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Indian women and public space: women’s landscape of Fordsburg, Johannesburg

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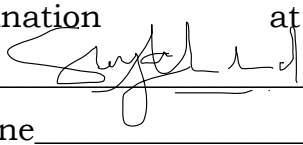
Supervised by: Prof. T Dirsuweit

'A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.'

1 June 2017 in Johannesburg.

Declaration

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



_____ _____1st_____day of ___June_____2017_____in_Johannesburg.

Abstract

The urban spatial restrictions women are subjected to are universally acknowledged. These restrictions, which exist physically and symbolically within space, are used as a tool for gendered 'othering' and exclusion. Using a conceptual framework that include structures of power, spatial and gender theories as a tool of analysis this research seeks to analyse and track the process of spatial restrictions on the female body in their everyday lived experiences. The socio-political undercurrents of urban space is entangled within the power structures and ideologies that govern and objectify women's presence and behaviours within public space. This has a debilitating effect on the way they access and use it. Indian women in Fordsburg are no strangers to these universal problems. They experience many of the same fears that have been documented within the Public sphere. Their resilience and constant presence in public space questions the validity of the Public/Private binary as well as common stereotypical assumptions surrounding their identities which operate at different scales. Their everyday lived experience showcases their strategies in coping and overcoming the challenges the complex nature of urban public space presents to them. Their strategies of reclaiming the space are unique and intricate. Their resilience in challenging the normalization of socio-spatial dynamics leads them towards reclaiming their identities, power and respect as women.

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1. Introduction

Urban public space is inherently gendered. Though the relationship between people and space can be seen as reciprocal, the relationship between space and women is complex because it is governed by socio-spatial power structures as well as the limits of these structures. This contributes to the stigmatised and restrictive nature of urban space women are commonly subjected to within their everyday experiences. The subjectivity of women is concurrent with the built reality and the masculinized production of space. This research project will trace the multiple subject positions of Indian women in the public spaces of Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Drawing from theories of power, space and gender, it will explore the impacts that the urban environment has on the body of an Indian woman. Power is a concept that finds itself at the centre of a multitude of different theories across all disciplines. This research will focus on three core concepts of power, namely, structuralism, hegemony and post-structuralism which offers an insight into social constructionism and symbolic violence. These concepts of power will be examined to provide insight into the ways they influence spatial and gender construction and practices.

The discussions of power allows an insight into the conceptualisations of space. Lefebvre, whose work on spatial construction includes structural and post-structural concepts, shows how space is shaped by these power structures. It also reflects understandings of space beyond the architectural notions of the built environment. These notions made for a limited, one dimensional and 'practical' perception of the cacophony of buildings that make up a city.

Bonnevier (2012) mentions that architecture, in this case the urban built environment, is commonly intertwined with various positions of power and subjectivity and also plays a part in influencing performance. These structural power relations that define gender roles have multiple meanings for a woman and her behaviour in the space which makes the study of the urban built environment more dynamic.

Gender will be articulated within a social constructionist viewpoint. It will then be reflected by reviewing some of the work of feminist geographers. This creates a framework with which to address the position and experience of women in urban spaces. This will then lay the foundation which allows insight into the results of fear (Day, 2001) and other physical, spatial, symbolic and psychological restrictions that track the everyday lived experience of a woman in public space.

The urban experience of Indian women in Fordsburg was found to include various socio-cultural and socio-political factors due to the intersectional nature of their identities. This helps to record unique viewpoints that illustrates the nature of Fordsburg and how these women deal with the environment. Addressing a research gap, this study has also made way for further inquiry and investigation into related topics that stem from the material of this research.

1.1 Background

Throughout history as well as in present contexts there have been and still are spaces in which women are not welcome or included. The extent of female exclusion in civic spaces usually depended on the significance and importance of the space in question. Spaces that held some form of authority or judicial rule were commonly spaces that only allowed men to enter and participate in decision making (Romano, 1989). Within these exclusionary public spaces that can be defined as masculine, important decisions were made, business deals were conducted, laws and policies (which directly affected women's lives) were passed, largely without the presence or input of women. Women were and in some cases still are, socially constructed and categorized as fragile, fickle and emotional. Therefore, the public sphere was a contentious space for them especially if they were unchaperoned. Women's social roles were expected to be domestic and to mainly exist within the private, whilst the men ventured out to shape public space and public life. Through time, these practices marginalised the position and roles of women in public space and their subjectivity to the

limited Public/Private binary began to normalise. This is not to say that there is a strictly black and white approach to the gendered existence in and experience of space, men and women make use of various spaces which flit through the public and private on a daily basis.

According to Lefebvre (1991), 'representational space' or 'lived space' is the space in which lived realities are experienced. The representational space is fraught with symbols and socio-power relations that govern the space and the power and spatial structures which an individual is subjected to (Lefebvre, 1991). Taking on various meanings, their movement through these spaces, especially for women, are not straightforward. Rather, subjective groups, namely women for the purpose of this study, are subject to different conditions and behaviour patterns that enable them to use the space. These conditions also vary according to their racial and religious identities. Indeed, women internalize values and behaviours in order to regain some sort of control within spaces (Huey and Berndt, 2008). This internalization of behaviour can also expose their own subjectivity and the symbolic violence that is wielded against them (Morgan and Björkert, 2006).

However, public spaces are exclusionary in a gendered regard which directly contradicts the definition of 'public'. In essence, women are systemically and also symbolically excluded based on gender, identity and sexual orientation to name just a few. These issues of marginalization, according to Young (2005), limit agency and the capacity for participation and interaction due to institutionalized practices and values. Therefore, the gendered categorization of space has always made comfortable and equal accessibility into public space difficult and limited for women. This exclusion from public space has long been a key focus in feminist geography (McDowell, 1993).

A growing body of literature with a feminist focus tracks the relationship between women and urban space. Authors such as Valentine and McDowell, among many others, have developed work showcasing the relevance of feminist geography and its interdisciplinary research value. The focus on the Public/Private binary formed the basis for many investigations into the manners in which urban spaces can be patriarchal. Public space may not

be officially designated as male, but many practices and beliefs construct spaces as masculine. Women were and are supposedly free to use spaces at their own will but also at their own peril which allows insight into the complexities of their usage of space according to the limitations that they face.

Exclusions and restrictions are placed onto their bodies through the way in which their identities have been constructed by a society that is governed by masculinized values. A woman's presence in space remains transgressive because of the traditional roles associated to her gender identity. There are many implications both, physical and psychological, for a woman who crosses the otherwise solid line that separates the Public from the Private (Valentine, 1989; McDowell, 1993; Whitzman, 2007). The masculinization of space enables a certain type of narrative which is quite patriarchal in tone to control the movement, emotions and meanings of a woman in space. This is made possible through interactions and relationships within a gendered power structure that governs the space and persists to this day. Women's bodies do not belong to themselves but to the narrative of a male dominated territory.

Urban spaces have always been perilous for women. This fact has proved itself time and time again through attacks on women both psychological and physical. It has also manifested itself through other spatial restrictions that highlight women's exclusions from urban public space. There are numerous unique yet similar stories and experiences that are internalized by and impact upon women, specifically because of the erratic nature of public space. That nature is at a direct contradiction to the traditional and expected social role and responsibility attached to being a woman.

There has not been much attention paid to Indian women and their spatial usage of the Fordsburg area in Johannesburg, South Africa. These women embody an intersectionality that complicates their experience within the space. This research tracks the perils and protest that make up the everyday experience of a woman in public space. Bringing together various independent ideas and theories stemming from power, spatial contexts and

feminist geography (Valentine, 1990) as well as sociology, this research attempts to synthesize and investigate the limiting nature of the everyday experience of a woman in public space.

1.2 Fordsburg, Johannesburg: Some insight

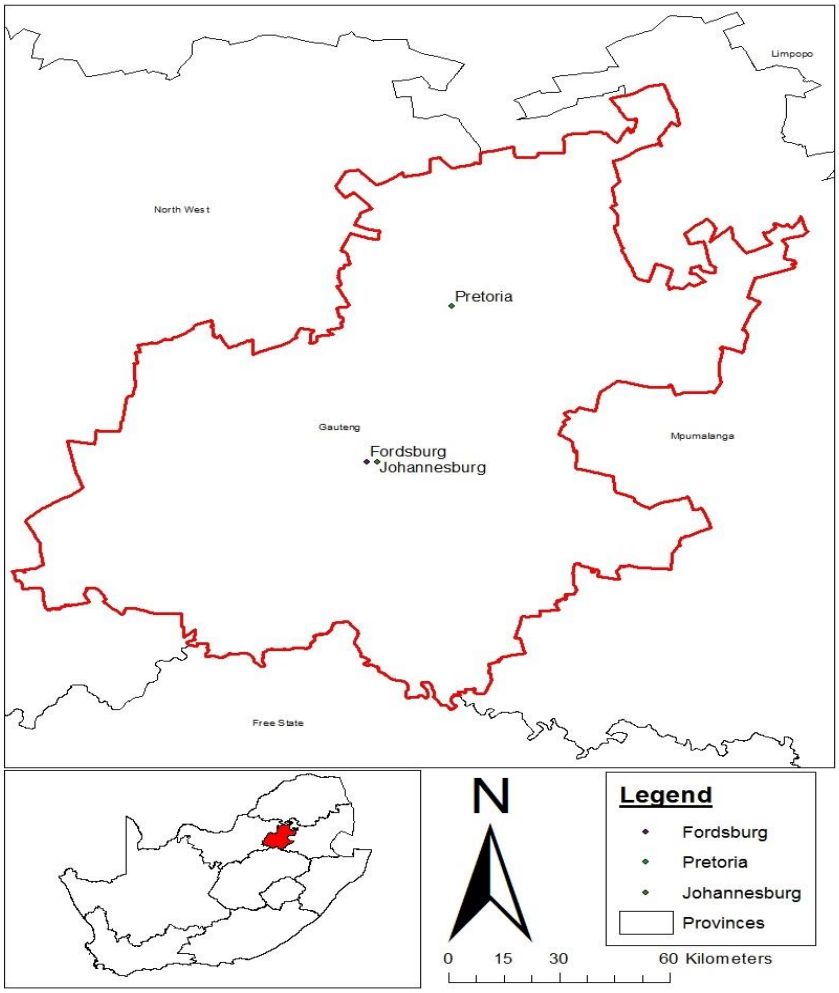


Figure 1. Map of Gauteng, South Africa showing the location of Fordsburg.

The research was conducted in Fordsburg, a neighbourhood which is located on the western fringe of the central business district of Johannesburg, South Africa. The area is characterised by 'Fordsburg Square', a public market which offers a vast and multicultural array of food, entertainment and clothing. The space is a reflection of the culturally and ethnically diverse and dynamic urban community in the surrounding

neighbourhood which has aspects of mixed income and mixed land usage. The reasons for this spatial choice extend to the socio-political history of the area that has influenced and impacted the large Indian community that have resided there for generations, arguably, since Fordsburg's inception.

Fordsburg, as a base for Indian owned businesses and settlement became particularly strong and significant during Apartheid. The Group Areas Act of 1950 confined Indian communities and businesses to the spatial boundaries of the area (Bawa, 2006). Fordsburg became one of the 'Indian' areas along with neighbouring suburb, Mayfair. Lenasia, a select area of the Johannesburg CBD and certain areas of Pretoria shared a similar fate (Bawa, 2006). Although they were separated and segregated the spaces enjoyed frequent interaction with one another. An example that often persists to the present day can be found in a business within Fordsburg with its owner, living in Mayfair or Lenasia, commuting daily between the spaces.

Another reason for using the space as the basis for a case study is Fordsburg's inhabitant's daily use of its public space through its market square, shop-lined streets as well as informal street vendors all of which encourage physical usage of urban spaces. The space continues to house people from all over the world serving as an entry point for migrants into the socio-economic and socio-cultural spheres of Johannesburg. This has an impact on the spatial dynamics and rhythms of Fordsburg as an already established neighbourhood.

In recent years, however, the space has taken on a more dynamic energy. The local Indian history and establishment in the space has been interrupted by newer and younger migrant communities that are a part of a different generation and therefore, a different culture with differing traditions and histories. This has made for an interesting dynamic of competing ideas and energies within the space that impacts people, particularly women, in different and often contradictory ways.

The results which were collected document the current experiences the women in the area are dealing with and how those experiences relate to and impact upon them personally and spatially. The female demographic of Fordsburg have roles outside of the home, in the everyday goings-on within the public sphere. Therefore, they are not strangers to the many restrictions and discriminatory actions that work against them in public space. The many and varied ways in which these women physically and psychologically utilise and navigate public space has allowed a deeper insight into the ways in which they engage with it. This has made their 'everyday' routines a useful observational, ethnographic study. Their perspective has afforded an in depth discussion surrounding main themes of this research, namely, the often turbulent and restrictive nature of the relationship between women and public space.

The conduction of this research has made use of anthropological approaches and ethnographic methods. The concept of participant research has played a pivotal role in allowing the study to be an immersive experience. The method allowed for a better insight and understanding into the core concepts of the study rather than an exercise in assumptions.

1.3 Research Statement and Aim

Women shape and influence urban space through their daily lived experiences within the Public sphere. This study aims to investigate the urban spatial restrictions on gendered identity and question assumptions regarding Indian women and public space.

1.4 Objectives

- Experience and document pivotal everyday spatial and gender related moments which Indian women experience in urban public space.
- To understand the various measures women take to counter the restrictions they face in public space.

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Power and Space

Introduction

The gendered restriction of public space can be categorized into three main interrelated sections. The discussion is initiated by focusing on three core concepts of power and the manner in which they work to produce and articulate space. The production of space deals with Lefebvre's theory (Lefebvre, 1991) on how space is produced and the manner in which it is activated by power structures within the context of the 'everyday experience'. The discussion on power and space afforded a platform with which to examine how these two components produce and affect gender relations and performativity.

2.1 Power

Power is understood in various different ways (Sharp *et al,* 2005). Philosophers and scholars have defined power into these countless different theories that helps to illustrate and structure their studies. Within the context of this research, power is seen as a central tool that plays a role in shaping and impacting space and society. This section analyses three core concepts of power that form part of the theoretical framework of this research. These concepts of power are structuralism, hegemony and post-structuralism.

2.1.1 Structuralism

Within the human and social sciences, structuralism found its basis within Marxist ideas of 'values' (Chaffee and Lemert, 2009). Marx's theories on the modes of production and capital reflected the growing wealth of the ruling class at the expense of and the exploitation of the working class. Jessop (2012) mentions Hegel's concept of the slave-owner relationship as an analogy to understand Marx's capital and labour model. Traditional Marxist concepts can be illustrated by placing the mode of production at the bottom

of a structure and the owners of the mode of production at the top. Within this model, each factor is dependent on the other even though the distribution of power is unilateral.

2.1.1.1 Structuralism and Power

Marx's industrial model that reflects the production of capital and the subsequent production and maintenance of social class leads to questions about how structuralism articulated power. Structuralism categorised everything into what it was and what it was not thereby producing a system of binaries that could be used to analyse any aspect of society. An important facet of structuralism, this system is known as a binary opposition and it offers insight into analysing underlying relationships of a structure (Innes, 1997). This creates a very specific way of viewing and analysing the world since, essentially, it helps to showcase the dominance of one part of the binary over the other.

Power is associated with domination, repression and force in its most direct sense (Sharp *et al,* 2005, p. 1). Within structuralism, the power underlying and exerted onto society and class was taken to be accepted rather than resisted. This type of power structure influences the rules and laws of society and determines the way in which people are placed within society and the way in which they behave or conform to it.

Chaffee and Lemert (2009) mention that one of the key shortcomings of structuralism is its evasion of the idea that individuals are capable of their own power and freedom outside of the deterministic systems of power. Due to binaries, domination and overarching structures of power, structuralism is a system that does not allow any agency within relationships, behaviour or interaction. It posits that social relationships are governed by and defined in terms of external structures of power.

This form of domination is reflected in the relationship between power and the subsequent reproduction of social classes (Jessop, 2012). In this context power is seen as a controlling factor that overarches any instabilities or potential for resistance within society. This reinforces the centrality of

domination within the power structure. Power operates and is constructed within this ideology as something external. It has the ability to influence or coerce another into following a structural social order and consequently create an 'other' (Habermas and McCarthy, 1977; Hook, 2001). The direct flow of power can be seen as exploitative as it takes away agency and reinforces domination.

For structuralists, power embedded in the domination and ordering of class and society. This impacts individuals by taking away their freedom of choice as well as their agency. Much of this exertion of power and control is accepted by the recipients, either by force or by a consensual agreement which may be coercive. This style of behavioural and ideological process underscores an unspoken manner of control that tends to discipline and structure society in specific ways (Ives, 2004, p. 152). This "consensual agreement" is included in Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Bates, 1975).

2.1.2 Gramsci and Hegemony

Gramsci questioned the hierarchical manner in which society was governed and controlled. He believed that power was sustained by the reinforcement of certain ideas and knowledge that was controlled by the dominant authority.

