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Soudien, Carla Thandi

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Women and the City: The urban experiences of women entrepreneurs, self-employed women and women-led business in Twist Street and surrounds, Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

Carla Thandi Soudien

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Urban and Regional Planning by Research

Johannesburg 2019

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Master of Science to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other university.

…….

(Signature of Candidate)

…… day of ……, …….

(day) *(month)* *(year)*

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List of Acronyms

ANC - African National Congress

BPfA - Beijing Platform for Action

BRICS - Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

CBD - Central Business District

GCRO - Gauteng City Region Observatory

GEM - Global Entrepreneurship Monitor

GM - Gender Mainstreaming

HSRC - Human Sciences Research Council

JDA - Johannesburg Development Agency

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

SMME - Small, Medium and Micro-sized Enterprises

StatsSA - Statistics South Africa

SDGs - Sustainable Development Goals

UN-Habitat - United Nations Human Settlements Programme

Glossary of Terms

bakkie - South African word for pick-up truck

hijacked building – a hijacked building refers to an apartment block or commercial space which has been appropriated by a person or a group of people who then assume control of the building in terms of management and collection of rent

makwerekwere – a term used in South Africa to refer to foreigners from the rest of Africa, often in a derogatory manner

matemba – traditional Zimbabwean food of small dried fish

mlungu – refers to a white person in isiZulu

mopani worms – large edible caterpillar

saloon – common word to describe a hair salon in Hillbrow

spaza – South African slang for an informal convenience shop which sometimes is run out of people's homes.

tsotsi – South African slang for gangster

uitval grond – leftover space

vetkoek – Afrikaans word for fried dough ball, direct translation is 'fat cake'

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Abstract

This dissertation reviews the role of the urban environment in facilitating the economic empowerment of women, looking, particularly at women entrepreneurs. The study is framed conceptually using a feminist, post-colonial lens and acknowledges complexity in relation people's experiences based on their gender, locality, citizenry, race and class. The literature review portion of the study considers scholars' work in the fields of gender, urbanism and entrepreneurship. The study interrogates overlapping themes in relation to gendered social hierarchies in the realms of urbanism and entrepreneurship, reviewing both opportunities and constraints during all phases of the research.

The empirical portion of the study comprises twenty interviews with women business owners in and around Twist Street in Hillbrow. The interviews included a mapping exercise in which the respondents depicted their daily movements graphically. In addition to the interviews, I carried out a mapping audit of the streetscape of three blocks of Twist Street, between Pretoria and Kapteijn streets. This mapping audit has assisted with understanding what the range of businesses are being run in this street, how many are run or owned by women and how many are run or owned by men. The fieldwork study sought to explore the respondents' everyday experiences related to housing, transportation, support networks, domestic care work, agglomeration and clustering of business types and perceptions of women's work.

Keywords: *inclusive cities; gender equity; cities; economic growth; Johannesburg; women in business; urban planning theory; entrepreneurship*

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Overview

Statistics show that on average women in South Africa are poorer than men, that women work in occupation sectors with lower earning and growth potential and that many households are female-headed with lower earnings than male-headed households (Stats SA, 2013). Chant (2013: 2) notes that 'women often reap limited rewards in terms of equitable access to "decent" work, human capital acquisition, physical and financial assets, intra-urban mobility, personal safety and security and representation in formal urban governance.'

One vehicle to achieve an improvement in women's standard of living and therefore their quality of life is through the facilitation of economic empowerment for women. Kabeer (2012: 5) highlights the importance of 'inclusive growth' as 'growth which ensures opportunities for all sections of the population, with special influence on the poor, particularly women and young people who are most likely to be marginalised.' This dissertation reviews the role of the urban environment in the economic activities of women, looking, particularly at women entrepreneurs, and in turn, how women entrepreneurs are shaping their urban environments.

1.2 Background to the Research

The unemployment rate for South Africa was 26.7% as of mid-quarter 2016 (Stats SA, 2016: iv). In comparison as of 2014, China had an unemployment rate of 4.1%, Russia 5.2%, and Brazil 6.5%. Benchmarking against these three 'BRICS[1]' countries shows that the South African unemployment rate is extremely high (BRICS, 2015: 12). One strategy to address the high levels of unemployment in South Africa is the promotion of entrepreneurship as a way

[1] Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

for people to create work for themselves; Grant (2013: 14) refers to this as the 'do it yourself' economy. I am interested in assessing how women fare when tackling the challenge of creating employment and making a life for themselves in the city through entrepreneurship.

Many of the factors which affect how people establish themselves as entrepreneurs are spatial, for example, where to locate a business, the networks available to link into and which businesses are located around them. Hovorka (2005) quoted in Grant (2013: 88) states that an 'entrepreneur's ability to create a productive business is premised on who they are, where they are located, and how they interact within space.' The manner in which entrepreneurs interact with space is also affected by gender.

'Gender matters in explaining the spatiality of firms in terms of location, sectoral niches, composition of entrepreneurial links and their firm's integration into the wider spatial economies' (Grant, 2013: 104).

In order to explore the relationships between gender and entrepreneurship and the urban condition, I have chosen to site the study in the central Johannesburg suburb of Hillbrow. The area is well suited because it has a high residential density and a mixture of spatial uses including business. While limited to one very specific spatial condition the findings of this enquiry could provide a relevant contribution to the academic discourse with regard to gender and spatial form and could form part of a collective set of studies to understand this subject in more detail.

When exploring people's experiences in the urban realm a critical starting point is the understanding that spatial experiences are affected by a multitude of factors, particularly class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality (Miranne and Young, 2000: 8; Budlender and Royston, 2016: 4; UN-Habitat, 2013: viii). This study, therefore, aims to explore issues which women entrepreneurs face living in an urban setting in the global south, and specifically Hillbrow, Johannesburg and explores added complexities or locally-specific challenges facing women who inhabit spaces like this.

There is a schism within the realm of urban planning between more formal theory and the realities of ‘everyday lives of a marginalised and impoverished urban population surviving

largely under conditions of informality' (Watson, 2009: 2260). Similarly, Pieterse (2014: 2) highlights the need to acknowledge what he calls the 'permanent state of emergency' in which many people live in Africa, but also emphasises the need to acknowledge, validate and prioritise the experiences of regular people living in African cities.

Mbembe and Nuttall (2004: 350), in *Writing the World from an African Metropolis,* grapple with the complexity of the language we choose to use when writing from and about the Global South. Mbembe and Nuttall (2004: 351) highlight the danger of bundling Africa or the developing world into one experience, and calls for 'scholarship on Africa to be deprovincialised'. This study therefore aims to locate itself in the larger global discourse on gender and urbanism while acknowledging that this is an account of women's experiences rooted in this particular space and time.

1.3 Justification for the Study

The overarching goal for advocates of gender equality is to achieve the 'evening out of women's and men's inputs and rewards in urban environments' (UN-Habitat, 2013: 78). Although policy and statistical data shows progress towards more equitable experiences for men and women, for example, in terms of access to education for boys and girls, a deeper investigation is required into understanding cities in relation to 'gendered spatial experiences' (UN-Habitat, 2013: viii; Parker and Rubin, 2017: 2).

It is important to acknowledge that South Africa has been seen by the international community as being 'ahead of the game' in terms of gender policy based on its progressive gender reforms instituted post-1994 (Beall 2001: 135). However, then already, Beall (2001: 145) highlighted the need to balance focus on the progress made with policy and the progress experienced at the grassroots level and with implementation. Van Donk (2004: 1) highlights the need for 'gender-inclusive' strategies to address the needs of marginalised women in Johannesburg including migrant women and elderly women in terms of access to services, housing and healthcare.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions have been developed based on key enquiries emerging as a result of the literature review process. The research questions seek to explore women's everyday experiences related to the broader themes within the literature reviewed which, in turn, relate to urbanism and social reproduction, gendered social hierarchies, entrepreneurship choices, identity and class, mobility and support networks.

Primary Questions:

1. How does the urban environment affect women entrepreneurs' experience of doing business in Hillbrow?

Secondary Questions:

2. How do women entrepreneurs in Hillbrow contribute to shaping their urban environment?
3. What informs the location of the business and how does this shape the built environment in Hillbrow?
4. What are the constraints and what are the benefits of running a business in Hilbrow and how do women choose to use the city?
5. How do women entrepreneurs shape their family lives or households in Hillbrow and how do they structure support networks in relation to everyday life and business?
6. How do women entrepreneurs themselves reflect on the role of gender in their experience of running a business in Hillbrow and what do they perceive to be women's work?

1.5 Report Outline and Overview of Research Methods

This dissertation begins with a literature review that considers firstly, discourse related to gender and entrepreneurship and secondly gender and urbanism. The third chapter explores literature related to both historical and contemporary Hillbrow, the site for the

fieldwork study. The fourth chapter sketches out the research methodology for the dissertation and the conceptual framework for the fieldwork study. The fifth chapter presents the fieldwork findings using the emerging fieldwork themes as sub sections for this chapter. The fifth chapter combines excerpts of the interviews interspersed with the analysis in relation to the literature and mapping which formed part of the fieldwork process. A fieldwork analysis and synopsis chapter follows as the sixth chapter. The last chapter concludes the dissertation with a brief synopsis, a response to the main research questions, and a reflection on the methods and recommendations that can be drawn from the study.

The research method adopted for this study is a qualitative, empirical study that examined the urban experiences of 20 women business owners primarily in a retail setting in Twist Street and surrounds in Hillbrow, a neighbourhood in central Johannesburg. Semi-structured interviews formed the basis of the empirical process and the interviews took place at the women's places of business. I used mapping as a means to record the study area as well as a way to engage the participants in the urban study. I had to be constantly aware of my biases and had to engage in an ongoing reflexive process regarding the interactions between myself, as an outsider researcher, and the respondents.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Urbanism, Gender and Entrepreneurship

2.1 Introduction

The choice of literature reviewed in the following sections unfolded both before and as a result of the emerging findings of the fieldwork exercise. The literature explored has allowed a targeted investigation of academic texts related to women and entrepreneurship as well as to gender and urbanism. The literature review process ran through all the phases of the dissertation allowing a continual process of reflexiveness and refinement. Throughout the literature review I explore the work of scholar's who are critical of socially-constructed gender norms. The literature explored in the study covered a range of overlapping themes that include enquiries related to social reproduction, ideas about structural contexts and criticism of the development lens. The aim at the outset was to include literature authored by scholars in the global south and to allow for an exploration of a set of enquiries that deal with a range of circumstances in terms of economic environments and social contexts.

2.2 'Gendering' Entrepreneurship

In this section, I will explore literature that considers the relationship between entrepreneurship and gender. This literature conceptually examines ways in which gender can play a role in entrepreneurial experiences. This thesis examines the experiences of women but uses the broader critical discourse on gender as a framing. All women entrepreneurs do not share the same experiences, but the intent is to bring to the fore common findings in the field of gender and entrepreneurship literature. The following section will include a review of work by local South African scholars such as Derera, Chitakunye and O'Neill and Mitchell who work in the field of management at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal and Grant who works in the field of Geography at both the University of Miami and the University of Johannesburg. One of the international studies that has been reviewed is work in the field of International Business by Warnecke in 2013 based at Rollins College in Florida, United States. Another international scholar's work reviewed is Chen's

who is a public policy specialist based at the Harvard Kennedy School with a focus on women in informal employment. The work of scholars have been included who provide a critical perspective in the field of gender and entrepreneurship research such as Helene Ahl who is based in the School of Education and Jonkoping International Business School at Jonkoping University in Sweden. Also discussed is the 2012 piece by Tedmanson, Verduyn, Essers and Gartner, based in Australia, The Netherlands and the USA, scholars who work in the fields of management and entrepreneurship. The literature covered for this section was largely authored in the last 20 years.

2.2.1 Defining 'entrepreneurship'

Entrepreneurship is a widely used term, often used uncritically as an inevitable component of contemporary capitalism. The dictionary definition of an *entrepreneur* is a 'person in effective control of commercial undertaking' or 'one who undertakes a business enterprise, with chance of profit or loss' (Sykes, 1984: 322). Further to that definition, scholars have reviewed perceptions of what it takes to be an entrepreneur and what the characteristics of a 'good' entrepreneur are. Bruni, Gherardi and Poggio (2004: 407), in a study looking at gender and entrepreneurialism, using two Italian businesses as case studies, describes the 'features of entrepreneurship [as] resid [ing] in the symbolic domain of initiative-taking, accomplishment, and relative risk'.

The overarching narrative portrays entrepreneurship as a positive activity, a pursuance of opportunity, with the aim of achieving economic growth (Ahl, 2006: 602; Calas, Smircich and Bourne, 2009: 552). 'In our view, traditional perspectives on entrepreneurship aim to reproduce a specific economic system- market capitalism- and assumes it will benefit all' (Calas, et al, 2009: 553). Feminist scholars of entrepreneurship call for alternative ways of *entrepreneuring* which do not take place like this, and which warrant conversations about ways of being entrepreneurs which differ from these traditional norms.

2.2.2 Critical Feminist responses to the discourse around entrepreneurship

Given that this study adopts a feminist approach, I have explored literature that investigates entrepreneurship and gender from a critical feminist lens. Several scholars bring to the fore the perceived link between entrepreneurship and maleness, Marlow et al (2009: 139) emphasising this by citing the phrase '[t]hink entrepreneur, think male' (Mirchandani, 1999: 225; Bruni et al, 2004: 407; Ahl, 2006: 598). Tedmanson, Verduyn, Essers and Gartner (2012: 534) put forward the view that within the study of entrepreneurship the 'archetypical entrepreneur' is seen to be white and male. Marlow et al (2009: 140) discusses this further, highlighting the tendency within the discourse to use male entrepreneurialism as the benchmark for measuring entrepreneurial performance in general (Mirchandani, 1999: 225). The view of Calas et al (2009: 561) is that the practice of entrepreneurship is gendered, and they reinforce the position taken by Ahl (2006: 595) that 'doing entrepreneurship is also doing gender'.

Ahl (2006: 595) draws attention to the perpetuation of these prescribed gendered roles in entrepreneurship research and posits that the manner in which research is being carried out reinforces the notions that women's businesses are inferior to men's businesses. Another perspective on the gendered nature of entrepreneurship relates to the realm of the home. Here the argument is that entrepreneurship can reinforce patriarchy by extending 'male power from the domestic sphere to the productive one' (Bruni et al, 2004: 409). The relationship between women's reproductive care work and entrepreneurship is explored during the fieldwork investigation.

2.2.3 Motivations for starting a business

Many studies on entrepreneurship analyse the motivating factors for people to start their own businesses. The literature distinguishes between 'necessity' entrepreneurs and 'opportunity' entrepreneurs, 'necessity' entrepreneurs being people who pursue self-employment due to job loss or lack of access to participation in the formal job market,

whereas ‘opportunity' entrepreneurs leave their employment by choice to pursue a business opportunity (Warnecke, 2013: 459). Warnecke (2013: 459) goes on to link ‘opportunity' entrepreneurs with participation in the formal economy and ‘necessity' entrepreneurs to participate in the informal economy. In a similar vein, Hughes (2003: 434) terms the difference as experiencing ‘push’ (necessity) or ‘pull’ (opportunity) factors which result in participation in entrepreneurship. The common ‘western conceptualisation’ of an entrepreneur is the ‘opportunity’ entrepreneur (Warnecke, 2013: 459).

In the comprehensive study on women and entrepreneurship compiled by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) that included 42 countries, the findings show that women are more likely than men to be ‘necessity’ entrepreneurs (Kelley, Baumer, Brush, Greene, Mahdavi, Majbouri, Cole, Dean and Haerlow, 2017: 19). Necessity entrepreneurs are found to be less likely to experience business growth, have more challenges accessing formal business support mechanisms and are largely not governed or supported by formal labour laws (Warnecke, 2013: 459). Chen (2011: 134) advocates for the promotion of informal business in economic policy rather than the criminalisation of informal business and recommends findings ways to 'validate' the work done by people labelled 'informal'.

Mitchell (2004: 176), in a study examining the motivation factors for entrepreneurs starting businesses, part of the Get Ahead Financial Services programme in Limpopo, blurs the distinction between ‘necessity' or ‘opportunity' entrepreneurship. He explores more broadly the motivations for starting a business for both men and women in his study sample, and lists ‘survival, financial independence, and security, to escape a negative situation and to enable personal growth' as more nuanced motivations.

2.2.4 Gendered Occupation Sectors

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor *Women’s Entrepreneurship 2016/2017 Report*, discussed in Section 2.2.1, reported that 60% of women in Sub-Saharan Africa were participating in a retail or wholesale business activity (Kelley et al, 2017: 41). 92% of women who participated in a study by Derera, Chitakunye and O’Neill (2014: 101), conducted in Pietermaritzburg in Kwa-Zulu Natal, were involved in the service and retail sectors. Derera

et al (2014: 10) reported that women in their study tend to start businesses which are ‘extensions of their domestic work' or hobbies and participate in business sectors with low start-up capital requirements. Marlow, Henry and Carter (2009: 140) echo this view by describing the tendency of women's businesses to be in the lower order services.

Two studies on the informal economy in South Africa give us insight into the kinds of business sectors men and women participate in. Chipepa (2017) writes about the informal economy in South Africa quite generally, while Grant's study (2013) is based on informal trade in Soweto specifically. Both Chipepa (2017: 16) and Grant (2013: 97) list in their studies the prominent informal business sectors which women participate in as food preparation, street vending, retail trading, fashion, sewing and handicrafts, and childminding. Chipepa (2013: 9) notes that these sectors have low growth and profit-making potential in many cases.

'Gender difference in output orientation is striking … men dominate chemical- and metals-related work, auto repairs, and construction generating intermediate products more likely to be sold over intermediate distances. By contrast, woman-dominated sectors (eg. fashion, pottery, and food) are the most locally rooted and trade largely within immediate vicinities and paradoxically, however, some of this output also trades over longer distances, across borders in most cases' (Grant 2013: 97).

The Grant (2013: 95) study shows that the sectors which men participate in show the largest profit-making potential but also generally require larger start-up investment. Derera et al (2014: 97) explored the accessing of start-up funding by women entrepreneurs in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, and stress that if a business is not financed adequately at the start-up phase, the growth potential of the business is stymied and that the chance of business failure is heightened. Both Grant (2013: 95) and Derera et al (2014: 102) link the profit-making potential of a business to the amount of start-up funding available, and find that women’s businesses are more poorly funded at start-up phase than men’s. Studies have shown that women's businesses ‘underperform' when compared to men's businesses and this can be attributed to the fact that women tend to start businesses with less start-up capital (Marlow et al, 2009: 142). Access to funding will be discussed further as part of the fieldwork investigation.

2.2.5 Constraints women face in entrepreneurship

Much has been written about the barriers faced by women to participate in the realm of entrepreneurship. Maas and Herrington (2007) cited in Akhalwaya and Havenga (2012: 20) discuss the cultural barriers South African women face, for instance, in particular in patriarchal family environments. In some cultural environments women find it challenging to access collateral, start-up funding or credit, as men, traditionally, would have control of the family assets, would automatically inherit property and would assume control of the family's finances (Parliament of SA, 2017: 4; Grant, 2013: 100).

Access to opportunity and the act of exercising choice can be affected by 'structures of constraint' that are affected by one's role in society, race, class and economic circumstance (Kabeer, 2012: 13). According to Kabeer (2012: 14), structures of constraint which face women in 'family and kin' settings also affect women in the labour market and that the roles inferred on men and women, for instance, of the man as the breadwinner, and the woman as the primary caregiver carry into labour markets. Kabeer (2012: 14) goes on to add that gendered structures of constraint can be mandated by 'state and market', and one notable example is when women have limited access to land and property rights, as is the case in Islamic law.

Another barrier commonly faced by women entrepreneurs is a phenomenon known as 'time poverty' which is a result of the persistent expectation that women carry the burden of traditional domestic roles (McGowan, Redeker, Cooper and Greenan, 2012: 53; Warnecke, 2013: 459). Kabeer (2012: 18), when reviewing global trends, found that women in some cultural familial setups are primarily responsible for providing care of children and elderly members of the household, thus causing an inbalance of time allocated to care tasks for men and women in these households.

