's advances in safety theory, Jane Jacobs, an author, journalist and urban theorist, concluded that in order for a housing area to be safe, it had to possess the following four qualities:

- Mixed use - Defined as residential areas having a variety of commercial and housing property which was rented or privately owned. Additionally, the residential neighbourhood had to consist of a variety of individuals from different ages and economic stances (allowing diversity for purpose and function and, with a combination of activity occurring, streets were busy which increased safety)
- Proprietor monitoring - Business or property owners had to have a natural surveillance of streets and properties (increased safety through surveillance)
- Demarcation - When a clear distinction was made between public and private space. This separation kept individuals away from moving vehicles, and instructed people on which areas were accessible to them for use.
- Constant users - Achieved when sidewalks were continuously in use which increased natural surveillance of streets and walkways. Natural surveillance (when people had an

eye on the street and/or private property) was increased by people walking by and people in street-side restaurants and shops, keeping watch.

2.1.9.3 Theories: Shlomo Angel's crime prevention

Shlomo Angel's 1968 "Discouraging Crime through City Planning" discussed ways in which citizens could assist with crime prevention. Angel believed that crime occurred in specific areas compared to others because of the higher opportunity level on which offenders could capitalise. He deduced that for less crime to occur in these areas, crime deterrents, like increasing eyewitnesses in an area, would decrease crime rates. Having low intensity use of an area would also assist in preventing crime as there would be fewer potential victims. He found that moderate land use areas had the highest crime rates as there were many victims to choose from but not enough to discourage crime. Angel's crime prevention theory promoted the rezoning of businesses and pedestrian traffic into spaces close to mass transit and parking.

2.1.9.4 Theories: Jeffery's three interrelated strategies

During the 1970s Ray Jeffery explored how crime could be reduced through environmental manipulation and identifying which types of modification yielded better results. Jeffery coined the term "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design" ("CPTED") His findings fed many disciplines, namely criminology, sociology, urban planning, and architecture. Through exploring the complex relationship between humans and their environment, including its effects on human behaviour, Jeffery developed three interrelated strategies:

- Access control/target hardening: Security techniques and strategies which regulated who could use resources in a specific environment (access control). Enhancing security of a building or facility prevented threats from penetrating a space or building. Limited access limited crime.
- Natural surveillance: Achieved through observational monitoring.
- Territorial reinforcement: Modification of the environment to show ownership in support of social control in limiting crime. This would include techniques and strategies to reduce vulnerability of potential crime targets (people, places, or things) and was achieved through denying access to crime targets through artificial barrier techniques i.e., gates, fences, locks, and tools which hindered accessibility and hence limited crime opportunity.

2.1.9.5 Theories: Oscar Newman's defensible space

Building on from Jeffery's work, Oscar Newman was the leading theorist on the concept of 'Defensible Space'. Defensible space was defined as a space which was built or designed in a specific way that prevented unwanted or negative behaviour from happening in these spaces (Newman, 1996). There were five factors which contributed to defensible spaces formation.

- Territoriality: The use of physical or symbolic barriers to elicit the feeling of territory or privacy of residents in their area.
- Natural surveillance: Physical features in residential areas which allowed residents and passers-by to monitor their surroundings.
- Building image: The use of appropriate materials and design ideas which prevented residents from being stigmatised.
- Juxtaposition of facilities: Within residential land, both commercial and dwellings (residence) had to exist, as well as other facilities, as this assisted in crime reduction and increased security.
- Self-Adjoining Area: Safety and security was increased through residents being involved in designing adjoining spaces.

2.1.9.6 Theories: Kelling and Wilson's broken window theory

In 1982, George Kelling and James Q. Wilson developed the 'Broken Window' theory. This theory suggested that a building or vehicle might remain unharmed for a substantial amount of time until a window was broken. Thereafter, further vandalism was likely. This theory showed that maintenance of a building and its accessories (including spaces around it) was very important for the way a structure would be treated by the public. Maintenance signals to passers-by/criminals that the property was cared for, thereby deterred crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982).

2.1.9.7 Theories: Hillier's space syntax

In 1984, through exploring new revitalisation methods for urban areas, Bill Hillier developed the concept of 'Space Syntax'. This theory was used to explain design through a sociological lens. It suggested that space could be regarded and analysed as an extension of everyday life. When analysing architecture, visual characteristics may not have been the most important element, but rather the way in which a series of spaces could have been used i.e.,

how spaces affected safety, economic vitality, and pedestrian movement among others. Through research and computer modelling of housing zones, Hiller deduced that:

- Well defined and effective patterns of movement were an effective way of controlling crime in housing estates.
- Places which were quieter and less connected commonly suffered from higher crime rates as many of these places were often isolated.
- When streets were accessible, they allowed more pedestrian traffic. It was found that spatial accessibility was proportional to adult pedestrian activity.
- Children were more likely to explore less accessible parts of cities when urban downscaling occurred.
- Pedestrian fear was correlated to dwelling orientation i.e., few outward-facing dwellings increased pedestrian fear.

2.1.9.8 Theories: Coleman's designing out crime

In a similar vein, Alice Coleman wrote 'Utopia on trial: Vision and Reality in Planned Housing' (1985) where she focused on principles of 'designing out' crime. Her research demonstrated the link between social breakdown and defective design; where the more defective design was in an area, the more common and frequent social breakdown was (Coleman, 1985).

2.1.9.9 Theories: CPTED 1

During the 1990s, Timothy D. Crowe refined Oscar Newman's ideas of 'defensible spaces', through his experience on the Westinghouse CPTED project, where he created a system to categorise CPTED solutions (Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021). He identified three CPTED classifications for measure (Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021):

- Mechanical measures (also known as target hardening): defined physical barriers which should not have been used in isolation but rather with people and other strategies for design.
- Organisational or Human measures: involved teaching individuals and groups self-protection methods. This may have included block or neighbourhood watches where community members organised themselves into scheduled patrols of the

neighbourhood. The duty of safety and security was undertaken by community members to protect and report crime immediately.

- Natural measures: Where crime was deterred through natural space design while ensuring functionality for its user.

2.1.9.10 Theories: CPTED 2

In 1998, the second generation CPTED was created by Greg Saville and Gerry Cleveland. This CPTED went beyond critiques concerning the effects of design on crime and onto the influence of societal factors. As such, Cleveland and Saville employed four strategies known as the “four C’s” (; Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021):

- Social cohesion: The engagement of society
- Community culture: The engagement of community culture
- Connectivity: Ensuring activity within public spaces
- Threshold capacity: The maximum number of individuals to safely occupy a space

Each of these influenced crime in an area. For contextual protection against the occurrence of crime, these social factors as well as environmental design had to be explored, and their interaction understood for implementation of crime prevention to be as effective as possible.

2.1.9.11 Theories: CPTED 3

In 2011, the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) published a third-generation improvement to the CPTED “Improving Urban Security through Green Environmental Design”. The additions to this document included sustainable green design set out to improve communities while reducing crime and other social challenges (; Mihinjac & Saville, 2019; Al-Ghiyadh & Al-Khafaji, 2021). The main driver behind this amendment was to improve feelings of safety within the community. This additional development fell in line with the concept of territoriality which linked to the identification that territoriality was a significant element of safety and security as the CPTED focused on practical measures which were physically or cybernetically enhanced to provide the perception of safety in urban areas. The study found that the perception of safety could be through technologies which enhanced transformed public urban space into interactive communal spaces. This resulted in individuals feeling a sense of belonging, surveillance, and ownership. This theory therefore focused on places, people, technology, and networks.

The above theories have clearly illustrated the core purpose of Safety theories that were developed by various respected authors to address specific safety and security needs they focused on, according to the type of planning which dominated during their time. Wood's safety concerns were focused on public housing. Then, following a more technocratic/rational comprehensive thinking process, planning for safety became a list of criteria for design. With the 'broken window' theory, perspectives shifted back to perceptions of safety (i.e., security) and with the CPTED iterations, design solutions/checklists were of focus once again to account for the sociological and psychological perceptions of users within spaces (more security based). The theories all played an important part in acknowledging the importance of safety and security in the built environment. How they address safety and security issues in other areas of the world must be explored since these theories are Western driven. To what extent are these theories accurate/appropriate in South African (SA) contexts, and further, in informal/township settings like this dissertation suggests. Although safety and security theories are important, they are only successful and appropriate once they address a specific issue at hand. By shifting the focus in this way, we now see a way to meet the human need of safety within SA cities. While safety theories and planning may apply to privileged areas within SA, they do not account for the conditions which exist in disadvantaged areas (Watson, 2009).

2.1.10. Short history of safety in cities

Since industrialisation and urbanisation (19th & 20th century), the structure and form of cities had affected safety and security (Vanderschueren, 2013). Therefore, this trend would continue if safety and security was not contextually addressed and understood according to how society and cities changed over time.

According to Shelley (1981) Links between crime and cities had been made long before modernisation occurred. This was because in each area (before or after modernisation), where there was greater availability of goods, there would also be an increase in crime. There was often a gap between the rich and poor in these spaces because of social, spatial, and economic inequalities. This led to increased experiences of deprivation which, in turn, led people to fend for themselves, which often led to crime. As urbanisation expanded, globalisation occurred, and the complexity of crime increased (Vanderschueren, 2013). Consequently, planning had to reinvent the co-production of security within cities through the understanding of context and with participation from state, local and civil society (Vanderschueren, 2013). Since many safety and security concerns had been addressed through policing and policy, the role of security in land use planning was recently welcomed (Prevention Institute, 2015; Milliken, 2016). Consequently, the safety and security

responsibility were expanded to various disciplines compared to state and local authority alone (Milliken, 2016). All roles within the city were important to create and execute legislation, collaboration, planning, execution, and implementation (Milliken, 2016).

2.1.11 The imperative of an intersectional approach

If there was to be any impact on safety in our cities, we had to regard it as a societal, structural, and physical issue, and the interplay of these intersecting factors had to be considered. The interaction of factors had to be analysed and adapted accordingly to interventions for them to be appropriate and successful.

2.1.12 The problem of generalising data

It was important to note that the following section displayed safety and security characteristics of many cities and communities in SA. Each one with its unique context which had to be explored for deeper understanding. It was therefore very difficult to isolate what exactly happened in SA, in Cape Town and then in Khayelitsha specifically as there was a combination of all these characteristics in all areas and their public spaces. It was also important to note that percentages/rates were estimations of actual reported crimes because many crime and violence incidents were not reported because many victims lacked resources or information, police corruption or fear of the abuser returning and causing more harm (BusinessTech, 2019). This was the reality many individuals faced and called for interdisciplinary collaboration of all professions and resources to minimise generatability.

2.1.13 South African context – lack of privacy and use of public spaces

In SA's township communities, territory and privacy often had an interrelated reality. Because of the poor and unequal socio-economic and housing state of SA communities, urban sprawl and overcrowding were a major issue (Lawrence & Low, 1990). Many residents had very little privacy as houses were built close to each other Adding to this dilemma was poor urban planning and design which did not cater to the comfortability or quality of life of these residents (Lawrence & Low, 1990). Nonetheless, planning design had not catered for expansion and safety in these areas. Because there was little privacy in underprivileged communities, residents began to informally occupy and territorialise public space (Lawrence & Low, 1990;). A gender minority, walking around in Cape Town/Khayelitsha, may have been attacked because of homophobia or femicide and/or violence may have been a result of territory and ownership of the public spaces where these individuals were not welcome (One

had to acknowledge the deep internalisation of homophobia and femicide within cultural and social contexts within SA

2.1.14 SA context – co-option of public space by gangs

The general urban planning concept of public space, safety and security was somewhat unfamiliar to local residents. The reason for this was because public space was both public and private which meant that communities followed their own internal dialogue about how the street was understood and how safe and secure these neighbourhoods felt. This could also have been seen in the high rates of gang-related violence in Cape Town where certain areas (called turf) were controlled by certain gangs. Where the 'code of the street' was not followed, violence occurred (Lawrence & Low, 1990). This experience of public space being controlled by one group was often the reality for individuals in poorer communities and informal settlements, like Khayelitsha, where unspoken rules affected the psychological perception of security (Lawrence & Low, 1990). This resulted in internal cultural and psychological processing of the environment and the sense of security by individuals in that space (Lawrence & Low, 1990). Therefore, in order for urban design and planning to be effective in increasing safety against crime and GBV in the South African context, social cohesion, culture and psychological processing of security had to be understood. By focusing on understanding how the built environment and security was perceived in Khayelitsha, the built environment could have been designed to influence human behaviour through creating contextually safer designs which indirectly reduced crime and GBV in public spaces.

2.2. Gender and Planning: Introducing gender

Women, and gender minorities were often at the forefront of negative experiences of safety and security in cities/public spaces because urban design, planning and policy had not completely understood, acknowledged, or accurately implemented the importance of the relationship between social relations and the built environment within the cities (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992; Angeles & Robertson, 2020; Crossland, 2021). In this section, combined with feminist workings, gender in planning advocated to create spaces which felt safe and secure, were inclusive, allowed participation of marginal voices in urban planning and decision making, facilitated economic growth, increased universal access, and allowed equal opportunities for all, moving away from technocratic, colonial, and patriarchal urban planning (The World Bank [TWB], 2020). By focusing on the marginalised I recognised the parts of the system that

needed addressing and from there, could improve current and future city planning processes and practises to allow all individuals to feel included and for all needs to be met when building cities for all (Wakefield, 2012).

2.2.1 Why gender was important in city planning

One way of progressing this narrative was through gender sensitive planning where planning, urban design and policy recognised that human rights were experienced differently across society. This was largely a result of gender stereotypes and imperial and patriarchal contexts which often left black women as the most vulnerable (Mama, 1989; Pain, 2001; - human rights are experienced differently as a result of gender). In such contexts, women had less autonomy which was then reinforced by socio-political structures within society and resultantly filtered through to city design which perpetuated women's struggles within the city (Markusen, 1980; Drake, 1988). Without a gendered perspective, women were left living in a man's world and built environment which failed to benefit them (Drake, 1988).

Gender in planning looked at the ways in which social, spatial, political, economic disparities and power structures impacted the opportunities and experiences of city inhabitants (Kangas, Haider, Fraser, & Browne, 2014). To amplify and understand gendered planning, one had to unpack who the city belonged to or who the city had to be built for. Historically, and highlighted in previous sections, cities were designed and built through technocratic planning, patriarchy and capitalist globalisation which fragmented cities in understanding and practice, and which furthered gender struggles (Lefebvre, 1979; Saegert, 1980; Brenner, 2000, Fenster, 2005; Pardo & Echavarren, 2010; Molina, 2018; Pacchi, 2018). It poorly acknowledged that city life was experienced differently by individuals based on their social identities and how that related to society, policy, economy, and the built environment as cities were built with heterosexual men in mind (Campbell & Glass, 2009; Pardo & Echavarren, 2010; Razavi, 2016; Angeles & Robertson, 2020).

If urban planning considered gender, there would have been a greater understanding of gender and how it related to city planning. It was a step in the right direction to address gender inequality and safety. It was important to note that when urban planning considered the dimensions that gender added to the field, it did not disown the experiences of men. Acknowledging gender in planning meant acknowledging all genders and involves rectifying long-standing inequalities experienced by women at the hands of men (UNHabitat; 2012). Urban planning therefore acknowledged the different needs of all genders when addressing safety and security issues.

City planning needed to understand the concept of gender, analyse, and appropriately adapt how different genders had different relationships with the built environment (Moser, 2012; Valson & Kutty, 2018; Tcymbal, Demetriou, Kelso, Wolbring, Wunsch, Wäsche, ... & Reimers, 2020). By including these experiences in theory, policy, and practice, a more inclusive society and/or city could be created which felt both safe and secure. Gender minorities often fell between the cracks because gender, as a fluid social construct, was often misinterpreted or not believed to be true (Lugones, 2007; Burgess, 2008; Bass, Gonzalez, Colip, Sharon & Conklin, 2018). Therefore, gender minorities struggled to find places and spaces in the city where the built environment reciprocated their need for safety and security (Van den Berg, 2018). By ignoring gender in planning, the city neglected many inhabitants as it was an important structuring element of urban spaces and its processes, and hence failed to build cities for its people and instead, built cities around people (Moser, 2012; McDowell, 1983; Vacchelli, & Kofman, 2017).

2.2.2 Who was the city built for?

Networks and feminist groups, organisations, female politicians, equality activists and scholars had highlighted the traditional forms that had neglected women and gender minorities in their actions and policies in urban planning and design (Vacchelli, & Kofman, 2017). Therefore, gender minority rights to the city had become invisible (Moser, 2012; Falú, 2016). It was important to note that gender minorities had always self-organised to express their concerns and demands regarding their rights and access to the city which was where many feminist and women's rights movements originated (Harvey, 2012; Falú, 2016). Therefore, gender minorities, although often overlooked, played a vital role in urban design, development, and decision-making at all levels of governance, often to harrowing and difficult extents (Reeves, Parfitt & Archer, 2012). Gender, in the planning approach, therefore, highlighted a way in which cities could have included those who had been left out of planning processes and decision making in the past to improve current and future policy and development in cities.

2.2.3 Rights to the city for women and gender minorities

Like men, women and gender minorities should have had free range and right to cities (Fenster, 2005). Cities should have been a demonstration of a good quality of life, safety, and enjoyment of its spaces for all individuals irrespective of their social identity. Therefore, by acknowledging that the city should have been designed for and belong to its inhabitants, it should also have acknowledged that all inhabitants had to be accounted for and included in its development and future prospects to avoid exclusion, a city especially in terms of safety

and security (Bhanjee, 2019). Demands for urban development should therefore not only have circulated needs for economic well-being but also political participation, whether it was land, housing, access to equal work, transport, and security (Falú, 2009; Falú, 2016).

By consulting all inhabitants, policy and policymakers gained a better understanding of what their key role was in promoting social inclusion, gender sensitive territorial planning, how current and future advancements and urban designs could reiterate this process (Bhanjee, 2019; The World Bank [TWB], 2020). Gender in planning forced urban planners to acknowledge and research cultural, social, and physical barriers which hindered the implementation of women and gender minorities rights in the city. The answer to the question “who was the city for?”, was that it was for all who inhabited it (Vacchelli, & Kofman, 2017; TWB, 2020). A gender-inclusive approach to urban planning in turn raised several issues that needed acknowledgment:

- Gender inequality existed and was a central issue in urban planning and development
- Gender was diverse and fluid.
- Each gender formed part of a complex social identity which varied for each person.
- Each social identity experienced the built environment differently.
- Different genders had different levels of perceived safety and security when interacting with the built environment.
- Gender had to be considered for inclusive, safe, secure, and appropriate planning to occur.

2.2.4 Early European planning dominated by white men

Modern planning was, and continued to be, dominated by century-old traditions with gender roles, classism, and racial stigmatisation. With European colonial thinking articulating the Jim Crow laws (unlawful segregation due to skin colour), urban planning practised racial segregation according to ethnic and racial factors (Njoh, 2007; Nightingale, 2016; Silver, 1997; TWB, 2020). Additionally, patriarchal notions from Western societies dominated the 19th and 20th century which meant that wealthy white men dominated the urban planning and design fields causing them to reiterate traditional segregation beliefs in the urban planning of the built environment; according to race, gender and class (TWB, 2020). These events and thinking structured beliefs and urban planning at the time but are consequently being opposed today;

to eradicate the racial, gender and classist exclusionary lines which formed the foundation of society and city planning in the past.

Colonisation resulted in colonial territories with gendered norms and assumptions at their core which filtered throughout the world, its society, economy, political structures, and urban fabric and toppled indigenous knowledge, policies, and practices (Watson, 2009; Guyo, 2017; Selase et al., 2015; TWB, 2020). What was once traditional and normal for colonised areas, became foreign and wrong, according to Western notions of belief (Watson, 2009; Lategan & Cilliers, 2017). This meant that workplaces were separated from housing, mobility was prioritised for males above female caregivers; and women and gender minorities found themselves in urban spaces they did not identify with or felt like they belonged (TWB, 2020). Until the 1970's, these heterosexist assumptions were not challenged or recognised as exclusionary issues (TWB, 2020). This urban theory and practice remained uncritiqued until the 1970's when feminist theory developed, and the US and Europe began analysing gender inclusion for women in urban planning and design (Fainstein & Servon, 2005).

2.2.5 Cities built on gender inequality

For two decades following feminist notions and movements for gender equality, urban planning and design theory began filling gender gaps in relation to the built environment (TWB, 2020). Many scholars published work highlighting how the urban environment was built on gender inequality and how this type of planning and decision-making should be avoided in future theory, policy, and development (TWB, 2020). These issues were particularly concerned with gender inequalities in safety, access to services and employment, land ownership and mobility (TWB, 2020).

Regarding safety, security and GBV, the works of C. Ray Jeffery in 1971 (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) and Oscar Newman (defensible space) in 1972, created understanding and agency in how the built environment can either aggravate or prevent crime/violence from occurring. The works of the Women in Development movement also aided the recognition of women and their needs in decision-making, developmental processes, and data collection (Moser, 1993). However, these works required more accurate implementation for safety and security to be increased in cities, especially for women and gender minorities.

2.2.6 Women in Development

The 1970s saw much of the progress for gender-inclusive planning and design, theory and practise. This period was the origin of the Women in Development (WID) movement (TWB, 2020). It was led by several female development professionals who challenged the assumption that men and women were equally impacted by economic development. This movement sought to display the “missed opportunity” of women’s empowerment through focusing on the potential of women’s productive labour in economic spaces and development, and how their oppression in these fields limited economic growth for respective areas at large (TWB, 2020). This movement also advanced the importance of gender-disaggregated data as well as women’s participation in development moving from passive to active participation (UNDP, 2003).

2.2.7 Women and Development

During the second half of the 1970s, the Women and Development (WAD) movement began. WAD was a response to the shortcomings of WID where the role of women in existing development were not acknowledged as with the subordinate positions, they held in society due to the unequal constructs of its time (TWB, 2020). This lack of acknowledgement hindered successful development for women in cities and public spaces alike. It was important that movements first acknowledged where the marginalised were and what challenges they faced, to know how to improve them. A downfall of WAD was their suggestion of women-only developments as a solution to balancing patriarchy. This proved further exclusionary which was contradictory to gender inclusion and hence should have been avoided. WAD was therefore criticised for this exclusionary thinking and practice, for only considering women’s reproductive labour, and for labelling women as a homogeneous group (TWB, 2020).

2.2.8 Gender and Development

The critiques of WAD substantiated the amendments for the understanding and inclusion of all genders. Gender and Development (GAD) was next in line for conceptualising gender in urban development (TWB, 2020). For the first time, GAD was a framework that was fuelled by understanding the social construction of gender relations instead of focusing on women in isolation. To understand the systemic oppression of women, GAD components explored and analysed cultural contexts, colonial impacts, and the need to transform false or negative models of male identity to decrease the violence stemming from negative masculinity (TWB, 2020). By not ignoring the current social and economic context of the time, GAD recognised the important role men play in advancing equitable gender norms through their

societal privilege. This was done through balancing the importance of productive and reproductive work as well as gendered divisions of labour (TWB, 2020). GAD allowed planning to consider and address the inequalities between the genders making it a cross-cutting, intersectional, and inclusive discipline (Moser, 1993; Miller & Razavi, 1995; Rathgeber, 1990; TWB, 2020).

