



Working Paper

Findings From Fifteen Focus Groups in the
Cape Town Metropolitan Area

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August 2019



Acknowledgements

The Economic & Social Research Council, the National Research Foundation and the Newton Fund are thanked for funding this research (ES/N014022/1). The focus group participants are thanked for their time and contributions. Keenan Fernandez, Sino Mdunjeni, Nthabiseng Tshangana, and Gray van der Bergh are thanked for fieldwork assistance. Professor Michael Noble, Dr David McLennan, Professor Ivan Turok, Dr Irma Booyens and Professor Chris Lloyd are thanked for their inputs and comments.

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1. Introduction

This working paper presents the main findings from the qualitative strand of the ESRC-NRF project on 'Changing socio-spatial inequalities in South Africa: population change and the lived experience of inequality in South Africa'.

Section 2 provides an account of the methodological approach and objectives of this strand of the study, followed by a profile of the focus group locations and participants in Section 3. The findings are then grouped into four main themes: visual manifestations of inequality across the City (Section 4); people's reference groups and experiences of inequality through relations with others (Section 5); accounts of violence, fear and danger in an unequal city (Section 6); and people's expressed sense of attachment and belonging to the City, and their responses to inequality (Section 7). The final section draws out the main findings.

In Section 4, the visual manifestations of inequality include examples of housing, health, education, and transport, and provide examples of the most concrete and tangible ways in which people compared their areas with others in the city. Section 5 explores the relational aspects of inequality in more detail, by considering the participants' response to questions about how they would position the country, city, and their local neighbourhood on the inequality spectrum, and their accounts of experiences of inequality at work or while work-seeking, within the family, and when engaging with foreigners. Issues of violence, fear and danger arose in all of the groups and a dedicated section (Section 6) presents material on these issues, including strategies to keep safe, and views about the causes of crime. Section 7 takes a step back to examine the extent to which the participants expressed attachment to place and a sense of belonging to the City of Cape Town, as well as further examples of spatial exclusion or self-exclusion, and discrimination. As will be demonstrated, people across the city are acutely aware of the extent of inequality in the City, and the issues of space and race are often inextricably linked.

The material provides a rich insight into the lives of people in present-day Cape Town. It is not representative of the population of Cape Town as a whole, nor can the findings be extrapolated to other metropolitan areas in South Africa. However, what can be demonstrated is that for these fifteen groups, inequality abounds, and it is experienced in ways that are being both brutally self-evident and deeply felt.

2 Methodology

This qualitative strand of the study aimed to tackle two separate but related broad research questions. First, what are the factors and processes that shape people's lived experience of inequality? And second, how does the lived experience of inequality affect people's lives, and/or their attachment to place and sense of belonging?

The setting for the study was the City of Cape Town metropolitan area. The City of Cape Town was selected because of the stark differences in the standard of living of different communities, and the enduring influence of apartheid spatial design across the metropolitan area.

In total, fifteen focus groups were conducted between May and August 2017. The main criteria for the selection of focus groups were spatial characteristics initially, namely the level of poverty in the area (with areas being defined as high or low poverty), and the extent of exposure to inequality (with areas being defined as high or low exposure relative to Cape Town as a whole).¹ The objective was to conduct groups in four types of areas: those with high poverty and high exposure to inequality, such as poor areas that are directly opposite or within view of a high income area (Type A); areas with high poverty but low exposure to inequality such as poor areas that are geographically far from high income areas (Type B); areas that have low poverty but high exposure to inequality (high income areas geographically close to low income areas) (Type C); and areas with low poverty and low exposure to inequality (high income and geographically removed from areas with high levels of poverty) (Type D).

Regarding the study tools, focus group discussion topic guides were developed for each of the 15 groups. A single topic guide template was developed that contained the core discussion points. The questions were informed by gaps that had been identified in the earlier wholly-quantitative Pathfinder project (McLennan et al, 2016a), literature on the topic of spatial inequality in South Africa (e.g. McLennan et al, 2016b; Noble et al., 2009a; Terreblanche, 2002), and perceptions of inequality (e.g. Durrheim, 2010; McLennan et al, 2014; Roberts, 2006; Roberts, 2014; Seekings, 2008), and local knowledge. The draft template guide had several iterations and was discussed at length within the team. A topic guide for the pilot focus group was developed from the template guide, and was piloted in Gugulethu with unemployed middle-aged people. This pilot went sufficiently smoothly to enable it to be incorporated as a main group (FG15). The pilot topic guide was then adapted for subsequent use, resulting in fifteen specially tailored topic guides. Where necessary, the topic guides were translated from English into isiXhosa or Afrikaans, depending on the group.

¹The poverty and inequality measures were based on 2011 Census data at SAL level, with data extracted from StatsSA's Superstar data package. The poverty rates were constructed by taking the banded household income value (which is itself a derived variable being the aggregate of individual banded income), translating it into point income estimates (using the logarithmic mean of the band, as per Statistics South Africa's approach), and then calculating a per capita income. The proportion of the population falling below the poverty line was computed for each SAL, using a CPI-adjusted version of the Hoogeveen and Ozler upper-bound poverty line. The exposure measure was constructed following the methodology described in McLennan et al (2015) in which the 2011 Census SAL-level poverty counts were adjusted to create 'poverty-adjusted distance-weighted local P* exposure indices'.

Annex 1 contains an example topic guide in English. The main issues concerned people's perceptions regarding inequality; people's experiences of inequality in their day-to-day life in Cape Town and how they negotiated their way around the City; their reference points for inequality; whether and how inequality affected people's sense of belonging and attachment to place; and people's perceptions of treatment by the Government.

Participants were recruited by a local resident in each area. For each area, a local resident who was known to the team was tasked with identifying potential participants who met the selection criteria for a proposed group with the aid of a screening form to identify potential participants. The local recruiter invited potential participants to attend a group discussion on inequality in Cape Town, and distributed flyers/invitations that briefly described the study. Recruiters also assisted the team with identifying and securing the venues for the group discussions. In most instances a small honorarium was paid for the venue, and these ranged from churches, university residence halls, community centres, early childhood development centres, and boardrooms in not-for-profit organisations. All the venues provided the privacy needed to conduct and record the group discussions, although occasionally other activities were taking place in the broader community or other parts of the building (e.g. construction work, funerals with loud singing, traffic noise) which affected the audio recording but as far as possible this were avoided. The groups were attended by a minimum of two team members, and took place at a time of day that would be feasible for the potential participants, as well as taking into account the safety of the team and the participants.

Refreshments in the form of a finger-lunch and water and fruit juice were provided in each group discussion meeting. In addition, participants were given a local supermarket voucher worth R150 (approximately £8) to thank them for their time, and those who had had to pay for transport to attend the event were reimbursed.

A detailed ethics approval application process was undertaken through the University of Liverpool prior to commencing the research.

In terms of the organisation of the groups, at the outset the facilitators introduced themselves and the study, and all group participants received an information sheet with detailed information about the study to read (see Annex 2). The participants were invited to read the information sheet, and where necessary the facilitator read it out to those participants who could not read or requested assistance. After reading the information sheet, participants were asked if they had any questions about what they had read, and the facilitator would then address any questions that arose. Thereafter the facilitator checked that everyone was still willing to participate in the study, and emphasised that participation was completely voluntary and that any participants who did not wish to participate in the study were welcome to leave. There were no refusals to participate in any of the groups. All members who wished to participate were then taken through the participant consent form, and at the end were given the option to opt out again, and then the forms were signed. Participants who agreed to participate signed two copies of the consent form, with one retained by the participant and one by the team (see Annex 3). Next, the facilitators administered the group participant profile form to all consenting members, to enable an anonymised profile of the participants to be prepared by the team (see Annex 4). Only at this point was the digital tape recorder switched on. Each group ran for about 90 minutes. Participants were asked to introduce themselves with their initials before speaking, to aid the transcription process whilst protecting anonymity.

Throughout the period of fieldwork, the research team kept notes from each group discussion. Following each group, usually on the following day, the team met to compare their notes and

debrief about the group that had been convened, and the notes were then pooled and transcribed into a focus group diary for reference. Where appropriate, small changes were carried through to the topic guides for the subsequent groups. In total there were just three focus group facilitators across the fifteen groups.

After all of the 15 group discussions had been conducted, the audio recordings were transcribed and for groups that were conducted in a language other than English, the transcriptions were translated into English. In total, seven group discussions had to be translated from isiXhosa and five from Afrikaans. Each transcript was checked by a member of the team, and each translated transcription was further checked for accuracy by the relevant groups' facilitator. The transcripts were standardised in presentational style for submission to the UK Data Archive at the end of the project.

When data analysis commenced, three members of the team read and checked all the transcripts and made notes of potential themes for analysis. One member of the team then compiled an EXCEL spreadsheet of these emerging themes, noting the frequency with which they were mentioned within each group and across all groups. Following this exercise, five team members met to discuss the emerging themes, and one member read through the notes and themes again and wrote a short synthesis of findings on how participants experienced inequality - that is visually, relationally, and in terms of structural exclusion. A broader team meeting then took place to discuss the emerging themes and the initial codings to use in NVIVO. Two members of the team then undertook the initial coding of all the transcripts in NVIVO versions 10 and 11, using the list of emerging themes as a starting point for categorising data and creating nodes. Additional nodes were subsequently identified during the NVIVO coding process and added. Throughout this process several research meetings were held with the broader team to discuss the findings as they emerged and this helped to refine the analysis of data, ensuring that the final findings were the outcome of an iterative, rich and in-depth process.

3 Profile of the focus groups and their participants

Table 1 categorises the focus groups by poverty level and exposure to inequality. As can be seen, in practice the Type A groups (those living in high poverty with high exposure to inequality) were achieved by selecting particular individuals who – based on their occupational status – met the criteria of high poverty and high exposure to inequality, and this was prioritised over the actual location of the group. Thus, groups were convened with domestic workers who lived in a deprived township but worked in affluent suburbs; with low income students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) who lived in student residences; and with very low income Big Issue sellers who lived in deprived parts of the city but sold the Big Issue in affluent suburbs. The distinction between Type C and Type D was largely superficial but is presented here based on the accounts of the participants of each group.

Table 1 Summary of focus groups by focus group category (poverty level and exposure to inequality)

Focus group category	Number of groups	Focus group location
A. High poverty, high exposure to inequality	3	Domestic workers who live in Masiphumelele, Big Issue sellers convened in Woodstock, low income students who live in Rondebosch
B. High poverty, low exposure to inequality	8	Guguletu (two groups), Langa, Atlantis, Tafelsig, Delft, Illitha Park, Elsie River
C. Low poverty, high exposure to inequality	2	CBD, Athlone
D. Low poverty, low exposure to inequality	2	Claremont, Durbanville

Note: CBD – The Central Business District of Cape Town.

Although the areas listed in category B are described as ‘low exposure’, this is in relation to other high-poverty areas of Cape Town. When compared to the rest of South Africa, the areas listed in category B would be still regarded as experiencing relatively high exposure, because Cape Town as a whole is characterised by some of the highest levels of exposure to inequality across the whole country.

In addition to the categorisation in Table 1, groups were differentiated from each other by key demographic indicators such as employment status, age, type of work, and population group (see Table 2). The number of participants in each group ranged from five to eight. For most groups an equal gender mix was sought. Despite efforts made, this was not always possible and there were three all-female groups and one all-male group.

Additional details about each of the groups are provided in Annex 5, along with maps of the locations of the groups across the City of Cape Town metropolitan area.

Table 2: Profile of each focus group

FG#	Area	Group description summary	N	Population Group	Age range	Gender mix
1.	Gugulethu	Elderly	9	Black African	60+	8 Female, 1 Male
2.	Claremont	Office workers	5	Black African, White, Coloured, Asian	18+	3 Female, 2 Male
3.	Rondebosch	Students at UCT from elsewhere	8	Black African	18-29	2 Female, 6 Male
4.	Masiphumelele	Domestic Workers	8	Black African	30-59	All Female
5.	Langa	Unemployed Youth	8	Black African	18-29	5 Female, 3 Male
6.	Athlone	Middle Class	7	Coloured	18-59	4 Female, 3 Male
7.	Woodstock (Big Issue)	Big Issue vendors	5	Black African	30-59	4 Female, 1 Male
8.	Atlantis	Low-income	8	Coloured	18-59	All Female
9.	Durbanville	Middle class	5	White, Coloured, Black African	30-59	1 Female, 4 Male
10.	Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain	Low-income	6	Coloured	18-59	4 Female, 2 Male
11.	Delft	Low-income	7	Coloured	30-60+	All Female
12.	Cape Town CBD	Young professionals ("highflyers")	5	Black African, White, mixed	18-29	3 Female, 2 Male
13.	Elsies River	Low-income or unemployed youth	6	Coloured	18-29	All Male
14.	Ilitha Park, Khayelitsha	Elderly, in middle class enclave	8	Black African	60+	4 Female, 4 Male
15.	Gugulethu	Unemployed	7	Black African	30-59	5 Female, 2 Male

The two groups with elderly people (FG1 and FG14) were selected to capture the experiences and views of people in retirement who might be less mobile due to their age and therefore likely to spend most of their time in their local area and thus might have low exposure to life outside their areas. In fact, the participants in FG1 had all been subjected in their youth to forced removals as a result of the Group Areas Act (James, 1992) and shared unique insights about their connections to the City.

The office workers' group (FG2) was chosen to obtain the perspectives of people from diverse areas and walks of life yet all working in the same building in middle-class jobs. As such the group contained members from different population groups, and they all lived in the Southern Suburbs, although the areas they came from had different levels of affluence - from the very wealthy Newlands area, to the more lower middle class suburb of Rondebosch East.

Groups were convened with low-income people who were unemployed or in very low paid work, in Atlantis (FG8), Tafelsig in Mitchell's Plain (FG10), Delft (FG11) and Gugulethu (FG15). Additionally, two unemployed young people's groups (FG5 and FG13) were selected in order to include the perspectives of young people living in poor areas.

Middle class groups were convened across the City of Cape Town: an affluent group in Durbanville (FG9), a lower middle-class group in Athlone (FG6), a 'new' lower-middle class enclave in Khayelitsha's Ilitha Park (FG14), and a group of young professionals in the CBD (FG12).

The domestic worker's group (FG4) was selected because of the unique exposure to inequality that such individuals have as they traverse two very different worlds on a daily basis, from their homes in very poor neighbourhoods to the affluent homes of their employers.

The group with Big Issue vendors (FG7) was selected because of these people's daily exposure to inequality -living in and travelling from poor areas to Cape Town CBD on a daily basis to sell their magazines to wealthy shoppers or motorists at various locations around the city.

The students comprised another group (FG3) that traversed very different settings on a regular basis. Instead of these transitions taking place on a daily basis (as with the Big Issue vendors and the domestic workers), the students all came from areas outside the Western Cape, lived in a UCT residence for term time and returned to their families for the holidays. For all groups that contained participants who originated from areas outside the Cape Town metropolitan area, participants were asked about their ties to other areas, but this was explored in most detail with the students.

In 2011, census data revealed that the City of Cape Town had a total population size of 3.7 million people. In 2016, the total population had risen to 4 million people, comprising 64 percent of the population of the Western Cape province (City of Cape Town, 2017: 1). The main population groups in Cape Town in 2016 comprised: black African people (43%), coloured people (40%), Indian/Asian people (1%) and white people (17%) (City of Cape Town, 2017: 3).

In total, 102 people took part in the groups. Almost two-thirds of the participants were female (65%), and just over one third were male (35%). In terms of population group, 56% were black African, 35% were coloured, 7% were white, 1% were Indian/Asian, and 1% Other.² As far as possible regarding the composition of the groups, attempts were made to reflect the population demographics of the City of Cape Town. Although qualitative research does not require representativity, and the study employed a convenience sampling approach, every effort was made to ensure that there was representation from each population group. However, a number of challenges arose, which included difficulty in accessing the affluent white population, and logistical difficulties with assembling certain of the groups that had been planned for predominantly coloured areas. In addition, the categorization of the focus groups by poverty level and exposure to inequality meant that demographic composition had to be balanced with a range of other group profile and location criteria.

The participants had a range of education levels, with the highest level of education ranging from some secondary schooling (38%), completed secondary schooling (36%), tertiary education (14%), and having postgraduate qualifications (5%). The employment status of the participants was as follows: 32% unemployed, 30% working for pay, 16% retired, 10% self-employed, 10% 'other' and 2% 'don't know'.