2.2.6 Entrepreneurship as a means to achieve agency and opportunity

Despite the constraints faced by many women, entrepreneurship can become a means for women to gain and maintain opportunity, growth, and agency for themselves. The act of

entrepreneuring can be a vehicle to challenge the barriers which can face women. Akhalwaya and Havenga (2012: 13) write about access to entrepreneurship for women as a means to improve freedom and flexibility to fulfill personal obligations and also therefore to have control of more decision-making linked to various aspects of their lives. Daily practice in entrepreneurship, and entrepreneurship research for that matter, can either perpetuate gendered conditions which subjugate women entrepreneurs or which empower them (Calas et al, 2009: 559). Tedmanson et al (2012: 534) brings to the fore the potential of entrepreneurship to subvert the structural societal constraints rather than reinforce them.

'[U]nderstanding how entrepreneuring on the one hand may reproduce gendered normative practices and the subordination of women and how on the other hand entrepreneurship could potentially change gendered power relations and contribute to social change' (Tedmanson et al, 2012: 534).

Together these studies present the view that the practice of entrepreneurship is 'gendered' and that the everyday practice of doing business is a means to create and re-create gendered social norms (Bruni et al, 2004: 504). This work by Tedmanson and Calas et al exploring entrepreneurship can be compared to the work of Massey, discussed in Section 2.3.3, which posits that space is under constant construction and re-construction, and that the urban users enact social change.

2.2.7 Gender, Entrepreneurship and Space

Considering the potential for entrepreneurship to facilitate social change, there are additional investigations that relate to entrepreneurial space as gendered. Grant (2013: 93), when studying the gendered nature of informal business in Soweto, Johannesburg, found that women are more likely to locate their businesses at home, and to integrate their business and home life, as a way of managing both familial responsibilities and the operational requirements of their business. The Grant study also highlights the fact that male business owners were more likely to take space in formal business parks while women were more likely to have space in more informal business settings (Grant, 2013: 93). The

location of the business then also had a direct effect on the kind of networking entrepreneurs employed to grow their business (Grant, 2013: 102).

Gilbert (2000: 72) writing about spatial boundaries and 'boundedness' discusses ways in which women create networks via family connections, church networks and workplace networks as a way of securing contacts for supporting services like childcare provision. (Gilbert, 2000: 67). Rather than being perceived as a barrier, entrepreneurship can be seen as a means to allow women to provide flexibility by affording them the opportunity to provide for their family's day-to-day financial needs and caring for their family (Mitchell, 2004: 171). The commodification of care of children and the elderly is seen as an equalising factor for urban women (Peake 2009: 324). The fact that more well-off women are able to afford to outsource childcare, however, means that poorer women offering childcare services, in turn, have an issue finding childcare for their own children.

2.3 Gender and Urbanism in the Global South

'Spatiality cannot be analysed through the medium of a male body and heterosexual male experience' (Massey, 1994:182).

The following section will review literature looking at gender and urbanism and will seek to explore gender and power in the urban realm. In order to provide context for how gender has been approached in the urban planning world, I have included some references to broad feminist principals, which inform the practice of feminist urbanists. The discussions on the development lens, the view from above, and the schisms between theory and the everyday practice run central to much of this chapter. This section includes a brief investigation of literature covering gender mainstreaming and policy. Gender mainstreaming has been a common strategy to address gender inequalities in numerous fields, in institutional planning contexts, such as government policymaking, as well as in the world of urban planning.

The first portion of notable literature covered in the following section is work by feminist pioneers like Ester Boserup, a Danish economist writing about the gender and economics in the 1970s. The work of Nancy Folbre in 1994 explores themes of the economics of family and childcare. The writing of Sandra Harding in the mid-1990s explores the gendered nature of research in the fields of science and technology.

The second portion of literature covered in this section is work by scholars in the field of gender and urbanism. The first scholar that stood out during this portion of the literature review was Naila Kabeer, who works in the field of development studies and writes critically about gender and development politics particularly in the Global South. Secondly, the work of Stephanie White, who explored women's experiences of urban cultivation in Senegal, was notable as it introduced concepts of 'performing gender' and that every day practices of living reinforce or challenge gendered social hierarchies. The work of Doreen Massey is influential, as she writes about space and power and the manner in which space is constantly being constructed and re-constructed.

2.3.1 Feminism and Post-colonial Feminism

This study sets out to be a feminist enquiry, therefore it is pertinent to explore briefly what feminism broadly aims to expose, highlight and address. McCann and Kim (2010: 1) describe feminism as 'defending the cause of women'. Harding (2003: 45) and Reeves (2002: 198) view feminism as the contestation of the social construction of gendered hierarchies in a range of fields or aspects of general life. Reeves (2002: 197) is of the view that equality will exist 'when [the] disparities between men and women have been removed'. Simone de Beauvoir, the eminent feminist writer, and scholar highlights these gendered social hierarchies by saying, 'very often the privilege depends upon inequality of numbers- the majority imposes its rule upon the minority or persecutes it... But women are not a minority' (de Beauvoir, 1952: 18).

Rajan and Park (2005: 54) in their work on postcolonial feminism explore the variations in approach to feminist studies and the tension between academic work produced in the global north and in the global south, and particularly about work produced in the global north about the global south. Using a postcolonial feminist allows for an exploration of feminism ideas with the broader nuances of considering 'gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women's lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality and rights' (Rajan and Park, 2005: 53).

2.3.2 Understanding: Gender and Development

The manner in which women's agendas have been incorporated into policy conversations morphed between the 1970s and the 1990s. 'Women in Development' (WID) became a focus in the 1970s with the attention being on the production potential of including women in the workforce, discussed most notably by the Danish economist Ester Boserup (Moser 2014: 6; Boserup, 1970: 5).

Moser (2014: 7) refers to the 'add women and stir' phase in the 1980s that brought women's issues to the forefront of development conversations (Beneria 2003: 35). American

philosopher Sandra Harding (1995: 295) writes critically at the time of simply 'adding women' to established 'arenas' without interrogating the structural make-up of these 'spaces'. Harding (1995: 295) talks specifically about the incorporation of women into the realm of science and technology a 'space' with entrenched gendered hierarchies.

Academic discussions exclusively about *women* were called into question by writers like Ruben and Oakley positing that these different identities between 'manliness' and 'womanliness' are essentially 'socially constructed' and that a more 'intersectional' approach should be adopted when interrogating how we talk about *gender* (Harding 1995: 298; Cornwall and Rivas 2015: 401; Moser 2014: 6).

By the 1990s the focus had shifted to address the gender rights conversation as a part of the broader advocacy focus in the development agencies around 'social justice, equality, and rights' (Mukhopadhyay 2004: 97).

Arturo Escobar 1995 in his critique of the discourse of 'development' highlights the notion of the 'Third World' being created by this development discourse and calls for an interrogation of the representations of the 'developing' world curated by this development discourse (Moser, 2014: 4). Rajan and Park (2005: 54) provide a critique of the portrayal of Third world sameness as a series of homogeneous experiences. Beneria (2003: xv) juxtaposes the 'development' approach with the approach that considers the 'economics and politics of everyday life'. This study seeks to understand women entrepreneurs every day experiences and during the research process I have been aware of the development planning lens which leans towards a more top-down understanding of spatial organisation.

2.3.3 Gender and Urban Spaces- Space Constructed and Re-constructed

Early feminist urbanists from the global north have consistently interpreted the private realm as being the woman's realm and the public realm as being the man's realm (Peake, 2009: 323). According to scholars investigating the gendered nature of cities, the private realm is the space of social reproduction (and unpaid work) and the public realm is the space of production (paid work) (Bakker, 2007: 542). Massey (1994: 180), in her book

entitled *Space, Place and Gender* posits that 'gender is of significance to geographical constructions of space and place'. Here Massey (1994: 180) highlights the manner in which 'home' has been 'constructed' as the woman's realm, and how urban spaces have been perceived as a threat to this construct. Feminist scholars explore the links between these 'gendered social hierarchies' (Massey, 1994: 188) and the perpetuation of these hierarchies by the structural system of capitalism, Bondi and Rose (2003: 231) referring to the 'spatiality of capitalist patriarchy'. For this reason, how women entrepreneurs in the study locate their businesses in relation to their home space was of particular interest.

Chant (2014: 16) observes that while women have increasingly been active in the paid labour market, there has not been an increase in men's involvement in unpaid care work, and therefore that women carry the burden of this 'reproduction tax'. Folbre (1994: 3) explores the complexity of social reproduction in contrast to production, as understood by economists, and the need to acknowledge the role of unpaid care work of children as important to the production economy, as children grow up and then feed into the production economy. Folbre (1994: foreword) notes that 'despite the social programs of the welfare state, parents with young children, especially mothers on their own, are increasingly susceptible to poverty'. The study explores the women entrepreneur's care giving responsibilities and the structures in place that support these responsibilities.

2.3.4 Gender, Space and Power

An ongoing critique of development strategy, spurred by Maxine Molyneux in the 1980s, is about the manner in which women's 'needs' are the focus of gender strategy whereas women's 'interests' should be acknowledged. Kabeer (1992: 32-33 in Moser 2014:14) explains that 'needs' are the "perspective from above" and 'interests' are the "view from below". Escobar (1995: 187) critiques this distinction, questioning the need to separate poor women's efforts to make a living versus their political struggles related to power. There has been the emergence of the view that practitioners from the South to understand the gender debate as more of a fundamental structural issue (Razavi 1997: 1114).

Dikec (2001: 1786-1887) discusses the manner in which cities can encapsulate 'injustice' and how planning, can reinforce the 'spatiality of injustice'. In an already unequal urban environment, are women then 'double excluded' from having access to the benefits of city life (Falu, 2017: unpaginated)? A contrasting view as discussed briefly in the section, the City a Place of Opportunity, is to view urban spaces as 'possibilities for women to live outside the potentially suffocating conventions of the dominant gender order' (Bondi 1998: 165). Because space is fluid and constantly being remade, relationships with space can either be re-established or contested (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998 quoted in Gilbert, 2000: 66).

Purcell (2003: 575) explores the strata of metaphorical 'citizenship' in societies, which are not based on official state rights, but more nuanced rights that elevated 'citizenship' for more wealthy members of societies and provide limited or selected rights to citizenship for the marginalised. This notion of a stratified 'citizenry' is extended by Hunter (2010: 8) who explores how gender and poverty further affect access to the metaphorical 'citizenship' discussed by Purcell, with poor women enjoying lesser rights to richer women. This disparity in metaphorical citizenship and essentially 'rights' impacts people's access to housing, transport, credit, 'the right to participation' and the ability to be represented in decision making related to space (Chant and McIlwaine, 2013: 7; Fenster, 2005: 219; Reeves, 2002: 199; Todes et al, 2009: 11). Beebeejaun (2017: 327) discusses how access to everyday spaces in cities, like pavements, can be sites of contested 'citizenship' for women.

A significant factor to consider when reviewing gender inequality, is the manner in which women can access, control and benefit from resources in urban spaces (UN-Habitat, 2013: 68). Widely discussed in feminist literature is the distinction between 'recognition' of women's unequal access to the benefits of the city versus the 'redistribution' of the benefits of the city (Woodford-Berger 2004: 68). Moser (2016: 4) links the accumulation of assets and wealth with access to agency and lists 'physical, financial, human, social and natural capital' as resources which contribute to improved access to agency for women. Feminist economist, Lourdes Beneria (2003: 27) draws the correlation between 'gender justice' and 'economic justice', emphasising the view that without adequate access to opportunities to accumulate and control one's resources, gender equity is hampered. A more intangible consideration discussed by Ogando, Roever and Rogan (2017: 449), in their study on gender

and the waste picking industry in four countries, are the 'symbolic assets' or resources that people value, like social networks that contribute to their sense of security and dignity.

Mobility options in the urban realm are another aspect to consider when discussing power and rights to the city, as with limited access to mobility options, one's right to participate in the benefits of a city are limited (Massey, 1994: 179). It has been found that women spend additional time during the day travelling between places, and the links between transport infrastructure, housing options, schools and healthcare, safe public space, affect how women locate themselves (Greed, 2010: 113; Todes et al, 2009: 22). Kabeer (2011: 11) reinforces the importance of the availability of social supporting functions and amenities when considering the economic empowerment of women. In Parker and Rubin's study "Motherhood in Johannesburg" women noted proximity to home, access to childcare and access to public transport and public open space as considerations for choosing where to work (Parker and Rubin, 2017: 5, 35, 47).

One cannot discuss power without exploring the effects or threat of gender-based violence on the manner in which people inhabit space (UN Habitat, 2013: 74). When reviewing spatial geography, experiences and perceptions of safety and wellbeing play a role in determining how people interact with urban space. The Urban Safety Reference Group (2017: 31) study, *The State of Urban Safety in South Africa Report* highlights that 'fear affects decision making when it comes to how to interact with a space and can severely limit one's capacity to participate in activities.' How women move around the city and what informs and impacts this movement, is fundamental when discussing agency in the urban context.

2.3.5 The Dialectic approach: The City as Place of Opportunity

As discussed above, feminist urbanist and geographers have traditionally drawn the correlation between public space as men's space and the space of production and the correlation between private space as women's space and a space of reproduction (Peake 2009: 321; Bondi 1998: 160). Contemporary feminist geographers and urbanists are critical

of these prescriptive readings of gender and the urban condition and are looking at more nuanced ways to study the relationship between women and the city. There is an acknowledgement in feminist urbanist writing that all women are not the same and that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to gender and planning is not adequate (Woodford-Berger 2004: 70; Todes et al 2009: 5). Contemporary feminist urbanists emphasise the need to review the relationship women have with city space in relation to factors besides gender, such as race, class, age, sexuality and perhaps even their position in the Global North or South (Peake 2009: 323). In the US for instance, working-class African American women have had a consistent relationship with the urban realm as waged workers, challenging the stereotype of women only inhabiting the private and 'suburban' realm of cities (Peake 2009: 323).

Urban theorists write extensively about the constraints faced by women. This section, however, will look at writings by feminist urbanist and geographers which bring to the fore the opportunities and freedoms which urban environments can afford women. Bondi (1998: 160) describes cities as 'potentially emancipatory' and Peake (2009: 323, 327) speaks of the city as a 'space of opportunity' (economic, social and sexual, as examples) as opposed to a 'space of containment' (Bondi and Rose 2003: 228).

Important to the reframing of women contributing to the making of urban space is the notion that by participating, or what White (2015: 544) refers to as the 'emplaced performance' of participating in city life, urban space is being reimagined. White (2015) writes about women micro-gardeners in M'Bour, Senegal and the ways in which practices of working in a space can recreate space and identity. Chen (2008: 23) writes about the 3 V's, 'visibility', 'voice' and 'validity' reinforcing the notion that *how* women participate in city life impacts the politics of the space. Cities are in constant flux and participation in the making and the re-making the city space is ongoing as 'space is always under construction' (Todes et al 2009: 7; Massey 2005: 9). Bondi and Rose (2003: 233) suggest asking 'how the urban constructs gender and how gender constructs the urban?' as a means to begin undoing the overarching narrative of the city as a place of constraint for women.

Another key opportunity characteristic of the contemporary urban space is its potential 'tolerance of difference' (Garber, 2000: 26). This potential tolerance presents an opportunity for people not living in the traditional nuclear family set up to inhabit cities in

more comfortable ways (Garber, 2000: 26). Hunter (2010: 12), writing about intimacy and gender in South Africa, presents the use of the word 'household' rather than 'family' explaining that '[h]ousehold can … be made up of married couples, a lone migrant worker, cohabiting male female or same-sex couples, and many other arrangements.' Various feminist urbanists take the view that the contemporary urban environment provides female-headed households, for example, with the opportunity to make a living independently (Chant and McIlwaine 2013: 2; Peake 2009: 323; Bondi 1998: 165). Furthermore, it has been found that sons in female-headed household tend to share the household care responsibilities more than sons in male-headed households, which illustrates a shift in the traditional socialised gendered roles of boys and girls (Chant, 2016: 34).

Bondi (1998: 165) writes of cities as having 'amazing variety and richness' and Garber (2000:22) presents these spaces of diversity as fostering new ways of 'belonging'. Garber (2000: 31) presents the idea of the 'right to privacy' or being 'left alone' as being essential to publicness, essentially the right to not be persecuted. Seeing the city as a place of 'leisure' and 'pleasure' for women also provides a necessary reminder to make assessments based on the liveability of city spaces, and not only the availability of amenities deemed necessary to make a city work (Peake 2009: 321). Critical to note at this point is that people's experiences of 'city' are not universal, and as stated before, can vary based on a myriad of factors. The fieldwork component of this study is sited in an area which is fairly dangerous and therefore this will affect people's experiences of 'city'.

2.3.6 Gender and Planning Theory

A good practice gender planning approach considers 'gender-sensitivity in urban governance, human settlement and in a range of related fields such as water and sanitation, housing and transport' (Todes et al 2009: 5). Greed (2010: 107) in her writing on inclusive city planning, emphasises the need to consider the 'street-level situation' for women, elderly people and the disabled. These considerations include access to safe toilets, well-lit streets, direct route options and therefore minimising the need for people to navigate

alleyways or subways, and access to safe public transport (Todes et al, 2009: 20; Greed, 2010: 107).

Feminist planners typically advocate for mixed-use planning principals, which facilitate shorter trips between home and work and home and school, particularly for caregivers who also have jobs (Todes et al, 2009: 23). This approach encourages denser settlement planning and improved connectivity, to ensure mothers, for instance, are not excluded from employment opportunities due to prohibitive travel distances.

Besides these practical urban planning principals which facilitate more inclusive spaces, feminist urban planners advocate for equity in representation for women in forums responsible for developing policy, designing urban spaces and decision-making regarding urban governance (Todes et al, 2009: 9). In the UN-Habitat (2013: 75) State of Women in Cities 2012-2013, Gender and the Prosperity of Cities, lists the following focus areas in the arena of urban policy which can contribute to more equitable urban spaces, 'quality of life and infrastructure', 'women's unpaid reproductive work', productivity, equity in power and rights'.

In the UN Women's (2013: 32) report on progress towards the 2015 SDG Gender Goals, the importance of the role of women's groups is highlighted as a means to ensure women's voices are heard in the arena of governance and policy-making. Cornwall and Rivas (2015: 397) highlight the role of grassroots activism in addressing women's rights issues, as a counter narrative to the 'empowerment programmes aimed at self-optimising individual'. The UN-Habitat (2013: 75) report emphasises the need for the participation of women's grassroots organisations in policy-making forums (UN-Habitat, 2013: 75).

2.3.7 Gender Mainstreaming

'Gender mainstreaming' as a concept was broadly adopted at the seminal Beijing Platform for Action (PfA) conference held in 1995 (Mukhopadhyay 2004: 95; Beall 2001: 136; Moser 2014: 5). Large international development organisations, like the UN, governments and government agencies and NGOs began incorporating gender mainstreaming as a strategic

focus area post-PfA (Moser 2016: 16; Mukhopadhyay 2004: 98). The idea of 'mainstreaming' gender into organisations was to incorporate the gender equity agenda into 'policies, programme and projects' within these organisations and manifest transformation downstream in whichever field the organisation was responsible for (Mukhopadhyay 2004: 95). In the planning arena, Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equity 2005-2015 'gender mainstreaming in policy, planning, programme implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting' (Todes et al 2009: 3). Moser (1993: 90) describes her proposed strategy in gender planning to tackle gender equality to implement a range of 'methodological tools' within the discipline of planning. Moser (1993: 92, 93) proposes a set of technical strategies to address complex gender challenges, each major challenge is allocated a 'tool', 'procedure', 'technique' and 'purpose'.

