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Landscape Architecture & Gender

A Dissertation presented to the University of Cape Town

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In partial fulfilment of requirements
for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture

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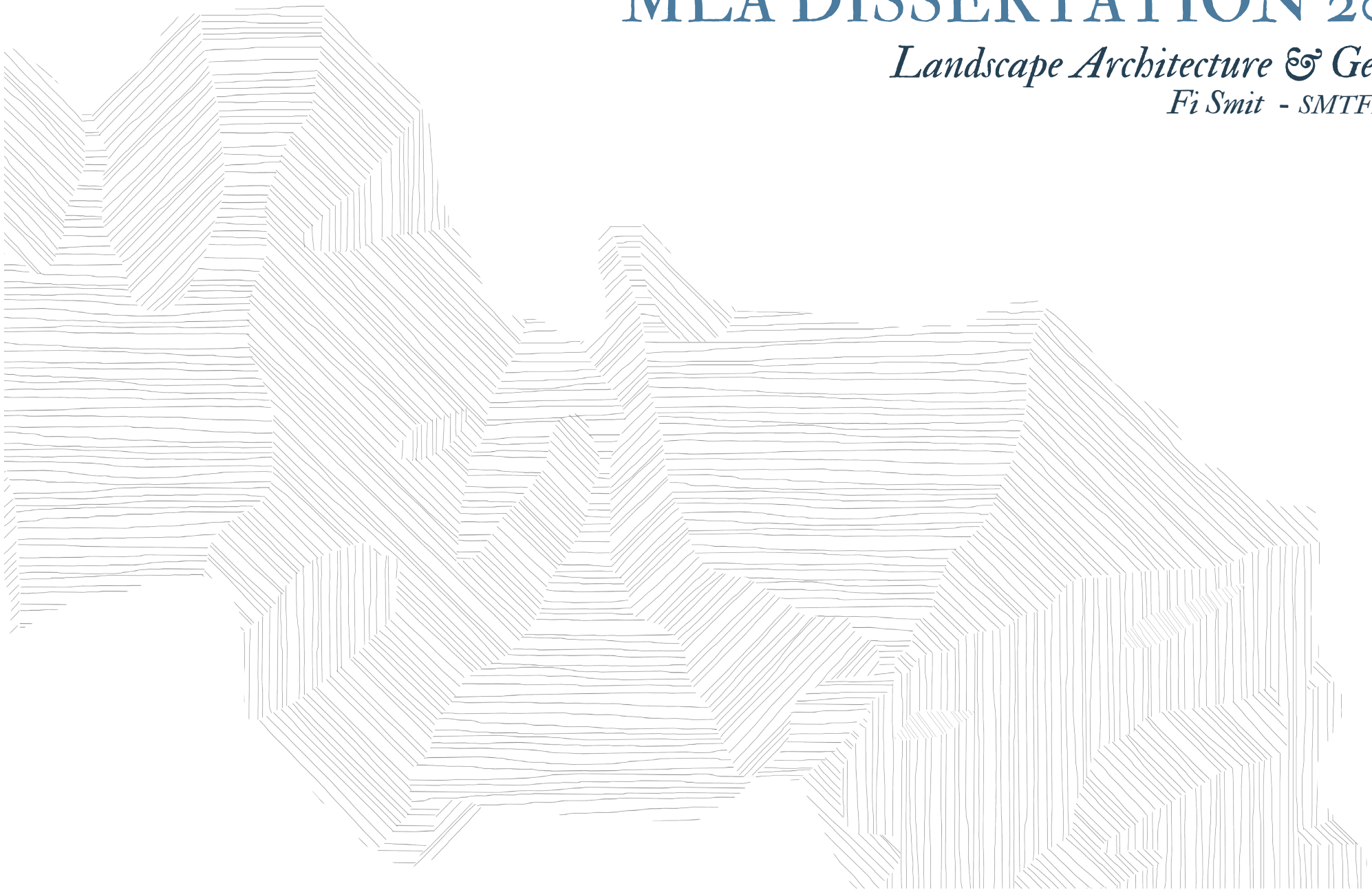
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MLA DISSERTATION 2017

Landscape Architecture & Gender

Fi Smit - SMTFI0003



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Participants in the Study

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My own people

This Dissertation project and what it hopes to achieve socio-culturally, is dedicated to my paternal grandmother Hester Adriana Smit. I know she sees it and is proud. I did it, ouma'kie.

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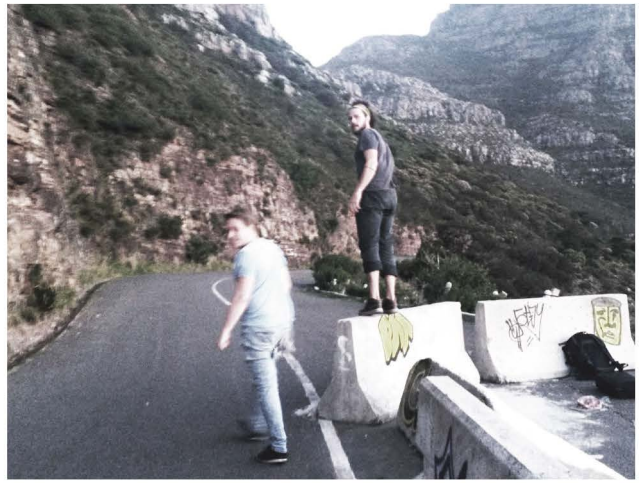
To my sister Lea Smit, thank you for being such a colourful supporter, critic and advocate. Thank you for patiently sitting through my rants, always having something level-headed to contribute, or encouraging advice to give, for coming to visit me, and for understanding.

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Finally, if I was permitted to attribute a co-author to this Dissertation, my mother, Fiona Smit's name would appear on the cover with mine. Mamma, you have been my co-conspirator in everything. Nobody could have done more than you have to get as close as possible to understanding what I am trying to understand. I wouldn't be a possible human if it were not for your powerful drive to engage with the world the way you do. Your are my primary source of orientation and inspiration. I am more proud of you than I am of anything else in the world.







Loved ones on site with me

ABSTRACT

Gender and Landscape Architecture

This Dissertation Project is concerned with the meeting of Gender and Landscape Architectural theory, and aims to populate this (as yet) rare interface that requires urgent attention in discourse and practice.

The Study is a research paper supporting the Dissertation Project by locating landscape architecture within the discourse on gender, and draws on Cultural Geography, Sociology, Intersectional, De-colonial and Feminist theory to argue that spatial design and the fields that engage with the production of public open space are key in understanding and addressing gender inequality. This is important because the gendered reproduction of space (and specifically, landscape) has tangible and pervasive effects on the access to, activity in, and safety of our public realm. Landscape positionality, the Nature/Culture dualism, Ecofeminism and Landscape theory are aligned in this Study, that engages with a topic that warrants a great deal of further research and development.

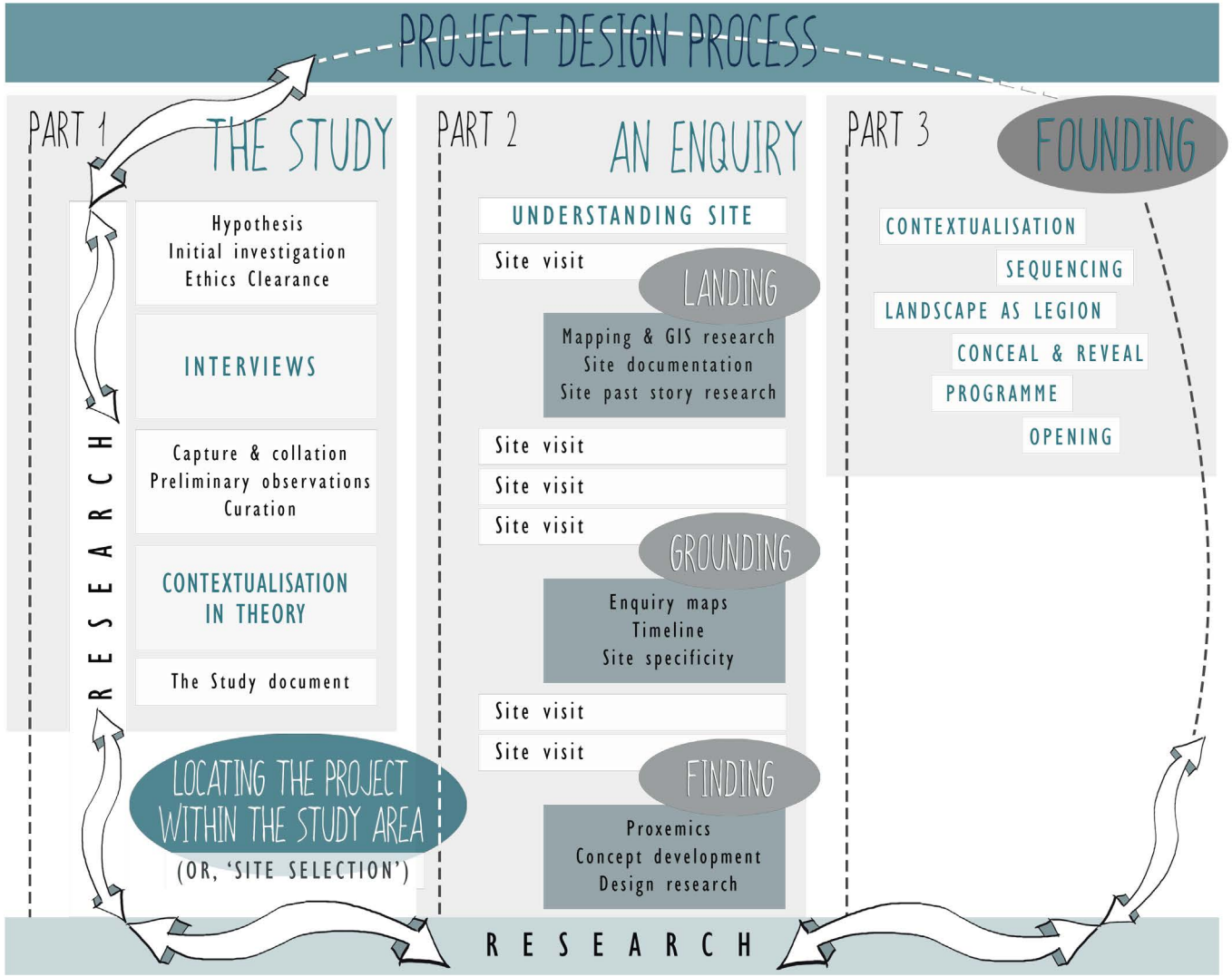
The gendered experience, most often taking the form of various manifestations of rape culture, is particularly severe and restrictive in South Africa. Public open space is especially important to the struggle for equality and recognition across the hierarchies of privilege and power that stratify our society. Due to the unique intersections of violent constructions of masculinity, heteronormative and cisnormative socio-cultural codes, patriarchal social order, racial and racialised spatial and economic inequality and rape culture, women and gender minorities' movement, autonomy and potentials are severely limited. These spatial realities and socio-cultural inequalities are experienced every day, and they are gaining increased attention worldwide as social movements that include LGBTQI rights, the #MeToo Campaign, 16Days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence bring the power and privilege of intersecting systems of oppression to light, where they can be understood, undermined, transformed and dismantled. Fear and the socio-cultural reproductions of the spatial exclusions that patriarchy imposes upon those it "others", is studied through the interviewing of participants about their perceptions of safety, access and activity in public open space.

The Study also gives attention to the dearth of landscape architectural theory that recognises gender as a fundamental informant in the practice and theory of the landscape architectural profession. Feminist Landscape architectural theorists are few and far between, and the study argues that the last 50 years of development in the field has functioned in service of the dominant socio-cultural paradigms by knowingly or unknowingly excluding the extremely relevant advances in the fields mentioned above. By polarising the understandings of 'sustainability' and 'ecology' away from the deeply interrelated realms of sociology, philosophy, cultural geography and anthropology, the construction of Landscape architecture as a profession loses its ideological soul - humans.

Whether we like it or not, we are architects and designers of spatial realities - both tangible and intangible, as landscape is not just physical elements, but also 'paysage'. As architects we design with nature for the sake and benefit of the whole. And that whole includes homo sapiens - our processes are natural processes, our artefacts are no less valid in Nature than the weathering of a mountain into stones and sand. The distinct forms and the experiences curated within landscape architectural artefacts evoke not only emotional response, but have the ability to transcribe attitudes.

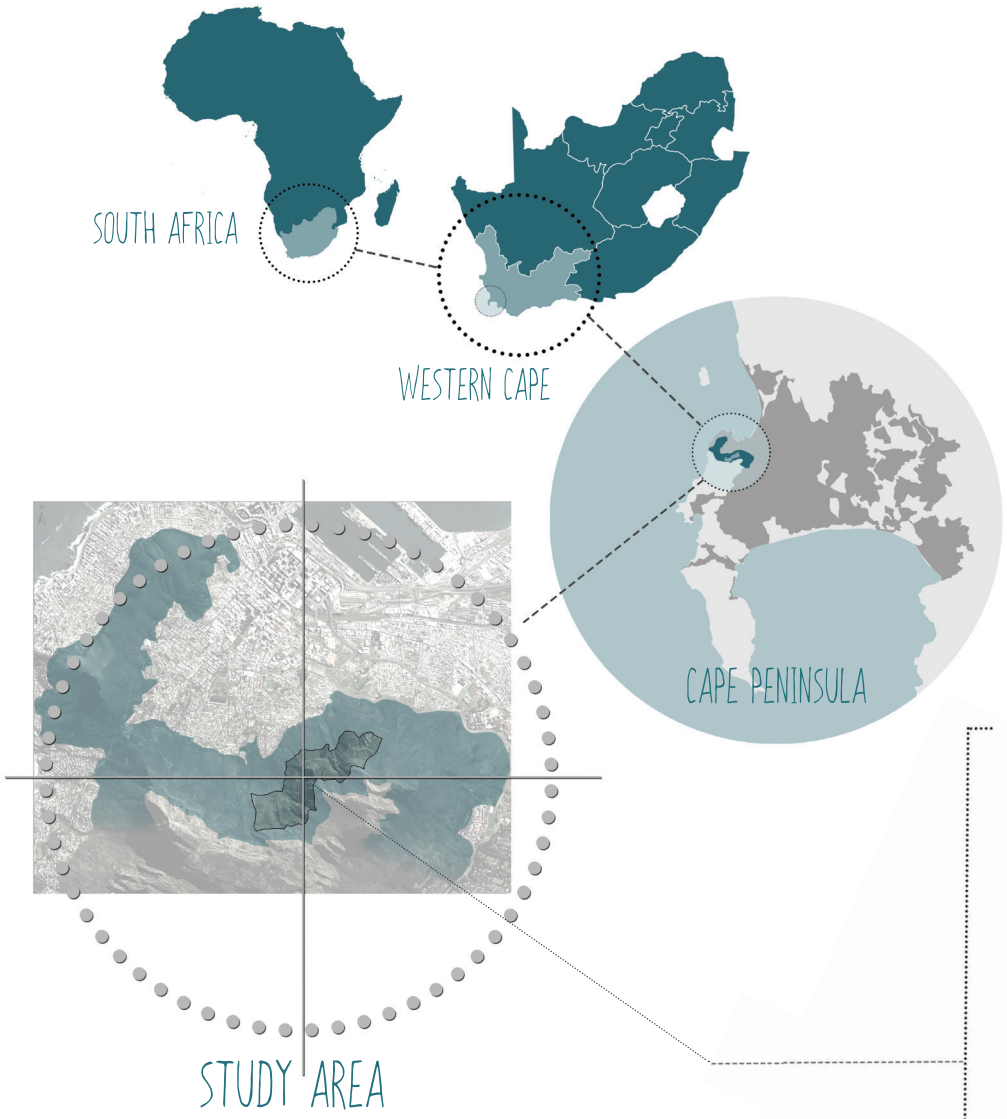
What then, is gender-conscious landscape architecture? The Enquiry phase answers this question by using Cristophe Girot's Trace Concepts (Landing, Grounding, Finding) to engage with a process. The literature shows that feminist architecture and landscape architecture is not a style, but a kind of activity - deeply dependent on the agenda that the designer must be constantly aware of - dependent on positionality. There are rather "...feminist ways of looking at and making architecture, but these are based on a certain approach, not a 'recipe'. This approach stems initially from an understanding that our surroundings are not neutral, that there is a relationship between the content of architecture and our ... social structure. The Enquiry phase recognizes this way of knowing as a complex and reflexive condition that includes consideration of a multitude of factors, to approach a design with a gender-sensitive lens is to include a much wider range of considerations than gender alone. Attention to the cultural reproduction of space by virtue of a sensitivity to proxemics, by embracing subjectivity as a design strategy, by embarking on site analysis that involves much more that one view or the layering activity from one vantage point (thereby avoiding the danger of a single story) characterises the enquiry phase, that was continuously informed by the theoretical underpinnings of the Study which was written simultaneously. Enquiry involves the grounding of the design process in a site, and the Tafelberg road is chosen for its positionality and unique patterns of use. This site is visited periodically, documented, experienced, consulted and slowly revealed to be a landscape physically and ideologically continuous with its various contexts - geomorphic, historic, ecological, hydrological etc..

The Founding phase has no discernable beginning point, as it includes the spatialisation of the conceptual development in both written/drawn and idea/imagery form. It involves spatial investigations in model-making, revisiting the site to test ideas, spatial imaginings and experiential design that is guided by concepts such as Contextualising, Sequencing, Conceal and Reveal, Pause and Program and Opening.



Graphic representing the Dissertation project's life cycle retrospectively.

Study area, Site and Focus area



The Study area is located in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. The Cape Peninsula houses the City of Cape Town – the Legislative capital of the country – and a Metropolitan area home to 4 million people. The area is internationally recognised for its unique character as part of the Cape Floristic Kingdom, and Table Mountain has recently been acknowledged as one of the New 7 Wonders of Nature.

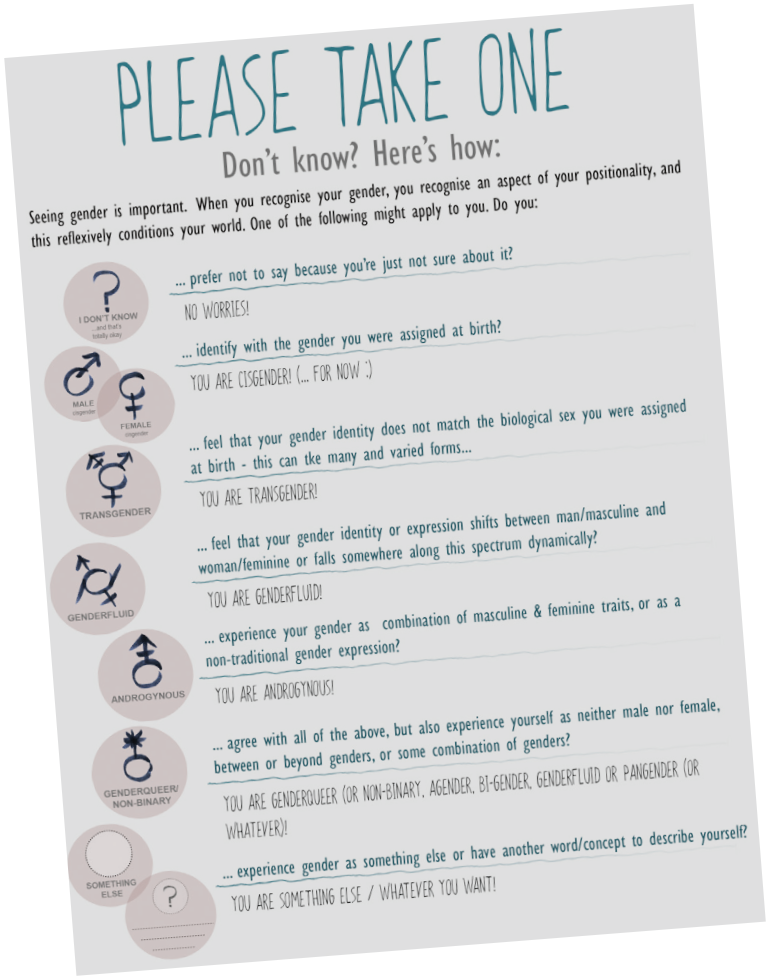
Between the steep grey cliffs of Table Mountain and the urban edge that transforms into a maze of concrete faced high-rises of the City proper is an interstitial space. This area mediates spatially and symbolically between the Table Mountain National Park conservation area and the City of Cape Town; it serves as a zone that negotiates and accommodates the physical and ideological boundaries between the classical dualism of 'nature' and 'culture'. The literature shows that interstitial spaces and the 'natural settings' that mediate between and through the built environment and the greater natural environment are places on the public open space continuum that have the greatest potential for gender equality.



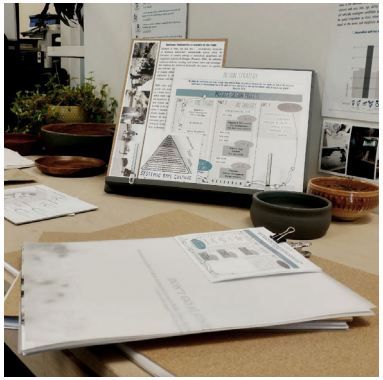
Therefore, the Study area is situated along the edge of the City Bowl, where the relationship between 'culture' and 'nature' can be revealed in cross-section at any given point (refer to "landscape Positionality" alongside).

The Site and focus area are located roughly between the 300 and 600 m asl. Contours, articulated by the tarred portion of Tafelberg Road closed to vehicular traffic (from the 4km mark) at the foot of Devils Peak.

The Importance of Positionality







Refer to Chapter 5 of the Study document for descriptions of the Study Area by participants.

Landscape architectural design can and should be a critically reflexive activity of enquiry. Elizabeth K. Meyer believes that it represents a culture's complex relationship to the environment. This means finding ever changing ways of knowing. It requires us to have a healthy suspicion of canon, and sometimes must deflect the obsession with producing "skilled practitioners" by encouraging students to be "thought-full designers". The UCT Master of Landscape Architecture course tasks its students with critical inquiry in the form of research through design.

15 years before I was born, and a decade into the second wave of the feminist movement, anthropologist Judith Okely said that "... In the study of human beings by other another human beings (and what better medium is there?), the specificity and individuality of the observer are ever present and must therefore be acknowledged, explored and put to creative use." (1975). This includes recognising my positionality.

The pins shown alongside were provided during the exhibition and presentations for viewers to identify their gender/s visibly. These tags demonstrate one of the most important things about this project: making gender visible. The reason for including these identifiers responds to what Edward Said called the 'problematic of the observer'. It means that in a culture constructed by gender duality, one cannot simply be 'human' any more than in a racist society we can 'just be people'.

As Landscape Architects – as professionals who help to shape the public realm – gender-sensitive design is often relegated to a "special interest" field. Yet, for more than 50% of the population, the gendered experience in public open space dominates their thoughts, movement patterns, spatial decisions, autonomy and safety – from the moment they leave their front door, to the moment they return.

Using cultural geography, intersectional and gender theory to support it, my argument is based on the hypothesis that the physical, corporeal world you live in, other than being entirely unique to you – is reflexive. It simultaneously influences you, while you are in the process of influencing it. Also, your appreciation and appropriation of the physical world is dependent on your social and cultural perceptions of it. Because of your gender orientation, that world is not the same as anyone else's. Your perceptions influence what you can and cannot (or will not) do, and how you do what you do; your gender underwrites those perceptions. That makes your relationship with your world reciprocal.



The examination date coincided with the 13th of the International "16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence" campaign. This project was part of worldwide action addressing physical, psychological and structural violence against women, children and gender minorities. The "16 Days" campaign also, importantly, focuses on understanding, disrupting and finding ways to change the root causes of gender-based violence. This project is working towards the same goal.



Landscape Positionality

Landscape Positionality refers to an interpretation of the site's 'identity' or 'character' as it is expressed in the way it is imaged, socio-culturally constructed and programmed. Positionality arises from a reading of the site's location in the greater landscape, its tangible and intangible traits, and the function it fulfils because of these elements.

Landscape Positionality as revealed by the Study

Elizabeth K. Meyer, has said that "...contemporary conceptions of landscape architecture" conventionally operate within the limitations of complex pairings of hierarchical, oppositional, and antagonistic practices & ideologies (Maicantis, 2016). By rethinking traditional dualisms, revealing socio-cultural norms and stereotypes, and revisiting the ideological frameworks that govern our agendas and reference frames as landscape architects, we discover fields of enquiry hitherto almost entirely unexplored - particularly in application to the South African social, cultural, natural, urban, economic and ideological landscapes.

While cities and National Parks are environment within which certain rules, norms and behaviours are expected, the site is located in a much more loosely defined landscape - an interstitial space, within which 'nature' and 'culture' negotiate not only their edges and boundaries, but their continuity over time. Viewing the site as land without any real or agreed-upon boundary, places it within the field of discourse that Judith Butler calls "... necessarily impure, where it emerges in and as the very event of cultural translation." (Gender Trouble, 2010). This site is ideally situated as a cross-section between the binarised dualism of Culture/Nature, negotiating the interstitial space between the physical mountain and city, as well as ideological landscapes and their socio-cultural consequences. Refer to Question b in the Interview section of the Study document.



These negotiations and fascinating patterns of appropriation are what first intrigued me about the 'pedestrianised' section of Tafelberg road. It was mapped as a 'Don't go alone' place of fearfulness in the Study, but I found that people were negotiating this relatively unprogrammed surface, its spaces & associated routes in ways that were sometimes concurrent with gender stereotypes and the influence of gendered experience; but often they were quite obviously acting in response to, or despite their fear, in creative and surprising ways that, I suspect, overrode their socialisation.

"The investigation of space itself must respond more fully to the complexity and contradictions of contemporary human reality"

Beth Diamond

DON'T GO ALONE

Gendered perceptions of safety, activity and access in Public Open Space

A study on the slopes of Table Mountain



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: The Study

Abstract

The study is titled 'Don't go alone' in reference to the fact that I don't want to live in a world where ignoring that advice puts my life in danger. This study is important because women's fear of violence is realized as spatial exclusions. This fear also affects those that Judith Butler calls "precarious" – gender minorities and the marginalized 'others' of a cis-heteronormative patriarchal society (the socio-cultural climate produced at the intersection of cisgendernormative, heteronormative society, and patriarchal social order). The focus is not merely on individual use of space but rather on the inter-subjective and gender-related production of public open space.

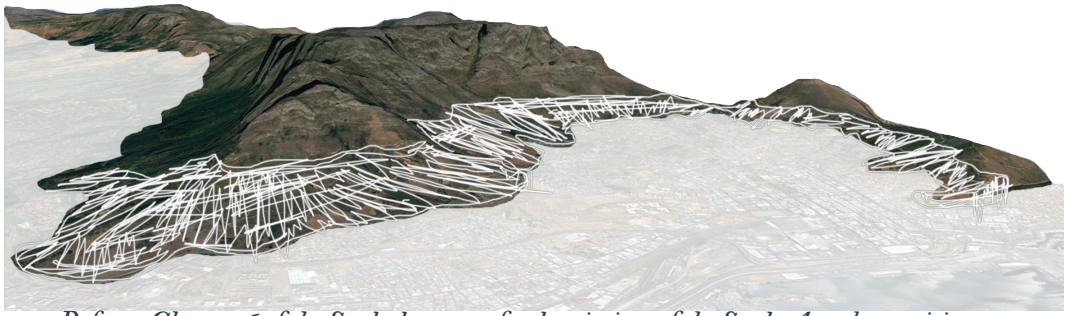
First, it looks at landscape architecture as a profession that influences and is influenced by social and cultural relations, framing it within relevant concepts such as the gender binary, heteronormativity, the male gaze, patriarchy, South African rape culture, the field of gender relations, and the culture/nature dualism (where only two categories are posited in opposition to each other, and where one category is valued more highly than the other). It also problematizes the lack of landscape architectural practice and theory that deals with to gender (and its closely associated fields of knowledge) by arguing that the design of landscape and public open space is a deeply political and culturally consequential activity. In this way the Study is also an ontological critique – asking: why don't we have closer contact with sociology, cultural geography, psychology and philosophy?

It describes space as a social construct - simultaneously the medium and the outcome of social practices. These constructs are continuous with what is manifested physically as built form in landscape practice. Importantly, it frames landscape as a concept, comparable to that of gender – having multiple, fluid realities, and permeable, moving boundaries.

Secondly, the study recognized that it would be essential to talk to people about their perceptions concerning safety, accessibility and activity in public open space. (Gender is cool that way – everyone can participate because everyone relates to gender in some or other way.) A survey wouldn't reveal enough about the unique worlds of participants, and it wouldn't explain an individual's fear-related production and reproduction of gendered urban space – it would only show who is afraid, and what kind of places are frightening. And that's not what I wanted to do.

My hypothesis was that fears specific to women and gender minorities cause them to modify their spatial behaviour and realities – and that these modifications and realities must be considered in the design of public open space. So I designed an interview instead, and chose the slopes of Table mountain that surround the city bowl for a Study area because of what I call it's landscape positionality. That is: where the study area is (between the city's edge and the mountain), how it works (as an interstitial space), and what it means (the landscape concept that has been constructed for it by each person).

20 people were interviewed (this graphic represents their demographic information), and these maps are the result of curating the stories and memories that participants shared. The study concluded by recognizing the South African context is extraordinarily complex and incredibly unique, and the importance of understanding how gender operates socially and culturally in our society is of utmost importance to students and professionals who will spend a great deal of their professional lives practicing landscape architecture in and for the public sector.



Refer to Chapter 6 of the Study document for descriptions of the Study Area by participants.

Executive Summary

Introduction

This research paper argues that the experiences of individual users within public space are unique: particularly when considered through the lens of gender. It aligns the social and ideological constructs of gender with that of landscape; citing the culture/nature dualism, othering and objectification, rape culture and cisheteronormative patriarchal society as key factors in the ongoing issues of overt and covert inequality and dis-empowerment that these groups of individuals face on a daily basis.

The Study problematizes the lack of responsiveness in the built environment and landscape architectural profession to the detriment of women, gender minorities, the marginalised and the precarious. These arguments rest on the research of others in fields intersecting at these junctures, personal experience and the perceptions held by the users of a Study Area as they pertain to safety, access to and activity in public open space and the landscape, through the lens of gender. The study is explorative and qualitative in nature, positioning landscape as a concept alongside that of gender, with the intention of discovering ways and means in which to approach the landscape architectural design process in a socially inclusive and culturally situated way, by exploring the Study Area as a landscape within the same theoretical frameworks.

Chapter 1: Location of Gender Theory

This chapter serves to orientate the reader in order to introduce concepts, terms and definitions which the study will refer to. Critical theory is the vehicle for conceptual guidance and a helpful way to grapple with the abstract nature of gender as investigated in this study, and in the theoretical framing of challenges facing Landscape Architecture in intra-action with gender discourse, important terminology is defined and clarified toward introducing vital gender-related concepts to enlighten the intersectional arguments to follow.

The value system of Patriarchy, which is intimately part of any discourse on Gender matters, as well as entrenched colonial ideas on masculinity, venture initial reference to gender- and sexual violence. The pervasiveness of patriarchy is argued to be so entrenched, that gender equality does not only concern women and gender minorities, but that it is a human issue which affects everyone. Forms of normative social ordering such as Othering, Heteronormativity, Hegemonic masculinity and Cisheteropatriarchy, are described as cultural processes which enshrine and condone a dominant group that exerts and maintains a preponderant social, cultural, ideological, and/or economic influence or authority over others.

Special attention is given to Rape culture in South Africa and definitively linked to the tapestry of violence, acts of power and inequality as a result of (often, Colonial) cis-hetero-patriarchal society. This is described as a social and cultural climate that implicitly and explicitly engages in cultural practices in which sexual assault, violence and rape (especially against women and gender minorities) are ignored, trivialized, normalized, excused, validated, tolerated, promoted and/or trivialised.

The male gaze, as dominating visual regimes, is connected to the gendering of urban space, where spaces are created by exclusionary practices to create exclusionary spaces. Perceiving (landscapes) in a gendered manner, is bound up in the patriarchal and hegemonic matrix, where objectification, othering, harassment and sexual violence are common daily experiences. Spatial deficiencies are closely related to the intersection of different forms of discrimination/marginalisation across race, class, gender and age boundaries, as sanctioned by the predominant social ordering.

Moving towards more inclusive environments requires accommodation of the full spectrum of marginalised individuals and groups frequenting public space. Planning and design of space requires a definite shift towards gender neutral and gender sensitive strategies, although this in return requires the understanding, exposure and deconstruction of gender (and other) inequalities. In this regard, the feminist principle and unequivocal need is for women/gender minorities/ marginalised to be able to move through spaces as they choose to, without the fear of harassment or violence.

This right has been frustrated by the pervasive colonial/patriarchal systems and gender norms, which have not only been employed tangibly on social, political and economic levels, but also "colonised" the minds and essentially the existence of "others". Pertaining to site interrogation, analysis and design, decolonisation discourse and thought needs to be employed in order to abolish the covert practises of denying the self-determination of others.

Chapter 2: Gender is Invisible in my Profession

Possible points of connection between the concepts explored in Chapter 1, and landscape as a concept, are elaborated upon in this chapter.

It is posited that Landscape Architecture contributes very little to cross-disciplinary discourse on cultural and social behaviour, and gender/sexuality in particular. This is ascribed to the default focus on ecology and sustainability over the last fifty years. It appears to be essential that planning and design of public open space, civic environments and any interface between landscape and urbanity, depends on an understanding of human behaviour, of which gender and sexuality are major components. In light of a worldwide call for visibility and equality for a wide gender spectrum and cessation of sexual harassment,

assault and violence, it is a matter of urgency for Landscape Architecture to go beyond the pre-occupations of the last 50 years of theory and contextualise the study field, by understanding and responding to critical debates (particularly aspects of gender framed within politics of patriarchal and colonial power and privilege matrices.)

Chapter 3: Landscape & Gender + Chapter 4: Nature Culture Woman Other

Chapter 3 explores why this paper is important to the theory and practice of landscape architecture and presents a discussion on the conceptual and practical connections between gender and landscape by viewing public open space through a gender-sensitive lens that recognises identity politics as a significant player in its production. This chapter revisits the nature/culture debate, drawing on eco-feminist theory to locate gender and landscape architecture as mediators between binarised concepts.

There is a scarcity of landscape architectural theory that engages in cross-disciplinary research with the fields of sociology, cultural geography, gender theory and philosophy. This calibre of research is invaluable in influencing design and implementation processes towards inclusivity, social sustainability and holistic practises. Designers and planners embedded in the cisheteronormative patriarchal society, habitually resist the pressure to integrate the needs of marginalised communities, and many even argue that race and sexual orientation have no role in good urban design. Gender inequalities are irrefutable problems, which are often overlooked by designers of public open space in South Africa.

This study attempts to critique and disrupt the stereotypical system within which gender operates and contribute to finding vocabulary and international processes to comment on the global discourse on equality. Even more compelling and urgent, is the possibility that landscape architecture can spatially address rape culture and the rampant violence that marginalized bodies and minds are subject to on a daily basis.

As elemental parts of the human condition, behaviour and identity, gender and sexuality shape the way the world, reality and the environment are perceived through an entirely unique body. Perceiving landscape is correlated to an individual's unique reality, as it informs that body and is reflexively informed by it. To understand human relationship to place, emotional resonance is required, in order to translate the intangible inner landscape into tangible perceptions. (Hence the interviews for this study). In an effort to reveal a wider scope of gendered experiences and perceptions of landscape, interviewees have provided access to a splinter of the plethora of different interpretations.

They have mediated- through their subjective human experience- the ideological construct of a landscape, in augmenting the interpretation of a lone designer (who can only account for a single reality). This process is an effort to mitigate lack of socially contextual responsibility and cultural relevance in the theory and practise of landscape architecture. Raxworthy argues that the interpretation of nature is always a political act" and Thompson, that landscapes are implements of cultural power and can shape social identities. Framed this way, landscape architecture is a matter of ethics, as it has real and significant consequences for individuals, groups and communities. Being instrumental in shaping public open space, it is imperative that designers embrace the dynamic perceptual, political, cultural and experiential differences in society, to ensure that landscapes become places of inclusivity.

As a convenient example of gender exclusion in the theory and practise of landscape architecture, reference is made to the default Mc Mchargian Site Analysis, which lacks gender sensitivity and socio-cultural responsiveness - this approach to site analysis is falsely lauded as 'analytical', while in fact it is simply privileged information which is inherently subjective.

Prior arguments have also placed the design processes within the normative South African context: the matrix of hegemonic, cisheteronormative patriarchy, with a serving of colonialism on the side. I concur with Raxworthy (1996) that placing the overwhelming emphasis on the perceptions of the users of the site at the outset of a site analysis, places design drivers squarely within the sphere of culture and discursive practice. I thus felt the need to find a way to engage with the site through eyes, memories, embodied experiences and identities other than my own, thus including gender sensitivity from the beginning stages of the design process.

Although natural materials, settings, environments, views and landscapes are in themselves a-gender, neutral and non-binary, they are assigned genders, class and even race. Änggård suggests that landscape itself is subject to gender coding as it reflects and represents the "socio-political attitudes of its designers". Considering that gender relations manifest in space and spatial relations manifest in constructions of gender, it is encouraging to realise that spatial conditions-as the designers of public space-can directly address rape culture as well as gender equality, and thus affect real change in society's cultural and social reproduction of hegemonic patriarchy and violent masculinities.

Proponents of the field of ecofeminism argue that the patriarchal domination of women runs parallel to the patriarchal domination of nature as well as the nature-culture division, which is intricately entangled with power in the form of colonisation .i.e. separation of rational man from primitive natives, to bring order to nature. Schauman points to the continuing prevailing patriarchal perspective of landscape as a feminine entity amongst professionals and scholars. Religious ideas of social order constitute supremacy of rational discourse in subduing and taming human passion - Western society has, for centuries, correlated

masculinity to the principle of rationality while femininity stood for the risk associated with passion. This gender mapping seamlessly attached to the emergence of modern science as masculine rationality increasingly tamed the wild and uncontrollable forces of "mother nature".

Schauman claims that culture codes landscape design as a female endeavour and thus as a trivial pursuit. This, and assigning negative value to the 'Nature' and 'woman' category while simultaneously othering and fetishizing it, is why (she argues) that -despite a professed fondness for the landscape- the general public and powerful decision makers repeatedly ignore natural systems and degrade the environment while prioritising development and human 'progress.

Chapter 5: Being Alone

Being alone and the experience of fear warrant attention, due to their overarching importance to this study, which argues that the right to be alone in any landscape is a right largely denied to women and gender minorities. Interview questions prompted motivation for seeking solitude in landscape and perceptions of safety and how this is influenced by their positionality and demographic. Exploration of conditions that limit the freedom of women, gender minorities and marginalised humans to move freely and be alone in landscape or public space, follows.

It is widely recognised that the capacity to be alone, and contentedly so, is an important marker and milestone of maturity in emotional development. Solitude is also an expression of privacy in as much as having a say over human and institutional intrusion into one's life. Solitude in nature has been termed an "ecological niche", which- in South Africa- is exclusionary, as it holds unequal measures of real danger and fear and so disadvantages women, gender minorities and marginalised groups. I maintain that it is a little-acknowledged and undervalued fact that women and other marginalised groups in South Africa most often simply do not have the option of engaging in being alone as a very important and healthy dimension of their humanity.

The interviews will attempt to reveal the extent to which participants are aware of real and perceived dimensions of fear and experience limitations due to gender identities. Hollander argues that violence is a form of social control as affecting groups differently, opposed to simply an individual experience and that fear is widespread in the sense that it affects both those who have been victimised and those not. The experience and triggers of fear are different for different individuals, and I hope this study will reveal the more nuanced realities of experience and perception of fear within the gender spectrum of participants. Hollander's research found that women experience many moments of caution and fear daily, whereas men professed little fear in their daily lives. Within patriarchal context, hegemonic masculinities discourage men from admitting, and stigmatise expressing or displaying fear or fearful behaviour.

Although the fear that women feel in Public Open space is founded on the real threat of sexual violation and gender-based harassment, violence and assault; there is another pillar that supports the anxiety that every woman I interviewed shared.

It is the fear that originates in the reality that women's bodies are not safe places to be; not anywhere. Women respond by adopting a range of strategies, often inherited from their female predecessors or contemporaries, at the earliest consciousness and generally do not go anywhere alone. Social control over women's lives escalates through -for instance- freedom restriction, behaviour modification and mode of dress.

Gender-based violence has repeatedly been recorded as a social problem (and not only the actions of individual offenders), maintained by the complicit support of social structures and norms that perpetuate gender inequality and condone a culture of fear. It is thus not a case of vulnerability only, but due to the socialisation within patriarchal conceptions of masculinity, where rape culture protects and encourages predatory behaviour. Many socially accepted forms of behaviour are precursors to gender based violence, as is characteristic of a systemic rape culture, mirrored in Rape Crisis' statistics showing South Africa as having one of the highest incidences of rape in the world.

Statistics further suggest that the South African legal system is ineffective in the criminalisation of rape and ignoring the power relations involved. Violence became normalised during colonialism and apartheid, and in the contemporary social climate, perpetuation of masculinity being equated to power continues in different forms.

Chapter 6: The Study Area

The Study Area is located between a National Park and a major urban Metropolis. Human behaviour in urban environments is governed by cultural codes, dominant social expectations and norms, while generally, only approved and environmentally managed activities are permissible in conservation areas, in addition to a set of culturally and behaviourally acceptable conduct. The Study Area thus negotiates the interstitial space between the physical mountain and city, as well as the ideological constructs of 'nature' and 'culture' (respectively) and their socio-cultural consequences.

The area is a highly valued site of outdoor recreation and also the site of a number of violent and gender-based incidents including sexual harassment, assault, rape and murder. It is also important to make reference to the past story of the study area and its context in order to locate any argument for change. Colonial activity since 1652, brought rapid change to the environmental, cultural and social landscape of the Study Area. The landscape was definitively

influenced by the introduction of a huge biomass of tree, shrub, herb and other useful plant species grown for subsistence, trade and the immigrant and slave-labour force of many and varied origins.

Racial attitudes, segregation, discovery of precious ores, industrialisation, the South African and World Wars were all instrumental in the political developments in South Africa in the next phase. Male-centric historical narratives limit knowledge of South African women's history, except that social and political power was limited and their status linked to their productive and re-productive roles. It is hard to say what kind of relationships women in the past had with spaces like the Study Area, but what is known is that the discrimination and oppression experienced by women and gender minorities in Colonial and Apartheid South Africa, were overt, pervasive and harsh.

SAN Parks commenced management of 16000ha of consolidated public and privately owned land in 1998, proclaimed as the Table Mountain National Park. Creative problem solving is employed as management strategy for the numerous challenges relating to its co-habitation with an urban context, the unlimited access for recreational purposes and presence of various significant historical and cultural structures and spaces within its boundaries.

The site is located in a loosely defined landscape, within which 'nature' and 'culture' negotiate continuously over time. Knopp (2016), identifies the dynamic interaction between landscape and user, as a point of contact between cultural geography and landscape architectural theory where the creation and use of space are operationalised by human presence, with both gender and landscape having multiple, fluid realities, and permeable, moving boundaries. The Landscape Positionality argument arises from this and other theories.

The engagement with other users of public space, transforms the Study Area into a canvas, onto which participants in the study imprint their experiences verbally and visually and in so doing, enrich the designer/practitioner's awareness before implementation of architectural intervention.

Chapter 7: The Interviews

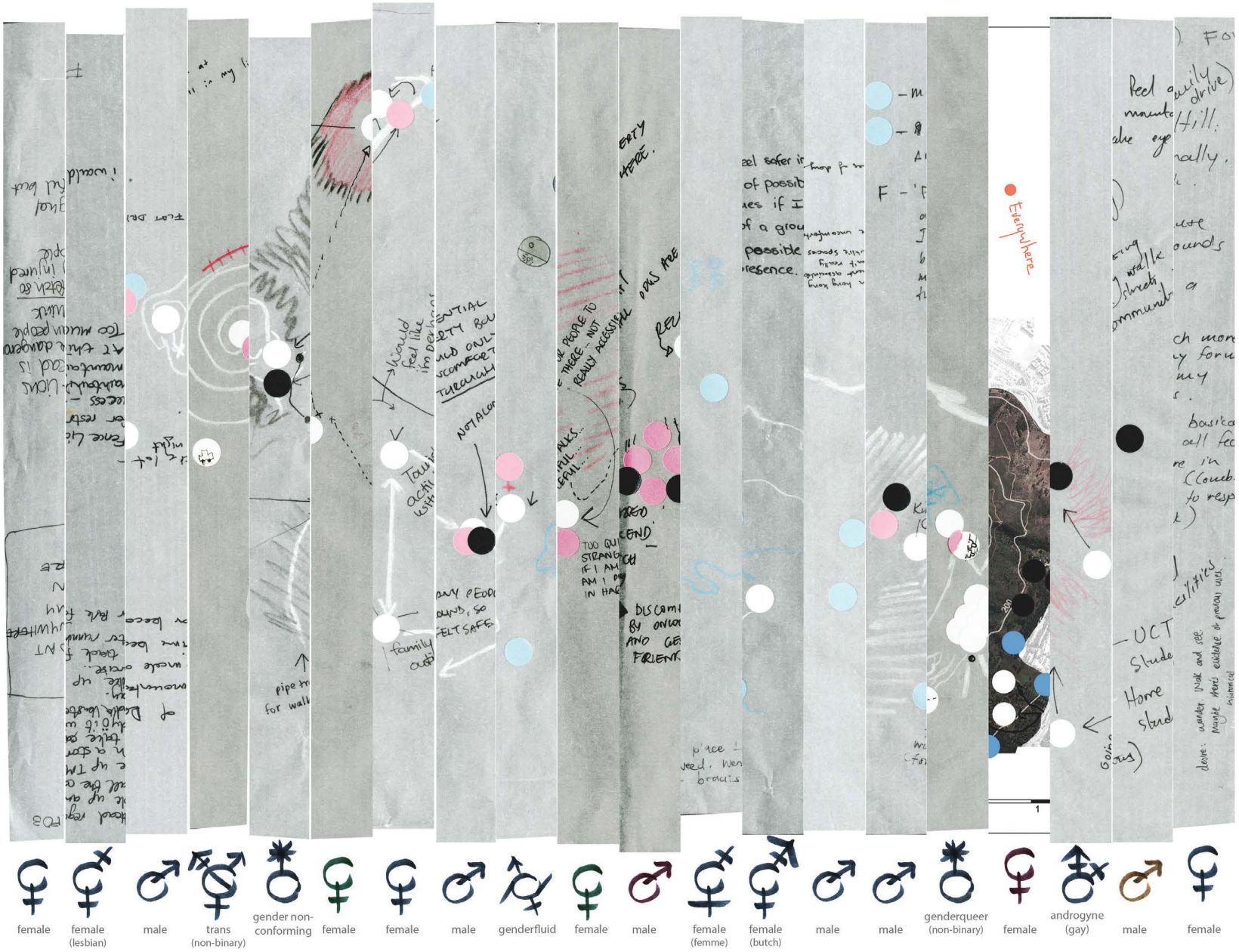
The hypothesis of this study is in short that one's perceptions of, and experiences within public open space are significantly influenced by one's gender identity and gender expression.

The aims are to (1.) observe and challenge ingrained design assumptions about how spaces are perceived, used and designed in landscape architecture; (2.) increase the visibility, general understanding & importance of gender & sexuality issues and (3.) potentially enrich the perspectives and sensibilities of prospective designers & planners towards more sensitive and inclusive designs ethics.

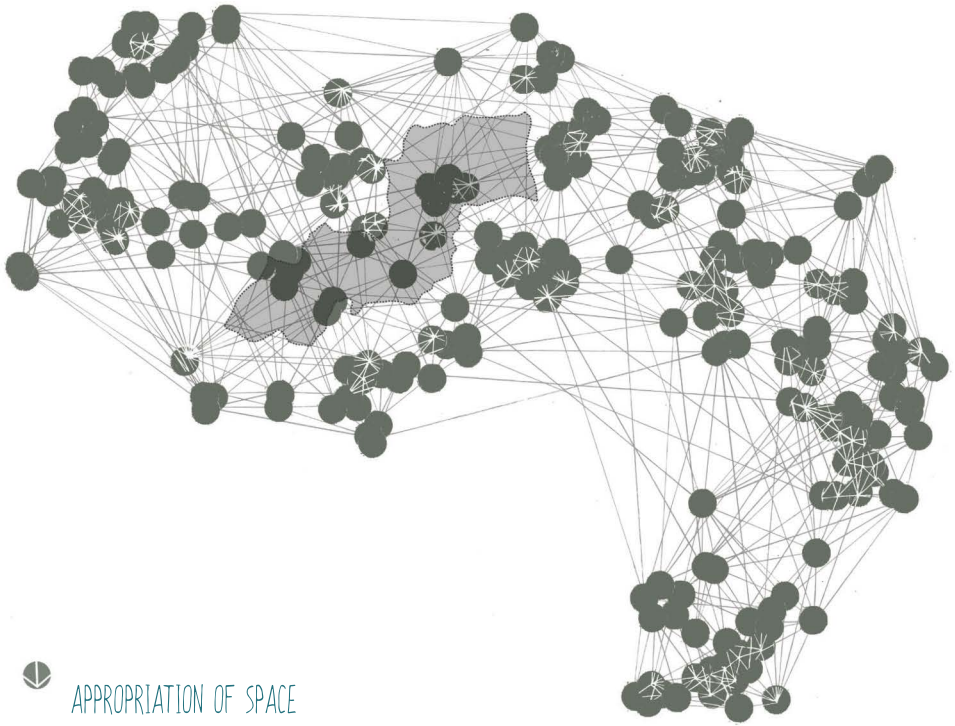
This study was designed to allow discussion on gendered experiences, with those who are not familiar with the discourse on gender. It is also designed to allow participants a variety of media within which to revisit, explain and express their memories and experiences as individuals. The interviews are structured in such a way that participants are able to discuss their own perceptions of safety, access and activity in initial isolation from the focused context of the study, thereby revealing candid assumptions and oversights, and/or unique intersections in experience or reference frame before the discussion is turned toward gender, sexuality and the positionality of the participant.

Information detailing the structure, methodology and design of the interviews, the post-interview engagement with the generated material, curation thereof, as well as recording of assumptions and limitations is rendered in detail in chapter 7. Descriptions, tables, graphs and other visuals record the participant information, their responses, conversations and interpretation of the formalised questions, providing a wealth of experiential data, relating to the study contained in this paper.

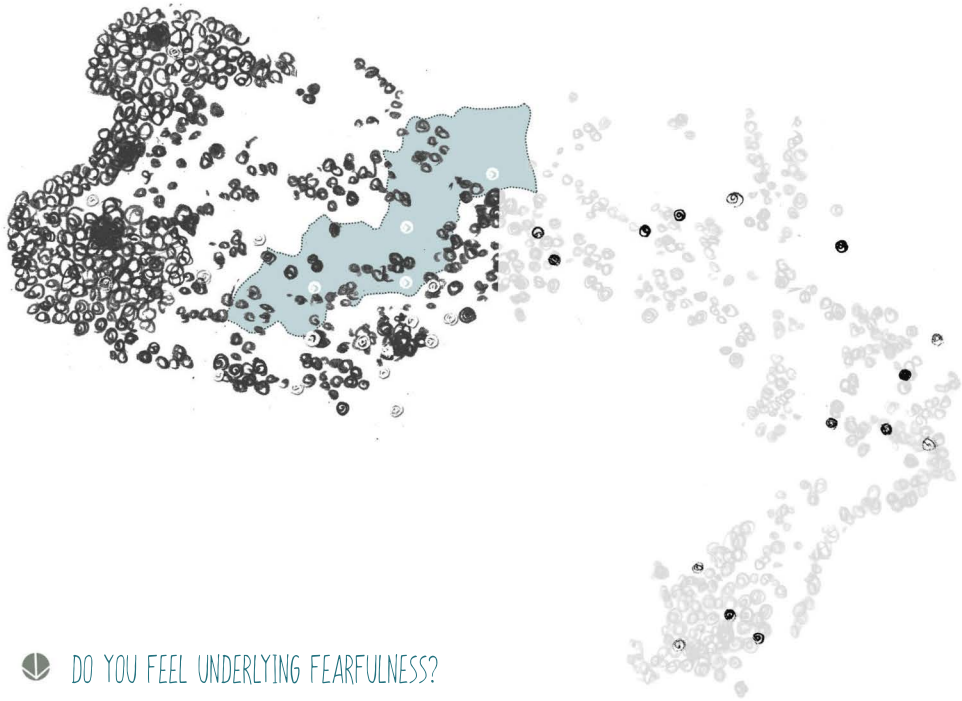
Finally, this dissertation project is now tasked with bridging the gap between rhetoric and reality, by finding tools to instrumentalise gender sensitivity in the design process.



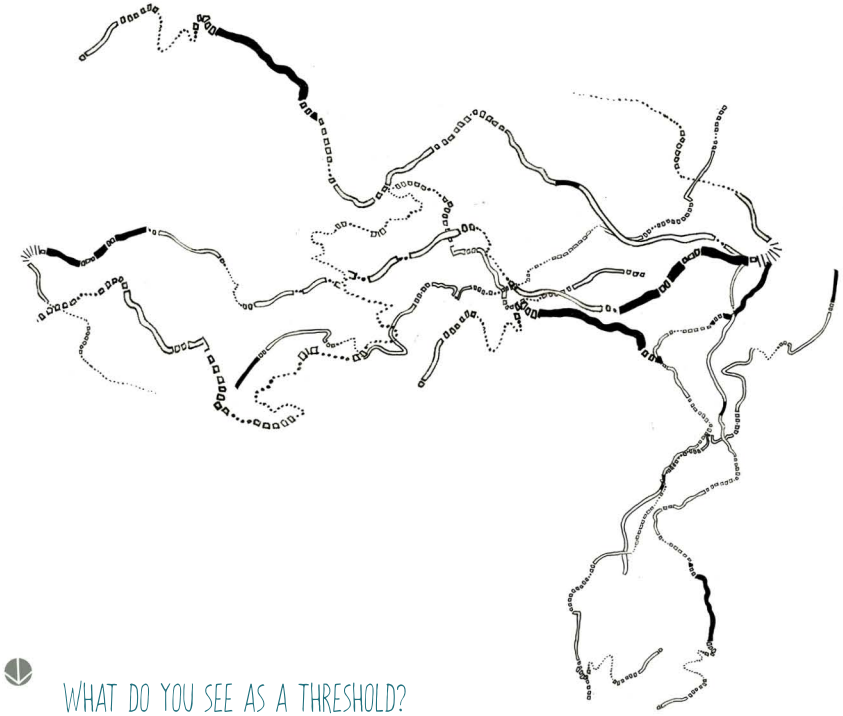
Excerpts from the maps created by Participants during the interviews and their current gender identities.



APPROPRIATION OF SPACE



DO YOU FEEL UNDERLYING FEARFULNESS?



WHAT DO YOU SEE AS A THRESHOLD?



WHERE WOULD YOU BE AFRAID?

PLEASE NOTE: THE FULL STUDY DOCUMENT IS SUBMITTED SEPARATELY DUE TO SPACE AND FORMATTING CONSTRAINTS.

SEE STAND-ALONE STUDY DOCUMENT TITLED: DON'T GO ALONE

"'Knowing' is … an act of creating. We construct what we know, and these constructions are deeply influenced by our early experiences and by the nature of our underlying relationship to the world. As the early experiences of women and men and their relationship to the world differ in significant ways, so too will their characteristic ways of knowing and analysing."

- Karen A.Franck in 'A Feminist Approach to Architecture: Acknowledging Women's Ways of Knowing', 1989

AN ENQUIRY

Site analysis & understanding through Landing, Grounding & Finding

Site





Timeline as an eidetic montage

Landscape as Legion

The situationally and historically contingent concept of landscape as 'paysage' over time.

As a ontological term for landscape, Cristophe Girot uses the word 'Paysage' to describe a landscape's qualities both visible and invisible (Trace Concepts, 1999).

In topographical terms, this landscape is connected to every other topography (to cite Julian Raxworthy in Topos, topology or topography? (2002)). This theory, when applied to the ideological construct of landscape (in terms of 'Paysage') "... refers not only to issues of environment and ecology but also to the mood of an entire nation, to its changing sense of identity and cultural belonging" (Girot, 1999). The timeline seeks to see and understand something about the cultural dimensions of the site and the characters that have been assigned to it over time. This eidetic montage technique requires of me to scour history books, archival photographs, online sources written from a range of perspectives and in different epochs to gather fragments of people's understandings of what the site itself involves (in what Kevin Lynch, and later James Corner describe as the imaging of place and space).

From this understanding, the Study area and Site are more than just the physical extents of land and process: Landscape is legion – it is Paysage. There are as many landscapes as there have been people to conceive of them, and this drives the ever-changing and often nebulous concept of landscape itself in the broader sense - of nature, the public realm, environment and landforms such as the mountain.

What they might have meant to the humans of the past – and what that might tell us about the genesis of a society's concept of paysage – and importantly – for this study, to interrogate the dualism of culture/nature, that Girot and many others have described contemporarily as complex tangle of interrelated phenomena. The chapter titled Nature Culture Woman Other in the Study interrogates this concept in depth as it relates to gender and landscape architecture.

The slopes of the mountain contain multitudes of identities, ideas, stories, concepts and physical interventions. They describe the site as a home, as a symbolically and practically significant landscape; they describe the changing value of land as the site was planted with timber resources and a new road served as access. The timeline shows attempts to stabilise and circumvent the natural processes of the mountain, and the way the site served as threshold between the dangerous and mysterious wilderness and the ordered, relative safety of the colonial town. The site is described by participants in the study as a point of access to the mountain, and the timeline captures the landscape as a viewing platform used by countless people who inhabit or visit the city of Cape Town. We find ourselves in the present day, relating to the site as a negotiated zone between the city and the TMNP. This is indicative of the ambiguities our society operates under between the ideas of environmental conservation, recreation, and the value of land.

Under patriarchy, even the landscape is othered for what are constructed as its feminine qualities, but "...by viewing landscape architecture through the male gaze, we consign it to a body of fiction - and one that has deep ideological implications." (Meyer in Maicantis, 2016). Keeping this in mind, the timeline recognises that over time, the inhabitants of the landscape that Cape Town is established upon (and the visitors to its shores), did not - and do not - not share a single unified gaze, but rather one that is fragmented along lines of class, ethnicity and gender. By seeing the landscape as legion, it becomes possible to offer an alternate historicised reading of imagery situated in context.

Timeline revealing the intangible qualities of paysage

1575 *"This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth."*
- Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo

1652 *"The mountain is haunted by noxious & destructive animals that shun the light'... & an enemy more dangerous ... bandieten (fugitive slaves)."*
- François Le Vaillant

1662 *"... [It is my] birth place, and [my] own land, full of pure water, after which [our] hearts always longed".*
- Autshumato, Khoikhoi leader

1700 *In most families a slave is kept expressly for collecting firewood. He goes out in the morning, ascends the heights of the peninsula, where wagons cannot approach, and returns at night with two small bundles, the produce of 6 hours hard labour."*
- Nigel Worden (1998)

1702 *Platteklip Gorge amounts to "...much toil & no little danger. I was repelled by its unpleasant precipice… valleys beset with thick jungles & horrible caves. It is an unpleasant landscape... the view elicits sheer horror."*
- Abraham Bogaert

1760 *A most magnificent spectacle... the elevation and extent of the fire renders the mountain a much more tremendous vision than Mount Vesuvius at the height of its eruption." - Anon.*

1791 *Accurate cartographic survey was integral to British reformation: Maclear's Beacon dispels the mountain's rich mythology (wanting in empirical verification) by revealing Table Mountain's sheer heights to be modest at best. This heralds the systematic 'cultivation' of the mountainside produce resources for peninsular industrialisation & urbanisation.*
- Lance van Sittert (2003)

1814 *"The mountain, by enabling the bourgeois eye to 'rise above the World'... 'gratify' itself on 'one of the noblest prospects in the universe' & even cast its shadow on heaven, induced godlike feelings of 'superiority & command' which found spontaneous expression in the singing of 'God Save the King' on the summit."*
- Lady Anne Barnard, in Lance van Sittert (2003)

1915 *In the 1880's, the mountain was "as yet wild & untamed; one could still easily get lost among its many labyrinths." Now... "it has been disfigured by houses, plantations, & reservoirs... the cut pathways which score its once wild terraces always suggest to me cords binding a giant."*
- W.C. Scully

1923 *"When we reach the mountain's summits we leave behind us all the things that weigh heavily down below on our body & our spirit. We leave behind all sense of weakness & depression; we feel a new freedom, a great exhilaration, an exaltation of the body no less than of the spirit. We feel a great joy. The religion of the Mountain is in reality the religion of joy, of the reléase of the soul from the things that weigh it down & fill it with a sense of weariness, sorrow & defeat.*
- Jan Smuts

1927 *"Instead of being overpowered by its tragedy & its height, I sat on a sun-warmed rock... stirred by the pureness of the air, the blueness of the distances, the sea before me & the distance of the world below, I unconsciously quoted the words of Walt Whitman: "The efflux of the soul is happiness; & here is happiness... it pervades the open air, waiting at all times. How it flows unto us: we are charged; the earth never tires. I swear to you that there are divine things more beautiful than words can tell."*
- Rene Juta

2000 *The Table Mountain National Park's principal attraction is its fantastic scenic views; 2,256 indigenous plant species (of which over a hundred are endemic) & tourist destinations including the famed Aerial Cableway. Appropriate conservation of fynbos ecosystems is extremely important. (SAN Parks)*

2016 *"We are proud to announce that we welcomed 1 million visitors in the 2015/6 financial year!" - Table Mountain Aerial Cableway Annual Report*



Site Analysis: Subjectivity as a strategy

This project considers its design process as one episode on a continuum of the landscape's story, and recognises that 'Site Analysis" is an inherently subjective exercise. While I recognise that the 'analytical' McHargian method is thorough, it is only a 'frail and thinly veiled empiricism (Julain Raxworthy, in Specificity: the impossibility of not projecting, 1997). Shannon Moon's 2016 MLA dissertation also recognised that the normative processes of 'reading' a site have been driven by the practices of environmental conservation and ecological restoration (developed in the 1960's at Penn University as an aspect of ecological planning (Olin, 2012)), "...which places huge emphasis on the measurable ecological components of the landscape." While this project also analyses the landscape's make up through separate mapped layers, I do not see them as discrete, quantifiable and verifiable realities. My reading of the relationships between the sets of data is highly situated in my time, my positionality and my agenda. The contextualisation of the site resists the default response to site analysis that "embraces assumptions and hierarchies established by the normative." (Ginger Daniels 2013) thereby seeking to address and disrupt what Julian Raxworthy calls the "institutional violence that is at the core of site planning" (1997). Since no site analysis process could be unimpeachable, there can be no such thing as true 'site specificity'. Merely, one possible site specificity.

Throughout the enquiry and design phases, I have treated the landscape as an entity that has its own story, one that has been assigned gender, one that is obliged to function according to certain norms and roles according to the colonial, patriarchal paradigm, and this has had corporeal effects on its physical state (what one might call human impacts). Undoubtedly this is a highly subjective activity- the site's voice is translated through my language, perception, physical experience and orientations. But the manner of recording and the areas of interest that are recorded have still been influential in the analysis of the mechanics of the site.

Feminist architect Sheila de Bretteville calls this the "acceptance of subjectivity as a strategy of design", allowing personal experience and knowledge to be sources of information, and where complexity and ambiguity are desirable design qualities because they undermine the absolute control of the designer.



"Site analysis at a large scale, recorded through detached rational mappings has given way to site readings and interpretations drawn from first hand experience…" - Elizabeth K. Meyer, 2004














Enquiry: Landing

Landing is the first act of site acknowledgment, it requires a particular state of mind – it is the moment when I reacted to the difference between my preconceived idea of a place and the reality of that place. The Enquiry maps attempt to reveal that wonderment and curiosity, where everything is important, and the impressions and insights found here often last through the entire design process. Although Girot says that landing only happens once, I believe that the process is re-initiated at every point of contact with a site.

The enquiry phase maps, while resembling the process that McHarg and Laurie Olin of PennDesign might call Site Analysis (my critique of this can also be found in the Study under Chapter 3 – Landscape and Gender), it seeks to capture and communicate impressions and observations that are also intuitive and experiential, while mapping the map-able - it seeks to engage with a range of landscape elements.

What are landscape elements? Girot says they escape precise definition. They may be physical entities that reveal certain characteristics of the place (road cuttings reveals geology, the surface of the road reveals slope instability, use and climate, engineering interventions reveal landscape processes and past solutions to maximise the use and value of the road, stains reveal the path of water, seepage lines reveal the response of vegetation to hydrology... etc.).

A landscape element may refer to something imperceptible but nonetheless significant (for instance the trajectories of the different people who use the road, the times of day that one can hear the resident owl's activity or catch the fragrances of flowering geophytes that open only a dusk, or the past stories and memories of the people I interviewed). This inclusive approach enables me to blend direct physical experience and intuition with local research. The attention is always focused on what already exists in situ.

Throughout the enquiry and design phases, I have treated the landscape as an entity that has its own story, one that has been assigned gender, one that is obliged to function according to certain norms and roles according to the colonial, patriarchal paradigm, and this has had corporeal effects on its physical state (what one might call human impacts). Undoubtedly this is a highly subjective activity- the site's voice is translated through my language, perception, physical experience and orientations. But the manner of recording and the areas of interest that are recorded have still been influential in the analysis of the mechanics of the site. Landing is highly personal, and escape clear scientific methodology; it is the result of chance... an open and empathetic process. It sets the stage for future dialogue.

My landing experiences revealed these first, relative subjectivities, spatialised by the Enquiry maps.

- *One cannot visit the same place twice. A route on the return journey, is a new road entirely. The perception of a place can never really be same when engaged with again.*
- *Moss appropriates space in fascinating ways.*
- *The orthographic nature of the site's hydrology, gravity and water are forces that erode the mountain slope. By revealing the water and its interactions of crossing the site, one reveals processes at work – their mechanisms and their range of influence – their flood an their absence.*
- *A perpetual sense of what I've called in previous projects "scalar inertia" – the embodied experience of engaging with the world across scales (the dizziness of coming upon a steep drop-off, the sense of expansiveness when viewing a void from an edge, the lumbering clumsiness of trying to interact with the tiniest bed of moss under an overhang, the sweeping feeling of moving swiftly along a path, the dwarfing, foreshortening sensation of looking up from the bottom of a steep cliff face.*
- *A sense of surprise and wonderment at the magical quality of the road – this unmarked surface that was being appropriated by such a wide variety of individuals in such different ways, for different reasons, in different modes, times and manners. This focused attention on the other users of the site revealed culture and privilege based biases that helped me to see, perhaps, beyond what I knew or benefited from personally - seeing beyond my own experience.*






HUMAN MOVEMENT & USER TRAJECTORIES

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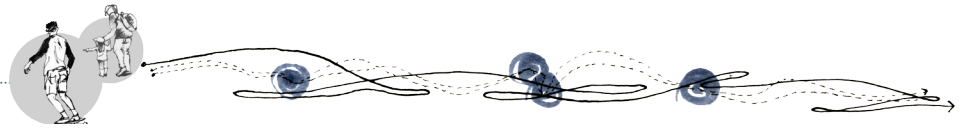
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Study of user trajectories

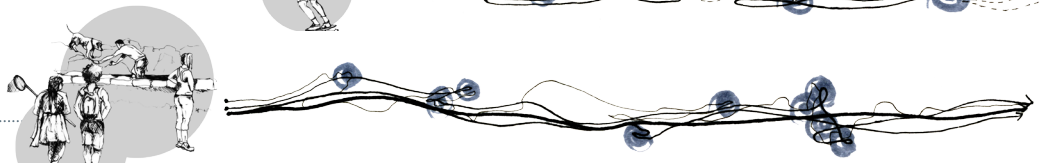
My mother and I; spending hours meandering, collecting plant specimens and sharing peaceful conversation



A family of three, father long-boarding up & down while woman & child potter along at the 2-year old's pace.