Hegemony was initially theorised as a political leadership. This form of leadership was one that led the state in ideas and laws that became normalized. It policed and rejected any reformist views and leftist concepts (Bates, 1975). Gramsci divided the concept up by examining two societal groupings. The first, "civil society", comprised of private constituents such as churches, schools and clubs among other parties. The second was "political society", and this contained the dominant parties that exercised power and control over society such as the government, military and courts (Bates, 1975). He argued that these two groups were vital in the establishment of society's perception of social and political matters (Bates, 1975). His theorisation spoke largely to issues of "mobilization" and "demobilization" of social classes in relation to power structures (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Hegemony in and of itself encompasses of a shift in 'historical process', but as noted by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), hegemony becomes reduced to and reified as a concept of 'cultural control' when the 'historical process' is not the main focus. This sense of cultural control is a more relevant interpretation for the purpose of this research.

Similar to structuralism, hegemony defined power as a type of societal control that was largely an external structure as well. Though it takes on a more political stance in the way society is governed, it has key points on how its ideology shapes space and also governs people's position within it. While structuralism did not account for the free will and agency of people, hegemony is of the notion that resistance ought to be expected and this creates a platform for subjectivity. Gramsci noted that subjectivity was inevitable as hegemony was structured to coerce and that any opposition was simply a normal part of the 'historical process' (Smith, 2010, p. 3).

Hegemony articulates power in terms of the proliferation of ideologies from the ruling or political class throughout society. These ideologies begin to filter into the cultural system of society and become validated and accepted as a form of a 'truth' as it becomes normalized. It is this kind of power, constituted within dominant ideologies, that sustains the hegemonic norms of a place or people. The normalization of these ideologies allows power, within a hegemonic framework, to be seen one of consent because the ideologies are accepted as a 'truth' as opposed to it being a forceful exertion of power. The use and normalization of the ideas and ideology of the ruling class to gain consent and therefore power can be seen as a form of strategy of rule or a strategy of power over society (Bates, 1975).

It can be seen as a form of propaganda when the dominant ideologies exclude a group or society that exists outside of structures. Material and data that reinforces these dominant ideologies are also present in the media which has the power to dominate mind-sets and socio-cultural rhetoric in accordance with the hegemonic norms of the area. This stream of power through discourse and ideologies has the means to create class and cultural distinctions between groups.

Gramsci's conceptualisation of power was based in a dominant and political structure. He did, however, account for the ability of people to resist these dominant powers who were then consequently subjected to marginalisation. These 'transgressors' would be those who did not ascribe to dominant hegemonic norms and ideologies but rather challenged it.

Gramsci noted that any class or rather, any group of people could come up with knowledge and transform it into a dominant ideology (Fontana, 1993). This reflected both, a resistance against and an agency of power among the people. This might be taken to mean that intellectuals could easily be part of the ruling class that structured society according to their ideological ideals. However, these intellectuals were essentially the 'middle man' between the ruling class and the people and through whom the ideologies of the ruling class were accepted and proliferated (Fontana, 1993). This reflects the intricacies of the distribution of power and of knowledge, which manipulated the fine line between coercion and consent that helped to structure society and people's ideas within it. Within hegemony, the idea of 'knowledge is power' can overlap onto poststructuralism, who tend to define hegemony in various different ways.

2.1.3 Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism does not express power as existing within a hierarchy but is of the view that power is internal and dynamic. According to Foucault, power has both, positive and negative facets (Sharp *et al,* 2005, p.2). This presents a deeper and more layered engagement. It rejects a structuralist concept of power as a cycle of dominance and resistance. Foucault regarded power to be disseminated and uneven (Rouse, 2005). He goes on to note that power in modern times is not necessarily autocratic, rather, it is tactical and strategic in nature (Fraser, 1981). Its strategy is elaborated through the way in which it operates within and across networks, social practices and people on a local level (Mills, 2007).

He also posits that with regards to 'sex', power is a normalizing and disciplinary force (Deveaux, 1994). Therefore, power is a multidimensional concept that weaves its way into even the most common interaction through

surveillance or discipline. Though Foucault theorises the different concepts and relations of power that structure society, he fails to discuss and explore power relations that are systematic. This can be problematic with regards to gender issues. However, his ideas on power as an individual experience redeem this shortfall (Hartsock, 1987).

Foucault's notion of power rejects the idea of a top-bottom distribution citing its distribution as often uneven. Existing as a dispersed approach, this power is post hegemonic in the sense that it begins within people and societies (Sharp *et* al, 2005; Lash, 2007). Echoing Foucault, internalized concepts of power are constituted within the self, social relations and the events and practices of the everyday experience (Fraser, 1981; Rouse, 2005). These dynamics are commonly found in social constructs which govern people and groups within societies to follow certain social codes. Subordinate groups; in this case, women, both, resist these dominant hegemonic power structures by speaking up and challenging the socially constructed norms that govern them and they also behave in a manner that is considered acceptable in society to be recognised. They might also exercise their power subconsciously as Foucault suggests that power is everywhere and can be exercised in reaction to something (Rouse, 2005). These everyday tactics expose and challenge power relations (Foucault, 1982).

2.1.3.1 Discourse

Power is commonly activated through a hegemonic discourse (Lash, 2007). Hegemony is defined slightly different within a post-structuralist context as it is seen as a discourse or a tool of normalization and not a product of ideology. The notion of knowledge and power is conceptualised by Foucault in his work on discourse and discursive practices (Hook, 2001). He posits that the rules surrounding knowledge is what structures it in order to produce it. Similarly, social constructionism perceives knowledge to be something that is constructed instead of created (Andrews, 2012).

Discourse has a way of limiting a flow of knowledge to the boundaries of institutionalised social structures operating, almost, as a closed system. The

exercising of the knowledge or discourse is what constitutes as discursive practice. Performing discursive practice and the process of discourse formation tends to exclude anything 'other' to the dominant discourse (Hook, 2001). Hegemony as a form of power and control was exercised onto the people as something 'normal' which they accepted rather than questioned and challenged. Power is then exerted, controlled and legitimized through structures and ideas which include religious, racial, social and economic ideologies. Anything that challenges these structures is 'othered' into subordination.

The power which a hegemonic discourse has to structure and order society is similarly reverberated in Foucault's work on surveillance (Rouse, 2005). Surveillance aids in the construction of discourse by making a subject "knowable". Foucault employs Bentham's 'panopticon' to illustrate the manner in which power can be exercised and experimented with through the usage of the gaze (Foucault, 1977). The gaze relates to the discipline of people and society in everyday life through social processes and institutional structures. Surveillance also plays a major role in the normalization of social practices (Knights and Willmott, 1989). Anyone who does not comply accordingly becomes a transgressor, an 'Other'.

The concept of 'other' emerges through the separation of categories into Self/Other which can be mirrored in all binary constructions. This separation allows insight into the roots of difference. "Othering" is a process that is part of the construction of power relations and social relations. Examples might include the racial and spatial othering of people during apartheid or the othering of females based on structural relations and masculine dominance. While, the self/other is an individual level of alterity, othering is a framework that can then be seen as broader, historic and structural when applied to certain groups of people and places. As Said (1979) states, the structuring of the Orient by Europe was an exercise in power through domination and a restructuring in order to dispense their authority. In a postcolonial context, it has been noted that the colonizer always worked with this language of 'separates'. The 'other' was always

separate, abnormal, unintelligent and unchangeable (Hartsock, 1987). The process of 'othering' is pivotal in the structuring of a person, race or gender group as a subject. Foucault (1977) suggests that the combination of power and discipline between bodies is what creates the subject.

Knights and Willmott (1989) argue that power and subjectivity is closely intertwined and co-dependant. Subjectivity is conditioned by existing structures of power. They often affect and build upon identity formation processes. This takes place through socialisation, emotional and behavioural consequences of self-awareness, self-discipline and self-consciousness. It is also suggested by Foucault that subjectivity and 'othering' is bound up in one's personal identity (Knights and Willmott, 1989). This can be examined further within the realm of social constructionism.

2.1.4 Social Constructionism

In the previous section, structural and hegemonic power was discussed as these models and ideologies that exercised and sustained its power within the construction of power, society and knowledge that helped its ability to influence, alter and 'other'. Poststructuralism holds that structures of power can be challenged as power is a dynamic exchange and not necessarily a monolithic and unchanging dominant force. Social constructionism, allows further inquiry into these constructions of knowledge and accepted meanings of reality. Within the context of this research, hegemonic masculinity as well as cultural hegemony dictates the patriarchal governance and institutionalized structures of space and also the roles of all the actors within it. In order to question the role of women in space which is often perceived as traditional and also taken for granted, the device of social constructionism is employed throughout the facets of this research to question and deconstruct the meaning and subjectivity of women.

The definition of social constructionism is multi-faceted due to its multi-disciplinary nature. Social constructionism pays particular attention to the nature of knowledge and the manner in which it is constructed (Andrews,

2012). Burr (2015) notes that social constructionism allows us to question the knowledge that we have inherited since it has the potential to indelibly limit and inform our views of the world. This knowledge is then critically challenged and analyzed to deconstruct the hegemonic structures that sustain it. Social constructionism is therefore different to empirical and epistemological forms of knowledge that is traditional of the sciences and similar discourses (Burr, 2015).

Philosophers such as Marx, among others, were all of the similar opinion that society, economy and all of the characteristics of the world were all based on strong core structures which sustained and governed them (Burr, 2015). These structures play a part in the normalization of power and traditions that govern everyday life. For women, these power structures tend to construct their identities, bodies, expected roles and behavior in the space which is essentially an act of symbolic violence against them (Moi, 1991). Women's lives within the urban environment are, broadly, socially constructed and organized in a certain way. This structure is expected to develop a specific role for women to follow and 'play' their part as it were which will be discussed in the following chapter.

However, even though social constructionism is used as a central device, it is not thorough enough to say that gender and space are socially constructed and therefore women are marginalized. Employing Bourdieu and some of his theories, including symbolic violence, may be helpful in attempting to decode the constructions that exist in the 'everyday' (Moi, 1991). There exists the idea that even though, in a broad sense, gender is socially constructed, the performance of it in terms of the many different actions and interactions that make up the everyday experience is noteworthy as a contributor to gender and its subsequent binds related to power structures.

Social constructionism in relation to gender identities tends to reject the binaries traditionally associated with identity (Abes *et al.,* 2007). These binaries were tied into the dominant/subordinate model such as

male/female or white/black (Abes *et al,* 2007). This draws the focus onto the deconstruction of these exclusionary, traditional and simplistic labels which results in the complexity of the intersections and complexities of identity.

Intersectionality frameworks recognize the concept of multiple identities that are socially constructed in nature are experienced concurrently (Abes *et al,* 2007). An intersectional approach can therefore be used to explore these multiple identities and the manner in which people are positioned in society as a consequence (Staunæs, 2003). It also allows complex identities to be seen as whole identities and not just as a minority that is often 'othered'. As Staunæs (2003) notes, there is a power process behind 'othering' that forms part of Foucauldian discourse.

The gendered identity of a woman in urban environments is socialized in a particular way. This develops a platform for female subjectivity in the space as the socially constructed structures which govern women's role and mobility within a masculinized space restricts a woman's access and potential instead of enabling it. The social construction of gender, however, has a history of being constructed by and around white middle-class demography (Zinn and Dill, 1996). This construction directly limits the study of multiracial women and is at the danger of imposing upon and dominating a multiracial and intersectional narrative. Zinn and Dill (1996) note the significance of the intersection of race in order to gain a more diverse understanding of gendered social constructions. Gendered constructions, on a more individual level, is further explored in the section on performativity.

With regards to a feminist context, these are the kind of symbolically violent structures that need to be challenged and deconstructed in order to reveal the restrictive, messy and realistic nature of a woman's everyday life in public space. Indian women, who are regarded as women of color, exist on the intersections of feminist theories. Due to the multifaceted nature of their identities, racial, religious and class based, social constructions shape their lives in multiple ways. It is not solely the socially constructed nature of their

gender that is of concern but the perceptions and constructed meanings of their ethnicities and religious orientations as well. Social constructions and perceptions of women without recognizing these factors run the risk of undermining key aspects of their identity and daily experiences that is borne from racial and socio-politically oppressive struggles. The intersection of these factors adds increasing complexity to their subjectivity, stigma, roles and visibility in public space. It also allows for further and more intricate insight into the 'everyday experience' of urban space as theorised by Lefebvre (1991). Zinn and Dill (1996) have mentioned that using the lens of the 'everyday experience', social realities can be viewed in alternative ways. Multiple identities and its resultant intersections are brought to life and the structures that govern them are also exposed in the everyday lived experience within urban spaces (Staunæs, 2003).

2.1.5 Symbolic Violence

Within the 'everyday experience' people are symbolically, if not out-rightly, 'othered'. There are oppressions and inequalities that exist and are subsequently imposed onto people, something which is encapsulated by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence (Morgan and Björkert, 2006). This theory spoke more broadly to issues of class instead of directly to specific groups such as women, however, his theory has merit in its potential to adapt to feminist discourse (Adkins, 2004). Symbolic violence, as a concept, allows a stronger microscopic lens into the socio-power dynamics as well as social constructions that act to shape the 'everyday experiences' of a woman (Moi, 1991).

The concept of symbolic violence emerges from critiques of structuralism and the theory has been used in many poststructuralist academic works (Bilge, 2006). Much of Bourdieu's work underscores the relationship between social structures and the impacts those structures have on individuals (Pileggi and Patton, 2003). Bourdieu argues that there is a struggle between different class interests to impose the cultural meanings associated with their interests. This causes a 'social field' of different social

positions that is also symbolic in terms of power relations, to be produced (Bourdieu, 1979; Bourdieu, 1989; Johnston, 2014).

In his lecture on symbolic power, Bourdieu mentioned that social space is a construction within which there are many different inhabitants, each with its own point of view (Bourdieu, 1989). Among these contending personalities and viewpoints, constructions are created that limit and structure the field according to the group that is symbolically, most powerful (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu's spatial power structure is then formed through the exclusions of groups that do not fit with the dominant authority of the structure. In this 'social field', individuals and group positions are governed and defined by a set of dominating structures within which they move existing either in close proximity or not depending on their commonalities and the extent of their power (Cushion and Jones, 2006). Bourdieu (1989) engages Goffman and mentions that his idea on a 'sense of one's place' is useful in understanding how people in groups tend to stick with one another whilst other groups would 'keep their distance'. He goes on to note that this 'distance' is one that is in relation to the spatial distance and the social distance that includes bodies, languages, ideas, social class and also time (Bourdieu, 1989; McNay, 2004). Groups or individuals are marginalised due to the power within a social field and the subsequent internalization of the same structures that marginalize them (Connolly and Healy, 2004). Through these exclusions, power is meant to be maintained (Mitchell, 2002). Symbolic violence is the imposition of this power of dominant groups over marginalized groups (Bourdieu, 1979).

Within these distances and exclusions between groups, the idea of the habitus can be added. Bourdieu's *habitus* speaks to the socialized production of the self or the socialization of groups through which they learn how to behave and act a certain way in social situations so that they can safely navigate a space (Lawler, 2004; Johnston, 2014). The habitus can also be interpreted as the internalization of the structures that govern a group or an individual (Bourdieu, 1989). The habitus and symbolic violence create a combination that allows an analysis of the ways in which the social

positions of actors in the social field relates to behavioural patterns (Cushion and Jones, 2006). Reminiscent of ideas of social construction and gender performativity, symbolic violence and the *habitus* also allow for an engagement into the ways in which gender is constructed and produces itself through symbolic power and symbolic violence (Moi, 1991).

Cushion and Jones (2006) note that though the habitus is embodied by individuals within the social field according to the position they hold within it, each individual has a unique type of habitus. Essentially, it is tailored to the individual's own function within the social structure and is produced and reproduced through their actions and experiences (Cushion and Jones, 2006). This offers insight into the internalized oppressions and behaviour experienced and produced by different women within the space based on their personal experiences.

Women's bodies embody a number of signs and symbols which produce their identities. According to Skeggs (2004), not all types of femininity embody the same form and that it is assumed to be a concrete concept. However, through symbolic violence, the different degrees of femininity and the fluid, and sometimes unstable, manner in which it adapts to spaces and situations can be assessed (Skeggs, 2004). This underscores the notion that the habitus is not something concrete and taken-for-granted. It can operate on an individual level and constantly change and adapt to whichever situation it is presented with. Symbolic violence helps to uncover the performance of identities and social positions within spaces and it also helps to expose the power relations that maintain the habitus or the behavioural patterns of the subject.

To conclude, the notion of symbolic violence and power within the social field, which in the context of this research is public space benefits a particular social group over others. In terms of gender relations and dynamics, symbolic violence operates through the silent agreement within society and power structures that men are the stronger, dominant gender (Lawler, 2011). Symbolic violence, therefore, has an invisible way of working

and can be seen through deconstructing knowledge and social constructions. The symbolic power wielded against women is exposed through the habitus and the different ways in which a masculine rhetoric dominates them and contributes to the construction and production of their realities and everyday experiences (Moi, 1991). Morgan and Björkert (2006) note that the invisible nature of symbolic violence which is enforced onto women is even more problematic because it is not immediately recognisable. Through this microscope of the 'everyday experience' we can begin to understand how gender roles and practices in relation to spatial usage and power has become constructed and normalized.