Two opposing strands of 'mainstreaming' have been identified by the academy, one being an 'integrationist' approach and one being a 'transformative' approach (Moser 2014: 18). The 'integrationist' approach is viewed as a more 'technical' endeavour embarked on by an organisation, for instance, and the 'transformative' approach is one that calls for 'effort to create constituencies that demand change' (Mukhopadhyay 2004: 96). The more technical and top-down approach is criticised for being an assortment of checklists and evaluation forms, with little regard for the measurement of meaningful change in people's lives. The 'transformative' approach by its nature is more of a challenge and tackles the more underlying structural issues that affect gender inequality (Razavi, 1994: 1114).

2.3.8 Theory versus Practice

Following on the comments about the 'technical' versus 'political' nature of mainstreaming, an apparent discord has emerged between gender mainstreaming theory and the actual implementation of mainstreaming policies (Molyneux 2004: 112; Moser 2014: 5). A schism exists between theory and practice with 'results-based management and evidence-based policy and planning dominating development practice counter-poised by the "transformative social relations" as the central theoretical academic discourse' (Moser, 2014: 20). Sandler and Rao (2012: 558) maintain that the objectives of gender

mainstreaming should not be abandoned, but a 'ruptural transformation' is required to alter the course of gender advocacy strategies. Kabeer (2005: 23) questions the re-hashing of the five year goal loop of the MDG and SDG-like manifestos without the achievement of tangible results.

Numerous feminists advocate for the need acknowledge differences in people's experiences based on their 'race, class, ethnicity, disability and education' for example (Todes et al 2009: 5; Woodford-Berger 2004: 70). Escobar (1995: 5) refers to the 'colonisation of reality' and cautions against applying a one-size-fits-all approach without making reference to the nuances of 'the lived experience' (Mukhopadhyay 2004: 101). Sandler and Rao (2012: 553) refer to the fact that 'gendered power is all over the place', calling for a range of mainstreaming strategies. By simplifying mainstreaming gender equity using targets and frameworks, policy-makers and urban planners do not consider social power differentials and do not tackle the complexities of creating real engagement, of 'staking claim' to certain rights and the ability to participate in decision-making in a meaningful way (Mukhopadhyay, 2014: 101).

2.4 Conclusion

The literature covered in Chapter 2 has included a broad range of material related to gender, urbanism, and entrepreneurship and seeks to synthesise and summarise many complex concepts in the preparation for the empirical portion of the study. The literature shows that conceptual approaches to gender and urbanism are in constant flux. The review highlights the links between the various fields within the academy regarding the feminist approach, such as economists, scientists, and urbanists. The literature draws attention to the need to consider the structural contexts for exploring gender and urbanism that relate to governance, advocacy, representation, participation, and policy. It also underlines practical planning principles that promote gender-friendly urban environments such as access to safe housing, safe transport and achieving adequate levels of urban connectivity.

Chapter 3: Hillbrow- Study Context

3.1 Introduction

This chapter on Hillbrow has been included to provide the reader with insight into the urban context of the study site and with an understanding of the rich and complex history of the suburb of Hillbrow. The suburb has undergone a range of transformations since its formal inception at the end of the 19th century. The area has experienced rapid densification from 1940s and 1960s, and this densification has underpinned much of the transformation which will be described in this chapter.

3.2 Pre-1980s: the making of Hillbrow

The area now known as Hillbrow used to be a portion of the government-owned Randjeslaagte '*uitval grond*' translated meaning leftover space, a triangular-shaped piece of land between farmland (Beavon, 2004: 19). Hillbrow was established as a neighbourhood on 24th July 1895, starting off as a low-density upmarket residential suburb serving employees of the mines (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 9).

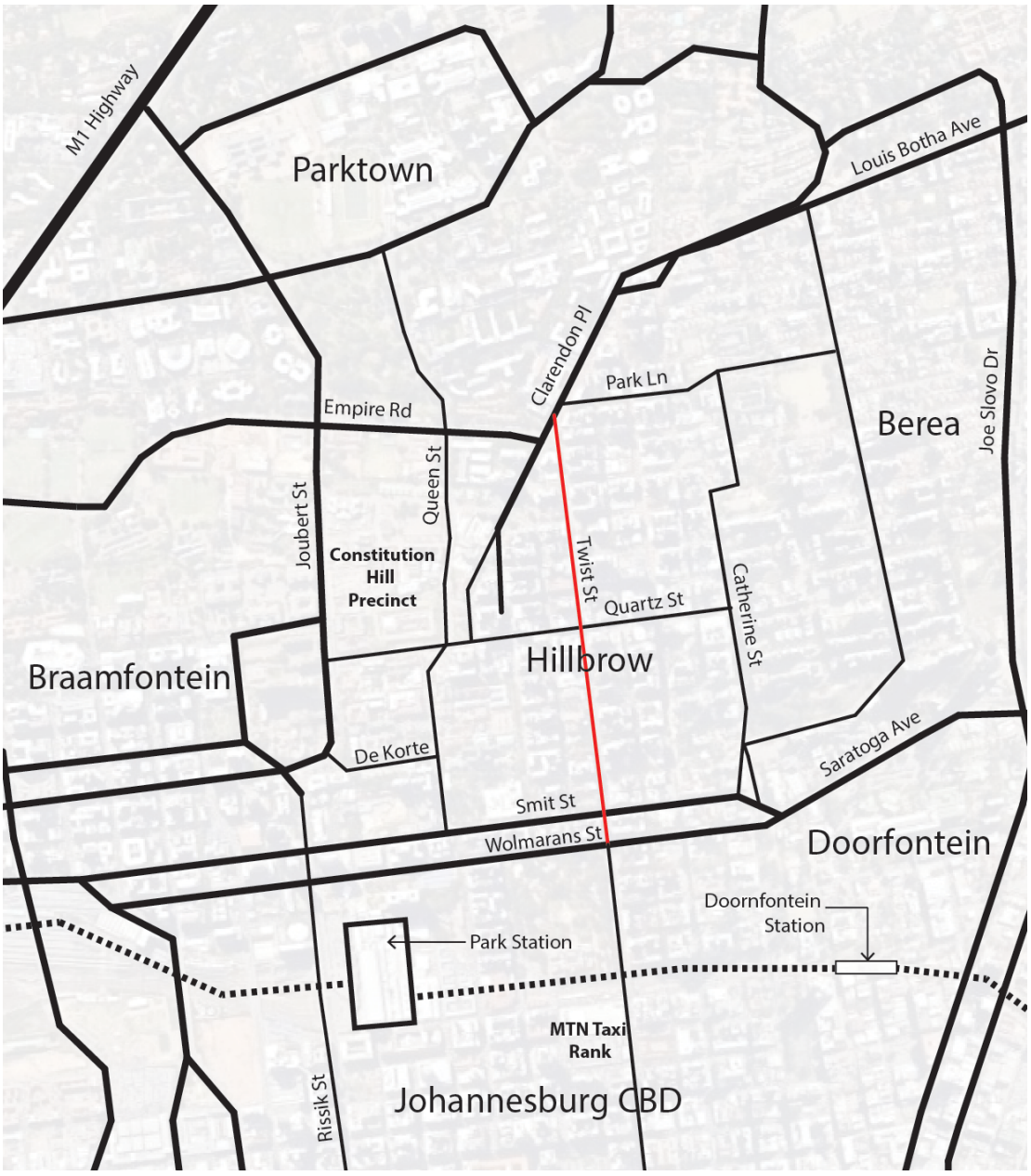


Figure 1: Locality plan showing Hillbrow and surrounds (by author)

Hillbrow is situated east of Braamfontein (and the Constitution Hill precinct), west of Berea and Doornfontein and south of Parktown. The official suburb boundaries have changed over the years, but the northern part of Hillbrow has maintained its distinctively triangle-shape on the city map, flanked by Clarendon Place on the north-west, Wolmarans Street on the

South and Catherine Avenue to the east. The boundaries of Hillbrow today extend south to Commissioner Street, encompassing the neighbourhood of Joubert Park. Twist Street was historically a north-south tram route terminating at Clarendon Circle, the tram system was decommissioned in the beginning of the 1960s (Latilla, 2013). Twist Street is now a one way north and remains a thoroughfare for vehicular and pedestrian traffic moving between the central business district (CBD) and the suburbs to the north of the CBD.

The area came to be a significant health precinct with the first hospital built in Johannesburg in 1889 located in the vicinity of Hillbrow. 'Hospital Hill' which flanks Hillbrow housed numerous health facilities, the 'non-European' hospital was built in 1921, the 'Children's Hospital' built in 1923, the Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital relocated there in 1943, the Florence Nightingale Hospital established in the 1950s and more recently Brenthurst Clinic, Parklane Clinic and Rand Clinic (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 9). The health precinct in part developed as a response to 'promiscuous reputation' with the neighbourhood housing many brothels and later becoming home to 'some of the earliest HIV prevention and support centres in the city (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 13).

Between the 1940s to 1960s, the area began transforming into a higher density neighbourhood with the construction of taller apartment buildings (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 10; Beavon, 2004: 155). The densification took place quickly, spurred by developments in building construction technology and inspired by the Brazilian and International styles of architecture and was lauded by both the local and international architectural communities (Beavon, 2004: 155). Hillbrow is described as 'one of the most densely populated suburbs in the southern hemisphere (Chipkin, 1993 quoted in Beavon, 2004: 156), although this fact has been found to be untrue. Nevertheless, this pronounced development phase concluded at the end of the 1960s as a result of rent control measures adversely affecting the property owners' investment potential (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 9).

Hillbrow was classified as a 'whites-only' suburb according to the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1966 (Morris, 1994: 821). The only non-white people living in Hillbrow during this time were domestic workers occupying small rooms on the roofs of apartment buildings known as 'locations-in-the-sky' (Beavon, 2004: 156; Morris, 1994: 821). Because of the type of

accommodation available, immigrants moving to South Africa from Europe, accustomed to 'continental-style' apartment living, were attracted to the neighbourhood and Hillbrow was described as 'Manhattan-like' (Beavon, 2004: 156; Murray, 2011: 68). Pre-1980s Hillbrow was an immigrant space, a space of new arrivals, a 'port-of-entry' neighbourhood (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 8).

Describing the making of the inner city of Johannesburg, Bremner (2000: 186) writes that 'from its inception, the city was constructed to conform to images of Western modernity'. Hillbrow of 1950s to the 1980s was celebrated for its *cosmopolitan-ness* with the neighbourhood home to establishments with worldly names like 'Cafe Paris' and 'Cafe Zurich' and renowned for being the location of the first Exclusive Books[2] and Look and Listen[3] stores in the country (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 10; Latilla, 2016).

Below is an excerpt from 'The story of a pharmacist in Hillbrow: 1955 – 1997' found in the Southern African Jewish Genealogy Special Interest Group Newsletter of June 2007. The excerpt illustrates the enthusiasm and pride which residents who lived in Hillbrow between the 1950s and 1990s, felt for the area.

'At that time Hillbrow was a vibrant, thriving and exciting cosmopolitan suburb, peopled mainly by Germans, Italians, Greeks, and Britons. With trams and afterwards buses frequently passing through its streets, it was easily accessible. Because of its many tall buildings, Hillbrow was regarded as the most built-up area in South Africa. Within its comparatively small limits were parks, hospitals, nursing homes, opticians, dental and medical practices, two tailors, restaurants, continental styled cafés and lounges, interesting stores including bakeries and delicatessens, cinemas, theatres, hotels and night clubs.' (Gluckman, 2007: 10).

Between the 1970s and 1990s, Hillbrow came to be known as a very progressive neighbourhood and a safe place for persecuted gay people, for instance (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 12). Not only was Hillbrow seen as a 'grey' area during this time, safe for

[2] Bookstore chain in South Africa

[3] Music outlet chain in South Africa

people of colour but also was seen as a ‘pink’ area, safe for queer people (Gevisser, 1994: 42). The ‘heyday’ of Hillbrow is described with incredible nostalgia by past residents expressing ‘personal losses of a “golden era”’ (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 8). Murray (2011: 139) describes this nostalgia as dwelling in the ‘collective memory of white Johannesburg’.

3.3 Post-1980s Hillbrow: A Time of Transformation

Around the beginning of the 1980s, the demographics of Hillbrow began to shift quite quickly, with more ‘non-white' people moving into the neighbourhood. The most pronounced change took place between 1978 and 1982, this transition referred to as ‘greying', was a response to a number of factors (Beavon, 2004: 216; Morris, 1994: 821). One of these factors was the shortage of housing in the so-called Black, Coloured and Indian townships established by the apartheid government (Beavon, 2004: 216). Another factor was that rent control was lifted in Hillbrow which meant that the cost of rent became prohibitively high for existing tenants and this meant that people decided to move out of the neighbourhood in search of more affordable rental accommodation in other parts of the city (Beavon, 2004: 16). As a result of the unrest around the student uprising of 1976 and general economic uncertainty, many foreigners ‘upped anchor and left the country', leaving accommodation vacant (Beavon, 2004: 216). ‘The renting of Hillbrow flats by people classified "coloured" and Indian represented an early crack in the apartheid edifice', an ‘erosion of the group areas act' and non-white people lived in Hillbrow ‘illegally' at this time (Morris, 1994: 823-824).

‘In 1985, only 10% of Hillbrow and Berea residents were ‘Black Africans’, however, within 10 years ‘Black Africans’ constituted over 80% of the residents of the area’ (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 12). By the 1990s Hillbrow faced a decline in the upkeep of apartment buildings and a general increase in 'crime and grime' (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 12). The decline of the area is attributed to a number of factors and one theory is that landlords desperate to collect rent money allowed overcrowding and became less concerned about building maintenance (Silverman and Zack, 2005: 17). Another theory is that the decline is

the result of the area being racially segregated (Silverman and Zack, 2005: 13). This decline resulted in 'capital flight' or 'white flight' which saw many white (and black) middle-class people leaving the centre of the city for locations in the North of the city, like Sandton (Mosselson, 2015: 13; Bremner, 2000: 187).

3.4 Present day Hillbrow: A Space of Complexity

Hillbrow is assumed to be the most densely populated neighbourhood in South Africa (JDA, 2009: 54; Silverman and Zack, 2005: 22). The unofficial population estimate is roughly 75 000 people which equates to 68 418 people per square kilometre (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 1) with growth rates plateauing around the mid-2000s (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 71).

According to a 2009 study by the Johannesburg Development Agency, 38% of the population of this neighbourhood is foreign and 62% is South African (JDA, 2009: 54; Winkler, 2014: 487). Hillbrow has maintained its identity as a 'port-of-entry' neighbourhood and is a popular place to seek accommodation for newcomers to the city (JDA, 2009: 54; Winkler, 2014: 487). Hillbrow has the reputation of being a transient space but this condition seems to be changing with more people remaining in Hillbrow for extended periods of time (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 71). Studies show that while at the start of the 1990s more single people and couples lived in Hillbrow, more recently people choose to live in Hillbrow with their children (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 77).

3.4.1 Housing, Safety and Mobility

'Overall, inner-city Johannesburg exhibits a complex geography, both as a zone of confinement and exclusion and as a destination of choice for many who want to access the opportunities this central location provides, particularly in contrast to the disconnected

townships and informal settlements on the city's outskirts.' (Mosselson 2013: 1863 quoted in Rogerson and Rogerson, 2014: 7)

Housing in Hillbrow is available in a range of prices and governance formats, from privately-managed buildings, like Ponte City to buildings managed by social housing companies to 'hijacked' buildings (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 86). A hijacked building refers to an apartment block or commercial space which has been appropriated by a person or group of people who then assume control of the building in terms of management and collection of rent. In some cases the original owners of these buildings do not live in the country anymore or have abandoned these buildings. (Mosselson, 2015: 204). The kind of accommodation available varies as well, from a space on the street to a shared bed, to a bed to rent in a shared flat, to an entire flat and sub-letting a portion of space is common practice (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 78). One manner in which rental accommodation in the area is advertised is using a system colloquially referred to as 'gumtree', as people use chewing gum to stick written adverts onto 'noticeboards' dotted around the neighbourhood (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 86; Zikhali, 2018).

Residents have noted an increase in the price of accommodation, perhaps due to stricter controls in terms of overcrowding as well the increased involvement of social housing companies (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 86). The general upkeep of residential properties has improved, resulting in more desirable accommodation options, but also higher rentals (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 86).

Hillbrow is serviced by a range of transport modes. Twist Street has a Rea Vaya route which connects to central Johannesburg and Soweto, with a station at the Johannesburg Art Gallery (Rea Vaya is the name of Johannesburg's bus rapid transit system). The area is also served by the commuter taxi, with Noord Street (MTN) taxi rank on the southern side of Twist Street. The Southern end of Twist Street is in close proximity to both Doornfontein Metrorail Station, Park Metrorail Station, and Gautrain Station. Respondents in the Gewer and Rubin (2015: 96) study report a high level of walkability in Hillbrow.

The Hillbrow area has developed a notorious reputation in relation to crime and is currently rated as one of worst ten precincts in South Africa in terms of the number of crimes

committed annually (CrimestatsSA, undated). The neighbourhood has been characterised as one riddled with overcrowding, crime, decaying buildings, high unemployment described as a 'warzone', but also is a 'vibrant space with a rich sense of community' (Nessman 2001: 194 in Winkler, 2014: 487).

3.4.2 Networks of Belonging or Alienation

Many people come to Hillbrow to join family already living in the neighbourhood and slot into a network of people who share, for example, language, nationality or faith (Winkler, 2014: 487). The networks in Hillbrow, both formal and informal, are family- and kin-based and also include business groupings, community-based policing collectives and faith-based groups (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 71). Winkler (2014: 488) writes extensively about the proliferation of religious groups in Hillbrow, and how these worship spaces become spaces of community, support and 'hope' for foreign people living in the city. More recently the perception is that Hillbrow is the Zimbabweans' place (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 76) but it has also been referred to as 'Little Lagos' (Winkler, 2014: 487).

Mpe (2001: 4) in his novel *Welcome to our Hillbrow,* writing about the early 1990s, refers to the foreign residents as *makwerekwere* and describes in his book the hostility felt by South Africans towards the *makwerekwere* and the way in which foreigners were felt to be to blame for the decline of the neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods with significant foreign populations, like Hillbrow, have been faced with increased levels of xenopohobia resulting in incidences of violence aimed at foreign people living in the area (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 13; Bremner, 2000: 186).

These sentiments of exclusion have been, in numerous cases, reinforced by the police, health care providers, schools and state officials with foreigners reportedly being arrested merely because of the language they speak (Landau and Freemantle, 2010: 378, 379). As a result of these sentiments of exclusion, Landau and Freemantle (2010: 381) describe the phenomenon of 'self-exclusion' by foreigners, who then purposefully employ 'tactical

cosmopolitanism' as a means to not 'commit' to South Africa and how for some the goal is to use South Africa as a stepping stone to a third, more permanent move for a better life somewhere else. Writing about the flow of people into and out of central Johannesburg, Kihato (2009: 18) describes 'Johannesburg as a border zone', where people exist in a constant state of being between places, their home, being here and possibly planning an onward journey.

3.4.3 Layers of organisation

Land use management in Hillbrow has emerged as a 'complex lattice' governed by who Silverman and Zack, (2005: 88) refer to as 'urban actors'. These actors occupy spaces either in the form of more official players or as informal organisers and in some cases do so illegally or in a way unmonitored by city officials (Silverman and Zack, 2005: 14). Research work carried out by Rubin, Gewer, Campbell and van den Busschen (2016: 20) in a 'hidden' basement space in Hillbrow begins to explore the layered nature of established yet unofficial 'organisation' and management systems, which people use to control space and exchange and rules of engagement exist despite being informal in nature. Mbembe and Nuttall (2004: 365) describe formal and informal ecosystems and 'the emergence of multiple economies not limited to the corporate form' (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 71). People are able to be visible and at the same time invisible to avoid confrontation with the local authorities or the police (Rubin et al, 2016: 6; Simone, 2008: 78).