During the 1980s and 1990s, following the above-mentioned theoretical developments, Toronto and Vienna were the first cities to incorporate gender in their urban design and planning processes (TWB, 2020). In Toronto (1987), The Women in Safe Environments (WISE) report was developed which explored how urban planning and design could decrease the burden of caregiving for women and increase their safety in public spaces (TWB, 2020). In Vienna (1997), the Frauen-Werk-Stadt (Women-Work-City) was completed and was the first ever gender-sensitive housing scheme to occur which made massive strides for gender inclusive planning and implementation (TWB, 2020). These works all incorporated women in their processes and planning to encapsulate the lived realities and perspectives of women (TWB, 2020). Later, the complex interaction of gender and sex was brought into question which improved the understanding and advancements of gender and sex within cities. Scholars like Ki Namaste (1996) and Petra Doan (2007) expanded studies on how sexual and gender minorities experienced related challenges within city spaces regarding safety and access and therefore had to be addressed through gender sensitive and inclusive planning. Although theory and planning processes articulated progress in the importance of gender in urban planning, planning and design in practice was still to adapt implementation that was beneficial for all city inhabitants.

2.2.9 Gender in planning today

Due to the last three decades of work, many cities had made progress in addressing gender inequalities within the urban sphere. However, more progressive, and transformative work was needed since there was more understanding to be had about how the built environment affected women and gender minorities (Forsyth, 2001; Doan, 2016). To achieve this, urban planning, design and policy processes could not assume the city experiences of individuals as this excluded actual experience. Inequality was experienced differently according to intersectional overlaps of social identities, gender, class, age, ability, race, sexuality, and ethnicity.

Fairs (2017) and CES (2018) noted that women only made up 10% of top architecture firms in the world and in the US, women made up 13.6% of engineers and architects, which continued the contemporary narrative that men still dominated the urban planning and design

fields. For private firms across the UK, in 2019, research conducted by the 'Women in Planning' organisation revealed that 83% of senior positions (directors upward) were held by men whereas women only reflected 17% (Bicquelet-Lock, Divine & Crabb, 2020). It was further reported that 95% of men held above director roles while women only represented 5% at this level (Bicquelet-Lock, Divine & Crabb, 2020). Sibley (2016) showed that of the US Bureau of Labour Statistics, 20% of engineering graduates were women, 40% of whom either quit before entering the professional field or never entered at all (TWB, 2020). These figures indicated the lack of agency and representation for women and gender minorities in decision-making. This was further exacerbated by women representing 24.3% of all national parliamentarians in 2019 and of which only 0.1% of US elected officials identify as LGBT (Victory Institute, 2018; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019). This underrepresentation of diverse gender and sexual identities suggested that minority voices were still marginalised as they were far and few between when decision-making occurred. Importantly, disability representation data was also minimal which further marginalised and excluded discriminated groups in society and therefore their relation to the built environment.

2.2.10 Women and gender minorities excluded from planning and decision-making

With underrepresentation being a major issue in planning, policy and design professions, women and gender minorities were commonly excluded from community participation in planning and design processes (TWB, 2020). The reasons for this were varied but often concerned urban environment deficiencies which related to access, mobility, safety and security, health and hygiene and climate resilience (TWB, 2020). Through economic pressures and social norms, both internalised and externally enforced, these groups were excluded. This caused the marginalised to submit to their position in society and withdraw instead from participating in planning processes in the hopes that it benefited them (TWB, 2020).

With the lack of representation of minority groups, their voices continued to be silenced rendering their needs unprioritised by cities and decision-makers across the globe. The impacts of these historical biases were therefore ongoing as they still governed who was part of the decision-making processes and who had access to the benefits that cities offered. This exclusion was part of day-to-day life for the marginalised which only emphasises the need for inclusive and widespread transformation (TWB, 2020).

By the gender trend in city planning history, it was clear that the built environment had favoured heterosexual men above that of women and gender minorities. The importance of gender was accepted in the literature as a means for addressing inequality challenges through planning theory, policy and practice and therefore suggested that more work could be invested in nurturing these notions to allow inclusivity as the grounds on which cities were built and which the built environment exuded. Therefore, by poorly understanding gender and the effects on the most vulnerable, planning could endorse conditions where individuals were not able to lead productive and satisfying lives (Sklair, 2006). Therefore, city planning had a role in shifting the narrative where globalisation occurred for human rights through economic, social and political justice (Sklair, 2006).

2.2.11 The purpose of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

In 2015, the UN adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which had 17 broad and ambitious goals for achieving sustainability through 169 targets by 2030 (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2022). All goals were aligned to achieve sustainability; individuals were able to meet their current social, economic, and environmental needs without reducing the future generation's ability to meet their own needs (Kuhlman, & Farrington, 2010). These SDG were global goals used to achieve world transformation in ending poverty, inequality, protecting the environment and ensuring that all individuals could enjoy the benefits of justice, health, and prosperity (WHO, 2022). It was imperative that no one was left behind in enjoying the benefits that cities had to offer (WHO, 2022). The SDGs succeeded and revised the MDGs which were eight goals focused mainly on developing countries, and which were aimed at reducing extreme poverty and its numerous manifestations of hunger, disease, gender inequality, lack of education, access to basic infrastructure, and environmental harm (Migiro, 2007). These goals were to be achieved by 2015 but made slow progress to improve sustainability and the quality of life in developing countries. Hence, in 2015 the SDGs were adopted by the UN (Wagstaff, 2004). From global to more local, these goals were driven by transformative changes in policy and governance to improve the current and future states and experiences of the vulnerable in cities (Dhar, 2019). Central to these goals was the recognition that gender equality was fundamental in achieving sustainability and be addressed accordingly.

2.2.12 Focus on gender inequality

Focusing on SDG 5, and MDG 3, (gender equality) acts as an accelerator in achieving other SDGs, as these goals had roots in gender inequality (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). Addressing gender equality as an accelerator should have led to rapid progress in achieving the 2030 Agenda through reducing poverty, attaining food security, enhancing human capital through health and education, promoting economic growth and labour productivity, strengthening resilience to disasters, addressing climate change impact, and ensuring more peaceful and inclusive communities (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). By allowing women and gender minorities equal opportunities, contribution to society and decision-making, cities would be made more inclusive and experiences would be more enjoyable and just (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). Structural issues, unfair social norms and attitudes had to be addressed to allow progressive legal frameworks which promoted equality between men and gender minorities to allow cities to be a space of inclusivity (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). Resultantly, society, policy, the economy, and humanity could be improved for cities at large.

Universal SDGs were important as they filtered through to governance at all levels to allow inclusive cities to be built through city planning. Gender equality was a basic human right (also included in the SA Constitution), therefore, disciplines which upheld such rights should have flowed from it (South African Planning Commission, 2011). One such document in SA, the South African National Development Plan (South African Planning Commission, 2011), had contextualised the SDG and MDGs to articulate goals and guidelines for South Africa to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. The NDP aimed to realise these goals through collaborating with civil society to form leadership and partnerships within society. The plan would, therefore, have had a more realistic and accurate understanding of what challenges existed and what, and how, challenges should have been approached. Through this collaboration, the plan aimed to develop and grow inclusive economies, build capabilities, and enhance state capacity (South African Planning Commission, 2011). With the residual effects of apartheid present in SA, socially, politically, economically and spatially, the NDP acknowledged the Constitutional Declaration for a rights-based approach in addressing challenges to allow for a place of democratic belonging which was prosperous, non-racial and non-sexist. To achieve this, the NDP acknowledged that individuals who had been disadvantaged because of apartheid were the most vulnerable and therefore needed attention. Since 2012, the document noted that access to services had therefore been increased and the economy broadened to meet the needs of the vulnerable. Millions who were previously disadvantaged and excluded during apartheid from opportunities and basic rights and services now had access to

electricity, water, housing, education, health care and social security The NDP also stated that at least 3 million individuals were working today compared to 1994 which indicated how the economy and incomes of these vulnerable individuals had grown steadily. However, since then, especially between 2020 and 2022, the same progress was not noticeable. Most notably, during and after the COVID-19 Pandemic, many vulnerable individuals were retrenched due to the declined economy. Stringent Level 5 lockdown regulations resulted in many low-income households being limited to homes which meant formal and informal trading could not occur resulting in economic decline as well as being detrimental to household incomes (Simon & Khambule, 2021). This meant that already vulnerable groups were even more disadvantaged, increasing poverty and unemployment across SA (Simon & Khambule, 2021). Simon & Khambule's (2021) study revealed that in low-income households where education was minimal, Black African female and marginalised individuals suffered the most, experiencing disproportionate socio-economic effects resulting from losing the main source of income in these homes. This had a ripple effect on the equality challenges experienced in SA which are still felt today and which are disproportionate according to social identity.

Within the NDP, there were goals and provisions for implementation towards equality within communities especially for women as they represented the largest percentage of the poor, especially in rural communities (South African Planning Commission, 2011). As such, the document acknowledged that women disproportionately experienced inequality compared to male counterparts as they often lacked access to basic rights opportunities that cities had to offer. To improve equality, the document acknowledged there was a dire need for appropriately addressing these challenges through collaboration, transformation, and adequate representation in leadership. Queer minority groups, however, were not represented or reflected in the NDP which suggested further marginalisation upon which development was built.

Although gender equality required action from all disciplines, how the built environment was shaped played an important role in allowing women and gender minorities equal access to these opportunities within the city (Moser, 2012; UNSW eLearning, 2020). Since gender equality was a human right, it suggested that all opportunities and benefits of the city should be equal for all genders. One of the biggest hindrances to access opportunities and benefits is the safety and security that genders experienced within cities which prevented access, i.e., women may have been prevented from seeking healthcare because the route to the hospital was dangerous. Since gender equality, safety, and security was a basic human right, the importance of their influence and relationship to the built environment was made clear. City planning, with the government, had an obligation to protect and provide for its citizens in ways

which upheld their basic human rights (TWB, 2020). One of which was how the built environment and urban policy upheld human rights through its processes, plans, and implementation (Rakodi, 1991; Cuthbert, 2008; Moser, 2012; TWB, 2020). For this dissertation the hindrance of safety and security was explored to assist in gender equal access to these opportunities to allow for more inclusive cities.

The aims of goals 5 and 3 were to achieve gender equality and empower women and girls which meant improving equal access to healthcare, work and educational opportunities, and appropriate representation in political and economic decision-making processes as well as equal rights to economic resources like land and property to achieve this empowerment (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). Once women, girls and gender minorities had access to equal social and employment opportunities, they were better able to make contributions to sustainable development, which was necessary for cities all over the world (TWB, 2020).

Bringing these goals back to city planning, women were often hindered from this access because of the status they held within society (Rakodi, 1991; Cuthbert, 2008). Because of social phenomena (where women were seen as less important), patriarchy and technocratic planning, the status of women had been imprinted in the planning and design of cities (Rakodi, 1991; Cuthbert, 2008; Moser, 2012; TWB, 2020). This was because urban planning and its design had failed to capture the experiences of women, girls and gender minorities within cities (Rakodi, 1991; Cuthbert, 2008; TWB, 2020). It was important to note that, although the status of gender minorities often fell through the cracks within cities, their representation and unequal experiences in cities had slowly been improved over the years, however it could and had to improve further (Rakodi, 1991; Cuthbert, 2008; Razavi, 2016; TWB, 2020). The biggest hindering factor to gender equality was poverty and disaster and how the lack of these resources caused women, girls and gender minorities to struggle more in providing for themselves and taking care of families (TWB, 2020). Linked to poverty and disaster struggles was GBV, as violence was often exacerbated by poorly organised shelter and reduced access to key resources (TWB, 2020). Violence and fear thereof were increased in poor communities or when disaster hit an area due to damaged infrastructure like lighting, roads, powerlines, and buildings (TWB, 2020).

When women and gender minorities were free from GBV and environments which exacerbated these realities, they were more likely to finish their studies; achieving SDG 4 and MDG 2 - education, as well as achieving MDG 5 (improving maternal health, as they were more educated on their basic healthcare rights), they were then able to acquire decent work (SDG 8), which then contributed to SDGs 1 (reducing poverty), 2 (reducing hunger) and 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions).. Although these opportunities existed, many factors

prevented women from accessing them i.e., transportation as well as the related travelling cost, lack of education, the social stigma of women working, lack of childminders and safety (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). If women did not have access to these opportunities, many of the other SDGs and MDGs suffered (Razavi, 2016; UNSW eLearning, 2020). City planning had a role to play in collaboration with multiple disciplines, perspectives, and stakeholders to achieve these goals through gender sensitive design, policy, and implementation. For this dissertation the hindrance of safety and security was explored.

2.2.13. Exploring the outcome of gendered planning in contemporary society

The outcome of gender-inclusive planning was in pursuit of opportunity for all. It was the opportunity for urban spaces to articulate inclusivity, participation, safety and security, economic growth, access, societal transformation and urban development which met the needs of current and future generations. Although progress in these areas had been made, we still had a long way to go.

By understanding the importance of gender within urban planning, policy, design, and development for safety and security advances could be improved upon and implemented within the built environment, not only for women and gender minorities but all individuals thereby allowing equal benefit and opportunities. With the constant threat of sexual violence, women and gender minorities remained at risk as it was proven that in the eyes of a perpetrator, men, women and gender minorities were not perceived equally (Persaud & Zumkehr, 2012). Because of power struggles and stereotyping, women and gender minorities were usually targets of violence. Although gender perspectives in planning had grown, women, and gender minorities continued to experience violence and harassment in public spaces. This caused women and gender minorities to feel unsafe and insecure in their surroundings thus reducing their freedom of movement. This limited their ability to participate in school, work, public life, limited their access to enjoyable cultural and recreational activities, and essential services, which ultimately decreased health and well-being for these individuals (UN Women, n.d).

Feminist theory had helped to highlight the fact that violence and socio-economic disparities were disaggregated further by sexuality, age, class, ethnicity (people of colour), religion, ability, and nationality (Goh, 2018; Rodó-de-Zárate & Baylina, 2018; RSA, 2020). This meant that gender minorities were further disadvantaged when their intersecting identities were not acknowledged. Studies showed that black women experience higher rates of violence (including intimate-partner violence), rape, and murder compared to other genders (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Green, 2017). According to the Institute of Women's Policy

Research's Status of Black Women in the United States, 40% of black women would have experienced domestic violence in their lifetime compared to 31.5% of all women who would have experienced violence (Blackburn Centre, 2020). In the same study, black women were 2.5 times more likely to be murdered compared to white women. These differences resulted from racism, objectification and degradation of women in media, unequal pay, harmful gender norms relating to social identities, rape culture and other inequalities, which were more pronounced for black women (ibid). The same was true for gender minorities of colour where beatings, assault and harassment had quadrupled above white queer individuals (Manalansan IV, 2005). The 2017 National Crime Victimization Survey was analysed for its data which revealed that, compared to non-LGBTQIA+ individuals, LGBTQIA+ individuals were 6 times more likely to experience violence by someone they knew and 2.5 times more likely to be targeted by a stranger (Williams Institute, 2020). Queer women were also 5 times more likely to experience violent victimisation compared to non-queer women (Williams Institute, 2020). The same was true for queer male individuals, where the risk of violence was doubled compared to non-queer male counterparts (Williams Institute, 2020).

For most LGBTQIA+ individuals of colour in urban spaces, urban development often exacerbated the marginalisation of these groups because social identities and relationship to the built environment was not encompassed, understood or explored effectively (Goh, 2018). Larger economic and political forces increasingly and forcefully fragmented, shaped, dispersed and altered the desire and dreams of LGBTQIA+ individuals within cities (Manalansan IV, 2005). These forces too were traced to capitalism and its associated neoliberal policies which were most visible in cities worldwide (Manalansan IV, 2005).

In global cities like New York, urban governance and neoliberal policies had set out to demarcate governmental interventions, increase privatisation, and remove the safeguards of wellness services to create a virtual free-for-all economic market (Manalansan IV, 2005). These policies had resultantly redrawn boundaries, lives and neighbourhoods and given rise to subtle but harmful forms of surveillance of and violence in these communities of colour (ibid). This violent remapping by neoliberal agents and institutions (private business, mass media, and the state; police) controlled the discourse of changing urban spaces often in exclusionary ways (ibid). These advancements did not necessarily improve the access to and enjoyment of cities as they were grounded in sexual policies called heteronormativity (Manalansan IV, 2005).

Heteronormativity was a social concept where heterosexuality was assumed as the main or preferred form of sexual orientation and on which society and the cities functioned (Resnick, 2022). Homonormativity, by contrast, had become the chameleon-like term of

response to heteronormativity (Duggan, 2002). Homonormativity was an ideology which advocated for queer rights. However, similarly to heteronormativity, it caused queer communities to passively accept a new form of inequality in the hopes of domestic privacy and consumption freedoms (Duggan, 2002; Manalansan IV, 2005). Studies in New York had revealed that homonormativity actually increased violent struggles in urban public space within the queer community especially for people of colour (Manalansan IV, 2005). Violence was rooted in structural characteristics of neoliberal politics, economics, and cultural policies and practices which formally and informally suggested discreteness or practices which sought to end, separate, and/or police class, racial, ethnic and sexual spaces and boundaries (ibid). This caused the marginalised to feel unseen and unwanted in spaces that should have been public and free for all. This violence, annoyance and disturbance to business and the public, had transformed the environment in eradicating spaces which had meaning for the queer community as it was centred around marginalised identities (ibid). Therefore, returning to the question of 'who was the city built for?'. Samuel Delany (1999) highlighted how new urban policies and policing around Times Square (in New York) not only transformed the architectural landscape and built environment but negatively impacted the manner of living and culture of queer people of colour in these spaces. These individuals were no longer able to enjoy what Times Square had to offer in leisure and commerce (Samuel Delany, 1999; Manalansan IV, 2005). These groups were therefore inhibited from free consumption as they did not have access to the capital that symbolic and material forms in urban public spaces provided (Manalansan IV, 2005). These groups were visibly disciplined, secluded at a safe distance and often dispersed from use of the public space. This caused a culture eradication of these groups in various public spaces in New York, suggesting that culture in its various forms was indeed controlled by governance, policy and socio-political and economic structures which valued heteronormativity above all else (Manalansan IV, 2005).

Cities were diverse spaces for people and culture; it did not suggest that all forms of commerce and culture should be allowed but rather that a step be taken for different cultures and commerce to co-exist, to avoid exclusion and allow transformative progress in these public spaces for socio-economic and political opportunity to be made available to all (Manalansan IV, 2005). Urban spaces should not label societal differences as unsightly as this only fueled violence and exclusion of the marginalised which further reduced city benefits. This did not exclude other queer experiences within public spaces, hence authorities and institutions such as government and police should have understood the neoliberal violence which existed against queer communities and caused further forms of othering in public spaces. Racial differences, gender and differential privilege, within and outside of these groups, had to be considered when addressing gender minority oppression in planning (ibid). For queer

minorities, public space offered democratic redemption which were notions the world and its disciplines should have taken heed of.

According to the Williams Institute (2020), LGBT people were nearly four times more likely than non-LGBT people to be victims of violent crime. Since many GBV victims did not report their experiences, statistics did not accurately encompass the actual extent of GBV in public settings. This affected the rationalised need, according to decision-makers, to create spaces, which were safe and secure, that the vulnerable needed. The basis of a good gender-sensitive planning strategy was one that had reliable and credible research and data for planning, policy formulation, budgeting, implementing, evaluating, and reviewing programmes and policies (RSA, 2020). When data was inaccurate, incomplete, or unreliable, it affected the costing, planning and design progress as the appropriateness and quantity of resources may not have been ensured (RSA, 2020). It was therefore important that the documentation of GBV incidents were accurately reported and stored so that the roles and responsibilities of key actors could appropriately address challenges facing planning, urban design and service delivery (RSA, 2020).

2.2.14. Gender sensitive planning for safety and security in cities

The SA National Strategic Plan (NSP) suggested ways in which Gender-Based Violence and Femicide (GBVF) could be reduced in cities and created spaces which felt safe for women and gender minorities (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020). Combining gender-sensitive planning and urban design (GSP&UD) with the implementation of 'spatial justice' in the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA), safety and security could have been improved for women and gender minorities in cities (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).

In sprawling areas, women were subjected to poor transportation and insufficient basic service delivery (lighting, electricity, water, and sanitation). (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020). Within formal and informal settlements in SA, women were severely affected by violence and poverty and resultantly felt unsafe and had low levels of perceived security (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) was a national framework legislation focused on relating the establishment of policies and systems on planning and land use management across SA. The Act was governed by five developmental principles each of which was aimed at interpreting planning concepts within a developmental

context (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).). It was to be noted that this dissertation focused on the principle of 'spatial justice'.

For the purposes of social inclusion, SPLUMA aimed at redressing social and historical marginalisation of the past, hence marginalised groups were of particular focus (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).). It recommended appropriate measures be adapted and adopted to ensure the safety and security of women and gender minorities (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020). This suggested that SPLUMA also aimed at investigating the various needs of these vulnerable groups and their experiences of safety and security (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020). Hence, Spatial Development Framework (SDF), Land Use Management Scheme (LUMS) and development practices should have focused on the safety of these vulnerable groups, as well as extending to wider and intersectional vulnerable groups. It was also important that civil society within these marginal groups were included in planning and decision-making processes as they were better equipped to understand the extent of issues within areas and what solutions would be most appropriate for individuals to feel safe and secure within their communities . Although data was collected from all within society and where development had to take place, it was vital that marginal or isolated experiences were specifically represented to allow accurate interpretation of the action needed (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).). The data collected from these collaborative participation sessions were extremely important as they formed the blueprint for Gender Sensitive Planning and Urban Design (GSP&UD).

Due to apartheid spatial planning and the design of formal and informal settlements, especially the design of informal housing, women experienced safety struggles (Jooste & Mathibela, 2020).). Where there was a lack of basic services, women and gender minorities were more susceptible to violence . The risk of physical and sexual assault was heightened for women and gender minorities when public street lighting was poor and when toilets were located far from homes, to name a few .

2.3 Gender mainstreaming in urban policy

2.3.1. Defining policy and gender mainstreaming in city planning

Professionals, politicians, and the public had regarded city planners as those who made plans relating to transport, regional, municipal and redevelopment plans of many kinds. City planners were also considered part of a political discipline because of how plans needed

to be informed to bring about the most sustainable development; socially, economically, environmentally, and spatially and who this change would affect (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1971; Solesbury, 2013). Although the planning process of city planning was essential for development and redevelopment, the policy behind those plans was what made planning appropriate and successful (Solesbury, 2013). Urban policy was defined as an adopted and pursued cluster of policies (courses of action) derived from urban challenges created and used by governments, business and organisations to improve urban development and urban life in areas of need (Wang, 2018; GEMET, 2021). Through administrative systems, the policy elements of plans had a role in directing change. Important to note was that city planners did not focus on plans and policy alone but also on the executive decisions needed to bring change to environments (Solesbury, 2013). Executive decisions were therefore the instruments of that control, not necessarily only the policy statements; however, policies and plans became prerequisites to use those instruments effectively (ibid). How policy was expressed should have reflected how executive decisions were made so that the relevance to urban challenges were clear (Solesbury, 2013). Within city planning and policy making, both the plan and implementation of the plan/policy were important. In this dissertation, planning and implementation were not two distinct processes as they both informed each other at all process stages. Sometimes policy informed planning/implementation and sometimes the environment informed policy, plans and implementation (Solesbury, 2013).