2.2 Space

Introduction

Space manifests itself through signs, symbols and a set of rules. It lays down a structural system that people follow and conform to with regards to behaviour, activity and discipline. Identity construction is bound up in the everyday negotiation of material, abstract and discursive structures in space (Lykogianni, 2008). These symbols and signs lend itself to the malleable, transient and ever-changing nature of the engagement with space. Even an empty plot has meaning and implications.

The discussion of the three core theories of power help to articulate the manner in which spaces are conceptualised within cities. Structuralism, hegemony and poststructuralism all have key roles in the shaping and reshaping of space in terms of its socio-spatial and even socio-political organization. The effects of these power structures in space manifests itself most tangibly within the public sphere of the urban environment. In order to gain insight into these spatial structures, an examination of Lefebvre and the production of space is key.

Henri Lefebvre's 'the production of space' encapsulates the process of the construction of space. This is so we can begin to comprehend space and its multi-layered nature (Lefebvre, 1991). He developed the frameworks of the '*spatial triad', 'the social space'* and *'the right to the city'* which forms the basis of social and geographic spatial studies. It enables us to study space and the varying ways in which they function with each other, with people and with political systems (Watkins, 2005).

2.2.1 The Spatial Triad

The conceptualisation of the spatial triad affords geographers, planners and other urban social theorists a multilevel and interdisciplinary approach to analysing and studying space, its processes and implications, both developmentally and socially (Schmid, 2008). Lefebvre's spatial triad is produced through an examination of space in three different aspects that work together to form spatial processes and production. This triad enables

us to deconstruct, observe and study it (Merrifield, 1993; Schmid, 2008). The triad is made up of the "conceived", the "perceived" and the "lived" space. These further extend into "representations of space", "spatial practices", and "representational spaces" respectively (Lefebvre, 1991; Schmid, 2008). All of these points are interconnected. Usually, the "perceived" and the "conceived" spaces are combined to produce the "lived space" which is the space that is the most closely related to this research (Purcell, 2002; Watkins, 2005).

To elaborate on the spatial triad, Lefebvre (1991) notes that the 'conceived space' or rather, the 'representations of space' are linked to the order and production of space. This hints at the structural nature of space. The 'conceived space' is fraught with codes and symbols that alert the planner or geographer as to the social, political and economic function of the space. This area of the triad finds itself steeped in the symbolism of the space and its uses as put forth and created by architects, planners and developers (Merrifield, 1993; Ronneberger, 2008).

'Perceived space' is the space that takes on a more creative and imaginative role in conceptualising and reimagining space as per the individual. The 'perceived space', which is also known as the 'spatial practice' (Lefebvre, 1991) is in reference to the tangible, concrete environment that is encountered and used daily by urban inhabitants in terms of work, home and the in-between areas of recreation and leisure (Purcell, 2002; Ronneberger, 2008). In this facet of the spatial triad, space is produced according to the manner in which people see and understand it as well as the manner in which they use it in terms of navigation and production (Merrifield, 1993; Watkins, 2005). Lefebvre (1991, p. 33) notes that the 'spatial practice' binds both, the 'production' and the 'reproduction' zones of society and thus produces a social space within which inhabitants interact.

The final facet of the spatial triad is the 'representational space' or the 'lived space'. The 'lived space', though a combination of the other two, is different from the rational and symbolic nature of the conceived and perceived space (Merrified, 1993). It is a combination of the complexity of an individual's

specific spatial usage. Lefebvre (1991) has noted that it is the facet of space that is dominated. It is therefore fraught with an individual's subjectivities in the space that forms a major part of their everyday experiences in the urban environment (Purcell, 2002; Zhang, 2006). This area is the space in which everything including interaction, relations, dominance, hegemony and other symbols and signs amalgamate in order to structure, discipline, dominate and normalize the space and its discourse (Merrified, 1993). It is the lived experiences of the every day.

The 'lived space' and everyday experience are closely intertwined. Lefebvre's concepts of the everyday as a pivotal part of the 'lived space' enables an enquiry and exploration into the subjectivity experienced in urban spaces (Ronneberger, 2008). This space is the area in which social and power relations are produced, exerted and experienced on a daily basis. Besides theorizing the manner in which society lived and was produced in the 'lived space', Ronneberger (2008) suggests that Lefebvre delved deeper into the annals of societal production and the power it exerted. In the case of hegemony which manages to impose itself onto lived space and the reality of everyday life (Merrifield, 1993). This power existed in the space and served to dominate and divide, revealing the messy and complex nature of authority and order in the everyday experience (Kipfer, 2008; Ronneberger, 2008).

Everyday experience was critically analysed and began to be documented by Lefebvre through his complex work on 'Rhythmanalysis'. He also wrote of the 'everyday' as a model that ties everything together, the concept that provides the canvas for all interactions and events (Nadal-Melsió, 2008). In the development of his work on the subject, he discussed that an aspect of the 'rhythmanalysis' is a representation of the effects of time on society (Meyer, 2008). Time is a constant component in life; ordering the manners in which people go about their days and as the basis of Lefebvre's 'rhythmanalysis'. However, everyday experience is more explicitly tailored towards changing rhythms through socio-cultural interactions and relations that begin to produce the 'lived' space.

2.2.2 Space and Structures of Power

The spatial triad illustrates the construction of space and its usage in cities. This construction and production of space is not independent of the power structures that influence not only the way in which space is organized, but the way in which people interact with it.

Henri Lefebvre (1991, p. 32) speaks about a 'social space' that is produced through two main categories of space which are interlinked with each other, the 'social relations of production' and 'the relations of production'. The former relating to human and familial relationships, the latter, 'the relations of production', encapsulated the labour sector of society and the manner in which it categorized society into a hierarchical system of power and functions (Lefebvre, 1991).

This idea of space being organized according to these categories is reminiscent of a system of structuralism. The influence of structuralism on space is reflected in its reliance on being produced through a hierarchy and the subsequent power relations and power dynamics it brings. Lefebvre (1991) notes the role of capitalism in shaping space according to production and markets. Space and society can therefore be said to exist on these underlying structures of social class and modes of production and also of time and space or public and private spaces. The influence of power structures on space, particularly 'social space' can create a platform for the subjective experiences of the inhabitants who utilise the space.

Since dualisms or binaries are effects of structuralism, these two categories allow us to arrive at the spatial binary of the Public/Private. The human implications of this binary will be examined further in the next section. However the division of space into what Lefebvre (1991) terms as 'biologic reproduction' and 'socio-economic production' exist at two ends of a spectrum that demands a middle ground. This is where social space fits, and for all intents and purposes, could be applied to the public space of the modern day.

Zhang (2006) states that in certain spatial perspectives, the 'social space' can be seen as a part of the 'lived space' even though it is often the factor that confuses the 'perceived space' with the more particular and symbolic 'lived space'. 'Social space' speaks more of the interaction of people within the space rather than their experiences with the structures of socio-political and socio-spatial dynamics which is what the 'lived space' allows insight into.

The structuring of these social and 'lived spaces' have so far all been reflected in the reproduction of a structural power. The dominance certain ideas, of one group over another and of one part of a binary over the other is, according to Lefebvre (1991, p. 10), the hegemony of whichever group is regarded as a ruling one. As previously discussed, hegemony is an ideology which emerges out of structuralism.

As Kipfer (2008) states, Lefebvre (1991) drew links between state hegemony and everyday life which represented and produced itself symbolically and spatially within cities. In other words, the 'lived' space enabled the power of hegemony to impose and influence everyday life and the everyday experience (Merrifield, 1993; Kipfer, 2008). This is because hegemony becomes more powerful through the repetition of its ideologies which symbolically exist within the 'everyday' constantly placing people under its subjectivity. This hegemonic subjectivity is something that happens daily on a micro as well as macro scale through racism, sexism, classism among other examples.

Hegemony has a spatial element that is interrelated to the social element. Through the production of space, difference is exerted through physical manifestations of different urban spaces that are geographically contained within borders and boundaries. This type of spatial ordering allows a restructuring of the social (Kipfer, 2008). People are then separated into their respective spatial places based on class, gender and race. It also extends into a process of othering through spatial constructs which restrict ease of movement and mobility (Staszak, 2008).

The spatial constructs layered onto space have particular impacts on urban inhabitants particularly during their everyday lived experiences. Structuralism has a tradition of exerting its influence by defining things, including 'space' according to binaries of the public/private and space/time. Hegemony and its ideas on domination lend weight to these structural binaries. Dominance gives authority to one of the groups to exert over the other. According to Lefebvre (1991), hegemony is applied to society as a whole in order to look after the interests and to maintain the power of the ruling class. This is done through policy or politics, intellectuals and the proliferation of knowledge via these outlets (Lefebvre, 1991, p.10).

Hegemony and the knowledge that is distributed through it can give these binaries spatial and symbolic meaning that can dominate ideas about it. An example can be seen in the public/private spatial binary. Lefebvre discusses the private sphere as a site for the care and the rest of the 'body' (Meyer, 2008). This space is the area in which the self is cared for and honed, a space that provides the foundation for culture and tradition that help mould personal identities (Legg, 2003). The public is a site for political and civic contention (Meyer, 2008). Meyer (2008) elaborated that political power tries to dominate the public sphere through the appropriation of public spaces (monuments and squares). The symbols of political authority are strewn across the city on a macro scale but its hegemonic power seeps through more strongly on a micro level of the everyday.

According to Kipfer (2008), Lefebvre became increasingly articulate about the manner in which the production of space plays a key role in enabling hegemony and the power of its influence on the everyday experience of society. It is through this power that these dichotomies are produced and expressed in order to divide and regulate roles and positions (Lykogianni, 2008). It becomes normalized and sustained through hegemonic discourse and its influence over society and its processes.

The articulation of space through structural and hegemonic lenses showed that space has specific meanings and functions. These are bound by spatial binaries and the fixed hegemonic notions of what spaces are supposed to

mean and how people are supposed to conduct themselves within it. Structuralism and hegemony have both given space explicit meanings that have just as explicit implications on humans and human behaviour.

Poststructuralism and social constructionism on the other hand, critiques these ideas of fixed meanings. Space is then articulated by its fluidity, subjectivity and relationality. Lefebvre (1991) also posited that space and the production of space can be considered abstract until a 'body' experiences it. However this does not mean that space is devoid of or has a fixed meaning nor is it neutral. Lefebvre (1991) was of the view that space is constantly produced and reproduced through social relations. This dynamism of space reflects the constantly shifting meanings of space and situates Lefebvre as a post-structuralist.

Foucault's knowledge and power model and his theories on discourse play a key role in the way in which space is theorised. His discourse analysis allows critique of the 'truths' that conventionally define social and spatial functions (Gibson-Graham, 2002). Discourse has a manner of influencing ideas and socio-power relations that structure and restructure space according to hegemonic norms. As opposed to the dominant nature of power in structuralism and hegemony which regulates society according to hierarchies and other set structures, poststructuralism emphasises the exchange of power among and across all actors within the space.

This exchange of power across networks is reflected in Foucault's theories of surveillance and his employment of Bentham's panopticon which can act as a tool for social and spatial visibility and regulation (Foucault, 1975; 1977). The idea of surveillance and discipline whilst widely applied to social practices and social norms can subsequently play a part in the zoning and regulation of space.

The normalized hegemonic discourses which operate within societies can classify people into social groups based on class, race and gender. These social classifications can be applied to certain spaces in terms of zoning, housing and freedom of access. The inability to conform to the social

regulations of space therefore leads to social exclusion and the 'urban other' (Patton, 2000). Space, poststructurally, is then articulated through the disciplinary power of social codes, norms and surveillance (technological or otherwise).

In conclusion, this chapter dealt with the manners in which the different models of power operate and how they relate to space. It allows insight into the different ways power can and does manipulate and govern space and the people who exist within it. The relationship between space and power provides insight into the underlying limiting structures that allow a platform for exclusion. Adding onto the above sections of power and space, gender will be discussed to analyse the ways in which gender behaves in spaces that ultimately construct, limit and govern identity, particularly gendered identity.

Chapter 3: Literature Review: Gender and Space

3.1 The social construction of Gender

Introduction

Gender is articulated and produced through power structures. Geographers have understood gender from social constructionist perspectives within research efforts across the board. This research will continue in this vein and focus on the social constructionist account of gender which includes Butler's theory of performativity.

Deveaux (1994) states that a Foucauldian reading of the relationship between power and the body allows some insight into the manner in which the body becomes a site of meanings that are socially and politically constructed. Nayak and Kehily (2006) state that the concept of heteronormative identity is used as a basis for the construction and perpetuation of hegemonic discourses and policies that structure society.

The normalization of gender roles and appearances in society is what makes it hegemonic. Foucault labelled issues of gender and sexuality as a system of exclusion when explored outside of a dominant societal discourse (Hook, 2001). Thus hegemonic gender norms create beliefs and assumptions that form hierarchies of gender power relations and institutions signifying the strength and dominance of men in society (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). These hierarchies tend to organize people, gender roles and the behavioural expectations and performances that form in relation to that.

It is a hegemonic norm that men are the stronger, authoritative and more dominant sex. Men are widely expected to conform to this masculine archetype while women to a feminine one. These archetypes are socially constructed expectations of what gender roles are supposed to be. In the simplest manner of speaking, women are 'othered' to men, not only based on biological differences but in the ways they act, move, live and carry or present themselves. These practices tend to categorize people into their

respective genders which become a part of defining their identities (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004).

Hegemonic masculinity is structured according to patriarchal ideals and representations of what it is to be masculine. It denotes behavioural practices such as dominance, physical strength, leadership and entitlement. A fundamental aspect of hegemonic masculinity is to sexualise women in order to validate male heterosexuality and domination (Donaldson, 1993). According to Donaldson (1993), hegemonic masculinity is a culturally constructed ideal that exudes masculinity and its corresponding independence. It provides a certain framework that creates a universal archetype of manhood which men conform to in some way or the other (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). This interplay of patriarchal and masculine power struggles and structures provide a vast platform for enabling the subjectivities women suffer in urban environments just through their presence.

Echoing Foucauldian theories of surveillance, the self is subjected to the discipline that comes with societal governance (Brickell, 2003). Linked to Butler's theory of performativity, which will be discussed later, the socially constructed gender norms and identities have to be adhered to for society and space to function. Othering occurs when the normalized gender practices are transgressed and there exists no 'safe space' that allows for their expression or the performance of their identity. In terms of power, these 'othered' identities, in the loosest of Foucauldian terms, are punished because of their inability to discipline their performance of the 'self' according to normalized gender identities.

Poststructuralism questions the totality of gender and instead posits that gender is socially constructed (Monro, 2005). The theory that gender is socially constructed and therefore normalized and performed can be examined more closely in Butler's (1990) theory on performativity.

3.1.1 Butler and Performativity

Feminist Theory has always sought to challenge and deconstruct the structures and ideologies that have, over time, governed and oppressed women. These structures situated women in a certain role in society that restricted them from reaching their full potential. Society's placement of a woman prescribed certain acts and roles onto her body that made her a woman. Whether it was the way she carried herself, the way she dressed or the children she was expected to bear, she has always been placed in a subjective and submissive role. This act of living in a disciplined and gendered manner, so as to not disrupt the social order, can be accessed through the theory of performativity. Performativity, an area of feminist theory, allows insight into the idea that women and what that label encompasses is moulded by social construction, repetition and discipline.

Judith Butler (1990) theorizes performativity as the process where gender identity and social practices are interwoven. She posits that gender identities are shaped and performed according to the repetition of social practices and convention (Nelson, 1999). Butler's definition of performativity disturbs the heteronormative categorizations and identifications of gender (Gregson and Rose, 2000).

Gender is established in the performance and appropriation of various physical acts that are embodied by people (Butler, 1988). Butler states that this act of embodying practices reproduces history and the body becomes a canvas for the materiality of these meanings.

Butler (1990) poses the question of whether or not bodies are moulded by and according to political processes and interests in order to discipline and confine it to its 'sex'. Performance of gender would then allow the body to conform to the dominant discourse in order to 'fit in' and not be 'othered' or suspicious in a heteronormative spatial environment. Brickell (2003) states that gender is something that an individual 'does' in the presence of other people. This is a manner of regulation that 'corrects' (Brickell, 2003, p. 164) and conforms the 'self' into normalization within society.

According to Butler, the performance of gender always occurs under pressure and strain with serious consequences if not complied with (Dolan, 1993). This suggests that gendered characteristics of an individual are not natural but manufactured to comply with societal conventions. In terms of identity formation processes, performativity plays a major role. If gender is constituted in performance then identity should be manufactured in a similar fashion. Identity, then, according to Butler and interpretations of her work, is not only decentred but also wholly unstable. Are identities stabilized and situated according to hegemonic discourse? If that is the case then 'othered' identities remain unstable and dispersed because of the 'otherness' and stigmatization attached to it.