² Statistics South Africa defines the main population groups in South Africa as follows: Black African (80.9%), Coloured (8.8%), Indian/Asian (2.5%) and White (7.8%) (STATSSA, 2018). In this working paper we retain the terminology used by the participants in their quotes but use Statistics South Africa's terminology elsewhere.

Table 3 Summary of focus group composition – gender and population group

Focus Group Composition	%
Female	65
Male	35
Black African	56
Coloured	35
White	7
Indian/Asian/Other	1

4 Visual manifestations of inequality across Cape Town

South Africa is famous for being one of the most unequal countries in the world, and the inequality levels in the City of Cape Town are at their highest in the past 10 years (Western Cape Municipal Economic Review, 2018). Inequality in South Africa is also highly spatialized, Cape Town being one of the most spatially segregated cities in the country. This is further exacerbated by the slow growth of the South African economy since the 2008 global financial crisis. Statistics in the Western Cape Municipal Economic Review Outlook show that the inequalities in income distribution within the Cape Metro remain the highest in the province (Western Cape Municipal Economic Review, 2018).

Because of the highly spatialized nature of inequality in Cape Town, people's first experiences with inequality are often visual and highly personal. When the focus group participants compared their own neighbourhoods with other neighbourhoods across the city, numerous examples were given of service delivery variations. These included housing, sanitation, water, transport, schooling, healthcare and emergency services (fire, ambulance, police), each graphically highlighting the different standards of living across the city.

This section provides an account of how people compared their neighbourhoods, in terms of the visual signifiers of inequality with respect to service delivery provision. Examples are given regarding housing, healthcare, education and transport, preceded by a short introductory section on the prominence of population groups in the focus group material

Spatial and racial comparisons

Many of the participants' accounts of the visual manifestations of inequality were seen through a racial lens. This is unsurprising given South Africa's history (e.g. Beinart, 1994; Christopher, 1994; Lemon, 1991; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005; Terreblanche, 2002). Cape Town was and still remains a highly racially divided city, stemming back from the days of colonialism and apartheid planning (Muyeba & Seekings, 2011). Under apartheid, Cape Town prohibited black African people and coloured people from residing in the wealthier, well-resourced and well-serviced parts of the City and relegated them to under-serviced, under-resourced areas, far from the economic hubs of the city and from amenities. People were forcibly removed from the CBD area to outlying townships which still exist such as Langa, Nyanga, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha, and informal settlements were repeatedly destroyed (Dixon & Durheim, 2003; Field, 2001; Wester, 1981).

Crudely put, the apartheid prioritisation of white people over coloured people, and of coloured people over black African (or 'black' in the apartheid terminology) people is still visually evident in different neighbourhoods and these dynamics echoed through to the focus groups of 2018.

The predominantly white parts of town are still the most affluent and well serviced. A participant from Masiphumelele (or 'Masi') contrasts the speed with which electricity and water faults are dealt with in her highly deprived neighbourhood, compared to the neighbourhood of her employer in the predominantly white area of Kommetjie which is very nearby:

“The way I see it, we are not [treated] the same because the reason I say this is because it rained a lot here recently and then we had no electricity. I am making an example- we had no electricity here in Masi for maybe three to four days but people had reported that they had no electricity. That also happened where I work in Kommetjie. The electricity went out in the whole area. As I walked in- I walked in at five past eight - that lady SMS'd, my white boss, she SMS'd during the day. Not even fifteen minutes went past, as I was doing this, Eskom [the electricity provider] is all over the street. Not even thirty minutes went by, I would be lying if I said it did. The electricity was off and then the white people's electricity came back on. We can go without electricity here [for days]... Like you see, we... No, we are treated in a different way. A lot. When you are going to report a burst water pipe, you are told that there is no water in Cape Town. We don't have water. But we can call that thing and report that the water pipe has burst... two or three days can go by and that water is still filling the streets. Like the sewerage that she was talking about. You find it overflowing, we are walking on top of it. But no one will come. But with white people as soon as something small happens, there is already a lot of noise.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

A participant from Langa (also a predominantly black African area) describes how the City and the Province as a whole continue to reinforce the apartheid differential treatment by population group:

“What happens in Cape Town is that we are very different. We are separated by our [skin] colour. That is what is affecting us the most. Firstly, there is still racism in South Africa. Too much. It's worse here in the Western Cape. [...] Number two – the people who benefit the most in the Western Cape are white people. I would say that they are the first class [citizens] of the Western Cape, then second class are Coloureds, then third class are black [i.e. black African] people.” (FG5 Langa)

Following the introduction of free movement in 1994, the racially divided geographical profile of the city has been very slow to change, and so it is unsurprising that neighbourhoods are compared in racial terms. Case Study 1, in the section on Housing below, provides an example of the extent to which race and place are inextricably intertwined when people consider inequality, and of how the apartheid-era differential treatment of population groups is seen to be perpetuated and structurally reinforced through housing policy in the city.

A further racial dynamic that overlays the historical tensions and current spatial divisions of the city is the fact that the national government is dominated by black African leaders (as reflects the country's profile as a whole), and yet the Western Cape provincial government is led by the Democratic Alliance which is dominated by white leaders. Some members of the coloured population have described a feeling of estrangement that has been expressed as being 'not white enough, not black enough' (Adhikari, 2005), and that as a result they are being excluded from economic opportunities (especially public employment programmes) and government services. Some coloured participants suggested that black African people are preferred over them and prioritised by government:

“People are demoralised. And and the black [i.e. black African] people – I am sorry to say this – black people are favoured in everything.” (FG8 Atlantis)

“Because black [i.e. black African] people get first preference for that compared to your child who is coloured who doesn't stand a chance.” (FG11 Delft)

In summary, the focus group participants' accounts of their experiences of the City were heavily laden with references to race, with race playing a central role in descriptions of how areas and government services compared.

4.2 Housing

Housing quality was a very prominent theme in the focus groups when people compared neighbourhoods across the city. The table below illustrates dwelling type based on the population group of the head of household.

Table 3: Dwelling type by population group of household head, City of Cape Town 2016

Dwelling Type	Population group of household head			
	Black African %	Coloured %	Indian/Asian %	White %
Formal	64.7	94.6	98.2	99.5
Informal	34.5	4.5	0.9	0.0
Traditional or other	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.5

Source: City of Cape Town (2017) pp. 47-49.

Note: 'Informal' comprises of informal dwelling in backyard as well as informal dwelling not in backyard.

As illustrated in the table above, less than two-thirds of Black African households lived in formal dwellings in 2016 (65%), compared with 95% of coloured households, 98% of Indian/Asian households and almost 100% of white households.

Water and sanitation were also major concerns in many of the groups, and not only the groups that lacked them. According to the 2016 Community Survey, only 54% of Black Africans households (based on the household head) had access to piped water inside dwelling. In contrast, 99% of white households and Indian/Asian households and 95% of Coloured households had access to piped water inside their dwelling (see Table 4).

Table 4: Access to water based on population group of household head, City of Cape Town 2016

Population group	Piped water inside dwelling %	Piped water inside yard not in dwelling %	Piped water outside yard %	No access to piped water %
Black African	54.1	21.4	24.4	0.2
Coloured	95.4	3.4	1.0	0.2
Indian/Asian	98.5	0.8	0.7	0.0
White	98.6	0.9	0.1	0.4

Source: City of Cape Town (2017) pp. 49-50.

As an example, one of the office workers in Claremont described the stark visual differences:

I think Cape Town is just a bit too extreme, its, there's just too much inequality here. Like I think it's, it's bad it's, I think one of the worst cities I've been to. If you look at the difference between your Khayelitsha your Gugulethu and you go to Newlands or....its, its bad. I think even the service delivery there, you look at the houses there you look at how the people live there. It's, it's bad, it's like you know, I think... like it's just scary. I...yes, but it [the participant's relocation to Cape Town] has changed my perspective of what inequality is.”(FG2 Claremont)

Another office worker in Claremont described how his friend had moved to accommodation in Khayelitsha that had no sanitation within the house, and how this amounted to a total absence of service delivery:

“I think when you think about service delivery, I just, I think about like...my friend stayed in... she moved to Khayelitsha from staying in (inaudible), and people don't have toilets and that is...in it's like very...I mean here you can normally just go to toilet and flush in your house but there it's like nothing. I mean and she had to get used to adapting to that and ...that's why I'm saying in terms of service, then it's not as easy on my side I think because if there's [places like Khayelitsha] then there's clearly no service delivery I think.”(FG2 Claremont)

A domestic worker from Masiphumelele commented on how her neighbourhood was so dirty, with communal toilets often getting blocked for long periods, that she wished that only adults lived there:

“To support what SS is saying- we really live in bad areas, especially where I live, they sometimes see it. Like they say, the toilets are all together- sometimes it can get blocked for up to two weeks and you find that you are forced to get drinking water there, you don't have a choice about where you are to get this water from because you have to drink it. What I mean is that we really stay in dirty areas, like now if you had to go to the area where I stay, you would find that it is dirty. I wish that there were no children in that area, just adults.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

One participant from Ilitha Park, a black middle-class enclave within Khayelitsha, observed that his area received better basic service provision than other neighbouring townships within Khayelitsha:

“The way of living here could be better but there is one thing that hits. These things that we were talking about (access to healthcare services). Because at least the streets get clean, and we have toilets. And the sewerage is dealt with here. Unlike other places like Site B, Site C where you find it in the streets... it's a mess, it comes out of the drains. At least, no it is better this side. It is a bit clean.”(FG14 Ilitha Park)

A student commented on how fortunate he feels that he does not live in a shack unlike the many people who have to endure inhumane living conditions:

“Can I give a direct response? [...] you look at Cape Town's geographical setting and how people live for example, if I go to Phillipi I would see a situation where there's the same kind of blocks of houses that aren't really that nice, most people [there] don't really live in such a manner that you would deem its humane you see, there's too many people living in shacks and I for one I'm very blessed to say that I'm not living in a shack.” (FG3 Rondebosch)

Despite the stark visual discrepancies in housing standards across the City, a participant in the CBD group, commented on how for affluent people it is possible to live in a 'bubble', and also that although visiting tourists express shock about the informal settlements near the airport, their shock seems to evaporate quickly once they are in the CBD:

"just, talking about that apartheid city and just...it's so easy to live in your tiny bubble if you are in the like middle or upper class. [...]Like the things that the city doesn't want you to see, you don't see (collective agreement), and that's how like internationals can come here and then they drive past townships from the airport and they're like ohh this is really terrible but then as soon as they are in the city centre they forget. (FG12 CBD)

Case study 1: Looking across the railway line

A focus group participant compares the housing standards and basic service conditions in their own area of Gugulethu with the area across the railway line, expressing discontent over the inequalities and differential treatment of racial groups:

"Can I just add to what she just said... What we are talking about, inequality. Ummm, if you notice on the news, you'll never hear that they were saying... here when they are protesting. When there are protests. Like two weeks back there were protests because of housing, and the roads were closed. People are fighting about the quality of houses but now if you just go across the railway line because here (this area) the people are separated by the railway line from the coloured people. You understand? Now if you notice, if we look on their side, you notice that a lot of the time there is lot of development in terms of the building of houses and you'll never hear that coloured people were throwing stones or blocking roads, burning things and everything. But we are given so many excuses when it comes to service delivery, especially when it comes to houses. The problems that we have all the time is that we are always being told that there is a waiting list and there is no money to fund the building of the houses or there is no land etc etc. The list of problems that the government give us are a thousand and fifty thousand. You understand? Whereas again if we look across the railway line to that side... You understand? We don't see those problems. There is always funding. You see houses being built then you blink and they are already done and people are moving in, there are curtains inside. You understand? But then when it comes to us black people, the inequality between us and coloured people... I've noticed that it plays a role in why we don't get along with coloured people. Because in Cape Town, it's a fact that black [African] people and coloured do not get along. We're not going to [deny it]. And that animosity is caused more and more by the gap between us because of service delivery. Because if service delivery was equal, we would see a difference. Like, look with the RDP houses for example, the RDP houses we black [African] people are given in our townships. You find that it doesn't even have aluminium [window] instead it has a wooden [frame]... let's cross and look across the railway, they are given aluminium windows, you understand? Whereas with us you are going to be given a kitchen, dining room, one room, two if you're lucky and then the bathroom. You understand? And if you are someone with furniture and you put your furniture in all those rooms... You will never... You have to tip-toe in your own house, you don't have space because the space is too small. The room divider does not fit and the bed... I don't know maybe you have to put it on its side during the day (Laughter). Then put it back down when it's time to sleep, you understand? But if you look on that side, the [houses] are spacious, sometimes some of them are even double stories, you understand? Because they say there is no land on our side, on the side of the black [African] people... why don't they do the same thing, you understand? So I also want to say that also on the side of politics, as you mentioned it, even politics plays a role in why there is inequality, you understand? And I am going to mention these parties... DA and ANC are playing with us. Both of them. The reason I say that they are both playing with us is because, the DA is doing their own thing and not catering to black [African] people, it is catering to the other side, which is white people and coloured people. And then the ANC is also... in other provinces, you can also see their mistakes, you understand? It's also not perfect and I am not defending it but it has its problems. But inequality will never end because of those things."(FG15 Gugulethu)

4.3 Healthcare services

Many participants spoke about the discrepancies in the provision of the healthcare services in their area compared to other areas in the City. For example, a student compared the healthcare services in the southern Suburbs with the townships:

“But yes I'd say that you see those service deliveries in townships and very disadvantaged communities and you can see the difference from areas here [in the southern Suburbs] where people are well off because you go to a clinic in a suburb, there's barely anyone there firstly and they're very quick to attend to [patients]. And the equipment that they use is also...it's good enough whereas in the townships they're using very old equipment.” (FG3 Rondebosch)

Again, many participants described the differential standards of healthcare in racial terms. For example, black African participants complained about the preferential treatment of coloured people by the government. For example, a participant in Gugulethu contrasted the healthcare in his area with neighbouring Heideveld, which is a predominantly coloured area, in terms of the number of nurses, the waiting times, the standard of the equipment and the availability of medicines:

“And like nurses are few. You go for something small but you'll find that when you get there, for example, if you go at six in the morning, guaranteed you are going to go home the next day, you understand? Whereas if for example if I compare just a few kilometers away from here in Heideveld. [In] Heideveld you are able to be back from there within three hours. Which is... what I don't understand. Why is it that Coloureds -which is now, we are turning it around, like let's not look at it in terms of financials, in terms of finance, let's look at it in terms of race. When it comes to the issue of race, also we are suffering, because if you look at just what I compared to you now, with regards to services that we get as black [i.e. black African] people compared to Heideveld or even Bonteheuwel, what is that place... Vanguard Day Hospital. Both of them, by far, are better. You realize that KTC comes after them. KTC is old but it doesn't get equipment that is of a high standard. So even if... like even the medicines etc...even getting medicine is a problem. You understand?” (FG15 Gugulethu)

In Masiphumelele, a participant described an incident where the public ambulance took four hours to arrive, whereas the response time was much quicker when a similar situation occurred at her employer's house in a predominantly white area:

“You can spend two, three hours waiting for an ambulance here until you have to get a car from here specifically. If I go and knock on someone's door next door asking for a car to take me to the hospital, it's R300 to go to False Bay [and yet] there is an ambulance in False Bay. But it will never come immediately. It will take three hours. My brother stays here... Hours passed... And we were forced to hire a car. The ambulance came... We called at about 8, you see, 8 in the evening, we phone the ambulance. The ambulance came at 12! [People gasping] Couldn't that person have died? He would have died! But when a white person calls now... There was a child whose chest had closed up. She didn't call their own private [ambulance], she called a government hospital. The ambulance arrived immediately and took the child to the hospital.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Cape Town has many private hospitals, but the public hospitals are under great pressure. A resident from Ilitha Park describes how their hospital serves the whole of Khayelitsha:

“There is a hospital that is nearby here but it’s for the people of this whole Khayelitsha area. That is the hospital we use and its clinic. That is the one I was talking about, the treatment is not nice there at that hospital. If you go there at seven o’clock you will come back at half past four. You’ll come back at half past four. And even there you might not get medicine.” (FG14 Ilitha Park)

People in Masiphumelele spoke about how they are required to attend the local clinic before being allowed to go to hospital, but that it is possible to queue at the clinic for an entire day and still not be attended to:

“The clinic closes. You will never get in... They close all the gates, they close the doors [whether] it is raining, it is windy, everything. [Even if] you have children on your backs, you are sick, you can’t just go to the hospital first. At the hospital they will say, why did you leave Masiphumelele? They will send you back. At the hospital they will tell you to go back to Masiphumelele, but you are running away from Masiphumelele. You are running away from that queue. It is raining... [..]. You are queueing. And then you have been sitting there the whole day, they do not call your name. You leave the clinic at four o’clock [in the afternoon], when they close. You have been sitting there the whole time.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Nevertheless, a small number of elderly participants who originated from the Eastern Cape commented on how they had decided to remain in Cape Town as the healthcare services were better than in the Eastern Cape.