When there were discrepancies in the type of planning or social changes needed i.e., gender-safe and secure communities, political controversy may have occurred. This was because different role players may have had different interests thus informing and implementing plans for social change (Solesbury, 2013). These controversies were birthed through societal inequality like income gaps, spatiality, knowledge, experiences, gender, access to political power, points of need vs. points of action on small scales compared to larger scales and the lack of access to basic services, rights, and opportunities (ibid). While these societal inequalities existed, within these spheres of inequality, individuals had intersectional beliefs, attitudes, and goals (pluralist society), which required respect (ibid). Challenges therefore arose when biased views were favoured, even if both facts and planning values had proven a point of inequality above and beyond how professionals or decision-makers may have subjectively felt towards urban challenges (Hurtado, 2017). Solesbury (2013), noted that for technicians in the planning process, facts were the currency; while for politicians, the currency was value. Facts were objectively seen as verifiable statements about the real world, whereas values were statements regarding the real world (ibid). Facts were provable whereas values were not (Klosterman, 1983; Solesbury, 2013). Values were neither correct or incorrect; they could only be approved or condemned (ibid). Therefore, for social change to be supported

by planning processes and visions, both fact and value had to reinforce each other to allow balance between the technical and political aspects which resided in planning (ibid). In deciding the best plan, action or public policy to address an urban challenge, a framework of justification had to be used:

- Factual questions had to be distinguished from value questions to guide solution appropriateness
- The scientific methodology could resolve empirical questions regarding facts without including or relying on value exploration
- Values were subjective and reinforced personal taste or preference which could not be empirically supported or rationally defended
- Role-players in a democratic society, like ours, could not righteously impose subjective values, goals or ideals on the public

Through these four assumptions, role-players could have avoided arbitrary interference within public affairs by analysing facts objectively and allow value issues to be resolved through public debate together with officials.

2.3.2 Gender mainstreaming principles

To secure the type of ethical values of gender-mainstreaming that urban policy should have complied with, they should have consulted the principles of gender mainstreaming. For this dissertation, discussing facts and values would have pertained to a gender equal society regarding safety and security which was reinforced by city planning, and policy. It was therefore important to convey the facts, as stated in previous chapters, that women and gender minorities experienced proportionately higher levels of violence in public settings; being aggravated by planning, design, and policy (UNHabitat; 2012; Angeles & Robertson, 2020). The translation of values in gender-sensitive/responsive planning was where conflict may have resided. Where fact and values within the technical and political sphere of planning were not combined, the result was exclusion of the vulnerable. Planning values which did not address such urban challenges left the marginalised further marginalised (Klosterman, 1983; Chirisa, Bobo & Matamanda, 2016). It was therefore imperative that planners, designers, and policy makers had values that were aligned to the task at hand and the improvement of the lived experiences of all individuals involved (Klosterman, 1983). Using equality and inclusivity values alone, the role of planners, designers, and policy makers influenced the direction and content of public policy to either be appropriate for an area or hinder progress; both

development and social change. Therefore, in order to implement appropriate change to society, through the built environment, role-players had to reflect seriously upon the fundamental ethical questions of planning as these infiltrated their work which impacted many lives (Klosterman, 1983). Role-players had to ensure that plans, action, and public policy were pragmatically justified, as shown methodologically above, as all urban issues were usually empirical and normative. This approach birthed appropriate representation of both fact and value which then set the scene for how issues could be addressed and eventually resolved.

Until now, this dissertation had referred to gender-sensitivity as an approach to achieving gender equality in urban planning and policy. We now moved from gender-sensitivity, where we unpacked the complex interactions and experiences of safety, security, and the built environment based on gender, to a gender-responsive approach which addressed gender equality in urban planning and policy (Future Learn, n.d.; CEP, n.d.) In a gender-responsive approach, we used the term gender mainstreaming as this directly impacted the policy at play within planning spheres. "Gender mainstreaming (GM) was defined as the improvements, evaluation, development and (re)organising of policy processes through gendered perspectives at all levels of policy making, programmes and projects, by relevant role-players involved in policymaking" (CEP, n.d.). Gender mainstreaming focused on articulating policy, plans, and designs according to the experiences, characteristics, perceptions and urban behaviours of men and women (Damyanovic, 2013). Through GM, spatial policy, planning and design could have adapted a stronger approach to accessible, equitable and sustainable development as integration of gendered experiences were accounted for at all stages of the process (Burgess, 2008; Hurtado, 2017). This dissertation acknowledged that gender mainstreaming applied to all genders as well as their disaggregated social identities as we understood that all individuals were important for creating inclusive and integrated cities.

2.3.3 Brief history of gender mainstreaming in City Planning

Following gender-sensitivity works in planning from the previous section, Gender mainstreaming was adapted in city planning for political influence. This dissertation, however, focused on urban policy. The 1970s and 1980s were influential in critiquing the rational planning approach central to urban planning for previous decades (Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). As such, gender and feminist movements critiqued the unique and different experiences of all individuals within cities and understood that cities should be places of diversity (ibid). Policy ought to follow this debate in the reality of difference and attributed

needs within cities, especially through recognising marginal experiences (ibid). These workings, along with female practitioners and organisations, saw progress at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 (ibid). Here gender mainstreaming was accepted as a major global strategy in promoting gender equality (UN, 2002; Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). In 1997 and 1999, following this strategy, GM was adopted in the Treaty of Amsterdam as a mainstream policy approach for inclusive development through a gendered lens (Burgess, 2008; Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). Following these advancements, GM was widely recognised as an urban planning systems tool for responding to urban challenges through more equitable and appropriate public policy (ibid).

In 2007, the Gender Equality Duty (GED) was passed in the United Kingdom (UK), which required that gender equality be considered in planning and regeneration by all public authorities (Burgess, 2008). As an overarching obligation, the GED required public authorities to promote gender equality; especially through equal opportunities between men and women. The UK Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) assessed public authority schemes, how they met the GED and followed how schemes were implemented by different public stakeholders. However, for planners, specific guidance on how the GED affected their work was lacking. Given the GED's legislative requirements, there was an opportunity to intervene in policy-making through a gendered lens in ways the GM agenda had not achieved (Burgess, 2008). Research had demonstrated that such attempts at spatial policy, planning and implementation still had a long way to go. When spatial policy was gender-blind, planning practice was affected, and vice versa, as the realities of various marginalised groups were not considered. Without GM, policy and the built environment tended to further marginalise marginal groups through spaces becoming exclusive, inaccessible, and inappropriate in endeavours to address urban challenges; commonly noted by gendered differences

For the last 15 years, manuals for GM in urban planning and policy (e.g. SDGs discussed above) had supported future development endeavours carried out by decision-makers, technicians and practitioners (ibid). However, policy design and implementation faced various barriers despite these efforts and legal provisions (ibid). Even cities committed to GM had had their fair share of obstacles (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, 2011). Accounting for diverse needs had been particularly difficult for urban planning, owing to diverse values of decision-makers, technicians, practitioners and local communities and the tools needed to generate reliable facts and data to improve practice and implementation (ibid). Therefore, for GM to be successful in city planning, public spaces and services could not ignore local needs as these became the blueprints of success at larger levels (Horelli & Wallin, 2016). If basic needs at local levels formed the basis for land use policies, according to

gendered experiences, plans could have better supported a connected city through accessible and safely connected public amenities, shops, recreational spaces, private facilities and places of work to housing areas (Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). Safety and security of communities and cities could therefore have been increased through inclusive and integrated city planning that progressed gender mainstreaming.

2.3.4 The importance of GM and some challenges

As with gender-sensitive planning and urban design (GSP&UD) in the 'gender and planning' section, GM improved urban planning, design and policy in the following ways (Burgess, 2008; The Japan International Cooperation Agency [JICA], 2022):

- Assisted in creating inclusive, equitable, and diverse urban spaces and communities for all: When usability of a space was accessible to all, the sense of belonging increased which allowed safety and security of the space to increase which then increased the connectedness to the space and its community.
- Created safe and secure spaces: Developing public spaces which limited the occurrence of violence and sexual harassment improved the physical and mental health of individuals who occupied these spaces as their freedom, agency and economic opportunities were reduced.
- Created environments which reflected the needs of the vulnerable: When citizen needs were included in urban planning, design and policy, the city catered to the expanse and growth of all its citizens; socially, economically, and politically. Therefore, increasing lived experiences within cities.
- Improved community infrastructure, livelihood, and health: Through inclusive participation, development and infrastructure could be improved to address and meet the needs of communities; a successful place that was created for the people by the people. Since public transport was largely used by women, safer travel routes could be arranged according to travel patterns.

These improvements for urban planning, design and policy only occurred when GM was successfully implemented in all processes and at all phases of development. If GM was not appropriately implemented, public spaces would have continued to isolate, endanger, and disconnect vulnerable identities within cities and its communities.

GM, as a bottom-up approach, recognised that urban space had the right to be used in completeness by all inhabitants during their everyday lives and was therefore the right of inhabitants to characterise, represent and occupy spaces within cities (Fenster, 2005). As such, sustainable spatial policy and planning demanded roots in the deconstruction, visualisation and redefinition of social, ecological and economic values so as to achieve gender equality (Damjanovic, 2013). Gendered values therefore provided the foundation for urban integration (ibid). For social change and inclusive urban development, planning and GM along with their intrinsic values had to be aligned so that policy could reiterate these values (Burgess, 2008). The FCSA (2022) reiterated such values/principles which were important for GM in spatial policy development:

- Developmental orientation adoption: Gave proper, ethical and widespread considerations by stakeholders, practitioners, designers, policymakers and technicians regarding gender equality, empowerment, inclusion, accessibility, equity, belonging, and social justice. Following this, clear outcomes had to be envisioned to allow measured progress and to identify gaps for improvement.
- Recognising personal situatedness: Personal situatedness could often blind and hinder the vision of social change in being subjective. As such, personal values and perspectives should not have been assumed as norms for all individuals for both stakeholders and civil society. Collaborative and inclusive conversations had to be held to clarify and agree on directives.
- Fostering empathy: Empathy was birthed through combining developmental orientation and appreciating situatedness; through attempting to understand different perspectives and experiences and work for the common good of everyone. The challenge here was feelings of superiority (Subjective Patronisation), hence all values and opinions had to be treated as equal to see opportunities for change.
- Social group engagement with individuals who considered themselves marginalised, vulnerable, excluded or disempowered: Focusing on who were affected by urban challenges, the 'who' may not always have been obvious and therefore target groups had to be identified as 'blind spots' and biases often made these groups invisible or seemed less relevant.

Although the aim of gender mainstreaming and its values were important for gender equality policy, this strategy struggled both on paper and in practice (Bendl & Schmidt, 2013). Analysis of the 2005 and 2006 national reform programme suggested that gender mainstreaming had produced meagre results (Woodward, 2008; Bendl & Schmidt, 2013). Plantenga, Remery & Rubery (2007), noted that in the 27 member states of Europe that undertook GM as a strategy, a decline in GM activities were observed due to the strategy being narrow and initiatives lacking systematic and comprehensive approaches, resulting in problematic implementation (Bendl & Schmidt, 2013). Smith and Villa (2010), also noted that GM in European-level initiatives caused gender to be further marginalised and ignored in national and European Union (EU) policy responses to the gender crisis. These issues arose through misconceiving what GM was, the value it held, under-theorisation of the term, how it should have been implemented to achieve gender equality, how actors approached the problem of gender and whether their vision had undergone reconfiguration of power relations (Daly, 2005; Bendl & Schmidt, 2013; Hurtado, 2017).

As noted by Hurtado (2017), through EU discourse analysis, GM was not integrated in policy tools and as such failed in its policy and practice, which contradicted various social equality goals within the EU. Hurtado went on to encourage the reconceptualisation of the term to allow more precise understanding and application. Unless this occurred, Hurtado believed that policy might simply have resorted to the development of rhetorical discourse rooted in concepts like 'social cohesion', 'equal opportunities', and 'social inequality' etc (Bendl & Schmidt, 2013; Hurtado, 2017). The EU Cohesion Policy of 2017, a document of goals and guidelines to achieve sustainable development of its member states and regions - of which SA was a part, also had limited understanding and thread of GM in its endeavours, further impeding gender equality of the Amsterdam Treaty and other policies (Hurtado, 2017; The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 2019). By figure 2.1 the changes could be noted which aimed at making the concept more understood, applicable, realistic, and implementable. This needed the commitment of all stakeholders to collaborate understanding and knowledge of what it meant to be inclusive of all individuals. Large-scale social change could not have occurred without iteratively improving on smaller innovations like relationship management, processes, systems, and tools upon which GM had been embedded (Future Cities South Africa [FCSA], 2022).

Criteria	Gender mainstreaming	Gender mainstreaming reconceptualized
Paradigm	Linear, logical approach Linearity	Paradox approach (constructionist) Complexity
Underlying assumptions	Extrapolation Effectiveness takes over within and across levels, sectors, domains etc. To counteract gender bias within existing systems and structures	Ambivalences, dialectical view Transformation (change of of equal opportunities and positive action) Assumption that a linear progress does not work To create new systems and structures based on new gender identities
Epistemological approach to gender	Feminist empiricism Feminist standpoint (Gender difference)	Feminist postmodernism Doing gender (Gender diversity)
Dominant values	Elite/a priori (grand narrative of progress and emancipation, fixed language games, universalistic)	Local/emergent (local narratives and situated practical knowledge, multiple language games, particularistic)
Relation to dominant/mainstream discourse	Dissensus (widespread dissent, dissension — disagreement that leads to dischord) Paradigm enforcement	Transverse, transversal (situated or extending across something) Paradigm disruption
Intention of the approach	Inclusion Displacement of inequality/difference dichotomy)	Transformation Opening of new heterogeneous multifaceted spaces
Level of analysis and level of evidence	Surface (data, processes and structures) Facts	Deep structure Narratives
Methods of analysis	Interpretation (qualitative and quantitative methods)	Textual analyses Discourse analyses Deconstruction Genealogy
Action	Agenda setting based on existing (contextual) cultural values → linearity Measures are seen as success or failure (good and bad) Non-awareness of non-intended consequences	Agenda setting based on deconstructed (contextual) cultural values → paradox interventions Appropriate measures like scenario techniques, simulations Awareness of non-intended consequences
Context factors	Success in gender sensitive/aware cultures	Success in gender averse cultures

Source: Bendl, 2005; Daly, 2005; Squires, 2005.

Figure 2.1: Bendl, R., & Schmidt, A. (2013). *Gender mainstreaming: An assessment of its conceptual value for gender equality*. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(4), 364-381. (Source: <https://web-s-ebSCOhost-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=a74a6e5d-241c-4e1f-bd25-fb0731a88839%40redis>)

For GM in urban policy, planning and design to be implemented, it had to be collectively understood that everyone was responsible for social change and hence the responsibility of change existed in all areas of government, regional, municipal, and local as well as those individuals who had the power to either improve research, policy or practise for change (FCSA, 2022). As such, roles and standards had to be outlined and explored in detail so as to allow appropriate knowledge production and implementation of GM in policy and planning (ibid). This suggested that all team players and members had a role to play and had to take their role seriously. Although guidelines were helpful, they should not have acted as tick boxes for improvement for social change (ibid). Gaps should have constantly been explored and improved to allow more appropriate policy design to be implemented; making both planning and policy better for cities as context was closely adhered to (ibid). In this way, policy making

could have been improved in response to the needs of society, and urban challenges could have been clearly outlined and understood. Although GM in policy was sometimes regarded as a tedious task and subject to improvement, it was necessary for plans to meet the needs of its citizens through considering their needs and making cities a place for all.

2.3.5 Gender mainstreaming in South African policy

In 1995, a year after SA's democracy, SA acknowledged gender as a key factor for instilling change in SA's new democracy (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). Towards female empowerment, SA committed to gender mainstreaming in the Public Service through creating the National Gender Machinery (NGM). However, the diversity between genders was still limited in most governmental departments and its processes did not bring much change (ibid). This was unfortunate as a gender mainstreaming approach was necessary in a democracy as it allowed participation and integration of all individuals (ibid).

SA had since adopted many strategies to reaffirm the commitment to gender equality such as: the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development, the African Union Protocol on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Constitution of South Africa which clearly stipulated the rights of equality and the South African National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, also known as the Gender policy Framework (2002), to name a few (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). All of which alluded to overarching principles, practices and programmes intended at integrating gender into all sectors of government and into their policies (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). However, these promises and tasks were poorly implemented by many governmental departments, and instead the Employment Equity Act was used as a compliance measure for gender equality, resulting in the neglect of pressing urban issues (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011).

Incomplete/unsuccessful conceptualisation, knowledge and implementation of GM in SA resulted in ineffective solutions to gender inequality and the effects thereof on citizens as this filtered through organisations, governments, municipalities and other stakeholders. Globally, GM implementation remained underdeveloped in the field of urban planning because of the methods and tools used to gather information to inform implementation and policy (Hurtado, 2017; Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). For SA this too is the case.

SA had developed numerous documents, guidelines and plans focusing on theory (of safety and security) and incorporating GM to create a safe and positive experience of urban life for all through design, planning and policy. However, the results did not live up to their intended purpose. Fester (2015) acknowledged this meagre effect of design theory in the context of SA (defensible spaces and Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading document [VPUU]) concluding that design could not alone be responsible for reductions in crime, anti-social behaviour and hence safety and security in communities. The City of Cape Town's Design and Management Guidelines for Safer Cities also utilised policy and city design aimed at improving the safety and security within urban areas. However, implementation efforts had not improved gendered experiences; proving that women and gender minorities were still not safe (CCT, n.d; Western Cape Government [WCG], 2021; McCain, 2022). Instead, both design and community social cohesion strategies should have been appropriately implemented to allow long lasting positive benefits. This reinforced that theory designed at improved urban planning and design was not a one size fits all, and that all processes including GM implementation should have been adapted to the context of urban challenges presented. According to Fester (2015), defensible space and its implementations may have improved the quality of lived realities and spaces within an area, however the reduction in crime may still have proven unsuccessful. Planning should have acknowledged and applied all intersecting factors at play for contextual success to be achieved.

Burgess (2008), suggests that making spatial planning, policy, and implementation more gender safe and inclusive meant that:

- All genders (disaggregated by race, sex, class, disability, and age) should have been consulted regarding plans, policy, and regeneration projects.
- Being an officer and member of the public was important for inclusivity and representing gendered perspectives as officials.
- Data collection needed to be disaggregated according to age, race, gender, sex, and disability and if bespoke surveys were done, they should have been commissioned for plan-making.
- Data should be collected according to work, leisure, travel, and care duties noting gender.
- When considering job opportunities, location and distance from home should have been considered so as to allow equal opportunity and access.

- Public transport systems could have been better integrated according to demand of its uses according to comfort, safety and route.

By the above necessities, the disjuncture of city-level and local-level policy issues would have been limited (Burgess, 2008). Instead, urban issues could have been addressed side by side in strategic documents, paying attention to context (Ibid). By amending local factors (lack of streetlights or inaccessible buildings), high-level urban sustainability factors, and strategies could have been improved (Ibid). These amendments would have reduced the need to travel, created contextually appropriate urban design, and created accessible and sustainable cities (Ibid).

Through GM in urban planning, policy should have become inclusive in its approach to urban challenges through activating critical thinking, creating, and challenging new ideas, looking at the built environment and policy as a catalyst for social benefits/improvement and allowing flexible processes and projects for adaptability in other areas of the world.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has answered the structuring questions of “does the built environment exacerbate GBV?”, “can gendered urban planning address GBV as an urban safety and security issue?”, and “can gender mainstreaming urban policy improve GBV in public spaces?”. It has therefore laid the foundation for chapter 4.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1. Research Methods

This chapter addressed how data was collected through the case study method and techniques including interviews, indirect observations and desktop research. It also explored how the thematic analysis was used to analyse findings in chapter 4.

3.1.1. Case Study

A case study is defined as the “intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors which exist in relation to the environment” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). By this, it was evident that case studies focused on the ‘individual unit/problem’ and in this dissertation, women and gender minorities’ experiences of safety and security in the boundaries of its setting (Khayelitsha) (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The term ‘developmental factors’ alluded to the case evolving over time (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This study, therefore, explored gendered safety and security concerns in Khayelitsha and then addressed those findings on gendered planning and policy.

This study involved in-depth analysis and secondary research which made the case study method appropriate as Yin (2009) and Flyvbjerg (2011), stated that it would provide rich descriptions of the phenomenon, variance, in-depth, and completeness in their real-life contexts. This research intended to contribute to the knowledge of involved individuals/groups, social organisations, urban planning and political fields (Yin, 2009). A case study analysis was appropriate as there were complex social phenomena at play between individuals, the built environment, gender, GBV, safety, security, and policy which needed to be unpacked in Khayelitsha’s context (Yin, 2009). The case study method provided answers to the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions which were needed for effective and contextually appropriate action to be taken to increase safety and security in Khayelitsha.

3.1.1.1. Strengths

This method helped me understand interwoven interpersonal processes within the wider social contexts of Khayelitsha (Krusenvik, 2016). Therefore providing a detailed analysis of Khayelitsha. It conveyed challenges that needed addressing and explored how they were addressed through planning and policy. (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Krusenvik, 2016). The method, therefore, plays an important role in advancing various fields of future knowledge (Krusenvik,

2016). An important value of this method was its ability to explore and combine various kinds of data collection methods i.e., interviews, documents, questionnaires, and observations which were necessary considering COVID-19 limitations on conducting physical primary research (Krusenvik, 2016).

3.1.1.2. Limitations

Flyvbjerg (2011) articulated that theoretical knowledge was seen as more important and influential than concrete case knowledge. To address this, the dissertation related findings to broader theoretical positions which intersected various specialisations in the social sciences, gender studies, urban planning and policy as well as governance. This allowed diverse interpretations and conclusions of the case to be drawn by different readers (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Generalising findings was inevitable and was conveyed based on the individual case; a finding stated why it was generalised (Flyvbjerg, 2011). To address this, the dissertation was also explicit with its scope, definitions and outcomes about the specific context (Willis, 2014). It also remained site-specific.

Case studies were argued for influencing researcher bias (Flyvbjerg, 2011). For this to be avoided, I practised triangulation and reflexivity to avoid narrowing the findings to suit preconceived notions (Yin, 2011; Flyvbjerg, 2006). Triangulation increased the spread of gathered information; therefore increasing validity and reliability (Patton, 1999). Reflexivity increased researcher transparency by giving a subjective (self-reflective) and objective stance to the research conducted and data analysed (Darawsheh, 2014).

Case studies were difficult to summarise which proved time-consuming. It was also difficult to develop general theories and propositions based on a case study (Flyvbjerg, 2011). To address this, data narratives were used in their entirety to avoid telling the reader what position they ought to take as this would lead to the reader's cumulative production of knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

3.2. Research Techniques

The following section explored the research techniques used to gather and analyse data. It also conveyed the strengths, limitations and relevance of the technique used in the study.

3.2.1. Interviews

Interviews are conversations between a researcher and an individual where the researcher asks a series of questions about a particular topic of interest (Rugg & Petre, 2007). These conversations would ask questions which are either open-ended, closed or do not follow any specific format (Rugg & Petre, 2007). The type of questions posed, or not posed, depended on the type of data I aimed to collect.

Structured interviews would occur through a standardised list of closed-ended questions; semi-structured interviews would have some standardised questions, but the interview was more loosely structured to allow follow-ups or probing on certain answers. Unstructured interviews usually occur in a less formal setting where the discussion is more relaxed, giving the researcher flexibility in deciding which way to take the interview to obtain rich qualitative data (Rugg & Petre, 2007).