3.4.4 Networks of Commerce in Hillbrow

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) (2009: 48) describes the role of the Inner city of Johannesburg as 'a [p]lace of [e]ntrepreneurship and [c]reativity'. As already mentioned, Hillbrow is characterised by high-density residential accommodation, and this is paired with

a mixture of commercial uses predominantly, but not limited, to street level (JDA, 2009: 54). Due to the mix of cultural groups represented as well as the high density of people living in the area, a range of commercial activity takes place including street trade, restaurants, shebeens and nightclubs, places of learning and hotels (JDA, 2009: 54).

The inner city of Johannesburg including Hillbrow has emerged as ‘transnational, cross-border shopping hub' for the rest of the African continent with an unofficially estimated turnover of ‘two Sandton City shopping centres', Sandton City is a large mall in the affluent Johannesburg suburb of Sandton (Zack, 2017: 26). Besides serving consumers who are residents in the city, this ‘shopping hub' is visited by professional ‘shoppers' from other African cities, with pre-arranged orders from consumers or shops in their home countries for items ranging from groceries, leather shoes and suits, to furniture (Zack, 2017: 25). A sophisticated network of transport for goods, bus services, and hotels has been established to accommodate the travelers visiting Johannesburg to shop (Zack, 2017: 8).

3.5 Conclusion

Hillbrow has undergone a rapid transformation over a very short time span of about 100 years with regard to its urban character, density, and demographic composition. This inner-city neighbourhood has maintained its role as a place for new arrivals to Johannesburg, with an enduringly cosmopolitan makeup of residents. The dense fabric of Hillbrow facilitates urban opportunities related to building community, housing, commerce and even crime which can go unseen or partially seen to city authorities. With many of the residents of Hillbrow being migrants from other parts of Africa, a rich network of links is evident in terms of communication, fashion, trade, cuisine, forms of religious worship and transport with people's countries of origin.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This study is comprised of a literature review paired with a qualitative empirical study. The qualitative approach used for the empirical portion of the study was a phenomenological one, with the emphasis on the 'lived experience' (Gaudet and Robert, 2018: 43). For this study, I made the choice to only interview women business owners in order to intentionally focus on women's own accounts of their everyday experiences. The research was conducted at the respondents' place of business and thus in their 'natural setting' which is recommended when conducting a qualitative study (Cresswell, 2009: 175).

The findings of the empirical study have been reviewed using the overarching concepts emerging from the literature review process; in turn, the findings of the fieldwork study have informed the overall choices of literature included. This approach of allowing the findings of the empirical study to inform the direction the research takes draws from the grounded theory approach, but the grounded theory approach was not fully adopted for this study (Glaser, 2016: 4). The reason for not fully-adopting the grounded theory approach was to allow the study to maintain a pre-planned research design and conceptual framework while borrowing elements of the grounded theory approach.

I aimed to review primarily the scholarly contributions in the areas of research related to gender and urban planning, women and entrepreneurship, inclusive city-making and the empowerment of women. Emphasis has been placed on sourcing sufficient published research material which is centred on conditions in the Global South. The use of a dialectic approach to the review of the literature provides the opportunity to assess both the opportunities and constraints for various enquiries within the study (Rajan and Park, 2005: 66). The use of an 'iterative' research process allowed for the findings to unfold based on the fieldwork study, and for interpretation and re-interpretation as the research process progressed (Gaudet and Robert, 2018: 5).

4.2 Research Approach

Much has been written regarding the most appropriate methodologies for feminist research with many early feminist researchers favouring the qualitative method (Rose, 2001: 1; Sharp, 2005: 305). What has emerged more recently is an acknowledgement that both quantitative and qualitative studies are useful for conducting feminist research and that the mixed methods approach, is often appropriate (Campbell and Wasco, 2000: 773). The strategy I have adopted for my study is to use only the qualitative method and to focus on collecting and recording accounts of the respondents' daily experiences. In order to allow the focus of the study to be the respondent's stories and to give validity to the voices of the participants, only the qualitative approach was adopted for this study.

A critical component of conducting feminist research is to adopt a clear 'epistemological stance' with regard to the power relations which exist between 'researcher and the researched' (England, 2015: 363). '[F]eminist epistemologies accept women's stories of their lives as legitimate sources of knowledge, and feminist methodologies embody an ethic of caring through the process of sharing these stories' (Campbell and Wasco, 2000: 778).

Henry et al (2015: 233), while reviewing a broad range of scholarly work on gender and entrepreneurship, recommend more qualitative studies be conducted in the field with a feminist lens, to provide an alternative to the many quantitative studies carried out in the field. Research in the field of gender and entrepreneurship is behind the social sciences in terms of using methodologies which have a particularly focused feminist lens (Henry et al, 2015: 236). Henry et al's study also highlights a need to move away from 'male-gendered measuring tools' and to review the context in which women entrepreneurs are conducting their business in more detail to understand women's access to childcare or start-up capital, as examples (Henry et al, 2015: 218). Ahl (2006: 595) brings attention to the need for research on gender and entrepreneurship to cover ideas of structural contexts which women entrepreneurs are part of and posits that '[r]esearch, as far as it recreates a binary polarization between groups of individuals based on their sex, risks reproducing the subordinate role of women'.

4.3 Case Study

When choosing a focus area for the case study I decided to explore the inner city of Johannesburg as a starting point. By siting the study in the inner city, I had the opportunity to investigate the merits of the traditional 'urban' setting with existing transport infrastructure and linkages, public amenities and a mix between business and residential. The chosen study focus area is Hillbrow, which was introduced in Chapter 3 above.

Hillbrow provided a very high density of people and is theoretically suitable to conduct the study in the context of the neighbourhood's social networks, links, safety circumstances and the availability of civic amenities. Hillbrow is situated in close proximity to both my home and work and is relatively convenient for me to access, as regular visits to the neighbourhood were necessary during the duration of the study. The case study location starting point was Twist Street as it is a linking street and has many businesses on the street level. During the course of the fieldwork process, it became necessary to seek out respondents in the neighbouring streets, as there were not sufficient respondents willing to partake in the study if it were limited to Twist Street.

4.4 Sampling

The aim of the fieldwork was to examine the experiences of women entrepreneurs with a particular focus on the effects of the spatial form on these experiences. The intention was to engage women working in as wide a range of occupations as possible and to not limit the interactions to street vendors, for instance, who might be more visible and easier to identify and approach. In order to achieve this range of respondents I needed to ask people for referrals to women working in less visible working environments, a method referred to as

'snowball sampling' (Sarantakos, 2005: 213). The intention was to seek out a sample group of 20 to 30 interviewees using the mapping process, and ultimately 20 women participated in the interview process. This study represents the experiences of women business owners operating in more public settings as I was only able to access respondents who operate in a street-facing retail environment or pavement-based vendors.

4.5 Data Collection

As the one component of the fieldwork study, I undertook a mapping audit of the streetscape of Twist Street. The process entailed drawing up the street grid and graphically-representing the different business spaces in the demarcated focus area, allowing me to assess the number of business spaces per block. The next step involved approaching the people in the spaces, explaining to them that I was conducting research for a university project and asking them some general questions about the business they were participating in and whether the gender of the business owner. This mapping audit aimed to assist in assessing what the range of businesses was, how many are run or owned by women and how many were run or owned by men and to establish an idea of who might be willing to engage in further interviews. Based on the outcome of the mapping process I was able to assess thematic outcomes in terms of what kinds of businesses women were running, how old the businesses were and what and economic range or size of businesses that applied. This initial mapping took place during the general interview process and not right at the beginning, as was planned. The interviews began more organically than expected, with two respondents willing to be interviewed on the first fieldwork outing when I was expecting to be conducting the mapping audit.

The other component of the fieldwork portion of this study was conducted using an in-depth qualitative, ethnographic engagement primarily through the use of in-depth interviews conducted in a semi-structured manner (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 9; Simon, 2006: 166). A set of guideline questions (see Appendix 9.1) were used a guideline for the interview process (Cresswell, 2009: 174). I also requested that respondents make a map of

their typical daily journey in the city. The making of the map by the respondent sought to add a representation of the 'lived experience' of the respondent.

Once the structured questions had been answered, I encouraged a more conversation-style interaction with the respondents, to allow free-flow ideas about the questions. Research methodology experts highlight the potential for difficulty with the interview strategy related to language, unconscious bias and the possibility that the interviewee might struggle to communicate their responses in a way which effectively (Cresswell 2009: 179). For this reason, I have worked with guides from the Dlala Nje tour company operating in the Hillbrow area. The aim was to gain contacts and useful insights through Dlala Nje's experience working in the area. The guides all were, currently or had been at one point, residents in Hillbrow and were intimately familiar with the area. One or two guides accompanied me on every visit to the neighbourhood, as part of the University's comments at the proposal stage was to be especially vigilant about my own safety in Hillbrow. The Dlala Nje guides could also act as interpreters and were able to aid with interviews in isiZulu, where the respondent felt more comfortable in isiZulu than in English. I paid the guides on an hourly basis to accompany me on the fieldwork visits. None of the guides had any experience in accompanying researchers, but were able to use their experience as tour guides in the area to facilitate meaningful engagements with myself and the respondents.

The fact that the guides in some cases participated in the interviews, meant that the information shared with me also was shared with the guide, and the involvement of the guide was explained to the respondent at the start of the interview. I ensured that the partipant was comfortable to participate in the interview with the knowledge that the guide would be present and would participate if necessary, and only signed the participant consent form once this was explained and agreed.

As far as possible, I conducted the interviews myself and only used an interpreter if a language barrier presented itself. As noted by Simon (2006: 164), the use of interpreter allows the interviewee to reply to the questions adequately in a language that he or she is more comfortable with. In three cases the respondents felt more comfortable speaking isiZulu to the interpreter. In these cases I asked the questions in English, and the interpreter communicated with the respondent and translated the answers for me in English. These

interviews were a challenge to record and transcribe, but I was able to extract valuable insights from these interviews nonetheless.

Detailed written notes of all the interviews were the primary method of recording responses to my questions, with digital audio recordings as a back-up, if agreed to by the interviewee (Cresswell, 2009: 179). The digital recording complimented my hand-written notes in creating transcripts. Where recording was permitted, these allowed for the opportunity to re-listen to the conversation and pick up more nuanced interactions between myself and the interviewee.

The proposed maximum time spent with interviewees was to be approximately one hour, but many of the interactions were shorter, as the women had to attend to their businesses while the interviews were in process and could not participate for an extended period of time. Six of the interviews took place on the street, particularly the ones with street vendors, and these were quite short considering the bustling activity on the street, constant background noise and the ongoing trade which the women were facilitating. Five of the women were able to 'chat' more comfortably during the interview process and were able to share their experiences in a more effortless way, whereas for some the process of being interviewed was more formal, and they answered the questions in a more perfunctory manner. In both cases, I was able to gather important and insightful information which added value to the overall study.

In addition to the guideline questions, I asked respondents to draw a map of their typical daily movements, some respondents felt comfortable attempting to draw the map and some chose not to draw the map. The drawing of the map proved to be quite daunting for some respondents who were not confident about their drawing skills. Some respondents, however, felt comfortable drawing the map and captured their typical day in drawing format easily.

The aim was to use the process of mapping to depict a representation of the spatial understanding of the research question, using a method traditionally employed by architects and urban planners. As practitioners in the urban setting, one needs to be aware of gaze and framing, as simply by doing analysis, a theoretical layer is being added to the

'narrative' around a particular space. By allowing the respondent to make her own map, the 'gaze' or framing was shifted from me, the researcher to the respondent. By mapping, the routes between the respondents' home, business, place of worship, business-related travel, travel related to domestic responsibilities, health care, schools, grocery store, the aim was to understand the respondents' typical spatial footprint in the city.

4.6 Analysis and Compilation of Findings

In order to arrange the fieldwork findings, I developed a grouping system to assist with organising the findings into themes (Cresswell, 2009: 186-187). As recommended by Cresswell (2009: 198), I began the data analysis during the data collection process and started by collating 'emerging themes', creating a coding language and to organise respondents into groups, based on my first round of data analysis. I was also able to identify the emerging 'outlying themes' at this point of the process, where the content collected from respondents was not congruent with the emerging themes or with the underlying narratives (Sarantakos, 2005: 215).

Dominant emerging themes:

Choosing Hillbrow for residence and / or business
Locality- Housing and Transport
Types of Businesses
Motherhood
Support Networks
Foreignness
Gender Roles

Time
Safety

Following a recommendation by Cresswell (2009: 201) findings were compiled into a table format representing the data collected. This represented the data in a holistic format and allowed for the analysis process to draw connections and correlations between respondents' experiences. The fieldwork findings are presented in a combination of excerpts of interviews, some tabular information and some mapping, and are accompanied by in-depth interpretations of the data in the form of 'thick description' as well as links between the data and the literature explored prior to conducting the fieldwork study (Rose, 2001: 3). The drawings or maps have been included to assist with representing the spatial themes discussed in the interviews and to provide an additional personal account of interviewee's experience which a table or text cannot translate.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Before commencing the fieldwork study, I submitted the proposal for my MSc URP (Res) dissertation to the University of the Witwatersrand Ethics Committee. The submission of the proposal was accompanied by the application form, semi-structured interview guide, a consent form, and a scripted Participant Information Sheet, all of which were reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee. The fieldwork commenced in August 2018 once approval had been granted by the Ethics Committee.

Simon (2006: 167) notes that in order to conduct a successful semi-structured questionnaire-based interview a high level of empathy on the part of the researcher is required, particularly when requesting a respondent to recount difficult, personal or traumatic experiences. When approaching people and enquiring whether they would be

willing to participate, I, with the help of the guide made an effort to communicate clearly the purpose of the study. I introduced myself and explained that I was doing a study for the purposes of a university project and that there was no obligation to participate. Once a respondent indicated that they would be willing to participate I ensured that they were aware that participating in the interview was voluntary, and that they could stop the interview at any time, if they felt that they did want to participate any more (Simon 2006: 164). As recommended by Sarantakos (2005: 214) and HSRC (undated), I will ensure that the participants are informed when the study has concluded, and offer respondents copies of the dissertation, and answer any questions they might have at that stage.

The respondents signed the consent forms and indicated whether they were comfortable with being directly quoted, audio-recorded, whether they permitted me to pass their details on to other researchers and whether they agreed to do the map. The respondents also agreed that they would be anonymous and not be referred to by name in the dissertation and that pseudonyms would be used in place of their name, in order to protect their privacy and identity at all times (HSRC: undated). The pseudonym system used for this dissertation is ‘T' for Twist Street and a Number which indicates in which order the interview took place. I made it clear at the outset that no financial remuneration was available for participation in the study (HSRC, undated).

4.8 Limitations and Challenges to the Research

During the course of the fieldwork and the compilation of my dissertation, I sought to constantly practice reflectivity and to be self-aware and self-critical when interacting with respondents and compiling the findings of the study (Mortari, 2015: 2). McGraw, Zvnkovic and Walker (2000 quoted in Mortari (2015: 2) describe reflectivity as 'a process whereby researchers place themselves and their practices under scrutiny, acknowledging the ethical dilemmas that permeate the research process.' When approaching respondents and conducting interviews, I was constantly aware of my background as a privileged, middle

class, educated professional and agnostic woman with a pre-determined set of views about gender and city planning. By allowing the respondents time to formulate a response to my questions in their own way, I aimed to not impart my views on a particular line of questioning. The questions, however, were framed from my point of view, therefore imparting my background and learned reality into the interview process, and it is critical to acknowledge that 'the personal is political' and therefore objectivity cannot be achieved in this style of study (Campbell and Wasco, 2000: 788).

I was acutely aware of power, class, education, language and cultural divides between myself and the respondents. I kept a fieldwork journal and was constantly reflecting on the interactions between myself and respondents, with these differences in mind (Simon, 2006: 167). I was not perceived as an 'insider' during this process and had to navigate various unfamiliar situations relating to housing and accomodation options, monetary systems, street activities, food types and linguistic terms, which needed an explanation either from the respondent herself, or via the interpreter (Rose, 2001: 26). With some respondents, I felt a kinship based on our shared gender, but this was not always the case.

The interview portion of the fieldwork took place between September and October 2018. Additional fieldwork was planned for November 2018, but the guides indicated an unwillingness to conduct fieldwork during the 'festive season' as they felt that there was an increased risk of crime during this period. I was able to do five additional interviews in the first week of March 2019 and integrate their analysis into my emerging draft. **T15** discussed my personal safety at length and elaborated about the need for me to be especially careful and not to have my cellphone out while on the street and the high possibility of my car being stolen if I parked it on the street. Such conversations did result in me being very tense when in the neighbourhood, but the experience on foot seemed more comfortable than the driving experience.

While the respondents were very friendly, on various occasions, people passing us by on the street would discuss me, the *mlungu*, with my guide in isiZulu (*mlunugu* refers to a white person in isiZulu). While interviewing **T12**, one of her friends discussed my privilege of being 'light-skinned' versus his dark skin. Also notable is that I was always accompanied by a male guide, and that as a visible outsider and a woman, I did feel vulnerable in terms of my own

personal safety in Hillbrow. In order to feel less vulnerable I did not wear any expensive-looking clothing and carried very little besides a canvas bag, my notebooks and the audio recorder. The guides also recommended walking with a sense of confidence and to behave as if I belonged in the space.

Finding women to participate in the interviews and who were willing to listen to what the research was about also proved to be a challenge in some cases. When approaching one woman, she declined being interviewed, but deferred to a male colleague who 'knew what was going on', I elected not to interview the male colleague and carried on with the search for willing participants. On various occasions, men whom we approached to ask about women business owners they might know, or who happened to be in the vicinity of one the interviews, would ask about why men were not being interviewed. I explained to these men that I was particularly interested in women's urban experiences and therefore had chosen to only interview women entrepreneurs for the purposes of this study.

One notable interaction with a male pharmacist lasted 40 minutes during which I participated in a debate about what his interpretation was of women's participation in entrepreneurship and work in general. Despite repeatedly explaining that I was interested in women's personal accounts of their experiences, the pharmacist insisted on sharing his views on women's experiences, including some dogged views on the types of work women could and could not participate in due to their strength levels, for instance. This interaction highlighted the complexity of working in the field of gender research and forced me to consider the implications of only including women respondents in my study.

4.9 Conclusion

The fieldwork process was the most daunting part of the dissertation for me for a number of reasons. The process required me to intrude on people's daily lives and ask them questions about their personal lives. The process also required me to navigate an unfamiliar neighbourhood that has a reputation for being unsafe. I was not sure whether anybody

would be willing to spend time with me answering my questions. Ultimately the fieldwork process, while challenging, went more smoothly than I had anticipated. The women who did participate in the study did so very generously, particularly with their time and accounts of their daily lives. The guides from Dlala Nje made navigating the streets of Hillbrow less daunting, and it was a privilege to experience the lively and complex space over the course of the fieldwork process. The way in which I commute around Johannesburg is using my personal car, and the experience of being a pedestrian was uncomfortable for me at times, but being a pedestrian in Hillbrow felt safer than being in the car.

Chapter 5: Fieldwork Findings

5.1 Brief introduction to the respondents

Twenty women business owners participated in the study and they ranged in age from 28 to 62. All of the women who participated in the study had their business in either a retail setting or were street vendors and therefore I was able to approach them and ask if they would be willing to participate in the study. This means that for this study I was not able to interview women who have home-based businesses. All of the women were business owners barring one woman who was the manager of the shop she was working in. I approached roughly 100 women during nine fieldwork trips. The women I approached included those running businesses on the street as well as those whose businesses were in more formal shop settings.

I have included an introduction to two of the interviewees whose stories stood out as examples of the emerging themes of the fieldwork study. **T3**'s story illustrates her experience as a Congolese refugee and qualified nurse who has turned to entrepreneurship in Hillbrow. **T9'**s story illustrates her experience as an older resident of Hillbrow running a vegetable stall on the street.