Group of four friends and a dog - walk to the pool to swim and walk back after an hour.



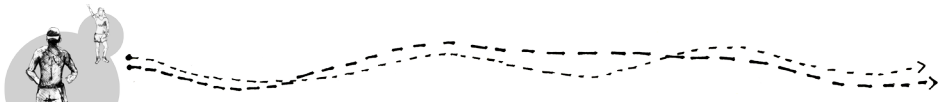
Siblings walking their dog - they don't return along Tafelberg road.



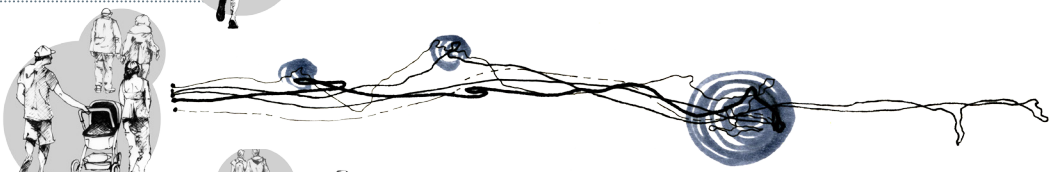
Solitary person training on their mountain-bike. Stops to rest often.



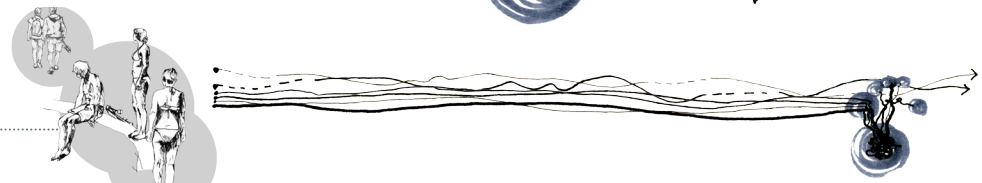
Joggers racing each other, return along the road after 20 minutes.



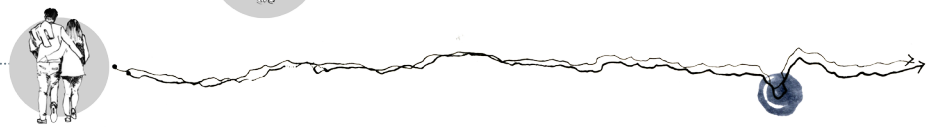
Three-generations on a Sunday walk. New parents have a debate under their breath while older couple walks ahead.



Group of five young people park and walk to the third pool. They spend two hours swimming and lying around. One couple walk off and return half and hour later.



Couple strolling slowly along the road, return before sunset smiling.



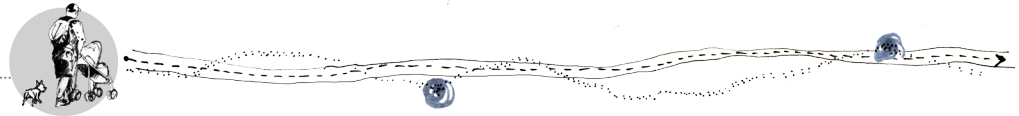
Solitary female jogger, training in the late afternoon, passed four times.

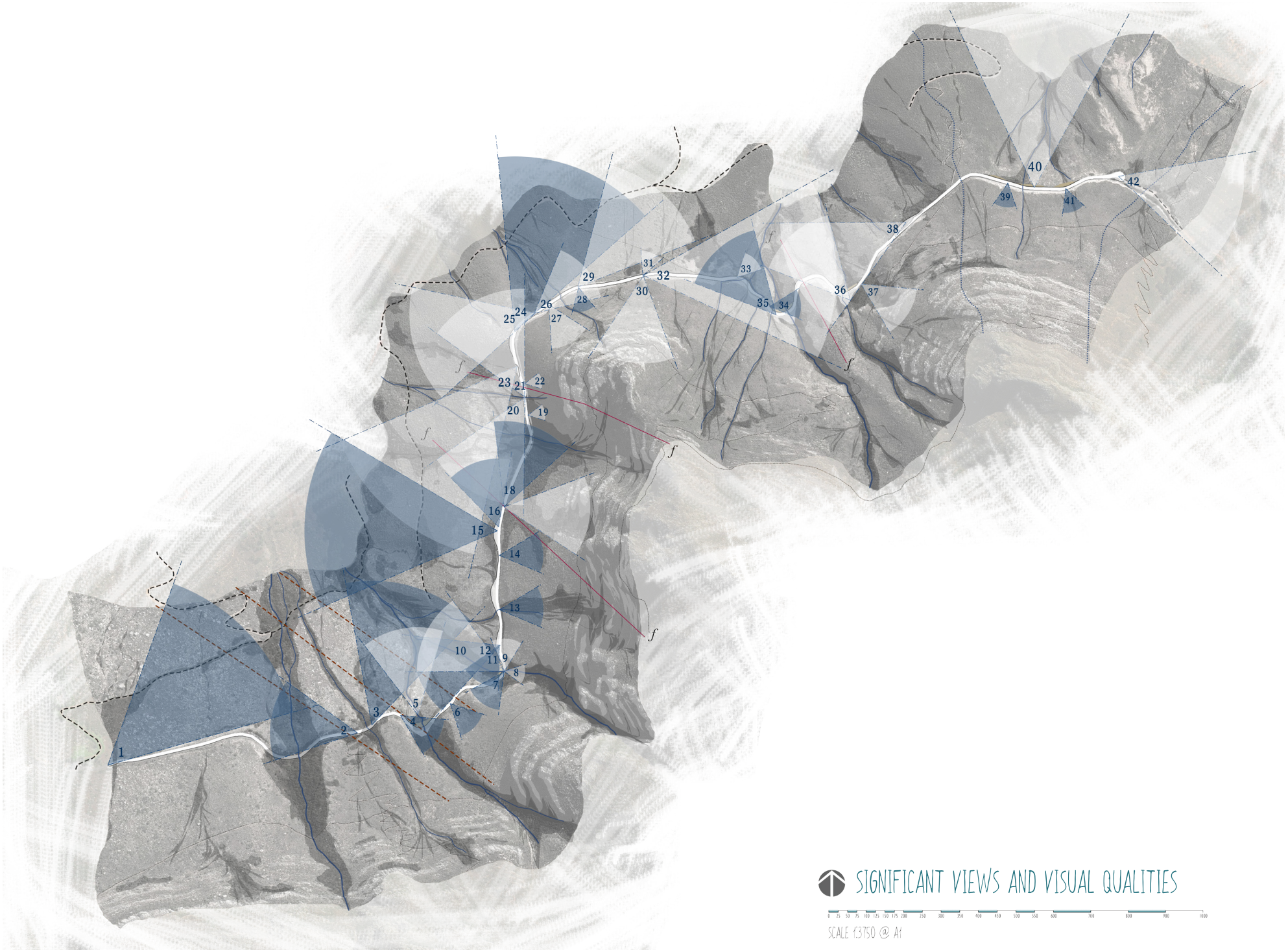


Two cyclists riding up and down repeatedly in the early morning for an hour and a half.



Father and baby walking dog on the weekend fall behind a bigger group to keep a slower pace.





SIGNIFICANT VIEWS AND VISUAL QUALITIES

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Enquiry: Grounding

Grounding, being the second step in landscape discovery and understanding, has to do with orientation and rootedness, both in the literal and figurative sense. Girot says that grounding recurs indefinitely throughout the course of a project, and involves successive layers of landscape elements (both visible and invisible).

It entails reading and understanding a site through repeated visits and studies. In the Enquiry phase, grounding is expressed in these maps as revisiting the site both physically and remotely – through reviewing the interview material, revisiting theory, mapping on GIS and aerial imagery.

These Enquiry maps place the site in context – spatialising the patterns of soil, climate, water, ecology, slope stability and instability, human intervention, human movement etc.. They are a blending of careful research and analysis, a probe into the past stories of the site, and observations drawn from repeated landing and grounding exercises.

Ginger Daniel argues that while mapping and observations are useful, she suggests that a richer and more accurate reading of a site would be revealed if coupled with personal and group interviews. Luckily, I'd done those in the Study. While participatory mapping was not possible for the site itself within the scope of this project, the study mapping already invited multiple voices to be seen, heard, and valued. Having conducted the interviews therefore added to the sense of a myriad of possible realities intermingling on the site. The Study maps began to reveal the dimensions of gendered space – where public open space is either officially or culturally segregated, where women, men and gender minorities do and do not go, where they feel comfortable or not, and also where they wish they could go. For me, the answer to that is everywhere, and alone.

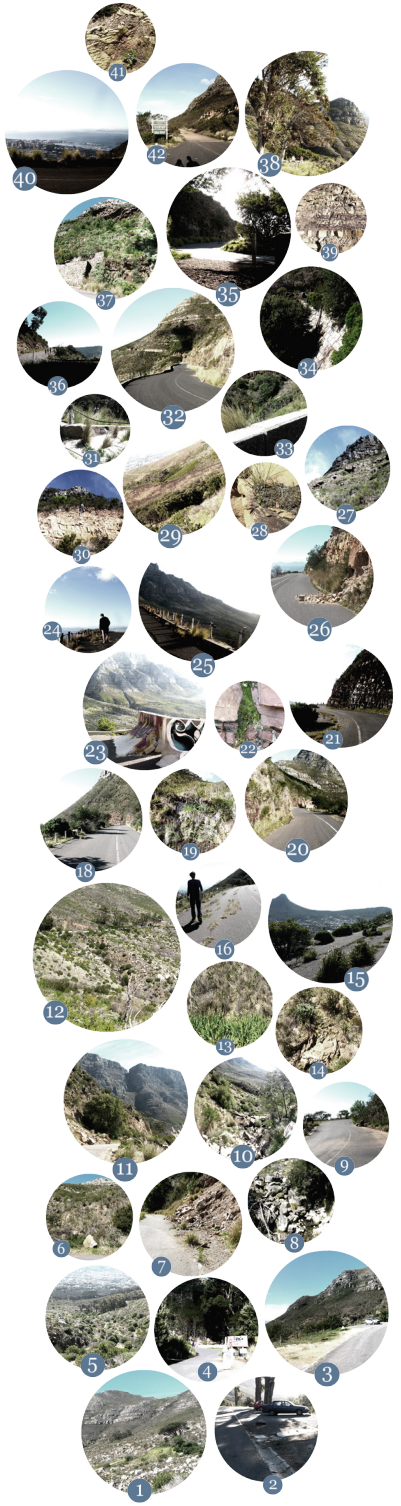
Gender-aggregating the results of interview observations was helpful at this point in understanding how Tafelberg road is viewed as a space and place – as public open space in which gender inequality, real experiences that inform the perceptions of safety, access and activity in public open space were now almost tangible. While a typical design cycle represents a designer's reality: translating that need into a built form, integrating the findings of the study into this cycle transforms the process, the possible built forms, and their impact; what was typical is now new.

Sheila de Bretteville calls this the "acceptance of subjectivity as a strategy of design", allowing personal experience and knowledge to be sources of information, and where complexity and ambiguity are desirable design qualities because they undermine the absolute control of the designer.

Mapping methods are important in revealing rich information that would be difficult to obtain in other ways. In grounding, I spent some time defining my agenda – as landscape architects we do not approach anything without and agenda – and as Maria Maicantis and Elizabeth Meyer argue – how this agenda is constructed has deep ideological implications. Julian Raxworthy has also said that any reading of the landscape is inherently political.

Therefore:

- *Does one see the instability of a slope as a threat to the stability of a road on a mountainside, or as an opportunity to reveal the age-old conflict between human progress and natural process?*
- *Does one deal with the water movement across engineering interventions as something to be ushered away swiftly from concrete installations, or as a point of contact between human experience and the life of the place?*
- *Is the fact that one vehicle must daily traverse the site a hindrance to the creative process, or an informant shaping but not dictating what Tafelberg road can be?*
- *Is the cracked and failed roadway quickly repaired and rebuilt, or is the space re-imagined as something other than a road and the edge of a skate-ramp, but without removing those important activities.*

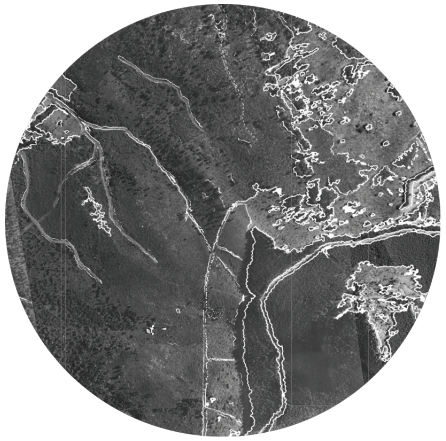


Understanding the site's past stories

Aerial Imagery Analysis

The site is situated on the northern and west-facing slopes of Table Mountain roughly between the 300m and 600m contours. This area has undergone various anthropogenically-induced changes, some of which are mapped in the historical aerial analysis below showing vegetation, erosion and the ever-changing fire-ecology patterns. Studies have concluded that the site is ecologically and geomorphologically sensitive (Rossouw, 1997).

The most significant drivers of change on the site have been various periods of increased fuel loads (plantation establishment) leading to changed fire regimes, water repellency in soils, slope instability and loss of indigenous plant diversity (slowly being rectified by the TMNP management strategies). The lower slopes amount to what could be seen as a severely degraded area in terms of the reference condition of Table Mountain pre-human settlement.



1935



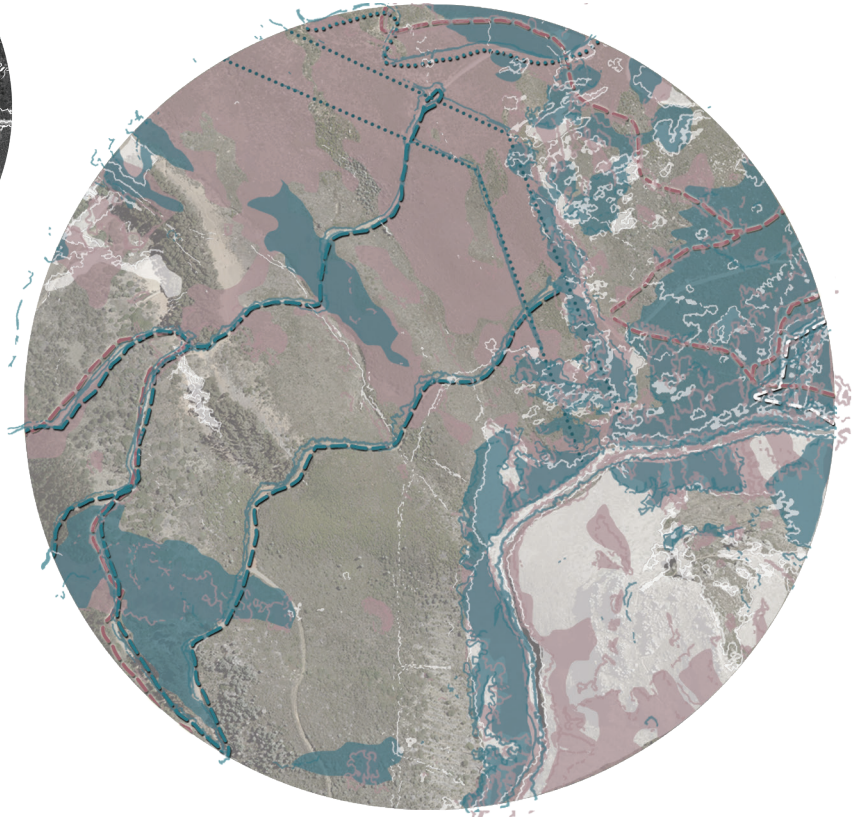
1945



1955

The aerial analysis shows the various changes of vegetation cover, boundary, management and urban development over the last 80 years - note the forested areas flanking Tafelberg road especially. These plantations were not cleared until the 1980s - their felling and the subsequent vegetation management account for the logs laid parallel to the slope fall (Louw, 2016).

Mature plantations on Devil's peak are recorded in aerial imagery as early as 1935. Areas were cleared both of naturally occurring vegetation and plantations on a regular basis. From 1944 onwards, foresters noted invasive Acacia species, later years dense stands of Pinus pinaster and Eucalyptus species are recorded. Prior to 1964 when it was proclaimed as a nature reserve, the land was managed to prevent fires and maximize commerical timber productivity. Since, management plans have focused on alien invasive species removal, fire fighting, protection & restoration of indigenous flora & ecosystems. 1975 and 1977 saw the most extensive felling of forested lands.



2015

The geomorphology of the site is typical of the nature of the Cape Super Fold Mountains, and characterized by the prominent sandstone cliffs of the Peninsula Formation (a uniform, erosion-resistant quartsitic sandstone complex) which dominate the local scenery. This cross-faulted monolith rests on a layer of inter-bedded mud-stone, sandstone and shale – generally located just beneath the cliffs – called the Graafwater Formation. The deeply weathered Cape Granite Complex and the Malmesbury shale basement layers meet on the site, forming the lower, gentler slopes.*

The soils of the site are mostly sandy and nutrient-poor, closely reflecting the underlying geology. The weathered granite-derived soil of the lower slopes are more fertile than the nutrient-poor soils derived from TMS. Middle to lower slopes are fairly coarsely textured aggregates composed of sandstone mixed with siltstone and shale materials. Soils are generally very shallow (300 – 800 mm) and have a clay percentage of 25 – 35%. These have moderate to low erosion hazard ratings. The lower Devil's peak slopes (visible from Tafelberg road) include the Swartland formation which is a sandy clay and has a high erosion hazard rating.



Table Mountain Sandstone
(Extremely hard, lightly coloured quartsitic sandstone. Highly resistant to erosion & forms characteristic steep grey crags.)



Graafwater Formation
(520 million years old & 25m-65m thick. Consists of thin horizontal strata of sandstone & mud-stone in maroon, red & purple.)



The Malmesbury Group
(40mil.yrs. older than the TMS, it consists of dark grey mudstones & lighter coloured sandstones that are heavily folded.)



Cape Granite Suite
(Hard & coarse-grained with white feldspar crystals, flakes of black mica & glassy-grey quartz. Deep chemical weathering evident at daylights below site.)



Engineered drainage & stable road section



1920s Photograph showing a car and motorcycle traversing the Tafelberg road as a leisure activity. Note dense plantations and lack of formal road engineering.



Second pool retaining wall (pre-1940s)



1952 Photograph showing cars parked alongside the second pool and retaining wall. Plantations obscured the view, but the pools and densely vegetated slopes made for pleasant leisure activities on Tafelberg road. The stone-masonry still stands today.



Retaining gabions at third pool



1977 Photograph showing dense plantations covering slopes around the second and third pools.
Sufficient slope stabilisation (gabion wall shown alongside) and skilful road construction have prevented major disturbances after the plantations were felled.

(The meeting of the Malmesbury shale and the Granite basement on site is visually and physically continuous with the "Sea Point Contact" – a phenomena described by geologist Basil Hall in 1813, and later by Charles Darwin (1830), to support his theory of Continental drift. This junction causes the slope instability indicated by the Enquiry maps as a point of interest along Tafelberg road.)

Peninsula Formation Sandstone
Groaf:water Formation
Cape Granite Suite
The Malmesbury Group
Scree

North
North west
West
North east

UNDERLYING GEOLOGY, SLOPE ASPECT, ENGINEERED HYDROLOGY

0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 700 800 900 1000

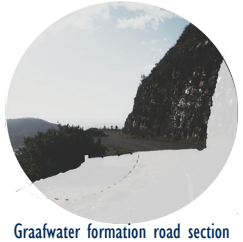
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Road failure & cracking



Waterfall slope



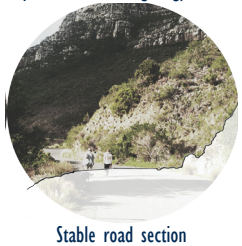
Graafwater formation road section



Slope failure at base-geology contact



Stable level area ('Balancing point')



Stable road section



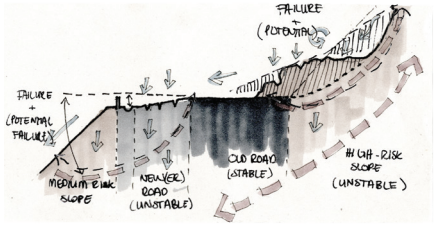
Cracking road section



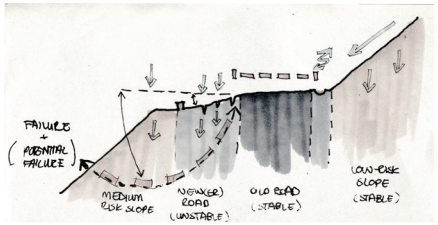
Spring drainage channel

Slope Instability studies

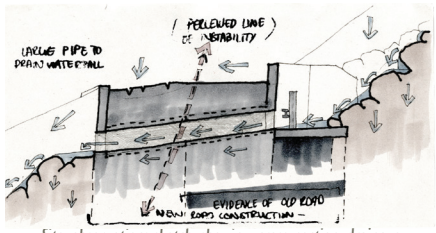
Certain areas on site have been prone to accelerated soil erosion, but generally the land is relatively stable, save for the Devil's peak slopes which are underlain by shale (which is highly sensitive to accelerated soil erosion. Rill erosion and gulley erosion are mostly localized. Rill erosion occurs on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak, and is triggered by the removal of vegetation cover, while gully erosion occurs steadily and slowly over time within defined courses. As an area that has been exposed to various human activities (mining, military, recreation, forestry), it has experienced varying degrees and kinds of physical disturbance, which – taken together with wildfire and high rainfall – reveals a landscape prone to failure after disturbance.



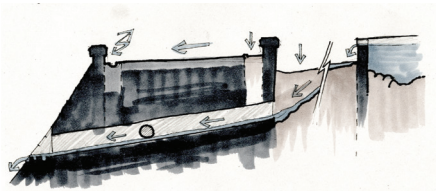
Site observation: sketch showing cross section of failed slope



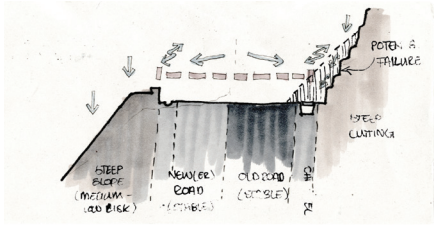
Site observation: sketch showing cross section of road instability



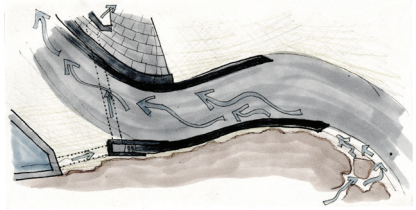
Site observation: sketch showing cross section drainage engineering solution under roadway



Site observation: sketch showing pool's possible construction



Site observation: sketch showing cross section drainage engineering solution under roadway



Site observation: sketch showing path of spring water and road engineering on site - possibly new daylighting location



1982



1988



1991

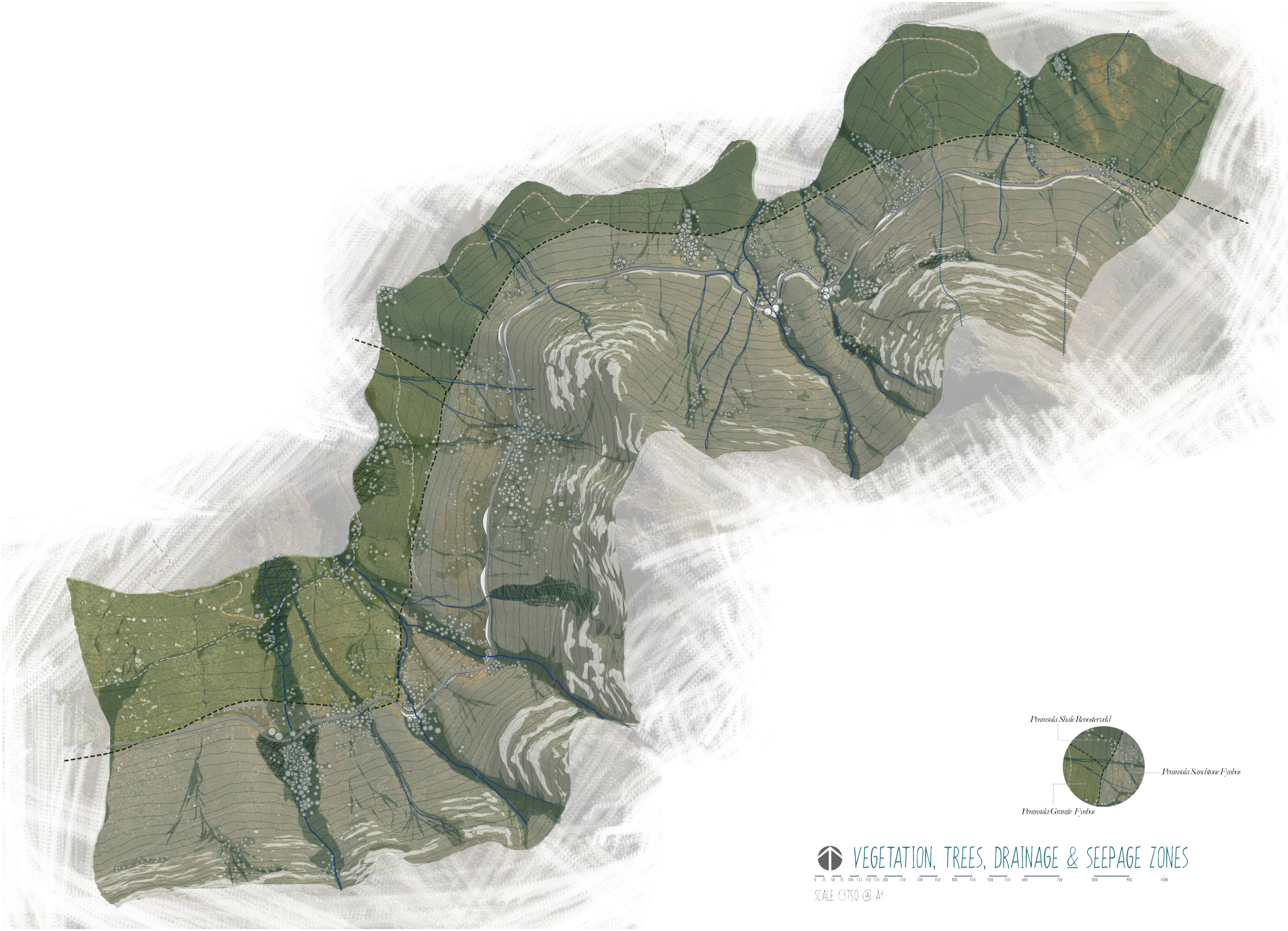


2017

Fire and Slope Stability

Fire and slope stability are intimately related on the site. Pre-colonial fire regimes on the site happened at intervals of 6-40 years, with fires of moderate intensity. But since 1810 at least, veld fires have become a common occurrence, directly accelerating soil erosion. The site experienced three major fire events in 1982, 1988 and 1991 (Rossouw, 1997).

Fires (especially in areas with long histories of alien invasion) cause slope instability, increases in soil erosion and decreases in water quality that become chronic, at least in part due to the formation of water-repellent layers in the soil after intense fires (Wilgen, 1996).



VEGETATION, TREES, DRAINAGE & SEEPAGE ZONES

0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 200 250 300 350 400 450 500 550 600 700 800 900 1000

SCALE 1:3750 @ A1

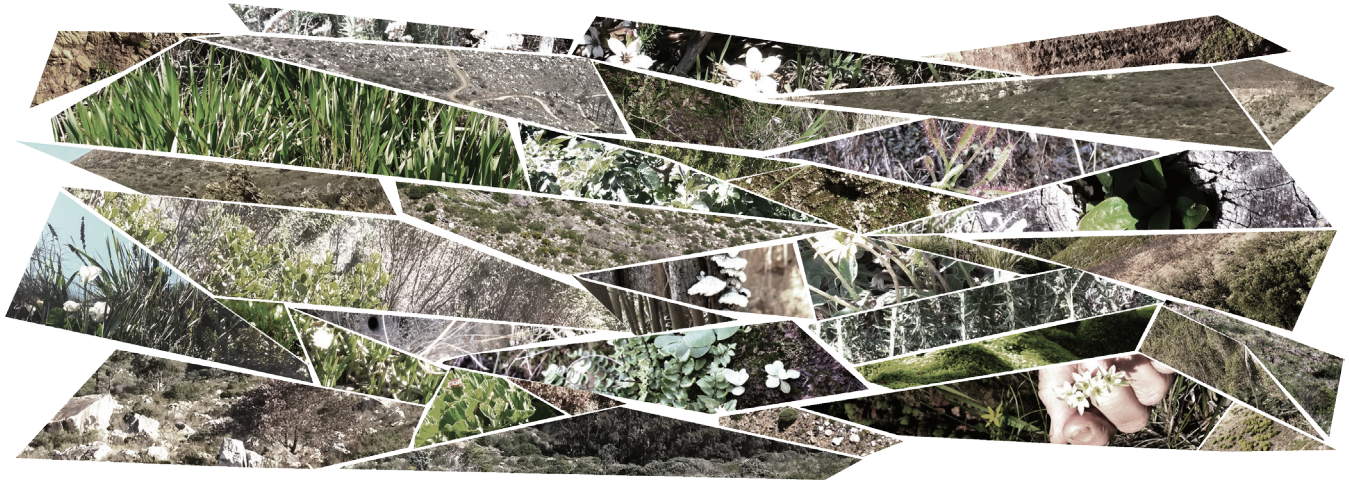
Indigenous Vegetation

The Fynbos Biome is an exceptionally diverse area known as the Cape Floristic Region, internationally recognized for its high levels of endemism and species diversity as a World Heritage Site; Table mountain is now also one off the new 7 Wonders of the World.

The site itself is located across three different vegetation types: Peninsula Granite Fynbos (occurring on the mid-to-lower slopes corresponding to the underlying geology), Peninsula Shale Rensoterveld (occurring on the Malmesbury shales of Devil's Peak – one of the most species-rich assemblages of geophytes worldwide) and the Peninsula Sandstone Fynbos (limited to the highest elevations from the 400m contour upwards).

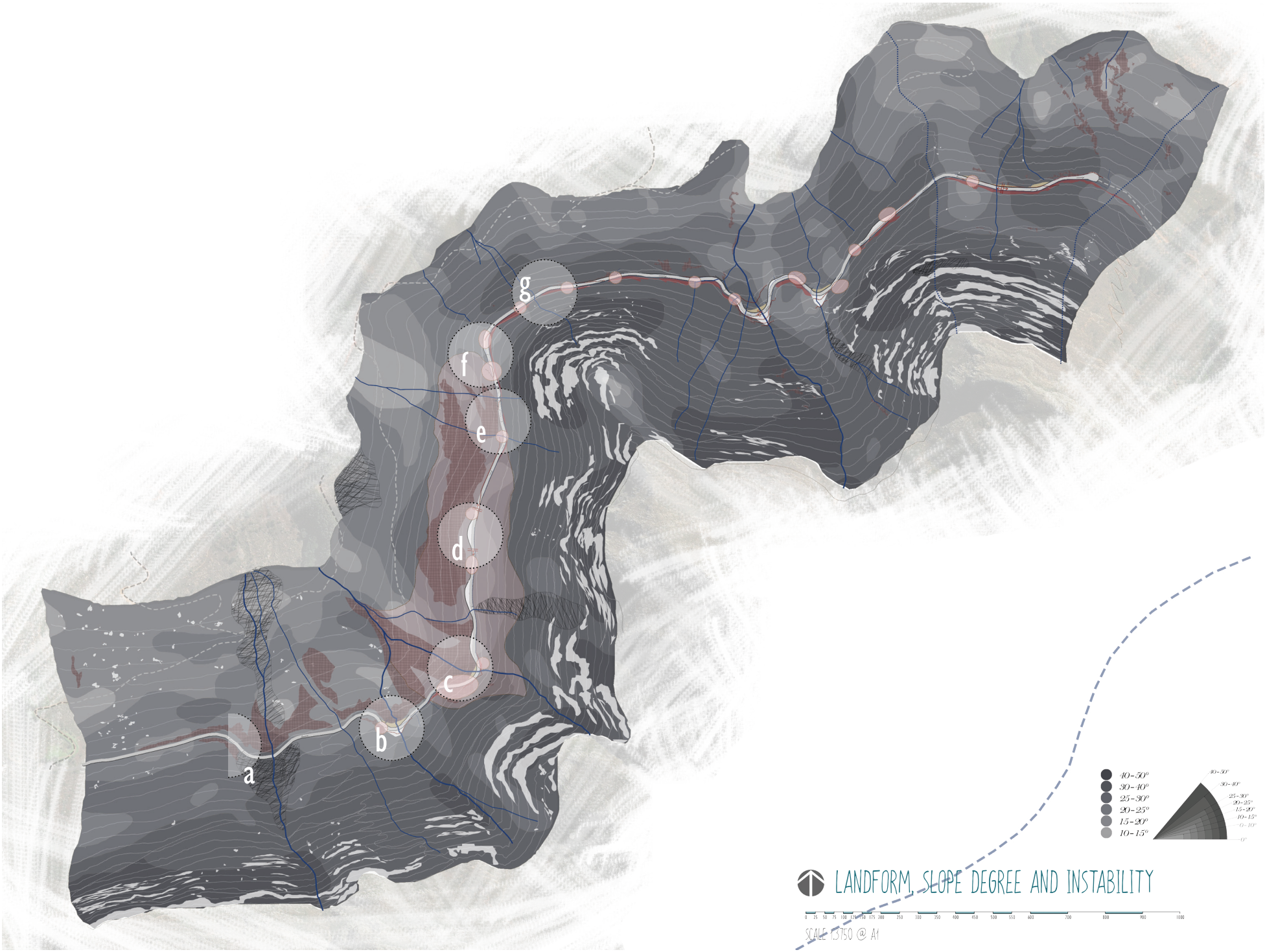
Seedbank diversity on site is poor, and dominated by alien ephemeral species. Conservation management is strongly tied to vegetation type, and so benign forms of landscape restoration are unlikely to assist in rehabilitation efforts. Although certain areas may retain their ecological integrity through passive restoration, large swathes of the study area require active restoration to return the degraded vegetation to functional vegetation types, especially the critically endangered Peninsula Shale Renosterveld.

The fynbos vegetation of the site is managed by means of prescribed burning, together with various programmes aimed at the control of invasive alien plant species. I propose that the TMNP embrace an additional goal in the management of its land: taking an active role in the way that nature is constructed socially (in addition to economic turnover, nature conservation, fire hazard reduction, water yield and catchment stability enhancement, recreation, education and tourism).



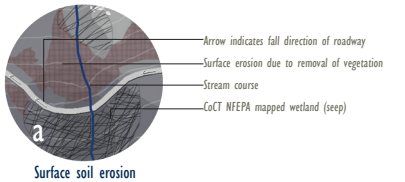
Climate

The site experiences a Mediterranean climate with cool, wet winters and warm, dry summers. The rainfall pattern is closely related to topography, and depends on the slopes' exposure to the predominant winds – north-westerly (bringing rain in winter) and persistent and dry south-easterly wind (colloquially referred to as 'The Cape Doctor', it clears the city of pollution and 'pestilence'). Precipitation is largely of a frontal nature (when the leading edge of a warm, moist air mass (warm front) meets a cool and dry air mass (cold front)) and this, combined with the orthographic precipitation the site receives, makes for an average rainfall of above 800 mm annually.

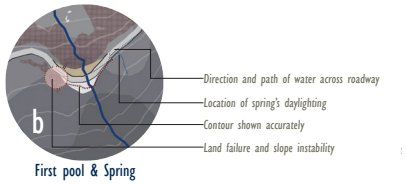


LANDFORM, SLOPE DEGREE AND INSTABILITY

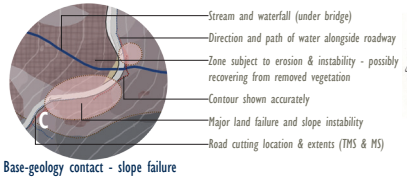
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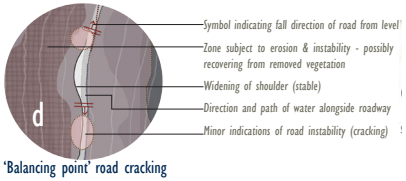
Surface soil erosion



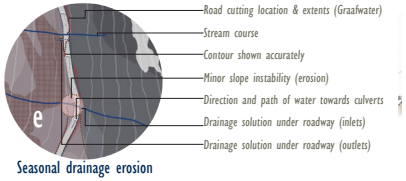
First pool & Spring



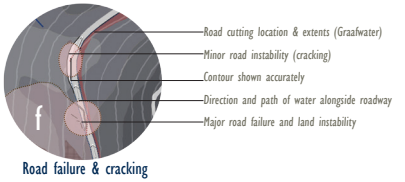
Base-geology contact - slope failure



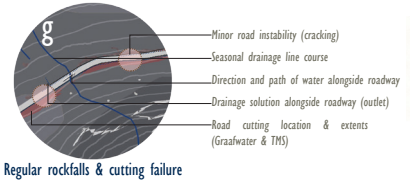
'Balancing point' road cracking



Seasonal drainage erosion



Road failure & cracking



Regular rockfalls & cutting failure

Enquiry: Finding

In the Finding, discoveries are made.

Finding is both an activity and an insight – Girot describes it as the experience of relating and associating ideas, places, and themes. Seeing the site as having its own positionality, supports the findings of research that demonstrates humans appropriating Public open space on interstices in a range of ways not necessarily found in urban spaces, or in Natural settings.

Here, it is important to note that a gender-neutral approach to design only perpetuates existing hierarchies of power, because it assumes equality at an implementation level.

If landscape architecture is consequential – what are its consequences? The enquiry phase also locates the Tafelberg Road site as a design argument that embraces critical theory.

By seeing the site as a contributor to the formation of ideas about nature and culture, as a mediator between the valorized 'wilderness' of a conservation area, a negotiable buffer zone somehow including characteristics of both nature and culture, and the urban edge itself – the site becomes a player in the discourse on gender and critical theory.

By comparing the concept of landscape with that of gender (as a fluid and culturally contingent construct), then a landscape can be understood to be constructed by various people in different ways – this provides a foothold for design response and strategy. Designing for inclusion creates opportunities, while designing in favour of 'traditional values' necessarily limits opportunities.

Girot writes that finding usually discloses the evidence to support one's initial intuitions about a place. It also involves the discovery of subjective specificities – both tangible and intangible.

For instance:

- *The myriad of springs, water courses and seepage zones that overflow or only appear during a rain event*
- *People's use of the resources on site (collecting medicinal plants, collecting water etc..)*
- *The maintenance regime that SAN Parks dutifully employs seasonally (removal of fallen boulders, opening of overgrown channels, patching of the road and grass-cutting)*
- *The geological anomalies and individualities (where the sedimented geology is folded, the instability around the meeting of the Malmesbury shales and the Granite basement, the moisture-determined changes that mosaic the exposed Graafwater formation in moss gardens, clumps of geophytes and lichen.)*
- *The vegetation patterns that become clear only after the umpteenth analysis of aerial imagery*
- *The mapping of routes and activities of an even wider range of humanity over time that use the site.*

"…Feminist ways of looking at and making architecture... are based on a certain approach, not a 'recipe'. This approach stems initially from an understanding that our surroundings are not neutral, that there is a relationship between the content of architecture and our … social structure.

Critical feminist architectural practice is therefore about providing physical examples which show the attempts of individuals and groups … to make more 'appropriate' environments for women and gender minorities - socially, spatially and symbolically."

- Jos Boys

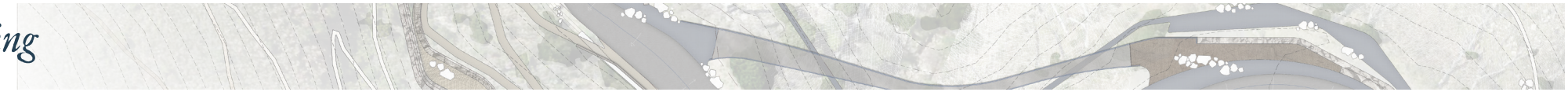


FOUNDING

Spatialising Design Interventions

Focus Area

Founding



This last section presents the spatial design phase proper, corresponding to the Founding trace concept. In this phase, I kept Elizabeth Meyer's advice close at hand. She said that "Words cannot substitute for landscape form and space. They are two separate languages, one linguistic, one formal. They have different limits of expression and rhetoric." Girot is in agreement, saying that founding is the most durable and significant of the four trace acts.

Founding comes at the moment when the prior three acts are synthesized into a new and transformed construction of the site. Whatever the case, the act of founding is always a reaction to something that was already there. And each act of founding corresponds, in archaeological terms, to an epoch- a given period in history when a cultural relationship to the landscape evolves and changes. This representation of a culture's complex relationship to the environment is manifest in physical form through the medium of landscape.

Founded landscapes, Meyer argues - made in the spirit of critical inquiry - aspire to hold and convey meaning. Last year, the MLA course was pre-occupied with understanding what the performance of a landscape should and could be. Like Elizabeth K Meyer's argument that sustainability as a concept was incomplete without an appreciation of the performance of Beauty, I argue that up to now, I've never hear of the performativity of a feminist landscape. Perhaps that's what this design could be described as – an attempt to define how a landscape performs in terms of critical, gender, intersectional and feminist theory.

In summary, going forward I keep in mind that:

- *Following the findings of the study that spaces are culturally consequential, I work within an understanding of the situated and agenda-driven approach as inevitably subjective, and political. Critical consciousness helps me to deal with the paradoxes that this approach is loaded with*

- *The users are viewed through a positionality-sensitive lens that include gender, age, race, ability, economic, cultural and social factors. Diane Agrest has said that "asking 'what body?' is synonymous to asking 'which gender?' for a genderless body is an impossible body."*

- *The landscape is as much a physical reality as it is a socio-cultural one. Landscapes, like gender, are social and cultural constructs (paysage). And this landscape, like all others is unique in its construction.*

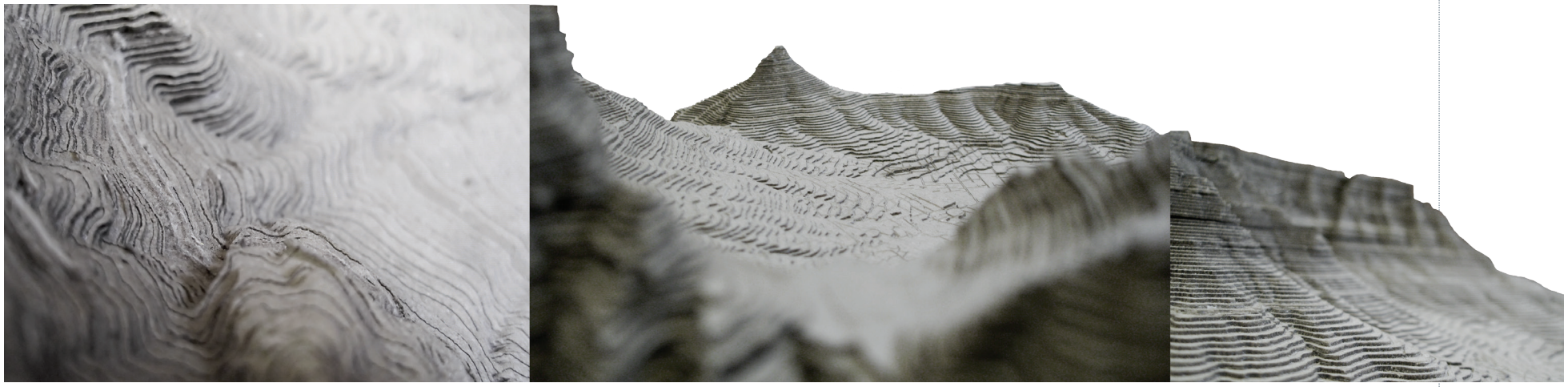
The project design process has prompted me to interrogate my own mind as a place colonized both by the ideological paradigms of Euro-centric ways of being and knowing, but also by those that are governed by cisheteronormative society.

Jos Boys says that the aim of "feminist ... architecture is... to unlock the male dominated, male-as-norm patterning of the built environment" (the argument for this is under the heading 'patriarchy' in the Definitions section of the Study). Feminist architecture, and therefore positionality-sensitive architecture - addresses how the physical fabric of our world contains particular sets of ideas of social relations at the expense of others; by revealing its perpetuating mechanisms – those that make it appear obvious and unproblematic - and by firmly revealing the problems, challenges, experiences and oppression of women and gender minorities.

The design is approached and resolved by applying a range of strategies drawn from various theories over the course of my studies. They are: Contextualising, Sequencing, Landscape as Legion, Conceal and Reveal, Pausing and Program and finally, Opening.

Gender Conscious Spatial Design

Works of Landscape Architecture are cultural products. As an architectural founding, it is "... not simply a platform that accommodates the viewing subject. It is a... mechanism that produces the subject" (Beatriz Colomina, 1992) Landscape Architecture is more than 'designed ecosystems' or public infrastructure – its distinct forms and the experiences curated within one evokes not only emotional response, they have the ability to transcribe attitudes. Meyer says that while she does not believe that design alone can 'change' society, she does believe "...it can alter an individual's consciousness and ... assist in restructuring ... priorities and values." (2005)



Photos of scale model (UCT, 2017) taken during initial investigation of the Study Area.

Feminist Landscape Architectural practitioners and theorists argue that valuing the gendered spatial experience of everyday life is a designer's critical task. What we do know is that seeing gender is not enough (Maicantis, 2016). Ginger Daniel says that it's just the first step, and "...does not ensure that thoughtful approaches to addressing gender inequality have been integrated into the design process." Architect Jane Rendall has observed that to assume a "gender-sensitive" architecture is the answer is short-sighted. Jos Boys relates how she is often asked to describe a feminist architecture, as if the person enquiring would prefer if the answer came as a recipe, "...a way to 'adjust their social attitudes as they would do their ties.", as if it could be seen in the style or sensibility of the end-product, and that would be enough.

As a complex and reflexive condition that includes consideration of a multitude of factors, to approach a design with a gender-sensitive lens is to include a much wider range of considerations than the ostensibly pragmatic McHargian Site Analysis method would suggest. Beth Diamond makes a compelling argument for the deep revision of process and principle in Landscape Architects' attempts to be responsive to context, and come forth with appropriate design interventions. Elizabeth Meyer says that Landscape Architectural design has the potential to be a critical activity, and it can be employed to reveal and work within modes of thought and ways knowing that reflect a culture's complex physical and philosophical relationship to their environment. Landscape Architecture as critical enquiry allows us to enter into discussions about invention and creativity in design, that reviews the relevance of canon, balances responsible design with the imperative to broaden the intellectual knowledge base, and develop a design ethic that aims not only to be a skilled practitioner but a thought-full designer.

Conceptual Founding

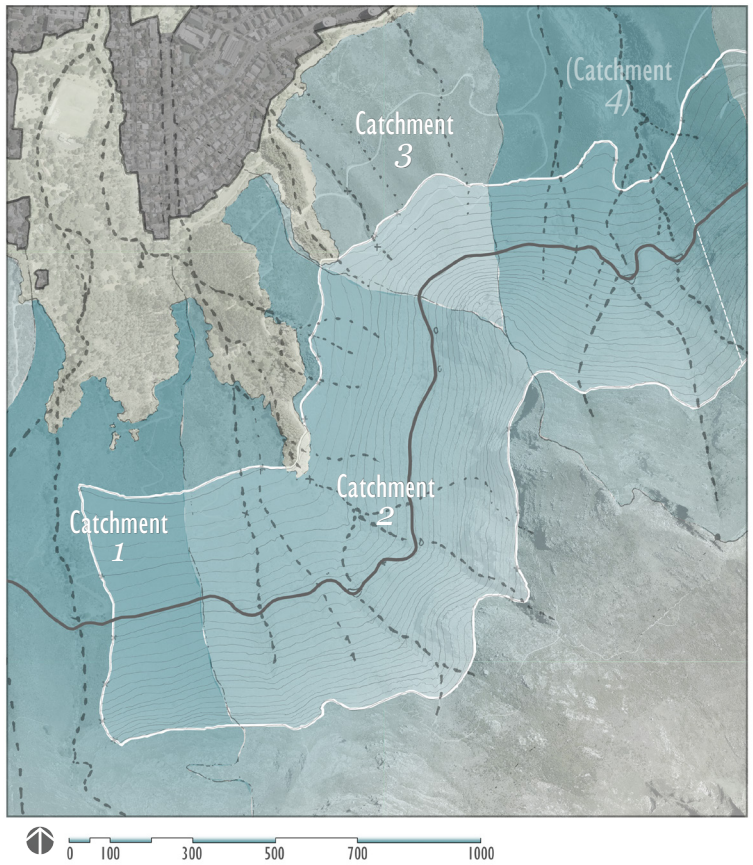
Contextualising

Seen as part of a greater landscape, the Tafelberg road site has various points of access. Although gender-aware architecture is vocal about the importance of creating connections between amenities, and addressing the Public/Private dualism (Elizabeth Meyer, Thaïsa Way, Helaine Kaplan Prentice, Catherine Dee and Rivka Fine and Heath Massey Schenker cover Landscape architecture on this front). The importance of closer spatial connection between activities currently separated was seconded to the importance of interrogating the interface between differently constructed forms of landscape on the Tafelberg Road site. This graphic shows the limited attention given to increasing the spatial connections of the site to its urban and nature reserve contexts.

I must qualify here that "designing for women," can certainly lead to arbitrary, stereotypical assumptions and categories that are as dangerous as those they seek to replace. Seeing the usually polarised dualities rather as forces on a continuum, that give meaning to one another in a dynamic, constantly changing relation, offers a powerful tool for both analysis and design and addresses many of the problems landscape architecture is faced with. Robert Riley believes that the biggest danger in dealing with dichotomies instead of diversity is that it can reinforce the designer's tendency to see the right form, to believe in design determinacy.

"The benefit of thinking about gender, culture, and landscape is that we begin to think not of determinacy and the right solution, but of difference and diversity. Diversity concerns not only sexuality and gender, but a vast array of cultural and individual variables. The more we think about that, the less likely we are to think of design determinism, the more we are led to seek diversity, not correctness. The more we think of sensitivity to landscape meaning, and experience, the more we must think of user choice and self-determination, about landscape and design as helping empower lives and enrich experience."

Robert B. Riley in Gender, Landscape, Culture: Sorting Out Some Questions



Catchments reveal hydrological systems

Four minor drainage catchments pass through the site. Three of these are selected for the resolution of the Founding phase. This has been determined by the streams and seasonal drainage lines that cross the roadway, and the scope of this project. The exclusion of the remaining parts of the site do not necessarily mean the end of the design intervention – this can be iterated at similar altitude across the Peninsula.

Sequencing refers to the ordering of elements that produce raw materials for experience of the site. The design treats paths as dynamic events. Trees, paths, objects are events and characters. Every structure or place is understood in the sequence of their coming and going and the places chosen to intervene are those where conflict arises between what is perceived and constructed as static and dynamic.

Where the slope has failed, where the tar is eroded, where boulders often fall, where the road has caved in, where the usefulness of the site engineering has been overruled by natural processes, this is where opportunities lie for opening conversations between ideas.

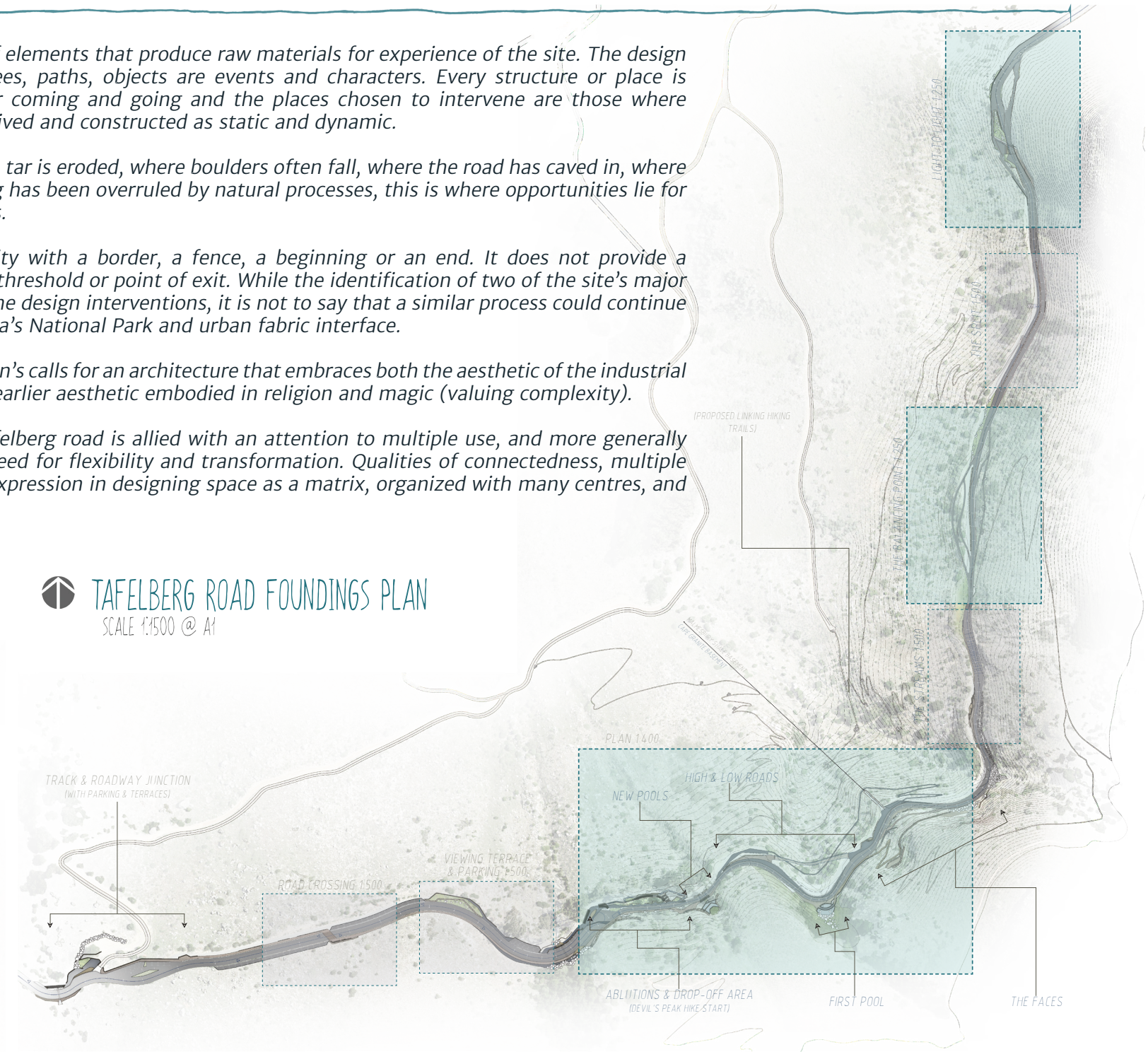
The project site is not seen an entity with a border, a fence, a beginning or an end. It does not provide a circular route, one possible entrance threshold or point of exit. While the identification of two of the site's major catchment areas loosely delineated the design interventions, it is not to say that a similar process could continue indefinitely along the entire Peninsula's National Park and urban fabric interface.

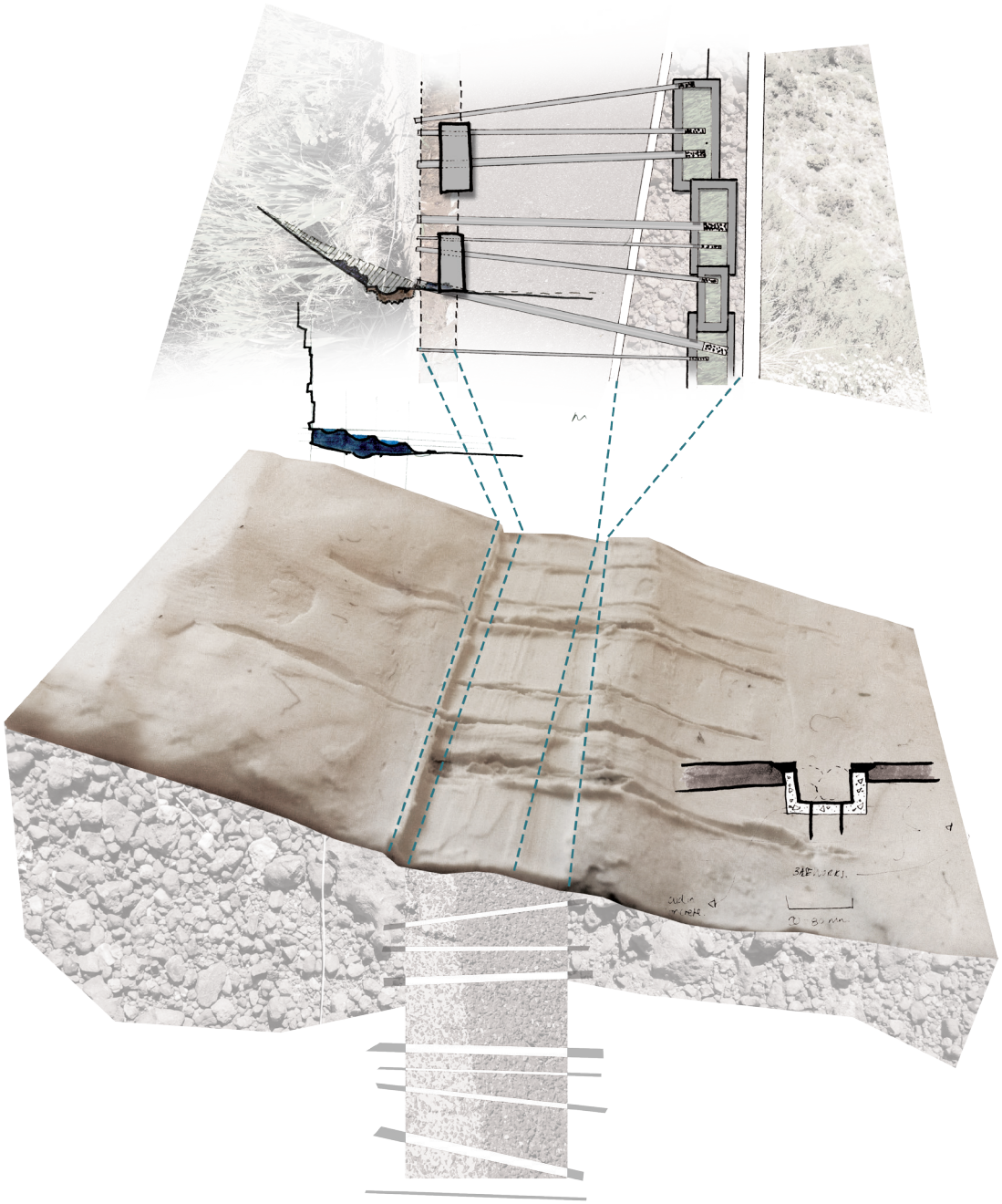
The design responds to Jane Thompson's calls for an architecture that embraces both the aesthetic of the industrial age (valuing simplification) and the earlier aesthetic embodied in religion and magic (valuing complexity).

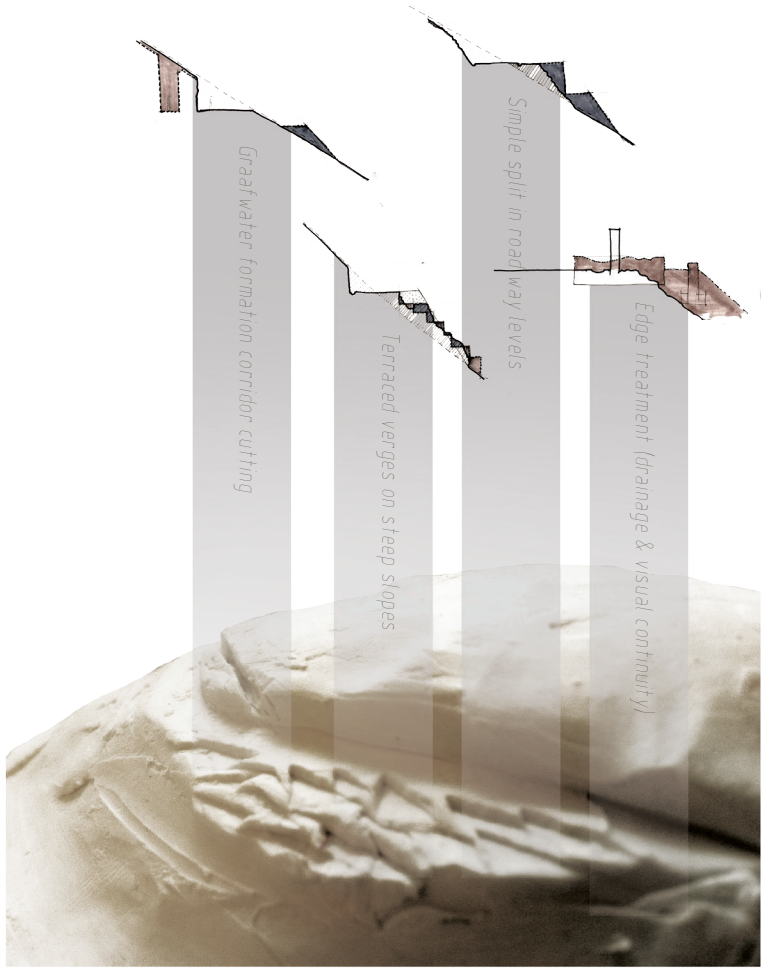
The desire for complexity on the Tafelberg road is allied with an attention to multiple use, and more generally with awareness of change and the need for flexibility and transformation. Qualities of connectedness, multiple use, flexibility, and complexity find expression in designing space as a matrix, organized with many centres, and do not have beginnings or ends.

This strategy combines completeness with the opportunity for transformation.

For instance, the project's planting strategy recognizes that things take time and time takes things – the landscape is not modified in the sense that new or rehabilitative vegetation is introduced – land is moved and topography shaped around the insertion or removal of materials – but the site's own vegetation processes are harnessed to re-cover soil and stabilise slopes with existing vegetation.






Graafwater formation corridor cutting
Terraced verges on steep slopes
Simple split in roadway levels
Edge treatment (drainage & visual continuity)



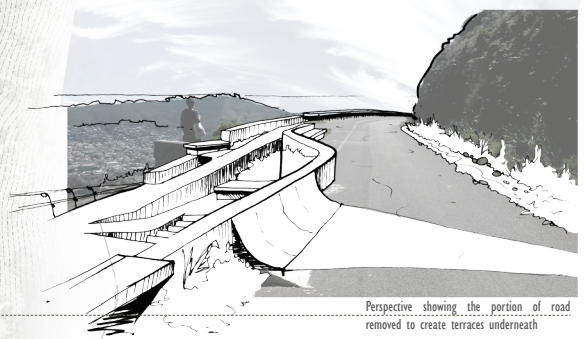
Perspective showing view from hard shoulder across the valley towards the Faces and the Ablution facility



Perspective showing edge treatment and lowered seating on the verge



Perspective showing the parallel stream with local stone & hard shoulder area



Perspective showing the portion of road removed to create terraces underneath



Perspective showing the low road (left) and high road (right) split



Perspective showing the high road bridge & open, vegetated storm-water / runoff channel

"When issues (of gender and identity politics) appear in design studio, they are usually a "special use problem". How differently might we shape our students' attitudes, and our own, if every studio problem included a detailed demographic profile of expected users, if actual studio work began with a discussion of how such characteristics of gender, race, age, even lifestyle might properly shape design, both specifically and generally. That we so seldom do anything so simple should tell us something, and not something flattering."

Robert B. Riley in Gender, Landscape, Culture: Sorting Out Some Questions

Stories and landscape narratives are anchored to a place. I only have one. Each person has their own. There are a multiplicity of narratives and therefore legion landscapes. The sequence of interventions is named carefully to avoid assigning imposed character, rather drawing on landscape elements that are revealed in the spaces. These allow each user's landing and grounding experiences to be expressed in their personal founding process – the reproduction of landscape through their experience – the experience that both creates and is created by their experience in the landscape that is dictated by their positionality.

"Different experiences, interests or agendas make the same landscape evolve as parallel entities. Hence, landscape at a particular time/space intersection may be conceived as discontinuous or multiple in its appearance."

Bjørn Bjerkli in Landscape and resistance: Transformation of Saami common land from dwelling to political landscape

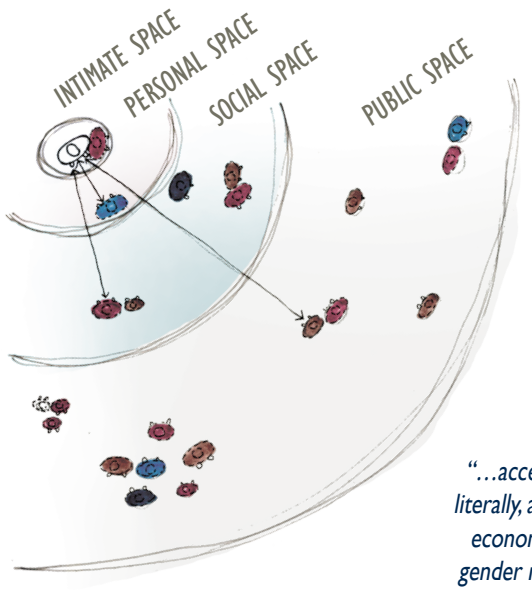
A design method employed under this strategy is expressed in the splitting of surface into a number of possible paths. This draws the theory describing proxemics into the design discussion. Proxemics is the study of how people socially and personally experience space as a reflection of unique cultures. While I haven't made a culturally-aggregated study of the users of the site, I do have reference to the perceptions of activity on and use of the site by the participants in the study and through careful observation of various users of the site, I developed a working understanding of what proxemics design might mean to them.

Proxemics: Fixed and semi-fixed-feature space

One of the ethics of care approaches that characterize feminist ways of knowing and designing in architectural practice is demonstrating a concern to accommodate different kinds of users and user groups. Seeing the public not as a homogeneous blur of able-bodied, young, face-less humanity (represented by the male form).

The anthropologist who developed this theory, Edward T. Hall, believed that it is essential for us to learn to read silent communications as easily as the printed and spoken ones. Proxemics provides designers with a way of understanding cultural and social nuances that are expressed in space and spatial relationships – a strategy that aligns with the project's aim to explore the possible ways and means of designing gender sensitive space. Proxemics (when referring to informal space) looks at the spheres of space associated with a human being.

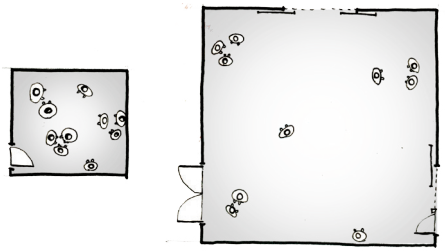
But our bodies are all different, and our boundaries are necessarily contingent to our physical realities. Research suggests that gender, race, age and ability influence what we define as intimate, personal, social and public space. Needless to say, these boundaries also change over time, and are dependent on our experiences in public open space, and in our private lives. Proxemics is not only culturally determined, but varies on the individual level – and that means that a landscape design catering to that is sure to include a very wide variety of dimensioned spaces, pathways, trajectories and options.