In group interviews, sometimes referred to as focus groups, questions were posed to a group of individuals so that discussion could take place between, rather than only between a respondent and the researcher. They may be structured or unstructured and are useful for triangulating information gathered from another source like statistics (Rugg & Petre, 2007).

For this dissertation, interviews were used as: they had a higher response rate compared to questionnaires. They were carried out in real-time, and certain questions and answers could be explained or clarified which assisted with respondent rapport. This aided in accurate and valid responses which were also assessed through body language and nonverbal cues. Although structured interviews provided high reliability because the same questions could be posed to various respondents and results compared, semi-structured interviews, like those administered in this study, allowed certain questions to be replicated and compared however, where answers differed, more understanding and patterns could be drawn to allow a more in-depth response and an opportunity to gather greater insight compared to closed or structured interviews (Rugg & Petre, 2007).

3.2.1.1. Strengths

The data acquired from semi-structured interviews allowed broad and specific information which was valuable in answering questions while allowing the expansion of more substance to answers. Interviews helped elocute and express where women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha felt unsafe through their responses, their language, voice tone and body language.

3.2.1.2. Limitations

Time, ethical clearance, COVID-19 and my skill level to conduct interviews were constraints to conducting the research. It took time to access respondents ethically, conduct interviews and expand on concepts when needed as well as listen to recordings of the interviews to transcribe and note important trends. Ethical clearance was misunderstood by some organisations which prevented access to respondents. Explaining ethical clearance proved ineffective. To supplement respondents, I, therefore, explored secondary research.

COVID-19 posed challenges in acquiring respondents for interviewing since businesses suffered greatly with the shock of the pandemic; few respondents replied/accepted interview invites. Many follow-up emails were sent to various organisations in an attempt to acquire respondents however this proved unsuccessful and unavoidable as the choice to respond laid with the organisations themselves. This facilitated the use of indirect observation and desktop research to continue my research because only two respondents were acquired; from Rape Crisis (who were on the board and not considered vulnerable). COVID-19 also affected the method of carrying out interviews since face-to-face interviews were not permitted and individuals involved were not comfortable or unable to meet face-to-face during 2021. In 2022, the willingness of respondents to be interviewed was still low which stopped me from pursuing interviews as a research technique and explored indirect observation and desk research instead.

Respondents who were interviewed could only conduct interviews via Whatsapp call. Respondents had connectivity and data issues during the call which affected the interviewing process because of cut-off or lagged calls. This caused me to mishear responses which proved time-consuming as I needed to ask individuals to repeat themselves.

My skill level to carry out an interview has affected the quality of data collected as more informed questions could have been asked. However, I combated this by allowing respondents to expand on answers to gain more understanding and depth on the topic. Since the nature of my dissertation was sensitive, to prevent respondents from being triggered, I avoided potentially triggering questions. I also required signed consent forms from respondents, where anonymity and confidentiality were assured including the safekeeping and security of information gathered from an individual.

3.2.1.3. Relevance to study

Since the dissertation aimed to evaluate whether the lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha informed urban planning and policy, in-depth responses were valuable from individuals in Khayelitsha because they had an understanding of the current lived realities of unsafety and insecurity in Khayelitsha. It was, therefore, necessary to gather contexted explanations, opinions, and behaviour from the perspectives of those who lived in the community. Semi-structured interviews proved beneficial as it kept the main research question as a focus and kept me on track in exploring responses. Where the interview went off track, it still proved beneficial as a greater understanding/depth of experiences in Khayelitsha was revealed.

3.2.2. Desk research

This technique was used to gather data from existing resources which may be internal or external. Internal desk research is defined as data gathered from inside an organisation (Management Study Guide, n.d.) This means that most data collection occurred through internal and existing organisational resources which were then organised to be efficient and usable (Management Study Guide, n.d.). By contrast, external desk research was data collection outside organisational boundaries (Management Study Guide, n.d.). By these definitions and the need for secondary research, external desk research resonated with my study as the resources needed were vast and beyond the confines of the University of Cape Town (UCT) as an organisation.

This dissertation, therefore, focused on online desk research and government-published data; a type of external desk research (Management Study Guide, n.d.). This technique proved beneficial because interviews became partially unsuccessful. Desk research, therefore, provided appropriate for its vast internet coverage on GBV in Khayelitsha, as well as safety and security planning and policy through a gendered lens. This existed not only in scholarly articles/journals but in media and official documents as well (Management Study Guide, n.d.). Because of the research's nature, the organisation of data was also specific as information needed filtering through the many existing and unrelated sources i.e., All searches, where necessary, included keywords to the study like, 'safety and security planning and policy through a gendered lens' (Management Study Guide, n.d.). The approach used to weave out the appropriate data for the findings revolved around internet/media searches like Google, Facebook, YouTube, and articles/journals, academic papers, blogs or news articles. These sites and sources were used to browse the internet for relevant and applicable data (Management Study Guide, n.d.).

Government-published data was important to this study because of the political agency it added. As such, government and organisation websites were browsed thoroughly to gather relevant publications which spoke to the research question and subsidiary questions (Management Study Guide, n.d.; Research Articles.com, 2020). These documents were important as they covered social, financial, spatial, planning, policy and economic aspects which grounded the study in providing national, regional and local perspectives of GBV in Khayelitsha; related to the research problem.

With desk research, the dissertation made use of indirect observations in the language, terms used, and perspectives conveyed through available online resources. Although a limitation through researcher bias, of sieving relevant information, indirect observation helped in understanding the approaches websites, documents and academic sources used in addressing research questions and assisted in identifying what the research gaps were.

3.2.2.1. Strengths

Digging out the relevant existing and external desk research meant focusing on specific pieces of information to address the research question directly. This specific approach increased the accuracy and speed of data collection, however, this also increased bias which is addressed in the limitations below.

Desk research proved cost-effective as internet data was free and where it was not free, UCT allowed free access. As such, both online desk research, government/government-related, and organisational published data proved cost-effective, accessible, and contained prominent and current data (Management Study Guide, n.d.).

Although COVID-19 posed a threat to many aspects of my research, most internet information regarding GBV was available, which assisted my research greatly.

3.2.2.2. Limitations

With the internet being a large body of information, collecting data with the intention to address the research question resulted in skewed findings (Southeast Technological University, 2022). With the scope, ethical limitations, and time frame of the dissertation, I addressed this challenge by searching for interdisciplinary and intersectional research, however, eliminating such bias is near impossible.

In the case where data was appropriate for the dissertation but inaccessible, the reliability and validity of the research suffered. Although UCT granted access to some sources, it did not work for all. In this case, I approached website data and found documents where the

relevant data was included to gather as much relevant information as possible. Another limitation tied to this was time; so I approached it strategically.

In the case of GBV accurate data and lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, I could not acquire them from interviews because of ethical concerns. I, therefore, relied on online data for these findings. As a such, indirect observation of secondary data assisted in this.

3.2.3. Indirect Observation

Being one of the most important research methods in social sciences, the techniques and approaches of observational research must be adapted to the research question and scientific context (Ciesielska, Boström and Öhlander, 2018). In some cases, observation techniques can be combined, which was the case in this study of non-participatory observational research and indirect observational research.

According to Ciesielska, et al. (2018), nonparticipant observation was when researchers approached understanding the world, interactions and relationships in a new way and without prevalent evaluations and categorisation. The observation happened from an outsider's perspective without interacting with the subjects. Which after two interviews, became the process of my study (Ciesielska et al., 2018). The non-participant observation technique was useful for observing well-known realities, e.g. public spaces, as there was a need to understand them from a different/new perspective (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Cooper, Lewis & Urquhart, 2004). This study, therefore, included various non-participant observations about gathered research and data regarding cities and public spaces in relation to safety, security, planning and policy through a gendered lens. By focusing on gendered experiences, the dissertation focused on previous academic articles and media resources to observe how women and gender minorities experienced safety and security in public settings in Khayelitsha (Cooper et al., 2004). Where interviews were possible, this was the only direct contact with subjects, however, these subjects were not vulnerable in the context of the research question and hence were also outsiders. This alluded to the majority of the study being driven by indirect observation techniques as direct access to past and present situations was not accessible (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Cooper, et al., 2004).

The indirect observation was remote and relied on information gathered by other researchers on material evidence, video recordings or written materials to observe events I could not participate in or have direct access to (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Cooper et al., 2004).

This study took the form of auto-observation and documentation analysis (during interviews and desktop research).

Auto-observation means indirect observation through the self-observation of subjects (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Rugg & Petre, 2007). Auto-observation, in this dissertation, was facilitated through non-face-to-face interviews which were conducted through WhatsApp calls. This allowed observations through respondents' descriptions and opinions of safety and security in Khayelitsha either past or current events that I could not directly partake in but saw the information as valuable. Auto-observation was also used to analyse data gathered after interviews while transcribing and getting familiar with the data.

The other form of indirect observation used in this dissertation was document analysis as various types of existing texts, documents and studies were consulted to expand on the experiences/understandings of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha (analysing desktop research) (Ciesielska et al., 2018; Anguera, Portell, Chacón-Moscoso, Sanduvete-Chaves, 2018). The focus here was content analysis in searching for key themes and patterns.

Some of the desktop research also used aspects of netnography as a form of indirect observation as some resources used in this dissertation for data collection came from Facebook.

3.2.3.1. Strengths

Indirect observation allowed me to gather, collate and analyse data that were both verbal and written/textual in nature. Whether it came from interviews or existing data (books, videos, articles, and newspapers among others) that other researchers found, it proved flexible and expanded the field of research covered (Anguera et al., 2018). As such, indirect research was non-intrusive as it respected the privacy of the individuals observed (Javed, 2022). It also assisted in producing a single dataset and allowed gaps in research to easily be identified i.e., that safety and security planning in informal South African contexts, through a gendered lens, is a newly developed field of study.

Indirect observation allowed me to conduct research remotely (necessary during the COVID-19 Pandemic) which proved cost and time effective. I could analyse observational data from other researchers, historical events, and statistics where information could be compared to current events. This allowed new conclusions to be drawn and facts analysed. I was, therefore, able to improve my study's observations by paying attention to the limitations, findings and conclusions that other studies experienced, where I either expanded on them or adapted my study accordingly (Javed, 2022).

3.2.3.2. Limitations

Because of the nature of the information regarding safety, security and GBV in Khayelitsha, data was scarce in answering the 'experiences' questions, in which generalisability was inevitable. In mitigating this, I searched the internet, social media and articles using the keywords mentioned previously. Where the research questions guiding my findings were beyond the scope of my research, I indicated such and suggested how future research should approach such questions, specifically in chapter 5. Since indirect observation was dependent on existing work, it could prove invalid or outdated. To address this, I kept resources recent and updated. I also critiqued existing resources on the premise of interviewee responses because they had ground-level perspectives related to the main research question. With conducted interviews, data collection relied on the memory of interviewees which could be false, inaccurate or a half-truth. This was particularly difficult to combat so I compared it to patterns and trends that the available data conveyed. I could not present everything the respondents said so thematic analysis helped with this. However, in this study, secondary data often correlated to the data collected from interviews.

3.2.4 Ethical Concerns

At the beginning of my journey, I intended to interview individuals with experience of GBV in the Khayelitsha. However, I was denied ethical clearance because I could have been harmed. respondents. Because of the study's nature, vulnerable individuals were not interviewed, which achieved ethical approval. I also avoided triggering questions to ensure that respondents were not harmed during the interview. To increase ethics, I intended to interview officials at the city of Cape Town and VPUU. However, they did not respond to invites. I received contact and consent from individuals at Rape Crisis and ensured that respondents were not vulnerable, decreasing subjectivity to harm.

At the beginning of the interviews, consent forms were given and read to respondents. After that, they were completed by respondents. Here, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured throughout the dissertation process and after. If respondents decided to withdraw from the interview at any point, they were allowed to do so. In the dissertation, participants are referred to as residents from Khayelitsha, interviewees or respondents. Therefore, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, making it hard for them to be identified by the research.

3.2.5. Thematic Analysis

The aim of this phase of the research was to describe and analyse the data according to themes. Thematic analysis was appropriate because the study was interested in the perspectives, values, opinions and knowledge used which informed urban planning and policy in Khayelitsha (Caulfield, 2022; Delve & Limpaecher, 2020). This proved the most accurate method for acquiring valuable understanding and experience from Khayelitsha. I approached my study with preconceived themes because of my knowledge of safety and security for women and gender minorities in cities. Because I was not able to interview policy-led organisations, I relied on a latent thematic approach where I analysed underlying assumptions of the data according to topics they covered and what they did not. And with interviews, I analysed explicit data content (Caulfield, 2022; Delve & Limpaecher, 2020).

After data collection from interviews, indirect observation, and desk research I familiarised myself with the data. This was where I transcribed interviews. I then read through the data thoroughly to observe meanings, connections and patterns from both document content, online research, and transcriptions.

After becoming familiar with the data, I could create initial codes according to the meanings, connections, and patterns I identified. I then identified interesting excerpts and applied the relevant codes to them. I was then able to collate all codes and their supporting secondary data, into specific themes (Caulfield, 2022; Delve & Limpaecher, 2020). After setting themes and describing the data, I analysed it against chapter 2 which increased its validity. Additionally, I conveyed a personal reflection on the findings.

3.2.5.1. Strengths

The thematic analysis allowed me the flexibility to interpret interviews while comparing them to desk research and indirect observations, and vice versa. (Alphonse & Armborst, 2017; Delve & Limpaecher, 2020). This analysis proved simple to apply as most findings showed clear similarities and differences which assisted in identifying patterns.

3.2.5.2. Limitations

Subjective flexibility to interpret data proved to be a limitation as it was easy for me to overlook nuances in the data (Caulfield, 2022; Delve & Limpaecher, 2020). To address this, I was reflexive during the analysis phase and used intersectional and interdisciplinary data to limit bias. However, bias could not completely be avoided.

3.2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and explored the methods, techniques and the data analysis method used in chapter 5 to present and analyse the findings. The strengths, weaknesses and applicability of each method, technique and data analysis were also explored.

Chapter 4: Findings/Analysis: Introduction

This section aimed to address the main research question, “How have lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, regarding GBV, informed safety and security for urban planning and policy?”. The major themes from chapter 2 guided the findings/analysis: ‘Safety, Security and the Built Environment’, ‘Gender and Planning’, and ‘Gender Mainstreaming Urban Policy’ and how these were used in Khayelitsha to address GBV from a human rights approach; protection from violence and gender equality.

4.1. Context

4.1.1. Republic of South Africa (SA)

South Africa is located in ‘the Southernmost tip of Africa’ and is bordered by the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean (See figure 4.1: Map of South Africa’s context). Although known for its beauty, SA is also known for its starkly contrasted rich and poor areas resulting from apartheid. Apartheid’s legacy is embedded in the country’s urban fabric of segregation which has dire social, economic, environmental and political consequences for the poor and marginalised. Due to situational, social and institutional impacts, various impoverished communities suffer from high levels of crime and violence which are exacerbated by urban growth (SaferSpaces, 2022; UNHabitat, 2007). Such crimes are primarily GBV, priority concerns within each province and various cities. GBV is constantly rising and the COVID-19 Pandemic, GBV incidents saw drastic increases. This resulted from lockdown restrictions (including deep rooted gender inequality) as many individuals were not able to leave their homes (Ellis, 2020); Dlamini, 2021); Roy, Bukuluki, Casey, Jagun, John, Mabhena ... & McGovern, 2021).

SA is known for the highest statistics of GBV in the world, because of rape and domestic violence due to gender inequality (Onyejekwe, 2004; Ellis, 2020; Dlamini, 2021). During the COVID-19 Pandemic, grossly exposed the socio-economic and spatial disparities in SA as these areas increased drastically with COVID-19 infections, crimes rates and GBV cases (Dekel & Abrahams, 2021; Dlamini, 2021. Roy, Bukuluki, Casey, Jagun, John, Mabhena, ... & McGovern, 2021).



Figure 4.1: South Africa Contextual map. (Data Source: Ho, 2023)

4.1.2. Western Cape Province

The Western Cape is one of the nine provinces in South Africa and is located on the country's south-western coast, seen in figure 4.1 and 4.2.

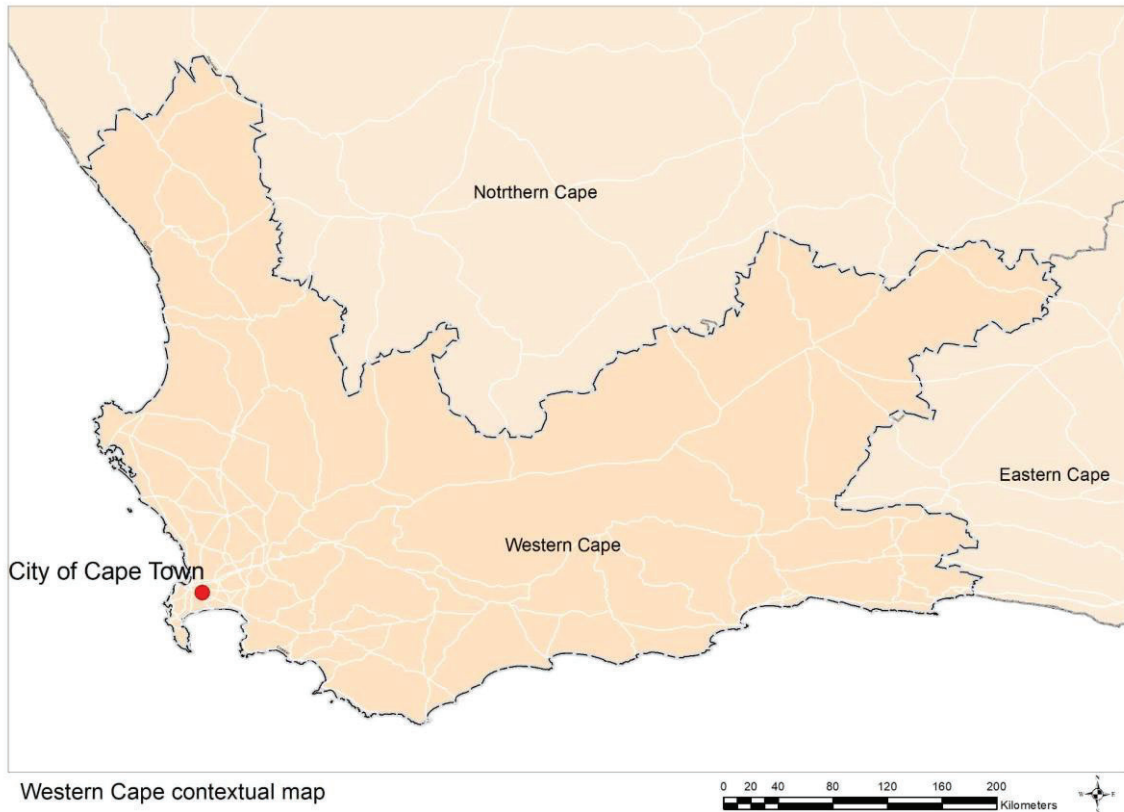


Figure 4.2: Western Cape Province Contextual map. (Data Source: Ho, 2023)

4.1.3. Cape Town (CPT)

Cape Town is located in the Western Cape Province. It is the legislative capital of SA and the capital of the Western Cape. Located on the southwestern edge of the Western Cape, see figure 4.2. Its urban population sits at 4.4 million, making it the second-largest metropolitan region in South Africa after Johannesburg (City of Cape Town, 2020). It is managed by the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality, which is divided into local and district municipalities. The crime index for the city is high at 73.35%, while the safety index sits at 26.65% (the lower the safety index, the safer individuals are) (Numbeo, 2022). Following SA trends, CPT is known for crimes such as assault, rape, GBV and murder (Expat Cape Town, 2017). of which GBV is the most significant. GBV increases yearly; however, exact statistics are inaccurate as many incidents go unreported (Vellai, 2021)

4.1.4. Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha was established in 1983 during the resettlement of African individuals from the Western Cape (Sikhula Sisonke, n.d.). It is a township in Cape Town, situated on the

periphery of the city (along the N2 motorway) and is approximately 30-35km from the Central Business District (CBD) (Sikhula Sisonke, n.d.). See figure 4.3 below.

Regarding crime and safety, Khayelitsha is among the top 4 most dangerous places in Cape Town and is known for its high murder and severe crime statistics (Expat Cape Town, 2017). Assault, domestic violence, GBV, murder, muggings and robbery are the most frequent crimes in Khayelitsha (Evans, 2022; South African Police Services, 2020; Western Cape Government, n.d.). Like South Africa, GBV cases rose significantly during COVID-19 Pandemic (Matthews & October, 2021; Dekel & Abrahams, 2021; Dlamini, 2021; Roy, Bukuluki, Casey, Jagun, John, Mabhena, ... & McGovern, 2021). -rates of violence against LGBTQI+ individuals). Crime and violence in Khayelitsha are uncontrollable, so communities run safety campaigns where they self-elect representatives of the community to keep their community safe (Neighbourhood watch). These community members roam the streets, which in many cases, has helped reduce and intercept crime (Expat Cape Town, 2017). This community-centred emergency response results from the government's poor response to emergency services in these areas and social-economic protocol in reducing crime in these areas.