Respondent **T3**

T3 moved to Johannesburg as a refugee from the Congo in 2010. **She** currently has two businesses, a women's clothing store, and a wig-making business. She is qualified as a nurse, however, due to not having the correct work permit, she has struggled to find work as a nurse. Having her own businesses also provides **T3** with flexibility that a formal job would not provide. **T3** is married and has two biological children and one child she has 'adopted', who is her late brother's child. She used to live in Hillbrow but was evicted and ended up moving to a neighbourhood in the South of Johannesburg, commuting every day, either using a private vehicle she shares with her husband or public transport. She sources stock for her shop from China Malls in the city and aims

to keep prices affordable for her target market.

Respondent **T9**

T9 has lived in Hillbrow since 1994, and is originally from the Eastern Cape. **T9** is a vegetable vendor on the street and has had her business for 30 years .**She** lives in an apartment that she owns in Hillbrow nearby her stall. **T9** runs the vegetable stall with her daughter and they share the responsibility of running the business. Both **T9** and her daughter are single and they support two children. **T9**'s stall is a formal steel structure with partial cover and has been erected as an official trading area by the City of Johannesburg. **T9** uses the services of *bakkies* (*bakkie* is a South African word for pick-up truck) to rent who take her to the market in the morning to buy stock for her stall. She shares the *bakkie* trips to the market with other vegetable vendors.

5.2 Mapping Audit

As described in the research methods section, I conducted a mapping survey of the gender of the business owners across three blocks of Twist Street. Collecting the information for the compilation of the map entailed approaching the person or people working in the business and explaining that I was carrying out a research project focusing on women entrepreneur's experiences in Hillbrow for my university degree, and then enquired about whether the business was owned or run by a man or a woman. The information collected I have compiled into a diagrammatic map with the type of business shown and the women-owned business represented by a circle and the men-owned businesses represented by a square. In cases where it was not possible to ascertain the gender of the owner or manager, I have shown a question mark.

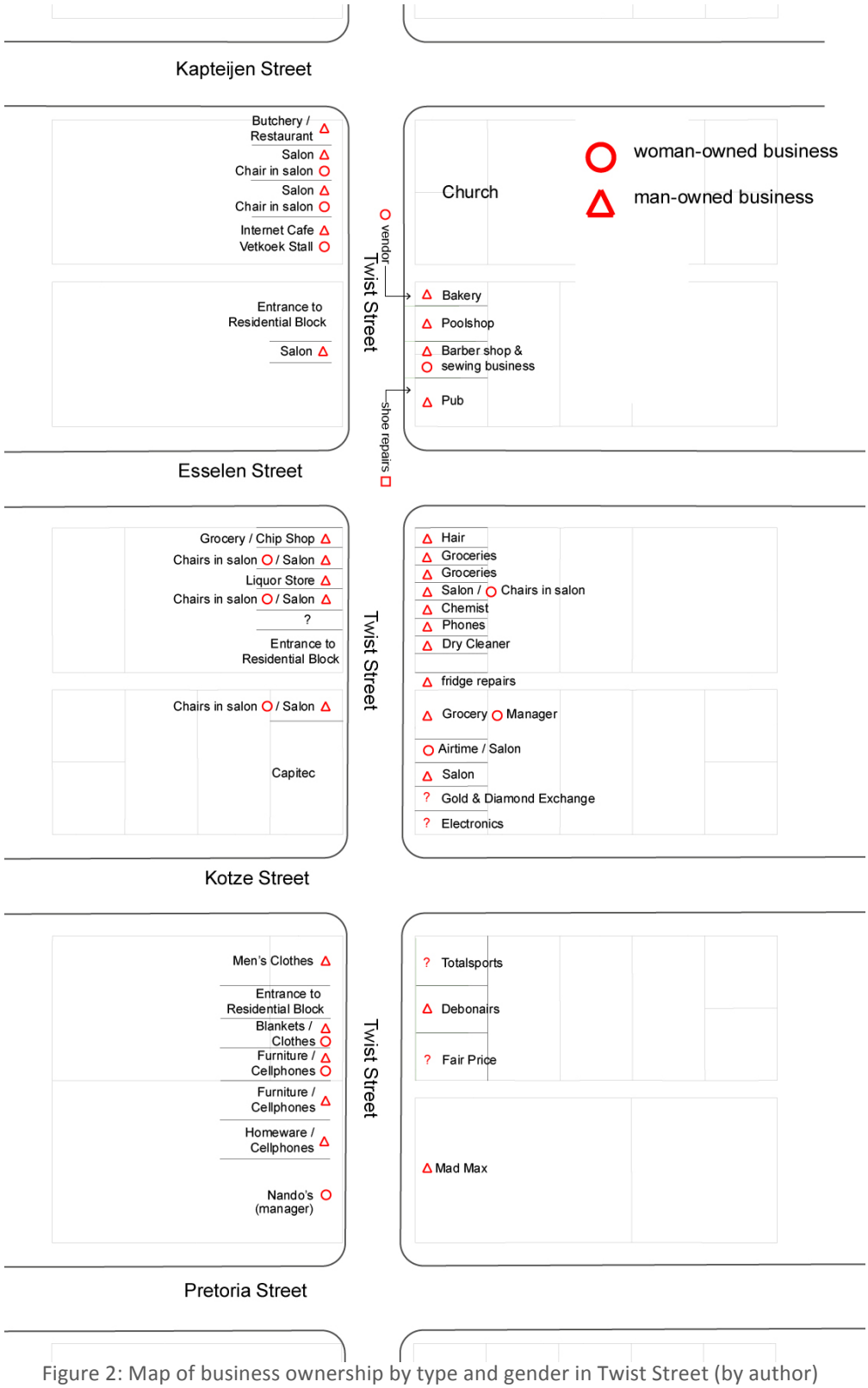


Figure 2: Map of business ownership by type and gender in Twist Street (by author)

The mapping process allowed me to get a good idea of the mix between male-owned or run and female-owned or run businesses. During the mapping process, I was able to identify some women business owners who were willing to be interviewed. The mapping process also allowed me to observe some bias from my guide as to which businesses would certainly be male-owned, like an appliance repair business, for instance. I was persistent about checking these facts with the person in the business prior to recording the gender of the owner on the map. The map, despite only showing a very limited portion of streetscape, highlights the proliferation of hair salons, many accommodating women hair stylists who run a business by renting a chair within the salon and servicing clients under the umbrella of the salon. The map also begins to show the sharing of retail space between different types of businesses, for example, an IT shop run by men sharing space with a *vetkoek* shop run by a woman (*vetkoek* is a fried dough ball, the direct translation from Afrikaans is 'fat cake'). The map does show that more businesses in this study area were owned or run by men.

5.3 Motivations for Entrepreneurship- Reasons for starting the business

The women interviewed in this study have entered into entrepreneurship for different reasons. Some of the respondents started their business as a way to make money because they could not find a job, or because finding a job was not possible due to being foreign and needing to have certain 'paperwork' in order, before being eligible for formal employment. The following section will describe the range of businesses which the respondents run, the age or maturity of the business and some spatial characteristics of the various businesses.

5.3.1 Describing the businesses- location, type of business and age of business

The respondents participate in a range of businesses as shown in the table below. Because the sample size is so small, it is not possible to draw accurate data about the proliferation of any business type in particular across Hillbrow. However, by reviewing my audit of three

blocks of Twist Street as well as the small mix of participants, the hair business and kitchens and sale of food is a clear common enterprise for women in Hillbrow.

The following table represents the range of business types that the fieldwork participants are running and also the age of the businesses. Half of the businesses are older than 8 years, therefore illustrating that entrepreneurship is a sustainable option for at least half of the respondents.

Respondent	Business Type	Age of Business
T1	cosmetics shop / kiosk	4 months
T2	hairdresser with one chair in another person's salon	+ 20 years
T3	women's clothing shop and hair business	Hair- 5 years Clothes- 5 months
T4	seamstress	6 years
T5	shop assistant- grocery and ice cream shop/hair business (sells weaves, etc) hairdresser	12 years
T6	restaurant / cooked food outlet / bar owner	+ 10 years
T7	street trader: vegetable vendor	11 years
T8	shop owner: various kinds of goods (shoes / bags / peanuts / cigarettes / curtains)	12 years
T9	street trader: fruit and vegetable vendor	30 years

T10	cooked food outlet inside pub	5 months
T11	internet cafe manager (not the owner)	4 years
T12	*spaza* shop (informal convenience shop)	2 years
T13	hairdresser with one chair in another person's salon	?
T14	hairdresser with one chair in another person's salon	8 years
T15	hairdresser with one chair in another person's salon	9 years
T16	street trader: clothes / medicine / cosmetics / toiletries	5 years
T17	street trader: shoes and sewing things	8 years
T18	street trader: sweets / chips / floor polish / cigarettes	3 years
T19	street trader: *mopani* worms (edible caterpillars) / traditional food / beans / maize / *matemba* (Zimbabwean small dried fish)	3 years
T20	street trader: vegetables	20 years

As I was told during my interviews, the hair business is a popular choice for women in Hillbrow, and an agglomeration of hair businesses means that people from all over Johannesburg travel to do their hair or buy hair products in Hillbrow. The hairdressers and traders of hair products have a high level of competition for similar services and products. **T3** describes how she maintains her client base using word of mouth referrals and WhatsApp communication, therefore relying on technology more than visual advertising to

market her services. **T14** describes that 'people that come from far places, coming to do hair here in Hillbrow'. While the hair business seems to be both an enterprise for men and women, the appliance sales and repair business seems to be a male-dominated enterprise. **T15** pointed out that 'there are too many saloons' (many respondents call hair salons *saloons*) and that the competition in this sector is very high. **T5** describes the proliferation of hair salons and television shops, 'If you check there, it's a saloon, a saloon, a saloon. There are TVs, TVs, TVs.'

T8, in an effort to ensure a steady income has tried to diversify her business to include a multitude of offerings from roasted peanuts to making curtains and selling shoes, as a means to balance her income potential and mitigate against losses if one offering is not as popular as another. **T1** chose to sell cosmetics as a means to avoid the competitive business of food preparation and also to avoid needing to source daily fresh stock with a higher transportation burden. **T3** described pitching her prices to be reasonable enough to cater to the income levels of the people in the neighbourhood.

As a way of distinguishing themselves from the highly competitive businesses, **T12** decided to pitch her business offering to the diverse range of people living in Hillbrow, by stocking various grocery items from a range of African countries. Similar to **T12**, **T19** who sells a range of traditional food, sources her stock from Zimbabwe. As illustrated by the wares on offer by **T12** and **T19**, there is a market in Hillbrow for goods from other parts of Africa.

Excerpt from Interview with **T12**:

> ***T12****: ja, it's just a mixture of uh, little groceries from different countries, ones from Zimbabwe, the other ones from Malawi, and the other one, I'm selling spaghetti from Mozambique, it's a just a mixture and little bit of saloon things, like hair food and um, nail polish*

Various respondents mentioned sourcing their stock from wholesale warehouses and particularly China Malls and China City. Zack (2017: 1) in her photo story, *Johannesburg:*

Made in China, illustrates the economic trade story emerging, which sees goods of various kinds produced in China, arriving in Johannesburg and then traded to various parts of Africa through Johannesburg.

Many of the women shared physical retail space with other businesses. This phenomenon is not unique to women's businesses. **T12** positioned her *spaza* shop in the window of a hair salon, allowing her maximum visibility, taking up roughly 1,5m wide and 1m deep space. **T12** was stationed outside the shop window on a stool, able to interact with customers passing by. The spatial arrangments which respondents are able to tap into in order to make a living are varied and flexible and impact the running of the business on a day-to-day basis. Two business owners, **T17** and **T19**, who are street vendors described the manner in which the weather affects their business, as when it rains, they cannot trade. **T19** has the additional consideration, that her small child is often at the stall with her, and she cannot run for shelter when she has her child with her, as she will also need to stow away her goods.

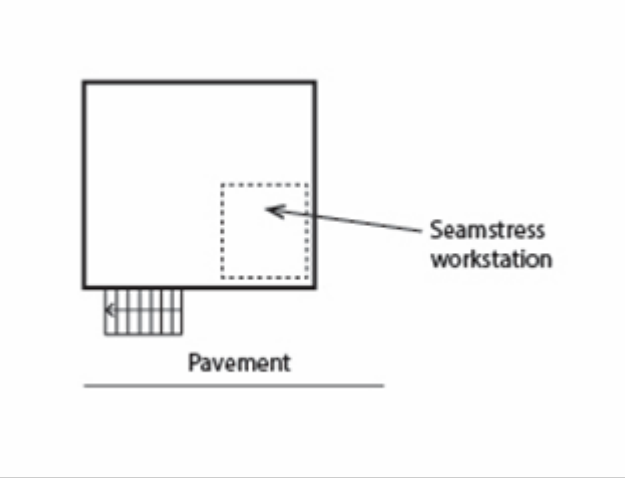


Figure 3: Sketch of shared space as occupied by a respondent in the study (by author)

T4 shared her sewing space with two other businesses, the total space of the shop being 4m deep by 2.5m wide.

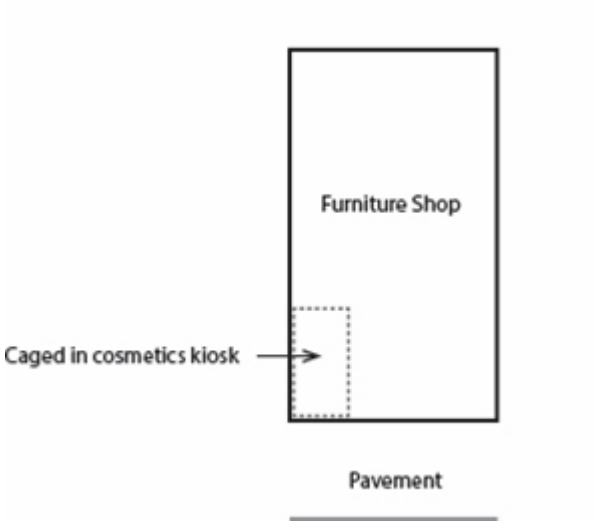


Figure 4: Sketch of shared space as occupied by a respondent in the study (by author)

T1 built herself a 1m deep by 2.5m wide steel ‘cage' just inside the entranceway of a furniture shop to house her cosmetics shop. By positioning her shop within a cage she felt that she and her goods were safer.

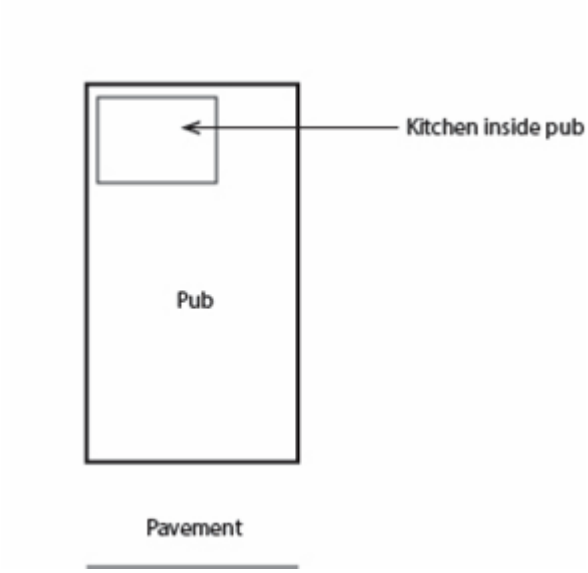


Figure 5: Sketch of shared space as occupied by a respondent in the study (by author)

T10 has a small space towards the back of a pub in which she operates a kitchen that serves food to patrons of the pub. The two businesses are operated separately. In this case, the two businesses are complementary.

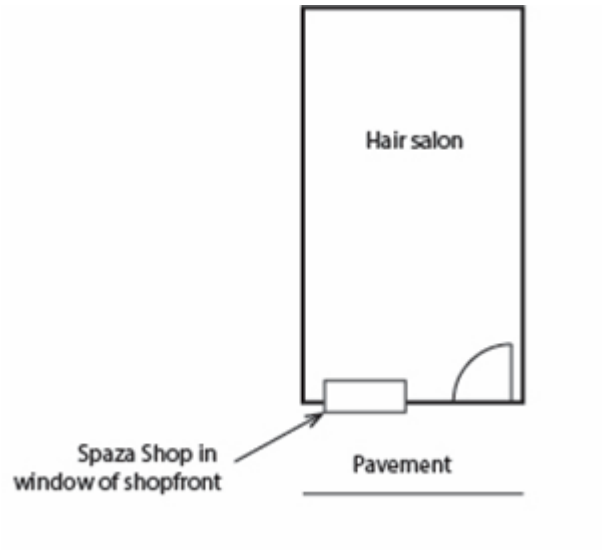


Figure 6: Sketch of shared space as occupied by a respondent in the study (by author)

T12 occupies a small portion of the front shopfront of a hair salon. **T12** can either be positioned inside the shop and serve customers through the window or can be stationed on a stool on the street side and can serve customers from the street.

T4 explained how the ownership structure of the shop she shared with a few other businesses worked, 'maybe we are on the fifth, we have got the owner, we have got the agent, we have got this other person, the Nigerians who (…) the shop, and then this other guy, and then we are the fifth'. In this example, **T4** describes the various people who play a role in the control or management of her shop space. This description of layers of management of spaces in Hillbrow is referred to in the work of Rubin et al (2016: 15) in their investigation of basement spaces with complex overlap of uses and a layered management structure, not always transparent in its nature.

5.3.2 Entrepreneurship- way to achieve agency

The following section explores ways in which women have exerted agency as a result of their choice to pursue entrepreneurship. **T1** started off working as a domestic worker and then was employed for many years in a family-owned food business, and decided to try starting her own business as a way to support herself and her family, rather than being employed by someone else. **T8** studied business administration in her home country and therefore has a suitable background for entrepreneurship. **T10** worked in a restaurant for a long time and therefore decided to start a kitchen business. Based on the responses to the questions about how the businesses began, the respondents needed to develop a means to make money, and some of the women chose to participate in sectors which they had experience in or in the cases of **T1** and **T12**, they both identified a gap in the offerings in the area they were establishing their business in.

Some of the women in the study indicate that they have explored entrepreneurship as a means to have flexibility and control over their time, as is the case with **T8**, 'I prefer running my own business because I come when I want to come, I go when I want to go, and no one controls my life, in terms of being a boss or being a slave to anybody'. **T12** mentions that she is able to spend more time with her son running her own business than if she had a formal job.

Most of the women describe their business as doing 'everything' or 'a lot' for their lives, describing the business as sustaining them and their families and highlight being able to send their children to school as one of the primary positive aspects of having the business. For various respondents, their business provides them a means to survive and provide for their day-to-day needs. For women who share the family's financial responsibility with their husband or partner, the money earned from their business contributes to the financial wellbeing of their family. **T4** indicates that this business is her only way of making a living and that she cannot rely on anything else for an income. In the excerpt below, **T14** describes the manner in which the hair business has become a sustainable business for her to partake in, so much so that she will encourage her children to also be a part of the hair business.

> ***T14**: I've done hair for the rest of my life, I've done hair. Since I left school I've been doing hair. And I've got three kids, my first son is twenty years, and the last one is 17 years, so from the word go, I supported my kids from doing hair. I taught them from doing hair, and now they are grown-ups. I wouldn't mind teaching them the same business, because I know, it can sustain them.*

The interview with **T6** was a very emotional one, where she described a fraught relationship with her husband. When she started the business she included her husband in the day-to-day running of the business. In order to honour the customary role of the husband as the person in control of the finances, **T6** had to hand over her daily earnings to her husband, who in turn mismanaged the money. At the time of the interview, **T6** had separated from her husband and was running the business independently, managing the finances of the business herself. In this case, **T6** was able to gain financial control of her business and of her family's earnings, as a result of being an entrepreneur, and because of her entrepreneurial savvy.

For some respondents, the business was able to provide more than just a survivalist income. **T6** mentioned that by having her own business she was able to earn enough money to 'fix her permits'. Having the correct paperwork in place in terms of immigration seems to be a challenge for many of the respondents, seemingly an expensive and onerous exercise to process and finalise. Having the correct permits affords **T6** her and her family improved mobility between South Africa and her home country of Nigeria. **T6** notes that by prospering as a business owner she, in turn, helps the people working for her by providing them with a stable income and therefore they, in turn, are able to provide for their families.