The instability of identity can be articulated through the politicisation of its formation process. Butler (1990) posits that the deconstruction of identity is not bound up in the deconstruction of politics but that identity construction itself, is political. It is stated that Butler's theories on performativity emphasise a moment of "subjectification". Within this moment, individuals are subjected, by the dominant social structures, to play an active role in replicating central discourses of identity which largely include gender and sexuality. According to Nelson (1999), Butler sets up a dichotomy that aids in recognizing and documenting any sort of agency that an individual might have in order to resist the dominant discourses that govern performativity. On the other hand, the subject is painted as a sort of puppet engaging in the repetition of social practices without thought.

Both sides of this dichotomy of agency/subjectivity have valid points. The former approach gives subjects internal power and agency in the performance or process of their identity formation. This lends a sense of power to the individual which can be an example of Foucault's idea that power is an individual experience and not necessarily autonomous. The other approach frames the subject as someone unthinking and performing their gender and sexuality according to the social processes that have defined them. This has merit in the sense that that is what is expected of a subject in a masculinized and patriarchal world. The subject is submissive,

conforming to normalized discourses and is therefore safeguarding itself from any process of othering and discrimination. The subject is a consequence of the power/discourse model.

The fundamental difference between everyone, biologically and inherently relies on 'sex'. In the tradition of masculine dominance, a Male/Female social relationship is defined by structural performance. The Male/Female binary is one of the core variables of identity. They are seen as exclusive and separate categories, each with its own set of characteristics and norms. Butler notes that being male or female does not specify gender, gender is something that is constructed and performed. Being a man or a woman can be irrelevant while 'doing' certain things or practices that are deemed either masculine or feminine by society. Gender is something that we 'do' (Lloyd, 1999). Lloyd (1999) makes reference to the different ways in which Butler has been interpreted in order to spatialize performance.

There is a strong link between space and sexuality (Baydar, 2012). Sexuality and identities can be subjected to the social expectations imposed onto space. The masculinization of space, therefore, constructs meanings and expectations for women to comply with. The female body is constantly policed whether she might be in a certain state of dress or undress or if she acts in any manner that can be considered outside of convention. Reminiscent of Foucault's surveillance theories, people end up disciplining themselves and their behaviour by conforming to the hegemonic norm which perpetuates the societal beliefs of what gender constitutes and what is expected of men and women.

Women either perform the expectation in order to fit in and navigate the space without trouble, or they transgress, use the space on their own terms that defies the socio-spatial norm and are punished for it. It is worth noting, however, that a woman who conforms to the performative expectations of public space is not protected from any of the violence or 'punishment' that exists in the environment. Her sexual identity is more than enough to situate her in a place of subjectivity.

3.2 Gender and Space

Women's varied experiences of violence and fear directly impinges on their 'Right to the City'. The Lefebvrian concept of 'the right to the city' exists as a sort of ideal against which an urban citizens' equality can be measured in terms of gender, mobility and restriction among others. It is a term that can take on many forms and appropriations within arguments and politics regarding the city that challenges normalized practices and notions. In its most basic definition, the right to the city constitutes equality and equal participation for all of the city's inhabitants in all spheres and platforms that govern and produce urban life (McCann, 2002; Purcell, 2003). In spite of the existence of this 'right to the city', urban spheres continue to restrict and confine members of society to their specific spaces and places that either challenges or is 'other' to the hegemonic norm of the city. It becomes a deeper and more contentious topic when placed within the larger frameworks which interrogate the normalized power and structural relations in society (Gilbert and Dikeç, 2008). This is due to the fact that much of the proponents of spatial structure and production are created and planned by men. Space is built according to the perspective of a masculine experience leaving women in a position of subjectivity and restriction. Regardless of the Right to the City, the patriarchal nature of urban structural relations, power and policies continue to serve as a restriction to female urban residents and their access to as well as participation in public space.

Situating gender within space allows insight into the everyday experience of a woman. With both, space and gender, being produced in specific ways by power structures, the gendered experience in public space is deeply complex and contradicts 'The Right to the City'. Women's experiences within public spaces are informed and impacted by social processes and relations (Pain, 1991). There exists a continuum of women's experience of space in relation to fear and violence. This is connected to the perception and sexualisation of women in public space which is an inherently masculine environment.

3.2.1 Women's experience in space

The experiences of women in space have been heavily documented within geography. To discuss their experiences in space, their identity and position within that space needs to be established. There is a gendered nature to the expectations and social roles placed on a woman for her to conform to the social norms of society. The identity of women in public space is socially constructed and inscribed onto space. This puts her in a marginalized position and has certain impacts on her actions and behaviour within the space. She is considered an 'other'.

Whether the body is spoken of in terms of spatiality (such as the Public/Private), physicality or mobility, it all boils down to the underlying difference of Male/Female (MacKinnon, 1982; Grosz, 1998). The Male/Female binary is subjected to biological difference which, as Gibson-Graham (1998) states, organizes subjectivities in relation to physicality. The most dominant form of othering, against which almost all other subjectivities are measured, is the sexualisation of the female form. This kind of 'othering' exploits her body and makes her a contested personality in space.

The reason women are such a contested presence in space is due to the idea that public space is not *their* space. While masculine figures of the public sphere are romanticised and celebrated throughout history, the figure of a woman in public space denotes much more negative and controversial meanings as she wanders the 'outside' (Hubbard, 2005). Due to the dominant structures of hegemonic masculinity and the socio-historical processes of spatial production that have prioritised masculinity in public space, the environment is masculinized. This echoes the gendered reflection of the Public/Private spatial binary which restricted women to the Private sphere. Women's *place* was argued to be within the 'private' or the home which regarded them as subservient to their husbands (Hartmann, 1979). This spatial separation cemented resounding implications for women who enter into the public space.

In modern society, women commonly access the public sphere for work and livelihoods. This leads to relational topics of intersectionality as women's situation and vulnerability in space is dependent on their race, (women of colour are more vulnerable being exposed to the 'outside' for longer periods of time) and class (women of lower income brackets find work as vendors and typically in 'public space') as well (Chiweshe, 2015). Their daily routine, in addition to work, includes errands which involve the household and the needs and well-being of their children. It shall come as no surprise then, that women have much more intricately woven and larger mapped routes then men (Goodyear, 2015). Their days involve getting to different places at specific times instead of a more conventional route of getting to and from work that is more typical of men. Needless to say that women use the public sphere a lot more than men do.

The presence of a female in these masculinized spaces paints her as a transgressor, a direct challenge which upsets the dominant authority that governs space. In retaliation to this transgression, women are subjected to objectification, intimidation, violence, discipline, surveillance and unfair treatment in the urban sphere. Valentine (1989) states that the public sphere is the space in which women are most likely to encounter strangers, unforeseen, unwanted and uncontrollable situations which strongly reinforces internalized fear. She posits that women's fear is increased within specific environments and that a spatial-temporal factor is also attached to this (Valentine, 1990).

The exposure to these environments and the feelings women experience along with it is linked to the normalized idea that the female form is fragile (Rolf, 2016). Men hold the power in public space and dole out constant reminders with a wolf whistle here and a grope there. A lot of sexual violence and harassment women suffer on a daily basis is due to her body being seen as weak and therefore allowed to be handled and/or disciplined by men (Rolf, 2016). Since this type of behaviour is expected and normalized, women's fear becomes normalized as well.

These emotions and behaviours, related to fear, are translated to the space by women whose spatial usage is informed by her experiences (Bondi & Rose, 2003). The physical experience she endures has deeper psychological impacts. Coupled with the politics and vulnerability associated with her body, fear becomes inevitable. Women are conditioned into being fearful in an urban environment that is not socially regulated to cater to their needs. Valentine (1989) has written on the geographies of fear which are produced from symbolic and physical acts of violence and is reflected in women's usage of space. She posits that even though men are at a greater risk of assault within public spaces, women perceive themselves to be in greater peril because of their gendered identity and therefore run the subsequent risk of sexual violence (Valentine, 1992).

The prevalence of this stigma is a recurring topic in everyday life. The current rape case involving Brock Turner is just one incident that is gaining coverage out of thousands that are kept under wraps. In an interview, the victim states that she was subjected to hours of mundane and humiliating questions and physical exams and interrogations that kept looking for an excuse as to why she was raped as if it needed to be justified (Hunt, 2016). Many reports and statements have vied to excuse Brock's behaviour as a result of copious amounts of alcohol consumption (Hunt, 2016). He has stated that he had suffered immense internal and psychological damage and ironically played the victim. This is an example of the unjust way in which masculinity operates and macro and micro levels in order to retain their positions of power. One might also realise the levels of fear and anxiety women have to go through and endure just in order to enjoy a night out. There are no real systems in place that can afford them any immediate safety, security or protection. It keeps deepening the internal and psychological consequences women are subjected to which goes on to inform their decisions, their roles, their self-worth and their everyday movements and interactions.

In conclusion, this chapter sought to discuss a particular way of how gender is formed and performed within the social. The construction of a feminine

identity is complex in the sense that it embodies different meanings in different contexts. In terms of its relation to space and the idea that women have a kind of transgressive relationship to a masculinized urban space lends insight into the impacts of the sexualisation of the female body in space. The sexualisation and violation of the female form does not confine itself to the 'outside' even though certain spatial characteristics are likely to reinforce this conception. It also does not limit itself to its everyday, direct and physical relationship with men. Women are victims of systemic and symbolic violence which has developed and strengthened through time. They are victimised due to restrictions placed on them by patriarchy, cultural traditions, sexualisation and other aspects of discrimination that further dehumanized them (Nagar and Swarr, 2005; Goodyear, 2012). Spatially and temporally, women's situations may differ but the common denominator of their gendered subjectivity to men, social constructions and a stigmatized independence within the public sphere remains.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Qualitative Data Collection

Qualitative data is characterised by its descriptive and semi-structured or unstructured nature. Techniques used this type of data collection include interviews, detailed observations and note-taking among others (Pope *et al,* 2000). It is considered useful within research that seeks to assess the ways in which people think, feel or behave. Qualitative data exists in contrast to quantitative data as it is information that cannot be measured and quantified into statistical analysis or numerical conclusions.

For the conduction of this research, qualitative data methods were employed in order to meet the aims of the study. To achieve this and positively analyse the gendered restrictions of public space, the feelings and everyday experiences of the women in the area needed to be documented. In the traditional stream of qualitative data collection, the ethnographic method of participant observation was used as a starting point of the data collection in order to become familiar with the space and the people. This was used to document daily rhythms and observations using a field diary as well as to create contacts in the space.

Participant observation and semi-structured interviews or life histories constituted majority of the data collected in the field. The interviewing process was purposely semi-structured in order to maintain the context of the research topic. However, in some cases, interviews took on an unstructured and open-ended form. This helped to converse with the people and also allowed the freedom to gain a more organic response by letting them choose to answer in their own way and time. It also allowed for a more open-ended interaction where responses came to be more meaningful and authentic. This facilitated a deeper understanding of the space and how it worked on an everyday basis for the people inhabiting it.

The results incorporated events and stories which made the spatial usage processes more complex. These responses were then studied using broader

themes as well as Lefebvre's spatial triad to analyse the usage and production of space and base it into the study.

4.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation or ethnography is used to engage with the daily life of societies and people in spaces both known and unknown (Megoran, 2006; Laurier, 2010). The process involves the researcher's immersion into the field of study through participating in and observing a culture or community in a space (Laurier, 2010). This is required in order to learn the culture and become part of it without controlling or hijacking the 'normal' routines and lifestyles of the inhabitants of the space (Megoran, 2006). However, at the same time the researcher must create enough space and distance from the lifestyle to form an uncompromised and objective outlook of what takes place in the space. The method is used so that the researcher is able to achieve a wider and more comprehensive range of data (Bernard, 2006). As Kawulich (2005) notes, participant observation helps to familiarize the researcher to the field of study thus allowing the researcher to gain a deeper and better understanding of the site.

The use of participant observation allows the researcher to follow an 'outsider to insider' trajectory (Laurier, 2010). The characteristics of becoming an insider include the change of perception about the space or the understanding more deeply the reasons for certain behaviours and activities the participants partake in. Put simply, the researcher's perspectives and understanding might begin to mirror that of the community they are studying. This comes with its own limitations depending on the position of the researcher.

Laurier (2010) has mentioned the usefulness of participant observation in studies focused on gender. He also mentions the accessibility, limitations and potential problems that might be experienced in relation to the gender and positionality of the researcher. The gender orientation of the researcher might allow easier accessibility but also subsequently limit or compromise the study based on their socialisation.

Participant observation was employed, firstly, in order to observe the area, the movement within it and document these observations using a field diary. It was also used to create a rhythmanalysis of Fordsburg over the course of a few weeks and scout out key points of observation and interest. Participation in the field began as contacts were made and established. The changes, experiences and interactions within the space were documented in a field diary. A field diary along with note-taking during the interview process was used to record the views and observations. Active participation in the study constituted walks taken with participants through the space and spending time gaining insight into their daily routines. Taking walks with the participants allowed a deeper understanding into the problems they face on a daily basis and how these problems and restrictions are then dealt with. Active participation in the space was also accomplished simply by presence. However, participation was limited to being a 'participant as observer' (Kawulich, 2005) as I was a member of the group being studied and they were aware of the research taking place. This had its limitations as to how much information I was given and how much I could objectively and ethically use in the research based on my positionality.

4.3 Participant selection: Snowball Sampling and Chain-Link Referrals

Participants were selected using the snowball sampling method. This approach required contacts to be made with the participants and establish key informants. The method allowed access to more participants via the others as well as accessing unanticipated participants who were more difficult to find (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). As the research progressed in the field, connections and referrals became easier and the method sustained itself.

Once key informants and participants were identified, time was spent with them in the field in order to establish a 'rapport'. According to Kawulich (2005), rapport evolves over a period of time to establish comfort and trust between the researcher and the participant so that information can be

shared. In order to build this momentum and relationship the rules of the space was respected and adhered to.

In context with the aims and objectives of the research, participants used in this study were confined to females. The participants were all of a low to middle and upper middle class position. They were of both, local and foreign origins who ranged in age from 18 years old to 90 years old. This allowed greater insight into the nature of women's experiences in urban space across a substantial time frame. The 'women-only' rule was established in order to gain a complete range of spatial experiences from a woman's perspective. This was abided by to stay true towards the gendered nature and perspective of the research.

The finding and maintaining of chain-link referrals within the participants was both productive and in some cases, limiting. The number of participants limited itself to 27 as a few backed out of the study. Though they were assured via participant information and indemnity sheets that their identities will be protected at all costs, some of the women were hesitant due to their husband's opinion or they were afraid of saying something wrong. This was respected and the women were not contacted again.

The life history, interview recording and documenting process allowed the research to move around the Fordsburg area instead of confining itself to the boundaries of the market square. This was due to the movement of inhabitants within the space and represented the spatial and temporal nature and content of the data collection. The research circulated around the surrounding neighbourhoods and shops which included Mayfair, Pageview and Newtown.

4.4 Recording and Analysis

The process of the recording of interviews was detailed using note-taking. The use of tape recorders was avoided as it came across as suspicious and doubtful because participants were not comfortable with it. Note-taking therefore facilitated trust as well as a more organic and authentic response.

The collected data was analysed by transcribing the interviews and field notes. It was then sifted through in order to sort out and identify the dominant themes and commonalities in behaviour and spatial usage. Results were connected to and supported by broader themes and theories of fear and subjectivity. Interview participants were given pseudonyms to conceal their identities. The study made use of the narrative analysis approach. Narrative analysis referred to the interviews and monologues or soliloquy's the women narrated about their lives or certain aspects of their daily experiences. This created a platform to link the women's varied experiences which were sourced from these narratives to pick out common themes and connect them to broader discourses. Sandberg and Tollefson (2010) note that narrative analysis allowed a multi-dimensional insight into themes and theories that make up qualitative data collection.

There were often instances in which narratives substituted the prepared list of questions. Women would often deviate from the questions asked either due to discomfort or misunderstanding and felt more comfortable to relate their experiences and feelings within the space in a manner they felt was best. The uncertainty of the questions and corresponding answers reflected the instability of the environment. The questions varied from woman to woman based on what was going on that day, how they felt or due to the environment we were in. This made up more of the open-ended discussions and, as is typical with participant observation and ethnographies, the participant observation process and the environment helped to tailor questions and conversation points as the process progressed.

4.5 Positionality and reflexivity

The engagement with the space and the people within the context of the research was deeply immersive and interactive because of my position as an Indian female. This not only allowed an experience in the female subjectivity within public space on an everyday basis but also heightened the 'otherness'

and restrictive nature of public space for women due to the awareness of the socio-spatial dynamics from a research perspective.

During the fieldwork, at times, self-reflexivity was tested. The challenge lay in the ability to distance and disconnect the self from certain practices in order to form an objective viewpoint about what was happening in the field. In the same breath, however, it allowed an engagement with my own identity so that a deeper and more intimate understanding of the participant's lives could be reached.

Ali (2015) in her paper about the negotiation of positionality and power within space states that positionality makes up an important part of understanding the depictions of women's experiences. This brought up questions on whether or not personal identity had any bearing on the authenticity of the research. In the end the facets and characteristics of personal identity was negotiated in order to gain access into the field as well as deal with any personal gendered experiences that came with immersion into the routines and the 'normality' of the everyday experience.

The negotiation of my identity as an Indian woman was used to move through the space and also adapted in order to conform to certain societal codes so that the research could be adequately conducted.

Positionality was further questioned and challenged when I was in the field because of my own identity as an Indian woman and as part of the community. It is very difficult and complex to do research with an arguably marginalised group or community whilst being in this insider-outsider position. Garnering and interpreting the data became doubly important knowing that there was a gap in the research surrounding Indian women, Fordsburg and their personal relationships to public space on a local scale.

The data collected was used in an attempt to present a more human side of the everyday lives of a group that exists simultaneously on the margins and in the spotlight of society and dominant rhetoric. It is anticipated that this research will play a part in opening up questions and ideas for further enquiry and research, research that will attempt to challenge the dominance

of certain ideas and academic thought that may shed a negative light on these women.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

Introduction

The results have reflected both aspects of the core concept of this research which was investigating the gendered restriction of urban space. On the one hand, a broad yet pivotal theme that emerged from the data collected was fear. On the other hand, 'resistance' arose as another counter narrative and key theme that balanced and challenged that 'fear' as opposed to being a conflicting subject. The women in Fordsburg narrated their stories that essentially laid out the problems and the trouble they have with the space and their presence within it. They then went on to relate the ways in which they dealt with those problems in the space on a daily basis.

5.1 The Masculinization of Space

As the literature has outlined, gender identity is shaped by and subjected to the socio-spatial dynamics and structures of the urban environment (Manolache, 2013). Public space is experienced differently by both, men and women. The female identity has always been represented and constructed as vulnerable especially in relation to their exposure within public spaces (Day, 2001). This vulnerability is closely linked and contributes to the manifestation of their fear. Literature on gender and criminology has long identified that women's fear, particularly of crime, are attached to their physical inadequacy to men (Valentine, 1989). While this holds true, the heightened vulnerability of women in the public sphere exposes the deeper issues of gendered power structures and the unequal rights between men and women in the production of space and also in the space as well (Koskela, 1999).

The lived experience of a woman in public space is a global concern within the discussion of gender equality and vulnerability. Due to the ongoing narrative of the restrictive relationship between women and space, this research was designed to investigate and consider this issue within a smaller, localised setting. The results, while distinctive in relation to the ethnic demographics of the area (which brought to light issues of tradition, hijab and immigration among others), remained similar in terms of response on safety, crime and fear. This highlights the inherent 'otherness' of women in public space.

It is not difficult to feel intimidated whilst walking the streets of Johannesburg as a woman. The restrictions which impinge on the everyday lived experience of a woman in an urban environment exist ubiquitously; physically and symbolically. It is easy to miss since the masculinization of the space has been normalized, internalized and ingrained onto women to the extent of dismissing the symbolic violence that is perpetrated against them. Due to the inherent masculinization of the environment, the presence of a woman is already disruptive, transgressive, exclusionary and 'othered'.

This makes their experience a complex, exclusionary and subjective one. The physical and symbolic signifiers in public spaces, which will be discussed later, have the ability to exclude women from the space and also have the power to incite fear. The presence of fear in urban spaces, according to Goheen (1998), is partly caused by an urban lifestyle that is increasingly individualistic instead of communal. This further divides people and communities making it easier to 'other' and therefore victimizes them. Through the continuous projection and consumption of the sexualisation of the female image, there is an increase in the risks of sexual violence and assault (Rosewarne, 2005). The vulnerability and objectification of the female body has become normalized. It also reinforces the dominant hegemonic masculinity in the space. This hegemonic masculinity governs women's mobility and places them under certain subjectivity.

The stories that were encountered speaking to women in the Fordsburg Indian community lend physicality to the 'otherness' and vulnerability women live with. This 'otherness' also included a global stigmatization due to some of their religious identities which shall be explored later. This kind of marginalisation that they experience with regards to their physical presence in public space, however, indicated that they share the same worries and grievances that all women face simply because they are women. Their stories delve into their struggles and the tactics which they employ in order to self-protect and overcome the problems they face within the public sphere.

Fordsburg, a neighbourhood on the Western fringe of the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) proved to be a multi-faceted case study. The rich history of the South African Indian community is evident in the complexity of the space. From a more localised narrative of socio-historical circumstances; to the newer, younger and more global community, the spatial and temporal impact of community change can be seen in the infrastructure and felt through the changing urban rhythms.

The site serves as an entry point for immigrants, primarily males from India and other parts of Africa, which contributes to and elevates the level of masculinity in the area. It has also, in recent years, had an impact on the economy of the area which, at present, is middle to lower income. This has resulted in many of the local resident's out-migration into the surrounding suburbs. The influx of immigrants results in the poor maintenance and infrastructure of the space which also hints at the symbolic exclusion they face. A lack of care and attention given to the area has also allowed for more crime and urban decay. The issues of poor maintenance and infrastructure along with the incoming migrant communities create a space that is equal parts authentic, volatile, familiar and unpredictable. These factors, which include the changing and fragmented materiality of the space, impact heavily on the daily experiences and quality of life for the women in the area.

The production of space (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2002; Watkins, 2005) is interrelated with the physical layout and the social practices that reproduce gendered power relations in space. These gendered power structures 'other' women and render them defenceless within the space (Koskela, 1999). A woman's everyday experience within the lived space is governed by her interaction with this power dynamic because her spaces are then produced by it. Women tend to shape their own navigational tactics and routes which attempt to avoid the dangers related to this heightened sense of masculinity that perpetuates their fear.

The dominant discussion of fear and vulnerability in the space is multi-layered. This results section attempts to approach the discussion in three parts which build upon each other to showcase a woman's lived reality. The built environment, the impact of the dominant structures that govern that space and the measures women have taken to cope with and overcome their victimization and subjectivity. Within the context of this research, public space is considered to be the spaces outside the home. This includes Fordsburg square and the surrounding streets. It is also a space considered to be between the home and the workplace, the space that separates point A and point B. Participants were questioned on their use of this space and the manners in which they are navigated. This also exposed the different ways safety and security within the space is enacted based on class distinction; some women used cars whilst others walked.

Fear and crime is a theme that consistently arose during the undertaking of this research. The sense of fear and vulnerability within this space is commonly structured by time and space. Respondents reflected not only the concerns they have regarding their freedom of mobility due to their gender but also the performance and behavioural techniques that they adopt in order to be mobile and avoid victimization. They achieve this by somewhat conforming to societal rules in an attempt to negotiate their fears. Their responses painted a picture of how their fears are constructed in their everyday lives.

The canvas upon which the messy and dominating power structures govern is primarily the physical, built environment. Infrastructure has a strong influence in the lived reality of the everyday Indian woman. It is with the actual streets this discussion begins.

5.1.1 Infrastructure

The condition of the urban environment has an impact on the way in which we perceive the character of a place and also, the way we feel within it. Urban spaces produce images that determine how we react and respond to it (England & Simon, 2010). An image of a successful public space, in theory, would therefore maintain easy accessibility, mobility, comfort and also be aesthetically pleasing (Pasaogullari and Doratli, 2004).

As previously mentioned, Fordsburg is going through a period of infrastructural and economic decline. The infrastructural neglect might be attributed to the high density or the waning economic situation that is moving towards a lower-income status. The creeping urban decay is a factor in the limited accessibility, mobility, formation of crime and the resulting women's apprehension and vulnerability within the public sphere. The emotional approach to space can be attributed to a form of agoraphobia and this directly affects their potential for full and active civic participation.

> We won't walk outside, there are too many potholes. Last week that aunty from the ice cream shop, you know, the one with the glasses? She fell on a piece of gravel that was chopped off from the pavement. They said they were working on the pipes. They didn't say sorry. They didn't even help her. She was bleeding.
>
> (BM, Park Avenue, Mayfair, 12 May 2016)
>
> It's hard for women. I'm so cold, my feet are cracked and my skin is terrible. It's hard in the square now [at night]. They put these roofs now [points to galvanized roofing] but it's not like it helps. And the condition of the pavement is bad, you get hurt. They don't fix the lights so you know you feel more scared, I just bring my own lamp.
>
> (GF, Vendor. 9 April 2016, Mint Rd, Fordsburg)

Spatial structures and characteristics of urban neglect are a factor in physically limiting a woman from accessing and using space in a safe and enjoyable manner. Women tend to construct their perceptions of risks and fear based on the physical conditions and features of the urban environment (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2006). These perceptions are also constructed through their daily lived experiences. These conditions and experiences are indicative of the vulnerability and systemic violence that they are subjected to which further generate feelings of exclusion, fear and apprehension in their usage of public space (Rykiel, 2007). The harsh nature of the space is concurrent with the treatment of women within it. This is evidenced by the lack of help afforded to the aforementioned woman who was harmed by a broken pavement. Everyday interactions and events such as these, no matter how small or trivial they might seem, are indications of not only the spatial restriction on a woman's body, but the 'othering' that occurs when she attempts to challenge those restrictions by using her presence.

This is not to say that there is a sort of scheme in which all of these problems are meant to intentionally harm women, rather their realities and lived experiences have identified infrastructure and the characteristics of it as a problematic factor in their daily experiences. This could be seen as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1989) in which infrastructure becomes a factor that women find uncomfortable and threatening within a space and therefore perceive it as exclusionary. The 'otherness' women are subjected is felt in relation to spatial structure and a corresponding lack of belonging (Rykiel, 2007).

Valentine (1990), in the tradition of Jane Jacobs, notes that the physical design of public spaces in recent years has seen a restriction of civilian interaction with the space. With the view to creating spaces that were more communal to promote social cohesion, Jacobs saw the design and upkeep of the pavements as imperative to the safety of the space as well as a mechanism to cope with fear (Valentine, 1990). The physical act of walking and using the space would help to informally blur lines between the barriers

and dichotomies that govern society. It would also serve to create a sense of belonging through the reclamation of space (Manolache, 2013).

Today, this remains an ideal. Women have attributed the lack of maintenance and infrastructure in the space as a contributing problem to their restriction and corresponding vulnerability. They have perceived dark alleys, broken lights and pavements as potential risk factors as they tend to produce their spaces and their routes in an effort to avoid these spaces. Their usage of space is determined by the factors which impinge on their personal safety (Loukaitou-Sideris, 2006).

These are just the physical structures that signify and reinforce their 'otherness' in urban space. The infrastructural dimension of the city and it's unfriendliness towards women can be traced back to the field of planning and architecture which has traditionally been a male dominated one (Garcia-Ramon *et al.*, 2004). Cities are built, planned and managed with the men being prioritized which make spaces inherently patriarchal. With this in mind, cities have been built to accommodate the traditional roles of men and women, that of a breadwinner and a homemaker respectively. The negative perceptions and the 'othering' of a woman in the public sphere stems from these traditional gender roles that confined women to the home, to a private space (Valentine, 1992; Kilgour, 2007).

The construction of the public arena, though utilized by both, males and females, is produced by men for men (Beall, 1996). This has shaped the masculinization of the environment citing the male presence in urban spaces as more pivotal and more important than a woman's. There is a renegotiation of gender roles through presence and work in the public sphere (Gilroy and Booth, 1999). However, the symbolic and systematic violence of the infrastructure remains a physical obstacle and an exclusionary process in the daily lived experience of a woman in the city. It also directly infringes on their 'right to presence' as civic citizens.

The inconvenience that urban infrastructure poses to women is not a temporary concern since women are closely exposed to these spaces for a

larger period of time compared to men (Garcia-Ramon *et al,* 2004). Their daily commute to work as well as their errands, which forms part of their domestic duties, is all played out within the public sphere. Their daily routine maps larger and more intricate routes across the city on a daily basis. This emphasises the multiplicity of a woman's use of urban space. Therefore, the neglect and underinvestment of these spaces, more often than not, cultivates notions of vulnerability, fear and inadequacy within people, especially in this case, women.

While the conditions and construction of the built environment plays a role in the way women approach and are subjected to space, it is not the only factor. Infrastructure, which is masculinized through fear and the gaze, helps to construct a larger and more intricate picture of the fear of crime and vulnerability women face in the space which speaks to the symbolic violence she is subjected to. The strong masculine presence in the space and the way women perceive that presence plays yet another role in not only strengthening the stigma attached to female presence in public space but exacerbates their fear and resultant social exclusion.

5.1.2 Fear in public space

Most women are aware of the risks that are attached to their presence in public space regardless of the age, class and race factor (Kilgour, 2007). This is due to the masculinization of the public sphere and urban environments. As outlined earlier, the infrastructural layout of the space in terms of urban decay or the lack of street lights during the night is perceived to create pockets of opportunity for men to exert their power over unsuspecting women.Whilst this might not always be the case, women have become internalized with the notion that the objectification of their bodies by the male gaze has exposed them to these kinds of risks.

> A: I am outside all the time; it's my only way of making money, to sell these sweets.
>
> S: How do you feel being outside all the time?

A: Scared. I can't leave to go to the bathroom or they will steal my things. And sometimes I'm scared someone will just come and attack me because I am a woman outside.

S: What does that mean to you? Being outside all the time and feeling scared?

A: They think because we are women we are weak. Everybody thinks that. And if we are outside we are putting ourselves out there and it is ok for them to come at us and hurt us.

S: Why do you think that? That they think it is ok?

A: Because we are outside all day. It is their territory.

(A, Vendor. 5 April 2016, Main Rd, Fordsburg)

The varying degrees of vulnerability and harassment that a woman is exposed to in the streets has crippling effects on her psyche as well as her rights (Thompson, 1993). It also affects her confidence, mobility and freedom in the space. Constantly subjected to the male gaze, the female's presence in public space is one that is constantly judged, policed and tense. For many women, this is something that they are able to hurry away from by traversing the space quickly using a car to get to their destination. Some seek protection in the form of either the company of a known and trusted male or self-defence devices.

For her, the repercussions feel greater as she cannot afford any self-defence or safety precautions and she is therefore left feeling more vulnerable, both, physically and emotionally. She has situated herself, through her response, as fearful of the presence of men whom she also associates with violence. According to Stanko (1995), this association of men with violence serves to exacerbate a woman's anxiety. The emotional distress she goes through due to her fear is concurrent with the condition of the environment she has to exist in. As previously mentioned, the infrastructure plays a role in the anxiety women feel through its lack of care and attention to personal safety. This is an example of the layered experience of the inadequacies of the infrastructure that contribute to the subjective relationship of women to men in urban space.

Due to the masculinization of space which is produced and territorialized through fear and the gaze, women are perceived to be weak. The internalization of these notions is not uncommon. There exists a stigmatization of women in a masculinised environment. Drawing from Foucauldian discourse, the 'gaze' can be interpreted through the masculinization of the streets which acts as a governing factor in the way the streets and the women who use it are informally policed. This, in turn, propels women to police them-selves and each other to perform in a certain way that will help defend themselves from any problems which they might come across and this is reminiscent of symbolic violence (Morgan and Björkert, 2006; Huey and Berndt, 2008).

> GF: Ay you know? It's getting worse. My daughter bought a Taser for us neh. The men, they come and they interfere. You know it's obvious, they see two ladies sitting alone. I always say to my daughter you better always just dressed closed, don't dress all open.
>
> (GF, Vendor. 9 April 2016, Mint Rd, Fordsburg)

Pain (1997) posits that the coping strategies women adopt to negotiate public space lean more towards constant vigilance among other techniques. The vulnerability that female informal traders face is slightly more unique in the sense that they are exposed to and subjected to the different facets of public space for an extended period of time. The amount of time they spend sitting in one spot on the pavement contributes to the levels of their apprehension. The unpredictability of the open space is highly risky and therefore highly restrictive hence it victimizes these women (Pain, 1997; Whitzman, 2007). In relation to this threat she negotiates, the symbolic violence, her identity and her woman-ness by constantly trying to conform to behavioural patterns expected of her, to self-protect and self-discipline in order to avoid any unwanted interactions especially in spaces that are known to be unfriendly. As previously mentioned, it is through actions such as these, the constructions surrounding gender and gendered behaviour is exposed (Moi, 1991). This is done through policing her and her daughter's

state of dress. The act of dressing in a certain way and its subsequent impacts within public space will be discussed later.

There is a psychological as well as a physical process that underpins the precautionary measures that women take. In this case, the physical aspects lie in the way she negotiates the fears she has through technological self-defence gadgets and through policing herself and her daughter's dressing. She has articulated that she feels as though they are putting themselves in a threatening situation that invites trouble because the space *belongs* to men. This is underscored by the psychological and internalized issues of the vulnerability of two women sitting alone in a public space which has risky and possibly life-threatening implications. She has internalized her role as a woman and how her presence is perceived in the public sphere. Her fear and self-imposed restrictions is indicative of how space is masculinized through the discomfort of women that enables the male domination of the space (Koskela, 1999).

According to Schafer *et al.* (2006) the fear and vulnerability women face is internalized due to social processes. It is also physically experienced within the built environment. At the same time, this vulnerability and fear is tied to the psychological problem of the accountability or self-blame a woman might feel towards any crime perpetrated against her. This is either due to the clothing they were wearing or being in the wrong place at the wrong time (Rosewarne, 2005; Schafer *et al.,* 2006). According to Valentine (1989), this accountability allows women to assume that her vulnerability is limited to the public sphere which is not true. Women tend to avoid spaces based on fear of danger or risks alone (Warr, 1993). However, crime is just as likely to happen within the home though many women tend to locate crime and fear specifically in the public domain (Whitzman, 2007). This adds to the stigmatization of a woman's presence in public space and also the larger problem of their being subjective to the construction of gendered social roles and expectations.

Drawing on Foucauldian theories of policing the self in relation to a gaze, "*are we dressed ok enough to avoid harassment",* the vigilance the women's

accounts signifies the performative processes, self-discipline and behavioural techniques employed and internalized by women in order to try and avoid being victimized and harassed by conforming to social and gender norms (Day, 2001). This process of self-discipline to try and navigate fear in urban environments points to the mental depth of the issue that is internalized by women and tends to produce their space in a manner related to fear.

Pheterson (1986) defines internalized oppression as a system of oppression where prejudice against a group or an individual is proliferated by a dominant group or society. It is a form of oppression that creates a platform for a subservient group to exist as part of a socio-structural barrier that excludes and restricts (Reeve, 2010). Victims of internalized oppression suffer fear, psychological and physical forms of violence and subordination (Pheterson, 1986).

Placing internalized oppression into the context of this study is to understand and realise that women are in a constant state of limbo treading the line between challenging society's gendered expectations and desperately trying to live up to it. This seems to be in vain since the exclusion of women within space ensures its masculinization. In the process, women are subjected to symbolic violence by disciplining each other and disciplining themselves according to masculine ideals. Men and women are socialized into internalizing gendered ideals and expectations that form part of our internalized oppression or sexism (McKell, 2014).

This presents a set of deeper psychosocial and emotional issues as it allows for the recognition that women have been socialised in this particular manner. The internalisation of the gendered role of a woman as subjective extends into the spatial restrictions women face (Pain, 1997). The fear of victimization and the perceived risks that they take into consideration is a culmination of a lifetime of their socialization (Pain, 1997). The socialization of a woman in relation to spaces and places commonly begins while they are young girls and told not to talk to strangers or not to walk alone, not to dress in a revealing manner or even having a curfew because space is

produced in such a masculine manner. This process of self-discipline enables their fears and as Pain (1997) notes, enforces an unofficial code of conduct. It then takes effect and manifests into these kinds of spatial restrictions and suspicions as they mature.

However, the danger of space might not always lie in its unpredictability. If a space is more familiar, women tend to feel safer. Women are inclined to be more confident in spaces that they are familiar with because that familiarity breeds a sense of safety and control but this does not mean that it stops being perilous. The threat can then manifest with regards to spatial and temporal factors, i.e. during the night and in spaces that are darker and more isolated. Fear can manifest through the internalization of these factors and how it is expressed. Fear may be felt on different scales by different women but it is still felt (Koskela, 1999).

5.1.2.1 Night time

During the day, the women in the area are most visibly, a part of the work force, walking around the area and running the shops that line the busy streets as well as the shops in the Oriental Plaza shopping complex. Valentine (1989) posits that this is due to the limitations of transport available to them and also the errands that they have to fulfil as part of domestic duties. However, at night, the male population seems to double with only a sparse amount of women visible with male company and hardly any women at all who are visibly alone. Much of this is due to the large and predominantly male immigrant population who keep their shops open until midnight.

The temporal difference and structuring in relation to the spatial activity is a pivotal point in the narrative of women's embodied experiences. Their active participation during the day and the confinement to their homes at night not only highlights the lack of nightlife in the area or the perceived criminalisation of space during the night, but also the gendered landscape of the space which links itself to the Public/Private spatial binary. Not serving to claim that women are wholly excluded from the public sphere during the

night, it does highlight the different risks and restrictions the space holds (Koskela, 1997). It also highlights the precautions and different situations they have to consider and anticipate in order to protect themselves before they go out. This, in turn, leaves women feeling vulnerable and fearful which can disrupt their 'right to presence' and their 'right to the city'. Their citizenship, legislates their equality and rights to active participation in civic life is jeopardized as fear becomes the pivotal force behind the production of their space.

> We all walk around and work but I think the night is different…I won't go outside [at night]. My granddaughter, she is your age, I make sure she doesn't do anything at night and that the car is parked. It's so dark also. The council leaves the lights on during the day and when the night comes it's off. So many things can happen. (MK, 22 February 2016, Mint Rd. Fordsburg)

The above quote establishes that the formation of vulnerability and fear of spaces, especially at night, is instilled into young people by their parents or in this case, grandparents. Valentine (1992) suggests that this influences the way these women will access space. It is linked to the internalization process mentioned earlier in which women tend to socialise themselves and others into which spaces to avoid and when. The changing urban rhythms mean that the area changes and becomes different during the night. While women might frequent the area during the day either to work or fulfil errands, they become familiar with and feel safe within the space as it is during that specific time. The time change brings with it a founded perception of the violence of male presence in spaces that become unfriendly. They become isolated spaces and ideal areas for attack.

> It's like ingrained into us now, avoid this and that. You know the usual, avoid empty dark spaces, just try not going out at night especially if it's not in a group or to a mall. Last year we ran from that one hotel to the mall and it was like 10 at night. It was also that thing of, are we dressed ok enough to avoid harassment.
>
> (ZD, 12 April 2016, Bree Str, Fordsburg)

It is therefore not uncommon for space to be perceived as more dangerous during the night. However, Koskela (1999) notes that this idea is a social

construct. She elaborates by stating that it is not the literal idea of the night time and its corresponding darkness that is the problem but the way in which the night is socialised (Koskela, 1999). A woman's presence in the space at night could have certain connotations that are tied to the hyper-sexualisation of her body. Night time activities are considered to be more rowdy and uninhibited; two characteristics that are directly linked to the way men behave during this time which is more threatening to women. The idea that public space is volatile, *"…avoid empty dark spaces…" (ZD Fordsburg)* and *"…we ran from that one hotel to the mall and it was like 10 at night" (ZD Fordsburg),* is related to the idea of the criminalisation of space at night that facilitates and heightens possible risks and therefore is a factor which informs women's fear.

The navigational routes women employ within public space reflects their internalized fear and assumptions about the dangers of the space in relation to the safety of their bodies. Valentine (1989) notes that this occurrence serves to emphasise their limited and restrictive use of public space which tends to be forced. ZD said that she and her friends *ran from that one hotel to the mall*. The fact that they were staying in a hotel meant that they were not completely familiar and confident with the rhythms of the specific space at night. This emphasised their need to run into a mall which is assumed to be safe, surveilled and crowded because isolation poses a much greater threat. The danger of public space is then dependant on time as well (Valentine, 1989). Women perceive the times and spaces that are threatening either based on their own experiences or the experiences of others. Fear that stems from the experiences of these secondary sources are therefore major contributors towards the ways in which women shape their spaces and how they police themselves and each other (Valentine, 1989).

5.1.2.2 Crime

The manner in which women shaped space to their advantage and used space at their peril exposed the fact that space and their subjective relationship towards it is produced through gendered power structures.

Their daily schedules involved the planning of mental maps of the area which included spaces to avoid and the routes they felt most comfortable taking either based on personal experience or secondary sources of information. These specific navigational routes themselves were a form of defensive and coping strategy (Valentine, 1989). The women explained that their fears lay in the spaces between their homes and their destinations. Some of them tended to feel less vulnerable during the day and in crowded areas depending on their purpose within the area. They were also recorded as being more fearful and vulnerable at night due to the darkness, unpredictability and isolated areas. This lent a temporal element to the study with regards to crime, perception of threats and risks. While fear and crime seem to be intrinsically connected, the emotional and physical geographies behind each one sets them apart.

With reference to the women in the area, fear does not necessarily stem from crime, even though it is a major contributing factor. Crime has the potential for social control which is further highlighted by the fear it perpetuates (Pain, 2001). A crime, such as a rape for instance, might be perpetrated against one victim but it goes on to affect the entire community by instilling fear, suspicion and caution making them unintended victims as well (Warr, 1993). This cements the idea that women internalize a fear *of* crime or rather, a fear of being victimized and that has the potential to exclude and alienate them from public space. Their fear is closely linked to their vulnerability (Koskela, 1999). As mentioned earlier, the crime rate in the study site is perceived to have risen in recent years. This has been said to be linked to the urban decay and the rapidly growing immigrant population.

The lack of infrastructural maintenance, together with the high level of visible male presence in the area is closely related to not only the growing crime rate but to women's fear of crime. It tends to have a direct relation to a woman's body through her fear of rape and sexual assault. The perceived crime rate and vulnerability within the space leads women to employ strategies that might help speed up or even avoid their time within the space.

> I'm a woman so I'm cautious and I never get out of my car if I can help it. We don't need to really do anything manually anymore because of technology. You don't really have to leave the house either. I do avoid certain roads when I'm driving though even if it takes longer to get home. (A. B., 13 March 2016, Lilian Rd, Fordsburg)

A woman's fear of crime and her anxiety within the urban environment tends to limit their physical and immediate interaction with the space. Women prefer to use space in a way that is faster and less interactive that makes them feel more secure. This participant's use of her car allows her a quick getaway from potential danger even though a hijacking is still a possibility. The materiality of the car not only signifies her social class status but helps her to assert her own sense of control in the space. In a way, she detaches herself from the perceived violence of public space whilst still being aware of it. A hijacking of her car might seem, to her, more prudent to risk than risking her body.

> When I close the restaurant at 12 at night I'm alone and i just drive. Really fast. You see someone, you just go. You have to. Hijacking governs our lives. If it's not that then you think about rape. It's only a matter of time to be honest and it's not just 'taking' anymore, its taking, harming and killing. And the cops, they not gonna do anything.
>
> (S. O., 16 April 2016, Main Rd, Fordsburg)

A fear of crime stems from the perpetuation of crime itself due to the emotional and psychological domino effect attached to it (Warr, 1993). The multitudes of masculinization, fear, victimization and vulnerability that exists within the space brings in to question the role of police. A woman's subjectivity to men can be seen as one that has extended towards the police, majority of whom are men themselves. As a tool of surveillance and security ideally existing to keep the area safe, women have voiced their mistrust of the police.

> S: I see there's a police cart stationed on that corner opposite Burger King and another one two blocks down. Does that help at all?
>
> GF: Not really, I don't think anyone reports anything.
>
> S: Why not? Would you report anything? Like if someone was interfering or if someone stole something from your stall?

GF: I think a lot of people don't trust the police. It's not like they do anything to help. If you report something, they'll just tell you about all the paperwork that you have to fill in while the chaur (thief) is running down the block. People around you are more help I think.

S: Do you think a woman would report any abuse or harassment to him?

GF: No.

S: How come?

GF: I wouldn't. He's a man. They all think the same. They'll look at what you're wearing or find some excuse.

S: And make it your fault?

GF: Yes. Even if the cop was a woman and if I told her how she'll feel the same way as me to tell the man cop.

S: Why?

GF: Because she's a woman, she knows how it is.

(GF, Vendor. 9 April 2016, Mint Rd, Fordsburg)

Asked whether or not she'd report a crime, A answered,

A: It won't help. They'll ask why did I stay outside the whole day, I am a woman. They won't understand that I have to make a living to buy food at night. They don't think of a woman as someone who struggles.

(A, 5 April 2016, Main Rd, Fordsburg)

The participants quoted above are aware of the presence of police in the area where she mentions the problems and discomfort with them. It can be said that the distrust of the police is linked to the distrust of men. The way in which their presence is conducted is not conducive to alleviating any concerns the women might have regarding their safety and comfort within space. More comfort is found in the community relations women have established themselves. It has been reported that this allows them to feel more confident and in control within the space.

Due to the 'othering' and marginalisation women go through because of the stigmatization of their presence, they feel that they are not taken seriously. "*They don't think of a woman as someone who struggles" (A, 5 April 2016)* signifies that men view women and objectify them as one sided, sexual beings. There is a sense of women trying to get away from that idea that shall be explored later. However, it not only contributes to their gender

subjectivity but to perceptions of their mistrust of men in the space as well.There is a serious underreporting of crimes committed against females. Jha (2016) reports that another possible reason for this stems from fear which includes but is not limited to the masculinized police force and a society steeped in patriarchy.

Police systems are deeply patriarchal and deeply flawed which largely contributes to the apprehensions women have about them. The level of underreporting of crime against women makes any statistical or quantitative data unreliable (Stanko, 1995). The numbers become irrelevant when the root of the problem lies more within a women's subjectivity to hegemonic masculinity. A mistrust of the police is just one representation of this subjectivity and has repercussions in a woman's daily lived experience and safety.

Like majority of the components of the built urban environment, safety from external forces such as the police or technological surveillance is unreliable. Whilst in the field, the lack of activity surrounding the police carts was glaringly obvious. They were not operational during most nights when it was quieter and there was more risk of criminal activity.

> There's police carts but they don't do anything! They're even closed and half the time it's empty and the policeman isn't there.
>
> (J. L., 13 May 2016, Resident, Fordsburg)

The mistrust of police is not limited to Indian women but to all women, as we have so recently experienced on our campus. The presence of the police is perceived to do more harm than good. Participants have increasingly cited that they would not report anything and would sooner rely on their neighbours for help. Police presence has always brutalised, victimized and objectified a woman's body reinforcing the domination of masculine ideals.

Overwhelmingly, this type of patriarchal and masculinized culture is very present in Fordsburg, most visibly from the newer, younger and foreign communities. It is not surprising then, the perceptions and reservations the women have regarding the police and how their fears are dealt with if they

are dealt with at all. The patriarchal undertone of their lives dictates not only their mobility but their silences and subjectivities as well. This does not serve as an accusation of any sort but it does help us to understand the underreporting of crimes and the reservations some of the women have about sharing information.

Within broader contexts, however, the expression of fear in public spaces becomes something that is actually expected of women to the extent that it has become a stereotype (Gilchrist *et al.*, 1998; Sandberg and Tollefson, 2010). Yet, the lived experiences of women in public space cannot simply be negated or discarded as an over-reaction just because it is expected. Even if it is seen as a stereotype, it is still a woman's lived reality. This lived reality of women in Fordsburg is seen as being challenged and resisted by the women using the act of walking and, on another level, the complexity of their clothing choices. They continue to actively participate and maintain visibility in the space in order to reclaim it and work towards destigmatizing the politics of their physical presence in the public sphere.

In conclusion, this presents the finding that there are varying degrees and types of fear women experience within public space from the physical structures of space to the temporal and policed nature of space as well. Women's experiences of all of these factors that combine to complexify their usage of space is reminiscent of Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad. The conceived and perceived natures of space creates the nuances and complex experiences and relationships within the lived space. Their apprehensions and personal misgivings about space, misgivings that are commonly shared across the participants, and their usage of it showcase the ways in which their exclusion has a systemic nature to it. Their active attempts to regain agency and some sort of power to resist the structural limitations placed on them will be discussed in the following section.

6. Results Chapter:

Fighting Back: Coping Strategies and the Mediator of Public Space in Fordsburg, Johannesburg

6.1 Counter Narratives of Public Space

Introduction

The objectification of a woman's body limits, if not takes away, her agency. Her identity and her body do not belong to her any longer but to the male gaze, the hegemonic masculinity and social constructions that govern her behaviour and her mobility. As discussed earlier, a city is built and planned based on masculinized perspectives, needs and experiences, a woman's presence and movement within it is controlled, contested and marginalized through those perspectives. It forms part of the intersection between feminist geography, social construction and religious or racial oppression that further complicate women's role and presence in public space and their daily lived experience. The act of walking and using that space on her terms becomes an act of resistance to this style of control and marginalization. Though they might be seen as restricted, women reclaim and reimagine space by consciously and actively participating in the production of their space in modern society. Their experience, active participation and resilience in these spaces on a daily basis blur the line between the Public/Private. It also debases the traditional gendered assumptions attached to that dichotomy. While it forms part of their autonomy, it does not disregard the gendered power relations altogether.

The responses regarding fear and safety in public space were very similar for all of the women who participated in this study. This alluded to their shared experiences and apprehensions within public space due to their gendered identities. Whilst all of them had concerns that were related to their immediate surroundings, covered (hijab in the style of a *doek* or a scarf tied around the head revealing the face) women expressed more concern over the

possible implications and backlash from international events. This section of the results garnered in the field details the measures these women take to counteract and manage the problems they have with and within the space on a daily basis. Their visible presence in the space becomes a pivotal factor in the disruption of gendered power structures that tend to govern their performativity.

Women mentioned the main practices that enabled them to counter their subjectivity. This included their embodying and controlling two key factors, mobility and presence or visibility. Their mobility was embodied through the act of walking and it facilitated their sense of belonging through presence and visibility. Respondents were very clear on their habits of walking which helped to make their presence more visible as well as familiarize them with their environment and also aid them in reclaiming it. They also placed specific importance on the pivotal and symbolic role of modest fashion and the hijab in giving them comfort and playing a role in the agency, confidence and strength they exercised within public space. This demonstrated the unique way in which they negotiated their identity and performativity as a source of resistance. It lent a sense of self-proclaimed power to their presence within the space. The women also expressed concern regarding the socially constructed and dominant global perceptions of hijab, modest fashion and the skewed ideas of Muslim women created by western media, all of which has a resounding social impact and restriction on their presence in the public sphere which operates on different scales.

6.2. The Walk

The urban experience for women is a simultaneous interplay of the physical and emotional. Her physical presence in the space is informed by her emotions and vice versa. This determines her spatial usage and the observance or exercise of her 'Right to the City'. It also defines the extent of her civic participation. For some, walking is an act that symbolizes reclamation of space. Using the common phrase, 'the only way out is through', a woman using 'walking' as a primary mode of access and mobility

through the space is a way of physically reclaiming and possessing it. It also aids in reclaiming a sense of confidence, agency and power. The agency and power women find in 'walking' allows them to take back the spaces and spatial tactics which men use against them to either intimidate or instill fear.

'Walking' is an effective tool for resistance which can be equally empowering and defensive. It is also an action that facilitates equal access into public space. Recently, its symbolic significance has gained wider recognition and awareness amongst migrant Indian women in Fordsburg following a social movement by female students in India. Their walk-based project was documented on social media. Social media, it is useful to note, has an uncanny ability of transcending and reducing the gap between local and global scales. It has been reported that in an effort to deconstruct the patriarchal structures that governed and restricted their independence and freedom of mobility, the female students began a campaign called #*WalkAlone* in order to promote walking (Iyengar, 2016). This effort recognizes the stigma attached to women's presence in public space which is bound up in tradition and patriarchy. Like so many of the participants in this study, efforts such as these and the more individual effort of a lone woman taking to the streets seeks to break that stigma. They do this by including themselves in the space through their presence and by walking.

In the stream of emotional geographies, Davidson and Milligan (2004) posit that the 'body' is the most immediate site of feeling, experience and expression. These emotions play a pivotal role in the way women feel within space, which is primarily what determines the outcome of her daily experience in the city. The act of walking physically embodies a set of emotions such as fear and empowerment that is spatially contextualized. As previously discussed, fear, as a concept, is intricate due to the different ways it is felt, embodied and then produced through space. Walking is an act that helps in counteracting that fear. As Koskela (1997) states, the fear some people feel does not negate the courage others employ in trying to defy it. She also notes that through reasoning with herself, she has the ability to

reclaim space as well as gain confidence (Koskela, 1997). It is this courage and reasoning that are two emotions that can be seen as factors which encourage participation in space.

> I walk through the square; I still find it safer than some of the side streets. I start by running errands so it's Shoprite and then United Butcher then I walk through the square to Bree to have lunch. Walking is very therapeutic for me. I feel strong and independent when I walk. For me, crime is everywhere you know but it's also in the mind. You can't be paranoid and let that control you.
>
> (RL, 16 March 2016, Avenue Road, Fordsburg)

There is significance to the role that psychological factors play in the production of space through fear. The manner in which a woman takes ownership of herself and of the navigation of the streets by not allowing paranoia to control her speaks to these psychological factors. Whilst still being cautious, her resistance to some of those psychological factors allows her to reverse the trajectory of the dominant power structures in the space. This illustrates the view of the city as volatile yet emancipatory which, as Bondi (1998) has stated, is a way of disassembling the binaries of public/private and male/female that govern the daily lives of urban inhabitants. The freedom of mobility she gives to herself is an example of how physical activity within public space can be empowering (Krenichyn, 2006).

There is a sense of immediacy when examining the female interaction with the public sphere in Fordsburg. The homes or apartments of the participants have no 'outside' space, no lawns or 'front yards' beyond a fence (for safety purposes) that separate them from the 'street'. Symbolically, this could signify the immediacy of their interaction with public space to fulfill their daily needs and their daily errands. It also contributes to the blurred state of the Public/Private dichotomy in relation to gender. A dichotomy that in many interviews, went unintentionally unobserved by the participants. Bondi (1998) notes that the detachment of these spatial and gender binary constructions from space is further strengthened by women demanding or

rather, imposing, their right to equal access in public space. This leads to a change in gender roles, perceptions and practice (Bondi, 1998). However, with the area being a low-middle class neighborhood with many working class inhabitants, their usage of and resilience in space is less defiance and more necessity.

The Public/Private binary fails to fully apply to them as most of them cannot afford to confine themselves to a 'traditional' private, domestic existence. Therefore, the presence of women in the space, especially during the day, is not an unusual occurrence. Yet, their presence still negotiates gender roles and identities while disrupting cultural traditions of patriarchy and the masculinity that governs urban space.

A very dominant aspect in the movement of the women through the space has depended on familiarity and resultant confidence. While their use of the same spatial routes to navigate through spaces is one form of breeding confidence through familiarity and predictability, another dimension, one of social relationships help strengthen their connection to the space. Sociability with neighbours (Schafer *et al.,* 2006) contributes to reclamation of space by making it more familiar and, to put it plainly, more friendly. Stores along the street help not only with the liveliness of the space that automatically puts women at ease, but they act as places of 'sociability' (Paiva, 2016).

While it might seem obvious that women will take shorter routes to reach their destinations (Koskela, 1997), participants have noted that they would take longer routes if they knew them to be safer and in some instances, cleaner. This demonstrates the interrelation of infrastructural maintenance and perceived risks that inform women's navigational routes and behavior patterns.

> S: How long have you been taking this walk to and from work?
>
> Z: 17 years now, before we used to live closer but this route I have taken now for 17 years.
>
> S: Do you take the same route every day?

Z: Yes, unless it's dirty then I'll take a shortcut here or there. The main roads are always the dirtiest, you know, so I'll take a quieter route. Ooh but the dirt is too much hey it really bothers me. I just want to clean up sometimes. It's so filthy and they all just dump their things on the corner. Before, people had respect.

S: You don't feel scared taking a quieter route even though it may be cleaner?

Z: No, I hardly feel scared for anything. You must have faith. I know everyone on that road now and they all know me. No one interferes with an aunty in her scarf (laughs) I just love to walk. It keeps me fit and thin…I'm so used to my routine now. People always ask me about it and I tell them it's not as bad as they all think. They must try it to see for themselves. They're always expecting something dangerous and negative.

(ZM, shopkeeper, 22 April 2016, Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg)

The relationships women build with people they constantly meet and interact with whilst navigating their routes begin to fortify the space, strengthening their presence within it, both physically and emotionally. It is pivotal to point out however that the relationships are made using their discretion. The relationships are made on the women's own terms and this adds to their agency, control and power in the space. This adds to a sense of belonging that helps women reclaim space.

Relationships with neighbours and shopkeepers in the streets were cited by participants as a tradition Fordsburg has always enjoyed. The change in the social landscape which stems from the newer communities has disrupted this tradition which has exacerbated the current concerns of the nature of public space. However, respondents were adamant that in order to adapt and conquer the fears of a space that is constantly changing and becoming unfamiliar, they have to forge new relationships with the incoming population. This helps them to adapt.

S: What is the surrounding community like? Has it changed over time?

No2: Ya, a lot. You remember how it was. There was more local shops and you know we had variety. Now with the Egyptians theres just abayas everywhere it's like Arabia. There are more Indias (colloquial

for Indian immigrants) now. It's also dirtier now and the square on Saturday night isn't the same anymore. Remember how lekker it used to be? Now they all just make a mess and make noise.

S: How do you feel about all these changes?

No 2: I miss how it used to be because I knew much more people then. But now it's not so bad. It's different but these people also have to live and make a living so it's not bad. It's still our people they good people. You must always keep community and neighbours." (Participant 2, Mint Rd, 4 March 2016)

As a Muslim Indian woman I know the importance of family and nurturing so we make sure to spend time helping to create unity and community. It makes you feel empowered in a way. We've always done it, just like our parents and their parents did.

(TG, Bree Str, 27 February 2016)

In her paper on gender and urban environments, Liz Bondi (1998) states that urban spaces are always inherited from past generations. This means that gender as well as community relations are inherited and adapted within the space (Bondi, 1998). The Fordsburg of old had a strong tradition and symbolic significance that seemed to encourage sociability across genders within public space. This used to strengthen communal ties and forge a strong sense of belonging. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) have stated that memory could act as a social activity that contributes to identity and social cohesion. This resonates with the underlying theme of this nostalgia or collective memory shared by all participants across the data. The shared memories about relationships and how they were forged through physical contact in public space and walking to each other's shops or houses, walking to school or just walking together as a social act has cemented the significance of the act into the physical environment of Fordsburg, adding to its character.

Blokland (2001), in her research about nostalgia, has stated that space enables memory and that there is significance in spaces within which shared memories took place. Along with shared memories comes shared practices and so this urban nostalgia provides insight into cities that were

more walkable as walkability is seen as a port of equal access into space (Wolfe, 2012).

Memory creates a sense of belonging (Manolache, 2013) and these women tend to use the act of walking and neighborly relations to help reclaim that. Whether it is because of errands or just hanging onto walking as somewhat of a tradition, they find a sense of safety in the familiarity it brings. Whilst this familiarity and nostalgia might not have the happiest of roots, ironically, the lost street life of the apartheid city brings fonder memories of community cohesion that was brought to life in the public spaces.

Whilst nostalgia among participants was not particularly gendered, it does not take away from the gender power relations in the space. Nostalgic notions about walking as a tradition in the space operated at a different level than walking to reclaim space. Nostalgia can be a framework that the act of walking is set against but not all women see it as a way of reclaiming the past. The act of walking has shifted within the space from something that used to be done to something that is being done to challenge a tradition, stereotype or a normalized way of thinking about women and their 'expected' and 'traditional' role in the public sphere.

Kilgour (2007) notes that the challenging of stereotypes, which emanates from gender-power structures, takes place on the street. However, this comes at the price of labelling a woman and questioning her motives which in turn compromises her 'respectability' (Kilgour, 2007). This is tied into the stigmatization of a woman's presence in space. Walking around unaccompanied reflects a direct challenge to, not only a patriarchal mindset but also to the stigma of the sexualization of a woman in public space. The women's dressing modestly challenge that stereotype as well and questions the meaning of the 'respectability' of her presence in the space.

While walking is the main and most immediate form of reclaiming space, the manner in which they do it is equally, if not more important. The women mentioned that apart from pepper spray or an electric Taser, the main strategy they use in order to protect themselves, is their dressing. Their

clothes not only shape their identities but fortify and comfort them by becoming a mediator of public space. Before going into battle, one must don ones armor.

6.2.1. Indian Women in Public Space and the 'Other'

"Little India", is Fordsburg's oft used descriptor (www.southafrica.net). The connotations attached to 'India' besides a colorful culture and spicy food is often tradition and consequently, patriarchy. However, Indian women of Fordsburg lead lives that work to sustain Fordsburg's economy and vibrant culture.

Contrary to the widely held belief that women are an unpaid labor force in Fordsburg or in public space in general, their presence has a more empowering element to it. The role and visibility of women in Fordsburg, over the decades, have always been closely linked to the running of their businesses. Women running their businesses both, historically and presently is interrelated to the sense of belonging and memory mentioned earlier. It also helped them earn respect, carry on a legacy and stake a claim in the space. As previously mentioned, this accounts for the majority of their activity and visibility within the public sphere during the day.

> S: How important do you think it is that women have a presence here in Fordsburg?
>
> ZV: Very. I think Fordsburg was always truly run by women. They were the real businessmen. My mum ran the shop and my dad just stood behind the counter. Women always have plans to make things work and we were always encouraged to plan and pursue whatever it is we wanted. Fordsburg I think was built on their intelligence, also because it was mainly the women who walked around the area and shopped. That way, people started to figure out what was missing and what was needed. They filled in the gaps in the market based on the way women interacted and shopped. Fordsburg became this place where everything was available. You didn't need to travel somewhere to get something and I think it is still like that in a sense. You can see what it was and now it is sort of transitioning.
>
> S: How do you feel about this transition period?

ZV: I like to be optimistic. It will be interesting to see what it will become in the future. It's a vastly different Indian identity that is coming in with the immigrants compared to what we have and how we represented it. But you know everyone has the right to a better life and to seek it and these guys are trying really hard. I respect them for it. (ZV, shopkeeper, 12 May 2016)

ZD: I think about Fordsburg in a very feminine light though.

S: Tell me.

ZD: It's just, even though there's so many guys, there's women everywhere. They're shopkeepers, beggars, mums, walking around, waiting for kids outside the school. They're in more places around the area then men, doing a variety of things. Most exchanges when buying something are between women. I don't know if it's historic or what but none of our mums or nanis (grandmothers) sat at home. Ever. Everyone worked. That is where and how we were brought up.

(ZD, 12 April 2016, Bree Str, Fordsburg)

Historically, Indian women in Fordsburg enjoyed a very communal existence. It was one that was laced with a sense of freedom even if bound by the socio-political circumstances and mobility constraints of apartheid. To this day, women of that generation have a visible presence due to their businesses which firmly establishes their presence in the space. However, there are constantly changing and shifting rhythms, meanings, expectations and power structures in the space due to incoming migrant communities. These communities, which constitute a male majority, bring with them a wave of patriarchal influence and masculinization that begins to marginalize women because of their gender identities and the conflicting ideas of women's presence in public space. However, the marginalization of women in the space that affects the lived experience of their daily lives stretches further than just the present elements of patriarchy.

The presence of Indian Muslim women in public space is deeply complex. Her subjectivity operates at different scales. On the one hand, she is marginalized because she is a woman and on the other, she is 'othered' because she is a Muslim. The complexity of her identity lay in the fact that

she belongs to two deeply marginalized social groups, the female gender and an ethnic minority. The problem also lies in the problematic perceptions and marginalization of their identities which are operating at different scales. There exists a sort of subculture that the global society has imposed onto these women, one of an 'othered' social identity that fails to humanize their lives. It is evident that the women carry the weight and worry of this global conflict through their daily lives in the space. The fact that Indian Muslim women are still 'women' often goes unchecked in the face of their 'othered', minority status. Their religious and gendered identities are constantly competing. The process of their 'othering' is disconnected from their individual 'self'. In some ways, their narratives do not belong to themselves anymore but to the media or to a global narrative that constructs, feeds and develops their 'otherness' into a dominant rhetoric.

In relation to the context of this research, the fragmented and often criminalized identity that has been constructed for these women by global society affects the way in which they access and are perceived within public spaces on a larger scale. This is because the global media governs and limits the narrative that directly excludes these women. In turn, their spaces are further produced through fear. The global rhetoric has more of an individual impact upon each of them and it influences their 'otherness' and way they perceive interactions and events in the local space. However, within Fordsburg, a space within which they feel a sense of belonging, there is a sense of safety regarding the signifiers of their religious identities. The fact that they are still women, most of whom face the same problems women across space and time have faced, goes unchecked. The intersection of their religious, racial and minority identities only serve to heighten their victimization. According to the participants, this victimization ironically, has more to do with their gender than their religious identities. These women deliberately use their religious identity, among other strategies, to resist their victimization on a global level and as a comfort with which they reclaim their power and positions in local spaces.

6.2.2. Clothing complexities: The Hijab as a Mediator of Public Space

The topic of a woman's attire has always underscored the discussion of women's presence in public space. Clothes, either too much or too little, play a significant role in women's experiences within urban spaces on a daily basis (Goodyear, 2012). The clothing and *abaya* (traditional middle-eastern Islamic dress) shops that line Mint Rd., Fordsburg, is filled with mannequins that represent the expected and traditional manner in which a woman ought to dress in the space to be accepted within it. As discussed earlier, women tend to self-discipline and self-police when it comes to their dressing and physical appearance in public space and its relation to their fears and anxiety. This relates back to the objectification and subsequent danger their bodies are subjected to within space. Clothing becomes a vehicle for the conversation of this 'otherness' because it is never truly about what a woman is wearing or what she is not wearing. It always boils down to the stigmatization of her presence in the space. Clothing becomes something that can either restrict or enable their access into space, something that becomes a topic of contention and also facilitates the notion of a woman and her body as public property (Goodyear, 2012). Even though fashion is autonomous (Williams and Vashi, 2007) the judgement women face because of their state of dress or undress is a direct comment on the 'otherness' they experience.

The previously discussed fears that these women have with regards to urban public space are notably similar among all women due to their gender. This humanizes these women who are forgotten in the discussion about fear and anxiety mainly because, through their religious identities, they have been constructed and perceived as the threats or perpetrators of fear and anomalies within space. This has extended to the point of some countries banning the hijab which in essence is banning an entire identity and democratic right. Respondents have cited this issue as one of the factors that hinder their full participation within the public sphere.

The marginalization of women in Fordsburg is not only imposed by their fellow neighbors or the men in the area. Not entirely, because there are still elements of tradition and patriarchy that frown upon the activities of women, particularly unaccompanied women, in the space. However, the women are making strides in challenging these structures using their presence and visible spatial practices. The aspect of their marginalization that plagues them on a daily basis is the socially constructed and hegemonic narratives that surround them.

> ZD: (About the Muslim community being comfortable in Fordsburg and her hijab) In other spaces maybe they'll see that we're Muslim and you know they might give us trouble. But here we're established. We have our community and feel safer.
>
> S: Why do you think there will be problems?
>
> ZD: I guess with everything going on right now. In the world and in the news. (ZD, 12 April 2016, Bree Str, Fordsburg)

The 'otherness' some of the women of Fordsburg suffer in terms of their identity stem largely from external forces. This 'otherness' stems from the dominant hegemonic ideologies that structure, socially construct and govern world views regarding their religious identities. It is borne from the tension of the experience of going about a 'normal' daily routine but having the world tell you that you are not normal. While the donning of hijab allows these women to move more comfortably within space, their clothing becomes reinterpreted by external structures and their dominant hegemonic norms (Secor, 2002). These reinterpretations of the hijab have only taken on a political or symbolic meaning because of how it has been defined by others (Secor, 2002). This plays a role in the social construction of their 'othering' which take place at different scales.

Indian Muslim women are commonly perceived as existing within this stereotype of oppression and submission. There has always been an 'imaginative geography' used to present cultural aspects of the East (Orient) to the West (Abu-Lughod, 2001). Western rhetoric has painted their narratives with piteous and sympathetic, savior-like tones whilst, at the same time, condemning and criminalizing their very existence. One of the

reasons points to the many misconceptions and misunderstandings surrounding their choice to wear the headscarf. This is due to the heavily politicized nature of Islam and Islamic practices that dominate western thought, text and feminism (Khan, 1998). To delve into the nuances of religion extend beyond the scope of this research. The reason it has been brought up is because, contradictory to popular opinion, respondents have cited their religious identities and scarves as a source of strength, armor and comfort within public space. A range of emotions that becomes stronger every time it is attacked by the global media and international events. In this way, their resolve to continue wearing it is their resistance.

It could be seen as their feminist stance to put clothes on instead of taking them off a la *"free the nipple"* (Frank, 2014). With the hijab, in any of its forms, this act is equally, if not more contested. It is precisely this act that challenges the narrative of men objectifying women as sexual objects to be visually enjoyed at will (Goodyear, 2012), something that these women are familiar with. Using their scarves and modest fashion is perceived to challenge this idea by not giving men, or even the West, what they expect. Instead, their resistance lay in demanding respect and power through challenging men to judge them from their characters rather than the attractiveness or form of their bodies. This provides them with a sort of authority over their own bodies that help with their confidence to reclaim space by negotiating their identities. It might be seen as a policing of the self but in a world that thrives off islamophobia this act becomes a larger and more complex act of faith and resistance. It has been suggested that the choice to exercise a stigmatized practice, such as wearing the hijab in public spaces, is concurrent with the upsetting, renegotiation and challenging of existing power relations and power structures (Sandikci, 2010).

Of the participants interviewed, 60% of the women wore the headscarf on a daily basis. This research recognizes and does not seek to overlook or substitute the morality or the symbolic and religious significance of observing the hijab. Spatially, the Public/Private binary tradition is disrupted by the constant movement and visibility of these Indian Muslim

women within public space. As stated by Siraj (2011), the imposition of this binary assumes the position of women as solely within the 'private'. In the context of this research, wearing the headscarf whilst traversing the space is not only traditional or the exercising of their human and religious rights in the space but it is a resistance. It has become a form of resistance due to the banning of this exact act and right in places like France that directly 'other' and marginalizes fellow Muslim women and young girls (Tissot, 2011; Kirk, 2016).

Many women are expected to submit to this ban which is a violent act against them. They have to submit themselves to discomfort and exposure just to be safe in a 'progressive and secular' (read islamophobic) society. This finds grounds in white and western feminism that rejects intersectionality and generalizes religious nuances and Muslim women's choices under the blanket of religious fundamentalism (Tissot, 2011). The women in Fordsburg, however, don their hijab in order to challenge these ideologies that dominate perceptions and restrictions in global public spaces. They have set a kind of reversal of the dominant rhetoric into motion. However, this is act of protest or solidarity is not as simplistic. The donning of hijab in Fordsburg might be seen as a mediator of public space however this local narrative does not match the more exclusionary, criminalized and stigmatized global one. This further 'others' and affects these women when they come into contact with news of these events and the resultant situations which are influenced by these international events. Speaking about her university experiences of fifty years ago in relation to her identity, a covered participant relayed the following story with slight hesitation. Her hesitation presented the discomfort she must have felt then, discomfort that she might still be feeling.

> S: What was awkward?
>
> F: Going into campus. We would go, you know, to write exams and all that and when we pitched up people looked at us funny. It was very uncomfortable that way. They did not make us feel welcome even though we were just as smart, possibly cleverer.
>
> S: Because you were Indian or…

F: That, we were women and we were too 'traditional' in our top and *ijaar* (pants) with a scarf [laughs]. People are still suspicious and funny about that. See what happened in France last week.

S: I always wonder what the fascination is, what is the problem with a woman who is more covered than another.

F: Exactly. You know I think they become uncomfortable with the idea that we are not following their rules. So maybe to them, it's too unpredictable and they can't understand someone not valuing the same things they do when it comes to dressing. I always think it boils down to respect which is supposed to be in everyone. Not anymore.

S: Not anymore about respect or people don't actually have respect anymore?

F: I think it's a little bit of both. Hijab has become synonymous with oppression and violence to them. It's become so dogmatic, that idea. People see a scarf on your head and think that you don't have the capacity to think anymore. I feel very sad but I make a choice to ignore them just like I made a choice to wear my scarf.

(LR, 5 September 2016, Mint Rd, Fordsburg)

There is a historical element to the victimization of an Indian or Indian Muslim woman identity. Their subjectivity has always had a political lean due to their socio-political history. It is presently realized in a global islamophobia that is still felt locally. This victimization does not limit itself to a local scale but continues to grow stronger and more visible globally. The participant mentioned the incident of a covered Muslim woman being forced to undress in public on a beach in Nice by white male police(man) (Kirk,2016). Events such as these impact upon local women and influence their perceptions and experiences of victimization within public space. These are examples of the power structures at play that continue to problematize and add complexity to the identity and the body of a Muslim woman who is visibly Muslim.

This does not serve to provide an in depth explanation of history of the hijab or burkini because that is not what this research has set out to do. Rather, it is evidence of the global rhetoric that the hijab inspires which is a reflection of the dominant dogmatic structures that govern the position of women, particularly Muslim women, in society. Rhetoric such as this are

just one of the many dogmatic narratives that restrict and abuse women's full potential for active participation in the public arena. The post 9/11 worldviews have helped in criminalizing a culture by viewing the hijab as violent. Yet, these women have cited the hijab, a form of dress, as a source of comfort and safety safeguarding them from the violence and restrictions that mar public space.

> I think that clothes play a big part. If you respect yourself, people respect you. I feel very empowered and strong when I put on my scarf.
>
> (DK, 11 April, 2016, Bree Str, Fordsburg)

> People respect you when they see you walking around in an abaya. You get a lot more smiles and greetings. And its safer also you know this area is full of Muslims like us and also Hindus and Tamil people and also Turks and Africans. We all understand each other and love each other. Also since Apartheid we all know how we suffered so we always help each other where we can and we still do.
> (Participant 2, Mint Rd, 4 March 2016)

Secor (2002), in her work about veiling practices of women in Istanbul, suggests that 'veiling', as a socio-spatial practice, enacts different meanings and is situated within an everyday urban mobility context. She goes on to note that whilst dressing is subject to interpretations over space and time, it can both, enable as well as restrict mobility or physical movement in space (Secor, 2002). In the context of this research, it has been established that some of the women find comfort and ease of access into public spaces by donning their hijab. Becoming a mediator of public space, it enables their usage of and mobility within the space which is a unique spatial characteristic given the current global socio-political climate.

Echoing sentiments of women in Fordsburg, Secor's (2002) Turkish women mentioned the hijab being a source of safety and protection against harassment. The hijab was widely seen as a sort of armor against unwanted attention from males and the male gaze in the space (Williams and Vashi, 2007; Siraj, 2011). As previously explored, the women who did not observe the hijab in their daily lives similarly navigated space using more modest clothing as well as self-policing each other's dressing as they traversed

through space. This is a direct comment on the role of and risks placed on a woman's body in relation to the gendered restrictions of a masculinized public space.

The comfort and respect respondents have garnered from their hijab within the space has helped to forge a stronger sense of community and belonging that enables their mobility, navigation and confidence on their walk. There is a direct link between clothing, safety and mobility that cements the status of a woman's presence in public space. It could either restrict them further or it could unlock spaces for them to situate themselves. Whichever the stigma, they use their presence and mobility as a type of transformation process (Sandikci, 2010) that can challenge it and question the assumptions surrounding it. It is not only the stigma that is challenged but the restrictions public spaces present to women. There is a constant negotiation of space and identity through clothing that takes place in the daily lived experience of a woman.

It can be noted that the hijab has become a complex symbol in the space that can be seen as twofold. On a local scale, their clothing choices garner them respect which they value with regards to their freedom of presence and movement within the space. At the same time they are challenging the global narrative on a daily basis by donning these scarves. It is not as simple as the hijab acting as a mediator for public space. The hijab negotiates and enacts different meanings that are constantly changing and being reinterpreted within different power structures yet it holds a stronger and more unifying meaning among the sisterhood of women who wear it by their own definitions. These self-defining choices and stances on a much contested piece of cloth is not only used to break a stigma that surrounds a woman as she steps into the public sphere but seeks to break a stigma that acts as a noose for Muslim women within the wider global community or sisterhood. It not only helps challenge and overcome restrictions in a local public space but stands in solidarity with women. The women who are challenging those same restrictions that make up their daily lived

experiences and to reclaim their equal 'Right to the City' and their rights to inclusion and participation in public spaces everywhere.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The initial research statement and aim of this project set out to investigate the hegemonic and traditional structures that governed the urban landscape and the resulting spatial restrictions on a gendered identity, specifically, that of an Indian woman. The urban neighbourhood of Fordsburg in Johannesburg was scouted as the site of the study due to its dense Indian population and rich Indian history. The multi land usage that characterised the space complimented the analysis of women's mobility within and usage of the area.

This research sought to outline a conceptual framework based in gender and social theories which was studied through a spatial context. Structural and symbolic perspectives arose during the study that formed the two main streams of focus in the research. Through the usage of the spatial triad and corresponding power relations, spatial impositions and restrictions women are subjected to in their everyday lived experience was unravelled. This provided examples with which to understand and showcase the restrictions and the geographies of fear which women face within the space. It also helped to showcase the manner in which their experience constantly employed a negotiation of their identity in the space in order to deal with the subjective nature of the urban environment and the ideologies that govern it. Through an analysis of their experiences it has been deduced that women are always 'othered' within space. A complete reclamation of and equal position in public space seems to always be out of reach no matter what measures they take to overcome that. However, this does not stop them from taking measures to reclaim some sort of agency.

The objectives of the study were met by interviewing and spending time with Indian women in the space and observing their daily routines and

behaviours within the space. These observations and interviews were then analysed using discourse analysis to base the results into corresponding theories. The results of the study revealed the spatial restrictions on women and the strategies they employ in order to manage and overcome them.

It has become increasingly clear that the resistance and strategies these women engage in throughout their daily experiences are moving towards a collective result that both, make a public, and sometimes a political statement that play a part in overcoming personal hurdles. These women inadvertently empower themselves in deconstructing traditional ideas and resisting global stigmas surrounding their intersectional and multi layered identities by using their presence and the different facets of their identity. The participant's efforts which include walking outside and maintaining a strong and visible presence in public space is closely aligned with the changing discourses of patriarchy and tradition especially amongst the younger participants of the study.

Indian women, it has been found, are not entirely subjected to and restricted by the patriarchal nature of their traditions and history, but the inherently patriarchal and masculinized nature of the urban environment as a whole. This has become evident through the structure, spaces and policies that govern them as largely masculinized in and of itself which is only enhanced by elements of tradition.

Narratives of fear and restriction of mobility has linked itself to broader socio-spatial discourses on crime as well as urban infrastructure and how it affects all women. It was found that the restrictive nature of urban space lay strongly in the physical infrastructure and what that contributes to the rhythm and masculinized lifestyle of the space. Legitimate fears women suffer due to the constructions surrounding their bodies are very closely bound up in the state and maintenance of the space. The infrastructural problems that restricted women's bodies, their freedom and mobility extended into the impacts crime and temporal factors have had on their daily lives. Their spaces are then commonly produced through fear.

In an effort to cope with a volatile environment that is made increasingly unstable by the socially constructed identity, competing ideas and the traditional expectations placed on women in the space, women then spoke about their efforts of resistance and coping mechanisms. These resistances and strategies found purchase in the way women dressed themselves and their increasing pedestrian presence. Hijab and modest fashion enabled women to create an autonomous position for themselves within these unstable and subjective urban spaces (Williams and Vashi, 2007). Their usage of the space is being reclaimed and influenced by the act of walking, their visibility and presence which directly resists and deconstructs the idea of confining women to the 'private' sphere as well as expected traditional gender roles.

The Public/private binary that, in essence, governs a kind of social ordering needs to be disrupted and deconstructed. It creates the assumption that there is still validation to be had within the binary. This reinforces and supports the idea that women will still have a private to be confined to instead of disrupting it. As stated by Day (2000) the separation of gendered space has not addressed the experience women have within the urban environment. This gives weight to the reasons why we need to focus on women in the public because that is where they are at present within a changing world, where they need to be and where there is progression. We need them there to continue disrupting and challenging their stigmatization within it. With a mixed and multicultural ethnic population in the space there are competing ideas about what a woman's role is in the space. Some are reinforcing a binary and tradition whilst others are deconstructing it. The nexus between the two make for an unstable and often contradictory experience within space.

The restrictions these women face on a daily basis is found in the physical and emotional facets of the geography of the space giving the restrictions an all-encompassing quality. The physical structure of the area poses a threat in its lack of maintenance, care and safety measures. This heavily impacts on the emotions of the women who reside there and tends to dictate the

extent of their access, participation and mobility in the space. The women recognize these restrictions and attempt to find ways to overcome them.

With the knowledge that their presence in the space is contested, they make sure to visibly use it. It is a necessity that they use the space, more than a rebellion since they need to fulfill their daily duties and routines that flit between the public and the private sphere. This activity tends to exist on the line that separates public from private exposing the fact that there is no clear distinction of that dichotomy in Fordsburg. The negotiation of their identities within the space constitutes a larger and more significant symbolic role within the global community. Their resistance then does not only apply to the restrictions of their local spaces but to the restrictions imposed onto their identities on an international basis. An Indian woman's landscape of Fordsburg is larger and more intricate than one might expect. It is a daily personal and political struggle of reclaiming an equal access to space, reclaiming their 'right to the city' but it is also a struggle that connects them to a conversation of larger and more global scale.

7.1 Suggestions moving forward and further opportunities for research

There exists a large research gap with regards to the subject and spatial focus of this research. The area of Fordsburg remains largely understudied and the urban communities who populate it, less so. This research attempted to begin filling in this gap by broadly studying the women of the area and scoping out the various spatial restrictions that affected them. The results, while broad, give an idea of the potential for more focused studies that can be conducted in Fordsburg. These opportunities lay in digging deeper into the complexity of Muslim or Indian identity and the Indian history of Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

There needs to be a more concerted effort made into working towards redefining and reconceptualising women's position in urban public space that includes and showcases the intersectional, complex, multiple facets and enactments of their identities. Hankering on traditional ideologies and traditional academic theories regarding women in the public sphere will only reinforce the old ideas. There might be movements and changes on the ground that are not documented and so there remains no shift in the academic thought.

It is not about male or female or if either should dominate the other at the end of the day. We can separate the two genders to deconstruct the subjectivity of a woman in public space because space is inherently masculinized. This doesn't serve to overthrow the male presence in space but rather to work towards a space that does not situate women in positions of fear and vulnerability. Whether it is through the planning of the built environment or policy making, there needs to be greater effort made in ensuring the care, safety, equal participation and equal access of the genders to reach their full potential within the space. European efforts have focused largely on the reconstruction of space into women friendly environments. This was carried out through design and architecture that prioritised safety of a woman's everyday experience and everyday concerns (Gilroy and Booth, 1999). We cannot rely on the commodification of women's safety and expect everyone to cope within these environments by purchasing Tasers or elaborate security systems. Safety of women in space will not only benefit women, it will benefit and influence all urban inhabitants especially if the surrounding environment is forthcoming.

With its competing ideas, melting pot of cultures, living side by side, Fordsburg could be seen to reveal and reflect the wider canvas of Johannesburg CBD itself albeit a *micro-neighbourhood* or enclave of 'eastern cultures'. The nostalgic Fordsburg, the old one where everyone knew each other and congregated in groups on the streets and on walks to the movies a block away wearing their best clothes and haircuts might be reduced but it is not completely gone.

Overall we can conclude that Indian women have a complex but not completely unheard of relationship with urban public space. Their apprehensions and fear of and within space that was found in the manner in which it was maintained and policed is a finding that is shared by women on a global scale independent of race and religion. In terms of intersectionality in this project, race and religion has been seen further complicate this already unstable relationship. The intersectional nature of these women's identities allowed us insight into the significance of their presence in space and the ways in which that presence and cultural symbols resists power structures that govern space and the existing narratives surrounding their identities. These women of Fordsburg and their 'everyday lived experiences' have a long story to tell which, in some ways, transcend time and scale and it is my hope that this project has added in some small way to that larger tale.

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