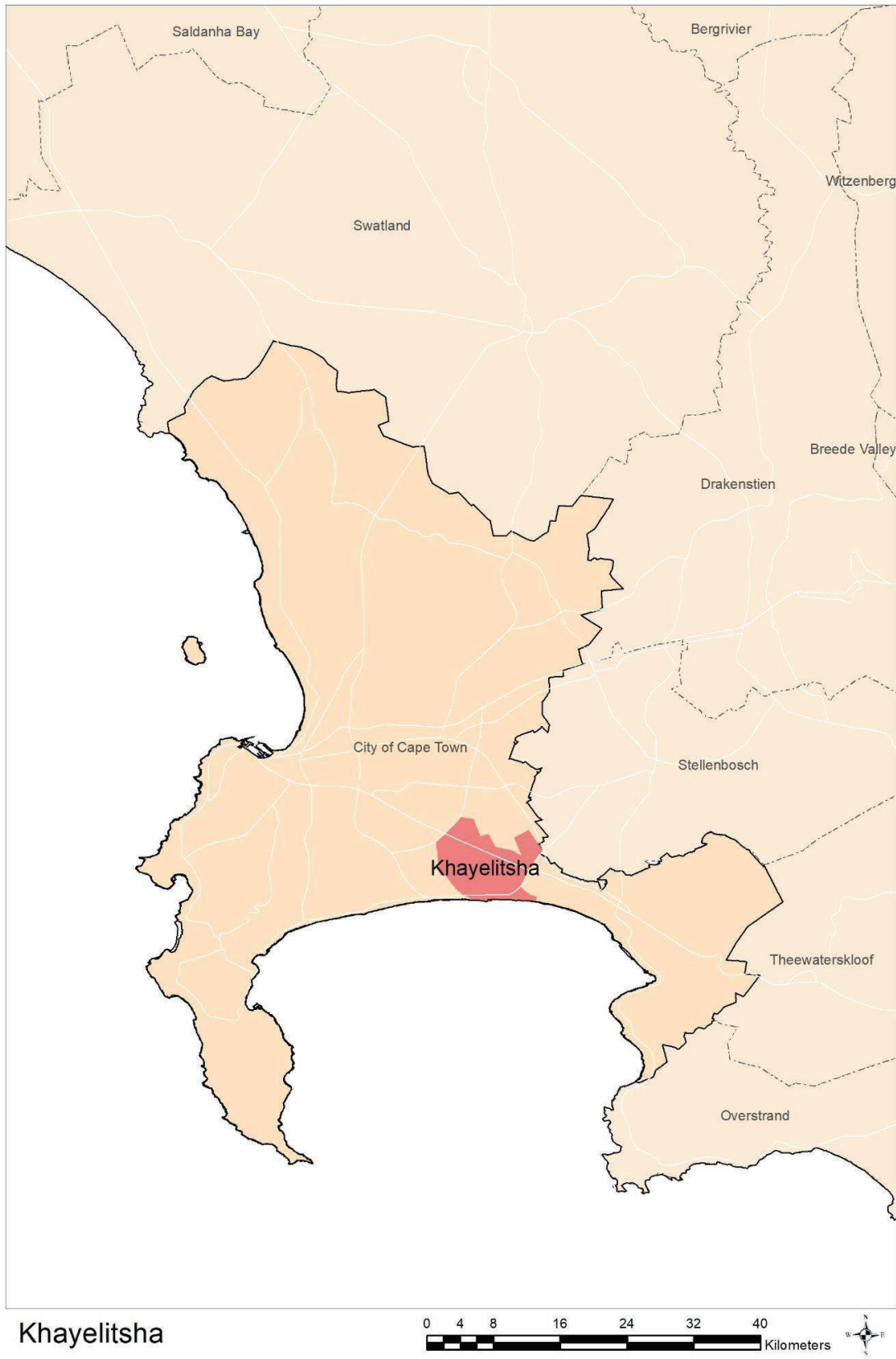


Figure 4.3: Contextual Map of Khayelitsha. (Data Source: Ho, 2023)

4.1.4.1. Situational context

In Khayelitsha, GBV results from an interrelation of social, situational and institutional factors. This dissertation focuses on situational factors. Because of the informality, poverty, poor/inadequate infrastructure and service delivery and insufficient economic opportunity in Khayelitsha, its residents and community suffer (Wang, 2022). All these influence safety and security in the area because the built environment was begun on the backfoot with essential infrastructures unavailable. This context makes understanding the effects of the built environment on safety, security and human behaviour imperative in addressing issues about upgrading and preventing crime and violence in informal settlements. This dissertation acknowledges that informality is a significant contributing factor to the safety and security of the built environment, planning and urban policy. However, fully addressing informality and its effects is beyond the scope. Although the focus is on how GBV is approached through urban planning and policy, it recognises that inclusive planning and policy often fail because informality and a gendered lens for inclusion are underutilised.

4.2. Findings

4.2.1. How is GBV approached in Khayelitsha

Through research, I found that most government solutions to crime, violence, safety, security, and GBV specifically, are responded to only through awareness-raising, policing and criminal justice (Morlock, 2022; Ntseku, 2022). In Khayelitsha, community members also form neighbourhood watch groups to keep the community safe through patrolling. The government and the relevant authorities in Khayelitsha are therefore minimising GBV risk instead of addressing its root cause which is gender inequality and power relations.

Analysis of the built environment in Khayelitsha showed poor acknowledgement and implementation of safety and security measures, contributing to high crime and violence. Therefore, various non-profit organisations have recognised the human right to safety and gender equality and have approached Khayelitsha with developments centred around safety and security principles, which reduced violence in the area for a short period. Some non-profit/non-government organisations working with/in Khayelitsha are Free Gender, Triangle Project, the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), and Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU). These organisations have worked valiantly in tackling pressing and current issues,

including GBV, through investment, awareness, and development and urging the government to attend to ongoing challenges (Ukwazi, 2014).

4.2.1.1. Free Gender

Founded in Khayelitsha, Free Gender is a community-based organisation that works with and for the community in advocating for the rights of black lesbians, especially noting that in townships, it is not acceptable and leads to high prosecution (Beautiful News SA, 2021; Stiftung, 2021). The organisation runs awareness campaigns through education and compassion as a safe space for black lesbians.

4.2.1.2. Triangle Project

The Triangle Project is a non-profit organisation (NPO) that offers professional services regarding awareness of constitutional and human rights for LGBTQI+ individuals, including partners and families working throughout the Western Cape (Triangle Project, n.d.). Their services include counselling, healthcare, support groups, outreach, public education and training services. The organisation works with Safer Spaces and various hubs of community activism in supporting three programme areas; community engagement and empowerment, health, support services and research, and advocacy and policy, which work together to support, strengthen and advocate for the rights of LGBTQI+ individuals in decision-making (Safer Spaces, 2022).

4.2.1.3. The Social Justice Coalition (SJC)

Founded in Khayelitsha in 2008, SJC is a membership-based social movement which works to advance constitutional rights, prevent corruption, combat hate crimes, ensure dignity, justice, freedom, equality and safety of all individuals, especially those living in informal settlements in South Africa (Social Justice Coalition, n.d.). This is done through campaigns based on education, advocacy and research (ibid). The organisation's work in Khayelitsha includes land tenure and upgrading informal settlements (part of the local government programme), the Commission of Inquiring into policing (part of the safety and justice programme), and the effective public lighting campaign (part of the safety and justice programme).

4.2.1.4. Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Not-for-Profit Company (VPUU NPC)

Launched in 2013, the VPUU organisation collaborated with the City of Cape Town (CCT), the German Development Bank, international professionals, the provincial and local government and the Khayelitsha Development Forum to tackle crime in Khayelitsha through urban upgrading (focusing on situational, social and institutional means). Over time, VPUU partners have multiplied: including National Treasury, the private sector, civil society, tertiary institutions, the Western Cape Government and many more (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading [VPUU], 2016). VPUU has four areas for improvement in Khayelitsha: Harare, Kuyasa, Site C (Thembokwezi and Mxolisi Phetani) and Site B (Victoria Mxenge and Nonqubela) . Please see Figure 4.4. All developments engage communities throughout all processes of design, implementation, maintenance, activation, monitoring and evaluation to ensure involvement, collaboration, citizenship, and pride (Turner, & GroundUp Staff, 2013).



Figure 4.4: Map of Khayelitsha Sites. (Data Source: <https://sjc.org.za/branches>)

4.2.2. GBV as a multifaceted problem

Analysing the work of VPUU and JSC found that policing, infrastructure, city planning and policy, among others, should all be components in addressing GBV (Sweet & Ortiz Escalante, 2010; Moser, 2012; United Nations (UN) Women, 2020). It suggested that collaboration of all appropriate disciplines was needed to address such a complex social issue as it deals with policy, social influence, culture, city planning, anthropology, psychology, architectural/environmental determinism and governance among others (Rebello, 2019). It is therefore important that each discipline acknowledges and honours its responsibility to assist civil society in its endeavours i.e., addressing safety and security issues like GBV.

4.2.3. The situation of poor infrastructure increasing GBV

4.2.3.1. Poor infrastructure (lighting and roads)

Analysis of Khayelitsha, SJC and VPUU have urged the City of Cape Town (CCT) and the relevant authorities to provide both formal and informal areas of Khayelitsha with effective public lighting as the poor lighting creates unsafe areas allowing crime to thrive i.e., when individuals use toilets, walk or use transport late at night or early in the morning (Pertsovsky, 2017; Weyers, 2017; Social Justice Coalition. (n.d.)). Where public lighting is present, they are provided via high-mast lights, especially in informal areas (Wang, 2022). Underserviced parts of Khayelitsha had no electricity, which made the effects of public lighting worse. This combined with poor-quality roads, high residential density, dead ends, and informality, Khayelitsha has an increased risk of crime and violence, especially when dark. (Wang, 2022). High-mast lights were used by the apartheid government in townships to control black communities and police them and are still used today, as seen by figure 4.5 (ibid). Following safety and security standards, the City of Cape Town (n.d.), argued that these lights be avoided as they cast deep and dark shadows which increase feelings of insecurity and cases of unsafety (City of Cape Town (n.d.). Please refer to figure 4.6. Most roads and pavements are therefore unsafe between sunset and sunrise as the deep shadows make a victim's position easier to see, making them vulnerable targets (Wang, 2022). With inaccessible safe movement routes, residents are forced to walk unsafe paths. From Figure 4.7, there is a lack of effective public lighting on all roads in Khayelitsha as area lighting (using high masts) is used instead of street lighting (Wang, 2022). This increased crime rates. This high mast area lighting populated Khayelitsha and left many areas poorly illuminated or in complete darkness as seen in figure 4.7. In 2017, R40 million was provided by Mayor Patricia

de Lille for appropriate street lighting in Khayelitsha (Social Justice Coalition. (n.d.)). However, this development promise was unfulfilled, leaving Khayelitsha with poor lighting to this day, see Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: Image showing a comment SJC made on inefficient public lighting in Khayelitsha. (Data Source: SJC Facebook page, 2022).



Figure 4.6: Image showing poor illumination between shacks due to high-mast public lighting in informal areas in Khayelitsha. Data Source: Wang, 2022



Figure 4.7: Map showing street lighting, area lighting and public facilities in Khayelitsha. Source: Wang, 2022). - https://webofproceedings.org/proceedings_series/ECOM/EDSSR%202022/FD2202101.pdf

4.2.3.2. Infrastructure effects on police services

Findings showed that poor infrastructure and informality affected the response of police services. Police stations in Khayelitsha are also underserved and ineffective (Stoltz, 2021). At night, police rarely assisted in times of emergency, as stated by resident interviewees. This was because poor lighting made police response dangerous while narrow and poor-quality roads between shacks and informal areas made the journey nearly physically impossible (Wang, 2022). One interviewee said that residents must find their own way to the police station because police do not come out to assist for fear of their own life. Therefore, with informality, poor infrastructure, and underserved police stations in Khayelitsha, police fail to assist and control crime, which assists in its increase seen by the graph in figure (Stoltz, 2021).

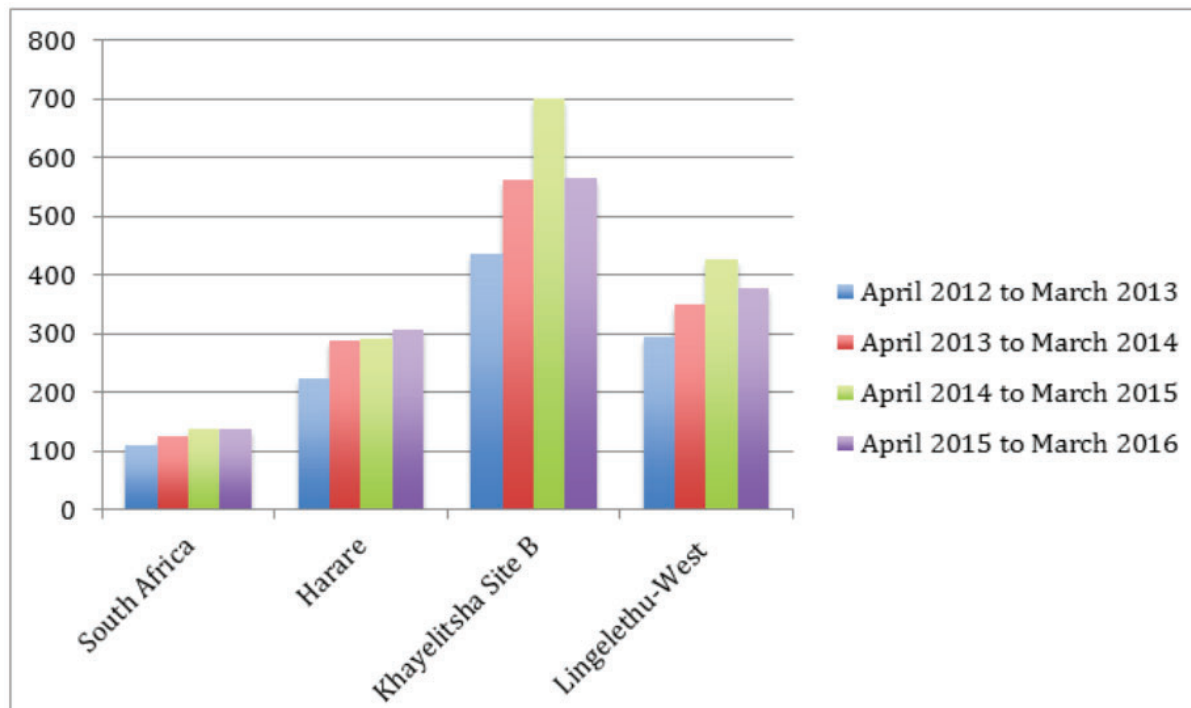


Figure 4.8: Graph showing street robberies in Khayelitsha communities compared to national averages for the years 2013-2016. Data Source: <https://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/lights-toilets-taxis-situational-crime-prevention-failures-in-khayelit>

By the graph, it is evident that Khayelitsha communities (Harare, Khayelitsha Site B and Lingeletu-West) experienced more than double the number of robberies compared to the national average of South Africa. Secondary research showed that insufficient police services and stations have contributed to the crime increase (Stoltz, 2021). Findings also showed that Khayelitsha residents experienced a high risk of robbery/violence on streets either early in the morning or late at night when walking to the toilet, neighbours, schools or using transport because of ineffective area lighting seen in figure 4.7 (Weyers, 2017).

4.2.4. Situational approach through VPUU

As shown, Khayelitsha has a dire need for basic infrastructure (social and recreational amenities, sanitation, roads, and lighting). The following sections explore how GBV was addressed by integrating such developments.

VPUU had facilitated most crime prevention initiatives in Khayelitsha through urban design. Through analysing VPUU's *manual for safety as a public good*, research and evidence, this section explored VPUU's intervention approaches based on western-adapted safety and security theories and gendered planning principles in Khayelitsha's development.

VPUU's approach followed all 3 Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design theories [CPTED] (explored in chapter 2) and Situational Crime Prevention (a theory beyond 'defensible spaces' that explored management and use issues (Krause, et al., 2014). VPUU's situational approach to crime originated in the UN-Habitat Model for Safer cities, which stated that addressing crime was a three-tier approach through social, institutional and environmental design prevention (Cassidy, et al., 2015). VPUU, therefore, looked at safety and security theories mentioned in chapter 2 and implemented them in Khayelitsha following 7 principles of safety and security:

1. Surveillance and visibility - theories of Wood, Jacobs, Jeffery, Newman, Hillier's space syntax,
2. Territoriality - theories of Jacobs, Jeffery, Newman, CPTED 3
3. Defined accesses and safe movement - theories of Jacobs, Hillier's space syntax
4. Image and aesthetics - theories of Wood, Newman, Kelling and Wilson's broken window theory,
5. Target hardening - theories of Jeffery, CPTED 1
6. Operation, Maintenance and Management - theories of
7. Inclusive design - theories of CPTED 2, CPTED 3

By including these principles in development upgrading, VPUU has shown that the design, management and use of public space can reduce crime by enhancing safety and security. These principles were implemented into design tools for Khayelitsha.

4.2.4.1. Design tools

4.2.4.1.1. Assemblage of Activities

This tool grouped and concentrated various activities and services in a public space or along pedestrian routes during all times of the day, weekdays and weekends. This increased usage, activity and population in the area which decreased the potential for crime. However, if the area becomes too crowded, crime potential could easily increase i.e., pickpocketing. For Khayelitsha, it was found that the functions and services held in public spaces provided access to: newspapers, clean and safe toilets, internet/computers, street markets and recreational activities.

Since walking to and from transport is dangerous for many women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, VPUU showed the value of the assemblage of activities at a transport station as seen in figure 4.9). This image shows human scale and various activities

by its users. This reduced travelling long distances alone by activating the area which increased feelings of safety and security, benefiting vulnerable individuals. Entrances to such sites, like the transport station, should be placed in populated areas such as activity routes, major walkways and/or areas of gathering to increase safety and security perceptions.

Although such innovation is beneficial to an area like Khayelitsha, VPUU's work has shown that activity times must correlate to the activity times of its users to be effective in reducing crime. This would increase feelings of safety and security for women and gender minorities when spaces are activated. Assemblage points connected through pedestrian walkways/trading routes are seen in figure 4.9; before and after the assemblage was created through design. Through this, the economy, monitoring, activity, and connectivity were increased and therefore reduced the potential for crime. However, at night or in the early morning, this area may not be as effective in reducing crime because of how open and inactive the area might become. Women and gender minorities would therefore avoid this space when it is inactive to reduce a potential threat. As such, nighttime activities or active surveillance of the area protect individuals using the area.

To ensure that a development like this is maintained and managed effectively, community members must be included in its processes and plans before and after implementation as it creates empowerment and pride for something they had influence in. However, for this development, it was unclear whether women and gender minorities were appropriately included in the creation and implementation of this design.

This design tool and development supported the safety and security principles of surveillance and visibility, defined access and movement, image, operation, management, maintenance, and territoriality. However, in its adaption to Khayelitsha, it proved semi-appropriate as areas would need to be activated at night as well to maintain positive safety perceptions.



(Figure 4.9: Images from left to right. Image of Khayelitsha Western Forecourt which is poorly defined and acts only as a pedestrian route with some daylight informal trading. The middle image: Shows trading spaces that can be used in assemblage points like in the image on the right, where there is an assemblage of activities in Khayelitsha Station (i.e., public toilets, trading

spaces, office spaces, caretaker flat, taxi stops and pedestrian routes). Data Source: http://vpuu.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/VPUU_a-manual-for-safety-as-a-public-good.pdf)

4.2.4.1.2. Integration of Uses

This design tool involved grouping various activities in an area for operation at different times of the day to encourage extended periods of activation. This makes an area multifunctional. Schools could be multifunctional in being used as a community hub, learning centres or sports events. Live-work building units were utilised in Khayelitsha creating a mixture of residential and commercial use, meaning areas are buzzing throughout the day and at night. As such VPUU found that multifunctional spaces should be utilised throughout Khayelitsha to activate them, therefore, reducing crime potential like in figure 4.10.

In analysing the proposed live-work buildings, most of Khayelitsha is informal, so these areas have little to no room for safety and security design principles to be followed or implemented without complete upgrading and restructuring (Wang, 2022). Therefore, most of the discussed theories could not be applied to all areas of Khayelitsha. VPUU's interventions have tended to take place in more formalised areas and in open spaces. The incorrect or misunderstanding context will result in inappropriate implementation. Developments by VPUU have usually occurred in pre-existing formal areas or open spaces where development can be supported. Hence, the more informal and dense parts of Khayelitsha remain the same, causing crime to increase (Wang, 2022).

Strategically increasing economic growth and activity in the area, multifunctional spaces show many advantages for Khayelitsha. This design tool was used in the Harare Square development in Khayelitsha (see figure 4.12 Harare Square during day and night), which showed how land-use management precinct plans and urban design frameworks can facilitate the integration of uses; site activation at various times of the day. Therefore increasing perceptions of safety. It is important to note that this tool must be used appropriately for the layout of the site as incorrect usage can instead decrease levels of safety and security. This can be seen in figure 4.13 where the Kuyasa interchange station is surrounded by vacant land and a dual carriage road, making it unsafe for pedestrians. This meant that during the day, the transport interchange was multifunctional and active however, in close proximity, vacant land presented a threat to vulnerable individuals. This decreased the perception of safety for women and gender minorities as both interview respondents mentioned that open spaces felt unsafe and dangerous in Khayelitsha. Additionally, the area had insufficient lighting and no safe pedestrian routes which increased vulnerability in the area.

By this design tool, VPUU claimed to uphold the following safety and security principles: Surveillance and visibility, defined access and safe movement, operation, management, maintenance, and inclusive design. However, they were inappropriately adapted to Khayelitsha.



Figure 38 Live-Work Units allow for the incorporation of traders that used to operate from containers, and have a residential component to allow for an integration of uses day and night

Figure 4.10: Image showing work-live units that incorporate trading areas operating from containers and has residential components on top (or vice versa), allowing integration and multiuse during the day and at night. Source: Krause, et al., 2014 - http://vpuu.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/VPUU_a-manual-for-safety-as-a-public-good.pdf



Figure 13 The design of this square was based on the safety principles

Figure 4.11: Image of Harae Square showing multifunctionality during the day. (Data Source: Krause et al., 2014)



Figure 4.12: Image of Harare Square, well-lit and multifunctional at night) (Data Source: Krause et al., 2014)



(Figure 4.13: Image showing Kuyasa Transport interchange adjacent to vacant land; making the area feel unsafe for pedestrians against car speeding and crime)

4.2.4.1.3. Site Layout, Active Frontages and Landscaping

With any development, tools must be amended to enhance safety principles they intend to convey and must agree with the layout and design of the site. As such, legibility on various planning levels must occur; the site, its layout, its original usage, neighbourhood, buildings, interactions and layout must be understood to allow implementation to increase safety. This is achieved through discernible structure planning and complementary placemaking:

1. By designing active frontages and positioning buildings close to street boundaries, you create a positive street environment which ensures visibility ('eyes on the street').

- a. Active frontages means that sizes and positions of windows and entrances which face the street or public spaces allow a relationship with transitional semi-public spaces like workshops, living rooms, live-work units and shops. These frontages allow interaction through windows.
2. Spaces between buildings should be minimised and defined to avoid loitering, dark shadows, and small spaces to escape, which reduce security and the feeling of safety.
3. The edges of buildings and pedestrian routes need to be clear for activity and movement.
4. There should be transitions between private and public domains which can be indicated by a change in level, including landscaping and verandas. This shows ownership, defines edges and improves beautification of the area which evokes community pride.

By such design, the principles of safety and security which are upheld are: surveillance, visibility, defined access and safe movement, operation, management, maintenance, territoriality, and inclusive design.

This tool may be problematic in the context of Khayelitsha as the settlement, formal and informal, was initially designed to house individuals, not to ensure safety and security principles (Watson, 2009). According to Watson (2009), planning which uses western theories or understandings must integrate development planning, practise participatory budgets, devise management programmes and strategically approach an issue and through inclusivity, a decision is made on the best pro-poor solution. Therefore, it is imperative that when planning, developing and implementing safety and security principles in Khayelitsha that understanding the site along with its structure, neighbourhood, buildings, layout, culture and how the development will affect the area must occur. This therefore emphasises the need for community participation as well as the relevant stakeholders/disciplines to allow the most appropriate development. In this way, safety and security principles are adapted to the context of Khayelitsha and areas alike.

Research referring to owned spaces/territoriality within residential areas found that many owned spaces are not clearly identified. Looking at Khayelitsha, most spaces were used as public spaces. Compared to effective/demarcated public-private transitions between the street and where an individual's property began, there was often no transition for many areas

in Khayelitsha because of the way the settlement was designed during apartheid (see figure 4.14) and 4.15). When spaces do not show ownership, Newman's theory of 'defensible space' tells us that crime is likely to increase, which was found in the case for many areas in Khayelitsha. However, this is not the only factor affecting crime/violence. Despite theorist speculations, for Khayelitsha, crime has not decreased because of public-private demarcation, even after VPUU interventions, (see Appendix A). Instead, the data shows that it has risen and continues to rise. However, as mentioned in other areas of the study, this could be caused by various factors, not necessarily only the failure of the built environment alone:

With the kind of public participation that VPUU utilised, space and community ownership could be provided, hence decreasing the likelihood of crime in the area as community members become accountable to the protection of their space (Jacobs, 1961; Newman, 1972; Landman & Liebermann, 2005). However, evidence suggested that this alone was not enough to increase safety and security in Khayelitsha communities.