"…access to physical space is, symbolically and literally, an important step towards greater social, economic and political power for women and gender minorities in the public sphere" - Ginger Daniels, 2015

Theorists suggest space reflects social organisation, but of course, once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer merely a neutral background: it exerts its own influence. For instance: seating-space shaped by a round, rather than square, table, may influence the nature of social interaction among those seated. The 'theatre of action' to some extent determines the action. The environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility, and, in turn, our perceptions of space are shaped by our own capacity to move about, whether by foot or by mechanical or other transport.

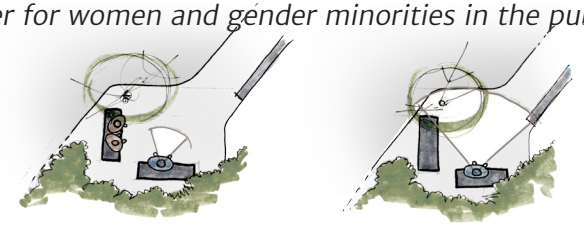
So: behaviour and space are mutually dependent. Judy Matthews argued in the 1980's that space defines the people in it. At the same time, however (again reflexively), the presence of individuals in space in turn determines its nature. For example, the entry of a stranger may change a private area into a public one. Thus: people define space. Space, then, is not a simple concept. And if space is an ordering principle, so, of course, is gender.



Theorists suggest space reflects social organisation. But once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer merely a neutral background: it exerts its own influence. A dozen people in a small room 'is not the same thing' as a dozen people in a great hall.

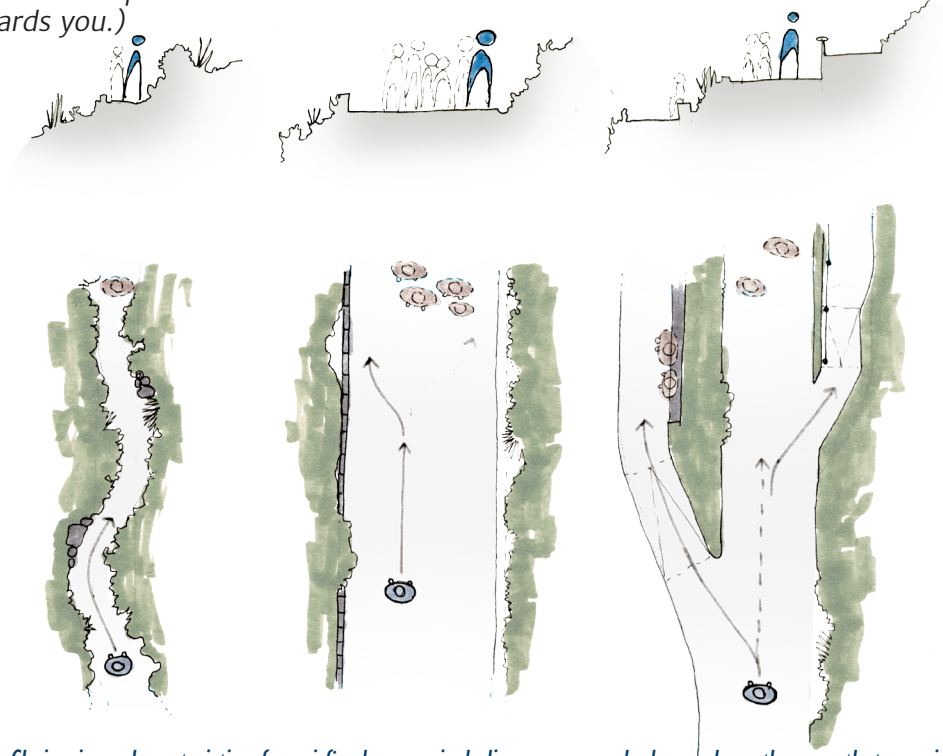
Access to comfortable spaces and the opportunity to choose your trajectory is fundamental to gender equality in public open space. This has literal and symbolic significance, as it carries the potential to destabilise gender norms. Sensitive design responds to a range of bodies' custom needs and desires. It also recognises that different bodies experience "the same" types of space differently. What might be exhilarating to me might be terrifying to someone else, what I find satisfying or comforting about a spatial condition might be threatening or totally invisible to another human.

This landscape design allows one the choice to appropriate different spaces according to the dynamic needs that correspond to intimate, personal, social and public space. Ginger Daniels speaks extensively on how "...access to physical space is, symbolically and literally, an important step towards greater social, economic and political power for women and gender minorities in the public sphere"



The entry of a stranger may change a private area into a public one.

All of these do not necessitate someone else to be in those spaces for you to reflect on them, although they ingress of another human into one or all of these spaces and be desirable (a friend or lover re-joining you after splitting up to walk alone), undesirable or perhaps exciting one (a group of people occupying what went from being a personal space to a social one because of their presence), to an uncomfortable one (for instance if a person appears to be watching you from a short distance), to a frightening one (in which someone in any one of these spheres of space threatens or commits acts of sexual harassment or violence towards you.)



Choice is a characteristic of semi-fixed space, including spaces and places along the way that one is able to interact with by following a different trajectory, immersing in water, where sun and shade can be found at different times of day, the different kinds of occupation of a fixed and homogeneous edge, moving objects found within spaces to accommodate your use of it, etc..

The findings of the 'Don't go alone' study, as well as published research shows that factors such as the gender-presentation of an approaching person, the angle of approach, how quickly someone is moving, their apparent race, the way they are dressed or whether or not they are engaged in a self-explanatory activity (like running cycling, taking on the phone etc.), affects someone's momentary experience of these four spheres of informal space. These experiences have been demonstrably varied between men and women. Ginger Daniels devises that paying close attention to how gender dynamics play out in these scales is critical, as there is no gender-neutral experience.

Fixed feature space

The ablution facility is a good example of how to grapple with gender and proxemics in Public open space. Hall writes, "The important point about fixed-feature space is that it is the mould into which a great deal of behaviour is cast". As this research demonstrates, our built environment is not gender-neutral, nor are our design interventions. In a few cases this is clear to many, but in most cases inequalities are only recognized by those who do not benefit from gender privilege. Often what or how things are currently done are considered what ought to be. This is particularly true for those that are served well by current conditions. What is counted is what is valued, considered, and planned for. For instance, public amenities are not usually designed to accommodate the biological needs of at least 50% of the population, naming these as "special needs" rather than ones that directly impacts half of its users (this is counting the LGBTQI community, gender minorities, women and gender minorities).

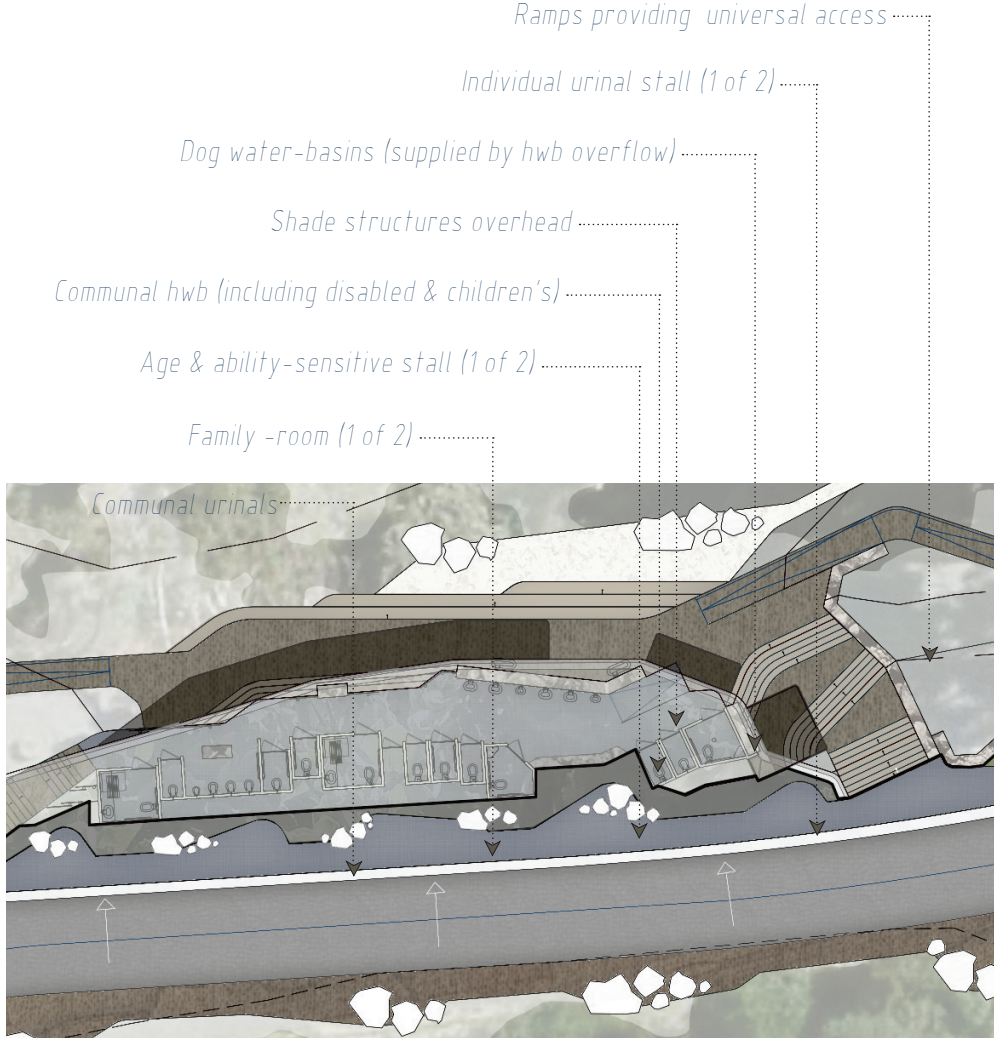
One must therefore ask: is the design responsive to the ergonomic comfort and need of individuals across the gender spectrum? Does it cater for different kinds of families? Does it group traditionally 'othered' individuals who do not necessarily share spatial requirements, such as 'mothers', the 'disabled' as a homogeneous group, and children of any gender? Elise Roy, a deaf lawyer and artist who advocates for social design, believes that the norm should not be to accommodate disability as a 'special needs' category, but to design for disability first. She has demonstrated that in designing for the unique experiences of more than just the average user, we often stumble upon solutions that are not only inclusive, but better than when we design for the norm. She says, "the energy it takes to accommodate someone with a disability can be leveraged, moulded and played with as a force for creativity and innovation. This moves us from the mindset of trying to change the hearts and the deficiency mindset of tolerance, to becoming an alchemist, the type of magician that this world so desperately needs to solve some of its greatest problems."

Gender-sensitive public ablutions are essential to achieving gender-equality in public open space. This public ablution is not gender-separated, not does it provide only two options. Every WC stall (except the communal urinals) is designed to operate as a gender-neutral personal hygiene space. Various features and arrangements also make this an age- and ability-sensitive facility that caters to various groups, families and users.

"There are a few things that all of us need. We all need air to breathe. We need clean water to drink. We need food to eat. We need shelter and love. You know... love is great, too. And we all need a safe place to pee.

If we don't move now to make sure that these places are truly open and accessible to everyone, then we just need to get honest and quit calling them public places. We need to just admit that they are really only open for people who fit neatly into one of two gender boxes, which I do not."

Ivan Coyote (2015)

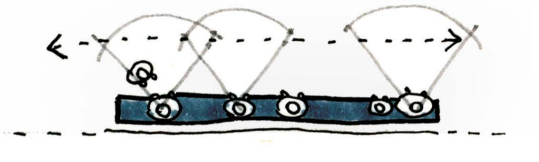


Proxemics provides designers with a way of understanding non-verbal cultural and social nuances that are expressed in space and spatial relationships – a strategy that aligns with the project's aim to explore the possible ways and means of designing gender sensitive space. Proxemics (when referring to informal space) looks at the spheres of space associated with a human being.

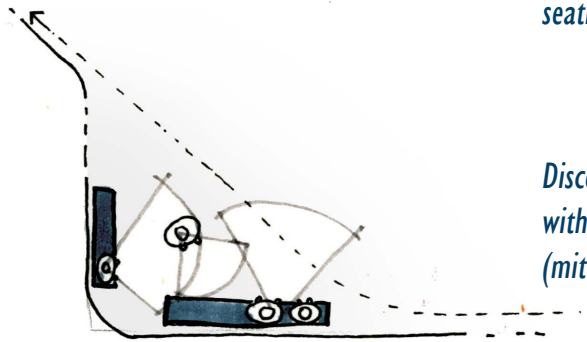
Our bodies are all different; our boundaries are necessarily contingent to our physical realities. Research suggests that gender, race, age and ability influence what we define as intimate, personal, social and public space. These boundaries also change over time, dependent on our experiences in public and private. Proxemics is not only culturally determined, but varies on the individual level - the environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility, and, in turn, our perceptions of space are shaped by our own capacity to move about. A landscape design catering to that is sure to include a very wide variety of dimensioned spaces, pathways, trajectories and options.

Semi fixed-feature space

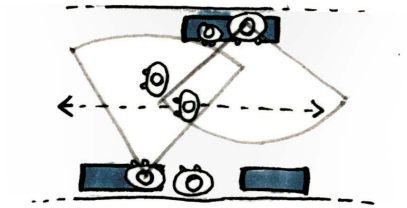
Hall has demonstrated the "...structuring of semi-fixed features can have a profound effect on behaviour, and that this effect is measurable." Semi-fixed features refer to design elements that are easily moveable or adapted. Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte have done research in this vein. Spaces and paces along the way that one is able to interact with by immersing in water, where sun and shade can be found at different times of day, the different kinds of occupation of a fixed and homogeneous edge, moving objects found within spaces to accommodate your use of it, interacting with sound and light in fixed spaces by interacting with the medium and micro scales, etc..



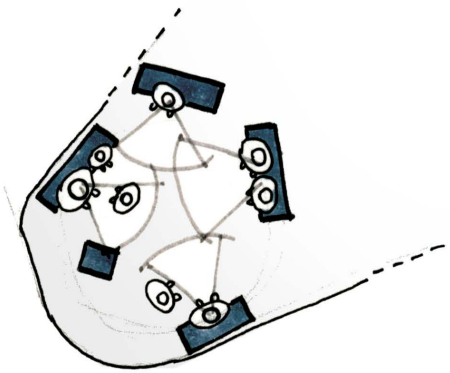
The distance between seating and the pedestrian thoroughfare, the length of the seating element and its position.



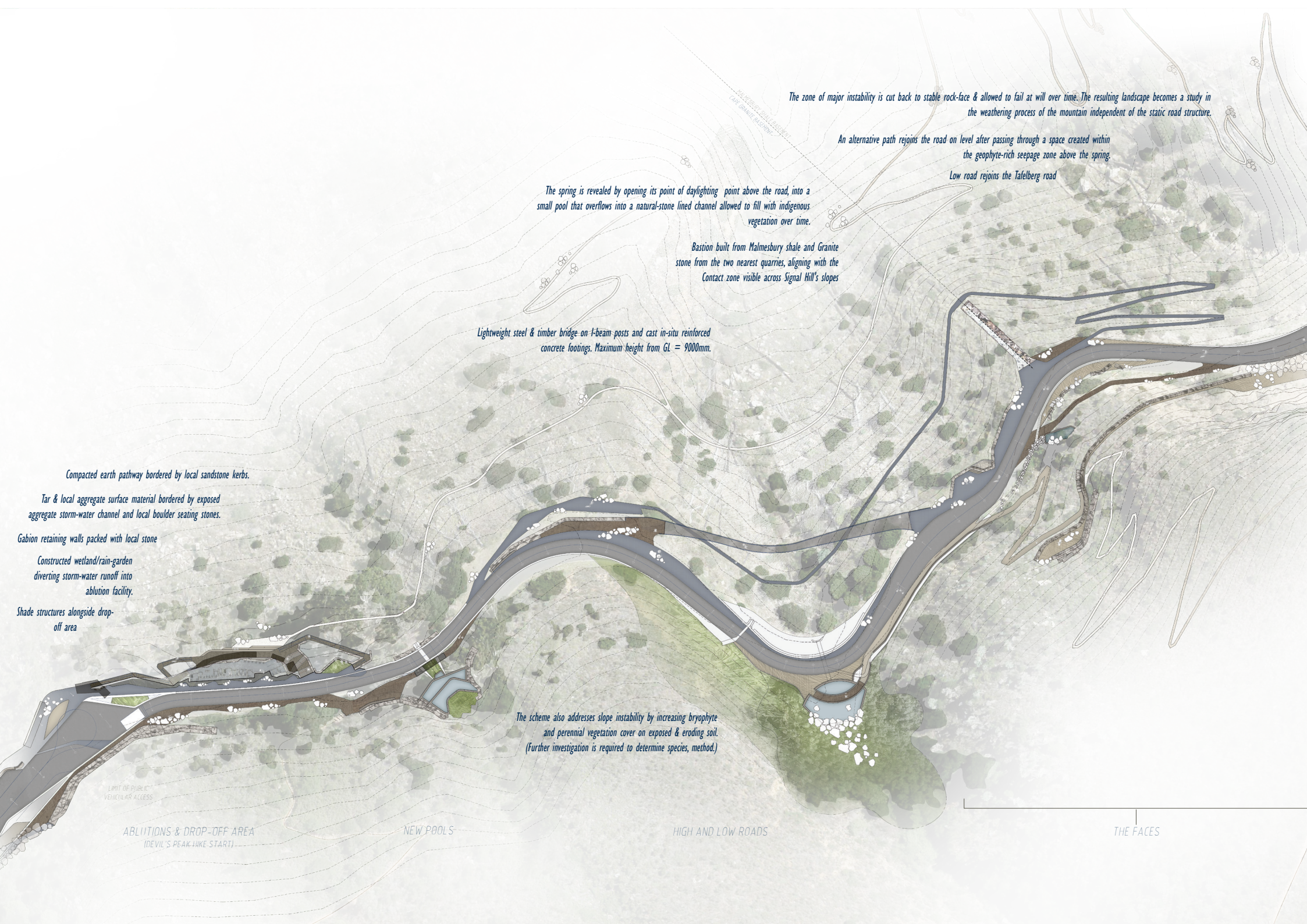
Discomfort within confined spaces without partitions or symbolic separations (mitigated by size of space.)



The space between seating directly opposite and in close proximity changes in nature depending on if the parties on opposite sides know each other.



Behaviour and space are mutually dependent, and at the same time, the presence of individuals in space in turn determines its nature.


The zone of major instability is cut back to stable rock-face & allowed to fail at will over time. The resulting landscape becomes a study in the weathering process of the mountain independent of the static road structure.
An alternative path rejoins the road on level after passing through a space created within the geophyte-rich seepage zone above the spring.
Low road rejoins the Tafelberg road
The spring is revealed by opening its point of daylighting point above the road, into a small pool that overflows into a natural-stone lined channel allowed to fill with indigenous vegetation over time.
Bastion built from Malmesbury shale and Granite stone from the two nearest quarries, aligning with the Contact zone visible across Signal Hill's slopes
Lightweight steel & timber bridge on I-beam posts and cast in-situ reinforced concrete footings. Maximum height from GL = 9000mm.
Compacted earth pathway bordered by local sandstone kerbs.
Tar & local aggregate surface material bordered by exposed aggregate storm-water channel and local boulder seating stones.
Gabion retaining walls packed with local stone
Constructed wetland/rain-garden diverting storm-water runoff into ablution facility.
Shade structures alongside drop-off area
The scheme also addresses slope instability by increasing bryophyte and perennial vegetation cover on exposed & eroding soil. (Further investigation is required to determine species, method.)
LIMIT OF PUBLIC VEHICULAR ACCESS
ABLUTIONS & DROP-OFF AREA
(DEVIL'S PEAK HIKE START)
NEW POOLS
HIGH AND LOW ROADS
THE FACES

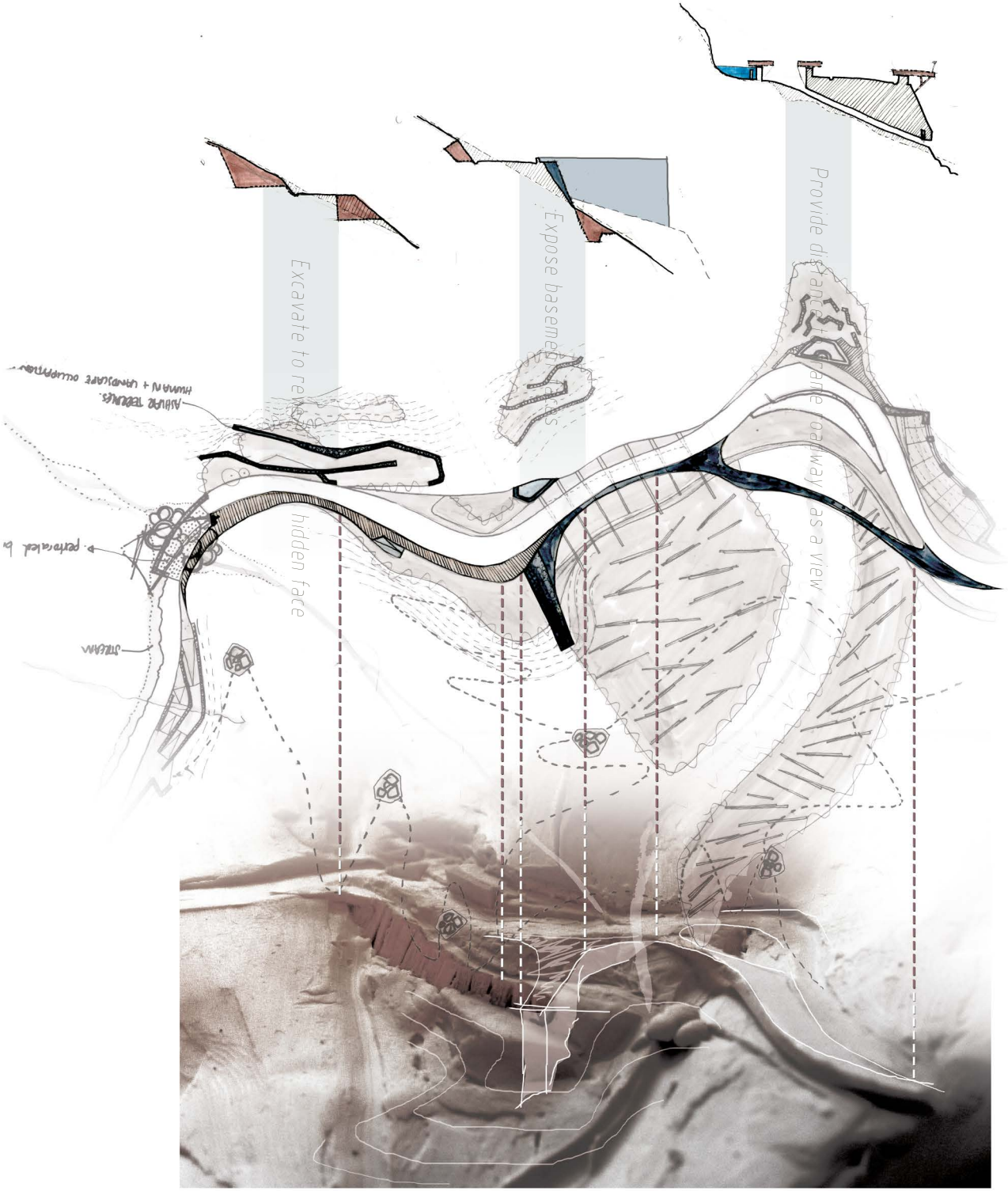
Concealing and revealing are by nature dynamic actions. They are also continuous, in that one cannot happen without the other, whether this effect is intentional or accidental. Reveals can happen in parts or all at once – this technique is used to heighten drama and suspense through a diversity of media. Employed in landscape narratives, it is a connecting device because of its sensorial quality: and what we know and experience regarding human relationships to one another and the spaces around us are informed by the senses.

Elizabeth Meyer has said that"...viewing landscape architecture through the male gaze..."consigns it to "...a body of fiction – one that has deep ideological implications..." The visual sense has historically been masculinised and favoured by western philosophy and architecture, (discussed extensively in an essay called 'the bourgeois eye aloft', which assisted me greatly in developing the eidetic timeline). Architecture in the Renaissance established a system of rules that are now the basis of Modern architecture. In fact, Logocentrism and male anthropomorphism underlie the system of architecture from the time of Vitruvius. Treating the subject in any discourse or design, as male by default have ramifications for the gendering of urban space, producing representations of urban space where only men do the looking, are the spectators, and women and gender minorities are looked at as objects of visual consumption in the public arena (this is from architectural theorist Alice Friedman). For this reason, the design is sensitive to the way in which the faculty of sight operates in the landscape design.

Here feminist film theory's emphasis on vision has a significant bearing on architectural experience. Not only can architecture control, and limit, physical movement (and inevitably, of course, control the faculty of sight as part of this physical experience), it can also create an arena and a frame for those who inhabit its spaces. Through screening, sight lines, contrasts of scale, lighting, and other devices, architecture literally stages the value system of a culture, foregrounding certain activities and persons and obscuring others.

Olfactory, thermal, and tactile senses are equally important. For this reason, the design is sensitive to the interactions of users with the site not only as a surface from which to see and be seen, and of which to see; but also as a place where the senses are involved intimately with sensory experience.

Another, more pragmatic application of this strategy is found in dealing with the normative approach to slope instability. Having identified these places as areas of interest in the Enquiry mapping phase, the design response imagines a scenario in which the mountain is allowed to erode over, across or underneath the founding structures on site. If not left to follow its course, the design seeks to hasten its failure to reveal that process, thereby shaping space alongside the road. The cracked road is not fixed or stabilised, rather the design seeks to bring attention to those junctions as a point of conversation between the mountain and the road. In other forms, Reveal and Conceal is used to design an area that foregrounds the spring located just after the first pool; the geological contact point is extruded from the side of the slope along its axis towards the west, where the landscape patterns over the back of Signal Hill conforms to the underlying geology.


Excavate to reveal hidden face
Expose basement areas
Provide distant view of the roadway as a view

Generally, one can cease to perambulate wherever one chooses. Although seating, shade an spatial forms do encourage people to select certain places to spend longer periods of time in, I've never quite bought into the idea of a 'pause space' or a 'gathering area'. Providing them is necessary, and I do. But I like to remind myself that just because I've designed a 'pause space' doesn't mean that's always where people will stop. People will occupy any number of places and spaces, and this design does not treat a continuous edge as a movement corridor because that's the way it presents on plan. Places of pause and rest do not need to be secluded, small or hidden, or circular and enclosing. The cohesive, tangible place in which broader experiences are gathered and reflected on might as well be in the middle of the road. So the design is released from the obsessive programming of use – a strategy that Elizabeth K Meyer suggests differs considerably from landscape architectural design as it is generally taught and practiced.

She says that "Materials matter. Scale matters. The situation matters. It's easy to flow endlessly between academic disciplines, to remain at the margins, to occupy the edges, to slip between boundaries and never define the theoretical and critical ground specific to one's own activity, one's own body of knowledge. Critical inquiry cannot exist if process is immutable, if the site analysis determines all..." Gender is never just one thing, and never performing only one function, for only one reason. In this way it is also similar to landscape – and if gender is performative (in reference to Judith Butler's use of the term), then to design a site programmatically would be assigning performativity to a site according to norms and socially accepted stereotypes of society. To release the landscape from these norms is to approach a gender-sensitive form of landscape. According to Susan Sontag, Bernard Lassus, Beth Diamond, a bit of a stretch in the reading of Roland Barthes, to Michel Foucault and Elizabeth Meyer (among others) a landscape that is treated thusly, will give rise to the values it enshrines.

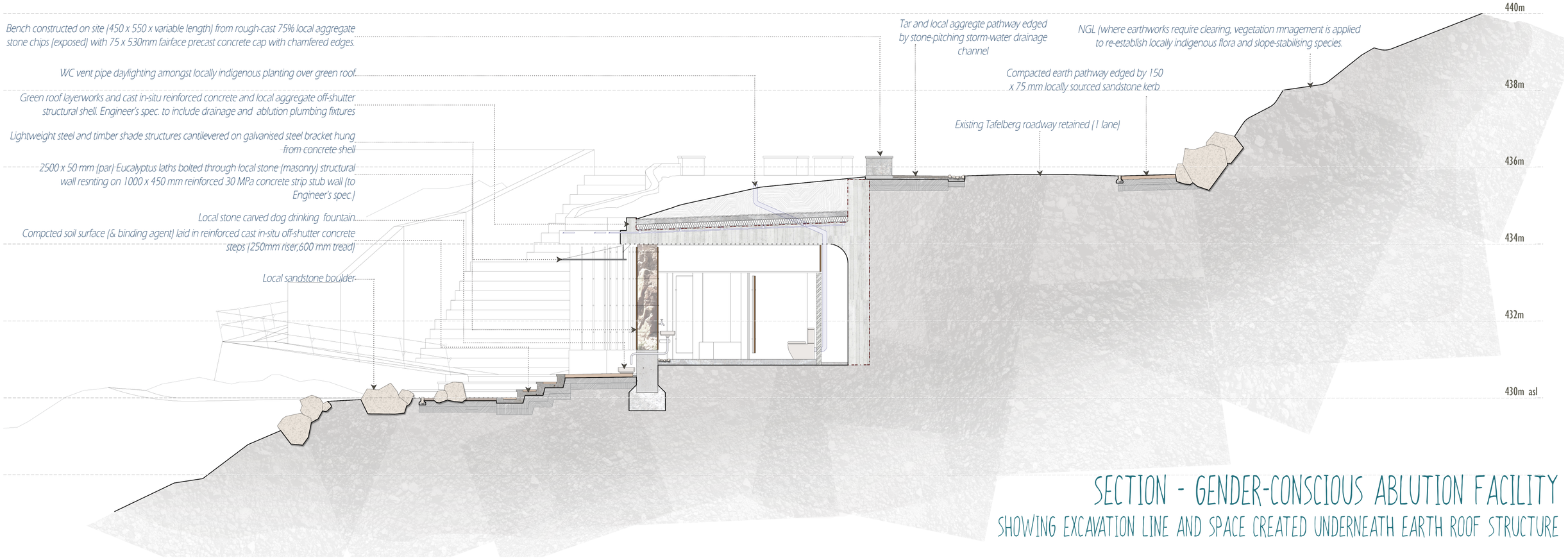
Elizabeth Meyer suggests that a way to interrogate the broader agenda – the norms and values that influence my thinking – is to "release the binary approach." Judith Butler has said that the reproduction of norms is the lifeblood of their longevity. This tells me that it is the norms that I must target as a spatial designer. This applies not only to gender norms, but the normative response to spatial planning, to Site analysis, and to spatial design. Catherine Dee and Riveka Fine, British Landscape architects, believe that rethinking dualistic complexes, exploring gender constructions and the associated dismantling of the gender dualism, offers tremendous scope for informing alternative future visions for landscape architecture. They suggest that a way to address binarised thinking is to develop a non-hierarchical conception of difference.

This design, in its resolution, is asking: "what if we were to lift the binarised control over the landscape?" (for instance, the Conceal and Reveal strategy of dealing with slope instability). Perhaps it is impractical to proponents of the dominant paradigm – but if we demonstrably lift our control over the landscape, is it not possible that we might demonstrate what would happen if we lift social controls similarly? I argue that if we were to experiment with lifting control over the landscape – we may find that there is a corresponding influence over the norms and values of behaviour within public open space.

Karen A.Franck suggests another way to respond to dualism as a 'way of knowing': to employ Synthesism, or the "integration of categories", as an alternative; this is because "...unreflective categorization precludes the recognition of variety, complexity, and change." In terms of form-making, a feminist perspective that embraces synthesis is likely to blur role distinctions between designer user, between nature and culture, between what the space is programmed to be versus what is possible within it. John Ormsbee Simonds Barry Starke came to the conclusion that "What must count, then is not primarily the designed shape, spaces and forms - what counts is the experience. The most exhilarating impacts occur often in those places where no plan layout is evident."

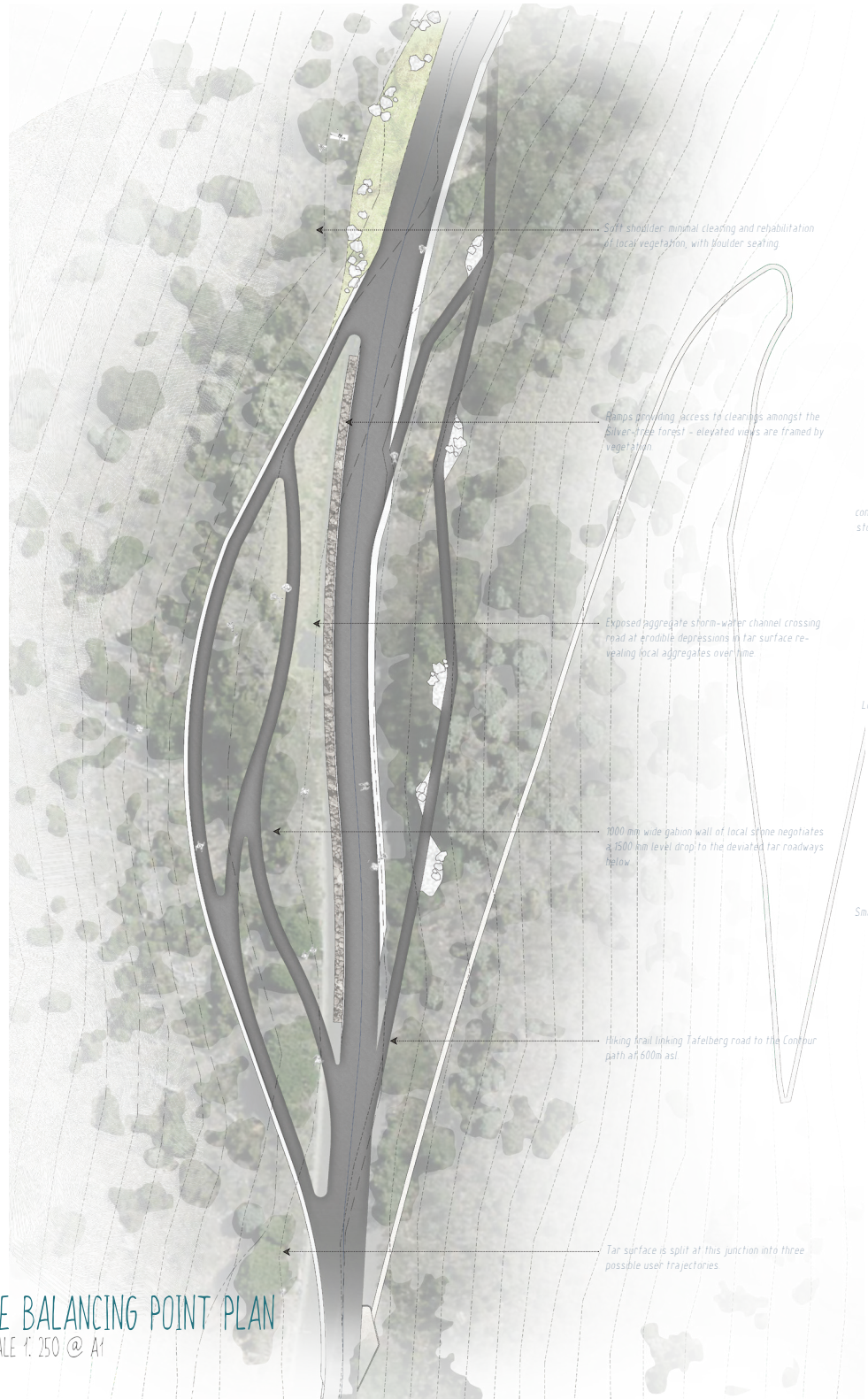
Robert Riley has theorised that experience and expectation are probably the most important shapers of landscape experience. He says, "We design as if form produces feelings. It does not. Form can, in some cases, encourage certain feelings or discourage others. It can work with other modalities, such as strong religious-cultural systems and beliefs, to affect feelings, but not to produce them. Landscape meaning is determined by what we bring to that landscape: what we bring as our experience and expectation, our mood and situation, our educational background, our class and race, our gender and our sexuality."

I wanted to design, not the experience (how could I?) but a trajectory along which many experiences are possible. And more that are positive than those that are negative, in terms of gender and ability, at the very least. The founding design releases an edge from merely edging, and a centre from merely gathering. It elevates the ability of an individual to choose between different spatial conditions above the so-called legibility of a landscape discernible to all as a route, or a procession, or a story unfolding in one direction until you exit at the other end. It recognises that the user themselves are the landscape narratives, the stories are wrought by their choices. No one story can be told because no one story is more important than another. In light of the gendered nature of the very measuring and proportion system of architecture, the relationship the human body and the built form particularly important when we begin talking about centres, symmetries, the symbolic role of central and axial space.



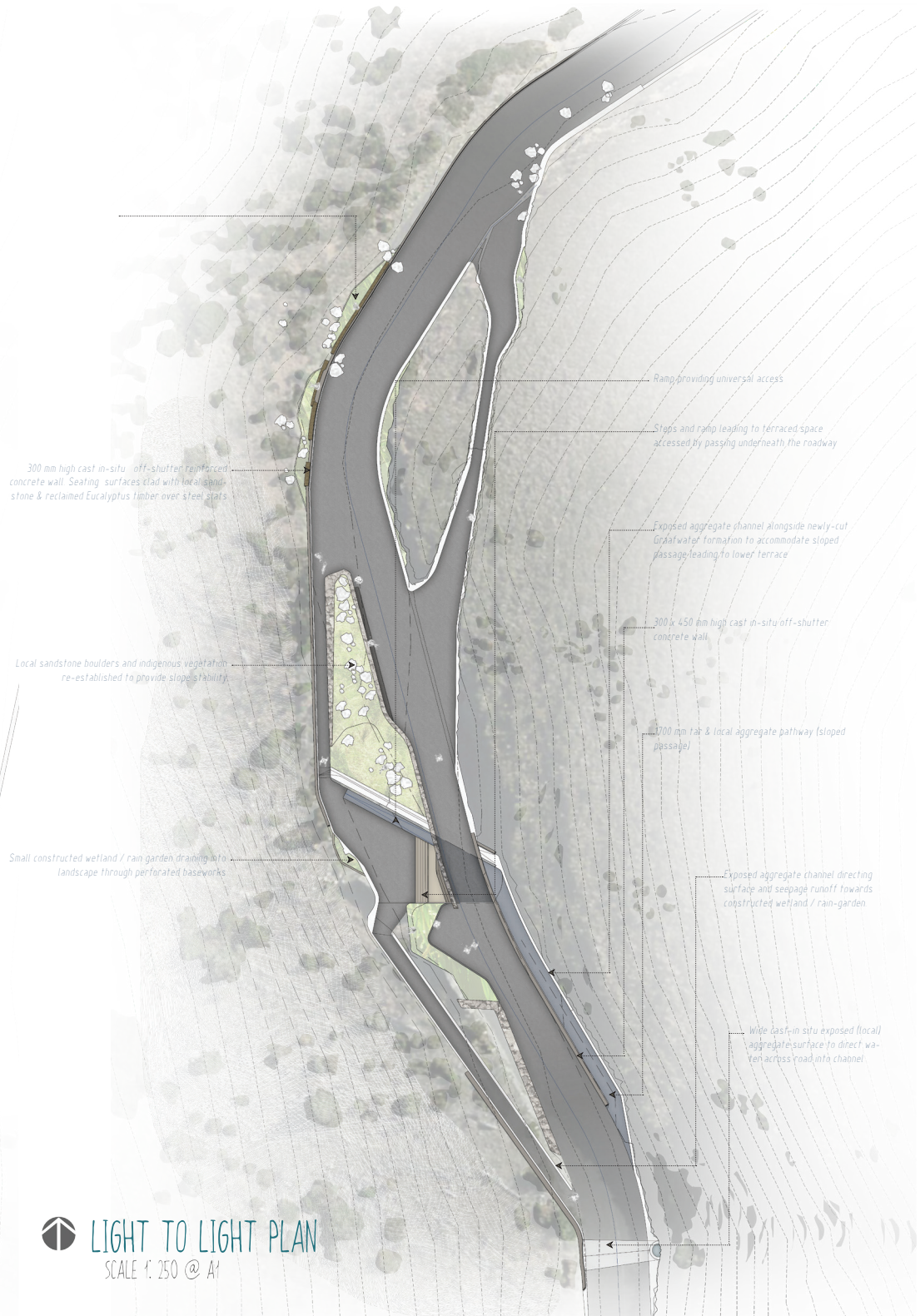
SECTION - GENDER-CONSCIOUS ABLUTION FACILITY

SHOWING EXCAVATION LINE AND SPACE CREATED UNDERNEATH EARTH ROOF STRUCTURE



THE BALANCING POINT PLAN

SCALE 1: 250 @ A1



LIGHT TO LIGHT PLAN

SCALE 1: 250 @ A1

The last strategy, Opening, involves ways of creating places responsive to cultural and natural processes. One social process neglected in the design of public open space is that of solitude. The chapter titled 'Being Alone' in the study document discusses this observation in detail. It is the intention of this project to design spaces that accommodate the single user, regardless of gender, but specifically cater for gender minorities and the parts of society subject to precarity. A way to achieve this is pursuing design processes and features that espouse a sense of belonging.

One strategy involves providing spaces and places in which intra-actions between the physical, sensing body can interact with natural processes of the site – water, rock surfaces, places exposed to wind or scalar experiences etc..). Another is to be mindful that the physical experience of a vista or view can elicit a range of emotive responses (awe, terror, humility, power, exhilaration, sadness, etc.) and design the spatial conditions that frame moments accordingly. Another strategy is found in the design of seating and spaces that individuals or groups occupy, that do not exclusively cater for 'people watching', or survey the passing by of other users (redefining the object/subject relationship between the viewer and the viewed, not perpetuating fear but encouraging benign social behaviours). And finally by the opening of the road into more pathways than one – splitting its range of possible routes (that were inscribed only within the limits of the 7 m tarred road before) into a myriad opportunities to engage with and enjoy one's experience of the site.

Another aspect included in Opening is the recognition that architecture continues after the moment of its design and construction. Beatriz Colomina has said that "Architecture is not simply a platform that accommodates the viewing subject. It is a viewing mechanism that produces the subject. It precedes and frames its occupant." So the experience, perception, use, appropriation and occupation of architecture must be thought of as two processes – first the temporal activity after construction occurs, and in which the user reproduces the meaning and utility of architecture.

Secondly, as a process of re-conceptualization, in which over time users reproduce different architectures over time and space. In their book Gender Space Architecture, Jane Rendall and various others argue that by recognising architecture as being constituted through its occupation, and that experiential aspects are important in the construction of identity; supporting a gender-sensitive concern with the performativity of a feminist landscape.

Robert Riley has identified certain kinds of landscape and spaces that are inherently gender biased, they physically or psychologically disadvantage one sex, or gender; they reinforce or confirm existing gender-related behaviours and attitudes. But ... many landscapes are gender biased not because of the physical design per see, but because of personal and institutional behaviours, perceptions, expectations, and uses brought to that landscape.

Eva Anggard has described natural settings as relatively free of gender stereotypes and biases in and of themselves, but can easily be appropriated as 'masculine' or 'feminine' or 'other' space. In this way, settings within his design risk becoming more or less gender-stereotyped and allow few or many possibilities for individuals across the gender spectrum to position themselves within. For this reason, the site maintains as far as possible its character as a 'natural setting', that encourages as many non-gendered interactions as possible.

In Conclusion

In this iteration of the design of Tafelberg road, the landscape is no longer something only to be seen, to function ecologically, to be a receptive setting to be traversed as one might traverse any slope. What Tafelberg road renders inert in the vicinity of the cable car station, it had begun to revive as a pedestrianized road. It embraces a healthy appetite for debate, its role in reproducing the concept of landscape in the mind of every visitor, during every interaction. This design seeks to reveal the negotiation between what is thought of as static and what is observed to be dynamic. The relationship between culture and nature that is continuous and open to debate; not fixed or polar. The road is not a receiver of activity but a collaborator in it.

The forms, spaces and features engage the user in a multitude of conversations, in a multitude of settings, scales and on a multitude of possible trajectories. The user and the landscape are empowered equally to have a say in the conversation between user and setting. The study revealed that public open space contributes to cultural and social behaviours and norms. Now visitors to TMNP can engage in debate within this interstitial space – defining their own unique trajectories on the spectrum through culture and nature. Robert Riley has said that "If landscape design is art and science, it is then social fact and intellectual inquiry. Scholarship and research begin by posing questions. The more carefully we frame our questions, the more likely we are to get useful answers." This project has attempted to give answers to the questions of what gender-sensitive landscape architecture is. It asks – how do I improve and empower women and gender minorities to respond to perceptions of real and possible danger constructively? How to mitigate the sense of isolation one feels in the experience of a marginalized group with a healthy environment for solitude? How does a landscape design acknowledge differential access to resources and differences of space usage across gender, race, ability and class? How do we acknowledge and reveal the mechanisms by which these patterns are maintained and justified?

Understanding the role the built environment plays in creating or perpetuating gender inequality is an attempt to understand the complex intersections of multiple disciplines and cultures over the course of time. Practitioners in the built environments fields exercise powerful roles in shaping gender dynamics for years to come, whether they are conscious of it or not. Designers and planners have a responsibility to train and sensitize themselves to see gender before designing begins and throughout the design process.

Tackling gender inequality in any form is a challenging undertaking. I do not assume that gender relationships are stagnant, as design decisions could reinforce existing inequalities. Space confers status and status is gendered, therefore people across the gender spectrum, use and do not use, feel welcomed or uninvited, or safe or unsafe in different ways and for different reasons. Due to the subordinate status of the female and 'other' category in most cultures, women and gender minorities' access, invitation, and sense of safety are often less than that of men's. This limits movement, access to public amenities, productivity, and quality of life.

Ginger Daniels believes that landscape architects as "…are extremely well poised to do this work if we are willing to rise to the challenge."

"A feminist ... architecture should not only be interested in 'women's place' in society, but in ,gender relations, and the importance and variety of individual experience. I believe that what characterizes a feminist ... architecture is not only that it is specifically interested in 'women's place' in our society but that it emphasizes gender relations, ideologies, and the importance and variety of individual experience."

- Jos boys

DON'T GO ALONE

Gendered perceptions of safety, activity and access in Public Open Space

A study on the slopes of Table Mountain



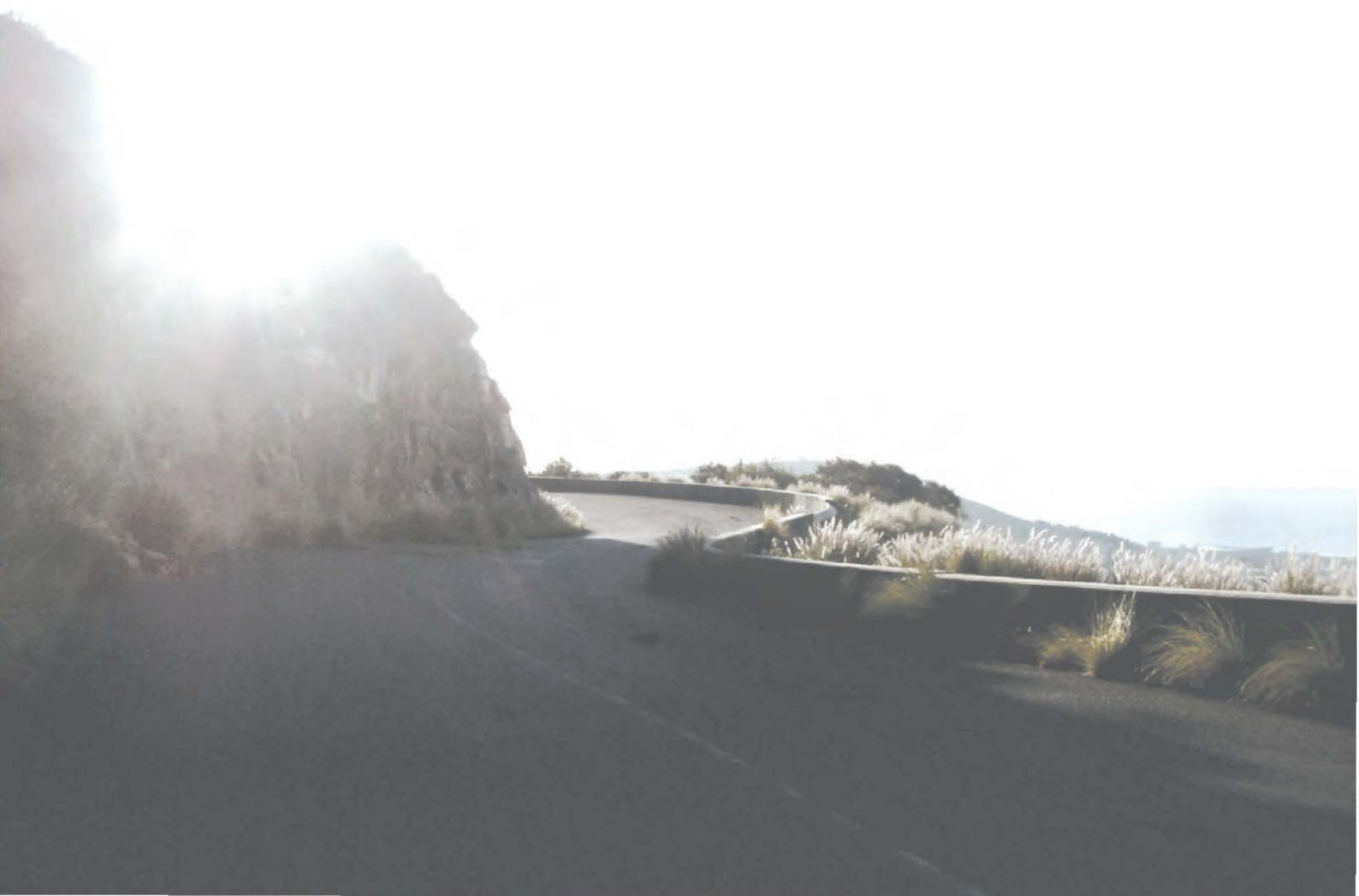
Hidden Mountain

I am walking in the beauty of nature. I feel scared.
I can see a million people, but nobody can see me

I am walking in the beauty of nature. I feel threatened.
I can see a million people, but nobody can see me

I am walking in the beauty of nature. I am being violated.
I can see a million people, but nobody can see me

Sonette Smit
Landscape Architect
Cape Town, 2017



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Don't Go Alone

A Study presented to the University of Cape Town

In partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of
Master of Landscape Architecture

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December 2017
Cape Town

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is written in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master in Landscape Architecture (MLA). The intention of this study has been to observe perceptions held by the users of a study area as they pertain to safety, access to and activity in public open space and the landscape, through the lens of gender. I aim to locate these perceptions within gender theory and cultural geography in order to explain what I believe are significant implications for landscape architectural theory and practice. The study is explorative and qualitative in nature.

> *"... it is valuable to study and explore the idea of (gendered) interpretations, meanings, and experiences of landscape because we believe that increased and multiple understandings of (gender), both collectively and individually, have the potential to lead to new forms and processes of landscape architecture values." (Dee & Fine, 2005)*

The study also aims to explore the study area as a landscape within the same theoretical framework, positioning *landscape* as a concept alongside that of *gender*, with the intention of discovering ways and means in which to approach the landscape architectural design process in a socially inclusive and culturally situated way.

> *"There is a new venue for theory, necessarily impure, where it emerges in and as the very event of cultural translation. It is... the emergence of theory at the site where cultural horizons meet, where the demand for translation is acute and its promise of success, uncertain." (Butler, 2010)*

This paper does not set out to prove a conclusive hypothesis, nor is it conducted through rigorous scientific method. It seeks to problematize what we think we know and understand (as a fellow student reminded me, during a bookshop writing session while composing this study (Nekura, 2017). As an exercise in research through design, it is necessarily reflexive* rather than Euclidean, it relies on the (mostly feminist) theory of many others within the fields of geography, gender and cultural studies, queer theory, anthropology, sociology, film theory, historiography, identity politics, philosophy, landscape architectural, architectural and planning theory. Most sources are those who have explored the "nexus of erasure" (Ture, 2015) and inequality that are the result of (often, colonial) cis-hetero-patriarchal society. A great deal of the text relies heavily on their writings to frame the study adequately in terms of theory, especially given the deficiency of landscape architectural writing overlapping with these fields in terms of gender. I am indebted to all these humans. I hope that this attempt to locate my dissertation project within their concepts and ideas does justice to their work.

This study consists of 20 interviews that were conducted in August 2017 involving verbal, written and drawn responses; as well as a set of graphics that have been curated from the interview material to reveal observations regarding the topics discussed in this study. In a personal capacity, this study was conceived of as an exercise in exposure, so that I could gain an understanding of perceptions other than my own. Through gathering the perceptions and experiences of people other than myself, I hoped to gain a wider range of insight into the various social, cultural and behavioural realities at play in public open space , especially as these relate to gender.

Because of the parallel design process of an MLA Studio design Dissertation, the text also considers possible conceptual and concrete applications (of the observations made during the study) to landscape architectural design practice and process. Some of these ideas are explored further in a Studio design project situated within the study area on Tafelberg road, on the slopes of Table Mountain. At the conclusion of this study I hope to articulate the intra-action** I see between landscape architecture and the discourse on gender, yet find little supporting evidence in the language, emphasis and discourse of my field.

* As meant by the term 'reflexivity' used within the fields of epistemology and the social sciences. Refer to the Thomas Theorem by William and Dorothy Thomas (Oxford University Press, 2017) and the theories concerning reflexivity of others (Bourdieu, 1992) (Foucault, 1994).

** In her article, Nature's Queer Performativity, Karen Barad explains the "…notion of intra-action…" She contrasts this to 'interaction', which is a term that presupposes the existence of entities that are independent of one another. Explaining the implications of this, she states that this "… marks an important shift, re-opening and refiguring foundational notions of classical ontology. A specific intra-action enacts an agential cut (in contrast to the Cartesian cut… between subject and object)" that effects but does not assume an inherent distinction or separation between "subject" and "object." (Barad, 2011)

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UCT staff and students

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To the MLA class of 2017, congratulations! You are all such determined and talented humans, I am so grateful to have worked and learned beside you and from you. For your encouragement, interest, understanding and shared stories at the ungodly hours of the morning, for your admirable grit and ability. I wish you all only the best.

Participants in the Study

To the friends, family, aquaintances and volunteers that put time aside to participate in my interviews and contribute to this study - my overwhelming gratitude. I'm not permitted to name you here, but I remember and appreciate each and every one's session, and the valuable perspectives and insights your experiences and memories brought to this Dissertation's findings. Thank you so much.

My own people

This Dissertation project and what it hopes to acheive socio-culturally, is dedicated to my paternal grandmother Hester Adriana Smit. I know she sees it and is proud.

To my father Kobus Smit for your constant, stable, stoic presence, and for the material and finincial support over the last two years. You are a wonderful father and role-model, and I am proud to have inherited some of your amazing scope of abilities.

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To my partner, Alex Gunning. I quite literallly would not have been able to do this without you. You are the most generous and enabling human I've ever been lucky enough to love. Every possible form of support and encouragement has flowed from your hands and your heart since the day we met.

Finally, if I was permitted to attribute a co-author to this Dissertation, my mother, Fiona Smit's name would appear on the cover with mine. Mamma, you have been my co-conspirator in everything. Nobody could have done more than you have to get as close as possible to understanding what I am trying to understand. I wouldn't be a possible human if it were not for your powerful drive to engage with the world the way you do. Your are my primary source of orientation and inspiration. I am more proud of you than I am of anything else in the world.

DECLARATIONS

As the feminist scholars Donna Haraway (Haraway, 1988) and Gayatri Spivak (2010) have argued so convincingly, "… all knowledge is partial and situated" (Jackson, 1998). In light of this, I acknowledge that I must remain critical of my own assumptions and meaning making as a result of my positionality**.** I also I realise that I occupy and share space to which others have equal or superior right.

I am a white, educated, middle-class, able-bodied, sometimes gender nonconforming (presenting-as heterosexual) bisexual woman, born and raised in South Africa. I have benefited from the heritage of white supremacy that took the form of Apartheid, a socio-religious-political epoch that was overthrown only 4 years after I was born, and as a result, have inherited a context of cultural attitudes and social behaviours, which I seek to subvert. My studies in landscape architecture have often provided the environment within which these thought processes are revealed, and it is therefore the place in which I hope to instrumentalise my learning to contribute to society as a practitioner.

Julian Raxworthy points out the irony of the assumptive landscape architect who colloquially regards herself the "custodian of the land for the good of the people" while simultaneously assuming a "...role within the cultural production of systems of value, at once [subject to] conditioning by and [conditioning] for these systems." (Raxworthy, 1997). I intend, at his indirect suggestion, to adopt a *Sous rapture** (or, 'under erasure') strategy to actively develop a matrix of possible new normative positions with the tools and knowledge available to me, rather than "simply unconsciously perpetuating a series of received values." (Raxworthy, 1997).

I also need to acknowledge that the history and location of the study area is situated within the tapestry of the past story of South Africa, and its references are complex and manifold. The implication of this statement in relation to the gender discourse is what Annette Hearth has identified as a crucial juncture of understanding in terms of this theory.

She identifies the "intersections of gender, sexuality, class, and race," as the conditions which significantly affect the "…meaning (of) and ways in which gender is performed." (Harth, 2017). These intersections inform the social and cultural conditions in which gender manifests, and that it creates. For this reason, the study includes discussions that reference decoloniality, critical theory and the discourse on equality**.**

A short explanation of the importance of Positionality.

Sociologist Michael Kimmel witnessed a conversation between two women during a study group of Graduate students in the 1980's that reveals the importance of positionality.

White woman:	*All women face the same oppression as women. All women are similarly situated in patriarchy, and therefore all women have a kind of intuitive solidarity or sisterhood.*
Black woman:	*I'm not so sure. Let me ask you a question... When you wake up in the morning and you look in the mirror, what do you see?*
White woman:	*I see a woman.*
Black woman:	*You see, that's the problem for me. Because when I wake up in the morning and I look in the mirror, I see a black woman. To me, race is visible. But to you, race is invisible. You don't see it…*

That's how privilege works. Privilege is invisible to those who have it.

Michael Kimmel identifies this the moment that he became a middle class white male. He says that he realised that **his** reflection looked like a human being to him - a generic person.

Meaning that until that point, he was not aware that he had a race, a class, a gender. He describes it as the moment that race; class and gender were "no longer about other people, they were about me."
(Kimmel, 2015)

"These last three decades of feminism were marked by a deep anger as the truth of violence against the female body was revealed, whether it took the form of rape, childhood sexual abuse, anti-lesbian [and anti-trans] violence, physical abuse …, sexual harassment… [etc.]. Women's sanity was saved by bringing these hidden experiences into the open, naming them, and turning our rage into positive action to reduce and heal violence." (Steinem, 2001)

It cannot be ignored that this project is a deeply personal one. I echo Nomboniso Gasa (2007) by saying that I seek to find a way to hold my rage, disgust and despair for my personal experiences as a woman in South Africa today. Almost more overwhelming is my empathic response to the existence of experiences I have not had. Some are experiences I will likely never be subject to because I am protected by my privilege. These are the experiences of trans and queer folk, the experience of women of colour, trans folk of colour and queer folk of colour. These are the experiences of children and teens who are not allowed to choose when, how, where and why. Those who endure overt and institutionalised forms of discrimination, harassment and violence because of their gender, class, race or sexual orientation. Alternatively, all of it at once.

I have found that I need the landscape to help me contain this, because I cannot hold it alone.

Nomboniso Gasa said of her book, *Women in South African History*, there are "attendant contradictions in a project like this". I realise that I may very well undermine my own efforts to destabilise what I find problematic in the world in the writing of this study, because of the framing it must be explained within, and possibly because of ineptitude on my part. Annette Hearth explains the former claim, saying:

> *"Gender-related planning is thus caught between strengthening the dual- gender model and possibly reproducing stereotype gender role ascriptions, and helping to dissolve socially prescribed patterns of gender-specific spaces and provide new opportunities for hitherto disadvantaged people to appropriate spaces. It [planning] must react to more complex and more differentiated needs, especially of women." (Harth, 2017)*

I am obliged to conduct my interviews, discuss my findings, and ultimately solve the design detailing of my dissertation project within the language and the narrative of contemporary South African gender, race and class politics. Gasa (2007) reminds "…the very nature of a 'corrective approach' means an acceptance of the dominant paradigm." In response to this, I comfort myself that adopting a critical consciousness approach, which acknowledges that "…if a problem exists, then seeking its solution means interrogating its framing." (Freire, 1974)

> *"…that is what critical consciousness is, we interrogate what the social world is, [and] has been in order to consider other 'ought to be(s)'." (McLean, 2017)*

Maicantis (2016) describes critical theory as a 'mechanism' that provides explanations and offers conceptual guidance in deciphering the linguistic, historical, societal and cultural aspects of human nature. I have found it indispensable as a way to grapple with the abstract nature of gender (and its attendant social and human circumstances), especially in terms of how these relate to landscape architecture as a field of theory and applied practice. As a student of landscape architecture, I seek solutions within my field to the challenges that I observe in the world around me. In this section, I describe and define their theoretical framing.

> *"…to talk of gender is to take a political position but one which is more sympathetic to difference. As described by Joan Wallach Scott … gender can be considered as a category of analysis, one which allows us to talk about masculinity and femininity in mutual and dialectic relation." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

On his blog Shay-Akil (McLean, 2017) (who is a genderqueer, black trans man) describes critical consciousness as a way to interrogate the framing of an issue. He advises one to first define "… what something [the issue] is and the conditions that shape its meaning(s)".

Gender

It is important to define and clarify the use and meaning of this concept first. When using the word 'gender', I am referring to a social construct (Daniel, 2013, p. 19) which is, in itself, neutral. Although the concept is intimately linked to the bodies of human beings, it does not refer directly to the physicality of an individual, and therefore, gender does not mean 'female' or 'male', much less so is it synonymous with either 'woman' or 'man'.

> *"Gender has always …. been considered a fact. Immutable. But we now know it's actually more fluid, complex and mysterious." (Rocero, 2014)*

Judith Butler (2010) has argued that gender is a performance and that bodies are important in this process; but biology is neither the foundation nor the regulator of gender. West & Zimmerman (Doing Gender, 1987) describe gender as "a collection of mental and behavioural characteristics", yet "gender is neither believed to be biologically nor psychologically determined" (Jefferson, 2002). Nor is it merely considered a set of social expectations or an identity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Gender is considered a social (political, and economic (West & Zimmerman, 1987)) construct because it is governed by factors of socialisation such as culture, class, economic climate, ethnicity, race, religious persuasion etc. It comprises configurations of social practice that are informed by, and inform, existing social conditions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

> *"Boys and girls are undeniably different biologically, but socialization exaggerates the differences and then it becomes a self-fulfilling process." (Adichie, 2012)*

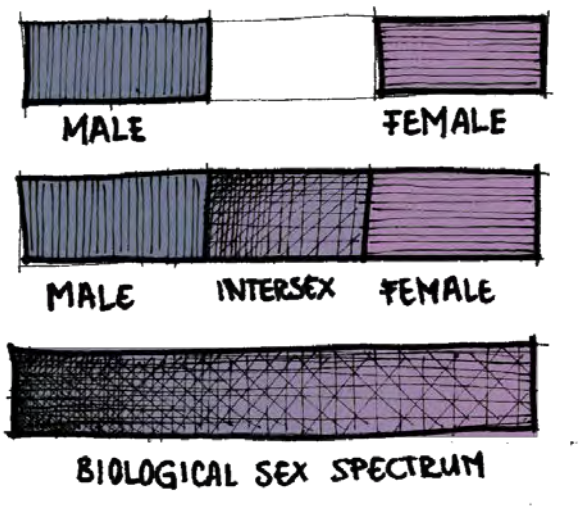
In his book, Constructions of 'Whiteness' in the Geographical Imagination, (1998) Peter Jackson argues that while "...it is now generally recognized that race and gender are social constructions, rooted in politics and history rather than in genetics or biology", these 'Social construction theories' do not aim to fictionalise race or gender to claim that they have no material effects; rather they problematise gendered and "… racialized ways of thinking and the practices that they inform", showing that these "have varied significantly from time to time and from place to place."

> *"…history has shown that gender identities, and the kinds of sexual practices that are culturally acceptable, are constructs that have varied throughout time and space." (Maicantis, 2016)*

Sex

Also referred to as biologically determined sex, this term must be clarified next in order to counter the argument for 'biological determinism' which erroneously posits that "there are innate natural characteristics … we have that determine our gender (feminine & masculine) characteristics" (Hill-Collins, 2004). Biologically determined sex is "...a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males." (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127)

> *"We surely do say – or at least most of us say – that there are material differences between the sexes. But at the moment in which we talk like that, we are always implicitly referring to one historical version of materialism or another. Even at this most obvious moment, in which we declare the reality and materiality of two sexes, and everybody feels much better… alright… because, we've just made it obvious… we're already in a discursive field, disputing what we mean, and which meaning ought to prevail. Because we could all agree that there are (at least) two sexes and those differences are material, and we could end the conversation there.*
> *But the minute I start to ask you "… and, by the way, where do you locate that materiality? How do you describe it…?" The minute we start that… we tend to be not on common ground. Maybe some common ground, maybe not. Actually, what we are in those moments … we are in history… we're working with historical discourses that are available to us, and seem very obvious." (Butler, 2015)*



As it is becoming more widely known that many individuals are born within the scope of a range of 'conditions' termed intersex (a conservative estimate is as high as 1 in 2000 births, according to the Intersex society of North America (2017) and the amount of people with 'atypical' sex anatomy is at least 1 in 100 (Dreger, 1998). This suggests that biologically determined sex "...is a socially constructed category" too (West & Zimmerman, 1987), and that these categories reflect discrete biological variations that resemble a spectrum far more closely than the socially (and hitherto almost unanimously agreed-upon in medical terms) 'acceptable' binary of male or female. Currently, most intersex babies in the global north undergo 'corrective' surgery within the first few months of life - an essentially cosmetic procedure which 'corrects' the child's anatomy (Geographic, 2017) essentially to simplify social interactions by "normalising" their bodies according to societal norms that adhere to the binary conception of biological sex and gender (you can read a very astute review on this documentary on Indiewire (Dry, 2017)).

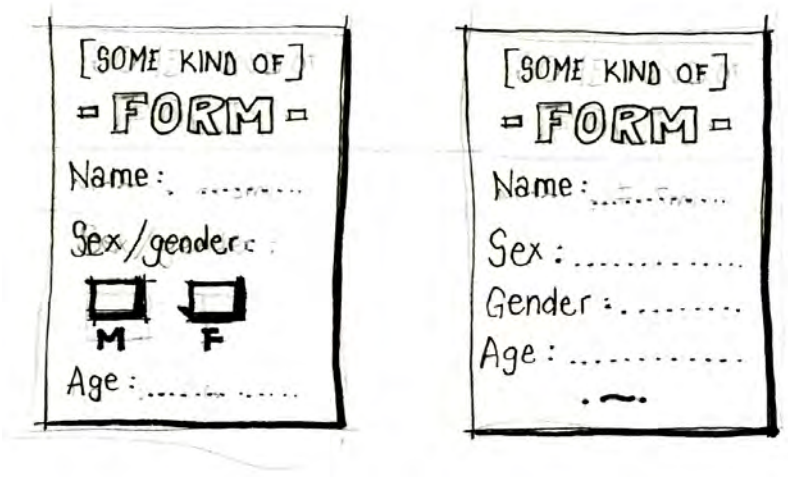
This procedure, thought of until recently as due process, has attracted the attention of scholars and media alike, calling into question the legal and ethical justification for such unilateral intervention. In their essay, 'Health Care Professionals and Intersex Conditions', Frader et al. (2004) have concluded "...surgery to normalize appearance without the consent of the patient lacks ethical justification."

Sexuality

Sexuality, as a term used in this study, refers to its meaning as it extends beyond its literal interpretation and biological function. Maicantis explains, "Sexuality is entwined with gender, but it is not always in accord with the normative gender binaries of heterosexuality. Sexuality is a concept and practice independent of gender, romantic orientation and biologically determined sex. It might be described informally as "who you go to bed with (or not), not who you go to bed as." (Killerman, 2017). It is useful to include the point that sexuality also refers to the sexual orientation of an individual, of which many exist (specifically within the LGBTQ designation, including but not limited to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, asexual and pansexual) (Akil, 2017). Judith Butler (Gender Trouble, 2010) argued, as Maicantis explains, "…sexual differences and ideas about biological sex are themselves gendered and promote gendered sexual roles." (2016).

The gender binary

It is not only intersex children that are assigned gender at birth – we all are. The gender binary is both co-creator and symptom of a number of other social ordering devices discussed in this section. The gender binary places boys, men and masculinity in a 'naturally' defined category as the polar opposites of girls, women and femininity; and these categories are assumed to have "distinctive psychological & behavioural proclivities." (West & Zimmerman, 1987). I was assigned female at birth and raised as a girl; and like many children of my generation, I grew up thinking about gender, as it was presented in the first form, not the second:



i: Author's own sketch demonstrating how the arrangement and presentation of official documentation reflects the social norms relating to gender.

Contemporary Western society, in which the majority of Cape Town's society arguably participates, operates within a narrowly defined social order in terms of gender, "…differentiating between and across, masculinity and femininity" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126), (Mbisi, 2009). This cultural perspective (which has been normalised to the point of perceived unequivocal reality) is called the gender binary.

> *"Consider that a sedimentation of gender norms produces the peculiar phenomenon of a 'natural sex' or a 'real woman' or any number of prevalent and compelling social fictions, and that this is a sedimentation that over time has produced a set of corporeal styles which, in reified form, appear as the natural configuration of bodies into sexes existing in a binary relation to one another."*
> *(Butler, Gender Trouble, 2010)*

It is important to realise that gender, and the gender binary as social constructs are supported and maintained by diverse and extremely pervasive societal structures and norms that are only 'masculine' and 'feminine' constructions of gender. However, these constructions (as explained by Caroline Moser (who in partnership with Caren Levy developed the Moser framework to implement the findings of their University of London Development Planning Unit working paper 'A Theory and Method of Gender Planning – Meeting Women's Practical and Strategic Needs' in 1986), often become one of a suite of the "basic organizing principle(s) of societies." (Daniel, 2013, p. 19)

> *"In truth, to go for a walk with one's eyes open is enough to demonstrate that humanity is divided into two classes of individuals whose clothes, faces, bodies, smiles, gaits, interests, and occupations are manifestly different. Perhaps these differences are superficial; perhaps they are destined to disappear." (De Beauvoir, 1949)*

Eva Änggård's research into the gendered and non-gendered play of children in natural spaces has revealed that although natural environments provide a relatively neutral playing field in which to explore, she has observed that "…children born in our society become aware quite early in life that humanity is divided into two kinds of people: men and women. To be comprehended as acceptable members of society, children have to choose the "right" gender and behave in a way considered suitable for that gender. Boys particularly avoid what is considered feminine—for example, girls' toys, actions and places… —while girls have more freedom to choose masculine-coded positions and activities." (Designing Environments toPromote Play-Based Science Learning, 2011).

Research reviewed by Änggård has also shown that children can sometimes experience at least difficulty and at worst severe discomfort in situations where they are encouraged or expected to "… display behaviours associated with the (opposite) sex" (Änggård, 2011). This can be interpreted in terms of the result of what scholars call the hegemonic matrix (Butler, Gender Trouble, 2010), "…that makes such behaviour unintelligible…" to their socialisation. It also implies that children who are mis-gendered or discouraged from performing activities and behaviours that more closely aligned to their 'true' (sorry, Judith Butler) gender identities are almost constantly in a state of discomfort and anxiety. In lieu of a reference or statistic to demonstrate the results of this, I invite you to type "trans suicide and depression" into your online search engine and see for yourself.

Gender fluidity, non-binary individuals and the gender spectrum

Conflict and confusions often arise when first considering the discourse on gender, one's reference frame being built, as it is on the foundation of the gender binary.

Neither gender, biologically determined sex, nor sexual orientations are:

a.) binary (one of two options),
b.) static (remaining the same at any given moment, or over time),
c.) strictly either a choice or inherent (or biologically determined)
d.) strictly something that can be 'seen' or 'sensed' (Akil, 2017)

Because of the conditions within which gender is constructed (in reference to class, race, age, wealth etc.), gender cannot be described as something that remains unchanged from birth to death. While many, without thought, would describe themselves as 100% female or male in terms of their gender identity, many people do not. Those who identify with the gender they were assigned at birth are cisgender individuals. Many people do not.

> *"Making gender visible … is the first step to engaging (especially) men to support gender equality."*
> *(Kimmel, 2015)*



iii: Photographs taken at the 2017 MLA Exhibition showing gender identifier pins offered to guests to help make gender more visible, and encourage conversation.

These individuals choose between a range of terms (described here by Eli R. Green and Luca Maurer who developed the Teaching Transgender Toolkit (Green & Maurer, 2017)) to describe themselves in terms of gender:

Some of the most commonly used terms described in the Teaching Transgender Toolkit and elsewhere are:

AFAB: Assigned female at birth.
Agender: Describes a person who does not identify as having a gender identity that can be categorized as man or woman or who identifies as not having a gender identity.
AMAB: Assigned male at birth.
Androgynous: A combination of masculine and feminine traits or a non-traditional gender expression.
Genderfluid: Someone whose gender identity or expression shifts between man/masculine and woman/feminine or falls somewhere along this spectrum.
Gender nonconforming: A person whose gender expression is perceived as being inconsistent with cultural norms expected for that gender. Specifically, boys or men are not "masculine enough", are feminine, while girls or women are not "feminine enough", or are masculine. Not all transgender people are gender nonconforming, and not all gender-nonconforming people identify as transgender. Cisgender people may also be gender nonconforming. Gender nonconformity is often inaccurately confused with sexual orientation.
Genderqueer: Someone whose gender identity is neither man nor woman, is between or beyond genders, or is some combination of genders.
Intersex: An umbrella term that describes a person with a genetic, genital, reproductive, or hormonal configuration that does not fit typical binary notions of a male or female body. Intersex is frequently confused with transgender, but the two are completely distinct. A more familiar term, hermaphrodite, is considered outdated and offensive.
Nonbinary: A spectrum of gender identities and expressions, often based on the rejection of the gender binary's assumption that gender is strictly an either-or option of male/man/masculine or female/woman/feminine based on sex assigned at birth. Terms include "agender," "bi-gender," "genderqueer," "genderfluid," and "pangender."
Queer: An umbrella term for a range of people who are not heterosexual and/or cisgender, people often use it to express fluid identities and orientations". Maicantis (2016) explains that the word is most often embraced as an 'umbrella term' for those that identify as LGBT but do not find it useful to adhere to or identify with any specific labelling. It has been historically used as a slur; some have reclaimed it as affirming, while others still consider it derogatory.
Transgender: Sometimes abbreviated as "trans," an adjective used to describe a person whose gender identity does not match the biological sex they were assigned at birth. It can refer to a range of identities including transgender boys and men, people who identify as a boy or man but were assigned female at birth, and transgender girls and women, people who identify as a girl or woman but were assigned male at birth.
Transsexual: This is an older term that has been used to refer to a transgender person who has had hormonal or surgical interventions to change their body to be more aligned with their gender identity than with the sex that they were assigned at birth. While still used as an identity label by some, "transgender" has generally become the term of choice.

Source: Teaching Transgender Toolkit (Green & Maurer, 2017))

"The problem with gender, is that it prescribes how we should be rather than recognizing how we are."(Adichie, 2012)

Gender, although a useful analytical category, may itself become problematic under certain circumstances. Many people's reality does not correspond to that of the dominant world-view of society, and define realities not only outside of the gender binary, but sometimes independent of the construct itself. Non-binary gender identities are certainly not recent developments in social and cultural realities. Histories that are generally excluded from heteronormative historical canon document the existence of a range of different examples of how gender is treated in other societies worldwide. For instance, refer to Fa'afafine individuals in Polynesian society, the Hijras of Asia, the Khanith 'third' gender of Oman, and the range of additional (usually Nation-specific) gender roles of indigenous North American Nations collectively referred to as "Two-spirit". In less enlightened societies (in terms of gender variance), gender is increasingly being recognised as one aspect of one's identity that is dynamic at least, and is often described as fluid.

Self-evident Truths



Artist iO Tillett Wright is the creator of 'Self-evident Truths', a nationwide portraiture project that aimed to bring visibility to the queer community in a bid to increase familiarity (what he calls the gateway drug to empathy), realised that many participants were not comfortable with choosing one of a number of options of orientation on the release form, even when there was an 'other' option. He explains, "We are neurologically hardwired to seek out people like ourselves. We start forming cliques as soon as we are old enough to know what acceptance feels like. ...[but] the categories, I've found, are too limiting. The boxes are too narrow. And this can get really dangerous." iO added a spectrum to the form "that asked people to quantify themselves on a scale of one to 100 percent gay." He reports, "of course, there were lots of people who opted for a 100 percent one or the other, but I found that a much larger proportion of people identified as something that was much more nuanced. I found that most people fall on a spectrum of what I have come to refer to as "Grey.""

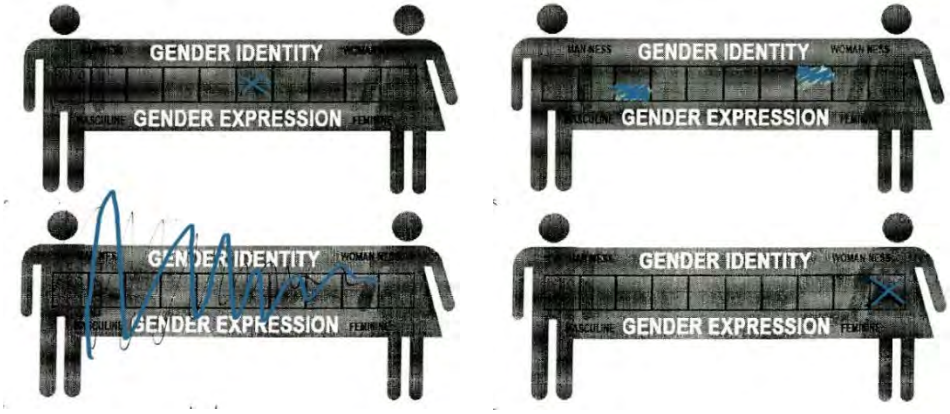
"Hopefully these categories, these binaries, these over-simplified boxes will begin to become useless and they'll begin to fall away. Because really, they describe nothing that we see and no one that we know and nothing that we are. What we see are human beings in all their multiplicity. And seeing them makes it harder to deny their humanity. At the very least I hope it makes it harder to deny their human rights." (Wright, 2012)

It is helpful to see gender as a spectrum. This proved useful in drafting information sheets during the interview process, as the participants were provided with spectrums to 'identify' their gender identities and gender expressions. See below:



iii.) Gender spectrum graphic provided on interview information forms to capture participants' relative position on the gender spectrum as it relates to identity and expression.

Four responses taken from the interview forms are provided to illustrate the point above. According to this study, few people will select the option that the (AFAB) woman in the bottom right corner has – 100% cisgender. Most will get creative, as the first three have, in representing their own gender identity and expression.



Gender roles and norms

One might think of gender roles and norms as a social climate within which we are trained from the earliest consciousness (Stevenson, 2013) to adhere to the normative contemporary modality of social interaction in terms of the gender binary. Reformers such as Lillie Devereux Blake were conversant in this discourse as early as the 1800's:

> *"[Lillie Devereux] Blake insists that people share a common nature, but are trained in gender roles -- in other words, that gender is socially constructed and historically contingent." (Farrell, 2009)*

The whole sensory and behavioural world of a child is typically tailored to re-inforce this conditioning. What might seem 'natural' to a parent in making 'boy-appropriate' or 'girl-appropriate' choices in terms of their clothing, toys, subjects of conversation, what activities they are introduced to or engaged with, which kinds of friendships or childhood heroes are encouraged - is really a form of social conditioning. Whether overtly or covertly, one is rewarded for adherence to these norms, and punished for deviance from the role one was assigned at birth. This conditioning plays into the norms of an inequitable social order which 'others' the female category while reinforcing the domination of the male category.

> *"We internalize ideas from our socialization." (Adichie, 2012)*

This might be demonstrated in pointing out that while it is [contemporarily] socially acceptable for parents to encourage their female children to embrace team sports previously reserved for boys, wear caps, shorts, t-shirts and dungarees, play with non-gendered or 'traditionally' boys toys such as cars, action heroes and tiny front-end loaders – it is still generally frowned upon to encourage boys to pursue ballet or jewellery-making as hobbies, wear make-up or colours 'reserved' for girls, let alone skirts, dresses or fancy-dress wings. It is still considered 'troubling' should sons express the desire or propensity to participate in "girl things", and these issues are debated on social media with incredulity and heat – or sometimes social congratulation – should parents 'allow' their children the freedom to play an active part in the formulation of their identities (refer to popular media attention given to celebrity children such as Jaden Smith, Eli Fox, Kai Schreiber).

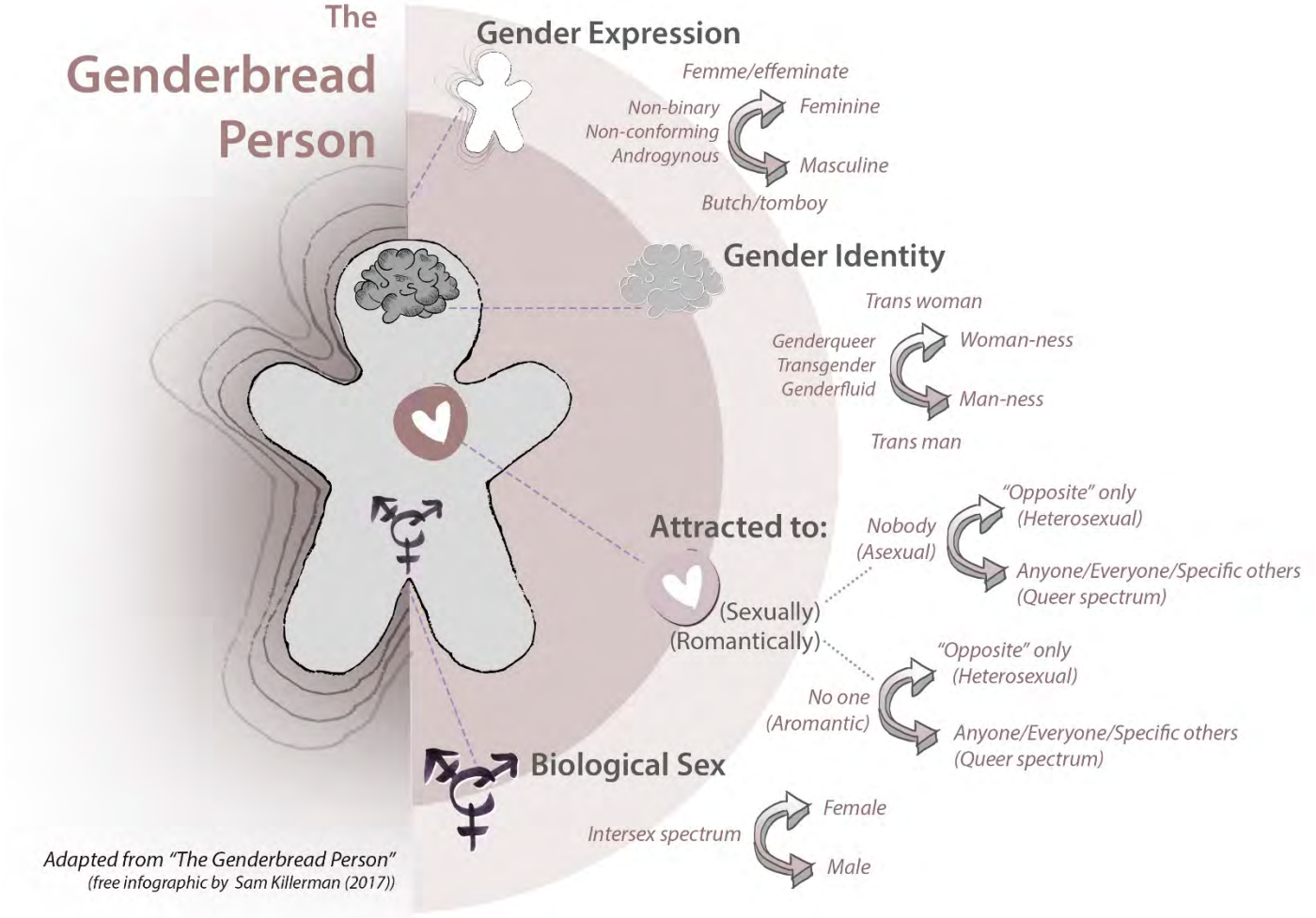
> *"The gender stereotypes introduced in our childhood are reinforced throughout our lives and become self-fulfilling prophecies." (Sandberg, 2010)*

Gender roles are learned behaviours: the expectations that society have held regarding those roles change over time (Daniel, 2013, p. 13). For instance, from early consciousness it is the roles of 'mother', 'child-rearer', 'homemaker', 'housekeeper', and 'housewife' that women have been taught to assume. Jane Rendall, in the architectural tome called 'Gender, Space, Architecture: an Interdisciplinary Introduction' (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999) (void of a single mention of landscape architecture), comments how domestic sphere (the home/the private domain) has been "long considered women's special domain, (it) reinforces… stereotypes and subtly perpetuates traditional views of family." Gender theorists argue that these ideas, norms and social expectations are not the same now, as they were 100 years ago or indeed 2000 years ago. This supports the reasoning that contemporary humans have an active influence on how gender is produced, constructed and maintained now and in the future. This is important, because binarised gender roles and norms form part of a value system that distributes power unequally**.** The result of the mechanisms of this value system on the reality of individuals is that in almost all societies and cultures today, the roles assigned to females are considered subordinate in value and importance to those assigned to males, and leave women and gender minorities vulnerable to gender intolerance and disenfranchisement. However, it is important to remember that roles and norms "that are limited to the binary limit both women and men", although they "generally have had a more repressive impact on women." (Daniel, 2013, p. 19).

> *"There is no gender without the reproduction of norms. That risks re-doing or undoing the norms in unexpected ways – opening up the possibility of re-making reality anew along new lines. The political implication [of this] … is found in the call to let the lives of gender and sexual minorities become more possible and more liveable – for bodies who are gender non-conforming; as well as those who conform too well, and at a high cost, to be able (as I have said), to breathe and move more freely in public and private spaces, as well as all the sites that cross those two." (Butler, 2015)*

Gender identity, expression and performance

Gender is simultaneously physical, psychological, chemical and behavioural. The concept of gender is further refined by separating gender identity from gender expression (Gender Spectrum, 2017) and these do not necessarily correspond. Those who feel comfortable to express their gender reality within the scope of the cultural norms expected of that gender are called gender conforming. Those who present and express their gender reality in ways that are not consistent with the expectations associated with that gender are gender nonconforming (Jones, 2017). The Genderbread Person is an online graphic (simplistic, but effective) developed by social justice comedian Sam Kellerman to explain gender to those unfamiliar with the theory or popular discourse (Killerman, 2017). A version of the graphic is shown here for reference purposes.



Other useful online graphics shared freely with the public under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License are the Sexualitree (Killermann & Rayne, 2017) and I Heart the Singular They (Hues Collective, 2017).

> *"Gender is a performance, a certain kind of enactment. As hegemony, patriarchy dictates the rules and boundaries by which those performances are defined." (West & Zimmerman, 1987)*

As a form of gender expression – whether it aims to manifest an individual's gender identity or not (note that this is within the ambit of the gender binary) people may choose to appropriate certain gender markers, codes, attitudes, appearances or social behaviours of another gender category (or not) for any number of reasons. For instance:

- to ameliorate body dysphoria (e.g.: binding (LGBT Resource Center, 2017), hairstyles that make one appear androgynous, more masculine or more feminine in presentation);
- as a social device to disrupt or destabilise what they see as problematic gender roles or tropes (a female growing out their leg and underarm hair, a male wearing earrings, make-up or a skirt freely in public);
- occupying space within highly gendered spaces (such as workshops, braais, salons etc.) to normalise personal choices that they do not believe should be socially regulated;

These expressive activities involve employing tactics that do or do not have to do with a person's gender identity in order to appropriate the power, acceptance or privilege associated with that behaviour, attitude or appearance. This may be relevant in general society, or within other 'subsets' of society.

> *"Identity is a phenomenal matter; it is not an individual affair. Identity is multiple within itself; or rather, identity is diffracted through itself—identity is diffraction /différance/ differing/ deferring/ differentiating." (Barad, 2011)*

There is also the case of those who suppress their desire or need to express 'alternative' gender expressions in order to avoid censure. These people are those who Judith Butler argues "perform (gender) too well and at great emotional and psychological cost" (Butler, 2015). Eva Änggård, behavioural scientist and scholar at Stockholm University, has observed through various studies (Änggård, 2015), (Änggård, 2012) and (Änggård, 2011) that children "actively take part in the production of gender identities in

their everyday lives", suggesting that the realm of childhood experiences and conditioning plays a crucial role in the enactment and understanding of gender, as well as the understanding of the forms of thinking that the discourse on gender equality espouses.

> *Gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts. (Butler, 2000)*

Judith Butler (Gender Trouble, 2010) has cautioned, however, that thinking of gender identity and gender expression as separate is problematic, as it produces the "illusion of an inner sex" (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999).

> *"This notion of the 'performativity' of gender is paralleled in the work of queer theorists, who argue that if the artificiality of gender is made apparent in exhibitions of display, then the performance of gender may operate subversively to critique radically the 'naturalness' of the biologically sexed (determined) body." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

In discussing her theory of performativity, she motivates for the understanding that "If gender attributes... are not expressive but performative, then these attributes effectively constitute the identity they are said to express or reveal." (Butler, Excerpts from 'Subversive Bodily Acts', 2000) For the purposes of this document, I interpret this statement as commentary on the interdependence of identity and expression, and take advantage of the existence of gender expressions in order to have discussed its visibility with participants in the study.

> *"The reality is what we see as natural about gender is actually a performance. We have all been socialized into performing these cishetnormative ideals of what men and women are supposed to do and these ideas serve the purposes of continuing the hegemony cishetpatriarchy." (Harth, 2017)*

Judith Butler has described the theory of gender performativity as a-moral: it does not dictate, recommend or condemn certain performances over others. She has described the intention of the theory as being "…precisely to relax the coercive hold of norms on gendered life – which is not the same as transcending all those norms – for the purposes of living a more liveable life." She has also described the performance of gender as an exercise of power – this is because of its reproduction within a value system that "demands that we become one gender or another", and sets one gender position unequivocally in a position of power over the "other" (Butler, 2015). Of importance to this study, is the statement made by Eva Änggård that highlights the importance of material resources and artefacts in the construction of gender as a physical process. These material resources include public open space and the activities we can or cannot engage in because of gender stereotyping or normative roles – the physical artefacts are the objects and signifiers of cultural codes. She describes this as a complex activity in which many factors are involved (Designing Environments toPromote Play-Based Science Learning, 2011).

> *"The question of recognition is for me an important one. For if we say we believe all human subjects deserve equal recognition, we presume that all human subjects are equally recognisable. But what if the field of appearances does not admit everyone?*
>
> *Which humans count as "the human"? Which humans are eligible within the sphere of appearance? And which are not… and what do we call those who do not and cannot appear as subjects within hegemonic discourse? We know this question in one way – from the theory of gender – there are sexual and gender norms that condition what and who will be legible – and what and who will not; and expose these who fail to register within intelligibility, to differential forms of social violence." (Butler, Judith Butler 1/7 "Why Bodies Matter" Gender Trouble, 2015)*

Performativity, as a "… processual, non-foundational approach to identity…" is useful with reference to spatial planning and design (refer to 'Bodies (and Spaces) do Matter: The limits of performativity' (Nelson, 1999)), because it captures the ways in which these elements of identity are perpetually and repetitively re-created, and how "… the compelled performance of dominant discourses…" can shape space (Nelson, 1999). Nelson reveals that numerous geographers (feminist and post-structuralist, specifically) have explored performativity in their work where intersections between gender, sexuality, ethnicity, space and place occur.

Patriarchy

The value system I have described above is known as the patriarchy, or 'rule by fathers', "a social system in which men are the primary authority figures central to social organization and the central roles of political leadership, moral authority, and control of property, and where fathers hold authority over women and children (Akil, 2017). Lewis Gordon, professor of Africana studies at the University of Connecticut, describes patriarchy as a social system being "… by nature ontological (all that is [descriptive] & what ought to be [prescriptive])" (Akil, 2017). Patriarchy maintains an institution of 'male' rule and privilege, and entails 'female' subordination. This applies both to the embodied and conceptual terms of 'male' and 'female'.

"… white Men are the beneficiaries of the single greatest affirmative action program in the history of the world. It's called: The History of the World." (Kimmel, 2015)

Mbisi (2009) and others (Gasa, 2007), (Worden, Heyningen, & Bickford-Smith, 1999) (South African History Online, 2017), describe the religious, cultural and social heritage of our society in South Africa, as patriarchal in nature, specifically with colonial ideas surrounding manhood and masculinity still deeply entrenched (Mbisi, 2009)**.** Mbisi proffers this as a factor contributing to gender and sexual violence (particularly homophobic and transphobic violence) in South Africa:

An aside on Patriarchy

The term 'patriarchy' was taken up by the sociologist Max Weber to describe a particular form of household organization in which the father dominated other members of an extended kinship network and controlled the economic production of the household. Its resonance for feminism, however, rests on the theory, put forward by early radical feminism and in particular by American writers such as Kate Millett, of patriarchy as an over-arching category of male dominance.

Millett locates male domination in the following terms: 'groups who rule by birth right are fast disappearing, yet there remains one ancient and universal scheme for the domination of one birth group by another—the scheme that prevails in the area of sex'. She argues that the political power that men wield over women amounts to the fundamental political division in society.

Our society, like all other civilizations, is a patriarchy in which the rule of women by men is 'more rigorous than class stratification, more uniform, certainly more enduring'. Kate Millet in (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999, p. 47)

Millett confronts the thesis that in capitalist society the domination of women by men is mediated by class differences between women, and argues that such differences are transitory and illusory, that 'whatever the class of her birth and education, the female has fewer permanent class associations than does the male. Economic dependency renders her affiliations with any class a tangential, vicarious and temporary matter'. (Barrett, 1980)

"This may therefore shed some light onto the rising homophobic violence, particularly targeted at lesbian women through 'curative' rape, since homophobic violence is largely based on the notion that "effeminate gay men betray the superiority of masculinity, and masculine lesbian women challenge and try to usurp male superiority and therefore these individuals need to be punished for being a threat to the 'natural' social order." (Mbisi, 2009)

Lewis Gordon, interpreting the earlier work of Frantz Fanon, draws an enlightening comparison between the patriarchal privileges of 'male' authority to the discourse on racial discrimination. "...black can never be white, it can only 'imitate' whiteness. Toni Morrison [also] speaks of this, 'whiteness just gets to "be", everybody else has to hyphenate'." (What Fanon Said: A Philosophical Introduction to His Life and Thought (Just Ideas) , 2015). Gordon then reveals the power-dynamics of this 'rule' by demonstrating that it does not follow in reverse: "… by the same token... black can never be white but white always has access to black." Similarly, the litmus test for the presence of a functioning patriarchal social system would be to inverse the social behaviours of 'males' and 'females' to test their levels of incidence and acceptability.

Patriarchy is a hegemony (defined as a dominant group that exerts and maintains a preponderant social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence or authority over others (Merriam Webster, 2017)). Constructs such as the gender binary, 'biological determinism', hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity are foundational to the maintenance of this dominance (Hill-Collins, 2004). Any sexual or gender practice that undermines this network of social systems is treated as 'other', and subjected to a wide range of discouragements, oppositions, punishments and exclusions ranging from the banal to the life-threatening (Human Rights Campaign, 2017).

"The overgeneralization from male to generic human experience not only distorts our understanding of what, if anything is truly generic to humanity but also precludes the study of masculinity as a specific male experience, rather than a universal paradigm for human experience." (Brod, 1987)

This social disciplining is certainly not limited to women, although the assumption is that because the patriarchy favours male privilege it does not oppress men. However, those who are expected to perform as men and who have violated the social order are often deemed to have 'devalued' and humiliated not only themselves, but also the patriarchy itself. These folk have in the past and contemporarily faced mild to severe censure. Some of the most violent and regular gender-based homicides within the Trans community are those of Trans women; and particularly Trans women of colour. It may be helpful to remind the reader at this point – should they not yet have realised it – that gender equality does not only concern women and gender minorities. Elizabeth Nyamayaro (Head of the of UN Women HeForShe initiative) explains, "Gender equality is not a woman's issue, it is a human issue. It affects everyone" (Nyamayaro, 2015).

Othering

Simone De Beauvoir's seminal work, the Second Sex (1949) was first published in 1949. This book was "essential to the first and subsequent waves of feminism and gender theory in western culture" (Maicantis, 2016). The concept of the "other" and the practice of "othering" in De Beauvoir's and many subsequent theorists work describe how dominant social groups (the privileged and powerful within that system) dictate the construction, differentiation and alienation of minority groups. Maicantis (2016) mentions another significant contributor to the decoloniality discourse – Edward Said – who, in 1978 described "Orientalism" as a form of othering in which "…the eastern land, culture, and body were romanticized by westerners and highly sexualized; …not only sexualisation of the body but also the sexualisation of eastern "spaces", creating a lens in which colonial powers subjugated non-western cultures, especially women."

> *"In actuality the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity. In the midst of an abstract discussion it is vexing to hear a man say: 'you think thus and so because you are a woman'; but I know that my only defence is to reply: 'I think thus and so because it is true,' thereby removing my subjective self from the argument.*
>
> *It would be out of the question to reply: 'And you think the contrary because you are a man', for it is understood that the fact of being a man is no peculiarity. A man is in the right in being a man; it is the woman who is in the wrong. It amounts to this: just as for the ancients, there was an absolute vertical with reference to which the oblique was defined, so there is an absolute human type, the masculine. "The female is a female by virtue of a certain lack of qualities,' said Aristotle; 'we should regard the female nature as afflicted with a natural defectiveness.' St Thomas … pronounced woman to be an 'imperfect man', an 'incidental' being. Thus humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being 'The body of man makes sense in itself quite apart from that of woman, whereas the latter seems wanting in significance by itself….*
>
> *Man can think of himself without woman. She cannot think of herself without man.' She [woman] is simply what man decrees; thus she is called 'the sex', by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him she is sex—absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute—she is the Other." (De Beauvoir, 1949)*

Recently, 702 radio host, Bongani Bingwa weighed in on the discourse surrounding the #BlackMonday protests in South Africa (Tshetlo, 2017), using the TED talk delivered by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie titled 'The danger of a single story' (Adichie, 2017) which this paper also references. He summarises, "… it [Adichie's talk] was about what happens when complex human beings and situations are reduced to a single narrative. When, for example we treat Africans as solely poor, starving victims with flies on their faces. Her point was that each individual life contains a compilation of complex stories. If you reduce people or any issue to one thing, you are going to step into dangerous territory because if nothing else, you take away people's humanity."

This is the activity described elsewhere as 'othering' – it functions to reduce, attack or remove (in public opinion) the humanity of a group, or an individual, rendering that group or individual subject to inhumane and inequitable treatment by the legitimised group or the individual that 'others'. 'Othering' forms part of a matrix or power relations and social ordering devices that are co-creator and symptom of patriarchy.

Heteronormativity

This form of normative social ordering is defined as the "belief or assumption that all people are naturally heterosexual, or that heterosexuality is the default or "normal" state of human being." (Russo, 2014). Heteronormativity "results in normative privilege for those who follow the systemic and social scripts of patriarchy & biological determination" (Akil, 2017). In his book, The History of Sexuality (1978), Foucault has described how the "right to greater discretion and other privileges are bestowed upon the legitimate couple who practice "normal sexuality" (this also favours those who ascribe to institutions such as the "law of marriage" (Maicantis, 2016). Butler's conception of the matrix of heterosexual and patriarchal structure that underlies the behavioural norms and invisible lines (Edkins & Zehfuss, 2014) of contemporary society, functions to "…normalizes opposite sex desire … while "othering" sexualities that do not fit that definition, thereby rendering other sexualities as "deviants"." (Maicantis, 2016).

This heteronormative cultural perspective also equates the binarised conception of gender (masculine and feminine) with what heteronormativity views as the 'complimentary' sexual orientation narrative of heterosexuality (straight-ness). This is an incredibly pervasive myth, appearing in media, cultural institutions, ritual and rites of passage as "natural" attraction to "the opposite sex". In a fascinating mutation, society at large has begun to begrudgingly accept (yet still discriminate against, objectify and fetishize) homosexuality as the (still 'unnatural') binary opposite of heterosexuality, and consequently proponents of the patriarchy often

confuse the appropriation of the 'opposite' gender category's behaviours, appearance and activities as a *quid pro quo* 'crossing over' of sexual orientation.

> *"…sexuality is often confused with gender identity"*
> *(Jennifer Bloomer, author of Sexuality and Space (Maicantis, 2016))*

In South Africa, studies by Thabo Mbisi (Not crossing the line: Masculinities and homophobic violence in South Africa, 2009) have "…found many overt and covert ways in which men were regulated and policed - by themselves and other men - in maintaining traditional and normative masculinities." His findings coincide with those of Polish philosopher Slavoj Žižek, who describes that there are invisible lines that govern "…what is visible, what is invisible, what it is possible to say, and what is left unsayable." (Edkins & Zehfuss, 2014). Mbisi's studies found that men are "expected to dress, talk, walk and speak in specific ways that prove their manhood. What was particularly clear among the participants was that there was a line that could not be crossed. This line separated 'straight' men from those who were considered gay. The men went out of their way to ensure that their actions did not portray them as gay. I argue that men are scared of their own deviation from the norm, and try to manoeuvre themselves within that norm. Deviance from normative constructions of masculinity may result in homophobia or homophobic violence directed at those who do not conform." (Mbisi, 2009).

Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a gender practice that relies on cultural processes (Hall, 2002) that enshrine the dominant social (economic, intellectual, physical etc.) position of men, and the subordinate position of women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As with the cultural dictate of -for instance- beauty, the cultural ideal of hegemonic masculinity is a virtually unattainable state and therefore only partially acquired in the social practises of both men and women. Thus, the numbers of individuals who identify as male/man and actually embody this culturally idealised form are very few. It takes many actions and interactions to maintain hegemonic masculinity, and whether conscious of it or not, most people are complicit in active support or passive collaboration. Luyt (2012), for example, describes hegemonic masculinity in contemporary South Africa as being a practice that "emphasizes the importance of masculine control, (un)emotionality, physicality and toughness, competition, success, responsibility, and (hetero) sexuality."

Manifesting hegemonic masculinity requires a very active status, especially compared with its counterpart, hegemonic femininity. Men have to 'prove' and maintain that they are not women and, unsurprisingly, "effeminate masculinities are also subordinated, given their association with women" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) while women align with hegemonic femininity via passive forms of waiting on physical maturation & presenting their bodies (and/or behaviours) in ways that will receive social approval (Luyt, 2012). It must be noted that - irrespective of gender identity or expression - anyone can perpetuate these tropes, and do - especially when they are not aware of them. These codes are embedded in our language, belief systems, religious texts, popular culture and relationships with others. Both overt (censuring those who do not comply) and covert (simply expecting certain behaviour according to these norms) forms of hegemonic masculinity and femininity contribute to the matrix of intolerance and inequality.

Cisheteropatriarchy

This is the intersection of cisgender-normativity and hetero-normativity under the auspices of the patriarchal social order (Akil, 2017).

Rape and Rape culture

In the book, 'Transforming a Rape Culture' (2005) Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth describe how societies that normalizes sexualized violence both accepts and create rape culture.

> *Rape Culture is… "a complex set of beliefs that encourage male sexual aggression and supports violence against women… where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent. In a rape culture, women perceive a continuum of threatened violence that ranges from sexual remarks to sexual touching to rape itself. A rape culture condones physical and emotional terrorism against women as the norm. In a rape culture, both men and women assume that sexual violence is a fact of life, inevitable. However . . . much of what we accept as inevitable is in fact the expression of values and attitudes that can change." (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005)*

Rape Culture is a culturally experienced social conditioning (Ridgway, 2014) that takes the form of entrenched attitudes and behaviours. The term was coined in the 1970's (WAVAW Rape Crisis Centre, 2014) to describe a social and cultural climate that implicitly and explicitly engage in cultural practices in which sexual assault, violence and rape (especially against women and gender minorities) are ignored, trivialized, normalized, excused, validated, tolerated, promoted and/or made into jokes**.** The word 'culture' here, describes as sociological and anthropological understanding of "things that people commonly engage in together as a society" (Ridgway, 2014). Rape Culture is intimately linked with violence and acts of power**,** Vogelman and Lewis explain, and that

if it is to be understood, one must "take into account the wider social, economic and political factors, including the culture of violence from which subcultures draw their reference points." ("…The term "culture of violence" is often used in South Africa to explain and describe the country's heightened incidence of violence.") (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993). While their study includes the consideration that rape and other forms of sexual violence affects gender non-conforming folk, trans folk and LGBTQ folk as well as cisgendered men, 'heterosexual' rapes committed by men are "by far the dominant form of sexual violence" in South African society (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993).

"In most public talk, people distance themselves from rape and express incomprehension about how rape continues to have such a firm grip on our society" (Gqola, 2015)

In addition, it must be noted that these social conditions are not equally distributed across society in terms of the experiences across race, gender, class and cultural lines. Rape Culture includes television and film, advertising, legal terminology and laws, language, rhetoric and imagery in the media, cultural references and jokes that "make violence against women and sexual coercion seem so normal that people believe that rape is inevitable**.** Rather than viewing the culture of rape as a problem to change, people in a rape culture think about the persistence of rape as 'just the way things are.'" (Ridgway, 2014).

"About 150 women report being raped to the police in South Africa daily. Fewer than 30 of the cases will be prosecuted, and no more than 10 will result in a conviction. This translates into an overall conviction rate of 4%–8% of reported cases." (Smythes, 2015)

Many people do not realise that they have been, in some way or form, been assaulted because rape culture is so deeply embedded into culture, psychology, social responses and language.

"Until we work to understand why these phrases are problematic and why they contribute to rape culture – and then work to eliminate them from our vocabulary – we're contributing to the same system that takes away our right to enthusiastically consent." (Leary, 2017)

Rape Culture manifests at every scale of society, and in every sphere. This means, "All women are potential victims. Women's fear of rape has begun to affect their basic day to day decisions and reduce their quality of life." (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993). The most recent data available for South Africa indicates 42 596 rapes reported annually (South African Police Service, 2015/16); but statistics (from the South Africa Demographic and Health Survey, and the Gender Based Violence Indicators Project) have shown that only 2% – 15.2% of rapes are reported to the Police (Wilkinson, 2016).

"The endorsement and acceptability of violence to which this label refers is crucial to an understanding of any violent incident in South Africa. Resolving conflict and problems through violence has long been a major part of South African culture.

Violence played a significant role in African tribal society, in white colonial settlement, in the South African government's programmes of repression and also in the liberation struggle against apartheid, and it continues to be a popular method of resolving conflict and achieving certain goals in the family, in sexual relationships, in the school, in peer groups, as well as in the industrial relations and political spheres.

Overcoming violence against women in the South African context will have to be linked to overcoming violence in the society in general as well as to exposing and eradicating gender oppression." (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993)

Corrective Rape

A highly publicised case of 'corrective' rape occurred in In 2008, when Banyana Banyana soccer star, Eudy Simelane was raped and murdered with 'curative' intentions: heterosexual men "attempting to put lesbian women in their place" (Mbisi, 2009). Lesbian women (and the queer community) are perceived to pose a threat to heteronormative masculinity, and the violent response is a clear indication of the functioning of the power relations of rape and violence on marginalised groups and individuals (Gqola, 2015).

"Rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, 'corrective rape' against gays and lesbians, virginity testing and sexual assaults form the contemporary continuum of gender violence."(Britton, 2006)

A very limited list of rape culture features includes:

- … A society that focuses on teaching girls and women how to not get raped, rather than actively addressing the conditions that normalise sexual assault and coercion as healthy male sexual behaviour.
- … Language that uses the term 'rape' interchangeably with the concept of winning. This de-legitimizes actual rape and equates sexual violence with being victorious. Used in the reverse, this language insinuates that a test, video game, visiting sports team etc. was victorious because it committed sexual violence against you, likening sexual violence to a positive outcome for opponent. When survivors hear language like this, we know to be on guard. It may seem like a harmless mention, but it could be triggering and it absolutely downplays the seriousness of rape.
- … Language (such as f*ck you) that associates sexual violence with anger. This normalised the idea that someone deserves sexual violence if they anger us enough.
- … The findings of this study that show that women feel less safe in public open space than men do.
- … Rape jokes. And those that allow and defend them. These are dehumanising, triggering (especially in terms of PTSD) and perpetuate the idea that Rape Culture is 'funny'. Rape is a serious act of violence, and finding humour in the idea of negating a person's consent is unambiguously wrong.
- … "She should have been more careful. Now look what happened" in response to a
- … Using the promising career of athletes, students or celebrities who are charged with rape to brand survivors as career-destroyers.
- … Disbelieving survivors of sexual violence (for example: on university campuses, in cases that involve sex workers, intimate partners or spouses). False reports are indisputably not the norm – they account for 2-8% of cases (Lonsway, Archambault, & Lisak, 2009)
- … The incredibly ubiquitous occurrences of catcalling and sexual harassment that women and gender minorities must daily endure, and being told to 'not overreact' when calling it out. This extremely common practice positions women and femmes as objects of desired that catcallers have the right to objectify. The idea that catcalling is harmless – or even a positive experience – shows that rape culture expects masculine folks to do or say whatever they want regarding femme folks' bodies without consequence.
- … Terms such as "legitimate rape" circulated in the media.
- … Sexual assault prevention education programs that focus on women being told to take measures to prevent rape instead of men being told not to rape.
- … Using the term "Boys will be boys" to dismisses problematic behaviour (usually by cisgender men).
- … Calling someone a "slut", "whore" or other sexist slurs. In milder form, the phrase "…did you see what she's wearing?" This is commonly known as "slut-shaming"), and these phrases attempt to focus the attention entirely on women (and femmes) for the way they have chosen to clothe themselves – and subsequently/consequently shifting the blame for anything that happens to them as a result of their "asking for it" – this is commonly called victim-blaming
- … Terminology like "the friend zone" is a concept based entirely on rape culture. The idea assumes that a person who makes romantic or sexual advances should be entitled to a positive response, especially if they "ask nicely". If they are refused, they are being "friendzoned". In popular media, the "friendzoned" person is rewarded with sympathy and encouragement that the object of their advances will change their mind.
- … Phrases like 'I/you know you want it'. Even when used in a context that is not romantic or sexualised, the phrase implies that consent doesn't matter because you can "just tell" that they're consenting.
- … Phrases like "…why don't you want me?' and "…you're a tease'. These shame one for not giving their consent or pressures them into saying yes. It assumes that consenting to sex = valuing a person, while not consenting = not valuing them. Consent for sex can be taken away or amended at any time, regardless of previous consent or a sustained sexual relationship.
- … Obligatory hugs from family members or acquaintances, especially in situations where it is believed that it's rude if women and children don't give physical affection on demand. This sort of message teaches us from a young age that our bodies and our consent are not our own. It may also unintentionally teach kids that sexual violence against them is okay.
- … The phrase "I scored' is language that frames both consent and sexual activity is something that can be won. It equates sexualised convincing, manipulation, or coercion – which are examples of sexual violence – with a positive outcome.
- … Conviction rates of as low as 4% (Marie Claire , 2017). In South Africa, the level of brutality is a major factor in conviction rates (Keller, 2016), relegating all but the most violent cases to obscurity.

If you have not experienced Rape Culture, or cannot see it clearly, I encourage you to visit the webpage of blogger Melissa McEwan who provides a comprehensive, but certainly not exhaustive list of descriptions and examples in a 2009 post titled Rape Culture 101 (Link: http://www.shakesville.com/2009/10/rape-culture-101.html).

The male gaze

The 'male gaze' and the corresponding 'female spectacle' (Ardener, 1993) are concepts at play in the practice of objectification. The term was coined by feminist film critic Laura Mulvey (Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, 1999) to describe "woman as image, man as bearer of the look… the determining male gaze projects its fantasy on the to the female figure which is styled accordingly." The male gaze depends on objectification to serve the "gender power asymmetry" that is a pervasive force in popular media, and constructed for the male gaze, "…which is deeply rooted in patriarchal ideologies and discourses" (Mulvey, 1999).

"Sexual objectification is the primary process of the subjection of women. It unites act with word, construction with expression, perception with enforcement, myth with reality. Man fucks woman; subject verb object." (Catherine MacKinnon (Wallach-Scott, 1988))

Feminist critic Catherine MacKinnon famously claimed that "All women live in objectification the way fish live in water" (Ditouras, 2010) - I assume that her analogy does not go further than explaining how invisible the activity of othering can be, and how pervasive the objectification of women is; because women could certainly do without that environment – unlike the fish. However, Helen Ditouras explains this phenomenon more clearly through philosopher Martha Nussbaum, who differentiates between the commercialisation of sexual objectification in popular culture and cultural practices, and the social practice of objectification as "a vehicle of autonomy and self-expression of women." In my own experience, reversing objectification by subverting the male gaze can be an empowering experience. Just this morning, I was treated to an interaction with a stranger on the street who returned my passing glance with a suggestive tongue sweep across his teeth and the good old crotch-grab in my direction. In situations like these, and if it is safe to do so (I was on the bus) various sources suggest that confrontation is an effective strategy (Langelan, 1993); so I gave the man the finger and continued to stare at him until he walked away. In some cases, the harasser is so surprised they will back off immediately. Movements like the #MeToo campaign are created by women who express the conditions of their shared experience of objectification, which MacKinnon, Wallach-Scott and others describe as conditions that move women (and gender minorities) to political action (Wallach-Scott, 1988).

It is, of course, not only women who are subject to objectification. Judith Butler reminds one "… one can objectify and fetishize anybody or demographic, those who maintain the least social capital in terms of power are most negatively affected by the practice; and most vulnerable to the backlash often caused by this polarisation in cultural and social opinion." (Butler, 2015). Butler's theory on Precarity explores this concept further (Butler, Performativity, precarity and sexual politics, 2009). Here, Elizabeth K. Meyer makes a meaningful contribution to my argument, in stating that should one persist in "…viewing landscape architecture through the male gaze…" we consign it to"…a body of fiction - and one that has deep ideological implications." (Maicantis, 2016).

"The dominance of the male subject in visual regimes has ramifications for the gendering of urban space, producing representations of urban space where only men do the looking, and women are looked at as objects of visual consumption." (Ardener, 1993)

Gendered space

According to Maicantis (2016), early feminist social, cultural geography and urban theorists looked to De Beauvoir, Butler and others to develop the idea of "the gendered city", a concept that encompassed notions relating to the "masculine/feminine dynamic, social and cultural constructs, social and professional inequalities, accessibility, fear and safety", within urban spaces. The "gendered city" is mostly invisible to those who do not experience discrimination or oppression because of it. Gendered spaces are created by exclusionary practices, much like enclaves of White privilege create what one might call "class-exclusionary places".

"Specific places may be 'sexed' according to the biological sex of the people who occupy them, or gendered according to the 'gender' associated with the different kinds of activities which occur in them." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)

Shreena Thakore, co-founder of No Country For Women (NCFW), in a TEDx talk titled "Why Is She Here?" discusses how the experience of everyday negotiation of public space in a gendered body is "reflective of deeply imbalanced power relations". She argues that this question – "…why are you here...?" is a question silently demanded of every woman in a public space, especially if she is unaccompanied, more so if she freely expresses her social existence (Thakore, 2015). Thakore describes a vastly different public environment in urban metropolises of India (Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore), than that of Cape Town, but the imperative within any patriarchal society is the same, "…the importance of making public spaces accessible [is] a crucial measure in the fight toward gender equality." (Thakore, 2015).

Assigning gender to space

This is an almost negligible aspect of this project, but it contributes to the discussion in that assigning gender to spaces or places, or inanimate objects does (or can) re-inforce gender stereotyping and support the prevalence of the gender binary. I.e.: the road is male. The mountain is female. It really does not contribute helpfully to the discourse, and assigning gender to spaces, places and things is actively avoided throughout.

Gendered experience

An experience that one has, or does not have, because of one's gender. This experience may come from one's positionality itself, or may be one's experiences because of the response of someone else to ones' gender or appearance/performance/expression of gender, or one's physical appearance. The gendered experience is bound up in the patriarchal and hegemonic matrix – it is created by and perpetuates objectification, othering, gendered spaces, harassment and sexual assault**.** Mbisi (quoting Jacob Bucher, author

of “But He Can't Be Gay: The Relationship between Masculinity and Homophobia in Father-Son Relationships”) identifies the source of the issue as being located within the context of "masculinity predicated on marked gender hierarchy and sexual entitlement of men" (Mbisi, 2009). Mbisi here also significantly connects a “… understanding of homophobic violence as part of the manifestation of gendered violence.” (2009).

Intersectional theory

The concept was popularised in certain circles by civil rights advocate and critical race theorist Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989, when she made the argument for understanding that “… the experiences of being a black woman cannot be understood if her blackness and gender were separated into distinct parts, they are connected and re-iterate each other… ” (Maicantis, 2016).

> *“We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously.”*
> *(The Combahee River Collective, 2014)*

Doan (Queerying Planning, 2011) elaborates on the implications of intersectionality for planning, in which practitioners must take responsibility of first, seeing and acknowledging marginalised groups; and secondly, for understanding how to involve them in the creation of spaces that facilitate inclusion (Maicantis, 2016).

> *“If one "is" a woman, that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, . . . because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities … As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out "gender" from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained.” Judith Butler in (Way, 2006)*

Contemporarily, the theory of Intersectionality is understood as the “…theory of how different forms of discrimination interact”, within society, economies, institutions, cultures, and social situations (etc.) (Maicantis, 2016).

> *“… race, sexuality, class, and age. The absence of these considerations weakens any feminist discussion of the personal and the political.” (Lorde, 1979)*

Inclusivity

In this study, the term inclusive and inclusivity refer to the conscious activity of addressing the “spatial deficiencies” (Maicantis, 2016) in which the public open space and landscape do not understand or accommodate the full spectrum of motilities, abilities, gender and sexual minorities or otherwise marginalised groups. This includes addressing the cultural and social environment that socialises women and girls (both children and adults who are born and live in female and female-presenting bodies) to fear and disassociate from the public realm; to police their own and the autonomy and expression of others for fear of harassment or gender-based violence; and to believe that they can never go anywhere alone.

Gender-Neutral

The term ‘gender-neutral’ describes a condition in which language, spaces, and institutions do not distinguish between genders in the organization of space, administration, conceptualization etc. with the goal of avoiding “… discrimination and exclusion.” (Maicantis, 2016). This kind of strategy is effective in the planning of spaces that are usually very gender-specific, like public ablutions. Maicantis observes, however, that gender neutral does not mean gender-insensitive. She warns, “… options need to be available and if options are not available then the designs must be planned and implemented with a gender-sensitive approach, because spaces are still largely appropriated by men if not designed with women in mind.” (2016). Designers risk exacerbating the problem when “… planning and designing space, and fixtures, with a gender-neutral perspective … because it assumes equality.” (Maicantis, 2016).

> *“Gender-sensitive design, and selective gender-neutral design, has not led to a decrease in use or discomfort by male counterparts. In fact, the opposite has been true, as they have begun to be widely implemented on school campuses and public government buildings. By addressing a critical area of need, gender-sensitive design has veritably created greater equality and safety for everyone involved – boys, girls, elderly, and LGBTQ.” (Maicantis, 2016)*

However, inequalities cannot be addressed unless they are directly exposed, understood, and broken down. Ivan Coyote, Canadian author and storyteller, and a vocal advocate for gender equality, spoke at a TEDxVancouver conference in 2015 on “Why we need gender-neutral bathrooms”. Their most noteworthy point for the purposes of this study was to call out the irony of calling public places (such as public restrooms) ‘public’ at all, since they only cater to the needs and requirements of a fraction of the population.



Ivan Coyote (SpeakOut, 2017)

"There are a few things that all of us need. We all need air to breathe. We need clean water to drink. We need food to eat. We need shelter and love. You know. Love is great, too.
And we all need a safe place to pee.
If we don't move now to make sure that these places are truly open and accessible to everyone, then we just need to get honest and quit calling them public places. We need to just admit that they are really only open for people who fit neatly into one of two gender boxes, which I do not." (Coyote, 2015)

Gender mainstreaming

The Swedish Government's "… most important tool for implementing feminist policy is gender mainstreaming…", and most policy regarding gender equality emphasises this strategy as its flagship agent for change. Gender mainstreaming was first recorded in international discussions as a question of policy in 1985, at the Third World Conference on Women hosted by Kenya in Nairobi (United Nations (UN), 1986). The term encompasses activities that "…promote gender equality in planning and policies, and promote women's empowerment and involvement**.** It was an attempt to make gender visible by identifying the different needs and priorities of women and to address the gender bias in policy, planning and budgeting, and challenge normative assumptions of ongoing gender constructs." (Maicantis, 2016). This policy has been successful in many first world countries to address a range of gender equality issues, and is measured by the Gender Equality Index (GEI) of the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (EIGE, 2015). Sweden tops the European Union's GEI in 2017, ahead of Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands, but the progress on all fronts is proceeding at what the EIGE has termed "a snail's pace" (EIGE, 2017)

Despite the seriousness of the subject, I am delighted by Pumla Dineo Gqola's pretenseless critique of the South African Government's application of gender mainstreaming policy:

"Government gender initiatives in South Africa are the equivalent of putting lipstick on a pig…" (Gqola, 2015)

In an interview with Rebecca Davis, Gqola dismisses the …talk of 'the empowerment of women'… currently employed and aired in South Africa…", as empty indicators of change in gender equality, because it "…rests on the assumption that ensuring … some women have access to wealth, positions in government and corporate office, is enough gender-progressive work for our society." She goes further by saying that while it is important to empower women in public office and public space, we cannot ignore the domestic contexts (Gqola, Review – Rape: A South African Nightmare, 2015). She argues that gender mainstreaming does nothing to tackle the issues of violent masculinity and patriarchal oppression in both the public and private spheres. She suggests that strategies need to be deployed that engage with the youth of the country, and "…pay close attention to the lessons they are absorbing about what a man is and what a woman is." This is in a country where the President is an unconvicted rapist, and his acquittal rested on the ability of the defence's argument to be accepted that his victim, Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo's, previous sexual history (and status as a lesbian – which was later transferred to bisexual in popular heteronormative discourse) framed her as someone "…whom it would be impossible to rape – a category, Gqola notes earlier in the book, which includes sex workers, wives, slave women and men." (Gqola, Review – Rape: A South African Nightmare, 2015).

We have a long way to go, and gender mainstreaming is nowhere near enough.

Feminism

"Enough ink has been spilled in quarrelling over feminism, and perhaps we should say no more about it."(De Beauvoir, 1949)

Adichie has acknowledged the discomfort associated with claiming the term and its connotations, saying; "... that word feminist is so heavy with baggage, negative baggage." (Adichie, We should all be feminists, 2012). Roxanne Gay, author of various successful books, an openly bisexual woman of colour (professor, editor, and commentator), has described her experiences in association with the term: "The feminist label was an accusation; it was an "F" word, and not a nice one." (Gay, 2015). Her book, 'Bad Feminist' discusses how - and I agree with her - that the only way forward is to "…go from acknowledging our imperfections to accountability… I would rather be a bad feminist than no feminist at all." Feminism holds certain truths as self-evident, such as the fact that women and gender minorities have equal right to "…move through the world as we choose, free from harassment or

violence." (Gay, 2015). Merriam-Webster, quite recently, declared "feminism' it's Word of 2017 (Lee, 2017), and defines the term as: "the theory of the political, economic and social equality of the sexes".

> *"My great grandmother did not know that word "feminist," but it doesn't mean that she wasn't one. More of us should reclaim that word. A feminist is a man or a woman who says, "Yes, there's a problem with gender as it is today, and we must fix it. We must do better.""*
> *(Adichie, We should all be feminists, 2012)*

This project is unapologetically feminist. While keenly aware of the critique that mainstream and radical feminism attracts, I aspire to espouse a feminism that does not ignore or deflect the needs and realities of women of colour, women of 'classes' other than my own, transgender women and other queer women. My feminism is aware that it could easily and blindly favour white, middle and upper class straight women's lives, realities and needs. As a feminist, it is my obligation and my central interest to attempt to understand and talk about the needs of gender and sexual minorities, as well as the full spectrum of bodies, expressions, faiths, class backgrounds, demographics, sexualities, orientation, races and abilities. Gay states, "We need to take into account these differences and how they affect us, as much as we account for what we have in common. Without this kind of inclusion, our feminism is nothing." (Gay, 2015).

> *"Today, despite the persistence of certain kinds of sexual discrimination in society, few women describe themselves as 'feminists'. Furthermore, in the workplace, and within professional environments such as architecture, the majority of women choose to describe themselves in gender-neutral terms, as architects, rather than as female architects. In academia, although the situation is somewhat different and may appear to embrace issues of sex and gender from a position of radical difference, feminism is still frequently met with a degree of hostility, with resistance to overtly politicized feminist ideas and actions coming both from the establishment and also from women who believe that openly aligning themselves with feminism will result in stereotyping."*
> *(Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

Colonialism and Decolonisation

> *"The interesting—and complicated—thing about colonialism is that it encompasses not just politics and economics, but consciousness." (d'Errico, 2011)*

Patriarchy and colonialism employ similar tactics in occupying, silencing and redefining by coercion, force or violence. Patriarchal colonialism explores how "…patriarchal power dynamics… were fundamental to institutionalized colonial ideologies and practices." (Spencer-Wood, 2016), (Jaimes-Guerrero, 2003). In contemporary society, one could say that the female mind has over time been colonised by the patriarchy (refer to the concept of the 'colonised mind' in Concerning violence in Frantz Fanon's book, 'The Wretched of the Earth' (Fanon, 1963)). Black women experience the disadvantagement of colonisation twice over due to the markers of both her race and her female-ness. Fanon argues that true liberation is not only the decolonisation of land and society, but the "…total deconstruction of the colonial system." (d'Errico, 2011).

This necessarily includes the landscapes of the mind and the consciousness. In her 2016 MLA thesis, Shannon Moon explains how Fanon deconstructs decolonisation into two active levels: "First - the physical act of freeing the land and the colonized, and second - the psychological freeing of consciousness. (Site Specificity as the Decolonial Model: An Interpretive Study of the Groote Schuur Menagerie, 2016). She also mentions semiotics and literary theorist Walter Mignolo, who coined the term "coloniality of being", implying that the 'colonial' does not only manifest is the physical but is also a way of thought and existence." (Moon, 2016)

In light of the critical emphasis placed on the 'being' and 'mind' interface of interaction with coloniality, it is at this point that one might look for tools to "…uncover the logic underlying the philosophical conundrum of coloniality." (Moon, 2016). Moon has suggested that, in terms of theory, "…Site Specificity, as a model of site interrogation and design, is the most appropriate to the discourse of decolonization as it is inherently a de-colonized method of reading the site." (2016).

I will discuss in a later chapter, the critique of traditional site analysis, and revisit the first text I ever read on Landscape Architectural theory, in order to determine a way forward in the design process.

> *"Decolonization starts with recognition of your relative social position in the systems we talk about so often about abolishing. Decolonization starts with working out all the different ways we can interact with others without denying their self-determination. Decolonization is asking yourself everyday if what you think something "is" &/or "ought to be" is yours or colonialism's." (Akil, 2017)*

Understanding African Gender Ideologies

There is disagreement in the literature as it relates to the application of certain (mostly Euro-centric or Western-society-developed) concepts and conceptual frameworks to the African context. Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí, Nigerian feminist scholar and professor of sociology posits in her book, 'The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses' that the concept of "gender" only being a binary is a European one (Oyěwùmí, 1997). She demonstrates that the "woman question" is inherently Western, one that did not exist in pre-colonial African societies. "African societies did not have conceptions of what we conceive of as 'gender' prior to colonial contact. For example, in old Yoruba society, gender was NOT constructed via a binary and social organization was determined by relative age." (Oyěwùmí, 1997).

> *"…some argue that the concept of feminism itself is out of place in the African context. The argument lies notionally in the ranking of forms of oppression and therefore prioritisation; but it relies heavily on culturally and linguistically-centered arguments." (Gasa, 2007)*

Hannah Britton argues that in the pre-colonial South African context, "…women … had only limited official political power, (but) they did have notable status ascribed to them because of their productive and reproductive roles in society." (Britton, 2006). There are numerous instances of the rejection of feminist mores citing cultural tradition as an inviolable legitimising agent, as discussed by Chimamanda Adichie:

> *"Some people will say that a woman being subordinate to a man is our culture. But culture is constantly changing… what is the point of culture? … [it] really is about preservation and continuity of a people. Culture does not make people, people make culture. So if it is in fact true that the full humanity of women is not our culture, then we must make it our culture." (Adichie, 2012).*

The Combahee River Collective's Black Feminist statement observes, "The reaction of black men to feminism has been notoriously negative." (2014). In South Africa, the feminist movement was forced into a period of relative dormancy, especially during the years when the white feminist movement excluded black women from their ranks and interests, and during the Struggle years. In the article titled Getting Lost in Cape Town: Spatial and Temporal Dislocation in the South African Short Fiction Cycle (1995), author Sue Marais quotes Miriam Tlali (the first Black woman to be published as novelist in South Africa (SAHO, 2014)) in describing the imperative felt by black South Africans to unite as cohesively as possible in resistance of the Apartheid regime.

> *"…it was important for the struggle that we be one thing." Tlali, 1989 in (Marais, 1995)*

For black women, it meant many things, but two things are important to note: that their feminist objectives were left undeveloped as secondary to the racial equality struggle; and that the Democratic elections of 1994 meant an even less full emancipation than experienced by the disenfranchised, systematically and institutionally oppressed people of colour in south Africa (refer the section on Intersectionality). While it is far beyond the scope of this paper to determine explicitly the origins and genesis of feminism or the lack of discernible forms of feminism in pre-colonial South Africa, suffice to say that the majority of traditionalists with descendency from South African cultures are overtly patriarchal in their expression and norms (refer to the section on patriarchy).

> *"The question is not either/or; but that at a conceptual level, we have to acknowledge the nuances, complexities and challenges of the context in which these various contestations, ideological interventions and frameworks must take place." (Gasa, 2007)*

The paper up to now indicates that gender, or "…masculine and feminine are not inherent characteristics but subjective (or fictional) constructs." (Wallach-Scott, 1988), making the categories of 'man' and 'woman' difficult to continue using. However, as stated in the opening paragraphs of this section, I accept that a critical consciousness approach helps to ameliorate the disorientating effects of using words and terms that I have just declared redundant. In the interviews and discussion, these words must be used in order to make the study legible and clear for those who choose the category in a social capacity, or live within it culturally.

Women

These are not simple categories. Even within a discourse that distances itself from the binary nature of language, using the term 'woman' still assumes that both reader and writer are on the same page in terms of the meaning and inferences.

> *"It would appear, then, that every female human being is not necessarily a woman; to be so considered she must share in that mysterious and threatened reality known as femininity."*
> *(De Beauvoir, 1949)*

For the purposes of this study, and unless otherwise stated, when I refer to "women/woman" in this study, I mean **people who were born in 'female' bodies, were raised as girls and now have the social and psychological identity of "woman"** (Nagoski, 2015). This does not necessarily include intersex individuals whose gender was assigned to them as female at birth.

Female

When I say female I am referring to either the **socially constructed concept of femininity** as the binary opposite of masculinity as a gender; or the physical and behavioural characteristics that are associated with the body, biology, gender roles and norms of such a person according to their time, race, class and culture.

Female-presenting

When I say "female-presenting", I am referring to the range of i**ndividuals who predominantly present, express themselves and perform visually as femal**e; who dress, walk, speak, look, behave and/or perform the gender-roles of a woman in terms of the gender binary, including those who were born female and those who were not. The emphasis here is on the visual appearance that these individuals embody, as this is often a significant driver of how other individuals in society behave around and towards them, overtly or covertly.

Men

When I refer to "men" in this study, I mean **people who were born in male bodies, were raised as boys and now have the social and psychological identity of "man**". This includes intersex, Trans and a non-binary individual whose gender was assigned to them as male at birth, but does not necessarily fully describe them now. These individuals may now identify fully in a social and cultural capacity as women, Trans or non-binary etc. However, their upbringing and socialisation are referred to here.

Male

When I say male I am referring to either the **socially constructed concept of masculinity** as the binary opposite of femininity as a gender; or the physical and behavioural characteristics that are associated with the body, biology, gender roles and norms of such a person according to their time, race, class and culture.

Male-presenting

When I say "male-presenting", I am referring to the range of i**ndividuals who predominantly present, express themselves and perform visually as mal**e; who dress, walk, speak, look, behave and/or perform the gender-roles of a man in terms of the gender binary, including those who were born male and those who were not. The emphasis here is on the visual appearance that these individuals embody, as this is often a significant driver of how other individuals in society behave around and towards them, overtly or covertly.

Landscape architecture draws on the knowledge and epistemology of many and varied associated fields; some interfaces of which are more frequented by theorists and practitioners than others. I am keenly aware of how uninitiated I am in the fields of research upon which this study draws. This observation is not made apologetically, but to highlight an issue which I wish to address as a student of- and participant in Landscape Architecture: we contribute very little to the rapidly evolving theory of cultural and social behaviour in general; and almost nothing to the discourse on gender specifically.

> *"Gender is not an easy conversation to have. For both men and women, to bring up gender is sometimes to encounter almost immediate resistance." (Adichie, 2012)*

Sally Schauman observes that, "… unlike feminist theorists, few landscape architects are ideologues…" (2001) while Maria Maicantis rebuts this rather justificative view by pointing out that it is "curious that a discipline… having been heavily analysed and debated since the Romantics, has not joined other cross-disciplinary discourses in analysing the role of gender and sexuality in the theory and practice of landscape architecture" (Maicantis, 2016)**.** The fact is that despite the discourse on gender having gained much momentum and attention in certain spheres of contemporary society, there is a significant lack of it in landscape architectural practice and theory. The theses of Ginger Daniel and Maria Maicantis discuss the possible reasons for this shortfall, attributing it chiefly to the focus of the last fifty years in theory and practice on ecology and sustainability ((Maicantis, 2016), (Daniel, 2013), (Schauman, 2001) and (Palka, 1995)). If Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie speaks of society in general as appearing to have evolved without a concurrent evolution in our ideas on gender (2012) then landscape architects have a lot of catching up to do, especially if their planning and design contributions are to be at all relevant or helpful to contemporary society.

I am often asked with some incredulity, questions that follow the lines of, "how will you make these two disparate realms of gender and landscape architecture co-habit your thesis?" Essentially, the question I am asked is, "what does gender have to do with Landscape Architecture?" I am often rather taken aback by these questions, because it seems obvious to me that the planning and design of public open space , civic environments (and the various shades of interface between landscape and the built environment/urbanity) depends upon an understanding of human behaviour. At the very least, it depends upon a number of assumptions we make as planners and designers as to how and why public space is used or required. Leslie Weisman provides an explanation to this baffling question by citing the contextual obligation of the architectural discipline:

> *"Architecture is a subject which demands to be understood in context: that is, within the context of its production (society, economics, politics, culture) and the context of its consumption, representation and interpretation (different academic disciplines, interest groups, institutions, users). In the light of enormous and rapid shifts in theoretical, historical and critical debates, particularly with respect to feminism, understanding architecture in relation to gender demands an urgent contextualisation." (Weisman, 1981)*

How is it that gender (and the socio-cultural conditions associated with it) is more or less excluded from the range of human behavioural drivers that we consider as spatial planners and designers? As Annette Hearth so neatly puts it, "All human activity has a spatial dimension". *All human activity*. This - especially in landscape and public open space – includes at least discriminatory, unequal and oppressive socio-cultural behaviours; while at worst it must include gross human rights violations such as gender-based violence, rape and sexual assault associated homicide. After reading the section on Rape Culture, the reader may not be surprised to note that all of the above-mentioned activities have occurred within the study area. In light of Hearth's statement, I wish to study more closely the spatial dimensions that gender and gender-based perceptions inform and are informed by, specifically as they manifest in public open space and landscape. In her book, Queerying Planning , Petra Doan (herself an out transgendered woman) describes spatial planning as an "exercise in power" that has the result of "creating order in the urban environment." (2011). The annals of urban and spatial planning are, not surprisingly, replete with the names and works of white, cisgender, heterosexual men. Doan uses the "Tyranny of the Majority" concept (2015) to point out that it is the conceptions of order of ***these*** individuals, and not the users of the urban environment, that urban and spatial planning practice favours.

"…the problem with not addressing gender and sexual inequalities does not make the problem disappear; it simply manifests itself in poor design, neglected social issues and a lack of authoritative positions for women and other minorities …" (Maicantis, 2016)

I am not alone in my expectation that the evolution of my profession should go beyond the preoccupations of the past fifty years of theory. There is a worldwide call for visibility and equality for LGBTQ (and other gender minorities), and for action against gender discrimination and sexual harassment, assault and violence. Global social movements like the #MeToo campaign (gaining momentum during the writing of this paper) have garnered unprecedented exposure as social media platforms are flooded with the stories of literally (CBS News This Morning, 2017) millions of humans who are affected. The UN Woman's HeForShe campaign calls for urgent "concrete, systematic, structural change" that will address the political, economic and social inequalities related to gender discrimination and gender-based violence (Elizabeth Nyamayaro).

"Gender equality is in the interest of men. It is good for countries, good for companies, and good for men. More egalitarian relationships are far happier and healthier according to data from contemporary studies in behavioural psychology." (Kimmel, 2015)

If the authoritative statements of famous, trusted (and male) public figures assure you, I am happy to provide reference to some influential individuals that weigh in on the topic as follows. Kofi Annan expresses the motivation for the demands represented by Nyamayaro by defining gender equality as a precondition for meeting the challenges of the Anthropocene, rather than a goal in itself (Veneman, 2006). Entities as powerful as the Swedish Government (a self-declared feminist democracy) advocate through their Prime minister Stefan Löfvén the view that "few areas of society have such great potential for development as gender equality" (Government of Sweden, 2015). Former US President, now activist, Jimmy Carter, declares "...knowing the world as I do, I can tell you without any equivocation that the number one abuse of human rights on Earth is, strangely, not addressed quite often, is the abuse of women and girls." (Carter, 2015). Even our South African '*pièce de résistance'* Nelson Mandela had stated "Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression." Bless his soul, I trust he did not mean for it to come out quite that way – it might have included the emancipation of all from the gender binary, and perhaps the "have been" might be replaced with a slightly less patronising "are". Nevertheless, we thank him for his contribution.

"Any serious shift towards more sustainable societies has to include gender equality" (Helen Clark, 2011)

CHAPTER 3: LANDSCAPE AND GENDER

The first two chapters are intended to orientate the reader in order to introduce concepts, terms and definitions that this study will refer to as well as the possible points of connection between these concepts and landscape as a concept. The following section will explore firstly, why this paper is important to the theory and practice of landscape architecture. Secondly, it will present a discussion on the conceptual and practical connections between gender and landscape by viewing public open space through a gender-sensitive lens that recognises identity politics as a significant player in its production and thirdly, this section will revisit the nature/culture debate, drawing on ecofeminist theory to locate gender and landscape architecture as mediators between binarised concepts.

"We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression."
(A Black Feminist Statement, 2014)

WHY IS THIS PROJECT IMPORTANT TO LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE?

With reference to the section titled ' Gender is Invisible in my Profession", I will briefly address the importance of this study, and the dissertation project that follows it. Professionals in the built environment such as Petra L. Doan are exposed, on a daily basis, to resistance from cisheteronormative patriarchal society. Maicantis introduces Doan's work as theory that "integrate(s) queer theory with planning theory", and challenges the practice of spatial designers and planners who have habitually overlooked the needs of marginalised communities, with specific reference to LGBTQ's (Maicantis, 2016, p. 14)**.** Doan (Queerying Planning, 2011) describes how previous decades have registered vehement resistance. Of even more interest to Doan (and, I assume, with concurrent feelings of disappointment and disgust) was the correspondence she received "…from planners that couldn't even conceive of another perspective that didn't cater to heteronormative needs and assumptions. Many of them even argued that race, sex and sexual orientation have no role in good urban design. The LGBTQ community was seeing the same resistance that women, African-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans faced and often continue to face in creating paradigm shifts in planning. Like many other minority communities, there was a concentrated effort to keep the LGBTQ community invisible and silent by not engaging with the community." (2011, p. 10). For this reason and others discussed in the 'Interviews' section, the study needed to include conversations with – and exposure to – as many humans as there was time for.

"Women, gender non-conforming people, sexual minorities are regularly mis-recognised, or un-recognised. When one lives as a body that suffers misrecognition, perhaps insult or harassment, cultural prejudice, economic discrimination, police violence or psychiatric pathologisation… that leads to a de-realised way of living in the world. A way of living in the shadows, not as a human subject, but as a phantasm. Someone else's phantasm, but you are living it.

We know that those who do not live their genders in intelligible ways are at heightened risk for harassment, pathologisation and violence. Gender norms have everything to do with how – and in what way – we "can" appear in public space… how and in what way the private and public are distinguished… and how that distinction is instrumentalised in the service of sexual politics."
(Butler, 2015)

This project is also important because of the scarcity of landscape architectural theory that engages in cross-disciplinary research with the fields of sociology, gender theory, cultural geography and philosophy. Maria Maicantis, whose thesis has been vital in the writing of this paper, posits "Cross-disciplinary research and theory is invaluable in terms of influencing the creation of holistic and inclusive design processes and implementations.", she describes theory as a vital mechanism in evaluating professional practice, and I argue, the ontological framework of the profession itself. Maicantis argues that it is important that landscape architectural theory continually revise the understanding of what landscape architects comprehend and include in their definition of landscape architectural relevance. (Gender and Sexuality in Design: Discourses on Gender, Sexuality and Inclusivity in Community Design and Analysis of Theoretical Frameworks for Gender-Neutral and Gender-Sensitive Design, 2016).

In the South African context especially, there is urgent need to engage in conversation with voices, perspectives and realities that have in the past been silenced, overlooked, undervalued and marginalised, as many of the South African's referenced in this paper argue with respect to their own fields of enquiry. For the purposes of this study, I address the fact that sex, sexuality and gender inequalities are irrefutable problems that are for the most part, entirely overlooked by planners and designers of public open space in South Africa, and in particular "… as it pertains to landscape architecture" (Maicantis, 2016) . This issue is compounded by the matrix of discrimination discussed in the previous section under the headings 'intersectionality' and 'patriarchy', that recognises how the layers of race and class discrimination intra-act, (Maicantis, 2016) (Barad, 2011) (Gqola, 2015) (Jackson, 1998) (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993) and which all play indelible roles in the conceptualisation, planning, design and implementation of public open space .

> *"By seeing the environment and design through these different lenses, then the profession becomes far more aware, not only of the sometimes subtle layers of intersectionality, but of the layers of human experience as well and the different needs of various user groups."*
> *(Maicantis, 2016)*

Finally, this study and the dissertation project that follows is an attempt to critique, disrupt and break down what Jane Rendall calls the "emotionally monolithic stereotype" system within which gender operates (Gender, Space, Architecture: an Interdisciplinary Introduction, 1999). While her position is one that still identifies itself within the gender binary, I would qualify that my interpretation of her use of the terms 'women' and 'man' refer to the constructs, and these affect individuals across the gender spectrum, and indeed all humans despite the gender spectrum.

> *"Women are associated with traits of nurturance, cooperation, subjectivity, emotionalism, and fantasy, while 'man's world'—the public world of events and 'meaningful' work—is associated with objectivity, impersonalisation, competition, and rationality. This fragmentation, this segregation of the public and private spheres according to … roles … excludes … contact and therefore a fuller understanding of each other. It limits each from learning a variety of skills and reflects on our concepts of self and other."*
> *(Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

We do agree, however, on the fact that the most essential responsibility of "architectural feminism" is to address this "… schizophrenic spatial schism—to find a new architectural language in which the 'words', 'grammar', and 'syntax' synthesize work and play, intellect and feeling, action and compassion**.**"(Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999). This means making gender and sexual inequality visible, and finding ways in which architectural intervention can comment on and contribute to the global discourse on equality in ways far more positive and relevant than it has been doing up to now. Even more compelling is the possibility that landscape architecture can spatially address rape culture and the rampant violence that marginalized bodies and minds are subject to on a daily basis. It is a working theory that spatial design must target the norms and stereotypes - the social and cultural behavioural systems that both create and are created by cisheteronormative patriarchal society - in order to produce change in the public realm. This will include addressing the concept of landscape discussed in the 'Nature Culture Woman Other' section, the relationship between public and private that is so often discussed in architectural theory (refer to pretty much any feminist theorist found in the book Gender Space Architecture (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999), and various others (Änggård, 2011), (Wesely & Gaarder, 2004), (Dosekun, 2007), (Bauder, 2002), (Madge & Bee, 1999).

This section asks the question asked by landscape architects (addressing the question both to themselves, and to anybody else who would willingly hazard a guess) over and over again in their lifetimes. What is a landscape? We pose the question in many ways: What is a landscape supposed to be? And what is it not supposed to be? How do we deal with landscape ontologically? (i.e. by assuming that we know what it is and what it ought to be?) What is landscape to who? Why is landscape seen the way it is? Why do I relate to landscape this way and not that way? The list might go on indefinitely. But these questions are very important, and we should not ever stop asking them, because the answers change too. What gender theory certainly is, is perpetual motion. And landscape theory should also be that – no answer will ever be THE answer because answers are static and situated. Within the next moment, the context has changed and we must ask a new question again, in order to get a new answer.

The first part describes landscape as a social and cultural construct that finds expression in physical space and lace, akin to the concept of gender. The second part within this section addresses the implications of applying gender theory to landscape as a construct – where these theories find harmony and where they diverge. The intention is to locate the discussion on landscape (as an aspect of public open space that this study deals with specifically) and gender in closer relation to each other, to make explicit their relationship. This will guide the reader in understanding the context of the section titled 'Observations from the Interviews'.

Landscape as construct

Maicantis (2016) identifies "experiential factors" that are rooted in an individual's gender and sexuality as the language through which a person co-creates, perceives and understands their environment. The previous sections have identified these experiential factors as gendered experiences, that intersect with race, class and various other conditions in terms of South African society. These experiences take the form of overt and covert social conditioning and cultural coding, and every individual experiences them – consciously or unconsciously.
It is usually the experiences that upset, rattle, hurt, disadvantage and dehumanise us that make these incidents visible to us. The severity of these experiences depend on our own behaviours, but importantly, it depends on the behaviours of other individuals – especially those whom the cultural and social situation privilege and grant power. Those who are disempowered are more likely to have negative experiences within their environments, whether these are public or private (refer to (Maicantis, 2016, p. 14)). This section aims to find or build bridges between gendered experiences as they manifest in public open space and landscape, and the conceptual and applied language of landscape architecture.

Gender and sexuality are (as) elemental parts of the human condition, behaviour and identity (Maicantis, 2016). But Maicantis observes that gender and sexuality are influential beyond just the perception of the self, in saying that: "they shape the way the world is perceived" (2016). After all, as Maurice Merleau-ponty famously points out in Phenomenological terms, our bodies (within which gender and sexuality are experienced and performed) are our 'general medium' for having a world at all (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). These arguments suggest that the reality that is shaped and perceived by a particular form of human body, with its associated gender identity and expression, is entirely unique. That reality is also reflexive – it both informs and is informed by that body and gender experience. For this reason, the perceptions of landscape (framed in this study as activity, access and safety) are somehow correlated to an individual's unique reality, and can express some of its mysteries to an observer – hence the interviews. Liana Jansen (neé Müller), a dear friend and mentor advises the following:

> *"True understanding of individuals and communities and their relationship to place is only achieved through emotional resonance from one person to another. Usually, the medium of this resonance is a story – text, written or verbal, narrating the inner landscaper and ushering the intangible into the realm of the perceived." (Müller, 2012, p. 7)*

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's reminds her audience in a 2012 TED talk (We should all be feminists), that "...gender colours the way we experience the world...". She also situates the gendered experience in the realm of the sensory – of the body. Author and architect Bernard Tshumi has said of the world (to quote Nietzsche), that for us (contemporary humans) it has become infinite, "meaning that we cannot refuse it the possibility to lend itself to an infinity of interpretations." (Dixon Hunt, 2016). It is these differences in the worlds of the interviewees that I

have hoped to gain access to, in order to reveal a wider scope of gendered experiences and perceptions than my own**.**

Another concept that might lend itself to an infinity of interpretations, according to the literature, is landscape. In 1985, Denis Cosgrove explained that within our definition of the 'landscape' is contained not only the corporeal, or "merely the world we see", but also a highly situated ideological construct. Eugene J. Palka has interpreted Cosgrove's position to refer to the "idea of landscape". Similar, I would argue, to James Corner's "eidetic imaging" (Corner, 1999) as a form of ideation, which is in turn similar to Kevin Lynch's concept of the image as a mental picture that is entirely unique to the 'imaginer' (Lynch, 1960). Palka specifies that this 'idea' "…is composed of more than the superimposition of human and natural features onto the earth's surface." (1995). In fact, landscape as an ideological construct is composed of "the external world mediated through subjective human experience**.**" (Palka, 1995). What he might not have included explicitly in his explanation is, of course, gendered experiences in public open space .

Edward Relph is included in Palka's argument (1995, p. 23) for a humanistic treatment of the term 'landscape', in saying that there is, "strictly speaking, … no such thing as landscape, there is only *this* landscape, here and now. As we move, the landscape moves, always there, in sight but out of reach". Donald Meinig (Palka, 1995, p. 15) has also called the landscape "instantaneous", in that when describing a certain 'landscape' (or, the landscape) one can only ever really refer to the landscape of that instant. Cosgrove allows us a more generalised use of the term by further describing landscape as an ideological construct that is culturally responsive. This provides a significant connection to the concept of gender; particularly in that landscape "represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature" (Palka, 1995, p. 15). This connection is explored further in later chapters of this paper.

Landscape as cultural and political

From the understanding of landscape architecture as a practice that (by virtue of its ideological nature as constructed by the users themselves) is culturally significant, I acknowledge the need to approach this study and my MLA dissertation project with a sensitivity to these realities. However, there is a lack of content in terms of socially contextual responsibility and cultural relevance in landscape architecture in both my postgraduate course's subject matter and in the wider theoretical discourse. It is almost inconceivable to me that landscape architecture would not even place gender dynamics within the normative scope of site analysis process (Maicantis, 2016), spatial planning and design (Daniel, 2013), let alone centrally, as recommended by Maicantis and others (Ardener, 1993), (Daniel, 2013), (Doan, 2015), (Harth, 2017), (Mbisi, 2009) etc. I argue that issues of gender and sexuality should be occupying space alongside any number of the most important social, cultural and equity issues architects, landscape architects and planners consider on a daily basis. Landscape, at least to myself and Ian Thompson is, "… whether we like it or not, …political." (Stoffberg, Hindes, & Müller, 2012, p. ix).

> *"The really important issues are about who controls land, who shapes it and to what end. The shaping in question is sometimes a matter of planning or design, but very often it is about cultural practices which, in benign form, can indicate a sense of belonging and harmony with the land, but in malevolent form can be territorial markers serving the interests of exclusion." (Thompson, 2009)*

Julian Raxworthy, Senior lecturer at UCT, has stated in his essay *'Specificity: the impossibility of not projecting'* (Raxworthy, 1997), that "…[t]he interpretation of nature is always a political act." Various sources, and the argument put forward in this paper, contend that the personal is also political (A Black Feminist Statement, 2014). In reading Cosgrove's argument for the idea of landscape, one might now overlay the political onto this construct – landscape also symbolizes the ways in which different genders, races and "…classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature" (Cosgrove, 1983, p. 15). Ian Thompson reflects on the work of Cultural geographers who have "… revealed that landscapes are implements of cultural power and tools which can, for good or ill, shape the creation of national and social identities." (Stoffberg, Hindes, & Müller, 2012, p. ix). Palka (1995) supports this view, and makes three significant observations - he argues one must realise that:

- From a single vantage point, a single setting can yield as many different landscapes as there are viewers, because what we see is a function of our own life experience, senses, and perceptions. “A blind person visualizes landscapes no less distinct than a person with 20/20 vision.” (Palka, 1995)

- “Even when we are not physically within the landscape, we can still interact with it; thus landscapes of, for instance, ‘fear’ are real from an individual or group perspective. Interaction may involve physical contact or a response to sensed phenomena within the context of one's life experience.”

- A group of people can communicate and collaborate about what they see and eventually produce a "shared" landscape based on a set of common values, experiences, and perceptions. Landscape history is full of these examples, as expressed in the Picturesque sensibility, Japanese garden design, the Sublime etc.)

Thompson guides the argument once again by pointing out that Landscape is also “…whether we like it or not, a matter of ethics; indeed the ethical and the political ought to go hand-in-hand.” (Stoffberg, Hindes, & Müller, 2012, p. ix). Landscape architecture is a matter of ethics because it has real, material and significant consequences in the form of legislation concerning resource management, conservation and regional planning, standards of Best Practice, environmental management, theory and design practice, what is considered anthropometrically relevant design, to name but a few.

> *“…planning and geography scholars (have) argued that spaces are gendered, and that a gendered lens provides greater perspective and all-encompassing inclusion (for all genders).” (Maicantis, 2016)*

Following from the argument above, and from an understanding of intersectionality as significant contributor to the reflexive making and experiencing of space, it can be said that landscape architecture is also culturally consequential. As a contributor to the shaping of public open space , it occurs to me that if a designer is not (as Maria Maicantis puts it), at least “actively aware” of these dynamic perceptual, ethical, political, cultural and experiential differences in the concept of landscape and public open space and ”of the fact that every individual represents and lives in a world that you do not yourself live in… then landscapes and public open space s can“… become places of exclusion even with the best intentions” (Maicantis, 2016). One might imagine that is putting it mildly (refer to any (and all) references to rape culture in this paper).

Site Analysis – A critique

From the literature, as well as from my own lived experience, I have come to understand that the gendered experience is a reality that needs to be made visible to those who are not specifically interested in gender theory. Various tools analysed by Ginger Daniel in her thesis titled ‘Designing for Gender Equality in the Developing Context: Developing a Gender-Integrated Design Process to Support Designers’ Seeing, Process, and Space Making’ (2013) are put forward to be applied to practice. There is somewhat less guidance in the literature when it comes to the application of these theories and concepts to the design process itself. Finding myself at the threshold of a site-bound study, I was interested in conducting a site analysis prior and parallel to this research. However, I quickly realised that my ‘training’ in McHargian Site analysis methods were fundamentally lacking in the realm of gender sensitivity and socio-cultural responsiveness. For the purposes of this study (and the subsequent dissertation project associated with this paper) I have looked briefly into the site analysis phase, as it is a convenient and applicable example of the exclusion of gender in the theory and practice of landscape architecture**.**

Shannon Moon, in her 2016 Dissertation Study (2016) discusses how the normative processes of ‘reading’ a site have been driven by the practices of environmental conservation and egological restoration(as developed in the 1960’s at Penn University as an aspect of ecological planning (Olin, 2012)), largely based on Ian McHarg’s “…now common, ‘Site Analysis’ technique… which places huge emphasis on the measurable ecological components of reading the landscape. It entailed analysing the landscape’s make up through separate mapped layers”. These layers were seen as discrete, quantifiable and verifiable realities; and the interpretation of the relationships between these sets of data were not only the preferred, but often the sole “…drivers of site planning and design.” (Moon, 2016). Laurie Olin, a contemporary and colleague of McHarg, says of the 1974 Penn University methods:

"We were out on the edge exploring methods of how to do landscape architectural planning in a way that was replicable, it was defensible, it was fundable… that-uh… we could… as Ian used to say "It shouldn't be like ladies hats! It is not about 'I wish, I want'… and… and impulse. It should be rational." (Olin, 2012)

As if that statement was not a problematic enough, Olin goes on to say of Ian McHarg, that he believed in 'art' and 'intuition', but that these things were dangerous in the hands of 'ignorant people' (Olin, 2012). Amongst the array of red flags, statements like these speak of the assumption that the values applied (by professionals, not other 'ignorant people') to the layering of data would be assigned by McHarg and his colleagues – white, privileged, American (presenting as) heterosexual men, who were Landscape Architects or otherwise qualified*. **(If your internal red-flag mechanism is not yet tuned, please revisit the sections on patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity, heteronormativity, othering etc.)* A contemporary of McHarg and Olin was Lawrence Halprin, who had a markedly different approach. His methods of design were characterised by "… attention to human scale, user experience, and the social impact of design." (The Cultural Landscape Foundation, 2017). In a 2013 interview, Laurie Olin dismisses the participatory nature of Halprin's "Taking Part Workshops" as failures (these were community participation workshops central to Halprin's site analysis strategy, and early forms of what we now call Public Participation or Stakeholder engagement, now widely recognised as a right (Doan, Queerying Planning, 2011)). Olin states that "Asking people what they want doesn't necessarily give them what is best for them… and there are some serious problems with that. But letting a designer just do what HE wants, without interacting with the actual user… is equally dangerous." (Olin, 2012). You don't say, Laurie?

Raxworthy argues that the default contemporary approach of 'Site Analysis' viewed the 'specific' on a site as a major motivator in determining the 'appropriateness' of a design response. This process follows what is considered an 'analytical' system, but Raxworthy argues it is simply privileged information. Site analysis, he says, (it) is not impartial at all but inherently subjective; and although regarded by most designers to be unimpeachable, it is in fact a frail and thinly veiled empiricism (Specificity: the impossibility of not projecting, 1997). Raxworthy shows that McHarg's method, in all its pragmatism, was lacking indeed. By virtue of its subjectivity, one is able to "discern the prejudices of the discourse – the ethical and ideological systems that form its basis." (Raxworthy, 1997).

"Once conditioned by the 'measurable' nature of ecology, those values that are unmeasurable by this (McHarg's) criteria, 'Human' and 'Historical', are dealt with by being sidelined into other measurable approximates: the recording of age and mapping of location ('Existing Factors'); patterns of use ('Social Factors'); and optics ('Visual Quality'). This desire to convert all values into measurable approximates suggests that the information which is ignored plays an 'uncanny' role in the 'Site Planning' process; it is at once 'irrelevant', yet it is also required to determine that which is relevant simply through its status of 'otherness'." (Raxworthy, 1997).

Although this topic is an argument that will fill books on its own – It is beyond the scope of this study to explore. I have adopted Ginger Daniels' attitude in response, by recognising that design processes, especially in a learning environment, "embrace assumptions and hierarchies established by the normative." (2013). Earlier in this paper, the study was located within the normative South African context: that of the matrix of hegemonic, cisheteronormative patriarchy, with a serving of colonialism on the side**.** This environment relates intimately to what Julian calls the "institutional violence that is at the core of site planning" (Raxworthy, 1997). Individuals like Laurie Olin might be described as a representative of the trope of older, white, male landscape architects, and he is clearly displaying hegemonic, heteronormative and patriarchal assumptions. Although I am sure there are many other records of this kind of rhetoric from a large group of cisgendered heterosexual male landscape architects, it is his interview that I found and his words that will close this section. Olin goes on to reminisce, "In 1974 and for probably the next four or five years at least, there was no question that we felt – at Penn – that we were the centre of the landscape architecture universe." (Olin, 2012).

I do not reject the "existence of scientific fact as material" out of hand, an idea Julian Raxworthy rightly finds disturbingly liberating (1997), but I certainly do feel(s) that placing the overwhelming emphasis on the perceptions of the users of the site at the outset of a site analysis "… places everything squarely within the sphere of culture and discursive practice…". However, since no site analysis process could be unimpeachable, there can be no such thing as true 'site specificity'. Merely, one possible site specificity. While standard 'site analysis' guidelines are

silent on issues of gender; I felt the need to (perhaps at the exclusion of other, more commonly represented 'specificities') find a way to engage with the site through eyes, memories, embodied experiences and identities other than my own, thus including gender sensitivity in the beginning stages of the design process. I am always relieved to return to the writings of Liana Jansen (Müller, 2012) and Elizabeth K. Meyer (Meyer, 2004), reassuring me that:

> *"Site analysis at a large scale and recorded through detached rational mappings, has given way to site readings and interpretations drawn from firsthand experience…" (Meyer, 2004)*

This part has demonstrated that the design process already operates in a gendered context, and even the application of the normative process of site analysis has consequences that can be related directly to impacts on users of public open space .

Landscape, body and gender in Public open space

Landscape itself is gender neutral but gender is superimposed: landscapes and land are themselves assigned genders, class and even race. A reading of Conrad's heart of Darkness demonstrates this sufficiently. The kind of planning described above is one in which the study area would be viewed as a landscape that is obliged to function as the current conception of landscape dictates, adhering to certain rules and norms according to deeply invested colonial and patriarchal values. The Chicago School of thought in Sociology (1920's and 1930's) put forward early urban theories on "sexualized and gendered places" (Maicantis, 2016). Walter Benjamin's term 'The gendered city' (Keith, 2008) investigated the early 20th Century's notions of "the feminine/masculine dynamic, social and cultural constructs… accessibility, fear and safety." (Maicantis, 2016). These concepts, relevant here and elsewhere in this paper, are further explored in the section titled 'Positionality of the Study Area'.

In a lecture titled **'Why bodies Matter'** (2015), Judith Butler speaks extensively on the treatment of the body, and how theory informs our understanding of the body's meaning and range of interdependencies. I have found it useful to this discussion to replace every instance of the word 'body' with the word 'landscape', in an attempt to directly apply gender theory to landscape architecture:

> *"…I think that the empirical sciences that establish the [landscape] as a discrete, empirical phenomenon, one that can be studied as an isolated entity, sometimes fail to understand the [landscape] as a living being. Or to distinguish adequately between ways of living, even ways of dying. And if a [landscape] is living, as I suggest, its living in some way, already embedded in cultural relations, in historical discourses. Indeed, can we know the life of the [landscape] without understanding in what way is living?*
>
> *If the [landscape] is only treated as a positive and discrete entity, measurable, verifiable, we can gain certainty about its existence, we can even do a … diagnosis, if we are trained to do that, but what we've done with the [landscape] is reduced it to a materiality that conforms with a positivist way of seeing. Have we – at that moment – lost sight of the relationships in which the [landscape] exists – which allow the [landscape] to exist? The relations without which no [landscape] can exist. What if the [landscape] is a dynamic field of relations? Always dependent and interdependent? What if the [landscape] is ageing, living, falling in love, falling ill, dying or dead? What if it is recovering? Or flourishing? Does it matter what modality that living being is in when we talk about "the life of the [landscape]"? How do we understand that temporal dimension of embodied life if we remain restricted by the positivist account of the [landscape] as a material fact.*
>
> *It's true that we name the [landscape] differently depending on what discourse we use, depending on what language we speak, what purpose we want that [landscape] to serve, or what social significance it may have. Perhaps what we call the [landscape]'s materiality is what constantly escapes whatever name we might give it. There is no one name for the [landscape]. So whatever the [landscape] is, it is not captured by any particular name. Is it there, elusive, persistent, and yet finally what may be most un-captureable by discourse? This is not a way of denying that the [landscape] exists, on the contrary, its a way of saying that no matter how adamant we are in our claims to know and seize and verify and produce the material [landscape], we are bound up in a discourse that cannot claim to be the only way to understand what a [landscape] is, what a sexed (or gendered) [landscape] is, and how it means." (Butler, 2015)*

"Natural environments are not gender-coded in themselves. Thus, nature spaces seem to offer good opportunities to promote gender equality."(Änggård, 2011)

But natural materials, settings, environments, views and landscapes are in themselves agender, neutral, non-binary. (but) Eva Änggård (2015) suggests that they "… have to be interpreted, and meanings can easily be transformed." Landscape itself is subject to what she calls 'gender-coding'. For Foucault (Rabinow, 1984) and subsequent theorists like Beatriz Colomina (Colomina & Bloomer, 1992), spaces are "…encoded with meaning". Maicantis relates how these theorists posit that public open space and landscape (as aspects of the built environment) reflect and represent the "socio-political attitudes of its designers" (2016). Foucault (in his theory describing 'heterotopias' which is useful, but outside of the scope of this study to include) argues that we do not occupy void or heterogeneous spaces, but "…spaces where relations, or networks of relations, are what delineate spaces." (Colomina & Bloomer, 1992). Gender coding is part of these networks of relations, as is socialisation within the gender binary, as is othering, as is heteronormativity . However, as argued by Änggård (2012), (2011) and Harth (2017); the variety of use and interpretation of landscape and 'natural settings' is almost limitless when compared to urban contexts within which materials, spaces and settings carry more entrenched gender markers and coding. The Study Area is a good example of a landscape that has been loaded with a variety of cultural meanings, "… among them gender-related ones…" (Änggård, 2011) and, I would argue, ones associated with race, class and political meaning. Susan Sontag, Elizabeth K. Meyer, David Harvey, Edward Soja (and various other geographers and anthropologists) agree that architecture, because of the fact that space is socially and culturally produced while simultaneously being a condition of social and cultural production – is a cultural artefact.

"As material culture, space is not innate and inert, measured geometrically, but an integral and changing part of daily life, intimately bound up in social and personal rituals and activities." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)

I take the direction of the discussion now from feminist geographers (Bondi, Doreen Massey, Linda McDowell and Gillian Rose (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)) who "…maintain that space is produced by and productive of gender relations… if gender makes a difference to the society we live in, to how we are treated and how we consider ourselves, this social condition must make some impact on the spaces we make and use." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999). While Jane Rendell is preoccupied with the questions: 'how are gender relations manifest in space?' and, 'how are spatial relations manifest in constructions of gender?'; I am still reveling in the realization that this means the spatial conditions determined by the designers of public space (including the public and stakeholders, especially the marginalized and gender minorities) can both directly address rape culture and gender inequality in public open space , and effect real change in society's cultural and social reproduction of hegemonic patriarchy and violent masculinities. And these processes can happen simultaneously. But how?

"Open spaces are particular in nature. They are not only largely 'free' of building development but also much freer from behavioural rules and regulations. They enable the experience of nature, exercise and movement, encounters with the unknown and hence – especially for children – they offer an 'element of residual adventure'. These opportunities for … experience make public open space s, in particular, an important arena for gender democracy. While societal gender relations manifest themselves in the open space, influencing its use and assessment, as well as certain needs and requirements, the conditions prevailing in open spaces differentiate the scope for action and the possibilities for satisfying needs in terms of gender." (Harth, 2017)

Catherine Dee and Rivka Fine suggest that the very act of questioning and challenging traditional definitions of gender will begin to re-align landscape architecture with a socio-cultural agenda (Dee & Fine, 2005). They also propose that an effective strategy might lie in exploring the complexity of the gender spectrum and the gradient(s) "…that lies between the feminine and the masculine in developing a non-hierarchical conception of difference." (Indoors Outdoors at Brightside: A Critical Visual Study Reclaiming Landscape Architecture in the Feminine, 2005). Eva Änggård notes that the forms that different spaces take on will regulate (along with factors such as equipment, materials, access etc.) "…what is possible—and not possible—to do in different spaces…",and what one can or cannot do is a message/marker/coding with which spaces are imbued. Her findings in children's playgrounds have most clearly demonstrated how "These messages silently convey gender-specific codes" and therefore impact the social and cultural realities of the user (Änggård, 2012). This is significant because it identifies public open space as an important location for gender equality to be furthered, and invites Landscape architects and spatial Planners to join the discourse.

This section explores another point of contact between landscape and gender theory – the (is the) perceived binary dichotomy of 'Western' dualism (Haraway, 2000) of Culture/Nature, in which the former carries a positive value, and the latter carries a negative value (Michigan State University, 2017).

Proponents of the field of ecofeminism argue "… the patriarchal domination of women runs parallel to the patriarchal domination of nature." (Vance, 1997). This dualism has evolved to "privilege masculine qualities and meanings as dominant social values, thereby forming a master culture, while the areas of life associated with the feminine have become relegated to the dualised other and as such have traditionally been construed as inferior." (Dee & Fine, 2005).

The work of Rosemary Radford Ruether has been instrumental in drawing parallels between how the hierarchies within society (specifically cultural, behavioural and religious structures) express themselves in gender inequality, and how these structures similarly enshrine the hierarchical relationship of human over nature. Her work as an Ecofeminist encourages the reader to "imagine a different way of interrelating human and nature as an interdependent matrix of life." (Ruether, 2004).

"…idealised wilderness furthers dualistic thinking." (Vance, 1997)

Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism is a school of thought that informs social analysis, as well as contributing to the philosophical and theological fields.
The term was coined in 1972 by feminist author and civil rights activist Françoise d´Eaubonne, who argued that "the destruction of the planet is due to the profit motif inherent in male power." Ecofeminists view women as key contributors to "bring about an ecological revolution" (Le Feminisme ou la mort, 1974). I am interested in their theory that describes the interconnection between the domination of women and gender minorities by the patriarchy and the exploitation of nature by modern society.

This relationship is described on the "ideological-cultural" level (where women are said to be "closer to nature" than men, as well as more aligned with the body, matter, emotions, and the animal world) and the "socioeconomic" level (where women are located in the spheres of reproduction, child-rearing, food preparation, spinning and weaving, cleaning of clothes and houses). The Ideological-cultural level is the superstructure for the Socioeconomic – the othered category is devalued in relation to the public sphere of male power, culture and wealth.

This 'logic' – now as old as the hills - supports the idea of the female category's lack in capacity for intellectual and leadership roles, which justifies locating them in the devalued sphere of material work and excluding them from higher education and public leadership. Many Ecofeminist thinkers extend this analysis from gender to class, race and ethnic hierarchies. The fruits of the devalued yet essential labour of the devalued classes, races and ethnicities are "appropriated by the male elites as the base for their wealth and freedom to exercise roles of power and culture."
(Ruether, 2004).

Deborah Bird Rose, anthropologist, and philosopher in multidisciplinary ethnographic studies, is a founding figure in the environmental humanities in Australia (UNSW, 2017). She describes how "…notions of the nature-culture division are intricately entangled with power in the form of colonisation." (Bird Rose, 2016). Her argument relates how colonising entities (in the case of this paper, the Dutch and British) appropriate *terra nullius* (land belonging to nobody) in their insatiable quest to never allow the sun to set on the British Empire. *Terra nullius* is a legal concept "…allowing a European colonial power to take control of "empty" territory that none of the other European colonial powers had claimed. Of course, most of these "empty" territories were inhabited, so the meaning of terra nullius grew to include territories considered "devoid of civilized society." (Gustavus Adolphus College, 2017). Rose describes this as a "…racist conception" that negated the rights of the lands of Indigenous peoples on the basis that they did not settle or occupy it according to the colonial conception of "civilised society" (Bird Rose, 2016). She highlights the crucial role of these and other well-worn dualisms of Western thought play, in the ongoing "…violent transformation of peoples and ecosystems" that prevent the realisation of both social and environmental justice (2016).

Colonial powers, one might argue, in order to legitimise their violent invasion of land, "… projected their views of nature on to the new landscapes they encountered…" (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008). Franklin Ginn and David Demeritt, in their essay *'Nature: A Contested Concept'* trace the implications of various interpretations of nature and their consequences to society and culture. They discuss how the (including)"…separation of rational man from 'primitive natives' helped legitimize the imposition of scientific management to bring order to and 'improve' the land."

(2008). Where the terrain was not suitable for economic, civic or settlement purposes, the colonial administration would often set these tracts aside "…as national parks or reserves, where nature was to be preserved in an unspoilt state for future generations to admire. But the 'preservation' of so-called wilderness areas was really a production of wilderness, in so far as it often involved the forcible expulsion of indigenous peoples." (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008).

William Cronon posits that 'wilderness' is a "… culturally and historically contingent expression of a certain colonialist way of seeing nature. It is, in short, a social construction: Far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity, [wilderness] is quite profoundly a human creation…"(Cronon, 1996)**.** Just like gender and landscape, wilderness, according to Ginn, Demeritt and Cronon is the construct of a particular human culture at a particular moment in history. The myth of a "…pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature … without the contaminating taint of civilization…" (Cronon, 1996, p. 69) is a very emotionally persistent fantasy which I have been tyring to get rid of it for years. This idealised wilderness idea has a much less pleasant underbelly – as demonstrated by feminists the world over who look to this enshrined dualism as one of the foundation stones in the institution of the patriarchal subordination of women and marginalised groups.

This paper, in focusing a feminist gaze on the manifestation of othering (De Beauvoir, 1949) by making visible the social and cultural conditions that creates these 'others', which we now know are "…socially constructed gender differences" that are subject to change. For example, the "…existing and oppressive gender roles" that are legitimised by evoking the narrative of 'natural order', such as "…apparently innate and therefore immutable differences between the sexes" (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008)). However, as argued by geographers Val Plumwood and Karen Warren, in defining wilderness as the "perfect nature", devoid of humans, one buys into the "logic of colonialism" that denies all human dependence on nature while implying that "…nature is at its best when utterly separated from the human world." (Vance, 1997). Therefore, the concept of wilderness is an extreme form of the Nature/Culture dualism. Demeritt argues that in challenging the idea of "…the 'balance of nature', which environmentalists have often used to critique human disturbance of the environment as unnatural", many ecologists and environmentalists fear that theories such as these will muddy the waters into a quagmire of relativism, "…by depriving any clear scientific grounds for distinguishing an anthropogenic impact from 'natural' change." (Ginn & Demeritt, 2008)

Gillian Rose, professor of Philosophy and Sociology, argued in her book 'Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge' that the discipline of geography's traditions of 'objective' observation and normative processes involving fieldwork that claimed pragmatism, were "grounded in an eroticized, 'masculine' gaze that at once objectified and feminized the landscape." (Rose, 1993). In the field of landscape architecture, Sally Schauman (Landscape Architecture: a Gendered past, a potential Feminist future, 2012) notes the lack of conversation about this phenomenon, especially in an industry so engrossed with *looking*. She points out the "… prevailing patriarchal perspective of landscape as a feminine entity" amongst professionals and scholars (2012). This is excepting, of course, for Maicantis (2016) who argues that gendering the landscape as a feminine entity "serves as a form of coding and (re)enforcement of power hierarchies"; and Elizabeth K. Meyer, feminist landscape architect (Meyer, 1997):

> *"One goal of scholarship, therefore, is to construct legitimate alternatives to the limiting binary terms that modern society has adopted to describe relationships between landscape and architecture, nature and culture, female and male, nature and man. In place of such oppositional binaries, we need conceptual quaternary fields… These expanded fields are defined by concepts… with complex, not simple, relationships to one another.*
>
> *The scholar can develop theories for site description and interpretation that occupy the space between nature and culture, landscape and architecture, man-made and natural, and that are along the spatial continuum that unites, not the solid line that divides concepts in binary opposites. If nature is a cultural construct, one that evolves as our society changes, shouldn't the field that is most concerned with shaping the land develop a shared language that reflects these hybrid relationships?"*
>
> *(Meyer, The Expanded Field of Landscape Architecture, 1997)*

In Simone De Beauvoir's seminal work, the Second Sex (1949), as well as in many other feminist and gender theory texts ((Colomina & Bloomer, 1992), (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999), (Foucault, 1978) etc.), the various ways and means in which the feminine gender 'category' is considered both inferior and incompetent, requiring the superior and capable masculine category's ascendancy, patronage and approval in every aspect of life, has been discussed at length . Under patriarchy, there are dominant gender norms and sex categories/criteria which give rise to an inequitable social order, as discussed in the Definitions section. J.E Johnson, in a fascinating work titled 'Divine Communion - A Eucharistic theology of sexual intimacy' (Johnson, 2013), discusses the foundations of the idea of 'social order' in Western society. "Social order, of course, depends on reason, especially its vital role in taming human passion… [advocated] by [our reading of the] ancient Greeks. The supremacy of rational discourse informed Aristotle's understanding of what constitutes the ideal polis: the well-ordered society [that] depends on subduing human passions with reason." The gendered implications of this are that "Western society traced its progress for centuries by supposing that masculinity correlated to the principle of rationality while femininity stood for the risk associated with passion. Just as the well-disciplined mind tames the wild fancies of the heart, so the reasonable man tames the unruly passions of women. This gender mapping seamlessly attached to the emergence of modern science as masculine rationality increasingly tamed the wild and uncontrollable forces of "mother nature"." (Johnson, 2013).

Perhaps it's just as well that I haven't attempted this study in the style of Scientific method, seeing that its 'father', Francis Bacon, is thus interpreted by Thomas Walter Laqueur: "Bacon's thought is pervaded by images of nature as a female to be coerced, "penetrated", conquered, and forced to "yeild"; the language of rape and subjugation of women… while the scientist is imaged as the epitome of masculine power over such "feminine" nature." (Johnson, 2013). The historian and sexologist Laqueur writes that Bacon goes so far as to compare the scientific revolution to the Christian myth of The Fall and Redemption, "Through the sin of Eve, "nature" fell out of "man's" control, but through scientific knowledge this fall will be reversed and "nature" restored to man's dominion, as representative of God's dominion over earth." (Laqueur, 1990). It cannot go unsaid that many institutional religions have had a heavy hand in shaping the shifts of social evolution that relegated women to the "domestic sphere" and promoted the supremacy of the patriarch, marking Christian history from its earliest centuries and branding "gendered sensibilities with a religious imprimatur." (Johnson, 2013).

In Landscape architectural practice, Schauman (Professor Emeritus of Landscape Architecture, University of Washington) explains that (American) "… culture codes landscape design as a female endeavour. Thus it is a trivial pursuit," (Schauman, 2001). This, and the argument laid out above (that assigns negative value to the 'Nature' and 'woman' category while simultaneously othering and fetishizing it) is why, she argues, that despite a professed fondness for the landscape, the general public and powerful decision makers repeatedly ignore natural systems and degrade the environment while prioritising development and human 'progress'. She argues that assigning nature the patriarchal category of the unknown (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999), the mysterious, feminine, ungovernable and othered status has made it vulnerable to destruction while the dominance of culture (humanity/man) is legitimised. She concludes that "Speaking of the landscape in loving terms has done nothing to diminish its destruction." (Schauman, 2001). Elizabeth K. Meyer also cautions against any discourse that "…prescribed any gender affiliation, whether overt or implied, to the landscape…" (Maicantis, 2016), as this is likely to resurrect the "arbitrary archetypes" that define the feminine in antiquated terms – "irrational, wild, chaotic, emotional, (and) natural" (Meyer, 1997, p. 168). Catherine Dee and Rivka Fine have explored the feminine as a concept in landscape architecture, and are concerned to note that "…while women may have achieved equality in many arenas, at least in principle, this equality has not necessarily been reflected in an increased recognition or valuing of qualities that have been traditionally conceived of as feminine." (Dee & Fine, 2005).

Scholars who acknowledge that the relationship of women to the landscape (and to nature) has been compromised also argue that this condition weakens society as a whole (UC Department of Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning, 2002). In historiographical accounts of our world, the "written female perspective was commonly invisible or overlooked." (Maicantis, 2016), (Gasa, 2007). And we are well aware of the danger of that – as Adichie so eloquently explains how "The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story." (Adichie, 2017)

A common relation between geography and landscape deals with the creation and use of space and place. As geographer Lawrence Knopp ("...one of the most important geographers of contemporary queer theory" (A Queer Journey to Queer Geography: Interview with Lawrence Knopp, 2016)) explained, "Cities and sexualities both shape and are shaped by the dynamics of human social life. They reflect the ways in which social life is organised, the ways in which it is presented, perceived and understood, and the ways in which various groups cope with and react to these conditions." (Elder, Knopp, & Nast, 2005).

Originally a part of the previous section, this chapter warrants individual attention because of its overarching importance to the study. This study argues that being alone in the landscape and public open space is a right largely denied to women and gender minorities, as well as to those Judith Butler refers to as being subject to 'precarity' (Performativity, precarity and sexual politics, 2009). Precarity, for the purposes of this study, is a term used to describe those who are at risk in public open space of psychological strain, fear, harassment and covert or overt violence based on their gender identity, gender expression and/or sexuality.

The interviews (discussed in the following chapter) include questions that prompt participants to share possible motivations for seeking solitude in landscape (or not); as well as questions that seek to determine their perceptions of safety, and how these influence and are influenced by their positionalities and demographic. I posit that being alone in public open space is overtly and covertly discouraged in the behaviour of women by means of socialisation, and that gender minorities and the marginalised are discouraged from moving freely in public open space and landscape without the threat of censure due to the risk of exposing themselves to censure from cisheteronormative patriarchal society. This chapter is dedicated to exploring the conditions that limit and disadvantage these groups, and the socio-cultural implications of this restriction in autonomy.

I am not a fearful person

On a summer's night in Cape Town, 1990, we drive to Table Mountain from where the city was spread out in lights below us and parked on the edge of Tafelberg Road. I was fearless.

Today I found that my fear button, it seems, wasn't broken after all. It was simply the case that no experience had ever been powerful enough to flick it. Until now.

In an attempt to understand my fears by writing about them, a tangential approach has been more revealing, like locating an elusive star by looking around it rather than directly at it.

In my experience, the opposite of fear isn't bravery or courage; it's safety.

Ancient civilizations had no word for the colour blue. As scholars have pointed out, colour words entered all languages in the same order: first black, then white, red, green, yellow, and finally blue. Across the ancient world, red consistently enters language third, and blue is always the fifth to come into common usage. With the exception of Egypt, ancient civilizations couldn't make blue. As a result, they could not identify blue because they lacked the vocabulary with which to do so.

How we view the world is based on how it has most consistently been described by powerful traditions, however inaccurate they may be, and tackling tradition can be daunting. How unnerved should I be by suggesting that while God created blue, He did not reveal it in any clear and unambiguous way in the Qur'an, in which its single use seems contextually more metaphorical than literal?

The words used and not used by the powerful matter, perhaps even more now than at any point in our history. We are more literate than we have ever been and messages travel faster and further than they ever have.

Today I found that my fear button, it seems, wasn't broken after all. It was simply the case that no experience had ever been powerful enough to flick it.

Until now.

(Based on full text: Ishtiyaq Shukri (Fear in the Age of Displacement, 2017))

"...the brutality of living in this body becomes an asterisk at the bottom of equality pages."
Lee Mokobe, South African slam poet and co-founder of Vocal Revolutionaries (2015)

How does the fear of violence affect behaviour in public open space and landscape?

I begin this discussion with Jocelyn A. Hollander's (2000) emphatic statement that "Violence is not simply an individual experience, but … a form of social control that differently affects social groups." Hollander's 'Fear

Journals: A Strategy for Teaching about the Social Consequences of Gendered Violence' is an educational series, in which she suggests that studying the effects of (passive or active) violence on the behaviour and perceptions of her students can be done by examining their relationship with fear. "Fear is a widespread experience; it affects those who have not been victimized as well as those who have**.** Focusing on the experience of fear allows all students to connect with the issue of violence." (Hollander, 2000). However, Karen A. Snedker notes that "…fear is not universally distributed (as a) response to the likelihood of crimes." (Altruistic and Vicarious Fear of Crime: Fear for Others and Gendered Social Roles, 2006). Hollander's research demonstrates this – she has found that different people, according to their past experiences and socialisation, define fear differently, and are afraid of different things. This is an area of particular interest for this study that I hope will reveal the more nuanced realities of experience and perception within the gender spectrum of participants. Hollander found that, when tasked with providing an account of (a.) the role danger and fear play in the lives of students, and (b.) the ways in which students kept themselves safe; it was generally women students who would "... provide extensive, detailed journals of a day filled with moments of caution and fear." (2000). Comparatively, male students generally found it difficult to find examples of fearfulness in their daily lives, and professed to "...feel little or no fear, or focus on fears not related to violence, such as fear of failure in school, or of being involved in a car accident." (Hollander, 2000). Some male students even noted that they became aware of others responding to them with fearful or submissive behaviour that had gone unnoticed before.

It is worth stating here that within patriarchal context, hegemonic masculinities discourage men from admitting, expressing or displaying fear or fearful behaviour. There is stigma involved in a male's admission of fear, far more so than for female individuals, who – according to gender stereotyping, are "naturally fearful" (Wesely & Gaarder, 2004), (Mbisi, 2009). I have not found research that quantifies this phenomenon, but conclude by referencing the study titled 'Gender, Socially Desirable Responding and the Fear of Crime' by Sutton & Farrall (2005) who posit "…although men's fear of crime is under-estimated, women did not exaggerate their fear of crime." (Snedker, 2006)

> *"Women's access to different spaces in the city – especially public space – is generally more limited than for men, not only on account of the association of reproductive labour with the home, which impinges on the time and ability to engage in extra-domestic activity, but also because of strong symbolic dimensions surrounding the "forbidden" and "permitted" use of spaces governed by patriarchal power relations and norms of female propriety, which may require certain modes of dress, behaviour and limitations on social interaction to render women "invisible" or unapproachable. Limited female mobility can seriously jeopardize women's prospects of benefiting from "urban prosperity". (Chant, 2013)*

Few, but some female students in Hollander's study wrote of "… experiencing little to no fear. Explanations include(d) self-defence training, sports participation, growing up in a particular environment, or strong female role models." (2000). Conversely, there were also some men who wrote of "...experiencing extensive fear in their lives. Often, this fear is provoked by some identifiable factor… such as physical disability, a past experience of victimisation, or membership in another group disadvantaged by race, disability or sexual identity." (2000). Sylvia Chant notes that while young men are statistically more likely to become fatalities of urban violence (especially in gang-related incidents), women are equally likely, if not even more frequently at risk in their own homes and neighbourhood, "…as well as in cities at large, especially where they have to venture out" into the public realm (Chant, 2013). Students of colour would often report fear of racial violence and police mistreatment, or ill-treatment by other institutionalised authorities. Hollander concludes that these responses have proved to be a valuable point of departure in discussing the results of her findings within the context of intersectionality. She constantly observed "...the interaction of multiple systems of hierarchy. Gender is not the only status that affects fear; race, social class, physical ability, sexual identity, and age are also relevant." (Hollander, 2000).

> *"There is simply a lack of studies that focus on the preferences, needs, and perceived deficiencies of male and female users with different ways of life."*
> *(Harth, 2017)*

It is important to note that Harth (2017) warns against using gender as the only indicator for how individuals use outdoor and public open space s. For this reason, the interview questions included in the study, aim to identify how nationality, race, social activity and embodied experience interact with gender in discussing perceptions of safety, access and activity within the Study Area. Annette Harth explains that these factors clearly do play a role;

but that findings are more or less consistent (although reasoning and motivation "…may differ from culture to culture and (according to) other variables such as socio-economic factors." (Open Space and Gender - Gender-Sensitive Open Space Planning, 2017)). There are also aspects of fear that are not limited to "fear for oneself"; Snedker has also studied what she calls 'vicarious fear', or "fear of crime for others" as an "…important motivating factor in people's behaviours and sense of security." (2006). She explains that a person's fear for someone else's safety – for instance the fear reported by parents for the safety of their children – is also called altruistic fear (distinguished from the "standard conceptualization of fear of crime" that is considered to be personal); and "…Altruism need not be self-sacrificial or self-neglecting, but it does require a behavioural response that puts another's welfare above one's own. Women expressed more pronounced fear for their children (daughters most commonly) … and men expressed greater fear for their wives (spousal fear)…" (Altruistic and Vicarious Fear of Crime: Fear for Others and Gendered Social Roles, 2006). This aligns with the stereotyped gender roles of mother/primary caregiver and father/protector. Once again, there is little or no way of knowing how much of the responses to interview questions originate in internalised gender narratives, and how objectively (if such a thing is possible at all) participants are able to provide responses.

The female fear factory

> *"Worse than the violations themselves was the creeping understanding of what it meant to be female – that **it's not a matter of if something bad happens, but when and how bad**." (Valenti, 2016)*

Although the fear that women feel in public open space is founded on the real threat of sexual violation and gender-based harassment, violence and assault; there is another pillar that supports the anxiety that every woman I interviewed shared. It is the fear that originates in the reality that women's bodies are not safe places to be; not anywhere. This is what Pumla Dineo Gqola calls the "female fear factory" (2015) --- a social and cultural situation that, she argues, "…keeps women silent and biddable." Conversations amongst friends, advice from concerned family members, language in popular culture & the media, and reports of sexual harassment from strangers and friends alike broadcast a continuous stream of messages to women: don't go alone, be careful and don't talk to anyone, you are not safe out there, if you make a mistake you might get raped, one careless decision will put your safety at risk, "…don't go out at night, don't go into bars, or that too could happen to you." (Gqola, Review – Rape: A South African Nightmare, 2015).

> *"Sexual violence will not go way simply because of the failure to acknowledge its unpleasant existence." (Kathoria, 1997)*

Women respond by adopting a range of strategies, often inherited from their female predecessors or contemporaries, and at the earliest consciousness. And we do not go anywhere alone**.** Like Yasmin Kathoria, I do not believe that incidents of gender-based violence, and even forms of micro-aggression in public open space s "… are... isolated incidents of sexual violence." (Letter to Agenda, 1997). Jocelyn A. Hollander has argued that gender-based violence is a social problem. This implies that it is not only the actions of individual offenders, but the complicit support of social structures and norms that perpetuate gender inequality through heteronormativity, the gender binary and various manifestations of the patriarchal social order – Hollander insists that these are issues "… that affect us all, even if we have not ourselves been victimized."; it is also certainly not the case that here "… is an issue of 'men vs. women,' without recognizing ... that gender is not the only social status targeted for violence; both women and men may be targeted because of disability, sexual identity, race, religion, and so on." (Hollander, 2000).

> *"One of the most consistent findings in the study of personal fear of crime is the greater level of fear reported by women as compared with men. Women's fear of rape is said to heighten fear of all crimes for oneself." (Snedker, 2006)*

While Snedker argues that the explanation for women's reported higher levels of fear is "…thought to be the additional and heightened risk of sexual assault that female bodies are subject to." (2006), I argue that although women are more likely to experience sexual harassment, assault or violence, it is not necessarily a case of vulnerability alone. It is also because those who are socialised within the patriarchal conceptions of masculinity exist in a world where rape culture protects and encourages them to behave predatorily. The difference is important. This is particularly because men fall into the category mentioned in the definitions section under 'rape culture' as "un-rapeable" (Gqola, 2015).

In response to fear, all individuals across the gender spectrum will adopt some form of self-defence tactic. The literature accounts for a vast array of recorded actions, strategies and behaviours that "Gender differences in fear of personal crime…" have been connected to. These take the form of restrictive tactics which "…are more often consequential for women both in the quantity of changes they make and the impact of those changes on their lives." (Snedker, 2006). Across cultures, nationalities and contexts, generation upon generation of women's responses to fear in the public realm "…leads to a *de facto* tightening of social control over women's lives through greater restrictions on their freedom, including behaviour modification, mode of dress, and movement in public spaces." (Snedker, 2006). The impact of this goes beyond the immediate experiences, in that cultures of fear are handed down like a birth right, an invisible heirloom that forces women to bear the emotional burden of the crime problem that is (covertly and overtly, consciously and unconsciously, actively and passively) perpetuated in the vast majority by men and the conceptions of masculinity enshrined by the patriarchy. The restrictive tactics taken together with what Mark Warr (2000) calls the "social costs of fear", disseminates and maintains inequality between men and women; but perhaps more importantly, it maintains the hierarchical power structures that dictate the overwhelmingly negative conditions that individuals across the gender spectrum experience on a daily basis. It is this range of experiences that this study aims to make visible, because argued by Gill Valentine, it is the nature of this continuum of fear that "…distinguishes the experiences and perceptions of women and men in their use and appropriation of public space." (Maicantis, 2016).

> *"Black feminists and many more black women who do not define themselves as feminists have all experienced sexual oppression as a constant factor in our day-to-day existence."*
> *(A Black Feminist Statement, 2014)*

In 1989, Gill Valentine released her seminal research paper 'The Geography of Women's Fear', which explored (specifically) women's fear of male violence and the female perspective of public space. The paper is introduced by relating the story of a 1988 assault and murder in a public train compartment of a woman who was travelling alone in London, which brought to the fore "…questions … regarding the use of space by women and male violence." (Valentine, 1989, p. 385) It became clear that there was a systemic issue (one of the first open critiques of this form of rape culture at work) when "… Media and police implied the victim was in some way to blame for her murder and that she should not have been out on her own. It implies that she put herself in a vulnerable situation simply by being alone in a public space." (Valentine, 1989). The research found that women (especially) do not have equal access to the freedom of range of mobility enjoyed by men. In addition, the spaces that they are 'permitted' to occupy are limited, and even those are often monitored by the male gaze (1989).

> *"Women develop individual mental maps of places where they fear assault as a product of their past experience of space and secondary information. In particular, girls are socialized into a restricted use of public space through observing both their parents' differential fears for them and the control of the spatial range of their activities in relation to boys." (Valentine, 1989)*

Maicantis takes a public space specific reading of Valentine's findings in observing that places in which women occupy space are "…frequently appropriated by men whether by intimidation, harassment or humiliation, limiting their choices in how to interact within spaces and greatly affecting their sense of security." (Maicantis, 2016). This would sound a little prosaic even to me, had I not stopped to close my eyes and reflect seriously on my own life – and finding that I have in fact both witnessed and experienced this pattern myself to varying degrees throughout. Some of the times, (and this is a tangent indeed) I have been part of the group of individuals who did the appropriating. Annette Harth (2017) has argued that it is cultural and social conditioning that form the foundation of this inequality.

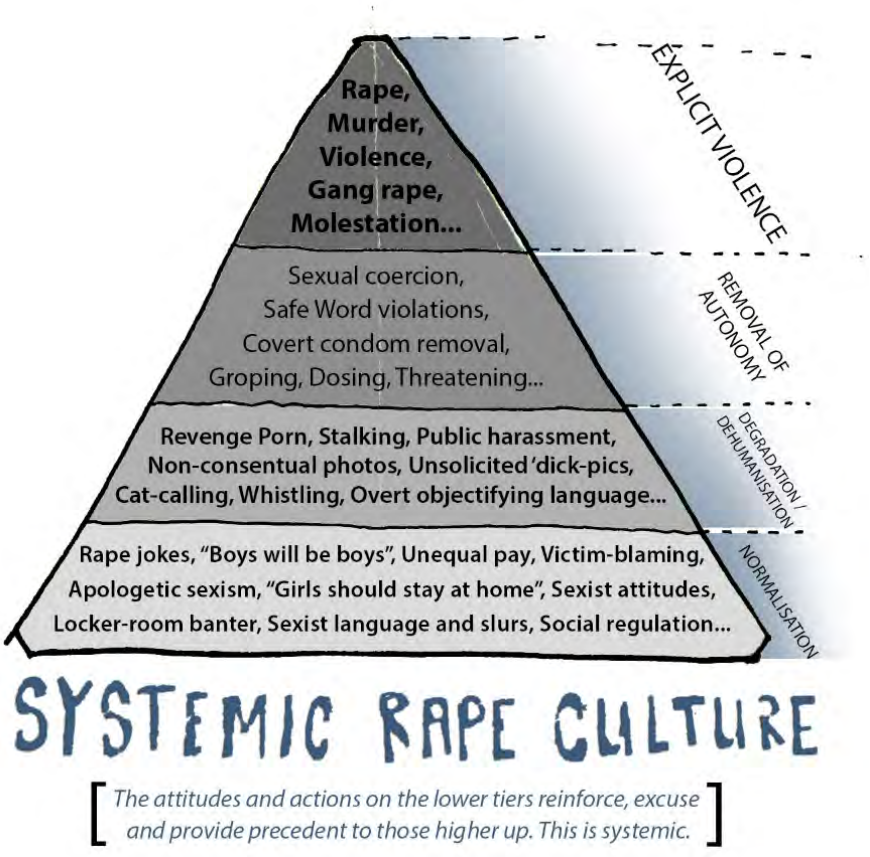
The hierarchy of rape culture

> *"I have lived in a women's body too long to be naive about sexual assault."*
> *(Kathoria, 1997)*

Many socially accepted forms of behaviour are precursors to gender-based violence. One student, a young man identifying himself as openly gay, described his experience in hearing a homophobic slur directed at him in a public place: "For me, such language is a precursor to violence. I recognize that my whole body cringes, the muscles in my neck tighten up, but I don't say anything-even though I want to. I think about my silence later as an act of self-defence produced because of fear... I recognize how those who defy gender [and] sexual prescriptions are putting

themselves at risk. The violence is real. During the moment that I heard these kids yelling hurtful words, there was no immediate threat of violence, but as I am reminded, there is no real safety either. I am always a potential target for violence simply because I am alive." (Hollander, 2000).

Below is a graphic that clarifies why the psychological response to acts of normalisation and degradation cannot be entirely removed from the perceived threat of removal of autonomy and explicit violence. To those who experience gender-motivated discriminatory or objectifying behaviour through other people, and in popular culture and media, it is not possible to know at what point the oppressor will stop – ideologically, all the activities described below are founded and rationalised within the same social construct: patriarchal social order.



iii.) (Author's own sketch adapted from (Cervix & Seewald, 2017)

Rape Crisis publishes statistics showing that "South Africa has one of the highest incidences of rape in the world" (Rape Crisis, 2017). South Africa is the site of a growing rape epidemic, in which twelve times the amount of women are raped and murdered in this country annually, in comparison to the Global North, where "…statistical evidence… finds that women are most commonly the victims of violence and assault, 20% more than their male counterparts."((Allen, 2015) in (Maicantis, 2016)). South African statistics show that of the estimated number of sexual offences committed on a daily (hourly) basis, less than a tithe will be reported, 2% of these will even be heard in court, and less than 1% will see justice (the term is interpreted here to mean 'a guilty conviction') (Rape Crisis, 2017). These statistics suggest that the legal system in South Africa is totally ineffective with regards to the criminalisation of rape, an observation supported unreservedly by Pumla Dineo Gqola, author of 'Rape: A South African Nightmare' (2015). A year ago, what had been a close friend of mine was arrested for the statutory rape of a young girl – his bail was set at R1000, the same amount that numerous the 2016 #Rhodesmustfall protestors received in 2017 (ANN7, 2016).

> *Rape, like all other forms of violence against women, is not a private issue but a profoundly public and political one; until we recognise and rid ourselves of age old, unfounded assumptions and sexist stereotypes, until we realise that even one rape is one too many; until [society] adopts the necessary and urgent measures to pursue, prevent and punish this violence against women, … society will choke on the poison of patriarchy." (Kathoria, 1997)*

In South Africa, rape was inadequately defined legally, until as late as 2007, as 'intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a female without her consent (Kathoria, 1997). Today, the now-10-year old *Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act No. 32 of 2007* (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2017) broadened the definition of rape to include any sexually-motivated activity performed without consent "irrespective of the gender of either the victim or the perpetrator" (What Every South African Should Know About Rape, 2008). The laws pertaining to sexual assault, -violation and -offence cover all other sexual activity that is deemed punishable by law. Most laws, however, continue to focus on consent while "...completely ignoring the power relations involved, thereby reinforcing sexual stereotypes and social stigmas that have, under patriarchy, reduced women to the sum total of their sex." (Kathoria, 1997).

Speaking specifically of rape and sexual assault in public open space , Kathoria argues, as many before her have, that "We, as women are on trial for our sexuality, for what we look like, for what we wear, for where and with whom we go and when..." (Letter to Agenda, 1997). This observation I would also apply to those who live their lives outside of the gender binary, especially those who embrace 'female' and non-binary gender expressions and identity.

> *"There is an inherent assumption based on the construction of masculinity that men need constant sexual fulfilment, that they are driven by animal-like sexuality which cannot be controlled. It is time to look past these artificial social constructions of masculinity and femininity. We must realise that men and women need to start defining their sexuality in different ways. Women can no longer be taught helplessness against rape; women can no longer be kept indoors by learning to live in fear of rape."*
> *(Kathoria, 1997)*

Violent masculinities in South Africa

In addition to the high rate of incidence is the extreme violence that accompanies attacks, various sources compare this phenomenon with the kind of human behaviour that is associated with armed conflict, civil war and military occupation – "…civilians are subjected to degradation, ritual humiliation, injuries such as mutilation, (torture) and death." (Rape Crisis, 2017).

> *"South Africa continues to top international rankings of incidence of reported rape and sexual violence. Rooted in the patriarchies of oppression found in colonialism (and) apartheid… these deeply ingrained patterns of sexual violence did not end with the transition to democracy." (Britton, 2006)*

Hannah Britton's essay published in the Journal of Southern African Studies (2006) interrogates the climate that has led to headlines such as Charlene Smith's* September 2004 Independent Online article "Rape has become a way of life in South Africa" (Smith, 2004). *(An aside: Smith is an internationally recognised journalist, author and political critic. She is regarded as an expert on sexual violence, post traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD), and HIV. She herself is a survivor of violent rape and one of the first anti-rape campaigners to reject the term 'victim'). She published an account of the incident, (as well as her mission to obtain antiretroviral drugs and post exposure prophylaxis) a week after the attack. According to the scrupulous editors at Wikipedia, she was the first rape survivor in the world to do this (Wikipedia, 2017)). While it is outside the scope of this article to delineate the causes of the gendered violence that flourishes in South Africa, it is important to firstly frame the context within which violence became normalised during colonialism and apartheid, and secondly, to explore the nature of gender violence that exists today. Although there is no single cause or explanation for these patterns of gender-based violence, there are several theories about contributory factors.

Britton explains that throughout "…the colonial period and… the apartheid era, rape was used as a weapon to ensure control, obedience and interracial conformity. Exacerbated by the violence of apartheid, the social consequences of the migrant labour force, and the impact of patriarchal authority, violence against women has become one of the most visible and destabilising vestiges of this complex history." (Organising against Gender Violence in South Africa, 2006). There are many complications involved in measurement of the level of violence in sexual- and gender-based crimes, including but not limited to "…dramatic under-reporting …the constraints of a patriarchal society" (Britton, 2006), incomplete and inaccurate administration and various social and cultural nuances involved in the gathering and dissemination of information. Rape Crisis South Africa takes an unambiguous line in response to the "…obsession with statistics on rape." (Britton, 2006), maintaining that "…it

does not matter what the reported statistics are or what multiple is then used to determine the 'actual' number of rapes; whatever the number, it is simply too high." (Britton, 2006).

Adapted from RapeCrisis (Rape in South Africa, 2017)

- Rape is a crime that is committed through a sexual act without the consent or agreement between the people involved.
- Rape is traumatic and can have life changing consequences.
- Rape is never the victim's fault. Rapists make the choice to rape and they are to blame.
- You can be raped by a stranger or by someone you know or are going out with (date rape).
- Someone can also be raped by their spouse (marital rape), partner or sexual partner. This form of rape was not recognised until 1993, and some estimates have accounted for its incidence in marital relationships being as high as 60% (Britton, 2006).
- If you are raped by two or more people at the same time, it is called gang rape.
- Statutory rape is when someone age 18 or older has sex with someone under the age of consent (16 years) whether or not they gave consent.
- An estimated 1.69 million rapes are committed per year. On average only 54,000 rape survivors lay charges (Britton, 2006)
- 27 people will be sexually assaulted in the Western Cape today – and every other day of the year.
- 41% of rape survivors are under the age of 12.