4.4 Education

Many of the groups highlighted the disparity in the quality of education and availability of facilities at schools across the City. A man who grew up in Straandfontein but had later in life moved to an affluent suburb in Cape Town contrasted his time at school with the schools in Kenilworth and Rondebosch:

“The facilities were better, urrm in Kenilworth than in Straandfontein, but even where I’m staying now in Rondebosch its...schools are, some of the best schools in South Africa I mean, I mean there’s Bishops is there, Rondebosch Boys. I just, I’ve never seen schools like that before. When I came, I saw gyms and like cricket fields, like they use professional equipment like batting and bowling machines. At our school (laughs) we had a, synthetic turf and we didn’t even have a proper pitch and then here just like you see much better facilities and opportunities.” (FG2 Office Workers)

One of members of the Durbanville group recounts how the school fees in her area are much higher than in poorer areas and that the quality of the education and facilities are better in her neighbourhood. She worried about the unequal outcomes for children educated in different parts of the city:

“It is twofold. We had this conversation at work yesterday. My school fees are 2000% higher than that of someone who lives in Fish Hoek or Hout Bay, for example. The schools there are R200 per month [typical in very poor schools], whereas in this area it is R1500 per month. So the costs involved differ a lot, and the quality also differs. The inequality in terms of quality of education - You can see the difference between schools where you pay R200 a month and

where you pay R1500 a month. Even if you pay R200, you should still get the same quality of education that a child gets who lives in another area [that pays more], like the area we are in now. So it is twofold, the amount that you pay and also the quality of the facilities. We have a rugby field; do they [poor schools] have rugby fields? The facilities are not the same [at poor schools], and what happens after 12 years of school? What then? Are their children [children from poor areas] going to be the same 18-year-old as someone from this area? That is inequality. How are they going to compare?” (FG 9 Durbanville)

Some participants described the extra measures that they took to send their children to more expensive schools in more affluent parts of the city:

“It also shows how we don’t want to send our child to school X. It just shows how unequal it is. How come I do not want to send my child across the road? It just shows that the education is unequal. The government owns both schools or looks over both schools, how come the other is doing worse and the other is doing better?” (FG6 Athlone)

However, for others this was an unaffordable option. Participants from Masiphumelele described how they had no option but to send their children to the only school in the area, where classrooms are overcrowded. They are worried that their children’s education would be no better than they themselves had had in the villages from which they came:

“We really hope that the things that we could not get can be given to our children. Because we did not get them we want our children to never live the lives that we’ve had to live. Those are my views. That our children never have to walk down the road that we’ve walked. I wish they could get these things and find a way to live. Especially with regards to the education that we spoke about [...]. How can there be only one school in area that has a population of over six thousand? I don’t know the exact population but there are a lot of people here. One primary and one high school? And they don’t want [our children] at these schools in surrounding areas because they say the children come with violence, they come with bad dirty things from Masiphumelele. And then you find that children are not getting properly educated. It’s like those classes from the olden days where you find that there are 65 children in one classroom. That used to happen to us when we went to school in the village but it is also happening here in Masiphumelele. One class will have 65 or 75 people because every child has to go to school.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

4.5 Transport

Public transport featured prominently in the focus groups. The findings suggest that the lived experience of inequality for low-income people in Cape Town is closely linked to transport (in)justice and social exclusion, impacting on people’s day-to-day negotiation of the City, limiting where they go, where and how they work and seek work, and how they spend their leisure time.

The City of Cape Town’s Transport and Urban Development Unit has calculated that 95% of public transport users are in the low to low-medium income groups, and that the average direct transport cost for the low-income public transport user group is 45% of their monthly household income (City of Cape Town, nd).

A number of participants spoke about how their areas do not have accessible safe transport hubs within walking distance, even though surrounding neighbouring areas do:

“There is a [transport] place near Heideveld that is close to schools near the Junction, there is one in Langa, there is one in Section 2, but we don’t have one in Gugulethu. A child from Gugulethu has to take a taxi to Langa. They have to take a taxi and go far to the Junction. I am talking about things like that” (FG1 Gugulethu)

Some people spoke about how they did not have access to certain modes of transport at all:

“I see it in the types of transport. Like when we were coming here, we don't even have buses inside [Ilitha Park]. And other transport types that move inside, we don't have them. Because they said they can't bring them in. We have to find these different types of transport very far, like you have to go to Claremont, and you get them there near Broncho but around here, we don't have buses.”(FG14 Ilitha Park)

In some areas, transport was described as being accessible but unsafe, leading to a decision to use a more expensive alternative, and to travel less:

“...well I don't have a car so I rely heavily on public transport....and even that, I'd rather Uber than take a [minibus]taxi anywhere and I live 10 minutes away from work....but I'll still Uber instead of taking a [minibus]taxi., so when it comes to travelling in Cape Town I've never been to anywhere else besides the nicer parts of Cape Town..... The [minibus]taxi is cheaper than Uber, its waay cheaper! But because it's safer for me to Uber instead (sigh) and I don't live far from[minibus]taxis, I live out in Main Road so I walk out my door and the [minibus]taxis are right there. But....because it's safer for me to travel by Uber then I'd rather pay for that cost.... I don't go to other parts because then if I Uber everywhere then that's expensive to travel to other parts...” (FG2 Claremont)

Although participants spoke about trains being cheaper, they highlighted how these can be unreliable, forcing low-paid workers to spend a large proportion of their low earnings on more expensive alternatives:

“Starting from January this year the trains have been running badly all the time...You find that even though you are sitting with her [the employer]- explaining to her that now it's not the same as when I used to buy a monthly [train] ticket, now I use R50 a day, it's not the same as when I was using the ticket for the train and using that all the time. It's the [minibus]taxi because I want to make your time. Can't you increase the money and she will say that no, she cannot do that. But you left your house at 7 [am] to be on time at work at 8 [am] but you know you will leave at 4 [pm]. Even when you tell them that there is a traffic jam or that the taxi you are in has been stopped by traffic [officers], she won't understand that. She doesn't even want you to be five minutes late. You have to make her time because she is rushing to her own important places....I mean the issue of transport affects us a lot, anything to do with transport....” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

For some participants access to transport was constrained by affordability resulting in limited movements. Below, a student describes how he is unable to travel much due to the cost, and a woman from Atlantis recounts how she had to turn down a job as the travel costs would have exceeded the income:

“It comes back to this thing of...showing that you don't really have the means. That's another touchy topic because I have meals three times a day sure, I can attend classes...because someone is paying for me. But now when I have to go to town, I have to take out money and get a taxi and go somewhere and do...I don't have that money.... so more than often...I will

stay within my lane, this space I can move around and manoeuvre in because that's...as much as I was able to afford, even though there's someone else, I've gone out here and there to go see Khayelitsha...Mzoli's, Table Mountain, no not Table Mountain, Lions Head, places like that just for extra mural activities and stuff like that.....but other than that there hasn't really been much [travel] outside this space that I was afforded.” (FG3 Rondebosch)

“So... (clears throat) um, prices are going up. Your money's of little value. Very little. Nothing. It's basically nothing. So, I won't – I had a job offer. I can't take it because my travelling fare ..is more than my income.”(FG8 Atlantis)

5 Inequality is experienced relationally within Cape Town

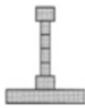
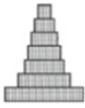
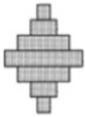
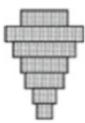
People's accounts of their experiences of inequality extend beyond matters relating to housing and services. Participants expressed how they experienced inequality relationally, either through interactions within their own households, or while working or work-seeking, or while visiting other neighbourhoods. In addition, the media played a role in shaping participants' views about inequality, particularly regarding other countries in Africa. People's reference groups and experiences of inequality through relations with others played a critical role in how participants positioned themselves, their neighbourhoods, the City of Cape Town, and South Africa as a whole (Irwin 2016; Pahl et al., 2007; Savage et al., 2005).

This section presents findings on participants' experiences of inequality through relations with others. First, an account is given of the question that was used at the start of each focus group, about different images of society (Section 5.1). The rest of the section provides examples of how inequality was described as being experienced relationally in three contexts with respect to reference groups: when at work or work-seeking; within one's own household and immediate family; and with respect to foreigners.

5.1 Images of society

Each of the focus group discussions began with a question that has been used in the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS). SASAS is a nationally representative survey on people's social attitudes on a range of issues. This pre-existing question from the SASAS was used in the focus group discussions as a way to start the discussions. The question presented respondents with a series of diagrams representing societal inequality (Figure 1). Participants were given a sheet of paper with the diagrams and descriptions, and the descriptions were read out by the facilitator. Participants were then invited to comment on which image they thought most closely depicted South Africa, the City of Cape Town and their own local neighbourhoods. The question posed is worded as follows: 'which image do you think most closely depicts South Africa as a country [or 'Cape Town', or 'your local neighbourhood'] today?'

Figure 1: Images of society diagram

Type A		A small group of rich people at the top, very few people in the middle and the great majority of people at the bottom.
Type B		A society with a small group of rich people at the top, more people in the middle, and most at the bottom.
Type C		Similar to Type B except that just a few people are at the bottom
Type D		A society with most people in the middle.
Type E		Many people near the top, and only a few near the bottom.

Source: (SASAS, 2017)

The majority of the focus group participants said that both South Africa as a whole, and the City of Cape Town in particular, were best depicted by the Type A or Type B images. Both Type A and B suggest a highly unequal society with a small group of people at the top and large parts of the population at the bottom. Reasons for participants' choices were attributed to a range of factors including their personal experiences, and relationships and interactions with others in the city.

For example, one participant explained why he sees South Africa as being best epitomised by the Type A image, based on experiences he had whilst traveling, and interactions with friends from other countries outside South Africa:

"No because I, I just remember I went, I travelled to America and I spoke to them about... [I] spoke to them about like my lifestyle here in South Africa and even my European friends they came to visit me here in South Africa and they were just like, "you guys can do so much here you know, there's so much you can do", obviously if you're poor, if you're not middle class you can't do those things but because we're just middle class, we aren't rich in South Africa but we're just middle class, the quality of life is really good you know, but for poor people they can't do that, they just, they are just literally trying to survive. And we complain a lot, yes, but, but as a middle class person I actually don't have anything to complain about. So I would say that it's rather a small group of very rich people at the top, because actually South Africa does have one of the highest Gini-coefficients in the world, so it must be you know like Brazil, South Africa... Like if there's a country that would be type A it would be South Africa, it would be a Brazil." (FG12 CBD)

Regarding the city itself, a participant from the focus group conducted with office workers in Claremont explains how her experiences at university shaped her views about Cape Town, causing her to identify the city as best represented by the type A image:

"I used to think it [Cape Town] was [type] B, and then I started talking to people in university and I realised that we are actually more at [type] A. Because a lot of my friends at university were funded and they, were like still the first people in their family to even get to university. So that was quite an eye opener I really used to think we were at [type] B, but I think, when it comes to the interactions I had with people on campus it's, it's an A." (Claremont, FG2)

A participant from the group conducted with students who has relatives in Cape Town, and has subsequently been exposed to other areas of the City said that the city was type A:

"I also support the type A for Cape Town as well, but I have had the experience of actually going out but not necessarily on tutoring and stuff like that but I also have family in Cape Town. So maybe one holiday I'd go home and I'd see my aunt because she lives here in Cape Town. Yes outside Rondebosch, she's in Khayelitsha so she's in the townships. So when you go there you actually do see that there's a lot of people that I would regard as poor or not exactly the middle class and they are not rich either and get exposed to rich people when you come [to] like town or Sea Point or stuff like that but that's also a very small section of Cape Town. So I'd say, there's not really many people in the middle, it's just rich and poor." (FG3 Rondebosch)

Those participants who chose to situate themselves on the diagram saw themselves as being more in the middle: neither well off, but not worst off either. This is a phenomenon that has been observed in other research studies where poor people's subjective beliefs about their position in society placed them in the middle (Irwin 2016; Cruces et al., 2013; Pahl et al., 2007; Savage et al., 2001). Irwin attributes this to "processes of cultural othering and boundary drawing between in- and out-groups.....[where] even among the most disadvantaged, poverty is seen to describe the experience of others, a marker of victimhood and lack of agency from which study participants sought to distance themselves. People may 'disidentify' from othered groups to shore up their own identity....Asked about their view of society and their own position within it, people commonly assert a diamond or onion shape and see themselves to be situated in the middle of the wider distribution" (Irwin, 2016:3). For example, a Big Issue seller said:

"[I would place myself] in the middle. Because sometimes I feel that hey, I feel for other people because they don't have what I have sometimes. I sometimes see that other people are worse off than me. I envy the ones who are at the top." (FG7 Woodstock)

Some participants applied this 'middling view' not only to themselves as individuals but to the deprived communities they lived in. For example, a member of the Atlantis group opted for the type D image for their area:

"I think we are not perfectly or evenly balanced. But we don't have a big percentage of people that are rich or a big percentage of people that are poor. We have three levels. There are the rich, middle class and the poor people. To me it looks like type D." (FG8 Atlantis)

For some the 'middling view' was more of an exhortation to resist the categorisation of being poor. For example, one young unemployed participant selected the Type D image for their area for the following reason:

"But we mustn't classify ourselves as being in poverty. And oppress ourselves. Because once we keep saying we are poor, you will be poor for the rest of your life. Don't give yourself that [label] that I'm poor. Lift yourself up!" (FGD15 Gugulethu)

A few people translated this 'middling view' to the entire City of Cape Town, viewing the city as a whole as being more in the middle with neither many rich people, nor many poor people. As such, some participants placed the City of Cape Town as being best depicted by type C or type D with many more people in the middle. People attributed this to the fact that many people could still manage to support their families. For example:

"So I choose type D, because in the middle is to have a little bit of... and you don't have, so that doesn't mean you're poor. A lot of people is so poor. So I would take type D, because in the middle line you have and you don't have, but you're not that poor. Because I mean in the whole Western Cape maybe you get type middle... As you can see, if you go to shops you will see they're not rich, but they have enough to support their families and so on." (FG10 Tafelsig)

Other reasons included economic policies such as Black Economic Empowerment which were seen to be providing more opportunities for people, for example:

"I would say C though. Like, I do agree with you though, on the statements. But I see with C...cause I mean, now, like after Apartheid and all BEE happening as well." (FG6 Athlone)

Sociologists who have examined this phenomenon argue that people use their own subjective perception of their placement in a given society and from that basis, generalise out to the world (Bottero, 2005; Kelley and Evans, 1995). Scholars argue that "this encourages a middling tendency in subjective social location, and an underestimation of the extent of inequality (Evans and Kelley, 2004; Kelley and Evans, 1995; Lindemann and Saar, 2014; Rowlingson et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the Type A and Type B images predominated. The discussion of this SASAS question in a group context highlights the complex spatial and temporal references that people bring to bear when considering inequality in their local neighbourhood, across the City, and in South Africa as a whole.

5.2 Inequality experienced relationally through interactions when working and work-seeking

Participants in paid employment spoke about how they experienced inequality through various interactions while at work. This was depicted particularly strikingly by participants who worked as domestic workers and lived in the informal settlement of Masiphumelele. Participants from this group spoke about the countless ways in which they experienced inequality whilst at work: inequality manifested itself not only visually in terms of the different standards of living of their employers compared with their own, but also in terms of unequal power relations. Many examples were provided of domestic workers having little or no freedom to respond to their own domestic emergencies or even day-to-day needs of their own families while at work. Participants spoke about the difficulty they have with their employers who are often inconsiderate and unsympathetic to their struggles. A domestic worker provides an example of these tensions:

"It is very painful sister, for example I recently moved here to the informal settlement, and you find that you leave your house wet [due to flooding in the wetlands where the informal settlements are located]. You go to work, you leave the children. When you get there, the

white person doesn't care when you report that you have a problem at home, maybe your house is not okay, they don't have time for you, the only thing they want is your labour. They just want you to work. They don't even ask if your house is okay, are the children alright. I mean like showing some care, [showing] that they care about your family. And if your time to leave is at four, even if it is raining or whatever, you will leave at four. You will wait [for that time]. You don't know how you will find your children. Like [X] was saying. The situation is painful and you feel very small when you get to a white person, because, they have everything. And even if they give you something to eat, you think of your children and wonder about them, because you are in a warm place. I mean, our circumstances are difficult." (Masiphumelele, FG4)

The domestic workers' experiences of work can be regarded as being at the 'sharp end' of inequality, with their own need to earn a living causing them to have to tolerate being badly treated or exploited in various ways by their more affluent employers:

"For example, the amount of fires here in Masiphumelele is a lot. And you find that [hardly] a week passes by and you will hear that the wetlands are burning, the informal settlement where we live. There is a fire while you are at work, and when you are at work -maybe [X] is Whatsapping me telling me it is burning and you tell the white [employer] that they say that [our homes] are burning and they tell you to finish something off first. They don't care that where you live is burning, they only want you to do what you are doing and then when you get there, you are stressed [thinking] "my house has burned down, I wonder where my children are while it is burning?" Because immediately when there is fire, you think about the children. You don't have time for anything else. Even after everything you own has burned down, but the following day the white people will want you to be at work. They don't give you anything to support you, [they don't think] "yes I want this person's labour, but at least now let me do something to show them that I care that something horrible like this has happened to them". I mean, really where we live is not okay." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

As a less extreme example of unequal powers, yet still forceful in terms of the level of control that is exerted over the domestic workers, a woman contrasts her employer's ability to play music at home, with her own inability to enjoy music either at home or at work:

"Where I live, the white people eventually just put up a wall [around the area] because they say that the black people are making too much noise. So they put up a wall but when we are in their homes, we can't make a noise [either]. We just sit and it is nice [for them] and even their children are playing, if the employer wants to play music, she [plays it].....if you want to listen to music in your own home then you know that you have to listen to it softly. Because they will say that there in that area in Little Water- they say there that you must lower your music because you are making a noise with your music." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Participants from the Big Issue focus group also spoke about their experiences of the ill-treatment they received from some customers while they were trying to sell their magazines, with examples given of being rudely turned away by drivers, or of being invited over by a driver to the car window and then dismissed. These street-level encounters contribute to the lived experience of inequality in the vendors' day to day lives, by having to tolerate rude behaviour of wealthy potential customers for the sake of the prospect of a very small income.

R1: They are wrong

R2: They are very wrong. Some of them, even when you are coming up to them trying to show them the magazine...

R1: They chase you away. So rudely!

R1: The other thing that I have noticed, they have this tendency of... You see that thing can be hurtful towards anyone. Someone will do this [demonstrates waving you towards them] with their hands and then do it again. You see? (Laughter). And then you go there smiling.

Then when you get there, they are on their phones. Or they will say whatever it is that they say. But at the time, they had taken out their hand [and waved you towards them]

(Woodstock, FG7)

The second theme to arise regarding the lived experience of inequality when at work or work-seeking related to perceived variations in the treatment of people of different population groups. The mostly white middle-class group in Durbanville spoke of preferential recruitment of non-white people; the groups in coloured communities gave examples of their experiences of black African people being prioritised over them. Some low-income participants in the black African groups spoke of how coloured people were preferentially recruited at work because of racism and language barriers, as well as the threat to their employment prospects of people from neighbouring countries who would work for very low wages.

For example, one participant in Durbanville described how they felt the government policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) specifically disadvantaged individuals who had necessary skills for a job but would not be selected based on their race, though he did accept the need to preferentially recruit historically disadvantaged people as apprentices:

“Just my view of BEE. I think there are two requirements: aptitude and competence. I see it in my work environment where we have appies [apprentices]. An appie is not competent yet, so then you have to do aptitude tests. And then if we have two candidates that come really close [have similar test scores], then we say we owe it to the future generation to set things right, and then we will take the black guy forward. It is the right thing to do. When you deal with qualified people...you cannot afford to appoint someone that cannot do the job...we appoint the right person that meets the skill requirements. People who are the ‘right colour’ are often not on that level yet [in terms of skills and experience].” (FG9 Durbanville)

A participant in Atlantis commented that affirmative action is necessary due to ongoing racial inequalities:

“I would say yes, there are racial inequalities, because if there weren’t inequalities, then it would not have been necessary for affirmative action. When it comes to work circumstances, black people receive preference and so. If there were no inequalities, then that system wouldn’t still be in place.” (Atlantis, FG8)

In the Athlone focus group, a participant expressed how he felt that black African people were prioritised over coloured job applicants:

Participant: The government is also unfair because I know of a few people who got jobs because of the colour of their skin. I know for sure the people who didn’t get the job were more talented, they had the same qualifications but more talented and more gifted in their

craft. They didn't get the job because of the colour of their skin and the other got it because of the colour of their skin but not as talented because company is trying to fit the quota system. That is hard because I worked my ass off by getting high marks but won't get the job. Facilitator: So who is the one who will get the job?

Participant: Black [i.e. a black African person] but once you get in there it is the whites as well.

(FG6 Athlone)

In contrast, a black African woman described how her lighter skin and ability to speak Afrikaans serve as an advantage when job-seeking:

"I hear the question you're asking. Let's say now I leave the house telling myself that I am going to look for a job. I leave. I am going to get to town... maybe there are two of us... Inequality... I am light-skinned, she is dark-skinned. We both go together. I walk into that company or shop looking for a job. She [the other woman] will go in first and ask for a job and they will tell her there are no jobs. Or while we are walking together, she will be greeted in isiXhosa, and I will be greeted in Afrikaans, and also be treated better. Then, that's where inequality starts and also our qualifications are the same, but she has experience but because I am light-skinned, and perhaps I know how to speak Afrikaans. That's my advantage, I am taken and she is rejected. You see? Those are the things we encounter when we go and look for work," (FG15 Gugulethu)

In summary, many examples were given of ways in which inequality is experienced relationally in the work-place and when work-seeking, and it was commonly expressed in racial terms.

5.3 Inequality experienced relationally in the immediate and extended family

In many of the groups, participants spoke about the differences they observed between themselves and their immediate or extended families, usually in terms of how their own circumstances were better than for others in their family, but sometimes the reverse.

The elderly participants spoke about how they still had to care for their children and even grandchildren. This was a result of the inability of their adult children to find employment.

"Let me put it that way but the thing that affects people is poverty and people who are starving. Look at how old I am, I am seventy-nine but I have children who I am supporting who are thirty years old. Do you hear that? They don't have jobs. Children who are thirty years old are very young. They don't have jobs. So I have to support them with my old age grant that I get from the government so I can buy food for the household. I live with them at home." (FG14 Ilitha Park)

Some of the elderly people spoke about how their children who still lived with them would only spend money on themselves and would not share their money with the rest of the household. This resulted in inequality being experienced within the household, encapsulated by what the children wear and eat and the type of rubbish that ends up in the dustbin:

R8: When the month ends you will hear from them. You will see it from them that the month has ended. They don't care about you.

Facilitator: How will you see it from them that the month has ended?

R8: Oh, they have new Nike [sneakers]

R4: They buy [food from] Steers. Steers and Debonairs

Facilitator: Aha, and they don't bring some for you?

R3: No!

R4: No!

R1: No!

R8: No!

R5: You will see it in your dustbin (FG1 Gugulethu)

5.3 Inequality experienced relationally - foreigners

When discussing their interactions with foreigners, participants would often compare South Africa to other African countries. Many participants felt that South Africa was a better country to live in than other African countries such as Ethiopia and Zimbabwe, and explained that this must be the case due to the number of foreign nationals who were leaving their countries and choosing to come to South Africa.

"From what I can see - the way they [foreigners] are all coming here - I would say that it looks like it's worse than in South Africa. Maybe they also come here in the way that they do, maybe they are also running away from poverty. I also have a feeling that it [poverty] is worse that side than it is here." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

A number of participants also expressed the view that although many people in South Africa lived in poverty, including some of the participants themselves, they too thought that South Africa was a better place to live. These conclusions were not only drawn from participants' interactions with foreigners but also from what they saw on TV:

"Yes, within Africa. I mean I was just thinking about how lucky we are. Yes, we are poor but we are not poor. There are places where people are really poor. On the news, there was a place they were showing where people drink the same water as cows. The cows are on one side and the people on other. You see? Here in Africa. I am comparing it with Africa." (FG15 Gugulethu)

Several of the low income groups raised the issue of the threat of foreigners to their employment prospects, for example in Masiphumelele and Tafelsig people worried that they were crowding out South African employees by accepting lower wages:

"I would say that it looks like South Africa is a better place than other countries, from what I hear. Like foreigners, like people from Zimbabwe, some of them don't want to go back there. Because, they come here and they start businesses, and they work because since they have businesses or work, they get work here because they are paid little money here in South Africa. We as South Africans don't want this little money because we... I mean South Africa is better because I mean South Africa [has always been] better. Because when the people come from other countries like Zimbabwe, they... White people don't want to hire South Africans

now because they charge too much money. One white person even said that it's because we charge too much money. Foreigners take the money even if it is little.” (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Participants in other focus group also raised concerns about how the presence of foreigners limited their chances of finding work or starting their own businesses. A participant describes this below;

R3: But guys, let's leave black people. Jobs nowadays are given to foreigners

R3: Because they take whatever they get

R8: At the garage....even if it is in these places.... These companies, whatever. In these places that look like they have better jobs. They will fire you because you want a better wage and they will take this one (inaudible audio) because they don't care how much money they get, as long as they get money (FG1 Langa)

These sentiments are reinforced by other participants from the focus group in Tafelsig:

“The foreigners are taking our jobs right out of our hands. Because if they open up a mobile shop, you can't [compete]. And they overcharge people. They have more mobiles [spaza shops] here. Wherever you look, it's Pakistanis and Nigerians or whatever they're called. Because South Africa also allows those people to come and take our jobs to earn that piece of bread.”(FG10 Tafelsig)

In the CBD group, a participant made the distinction between foreigners from other African countries, and those from Europe or America whom they referred to as "internationals". The “internationals” were not a threat to job opportunities but rather drove up the costing of living in affluent parts of the city (CBD, Sea Point, Vredehoek):

“But it is like, I don't want to come across at all as xenophobic or anything but to touch on the internationalisation of Cape Town and how internationals find it so much more accessible and start sort of infiltrating - and I'm trying not to be like negative about it or anything - the City Bowl and like Sea Point, Green Point all the rich areas because they can afford it and I'm talking...I'm not talking about people from other African countries, I'm talking about generally people from Europe, people from America who can afford it, because people from other African countries are the refugees or or other migrants. They, you know they generally in my experience, they haven't been well off you know they also [are] pushed to the periphery of the city, but people from Europe, people from America are living the life in Cape Town...”(FG12 CBD)

6 Violence, fear and danger in an unequal city

For many people in Cape Town, the city is experienced as a frightening and dangerous place in which to live. When the focus group participants spoke about their own neighbourhoods and other parts of the city, both encounters with danger and the fear of danger featured very prominently. People spoke of perceived threats to their own personal safety, or to their family, or to their personal possessions, and described measures that they took to limit the risks. Numerous examples were given, either of events that had occurred or might occur in their own or other neighbourhoods, or that they had experienced personally.

In most instances, the dangers that were described related to crimes, ranging from petty theft through to muggings, shootings, rape, and murder. Other examples of danger were also mentioned, especially in Masiphumelele where people spoke of the dangers of fire and floods where they live.

There are high levels of violent crime in South Africa, and the country has one of the highest rates of murder in the world. In 2018, the national murder rate had risen to 36 per 100 000, which equates to roughly 56 murders a day (SACN, 2019: 10). According to the State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report 2018/2019, Cape Town had had the highest murder rate in South Africa for the past thirteen years (SACN, 2019: 10). The City of Cape Town also has the highest rates of robbery and property-related crimes. In addition, residents of the city have also reported experiencing more crime/violence and feeling more unsafe compared to residents in other cities in South Africa. After Buffalo City, the City of Cape Town residents are the least satisfied with law enforcement. Crimes in the city are largely believed to be driven by gang violence, which are said to have been worsened by the supply of illegal firearms to criminal gangs in the City (SACN, 2019: 22).

The highest levels of crime occur in the more deprived areas. For example, in 2017/2018, Nyanga township in the Western Cape had the highest murder rate in South Africa, with 308 recorded murders (Municipal Economic Review and Outlook, 2018). However, the fear of danger featured in all of the groups, and as will be demonstrated, this affected how people regarded their neighbourhoods and other parts of the city, and to a great extent informed people's choices about where to go and which places to avoid.

There is a growing international literature which has sought to investigate the link between a country's levels of crime and violence and its levels of inequality. Wilkson & Pickett (2010) pioneered this in a study that used empirical evidence to show that unequal countries perform worse in a variety of outcomes measured as compared to countries where inequality is lower. Although there is no uniform agreement about whether inequality is a direct or indirect cause of crime, there is evidence that suggests that inequality is linked to worse outcomes across a variety of indicators and has a negative impact both on economic and social outcomes (see also Section 6.3 below).

In this section, findings are presented using the following themes: fear and danger in one's own neighbourhood (Section 6.1); strategies to mitigate danger (Section 6.2); and causes of crime (Section 6.3). As will be elaborated, each sub-section can be linked to inequality in different ways.

Section 6.1 Fear and danger in one's own neighbourhood

People described how they feel unsafe in their own homes, with robberies occurring in the daytime as well as at night, and also when the house is occupied, for example:

"Sometimes when you are at home they come into your house. They take a chance. My friend...they came into the house while they were sleeping in the house they took things and left, while they were sleeping. Didn't hear anything." (FG6 Athlone)

Many people mentioned that they felt too unsafe to walk in their own neighbourhoods after dark due to the high crime levels in their area. This concern was raised in Masiphumelele (FG4), Langa (FG5), Athlone (FG6), Tafelsig (FG10) and Gugulethu (FG15). For example:

"Crime has gone up a lot so we don't... We are not free to walk in the streets. At 7 you know that you have to be at home and the doors must be locked. Children carry guns, looking for phones [to steal], so we can't leave." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

In the groups that took place in Atlantis and Tafelsig, danger was depicted as particularly all-pervasive. One person from Atlantis spoke of being robbed at their own front door, and another spoke of a ten-year old being shot by a stray bullet while walking past a sports field. Another spoke of their fear about walking to a bus stop less than ten minutes' walk from home.

Participants from Tafelsig described how violence and fear pervade their daily lives. For example, one person spoke of their fear of being attacked when walking in the street, and another of witnessing a shooting incident outside their front door and another of witnessing a robbery while hanging out the washing:

"The other day someone got robbed in front of our house. I was still standing there, I was busy putting washing on the line. Then this guy came and robbed another guy right in front of us. It was early in the morning. I put the washing on the line. I got a big fright. I told my husband I am not going out of the house again now." (FG10 Tafelsig)

For some, the levels of danger in their area were such that they hoped to be able to move elsewhere as soon as possible, a topic that is discussed further in the next section of this working paper. For example, several members of the group in Gugulethu (FG15) described how they hope that they will not remain for long in the area due to the lack of safety, with one person explaining:

"The place I stay in is Samora. I don't see it as a permanent place. I mean I am only staying for a short while there because of the way it is there. I mean it is not safe even in the street. You see?" (FG15 Gugulethu)

In several of the groups, people expressed concerns for children's safety. For example, one participant in Atlantis contrasted her area to Chatsworth outside of Malmesbury in terms of the ability of her children to play freely:

"Everything is very different there [in Chatsworth compared to Atlantis]. There I'll let my children play freely; my children have freedom there. Here, my children, my children cannot play freely. What if they shoot a gun here? Right there where the children are playing." (FG8 Atlantis)

On a small number of occasions, participants compared Cape Town favourably with other areas. For example, a Big Issue vendor spoke of how in Butterworth in the Eastern Cape the risk of rape was such that it was unsafe to travel alone to another village, or to be at home alone (FG7). A participant

in Tafelsig spoke of how it is more dangerous in Durban than Cape Town (FG10). Looking further afield, a participant from Elsie's River observed that the levels of violence and lawlessness in Elsie's River were not as bad as in Somalia:

“Look, over here is, is gangsterism, all those things, and people shoot a lot here....mmm...people are shot dead and things like that. I would say that we’ve got it light compared to those, where in Somalia they...there, that side...here we still have laws in place that govern our behaviour. Over there it’s, there’s basically no government that – what do you call it? – that control people’s behaviour in society, understand? You see, there you can go and maybe get a machine gun or an AK 47 in the hands of a nine-year-old child.” (FG13 Elsie's River)

However, many more people spoke of how crime and violence was worse in Cape Town than elsewhere. For example, a participant from Langa described how she felt that the risk of rape is greater in Cape Town than in the Eastern Cape:

“I think of the Eastern Cape. I go in December. There is love there... there is warmth there, like it's nice, you don't worry about anything. Here in Cape Town, you are thinking about whether or not you are going to get raped and whatnot. Things like that are rare in the Eastern Cape. Even though they do happen there but the Eastern Cape is the [better] place. It is home.” (FG5 Langa)

One participant from Tafelsig recalled living in Claremont before they were forcibly removed from that area under Apartheid:

“Claremont where we lived, there are different colours. Coloured, Blacks, Whites... we lived together very peacefully. No crime, no violence. Our children were safe.” (FG10 Tafelsig)

Another participant, also from Tafelsig recalled how when they lived in Crawford, gangsters only fought amongst themselves and didn't involve other people in the community, unlike in Tafelsig:

“Back then they [the gangsters] fought with each other. Not like now that they'll take anybody... It's not fair, because we are not gangsters. They must fight with other gangsters, or whatever. They must destroy themselves, not innocent people that don't belong to a gang. I mean, Crawford was quiet.” (FG10 Tafelsig)

Fear for one's own safety in one's own neighbourhood was a less prominent theme in the groups that took place in more affluent areas, particularly in Claremont and Durbanville, and although one participant from Durbanville spoke of how he felt that crime had increased in his area, he wondered if it was simply because he was being notified so regularly about events via WhatsApp groups:

“Maybe it's just because these days people are more connected on WhatsApp groups and more aware of what is going on in their areas, but over the last few years crime has increased heavily in my area. It's quite worrying, people have to stand together more to fight these influences. We now for the first time have people who drive through the neighbourhood during the day [he talks about a community-based neighbourhood watch]. You have to start doing these things because the police can't attend to everything.” (FG9 Durbanville)

In some groups, people spoke about how they felt safer in their own or similar areas. For example, in the office worker's group in Claremont, one participant spoke of how they restricted their travel to the Southern Suburbs and the CBD. In certain communities, being known by others in the

neighbourhood was important. For example, a man from Elsie's River described how he could walk around at night without feeling unsafe:

"Everyone here knows you... If you walk around here at 12 o'clock, 1 o'clock, 2 o'clock at night, walking, because they know me, they don't want to harm me. Somewhere else they want to make me change." (FG13 Elsie's River)

Section 6.2 Strategies to try to keep safe in an unequal city

The focus groups revealed that people's primary strategy for trying to keep safe was to avoid unsafe areas if at all possible. In many instances, the places that were avoided due to being dangerous were outside their own areas.

Sometimes the neighbourhoods that were avoided were areas with a different racial mix than in their own area. For example, people in the group in Gugulethu (a predominantly black African area) described how they would avoid going to Manenberg or Elsie's River (predominantly coloured areas) because of the high levels of crime in those areas (FG15 Gugulethu). A black African woman in Langa described how unsafe she felt in Panorama (a predominantly white area) because she had experienced a racist attack there:

"They [white homeowners in Panorama] see you walking around alone, carrying a backpack, they don't care that you are going to school. They think you are coming to rob their houses. They set their dogs on you. They set their dogs on us one day." (FG5 Langa)

A white man in the office workers group in Claremont described how he felt unable to visit the neighbourhood of a colleague (in Manenberg, a predominantly coloured area) due to the high levels of crime there:

"I think one of the other problems as well and I hear it in the office, in our office, is that that, because certain areas are dangerous to go into like Manenberg for instance, you know...he doesn't necessarily...well I know I wouldn't necessarily want to go. You know one of the girls (inaudible) I love her but I wouldn't want to go to into her area cause I would be too scared, so I wouldn't want to go and socialise with her. I would rather have her come to me or [we] go and hang out in a different area. But I wouldn't go into her area, that's just the reality of it and there's nothing, there isn't anything in her area to go out and hang out in anyway, and I wouldn't want to get shot! (light laughter), so it's not...its...those are certain...you know because of the crime and you know, so those are the issues that are also a problem." (FG2 Claremont)

However, it would be a gross over-simplification to imply that places are avoided simply due to racial differences: there were many more examples of people of a particular population group describing how they avoid areas that mostly comprise people of the same population group (whether a poorer, equally poor, or less poor area) due to the fear of crime:

A black African student spoke about his fear of being robbed in a township, and another said that he preferred to simply avoid such areas:

"like I just don't want to put myself in that space. I'd rather be just safe and good in my own lane." (FG3 Rondebosch)

A black African woman from the group of office workers spoke of how she does not go to places on her own, not even to visit an affluent suburb such as Camps Bay:

"I think as, just as a female, I am very restricted to where I go. I would go with friends or I don't go at all. I would never explore. Even Camps Bay or anything like that, like I wouldn't go on my own, just because of safety."(FG2 Claremont)

A white woman from the 'High Flyers' group in the CBD reflected on how the areas she feels comfortable visiting in the city are diminishing due to the fear of crime:

Female R1: As women, there are a lot of places that I avoid. And after certain experiences that have happened within my circle, like I feel my trajectory in the city has gotten smaller...so there are so few places that I will happily go to by myself...

R4: For safety?

R1: For safety reasons.

I: Oh is that the crime issue?

R1: Um yes, a violence issue.

I: Oh so, there are parts of the city that because of crime are to be avoided?

R1: Yes well, I mean (sigh). For me it's actually the city, like I think because of what's...because of my experience, like I won't go to many places by myself. Like I won't go and run in the park...[...] There's like...[I'd rather] stick to crowded areas and things like that. Because of you know things that have happened and I think that that's something that makes Cape Town interesting too. Because you see the mountain and you see the sea and you know you see the beauty the natural beauty. But then like we are restricted in a lot of ways that a lot of other countries are not."(FG12 CBD)

In contrast to restricting one's mobility, some people described how they choose to travel an extra distance to conduct daily activities in areas that feel safer than their own neighbourhood. For example, one participant from Gugulethu described how they prefer to travel to Kenilworth to shop rather than go shopping in their own neighbourhood:

"You see with me, I'd rather take a taxi and go to this place, Kenilworth Centre, to go and buy even just bread. It's twenty rand to go to Kenilworth [from Gugulethu]. The amount of crime that is here in Gugulethu. You won't believe [it]. The mall robberies and people who get shot. This place is not safe." (FG15 Gugulethu)

In the group in Athlone, someone observed that *"We have a very nice park but nobody goes there because it is so unsafe"* and in response another person gave the example of driving from Athlone to Rondebosch to walk their dog:

"I would rather put my dogs in the car and drive all the way to Rondebosch Park and then walk there because it's safer to walk them there. If I walk them in the parks here I am scared for my life or someone is going to take them." (FG6 Athlone)

A woman from Langa spoke of how there were certain areas in her own neighbourhood that she avoids:

"Even though I live in section 3, there are certain areas of Section 3 that I cannot go. I am scared of 125 and 126. I am scared of those areas because I know that the crime rate is very high in those areas"(FG1Langa)

Lastly, a woman in Masiphumelele spoke of how she stays at home until the sun rises for fear of being attacked where she lives:

“So now you have to wait for the sun to come up first before you can leave. We are scared of the youngsters, we are not free....”(FG4 Masiphumelele)

Section 6.3 Causes of crime

Even though the precise causal links may be contested, it is widely recognised that inequality is associated with high levels of crime and violence (e.g. Becker, 1968; Wikstrom, 2006a; Wikstrom, 2006b; Wilkson & Pickett, 2010). Although most focus group participants did not explicitly articulate a link between inequality and crime, the reasons that were given for the high levels of crime in their areas are themselves manifestations of the inequality within the city: lack of opportunities for young people (and yet the City is also a major tourist destination); hunger (yet the City also has some of the most prestigious restaurants in South Africa); poverty (yet the City also has some of the most expensive real estate in South Africa); unemployment (yet the City also has some of the highest earners in South Africa); and over-crowding (yet the City also has many open spaces and under-populated suburbs).

The unemployed group in Gugulethu highlighted the lack of opportunities for young people and how this leads them to experiment with drugs and people turning to crime:

“Because you’ll notice that when schools are closed, the youth are on the streets. There are no opportunities, there is nothing to do. Do you understand? When the schools are closed... there’s no netball, there’s no...[...]. So that’s why you find now that the children are on the streets, they are playing with Tik, they are exploring with drugs now, you understand? They end up robbing, being criminals making our communities not safe, you understand? Because of those reasons.”(FG15 Gugulethu)

The group in Langa also highlighted the lack of job opportunities for young people, and saw a direct link between unemployment and crime:

“Since the children are not working, they are now criminals, they mug [...]. They break into houses in the afternoon and night. If you are just walking during the daytime, they snatch your bag.”(FG1 Langa)

The Big Issue vendors group spoke of how hunger leads some people to steal, and that some people use alcohol and drugs to escape from poverty but that this in turn fuels crime levels due to addiction:

“Even these drugs are caused by... maybe by poverty. Someone sees that... A child sees that in their house they are struggling, it is like this and that... You see?” (FG7 Big Issue)

“Someone will take something from their house... And go and sell it just so they can drink alcohol. A child will steal something from the house and go and sell it so that they can smoke these drugs.”(FG7 Big Issue)

In Ilitha Park, one participant suggested that the higher levels of crime in Site B and Site C Khayelitsha were due to overcrowding:

“I think it is caused by having too many people. There are a lot of people in those areas [Site B and Site C]. There are people here [in Ilitha Park] but it’s not like those places.”(FG14 Ilitha Park)

The group in Atlantis conveyed their frustration that violence was inadequately punished, and that some criminals see prison as an attractive option:

‘But a lot of people today...want to use violence to – it’s nice in prison because they have got flat screens there. (commotion and agreement) Everything is free, free. So why bother? Just rape! Murder someone. I’m going to prison, because the president gives everything mahala. [...] They get those flat screens, they get – everything that is convenient. What do they want to do outside when they can be comfortable inside? They are at a holiday resort.’(FG8 Atlantis)

One young professional who lives in the CBD described how he felt that car guards are becoming more aggressive towards him and described a recent event when a car guard threw a rock at him when he did not have any small change to pay the car guard, explicitly identifying the tensions caused by inequality:

“Someone threw a rock at me, a car guard threw a rock at me the other day, because I didn’t have cash. So it’s getting scary but I know [or rather] we know what the reason is, [and that reason] is because of the inequality. You know, because they don’t have money and I, we do. That is the reason but it doesn’t mean that it is not scary, [...] it’s becoming more unsafe I think.” (FG12 CBD)

Recently attention has been given to the unequal policing levels across the city (including the Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry into Policing). In many of the groups in the most deprived areas, concerns were raised about the lack of police presence in their local areas, lack of police stations, slow police (and other emergency services) response times, and apparent lack of interest from police when crimes were reported. The Ilitha Park group complained that although they could physically see a police station, it did not serve their area (FG14). The groups in Langa (FG1) and Tafelsig (FG10) complained about criminals not being caught:

“What confuses me in Gugulethu is that criminals never get caught and we don’t know why” (FG1 Langa)

‘Murderers walk past you and laugh at you.’ (FG10 Tafelsig)

In Ilitha Park one member spoke of heavy punishments for poor people, and immunity for wealthy people, particularly for those in government:

“If you have money you don’t get arrested by government. But if you don’t have money you will go and sleep in jail now. The government does not treat us the same So they have favourites, especially people who are within the government. Even the people who are not in government are better. But the people who are within government don’t get touched. They are “untouchable” (FG14 Ilitha Park)

Case study 2: Domestic workers' daily experiences of fear and danger

As was highlighted in Section 5.2, domestic workers live at the cutting edge of inequality in Cape Town, traversing different parts of the city and witnessing very different standards of living on a daily basis. The focus group with domestic workers in Masiphumele (FG4) and a nanny from Delft (FG11) also revealed the many dangers that they have to face on a daily basis to earn a living. The minimum wage for domestic workers in Cape Town is currently R15 per hour (or £0.80 in UK Pounds).

Not only do they live in, and travel to work through, dangerous neighbourhoods as described above, but they have to use dangerous modes of transport, face the threat of danger at work, and are often treated with suspicion by their employers.

Describing her journey to work, one woman from Masiphumele said

"We live in very bad circumstances here, there are criminals. You can be mugged of your phone on your way out to work." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

The minibus taxis that people use as transport are often dangerous, for example due to the risk of being mugged while waiting for or travelling in a minibus taxi, and the dangerous driving styles of the minibus taxi drivers. A woman from Delft who works as a nanny for a baby in Durbanville described the Delft minibus taxi drivers' bad driving and how she had been involved in an accident in the previous year, and said:

"I take two taxis, but it is a risk travelling in the mornings, because - from Delft...because the taxis are terrible in the mornings. The taxis drive terribly in the mornings." (FG11 Delft)

One woman described how, when she is at work at the house of her employer, she has to be constantly vigilant that the house is not going to be burgled while she is working there:

"make sure that the [burglar] door is closed, the windows and everything [must be closed]. Even in summer you have to keep the windows only slightly open, you must always have your phone on you so that if you see them jump over the fence you can phone [for help], because even if they get inside the house the alarm will not go off because you are also inside working." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Danger – in terms of risk to the self - permeated throughout their accounts of their days. For example, one domestic worker from Masiphumelele described how she felt compelled to go to work in spite of being in pain and pregnant (and having previously had a miscarriage), so that she would be paid for that day of work.

Continued..

Continued..

Another woman described how she is not entrusted with the burglar alarm code by her employers, and so has to stand outside the house waiting for her employers to let her into the house in the morning. She worries that this puts her at greater risk with burglars as they will expect her to know how to disarm the house alarm but she doesn't know how to:

"When they go to sleep at night they set the alarm, and then if I have not yet arrived at their place they will still set the alarm so that when I arrive [I can't get in]....They do not want me to know the secret number to open the alarm when I get to their house, so I always have to wait outside, even if it is raining, I have to wait for them [to disarm the alarm]. So I am not safe there because when thieves break in they think I know everything about that house, and yet I do not know, they see me outside there and yet I myself do not know what the code is if you want to disarm the alarm. [I do not know] if you want it to stop ringing, what do you press? [I do not know] if you want it to go off what do you press? I have to wait for them to come back from wherever they are [to disarm the alarm]." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Another woman described how her employer had warned her that she would not be given any support if she were to be attacked by a burglar. She recounted the employer's instructions:

"You should leave them to take everything they want, they shouldn't harm you because I won't be able to do anything if they do something to you." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Meanwhile, some domestic workers described how when they are at work they worry about the safety of their own children, especially if they are not able to get home before schools close for the day:

"Firstly, I am not here, I am at the white people's [house]. I am taking care of someone else's child there the whole day. And their mother says that "you will come out at five because I am coming out late at work". Your child gets out from school at 2 [pm]. When they come at 2 and find no parent [at home] they do all these things that they should not be doing here in (inaudible). Because we don't have the opportunity to sit and look after them. The child comes out [of school] and comes [home]. Some of them are smoking when they get to this age 12, 13 as boys... They get involved with smoking. The girls are being raped and things like that because they are not safe." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

Case Study 3: Fear of poor people

Although people in affluent areas are less likely to be victims of crime, the fear of crime features prominently in their daily lives and it was evident in some focus groups that this quickly translates into fear of people who are not similarly affluent. Wealthy people in Cape Town see poor people on a daily basis, and the spirit of empathy, or solidarity, or *Ubuntu*, or simple generosity jostles with countervailing motivations of self-protection and disconnection from the people they see.

There was a lengthy discussion about these tensions in the 'High Flyers' group in the CBD, after one woman had described her discomfort about being chased and shouted at for money in Long Street in the CBD by another woman who was begging with a child in the street.

First, the participant (R4) spoke about how she felt bad that she has more money than the woman who was begging, but that she herself didn't feel she had enough money to give some away each time that someone approached her for money, but that she felt afraid of being attacked if she didn't do so:

"R4: [I think] that feeds into that vicious cycle of then...because of fear, you know start subscribing to that threat of a group and you're like "oh but like where are these people? (mumbles) I mean I'm scared of these people now cause you know? So it feeds into this cycle, which is messed up! Is it messed up? Yes I agree, but I also get scared you know, it's also scary. You don't know what to do because you feel bad, you feel like you know "I have more money than these people, I could yes, I could give them a two or five rand but also I can't give it every single time, I don't have that much money. But then if I don't then I'm going to get scared and then this person might attack me and then... You know it's a cycle."(FG12 CBD)

This led to the following exchange with three other members of the group:

R1: Just talking about like people like that and like [saying] I'm afraid of a group, you know things like that. It's...so that drives you to that and then you don't see that anymore and you get disconnected from what drives a person to the point where she has to run after you in the street shouting you know to get money for her child and obviously...I'm not saying that you did the right thing, I'm just saying like that's just...we get so disconnected and then we're more...then the gap just grows bigger, because yes...

R3: You turn that person into like a villain, you villainise these people. These people who are you scared of? Like why are you so afraid to turn around and look that woman in the face? Like look that child in the face. It's like you don't... but you know what I mean? These aren't invisible people in the streets. I remember a particular engagement and I have a friend who's incredibly soft hearted and if a person goes to her good job you picked the right person.

[contd.]

..And this young woman was pregnant, and she just said...It was actually, it's like...she said thank you for being kind to me, you know like...because my friend turned around and she said can I help you?...And then [the friend] went and bought her like cereal and stuff in one of the little cafe's, and like [it turned out that] this young girl like had been kicked out [from home] by her father because she got pregnant and like no one was kind to her. Like and she, yes she was being kind of aggressive [towards us initially], like she followed us and like that made us uncomfortable because we don't feel secure in a city space. But like...and then like when we bought her cereal and like went with her into this shop, we didn't like leave her outside or whatever, she just [said] thank you for being kind to me and thank you for speaking to me.

R4: Just humanizing...

R3: This whole idea of fear is like...

R4: It is fear...

R3: It's also, it's also bullshit though!! Sorry to swear but like, it's like who are you afraid of? Like, just like...you know, you almost like you can be afraid, because you're a have, you're not a have not. I don't know like is that person not also afraid, to be on the street. So it's like, it's actually really gross you know. Yes (laughs), yes the fact that you're afraid of people it's like I don't know are you afraid of them or are you afraid of being like them? I don't know it's...

*R2: Cape Town teaches you to disconnect actually [now] that I'm thinking about it. Because when I first arrived here...like all the poverty scared me a bit, well it wouldn't scare me but sort of I'd acknowledge it and I could speak to people. But now I know how to walk past it, I'm not acknowledging it [and I do this] with ease. It's actually quite scary how disconnected I can be, and I only break away from the disconnection when I have something happen to me, such as what happened to R4. Something similar happened to me [...] Then I connect to what's happening with the city, then the next morning I get back into the same flow and I can do the same thing to someone else. It's actually quite scary what the city does to you.
(FG12 CBD)*

7 “Iminweayilingani” - Varied responses to inequality

7.1 Circular migration, double-rootedness and attachment to place

A body of scholarship exists which specifically explores what influences a person's sense of attachment to place. Migration scholars in Sub-Saharan Africa have coined the term 'double-rootedness' to describe the historical phenomenon of migrants moving back and forth between rural areas and large cities – a phenomenon that can be traced back to colonial and apartheid eras in South and Southern Africa (e.g. Hall, 2017; May, 1996; Muzvidziwa, 2010). In South Africa, Apartheid fuelled patterns of circular migration, as the country was carved up into different enclaves segregated by race. White areas largely comprised developed cities and towns which still required black labour to provide basic menial services such as domestic work, trash collection, physical construction and maintenance of buildings and roads, cleaning services, factory work, and mining. A series of Acts were passed to ensure the systematic influx control of black African labour in urban areas. This entailed record-keeping and surveillance of all black people living in cities, and where their numbers exceeded labour requirements they were expelled from those cities and sent to homelands which were specifically constructed for excess black labour (Hall, 2017; Njwabe, 2016). Black labourers in urban areas lived in townships and locations which were chronically underserved, under-resourced and overcrowded (Njwabe, 2016). The land set aside by urban authorities for township development was too small for the number of labour migrants working in the areas, which ultimately resulted in overcrowding and squatter conditions in most township areas (Davies, 1981; Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006), and those squatter camp living conditions continue to characterise many areas in Cape Town today.

The transitory character of township life was legitimised and legislated by the Apartheid government, and fuelled the circular movement of black people from rural areas to large cities and towns during the year and back to rural areas during vacation time (usually at the end of the year), as well as during times of illness, retirement, death and ceremonies. In post-apartheid South Africa, circular migration continues to be a distinct feature of black African communities (Njwabe 2016).

Several of the focus group participants living in Cape Town continued to have strong ties with their places of origin, particularly the Eastern Cape, and provided several reasons for their 'double-rootedness'. The main reasons given were: on the one hand the poor living conditions in the city, the struggle to make a living in Cape Town, and the perceived inhospitableness of the City, and on the other hand the lack of economic opportunities in rural areas, and strong familial ties in the places of origin. Other studies have reported similar motivations for people moving back and forth between their places of origin and cities (Neves & Du Toit, 2008; Njwabe, 2016; Posel and Casele, 2006). In these studies, dissatisfaction with economic and living conditions in the destination cities and family ties in the places of origin were some of the explanations given for circular migration (Njwabe, 2016).

For some participants, Cape Town provided them with a strong sense of attachment and belonging, while for others, they had little sense of attachment and belonging with the City, and instead identified areas outside Cape Town as 'home'. Life-long links with areas outside Cape Town seemed to determine the extent to which people felt attached to Cape Town. Many others also felt detached

from Cape Town because of their experiences of hardship, neglect, and lack of safety in their township and informal areas of residence.

Across all but one of the groups, there were always some participants who identified a place outside Cape Town as 'home'. However, in one group, the elderly Gugulethu township group, all participants generally had a close sense of attachment and belonging with their township, even as they bemoaned the challenges of living in this low-income area. What seemed to explain this was the fact that many of them had moved to the area in the early 1960s after being forcibly removed as children from other parts of Cape Town and had never established ties with areas outside Cape Town, for instance the Eastern Cape, as is typical for many black Africans living in Cape Town:

R8: I love it very much because when we were removed from these places and we left and saw them staying in the areas we used to stay.....

R3: You see us, the people of Gugulethu, we were removed when we were.... the attachment was not there because Gugulethu is a child; what came first [was] Langa, then Nyanga in the early 50s so we were still young (inaudible). ...

R8: Yes, I love it a lot. Because when we first came here it was very nice (inaudible) but then because of (inaudible audio) and people came from different places and different characters came together then it started that.. Then there was separation. Otherwise, Gugulethu was a very nice place. It was really nice

R3: No, I'm attached to Cape Town because there is no other place that I know besides this one. I just visit the other ones... (FG1 Gugulethu)

Participants from predominantly coloured low-income areas spoke of a strong sense of attachment and belonging to their areas even though they were confronted with many challenges and often terrible living conditions within those areas. Once again, this seemed to be explained by the fact that most of the participants did not have links outside Cape Town.

R 5: For me it was – how old was I when we came to Atlantis? I've been living here for more than thirty years. I (inaudible). I am very honest. I am proud of my home. I can't live without Atlantis. For me, when we go to visit, I really can't, I can't. (FG8 Atlantis)

R 2: When you drive into Atlantis, then you're home. It is. (FG8 Atlantis)

R 5: I was recently in hospital, in Somerset West. When I looked out over the water I said, "God, I miss my home. I miss my people." (FG8 Atlantis)

The participants in Gugulethu and Atlantis could easily make the distinction between 'emotional attachment to place' from 'dissatisfaction with place'. They expressed a sense of belonging to their area, as well as being dissatisfied with the living conditions.

With the exception of the groups in Gugulethu, Atlantis, Delft, and Athlone, the other groups did not express this same sense of belonging and attachment to Cape Town. Participants described feeling detached from Cape Town, and for most this was directly as a result of the terrible living conditions of their communities and a sense that these communities had been abandoned and neglected by local government.

Others, though living in middle-income areas of Cape Town, felt no sense of attachment to Cape Town. Several participants viewed Cape Town as an unfriendly place that actively kept out poor

people, and they viewed the extreme wealth and inequality as an affront. For these mainly white, middle-class, young early career participants Cape Town was not a welcoming place. For example:

"The city kicks your ass! The city is tough! This city can be great and can also just hit you really hard. And when I said to this family member "yes you know you can't trust anyone that likes Cape Town too much" (laughter). You actually can't because they're seeing through very particular lenses. [Once I told her this] she had a good old laugh and she said you know I used to be like that and I'm not like that anymore, and I think she has grown and learnt a lot but yes..." (FG12 CBD)

"It's completely different, like...like I said, when my friends come visit me they're like arrgh "we like Cape Town so much, it's so much fun, there's so much to do" whatever, whatever. I'm like yes I used to feel like that as well, but now I feel like it's time to leave. It's just, you just notice all the small nuances of Cape Town and the people and...like we say how [the] city is basically trying to kick everyone out who can't afford that amazing lifestyle and that rich kind of lifestyle. So it's...and also racism and just there's just so much politics now surrounding Cape Town and it's lost its charm that it once had." (FG12 CBD)

There were other interesting cases of people who had grown up and lived in one part of Cape Town (a low-income area) but were now living in an upper-middle class area. These participants felt a stronger sense of attachment and belonging to their areas of origin than the upper-middle class areas they were now living in. For these participants the wealthy areas they were now living in were unfriendly and isolating, whereas they found their original places of origin more embracing and welcoming even though they were low-income areas.

"I can say that I, I grew up in Straandfontein and I still feel that's more of my home because here in Rondebosch they don't have much [sense of community]. Yes I don't know, that's one of the things I've noticed as well the neighbours don't interact as closely as you were in Straandfontein [where] everybody knew each other, everybody was walking around. It's one of the things, just the area is very quiet not a lot of people walking around, playing in the street and stuff like that. I was born there [Straandfontein] as well and it's close to the beach so I did like that. I still feel attached to that part, that's probably because of the community, like you said, I don't really greet the neighbours and stuff [in Rondebosch] and we never mingle[d] in the what, in the 17 or 15 years of being here yes.[...] I suppose thinking to myself it's like the walls are quite high here in this place, people argue you can't really see the people they go into their cars and they are gone. There [in Straandfontein] everything is like close to each other, the houses are a bit smaller and people are walking around and you have to travel a lot, you walk (inaudible)." (FG2 Claremont)

Participants who were not originally from Cape Town and who had moved to the city recently for work or educational purposes found Cape Town residents to be unwelcoming, cold and aloof.

"When I was in Wynberg I stayed in student accommodation and I introduced myself to my neighbour and she got the shock of her life, she was like who does that? Who knocks on someone's door and says 'Hi my name is.. I'm living next door to you', that sort of thing. I mean that's how we were taught at home, my parents and my neighbours (inaudible) not family but if something goes wrong (inaudible) let them know they have our contact details and come over. if they need a meal or anything like we know, it's that sort of thing like very open. In Pretoria as well, when I was in Pretoria, my neighbour introduced herself to me. So it's only when I got to Cape Town that I did that then it was like what are you doing like. So

no sense of community in Kenilworth, my church is in Kenilworth as well but I don't have a sense of community with them as well. I don't know it's just, Cape Town is different, people don't really interact, and when they do it's not genuine if I might say.... so, I think my sense of belonging and my sense of home is in Zululand and in Pretoria, because of the interactions I've had with the people there and all my friends being there. so yes, I think the people make a huge part of me feeling like I belong, so yes.” (FG2 Claremont)

In some communities where residents were mostly made up of people who were not originally from Cape Town there was a sense that they were all there as ‘strangers’ with a survivor mentality where each person looked out for themselves. Similar to what has been reported in other studies, for these participants, Cape Town was merely “a temporary space for work and economic gain, while the [place of origin] remain[ed] home” (Njwabe 2016:2). For example, two unemployed participants in Langa made the following remarks:

“Because all of us here we are strangers to this place. And since we are visitors here, no one has time for anyone else here. That love is not here. Like X said, when she is in trouble she can come and ask but she mustn't expect me to help her again tomorrow.” (FG5 Langa)

“When I say that there is no sense of belonging here in Cape Town, [I mean] you don't belong anywhere here. It's just you alone and you are standing on your own... whereas in the Eastern Cape you have neighbours, you have someone who you can call your neighbour. When you need something, you go to your neighbour.” (FG5 Langa)

The life of struggle that participants experienced in Cape Town, and the perception that the City had neglected them and didn't care about them, and only engaged with them in an exploitative relationship that cared only for their labour, coupled with the precarious and crisis-prone existence that came with being poor in Cape Town, fed the sense of transitoriness for many participants who had moved to this city for economic opportunities.

“[The sense of belonging] it is very little. When I say it is very little.... I came here in 1999. I am going to talk about VM first and then lastly about this sense of belonging. VM arrived in those years when we first arrived here but still she doesn't have a place to stay in Site 5, so now you don't belong when it's like that. In a place like that. She came here because of work so now we tell ourselves that when the time comes we will go back home [to the Eastern Cape]. I now go home [to the Eastern Cape] twice a year but before I used to go home once a year. Since now the children are growing, I make sure that in June [I go]... Even now, I am just arriving, I arrived today... I arrived yesterday morning from the Eastern Cape. I stayed for a month because I told myself that I must stay that side [i.e. in the Eastern Cape] so that I can get used to that side because that is my place now, that is obvious now. Because you are only here for work so you can raise your children and get some money. Because we know that we get paid on this side. But [as] for your sense of belonging- we don't belong in this place. Not at all. There is nothing that makes you feel like when you are sitting here that hey, I have a home. I sometimes hear other people... I hear someone working in maybe in Johannesburg [saying] "I have a house in Johannesburg". And you can hear that they feel this house of theirs, they are proud of this house of theirs. [Proud of the fact] that my house in Joburg is like this... The way that they live... I mean there are lots of people that we know who work... When I am at home [in the Eastern Cape], I feel superior. Here you are just waiting [for you and your house] to burn. If that doesn't happen then you are waiting [for your house] to flood.....I have an RDP house that was built a long time ago. They didn't finish them, they

didn't complete them. They just built the wall only, and you have to keep building, the way the government [leaves projects incomplete]. You do everything yourself. While I was home [in the Eastern Cape] during that storm that we had I... The ceiling that I put on collapsed. And I heard [while in the Eastern Cape] that even that ceiling is leaking." (FG4 Masiphumelele)

For some participants who identified with rural Eastern Cape as their true home, this was tied to the belief that their ancestral connection laid there. One participant described it as her umbilical cord "*inkaba*" being in the Eastern Cape. In the Nguni culture when a child is born their umbilical cord which falls off a few days after birth has great significance in that it forever connects the child to his or her ancestors. As a result the umbilical cord is treated with great care and once it falls off it is taken and buried in the family home of the child. This signifies that this child is forever connected to his or her ancestors in that family home. As one participant put it when asked about why she felt so particularly attached to the Eastern Cape:

"Because my umbilical cord is there... My umbilical cord is there. I was born there.... So it is there... So I also feel like I am there and when I am there even my dreams are okay. Here, not so much..." (FG7 Woodstock)

Finally, while there was an expectation that people's accounts and experiences would be purely about inequality, as demonstrated in the above findings, poverty is so inextricably linked to inequality in this context that for many participants it became an expression and conduit of the lived experience of inequality.

Case study 4: Attachment and belonging in an elite tertiary institution

Participants in the student group referred to shared language, culture and values as some of the reasons for feeling attached to their places of origin, and for feeling detached from Cape Town. In particular, young black African students studying at UCT who originated from areas outside Cape Town described how they felt like complete outsiders in the university.

“Ok, it’s so deep this (inaudible - collective laughter) such that it is still touching me right now. This concept of a sense of belonging, speaking on my perspective and my stay here in Cape Town. A sense of belonging is usually influenced by similarities in terms of experience, in terms of language, in terms of values, such that in this space it’s very white this space (slight chuckle), such that you cannot link yourself to it because it’s, it has nothing similar to you. In first year, my roommate was Afrikaner, can’t really say we’re friends, I just see him in the street and I say hi now. I lived with this human being for a whole year, but [now] when I see him, I just say hi and then I get on with my day, because there’s nothing that I relate to with him, same as the space in itself now. Such that for example I have friends here who either believe in the same value system I have or have the same experiences that I have, and I feel I belong next to them rather than this space, such that if they leave I’ll still belong where they are or I’ll still belong back home because that’s where I can relate, but this space has no attachment that I will give it. The only place in this whole UCT that I can say has a tiny bit of my attachment is this residence, and that is only fuelled by the fact that the people I relate to and I feel I belong next to have been in this space, and because of that now it has groomed me to actually understand the space that I live in as some kind of second home, but if we would all leave and go live somewhere in North America or North Africa, where no matter where we go, I still will relate to it more to that place that we’re in because we’re in it as the humans rather than the actual space that we’re in now.”

Students emphasised the importance of community and place in giving one a sense of belonging. They felt that moving to Cape Town had redefined the concept for them: from having associated it with geographical space and community, to now defining it by the individual relationships they had forged with other students. Cape Town and the university were not recognized as communities that they could identify and forge bonds with:

“OK, I’m just going to add on to what he was saying because I think we can all agree like, mostly if they agree with me that, a sense of belonging is going to be different when you look at it to where you are coming from and where you are now. So a sense of belonging at home is the community around you, it’s where you live, it’s the people, it’s the place, it’s everything around. So you feel like you belong there because you you...I would say that growing up that’s how you used to live so you feel like you belong there. And then when you come to a place like this, the sense of belonging then changes its definition, you don’t look at the place but then you kind of look at the people that you relate with only, so now it doesn’t include the entire community as a whole, it doesn’t include the entire place but it only relates to the people, like only the people that you relate with. So me I’ll only find a sense of belonging with my friends and not Cape Town or UCT as a whole. So I would say, I feel like I belong to a certain group than I feel like I belong in UCT or in...”

[Contd.]

...Cape Town as compared to when I'm at home [where] I feel like I belong in [Address in Soweto] (Collective laughter), It's totally different, it's totally different.” (FG3 Rondebosch)

For some students, being part of a minority population group within the university, among students who were much better off than they were, made them feel more alienated and excluded in the university community.

“I also feel like I don't belong here especially in the res that I live in; it's whites dominated (collective laughter). Most of the people are white and then like, when you see most people are carrying Apples [cell phones] and you only have Hisense from the year 2008, I just feel like I don't belong, and I had a friend last year and then like...I don't know but then like, she's Zulu and then I don't know maybe she's got this white thing mind, I don't know what to say she was like, bragging about her parents going to buy her a car, things like that. And also, like she also wanted us to go like...Go out to the restaurant, like I don't even have the money to do that, how am I supposed to do that? Because I'm only being given R400 a month at home, so like that's the only thing I get, so like I just feel like I don't belong.”(FG3 Rondebosch)

Another participant described how he is able to access student jobs and remits earnings to his family in the Eastern Cape, and how he is being exposed to a different world of opportunities and prospects than he knew beforehand:

“You get to notice that there's so many for example student jobs that pay sufficiently well such that a human being [student] is one of the primary backers of their households back home, just by doing a student job. That's how good the opportunities are when you come here you see. It's not that many that everyone who comes here now gets a job but the exposure to so many opportunities, you can work at the dining hall, you can press and get two point five [R2500] a month for example, work in the reception area you can be a (inaudible). So, so many opportunities that give you enough money for you to actually say that now I'm sending a R1500 back home and it does so much to assist the family. But also besides the actual student jobs, now in terms of prospects when you leave here, it's another benefit of being around white people (collective laughter).It's that so many people look to this university for example for prospective candidates. Can't really say they are looking for me, but because now I'm standing next to people who they would be eyeing I sometimes might stand out as a black human being. We have so many career expos here where law faculties, no not law faculties excuse me, law firms, for example I'm a law student... Law firms come here and they're looking for people to apply for their internships [during] summer vacation, [and] in winter vacation what in terms of jobs. So because of being in this space now, you...you're not set well off for life but you have more opportunities than the next person. So yes it's, there's so much exposure I would say yes, as X has said that not everyone but there's sufficiently more than average in terms of opportunities now you just have to go out and find them. A friend of mine two days ago came to me logged onto career services and showed me that there's a job application for August as a student job. So there's so much opportunities that you can get and those jobs will probably pay better than 90% of the human beings who have actual jobs in Mt Frere [in the Eastern Cape], you see so there's so many opportunities” (FG3 Rondebosch)

7.2 Spatial exclusion and discrimination

A number of participants said that they experienced inequality by being discriminated against when in an area that was not their own, and specifically because of their race. They also spoke of the fear of discriminatory treatment causing them to avoid visiting specific areas. For example a black African man spoke about the time when he lived in Retreat:

"I wouldn't say I'd be...It's I wouldn't go to certain areas because, I don't know cause I'd feel like I'm going to be discriminated against because of how different I look from the people in there. Such as, ok when I used to live in Retreat (collective laughter). So it just made me aware of hey...like...you, you just look different and people just see you as like he's a target just cause you look different." (FG2 Claremont)

A participant from Langa spoke about an incident that occurred while in Panorama, an affluent area of Cape Town. The participant explicitly cited this incident as the reason why she does not visit areas such as these in the city any more:

"The reason we don't go there is because we are black people. We used to go there when we were still school children in college. The majority [of students] were black people and Coloureds. When we used to walk past the houses, the white people would watch us from their windows. Because only whites stay there in Panaroma. There are probably only two black people. So, they used to watch us. Once it looks like you are taking a picture next to a house you like, you'll see a police car pull up. A police van once chased us when we were taking pictures of the house. I don't know whether they thought we were going to rob them," (FG5 Langa)

A participant from the "high-flyers" focus group also spoke about a racial incident while at a popular restaurant, and how she feels stared at as an outsider in the wealthy suburb of Camps Bay:

"(sigh) just even little things like being, like if you're trying to go to let's say...I don't know if I can name specific places (laughs), but I had an incident and I was at...I was going to [the restaurant name] and I had been told by many people that "no they are racist there [and] they won't let you in" and I was like arrgh come on I've been going there for many years, they never do and I never see it, and I heard so many rumblings a few years ago and I was like no man Cape Town is not like that, we're so free here blah blah blah, and just one night my friends and I we were all...none of us were white, we were just like a group of coloureds, black girls and like Indians and we didn't book a table [we] just wanted to go for drinks and the bouncer who was black was like "did you book a table?" and we were like "no we're just coming for drinks" and he's like...he made us wait and he came up with a bunch of excuses and eventually a white waiter was like "oh you ladies are looking for a table?" and he let us in. I was like are you, have you been...I don't know if maybe he was told not to let a certain number of people of other races in, or if that's just how he's been like conditioned, yes. So, I mean there are various other things like you know, if you're in Camps Bay and you're black the stares that you get for being black in Camps Bay and it's like, I came to Camps Bay because I can afford to be here, you know what I mean? I mean if I can't like it's, its like I can

walk around and do whatever I want. So yes... (FG12 CBD)

Lastly, a domestic worker describes how she is regarded as an outsider when walking from her employer's home - accepted in a home as a domestic worker, but regarded as a threat to safety in the street:

"Another thing... Going back to the people we work for- you see since we work in people's homes. Like they only like you from the moment you enter their house. As soon as you leave... for example, I worked in Noordhoek for a long time. There is no transport in Noordhoek after three o'clock. There is no transport coming back in the afternoons. If the morning transport is finished, you will wait for the one that comes late. Even if you hitch-hike...they [employers] see you, they know it is you. They only like you when you are in their homes. They just pass you by if you are hitch-hiking. They see that you are a woman and you are carrying a bag. You come from their homes. You will be drenched because of the rain until you get to the garage. They don't do that [give a lift] when you leave their homes, because they tell you that you shouldn't trust anyone while you are walking on the road. My question, when I am sitting with them is, they can see that you are a woman, I would understand if it was a man but you are coming from work and you are hitch-hiking now... I am telling you, they will never ever offer you a lift."(FG4 Masiphumelele)

8 Conclusion

It is well known that Cape Town is a highly unequal and spatially segregated city. This qualitative strand of the study contributes to this knowledge by exploring the lived experiences of inequality across different parts of the City. To our knowledge this is the first paper of its kind to provide a qualitative account of the lived experience of inequality in this setting. The findings of this study provide unique perspectives and experiences of what it is like to live in one of the most unequal cities in the world.

Fifteen focus group discussions were conducted in Cape Town between May and August 2017. The findings from these FGs illustrate that inequality in Cape Town is experienced in many different ways and is often structurally enforced. While the investigators of this study selected and stratified the study population by their degree of exposure to poverty and inequality with the expectation that this might yield qualitatively different experiences for each group, in the end the findings show that such differentiation rarely occurred. This reflects the all-pervasive and entrenched realities of poverty, wealth, and inequality in this setting: inequality in Cape Town permeates every space, it is within neighbourhoods, between neighbours and within families, it is experienced while travelling to work or job seeking outside one's neighbourhood, it is present at work, and while seeking and utilising public services.

Despite the progress that South Africa has made in extending basic services such as water, electricity, education and healthcare, many people still lack access to affordable and decent quality services. Due to the enduring legacies of colonialism and Apartheid, black African people and women in general are most affected. The economic and social policies of Apartheid are both visually evident and persist as powerful undercurrents for people who live in and travel through the City of Cape Town.

Inequality in Cape Town is experienced in many different ways and is often structurally reinforced. The focus group participants described the ways in which housing and services provide a stark indication of the extent to which different standards of living exist across the city, and also gave the examples of schooling, emergency services, public transport and hospital access. The availability and quality of services varies considerably, often separated by physical boundaries that divide better off areas from poorer areas in the form of an arterial road or railway line, and sometimes by seemingly arbitrary administrative boundaries and catchment areas. For many people the issues of race and place were intertwined.

As well as being physically evident, inequality is experienced relationally -between neighbourhoods and neighbours, between mother and child, between relatives and friends, employer and labourer, national and foreigner. Inequality produces and reproduces unequal power relations, which can lead to exploitation and affect people's agency. Most participants regard South Africa and Cape Town as highly unequal, with a small rich minority on top and most of the population at the bottom. A prominent and widely discussed feature of people's lived experience with inequality was threat to personal safety. Lack of safety and crime underscored the lived experience of inequality for many participants, impacting on their daily arrangements, and often limiting where and when they would travel.

People's lack of attachment to place and sense of belonging can partly be explained by the extreme hardships that many of the participants faced on a daily basis. The legacies of colonialism and apartheid also reinforced circular migration/double rootedness, continuing to make the city an

inhospitable place for many. For some of the participants who endured the daily hardships in the townships, they held connections to an idea of 'home' that was elsewhere, but for others Cape Town was the only home they had known. While some felt dislocated from the city, others had strong ties to their communities despite terrible living conditions.

The focus groups also provided insights into the lives of people who transition different parts of the city each day that are worlds apart, with domestic workers and Big Issue sellers operating at the cutting edge of the City's inequality.

Different attitudes to inequality were expressed, with many describing the extreme levels of deprivation as intolerable. While none of the groups regarded inequality itself as unacceptable – one group referring to the isiXhosa expression 'our fingers are not equal' in acknowledgement that total inequality is as unlikely as having equal fingers on one's hand – there was a general desire to see a more level playing field. Varied attitudes to affluent areas in the City were expressed. For some these areas were unaffordable to visit, inaccessible, unwelcoming or unsafe. While for others they were a source of pride or a destination for an outing. For a few, the extent of affluence was offensive.

Liebenberg (2010) and De Vos (2001) have argued that the Constitution and in particular the Bill of Rights can be seen as a transformative document aimed at addressing the deeply entrenched social and economic inequality in South African society. The findings from the focus group expose the fact that inequality remains a significant challenge in Cape Town: it is both intractable and firmly entrenched, and permeates everyone's experiences of the City.

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Annex 1 Example topic guide in English

Annex 2 Information sheet

Annex 3 Consent form

Annex 4 Participant profile form

Please contact info@saspri.org for Annexes 1-4.

Annex 5 Additional information about the fifteen focus groups

Focus Group 1: Elderly people in Gugulethu 31/05/17

This focus group took place in Gugulethu, a township located approximately 17km south east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 1). As of 2011, 98% of the population in Gugulethu were black African (Census 2011)³. Census data in 2011 also indicated that Gugulethu was home to **98,468** people in an area covering **6.49 km²** (Census 2011).

All nine participants in this focus group resided in different areas across the township. The discussion was conducted in isiXhosa. The focus group discussion took place in J.L Zwane Presbyterian Church in Gugulethu and lasted for 1 hour and 26 minutes.

Focus Group 2: Office workers in Claremont 12/06/17

This focus group took place in Claremont, a suburban neighbourhood located approximately 12km south of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 2). As of 2011, the racial makeup in the suburb comprised of 17% Black African, 11% coloured, 5% Indian/Asian, 64% white and 3% other (Census 2011). Census data from 2011 also indicates that the total population in Claremont was **17,198** in an area covering **5.2 km²** (Census 2011).

Five participants took part in the focus group discussion and none of them lived in Claremont but rather stayed in neighbourhoods surrounding Claremont i.e. Newlands, Kenilworth, Wynberg and Rondebosch. The five Participants who took part in the discussion were from different racial groups and the group was conducted in English. The focus group discussion took place in the Sunclare building and lasted for 1 hour and 21 minutes.

Focus Group 3: University of Cape Town students in Rondebosch 21/06/17

This focus group took place in Rondebosch, a suburban neighbourhood located approximately 9km south of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 2). As of 2011, the racial makeup in the suburb comprised 63% white, 17% black African, 10% coloured, 6% Indian/Asian, and 5% other (Census 2011). Census data from 2011 indicated that the total population in the area was **14,591** in an area covering **6.42 km²** (Census 2011).

All eight participants taking part in the focus group discussion were students from areas outside of Cape Town. All of the participants were black African, however due to their different first languages the discussion was conducted in English. The focus group discussion took place in Leo Marquard Hall, a residence for UCT students and lasted for 1 hour and 41 minutes.

Focus Group 4: Domestic workers from Masiphumelele 01/07/2017

This focus group took place in Masiphumelele, a township located approximately 36 km south of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 3). As of 2011, 89% of the people in the township were black African, 2%

³ Census 2011 information about each focus group area was obtained from STATSSA (2019).

Coloured, 9% other, and 0.4% Indian/Asian or White (Census 2011). Census data from 2011 also indicated that Masiphumelele housed a total population of **15,969** in an area covering a mere **0.39 km²** (Census 2011).

All eight participants were residents of Masiphumelele and worked as domestic workers in areas outside Masiphumelele. All the participants were black African and were all originally from the Eastern Cape. As a result, the focus group was conducted in isiXhosa. The group took place at Siyakhula Crèche in Masiphumelele and it lasted for 1 hour and 21 minutes.

Focus Group 5: Unemployed youth in Langa 12/07/2017

This focus group took place in Langa, a township located approximately 12 km east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 1). As of 2011, 99% of the population were black African (Census 2011). The total population in Langa was recorded as **52,401** people and the area total was **3.09 km²** (Census 2011).

All eight focus group participants were unemployed black African youth (aged 18-35 years). They lived in Langa but had ties with the Eastern Cape. The discussion was conducted in isiXhosa and it ran for 1 hour and 17 minutes.

Focus Group 6: Middle class people in Athlone 15/07/2017

This focus group took place in Athlone, a middle class suburb located approximately 12km east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 1). As of 2011, 83% of the population were coloured, 9% black African, 4% Indian/Asian, 1% white and 4% other (Census 2011). The total population in Athlone was recorded as **8,893** people in an area covering **1.5 Km²**(Census 2011).

The six participants who took part in the discussion were all coloured individuals who were born and raised in Cape Town. The discussion took place at a private residence in Athlone and was conducted in English. The discussion ran for 1 hour and 42 minutes.

Focus Group 7: Big Issue sellers at Big Issue magazine headquarters in Woodstock 19/07/2017

This focus group took place in Woodstock, a suburb located approximately 2.5km east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 2). The five focus group participants were Big Issue sellers who operated in various areas across Cape Town. None of the participants lived in Woodstock or in any of the areas where they mainly sell their product e.g. Seapoint. The participants indicated that they lived in surrounding townships such as Nyanga and Khayelitsha.

All five participants were originally from the Eastern Cape and as such the discussion was conducted in isiXhosa. The group took place at the Big Issue headquarters and it ran for 1hr and 33 minutes.

Focus Group 8: Unemployed people in Atlantis 19/07/2017

This focus group discussion took place in Atlantis, a township located 59km north of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 4). Census 2011 data indicated that population of the township were 85% coloured, 13% black African, 2% other, and 0.5% Indian/Asian or white (Census 2011). The population figure in 2011 stood at **67,491** people and the total area size was **28.84 km²** (Census 2011).

The eight participants in this discussion were all coloured individuals who indicated that they were born in the Western Cape. The discussion took place at Saxonsea Primary School and it ran for 1 hour and 41 minutes.

Focus Group 9: Middle class people in Durbanville 29/07/17

This focus group took place in Durbanville, a suburb located approximately 30km north east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 5). Census 2011 data indicated that the demographic profile of the suburb was made up of 82% white, 10% coloured, 6% black African, 1% Indian/Asian, and 1% other (Census 2011). According to the 2011 Census, Durbanville had a total population of **54,286** and it covered an area of **27.41 km²** (Census 2011).

Five participants took part in this discussion and the group was racially mixed. The discussion was conducted in both English and Afrikaans. The discussion took place at a Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenberg and it ran for 1 hour and 14 minutes.

Focus Group 10: Low-income people in Tafelsig 01/08/17

This group discussion took place in Tafelsig, a township located approximately 32km south east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 6). Census 2011 data indicated that the township was made up of 91% coloured, 7% black African, 1% Indian/Asian, and 1% other, and 0.2% white (Census 2011). Census data also showed that the total population in Tafelsig was **61,757** people with a total area size of **4.32 km²**.

There were a total of six participants and they all identified themselves as coloured. The discussion was facilitated in Afrikaans at the Freedom Park Hall in Tafelsig and it ran for 1 hour and 17 minutes.

Focus Group 11: Unemployed women in Delft 05/08/17

This group discussion took place in Delft, a township located approximately 40 km east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 6). Population demographics for Delft in 2011 indicated that 52% of the population were coloured, 46% black African, 2% other, and 0.4% Indian/Asian or white (Census 2011). Census data from 2011 showed that the population figure in Delft stood at **152,030** people while the area covered **11.08 km²**.

There were eight participants in the discussion, all whom were unemployed coloured women. The discussion was facilitated in Afrikaans and it was conducted at the Delft public library/civic centre. The group ran for 1 hour and 15 minutes.

Focus Group 12: City Bowl residents "High Flyers" group in Central Business District 05/08/17

This group took place in Cape Town City Centre at the HSRC offices (see Map 2). The participants who took part in the discussion were young, employed professionals aged between (18-35) who reside in the city bowl in the areas of Tamboerskloof, Gardens and Vredehoek.

Only one of the five participants indicated that they were originally from the City of Cape Town, with the other four originating from areas outside of Cape Town. The group was racially mixed and was conducted in English. The group ran for 1 hour and 22 minutes.

Focus Group 13: Low paid and unemployed youth in Elsies River 12/08/17

This group took place in Elsies River, a residential suburb located approximately 20km east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 1). Census 2011 data indicated that the racial makeup of the suburb comprised 91% coloured, 7% black African, 0.5% Indian/Asian, 0.3% White and 1.0% other. Census data indicated that the total population in the area was **42,479** and the total area size was **5.52 km²**. A total of 6 participants took part in the discussion and all were coloured individuals. The discussion was conducted in Afrikaans and it ran for 1 hour and 2 minutes.

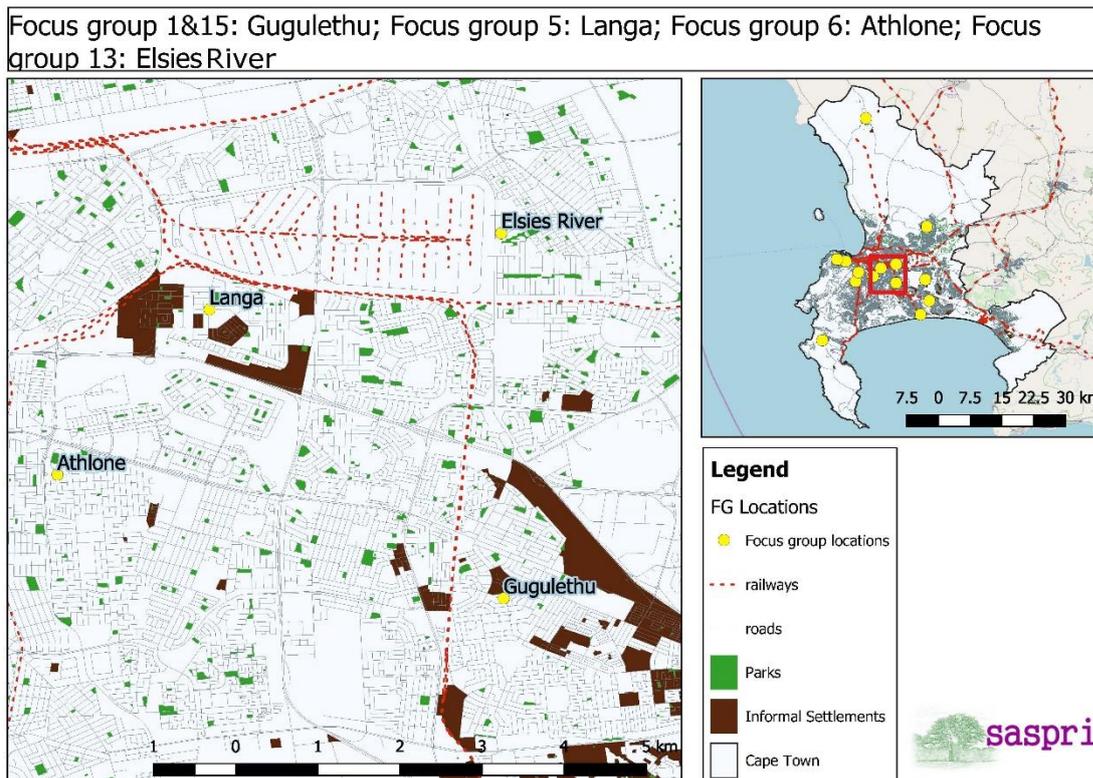
Focus group 14: Middle class enclave with elderly people in Illitha Park 26/08/17

This focus group took place in Illitha Park, an area that falls within the township of Khayelitsha. It is located approximately 30 km south east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 6). Census 2011 data indicates that 99% of the population were black African. Census data also indicated that the total population in Khayelitsha was **391,749** and the total area size of the township was measured at **38.71 km²**. Eight black African participants took part in the discussion. The group was conducted in isiXhosa and ran for 1 hour and 20 minutes.

Focus group 15: Unemployed people in Gugulethu 27/05/17

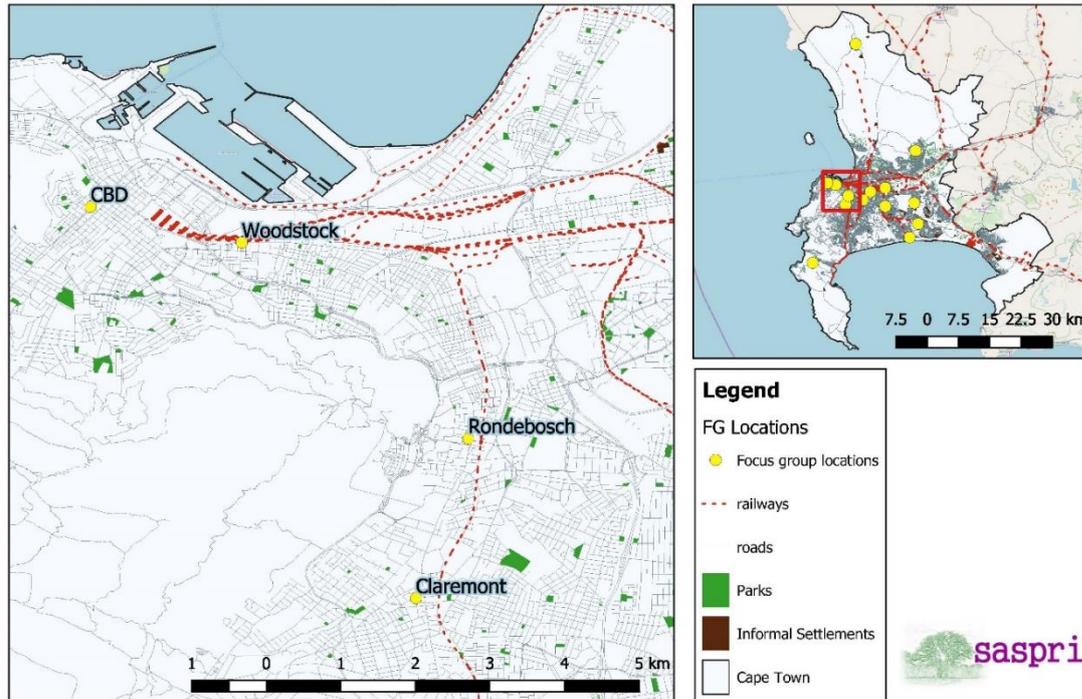
The 15th focus group took place in Gugulethu, a township located approximately 17km south east of Cape Town's CBD (see Map 1). As of 2011, 98% of the population in Gugulethu were black African (Census 2011). Census data in 2011 also indicated that Gugulethu was home to **98,468** people in an area covering **6.49 km²** (Census 2011). A total of seven participants took part in the discussion, and it was conducted in isiXhosa. The group ran for 1 hour and 29 minutes.

Map 1



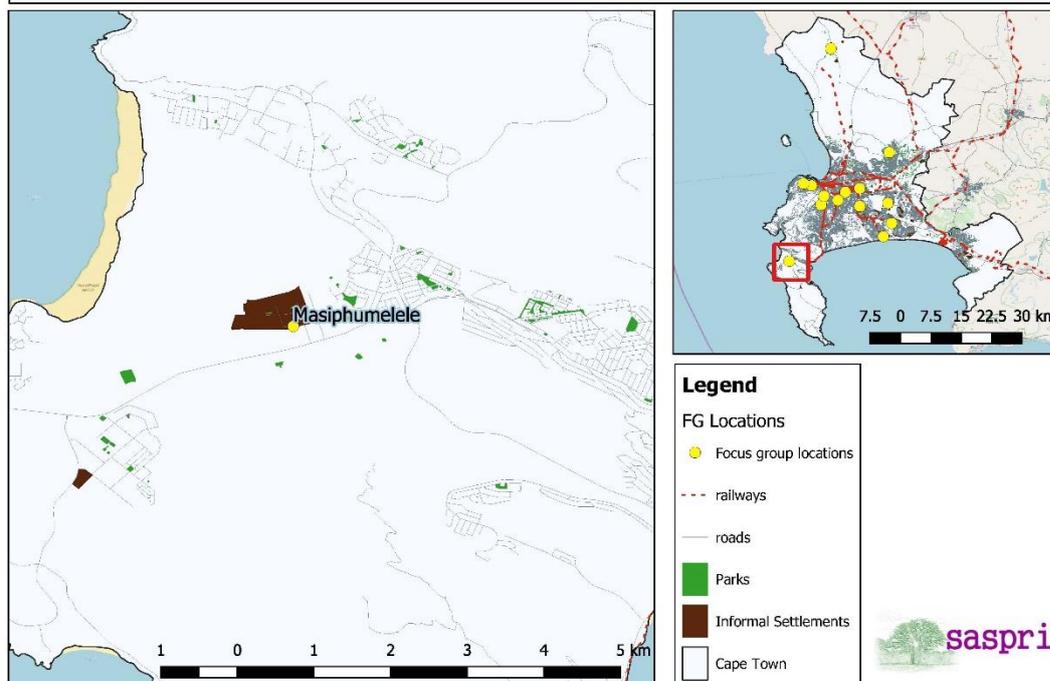
Map 2

Focus group 2: Claremont; Focus group 3: Rondebosch; Focus group 7: Woodstock; Focus group 12: CBD



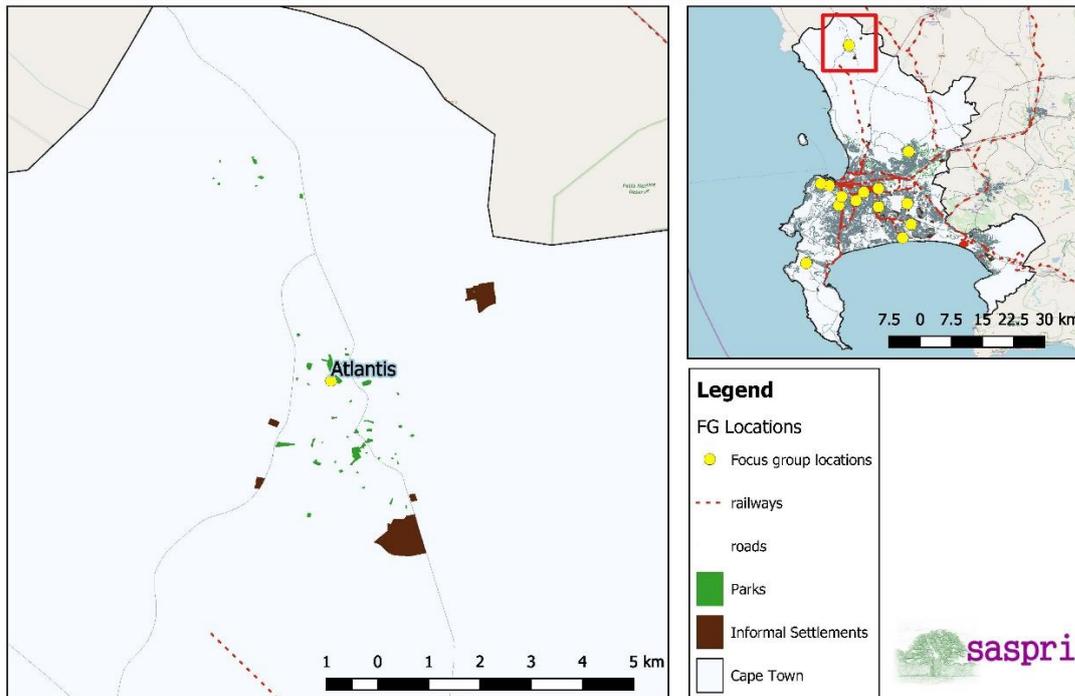
Map 3

Focus group 4: Masiphumelele



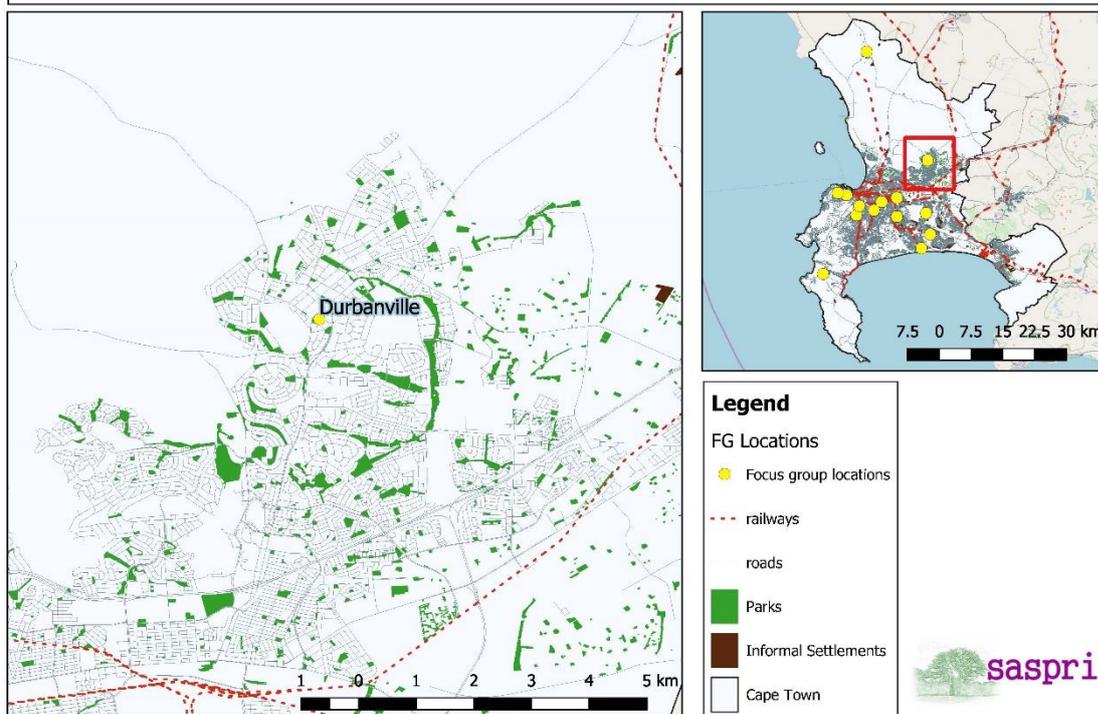
Map 4

Focus group 8: Atlantis



Map 5

Focus group 9: Durbanville



Map 6

Focus group 10: Tafelsig; Focus group 11: Delft; Focus group 14: Illitha Park