Along with understanding the site and how the site and its inhabitants operate, interviews and research have shown that understanding must happen from those on the ground; those who live in communities. One interviewee mentioned that the developments implemented by the City often do not meet the needs of the people so they are either destroyed, unmaintained, or not used for their intended purpose. This illustrates the importance of an understanding of community experiences if development is to be appropriate (see figure 4.16). The same was said for safety developments: "the policy people and builders must ask us where we feel unsafe and what will make us feel safe".



Figure 4.14: Image showing demarcation of private and public transition in Harare Square in Khayelitsha before and after VPUU intervention. Source: (Fester, 2015)



(Figure 4.15: Image showing informal (left) and formal layout (Right) of residential areas in Khayelitsha and also the absence and presence of demarcated public and private spaces. Source: (Google Earth: 2023 - <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Khayelitsha,+Cape+Town/@-34.0435186,18.6769882,496m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x1dcc4f2d81f6e52f:0x4e5f3efcc5678566!8m2!3d-34.0378253!4d18.6798895!5m1!1e4>)



(Figure 4.16: Image showing a community building (behind Masikanye community garden) and recreational area in Khayelitsha which is run down which increases the feeling of safety and security. Source: Google Maps: 2023 <https://www.google.com/maps/@-34.0584068,18.6784654,3a,15y,193.02h,89.79t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sRAP4XB-ZivCxJSbpJbsyaQ!2e0!7i16384!8i8192?hl=en-GB>)

4.2.4.1.4. Visual Connections

Through ensuring visibility along routes, visual connections allow early detection of danger and devising a plan to escape (prospect-refuge theory). Therefore, in development and pedestrian routes, long straight lines which have clear visual connections aid in the feeling of safety; incorporating building material of the same pallet and enhanced public lighting also reduces uncertainty while increasing safety and security (seen in figure 4.11, 4.12 and 4.17). Sight lines must be visible and always defined. Landmarks (key buildings/landscaping components) increase visual connections and an individual is able to orient themselves according to them . Landmarks also highlight points of interest and places an individual can rest. VPUU suggests that multi-story developments add to passive surveillance of an area due to the elevation of the building and that visual connections should be incorporated in various development scales through precinct plans, urban design frameworks and building plans.

With this design tool, the safety principles of: surveillance and visibility, defined access and safe movement as well as operation, management, and maintenance.

With figure 4.16, it is easy to see the improved visibility and enhanced living conditions in the area, however, this does not account for other areas in Khayelitsha. From topographic views of Khayelitsha, most public areas do not possess the quality of visual connections which therefore fail safety and security measures. The developments of VPUU do, however, show how appropriate design can improve the experience and image of an area; which increases perceptions of safety). Interviews have conveyed that passive surveillance from community members are the main form of safety in Khayelitsha which emphasises, according to context, how important visibility is. This however does not stop violence completely as in most areas, visual connections and lighting is inadequate, causing the community to suffer.

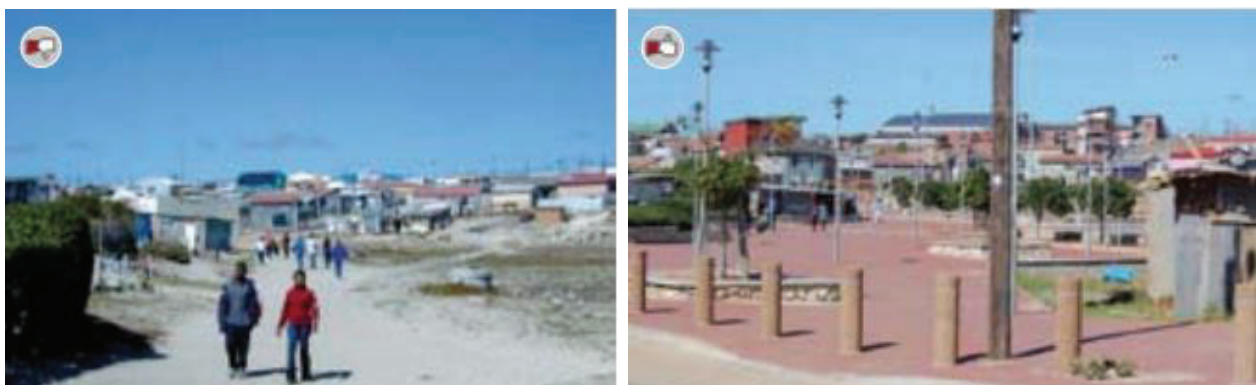


Figure 4.17: Image of pedestrian route in Khayelitsha (Harare): before and after Harare VPUU development. Source: (Krause, 2014)

4.2.4.1.5. Signage/route markers

Signage and route markers are important for orientation and legibility of routes. This is especially useful in Khayelitsha when visibility is restricted. Markers should be made clear to indicate an upcoming destination, where you are or the options one is able to take; which should be accessible and legible to all users at all times on various scales and must cater to different user groups; especially vulnerable groups. It must therefore pay attention to diversity of the society.

This design tool utilises the safety and security principles of defined access and safe movement, operation, management, and maintenance, owned spaces, and inclusive design.

Since route visibility is not always possible in Khayelitsha because of meandering footpaths within the Township, signage benefits certain areas. However, the type of signage used should be appropriate to the context of Khayelitsha and not simply adapt examples from elsewhere (Watson, 2009). Through participation, this can also be a tool which empowers the community, which then increases operation, maintenance, and management thereof. However, this research has found that in Khayelitsha, signage may be found in formal areas, but where informality exists, there is much less signage (along with its proposed safety and security principles) (see figure 4.17).

In the case of insufficient lighting, which affects most of Khayelitsha (see figure of lighting and figure of lighting map), most signages will be very hard to see; defeating their purpose. Findings and interviews suggest that when safety improvement of the built environment occurs, is not received well by community members because their basic needs and service delivery have not been met.

4.2.4.1.6. Movement networks

Movement networks are effective through a hierarchy of movement and effective management of traffic: vehicles, cyclists and pedestrians. Depending on the area and purpose for its intended usage, a certain mode of transport will be emphasised in its urban design; i.e., motorised vehicles priorities over walking pedestrians.

- High order routes like high activity and distributor routes - vehicles are prioritised with required safe pedestrian crossings and non-motorised transport lanes

- Low order routes like residential streets - pedestrian and non-motorised movement is prioritised above vehicles

It is important that in both instances, safe pedestrian and cyclist crossings and interchanges must be clearly indicated. This can be done through surface changes, widened footpaths, pinched crossing points, bollards or landscaping which also protect individuals from traffic.

This design tool utilises the safety and security principles of: defined access and safe movement, operation, management, and maintenance and signage.

Visibility and activity in movement networks are particularly important in Khayelitsha as the many open spaces of land increase feelings of unsafety. Interviews showed that women and gender minorities experience violence mostly in open fields and as such, are avoided like in figures 4.13 and 4.18 (open spaces and footpaths will be avoided). Respondants said the same about taverns. As these were dangerous areas as well. Movement networks will therefore best benefit Khayelitsha in pedestrian walkways: to transport, toilets, to neighbours and schools since it is a pro-poor solution and already shows that walking is a primary mode of transport for many.



Figure 4.18: Image showing vacant land/open spaces which are used as easy pathways to the transport interchange, recreational areas or social facilities. Source: Google maps, 2023; Authors own, 2023)

4.2.4.2. Gender-sensitive Planning

With VPUU's work being community-centred, I examined their approach to inclusive design to evaluate the extent to which they mirror gender-sensitive principles adapted from SPLUMA in chapter 2.

4.2.4.2.1. VPUU LGBTQIA+ Sensitive

With the goals and vision of VPUU orienting neighbourhoods and areas which suffer from poverty, exclusion from social, economic, cultural and political benefits, the marginalised have been identified (Krause et al., 2014). For identifying areas of need, the document stipulates criteria according to: provision of public services, willingness to assist, social cohesion factors, level of safety, and quality of life data. By this, the document approaches GBV as a concern and attempts to address it through the promotion of effective justice and inclusive design. Although the document addresses GBV, it disaggregates gender by women and men, suggesting no identification or inclusive plan for gender minorities, except through assumed representation through community participation. This is further emphasised through the document highlighting which diverse groups design should be inclusive of shown in figure 4.18. The document goes further to express considerations for safety aspects for 'women' and 'girls' in cities. Essentially, the document addresses that 'different genders' experience violence and spaces differently in cities and that city design must ensure gender equality, however, this and data collected from Khayelitsha are brought through the document as pertaining to women, men and children alone (see figure 4.19 and 4.21). It is therefore speculated that there is no acknowledgement or safety and security plan/urban design for gender minorities by the work of VPUU. However, this could also be terminology misuse.

Good design encourages the usage of the public realm and public facilities in neighbourhoods by as many diverse groups of the society as possible. Designers need to include in their schemes design for diverse groups such as:

- Able and physically or mentally challenged people
- Literate and illiterate people
- Rich and poor
- Men, **women**, and children
- Citizens and foreign nationals.

Figure 4.19: Image taken from VPUU notes emphasising the diverse groups that urban design should be inclusive of. Source: Krause et al., 2014).

CASE STUDY

In the Khayelitsha area of Cape Town, South Africa, a street improvement project was undertaken to provide a safe, welcoming pedestrian route for women as part of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) program. Through participatory design and development with local leadership and municipal departments, the project transformed a high-crime area into a sustainable, multifunctional public space. Women's participation was key to project design and implementation, and women engaged in the project's long-term sustainability through maintenance opportunities. Strategies such as tree planting, high-quality overhead lighting, and easy-to-maintain materials have led to a 30% increase in pedestrian activity.

Source: Welle et al., 2015

Figure 4.20: Image showing a case study done through VPUU for safety of women) Source: (Welle et al., 2015)

In conveying data coverage on the perceptions of safety by day and by night, it was clear that data was only recorded for men, women, and children respectively (see figure xxx: Graph showing perceptions priority concern crime in Khayelitsha; disaggregated by male and female). Therefore, limiting the understanding that the document made provisions for the experiences of LGBTQIA+ individuals.

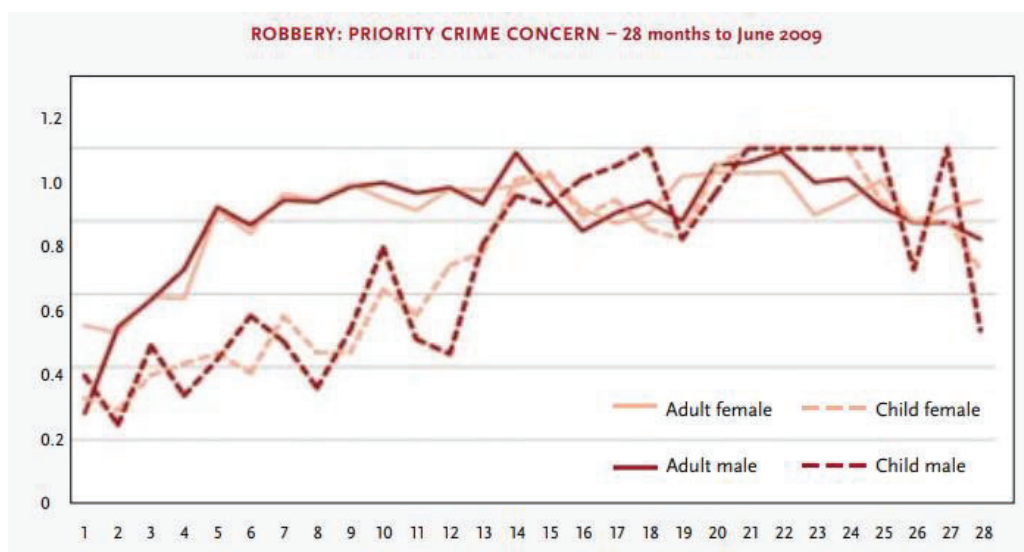


Figure 4.21: Graph showing perceptions priority concern crime in Khayelitsha; disaggregated by male and female. Source: Krause et al., 2014).

4.2.4.2.3. VPUU Woman Sensitive

This dissertation does not suggest that the work of VPUU is not inclusive of GBV experiences of gender minorities. However, it states that the inclusion of this minority group has not been made evident in its analysis of findings and application of safety design to Khayelitsha in its document titled; *Violence prevention through urban upgrading: A manual for safety as a public good*. By examining statistics, blogs, news searches, and the literature review, this research has found that gender minorities do experience GBV within Khayelitsha and need attention; socially, institutionally, and situationally (Gontsana, 2022).

The VPUU document did, however, offer urban design implementations with specific considerations for women and girls in cities. These considerations included:

- Poverty and socioeconomic status: Where poor women are noted to face safety challenges when accessing essential services, public spaces, and transport. Their frequent access makes them vulnerable to these public spaces.
- Infrastructure - Women and girls require safe access to: well-maintained public toilets, public areas and streets which are well lit and efficient public transport as these are the spaces that women and girls are most vulnerable.
- Usages of spaces and familiarity - Spaces dominated by a specific gender cause women to feel unsafe. For example, when a space is dominated by males, women become hesitant to use these spaces or avoid them completely for fear of harassment.
- Societal attitude - Unsafety increases when harassment or violence against women are trivialised or normalised. Women are often blamed for 'asking for it' by the clothes they wear or their behaviour. Women are therefore made to feel responsible for their own safety instead of addressing the patriarchal factors involved.
- Police attitude - Police are often insensitive to women's experiences of GBV which discourages women from reporting crime, which ultimately decreases a possible solution/ response avenue.

With the above considerations and approach to urban safety in Khayelitsha, it is important that gender minorities receive similar considerations for urban safety so that designs are more inclusive and hence more appropriate in who they protect from violence. Like women, gender minorities are susceptible to violence in similar public spaces (VPUU, 2014).. Women and gender minorities often experience similar difficulties (South African Police Services, 2020). Although similar, marginal groups hold different experiences and possible

solutions for urban safety. These findings correspond with an interview where the respondent emphasised that, “the people that feel unsafe need to be at the table when discussing safety issues and how to address them”. If all individuals, especially marginal groups, are not included in safety and security discussions, plans, processes and implementation, the built environment will reflect a vision that does not address urban issues for all in Khayelitsha. Hence not building for people and their needs.

4.2.4.2.3. Comparing VPUU to SPLUMA principles on Gender-inclusive Planning

Comparing VPUU’s work to SPLUMA principles on gender-inclusivity, the VPUU document does not show localised data on GBV, there are organisation units that facilitate GBV crime against women and gender minorities (like the Triangle Project, Free Gender and SJC), proper planning for improved infrastructure is partly successful as they address women but not LGBTQIA+ individuals, and gender-inclusive participation is not ensured during planning, implementation, decision-making and evaluation phases of projects. One can only speculate.

4.2.4.2.4. VPUU possibility for gender-inclusive future work

In 2018, Isandla Institute (non-profit organisation) in partnership with other organisations (Federation of Urban Poor, Social Justice Coalition, Community Organisation Resource Centre, VPUU, Development Action Group, and People’s Environmental Planning) held local Community of Practice meetings to devise models for participation in the project of informal settlement upgrading (Isandla Institute, 2018). This project was headed by the Collaborative Initiative (formally the Khayaletu Initiative, where the aim of informal upgrading was done through collaboration, knowledge sharing and experimentation. By VPUU’s presence on the team, it suggests their acknowledgement on the importance of LGBTQIA+ individuals and their experiences to address GBV in Khayelitsha for the future developments.

4.2.4.3. Case Study - VPUU hot route development in Harare Peace Park, Khayelitsha

Due to their research and interviews suggesting that areas which feel most unsafe are open spaces and movement paths (without alternative safe movements), VPUU sought out a “hot route” solution development (Krause et al., 2017). The Khayelitsha bicycle route was identified as a hot route because it was not integrated into the urban fabric of the area, meaning that buildings faced away from pathways which decreased passive surveillance. The route was situated along a stormwater system and is surrounded by houses and undeveloped land. The aesthetic quality of the area was poor as vegetation was unmaintained. Street lighting was inadequate and the half-finished community building did not achieve its aim in providing access to public facilities. This building instead hid criminals intending to attack victims passing

through the park (Krause et al., 2017). The area was also surrounded by open space with many access routes, which by theory and practice, all increased feelings of insecurity and evidence of the area being unsafe as it was crime was frequent (see Figure 4.22 and Figure 4.23). Crimes recorded here included robbery, stabbings, and rape.



Figure 4.21: Image aerial photo showing Harare Peace Park before development. Source: (Krause et al., 2014)



Figure 92 Some parts of the cycle path are situated in a depression, thus further compromising the safety of cyclists and pedestrians

Figure 93 and 94 There is almost no natural surveillance from either side of the cycle path



Figure 95 Aerial photo Harare Peace Park prior to interventions with numbers of photos



Figure 96 Poor maintenance of public lighting results in inadequate lighting levels at night time

Figure 97 Some parts of the cycle path are situated in a depression, thus further compromising the safety of cyclists and pedestrians

Figure 98 The path is edged with houses and buildings, but they face away from the path thus providing very little natural surveillance

Figure 4.23: Image showing Harare Peace Park through intersections with captions describing areas. Source: (Krause et al., 2014).

The intervention for the area was to have the safety and security principles and design tools, mentioned above, implemented to ensure perceived and actual safety and security of residents. The aim was therefore to create an 'Active Box' which would produce those qualities (See figure 4.24 explaining what an Active box is). The Active Box was also to be implemented along regular intervals on the route to ensure a connective movement of safety seen in figure

4.25. By having active areas along a pedestrian route, safety and security can be increased (safe movement and connectivity). The Active Boxes were also to have social and institutional links to crime prevention which were: youth programs, neighbourhood watch initiatives and facility guarding, owned spaces and operation, maintenance, and management of spaces by residents. All of which aimed to increase social cohesion and pride.

An Active Box:

- is a small multifunctional community centre that includes generic elements such as a caretaker's flat (in order to provide a 24-hour presence), community functions, a well-lit vertical element, offering an elevated view point for the neighbourhood patrolling members
- provides site specific functions, primarily on street level. Such activities range from trading bays in a market area, to a youth centre in a recreational area. Long activity hours are encouraged to promote the notion of safety
- acts as a landmark element within Khayelitsha. Due to its verticality, and strategic location along major pedestrian walkways, it provides a sense of orientation within a predominantly flat and mono functional built environment
- provides a safe point in the area in which it is located

- fosters identity and pride amongst the residents of the precinct, through good design and access to the facility and
- allows for community-based operation and management, coupled with strategic partnerships at neighbourhood level, to ensure sustainability of the facility.

Figure 4.24: Image showing what an Active Box is. Source: (Krause et al., 2014)



Figure 4.25: Image showing conceptual diagram of Active Boxes to be situated along the pedestrian route in Monwabisi Peace Park. Source: (Krause et al., 2014).

As the aforementioned participation and inclusive findings suggest, VPUU's implementation of Active Box was an integrative and collaborative approach with community members and the relevant stakeholders to understand and discuss processes, plans and implementation at all phases of the project. This means participation is based on people-centred, building trust, consensus building, accountability of all those involved (from civil society to government), altruism and sustainability. These principles were then carried out via community action planning, a multi-level approach, skills development, participation of multi-level decision-making, monitoring and evaluation as well as process development. However, I was unable to deduce whether participation was in deed carried out inclusively because the findings on this were not available.

4.2.4.3.1. Lessons from VPUU Monwabisi Peace Park Active Box

After implementation, residents took well to the intervention as the area saw decreased mob violence and had improved relationships with police (Safer Spaces, 2022). Residents conveyed, through interviews organised by VPUU, that more than 50% of residents felt safer

after VPUU intervention and 60% of interview respondents felt that the intervention had a positive change for the community, less crime and improved infrastructure. Crime and safety perceptions of residents conveyed that rape and GBV had also decreased between 2009 and 2013, after the development. However, research and studies done in 2015 (Fester, 2015) suggest that crime had increased since then. In 2016, a study done on hospital injuries in Khayelitsha evaluated the crime difference before and after VPUU's intervention and also concluded that injury cases were limited after development. This finding, however, can suggest the amount of actual reported violence in need of assistance (Trupe, 2016). This could be from population influx or because the remaining urban fabric of Khayelitsha remains the same, meaning human behaviour has continued in the pattern of old because small changes do not sustain large scale improvement (Fester, 2015). This could also be attributed to the ineffective participation of gender minorities in the VPUU process, as findings suggested. Had they been consulted and developments upscaled, GBV may have continued to decrease. Regarding gender mainstreaming urban policy consulted in the approach to Khayelitsha and VPUU developments, the concept and implementation may have been understood on paper but poorly carried out in practice. Poor implementation reflects for ineffective planning.

Additionally, addressing the poor infrastructure and unsafe movement routes, can increase safety in Khayelitsha and police accessibility into the area. However, Khayelitsha needs support from the government and the relevant stakeholders for these improvements to be funded and carried out effectively.

4.2.4.3.2. Informality development lessons for Khayelitsha

Looking at crime prevention through urban upgrading, research and literature suggest that well implemented safety and security urban design reiterates the theory that well integrated spaces facilitate human behaviour which does not cause harm. In looking at the developments of VPUU in Khayelitsha, compared to its original built fabric, new developments look and feel foreign. This suggests that new spaces are the only safe spaces in Khayelitsha. This may increase short term safety (Safer Spaces, 2022) or safety within upgraded areas and existential perceptions of safety (Ground Up, 2013; Trupe, 2016) however, remaining, and untouched public space in Khayelitsha remains the same; with poor/inadequate service delivery and infrastructure which negatively affects safety and security. This suggests that GBV trends may remain the same or increase in these specific areas because improvement occurs in these areas alone. No adequate change has occurred in remaining areas to reduce situational effects at a larger scale and thus GBV occurrence cannot be accurately measured according to new developments. In western societies, urban upgrading by safety, security and gendered planning principles and policy may be successful, however, remodelling in the

Freedom and security of the person

southern informal context needs more attention, investment and understanding if GBV is to be appropriately addressed (Watson, 2009).

4.2.5. Urban Policy

For urban planning and policy to be legal and appropriate, it follows the Constitution of South Africa where human rights are emphasised (See figure 4.26). Regardless of informality, human rights are standard. When looking at GBV in Khayelitsha, national standards should apply even at lower districts, however, implementation advocating these rights is inadequate. Through the different levels of urban planning, human rights need to be upheld. Looking at protection from violence and gender equality in Khayelitsha, there seem to be gaps in human settlement policy, as there are no explicit considerations for the participation of all individuals (men, women and gender minorities) in informal settlement upgrading.

Equality

9. (1) Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.
- (2) Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.
- (3) The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.
- (4) No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.
- (5) Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.

Freedom and security of the person

- (2) Everyone has the right to bodily and psychological integrity, which includes the right—
 - (a) to make decisions concerning reproduction;
 - (b) to security in and control over their body; and
 - (c) not to be subjected to medical or scientific experiments without their informed consent.

Environment

24. Everyone has the right—
 - (a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing; and

Figure 4.26: Image of Bill of Rights based on equality and safety. Source: <https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/chp02.html>

Figure 4.26 are central to all policies implemented and devised under the South African government. As such, urban policy is too. These basic human rights form the blueprint for urban policy and its implementations to develop a sustainable society and cities which benefit its citizens. Because the Bill of Rights provides guidance on how to maintain human rights in all spheres of governance, it also has spatial implications which is why I examined SPLUMA. I also explored the National Strategy Plans, the White Paper on Safety and Security and Community Safety Plan. For a localised approach to exploring gender mainstreaming in urban law applying to Khayelitsha, Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Greater Blue Downs District Plan, will be explored.