T6 describes the ability to spend her money on things which make her and her family's life more comfortable 'you know, buy nice, you take care of yourself, makes sure you buy nice clothes, shoes, you know, car, if you want this car, can buy credit, (indistinguishable), in fact, to live a comfortable life'. Similarly, **T17** lists a plasma television and a DVD player as items that she managed to buy because she does business. **T15**, who is married and has a joint income, has managed to buy property due, at least in part, to her entrepreneurship.

5.3.3 Aspirations of growth and Access to Capital

When asked about the possibility of growing their business **T1** and **T3** both mentioned the need for capital. **T3** describes making do with ploughing money from the business into any future growth plans she might have. As discussed in the literature review, one of the primary gendered barriers to entrepreneurship opportunities is access to business funding (Derera et al, 2014: 95). Derera et al (2014: 97) discuss access to funding for women entrepreneurs in KwaZulu-Natal found that securing adequate funding at the start-up phase has a direct impact on the long-term success of a business. None of the women interviewed reported receiving any funding for their business from a formal institution like a bank or municipal funding programme.

Excerpt from Interview with **T3**:

> ***T3****: I have got ideas... I always blame not to grow my business.... I think what sometimes misses is the capital, I do what I can from the cash flow that I have if I've got more I'd want to grow bigger.*
>
> ***Carla****: ok, so do you think, do you think getting capital, have you tried? Or do you first want this one to grow a bit.?*
>
> ***T3****: uh... I have never tried looking for capital. Because I don't know where I would be getting capital? Or I work for myself and grow some capital. I started with hair, doing hair, because hair was working in a saloon, in somebody's saloon, so I really needed the money. After raising the money... (indecipherable)…. Trying to get capital from somebody (laughs)… no. I've never tried that*

Excerpt from Interview with **T7**:

***T7**: I want it, but, no money to extend my business.*

***T7**: they can't give me money because I'm not someone who is working. They need someone who is working.*

***T7**: no, you know what? I can't even afford to pay the loan, maybe, here if I say I get money, maybe it's only 2500 a month or 1500 a month, so if I get a loan, I can't even afford to pay it.*

In the exerpt above, **T7** does not acknowledge her vegetable vending business as a legitimate enterprise and therefore does not consider seeking formal funding as a means to grow her business. Chen (2011: 25), in her work on 'mainstreaming informal employment' discusses what **T17** is describing about her entrepreneurial status 'those who work in the informal economy are often [more] excluded, than formal workers, from state, market and political institutions that determine the "rules of the game" in these various spheres.' Chipepa (2017: 5) describes the 'decent work agenda' strategy to advocate for the inclusion of informally employed people into the formal economic arena and policy-making conversations. The aim is to facilitate the support for informal entrepreneurs, like **T7** making economic contributions, to access more tangible opportunities like improved funding for their business as well as less tangible opportunities in the form of improved legitimacy for their mode of entrepreneuring. Derera et al (2014: 108) highlight the need for lending institutions to review their lending policies in terms of access to funding for women's small businesses and entrepreneurs operating in the informal sector.

5.4 Choosing Hillbrow

5.4.1 Living in Hillbrow

The following section will consider the respondents' experiences in Hillbrow, either as residents or as entrepreneurs or both. All of the women interviewed have businesses based in the area either in Twist Street or in close proximity to Twist Street. 14 of the women

interviewed live in Hillbrow, one respondent used to live there but moved to Kensington, a suburb roughly six kilometers away. One respondent used to live in Hillbrow but was evicted and moved to a suburb 13 kilometres South of Hillbrow and continues to have her business in Hillbrow. Four respondents live in adjoining suburbs of central Johannesburg, Joubert Park and Berea. Respondent **T11** indicates a desire to move out of the neighbourhood, implying a sense of dissatisfaction with the living conditions in the neighbourhood.

As was evident in the literature review, Hillbrow still has an identity as a port of entry neighbourhood. It is common for people to find themselves in the area as a result of close friends or family already having settled there and therefore when arriving in the city follow suit and also settle in the neighbourhood. Respondents **T4**, **T15**, **T16** and **T18** reported moving to Hillbrow because they had a relative living in the area and ended up staying in Hillbrow as well. In his book, *Welcome to Hillbrow*, Mpe (2001) finds himself in Hillbrow because he first lives with a cousin in the neighbourhood when he started studying at Wits University and then ends up staying for a number of years. Respondents **T5** and **T17** indicate that they chose to live in Hillbrow due to the opportunities to do business in the area.

Excerpt from Interview with **T5**:

> ***Carla****: so, are there more jobs here in Hillbrow?*
>
> ***T5****: not like there are more jobs, um, with the trade that I am doing. I'm a hairdresser.*
>
> ***T5****: so, here in Hillbrow it's much better, unlike in other places.*

In an effort to understand the home situations of the respondents, I asked broad questions about whether they rented or owned their home and whether they lived alone or shared their living space. Gewer and Rubin (2015: 71) in their study on Hillbrow exploring various aspects of densification, highlight the range of types of accommodation available in Hillbrow, in various sharing formats. This variety of accommodation available provides options for people to find a place to live in ways which less dense neighbourhoods cannot.

Where the concept of overcrowding can be viewed as problematic, in cases a shared accommodation format, like described by respondents **T7** and **T14**, provide an affordable housing option, not possible in more regulated environments (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 71).

Some of the respondents indicated that they lived in shared accommodation with family members. Respondent **T9** has lived in Hillbrow since 1994 and owns the flat that she shares with her daughter. **T20** has been living in Hillbrow for 28 years. These two longstanding residents of Hillbrow reinforce the finding by Gewer and Rubin (2015:77) in Chapter 3 of the Literature Review, that despite being seen as a transient space, many people have chosen to make Hillbrow a permanent home.

5.4.2 Proximity between home and work

The overwhelming feedback from respondents regarding their daily experience in Hillbrow is the convenience of being in close proximity to their places of business from their homes. This finding was reinforced by the mapping exercise during which the respondents depicted their typical daily activities in a hand-drawn map, four of which are shown on page 74. The respondents generally expressed that daily activities, like getting their children to school, doing shopping, going to the doctor and attending church, can all be done in Hillbrow.

The experience of daily convenience expressed by the respondents in my study in 2018, mimics the experiences of the residents of Hillbrow pre-1980, highlighting the merits of the inherent dense and mixed-use urban form. As previously discussed Todes (2010: 107) posits that mixed-use and denser planning is 'inclusive' in its nature, and is favoured by feminist urbanists due to the improved connectedness it promotes. Despite the daily conveniences of working and living, for some, in Hillbrow, a number of the respondents described leaving the neighbourhood to partake in leisure activities.

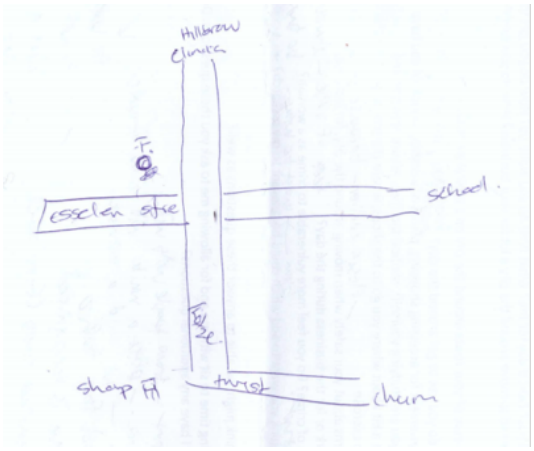
Excerpt from Interview with **T4**:

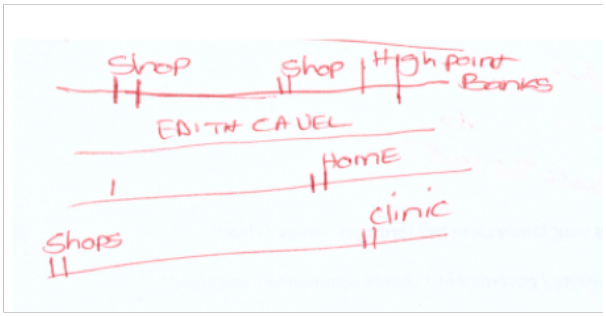
> ***T4**: it's around here, everything is around here.*

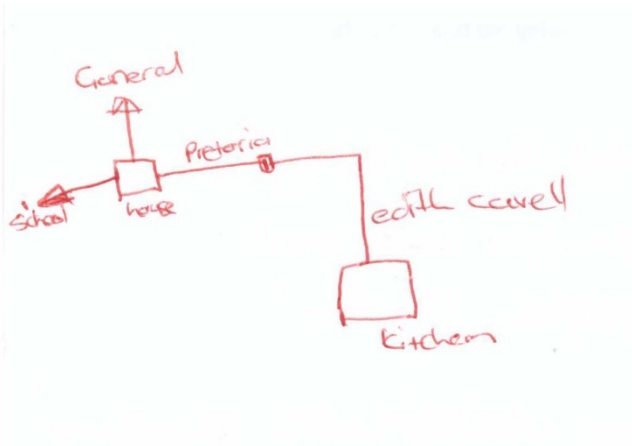
Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

> ***T14**: it's all close by. So my place, from where I stay to this place, I walk, I take about 15 minutes because I'm not in a hurry.*
>
> ***T14**: yes, ja. Everything is around me.*

The maps included below in Figure 7 are just four examples of the respondents' own representations of their typical daily journeys. The first three show respondents' daily journeys are very short, and depict a distance one of or two blocks between the respondents' home and place of business. The fourth image represents a longer journey as the respondent lives outside of Hillbrow and uses other parts of the city such as Newtown for church and two different stops for butcheries that she showed as 'butch' on the map.







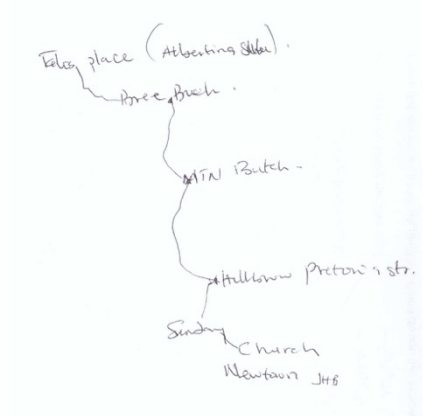


Figure 7: Examples of the maps drawn by the interviewees of their daily movements (by respondents)

5.4.3 Hillbrow as a place of business

Many of the respondents described Hillbrow as a place of doing business, with high volumes of people and therefore many potential customers. **T17** reported that 'when you stay in Hillbrow it's easy to find things to do, job or business'. Various women listed the advantage of being in an area with both residential and commercial uses of space, meaning residents were able to shop in the neighbourhood after other shopping areas had closed for the day. The shop owners in Hillbrow have created a 'late night shopping' culture which does not exist in other parts of the city.

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

> ***T14****: it's close by, people don't need to travel too much. They can do their shopping around, and everything around here and then they just go home.*

Despite the advantages of the mixture of residential and retail in a dense urban setting, the respondents expressed various disadvantages of doing business in Hillbrow. The most common disadvantage expressed by respondents was the high possibility of being a victim of crime. The respondents all participate in retail activities with cash in hand and therefore are targets for criminals. As **T14** highlights, the risk of crime is similar for male and female business owners. Respondent **T7** expresses her dissatisfaction regarding the neighbourhood, also noting the high risk of being a victim of crime.

Excerpt from Interview with **T1**2:

> ***T12****: too much theft.*

***T12**: And robberies, they can come in any time. So whenever you sell a few things, you need to go and hide your cash, you see…*

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

***T14**: the disadvantages are the tsotsis. Is too much. Robbers.... they rob us, see we always lock our gates, every saloon if you check well. You will find that every saloon you went to they put this security gates, why? Because if we leave it open, they will just come in and when they come in they don't choose. Even you they will take your phone away... they can even take whatever you are using, your phone, your money, everything. For security reasons, is not safe.*

***T14**: is not only for woman? Even the saloons that are run by men, when only men are cutting hair, they will still go there and rob them, it not like only women are vulnerable.*

5.5 Foreignness, Localness and Belonging

The women who participated in the study ranged in nationality, with four women being South African, one being from the Democratic Republic of Congo, two being Nigerian and 13 being Zimbabwean. The foreign women interviewed described different aspects of their experiences in relation to their nationality in Hillbrow. All of the women in the study, including the South African women, were born elsewhere and moved to Hillbrow as adults. Even this small study sample group reinforces Gewer and Rubin's (2015: 76) research that found that Hillbrow currently has a 'strong association with the Zimbabwean diaspora' with 13 Zimbabwean respondents.

Interviewees **T3** and **T6** both describe xenophobic experiences, where **T6** spoke about South Africa being a place where 'racism affects foreigners' and **T3** describing how not knowing a South African language can put foreigners at increased risk of attack. On the other hand, **T5** expressed disdain towards South Africans describing South African women as 'lazy' and of relying on welfare grants not available to foreign people. **T5** believes that foreign people have to work harder than South Africans, as South Africans are used to getting hand-outs from the state. This can be interpreted as what Landau and Freemantle (2010: 381) describe as a 'rhetoric of self-exclusion and transient superiority that distances this group from a South African national project and cultural assimilation'.

Interviewee **T6**, originally from Nigeria, expressed the intention to relocate her family to Canada or Australia in order to provide a better life for her children. Kihato (2009: 18) in her Ph.D. dissertation about migrant women in Johannesburg articulates this state of being in between countries as 'liminality', and observes the 'permanent liminality' which many women find themselves in as gaining access to the next country is not possible. The space of transition, which Hillbrow is seen as becomes a more prolonged 'home' space, despite people not planning for it to be (Kihato, 2009: 19). I would argue that as entrepreneurs the respondents are more likely to 'put down roots' in order to become more established and to build a customer base and business connections. When asked about how long they see themselves living in South Africa, **T19** reported that she felt that she would live in South

Africa 'maybe for the rest of [her] life' and **T16** reported that she sees herself 'living here for a long time'.

Entrepreneurship allowed both **T3** and **T8** a means to transition more easily into life in South Africa. **T3** is a qualified nurse from the DRC and travelled to South Africa as a refugee. **T3** described the challenge of securing the requisite paperwork to find a job as a nurse and has turned to entrepreneurship as a means to make a living. Respondent **T3** is introduced at the start of this Chapter.

> ***T3:*** *I can't go back home. So it's so difficult to get a job. The advantages is like whatever I'm doing it's keeping me busy and I'm supporting my family financially, though it's little but it really helps.*

Similarly, **T18** explains that 'we don't stay here because we want to, we stay here to get money'. **T3** is able to navigate exclusion from the formal economy by participating in 'informal' entrepreneurship in order to survive financially (Kihato, 2009: 18). Kihato (2009: 22) suggests that migrant women create urban experiences and produce urban spatial environments despite state and structural constraints (Kihato, 2009: 22). In the same way, **T3** has created an economic strategy for herself, despite limitations imposed by the state where the process of securing the correct 'papers' is not possible for **T3**.

The study findings seem to show that the length of time spent settled in Hillbrow seems to have an impact on the respondents' everyday experience and the longer one lives in a place, the more one can be a part of an established community. In order to understand this relationship a bit better, I asked if people felt like they 'belonged' in Hillbrow. Interviewees **T5**, **T10**, **T12**, **T13**, **T14**, and **T15,** who have been operating businesses in Hillbrow for varying lengths of time from 5 months to 12 years, all expressed that they felt like they belonged and were part of a community in Hillbrow. **T15** describes Hillbrow as 'my place' and **T16** says that she 'feels welcome' in Hillbrow. **T10** described having a sense of community in Hillbrow but said 'these people, you can't trust anyone, but I don't have a problem so far'.

5.6 Whom do the respondents support? And who supports them?

The next section begins to explore the amount of support of various kinds that the women who participated in the study, have access to, in order to manage the running of a business. Conversely, I explored the amount of support, whether time-based or financial, which the respondents provided. Measuring support is quite a nuanced process, and therefore for this study, the framing of the questions around support varies, and the focus adjusted in some cases to inquire about a certain aspect of support.

5.6.1 Family Support Systems

The study findings draw attention to the respondents' complex support systems that extend past the nuclear family. Many of the respondents noted that they were wholly responsible for providing financially for their immediate families as well as other members of their extended family such as their parents, siblings and family member's children. Several of the respondents are responsible for sending money to support family members living outside of Johannesburg or South Africa. The excerpts below of interviews with **T14** and **T5** both illustrate examples of respondents who support members of their nuclear family as well as members of their extended family.

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

> ***T14****: I've got my mother, I've got my three kids, plus my late sister's baby, of which I've got 5 people in my hand. 5 people that depend on me.*
>
> ***Carla****: ok, so you send money back to Zim.*
>
> ***T14****: yes, I do.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T5**:

***Carla**: and then, with this money from your hairdressing and this job, who do you... do you have to support other people like with your, do you have kids or? Brothers and sisters.*

***T5**: it's my daughter, my mum, my dad, my other sister,*

and my sister's kids. Not always, but at times, so mostly, you know if I'm sending to my mum obviously they are also covered.

Some of the respondents, in turn, relied on support from immediate family members, extended family and in some cases friends to provide assistance in terms of childcare or assistance in overseeing some business tasks. Respondent **T10**, who runs a small kitchen within a pub, continuously mentioned her 'cousin-sister', who shared accommodation with her, assisted with the running of the kitchen in a shift setup and when not assisting at the business her 'cousin-sister' was home and could look after her children. Both **T12** and **T15** describe their friends or workmates as their 'fall-back' support network in cases when they were unable to work or when they had last minute childcare requirements.

When enquiring about business networks available to her, respondent **T6** describes a network of 'brothers', a men's network which meets in her restaurant, but **T6** is not included in the networking setup. She expresses scepticism about the idea of participating in a business network for 'sisters'. **T6** implies that business of business is reserved for men, this kind of enquiry is explored in the work of Mirchandani (1999: 226), who is critical of the perceived maleness of the act of entrepreneuring.

Excerpt from Interview with **T6**:

***T6**: yes, for instance, around this place all these people, they have a meeting. Brotherhood meeting. The brothers...*

***Carla**: The brothers?*

***T6**: you know, the neighbours, the neighbourhood, you can call it the neighbours...*

***Carla**: but you're not a brother, do you get to go?*

***T6**: mmm?*

***Carla**: do you get to go to the meeting?*

***T6**: no, is mainly men that went.*

***Carla**: ok, so do think that there should be a 'sisters' meeting?*

***T6**: mmmmmmm,*

***Carla**: would it work?*

***T6**: you know women, we are something else huh... (laughs) so it's better men who do it. So now, they were doing the meeting somewhere else, but because I am here, they are doing it here.*

***Carla**: oh, they do the meeting here?*

***T6**: yes*

***Carla**: ok...*

***T6**: and I cook for them, they come in, they pay for the venue, they buy my drinks, they stay here.*

***Carla**: that's cool.*

***T6**: ja. They buy food here.*

5.6.2 Motherhood, Single Motherhood, and Family duties

All of the women who participated in the interviews are mothers, some are grandmothers as well. **T14** is able to live and work in Johannesburg while her children are cared for by relatives in Zimbabwe. Conversely, **T2** is able to care for her grandchildren, presumably to allow her children to work without having to worry about childcare. **T3** has a nanny who

looks after her smaller child and is able to collect her older child from school. When asked about who looks after their children, various respondents answered that their children attend school, therefore negating the need for another form of childcare.

Two of the married interviewees described themselves as being primarily responsible for caring for the home, therefore having the business and full responsibility for taking care of the home and family and accepting of this role. The married women in the study, indicate an additional obligatory workload on the part of the woman in the partnership.

As discussed in Chapter 3, feminist scholars interrogate the additional care responsibilities which women carry, Chant (2014: 2) refers to this phenomenon as the 'feminisation of responsibility and obligation'. Reinforcing the findings of Chant, **T3** and **T8** both describe the difference between their situation as women business owners and that of men business owners (presumably with children). Both **T3** and **T8** describe the need to split their time and attention between their familial responsibilities and those of the business, **T8** further describing this as a 'constraint'.