Britton argues that "Gender-based violence is often linked to patterns of patriarchy and systems of oppression that are in accord with those found during the colonial period in South Africa. The patterns of exploitation did not end with colonialism but were extended within the apartheid system of white minority rule. Afrikaner masculinist identity was protected by apartheid, and ' [f]or decades, being a white male meant being kept from poverty, with jobs in the traditional Afrikaner preserves like the mines, railways, the police and the civil service being handed down' through the generations. While masculinities varied during this period, "…Afrikaner masculinity 'assumed a hegemonic form' over other forms of masculinity and the gender system as a whole. The vision of the racial superiority of the colonial settlers and later apartheid-era rulers went hand-in-hand with their gender ideologies and hierarchies." (Britton, 2006).

During the Apartheid years in which black South Africans were exposed to an omnipresent suite of violences, gender-based violence "…was not exclusive to women detainees or combatant. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings reveal how men regularly underwent sexual violation …as a means of torture and a method of coercion. Thus, the continuum of gender-based violence is complex, in that men were also the primary perpetrators of violence, and the TRC was aware that the final reports did not fully analyse the connections between masculinities and violence within the conflict. Although state violence such as that employed by the police and security forces during the apartheid era has ended, gender-based violence has numerous manifestations today." (Britton, 2006).

The contemporary social climate, while ushering in new ideologies within which to frame gender identities, also shapes changing masculinities post-apartheid era. Britton (2006) and others ((Morrell, 2007) (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993) (Mbisi, 2009)), have noted the 'volatility of gender change', and the notable occurrence of a "diversity of masculinities" being defined at various junctures of racial, economic and social identities. For instance, in certain communities, the intersection of "…violence and masculinity serves to produce an ideology of militarism…" in which guns have become a basic feature that have the effect of ubiquitously "…equate masculinity with power."(Cock, 2001). Jackie Cock finds that guns are a key element in some of the "dominant masculine codes" within a diversity of cultural groupings (Gun Violence and Masculinity in Contemporary South Africa, 2001), and that "…when guns are combined with a culture of violence and a legacy of patriarchy, gender-based violence is often the result." (Britton, 2006).

Britton concludes by acknowledging that while sexual assault and rape are only one of many forms of gender-based violence, "…it is clear that in contemporary South Africa the changing gender ideologies necessitate new resistance strategies… (and) …a new form of political activity." (Britton, 2006). This study forms part of the redefinition of feminism and power in post-apartheid South Africa, a trend that Britton believes must continue to occur for South African Women "…on their own terms and in their own cultural contexts." (2006).

The importance of being alone in natural settings

This last part of the 'Being Alone' section is of special importance to the study, because this is the idea that decided the direction of my Master's thesis project. Not surprisingly, I was 'alone' in 'nature' when I made the connection. Most of my personal growth, landmarks in my intellectual and spiritual journey, as well as emotional and relationship healing and building occurs in this state. It is therefore of special significance to me to work toward the realisation of a living environment – 'natural' and otherwise conceptualised – in which I can be on my own, without fear or apprehension, to do what I need to do so regularly – reflect and introspect in the company of natural processes and non-human living organisms within living landscapes.



iv.) Excerpts from my journal in the early stages of topic conceptualisation

A most obvious point of departure, is to quote from Walden (Thoreau, 1854), but quote from Walden I will. Thoreau writes of the seating arrangements in his cabin by Walden Pond, enumerating his available chairs as "One for solitude, two for friendship, and three for society" (Walden; or, Life in the Woods, 1854, p. 208). Using a line of argument mimicking that of Long & Averill, I posit landscape architecture has devoted much of its energies into developing spatial and design theory and practice where the latter two are concerned, but "much fascinating work remains for researchers, practitioners and theorists who seek to understand the factors involved when only the first chair is in use." (Long & Averill, 2003). It is widely recognised that the capacity to be alone, and contentedly so, is an important marker and milestone of "…maturity in emotional development." (Winnicott, 1958). Solitude

is traditionally most often treated as a non-social phenomenon, and it often bears negative connotations (particularly that of loneliness and/or pathology) according to Long & Averill (Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone, 2003). This paper, and in particular this part, defines solitude (according to the findings of their work) as a "vital social phenomenon".

The importance of solitude goes further than reaping the benefits of time alone, according to Long & Averill (2003). "Among leisure researchers… solitude is used to denote a type of privacy.", and as a legal right, privacy equals one's ability (or inability) to have a say over the "degree to which other people and institutions intrude upon one's life." (Long & Averill, 2003). The same study argues that Solitude is also the ability to disengage at will from the "…immediate demands of other people—a state of reduced social inhibition and increased freedom to select one's mental or physical activities", and psychiatrists highlight the benefit of solitude in managing one's levels of stimulation, especially if one is prone to overstimulation.

Solitude as a Social phenomenon

Long & Averill motivate their classification of solitude as inherently social by the following logic:

1. "The spiritual, religious, creative, and artistic gains resulting from solitary experiences have impacted countless social movements and practices. The philosophers, spiritual leaders, and artists that benefitted from these experiences have long played influential parts in human societies." (Long & Averill, 2003).
2. Solitude is inherently social in that it "…relies on the human capacity to reflect upon and interpret one's own experiences", a process that early 20th Century theorists George Mead and Lev Semyonovich Vygotsky identified as the mechanisms of socialization." (2003). In 2000, R.J. Bogdan (Minding minds: Evolving a reflexive mind by interpreting others, 2000) argued that "…our ability to consider our own thoughts arises from our development of the ability to represent the thoughts of others." With this perspective in mind, Long & Averill qualify the "…mental experience of solitude… ineluctably as social as any other psychological experience."
3. The argument they find the most compelling for defining solitude within a social perspective is the fact that "People have biological needs for attachment, affiliation, and sociality, yet they continually seek to spend time in solitude. How do we account for this… need for solitude…?" (Long & Averill, 2003).

When considering the multitude of benefits associated with being alone, one might expect that landscape architecture would have identified this as a significant motive for design, in creating spaces that facilitate its experience. This is not the case. All my training looks to the 'user' as part of a bigger group, especially if the imagined user is a woman (because she would just be stupid to risk being in public space or landscape all alone, right?). Perhaps this is also a symptom (and contributing factor) in designing landscape architecture within an inherited patriarchal, colonial, heteronormative and masculinist tradition. 'Environmental settings' are one of the physical sites that research indicates is important for positive experiences of solitude (Long & Averill, 2003). The literature also stresses the 'voluntariness' or degree of control a person has, as perhaps the "…single most important factor distinguishing between positive and negative experiences of aloneness. People seldom find themselves in nature except by choice, and hence are less likely to experience loneliness or boredom in that setting." (Long & Averill, 2003).

Researchers in developmental psychology (Larson, Csikszentmihalyi, & Graef, 1982) have described solitude as an "ecological niche" (1982, p. 40) , offering both "opportunities and dangers, … so situations of solitude present possible benefits and detriments, either of which may be realized depending on the … person who faces the task of thriving there." (Long & Averill, 2003). In the South African context, this niche is exclusionary – a place that holds unequal measures of both real danger and socio-culturally induced fear that disadvantages women, gender minorities and other precarious (Butler, 2009), marginalised groups.

"Solo hiking experiences can be diminished, maintained or optimised, depending on the capacity of the participant to negotiate …threats and fears." (Coble, Selin, & Erickson, 2003)

In conclusion, I observe that while Long & Averill recognise that "Societies differ in the extent to which they encourage solitude" (2003), they do not mention the fear for personal safety that is so central to the ability or inability for marginalised groups in patriarchal society to embrace it for themselves. I maintain that it is a little-acknowledged and (in the landscape architectural field, at least) undervalued fact that women and other marginalised groups in South Africa most often simply do not have the option of engaging in this very important and healthy dimension of their humanity – being alone.

The interview process will attempt to uncover the extent to which participants are aware of the real and perceived dimensions of their fear or lack of it in public open space ; and observe how the gender identities of participants might provide clues as to how the conditions described above might be made visible. Hollander (2000) reminds one in the concluding remarks of her 'Fear Journals' essay that "although women tend to fear assault by strangers in public spaces, it is [statistically] acquaintances and intimates who pose the greatest risk…" (Hollander, 2000), further motivating how the fear in public open space and landscape experienced by at least half the population (SSA, 2013) is based not only on actual own experience, but also subject to pervasive gender-specific social conditioning.

An in-depth explanation of **The Benefits of Solitude** is not within the scope of this study to produce, but the following list will provide the reader with an overview of the research findings of Long & Averill and others cited in their 2003 study (Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone).

Solitude provides freedoms not offered by our usual social environment to engage in activities or thoughts we find intrinsically interesting, and as a precondition for many of the other benefits of solitude (the term 'freedom' is used here not in the sense of is *freedom from* constraints, but rather *freedom to* engage in desired activities, not because of the absence of constraints but because of the presence of necessary resources/conditions whether internal or external).

- Relief from obligation to coordinate our experience with other people, which is produced by the mere presence of other people.
- Our subjective experience is influenced by the slightest direct or indirect interaction with another person; therefore, we become conscious not only of the object we are viewing, but also of ourselves as viewers. Solitude can minimize such intrusive self-consciousness by reducing the immediate demands of experiencing ourselves as the object of another person's thoughts and actions, or of nothing at all.
- People seek recreational solitude to optimize their freedom of choice with respect to their thoughts and actions, rather than simply to get away from other people. Often traveling in groups, recreationists seek autonomy and privacy, not necessarily absolute aloneness.



Aurlandsfjellet National Tourist Route (VisitNorway, 2017)

- Solitude affords freedom as a prerequisite for creative activity and therefore facilitates creativity. The link between creativity and solitude is so ubiquitous that it has become almost a cliché.
- Research has found that adolescents who cannot be alone by either choice, behaviour or circumstance often fail to develop creative talents because this usually relies on solitary activities (practicing music, developing healthy internal dialogue, writing, reflecting etc.)

- Solitude stimulates imaginative involvement in multiple realities and facilitates the imagining or enactment of alternative identities, leading, perhaps, to self-transformation. Alternative realities imply alternative selves, that is, creative changes in a person's self-concept, which is linked to the self-transformation central to the psychotherapeutic process.
- Solitude offers opportunities for limited sociality, limited inter-subjectivity and personal time perspective that facilitates transition from the social "world of work" to the potentially creative worlds of "fantasy" and/or scientific theorizing. These states rely on the loosening, deconstruction and reconstruction of cognitive structures that solitude affords.
- Solitude offers a physical space in which those people and objects that define and confirm our identities are absent. By removing ourselves from customary social and physical contexts (or at least altering our experience of them), solitude facilitates self-examination, reconceptualization of the self, and coming to terms with change.
- Solitude facilitates self-attunement, reflection and contemplation of concerns both internal and external to the self; making it possible to gain from solitude a new understanding of self and priorities.
- The daily environment of most people is highly structured. If environmental influences are radically reduced or altered, mental structures, too, may be disrupted, thus allowing thought to become more fluid and differently organized.
- In conditions of lower stimulation, research shows the mind in solitude may be better attuned to, or more likely to generate, the internally produced daydreams, shifting emotions, and the novel thoughts and associations that contribute to creativity.



Photograph of the author (Pretorius, 2014)

- Though solitude usually denotes aloneness, many people experience feelings of and capacity for intimacy while in solitude, and can become more self-sufficient and trusting, increasing the ability to react to situations without rigid adherence to rules.
- Research shows that, as an infant, one must learn to be alone in the presence of a caregiver in order to develop the capacity to be alone as an adolescent or adult. To avoid later loneliness and anxiety, one must take the supportive environment provided by the caregiver and introject it, or build it into one's personality structure.
- The social disengagement of solitude does not preclude all other types of engagement. One's consciousness in solitude is not limited to self-focus or inward direction. Outer-directed solitude experiences are called "engaged disengagement". These indirect, substitutive engagements can occur when we project our concerns onto objects in our environment.
- To highlight the essentially social character of positive solitude, it is explained that loneliness can be kept at bay as long as we are aware in some way that we have meaningful connections to other people.
- Enhanced spirituality is most popularly associated with solitude. A wide range of groups have reported spiritual experiences in solitude, including tribal cultures who have incorporated a solitary quest for a higher level of consciousness into their adolescents' rites of passage; solitary wanderers who have recounted feelings of unity with God, the universe, or nature; and major religious figures who have reported divine communion in solitude. From the perspective of many spiritual traditions, solitude enhances one's ability to contemplate one's place in the universe and one's own thoughts and desires.

CHAPTER 6: THE STUDY AREA

As a site-bound study (that will serve as the context for a later Studio design Dissertation project), the Study Area warrants some attention. The text thus far has made it clear that no condition in a socio-cultural study can ignore the context within which human behaviour and perception is observed. Firstly, the 'Choosing the Study Area' section discusses the physical location of the study area, and how its situation in the greater landscape is relevant to the themes of this paper. This section also references the past stories of the Study Area's context in order to locate it socio-culturally, making specific reference to observations drawn from inferences about the way that the landscape, public space and nature have been construed over time. A concluding section will briefly note the current management of the Study area within the contemporary context.

CHOOSING THE STUDY AREA



(Source: Google Images and my own sketch superimposed).

The Study Area is intriguing because of its position in the greater landscape – between a South African National Park and a major urban Metropolis. The illustration above shows its approximate extents. (Refer to Addendum B containing the Interview materials for more detailed maps of the Study Area)

The Study Area's positionality is appropriate to this study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is the area that surrounds the oldest formal settlement in South Africa, therefore this tract of land has the longest and most complete traceable past story as it relates to the ideation of landscape and nature by modern humans (the term referring to Homo sapiens, in paleoanthropological terms (Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, 2016)). This is also because Cape Town was the first point of sustained contact with pre-colonial cultures indigenous to the land South Africa was established on, who did not record their past stories in writing or tangible forms. This narrative can be traced through time in order to contextualise our current scope of ideation of the landscape and nature, as it relates to the themes of this study: gendered perceptions of safety, access and activity in public open space . These are further grounded in the terms and concepts discussed in the paper up to now including: coloniality and decoloniality, cisheteronormative patriarchal society, rape culture, the real and constructed fear in a violent South Africa etc.

Secondly, it provides a highly situated yet exceptionally diverse range of edge conditions between Table mountain - a valued symbol of national pride, landmark/tourist destination, biodiversity hotspot, conservation area and Natural World Heritage Site (South African National Parks, 2017); and Cape Town – the 'Mother City', legislative capital of South Africa, economic and administration centre of the Western Cape Province, and city home to almost four million people (SSA, 2012). The Study Area wraps around what is colloquially referred to as the 'City Bowl' because of the shape and aspect of the slopes of Signal Hill, Lion's Head, Table Mountain and Devil's Peak that surround the built environment. From approx. the 300m a.s.l. contour, to approx. the 600 m a.s.l. contour is the main focus area, but for the purposes of legibility in the interviews, the term 'Study Area' also included the peaks

of the mountains and the interface of the Table Mountain National Park (TMNP) with the city's edge. This range of condition, aspect, terrain and zoning effectively provides a cross-section between which to consider the applicability of concepts such as the Culture/Nature dualism. This continuous strip of land has been gendered, racialized, othered, embraced, feared, planted, stripped, surveyed, rehabilitated, idealised, militarised, weaponised, conquered, brutalised, canonised, institutionalised and stigmatised (not necessarily all, and not necessarily in that order). Its past and contemporary value is in constant negotiation, and its boundaries are constantly changing, as is the content and activity of the life on both sides of the invisible boundary somewhere between 'the mountain' and 'the city'.

Human behaviour in urban environments is governed by cultural codes, dominant social expectations and norms, although cities also demonstrate a penchant for accommodating outlier deviations and challenges to the status quo. As discussed previously in this paper, the 'city' is a place which constructs and is constructed by socio-cultural activities, which have direct reciprocal relationships to gender, nature and the landscape as constructs in the human mind and imagination. In contrast, there are certain behaviours associated with conservation areas such as the TMNP, within which the concepts of 'wilderness', 'freedom', solitude and communion with nature are navigated. Environmentally conscious behaviour and, generally, only approved and environmentally managed activities are permissible in conservation areas, in addition to a set of culturally and behaviourally acceptable conduct. The Study Area negotiates the interstitial space between the physical mountain and city, as well as the ideological constructs of 'nature' and 'culture' (respectively) and their socio-cultural consequences.

The Study Area was chosen, thirdly, for its reputation. It is a highly valued site of outdoor recreation that takes many forms including but not limited to hiking, climbing, paragliding, picnicking, running, mountain-biking, shooting (range in the quarry), leisure activities such as sunset-watching socialisation, tourism (Table Mountain Cable car and station, historical sites), dog-walking, nature-study etc. It is also the site of a number of violent and gender-based incidents including sexual harassment, assault, rape and murder. When I moved to Cape Town in 2015, I had wanted explore various places within this area on various occasions, but my reluctance to do so alone alerted me to the fact that it had become – in my mind – a place to not go alone. This was especially because of reports of sexual assault, rape and murder on the outskirts of the city (refer to: (Table Mountain rapist pleads guilty, 2004), (Foreign student raped on Signal Hill, 2013), (Waiter jailed for 9 life terms for Rhodes Memorial rapes, 2016), (Row over safety on Table Mountain, 2013), (Hikers, cyclists raise awareness after spate of attacks on Table mountain, 2017), (When a jog becomes a run for life, 2016), (Teen's strangled body found in Tokai Forest, 2016) (Tourist tells of Mother City rape nightmare, 2004)).

PAST STORY OF THE STUDY AREA

The study interviews were conducted in Cape Town, while the study area is located on the slopes of Table Mountain, the landmark that the city ascribes its picturesque setting to. Its extents trace the urban edge of the suburbs of the 'City bowl', and rise upward toward the mountain's steep sandstone face.

> *"History matters because it forms an important part of our consciousness, contributing to … how our societies might change and evolve." (Lipton, 2009)*

Taking a page from Merle Lipton's (2009) essay, '*Liberals, Marxists and Nationalists: Competing Interpretations of South African History'*, it is important to make reference to the past story of the study area and its context in order to locate any argument for change. The intention is to briefly examine points of relevance in which race, culture, class and other forms of identity in the South African context intersect with gender in relation to the study area. Cape Town is one of the most multicultural cities in the world (Africano, 2011) and also one of the most inequitable (Bhorat, 2015). Its past story follows similar trends.

> *"I've always felt that it is impossible to engage properly with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories of that place and that person. Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity." (Adichie, The danger of a single story, 2017)*

The known human history of Cape Town begins with the use of the Peninsula region by Stone-Age groups – the Khoikhoi and Khoi-san - as pastoral, hunting and grazing land (SAHO, 2017), the seasonal rhythms of which were disrupted permanently by the landing of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1652. Within 200 years of the establishment of the European settlement, the strategically influential Cape Colony had become the politically, economically and culturally dominant power in Southern Africa, for the most part either destroying, or enslaving the indigenous populations. Territorial and resource-motivated wars were waged, as its operations expanded under Dutch and British control (becoming partly independent from the crown in the mid-1800's) (SAHO, 2017). The interests and activities of colonisation have driven the d/evolution of the South African landscape across all spheres since the first contact of the First peoples with the Europeans, the former of who were almost instantly identified as "other":

> *"When the early sailors from Europe came into contact with Khoikhoi, they described them as 'savages'... and people that could not be trusted. Initial classifications were broadly divided into two categories of 'Christian' or 'heathen'. These descriptions were largely cultural in nature, but overtime crystallised into racial attitudes."(SAHO, 2017)*

Colonial activity brought rapid change to the environmental, cultural and social landscape of the Study Area. Two key factors that influenced the landscape and society include (1.) the introduction of a huge biomass of tree, shrub, herb and other useful plant species grown for subsistence, trade and settlement at the Cape of Good Hope; and in a more abstract sense, (2.) the immigrant and slave-labour force of many and varied origins that were imported and exploited until its abolishment in 1834 (Worden, Heyningen, & Bickford-Smith, 1999). Both these factors of change were subject to the colonial, patriarchal discourse that "continually reproduces the division between culture and nature …civilized and primitive, white and black, masculine and feminine." (Driver, 1988).

As Cape Town grew, Coloured, Asian and African households and communities came to live in Cape Town's suburbs and on the slopes of Table Mountain (SAHO, 2017). Growing non-white and mixed populations in the city "hardened racial attitudes as it became the focal point for city's white residents. Africans were perceived as immoral, indecent, dangerous, criminals and a health hazard that threatened the well being of the city. These stereotypes were reinforced by general debates in scientific racism and a desire to push Africans out of the city to create space for the expansion of white suburbs" (SAHO, 2017) . Between 1875 and 1902, segregation and racial conflict increasingly became a feature of Cape Town society. "By the beginning of the twentieth century in South Africa all the previously independent African polities had been conquered and put under white settler control" (SAHO, 2017). The discovery of precious ores in the north of the country was followed by rapid industrialisation as the Cape Town Harbour began to share dominance with other significant ports; which was followed by a period of internal civil conflict precipitated by the first and Second South African wars and later, the World Wars 1 and 2. This left their marks on the rapidly modernising world (Worden, Heyningen, & Bickford-Smith, 1999), and importantly, on political developments in South Africa.

The Afrikaner National Party's national election victory in 1948 led to "the erosion and eventual abolition of the Cape's multi-racial (but still clearly stratified) franchise", the results of which were cemented by a barrage of racially oppressive and separatist laws issued during prior to and during the reign of the Apartheid Government (SAHO, 2017).

> *"...by the 1940s, racial segregation was in full swing in Cape Town ... alongside forced removals the government planned huge construction projects of townships... The legacy of apartheid and forced removals left Cape Town as a segregated city, and residential suburbs created by apartheid through forced removals are still visible." (Cape Town – The Segregated City, 2017)*

The colonial powers, and later the Union of South Africa and the Apartheid government (and to a smaller extent the minority communities of Cape Town) contributed physically and programmatically to the study area specifically. These contributions include the Granite Quarries, the King and queen's blockhouses, various military outposts (including the signal hill complex, the noon gun etc.), Tafelberg road, the Cable car stations, the Rhodes Memorial, the Rhodes zoo, Kloof nek Road, various Masjid structures, reservoirs and dams, the Washhouse complex etc. (refer to map). These physical remnants are encircled by the fabric of some of the most affluent of the City bowl suburbs, and include the historically significant District Six and Bo-kaap. The earliest available aerial imagery of the study area (City of Cape Town GIS Database, 1939, 1945 and 1957) shows the steady growth of the

suburbs up the mountain slopes, and higher up – covering almost the entire scree slope's expanse – densely planted pine plantations, which were subsequently harvested, leaving by 2017 only isolated stands of remnant alien species plantations.

Women/Women

In the academic field of historiography, there is a persistent call that insists on bringing to light the "inadequacy of existing bodies of theory for explaining persistent inequalities" relating to gender, according to historian J.W. Scott (Ntwape, 2016, p. 10). 'General' history (Kimmel, 2015), what feminist scholars refer to as "male-centric historical narratives" (Gasa, 2007) continues to either disregard or tokenise gender – a challenge that Linzi Manicom (Ntwape, 2016, p. 14) has said to grow "ever more sophisticated and consequential as feminist theory advances."

> *"…feminist historians… have recognized that gender is itself an analytic category. Gender not only defines lives as they were lived in the past, but it also constructs the forms of evidence chosen by the historian through which they interpret and explain history. Forms of representation reconstruct particular versions of history; they are gendered according to the viewpoint of their author in the past as well as the historian in the present." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

Little is known of South Africa's past story of "women's political organization, their struggle for freedom from oppression, for community rights and, importantly, for gender equality", as Gasa and her co-authors discuss at length in 'Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers' (Gasa, 2007). These stories are "largely ignored in history texts" (SAHO, 2017). Andie Walton notes how significantly the roles of African women were affected "socially, politically, and economically when the influence of white Christian missionaries and colonization spread in South Africa. What little power women had before in their societies now became less; not only from the oppression of western gender roles, but because they were now lesser than all men and also white women." (Walton, 2014).

Hannah Britton provides an in-depth account of the genesis of woman's power dynamics within South African society in her essay 'Organising against Gender Violence in South Africa' (Britton, 2006). She relates how, during the colonial era women of "…European descent were privileged politically, socially and economically" within the power hierarchy of the dominant society which perpetually favoured entrenched white male power." (2006). In addition to overt forms of privilege afforded to white women, "Colonial rule and (later) apartheid ideologies privileged specific types of femininity that were typically domestically focused, and certain women were often celebrated for their roles as mothers of 'the nation'. Some femininities were championed, such as the idealised visions of womanhood found within the Afrikaner voortrekker community, and others were debased and disregarded, such as the roles and identities of African women who were forced into subservient roles cleaning and caring for the white society." (Britton, 2006).

Nevertheless, throughout most of these periods, "all women regardless of race were publicly silenced and… obstructed from participation in formal political life. Many black women and some white women supported the gender system while resisting the policies of racial segregation and ethnic hierarchies. In this way, some women could adopt a conservative militancy that used traditional gender roles to challenge apartheid through radical mass action. Although not at the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement, which was almost exclusively a male domain, women were leaders and participants in major opposition groups. Women's active roles in the anti-apartheid struggle placed them in danger of imprisonment, exile, torture and harassment… (the gender-based violence women experienced… included rape and gang rape, forced abortions or sterilisation and electric shock)." (Britton, 2006).

During Apartheid the racial freedom-struggle overshadowed the gender-equality movement, and as the 'new South Africa' emerged in 1994, women and other gender minorities were still suffocating under what Belinda Belozzi referred to as the "patchwork quilt of patriarchies" in her 1983 essay (Ntwape, 2016, p. 97) that attempted to describe the "diversity of gender oppression in the nineteenth-century southern African landscape". "South African Defence Forces regularly raped black women, regardless of whether they were civilian women or part of the guerrilla forces. Women were at risk not only from the opposing forces, but often were also subjected to rape or harassment by their own comrades, even in the ANC camps. This abuse often went unreported out of loyalty to the overall fight against apartheid." (Britton, 2006)

For this and other reasons (some of which are discussed at length by (Gasa, 2007) and (Ntwape, 2016)) it is hard to say what kind of relationships women in the past had with spaces like the Study Area**.** What we do know is that the forms of discrimination and oppression experienced by women and gender minorities in colonial and Apartheid South Africa were more overt, and their daily lives were far more restricted socially, culturally and economically than ours, which in comparison is a Utopia of free movement, speech, expression, autonomy and opportunity.

Table Mountain National Park Management Strategies

The study area falls entirely within the land controlled by the Table Mountain National Park, with the exception of various intrusions of public open space into the urban fabric. For this reason, it is necessary to locate the study within this context.



(Source: (SAN Parks, 2017)).

The Table Mountain National Park (part of the Cape Peninsula National Park group of reserves (SAN Parks, 2017)) is a unique expanse of conserved land that faces unique challenges in relation to its close contact with the Cape Town metropol (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000). Of these, Park officials report that the "management of the urban-wilderness interface in an open access system".. is one of the most significant challenges. (Wilderness in an Urban Setting: Planning and Management of the Cape Peninsula National Park, Cape Town, South Africa, 2000). Maretha Shroyer and her colleagues argue, "the long-term sustainability of the CPNP will depend on the ability of Park management to embrace the urban context." (2000).

Within the boundaries of the parks, are various structures and spaces of historical and cultural significance, including historic buildings and landscapes, dams, quarries, military features, archaeologically significant sites and religious sites. It has "open and easy access to local communities and visitors alike to undertake activities such as walking, picnicking, rock climbing, horse riding, paragliding, and mountain biking." (SAN Parks, 2004 - 2017). The relatively tiny area of the Cape Peninsula bears a significant load of the total tourism traffic of the country (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000) – park facilities mitigate the impacts of escalating numbers of foreign and local users of the TMNP.

The approach taken by the National Park favours creative problem-solving in that it does not see limited access and draconian conservation strategies at the exclusion of the park's social and cultural context as feasible options. The Park management has "adopted an integrated approach, the 'gateway concept', to handle increasing numbers of visitors to the Park." (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000). This strategy aims to concentrate activity in the park (especially the high resource loads that accompany the international tourist season) within 2% of its total area, thereby channeling 90% of its of 2.6 million (SAN Parks, 2017) annual visitors towards facilities and attractions that are designed and maintained to accommodate the numbers. In 1998, 15 gateway locations were envisaged: "each gateway offers safe and secure parking, interpretive information, and at least three well-marked circular walking routes. At some gateways,infrastructure will be available ranging from public toilets, restaurants or refreshment outlets, formal and informal trading venues, environmental education centers, and eventually public transportation." (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000). In addition, use-zoning was introduced in 1996 to manage the increasing amount of regular rectreational users. A "use-zone map", drawn up according to ecological zones

and user preferences delineates the areas in which different strategies, partnerships and management guidelines were instituted to mitigate impacts and guide corrective action (SAN Parks, 2004 - 2017).

The Park management has stated that "urban-edge neighbours have an important role to play in effective park management." (Wilderness in an Urban Setting: Planning and Management of the Cape Peninsula National Park, Cape Town, South Africa, 2000). They also reiterate that it is essential the TMNP remains freely accessible to the public, and that equality drives all and every development, especially in light of pre-1994 circumstances relating to access and resource distribution (Park, 2013). "Park management has adopted innovative management initiatives to address… effective communication and working partnerships with urban neighbours." (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000). This shared responsibility is extended to all users of the land, SANParks broadcasts on numerous interfaces the message: "Users of the Park are asked to respect the environment at all times and to assist us in protecting our unique natural heritage for the benefit of current and future generations." (Table Mountain National Park: All-in-one, 2004 - 2017). For instance, "Park management has adopted a "no interference" approach to natural geomorphic processes except in instances where there has been (previous) human interference. As Park management does not accept responsibility for damage caused by rolling or falling boulders, they have initiated negotiations with insurance companies to increase premiums against damage in areas of high risk." (SAN Parks, 2004 - 2017).

Challenges facing the Park

The TMNP shares boundaries with hundreds of landowners including local and provincial authorities and state bodies. The range of challenges that face the Park management include (but are not limited to):

- Natural hazards (fire, fauna, land stability – boulders and landslides, flooding)
- Alien vegetation
- Land development pressure (informal settlement and squatting)
- Social and urban issues (arson, violence and criminal incidents, illegal dumping etc.)
- Ecological degradation
- Aesthetic and visual impacts
- Inadequate legislative control
- Labour and Human resource challenges
- Funding and budget constraint management

A range of Environmental Management Plans (EMP) govern activity within the Park, the policies that apply to the activity, as well as strategic responses, guidelines for implementation, codes of conduct per activity and reference maps. On its official website, the Park Management advises:

> *"Rather than abuse the privilege of undertaking activities in the Park, users are encouraged to conduct themselves responsibly in the park by following the requirements of the relevant EMP. In this way promoting a safe and appropriate low impact means of enjoying and appreciating the Park." (SAN Parks, 2004 – 2017)*

EMP's currently in use are:

Dog Walking, Hang/Paragliding, Rock/Sport Climbing, Horse Riding and Mountain Biking EMP's.

The Park was officially proclaimed in 1998 by Government Gazette, when 16 000 ha of publicly and privately owned land was consolidated under SAN Parks. This was done with the aim of conserving and managing those areas of the Cape Peninsula that had conservation value and remained undeveloped. While the land that is described as the Cape Peninsula has enjoyed a measure of protection in various forms and extents since the 17th Century, it was only in 1978 that Table Mountain and the South Peninsula were officially protected as nature reserve in terms of a the Nature Conservation Ordinance No. 19 of 1974.

Then followed a period in which various stakeholders debated the way forward in "recognition of the need for proper management of the Cape Peninsula", considered by then a biodiversity "hotspot". (Shroyer, Kilian, & Jackelman, 2000). Today, the Cape Peninsula is recognized nationally and internationally as an area of outstanding natural beauty and unique biodiversity. More specifically, it contains the highest diversity of plant species (2,256), endemic plant species (90), and threatened species (141) of any similarly sized area on earth, making it one of the world's most significant conservation priorities (Environmental Evaluation Unit, 1997) (SAN Parks, 2017). The

Study area itself falls within an area of high species diversity, however, it is also clear that the land downslope from Tafelberg road is under distinctly different forms of management than the land above.

Timeline

1989 - 291 km2 (or 60%) of the Cape Peninsula is protected from development by the Environment Conservation Act 73 of 1989, and called Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment (CPPNE).

1993 - Administrator of the Cape Province commissions a study called the "Policy for the Multi-Purpose Use of the Cape Peninsula (otherwise known as the Fuggle Report, 1994)" was prepared by the Environmental Evaluation Unit of UCT. It recommended that the South African National Parks (SANP) manage the CPPNE.

1994 – It is decided by "the Kahn Working Group" that "a statutory managing authority be established" so that "all the present responsibilities (of the existing management authorities) be reassigned and land reallocated…"

1995 - The Huntley Committee is created by the Minister of Environmental Affairs in partnership with the National Botanical Institute (SANBI) to mediate the hand-over of responsibility to SANParks.

1996 - The Table Mountain Project Team is established by SANP, which establishes the National Park land, management policy and infrastructure ("using the CPPNE as the core"). This was achieved through "several months of intensive negotiations, carefully structured compromises and agreements between the SANP, different local, provincial, and national authorities, and over 200 private landowners" to establish a common vision.

1998 – The first agreement is signed between "SANP and the City of Cape Town, the Cape Metropolitan Council, and the South Peninsula Municipality, effectively handing over the management of (16 000 ha) of land to SANP." The SANP still aimed to consolidate an additional 14 000 under its management.

"Cities and sexualities both shape and are shaped by the dynamics of human social life. They reflect the ways in which social life is organised, the ways in which it is presented, perceived and understood, and the ways in which various groups cope with and react to these conditions."
(Colomina & Bloomer, 1992, p. 149)

Beatriz Colomina (Colomina & Bloomer, 1992) claims that architecture as a cultural product is "…not simply a platform that accommodates the viewing subject. It is a … mechanism that produces the subject". The reciprocal relationship between user and space results in both simultaneously being producer and produced. The landscape does not merely receive the subject; it is simultaneously created by the subject's perception while in the process of contributing to the creation of the subjects themselves (Maicantis, 2016). Lawrence Knopp (2016), identifies this very dynamic as a point of contact between cultural geography and landscape architectural theory: the creation and use of space and place in terms of gender and sexuality. As discussed earlier in this paper, gender and landscape both have multiple, fluid realities, and permeable, moving boundaries. While cities and National Parks are environments within which certain rules, norms and behaviours are expected, the site is located in a much more loosely defined landscape - it is an interstitial space, within which 'nature' and 'culture' negotiate not their edges and boundaries, but continuously over time. Viewing the Study Area as a tract of land without any real or agreed-upon boundary, places it within the field of discourse that Judith Butler calls "…necessarily impure, where it emerges in and as the very event of cultural translation." (Butler, Gender Trouble, 2010). The Study Area, in topographical terms, is connected to every other topography (to cite Julian Raxworthy in Topos, topology or topography? (2002)), if this theory were to be applied to the ideological construct of landscape, one might then claim that the idea of the site is also legion.

Within this continuum, my own perceptions and "cultural horizons", and those of the participants in the study meet (Butler, 2010); it is also the site where, Butler posits, the demand for the interpretation and translation of these collisions "…is acute and (the) promise of success, uncertain." I argue, as many before me have, that engagement with other users of public open space is an essential task for design professionals – not only as it relates to their practice in project-specific terms, but also because they cannot be anyone else but who they are. And that understanding will only ever be as broad as their own experiences unless they value the experiences of others as highly as their own. This entails engagement. Engagement places utmost importance on what Maria Maicantis (2016) might call the 'active pursuit of awareness'. The active pursuit of working to gain an understanding of the plethora of unique worlds of the users of public open space before the implementation of architectural intervention. The Study Area is thus transformed in this study into a canvas – a whiteboard - onto which the participants of the study imprint images, words and marks that communicate aspects of their experiences. The questions – focussed on the perceptions of safety, access and activity – are designed to reveal, at least in parts, the unique world of one user of public open space . One that is not me.

An attempt to locate to positionality of the site might also be seen as an attempt to capture its specific nature. I am keenly aware of the conundrum that this statements sets to spinning, as the previous discussions in this paper have indicated. How can any act of interpretation, analysis or perception ever claim objectivity? As explained by Julian Raxworthy in the essay titled 'Specificity: the impossibility of not projecting' (1997):

"All of the factors …seem to indicate that it is impossible to locate unique site-specific entities. The ramifications of this are great when one considers the role of the specific in the legitimation of design decisions, and even greater when one considers that landscape architects design complete environments which have a definite role in passing on societal conditioning."
(Raxworthy, 1997)

He suggests that "Self-consciousness may be the only legitimate mode of practice available if one sincerely wishes to deal with specificity.", which I trust is true, as it seems to be the only tool I have. Further research has revealed the following discussion on Landscape Positionality.

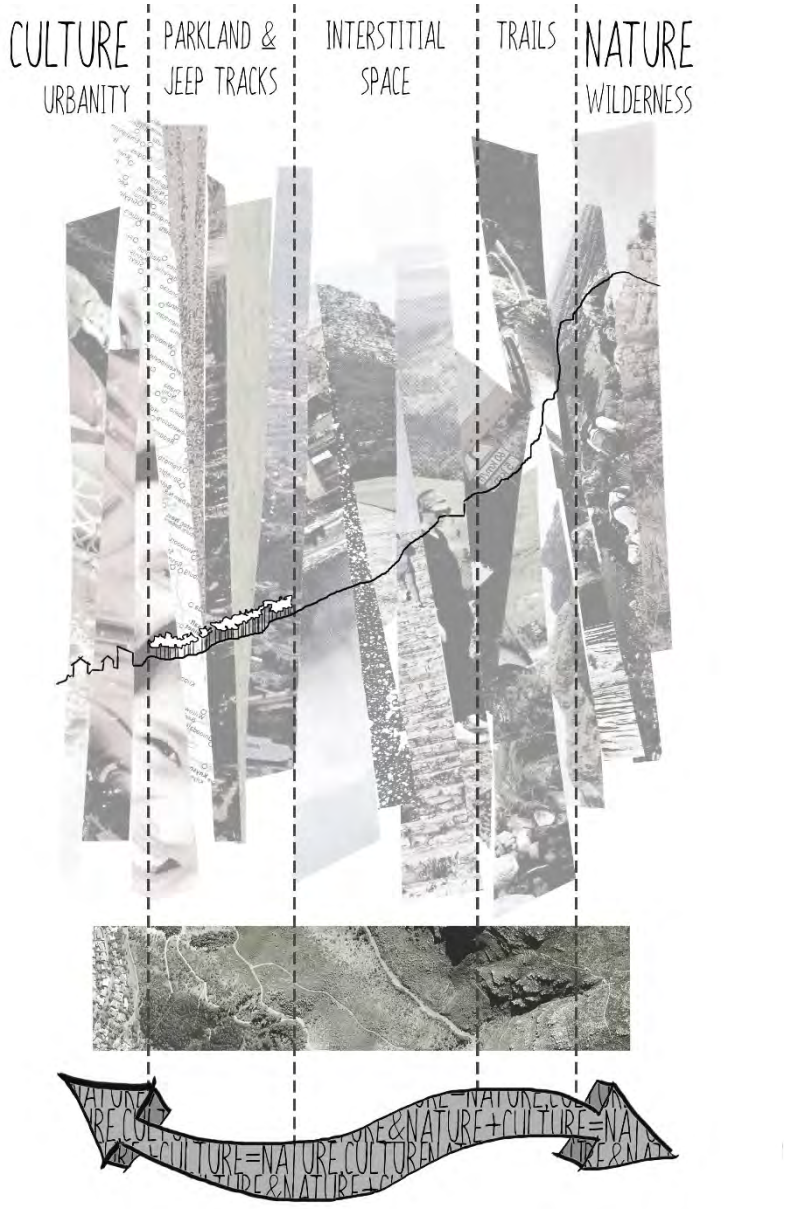
In topographical terms, this landscape is connected to every other topography (to cite Julian Raxworthy in *Topos, topology or topography?* (2002)). This theory, when applied to the ideological construct of landscape (in terms of 'Paysage') "...refers not only to issues of environment and ecology but also to the mood of an entire nation, to its

changing sense of identity and cultural belonging" (Girot, 1999). As a ontological term for landscape, Cristophe Girot uses the word 'Paysage' to describe a landscape's qualities both visible and invisible (Trace Concepts, 1999). Understanding the way that the landscape has been ideologically constructed in the past seeks to reveal something about the cultural dimensions of the site and the characters that have been assigned to it over time. Eidetic montage, for instance, is a relevant technique that requires of me to scour history books, archival photographs, online sources written from a range of perspectives and in different epochs to gather fragments of people's understandings of what the site itself involves (in what Kevin Lynch, and later James Corner describe as the imaging of place and space).



v.) Eidetic Montage Timeline: author's graphic from later investigations in the Dissertation project exploring Landscape Positionality

From this understanding, the Study area and landscape are more than just the physical extents of land and process: Landscape is legion – it is Paysage. There are as many landscapes as there have been people to conceive of them, and this drives the ever-changing and often nebulous concept of landscape itself in the broader sense - of nature, the public realm, environment and landforms such as the mountain. What they might have meant to the humans of the past – and what that might tell us about the genesis of a society's concept of paysage – and importantly – for this study, to interrogate the dualism of culture/nature, that Girot and many others have described contemporarily as complex tangle of interrelated phenomena. The section titled Nature Culture Woman Other in the Study interrogates this concept in depth as it relates to gender and landscape architecture.



vi.) Eidetic Montage Timeline: author's graphic from later investigations in the Dissertation project exploring Landscape Positionality

The slopes of the mountain contain multitudes of identities, ideas, stories, concepts and physical interventions. They describe the site as a home, as a symbolically and practically significant landscape; they describe the changing value of land as the site was planted with timber resources and a new road served as access. The timeline shows attempts to stabilise and circumvent the natural processes of the mountain, and the way the site served as threshold between the dangerous and mysterious wilderness and the ordered, relative safety of the colonial town. The site is described by participants in the study as a point of access to the mountain, and the timeline captures the landscape as a viewing platform used by countless people who inhabit or visit the city of Cape Town. We find ourselves in the present day, relating to the site as a negotiated zone between the city and the TMNP. This is indicative of the ambiguities our society operates under between the ideas of environmental conservation, recreation, and the value of land.

Under patriarchy, even the landscape is othered for what are constructed as its feminine qualities, but "…by viewing landscape architecture through the male gaze, we consign it to a body of fiction - and one that has deep ideological implications." (Meyer in Maicantis, 2016). Keeping this in mind, the timeline recognises that over time, the inhabitants of the landscape that Cape Town is established upon (and the visitors to its shores), did not - and do not - not share a single unified gaze, but rather one that is fragmented along lines of class, ethnicity and gender. By seeing the landscape as legion, it becomes possible to offer an alternate historicised reading of imagery situated in context.

CHAPTER 7: THE INTERVIEWS

The paper thus far has argued that the experiences of individual users within public space are unique, particularly when considered through the lens of gender. It has problematized the lack of responsiveness in the built environment and landscape architectural profession to the detriment of women, gender minorities, the marginalised and the precarious. It has also aligned the social and ideological constructs of gender with that of landscape; citing the culture/nature dualism, othering and objectification, rape culture and cisheteronormative patriarchal society as key factors in the ongoing issues of overt and covert inequality and disempowerment that these groups of individuals face on a daily basis. These claims have thus far rested on personal experience and the research of others in the fields of geography, sociology, gender studies and so on. This chapter recounts what amounts to the data collection phase of this study – the Interviews. While this study does not represent a critical mass in terms of what the traditional rigours of a survey or research questionnaire would require, it is well suited to the aspirations of this study: to reveal the gendered perceptions of safety, access and activity in landscape and public open space .

> *"It is… a debate that everyone is able to participate in; experience of gender and all its complexity is something that will have influenced all of us and our experiences of landscape. Everyone will have an opinion to offer based on lived experience; everyone can enter into and con- tribute to this debate."*
> *(Dee & Fine, 2005)*

A sociologist or geographer might be better suited to study these phenomena, but I believe in Ian Thompson's claim that "Landscape Architecture is not just a matter of pleasing drawings or fashionable schemes which make it into the design magazines." (Thompson, 2009), and so, this study arose from the desire to look more closely at the socio-cultural conditions to which our fashionable schemes do and do not respond. The only way forward was, as Liana Jansen (neé Müller) advises, to speak to people, and to find out what their stories were. I could not imagine a better way to gain access to people's "inner landscapes… and ushering the intangible into the realm of the perceived." (Müller, 2012). The 20 interviews that were conducted over the course of a week in August 2017 were essentially an attempt to gather candid assumptions, personal stories of experiences within the Study Area, in order to reveal realities other than the normative narratives on how public open space s are perceived in terms of access, activity and safety by individuals who identify, present and perform across the gender spectrum.

HYPOTHESIS AND AIMS

The activity of human beings is governed at any given time and place by the behavioural conditioning of socially accepted systems of interaction – including what Judith Butler has termed the required 'performance' of gender (Butler, Performativity, precarity and sexual politics, 2009). As hegemony (Luyt, 2012) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), patriarchy dictates the rules and boundaries by which those performances are defined and received (Butler, Excerpts from 'Subversive Bodily Acts', 2000). This study aims to reveal that these rules and boundaries are instrumental in creating and maintaining the perceptions of safety, activity and access in Public open space , thus making it a gendered experience.

Hypothesis

Experience in Public open space is gendered. Put otherwise, one's perceptions of, and experiences within public open space are significantly influenced by one's gender identity and gender expression. These experiences (and the perceptions they form in the minds of individuals) occur within physical and ideological spaces that are entrenched within normative heterosexuality and patriarchal structures that self-reinforce within our society. Specifically, those who live within the feminine/woman extents of the gender spectrum generally experience higher levels and varied forms of fear for personal safety. This phenomenon also affects trans, genderqueer and nonbinary individuals who live outside of the normative and intelligible forms of identity and expression prescribed by the dominant socio-cultural environment. These experiences are revealed through the perceptions held by users of public open space as they relate to safety (I can't go alone, I am at risk when I occupy public open space heedless of my fear, etc.), access (I don't belong in public open space unaccompanied) and activity (I can't

hike/bike/train/walk/exercise etc. because I am uncomfortable and/or fearful in a male-dominated or otherwise public open space). The negative and inequitable consequences of this cannot be stressed enough; their mere presence warrants attention and reform within the fields of landscape architecture, urban design and spatial planning.

The operating of this cisheteronormative patriarchal society (with colonial and separatist (Apartheid) origins), while privileging white, cisgendered, heterosexual men and forms of masculinity, also simultaneously oppresses these groups and the masculine/man regions of the gender spectrum – although to a lesser degree – by exacting psychological tolls, active and passive discouragements and punitive action for deviances from the norm. Generally, the masculine/male scope of the gender spectrum, especially heterosexual individuals, are more inclined not only to display more confidence, entitlement and ease in public open space ; but are also to a great extent totally or partially ignorant of their privileged positionality, and/or actively or passively perpetuate the oppressive and discriminatory mechanisms of the patriarchy.

Because of this; women (especially single women), trans, genderqueer and nonbinary individuals behave differently in relation to public open space than those who situate themselves on the male/masculine parts of the spectrum because they generally have access to more autonomy and normative privilege. This behaviour goes beyond physical action and activity, affecting the way that women and gender minorities imagine, relate to, picture, construct and otherwise think about public open space and landscape. This is not inherent, but learned through social and cultural conditioning that is reinforced by the forms, dimensions and spatial relationships that public open space and landscape take on, particularly as these pertain to traditional theory, practice and conceptions of space-making and design. Therefore, public open space and landscape are gendered. This is also, therefore, not inherent but a projection of the dominant socio-cultural paradigm.

Aims of the study

The aim of this study, (as it aligns to that of Maicant's(Gender and Sexuality in Design: Discourses on Gender, Sexuality and Inclusivity in Community Design and Analysis of Theoretical Frameworks for Gender-Neutral and Gender-Sensitive Design, 2016) is to observe and "…challenge ingrained design assumptions about how spaces are perceived, used and designed in landscape architecture." This study is unique in that not only theory, but also personal engagement in the form of drawing and spoken interaction are the tools that are used to reveal these assumptions. Furthermore, the material gathered from the interviews is also curated and presented as interpretative graphics that provide the reader with visual representation of the findings of the study, clarifying its spatial consequences as these relate to the positionality of the Study rea. My hope is that, through studies like this, new paradigms of contextually responsive spatial design and planning will make our cities, landscapes and public open space s not only safer, but equally accessible and equally meaninfgul for all, especially those who have in the past experienced the most negative and dehumanising effects of othering, discrimination and violence in these spaces and places.

> *"It is within this … paradigm that landscape architecture can share an influential and relevant role in shaping and designing spaces to create greater inclusion."(Maicantis, 2016)*

Another major aim of this study was to increase the visibility, general understanding and importance of gender and sexuality issues as they relate to spatial design and ideological conceptions of landscape architecture. It is of utmost importance that professionals in the built environment are actively aware of the levels of intersectionality that shape and are shaped by the environments they commission, plan and design. Elizabeth K. Meyer, points out that Maicantis framed these limitations as that the "…contemporary conceptions of landscape architecture" conventionally operate within complex pairings of hierarchical, oppositional, and antagonistic practices and ideologies ((Maicantis, 2016), (Meyer, 1997)). It is through the rethinking of traditional dualisms, revealing socio-cultural norms and stereotypes, and revisiting the ideological frameworks that govern our agendas and reference frames as landscape architects, that provides fields of enquiry hitherto almost entirely unexplored in this profession (particularly in its application to the South African social, cultural, natural, urban, economic and ideological landscapes).

Finally, this study aims to make the "others" visible, while the theories that frame it, combined here into a line of argument, has the potential to "…enrich the perspectives and sensibilities of prospective designers and planners,

thereby contributing to greater awareness and implementation of sensitive and inclusive design." (Maicantis, 2016). This research is, of course, only a splinter of the bigger picture and there is urgent need for further investigation and revelation within this discourse that I believe is an essential part of addressing what is arguably one of South Africa's biggest contemporary issues: the violence and atrocity of an incredibly robust rape culture.

STRUCTURE AND DESIGN OF THE INTERVIEWS

Previous studies such as those conducted by Ginger Daniel (2013), Maria Maicantis (2016), Catherine Dee and Rivka Fine, Helaine Kaplan Prentice (2002), Sally Schauman (2001) (2012) and Thaïsa Way (2006) have provided a huge amount of support and stability on which to build this study. It is designed to allow me to discuss gendered experiences (and the absence thereof) with those who are not familiar with the discourse on gender. It is also designed to allow participants a variety of media within which to revisit, explain and express their memories and experiences as individuals. Thirdly, the interview is structured in such a way that participants are able to discuss their own perceptions of safety, access and activity in initial isolation from the focused context of the study, thereby revealing candid assumptions and oversights, and/or unique intersections in experience or reference frame before the discussion is turned toward gender, sexuality and the positionality of the participant.

Administration of the Interviews

Participants were either directly approached to participate, or individuals who contacted me in response to a call for volunteers. Ethics clearance was secured through the Ethics in Research Committee of the UCT Engineering and Built Environment (EBE EiR) on 10 August 2017. Interviews commenced on 12 August, and were conducted over the course of a week. The full pack of interview material provided the participants can be found in Addendum B, the EBE EiR Ethics Clearance form can be found in Annexure A. Annexure C contains the maps produced during the interviews by each participant. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the participants again for their extremely valuable contribution to this study. Their willingness to lay the landscape of their memories and thoughts open to my enquiry is the very marrow of this study's ability to have an impact on the discourse of my profession. Your generosity with your time and your perspectives place me eternally in your debt.

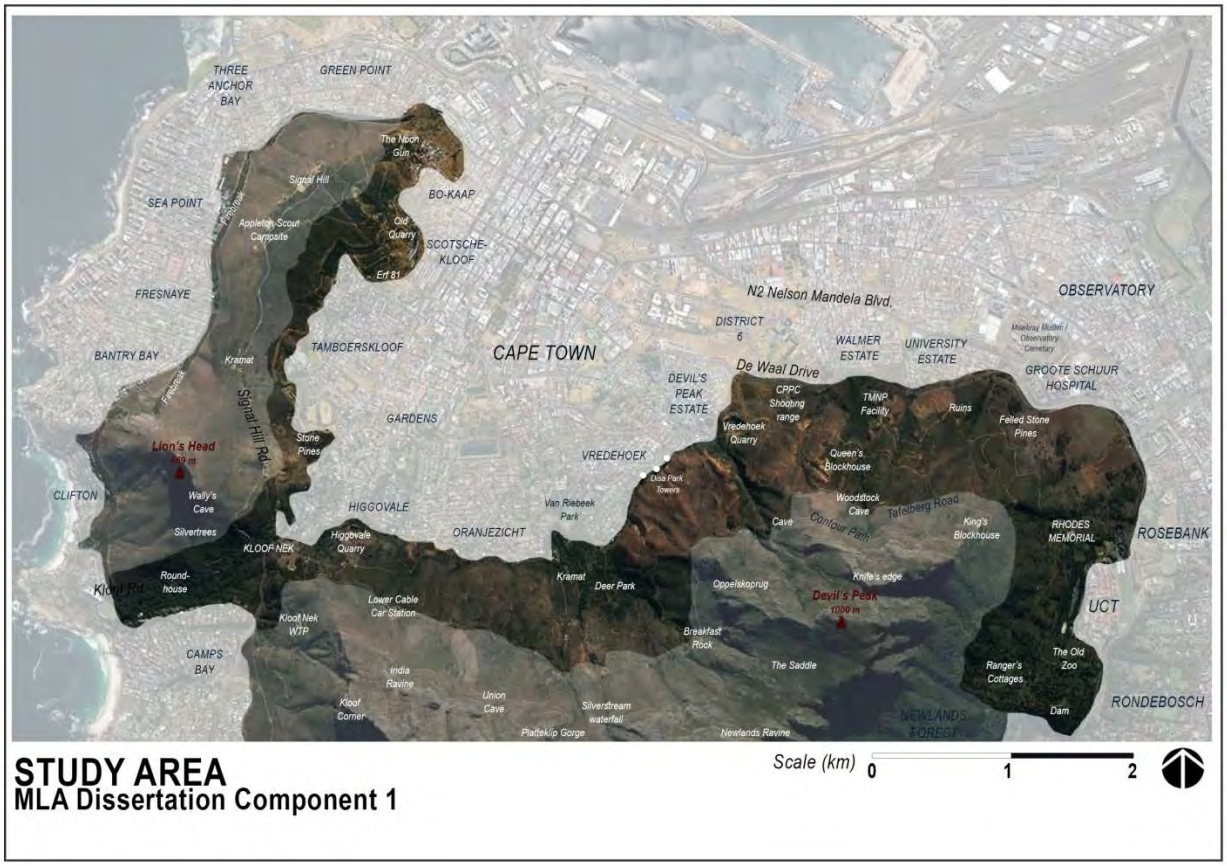
Methodology – a study in three phases

The Interview period of the study took on three phases. The interviews themselves, a period of engagement with the interview material, and finally the curation of that material into graphic form.

1. The Interviews

The interviews were conducted (after the necessary information was disclosed, permissions granted and forms signed), before the participants were provided with the form that required of them to detail their demographic and gender information. This was done in order to allow the participant to come upon their observations and experiences relating to gender naturally, rather than with a pre-constructed "aim of the study" conception in mind. This order of proceedings had the twin benefit of instigating conversation around the subjects of gender, positionality and semantics after the interview questions were exhausted, generally allowing participants to reflect on their responses and assumptions; and consider the tangible, visual output of the interview that expressed facets of their perceptions of the Study area, retrospectively. This made for some of the most valuable material.

Participants were provided with a clay model of the study area, various maps and graphics labelled with basic landmarks and spatial information to orientate themselves in relation to the Study Area. Each participant was provided with an A3 board with an aerial map, scale bar, north arrow and aerial imagery.



(Source: Google Earth Aerial imagery (2017) and author's own)

The map above was overlaid with a sheet of tracing paper (otherwise known as butcher paper or 'bumf'), onto which answers to the interview questions could be drawn, written or otherwise marked with coloured circular stickers, pens and pencils. The response to these mediums varied from person to person – an observation discussed in the following sections. The methodology of this section is as follows:

- *Define the aims and intention of the study and interview process*
- *Describe the hypothesis and general expectations (in terms of the available literature)*
- *Develop preliminary Interview schedule, content and outcomes for ethics clearance*
- *Apply for ethics clearance from the EBE EiR Committee*
- *Develop the interview source materials and refine the Interview schedule and questions*
- *Contact possible participants and put out a call for volunteers*
- *Gain ethics clearance*
- *Interview as many people as time allows*

2. Post-interview engagement with the material

During this phase, I revisited the interview maps and the audiovisual recordings of the interviews, taking note of possible correlations, contradictions, nuances, norms and outlier experiences. The methodology of this phase can be summariesd in the following way:

- *Redefine aims of the interview process*
- *Define the assumptions and limitations that the study is subject to*
- *Re-determine the hypothesis and general expectations (in terms of the Abstract and available literature)*
- *Revisit the interview material*
- *Record individual responses under each question, viewing the group's responses side-by-side*
- *Note commonalities, contradictions and the recorded scope of experiences*
- *Redefine the assumptions and limitations*
- *Overlay maps to visually locate spatial relationships*

- *Overlay maps in relation to gender, sex, race (and other) -disaggregated sets to visually locate spatial relationships in terms of specific positionalities*
- *Identify elements of the study that can be represented visually within the available time*

3. Curation

The graphics that I produced from the raw materials of the mark-making of participants are essentially maps. These graphics were created in order to aggregate responses according to gender, race, nationality, experience and other factors; as well as to collate, interpret and represent aspects of the participants drawn/mapped responses that I deemed significant in relation to the study of the perceptions of safety, access and activity in public open space . This included responses to questions regarding: their habits in terms of outdoor recreation; their memories and (sometimes) kinship-based experiences and references; their demographic information; their responses to questions regarding autonomy and expectations of how the public realm responds to them; their descriptions of apprehension, anxiety, fear or lack of it; their highly individualised strategies for both feeling and being 'safe'; their definition of what entails a 'group', and so on. The methodology follows on:

- *Produce graphics from the participants interview maps that communicate these elements*
- *Note the observations of elements that are intangible – describe these in terms of the context of the study*
- *Explain both the visually represented and intangible observations in presentation to Supervisor's panel*
- *Reflect on the implications of these observations to the aims of the paper*

Visual readings of the interview material

The material gathered from interviews will, through image-making, seek to reveal the gendered experiences of participants within the Study Area, as they relate to the perceptions of safety, activity and access. Knowing that this study occurs at the intersections of what Dee & Fine have called "… potentially contentious fields of enquiry" (2005), I do not propose that my readings of the information are the only readings possible, nor do they seek to capture the precise spatiality of the responses provided by the participants. The maps produced aim to capture some of the intangibles revealed through the interview process – providing a view into the contrasting worlds of differently gendered individuals in relation to this Study area that has been defined in geographical and historical terms only.

ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Assumptions

The study makes a number of assumptions in order to achieve its aims without disclaiming most of the findings, citing exclusions. Some of these assumptions are that:

- I am able to simultaneously apply more than one understanding of interpretations of the terms 'gender', 'woman', 'man', 'female', 'male' during the course of the interviews, depending on the inferences made by the participant as it relates to their understanding of these terms;

- That the marks on the maps of participants that indicate spatially anchored places in reality relate with some degree of accuracy the thoughts and experiences of the participant in relation to those spaces;

- That the memory of the perception of experience in space is congruent enough with the actual perception of experience in space to draw conclusions about the lived experience from this study (refer to information box titled: The Experiencing self and the Remembering self);

- That the experiences and perceptions of the participants will, in essential form, translate through my subjective interpretation of their words, conversation, and mark-making. This assumes that one can accurately describe one's experience at all.

"Ideas emerging from such discussions and explorations are likely to be nebulous and partial; discussions will necessarily entail acknowledgement of positionality vis à vis race, class, and sexuality and how these (amongst many other factors) influence and shape each individual's gendered experience of landscape. But these discussions are also undertaken with the acknowledgement that just because gendered experiences of landscape are highly situated, dialogue does not have to close down. The complexities of positionality do not preclude the existence of common ground or shared experience. It is these very complexities that enrich our under- standing of what is shared in land- scape architecture." (Dee & Fine, 2005)

Limitations

The study is subject to a number of limitations. The fact that this is a 'research through design' project excludes some of the more pragmatic requirements of a traditional scientific study, and thus allows the limitations left over to guide the design of the three interview phases and the interpretation of the interview material in the third phase. Limitations and responses to these are listed below:

- The participants as a group are not a statistical sample of contemporary Cape Town society, and is therefore not exhaustive or strictly representative. The participant sampling process is not without major lapses in what is generally considered good research form. However, given that:
    - the study is neither a survey nor a census (rather a harvest of a limited number of points of view);
    - the timeframe available for this Study was effectively a two-week period within a 120 credit architectural (design-based) mini-dissertation project;
    - the aims of the study are to produce a visually curated deliverable commenting on the abstracted perceptions of participants;

  … it might be excused from the more strictly enforced processes of statistical and methodological exactitude usually expected of the studies of researches in the Sciences.

- Due to the nature and the extreme time limitations of this study, the participants as a group are more accurately defined as a moderately diverse sample group of residents of the City of Cape Town who happened to be available and willing to be interviewed at the time. Many of these individuals are themselves aware of the discourse on gender, while a concerted effort was made to approach and consult with individuals who were less likely to be well-versed in this field of enquiry.

- No children, minors or the elderly were interviewed. This study does not constitute an ethnographic study, and does not engage with all and every race, class and gender of individual that Cape Town accommodates.

- The interviews occurred only once and therefore can only represent the views, perceptions and capacity to express themselves that the participants had command over at the date and time of the interview. These factors are perpetually in flux.

- The study attempts to represent individuals across the gender spectrum (refer to the image representing the demographics of participants).

For the reasons listed above, the findings of the study can only represent a fraction of the possible perceptions, experiences and memories of the site. The study does not involve a thorough analysis of the perceptions, experiences and memories of the site gathered from historical accounts, although a study of the changing perceptions across the passage of time on site would be exceptionally interesting and revealing. At this juncture, I take comfort in Nomboniso Gasa's rejoinder that "The present is also history." (Gasa, 2007), and it is for this very reason that it is important to revisit "embodied ways of knowing a landscape, ways of knowing that are partial, subjective, and emotional."(Dee & Fine, 2005). These ways of knowing have traditionally been assigned status lower in value than what are thought of as objective, rational and formulaic. This study therefore revisits and re-evaluates the empirical, the personal, the subjective, the highly situated, the emotional and the scale of difference without hierarchy.

The Experiencing-self and the Remembering-self

This study focuses on a particular framing of the term 'perception'. It warrants explanation, especially in terms of what Nobel laureate and founder of behavioural economics Daniel Kahneman refers to as the 'the Remembering-self and the Experiencing-self' (2010). Kahneman's frames the phenomenon of emotional experience (his example is that of happiness) as a multi-faceted concept that is liable to a number of "…cognitive traps that make it almost impossible to 'think straight'" about it. Here, I briefly outline his argument as it relates to the emotional experience of being afraid. The feeling of safety - or the lack of it (as argued by Shukri (2017) as the barometer of fear) - must be deconstructed in order to understand how the study understands the experience of fear to operate in public open space and landscape in terms of human behaviour and response.

Firstly, the feeling of safety cannot be described in totality because there are as many kinds of fear, as there are people who feel it; fear then becomes no longer a very useful word because we apply it to so many different things.

The second cognitive trap Kahneman mentions is that of thinking about experience and memory as the same things. For instance (and although they are deeply connected) the experiential reality of, for instance discomfort, and the memory of the last time you were made to feel uncomfortably afraid are extremely different concepts, but they are both lumped within the notion of the absence of a feeling of safety, which is equated here to fear. Similarly, the thought of feeling unsafe, and the physical experience of being unsafe cannot be considered one and the same.

An example of this cognitive trap at work would be someone telling you about how an unpleasant incident of sexual harassment at the bus stop "ruined the whole experience" of a Saturday at the beach. In reality, that incident could not possibly have had an effect on the experience itself, because the experience had already been had: a sunny Saturday at the sea. What had been ruined was the memory of the experience.

Kahneman explains that the Experiencing-self deals with immediate stimulus and input; while the Remembering-self keeps score of the story of our lives. The Remembering-self is a storyteller that perpetually narrates memories to the Experiencing-self. Research has shown that experience and memory are two distinct realms of influence that inform the way we move through the world (Kahneman, 2010). Our "reality" therefore shifts between these realms, depending both on our experiences, and what is remembered from them. What is true of stories (that memory delivers to us, as well as those we make up) is that they are defined by changes in narrative, significant moments, and endings. The Remembering self does not only remember and make up stories, it also makes decisions. We even think of our future as anticipated memories. Therefore, there are two conceptions of the experience of safety we can apply: one per self:

- How safe do the moments in the Experiencing-self's life feel?
- How safe does a person feel when they think about their lives?

How this applies to the study

The essence of this theory as it applies to the study is that you can be told about how a person feels about their safety, but that does not really tell you much about how they experience it. If this were a study of the experience of fear, it would have needed to involve some form of monitoring of the physical responses of participants in real-time, indicating fearfulness within the study area on location. However, I am not necessarily interested in isolated and quantified accounts of the physical reactions of participants, nor am I (in a sense) interested in their specific, separate experiences within the study area as data.

What I am interested in, is what their Remembering-self can tell me about their of their Experiencing-self's life. What they include, exclude, respond to emotionally, mention and do not mention, value or overlook; betrays much of how safe a person feels when they think about their lives – revealing their strategies, ways of knowing and remembering, ways of assigning value and ways of locating themselves in relation to others. In this way, I shift the focus from actual incidents and what may present as discrete and actionable information (that might dictate to location or nature of design intervention) to the motivating factors that dictate behaviour – not only in the study area, but also in public open space and landscapes in general.

Nevertheless, this study, by virtue of the range and design of questions, and the approach taken that includes mark-making on a map, hopes to gain access to both the Remembering-self and (to a lesser extent) the Experiencing-self's responses to the 'category' of fearfulness.

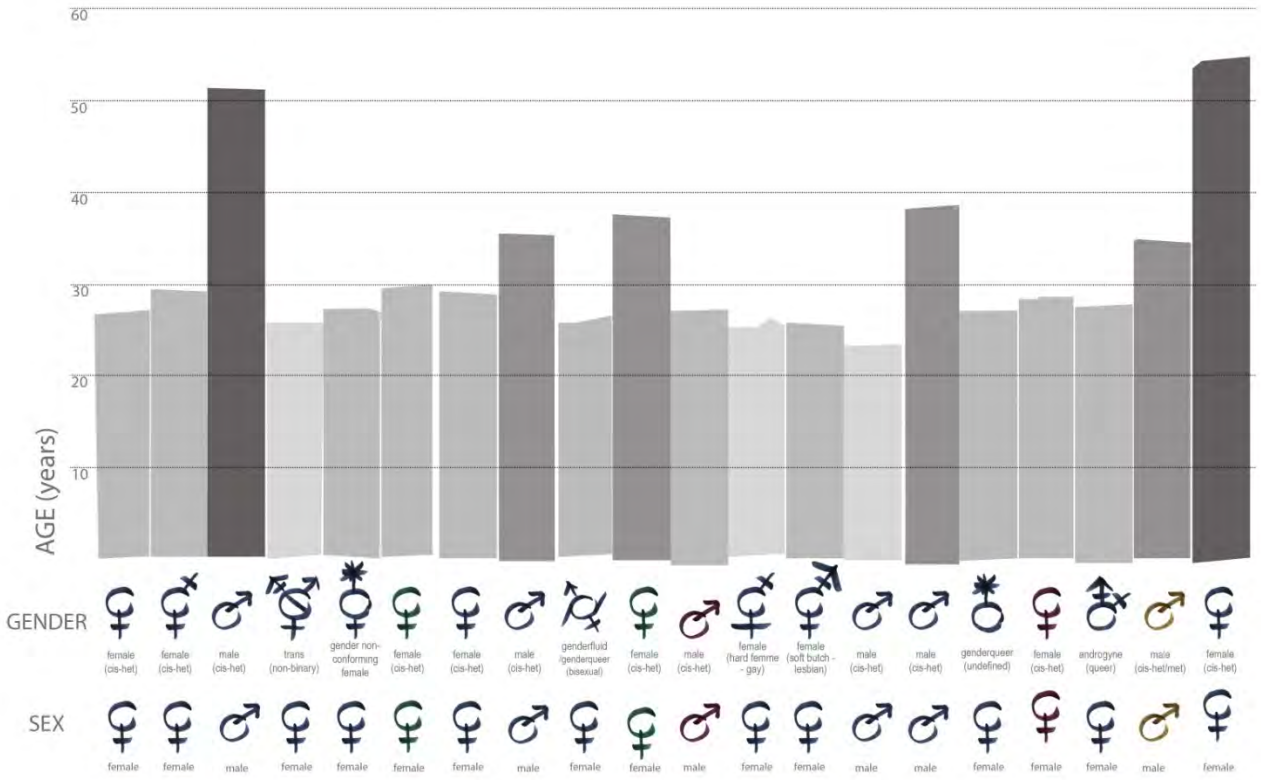
Adapted from Daniel Kahneman's TED2010 talk, titled (The riddle of experience vs. memory).

Participants

20 participants were interviewed. The personal information forms they were asked to fill out rendered the following (used with permission):

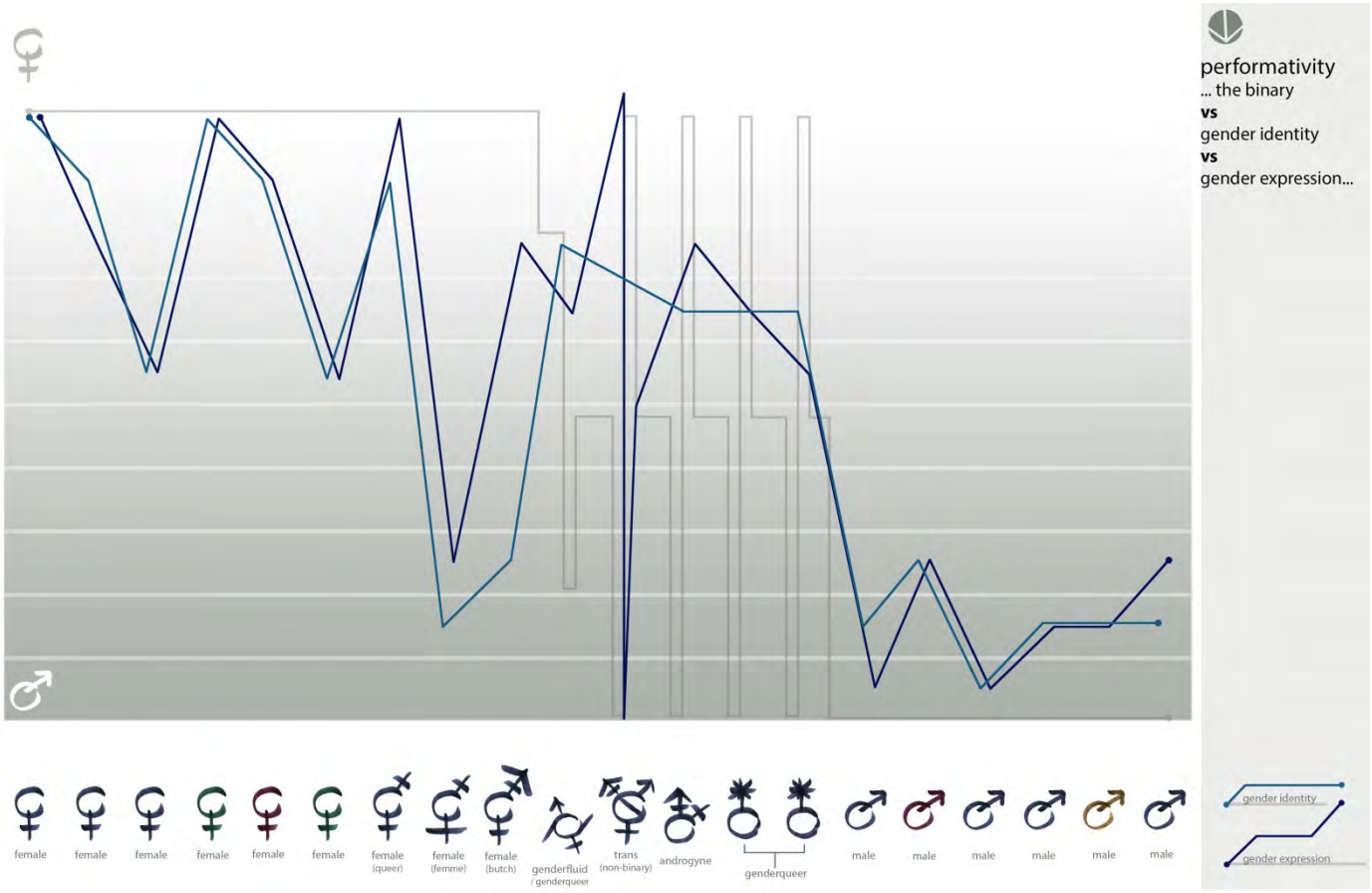
Age	65% of participants were under the age of 30 at the time of the interview. The study included no minors/ individuals younger than 20 years old. 25% were in their 30's, and 10% (2 participants) were 50 years old and above.
Race	25 % of participants were non-white (identifying themselves as Indian, Coloured, Brown and African) and 75% were white (40% of these used a descriptor other than 'White' such as Caucasian, White African, White (unfortunately) and White (I guess)).
Gender	The study is comprised of 55% (self-identifying) females, 15% described themselves as neither male nor female, and 30% males.
Gender (descriptive)	30% of the participants self-identified as either (cisgendered) 'woman/female' or 'man/male' in descriptive form, while 15% had not thought of the term as something one chose or described. The remaining 45% used a range of descriptions to explain themselves in terms of gender identity and expression (examples are: 'flirting with androgyny', genderqueer, transgender/genderfluid/gay boy, 'liberation to be', hard femme, soft butch, 'heterosexual presenting man', 'gender non-conforming woman', tomboy and metrosexual).
Pronouns	The participants identified as their preferred pronouns: 'She/her', 'He/him', 'She/they/them' and 'They/them'.
Nationality	Most (80%) of the participants were born and raised in South Africa, 10% of the remaining number were born elsewhere but raised in South Africa, while the remaining two participants were born and raised in another country (Hong Kong and Mauritius).
Occupation	The participants recorded various occupations from a range of sectors. Examples include teacher, flight paramedic, architect, logistics, restaurant manager, visual artist, graphic designer, copy-writer, photographer, engineer, artist, researcher, retail design and health & wellness professional. No tourists, unskilled labourers, homeless, unemployed or institutionalised people were interviewed.

The graphic below illustrates the age variation of the participants. It also demonstrates evidence of what is argued by gender theorists, as well as in the opening chapters of this paper – put briefly: gender and biological sex are not the same thing.



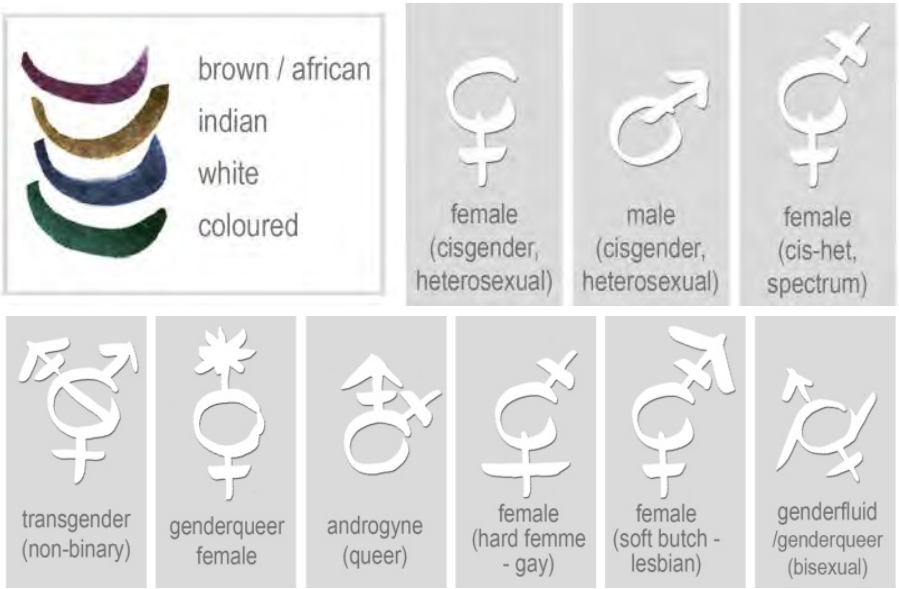
(Source: Author's own graphic)

The interview data also provided an opportunity to demonstrate how the concepts of gender expression and gender identity do not correspond with biological sex, or indeed with each other:



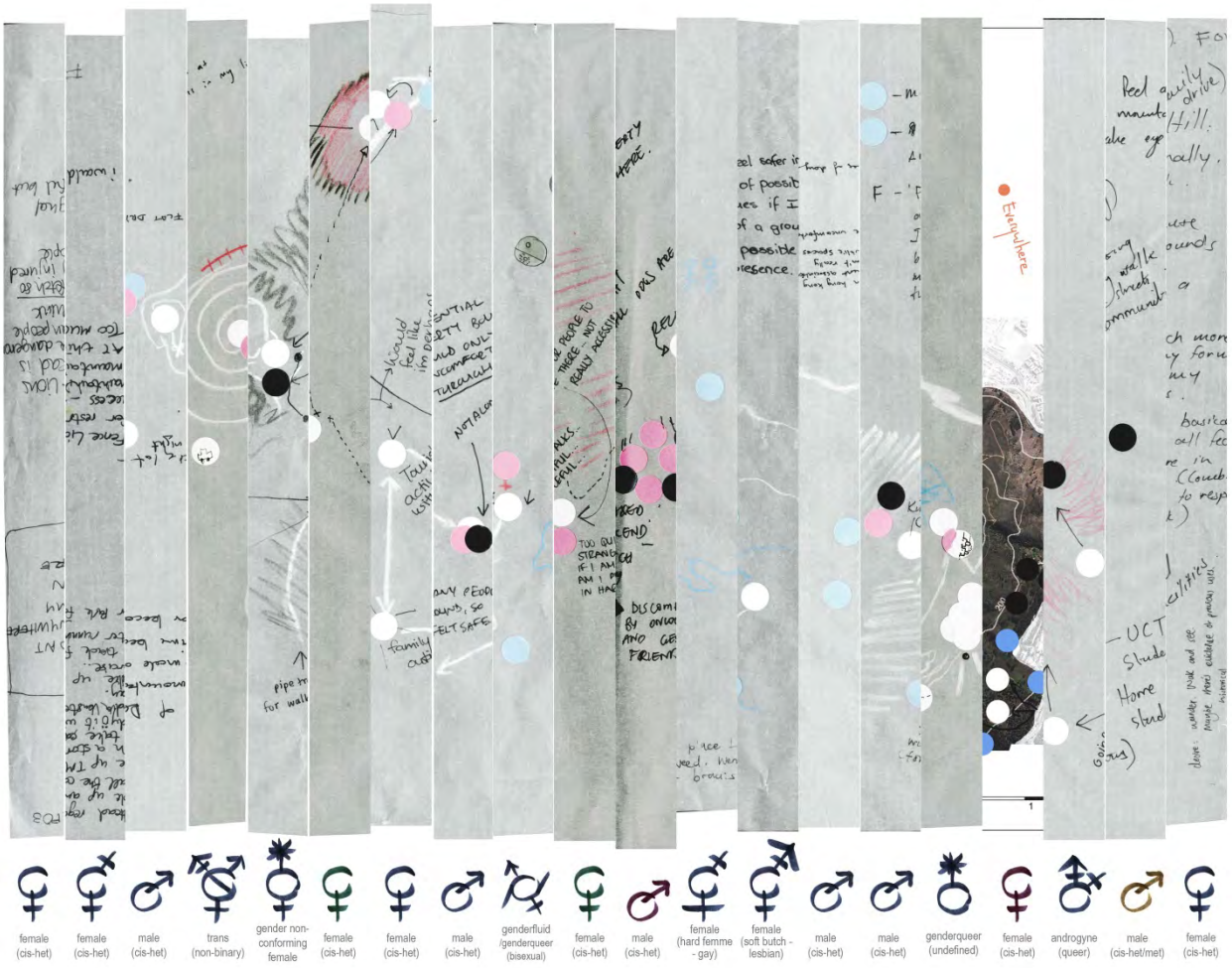
(Source: Author's own graphic)

Participants will be identified in the pages that follow by the symbols that communicate their (self-identified) gender, sexual orientation and race (indicated by colour). The key below should assist the reader in interpreting responses from the point of view of the participant's positionality, as well as the assumptions that might safely be made regarding the general manner of their appearances. (This is not assuming that there are not a plethora of possible nuances and 'inconsistencies' in the presentation and performance of gender between identification and apprarance, but for the purposes of this study in terms of legibility).



(Source: Author's own graphic)

Below, a composite image of samples from each participant's map.



(Source: Author's own graphic)

Preliminary Observations

Mark-making

In terms of the maps that participants were asked to create, there was a range of interesting responses to observe. Some participants embraced the materials provided as the primary means of communication, explaining their mark-making individually. Others preferred to relate their experiences and stories verbally, making only cursory marks on their maps. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, some participants brought out their mobile devices to orientate themselves, or mark exact routes or spaces during the course of their interviews. The duration of the session was entirely dependent on the participant, their available time and the meticulousness of their answers. While some were content to mark approximate locations, routes or spaces in reference to their stories – others were far more specific in their mark-making, taking care to record exact spatiality that existed in their minds. This was telling in the interpretation of their familiarity with the Study area, but also indicative of the nature of their engagement with open space as a mappeable and interactive realm, rather than (perhaps) a place removed or compartmentalised in various ways and forms from their everyday urban experiences (this being only one possible reading of many).



(Source: Author's own still images, taken during interviews (used with permission))

The value of the view

The 'view' and the activity of 'viewing' or 'taking in the view' was mentioned often during the interviews. One of the primary means of interacting with the landscape, employed by humans recreationally, is looking at it. Seeking out views through various means is associated with any number of emotional responses – peacefulness, excitement, awe, calm and so on, depending on the individual. Another, and slightly more interesting motivation is how the following participant assigned value to the experience of the long view:



"I think it has got an historical value for me, of actually being able to – in my mind – see the development of a start from nothing… just nature… with some indigenous people traversing now and then around this area… to development of a settlement where 300-odd years have passed. It's a living expression of cultures, of politics, of infrastructure, of conservation, of destruction… of EVERYTHING that is bound up in human settlement processes, and that one can actually view it right from there, without having to go up in an aeroplane or something to assess where what is, and how what developed and so on. So, it's a cross-cutting kind of taking-in of the history of humans that are part of a whole system and a whole landscape."

Thaïsa Way has argued that, for landscape architecture, a sense of belonging in the landscape is one of the most significant positive effects of inclusive spaces; space in which all people who occupy it have autonomy and choice – an effect she parallels to landscape architecture as a practice by women in the early 20th Century (Way, 2006). Women now had access, as employable professionals, to new authority, albeit in the domain of personal and domestic spaces (the public realm was overwhelmingly reserved for male practitioners, it was seen as most inappropriate that women should have say in the planning of public open space). This authority rendered them visible, with "…an active role in the public community" (Early Social Agendas of Women in Landscape Architecture, 2006). Similarly, a sense of having a place in the landscape resonates with the sense of having a place in the world. As demonstrated by the quote above, this is not only important on an individual identity level, but also when considering the role of collective humanity as a species not independent of the view, of nature, of the landscape – but part of it.

> *"… Long-standing notions about the hierarchy of private and public spaces and associated constructions of gender-identity … have framed ideas about which groups hold what knowledge; that is, women embrace knowledge in the domestic and nurturing domain while men are "naturally" endowed with knowledge of the public and civic domains.*
>
> *This bias in turn engenders particular narratives of the designed landscape in which home garden design and gardening are relegated to women's sphere while the design of public parks and city planning constitute men's domain. This is not a benign construction. As Elizabeth Meyer and Ann Komara have argued, binary constructions of language imply inherent hierarchies. The common use of such language suggests that as male is to female, so architecture is to landscape architecture and public is to private." (Way, 2006)*

Access and equality

Many conversations turned at some point to the opinions held by participants in relation to free or equal access, and the privileges associated with free movement in and around Cape Town. This indictes that the TMNP approach

to integrated urban-edge management is sound at least in terms of public opinion (the issue of fencing will be discussed later on in the paper). A participant describes the contradictory feelings she encountered when describing one of the popular parks verging on the slopes of Table mountain, above the suburb of Gardens. Another participant describes how he has unconsciously assigned gender to the Study area:



(Deer Park) feels like 'the best kept secret' of the area… and you kind of, can only go there if someone from that area takes you there. It's not like there are directions to the space… and when you get there, you are in awe of how beautiful and peaceful it is. But, a part of you goes 'wow, best-kept-secret' and another part of you realises that it is this peaceful and amazing because it IS a good secret. But, also, it does shine, like a… harsh, sort of, light on exclusivity… and on past separations. You know… that only certain people have access to that beauty. Sjoe, it's quite sad, actually.



You, know I never realised it, but I definitely think about this area in the masculine. Just – its just used so much by mountain-bikers – that's such a male-dominated sport. So it gets transferred to the landscape somehow. As male.

Responses to selected questions

** (Please note that I did not remove profanities from the transcriptions – they add a lot to the interpretation.)*

Please refer to Addendum B for the full set of questions and resource material that was available to participants. The following is a record of selected questions, variations on questions (some of these changed or added to during the course of the interviews when appropriate) and selected responses. Where applicable, the explanation for the phrasing or presence of the question will be provided. Most of the responses that have been captured in text are taken from the audio-visual recordings of the study, and the formatting resembles as closely as possible the participant's manner of speaking. The recorded responses are discussed briefly at the end of each question's section. The maps that are associated with particular questions are also provided in text, and their interpretation explained briefly where applicable.

Question (a.): "Are you familiar with the place (study area) that the map provided indicates?"

This question was asked in order for the interviewee to familiarise themselves with the site, its location and orientation, as well as the landmarks and places annotated on the interview graphics of the Study Area. As a 'landing' question, it enabled participants to engage their memories and recollect stories, orientate themselves within the Study area and clarify uncertainties regarding the Study Area or the stories/perceptions that I was interested in. These responses were not typically recorded, except in terms of contextual information.

Question (b.): "How would you describe this area to someone who isn't?"

By asking the participant to describe the study area to an imagined other person, I was able to observe two things. Firstly, their choice of words/approach in describing a landscape – whether it took the form of words, directions, descriptions, references, their own ability or activity within the landscape etc. This gave some indication of their sensory priorities, contextualised their particular relationship to the Study Area for me as an observer and often set the tone for subsequent discussions during the interview. Secondly, by phrasing the question as a task to do in relation to another, de-contextualised person, it placed the participant in a position where they were not offering an opinion, so much as using descriptive language to place the Study Area in relation to other things for an audience - something else in addition to that of their own, internal reference frame.



"I usually say, like, 'the in-between'. Cause I… I always call it the 'grey area'… (laughs)… no, because like, it's a – it's an area I always look at but I never, like, venture into. And… like, I've never been up those areas – ever. But I've… I like, I look at it and I'm like… cause I used to travel from… yeah, no-one really goes there. I would, like, say… it's a grey area. It's like, in-between the rock and the city."

"It's the area between the mountain and the sea where the sha... it's the area that the shadow of Table Mountain covers."

"It's the part of the mountain ... well, the natural mountain ... that's accessible to everybody. You can walk on it, you can ride on it, some people drive on it. It's accessible. Above Tafelberg road it becomes more limited; because its steeper."

"I would say it's kind of the space between where the city ends and where the like, steepest part of the mountain starts. Like… the foreground of the mountain. Yes? It's like this place before the start of the mountain."

"It's the nature-space of Cape Town. Where you'd go to get away from... um… above the city. It's very familiar, um, like... the place we go to hike. It's like, an excuse to not think about work and responsibilities."

"So, the city ends; and then the greenery… begins. I see greenery, I see the change from, like, the grey of the… of the city into the green. And then it goes into a different colouration again, when it gets steep, into, like the rockface. Ja, so I feel like it's that green area around the mountain – it's soft."

"Let me just see… Ok, so this is... I mean, it's interesting because it changes from... you know, from over here… it's almost like this is… is almost like-uh… I wouldn't call it a wasteland, but it's… but it's very, it's seldomly, sort of … used, yes. And I mean, I think… like the lower slopes here…? I definitely feel like… I mean I've-I've-I've… I've explored very little here. I mean I find… like... it's definitely like a bit of a transitional space, you know? Because you-you don't… … it's not like 'pure nature' there's like a lot of like… like roads and like old… like derelict structures and. So ja, I mean it's very different – it becomes completely, almost… I mean except for the cable-station and the few-um… (I mean, there's also structures up there) … but you get much more of a sense that you-you… that you're almost in nature and not in… in the city. Whereas, whereas this is… ja, I mean, I would describe it as… mostly as-a… a sort of overall… as a bit of a transitional … space.

"It's quite odd – looking at it now… um… none of those names are familiar in the Study Area. Like, I know all the outskirts. I know Rosebank, Groote Schuur, University Estate… all of these…. Vredehoek, Tamboerskloof… but looking at… 'Kramat'? What is that? I've no idea what these spaces are. Like, Rhodes Memorial is familiar… and Deer Park is familiar… and then...I know there's a Quarry there because I've recently stayed in Higgovale. But, for me, it's incredibly unfamiliar. And that's what's odd."

It's by the highest level of residential area in Cape Town which comes with a particular affluence. So you're right on the mountain but you're also overlooking the city.

"It's that area between, maybe, the more extreme people who would go higher up the mountain – or the place where ordinary people could go and experience the mountain at a level or a place where they feel comfortable and not out of their comfort zones."



(Source: Author's own still images, taken during interviews (used with permission))



"I don't know… I've never thought about it. Um… cause, for me… well I'd just be in this area because I'm going up the mountain. So… I don't… I would not… I mean I don't go… It would be like a transition. Like, it would be something I'm walking through. It's not something I'm spending time… in any of those areas. And it's only because I don't have a destination in mind when I think of those areas."



"I love a lot of the places here. I-uh... I associate it with comfort. It's where I went when UCT got too much."



"Well, I would say that's the city bowl...so this must be... the 'edge' of the city bowl, or the 'walls' of the city bowl... maybe ... what contains it? Ja."

The variety of answers offered by participants was fascinating. While some referred to colouration, others would rely on spatial markers such as steepness of slope, or the accessibility of the Study area. Many participants, in some way or form, referred to the Study area as something that was indeterminate, or an intermediate in relation to other things, using words like 'transitional', 'through', 'edge' and 'between'. Some assigned descriptive or emotive words like softness, familiarity, unfamiliarity and comfort. Analogies also engaged with popular phrases, like the description of the Study area as the 'edge' of the city bowl, or a 'grey area', and 'in the shadow' of the mountain. Each individual response suggests a facet of the multitude of different kinds of ways and forms that people choose to relate to landscape.

> *"The complexities of positionality do not preclude the existence of common ground or shared experience. It is these very complexities that enrich our under- standing of what is shared in landscape architecture." (Dee & Fine, 2005)*

Although we were all referring to the Study area, people would describe all kinds of things in reference to what is essentially a discrete physical entity – a construct, a mental image, a memory, a spatial experience, an emotional response, a property, a landform, a lifestyle etc. The perceptions that participants held in their minds of what a piece of land is in itself, were as many and varied as their later responses to perceptions relating to safety, access and activity.

Questions (c.) and (e.): Participants were asked to use white stickers and a white soft pencil to mark places on the map where they had been before ; where, to the best of their memory, they had physically occupied space within the Study Area.

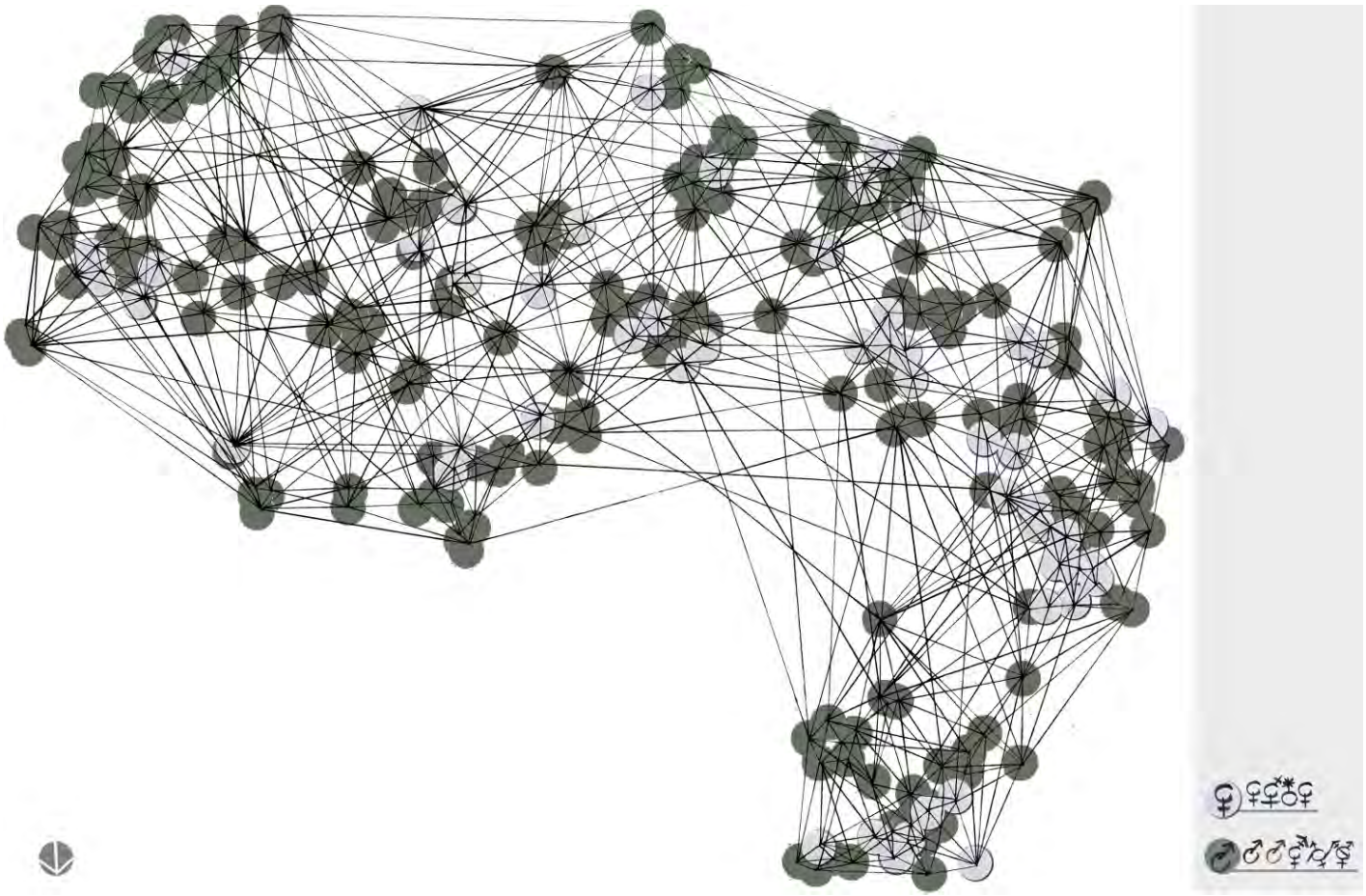
They were also encouraged to tell me about what they were doing there, who they were with, what they remember about why they were there in particular and not somewhere else, etc. Some people made lists in bullet-point form, some people chose to label the map where they marked it, some wrote very little and drew icons instead to denote activities or other meanings. One participant tore the stickers up and used them to collage spaces and places they were marking. Others – for instance, the flight paramedic – coloured most of the map in white (because they had both physically traversed most of the Study Area, but also) because they did not imagine the Study area in terms of a landscape of paths or routes with destinations as points, but rather as a totally physically available surface to their activity.

The intention of these two questions, interspersed with the following question on this list (question d.) was to engage the memories and stories that the participant contained, to observe the way that marks were made as well as their extents. The participant would often further describe the Study area as a place of familiarity or of mystery as they engaged more closely with the maps, or noticed places and spaces that they had forgotten about, or had not realised were within the area. These were generally not value-based observations. There was an attempt to avoid mentioning or engaging in conversation that made reference to emotional responses or the significance of spaces, places or activities. The participants most often treated these questions as I had hoped – a mere record of activity.

The map below was produced by disaggregating the responses (roughly) between those of male and male-presenting participants, and those of female and female-presenting participants. By making this dichotomous

separation, I realise that I risk simplifying a complex issue all the way down into dualistic terms that re-inforce the perceptions and stereotypes that I seek to undermine. Quoted in Annette Harth's 2017 Open Space and Gender essay, Literature academic Susan Stanford Friedman asks, "…how can we build bridges across our differences without getting caught up in repetitive cultural narratives that are structured around the… binary?" (2017).

However, I do recognise here that gender and gender-appearance alone are not the most important of what Annette Harth calls 'factors of disadvantagement' (Harth, 2017). Race, age, ability, "differentiated lifestyles and life situations" (2017) should also be taken into account at any rate. Nevertheless, in order to make one phenomenon very clear, this map warranted making: the effects of the patriarchal binaries system of hierarchical gender value on the appropriation of public open space . As discussed at length in previous sections of this paper; women, gender minorities (and groups subject to precarity) limit the range, incidence and regularity of exposing themselves to real and perceived risk by appropriating far less public open space that gender-privileged groups do.



(Source: Author's own graphic)

The graphic above marks in light circles, the places and spaces that have been occupied by the women, genderqueer women, and queer women. This graphic has included in the dark markers the participants who although occupying space on the gender and queer spectrum, have explicitly expressed their awareness of the "female fear factory" and utilise public open space s in a way that is physically demonstrative of their (1.) awareness and (2.) readiness and/or ability to retaliate against or resist incidents.

These individuals have also explicitly stated that they attempt to counteract their own attempts at limiting their movement in response to what they see as socialised fear. Like Judith Butler, these participants seek to "uncover the ways in which the very thinking of what is possible in gendered life is foreclosed by certain habitual and violent presumptions." (Butler, Gender Trouble, 2010, p. viii).

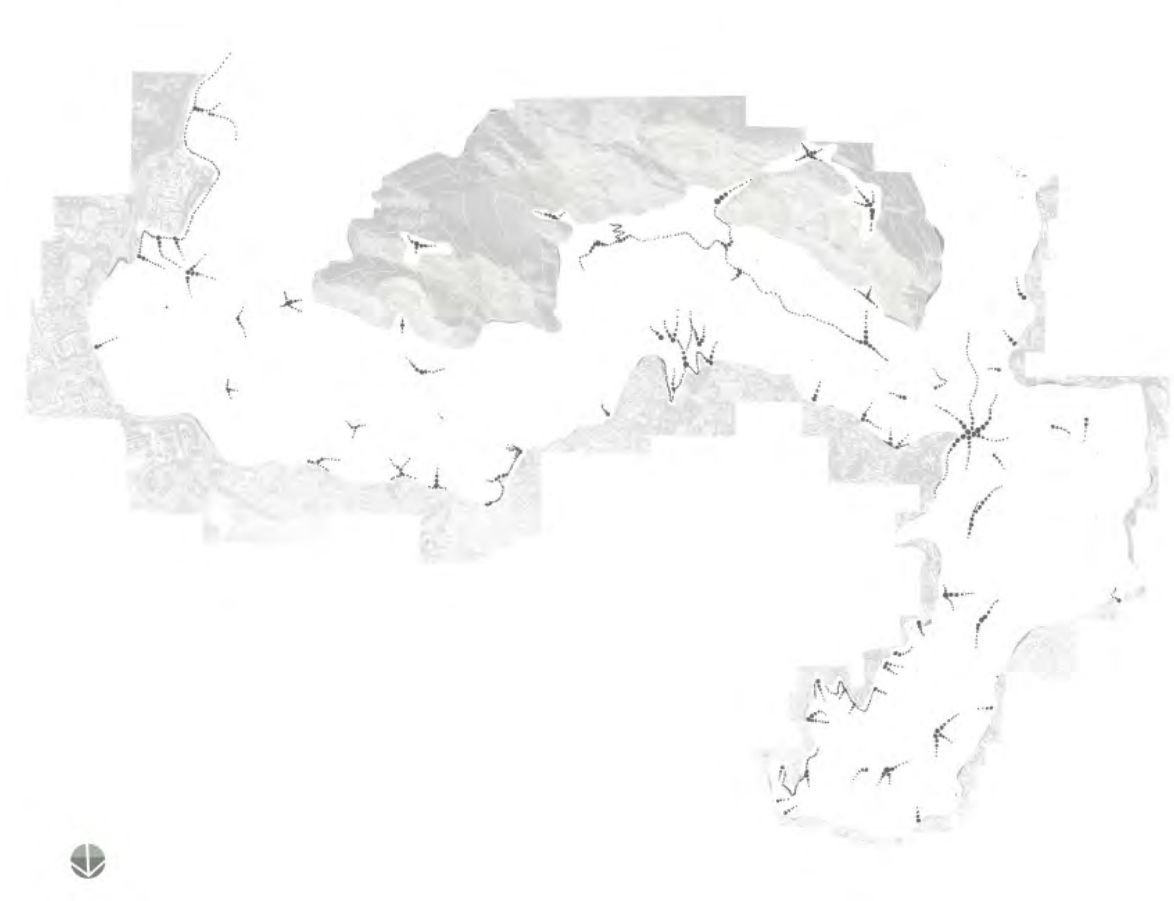
> "*Men continue to move more extensively in public spaces, green areas, and parks; also tending to linger in central areas exposed to view. Women, in contrast, prefer less extensive activities and*

quieter, more protected positions from which they can easily keep events under observation. (However,) …characteristic behaviour of females in open spaces should not be confused with behaviour that results from spatial planning and design (i.e.: avoiding under-surveyed corners or enclosed and isolated areas). This contributes to stereotyped attributes and gendered spaces."
(Harth, 2017)

It is clear from this map, that the position taken in the hypothesis is demonstrable when analysing the appropriation of public space by different gender groups. Males and male-presenting individuals do not only have and practice the ability to occupy public open space and landscape more frequently and more extensively than their counterparts on the feminine gender spectrum, they are also able to do so alone.

Question (d.): Participants were asked to mark on their maps with black pen all the places or spaces that they considered points of access.

When asked to explain what I meant, which I often was, I would describe the study area as a chunk of clay or a metal box. The points of access would be where they cut or press into the clay if they imagined their occupation of the space as leaving impressions on the clay; and in the case of the metal box, I would describe perforations, holes, thresholds and doorways that would give them access to the inside of the box. The points of access did not need to be places that they had themselves been, they could be roads, tracks, parks that border on the study area, pathways, boardwalks, street-side tracks, parking areas or secret routes that they know of themselves or had heard of. While most people seemed puzzled by the question, it gave me an idea of the way in which the participant thought about using the Study Area, as a place that they accessed from formal 'entrances', or as a space more continuous with their daily or regular trajectories – that they could informally access at almost any point they chose, should they find themselves nearby. Another observation was the fact that people did not only think of points of access being on the periphery of the study Area. Within the area itself they would often mark either some kind of hierarchy of thresholds, or transitions between different forms of movement as points of access (the most obvious example being wherever a car was parked). These thresholds within thresholds revealed imaginary compartments in the mind and memory of the participant, into which the landscape was divided.



(Source: Author's own graphic)

Question (f): "Is it important to you to be able to spend time outdoors/in nature alone?

This question is perhaps one of the three most important questions in the study, and central to achieving the aims of the study. Placed as it is directly after a full account is given of the participant's engagement with the study area (and often various other stories and explanations of their lifestyles), the participant must now do two things in order to answer this earliest value-based question.

The first is to understand the question – and this would necessitate an understanding of the term 'nature' (the word 'outdoors' was included – perhaps unnecessarily - to indicate that I was talking about the realm of the seen world, not necessarily the contemplative or spiritual realm) and the term 'alone'. When asking the questions aloud, and when asked to elaborate, I would often add "…do you actively seek out opportunities to be on your own in a natural setting, a landscape, a mountain… outdoors?" In their answers, many participants then went on to qualify (some implicitly, some explicitly) what they understood by the term 'nature'. Some would describe different degrees of "natural setting" in order to make a statement about whether or not they considered it appropriate to include the Study Area (or parts of it) as nature-with-a-capital-N. Some, I imagine, would assume that I described the Study area as 'Nature', or did so themselves and related their opinion immediately without much qualification. Some people did not refer to the study area at all, either responding in relation to their understanding of natural spaces or landscapes in general, while others would assign importance to the activity, but described other places as 'nature' because of any one of a number of conditions, perceptions or experiences that made them hesitant to be alone within the study area.

The term 'alone' only seemed to be a problem for those who valued being alone in 'nature', but felt that they could not or would not be able to be alone within the study area. These people would ask questions like "Would it count as 'alone' if I were with a group of people, but just walked off out of sight for a while to be on my own?", or "Does alone mean I might have a dog with me but not a person, or do you mean, like, alone-alone?". Others would include conditions to the status of 'alone-ness' by volunteering information about the inclusion or exclusion of the presence of valuables on their person, or in which parts of the Study Area these and other conditions (such as time of day) applied.

The second thing that the participant needed to do was to give a value-based opinion in reference to their interaction with the study area. This would require them to either use an example from the stories they had just recounted to illustrate how important "being alone" in their definition of 'nature' is to them, or explain why they did not or would not visit the Study Area on their own. This would often reveal their (often unrecognised or unacknowledged, but sometimes known and identified) privileges as these relate to their ability to access the Study area, move freely within it, engage in certain activities, or – the most important point for this study – occupy space within the Study Area alone, whether it was important to them or not.

Almost without fail, participants who were either women or born and socialised as 'female' would answer the question, and then frame it within their fear of or experiences in rape culture. Most often, the stories that followed this question would describe how almost every single choice that women or AFAB individuals made about their movements in public open space (including the city streets) would be governed by the fear for personal safety. Many of the participants related almost word for word the benefits listed in Christopher Long's essay 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone' (Long & Averill, 2003), as the reasons that they valued the ability to be alone in whatever they defined as 'nature' or 'the outdoors' or a 'natural setting'. Some of the answers are recorded below:



Yes, definitely. Haha, it's the 'poor man's therapy'! I love being alone in nature; it's something I need desperately on a regular basis and I find it has meditative quality. It's the closest thing to prayer for me.



To be honest, there is an alluring thing about being alone in nature. But, I have a different idea of it… like, "not in Cape Town". I have like, a "far-far away from everything" sort of, feeling that I want with Nature. For me, this isn't Nature-enough. And the fact that – it sort-of... it becomes an exhibition. Sort of, "things you have to do". So, (people say) "oh, have you climbed up this one… have you gone up there?" It almost then removes it from being what I think is Nature. When I think of these areas, I imagine them as group-things. You go there to socialise with friends while you're doing an activity "out in nature". When I go home to the Eastern Cape, I will literally just walk, for distances. And then it's quiet, and there's nothing. And you just like, lay there, and not get any

interruptions, or any sounds or anything… it's literally just to do nothing. Where, that's where I feel, this side, is that you can't just go up there. You have to DO something.



I feel like going up into these spaces isn't just about being there. It's about "being your best self", "being your most active self"… doing your walk, your run. And then there's obviously the obligatory sunrise-ocean pic/selfie on top of the mountain doing your "yay!" moment. This place is mostly just Social media fodder. (But if all that somehow wasn't associated?) While that (hiking) is perfectly pleasant… I don't really experience it as a release. I'm more of a… I'll go to the beach or to wide open spaces. I enjoy that… really sitting taking in the views. I don't really find these 'nature' walks and runs therapeutic.



My alone-time in nature is essential. I just don't want to be in a position where my right to be where I want to be is spoilt by fear. You know? It's a contradiction though, I'm not scared of dying, but I don't want to be hurt.

I need to spend time in nature alone, because it is… ah… it is - this sounds very strange – but it is basically the only connection where you have a pure spiritual connection with deity, with divinity… in a way that is not cluttered by interactions or people, or relationships or whatever. It's the only place you can escape the things that interfere with just being the original person within creation. But I also love spending time in nature with - preferably - one other person. In an undisturbed place to interact meaningfully with that person, but also to share the appreciation of the experience of observing all those beautiful aspects of being outside… from geology, to botany… and the impact and effect that it has on one.



Yes! Yes. I want to be able to go alone outside, especially outside wherever I want to. I don't want to have to think twice about… I'm going there, but I need to make sure this happens… or that happens…



I enjoy going cycling on my own. Taking my bike up… just from home, taking my bike up and going to ride on the trails just below Tafelberg road. Ja, I mean, I don't use it to meditate or anything, or think about anything. It's basically clearing my head – not having any other stimuli, like, from music or anything. Just getting out there where you dion't hear the buzz of the city as much anymore.



I think I like the idea of that, and I think that, like, I would find it more important if a lot of that wasn't governed by fears around safety and that kind of thing. So I do very little… you know, even just going for a walk around my neighbourhood by myself – let alone going up onto the mountain… So if I go to parts outside of Cape Town, like, if I'm in the Cedarberg and stuff, I'm very happy to just, you know, sit there and be by myself in silence… and observe that. But I don't really do that in Cape Town. Ja, I definitely think that.. you know, not just in relation to this space, but all my movement around the city is governed by a fear of personal safety.



I go up Table Mountain and Signal Hill regularly at night alone. But I go with the motorbike, not on foot. Oh, I don't mind. I go because I want the silence. I don't want cellphone interference, I don't want people asking me stuff, I don't want people demanding stuff of me. I just want a complete break. It's like "leave me alone". And I find it there. (…where?) Um, from the end of Tafelberg road… where its barricaded off. I go either very early in the morning,(or) late in the evening once it's dark. I spend a lot of time there actually, when it's dark, on the Tafellberg road.



I get that feeling quite often! But I never go. There's a lot that prevents me from doing that... it makes me feel sad. Very sad, actually. As a woman, I feel like I have a right to be alone. But I feel that red sticker everywhere. It's a constant feeling... it's such bullshit!



No, to me its different. I don't want to climb on my own, I like climbing with people. Mostly for safety reasons but also because I just don't like climbing on my own. I like being with other people. I don't need to be on a mountain alone.

Questions (g.), (h.) and (j.): These questions described a low level of fear: discomfort or vague anxiety regarding a risk to one's personal safety, and the perceptions held about the possible activities one could engage in. This also revealed a range of perceptions regarding issues of access.

Participants were asked to mark the map with red stickers and/or pencil, places and spaces (including those where they had been themselves, as well as those that they wanted to visit, or had heard of, or had not yet been) where they experienced the low level of fear described above. If the participant needed further prompting, I would add the following condition to the question: "Mark where you would consider it a risk to your safety to visit, pass through or linger in if you were alone during the day (9am – 5pm)." There were generally three different kinds of responses to this question.

The first was to mark spaces off without further ado – the Vredehoek Quarry was an often-marked 'risky' area, for instance. These participants would mention factors within their control while deliberating, such as how their response to the question would change if they were carrying valuables or whether or not they had a car nearby. They would also mention places that they knew of as 'mugging hotspots' or 'where criminal elements hang around' as places that they would avoid – marking these as potentially places where they would feel uneasy. One participant quipped "I'm actually perhaps more afraid of the zombie apocalypse than getting hurt on a run". This kind of finding is concurrent with the studies of Gill Valentine (The Geography of Women's Fear, 1989) and Jocelyn A. Hollander (Fear Journals: A Strategy for Teaching about the Social Consequences of Gendered Violence, 2000).

These studies all indicate that the fear experienced by men (although real and legitimate, of course) was not comparable to the experiences recorded by women in severity and consistency; nor did they record the same fears – men generally did not fear incidents related to violence and sexual violence (the results of these studies would certainly have come out differently had they been held in South Africa), and would also record fears of other (fear of failing, being involved in a car accident), and sometimes far-fetched kinds (case in point: the possibility of a zombie apocalypse). Often these participants would also use variations on the phrase "I wouldn't be stupid/careless enough to…" or "It would just be asking for trouble to…" to explain how they came to these decisions on where to mark their maps, citing a range of preventative actions that were generally in their control to take. Most of these participants would refer to the possibility of sustaining injuries in an isolated place or being accosted by thieves or homeless people. It is no co-incidence that all the examples below were offered by able-bodied white men.

Gender disparity in expressing fear

I will re-iterate here, that this study recognises, above all else, the effects that a cisheteronormative patriarchal society has on people, regardless of gender, but also because of their gender. It is highly unlikely that there will be no disparity in the participant's reporting of fear for personal safety because of the deeply internalised expectations associated with gender roles and norms that operate within the binary conceptions of femininity and masculinity. Socialisation processes actively "…encourage girls to be emotionally expressive, gender expectations allow greater acceptance of women's expressions of emotions" (Harth, 2017), and in that sense, this research also reflects gender-role expectations, in finding that men report lower levels of fear for their personal safety. While it was not my experience that the men I interviewed (which, unfortunately did not include any AMAB individuals identifying as genderqueer, non-binary or transgender – or locating themselves anywhere on the LGBTQ spectrum) were more "…reluctant to disclose intimate feelings and are less emotionally expressive, with the exception of anger" (Snedker, 2006), I recognise that the expression of fear is constructed as being inconsistent with masculinity (Mbisi, 2009). Considering that it is less socially acceptable for men to express fear, I would like to recognise the sincerity of the responses provided by male participants in sharing their fears with me.

"…although men's fear of crime is under-estimated, women (do) not exaggerate theirs…"
Sutton & Farrall in (Snedker, 2006)

Closer to home for me, is the acknowledgement of the participants who are themselves victims and survivors of sexual violence, rape or gender-based assault. It is not okay, and I see you. Thank you for talking to me about your experiences and your fear. We will do better. Those of you who have made machines of yourselves in order to navigate this society's objectification and dehumanisation – we will do better. For those of you who are forced to limit yourselves daily in unimaginably many ways – we will do better.

I will make them see. #MeToo

Some of the responses:



It is. I don't generally go hiking on my own, but sometimes… ja… (when I am alone on my bicycle) people have a lot of friendly interaction up there, there's not a lot of judgement or negativity in interactions between people.



When I go running I've got very little on me… and they can take whatever… I've got my phone sometimes. And maybe my car keys… but I'm not overly concerned. If I am worried, I'll pick up a rock. Just to be able to throw something at someone.



Mugging. Because generally the runners all have got a bloody iPod and R2000 sunglasses and R2000 shoes. So they're… you know, and they're running with headphones, so they're easy targets. But the people that are getting mugged on Devil's peak – it's cyclists. They're just being hit across the chest with a branch, and then they just take your bicycle. Minor stuff. Sunglasses and cellphones.

(on the Tafelberg road) …you encounter cyclists and runners and stuff, and dog walkers, but they're super chilled… because they're there for the same reason… so they don't even say hello, they just, you know,' knik' their head. The Tafelberg road somehow feels safe (even) at night, whereas the Signal Hill road doesn't. Like, I have no problems sitting on the edge of Tafelberg road, with my feet dangling off the edge. I don't feel threatened at all. But doing the same thing on the Signal Hill road, I don't feel comfortable. And when I WAS running, towards the end – I was running with mace.

The second common response was for participants to begin describing spatial conditions or examples of places where they generally felt vaguely to moderately fearful, anxious or uncomfortable in out-of-doors spaces. These included densely treed areas (plantations or dense shrubbery), places that were out of earshot of other humans, anywhere that was out of sight or had only one entrance (like the Higgovale quarry), anywhere that one might encounter other people who might 'reasonably' be believed to mean one harm (and sometimes just encountering another person was described as a potentially stressful situation, whether that person intended to harass one or not was not given as a reason) etc. These areas were usually marked by stickers placed at regular intervals to denote boundaries and extents along lines; numerous stickers placed overlapping each other to indicate differing intensities of discomfort, fear or anxiety; or coloured-in areas that delimited whole parts of the study area that it was considered risky to be alone in during the day. One participant, a cisgendered heterosexual African man, related how he felt uncomfortable not only for himself on one occasion, but (as I understand it) because of the visual association between him and the group of men approaching.



I can imagine feeling at risk alone under certain circumstances; I've been up there a lot on my own to think. But it never stopped me from going.



I was with my friend in Deer Park and there was this security guard or ranger or whatever. He wasn't even threatening, but I was very aware of this person's presence... like a stone in my consciousness. I thought of myself, of my body as a liability. I'm rapeable. It's not just that it can happen, but that everyone else knows it too.



I just know one can get into big trouble, you know? Because you have no knowledge of or information on people who live outside of society – outside of normal society – one obviously is suspicious. Because you have no reference frame of assessing people, you have no way of interpreting their body language. Because everything in their body language is in reference frame that you've labelled 'possible risks' in terms of more conventional behaviour and detail. Like clothing, like self-care, like working… having a job. So I don't think it's unreasonable to have a heightened immediate feeling of: "here might be danger". If you come across people like that.



There was a sense of discomfort when I was at Deer Park. And it was when I saw- specifically, these were black males – looking at someone like that. Like they deserved to look. And then, my perception was that then, I'd just never be able to just go by myself. Because of what other people like me have… they were being very dodgy.

The third kind of response was – either immediately, or after having stuck a number of stickers or marked various places off the map – to exclaim that there is almost nowhere that they would go on their own in the study area during the day. Some of the phrases and explanations offered by this group are listed below:



I can imagine feeling at risk in almost any of these places… it would be so much stress. The isolation… it just, for me, isn't associated with relaxation at all.



I would never hike alone. But if I feel unsafe… my theory is always is that you just need that split-second to get away. I used to carry a tazer, and now (when I ride in the Noordhoek wetlands) so I always carry riding crop.

I can't even imagine getting myself into that situation – I would just avoid it way before then (being alone having to use a strategy to feel safe). If I was gonna do any, like, recreational hiking, it would be a planned thing where I went with a group of people, someone would have to know where we were going… and we wouldn't go….we would go up Lion's head or something where we know there would be other people… that kind of thing.



I guess, the fear is dominant… and having internalised this thing that you're responsible for keeping yourself safe from… and I say this as someone who has been a victim of sexual violence, in a situation where there was … little I could have done to protect myself. But, you still internalise this thing that… "oh, you know… I shouldn't have gone there, I shouldn't have done this." Previous partners of mine - who were men - I think find it quite easy to override that sense of fear. Even just walking around in the city, I'd be like "I'm not walking there!", and they'd be like "Oh… but… you know, we'll be fine."



*As I got older, I was permanently assaulted. As insane as it sounds. It's almost like my breasts gave men permission to touch me. Especially the walkers, and people hanging around the stations… they would touch - my boobs. That's why I will never take the train again – in my life. I fucking hate it. But especially coloured men, not so much white or black. When I would be walking by, I was walking past them – they would go "Hey! Lekker ding!" and *grab*. It would only really happen to girls with big breasts, and I think there's a perception in men that girls with big breasts are horny. It's insane. Like, I've actually had two of my younger boyfriends tell me that… like, "isn't it true that girls with big boobs…?", and I'm like "No?! fuck… is this what you guys tell yourselves to… so it's okay to think whatever you're thinking about us?". So you end up wearing polo necks – you end up doing that (demonstrates a posture with elbows tucked into sides and arms drawn together over her chest) … and you end up not taking the train. And I'm going to say something very contentious now – I'm just realising now that I go to the majority of places I do, because I feel safe there. An half the reason that I feel safe there is because it's predominantly white people.*

The map below is a spatial representation of the responses given to this question. It was created by overlaying every map (disaggregated by biological sex) to collate the combined landscapes of fear felt by this most coarse division of gender categories. The resultant graphic has been inverted along the centre line to contrast the information: on the left, the responses recorded by women and AFAB individuals are dark and that recorded by men and AMAB individuals is light. On the right, the light extents record the women's responses (and AFAB), in contrast to the dark points that mark the comparatively few places that men (and AMAB) recalled having felt the discomfort associated with fear.



(Source: Author's own graphic)

Questions (i.), (o.) and (q.): These questions were more illustrative that anything else, dealing with people's opinions regarding fences and access: "Do fences make you feel safer?", "Would you fence any parts of the Study area if you could?", "How would you respond if you heard that the City of Cape Town or the SAN Parks were planning to fence the mountain off from the edge of the city?"

While there were a variety of responses, most participants did not feel safer in the presence of a fence in large public open space s and landscapes like the study area. The discussion would usually then turn to access control or how a fence would limit or not limit free access to the mountain; or whether or not a fence would discourage people with 'criminal' intent from 'taking chances'.



In principle, I think it is a very common sense thing to do, if the goal is to utilize this – and have it (the study area) as a place where people can really do their recreation safely, and it gets actually marketed as a 'safe' place to connect with natural recreational activities…. I do think I'd feel safer then… but then on the other hand, what does a fence help if you're trying to keep out people? It's really not such an effective thing…



Fences are really not effective. No fences. Maybe hip-high hedges…?



That would frustrate me terribly, because I think that's how one… I don't know… because it's so accessible at the moment! It's amazing to me that you can still climb all these mountains for free! I would weigh up the pros and cons. I think if someone is going to want to take something or get in there to rob someone they're going to get in there whether there's a fence or not. But fencing it up for all the people that are using it as an exercise space or… whatever… or a gap into nature… I think that's just… no. I don't think one can do that.



Restricting access by using money… to me, it's highly unacceptable. I think that… a lot of what's beautiful about the mountain is equal access… like, anyone who wants to enjoy it can.



Oh, in terms of safety, I think it might be a bit safer… it just might be harder for people… people that have, like, criminal intentions, to get in and also get out if they do act on it. Because they can't just get out of the area very quickly. So I think, in that sense, if they do fence it up and charge I think it will be better… but, I mean, it does take something away. You almost – as someone who lives in Cape Town – you feel that you should have the right to just go up the mountain.



Fences really just reinforce at least psychologically, some of the foundations around which crime occurs. So, ides around exclusion… ideas around privilege.

Question (q.) wanted to know if participant had ever, or could imagine feeling like they were not supposed to access the site from any particular points, were trespassing when they occupied any spaces on the site.

This question was included to see if there were any places – particularly the interface of the Study area with the urban fabric – that participants experienced as exclusive or off-limits by intangible or intangible boundaries. This question gives commentary on how accessible the Study area is as a public open space , not by measure of physical access so much as cultural, racial and socially-governed feelings about who has the right to access and enjoy the resource for whatever purposes. Responses to this question did not seem to follow patterns discernible to me in terms of gender - answers in the positive and the negative were relatively evenly balanced and did not adhere to aggregations in the demographic data that this study recorded. It might be noted that the answers were (not entirely), but for the most part, split along racial lines, as demonstrated below. Some responses include:

For those who answered "no"



"I'm a girl and I have a good 'innocent-face' for getting out of trouble."

"I never feel like I'm trespassing even if I am."

"I really see all of this as public space..."

"No, I'd only feel uncomfortable walking through private property... not past it."

"Signal hill to Rhodes? Nah, I never feel like I'm trespassing."

For those who answered "yes"



(…of the Oranjezicht properties bordering on the study area)"I would feel like I'm perhaps encroaching on their space... which sounds silly because it's not their space..."

"... yeah, it would feel like I was trespassing in an animal reserve."

"No, I don't feel like I'm trespassing anywhere there... except maybe, like this here (Bo-Kaap), it's got its own community, and when you walk around – as soon as you're a stranger there, you feel all the eyes are on you. You stick out as a stranger there … culturally uncomfortable."

"Hmm... trespassing? Ja, you know, the wealthy who own their property are even possessive of their streets and pavements..."

"When I see these signs of 'private property' everywhere... there's a sense of entitlement to the mountain."

Questions (k.) and (n.): These questions asked participants to account for two things. Firstly, the strategies they use to keep themselves safe, or reassure themselves of their own safety in public open space . Because many people respond to this question with "I don't go alone"; the second thing required of them is to define what they mean by a 'group'.

This question's answers have been divided by the gender presentation of the participants to illustrate the contrast in responses between women/female/female-presenting and men/male/male-presenting individuals:

	Women/female/female-presenting		***Men/male/male-presenting***
♀	*I'd feel more comfortable with my boyfriend, or friends with me... but I still feel uneasy. A group? A group is twice as many people as there are approaching us!*	♂	*Most of the time if I feel at risk, I just don't make eye contact and I keep on walking.*
♀	*A group is three or more. Ja, no it doesn't matter (what gender). One to stay with the injured person, one to go for help.*	♂	*Defence? Run faster! Haha... also, I carry very little with me - let alone items of value.*
♀	*Safer? I'd feel safer with self-defence knowledge and skills. I've carried mace but it scares me. What else? If there were no strange men in sight?!? Haha... ja... my body isn't a safe place to be in, in public.*	♂	*I'd carry a weapon, but not a lethal one. Just, like-um... a stick. A group is a group. I grew up with strong women, so male/female wouldn't matter to me.*
♀	*A group is more than 5 people. Ideally, 2 guys and 3 girls. If it's less than 5 but there's a male? ... I'd consider that a group, ja.*	♂	*A strategy I use is my "walk". Haha, you know what I mean. I change my body language... like, more confident and aggressive.*
♀	*My safety strategy? Haha, white people! ... is that racist? There's safety in numbers, but even more if they're white.*	♂	*I'm not overly concerned. I feel like I could outrun anyone who came at me.*

Other strategies were mentioned that did not involve weapons or other people. One participant described at length the exact same strategy that I employ personally in public open space – to great effect, but at a cost. Another recounted how her strategies had at first served her well, but she no longer allowed herself to get into situations where she would need to use them. A third participant explains how they have made a conscious decision to change their response to the ever-present fear.

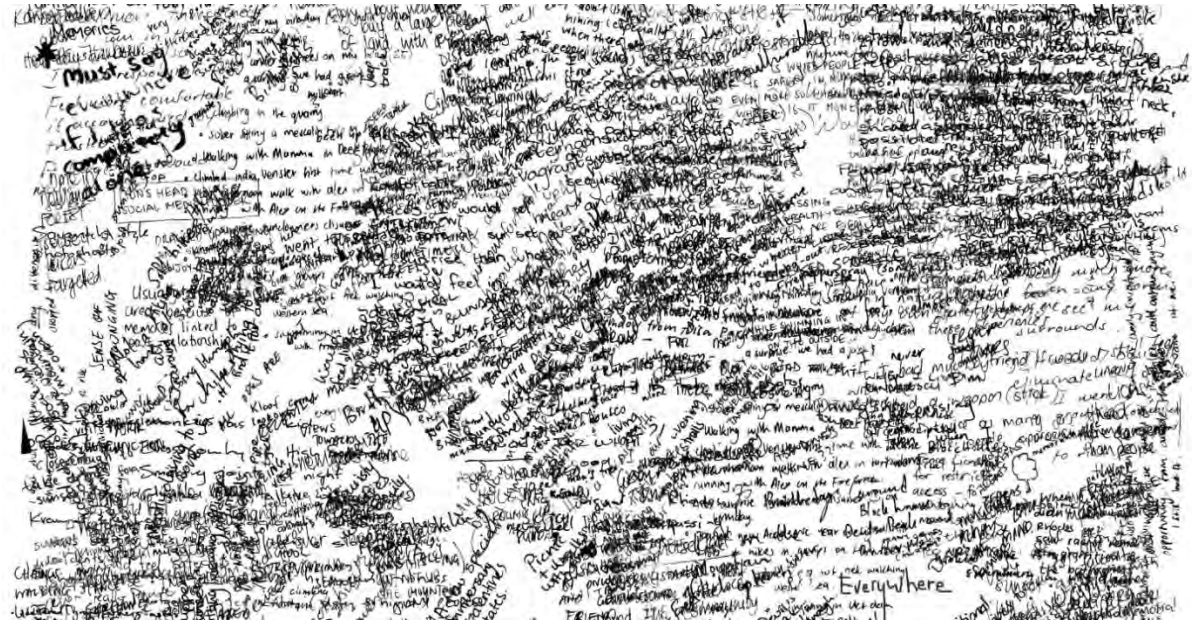
♂ *(In public open space) I tend to walk slightly more aggressive… people woulf call it confident? But, for me, it's not confidence… It's taller and I'm stomping. I change my stance, make myself come across as slightly threatening. Making sure that you can't just approach me… When I'm in comfortable spaces I'll relax… I'll change the way I walk. I won't be pacing. (Are you aware of people who are not a threat to you responding to your presence?) Ja, I definitely have an awareness of it… cause that's when I… I'm always constantly looking, and aware of my surroundings. So I change my behaviour. On anything… like, if I see, "just female.." my stature would change. I can imagine it must be scary to see someone coming across at you, looking super aggressive. I'm aware of the effect that I have. I mean, that's the intention of 'the walk' – is to drive off anyone who might be scary.*

(Is this strategy effective? Do you have an example of a time you were aware that it was working for you?)

♂ *Ja, like… literally last week! So, I was going back home. From across the road I could see this guy just slowing down his pace… Of course, then my heightened sense of walking was there… and I could also see that he also picked it up. So then I stood, from across the road, and I asked him what was happening. He asked if I live round here, and I said yes, but what do you want? He asked me for something, like spare clothes or something and I just said "no, I'm sorry." And then I just stood there. And I asked him are you going to leave? And then he started walking off – and I could see he had a knife that he was trying to hide from where it had been behind his back. And I watched him change his direction, coming back, and start following the white guy behind me. So I then, made a point of going out to the stairs to let him see that I was watching him. It works, but it's not the greatest strategy. I listen to music on my headphones to psych myself up.*

I just remove myself from potentially bad situations. As a kid, I lived in Goodwood, had to walk 20 minutes to the train station to take THAT trainline – you know the one I'm talking about, it's a bit of a disaster, the Prow one. Um, and interestingly enough... I took the train for 6 years and I never had an incident. But my friends would say that I always had this hectic look on my face. Like I would be giving off this "fuck you" vibe. Other friends of mine would take the Southern line (generally thought of as a 'safer' line), and they couldn't understand why people would always fuck with them. Like, they constantly got people talking to them, asking them for things, not leaving them alone… talking to them like "girly, girly, girly…" And I had none of that. And I think it's because… from having started as a kid taking the train from Mitchells plain, I already adopted whatever my mom's attitude was. Because we took the train when we were five or six… and I learnt from her how to not give eye contact – to show, "I see you but I'm not looking at you, I'm not engaging, I'm not interested, DON'T EVEN BOTHER." Now, when I'm older, I literally just avoid any of those situations. And I know it's probably sheltering me from experiencing life and other things. Like, we've been talking about going to visit (my partner's) old house, where his mom lives. Because there's this shebeen right next door that he always talks about it, so we want to go see it. But truth be told, the fear in me will never let me go there. Ever. I'm not going to go to the township. Because, again, I feel like why would I put myself into the situation where something might happen to me? So I just don't do it.

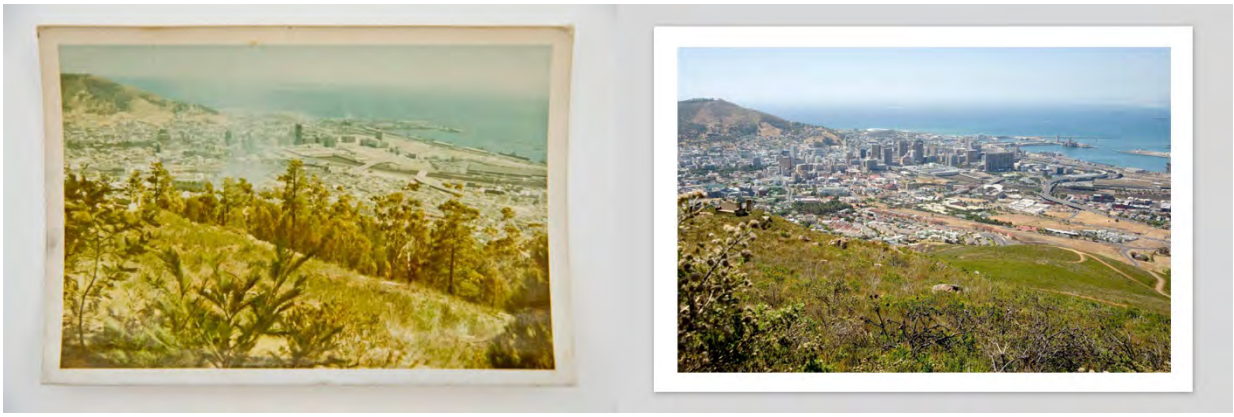
Well, (my wife) knows this and it's probably why she's afraid for me, I've made a conscious decision not to be fearful of these things. Because, I feel like I'm not going to let fear drive my life. So, like, I walk in the middle of the night in the city and I'm just like "fuck fear", and I just do it anyway.



(Source: Author's own graphic showing palimpsest from interview maps)

Question (r.): "Do any of these places hold significance for you/ are there any stories you can share of a positive or negative nature about any of these places?"

Participants responded to this question with a variety of answers. One couple had gotten engaged on Signal hill, another recounted the many anniversaries they had shared in Deer Park. One participant told me a story in which he trekked up the slopes of Devil's Peak in search of the exact spot where his father (grandfather?) had taken a photo of the city below in 1970, only to find that the photograph was in fact taken from an easily accessible lookout point just off Tafelberg road.



Source: (Emil Bachmann, 1970), and (Anonymous, 2017)

One participant waxed lyrical on how important their regular solo runs cris-crossing the Study area had become to them, another shared the story of the first time their family went up Table Mountain together after any years of living in the city, while another recounted the impression that the sight of Table mountain left on their memory the first time they landed at Cape Town International airport. The same participant took to the mountain a short time later, only to underestimate the mission entirely and be retrieved by the Mountain rescue service helicopter at nightfall. One participant described the mountain as a much-needed way-finding mechanism when he was still unfamiliar with the city, another said it was the first place they had a positive experience with a dog:

♂ *Growing up, I was told by my mom that I was never going to get a dog – because, dogs are weapons. And, everyone who has a dog in the township is for that reason – it barks at night, and alerts you to the wrong things that are happening. It's not a friend… like, it's not a pet. And then, I go to Deer Park… and people are like, walking their dogs… and it's all fun… and they're off their leashes! And you tense up… and then a dog just came up to me, was like, "Howzit." And then left. Hah! That dog thought, "there's somebody here that needs their perception changed."*

Participants also related stories of negative experiences in the Study area, including sexual harassment and muggings. Others told me about high school friends or acquaintances who had died on the mountain, or hiking in the forests.

♀ *(Going to school in the city bowl), what happened a lot to us as a group of girls – walking from school to town to get to your bas, or walking from school to your friends' house that lived in town… we got flashed on a regular basis. Yes, like, literally, flashed (imitates coat-opening gesture).*

(By whom?)

By random guys walking the streets of Cape Town! And I thought… by that point I thought it was normal. I thought every single girl between the ages of ten and twelve got flashed on a regular basis because that's what we were experiencing. And it got to the point where once we were walking down... chatting on the sidewalk, and we heard a wolf-whistle. And we turned around and this guy flashed us. And we just turned around, we just looked at him, and turned back "… so, anyway, what are you doing this weekend?" We just carried on with our conversation as if nothing just happened. We were just completely acclimatised to this flashing thing. And it was only later on in life, chatting to friends, saying "You know when you were young, and you got flashed all the time…?" and people go… "No? No." It was just completely normalised for me. It was just another Tuesday, you know? Now I'm older, I know it's actually unusual, I would put a red sticker there, I'd be afraid of it happening again. Because I know it's not okay. When I was a kid – I'd just say "Ah, people just get flashed there." I'd draw a red line along this whole part.

Questions (l.), (m.) and (p.): These three questions described the higher levels of fear, asking participants to mark places and spaces on the map that they would consider it a serious risk to their safety to occupy space in.

The participants were first asked to mark places that they would not visit either alone or in a group at sunrise or sunset (some participants indicated that sunset represented a greater threat to their sense of safety that did sunrise, while others considered dusk and dawn to be more dangerous times of the day to be out and about in the study area than night time. The level of fear that this question identifies is a moderate to severe experience of

physical symptoms associated with stress in response to serious fear for one's safety such as perspiration, fright, panic, shaking, inability to function and extreme anxiety. The participants were then asked to test if they would mark any additional places where they would expect to feel seriously at risk either alone or in a group during the hours of darkness. It also asked participants to identify spaces and places or situations of which they would place in the realm of irrational fear, or apprehension that is hard to motivate in rational terms.



Sunrise is better. At sunrise the skelms are still sleeping. I'm an early riser.



Safety-wise, I don't feel unsafe in Cape Town. I feel like I'm very different to a lot of the people here. I mean, I stay in town, I walk everywhere… so. Also, I think because of my gender, I also have privilege of being safe in Cape Town.



No, I don't think it changes anything for me. It just makes it… it's at a time of the day that you're still visually impaired to some extent, but there's enough light for people to actually be able to go around, and see you coming along, take chances… especially if they are more familiar with the terrain than you are. I would even go as far as saying I would feel less safe going there at sunset and sunrise , as I would in the pitch dark.

The intention of this suite of questions was to begin with a scenario that many people do not find particularly threatening and is a popular activity on Signal Hill and Devil's peak – going to watch the sunset. While highly frequented places like the cable car stations and these popular sunset spots are emblazoned in the minds of Capetonians as a normal and relatively safe places, they are also the sites of some of the most violent or and tragic incidents. While this might be attributed to the huge amounts of people who frequent these spaces on an annual basis, there is much to be said for the fear of the unknown. Most people would mark places that they were familiar with but would not venture into unaccompanied at dusk, dawn or night first. They would then consider areas rather than points to answer the question of whether they would brave these same or other spaces in a group. While it is impossible to gauge the levels of fear felt by individuals in comparison to one another, it is possible to describe experiences and perceptions. . If public opinion is to be believed, nowhere within the study area is a safe place:

> *"On the slopes of Table Mountain, Devil's Peak and Signal Hill … killers, thieves and rapists lurk. Anyone venturing into these places except in a large party, preferably armed, is risking assault, robbery and death." (Kinney, 2014)*

All but a few participants indicated that there were places in the study area that they would willingly visit alone at night. Lastly, participants would refer to places that either carried the mental and emotive mark of violence or trauma, related to the by acquaintances or news reports. Examples of these were the wooded areas around UCT campus where a serial rapist attacked and raped a number of female students, and a spot on signal hill where a woman had been raped and left for dead. The flight paramedic was understandably highly sensitive to the scope of real danger associated with being a user of public open space on the slopes of Table Mountain. Some of the responses to these three questions:



Along the lower slopes of the mountain, I've been to a lot of trauma cases where people have been attacked. Have been stabbed for their cell-phones, and they don't even have anything on them. I have been to quite a few murders on the mountain – we get called out to remove the bodies. Very unsafe area, very bad area… Opportunistic crime. And there are a lot more people who live on the mountain than people realise, like a LOT. Just on the other side of the signal hill quarry, just under where the road turns right is a very large informal settlement, 100% marginalized in terms of service delivery. The houses fall apart and people move into the informal settlement. No access roads, nothing. Violent crime and poverty. People live in holes in this area, and near District 6.



Anywhere I feel 'real' fear, I end up just being more aware of who's around me. The fear is mostly due to media coverage of incidents I've heard of.



If I were on foot anywhere under Tafelberg road alone I'd be quite afraid. (…why?) Because of…. delinquent elements in the landscape. You're a target. And the quarry – that's just easy access to the mountain's hiding places or city's anonymity.



There's a lot of talk around "those" or "these" places being dangerous. I men, we all know they're dangerous. But there's just not the same public response. I mean, as soon as a white person is attacked on the mountain, there's a different… It's about entitlement to safety, it's about privilege, it's about …ideas about where should be safe. And we don't really care so much in our society if the low income communities aren't safe, right? But we do care about if the mountain is a "safe place"… because then we can't all go for walks on a Sunday… you know?



Nyanga has the highest rate of femicide in the whole country. If we want to talk about… where we want to focus… safety? This isn't it.

This map carries the heaviest emotional load; it is the acknowledgement of both the real and the incredibly pervasive socialisation of fearfulness in the perceptions of people as they relate to interstitial spaces like the Study area. Many factors contribute to how this public open space is perceived in terms of safety, access and activity. But it is clear from the responses recorded in this study, that South African public open space is not a walk in the park. It will continue to pose a threat not only to individual lives, but to our society as a whole unless gender equality is brought to the fore in the planning and design of the built environment, which happens to include the public open space of which the study area is comprised.

This map might as well have been of any place, of any space or suburb – South African women and gender minorities will recognise their vulnerability to violence within those spaces. Some will respond by limiting or designing their lifestyles around the avoidance of 'risky' situations, while others do not have that luxury. Others still, will occupy spaces and places despite their fear, to protest their oppression.

(Source: Author's own graphic)



"When artists work well, they connect people to themselves, and they stitch people to one another, through this shared experience of discovering a connection that wasn't visible before."
(Palmer, The Art of Asking, 2014, p. 17)

This study really began when I was seated in a dry riverbed in the Tankwa Karoo in July of this year, when I realised that I could do without many things, but I could not do without solitude in nature. For me, nature is not somewhere I go. It is not wilderness or wide open space, although I love landscapes like that. Nature is as much on the mountainside as it is in my own head. I want to be unaccompanied by the patriarchy in my meditations, my thoughts and my actions, wherever I am. I value being alone outdoors, in landscapes and public open space so highly that I have spent years of my life alone indoors studying how to make it possible for others to feel that they belong alone outdoors. Landscape architects, according to the Landscape Institute (LI, 2017), "…achieves an agenda through form-making of art and science." And we do not approach anything without an agenda – whether that agenda is conscious or unconscious, obvious or obscure, as a result of our perpetually changing ideologies, or as a perpetuation of the normtive positions received from our education. Solnit observed that while every designed landscape "expresses its maker's imagination, the best measure of its success is how it invites, inspires, and liberates the imagination of its visitors. Writers, poets, musicians, philosophers, and physicists work out their ideas while walking, so making places to walk is making places to dream, imagine, and create." (Prentice, 2002). Solnit, and every other feminist in the built environment professions, believes that every single person "…deserves equal access to this basic right and pleasure".

"Gender matters… (we all) experience the world differently."
(Adichie, 2012)

But if gender is invisible in my profession, how do we begin to address the inequalities that our planning environment perpetuates? Naturally, I first read everything I could get my hands on. Gender theory itself draws on many associted fields of study, all of which provide "…useful tools and models for critiquing architectural culture—design, theory and history", according to Jane Rendell (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999). Recent architectural theorists have recognised that architectural artefacts – which include landscape architectural spaces and places, 'live' long after the moments of their conception, design, construction, close-out and as-builts. Rendall and her colleagues argue that this life (the experience, perception, use, appropriation and occupation) of architecture must include firstly, the "temporal" activity of the user, that "fundamentally alters the meaning of architecture"; and secondly, the recognition that the architecture is reproduced socially and culturally.

(there is a) "…reconceptualisation of architectural production, such that different activities reproduce different architectures over time and space. By recognising that architecture is constituted through its occupation, and that experiential aspects of the occupation of architecture are important in the construction of identity, such work intersects with feminist concerns with aspects of 'the personal', the subject and subjectivity" (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999).

What this study is ultimately trying to achieve, is to bring this reality to light – that activities are gendered within our society, as are certain spaces and who has access to them, and why. These conditions are shaped by dominant norms and expectations that relate to gender. In addition – every human inhabits a world all their own, entirely unique in its identity, experience and perception. Because of this, and our socialisation, we have as many different kinds of experiences in landscapes as there are people experiencing them. Our realities inform our perceptions about how we use, how we access and how we feel in public open space. Concepts like gender, sexuality, nature, culture, light, dark, good, bad… these are reproduced as categories that are uniform, opposite to another uniform entity, and relatively inert. That's just the way it's always been. Fear is one such concept – its opposite is safety. But, as Eva Änggård (2011) suggests, these concepts and their spatial consequences (Harth, 2017) are "…situated, temporary and flexible discursive constellations." I have aimed to destabilise gender-stereotyped expectations within this study, as Änggård warns against. Like Rebecca Solnit, I can imagive a landscape architecture that creates both the practice and products "…in which we can roam the streets at mid- night, in which every square is available for a Virginia Woolf to make up her novels" (Prentice, 2002).

The first chapters of this paper have drawn on Karen Barad's notion of 'intra-action' that also attempt to effect a separation between the "subject" and the "object." (Nature's Queer Performativity, 2011). The hope, then, is that

if one (while drawing on intersectional, gender, feminist, queer etc. theory), defines every concept in relation to another as intra-active components in a system, that the reader will also begin to see the reciprocity between public open space as product and public open space as agent. The interview process and the study that supports it therefore aims to interrogate and account for the differentially constituted natural and social forces intra-acting upon the study area. The interviews are forms of site-reading described by Elizabeth K. Meyer (Site Citations: The Grounds of Modern Landscape , 2004) as interpretations of landscape that are empirical and situated; "…drawn from first hand experience and from a specific site's social and ecological histories."

> *"… before attempting the difficult task of broaching the macro level, addressing issues of gender and sexual inequality at the micro level may gradually lead to an increasing cultural acceptance in planning and implementation. Once these sites become commonplace and the public, presumably, positively responds to them by acknowledging their value, then the task of broaching the macro level becomes persuadable, manageable and less susceptible to oscillating politics."*
> *(Maicantis, 2016)*

I have established in this study that gender is a construct, and described landscape as sharing many of these qualities (a shifting, dynamic quality, the history of its perception and categorisation, our current ability to influence its meaning etc.), I have also argued that public open space is a cultural artefact that is a living archaeology. It is shaped by convention, priorities and medians. Both the processes and the resultant forms imprint these messages, stereotypes and social norms upon the user that condition us into "an environmental myopia which limits our self-concepts…which limits our visions and choices for ways of living and working…which limits us by not providing the environments we need to support our autonomy or by barring our access to them" (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999). The lives of women, gender minorities and the precarious are affected profoundly by the planning and design of public open space ; the appropriation and use of these spaces constitute political acts within this framing.

> *"One of the most important tasks of the …movement is to make visible the full meaning of our experiences and to reinterpret and restructure the built environment in those terms. We will not create fully supportive, life-enhancing environments until our society values those aspects of human experience that have been devalued through the oppression of women… These are feminist concerns, which have critical dimensions that are both societal and spatial. They will require feminist activism as well as architectural expertise to ensure a solution." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999)*

Rallying calls to feminism aside, the conclusion of this study must recognise the importance of a continued impertive to understand the way that ideological mechanisms such as rape culture and patriarchy marginalise and privilige along the lines of gender in relation to safety, access and activity in public open space and landscape. Every public open space is a potential site of liberation for the marginalised, because it is clear that "…the separation of the public and private spheres problematizes the relationship of women (and gender minorities) to the city on both a material and ideological level." (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999). For bell hooks, theory is emancipatory – she argues for the case (supported by (Doan, 2011)and others) of embracing the margins by framing them in different ways, as "…positive space, a site of resistance not domination, of both radical possibility and (recognising) oppression. 'Choosing' the margin, rather than being assigned it, makes a difference" (Rendell, Penner, & Borden, 1999).

At the outset of my research, this following quote would regularly cause me to become so discouraged I could hardly motivate the argument put forward in this paper. Nomboniso Gasa wrote, "Women experience a certain silence. It is a pointed and powerful speech of disapproval." She describes it as a silencing silence; and it is "powerful when chosen but utterly defeating when imposed." (Women in South African History: They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers, 2007). Before discovering bell hooks, I could not see past the latter part of that statement to realise that there was power in choosing the silence for myself. I could also perhaps be a mover of boulders and crosser of rivers (Basus'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilambo).

Ginger Daniel has reminded her audience that merely seeing gender is only a preliminary step, it does not "…ensure that thoughtful approaches to addressing gender inequality have been integrated into the design process" (Daniel, 2013, p. 17). As a multi-faceted and complex world is revealed through the eyes of a mere 20 humans interviewed in the previous chapter, landscape architecture must employ its most creative solutions to create a built environment that can accommodate this vast scope of differentiation. But the first step is most certinly to see. I realise that it is very hard to avoid dealing with the landscape ontologically (i.e.: by assuming that

we know what it is and what it ought to be.) This study, and my Masters dissertation project that follows, is an attempt to be critical of both my inherited agenda, as well as the agenda that I pursue as part of the knowledge-making process: making gender visible in Landscape Architectural discourse, and finding a way to incorporate gender equality into every design desision. Understanding gendered perceptions of space has deepened and broadened my understanding of the social dynamics and dimensions of spatiality. Althought it is a lot to have challenged the normative design process, it is clearly not sufficient only to know. But what is counted is what is valued, and what is planned for.

This dissertation project is now tasked with bridging the gap between rhetoric and reality, by finding tools to instrumentalise gender sensitivity in the design process. For myself, I will keep going alone. Because now it is not just because I want to, or need to in a personal capacity. Now it is a question of equality, of necessity, and of social justice. So in agreement with Amanda Palmer, I conclude this study, thoroughly de-patriarchalised. Now I can go everywhere alone.

> *"I no longer see these things as risks; I see them as acts of trust. I think the real risk is the choice to disconnect. To be afraid of one another." (Palmer, 2014, p. 303)*

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EBE EiR clearance and ethics approval document.

To the EBE Ethics in Research Committee c/o Dr George Sithole

COVER LETTER DETAILING POTENTIALLY ETHICALLY PROBLEMATIC ISSUES IN MLA DISSERTATION RESEARCH

As a prospective researcher operating under the auspices of UCT, I recognise the norms that promote and protect the well-being of society relating to research that involves the participation of humans and requires the disclosure of personal information. I wish for my research to meet the highest ethical standards. I therefore submit the following information to the EBE Ethics in Research Committee.

- Research Proposal (attached)
- Personal and Academic course details (attached)
- Identification of potential ethically problematic issues, response and mitigation measures (below)
- Request for expedition (below)

Identification of potential ethically problematic issues

Briefly, this application seeks to gain approval from the EiRC for a qualitative study of no more than 30 subjects through the interview of human participants. The following is based on the minimum amount of information necessary to conduct the study defined in the Research Proposal (attached).

The participants will be required to:

1. Meet with me personally at a location of their choice;
2. Disclose a number of personal details (including their age, sex (biological 'gender'), gender (identified gender role), race, occupation, lifestyle description and description of own perceived gendered appearance);
3. Answer a variety of questions pertaining to their memory of-, experience in/of-, perceptions of- and opinions about the identified study area (refer to Research Proposal attached);
4. Participate in the recording of their own responses through drawing, mark-making, placing stickers and notes on a prepared map;
5. The participants hands may be filmed, and their interview may be recorded as artefacts of the interview for representation during the design phase (this is not yet confirmed).

Aspects of the research I propose are potentially ethically problematic, should they be handled incorrectly.

The following list identifies these aspects:

i. The research makes use of vulnerable groups;
ii. A portion of the information required of participants is of a private and personal nature
iii. The interview may be captured in media (voice and video recording);
iv. The artefacts produced during the interview will be linked to the information disclosed by the participant.

Response and mitigation measures

The following measures will be implemented in order to address the potential risk and mitigate the effects of participation in the interview process on interviewees.

a) No participants younger than the age of majority (18) will be interviewed or approached for an interview.
b) The participants will first be asked clearly and plainly if they are comfortable or uncomfortable with the interview being recorded in voice or video, and their explicit permission will first be gained and recorded in writing.
c) If the interview is recorded in video, the imagery captured of the participant will be limited to the activity of their hands during the interview only.
d) Participant's names will neither be used in the interview, nor recorded at all during the interview process. Participant's names will be used in an administrative capacity only, and in documentation separate from interview material, and when signing their permission to utilise voice or video material of their interview.

e) Potential participants will be enabled to decide whether or not to involve themselves in the research through:
    - A summary of the Research Proposal and/or a prepared explanation in plain English of the scope and subject/s of the research;
    - The assurance that as participant they are entitled to stop the interview at any time without consequence, and that any information disclosed up to that point will be disregarded and destroyed, should they so choose.
    - A form and/or a prepared explanation in plain English which advises them on their risks and rights, and that discloses all information necessary and available;
    - The assurance that their personal information will remain *private* and *confidential*, but that *anonymity* will not be maintained in its entirety because of the highly personal nature of the interview questions, the fact that the interview is conducted personally and the possibility that their voice or hands may appear in the presentation of the research within the academic realm.
f) Only the researcher (myself) and my Supervisor (Tarna Klitzner) will have access to the information gathered. All information that becomes public will have been subject to graphic interpretation and representation by the researcher.
g) A Certificate of Confidentiality will be made available as an option before, during or after the interview should the participant feel that the need to further protect themselves.

Request for expedition

The Master of Landscape Architecture Dissertation course (APG5052S) runs its course over a single Semester. The component for which this application is necessary is a limited and focused piece of research (the Study) that is due in totality on the 28th of August (this date was confirmed on 19 July 2017).

The following set of circumstances have led to a request that my application for Ethics clearance be expedited:

- The MLA class is discouraged from allocating formal or personal time to Dissertation preparation during the First Semester;
- The first MLA Dissertation meeting was held on the 3rd of July 2017;
- Supervisors were allocated on the 7th of July 2017;
- The MLA First Semester Examination was held on the 14th of July 2017;
- My first meeting with my supervisor was on the 26th of July 2017;
- It was at this meeting, a little over a week ago, that it was decided that **interviews** would best achieve my research objectives;
- The Interim presentation of our research, methodology and findings is scheduled for the 14th of August 2017.

In order to meet the requirements of the Interim presentation, I need to report my initial findings and conclusions, as well as present a strategy to represent the information gathered as a designed artefact in itself, and as the first design outcome of my thesis. The time frames are extremely short.
It is for these reasons that I hope to be successful in my petition to have this application expedited. It goes without saying that I am in need of Ethics approval at your very earliest convenience, but please accept the **8th or (latest) 9th of August 2017**as the date/s I submit for this request.

With kind regards in anticipation

Fione Smit

(SMTFIO003)
MLA 2017

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/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Fione Smit
Department		School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, EBE
Preferred email address of applicant:		Fione.smit@hotmail.co.za
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	Master of Landscape Architecture (MLA)
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Tarna Klitzner
If this is a researchcontract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		N/a
Project Title		MLA Dissertation Component 1 - The Study: Interstitial Open Space and the Gendered Perceptions of Safety, Accessibility and Activity

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.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Fione Smit		

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date

Supervisor (where applicable)	Tarna Klitzner		
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section1; and for all Undergraduateresearch (Including Honours).	N/a		
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	G. SITHOLE		10 AUG 2017

Full pack of interview material provided to participants if the study.

Component 1: The Study
Information Sheet

University of Cape Town:
Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment

School of Architecture, Planning & Geomatics

Name of Researcher:	**Fioné (Fi) Smit**
Cellphone number:	0798410340
Email Address:	*fione.smit@hotmail.co.za*
Course:	Master of Landscape Architecture
Phase:	MLA Dissertation: Component 1
Title of Research Project:	The Study: Interstitial Open Space and the Gendered Perceptions of Safety, Accessibility and Activity
Supervisor:	Tarna Klitzner
Course Coordinator:	Prof. Julian Raxworthy

Nature of the Research
In this Study a brief, site-based investigation comprises three parts: *Perception, (Limited) Reality* and *Interpretation.*

Your contribution makes up the bulk of the ***Perception*** phase, in which interviews are conducted. During a conversational interview, you are invited to produce 'maps' and markings with a range of materials over an aerial image of the Study Area, according to your responses to the questions put forward. I will note some of your verbal responses on an associated map.
The ***(Limited) Reality*** phase is essentially a desktop study and investigation that will produce three maps representing an account of the actual Safety, Accessibility and Activity of the Study Area. I will draw on various sources of information to construct as objective and accurate an account as possible of the Study Area.
In the ***Interpretation*** phase, I will curate the maps and markings made by Participants during the *Perception* phase in order to find and reveal contrasts, congruencies and nuances in the perceived safety, access and activity within the study area. During this phase, there will be a focus on interpretation through the lens of gender sensitivity and awareness. These graphics communicating the perceptions of Participants will then be considered alongside the map graphics produced in the (Limited) Reality phase. The findings of the study will be based on the differences, similarities and relationships revealed by the comparison of the first two phases. Through this research, I hope to contribute a perspective on current socio-cultural paradigms relating to patriarchal society, the effects of heteronormativity, rape culture and the forms taken by gender-based violence and oppression in public open space.

What your participation involves

The duration of the interview depends largely on the participant. It should take a minimum of 30 minutes to complete. However, as it is conversational in nature, the interview may last up to an hour. Please let me know should you have time constraints. You are entitled to decline to answer any of the questions. You are also entitled to stop the interview at any point and withdraw from the research without penalty. There is no monetary reward involved in participation. Benefits of participating in this study are personal in nature for every participant.

The EBE Ethics in Research Committee deems this Study Medium Risk due to its subject matter and the potential discomfort of marginalised groups and those who have experienced gender-based oppression.

Component 1: The Study
Consent Form

University of Cape Town:
Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment

School of Architecture, Planning & Geomatics

Name of Researcher:	***Fioné (Fi) Smit***
Course:	***Master of Landscape Architecture***
Title of Research Project:	***MLA Dissertation Component 1*** *- The Study: Interstitial Open Space and the Gendered Perceptions of Safety, Accessibility and Activity*

The EBE EiR deems this research Medium Risk. By filling out this questionnaire / answering, the questions put to me, **I agree to**:

a) Participate in this research project.
b) Allow my responses to be used for education and research on the condition that my privacy is respected, and my responses can only be used in a way that I cannot be personally identifiable.

I understand that:

c) I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
d) I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
e) This research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed and electronic form.
f) I was selected to participate in this study either through my network of acquaintances in common with the researcher, or by random selection by virtue of my presence near to or within the study area.
g) Should I consent to my interview being recorded in voice or video, my identity may be surmised.
h) Only the researcher and her Supervisor will have access to my responses in raw form.
i) All information and Participant responses published in the dissertation will be subject to graphic interpretation and representation by the researcher.
j) Participants are offered confidentiality by the use of a coding system recorded separately from this documentation.
k) I understand that this document will be filed and kept separate from the material produced during the interview, and that my name will not be associated with the information I volunteer.

I am aware that:

l) I may experience emotional responses during the interview process
m) I have access to assistance should I require emotional or psychological support.

Finally, I declare that I have read this consent form and the information it contains, and had the opportunity to ask questions about them, and about this project should I have any.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____ *Date:* _____

The researcher must supply you with an ***Information sheet*** which provides his / her contact details, outlines the nature of the research and how the information will be used and explains what your participation in the research involves (e.g. how long it will take, participants' roles and rights (including the right to skip questions or withdraw without penalty at any time), any anticipated risks/benefits which may arise as a result of participating, any costs or payment involved (even if none, these should be stated))

Has this been provided?	**Yes**	**No**
Have your received verbal confirmation/explanations where needed?	**Yes**	**No**

Interview Schedule

MLA Dissertation Component 1 - The Study:

Interstitial Open Space and the Gendered Perceptions of Safety, Accessibility and Activity

Introduction and Permissions

Thank you for taking the time to be part of this study! If you should wish, I will provide you with a copy of the Final document so that you can see what you have contributed to the making of.

***Please note*:**

- *The EBE Ethics in Research Committee deems this research medium risk.*
- *Degree of anonymity and confidentiality: your name and identity will not appear on this form and the information you share will remain independent from it.*
- *Only myself and my Supervisor, Tarna Klitzner will have access to these documents and maps, they will not be made public or circulated in any way.*
- *All the information you provide will be curated graphically to produce maps and interpretations of this interview, none of the interview material will be presented in the Study without having been contextualised within the site and the pool of participants; and de-contextualised from you as an identifiable individual.*

Formalities

Please answer the following questions truthfully, for your own protection and for the integrity of this study:

i. Are you a minor (please circle correct answer)? YES / NO

ii. Are you comfortable with the interview being recorded in voice? YES / NO

iii. Are you comfortable with your hands (only) being recorded in video during the interview? YES / NO

iv. If **yes** to either or both, please provide your permission to use your voice and/or imagery of your hands for presentation purposes:

Please tick appropriate: VOICE VIDEO Sign here: _____

(Please note that you may withdraw permission at any time without consequence, and the recording will be immediately stopped)*

v. Optional: Please STOP recording. Do not use my voice or imagery of my hands.

Sign here: _____

Interview Schedule

Section 1: Qualitative questions

These questions will be asked in a conversational manner, and you do not need to write any answers down.

A map of the study area will be provided, as well as pens, colouring pencils, stickers and trace paper for you to mark your map with. I will record some of your answers on a similar map of my own, which you are welcome to contribute to or look at, at any time.

**Additional questions may be asked during the interview that lead naturally from answers and responses that the participants provide. Permission will be asked of every instance to record this information and include it in the Study.*

Please have a look at the map provided:

a) Are you familiar with the place (study area) that the map provided indicates?
b) How would you describe this area to someone who isn't?
c) Please mark on the map (with the white stickers provided) where you have been on this map, yourself?
d) Mark on the map with the black pen all the points of access you know of to the study area. This can be roads, parks that border on the study area, pathways, boardwalks, street-side tracks, parking areas or secret routes you know of.
e) What activity were you engaged in/what were you doing in these places?
f) Is it important to you to be able to spend time outdoors/in Nature alone?
g) Please mark on the map (with the blue stickers provided) where you would still like to go on this map given the chance?
h) Amongst your memories and plans, can you think of any time that you felt uncomfortable or at risk in any of these places?
i) How would you feel if the whole area under Tafelberg road to the edge of the city was fenced for security purposes and nobody at all was allowed in or out?
j) Please mark on the map (with the red stickers provided) places that you would consider it a risk to visit, pass through or linger in if you were alone during the day (9am – 5pm).
k) Can you think of anything that would make you feel more comfortable or safe while being there? (on a bicycle, accompanied by a dog etc.)
l) Please mark on the map (with the black stickers provided) places that you would consider it a risk to visit, pass through or linger in if you were alone during the night.
m) Do you think you would feel the same about these places at dusk and dawn/sunset and sunrise?
n) Would it make a difference to any of the previous questions if you were in a group of people?
o) Would you fence **any** parts of the study area? Would it make you feel safer?
p) Is there anywhere in the study area that you would not like to go to under any circumstances, and for any reason?
q) If you were to walk from Signal hill to Rhodes Memorial along the edge of the city, is there anywhere you think you may feel that you were trespassing?
r) Do any of these places hold significance for you/ are there any stories you can share of a positive or negative nature about any of these places?

**** End of Section 1 ****

Section 2: Personal Information

Age _____ *(how old are you?)*
Sex _____ *(your 'biological' or assigned gender)*
Gender _____ *(your [current] identified gender role/identity)*
Pronouns _____ *(your preferred pronouns)*
Race _____ *(how do you identify racially?)*
Occupation _____ *(this can be your profession, trade, skillset etc.)*
Brief description of lifestyle:
(To give me some context on your range of activities and possible preferences in leisure and/or lifestyle activities i.e: are you a gamer? Are you a runner or a hiker? Are you a writer and an explorer, or are you focusing on personal projects? Are you retired or a young parent?)

_____
_____
_____
_____

1. Are you aware that people assign gender to you on sight? YES / NO
2. Does this, or has this ever made you feel uncomfortable, unsafe or vulnerable? YES / NO
3. Do you feel that your perceived, self-identified or assigned gender has limited your autonomy, freedom of movement or safety in any way? YES / NO
4. Where do you think people place you on the gender spectrum?



5. Where do you currently place yourself on the gender identity spectrum?

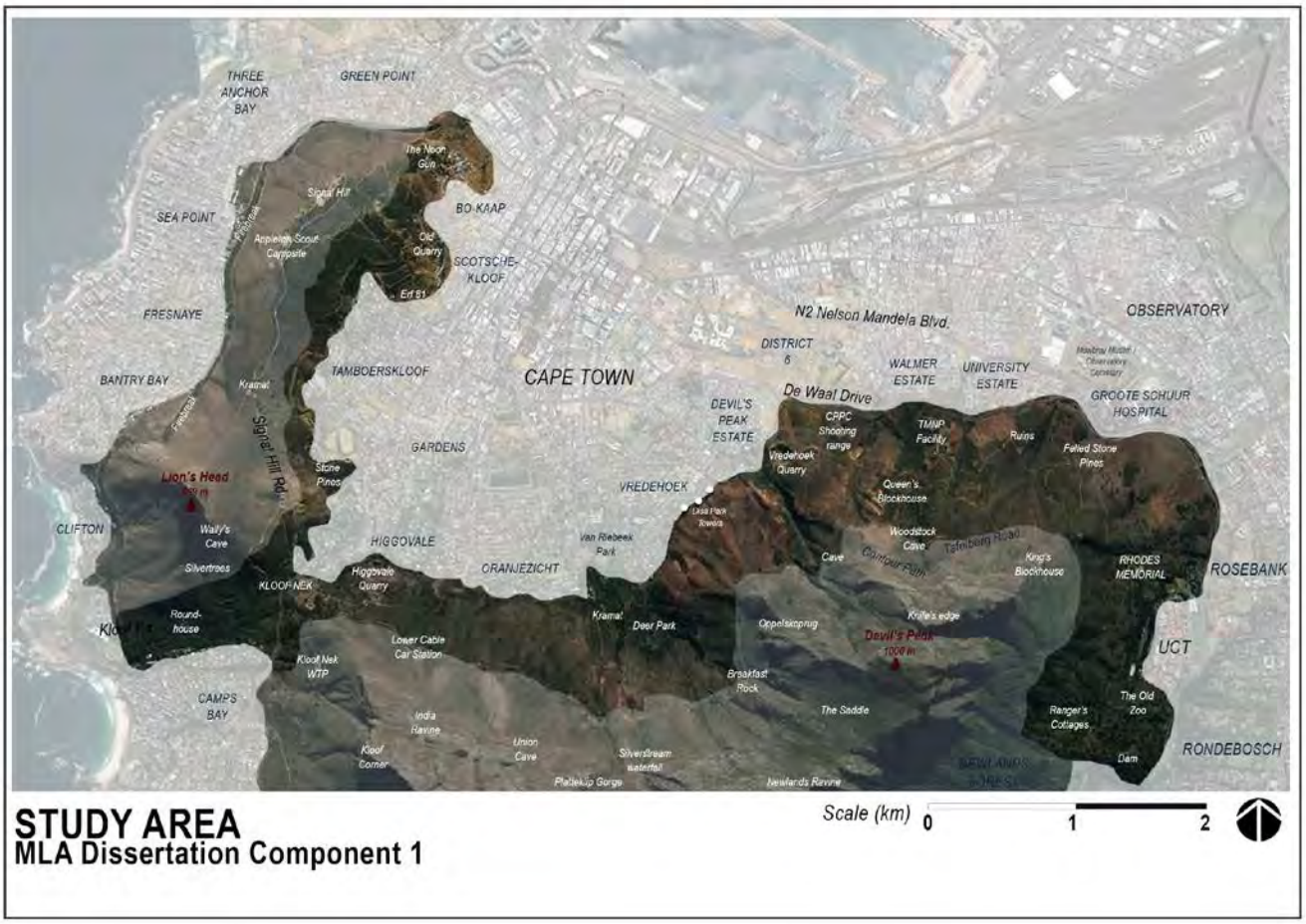


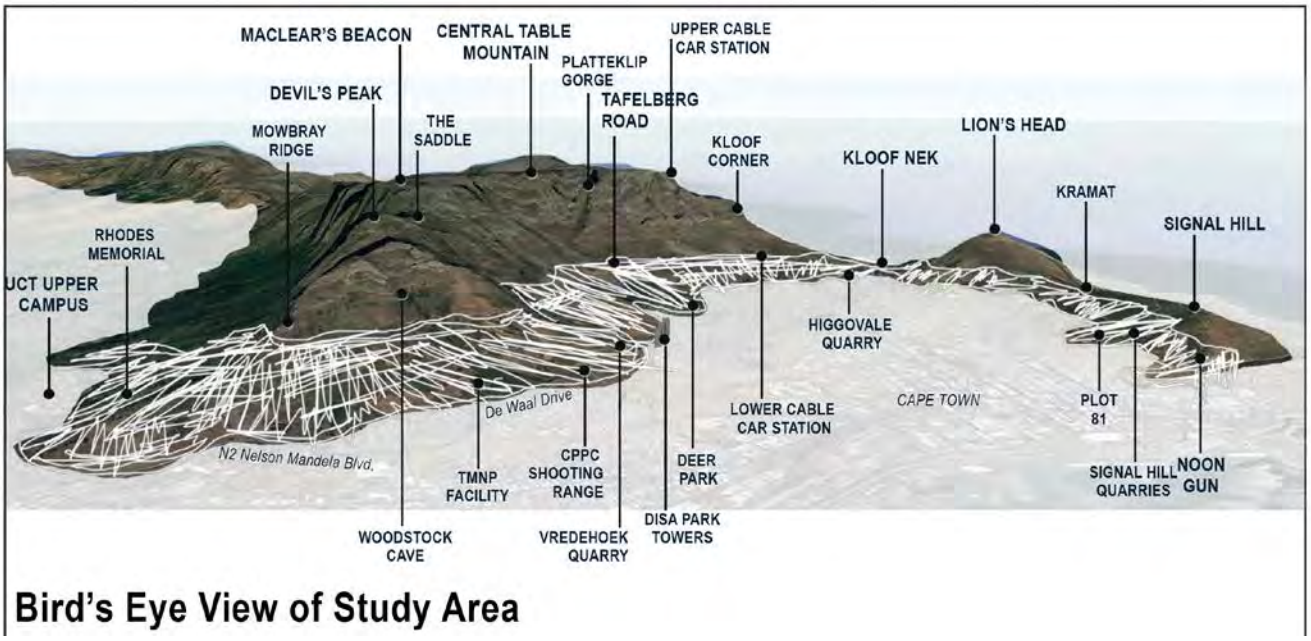
Is there/do you have a name for this? _____

6. Does your sexual orientation influence or contribute to the answers you gave to last four questions? If so, and if you are willing to do so, please identify your currently identified sexual orientation:
_____

**** End of Section 2. Thank you for participating in this study! ****

MAPS


THREE ANCHOR BAY
GREEN POINT
The Noon Gun
Signal Hill
SEA POINT
BO-KAAP
Old Quarry
SCOTSCHE-KLOOF
Erf 81
FRESNAYE
TAMBOERSKLOOF
BANTRY BAY
Kramat
CAPE TOWN
N2 Nelson Mandela Blvd.
OBSERVATORY
DISTRICT 6
WALMER ESTATE
UNIVERSITY ESTATE
De Waal Drive
DEVIL'S PEAK ESTATE
GROOTE SCHUUR HOSPITAL
CPPC Shooting range
TMNP Facility
Ruins
Felled Stone Pines
Vredehoek Quarry
GARDENS
Stone Pines
Lion's Head
VREDEHOEK
Queen's Blockhouse
CLIFTON
Wally's Cave
HIGGOVALE
Van Riebeek Park
Woodstock Cave
Tafelberg Road
Contour Path
King's Blockhouse
RHODES MEMORIAL
ROSEBANK
Silvertrees
KLOOF NEK
Higgovale Quarry
ORANJEZICHT
Round-house
Kramat
Deer Park
Oppelskroog
Knife's edge
Devil's Peak
1000 m
UCT
Lower Cable Car Station
Kloof Nek WTP
Breakfast Rock
CAMPS BAY
The Saddle
Ranger's Cottages
The Old Zoo
India Ravine
Kloof Corner
Union Cave
Silverstream waterfall
Platteklip Gorge
Newlands Ravine
Dam
RONDEBOSCH
STUDY AREA
MLA Dissertation Component 1
Scale (km) 0 1 2


MACLEAR'S BEACON
CENTRAL TABLE MOUNTAIN
UPPER CABLE CAR STATION
PLATTEKLIP GORGE
DEVIL'S PEAK
TAFELBERG ROAD
MOWBRAY RIDGE
THE SADDLE
LION'S HEAD
KLOOF CORNER
KLOOF NEK
KRAMAT
SIGNAL HILL
RHODES MEMORIAL
UCT UPPER CAMPUS
HIGGOVALE QUARRY
De Waal Drive
CAPE TOWN
LOWER CABLE CAR STATION
PLOT 81
N2 Nelson Mandela Blvd.
TMNP FACILITY
CPPC SHOOTING RANGE
DEER PARK
SIGNAL HILL QUARRIES
NOON GUN
WOODSTOCK CAVE
VREDEHOEK QUARRY
DISA PARK TOWERS
Bird's Eye View of Study Area

Interview information and maps.

#	Age	Sex	Gender	Pronouns	Race	Occupation	Q1	Q2	Q3	Do you have a name for your gender expresion / identity?	Does your sexual orientation influence all this?
01	54	F	F	She/her	White	Grower	Y	Yes	Yes	*Liberation to be*	n/a
02	29	F	F	She/her	White	Teacher	Y	Yes	Yes	*Woman*	No
03	27	F	F	She/her	White (unfortunately)	Flight paramedic	Y	Yes	Yes	*Woman*	No
04	27	F	F	She/her	White	Researcher	Y	Yes	Yes	*Flirting with Androgyny*	Queer
05	27	F	F	She/her/ they	White	Landscape architect	Y	Yes	Yes	*Genderqueer*	Bisexual
06	51	M	M	He/him	White african	Visual artist	Y	No	No	*Never thought to put a name to it…*	-
07	24	M	M	He/him	White	Logistics	N	No	No	*Heterosexual - Man*	No it doesn't
08	26	F	F	She/her	White	Restaurant Manager	Y	Yes	Yes	*Hard Femme*	Yes. Gay as FUCK!
09	26	F	F	She/her	White (unfortunately)	Copy-writer	Y	No	Hmm…	*Soft Butch*	Yes. Poes ;) Lesbian
10	28	F	F	She/her	Brown	Photographer	Y	Yes	Yes	*Woman*	No
11	34	M	M	He/him	Indian	Engineer	Y	No	No	*Metrosexual*	Yes - straight
12	29	F	F	She/her	White	Photographer / designer	Y	Yes (people assume I'm strong and intelligent)	Ja, I guess	*I guess I see myself more on the 'tomboy' level…*	-
13	35	M	M	He/him	White	Graphic Designer	Y	Yes (I'm uncomfortable about people's pre-conceived ideas / perceptions. But not unsafe.)	No	*Man*	-
14	30	F	F	She/her	Coloured	Health&wellness professional	Y	Yes	Yes	*Woman*	No
15	27	F	Person	She/her	White	Artist	Y	Yes	Yes	*Gender non-conforming woman (if that makes sense)*	
16	39	M	M	He/him	Caucasian	Researcher	Y	I guess… (sometimes people assume I'm gay	No	*Heterosexual presenting man*	Yes… straight
17	26	F	Trans non-binary	They/them	White (I guess)	Student (begrudgingly)	Y	Yes	Yes	*Transgender / genderfluid / gay boy*	Not really, feels fluid too
18	29	F	Don't know	She/they	White	Researcher	Y	Yes	Yes	*No :(*	No
19	27	M	M	He/him	African	Graphic Designer	Y	Yes (I feel pressure to act / perform a certain way)	Yes	*I don't know*	Heterosexual, so no
20	37	F	F	She/her	Coloured	Retail Design	Y	Yes	Yes	*No*	No

female
(cis-het)

F01

Any kind of weapon of protection.
Even more threatened if I am in the company of something/someone I feel responsible for.
Feel more comfortable if accompanied by a trusted male.
A large dog would make me feel safer.

Hiking

Hiking

P. Can't answer as I don't know area well enough.

Slightly cautious, but having good visuals and not "hidden" from sight, more confident & comfortable. Within scream shot of other humans.

Felt anxious and uncomfortable mainly because it was enclosed and not visible far ahead. Too isolated. Suspicious about person foraging in water.

Drive

No anxiety or discomfort due to large, mixed groups of males & females.

9. In theory not, but I have not traversed there to assess.

"I don't want to be in a position where my right to be where I want to be is spoilt by fear."

You know; there's contradictions".
"I'm not scared of dying, but I don't want to be hurt."

"anywhere where there are valleys and forests".
"anywhere that the position I'm in is out of shouting distance of people"

Birthday wish ← Hiking India Venster. (Group).
Tourist thing ← Visiting Rhodes Memorial, (family drive)
Tea-time get together Lion's head x signal Hill.
Fi x I ← (2 ladies) Walking firebreak recreationally.
for exercise x fresh air. (2 ladies) Walking loop in Deer Park.

The whole site, because I cannot see the surrounds to assess possible risk. Except on a road in a car.

10. I would feel much more confident with any form of light to see my surrounds.

11. It would basically eliminate all fear, if I were in a group. (Conducive resource to response to risk)

Very safe. I feel in tourist facilities amongst other people and in vehicle.

whatever risk there is would be dispersed by force in the firm place.
Essentially, the sense of risk is within the individual anyway.

desire: wander. Walk and see.
Maybe there's evidence of previous visits.
historical

female
(cis-het)

If someone wants to mug me on Devils Peak - then great - I will let them take it - They did effort to get up the mountain..

Q. Yes feels like im trespassing at animal reserve

At night -
I would feel unsafe at night more or less all over this map. im
I would feel safer at sunrise. (Not at sunset)

- Never feel at risk - BECAUSE i'm in a group - safety in numbers.
BUT i will be scared (or just MUCH MORE AWARE when/if I am alone)

- a bigger presence of Rangers for safety - just being more visible.
- being in a group of 3 or more.

* always significant climbing Table Mountain (esp Platteklip) its such an accomplishment and priviledge to be on top of such an amazing sight!

- Hiking Lions Head regularly taking new pple up and explore new place - all the caves
- Platteklip Hike up TM - with Dad in a storm wanted to take car down - too windy & it was closed
- Hike up India Venster for cousin B-day.
- Regular hike up Devils Peak for exercise..
  - Pipe track for faster running ...
  - Deer Park for relaxed

Fence Lionshead for restricted access - for maintaining the mountain - AT this point TOO MUCH traffic

Q. No i would not.

F02

female
(cis-het)



Karbonkelberg
above
Hout Bay Harbour.

I found a diary in Newlands forest with a story about wanting to buy a large piece of land with a mountain

crime in newlands FOREST
↳ isolated hikers targeted.

THIS IS ALL PUBLIC SPACE
- fences dont work especially here
  - └ costs
  - └ close to District Six + our history.
- I dont agree with any restricted access.
especially monetary

CAMPS BAY
PIPE TRACK

I WOULDNT HIKE ANYWHERE ON MY OWN HERE

Lions Head is more dangerous than people think
we fetch so many injured people

Schotsekloof
working in the govt ambulance service, I loved the community + found it comforting to see the inter-personal connections (informal settlement)
many people, one tiny access point — people moving up onto the mountain to gain space.

sunset at signal hill is beautiful but makes me nervous

- ☐ hiking up table mountain ← newlands ravine
- ☐ watching sunsets on signal hill with friends
- ☐ mountain rescue ~~with~~ all over the peninsula
- ☐ sneaking into UCT dam to swim in summer

people live in HOLES
↳ GROUND UP ARTICLE

androgyne
(queer)

I don't like
hiking (especially
when there are lots of
other people hiking)

Looking at
the view on
Signal Hill

been up cable car
– don't like it
afraid of heights

– looking out the
window from Disa Park

Going
swimming
at the dam

Going to
check out the view
at Rhodes Memorial
– parking

Groups.

every where in pink;

no element of fun.

- Hiking for my birthday (2.7) India Venster
- Strolling with Marie.
- Sitting under the trees on my bday (25) a surprise. we had a joint & milktart.
- climbing in the quarry
- sober sitting a mescalin trip in Deerpark
- Walking with Mamma in Deer Park, Fire break
- climbed India Venster first time with Theo.
- late afternoon walk with alex on tar road.
- running with Alex on the Fire breake.
- Arex surprise sunclowners disaster ☺. on birthday.
- Toasted new Academic year on signal hill
- lots of hikes in groups on Lion's head.
- stood close on klout nek watching Western sea.
- swimming in Uct dam with friends.

rapes & gender-based violence.

genderfluid
/genderqueer
(bisexual)

male
(cis-het)

I go up TM & S.H. regularly @ night
BUT with motorvehicle
NOT on foot

SLEEP OVER & PHOTOGRAPHY CITY AT NIGHT

Lower slopes of Devils Peak dominated by mountain bike & trail running = male dominate.
Opportunistic crime because close to city fringe or because of expensive equipment?

Savannah Style photoshoots

Parking lot not cool at night

NEVER!
Except with 10 friends & a armed guard to take night photos

Zoo - feeding monkeys as a kid.
Rhodes Mem - Cross Country in High School.
- Smoking joints at night
- Climbed Lions, talked with Rhodes
Kramat - Lots of Sundowners & surf-check.
- Watching paragliders & slope-soaring

Signal Hill & Lionshead - general hike, run, fitness.
- Photography of city (day & night)
- Racing motorbike on Signal Hill & Tafelberg Rd when no tourists about.

V. hack Quarry - Tafelberg - Tried to find the exact location of a 1970's photo.

FENCE? FOR WHAT?!
no good if not patrolled.

Question Q: Signal to Rhodes ??
never feel like I'm trespassing.

FLAT DRINK/SUNDOWNER ROCK

male
(cis-het)

F07

Family Memories →

O - parking or starting point

- Hiking up Lion's head, Table Mountain (Platteklip, Kirstenbosch, India Venster), Devil's Peak.
- Cycling trails from Kloof neck Rhodes Memorial, Deer park + newlands

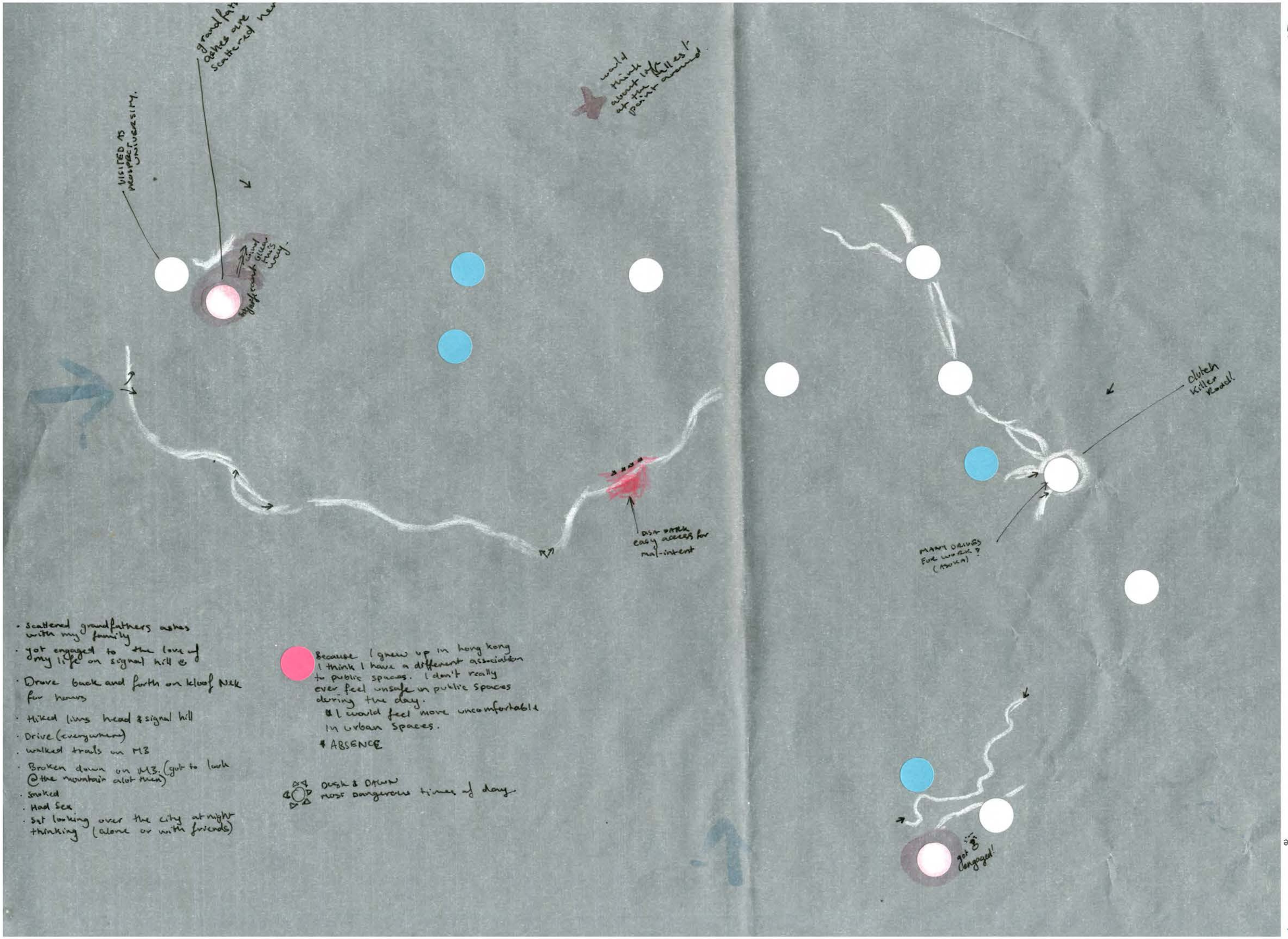
● At night I wouldn't feel safe or comfortable in most places. I would feel less safe at sunset or sunrise than what I would feel in the pitch dark.

● I would feel safer in the areas of possible safety issues if I was part of a group or with a possible security presence.

Q

From Constantia Neck

- The areas marked in black are areas where I intentionally focus to be more aware of who' around me. It is mos due to the media coverage about events of criminal nature in these areas.



- scattered grandfathers ashes with my family
- got engaged to the love of my life on signal hill ♡
- Drove back and forth on kloof Nek for hours
- hiked lions head & signal hill
- Drive (everywhere)
- walked trails on M3
- Broken down on M3. (got to look @ the mountain a lot then)
- soaked
- Had Sex
- sat looking over the city at night thinking (alone or with friends)

Because I grew up in hong kong I think I have a different association to public spaces. I don't really ever feel unsafe in public spaces during the day.
* I would feel more uncomfortable in urban spaces.
# ABSENCE

DUSK & DAWN
most dangerous times of day

female
(hard femme - gay)

female
(soft butch - lesbian)

Got engaged
Sunset drinks

Hiked to the top

Hiked, braaied, had drinks, always big group of friends

Sat here often to kill time. At beach or in car.

Only been to the restaurant once. Didn't like it. Seems corny.

- News stories of incidents like muggings in these spaces have never really made me feel afraid of going to places in the study area.
- When I'm in these spaces I always think of where I grew up, Harrismith, and I always feel safe, because I was always safe in similar spaces growing up.

Cable car ride

Favourite place to smoke weed. Went there for braais too.

Friends, swimming, joints, summer.

female
(cis-het)

Everywhere

300
400
300
300
500
300
200

Scale (km) 0 1 2

STUDY AREA
Interview Map

male
(cis-het/met)

Lunch
How the guy
everyday at the office

Friend
Hike
Birthdays

City Farm
Breakfast / lunch
Work

Most people
feel unsafe alone walking
Not because of safety
but culturally uncomfortable

Would not feel at risk
when on mountain
* Don't make eye contact
walk.

Friend

Solo hikes / walks

(Fences (mostly see-through)
(Balustrade a little bit).

Low level
walls by
houses edge

Home

Friend's house in
Walmer's estate (baby)

Amazing
Sunday walk through
back streets of Woo
(community

Sense

Not a lot
of home
(Passing through
for hikes)

Birthday
up the cable car

Bundu-bashing
somewhere

Favourite hiking
Spots

Birthdays (around
Block house,
Devils Peak and
Rhodes Mem)

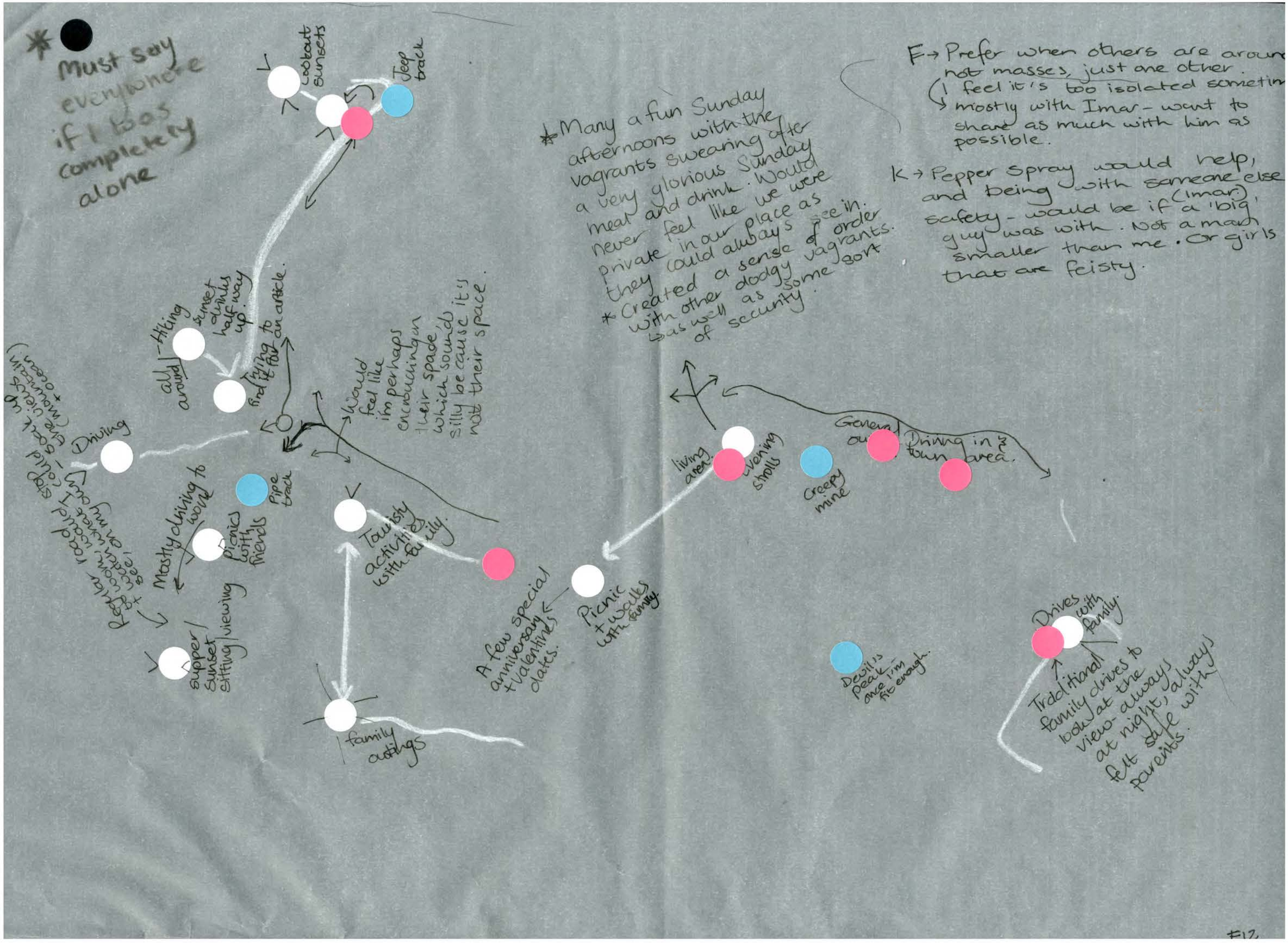
Lost on the
Mountain
Free (Helicopter ride)

UCT
Student do
Home just o
studies

First time
hikes (Real mountain
experience after Maunbrey)

* No Fencing.
↳ Hip-high hedges ok.

female
(cis-het)



male
(cis-het)

F13

360° VIEW

360° VIEW

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY BOUNDARIES:
- WOULD ONLY FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE WALKING THROUGH PROPERTY, NOT PAST

ROUND HOUSE

QUARRY?

NOT ALONE

K
- WALKING
  - STICK (WEAPON)
- GROUP (M/F DOESN'T MATTER)
  - GREW UP WITH STRONG WOMEN
- VEHICLE
- SKATEBOARD (WEAPON + GETAWAY)

- WALK / HIKE
- PICNIC / EAT
- LOOKOUT
- COMMUTE
- CABLE WAY
- LIVE (VREDEHOEK)
- WATCH EVENTS (E.G. RED BULL DOWNHILL)

WOKE UP ONE NIGHT WITH GUY SCREAMING, ATTACKED AT QUARRY

WHEN LIVING IN VREDEHOEK, RELEASED SPIDERS / SNAKE NEAR QUARRY

ROAD TO CPUT WHEN I LIVED IN RONDEBOSCH

HORSES

ABANDONED MINE??

ZEBRAS (KWAGGAS)

FENCED INACCESSIBLE

DEVIL'S PEAK

MANY PEOPLE AROUND, SO FELT SAFE

VALENTINES / ANNIVERSARY W/ TAMARA

- DRUNK, LOUD
- ANNOYING NEIGHBOURS
- PART OF NEIGHBOURHOOD
- KEPT ORDER
  - CHASED AWAY IMPOSTERS

female
(cis-het)

Usually avoid this area because of memories linked to a past relationship

My dad + brothers birthday, my family's first time on table mountain ^^

Had a picnic with my partner, our first little date exploring what was around our new home

picnic date with the ex ^^

F → NO, for safety reasons
→ I have the craving to be on my own in nature, but the fear of my own safety keeps me away from these experiences

K → if I had my boyfriend / friends with me → still feel uneasy
→ if I had a weapon (stick)
* group → twice as many as there are people approaching me

one of my favourite memories with my partner
* Rhodes Memorial (had a little photoshoot ^^)

gender non-conforming female

bottom part of mt.
first half

easy sunset spot

went to see fire-flies with boyfriend

got clap!

quarry abseiling lesson

plattekloof, first hike up mt. age:9-ish

close enough to take drinks for sunset.

someone else I didn't know got engaged.

pipe track for walking dogs

felt faint, don't want to faint when alone. this was a few week after I fainted when alone waiting for a lift. got a concussion

F: too scary on mountain alone
Sometimes need to be alone, as sometimes need to be ~~alone~~ in nature, ~~not~~ alone in nature/mt not necesarily together
Q: I'm a girl and have a good "innocencent-face" for getting out of trouble

friend's house at foot of mt. used to ~~pick~~ picnic in backyard/ park.

Quarry where I used to hang-out with friends

daily commute

When I went
didn't know wh
Rhodes was.
saw racist remo
graffitied i
the bathrooms

went to a birthday
at the tennis courts.
Didn't know many ~~one~~
people but I got a fr
steers burger

UCT 200

male
(cis-het)

F16

Unexpected discovery of decommissioned bunkers.

My friend Ian's dad lives in the old military munitions store on Erf 81.

Amazing trad climbing on the granite.

Q = No.

My regular running route.

Know a girl who got raped here.

Picturesque, Idyllic, Magical Silvertree forest.

- multiple trad routes.

- A scramble route linking up Fraser's Arrow and Arrow Final

F - 'Poor man's therapy!' / I love being alone in Nature, it's something I need desperately on a regular basis and I find it has a meditative quality. It's the closest thing to prayer for me.

I'm not overly concerned"; I feel like I could run with

I'm more afraid of zombies!

Sport climbing at Higgovale Quarry.

Would like to visit the glen more

Kloof corner lookout

Reminds me of Brett Goldin and Richard Bloom's murderers.

Beautiful route from Gardens Rugby club to Tafelberg road past washhouses.

King Blockhouse (I participated in the Blockhouse time trial)

Dotted line = BAT Run

10 Leaf man's tree (Nice name)

Amazing trad climbing routes on Africa ledge.

more trad climbing on Fountain ledge.

I came across this rock/ledge and the ledges route where I like to nap.

Would love to go swimming in the dam

First visit to the Zoo with Matty. (for a project of hers)

trans
(non-binary)

f: very important at different points in my life

exploratory space at being alone

no entry to site from this area

memorable tree

parked cars and escape from fire

zzz

sister

zzz

dogs and ducks and awkward skinny dips

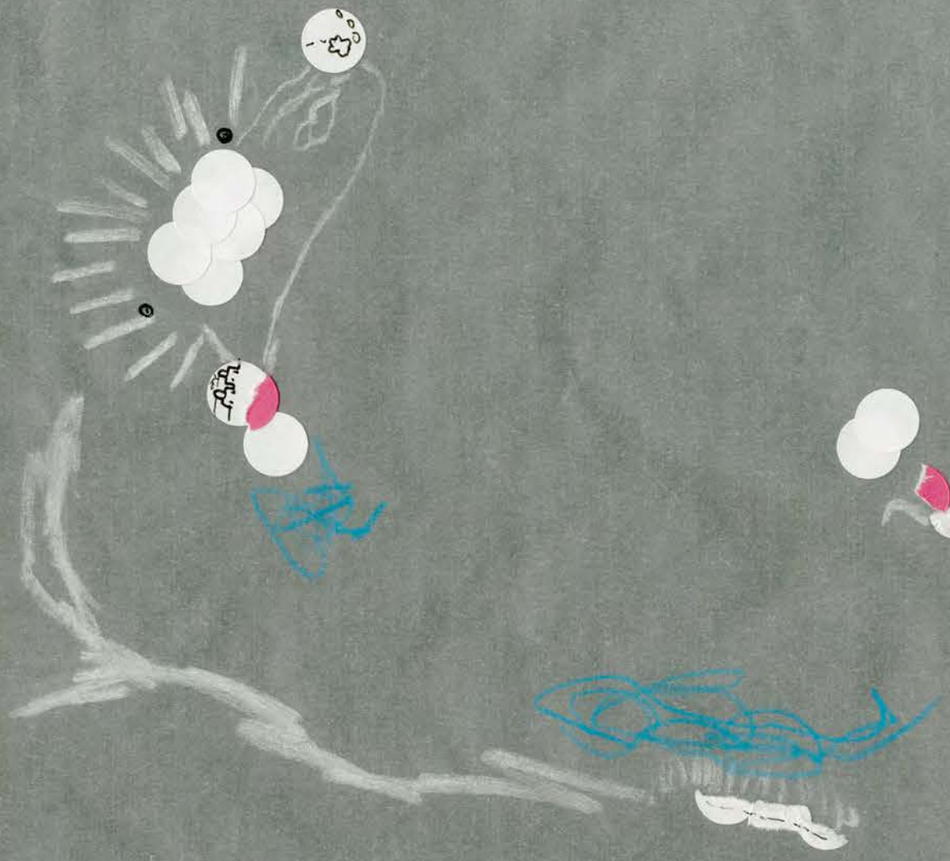
genderqueer
(undefined)

f) Yes, but often don't feel safe enough.

k) phone, group (friends), pepperspray (sometimes)

~~l)~~ At night: nowhere on foot, almost anywhere in car.

q) I never feel like I'm trespassing even when I am.



Scary dreams of walking alone at night.

male
(cis-het)

DISPUTES OVER OWNERSHIP.

SIGNAGE & PRIVATE PROPERTY EVERYWHERE.

Q

THERES A SENSE OF ENTITLEMENT TO THE MOUNTAIN & EVEN SOMETIMES THE STREETS.

SENSE OF BELONGING

TO DO THE HIKE

WORK FUNCTION

THAT'S WHEN I THOUGHT NOT ALL DOGS ARE OUT TO GET ME.

RECENTLY MOVED IN

VIEWS TOWARDS THE MOUNTAINS

ENCOUNTERS WITH DOGS (POSITIVE)

SECURITY - CRIME

HIDDEN

GROUP TOURS.

* AS A MALE, WHEN I HEAR GROUP OF PEOPLE. MY SENSE OF FEAR JUST VANISHES

* —— *

GROUP - FOR ME TWO MALES BUT 3 IF THERE FEMALES.

REWARDED WEEKEND - SKETCH SUNDAY

AMAZING VIEWS

(DO NOT DIE)

HIGHTENED SENSES (FALLING)

SCHOOL TRIP (PRIMARY SCHOOL)

DISCOMFORT BY ONLOOKERS (STARES) AND GESTURES TO A FRIEND

DEMUGGING ALWAYS BACK OF MIND.

I REALLY WANT TO SEE THESE AREAS

* k

CHANGE MY WALKING STANCE LISTEN TO EARPHONES TO BLOCK OUT THE NOISE.

F20

NOON GUN
SCHOOL OUTING
AND ACCIDENTAL
RUN IN ON A
NATURE WALK

LIONS HEAD WALKS =
SOCIAL MEDIA FODDER

DRAGGED UP KICKING
AND SCREAMING TO
'ENJOY NATURE'

NO ONE WOULD
HEAR ME IF I
SCREAMED.

BUILT FOR PEOPLE TO
LIVE THERE... NOT
REALLY ACCESSIBLE

WAS FLASHED
WHILE SWIMMING IN
THE POOL BY A GUY
ON THE OUTSIDE..

A PRIMARY
SCHOOL MATE
LIVED IN THE
TAMPON TOWERS

A FEW WALKS...
-BEAUTIFUL...
PEACEFUL...

WORK CHRISTMAS
'DO'... FUN

BEEN
PAST THIS
BUT NOT UP
THE MOUNTAIN

TOO QUIET...
STRANGE PEOPLE...
IF I AM ALONE
AM I PUTTING MYSELF
IN HARM'S WAY

RHODES
BREAKFAST
TREATS

WHERE
I HAVE
LIVED

(K) MY WEAPON IS WHITE PEOPLE
THERE IS SAFETY IN NUMBERS
AND EVEN MORE SO WHEN THEY
ARE WHITE... IS IT MONEY + EDUCATION?

(L) NO WAY!

(Q) ---- TRESPASSING
THE WEALTHY WHO OWN THEIR
PROPERTY ARE EVEN POSSESSIVE
OF THEIR STREETS + PAVEMENTS

" If I'm leaving for the experience
I'm going to have; especially
while I'm alone."

* I would like some white
wine or
what happens are wines or
opportunity. Tom outside the
I can't

* A GROUP · 3-4 PEOPLE; MIXED GENDER
IF ONLY WOMEN, 4 OR MORE

female
(cis-het)

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Student Number:	SMT FIO 003
Course:	Master of Landscape Architecture

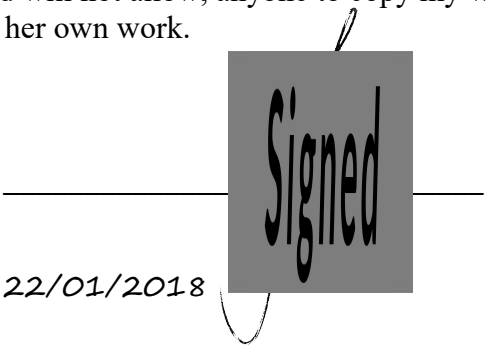
Declaration

I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.

I have used the Harvard APA convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation project from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Signature 

Date 22/01/2018