Focusing on the National Strategic Plan (NSP) for GBV in South Africa and the multi-sectoral, strategic policy and programming framework, they make provision for a coordinated national response to GBV and femicide crisis. The NSP addresses the need of protection from violence for all but focuses on women especially since they make up the majority of GBV cases (Republic of South Africa, 2020).

The document stipulates relevant urban policy documents to also hold the same protection of human rights to keep individuals safe from harm (all genders are included). As such urban planning documents to uphold such laws are: The national legislation, provincial ordinances, and municipal by-laws (see figure 4.26).

Figure 8: Proposed Organogram of the NCGBVF

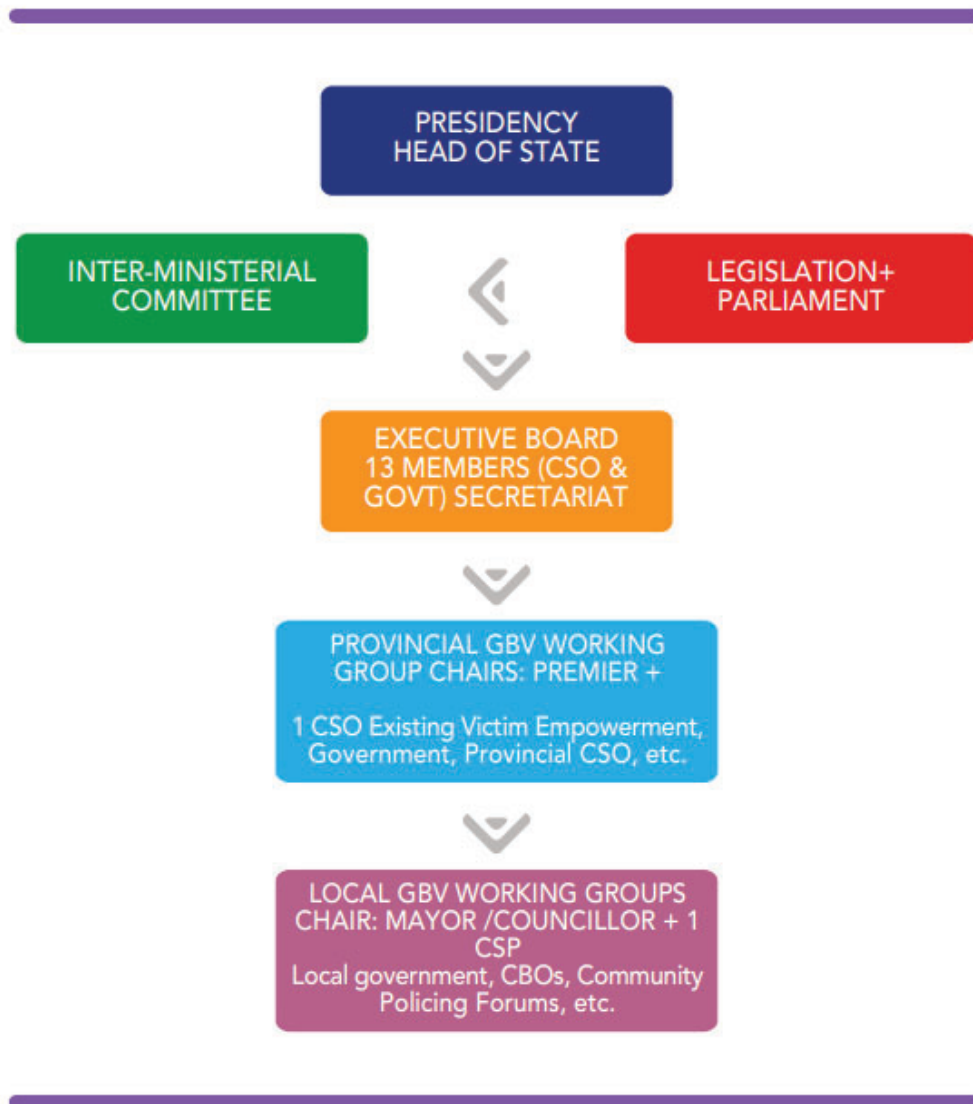


Figure 4.27: Image showing targeted spheres of government by the National Gender-based Violence & Femicide Strategic Plan 2020. Source: (<https://www.justice.gov.za/vq/gbv/nsp-gbv-final-doc-04-05.pdf>)

4.2.5.1. Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA)

As discussed in chapter 2, SPLUMA is predicated on the duty of aiding effective and efficient planning and land use management to South Africa and therefore holds the power to elicit spatial transformation (Republic of South Africa, 2015). Working through SDF's and Land Use Management (LUMS), historical apartheid spatial challenges can be addressed and sustainable development achieved. In preparation of the SPLUMA documents and documents to follow from it, they undergo legal framework analysis to ensure the constitution is upheld (Republic of South Africa, 2015).

SPLUMA and its resulting documents should therefore follow the principles set out by SPLUMA including spatial justice, spatial sustainability, efficacy, spatial resilience and good administration when addressing gender equality and the protection from violence through spatial planning and urban policy. Part of the SDF's contents pertaining to the dissertation therefore ensures the following expectations:

“

(a) interpret and represent the spatial development vision of the responsible sphere of government and competent authority;

(c) represent the integration and trade-off of all relevant sector policies and plans;

(d) guide planning and development decisions across all sectors of government;

(h) include previously disadvantaged areas, areas under traditional leadership, rural areas, informal settlements, slums and land holdings of state-owned enterprises and government agencies and address their inclusion and integration into the spatial, economic, social and environmental objectives of the relevant sphere;

(i) address historical spatial imbalances in development;

(j) identify the long-term risks of particular spatial patterns of growth and development and the policies and strategies necessary to mitigate those risks;

(o) consider and, where necessary, incorporate the outcomes of substantial public engagement, including direct participation in the process through public meetings, public exhibitions, public debates and discourses in the media and any other forum or mechanisms that promote such direct involvement. “ (Republic of South Africa, 2015).

Although these expectations are inclusive, they do not appear to be inclusive in practice. This is because 'gender' and 'gender mainstreaming' are terms which do not occur in the document. The only suggestion to these terms or their understanding is through 'inclusion' or 'integration'. How these processes are carried out in practice proves challenging, irrespective of the measures taken and steps to ensure that inclusion and public participation is ensured. This shows ineffective cohesion between strategy and urban policy.

4.2.5.2. National Crime Prevention Strategy

This document aims to establish a comprehensive policy framework to inform all government spheres and civil society in addressing crime (Republic of South Africa, 2015). The programme aims to have government spheres deliver quality service to address core issues which increase crime. It aims to maximise civil participation through mobilisation and sustaining initiatives (Republic of South Africa, 2015). The approach also recognises that crime is multifaceted and therefore needs an integrated approach. The policy accounts for GBV, however, only mention women and children, “Gender Violence and crimes against children are not only highly prevalent but have a profoundly negative impact on the rights and future well-being of women and children” (Republic of South Africa, 2015). The document also acknowledges the gender inequality in SA attributed to women, however, it poorly addresses the impact on gender minorities through plans and policy. The document also specifically addresses GBV through increasing police units however, as mentioned above, there are far too few police stations in Khayelitsha (Villette, 2021). There are also commitments to ensure anti-corruption of criminal justice however, the inverse is true (Villette, 2021).

The document also recognises crime prevention through environmental design. In consulting the community, it is also only women who are acknowledged. Whether the participation is carried out in processes is unknown. With the document noting women, children, disabled, youth and elderly individuals as those needing the most protection, it is clear that community level participation is not as inclusive as it claims. Even though citywide census operations are emphasised to collect primary data to inform policy and urban design developments, if GBV experienced by all individuals are not included, data will be inaccurate (included unreported or unspoken incidents) and solutions will be misinformed. Even with targeting vulnerable groups, the policy plan has no mention of Khayelitsha being a high priority area for safety and security interventions; although it describes what vulnerable areas are. The document also ensures citizen capacity building where inclusive participation is essential for plans and policy, however there is no evidence to suggest how practical and true these statements are. If GBV were gender mainstreamed in this policy document, an approach to GBV would have been a priority area.

4.2.5.3. National Gender-based Violence & Femicide Strategic Plan 2020

This document is a legislative and policy framework response to GBV in SA. Guided by the Constitutional rights of individuals, this document informs policy and urban design through gender sensitive measures (Interim Gender Based Violence & Femicide Steering Committee, 2020). However, the document also acknowledges the lack of effective implementation of laws. It recognises that women and gender minorities experience GBV at high levels,

especially in informal or disadvantaged areas and aims to address this through allowing harmonized and decentralised laws, policies and procedures. Therefore, addressing weaknesses in existing policy, like gender mainstreaming, the document emphasises a strategic approach which is centred on the experiences of women, children and gender minorities. It targets different spheres of government and addresses and expresses all terms and requirements from all levels through a gender-sensitive lens. Of this strategic approach, the civil society organisations are of particular interest as the document aims to have co-convening powers in implementation phases with the following: Advocacy promotion, developing target messages advocating for the autonomy of women children and gender minorities; capacity building; ensuring those affected are involved in programmes and the rollout thereof; strengthen overall coordination within civil society and sharing information to inform policies and laws and assist in strategising in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation thereof.

The implementation section is also said to be in alignment with the abovementioned participation process to ensure full integration. Outcomes are also fully detailed including the relevant responsible department see figures (Appendix A: Pillars). Although the implementation of policy is not assured, by the detailed and strategic plan of the document, it is more likely that approach will be more informed for government buy in.

4.2.5.4. White Paper on Safety and Security

This document aims to provide clear policy of safety and security in SA and provide a sustainable, well-resourced implementation and oversight mechanism to coordinate, evaluate and report on the implementation of crime prevention across all sectors. The document emphasises the collaboration of national, provincial and local government and actors in preventing crime through more than just policing and criminal justice (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2016), suggesting that all policy documents released be aligned with the White Paper on Safety and Security. It recognises the built environment's contributions in crime prevention (Safer Spaces, 2016). The document acknowledges the experiences of women and gender minorities and integrates them into policy (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2016). The document also covers the legal rights mentioned previously, violence protection and gender equality. The document also emphasises the presence of all genders which proves that the White Paper is inclusive, however, this may be falter in practice. Although the implementation approach aims to be inclusive, there is not enough evidence to conclude whether a gendered lens will be implemented through the duration of the framework process since the document only covers 'what will be done' and not 'what was done'.

4.2.5.5. Khayelitsha Community Safety Plan Summit

This safety summit was hosted by the Western Cape Government, Department of Community Safety in partnership and the City of Cape Town: Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading, Urban Renewal Project and Khayelitsha Development Forum in 2011. The topic of discussion was economic development, policing, improving criminal justice, reducing drug and alcohol consumption by the youth and an integrated crime and violence prevention approach directed at women and children. The document did not specifically address LGBTQIA+ experiences of GBV suggesting this was not an included target group (Western Cape Provincial Government, 2011). This means that the policy document may have insufficient primary data which mis-informs urban policy and planning approaches to GBV. The document however focused mostly on policing and community and awareness strategies to decrease violence. The summit allowed a platform for Khayelitsha residents to discuss community safety and suggest processes to increase safety in the area, established a Khayelitsha integrative structure aimed at addressing GBV in a collective manner and allow residents to engage with Criminal Justice role players. Though this is beneficial to the inclusion process of urban policy and planning, an interviewee stated that they did not know that the environment could be designed to increase the safety and security perceptions of a space or even that policy documents for this existed. This raises the question of how community members can make input regarding design if they do not know it exists. Their experiences are vital if city planners, policy and intergovernmental organisations are to devise plans based on these experiences. This again emphasises the importance of an interrelated system of collaboration at all levels of policy and planning processes.

Further, at a summit where residents were able to voice their safety concerns, many gender minority individuals may have felt unsafe to speak up about their specific concerns. More inclusivity is needed to ensure the comfort of participants and to obtain important information in an ethical manner. Furthermore, the document does not address the built environment's contribution to GBV or safety and security measures in Khayelitsha at all. Where VPUU was mentioned, their work and success were simply acknowledged; there was no further suggestion of how such design interventions could be explored for the future. This is problematic as various city planning, design and policy staff could make valuable input in reducing GBV. If policy documents are not made explicit of such disciplines, inclusivity is further rejected and a multifaceted approach to GBV is overlooked.

4.2.5.6. Khayelitsha, Michell's Plain, Greater Blue Downs District Plan (KMPGBDDP)

These expectations ought to be carried out in the KMPGBDDP however the district plan follows similar institutional and implementation issues and mentioned previously. I looked at strategy plan 3: Build an inclusive, integrated and vibrant City, as it complies best with the dissertation (see figure 4.28). However, the mechanisms, strategies and processes in place do not suggest how current and future spatial development and design and address the safety and security concerns in Khayelitsha. It suggests the integration and inclusivity of the Khayelitsha in integrating it to the greater Cape Town system for improved social, economic and political benefit. However, a prime concern is how such developments are even able to be achieved when basic infrastructure are inadequate in Khayelitsha and surrounding areas. For example, if new amenities or social facilities are developed in Khayelitsha, the development may benefit the community for a short while but can eventually end up dysfunctional or destroyed because of the cost to maintain it in an already poor community. The document seems more focused on economic growth than on social wellbeing. This dissertation does not suggest that the district plan for Khayelitsha is a failure, however, it questions the integrity of all development plans and policy documents which are set to work together to result in social, economic, and political well-being for Cape Town and its communities, especially disadvantaged ones. To spatially integrate a disadvantaged area, it is important that social cohesion and wellbeing is a priority, for without it, economic growth and political success cannot be achieved. Where safety is referred to in the document, it is general safety i.e., house built close to powerlines. While safety is clearly important to consider, the document does not express how this safety will practically be achieved through implementation and whether it was approached through a gendered lens.

Although the intention of the district plan is to promote economic opportunities to rural and disadvantaged areas; it ought to serve the public in the protection of right to land and additionally hold the power to promote accountable spatial planning, land development and land use management decision-making by the state (SPLUMA) This suggests that if women and gender minorities were included in processes and plans like they ought to have been, the type of infrastructure, economic growth connections and developments which take place in Khayelitsha would be inclusive of the needs of women and gender minorities in the area (South African Government, n.d.) i.e., integrating transport infrastructure or connectivity routes which also act as a safety and security buffer for women and gender minorities. Spatial plans will therefore be able to carry the same inclusive and gender-mainstreaming message to land use management policies which in turn create congruence between the spheres of planning and policy governance.

<p>BUILD AN INCLUSIVE, INTEGRATED, VIBRANT CITY: The City must promote integrated settlement patterns in existing and new residential areas to accommodate Cape Town's growing population and redress social and land use fragmentation. An inclusive, integrated and vibrant city requires that basic services, social facilities and public open spaces are available and accessible to everyone. The City needs to promote equal opportunities, improve the quality of living environments, and reduce the levels of crime. Cape Town's heritage must be respected, protected and enhanced and a network of great destinations and public spaces should be established.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transform the apartheid city; • Proactively support publicly-led land reform and new housing delivery; • Encourage integrated settlement patterns; • Enhance the unique sense of place and quality of built form of Cape Town; • Enhance the value of heritage resources and scenic routes; • Promote accessible, city wide destination places.
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Figure 4.28: Image showing strategy 3 of the Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Greater Blue Downs District Plan. Source: https://resource.capetown.gov.za/documentcentre/Documents/City%20research%20reports%20and%20review/Khayelitsha_Mitchells_Plain_Technical_Report.pdf

4.2.5.7. Gender Mainstreaming Urban Policy Challenges

4.2.5.7.1. Institutional SPLUMA challenges

Work done by the South African Cities Network (SACN) raised in interviews suggested why SPLUMA's mechanisms and institutional agreements may influence the poor outcome of their legislation and therefore the policy documents to follow. Interviews showed that Municipal Planning Tribunals were known for their uncertainty and potential controversy, which meant that resolutions may have been poorly executed. These issues ranged from legality to individual effectiveness, appeal procedures and the commitment being an administrative and finding burden. Another issue was found that SPLUMA deliveries are less strict than Ordinances meaning that although municipalities receive Ordinance service which is a legislated requirement, SPLUMA requires work to be specified in rezoning conditions. This causes conditions to be altered or omitted which limits municipal income to carry out inclusive work to its intended potential (South African Cities Network, 2015). Another issue was the wording of clauses as various legal challenges may hamper SPLUMA's implementation (South African Cities Network, 2015).

4.2.5.7.2. The institutional link challenge

These failures could mean that implementation tends to ignore policy through and that policy proves disconnected from reality. For example, for Kahyelitsha to have effective safe developments to address GBV, working infrastructure is required; in reality, this is not the case. This produces an insecure and weak base from which development visions are set (South African Cities network, 2015) This then means that the service agreements, developments, and urban policy coming from these documents cannot be effectively implemented at the ground level because they are further removed from objectives and policy guidelines (South African Cities Network, 2015). Having a human right implemented through

spatial planning and urban policy means the gap between strategy and policy must be minimised.

4.2.5.7.3. Information challenges

As suggested in chapter 2, SPLUMA, the SDF and KMPGBDDP all lack clear communication on how specific challenges and processes must be done through the relevant spheres of government (South African Cities network, 2015). For example, if a strategy for inclusive gender planning or gender mainstreaming urban policy of a particular development is not adequately defined and discussed, through the relevant parties, its purpose and implementation becomes diluted through inter-governmental structures and administrative processes seen on the ground i.e., how inclusivity in planning and urban policy is carried out in Khayelitsha. When this fails, developments do not have the result of inclusion to improve the solution intended to address GBV. The current reality in Khayelitsha with poorly structured gender-inclusive planning and urban policy suggests that good intended urban policy and planning proposals are nullified once an application is submitted for consideration (South African Cities Network, 2015). Although intention is good, practice should be better.

In the process of decision-making occurring in participation meetings, by the time it gets to the relevant authorities, a blanket statement decision may be made which again excludes the different gendered realities and therefore the different decisions made during a process.

Between GBV cases in Khayelitsha not being reported and being ineffectively documented and recorded, urban policy and planning cannot plan effectively for the type of changes the physical environment must undergo. This however, should not be a determining factor as to why gender-inclusive approaches are not maintained during planning and urban policy processes. However, it is also very necessary to have GBV data which can complement the work done to address the issue. Data gathering accuracy will increase planning information system competency in aligning resources with legislative requirements (South African Cities Network, 2015). Once such informative primary data is produced, more organisations (institutions, non-profit, private, and public) can strategise solutions, allowing a more informed multi-sectoral approach.

4.2.5.7.4. Policy and Land Use Management Challenges

Gender-inclusive policies and plans may be theoretically understood in safety and security design guidelines, however they may not be carried out through land use application

decisions. This specifically occurs when developers do not see the immediate or long-term benefits of support to manage the development.

With SDFs and LUMS being legislated as an important link, policy and practice must both strategically and practically comply to allow both aspects of urban planning and policy to be effective in addressing GBV as a safety and security issue in Khayelitsha.

4.3. Conclusion

From the above analysis it is evident that policy exists nationally, provincially, and locally in upgrading Khayelitsha to be socially, economically, and politically improved. However, regarding safety, security, city planning and urban policy through a gendered lens, these documents have not grasped the benefits that gender mainstreaming could have through inclusivity. These documents, like VPUU, suggest inclusive participatory planning and urban policy decision-making, however they are usually carried out with poor stakeholder accountability, understanding and implementation of concepts like 'gender-sensitive' and 'gender mainstreaming'. Although building plans, city planning and urban policy demand an inclusive community participation phase during their processes, they are often approached as a 'tick-box' procedure or seen as too tedious. Although the development, planning, urban policy, and implementation process acknowledges the importance of civil society participation, the procedure is tedious or unimportant and therefore poorly carried out.

A few challenges identified as in need of improvement through the community engagement approaches of planning and policy are: goals should be collaboratively achieved with all levels of government and communities involved despite party politics; 'tick-box' approaches should be avoided at all costs and authentic engagement should be had; active citizenship allows each individual to take up responsibility in their role and the function; there should be recognition that municipal structures at different levels are dysfunctional (policy and practice) and should be transparent; the relevant urban planning and policy approaches should be communicable in different demanded languages to improve concept implementation and to allow comprehension of inclusivity and there should be clear urban planning and policy commitment to government costing of public participation so that individual funds do not prevent individuals from meeting together with stakeholders.

The poor implementation of inclusivity, especially considering gender, is not to be taken lightly. Although such an approach appears tedious and with its own additional practical

challenges, it is very important that all genders who experience GBV in Khayelitsha are represented to increase appropriate plans and policy going forward.

This section has therefore explored whether and how the human right of 'protection from violence and gender equality' was used to approach the GBV in Khayelitsha. The themes of 'safety, security and the built environment' and 'gender mainstreaming urban policy' informed its structure and analyses of the work from VPUU and the relevant urban policy documents. It has shown the importance of a gendered lens when addressing GBV in Khayelitsha. With Khayelitsha being a disadvantaged area, it is important that plans, processes, policy, and implementation be applied and evaluated in the context of Khayelitsha for it to be appropriate in intention.

Chapter 5: Recommendations & Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to critically analyse the response of organisations and urban policy to violence in Khayelitsha and attempted to answer whether these efforts in any way addressed the needs of women and gender minorities regarding GBV. Findings reported that women and gender minority experiences of GBV in Khayelitsha had poorly informed safety and security for urban planning and policy.

Chapter 2 explored the literature on safety, security, gendered planning and gender mainstreaming urban policy theories and principles which formed the criteria used to analyse urban planning and policy for Khayelitsha. This chapter concluded with the identification of the main and subsidiary research questions that guided the research.

Chapter 3 explored the Case Study method and semi-structured interviews, indirect observation and desk research techniques which were used to conduct, collect and analyse data in Chapter 4.

The findings in Chapter 4 were guided by the main research question and subsidiary questions generated in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 concluded the dissertation and recommended interventions based on findings (both from the research and subsidiary questions). This chapter restated and answered the main research question and noted subsidiary findings. It then explored and discussed the limitations of the study and recommended innovations for further research. I then explored reflections of the study and produced an overall conclusion.

Recommendations included an increased job security and availability in the area as well as an increase in educational and institutional facilities for prospective development in Khayelitsha. This will serve SDFs and district plans to spatially connect Khayelitsha's economic growth and sustainable development, therefore providing more avenues for addressing and preventing GBV in the future. All recommendations should and must be used collaboratively at all spheres of government to tackle GBV in Khayelitsha.

5.1. Answering The Main Research Question

“How have lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha, regarding GBV, informed safety and security for urban planning and policy?”

This dissertation has partially answered the main research question. This is because lived experiences of women and gender minorities could not be explored due to ethical constraints. I therefore explored development documents like VPUU to explore whether experiences or inclusive principles were followed. Urban planning and policy therefore in Khayelitsha did not have effective approaches in addressing GBV or safety and security as findings revealed that crime and violence continued to increase. Although women were recognised as a vulnerable group, LGBTQIA+ individuals were oftentimes overlooked. In the city council's urban policy and VPUU's work, there was not sufficient gender-inclusive integration and proven participation in urban policy and planning to address GBV in Khayelitsha. The result was that urban policy and implementation did not accurately represent and protect gendered realities.

Answering the first part of the question:

Through safety and security theories and built form, VPUU's work demonstrated its benefits of improved aesthetics, connectivity, safety, security and activation of a hot route in Harare, Khayelitsha. However, its attempt at reducing violence was short-lived. Violence grew from 2009 to the present day. Findings suggested that

1) with many GBV cases not reported or inadequately dealt with, urban planning and VPUU's work could not be adequately informed through primary data on how or where prevention development planning should take place.

2) Inclusive design was only considerate of the experiences of women, men and children (and disabled groups). LGBTQIA+ individuals were not represented in its considerations.

3) Although community participation was emphasised and exercised, it did not ensure how inclusive participation occurred in practice and whether it was gender representative. Nevertheless, findings reported that many community members felt safer in the newly developed area and that it brought a positive change to the hot route area in Harare.

Subsidiary findings suggested that

1) Western theories of safety, security and gender-inclusive urban planning had to be adapted into the Khayelitsha context for GBV to be appropriately addressed.

2) Existing poverty in the area made it difficult for VPUU implementation to be maintained which resulted in the development losing its integrity and intention over time.

3) Existing poorly designed informal settlements surrounding new developments may have worked in contradictory ways and reinforced previous violence patterns which actually brought danger to the new 'safe' area.

4) With new developments surrounded by informality and poverty (poor public lighting and movement routes), crime and violence may have continued to increase because safety and security planning had not been upscaled in the area.

Answering the last part of the question:

The Constitution provides the base from which all policy frameworks in South Africa were founded. It protected individuals from violence and gender discrimination in all forms. As such, women and gender minority experiences of GBV should have greatly influenced urban policy. However,

1) evidence from SLUMA, National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), Khayelitsha, Michell's Plain, Greater Blue Downs District Plan (KMPGBDDP), and Khayelitsha's Community Safety Plan (summit) (KCSP) were poorly influenced by the experiences of women and gender minorities. Women's experiences were acknowledged. However, policy was aimed at awareness raising as well as amending and improving criminal justice and policing.

2) The National Gender-based Violence & Femicide Strategic Plan 2020-2030 and the White Paper on Safety and Security were strongly informed by women and gender minority experiences of GBV. All phases of planning and urban policy showed evidence of the integration of gender, and laid out the intention and methods in achieving inclusivity for the genders. The policy also evidently targeted the different relevant spheres of government and indicated responsibilities for each.

3) The availability of accurate GBV data limited how well policy was informed and ultimately how GBV was addressed.

4) Urban policy that was misaligned with reality in Khayelitsha misinformed approaches to GBV.

Subsidiary findings revealed that

1) Like other policies and plans, although thorough in description and instruction, without outcome evaluations present, urban policy may not be as successful as it claimed.

2) Spatial planning documents consulted for Khayelitsha focused on improving economic potential and environmental management to improve individual wellbeing more than including or acknowledging that GBV, or other challenges, were at play which influenced and prevented economic and environmental improvement.

3) Major urban policy challenges were poor communication and collaboration between different spheres of government to carry out GBV concerns, understanding the importance of gender-inclusivity, and the importance of responsibility to such a commitment. .

5.2. Limitations of this research

5.2.1. Lack of interviews and COVID-19

Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, I lost a great opportunity for my research to convey accurate and current groundwork. Having interviews on experiences of gender-inclusive planning and urban policy from organisations in Khayelitsha would have increased research efficacy. Resultantly, I relied on online data and although it proved sufficient, it could have been more accurate and organisationally oriented. Additionally, it would have been beneficial to gain accurate GBV experiences from individuals in Khayelitsha, however, the sensitive/triggering nature of the research proved unethical; strengthening my reliance on online data.

Having suffered from COVID-19, my own work suffered. In 2021, I was able to interview only two respondents. However, in 2022, my research changed slightly because, when I pursued more interviews, organisations were non-responsive. Therefore, where 2021 responses were appropriate, they reinforced my findings and where they were not, I resourced online information.

5.2.2. Online Interviews

Interviews proved time consuming and challenging because interviews were conducted on WhatsApp calls as respondents did not have access to zoom. Respondents or I had connectivity issues, and the sound quality was poor including respondent audibility. I therefore needed to ask respondents to repeat themselves often which took from the allotted interview time forcing me to ask more accurate questions first. This was an important learning experience in qualitative research.

Having only two respondents was not enough to sum up the lived experiences of women and gender minorities in Khayelitsha. Other individuals could have had different experiences. Thereby expanding avoiding generalisability. Although generalised , experiences did reflect what chapter 2 conveyed which supported the relationship between individuals and the built environment. And therefore the relationship between safety and security and urban policy as well.

5.2.3. Online Data Collection

The most limiting factor was time constraints through having to locate, sieve through and analyse appropriate resources for accurate information. This meant that I needed to have accurate and well-informed online searches to maximise time and productivity. Because I needed to sieve through so many data, human error was inevitable, irrespective of my stringent documentation of information. I therefore had to double check many resources, especially policy before producing the final product.

5.2.4. Considerations for future research

Considerations of this research was redone, I would approach individuals on the street, taxi rank, bus terminus, shopping centres and public spaces in Khayelitsha This way, I can expand the variability of responses therefore increasing validity and reliability. I would also hope to get participants from policy-driven organisations to gain perspective of procedures followed.

5.3. Recommendations

5.3.1. Recommendations for Implementation

5.3.1.1. Improving Geographic Information System (GIS)

A study done by Carpio-Pinedo, De Gregorio Hurtado & Sánchez De Madariaga (2019), on GIS found that it can be used to strengthen gender-mainstreaming in policy and related fields of research where primary data of GBV can be made available. As such, GIS and open data sources could be used as a tool to contribute to diversifying ways in which urban planning and policy can implement gender-sensitive agenda and therefore preventing/addressing the GBV crisis, not only in Khayelitsha but worldwide.

GIS contribution remained largely unexplored but held valuable insights and assistance in most fields of research. Open data would have assisted in making the data universally accessible, either for free or at a reasonable price. It would also have been made available into different formats depending on usage and request. This would increase government transparency and accountability, citizen participation as well as stimulate economic growth (Carpio-Pinedo et al., 2019). With GIS, the area of Khayelitsha could be analysed and its infrastructure, gender groups, women-led households, open spaces, safety and security and various other factors influential to GBV documented and mapped out digitally. This data could be disaggregated so that a wider range of information could be gathered and compared. This type of data would have covered national, regional, municipal and local data which benefited various scales and therefore allowed variations of GBV prevention strategies. This tool needed to be legislated into various disciplines at different levels to ensure the commitment to and successful projection of its benefits in future solutions to GBV regarding capturing and reflecting spatial change (South African Cities Network. (2015).

The planning, processing and installation of this tool could have created jobs for Khayelitsha as their input would have been imperative and beneficial. It would also have created primary data on GBV issues which was very important. This tool would be able to let the public know which areas were safe and what kind of alternative routes existed.

5.3.1.1.1. Challenges

This spatial analysis tool could not be implemented without supporting structural considerations in Khayelitsha, meaning that police stations and services, network processing and analysing informal settlements had to be of priority. It also needed regular updating due to urban sprawl and informality growth. Transport services, street lighting and road safety were a few areas of focus which needed improvement. Spatial crime and violence prevention needed to be done in conjunction with social, institutional, and situational strategies for change.

5.3.1.2. Pro Poor community upgrading and upscaling

Inspired by Watson (2009), upscaling in Khayelitsha needed to have a pro poor infrastructural development approach for safety and security theories, inclusive of urban planning and urban policy to be contextually appropriate. As such, upgrading in Khayelitsha had to target infrastructural needs in the area; public lighting, roads, connectivity, well-equipped police stations, informality, housing, transport among others. VPUU's work had to be developed in the area and upscaled, however its approach, mechanisms, materials, implementation and maintenance and management procedures had to be pro poor. The

relevant developments should be operational 24hrs, where appropriate, to maximise activity therefore increasing safety. This allowed a disadvantaged community the opportunity for improvement with the added benefit of its structural integrity, its usage, and benefits to improving safety and security in the area. A gender-inclusive community-led approach would also benefit the inclusion of residents in designing, planning, processing, and implementing development in the area. This would improve social cohesion, empowerment, and community pride.

5.3.1.2.1. Challenges

The cooperation and communication of all stakeholders involved would be some of the biggest challenges, including their commitments and accountability to the upgrading and upscaling initiative. This therefore required a high level of commitment across government. Funding may also have been a challenge but with a detailed and informed approach, buy-in was possible.

5.3.1.3. Rezoning

With taverns and open spaces being major areas of insecurity and unsafety, rezoning these spaces could have increased safety. If taverns or open spaces were forced to comply with zoning restrictions, they ought to have constructed and designed property in a safer manner, safety and security could then be increased. Following a southern context application of zoning according to safety and security principles, spaces will have increased passive and active agents of surveillance which increased safety. Safety and security guidelines must also have followed a gender-inclusive approach to ensure that the areas being zoned were inclusive of all experiences. Having these spaces operational during safe hours would also have increase safety in Khayelitsha.

Job availability could also have been increased through active surveillance of rezoned areas to maximise safety.

5.3.1.3.1 Challenges

Many taverns in Khayelitsha were illegally set up meaning they did not pay taxes. Therefore, rezoning them would have acknowledged illegal businesses which may have caused civil uproar in Khayelitsha. In addressing this, the taxes should either have been manageable for owners or another solution devised. This recommendation also required surrounding infrastructural support i.e., taverns would still have been unsafe after rezoning if streetlights were not present. Informality also had to be addressed.

Other challenges were legal approvals, funding, construction and implementation. However, these were achievable.

5.3.1.4. Gender-Inclusive Community-Led Approach

Through pro poor upgrading, upscaling or development in Khayelitsha (i.e., VPUU's work) it was necessary that the community was involved but this involvement needed to be inclusive of all individuals in Khayelitsha. This specifically pertained to gender, sex, race, status, ability, education and age, among others. This increased the expanse and experience of individuals in the room therefore increasing solutions approached to GBV issues among others. This gave the community power in finding solutions to challenges they experienced instead of relying on police and government authorities. Both situational, social and institutional solutions could have been approached through allowing the interests of the community to lead development; whether in policy, planning and implementation. This then reiterated building cities by people for people.

5.3.1.4.1 Challenges

Inclusive-community involvement must have been made possible through travelling costs to meetings where planning and discussions were held. Funding could have been overcome through NGOs or buy-in from the government. Having a variety of people from a variety of backgrounds and opinions required skill and patience to manage, therefore workshops should have been held by trained professionals to help organise and lead conversations in a cordial manner. Thereby also allowing time to be maximised in these sessions.

5.3.1.5. Investing in Gender-Inclusive Schooling Programmes

Through educational support services, children could have been made aware of the effects of gender in different environments. By doing this, at a young age, children would be exposed to the challenges of life but also introduced to an inclusive way of thinking and living. Through age-appropriate programmes, inclusivity drives would benefit anti-bullying campaigns as well since 'gender' was a topic that most schools suffered from. This may also have been used as an extramural programme where children were able to assist development, policy, planning and implementation taking place in Khayelitsha. This should have been a collection of programmes that continued throughout a child's academic career to ensure the development of thinking, involvement, and innovative solutions. That way community support would be increased and the diversity of inclusivity across ages. These programmes would also have educated children on gender awareness and how to navigate certain positive or negative

experiences. Such a programme could also have kept the youth out of negative experiences and gangs.

5.3.1.5.1 Challenges

The schooling age at which these programmes were to be held should have been researched and consent given by parents. These programmes should have been sourced/funded by internal or external support. Commitment would also be a challenge however they could be overcome through investing in individuals who cared for children and the wellbeing of a transformational society.

5.4. Findings and Recommendations Summary Table

Table 5.4.1.

A summary of Safety and Security Planning (Informed By Findings) with Recommendations

Findings influenced questions	Research Findings	Recommendations for Implementation	Stakeholders
Can accurate data on GBV inform urban planning?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary data on GBV is inaccurate (not reported or poorly documented/recorded) 	<p>Improving GIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Connect them to police stations to accurately record and account for GBV in Khayelitsha (upscaling will benefit other areas too) - GIS legislation to aid GBV therefore assisting in the application, and standardisation of GIS to improve capturing and reflection of spatial change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GIS Developers - City of Cape Town - South African Police Services - National, Municipal, and Local Government - Engineers - Architects - City Planners - NGOs - NPOs - Community residents - Khayelitsha Development Forum (among others) - VPUU
Is GBV increased through informality?	<p>Poor infrastructure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inadequate public lighting increases GBV/unsafety - Poor road infrastructure makes it difficult for police to respond to crime/violence - VPUU interventions loose integrity and intention because maintenance is inadequate - Violence in informal areas surrounding VPUU 	<p>Pro Poor approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interventions directed at public lighting to remove high-mast public lighting and replacing them with street lighting through the legislated guidelines. - Manage, implement and maintain road quality and structure - Where informality is extreme road management should be upheld through social housing rezoning - Increase operational and fully resourced police station facilities 	

	<p>developments contradict and infiltrate newly developed safe areas, making it unsafe</p> <p>Open spaces are unsafe Taverns are unsafe</p>	<p>in Khayelitsha according to crime/violence levels (informed by GIS data)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National, provincial and local buy-in from various spheres of government to fund upscaling of work like VPUU; assisting in maintenance and upgrading more areas of Khayelitsha through violence prevention design (24hr surveillance and operation of appropriate spaces) <p>Re-zoning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Taverns - Open spaces 	
<p>Is GBV increased through poor policing?</p>	<p>Poor infrastructure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - With poor public lighting and road infrastructure, police assistance and response is insufficient/nonexistent - At night, with inadequate/no public street lighting or when it is loadshedding, police response is poor because of fear for their own safety - Lack of sufficient and operational police stations - Poor police station infrastructure increases GBV and crimes in the area because police stations are mobile, poorly operational and inappropriate for policing needs in Khayelitsha 		

(Authors own, 2023)

Table 5.4.2.

A summary of Safety and Security Planning with Recommendations

Subsidiary questions	Research Findings	Recommendations for Implementation	Stakeholders
<p>In addressing GBV as a basic human right, how is safety, security and gender-sensitive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Currently, through policing, awareness (non-profit organisations) and criminal justice 	<p>Improving GIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To inform urban planning and its processes plans, development and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GIS Developers - City of Cape Town - South African

planning approached in Khayelitsha?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights are acknowledged at higher (national levels) but are poorly filtered through and held between levels of government - poor in practice - In VPUU work; using 7 safety and security principles: - Surveillance and visibility - Territoriality - Defined accesses and safe movement - Image and aesthetics - Target hardening - Operation, Maintenance and Management - Inclusive design 	<p>implementation</p> <p>Gender-inclusive Community-led approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Looking to the Khayelitsha community, collaboration with relevant disciplines, to inform innovation regarding GBV (education, advocacy building, workshops and knowledge sharing) - Consulting further research on what innovations have worked in areas like Khayelitsha (adapt and adopt) - Assist in contextualising safety, security and gender-inclusive theories of city planning into Khayelitsha 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Police Services National, Municipal, and Local Government Engineers - Architects - City Planners - NGOs - NPOs - Community residents - Khayelitsha Development Forum (among others) - VPUU
How are western theories of safety, security and gender-sensitive planning applied in Khayelitsha to combat GBV?			
Does inclusive planning principles govern Khayelitsha's response to GBV?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights are recognised however, are poorly carried out in practice through community participation and inclusive design 	<p>Gender-Inclusive Community-Led Approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community-led participation where input and output is detailed, monitored and evaluated at every phase (built on knowledge sharing, understanding, agreement and capacity building) 	

(Authors own, 2023)

Table 5.4.3.

A summary of Urban Policy (Informed By Findings) with Recommendations

Findings influenced questions	Research Findings	Recommendations for Implementation	Stakeholders
Is urban policy informed by GBV experiences in Khayelitsha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inaccurate GBV data allows for misinformed urban policy - GBV poorly informs the relevant urban policy documents/frameworks - Usually only acknowledges women, 	<p>Improving GIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To inform urban policy and practice - GBV monitoring groups at relevant levels of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GIS Developers - City of Cape Town - South African Police Services National, Municipal, and

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> men and children (LGBTQIA+ community excluded) - Policy is focuses on criminal justice, awareness and policing - Poorly informed documents are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SPLUMA - NCPS - KMPGBDDP - KCSP - Strongly informed documents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NGBVFSP (2020-2030) - WPSS (2016) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Including gender-representative community members <p>Gender-Inclusive Community-Led Approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - responsibility and commitment checks/workshops ensuring GBV issues are upheld through all spheres and phases 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local Government - Engineers - Architects - City Planners - NGOs - NPOs - Community residents - Khayelitsha Development Forum (among others) - VPUU
<p>How strong is urban policy on paper vs in practice?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban policy disconnected from reality means poor policy and implementation - Khayelitsha's poor infrastructure impacts urban policy - Some urban policy documents are inadequately strategised in theory and therefore implementation is ineffective - Plans which are well strategised in theory lacked implementation (however these challenges apply to all urban policy): - Plans being misunderstood and diluted before implementation - Terminology used is misunderstood and ineffectively implemented/not at all - Disagreements between relevant stakeholders filter down GBV informed policy - Poor communication and collaboration between government spheres 		

(Authors own, 2023)

Table 5.4.4.

A summary of Urban Policy with Recommendations

Subsidiary questions	Research Findings	Recommendations for Implementation	Stakeholders
In addressing GBV as a basic human right, how is urban policy approached in Khayelitsha?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Through policing, awareness and criminal justice - Human rights are acknowledged at higher (national levels) but are poorly filtered through and held between levels of government - poor in practice (from SPLUMA - spatial district plans [KMPGBDDP]) - Community participation may not be as inclusive as urban policy claims to be - Misinformed GBV realities results in poorly devised urban policy and implementation 	<p>Improving GIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To inform urban policy and practice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GIS Developers - City of Cape Town - South African Police Services - National, Municipal, and Local Government - Engineers - Architects - City Planners - NGOs - NPOs - Community residents - Khayelitsha Development Forum (among others) - VPUU
How has Khayelitsha gender mainstreamed their urban policy approach to addressing GBV? How?		<p>Investing in Gender-Inclusive Programmes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Programmes /extramural at school (primary, secondary and tertiary) 	
How has decision-making controversy influenced Khayelitsha's approach to GBV?		<p>Gender-Inclusive Community-Led Approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At different levels (monitoring responsibility, commitments and advocacy at each phase in each discipline) 	
Do urban policy values govern Khayelitsha's response to GBV?			
Are urban policy values appropriate and successful in addressing GBV in Khayelitsha?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research and collaboration to inform which urban policy values are most appropriate for Khayelitsha 	

(Authors own, 2023)

5.5. Reflections

I felt this topic was important because of the many GBV rapes and murders occurring in SA, over the last few years and a large majority of them being women and LGBTQIA+ individuals. Being a cis-gendered female and wanting to advocate for change, I did not

anticipate how triggering the subject matter would be for me and potential interviewees. In spite of this, its impact would be more important. I therefore proceeded ethically. In deciding on Khayelitsha as a GBV hotspot area, I knew that I would feel unsafe had I gone into the field because I have knowledge of the area. Thankfully, yet regrettably, the COVID-19 restrictions prevented me from going which meant that my individual safety was secured during the dissertation process.

Completing this dissertation remotely was a very isolating experience because UCT closed its doors. I did not have my colleagues around me to facilitate group discussions of my work which could have benefited me and my work in diverse ways. Instead, I read extensive amounts of literature and online resources about Khayelitsha and experiences of GBV to gain an integrated understanding of the place and reality. The few times I did get to interact with community members, during interviews, was rewarding as I got to speak about the challenges of GBV in Khayelitsha, hear current experiences and opinions of residents.

Research statistics and resources on GBV in Khayelitsha were both triggering and upsetting. I had initially thought that city planning and urban design made progressive strides in addressing GBV or preventing violence to some degree however, this study has shown that this is only partially true. Having understood theories of safety and security, it was interesting to see how VPUU implemented its designs in Khayelitsha, therefore expecting increased safety; but online resources and the news continued sharing how crime and GBV had continued to increase despite VPUU developments. This was concrete evidence that theories must apply to the context of a place for it to be successful. Although discouraging, it exposed a research gap which can and must be explored to, hopefully, benefit future generations.

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Appendix A

Pillar 1: Accountability, Coordination and Leadership

Outcome: All living in South Africa, including government, the private sector, work place, education and training institutions, CSOs, religious and cultural institutions are held accountable for building a safe and GBVF free environment.

KEY INTERVENTIONS	KEY ACTIVITIES	INDICATORS	TARGET	ACCOUNTABILITY LEAD DEPARTMENT	
Strengthen leadership and accountability across government and society to effectively respond to the GBVF crisis in a strategically and institutionally coherent way with adequate technical and financial resources.	Development of an accountability architecture (national coordinating structure) undergirded by the necessary legislative mandate to drive a multi-sectoral response to GBVF.	NCGBVF established and promulgated.	By March 2020 to March 2024	Lead: DWYPD Support: NCGBFV, DOJ&CD, DWYPD	
		Legislation in place.			
		Council members appointed for the national structure.			
	Put mechanisms and processes in place to hold state and societal leadership accountable for taking a firm stand against GBV.	Operational arrangements, including budgets in place.	All public servants are vetted.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: DPSA Support: All Depts.
		Swift action when found guilty of any form of GBV.	3 month turn-around time from matter being reported	Lead: DPSA, DOJ&CD Support: NCGBFV	
		Regulatory framework for functioning of religious and cultural institutions.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead Department: COGTA Support: NCGBFV	
		Code of Ethics for media reporting.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: NCGBFV Support: GCIS	
		Peer and citizen-based accountability for CSO programming.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead Department: NCGBFV Support: DSD, CSOs, Development Partners	
		Prompt responses to all GBVF related issues using a range of media platforms.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead Department: NCGBFV Support: GCIS	
		Development of a partnership model, funding and resourcing plan to respond to the crisis by locating the response in locally based structures, activism and agency within communities.	GBVF comprehensive response model (funding, resourcing and partnership) developed for the NSP.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: DWYPD Support: NCGBFV, DOJ&CD
The CGE, SAHRC, CLRC and Public Service Commission institutions play a complimentary role to the NCGBFV in the monitoring of the NSP.	Roles and complementarities in relation to monitoring identified and rolled out.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Ongoing Lead: NCGBFV Support: CGE, SAHRC, CLRC and Public Service Commission		
Establish a Parliamentary oversight Committee for the NSP.	A special multi-sectoral parliamentary committee established to oversee the implementation of the NCGBFV.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: Parliament Support: National, Provincial and Local government		
Hold private and public sector accountable for the development and roll out of sexual harassment policies and workplace strategies.	Number of private and public institutions reporting on implementation of sexual harassment policies.	Annually April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: DEL Support: National and provincial departments		
	Annual Accountability Social Audit Report.	Annually by April 2020 to March 2024	Lead: NCGBFV Support: Private sector, Business and Labour Movements		

Appendix B

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (ER) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/eberesearchethics/>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	Ashleigh Petersen	
Department	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant		
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	Master of City and Regional planning
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/240 etc.	120
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Kate Laburn Peart / Tania Katschner
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		
Project Title	Planning gender-safe neighbourhoods for women, LGBTQIA+ minority groups in Khayelitsha: A feminist evaluation of the City of Cape Town's Design and Management Guidelines for a Safer City and the Violence Protection through Urban Upgrading documents.	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

APPLICATION BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Ashleigh Petersen	[Signature Box]	07/07/2021
SUPPORTED BY	Full name		Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Kate Laburn Peart Tania Katschner		07-07-21
APPROVED BY	Full name		Date
NOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1, and for all Undergraduate research (including Honours).			
Chair: Faculty ER Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the questions in Section 1.	Prof. H. von Blotnitz		1 September 2021

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