Excerpt from Interview with **T3**:

> ***T3****: uhmmmm.... ja, I think as a mother, it's different, not as a woman, because we do whatever they do as well. But as a mother, I need time, to be with my kids. So there are times that I close and I have to go because I have to care also for my kids. And you'll find that men have all the time to work....*

Excerpt from Interview with **T8**:

> ***T8****: is not a easy task. Because with kids, with business, with the other things, to keep the family happy and going, is not an easy task. It need a lot of energy, and a lot of effort, uh, if you are not determined, you may not meet up. Because you have many, what will I say? Um, many competitors around.*

> ***T8**: I don't think men have difficulties like that of a woman, because for them if he is a married man, I think their wife should take care of the home, but for a woman, you have take care of your home, your business, and other stuff, altogether.*

According to a study carried out by the City of Johannesburg, 35.9% of households across the city are female-headed (Wazimap, undated). There is an earning imbalance between male and female-headed households in South Africa based on data released in 2012 (Department of Women Republic of SA, 2013: 116). This study did not set out to interrogate marital status of the respondents, but in certain cases, I was able to establish this. Seven of my respondents indicated clearly that they are single, and are primary breadwinners for their household. Mitchell (2004: 174), in their study of motivating factors for entrepreneurs starting businesses in Limpopo, reports on the phenomenon of women turning to entrepreneurship as a result of divorce, separation or the death of a male partner. **T7** describes losing her husband and being the primary breadwinner for her family of 8 people.

5.6.3 Support from the State

All of the women interviewed indicated that they receive no assistance from any formal business groups, the municipality or government entity. Some women indicated that they had no idea how to seek government assistance or whether they would be eligible for any such government assistance. As discussed in the section 3.4.2 *Networks of Belonging or Alienation,* **T5** notes her ineligibility to receive any formal government assistance due to not being South African. Landau (2010: 326) suggests that 'migrant organizations in Johannesburg … have rarely fought for formal rights to the city or for formal political incorporation' might suggest a conscious disconnect between foreign residents and the bureaucracy of state functions.

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

***T14**: uh, I can't say I get any help, because I can't say if they can assist this kind of business, do you understand? Like we do rent in places, it's a place that belongs to someone, we just pay her the rent. So I can't say I need support from anyone, I can do it by myself, as long as I can manage to get the money for rent, then I'm fine.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T3**:

***T3**: I work most with the family than the church. Not really the church. Family.... (laughs) ja.*

***Carla**: ok.*

***Carla**: do you have any support from the government?*

***T3**: No.*

***Carla**: no?* A*ny groups here in Hillbrow?*

***T3**: There's no group here in Hillbrow that really supportive (laughs)*

The support networks accessible to the respondents in this study, in many cases are not state-provided. None of the respondents indicated that had managed to secure any funding support from a banking institution. The respondents did indicate that their children attend schools in the area and that healthcare is available in Hillbrow. The day-to-day support networks that the respondents tap into are either provided by family or by fellow business owners in the neighbourhood on a largely informal basis. Even if formal municipal urban development strategies exist for this area, none of the respondents indicated any knowledge of municipal programmes which they could take advantage of. One respondent indicated the intervention of the municipality in the form of the Metro police in hassling her and confiscating goods.

5.7 Gender Roles

5.7.1 Criticism of Conventional Gender Roles

Because the study is investigating women's urban experiences using a feminist lens, I sought to understand how the respondents would compare their own experiences as entrepreneurs to those of men's. This line of questioning yielded a range of interesting responses that I have attempted to capture in this section. The discussion was not limited to the urban experiences but included more broad gendered experiences related to entrepreneurship.

The first section captures some conversations where the respondents grappled with the idea of men being seen as more powerful than women or being taken more seriously in business. The need to 'act like a man' was mentioned repeatedly, in reference to business, as a means to ensure people took the woman entrepreneur seriously. Various respondents described needing to be strong-willed about their goals and abilities in their approach to business as a necessary trait to overcome gender bias that faces them. Kabeer (2012: 7) posits that 'women's subjectivity and consciousness (the power within)' is a key factor in enacting a change in approach for people. As discussed in the section 'Support Networks', various women described being mothers as differentiating them from their male entrepreneur counterparts.

Excerpt from Interview with **T11**:

> ***Carla****: do you think that women entrepreneurs have different experiences to men? We have kind of discussed it a little bit before.*
>
> ***T11****: they don't have, I'm sure they can be on the same level.*
>
> ***Carla****: but do you think people treat them differently?*
>
> ***T11****: yes. They can be on same level, it's just that people, the society, or the way we grow up, they always treat women with less power, neh, than men, ja. So that*

makes it a bit different, even though they've got the same, uh, intellectual capacity and everything.

Excerpt from Interview with **T4**:

***T4**: it's different because most men choose men. Bring their business to men. Most, even women, they do that, sometimes. They don't believe in woman. They don't believe I can do the right thing.*

***T4**: sometimes, but not much. Because you have to put a lot of effort but people they look down on women, they think you cannot do same like men.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T5**:

***T5**: you just need to be strong, like I said, know your goals, just have your aims, know what you want to do, don't allow anyone to imitate, intimidate you just because you are a woman, no.*

***T5**: sometimes you need to be a man, as a woman. Stand your ground. Don't allow anyone to walk all over you just because you are a woman, no.*

The next few conversations illustrate respondents who feel that their experiences are similar to men's.

Excerpt from Interview with **T5**:

***Carla:** ok. And then, do you think, you have better advantages if you are a man or a woman here, is it different? … In Twist Street?*

***T5:** no, it's not different.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

***Carla**: Do you think your experience as a woman business owner is different to the men's businesses here in the street?*

***T14**: I believe it is the same thing because as long as I can keep my house running, he can also keep his house running.*

5.7.2 Gendered Occupation Sectors: Women's Work

The literature on gender and entrepreneurship explores extensively the differences in occupational sectors that men and women participate in. The responses received from the respondents were varied, with many saying that they perceived no difference in the kinds of businesses women and men participated in. Various respondents reinforced the view that women and men do tend to participate in different sectors. The mapping exercise described at the beginning of this chapter also illustrates a difference between the businesses men and women participate in.

Excerpt from Interview with **T12**:

***T12**: me I'm just running, just a small, just a small spaza, I don't know you will say it, just a little tuck shop. The men they are doing fridge repairs, I have also a friend she is doing ice cream.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T11**:

***T11**: uh, I'm sure most women they are just selling these peanuts and all those ice cream, vetkoeks. And men, they enter into these bars, into those supermarkets, things that are a bit challenging, where you have to like fight every day. You know bars, you cannot put a woman in a bar, obviously. It won't run, because it will actually kill or shoot or whatever they do. Neh. And then women can go for these*

less-challenging things. Things where they don't have to talk to violent people. Men have to handle big business here. Like cafés.

***T11**: ah, because how can I say? It's different because, you know, men, neh, maybe they have got the upper hand, or maybe they can actually control a difficult situation. People always think men can control a difficult situation, but women cannot handle that, the pressure will be just too much, and women just crumble. And so, I can just say, people, in general, they judge that if you are a woman, you can... they can take advantage of you, they can actually manipulate you, rob you, you understand? And stuff, and if there is a man standing around, they can, they cannot easily come and interrogate that person, or make him fear. You understand? Yeah, something like that. So, ja.*

Some of the respondents indicated that they felt that women's businesses tended to be inferior to men's businesses. **T12** seems to be playing down her business by calling it 'just a small spaza'. In a similar vein, **T2** mentioned that 'men have better businesses than women' with men being electricians or having electronics shops and women making chips or *vetkoek*. When asked why she thought so, she said 'it's always been like that...'. According to the interviewee, **T10** 'men do big business, we do small businesses' and when asked why she thought so she said that men have more support.

Many of the women described the proliferation of food preparation and retail businesses when beginning to talk about businesses run by women. Interviewee **T4** tried to start a chip business in the past but turned to be a seamstress, as the chip business did not work out. Interviewee **T1** considered starting a food business but noted that at 'every corner there is a small kitchen', and tried cosmetics sales instead, as there would be much competition in the food business. Interviewee **T6** describes the kitchen as the space of women in her country of origin, Nigeria; '*from where I'm from, is women's that control most of the restaurants, around here (indistinguishable)… more especially, um African foods, some of the kitchens they are men, but they are just few. But Nigerian, the majority of them are controlled by women, their husbands might be involved but not like fully involved, because the woman is*

the major cook, they are the ones that cook, they are the ones that knows really what is happening in the kitchen'. Mirchandani (1999: 230) explores ideas about gendered occupational sectors, using her research she links 'women's work' to smaller enterprise and often home-based, and in some cases an extension of women's domestic work. This can be seen in the case of **T6** who describes the kitchen as the place of women.

5.7.3 Why the respondents felt a change was necessary

'A focus on gender relations brings the analyst's attention not simply to the sex of participants as embodied actors but to the cultural production of their subjectivities and the material production of their social lives. From these processes emerge power-laden, contested and ever-changing social terrains where diverse interests play out.' (Calas et al, 2009: 555).

In a few cases, the respondents spent an extended period of time discussing gender empowerment in response to my line of questioning. **T3**, **T11**, and **T15** all highlighted the importance of being able to support oneself and not be reliant on their husbands or partners, especially in the event of their partners being sick, becoming unemployed or if the couple divorced. **T3** discussed the feelings she had about how having many children meant that as an entrepreneur or business person, she would 'lose time' by being out of commission for months at a time during and after each pregnancy. **T3** also discussed at length the differences in approach to gender equality in South Africa, which is more progressive and her home country of the Democratic Republic of Congo, which she feels is more conservative when it comes to gender equality.

Many respondents referred to the traditional roles of married women, especially African married women. As discussed previously **T6** adhered to the expectation in her marriage that her husband as the 'man of the house' should control the finances despite the fact that she ran the business. **T3** described cases where she knew her husband was not making the most sensible decision but she supported him because he is her husband.

Excerpt from Interview with **T3**:

> ***T3****: I think what can be interesting is if you see a woman, standing up and saying I want to do this because I want to make money, it's really not easy, especially if you are married and you got a family to take care of. Most of the time in Africa, one thing about Africa is men they make money and us as women we stay at home and take care of the kids. Since life is not that easy, like I mean financially, we struggle a lot and there are things that we cannot wait anymore for our husbands, or our man, boyfriend to do things for us, we must stand up and work as women, because we are also able to do that. Whatever I can say is just to encourage also some other women to work, to not stay at home, you might be a mother or what what, just stand up and work...*

Excerpt from Interview with **T11**:

> ***T11****: If you open your own business no-one can actually intimidate you in terms of family or friends, people can just respect you. Ja, you get respect. Because, ja, with money you have respect. And your kids can look up to you, ja. You become, my mother is my role model, not like every day my father is my role model. Ja, you say my father is my role model because he is providing everything. At the end of the day the mother is also trying, but at the end of the day it won't be counted unless she can prove that she has her own business, they can see that mummy also gives me something, so mummy becomes a role model, you understand? Ja, something like that. So they should, actually, we should open our businesses, ja.*

In the excerpt from the interview with **T11**, she discusses some of the positive aspects of entrepreneurship, considering some challenges that might present themselves. She mentions the opportunity to be independent financially, being able to escape an abusive relationship and being able to be a role model for one's children as positive aspects of women being entrepreneurs. The questions related to perceptions of gender differences

sparked a more lengthy discussion with some of the respondents, particularly **T3** and **T11**, who reflected on traditional roles women assume and some challenges women face in business. Both **T3** and **T11** explored ideas of agency and how being financially-independent allows women to have increased control over their lives. Moser (2016: 226) and Kabeer (2013: 8) draw links between having control of one's finances and wealth-building mechanisms to having an improved sense of agency.

5.8 Time and social reproduction

Feminists and feminist urbanists address the unbalanced load of unpaid reproductive labour being carried typically by women (UN-Habitat, 2013: 72; Bakker, 2007: 541). As the literature grapples with this extensively, I incorporated questions into the study which could begin to explore how much time the respondents spend on daily 'social reproduction' tasks, as it is referred to in the literature (Bakker, 2007: 541).

The married women who participated in the study seemed to have more 'social reproduction' time burdens than single women or women who shared the care burden with sisters, aunts and female cousins. **T3**, a married woman who cares for three children, describes doing four to six hours of childcare, whereas **T14**, whose children are cared for by relatives in Zimbabwe spends significantly less time doing tasks related to social reproduction. **T15**, who is married and cares for four children who live with **her** describes doing cooking and housework both before and after her time at the hair salon where she works from. **T8**, who is married with three children who live with her, describes doing two to three hours of additional housework a day. Common to most of the discussions about care work reflected that women, whether the respondents themselves or women relatives, were attending to the care work for their children.

Excerpt from Interview with **T15:**

***T15**: yes, I'm cooking in the morning, I wake up and clean the house and after that, I will cook for my kids and eat, after that I will come here in the saloon.*

***T15**: and then when I knock off maybe I knock off around 6, I'll go back to the house and cook again.*

A common response from respondents, when asked about how much time they spent doing housework or chores, was that they 'work all the time' and that was their priority. **T8** describes the importance of spending time at her business in order to keep up with other businesses in the area. While **T8** spends two to three hours a day doing cooking and housework, she also has to spend long hours at the business.

Excerpt from Interview with **T8**:

***T8**: because it's hectic here in Hillbrow because you know like in CBDs they have specific time to close their business, but this side of our business there are residential areas, we stay longer time than the one run by CBDs, so more men can stay longer time, than the women. Because they always meet up with the time, if they don't meet up with the time it's like others they are doing more than you.*

For many of the respondents, spending time on leisure activities seemed limited, with many describing spending a significant amount of time on their business and not having much time to do leisure activities. For some the leisure activities, take place outside of Hillbrow, with respondents listing some shopping malls like Rosebank or Eastgate and **T11** described visiting a park outside of Hillbrow with her children.

In response to the question about what she does for leisure, **T1** is reported that she is concentrating on her young business and 'first wants to grow the business and then will chill'. **T5** describes herself as a 'workaholic' and explains that working all the time her standard way of approaching her business. **T14** explains that if she spends time away from

her business, her customers will perceive her as being unavailable and she would lose potential business.

5.9 Safety and Mobility

A large component of the discussion about inclusive urban planning centres around accessibility to a range of amenities deemed to be basic human requirements. When reviewing urban accessibility, a primary consideration is the safety of urban dwellers when attempting to access urban amenities. The following section will examine the respondents' experiences of accessibility and public safety on the street and in public spaces, on public transport, in the home and at their place of business. The responses to questions about safety varied greatly, with some respondents expressing reasonable levels of comfort about their safety while others expressed high levels of concern about their safety.

5.9.1 Perceptions of safety in Hillbrow

Various respondents noted that they felt safer occupying public space in Hillbrow, outside of their home, during very specific times of the day, and felt particularly vulnerable to be away from home at night. The responses regarding whether safety concerns were different for men and women, varied. However, **T1** noted that as a woman she closes her business early as she feels that she needs to be home by 6 pm to avoid the risk of being a victim of crime and that she has a constant fear of being raped. **T11** and **T15** discuss the perceived weakness of women, and therefore being an increased target for crimes. **T15** described how the crime levels rose during the 'festive season' and how during this time one had to exercise extra awareness related to crime.

Excerpt from Interview with **T11**:

> ***T11:*** *a woman cannot be in this place up to around 8. I mean at night. Neh. Maybe they can be up to around 6, because these armed robbery, theft, hijacking, when they are going home, they can steal their phones, understand? But for a man, a man can be up to 8, up to 9, so, I'm sure when it comes to safety, men are more safer than women because they are not as weak. See that weak thing always come, that women are weaker than men, so, ja.*

T5 expresses the view that the chances of being a victim of crime are high all over Johannesburg and that crime in Hillbrow cannot be singled out. **T8** highlights that spaces like Pretoria Street that are busier and have retail establishments open until late at night are safer than other parts of Hillbrow.

Excerpt from Interview with **T5**:

> ***T5****: I can't say that what is bad, because these kind of things they can happen anywhere, it doesn't matter where. Robberies they are everywhere. You can stay in Sandton and they will come and rob you in your own house. While you are saying you are safe. So I can't say Hillbrow is not safe, I can say Sandton is safer. You understand? You just depends, it goes with your luck, you can be lucky in Hillbrow, and you can't be robbed, you can be unlucky in Sandton, you can be robbed.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T8**:

> ***Carla****: why did you choose this street? Pretoria?*
>
> ***T8****: um, this Pretoria street actually is the heart of Hillbrow.*
>
> ***Carla****: ok,*

***T8**: uh, many people come to this street more than other streets are very dangerous here in Hillbrow.*

***Carla**: so do you think Pretoria [Street] is less dangerous?*

***T8**: yes! Because we stay longer time here.*

Interviewee **T8** expressed grave concern about her safety in Hillbrow but at the same time emphasised her appreciation for the space, as it is the place where she is living her life and making a living, highlighting the tension between experiences of optimism and fear. Interviewee **T10** responds that she is concerned about her safety saying 'ja, but what can we do? We can't run away...'. Both women acknowledge the threat to their safety but are resigned to the fact that Hillbrow is their home, and they need to endure the threat of crime. Similarly, in the excerpt of the interview with **T14**, she highlights this ambiguous relationship people have with space, despite the high levels of crime.

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

***T14**: that was a very big concern. A very, very big concern. Even you, you should be concerned, because even when you come out here, you can't use your phone on this street. Just to remove your phone to answer it, they will take it, you see? You can't park your car on the street, the moment you lock your door, you come down, you are coming to the saloon, they will just break the car and take things inside.*

***T14**: I can't say I hate it, because that's where we get our life. But is not safe.*

T4 has been a resident of Hillbrow for years and has been able to foster a sense of security by being familiar with the neighbourhood and making an effort to know who is occupying the space immediately around her at all times. **T4** is able to identify people who are new to the space and can, therefore, manage her safety accordingly. **T7**, who works on the street as a vegetable vendor, expressed that she did not have concerns about her safety. As discussed

in the section titled 'Foreignness and Localness', respondent **T3** noted that she felt that the fact that she does not speak a local South African language puts her at greater risk of crime. These two accounts highlight how one's level of 'belonging' in a space can be linked to one's sense of comfort related to safety.

Excerpt from Interview with **T4**:

> ***T4****: ja. You know each and every face if you come here. If you come here we know that you are not here, you are not from here. People will start asking, who is that one? We know almost every face, even if we are overcrowded, but we know all the faces.*

Excerpt from Interview with **T3**:

> ***T3****: no, I think that this matter is not being the woman, is the language. I don't speak any South African language, I only speak English and there are some areas where if you English it's really dangerous (laughs).*

5.9.4 Transport Options and Choices

Feminist urbanists highlight access to safe and reliable transportation as one of the primary considerations for achieving equity for women in cities (Todes et al, 2009: 20). Most interviewees stressed the fact that they did not need to use transport as a positive aspect of living and doing business in Hillbrow. The following excerpt from the interview with **T15** highlights the additional flexibility afforded to her in terms of time, by living in close proximity to the salon.

Excerpt from Interview with **T15**:

***T15**: because I'm not using transport, it's easy because I'm not using transport. Even if it's not busy, sometimes I'm don't come to work because if it's not busy I don't come to work, I wait for my clients to call me, because the house is a few meters away, so it's easy for me. Like when I'm staying far I must take a taxi, even if I will not find a customer, so....*

Excerpt from Interview with **T14**:

***T14**: sometimes I use taxis. But I like, I like, because I don't get time to exercise, so I like trekking, I believe that's where I do my exercises because I can't pay for a gym (laughs) I can't pay for a gym...*

***Carla**: so you like walking?*

***T14**: ja, I like walking.*

Respondents reported that they use taxis to travel around Johannesburg when a destination is too far to walk to. Numerous respondents also reported making use of private transportation like taxify or uber. Most women who needed to transport stock mentioned using 'bakkies for hire' which park on the street, and provide shared trips or single trips. Three of the respondents have their own car and use a combination of taxis, walking, and their private vehicle. The location of Hillbrow in relation to the transport nodes in central Johannesburg, as well as the choice to work and live in the same neighbourhood means that the respondents do not find transport a challenge.

5.10 Fieldwork Analysis

The conceptual approach adopted for this study has called for a dialectic review of the primary themes that have emerged as part of the literature review and fieldwork processes. The fields of gender, entrepreneurship, and urbanism have been explored by scholars who

are critical of the normative lens and of the normative benchmarking processes. The study seeks to include people, ideas and situations that might fall outside of these normative frameworks.

5.10.1 Doing gender research

In order to centre the research conceptually, a range of feminist and post-colonial feminist enquiries have been explored, as core to the study. The traditional feminist enquiries explore the contestation of 'socially-constructed gendered' hierarchies. Post-colonial feminist enquiries include a broad-based school of thought that consider the nuanced aspects of people's experiences affected by, but not limited to, race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality (Rajan and Park, 2005: 53; Mama, 2004: 122). The study of gender and the 'Third World' in the fields of sociology and philosophy, has been framed using a development lens which various scholars contest. The gender and development lens is criticised for applying a one-size-fits-all, top-down and technical approach. Scholars critical of the development lens call for a more transformative approach to gender work that tackles fundamental and structural power constructions in society (Razavi, 1994: 1114; Cornwall and Rivas, 2015: 339).

By using these goals of exploring ideas around gender equality through a broad-reaching lens allowed the study to be a process of discovery, rather than purely using gender mainstreaming objectives or targets to assess the urban stories of the respondents. The study sought to evaluate the nuanced nature of the power structures that impact the respondents' every day experiences. The respondents' stories of their day-to-day experiences also allowed a view into the practical aspects of the challenges and benefits that the women face in their urban environments.

The findings of the study highlighted the complex networks of support that are organically-formed in order for people to navigate life on a day-to-day basis. All of the respondents were mothers and commonly supported various family members besides themselves and their immediate families. Many respondents send money to family members on a regular

basis. Considering the workload of running a business and caring for their families, many of the respondents carried a big burden in terms of providing and caring for their families.

The respondents relied on a range of childcare options, including having their children living with grandparents in their home countries or home town or having children living with them in Johannesburg. The business owners who have their children living with them in Johanesburg juggle the business and childcare responsibilities by relying on the assistance of relatives to provide childcare or by bringing the children to the business with them. Some childcare time is minimised for respondents when their children attended school or creche. Very few respondents described having the archetypal nuclear family setup, as conceptualised by the west, but rather described a network of extended family care.

Considering the feminist framing of the research enquiry, it is interesting to review the ways in which gender was talked about by the respondents. In discussions with various respondents the 'woman's role', and more specifically the role of the 'African married woman' as primary caregiver to her husband and children, was highlighted. One respondent grappled with the idea of women's power in relation to business and whether women would be strong enough to 'handle big business'. When discussing the kinds of businesses men and women partake in, one respondent explained that she just had a 'small spaza', while men run more serious enterprises. A number of respondents described needing to be 'like a man' when running their business, this reinforcing the literature by scholars like Ahl (2006: 598) and Mirchandani (1999: 225) who posit that entrepreneurship is typically benchmarked using the male entrepreneur as the standard.

In many conversations, it would seem that 'gendered social hierarchies' persist (Massey: 1994: 188). In other conversations, women explored their power by illustrating their independence, in some cases in spite of more restrictive gendered family expectations. One or two women were clear to point out that they considered themselves better business people than their husbands or partners. For various respondents, gendered power was not a consideration, and respondents felt their experiences were the same as men's.

5.10.2 Creating livelihoods and shaping Urban Space

This study is a 'snapshot' of the specific urban experiences of women entrepreneurs in and around Twist Street in Hillbrow. The fieldwork study explored prominent feminist and gender studies themes related to social reproduction, motherhood, childcare, and conventional gendered family roles. The study also reviews the ideas around women's work and women's business sectors. The respondents in the fieldwork study sample participate in a range of businesses, however most common were hairdressers with a chair in a salon, street traders who sold food-related items, shop-owners who sold clothing and kitchen operators. The majority of respondents in the sample group would be classified as a necessity or survivalist entrepreneurs, as many of the respondents find it difficult to participate in the formal economy, primarily due to being foreign and not having the correct paperwork and operate in an informal business environment (Warnecke, 2013: 459).

A number of respondents indicated a desire to grow their business, but described the need for accessing capital, more space or more support. Almost all respondents indicated that they had not attempted to access capital from a banking institution or other formal institution in order to grow their business a few noting that they did not know whether they would be able to access funding or where to go for funding opportunities. A number of respondents described entrepreneurship as a means to have a certain amount of flexibility in terms of time available to spend with their children, regular cash flow and minimising the the need for transport or commuting.

Only four of the 20 respondents were South African with the majority of respondents being foreign and thirteen being Zimbabwean. Many of the respondents highlighted the fact that they did not have 'papers[4]' which would allow them to assimilate easily into formal South African systems and which would make the accessing of funding, whether from the government or financial institutions, possible. Many of the respondents have lived in Hillbrow for many years, and have established themselves in a community support

[4] The formal immigration paperwork required to live and work in South Africa

structure. This finding is contrary to many studies which describe Hillbrow as a transient space, which is typically a place of arrival for newcomers to Johannesburg, with people choosing to settle more permanently in other parts of Johannesburg (Gewer and Rubin, 2015: 77). Hillbrow and the inner city plays a crucial role in linking people, goods and culture between South Africa and the rest of the continent (Zack, 2017: 26).

Respondents typically performed their day-to-day activities in Hillbrow or the inner city, including schooling for their children, shopping for groceries and daily essentials, and healthcare. These findings illustrate the merits of mixed-use planning and denser settlement which facilitate interaction between business spaces and residential spaces and minimising people's travel requirements. For many of the respondents Hillbrow is seen as a thriving business environment, and this has played a role in them settling in the neighbourhood. For the respondents, Hillbrow is not perceived as a place to conduct leisure activities, and respondents chose to spend leisure time with their families in public spaces and malls out of the neighbourhood. Crime was highlighted by many respondents as a big disadvantage to living and conducting business in Hillbrow.

The second primary research question seeks to investigate the manner in which women entrepreneurs are shaping urban space. Stansell, (1987) and Kenney (2002) cited in Bondi and Rose (2003: 236) suggest that urban space is constructed 'through routine everyday practices'. This position talks to the work of Massey (2005: 9) who posits that space is in constant flux and is being made and re-made by its users. By using this position, the respondents are contributing to the shaping of urban space by being visible and participating in this public business realm. Using the reference of the public space being male space and the private space being female space, the respondents are subverting this gendering of spaces by conducting their business in the public realm (Peake, 2009: 323). Grant (2013: 93) explored in the section *Gender, Entrepreneurship and Space*, found that women were more likely to locate their businesses at home, whereas in this case, the respondents have located their businesses in street-facing retail environments, which also is ascribed to the design of the fieldwork study which set out to approach women running businesses in a prescribed area.

One observation that I made is that for many of the women business owners, in both the hair salons and street vendors, the women tend to locate themselves in close proximity to other women, therefore forming organic collectives. Women also describe forging alliances in their locations, in many cases gender-based, in order to assist with overlooking each other's businesses. I would argue that these women, by participating in the street-facing business offerings in this space, are assisting in creating a more inclusive and safer urban environment.

The respondents in the study have all managed to carve out creative ways of surviving and making a livelihood. Using the work of Purcell (2003: 575) who explores the stratification of 'citizenry' as a reference point, many of the respondents could be seen as having diminished rights to the city due to their actual citizenship, being poor and being women. However, by establishing these businesses, the respondents illustrate the exercising of agency in relation to their finances, their time and locating themselves in the city. The respondents display determination and tenacity in their approach to conducting their business, and many mentioned working 'all the time' in an effort to ensure the success of their business. The respondents describe the business as doing 'a lot' and 'everything' for their lives, illustrating the agency they have derived from their enterprises.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

The aim of this dissertation was to interrogate women business owners' urban experiences in Twist Street and surrounds in the suburb of Hillbrow, Johannesburg. The methodology employed for this study was a qualitative approach, primarily through interviews conducted with 20 women entrepreneurs in and around Twist Street in Hillbrow. A post-colonial feminist lens was adopted for this study with the view to investigate women's experiences on a micro scale, limiting the study area to one portion of Hillbrow. The study explored both place-specific experiences and sought to examine conceptual themes relevant to a larger global dialogue within the fields of gender, urbanism and entrepreneurship. It is important to acknowledge that women's urban experiences are contingent on a range of contextual factors, and that the study only represents the lived experiences of a small group of women.

Many of the themes explored overlap with investigations in philosophy and sociology, thus highlighting the interconnectedness of working in the field of gender and urbanism research with other academic enquiries around gender. The overarching goal was to continually explore both the constraints and opportunities related to the emerging themes both of the literature review and fieldwork processes. This allowed the study to not portray the 'victim' or 'hero' stance, but rather to provide a snapshot of 20 women's experiences, whether positive or negative. I aimed to portray the positive aspects of women's participation in entrepreneurship in the urban environment, as well as the constraints that the respondents face on a day-to-day basis.

I sought to engage women business owners on their daily interactions with the city such as their experiences related to housing, transport, accessing healthcare and schooling. I sought to investigate how women carry out their business and the effects of location and physical and social networks on their business. As 16 of the respondents were foreign women, I explored the effects of migrancy on women's urban experience as well as the experience of navigating the city as a foreign person. An important aspect of doing this study was to give a voice to unseen and invisible urban inhabitants who do not necessarily register in neat boxes prescribed by the state. I aimed to attach validity to people's experiences as urban actors who contribute to the shaping of contemporary Hillbrow.

For me, the concepts of women's work and women's work load related to family, are of particular interest. Thus, the study sought to understand what kind of work the women did and what their workload was at home in terms of reproductive labour. In order to explore the respondents' views on gendered roles in business and family life, I investigated the kinds of businesses women ran in the small study area. The study explored the ways the respondents navigate the burden of reproductive care, predominantly accessing familial networks of care.

One of the dominant emerging themes has been the manner in which environments are in constant flux. The study area, Hillbrow, is a fast-transforming neighbourhood, and plays host to changing dynamics related to transientness versus rootedness. Similarly, concepts of household and family, are in constant flux, with a range of ways of making family and household portrayed. The socially-constructed traditions related to women's work, women's family roles and women's spaces are in constant flux. The literature critical of development thought, highlights the construct of power and structure related to capitalism and patriarchy. The ways in which people navigate ways of being which are not supported by the formal state, capitalism or patriarchy, are in constant flux. The way people *entrepreneur* is also in constant flux with participation in what is perceived to be informal business emerging more as part of the mainstream entrepreneurship rhetoric. So-called traditional ways of interacting with urban spaces and entrepreneurship, are under construction, with the actors making and re-making spaces of urban entrepreneurship.

Because of the rapidly transforming nature of our cities, an ongoing critical engagement is necessary to ensure urbanists understand the more nuanced contexts in which we practice planning. As urban practitioners, it is important to be critical of the normative order(s) and the top-down manner in which urban planning is commonly practiced. Urban inhabitants carve out ways to make a living and a life in cities, often in unplanned and resourceful ways. These unseen networks of support, organisation, movement and business, both legal and illegal, exist despite (and perhaps because of) the official planning strategies.

A critical component of this study is to interrogate what the findings of the study mean for the discipline of urban planning, both in terms of the design of urban spaces as well as in

terms of strategy and policy. The findings point to a range of physical space considerations for women business owners in this kind of context, as well as more high level complex and multi-sector considerations that need to be addressed in the realm of governance. The study aimed to understand how women owners use the city in relation to their daily business activities as well as other, more general day-to-day activities. In terms of policy approach, I explore some strategy considerations that could tie people's everyday experiences in to how policy focus could morph and progress to consider gender in a range of aspects related to the findings of the study.

In terms of how the findings can be discussed in relation to urban planning design, the following aspects became apparent. A significant factor affecting the respondents' daily experience of the city related to accessibility and mobility. 11 of the respondents in the study live within three blocks of their business and six live in Hillbrow but a few blocks further away, and three live in adjacent neighbourhoods. The Hillbrow-based respondents were able to walk to their business, thus removing the need to pay for transport. The respondents who lived outside of Hillbrow, barring the women who lived in Ormonde, have very short commutes to their business.

The cost and time of commuting has an impact on the manner in which women, and women business owners, can conduct their businesses and how that impacts on the other daily activities that need to take place. Having low or no transport cost was discussed as a notable advantage of running their own business close to their home. The findings support the gender-sensitive planning theories of Todes et al (2009: 20) who advocate for a focus on connectivity, to make commutes as short and convenient as possible, to lessen the time impact of the daily journeys women, and other vulnerable groups, need to take. The findings suggest a possible need to consider free or subsidised transport for women business owners, or mothers, for instance as a means to support and provide incentives to encourage women to partake in entrepreneurial activities.

For women who travel around the city as pedestrians primarily, a focus on safe walking journeys is crucial. The women who walked to their businesses in the study highlighted that certain routes were safer than others and that walking to and from their business was less

safe after a certain time in the evening. Gender-sensitive and inclusive planning advocates stress the benefits of designing well-lit and wide pavements, with clear sight lines (CABE, 2008: 17). Providing alternative routes for pedestrians in order to allow them to avoid walking under dark bridges or subways is another means to ensure the safety of pedestrians. Similarly, safe working spaces is key to the success of running a business. For many of the women in the study the pavement is their business location and for some the pavement space in front of their retail space is an extension of their business premises. The pavement, a public space, should be a safe space to move through and to do business on.

Based on the findings, a fraught relationship exists between some of the respondents and the police, suggesting a need to re-look at how the police and other state officials interact with the users of these spaces. How could the police and other state officials support women doing business rather than alienate them? Similarly, there is a need to investigate more deeply, the experiences of people, and for the purposes of this study, women, who are considered migrants. By being pushed to the 'margins' of the official workings of the city, migrant women business owners are almost not seen as contributors or 'actors' in the city.

Another aspect of the urban environment that affected the respondents' day-to-day experiences was their ability to tap into social and community networks. The women were able to access community networks that provided them opportunities to find space to live and locate their business and made creating mechanisms to keep themselves safe possible. Transformative urban policy work could aim to facilitate catalytic interventions that can contribute to the building of communities. By working towards more community-focused spaces a culture of looking out for each other, the promotion of social and business networks, and the development of spaces that can provide a sense of 'home' and belonging for people could be fostered.

A third planning consideration is the availability of safe and well-located housing options for women. A clear outcome of the study is the need for the respondents to have access to housing that was close to business opportunities, but also close to schools and well-connected in terms of transport and social networks. The study findings suggest that the

dense and mixed-use nature of the study area fosters the formation of support, business and faith networks. The study findings point to a need to understand better the gendered considerations for the design of housing provision, with efforts to unpack challenges women, single mothers, for instance, face when choosing housing. One suggestion could be to test out housing configurations for the non-nuclear family, to do analysis on alternative housing tenure options and ways to access to housing ownership as a means to facilitate asset accumulation in the context of women entrepreneurs. In terms of a review of gendered considerations for housing provision, could women's-only living and working spaces be an option to consider?

The study area did not seem to provide the respondents with adequate access to desirable support, leisure or wellness amenities. This suggests a required focus for planners to consider the provision of safe and accessible support, leisure and play amenities to ensure a well-rounded urban experience for people by prioritizing the inclusion of support amenities like accessible and safe parks, play spaces for children,, sport and exercise spaces. Paired with access to subsidised childcare and mental health services perhaps business owners like the participants in the study could feel less like they have to 'do this alone', but can easily find supportive spaces in the urban environment. Being able to access these support amenities could improve women business owner's capacity to deal with the 'shocks' life inevitably throws their way and therefore in turn build their capacity to nurture and grow their businesses.

The majority of businesses run by the women who participated in the study can be classified as informal. Much has been written about the complex correlation between gender and informality (Chipepa, 2017: 5; Chen, 2011: 12). How do we attach legitimacy and credibility to women's informal businesses? As credit and access to business funding was an avenue that the respondents did not indicate they had access to, could policy strategies focus on women business owner's access to credit and financial support schemes, especially for those whose businesses are deemed informal? The findings suggest that urban planning strategy and economic planning strategy should be integrated to consider ways to provide financial incentive schemes for women who run informal businesses with a focus on provision of credit, access to safe space to run their business and to training opportunities.

I recommend that more studies are carried out which seek to understand gendered urban experiences in South African cities. More studies are necessary to highlight the experiences of the unseen and unprotected migrant women and their limited 'Right to the City'. Further studies could investigate the role of support systems such as gender-sensitive financing models, improved access to childcare, improved transport systems in aiding women entrepreneurs in developing sustainable urban livelihoods. The role of gender-sensitive policy on women's everyday experiences, and the role of transformative policy strategies in manifesting meaningful change in women's opportunities, could be investigated in more detail.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Basic biographical information (background)

1. Would you mind telling me your age?
2. Where did you grow up? Which neighbourhood do you live in now? How long have you been based there / here?
3. Tell me a bit about your schooling/studies?

Home, Family and Support Systems

4. Can you tell me a bit about your home? (e.g. a flat in Hillbrow?) Do you rent or own your accommodation?
5. Tell me a bit about your family set up at home? Do you have children or other dependents? If yes, who looks after your children and/ or other dependents while you are at your business?
6. How many hours a day (roughly) do you spend taking care of the children or elderly family members or friends, doing housework?
7. What kind of networks support you? Is your family close by? (prompts: family / church community / business groups / municipality / government / church community / neighbours / other business owners)

Business / Livelihood

8. What kind of business do you own/run? Please tell me a bit about the business.
9. How long has the business been running for?
10. Are men and women running different kinds of businesses here in this neighbourhood? If yes, why do you think that is?

11. (Unless it seems to be a single person business) How many other people work here? / how many people do you employ?
12. Where is the business located? Why did you choose to locate your business here? ie. Provide a brief description of the premises. (Prompts: Street-facing shop / home-based / etc.)
13. Do you feel that your experiences as a female entrepreneur are different from those of male entrepreneurs? If yes, what do you think makes the experience different?
14. What are the advantages of running a business in this neighbourhood? What are the disadvantages of running a business in this neighbourhood? Please can you tell me a bit more about both the advantages and disadvantages?
15. Do you think any of these advantages/disadvantages presented themselves because you are a woman?
16. What has running your business done for you? What are the successes or advantages it has brought to your life? (Prompts: running my own business gives me flexibility on when I work)

<u>Getting around (Safety and Mobility)</u>

17. Please can you describe your typical day for me? What time do you wake up? How do you get to your business? Do you need to move around the city a lot for your business? How do you spend your time after work?

Could you please do a little map of your route around the city on a typical weekday.

18. What kind of transport do you use to get around the city?
19. Is your location here convenient for accessing shopping, places of worship, schools (if you have children in school or if you are studying yourself), medical facilities, leisure activities, and exercise? Please tell me a bit about where you go to the shops, where the school is, where the doctor is, where you do exercise.
20. Do you have any concerns about your safety when moving around the city, for instance, between home and work or for the business during the day?
21. Have you been a victim of a crime? Do you feel more vulnerable to crime as a

woman?

Is there anything else you think you want to add which could be relevant to my research?

Could you recommend a woman friend who is a business owner or who runs a business in the neighbourhood whom you think might be able to answer these questions as well?

Thank you so much for taking the time to sit with me and for allowing me to ask you these questions. Do you mind if I contact you if I have any additional questions?

8.2 Appendix B: Ethics Clearance

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Soudien

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H18/06/34**
PROJECT TITLE	Women and the City: The urban experiences of women entrepreneurs, self-employed women and women-led business in Twist Street, Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss C Soudien
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Architecture and Planning/
DATE CONSIDERED	22 June 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	29 July 2021

DATE 30 July 2018 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Prof M Huchzermeyer and Dr R Ballard

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES