

**Navigating the City:
Female Students' Experiences of Movement in
Johannesburg**

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Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Science in Urban and
Regional Planning (Honours).**

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Declaration

I declare that this research report titled *Navigating the City: Female Students' Experiences of Movement in Johannesburg* is my own unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references. This research report is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Bachelor of Science in Urban and a Regional Planning with Honours to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other university.

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Signature of candidate

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Abstract

It is clear that men and women experience the city differently. The practice of urban planning tends to ignore this and continues planning in a gender-neutral fashion. Planners should aim to have a wider understanding of different groupings of individuals of society in order to plan inclusive cities that accommodate all its citizens. Johannesburg is a city that students move to, temporarily or permanently, to further their studies. Women's ability to fully utilise the city depends on their ability to access transportation. Violence occurs within the public realm of Johannesburg whereby women's perceptions of danger limits their movement in the city.

This research explores how female students who are newcomers to Johannesburg (from within South Africa and foreign nationals) experience moving around in the public realm. This research investigates the extent that physical accessibility and perceptions of safety have on the movement patterns of female student newcomers. The research drew on the experiences of fifteen female students from University of the Witwatersrand. The fieldwork was conducted through a set of initial interviews as well as experiences recorded in a notebook and a second follow-up interview. Analysis was done through mapping, comparing respondents' experiences and through relating findings to theory.

The outcome of the research revealed that physical accessibility and perceptions of safety impacts female students' movements, as well as other factors of the length of time since the move to Johannesburg, the cost of movement and whether students have company to move between spaces and their perceptions of spaces. It was discovered that their movement choices are more complex than the above two factors.

Gender sensitive planning is the main planning tool that may assist in creating positive experiences of female student newcomers in the city. It is understood that planners need to consider the legibility of spaces and the safety of different modes of transportation. These students, due to their unfamiliarity with the city and limited finances, require easy access between spaces. It is also understood that institutions, such as the university, should aim to assist these young women with settling in to a new city environment as adjustment issues often do arise. The ability to better plan for this grouping of young people will ensure that Johannesburg is an all-inclusive city that does not further discriminate against women in public spaces.

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Abbreviations

CBD	Central Business District
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
JMPD	Johannesburg Metro Police Department
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SAPS	South African Police Service
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene: Exploring the Research Potentials and Obstacles

At first I was afraid I was petrified
Kept thinking I could never live without you by my side
But then I spent so many nights
Thinking how you did me wrong
And I grew strong
And I learned how to get along

Gloria Gaynor – I Will Survive
(Fekaris and Perren, 1978)

1.1 Introduction

This research explores women's experiences in cities with particular focus on female student newcomers to Johannesburg. This particular sub-grouping of individuals is unique as their purpose for relocating to the city to further their studies.

This research goes on a journey investigating this particular grouping of individuals in society. It begins by outlining the background of the research, including the research focus, research methodology and the ethical considerations of conducting this study. Thereafter the research report delves into understanding the literature that underpins the various components of this research. The third chapter provides an overview of the case study being the city of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand. Thereafter, the research report will explore the experiences and movement patterns of female student newcomers in the city and will further unpack these experiences in terms of the literature. The final portion of the research will respond to the research focus and to provide suggestions as to how urban planning of the city can better accommodate for this particular grouping of individuals.

1.2 Johannesburg, A City for Women?

Johannesburg is a city with many opportunities to improve ones livelihood, including job opportunities, access to education, health care and services. Many young people relocate to the city to access these opportunities in order to create a successful future for themselves. Johannesburg, however, is a city that is difficult to navigate (Dirsuweit, 2002). There are two main reasons why this is the case. The first of these reasons relates to the physical accessibility of the city. Johannesburg is a spatially segregated city. It is a city where activities tend to be located far apart (Miller, 2008) whereby accessing them would require some form of transportation. A spatially dispersed city increases residents' travel costs and travel times. It also requires residents to either have car ownership or to have a reliance on public transportation as opposed to walking or cycling to destinations (Tomlinson et al, 2003). As a result, residents' ability to fully utilise all the benefits of the city depends on the availability of funds as well as time for transportation. Further, the way in which the city's movement systems have been designed generally favours private car ownership as opposed to other forms of transportation such as public transport, walking and cycling. This makes pedestrian movement in the city a challenge.

The second reason that makes Johannesburg a difficult city to navigate relates to people's perceptions of violence in the city (Dirsuweit, 2002). Violence within the public realm is apparent and this could affect citizens' perceptions of the city. Perceptions of danger in the city present a challenge with movement in the city as women may limit their movement due to these perceptions of danger (Pain 1997).

Both of these factors make movement in the city challenging, particularly for women. My personal experience as a young woman arriving in Johannesburg from the Eastern Cape in 2011 to study at the University of the Witwatersrand has included many uncomfortable situations. These negative experiences include one mugging and an attempted mugging as the most extreme experiences. In order to avoid being targeted again while walking to campus, I am careful not to carry valuable possessions and wear long clothing. Due to these occurrences, those close to me have been wary of me to travel by foot to campus. Due to their concerns, I now travel by private transportation. It is costly, however, my safety is ensured. I have also found it a challenge to move around the city to acquire certain necessities, such as groceries, and other items of need. I have discovered that as a newcomer to the city, not being familiar with the city and not having family around to attend to one's needs, puts a young woman living in Johannesburg at a great disadvantage.

Through these challenges, the motivation for conducting this research arose: I was interested to discover how other female students who are newcomers to the city, experience moving within the public realm. I am interested in discovering how they may deal with the challenges of being both a woman and new to a city that is vast, difficult to navigate, and yet offering many exciting opportunities.

These are the areas that this research will unpack. It will aim to create an understanding of this particular sub-grouping of individuals in order to better plan cities to accommodate them and their unique needs.

1.3 A City not Fully Integrating its Citizens

It has been argued that cities are male dominated. In the past men have been associated with the public realm and being financial providers for families whereas women are associated with the private realm and being the caretakers of families (Hayden, 1980). These gender roles have changed, as there has been an increase in the number of women occupying the labour market along with men (Todes et al, 2010).

Since the abolition of the apartheid regime in South Africa, cities have been experiencing constant rise in urbanisation (Simelane, 2011). Many people relocate to

cities in order to access job opportunities and to improve their livelihood. This increase in urbanisation has presented a challenge for urban management in cities in South Africa (Kihato, 2013).

Residents become isolated from a city when they are not able to easily navigate the public realm (Kihato, 2013) and when a city does not provide a sense of belonging and comfort to them (Fenster, 2004). Being unfamiliar to a city creates the feeling of isolation (Kihato, 2013).

Women are often targeted by men in the urban public realm (Pain, 1997). They often have to take mitigation measures when moving within the public realm. Such mitigation measures include selection of time of day of travel, mode of transportation and travel route. Women, to avoid being targeted, use these mitigation measures. New entrants to the city are often not aware of these particular mitigation measures as they have varying levels of unfamiliarity with the city and it would take them time to feel safe moving within the city (Pain, 1997).

Kihato (2013) discusses the migration of women into Johannesburg and how migrant women experience the city. She argues that nationality shapes the experiences of migrant women in Johannesburg and that these factors influence the way in which individuals experience the city (Kihato, 2009).

Existing literature on safety and security of women in Johannesburg discusses women's perceptions of danger and fear within the city outlining the areas and identifying the spaces in Johannesburg where women feel unsafe (Gordon, 2012; Pain 1997). There are also in-depth studies of migrant women's experiences in Johannesburg (Kihato, 2009; 2013). However, there is limited literature that discusses the experiences of either young women, or female newcomers to the city.

This research is interested in understanding the experiences of student newcomers, and particularly interested in understanding their movement patterns in Johannesburg. More specifically, the research focuses on exploring an intersecting sub-category, female student newcomers to draw out the extent to which physical accessibility and perceptions of safety has on their movement patterns in Johannesburg. These students place of origin are various urban areas within the country as well as the continent. They relocate to Johannesburg (some permanently and others temporarily) in order to pursue their tertiary education.

The ways in which this sub-category of young people navigate and experience the public realm has a direct linkage to urban planning of the city of Johannesburg. Urban planners are concerned with how people move so that they can more effectively plan for inclusive cities that accommodate a variety of individuals from different backgrounds. Female student newcomers to the city have

particular needs that the city should address: being female, safety and accessibility should be ensured; being students, affordability should be ensured and being newcomers to the city, legibility should be ensured (Fenster, 2004). In creating a more inclusive city, urban planning can allow for these individuals to easily adjust to the city and they can grow to love the city and to make it their 'home'.

The problem that is explored in this research is the extent to which physical accessibility and perceptions of safety influences the movement patterns of female student newcomers in Johannesburg.

1.4 Research Focus

1.4.1 Research Question

To what extent does limited accessibility and perceptions of safety of the city influence the movement patterns of female students who are newcomers to Johannesburg?

1.4.2 Sub-questions

- What are issues that women commonly face in navigating the urban public realm?
- What are the experiences of female student newcomers regarding accessibility and safety in Johannesburg?
- What factors influence female students newcomers' patterns of movement within the public realm of Johannesburg?
- How can urban planning better accommodate the needs of female students newcomers to the city?

1.5 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual diagram is necessary to understand the many components of this research. This report will focus on the movement patterns of female students who are newcomers to Johannesburg. It will look at the effects of physical access and perceptions of safety on their movement patterns around the city.

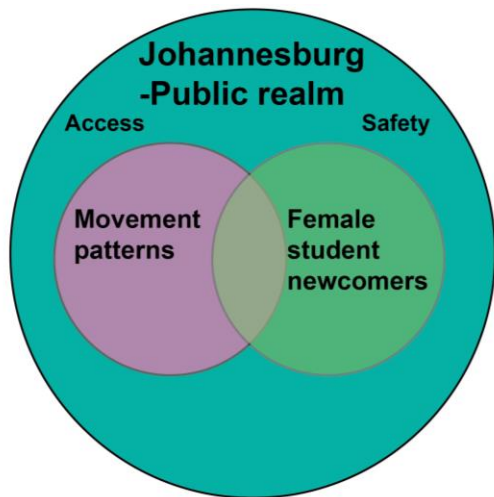


Figure 1.1 Concept diagram: A diagram illustrating the components of the research. The research explores female student newcomers and their movement within the context of the public realm of Johannesburg. The research focuses on movement patterns in terms of physical accessibility and perceptions of safety on Johannesburg.

1.6 Research Aims and Objectives

This research aims to create a better understanding of female student newcomers to Johannesburg so that they can better comprehend how to effectively plan for their needs. In so doing, the research serves to create awareness of this particular sub-grouping which has typically not been considered by urban planners and policy-makers. To this end, the objectives of this study include:

- To understand how female student newcomers deal with the challenges of moving around Johannesburg, with particular focus on accessibility and perceptions of safety.
- To explore the extent to which perceptions influence their movement in Johannesburg's public realm.
- To identify the particular needs of female student newcomers that future planning processes should be aware of, and respond to appropriately.

1.7 Rationale for Research

Current literature explores women in cities and at various sub-groupings of women in cities such as migrant women (Kihato, 2009; Kihato, 2013), children (Kent, 2013) amongst various others. It has been noted that there is a particular gap in

current literature that studies young female newcomers to the city who relocate to obtain a tertiary education. Current literature does not fully understand the experiences of this particular sub-grouping and how they are able to navigate Johannesburg.

The main contribution of this research to scholarship on women and Johannesburg is its focus on young women newcomers, specifically female students (from within South Africa and foreign nationals) who have moved to Johannesburg to further their studies.

The second contribution that this study can make is to provide details of the perceptions of female student newcomers regarding Johannesburg. It also aims at understanding how easily the city can be comprehended by this particular grouping in their ability to navigate the city.

Thirdly, this study supplements existing literature through understanding women's experiences in South African cities and especially in Johannesburg. This understanding is necessary for urban planners to understand the significance of planning cities with a more gender and age sensitive approach. This would serve to improve urban planning and design of cities and Johannesburg in particular to create a more inclusive city for all (Abada, 2013).

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Method

This research investigates the experiences of female student newcomers in the city. It aims to understand how they interact within and how they relate to the urban environment. Through investigating subjective experiences, a qualitative method of data capturing was selected. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) state that a qualitative method of data capturing allows for in-depth studies that cannot be reduced to numerical values. This method aims to capture and comprehend complexities of experiences. This is the most appropriate form of data collection as this research aims to understand perceptions and experiences. Qualitative methods are also useful in studying human interaction and the everyday experiences of women's' movement patterns. This is fundamentally what the research aims to unpack and thus a qualitative method would be the most appropriate method for data capturing.

The research is a case study of students of the University of the Witwatersrand. Selecting to study Wits students is due to the researcher being a Wits

student and having access to respondents within the desired criteria. The selection of Wits students is also appropriate as these students have common destinations, which are the various Wits campuses. This would help the researcher to comprehend the findings of female students movement patterns due to the common destinations of Wits campuses. It would also allow the researcher to find commonalities amongst female students movement patterns around Johannesburg.

1.8.2 Methods for Collecting Data

The research was conducted through a series of engagements with Wits female students. The kinds of data required for this research was that of daily experiences of movement patterns. This would be information regarding female student newcomers' perceptions of Johannesburg and their perceptions of movement in the city. The research also required data of the locations of where students travel to, the mode of transportation used as well as their experience of their trips. The final part of the data capturing aimed to reflect on students' movement patterns and to uncover more personal data relating to whether respondents had experienced any past negative experiences relating to their movement in Johannesburg.

The first part of the data was captured through an interview. Such data included general information whereby the researcher was able to extract information as well as building up a relationship with the respondents. The researcher conducted this interview prior to the second step of data capturing as the second step involved the respondent keeping a journal. The act of keeping a journal requires time and effort and thus, the initial interview also allowed participants to become familiar with the researcher and the research aims in order to understand what was required from the journal and to allow respondents to feel comfortable with the researcher to reveal detailed experiences of movement patterns and experiences.

The second part of the data was captured through a journal whereby participants would document their daily experiences of movement in Johannesburg. This particular method was chosen for this research as the researcher wanted to obtain a series of experiences over a number of days. If this information was gathered through an interview, respondents may have forgotten experiences from past days. Keeping a journal allowed respondents to document their experiences for a series of days as they travel their various trips.

The final part of the data was captured through a second interview, which allowed the researcher to confirm aspects in the journal and to allow the respondents

to reflect on their diarising experience. Since the researcher also aimed to discover personal stories regarding past negative experiences that students may have faced, this particular type of information was better captured through conversation. A second interview was used to capture this data as respondents would feel more comfortable with revealing such narratives after being more familiar and comfortable with the respondent. Creating a feeling of comfort can be done over time and thus time was achieved through the initial interview and through the days of diarising.

These methods of data collection collectively provide a better understanding of where female students move within the city, how they do so and most importantly how they feel while moving within the city, giving particular consideration of factors of safety and accessibility.

1.8.2.1 Interviews

Interviews took the form of semi-structured interviews of approximately ten minutes each. In the first interview, the participants were asked general questions (refer to Annexures for a copy of Questionnaire One) such as where they are from, their age and how long they have lived in Johannesburg. Participants were asked to tell the researcher about their perceptions of Johannesburg. These perceptions referred to what they had thought about the city prior to their move. They were also asked if these perceptions remained the same through the initial periods after their move to the city. The length of these initial periods would be one week to a month. The researcher also enquired what respondents' current perceptions are of the city. The final set of questions of the first interview related to perceptions of movement in the city. Here, participants were asked how they feel about movement in the public realm of Johannesburg. Each participant was also requested to keep a journal to record her experiences over the period of a week.

After the week of keeping a journal, a second semi-structured interview was then conducted. This interview was between five to ten minutes. The purpose of this interview was for reflecting back on the week of journaling (refer to Annexures for Questionnaire Two). Participants were asked whether the trips they took within the week was an accurate reflection of their movement patterns or if there were certain spaces that they would usually travel to but perhaps did not in the given week due to circumstances such as weather, having a project due or not feeling well. This was for the purpose of better understanding of regular movement patterns of female students. Participants were also asked to reflect back on their experience and how they felt about the task and whether their results surprised them in any way. Most

importantly, the researcher asked participants if they were willing to reveal any past negative experiences regarding moving within the public realm of Johannesburg.

1.8.2.2 Journals

At the initial interview, participants were provided with a notebook and a pencil. They were asked to note the trips they took within the period of a week, their mode of transportation used, and their experience of these trips. Participants were told that they could write as much as they were able to and that any form of expression would be appreciated, such as words or sketches. Lastly, participants were encouraged to enjoy the task and to contact the researcher if they had any queries.

The period of a week for journaling was deemed a sufficient length of time to obtain satisfactory information from each participant within the timeframes of the research process. The time frame of a week was also selected (as opposed to a longer time period) to prevent the task from becoming too onerous for the participants themselves.

The notebooks were collected upon the second interview with the participant. The contents of the journal were discussed and respondents were asked to confirm their trips. They were also asked if they wished to retell any experiences from the week of journaling.

1.9 Selection of Participants

Participants were selected on the basis of being female students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Participants were also required to be from a place of origin that is other than Johannesburg. Fifteen participants were selected for this study. Fifteen participants provides a sufficient number to include a variety of students who met a number of criteria, outlined in the next section.

Criteria for the selection of participants

- Age: Students of varying ages were selected for this study from the age of nineteen years through to twenty-nine years old. This is to ensure that this research has a wide understanding of perceptions.
- Place of origin: From varying urban areas in South Africa, as well as foreign nationals to ensure different perceptions of Johannesburg.

- Length of stay in Johannesburg: Length of stay may have an impact on how an individual perceives the city. It was thus ensured that students who have lived in the city from between zero to five years were selected.
- Race: Black, white, coloured, Indian, Asian. A wide selection of races is to consider the different backgrounds that people come from. Gibson (2003) argues that race is a significant factor in the context of South Africa due to the apartheid legacy. In many cases, people of colour are seen to be at a disadvantage over white people (Gibson, 2003). It is due to this, race may lead to varying views on safety.

Through the above criteria, it can be seen that fifteen participants is appropriate as to ensure that participants come from a range of backgrounds and that there is no bias to a particular criterion.

The fieldwork took place between 10th August and 30th September. This period was during second semester of the academic year. The majority of the fieldwork was conducted during term time. However, some of the fieldwork was conducted during the spring study break. Fieldwork with Health Sciences students was conducted during this time period, as their vacation was not scheduled during the same period as Main campus vacation. All interviews took place on Main campus grounds in various locations that best suited the interviewees. The interviews took place between the hours of 09h00 to 17h00.

1.9.1 Technique for Selecting Participants

The snowballing technique was used to find participants. Noy (2006) suggests that this sampling technique allows for data capturing to be emergent and interactional. This sampling method also allows for the research to obtain only willing participants, and thus precise data to be captured (Noy, 2006). Through this method, the researcher asked students who she knew of and who met the criteria, and if they were willing and able to participate in the research. Thereafter she asked these students to refer her to other students and so on. Out of the fifteen participants of this research, the researcher already knew of seven of participants, and the rest were found through the snowballing technique.

The researcher initially intended to find foreign students by visiting the International Students Office at Wits and asking them if they would be able to assist the researcher with finding foreign national students to participate in the research. After consulting with various people in the International Students Office, the

researcher realised that they would not be able to assist and thus she continued to use the snowballing technique for foreign students as well.

The researcher was concerned that this technique may not allow for a sufficient number of participants who met the criteria and most importantly, who were willing and able to participate in the study. Fortunately, this limitation did not materialise as she was referred to numerous female students, many of whom met the various criteria and collectively reflected a wide range of the specified characteristics.

1.10 Analysis of Data

The data was analysed through first comparing the findings from each of the respondents. Comparisons were made through understanding the data captured from each participant's interviews and journal, as well as through comparing the data between different participants. Differences and similarities were noted in terms of the themes suggested through the questionnaires and through experiences captured from the journals.

Analysis of the findings also included a mapping technique. The information collected from the journal was captured on the maps. Such information included the locations female student newcomers travelled to and their mode of transportation.

The final portion of analysing the findings included content analysis which studied the findings according to themes raised in the literature review.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

First, the research proposal had to be approved within the School of Architecture and Planning at the university. This included ensuring that it complied with the University's requirements by completing the necessary application forms.

Arising from the process was the need to obtain formal approval from the Registrar's Office to conduct interviews with Wits students. Communication was made between the supervisor of this research and the Registrar's Office. Thereafter, permission was granted to interview Wits students (refer to copy of letter of approval in Annexures).

Once the researcher received University approval, she was then able to approach suitable candidates, confirm their participation, schedule meeting times and begin conducting interviews. Through the initial stages of scheduling meeting times, the researcher emailed her participants requesting their assistance with the

research and providing more information about the research topic through the Participant Information Sheet. The researcher specified to the participant that meeting times and dates would be upon their request as to when it would best suit them.

Once the researcher met with her participant, she outlined the topic of the research, and then explained the nature of research. This included the following: the participant would not gain financially, or otherwise from the research; the participant would be able to terminate her participation at any time during the process if she wished; and that her identity would remain anonymous. The researcher then explained what would be required of the participant and requested permission for the interview to be recorded. Lastly, the researcher asked the participant to sign a consent form stating the above mentioned areas (refer to Annexures for Participant Information Sheet and Participant consent form).

Contents of the interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher. All recordings and transcripts are kept in a single folder in a secure location. The participants' notebooks are also kept together in a secure location.

1.12 Structure of Report

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene: Exploring the Research Potentials and Obstacles

The introductory chapter provides an overview of the background to the research, the problem statement, the research question and sub-questions. It then explains the purpose and rationale of the research report and outlines the research methodology including how the data will be analysed. Lastly, the ethical considerations of conducting the research are explained.

Chapter 2: Understanding Theoretical Concepts of Women in the City

This chapter provides an understanding of the relationship between women and the city. It outlines the gendered nature of cities, with particular focus on Johannesburg. It also discusses the complexity of metropolitan cities, again giving attention to Johannesburg and urbanisation in the city. This helps to understand the issues that women commonly face with regards to navigating through the urban realm. This chapter also investigates safety and security issues relating to Johannesburg and explores female migrants' experiences in Johannesburg more specifically. The chapter also highlights the links between urban planning and the literature and how planning can impact upon movement patterns of female students.

Chapter 3: Overview of Gauteng, Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand

This chapter serves to better understand the context of this research. It delivers an overview of the context of Johannesburg within the Gauteng province while outlining urbanisation and migration patterns in the city and province. The chapter also reflects on transportation patterns in the city and the province. The next section of the chapter provides an overview of the spatial relationship between the Wits campuses within the city as a whole, and gives a breakdown of female demographics at the university.

Chapter 4: Discovering female student newcomers' experiences in Johannesburg

This chapter presents the findings from the fieldwork. It examines the modes of transportation that female students use, their perceptions of Johannesburg and their perceptions of movement in the city. The chapter also inspects aspects that impact on female students' movement patterns in the city such as safety, time and cost and the fear of xenophobia. It also outlines factors that make female students feel safer with regards to movement in the urban realm.

Chapter 5: Deciphering the experiences of female student newcomers in Johannesburg

This chapter analyses findings presented in Chapter Four. It addresses the findings in terms of the literature outlined in the literature review chapter (Chapter Two). It analyses aspects of the findings that confirm the existing literature as well as aspects that contradict the existing literature. It also unpacks aspects of the findings that can be added to existing literature on women's experiences in Johannesburg.

Chapter 6: Summing up current experiences and gazing towards the future

This chapter discusses the main themes of the research the research question and sub-questions. This provides the summary of the study informed by the preceding chapters. This summary assists with developing recommendations to address women's needs from the city and more specifically, female student newcomers' needs from Johannesburg.

Chapter 2: Understanding Theoretical Concepts of Women in the City

This is for my girls all around the world
Who have come across a man that don't respect your worth
Thinkin' all women should be seen and not heard
So what do we do girls, shout out loud
Lettin 'em know were gonna stand our ground
So lift your hands high and wave 'em proud
Take a deep breath and say it loud
Never can, never will
Can't hold us down

Christina Aguilera (feat. Lil' Kim) – Can't Hold Us Down
(Aguilera et al., 2002)

The following chapter discusses the literature that underpins this research. It aims to understand the relationship that women have with the city. It begins by providing an understanding of the gendered nature of cities. It then discusses urbanisation in metropolitan cities, giving particular attention to Johannesburg and how women position themselves in this complex metropolitan city. Thereafter, the literature examines female migrants in the city of Johannesburg. Lastly, this chapter outlines how urban planning can be positioned in the debates regarding women in the city, more specifically young women in Johannesburg.

2.1 Women's Movement in the Urban Realm

2.1.1 Gendered Nature of Cities

The built environment is often defined as being made for men, by men. These include buildings, their surroundings, land-use patterns and design features of the public realm (Abada, 2013). Women have been associated with taking care of the family and housekeeping. It has thus continuously been enforced that the private realm is space designated for women. This is where they should be at most times and where they are allowed to act freely. Men, on the other hand, were seen as the financial providers of the family and were seen as being more powerful than women (Hayden, 1980; Pain, 1997; Kihato, 2009). These roles have now changed as women are in the labour force along with men. They often have many more responsibilities other than taking care of the family. Women have also become more mobile in the city. Women are studying and have jobs and are continuously moving around in the city. The question arises when it is considered whether cities have developed and evolved to accommodate these changing roles of women in society (Miranne and Young, 2000). It is essential that cities are designed to accommodate women as well as men (Rasool et al, 2002).

Different urban population groups experience the city differently and thus have different needs from the city (UN Habitat, 2014). Scraton and Watson (2010) unpack the complexity of spaces within the city. They argue that all spaces play a particular role for different people, and therefore they hold different meanings for different people. Kihato (2009) discusses how women make tactical relationships with the city. They often plan where they need to go, when and how they are going to get to their destination. Women often require a grocery store or day care centre (if they have a small child) in close proximity to their place of work as well as to their place of residence. This allows them to move within space and acquire all their

necessities. Women also require a feeling of safety which can differ depending on the surroundings. In some cases, crowded areas can make women feel safer than quiet areas and vice versa. A feeling of safety can also include the presence of a security guard or environmental aspects such as sunlight or the presence of trees. Another important aspect is that of street lighting and maintenance of roads and sidewalks. These make women feel comfortable in a space and provide to the feeling of safety (Schmucki, 2012).

Miranne and Young (2000) discuss the relationship women have with urban environments. They mention that women adjust to spaces they interact within. By this it is meant that women adapt to their surroundings, and often act differently depending on the nature of the space that they occupy. In the same way, spaces change and alter in appearance and form through the presence of women. Another aspect these authors discuss is that of the concept of gendered urban boundaries which are described as being spaces in a city where women are likely to be seen and spaces where they are not. This is due to the physical form and appearance of the space as well as other factors such as perceptions of the space and the time of day (Miranne and Young, 2000).

2.1.2 Women's Perceptions and Safety Concerns

There are two main areas that women experience violence in urban areas. The first relates to violence against women. This refers to gender based violence, usually occurring in the private realm and most often, by a man familiar to the victim. The second relates to violence developed from urban securities due to urbanisation. This is where women have limited ability to access the benefits of a city such as services and spaces in the city. These two types of violence may also occur simultaneously. When women experience violence and lack of security, it limits their rights to access and enjoy the benefits of the city; and it also limits their mobility and their participation in public life (Action Aid, 2011).

The city's physical realm is defined by the way people talk about it, conceptualise it and imagine it (Hollander, 2001). Perceptions determine how people move, the extent to how much they move and the mode of transportation they use to get to that particular space. Negative perceptions will often limit leisure movement. Negative perceptions of a space may also result in an individual choosing to pay for transportation (to a space within walking distance) as opposed to walking to that particular space (van Donk, 2004).

The manner in which an individual perceives the urban environment will have an impact on how the individual interacts within the environment. The act of perception requires individuals to interpret the physical as well as the social components of their understanding of the environment. It is also argued that the way in which an individual is socialised and educated has an impact on how that individual perceives the environment. What this means is that perceptions are derived from personality. Each person has a unique personality and thus each person would have unique perceptions of space (Phasha, 2010). Perception is also influenced by the media and by stories passed through word of mouth. This has a significant effect on how people view space (Pain, 1997). Carmona et al (2003) suggest that perception relates to meaning, and thus if an individual has a particular perception of a space, it would signify that the space holds some sort of meaning to the individual. Individuals' perceptions may also hold varying levels of meaning whereby some spaces may hold a deeper meaning as opposed to other spaces. Perceptions of a space will change as the meanings attached to that space changes and as lifestyle of the individual changes. If an individual grows fond of a space, their perceptions of that space would change positively and alternatively, vice versa (McDowell, 1999). Another important factor of perception is that it will influence or determine how an individual acts in a space. Phasha (2010) argues that an individual cannot act in a space unless they have had preconceived perceptions about that particular space. By this it is meant that before visiting a space, an individual would have had a perceived idea of what the experience would be. This is how the individual would know how to behave in the space (Phasha, 2010; Pain, 1997).

Violence has a distinct relationship to power whereby violence against an individual is a form of power over them. Perception of violence also holds power in the same way. Women in cities are fearful of male violence. Through this understanding, male domination over women in cities is further emphasised. It is seen through this concept that the perceived violence is a central feature of the gendered nature of cities (Hollander, 2001).

Vulnerability and danger are also dominant concepts relating to gender in cities. These are concepts are constructed, transmitted and reinforced through conversation where they are often memorised by an individual and passed on. Men are perceived to have greater strength than women and thus are often seen as 'dangerous' and on the other hand, women are seen to be weaker than men and are thus seen as being 'vulnerable'. Through this, masculinity is linked to strength and femininity is linked to weakness. These beliefs are argued to be socially constructed and reinforced through conversation and through the media, rather than being a

representation of reality (Hollander, 2001). This discourse, however, may potentially exaggerate women's fear of violence in the city.

People perceive violence more often than violence occurs. Women also fear violence more than men although the reality is that young men are more prone to more violent acts as opposed to women of any age. Hollander (2001) argues that women's fear in the city is much greater than men because of the nature of sexual harassment and assault. Research by Women's Design Service reveals that the fear of sexual assault is the main factor that women fear when moving in the urban environment. It is thus noted that women's fear of violence has often evolved through invisible forces that act upon women's subconscious. Even though perceptions may be invisible forces and not necessarily a representation of reality, they play a huge role in the mobility of women in cities (Hollander, 2001). Fear can restrict the movement of women in the city, and cause them to avoid certain spaces due to the potential threat within them. Through this fear, women are restricted in their movement within the city (van Donk, 2004). Fear of violence also has an impact on individuals in that they may be willing to spend more money to ensure their safety in their choices of travel, place of accommodation, and place of employment. Women's fear of going outdoors after dark has often hindered their movement in some forms of employment, civic and community participation and leisure activities (Davis, 2015). The fear of violence can also have a figurative effect of creating a negative self-image, anxiety and depression as well as loss of trust in fellow citizens (Whitzman, 2008). It can also have an effect on their social health and well-being where certain experiences may have a lasting psychological effect on many women. An aspect that links to female students is where a woman's experiences may reduce their involvement in student organisations outside of the class such as socialising events and after hour group meetings (Action Aid, 2011).

There are many factors that increase vulnerability and create different perceptions of danger. Besides the factor of gender, other factors include the age of a person. Hollander (2001) argues that young women are most vulnerable and have the most negative perceptions of fear due to them being a 'desirable' age. What this means is that men often prey on and target young women. As they grow older, more mature and wiser, they often move past this peak of perceived vulnerability and do not see themselves as being targets. Another factor would be an individual's social class, in which trappings of wealth may make individuals more vulnerable to attack. If an individual is seen to be wearing branded clothing, s/he is seen as a potential target due to the display of wealth. It is, although, argued that it may not necessarily be actual wealth but rather the appearance of wealth. This particular individual may

be wearing fake branded clothing and not be wealthy in reality although they were seen to have wealth due to the appearance that they portray. Race and ethnicity also have an impact on vulnerability. It has been discovered by Hollander (2001) that whiteness is linked to vulnerability and people of colour are linked to potential danger. White people believe that they are more at risk than other races (Hollander, 2001).

Factors that limit the movement of women in cities include the use of space and the perceptions of fear relating to the social construction of 'safe' and 'dangerous' spaces (Pain, 1997). The use of space refers to what a particular space is used for. For example, a park where families may have a picnic would be regarded as a safe space, whereas a park where men go to drink might not be perceived to be a safe space. The social construction of safe and dangerous spaces are perceived aspects of a space that would make people feel unsafe, such as bad lighting and spaces that have not been well maintained and are desolate. These factors do not necessarily mean that violence will occur in the spaces, but they foster a preconceived notion that they may be potentially dangerous spaces. This perception of fear often restricts women from moving in the public realm (Pain, 1997). A person under the influence of alcohol could lead to sudden acts of violence. Thus, when an individual is assumed to be under the influence of alcohol, the individual is perceived to be a higher threat than individuals who are not under the influence (Whitzman, 2008). Inadequate infrastructure and services as well as poorly planned and managed urban spaces lead women to feel more vulnerable in the public realm (Action Aid, 2011).

Women often take precautions when moving in the public realm to minimise the possibility of violence. The act of women fearing men violence can be seen as an expression of patriarchy as it brings through male domination over women (Pain, 1997). A common precaution that women use when walking in space is walking with familiar company. Travelling with company would make women feel like they are not alone and they would feel safer while walking (Pain, 1997). Perceptions of fear are subjective and vary among different women, and thus an aspect that would make one woman feel safe may be an aspect that another woman may fear. Nevertheless, there are common elements of a space which women generally fear. These aspects of a space would be bad lighting, lack of maintenance, poor infrastructure in terms of poor signage and uneven paving (Pain, 1997).

An audit undertaken on parks revealed that parks that are not well maintained often make women feel unsafe. These feelings are likely to arise in parks with broken benches, no waste management, and bad lighting. The relationship between the

maintenance of public spaces and safety is that a poorly maintained space could become a potential site for criminal activities to occur in the space. Clear signage is an aspect that makes women feel safer in spaces. This is due to knowing where she is, and would allow her to be able to call someone and give an exact location if she is in a dangerous situation. Being aware of where one is, allows one to think of an escape strategy if in a trying situation (Davis, 2015).

A common tool that women use is that they mentally map spaces in the city (Scraton and Watson, 2010). This is where women are aware of the routes that they would use to access spaces. They may not necessarily know the street names, but they would be aware of which way to travel according to the landmarks and buildings they pass. Women are also aware of spaces in a city that they would interact in and spaces that they would steer clear from. Women-friendly spaces would be those with good visibility and well maintained. Spaces that women would attempt to avoid would be spaces that appear to be deserted, and especially at night (Scraton and Watson, 2010).

2.2 Women, Youth and Migrants in Johannesburg

2.2.1 Urbanisation and Migration in Johannesburg

Metropolitan cities have the tendency to expand and merge with smaller settlements surrounding the city. As the city grows outwards, it is often characterised by large distances between places, such as those between places of work and places of residence. This increases the travel time between spaces. Traffic congestion is also a common feature of metropolitan cities where it becomes difficult to move around the city due to extensive amounts of traffic on roads. There is often a strong focus on private car-orientated movement with infrastructure often being designed to accommodate the private vehicle rather than the pedestrian (van der Bol, 2009).

Since the abolition of the apartheid regime, there have been high rates of urbanisation into South African urban areas and especially Johannesburg. The most common form of migration is from rural areas and small towns to bigger cities. This is due to the opportunities presented in cities. International migration is also common in the case of Johannesburg. There has been multiple reasons for international migration including high unemployment rates as well as weakening economic conditions and low wage provision in home countries (Todes et al, 2010).

People migrate to cities in the hope of accessing better opportunities and to improve their living conditions. Youth migration is also on the rise. It is often one of the factors in the decline in household size. Youth usually occupy temporary accommodation in the form of rental arrangements to lodge with established families or to live alone (Todes et al, 2010). Simelane (2011) proposes that this population may not make a permanent move to the city and may only migrate to the city for a relatively short period of time, usually between two to five years.

There have been more men than women entering the South African labour market although the number of women has been increasing since 1995. The female labour supply has been increasing at a faster rate than male labour supply in cities of South Africa. This is due to the fact that more women are becoming educated and entering the labour market. Between the years of 1995 and 1999, there has also been an increase in the number of women with diplomas (Casale and Posel, 2002). This finding changes the past belief of men migrating to cities significantly more than women (Simelane, 2011).

Fenster (2004) discusses the concept of belonging in cities in relation to migrants. This is a prominent theme arising from existing literature. She describes belonging as being “rightly placed or classified to fit in a specific environment” (Fenster, 2004: 243). Having a sense of belonging to a space is to have memories and feeling connected to that space, and thus belonging is a feeling that heightens over time. A lack of this feeling will lead people to feel isolated from the city and spaces within it. In this way, they may feel uncomfortable and not be able to relate to the city, and in turn, this may lead to negative perceptions of the city. Therefore, mobility is essential, and it becomes a resource that can positively modify perceptions of the city (Kihato, 2013). Mobility allows an individual to be able to experience different spaces and different aspects of the city. The more an individual interacts with a space, the more they will feel like they belong in that space. Further, interaction with a space can only be attained through mobility. Mobility, although, may not be able to be easily achieved, as the ability to be mobile depends on an individual's perceptions of fear as well as their ability to afford travel costs (Fenster, 2004).

Kihato (2013) demonstrates that the concept of belonging also has a close relationship to the concept of ‘home’. If a person feels that they belong in a space, the space will naturally feel more like a ‘home’ to that person. The concept of belonging has a strong relationship to perceptions of safety in that the more a person feels that they belong in a space, the safer they will feel in that space. Once an individual is familiar with a space (have that sense of belonging), they are conscious

of their surroundings. They would also feel more comfortable in a space and would thus not have as many negative perceptions of the space as opposed to not being familiar with a space (Fenster, 2004). Familiarity often makes women feel more comfortable and safe (Phasha, 2010). Familiarity also produces the feeling of belonging, and thus the more an individual visits a space, the more they feel that they belong in that space (Fenster, 2004).

2.2.2 Safety and Security of Women in Johannesburg

Dirsuweit (2002) argues that crime in South Africa has become a national obsession. She writes that crime in South Africa escalated during the 1980s, which was when apartheid repression was at its peak (see Chapter Three for current crime trends). She discusses the effect of such violence has left behind a traumatised society (Dirsuweit, 2002). The boundaries created in cities by the apartheid regime did not automatically disappear after the abolition of apartheid. Dirsuweit (2002) explains that policies often promote human rights for all although society continues to certain groups in society as having power above others.

She deduces that most people have developed mitigation measures against the threat of crime. These mitigation measures could be a variety of measures such as choice of clothing, time of day that women choose to travel, or specific routes that women take to reach a destination. Pain (1997: 234) discusses the concept of “virtual curfew”. This is described as a feeling that women have when they do not want to walk alone in certain areas after a certain time. These times differ with different spaces according to one’s knowledge of the space. Harris (2003) proposes that crime in South Africa is often referred to by the term ‘culture of violence’. This term is used to refer to a society that regards violence as being acceptable to some degree.

The 1970s marked the decade for the awareness of safe spaces for women. During this period many protest marches against fear of sexual violence and experiences of aggression occurred in America. One of the most notable marches that has become a global phenomenon is the “Take back the night” March which first occurred in San Francisco in 1973. The objective of the marches is to create awareness of women’s rights in cities and to prevent future acts of violence against women (Wanda, 2015). In South Africa, the “Mini-skirt” march took place in 2012, which was lead by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), various women’s groups and political organisations. This march was held after two women were chased by a group of men at Noord Street taxi rank in Johannesburg (SAPA, 2012). It was aimed at bringing awareness to men that women should be allowed to dress

any way that they please without the fear of harassment. The march also aimed to see to the enhancement of safety in the streets of Johannesburg (Nkoane, 2014).



Figure 2.1 37th annual 'Take back the night' march held in Oregon, USA.
Source: Wilder, 2015



Figure 2.2 Students marching in Oregon, USA for 37th annual 'Take back the night' march.
Source: Wilder, 2015

Kent (2013) discusses safety issues relating to present day Johannesburg's inner city. Her study is conducted on a vulnerable group of society, children. Kent (2013) concludes that children are neither normalised to danger nor do they identify danger everywhere. They are aware of what danger is through hearing the stories of adults and their friends. They practice avoidance of spaces through these stories. Their notion of danger affects their movement routes and the spaces in which they play. Children are taught to avoid certain situations such as "abandoned buildings, public toilets and strangers in cars" (Kent, 2013: 53).

Kent (2013) evaluates the concept of passive surveillance, which is an act of regular street users to act as "look-outs" for the safety of other pedestrians. This provides a sense of comfort whereby people are aware that there may be other people observing them. Passive surveillance often makes women feel more comfortable while moving in a space (Kent, 2013).

Vetten and Dladla (2000) discuss women's experiences relating to safety in the public realm of Johannesburg. They conducted their research on homeless women, commercial sex workers, female security guards, and women waste management workers. This article highlights specific female groupings in society, within various occupations. The authors examine the experiences of these women in the city. Some women revealed that there are areas in Johannesburg that are more dangerous than others, and there are certain areas that women try to avoid wherever possible and other areas that women enjoy moving within. A common strategy that women use while walking in the streets of Johannesburg is that of avoidance. This is where women try not to enter situations that are presumed to be potentially dangerous, they would avoid the situation altogether (Vetten and Dladla, 2000).

An aspect that arises as a result of avoidance and fear of violence in the city, which is often overlooked, is its effect upon the individual. Pain (1997) argues that these spatial constraints have a broader effect on the well-being and self identity of an individual. This is where perceptions of fear can often limit an individual from being himself or herself. This is described by Pain (1997) as a damaging effect of fear.

Van Donk (2004) discusses women's experiences in the inner city of Johannesburg. She mentions that women continually experience various forms of sexual behaviour, ranging from sexual harassment to rape and assault. The most common is verbal harassment. It occurs repeatedly and women have largely become accustomed to it. She also discusses safety in public transportation and mentions that women often raise their concerns about their safety at bus stops and taxi ranks and on buses, trains and taxis. She states that one in three women feel unsafe in these areas (van Donk, 2004).

2.2.3 Migrant Women in Johannesburg (from within and outside South Africa)

People migrate to cities in the hope of accessing better opportunities and to improve their living conditions. This is the same case for student newcomers. Their move to Johannesburg has been to attend university in preparation for a successful future. In many of the big cities in Africa, there are a greater number of men moving to cities than women, although the number of women moving to cities is continually increasing in African cities (Simelane, 2011).

Kihato (2013) provides an understanding of relationships that migrant women have with Johannesburg. She demonstrates how many women move to Johannesburg to earn a living. She aims to understand how this move shapes the individual. She discusses how women can live in Johannesburg but remain dislocated from the city; it becomes a city that they tolerate but do not necessarily regard it as 'home'. An absence of being 'home' produces a feeling of insecurity and makes migrant women feel they do not belong in a particular space or city. Kihato (2013) uses the concept of suspension to describe the liminal realm in which female migrants are living, in which they exist between the romanticised past of their hometowns and their imagined future elsewhere (Kihato, 2013). Through this concept it can be understood that this migrant population is torn between the surety and comfort of their previous home and the hope and uncertainty of a better future in Johannesburg. This may also be the case for female student newcomers to Johannesburg. Their urban area of origin is what they had known and what they had

become comfortable with. Their move to Johannesburg on the other hand is the unknown and they would have to learn how to adapt to a different city.

This explanation shows that the concept of belonging has a strong linkage to perceptions of safety for migrant women in Johannesburg. Migrant women, being newcomers and having not lived in Johannesburg for a substantial period of time may often have a decreased sense of belonging than a person born in the city. This decreased sense of belonging would have an impact on how migrant women experience the city, particularly in relation to their perceptions of safety. Further, their sense of belonging and the development of positive perceptions of safety in the city would strengthen over time, and migrant women would feel safer in certain areas that they become familiar with (Fenster, 2004).

The Market Photo Workshop in conjunction with Wits University and Sisonke Sex Worker Movement conducted a project to understand the experiences of migrant women involved in sex work within the inner city of Johannesburg. This article provides an understanding of the challenges of xenophobia in cities facing migrant women living and working in Johannesburg. They often fear being attacked and discriminated against for being foreign national. Xenophobia is likely to be a factor in the decisions of foreign nationals regarding movement in Johannesburg (Market Photo Workshop, 2015).

Nkoane (2014) conducted research on the experiences of migrant and South African women in Johannesburg. She explored whether migrant women feel more vulnerable to violence in Johannesburg than South African women given the rise of xenophobic tensions in the city. She concluded that migrant women did not feel any more vulnerable than South African women. The factor that differentiated the women was the length of time that they had lived in the area. Both migrant and South African women who had lived in the city for ten years or more adjusted better to the city and had less fear of violence than women who lived in the city for less than ten years (Nkoane, 2014).

The migrant literature on urban migrants can be used to understand the study grouping of this research. It is likely that these students would not entirely be familiar with the city. They may have varying levels of familiarity depending on how often they have visited the city prior to their move. It is thus uncertain as to how well-adjusted these students become to the city.

2.3 Urban Planning in Relation to Migrant Women in Cities

2.3.1 Gender Sensitive Planning

There are certain attributes that women require from a city in order to feel safe while moving within it. The Safer Cities programme suggests that cities should focus on these features in order for women to be able to achieve the feeling of safety within cities. An essential characteristic would be to increase women's rights to the city. This can be attained by improving their mobility, access, and to ensure their safety. There are also other domains that may improve the public realm for women. These would be to enforce safe and well-lit pedestrian routes, provide recreational facilities, and to increase access to a variety of activities in cities. It is also crucial to have all of the above within close proximity to transportation routes (Todes et al, 2009).

There is a need for planning to include the vulnerable and minority groups in society. This includes women, particularly different sub-groupings of women in society. The planning of cities should promote inclusivity and access to the city's various benefits (Reeves, 2009). Understanding women's experiences allows planners to view methods of improving cities in order to accommodate all individuals. It is vital that planners understand that women and men use space differently and thus gender-sensitive planning is crucial to achieving gender equality in the urban environment (Abada, 2013). Gender-sensitive planning includes ensuring the safety and accessibility of public transportation (van Donk, 2004). Other aspects of gender-sensitive planning include an increase in the representation of women in political spheres of society. This allows women in power to make an impact in guaranteeing that women's lives in the city are improved. Another aspect is to ensure that women are actively participating in organisations and participatory processes in the city. A third aspect of gender-sensitive planning is the creation of urban partnerships between various citizens of the city, from community through to management level (Todes et al, 2009).

Gender-sensitive planning is also context specific and may present different meanings in different places depending on the ethnic, cultural and socio-economic aspects of the particular area. It is also transformative and aims to improve people's livelihoods. It involves a variety of people in the planning process and is best undertaken at the grass-roots level where the specific needs of a particular community can be understood and improved on. It encourages participation and specifically the participation of women in the planning process (Cleobury, 1994).

There is a strong focus on urban planning to strive towards urban inclusion in order to promote positive change in cities (Reeves, 2009). Cities offer many opportunities such as services, employment, education, social development and public spaces for citizens to interact in. It is thus vital that cities aim to promote these opportunities and to allow for equal access to the opportunities (UN Habitat, 2014; Reeves, 2009).

Space shapes relationships amongst people and also creates identity. Through this understanding space in cities should be inviting and should create positive growth for individuals, and should not consist of criminal activity, which people fear (Harris, 2003).

Abada (2013) discusses three aspects of a city that are important for women. First, inclusivity should allow women to access and participate in the social, cultural, economic, and political facets of the city. Secondly, convenience can be facilitated by adapting urban infrastructure and services to accommodate women's specific needs. These needs include street lighting in public spaces, well kept paving and well maintained public spaces. The third aspect is that of safety. This allows women the right to the city through a safe urban environment. A safe and inclusive city is a city where women of all ages are able to relish the city and interacting within the public realm without the fear of being harassed and assaulted. It is also a city where women are not discriminated against (Abada, 2013).

Issues of women's safety have often been excluded from key policy agendas (Action Aid, 2011). Van Donk (2004) argues that the vulnerability of women in the city is a matter that requires addressing. She suggests that women's sense of vulnerability can be minimised with adequate infrastructure such as sufficient lighting, well-maintained roads and pavements, and reliable public transportation to move around the city. She also mentions that enhanced mobility for women is central for empowerment and independence for women and for them to feel secure (van Donk, 2004). Urban planning can contribute to preventing violence in public spaces by improving the design of public spaces to ensure safety for all users. Another feature would be to provide social services such as health care and support groups for women who have been affected by violence in the public realm (Whitzman, 2008).

Apart from safety and reliable public transportation, women would require convenience in mobility, to allow them to access space more easily. This is where transportation serves their particular needs of travelling at different times of the day. They would also seek the beauty in spaces and would appreciate visiting well designed and visually pleasing spaces (Abada, 2013).

Behrens and Watson (1996) outline principles of layout planning, which would improve the lives of people, and especially women in the city. The principles include place-making which refers to the creation of meaningful spaces where users are able to relate to the spaces with which they interact. The relationship between buildings and open spaces is termed 'scale' and is an essential feature. It allows pedestrians to relate to space. Creating access for all city users is important. The notion of access relates to opportunity, and this and the city should create opportunities for people to improve their living conditions. Cities should also be efficient to allow citizens to access spaces without long travel times. Cities should also offer a variety of choices to serve a variety of people. Choice ensures that all citizens of a city can be accommodated (Behrens and Watson, 1996).

Bentley et al (1885) argue that choice is developed through creating legible spaces. Legibility is the ease with which people are able to understand the layout of spaces. They state that legibility is achieved through the careful design of spaces and routes according to the perceptual structure of the space. It includes the massing of buildings as well as the enclosure of public space (Bentley et al, 1885). It can be seen that the concept of legibility relates to Behrens and Watson's (1996) principle of scale.

A study by Jagori conducted in Delhi suggested that implementing twenty-four police departments in more areas within the city would ensure security for residents. These departments could contain a women's help desk for women to report a negative experience that may have occurred. This suggestion was made after a woman in the city was brutally gang raped in the city's public realm (Bergen, 2013).

In light of the recent students' protests across the nation, Bank (2015) argues that the student protests were not limited to an issue of fee increases. He argues that their demands also relate to the fabric of their urban experience. "Students demand the right to recognition and the right to the services they are entitled to enjoy as paying students and citizens" (Bank, 2015). This notion relates directly to the experiences of female student newcomers in Johannesburg. These students also express their desire to interact within the city and to be able to feel safe while doing so. They have a desire to be able to easily access public transportation in the city to allow them to access more spaces in the city. Bank (2015) discusses two concepts that require addressing. The first concept relates to the right to the city, which Henri Lefebvre writes that city spaces belong to those who live and interact within them. Cities should be developed in light of the interests of its inhabitants. The second concept he discusses is that of the concept of "slow violence". This refers to the

hidden violence embedded in short term interests and unsustainable development policies. He suggests that urban policy frameworks should be able to be realised so that changes can serve to create positive students' experiences in cities.

Female students are a unique grouping of individuals as they are young adults. They are often discovering themselves and how they fit into society. Since the majority are not earning an income, they are required to manage their limited finances. Student newcomers to the city have an added difficulty of not being familiar with the city and often having to fend for themselves.

2.4 Theoretical Concepts Summarised

It is evident that cities are eminently gendered in their nature (Miranne and Young, 2000). Historically, women were assigned to the private realm, as caretakers of the family and the household. Men, on the other hand, interacted mostly in the public realm and were seen as being the financial providers of the family (Rasool et al, 2002). These gender roles have changed and women are occupying the labour market, along with men. Women and men should have equal rights to the city (Simelane, 2011).

The trend of women migrating to cities is rising as women seek to gain an education and employment to improve their livelihoods (Kihato, 2013). Through this, it can be assumed that female students who move to Johannesburg also relocate to the city to further their tertiary studies to improve their lives.

Many activities of these female students occur in the public realm. Such activities include travelling to their educational institution, purchasing items of need and accessing leisure activities. The public realm in Johannesburg is often perceived to be unsafe (Kent, 2013). While violence and harassment is a reality in Johannesburg; it has been exacerbated through people's perceptions of violence. Female students may limit their movement in Johannesburg due to this exacerbated perception of potential violence. Upon moving within the public realm, they may adopt certain mitigation measures that would avoid the risk of harassment and violence (Phasha, 2010).

It must be understood that perception is a notion, which is often socially constructed as perception travels through word of mouth, through the media, and through various other means (Phasha, 2010). Perception is also unique to personality and changes over time as an individual becomes more familiar with a space. Familiarity generates a feeling of belonging, which is ultimately the goal of female student migrants in the city of Johannesburg.

Urban planning within the city should be done in a gender-sensitive manner to ensure that all citizens have equal rights to the city (Todes et al, 2009). Cities need to be designed to ensure inclusivity, convenience and safety so that female student newcomers are able to have access to spaces in the city that allow them to improve their lives (Abada, 2013).

Chapter 3: Overview of Gauteng, Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand

There's a hero
If you look inside your heart
You don't have to be afraid
Of what you are
There's an answer
If you reach into your soul
And the sorrow that you know
Will melt away

And then a hero comes along
With the strength to carry on
And you cast your fears aside
And you know you can survive
So when you feel like hope is gone
Look inside you and be strong
And you'll finally see the truth
That a hero lies in you

Mariah Carey – Hero
(Afanasieff and Carey, 1993)

The following chapter provides background overview of the case study, Johannesburg. It investigates citizens' transportation patterns in the city and Gauteng. The chapter then locates the University of the Witwatersrand within its surroundings. It will also discuss the relationship of the university campuses within surrounding areas of Braamfontein, Parktown and Johannesburg inner city. This section of the chapter also presents demographic evidence of female students at Wits University in order to further realise the participants of this research and how they are situated within the city.

3.1. Background Overview of Johannesburg

Since this research explores female students experiences in Johannesburg, it is essential to set the scene of Johannesburg by first locating Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand. It is also important to understand the population of Johannesburg as well as the general movement patterns of the population.

Map 3.1 locates the City of Johannesburg within Gauteng Province. This serves to understand the spatial relationship of the city within the province. The map also highlights the various local municipalities within the province. This assists to develop a spatial relationship of the City of Johannesburg with its neighbouring local municipalities within Gauteng.

The prominent site areas of this research are the various Wits campuses. These are located in Map 3.2. This serves to distinguish the spatial relationship of Wits campuses within Johannesburg and the greater province.

3.1.1 Population, Women and Migration Trends

Gauteng is the fastest growing province of the nine provinces in South Africa. It is also the most populous with a population of 12 272 263 according to the 2011 census (StatsSA, 2012), making up 23.7% of South Africa's total population (Kihato, 2013). The total population of Gauteng in 1996 was 7 834 125, in 2001 it was 9 388 854, and in 2011 it was 12 272 263 (StatsSA, 2012). Through these figures, it is seen that the percentage increase from 1996 to 2001 was 19.85% and the percentage increase from 2001 to 2011 was 30.72%. The percentage increase is on a rise between the period of 1996 and 2011. A possible reason for this increase could be due to migration into the province.

Map 3.1 City of Johannesburg within Gauteng Province



Legend

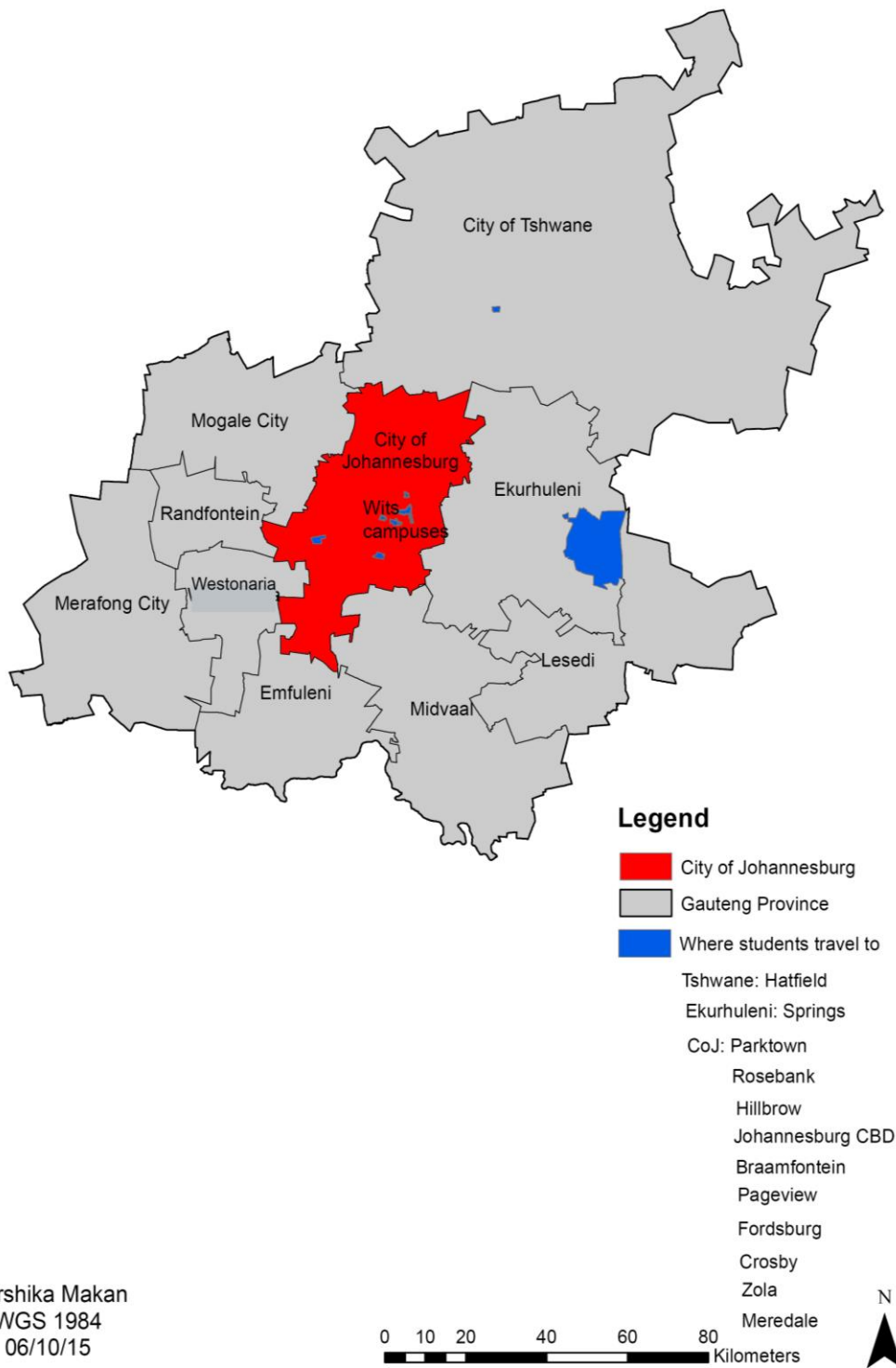
- City of Johannesburg
- Gauteng Province

Darshika Makan
WGS 1984
06/10/15



Map 3.1 Map of Johannesburg in Gauteng Province. This map highlights the Johannesburg metropolitan area within the context of the Gauteng province. This helps provide an understanding of where Johannesburg is situated within the broader province as well the size of Johannesburg in relation to the other local municipalities within the province. It also serves to contextualise the data on population and travel choices presented in this chapter.

Map 3.2 City of Johannesburg within Gauteng Province including site area



Darshika Makan
 WGS 1984
 06/10/15

Map 3.2 This map located Johannesburg within Gauteng and also contextualises the site area of the research. It shows the relationship of Wits campuses to various other areas in Johannesburg and Gauteng.

The total population of Johannesburg is 4 434 827 according to the 2011 census. Of this population, 523 390 are women between the ages of 20 and 29. This amounts to 11.8% of the population of Johannesburg that fall within the age category, which this research will investigate. As for the 2007 census survey, 9.1% of the total population of Johannesburg are women between the ages of 20 and 29. The percentage rose by 2.7% between 2007 and 2011. It is thus noted that there is an increased number of this grouping of individuals in Johannesburg. In terms of men in the same category, the percentage of men within the age category of 20 to 29 was 9.3% in 2007 and 10.2% in 2011. It can be seen that there was also a percentage increase of 0.9% between the years of 2007 and 2011. The percentage increase of women in this age bracket is greater than that of men in the same age bracket. It can be assumed that there is an increasing number of women in this age category migrating to the city. The figure of women within the age category is also increasing at a faster rate than the number of men in the same age category. These figures provide an understanding of the number of women in Johannesburg that fall under the same age bracket of this research (StatsSA, 2012).

The population increase in Gauteng from the year 2001 to 2011 was 2 883 409. In terms of migration in Gauteng province, the 2011 census indicates that the total number of in-migrants to the province between the years of 2001 and 2011 is 1 440 142. It can be understood that migrants into Gauteng amounted to 49.95% of the percentage increase of the total population in Gauteng province (StatsSA, 2012). This figure includes males and females of all ages. The population increase between 2001 and 2011 was 30.72%. It is thus noted that the percentage of migrants into the city amounted to approximately 15% of the population increase between the years of 2001 and 2011. This percentage totals to approximately 432 511 people migrating to Johannesburg between 2001 and 2011.

Generally, the city centre population was found to be mostly composed of students, job seekers and business entrepreneurs. The majority of this population ranges between the ages of 20 and 39 years. These individuals move to cities to further their studies and to seek employment (Simelane, 2011).

3.1.2 Transportation Modes

Individuals carefully select particular modes of transportation. These modes of transportation include walking, bus, private transportation (as either drivers or passengers), and various others (StatsSA, 2013). Their choice is often constrained by factors such as cost, convenience and availability. Individuals' choice of mode of

transportation has an impact on how they perceive and experience the environment. Residents of the city may utilise different modes to access different spaces. They may also use different modes at different times of the day (StatsSA, 2013).

Table 3.1 depicts the population of Gauteng’s scholars and students and their usage of different modes of transportation to access their various institutions. It is assumed that female student newcomers would make their travel choices on similar grounds.

Table 3.1 Mode of transport to attend education institution

Mode of transport to attend education institution in Gauteng in 2013	Percentage of the population
Train	2.3
Bus	6
Taxi	22.4
Private car (driver)	4.3
Private passenger	21.2
Walking	42.5
Other	1.3
Total	100.0

(StatsSA, 2013).

Given these figures, it can be extrapolated that the main mode of transportation used by Gauteng learners to reach their education institution is by walking. It is noted that this mode of transportation is the greatest (42.5%). The second most used mode of transportation is by taxi (22.4%), and passengers in a private car (21.2%) is the third most used mode of transportation used to get to an education institution.

Individuals have a variety of explanations of their choice in a particular mode of transportation. The table below shows the factors that influence households’ choice of their mode of transportation in Gauteng for the year 2013. Here, it can also be assumed that female student newcomers may have similar reasons for their choice in mode of transportation.

Table 3.2 Factors influencing households' choice of mode of travel

Factors influencing households' choice of mode of travel in Gauteng in 2013	Percentage of the population
Travel time	36.1
Travel cost	25.3
Flexibility	9.7
Safety from accidents	8.8
Comfort	4.6
Reliability	5.1
Distance from home to transport	3.0
Security from crime	2.6
Drivers attitude	2.5
Timetable not available	0.7
Other	1.7
Total	100.0

(StatsSA, 2013).

It can be seen by Table 3.2 that the primary factor influencing people's choice of mode of transportation in Gauteng is the duration of travel time (36.1%). Cost of transportation also has a significant impact on individuals' choice of travel (25.3%). These two aspects are likely to play a role in this research. Other notable factors that could potentially relate to this research include security from crime, reliability, and timetable not being available. It has been illustrated in Table 3.1 that the majority of students walk as the mode of transportation to reach their educational institution. This would make travel time, comfort, distance from home to transport, and security from crime important features that could relate to walking.

Many residents have difficulties associated with transportation. Table 3.1 displays the transport related problems that are experienced by individuals residing in Gauteng province. It can also be assumed that female student newcomers of this study may replicate several of these issues regarding transportation within the city.

Table 3.3 Transport related problems of Gauteng residents

Transport related problems of Gauteng residents for 2013	Percentage of the population
(General problems)	
No transport problems	6.5
Poor condition of roads	7.0
Rude drivers	8.3
Overload	3.5
Congestion	6.3
Crime	3.1
Toll fees	2.9
Parking	0.7
Other	2.0
(Taxi)	
Too expensive	9.5
Reckless driving by taxi drivers	10.3
No taxis at specific times of day	3.8
Taxis too far	3.1
No taxis available	1.6
(Bus)	
No buses available	12.5
No buses at specific times of day	2.5
Buses too far	1.9
Buses too expensive	1.1
Reckless driving by bus drivers	2.3
(Train)	
No trains available	3.7
Trains not reliable	2.8
Trains too far	2.6
No trains at specific times of day	1.5
Trains too expensive	0.4
Total	100.0

(StatsSA, 2013).

By studying Table 3.3, it can be understood that the most frequent problems individuals face regarding transport are that of the lack of availability of buses (15%), reckless driving of taxi drivers (10.3%), and the cost of taxis (9.5%). Other problems

highlighted in Table 3.3 are the factors of crime and cost. This research explores whether these two factors have an impact on how female students move in Johannesburg.

3.1.3 Safety and Security

Crime is a notable element of South African cities. As revealed in the previous chapter, women regard crime as a significant contributing factor when considering movement within the urban public realm. Crimes in South Africa include murder, assault, rape and car hijacking. The total number of sexual offences reported in South Africa for the year 2014/5 is 53 617 offences. This figure has reduced since the 2013/4 figure. However, the amount is significant and requires attention. The case of reported crimes of assault with the intent to do harm also indicates that the number of offences has decreased from the 2013/4 period. However, the 2014/5 figure of 182 556 remains notable to consider (Flanagan et al, 2015).

Reported crimes of common assault have decreased in Gauteng from 716 in the 2013/4 period to 626 in the 2014/5 period. Despite the fact that there has been a decrease in reported crimes of common assault, it would still be a factor to note when considering experiences and perceptions in urban public space (SAPS, 2015). It is essential to also note that this figure represents the number of reported crimes; there is a possibility that many crimes could have occurred, unreported.

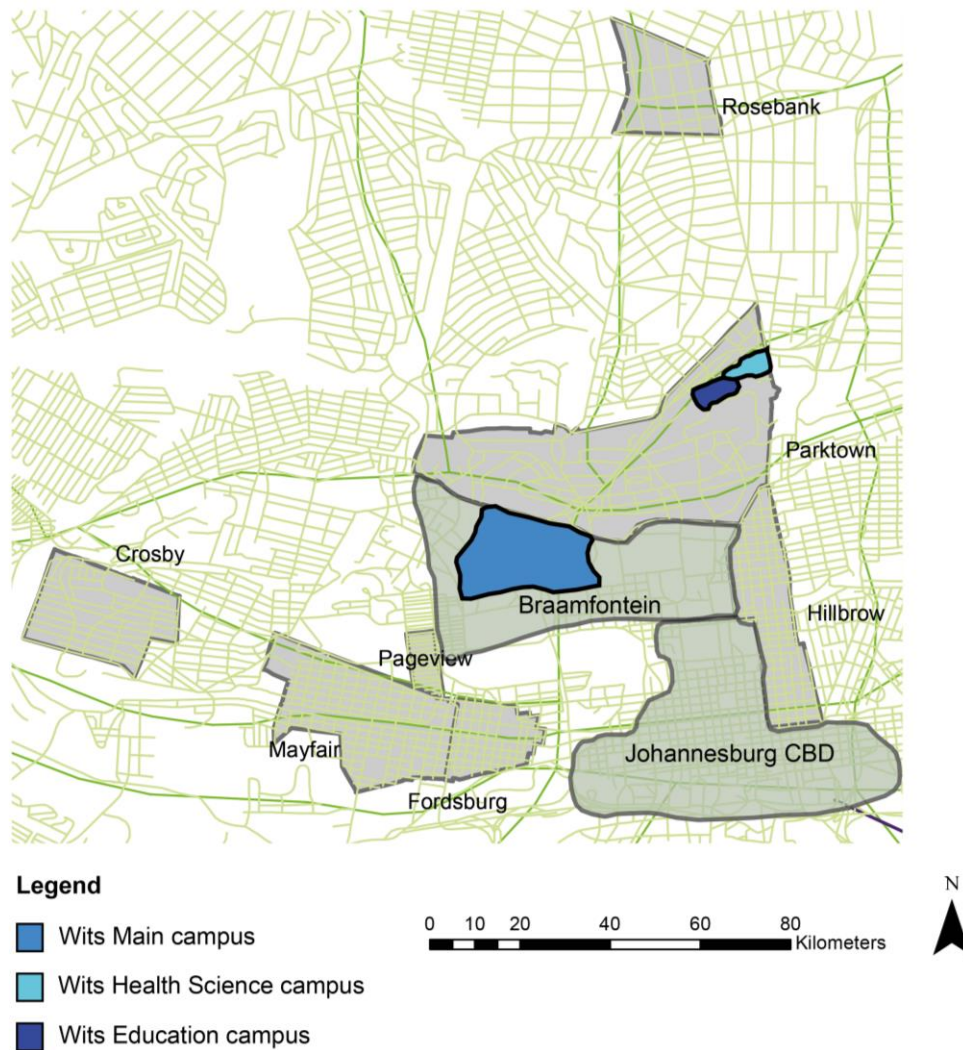
Crimes relating to vehicles have increased in Gauteng in the period of 2013/4. Theft of a vehicle has increased by 20 percent since this period with a total number of 412 cases reported in the 2014/5 period. Theft from a vehicle has also increased by 7.7% since the 2013/4 period with a total number of thefts from a vehicle amounting to 1 617 cases reported in Gauteng for the 2014/5 period. Car hijacking has increased by 28.7% from 38 cases reported in the 2013/4 period to 49 cases reported in the 2014/5 period (SAPS, 2015).

3.2 Background Overview of the University of the Witwatersrand

The University of the Witwatersrand Main campus is located in Braamfontein. The university's Education campus and Health Sciences campus are located in Parktown, north of Wits Main campus. The location of the various campuses is depicted on Map 3.3. This map also outlines the areas surrounding the Wits campuses. This serves to understand the spatial relationship of the Wits campuses within their surroundings.

Braamfontein is an area managed by the Braamfontein Management District, which is a non-profit organisation. Its aim is to manage, maintain and improve conditions in the area (Masemula, 2012). Braamfontein is an area with many activities for students such as coffee shops, bars, retail stores as well as grocery stores (Masemula, 2012). Since Braamfontein is within walking distance from Wits Main campus, it allows students to easily access various activities within close proximity.

Map 3.3 Wits campuses and surrounding areas



Map 3.3 Wits campuses and surrounding areas: The map shows the location of Wits main campus as well as Wits Health Science campus and Wits Education campus. These are the locations where students study. The grey areas highlight the surrounding areas of the university campuses, highlighting the areas that can be accessed from the university campuses. These areas also serve to contextualise the university campuses within its surrounding areas.

In 2015 Wits had a total number of 33 492 students enrolled at the university. Of this total, 18 435 are female students, representing 55.02% of the total number of students enrolled at the university. It can be assumed that the majority of the students who stay in halls of residence are students who are not from Johannesburg. The number of female students who currently live in Wits residences is 3 262 (Wits Business Intelligence, 2015). It can be assumed that most of these students, approximately 3 000, are from areas outside of Johannesburg. There may also be female students who are not originally from Johannesburg and do not stay in a Wits residence. These students may have rather chosen to live in off campus accommodation, such as rental accommodation, boarding with a family or staying with family or friends. It can thus be implied that the population this research is dealing with can amount to a significant number. It can further be noted that this population would be a relevant sub-grouping to study.

The university provides a form of bus shuttle service known as the Wits bus. It is a form of private transportation, provided by the university for registered students. This shuttle service travels between the university campuses; Main campus, Education campus and Health Science campus. The Wits bus also travels between Wits residences such as Wits Junction residence, located in Parktown and Esselen residence, located in Hillbrow (The University of the Witwatersrand, 2015).



Figure 3.1 Wits bus: Above is an image of the private Wits bus shuttle service that transports registered students
Source: Makan, 2015

3.3 Summarising the Factual Overview

This chapter provided a location and factual overview of the City of Johannesburg within Gauteng province. It has been noted that the population in Gauteng is continuously increasing. It is also emphasised that the number of women living in Johannesburg between the ages of 20 and 29 is continuously increasing.

This increase is at a faster rate than the increase of men within the same age category.

This chapter also highlighted the various Wits campuses within Johannesburg. The University of the Witwatersrand campuses are fairly well located with Wits Main campus being located within Braamfontein and Wits Education campus and Health Sciences campus located in Parktown.

There is a higher percentage of female students as opposed to male students enrolled at the university in 2015 with many female students originally from urban areas outside of Johannesburg.

Chapter 4: Discovering Female Student Newcomers' Experiences in Johannesburg

I didn't know my own strength
And I crashed down, and I tumbled
But I did not crumble
I got through all the pain

I didn't know my own strength
Survived my darkest hour
My faith kept me alive
I picked myself back up

Hold my head up high
I was not built to break
I didn't know my own strength

Found hope in my heart,
I found the light to life
My way out the dark
Found all that I need
Here inside of me

Whitney Houston – I Didn't Know My Own Strength
(Warren, 2009)

This chapter presents the findings from the fieldwork conducted with female students at Wits University. It begins by providing a broad overview of the participants of the study in the form of a table. The chapter then unpacks the findings from the interviews and notebooks by outlining where participants travel and why, the modes of transportation that they use to move around the city, and the areas to which they travelled. The next section of this chapter deals with perception by first understanding how the participants' perceptions of Johannesburg have changed over time. It begins with understanding their perceptions before their move to the city as well as their current perceptions of the city. The chapter also explores their general perceptions of movement within Johannesburg. The third section of this chapter addresses factors that impact on the participants' movement patterns. Lastly, the chapter outlines participants' suggestions to allow them to explore more of the city. They also consider whether Johannesburg has become a place they refer to as their 'home' and if it is currently not their home, participants were asked to consider if the city could ever be made their home.

The findings of this research are presented through quoting participants' responses from the interviews and through images from journaling.

4.1 Overview of Participants

Table 4.1: Overview of participants

	Name	Age	Race	Place or origin	Years in Johannesburg	Currently resides (type of accommodation)
1	Crosby 4a	21	Indian	Newcastle, Kwa-Zulu Natal	3½ years	Crosby (renting)
2	Pageview 4	21	Indian	East London, Eastern Cape	3½ years	Pageview (renting)
3	Braamfontein 3	21	Black	Nelspruit, Mpumalanga	2½ years	Braamfontein (student accommodation)
4	Parktown 4	23	Black	Nelspruit, Mpumalanga	3½ years	Parktown (Wits Junction)
5	Fordsburg 1	19	Indian	Springs, East Rand	8 months	Fordsburg (renting)
6	Meredale 4 (post grad)	21	Coloured	Worcester, Western Cape	3½ years	Meredale (with family)
7	Braamfontein 4a (post grad)	22	Black	Nelspruit, Mpumalanga	3½ years	Braamfontein (student accommodation)
8	Braamfontein 1a (post grad)	29	Black	East London, Eastern Cape	7 months	Braamfontein (student accommodation)
9	Crosby 4b	21	Indian	Potchefstroom, North West	3½ years	Crosby (renting)

10	Braamfontein 4b	21	Black	Malamulele, Limpopo	3½ years	Braamfontein (student accommodation)
11	Wits 1a (post grad)	29	Black	Lesotho	7 months	Wits (International residence)
12	Crosby 5 (post grad)	23	Indian	Potchefstroom, North West	4½ years	Crosby (renting)
13	Wits 3	20	Black	Nelspruit, Mpumalanga	2½ years	Wits (Sunninghill residence)
14	Wits 1b	19	Black	Harare, Zimbabwe	7 months	Wits (Jubilee residence)
15	Braamfontein 1b (post grad)	27	Black	Windhoek, Namibia	1 year	Braamfontein (student accommodation)

Since the actual names of the participants of this research are anonymous, names have been provided according to where they currently reside. The number corresponds to the number of years participants have lived in Johannesburg whereby “1” refers to students who moved to Johannesburg in 2015 and “2” refers to those participants who moved to the city in the year 2014 (living in the city for one and a half years) and so on. For example, “Braamfontein 3” is a participant who currently lives in Braamfontein and has been living in the city for two and a half years (as of the day of the interview). Some participants have a letter “a” or “b” next to their area and number; the letter applies when there is more than one student who lives in the same area and has lived in Johannesburg for the same number of years as another student. For example, “Crosby 4a” is a student who currently resides in Crosby and has lived in the city for three and a half years (as of the date of the interview) and “Crosby 4b” is another student who currently resides in Crosby and has lived in the city for three and a half years. The “a” and “b” merely serves to differentiate the two participants.

The table above also shows students’ age, race, and place of origin. The table also highlights the number of years participants have been residing in Johannesburg including the type of accommodation they reside in. This material serves to better understand the participants and their particular responses.

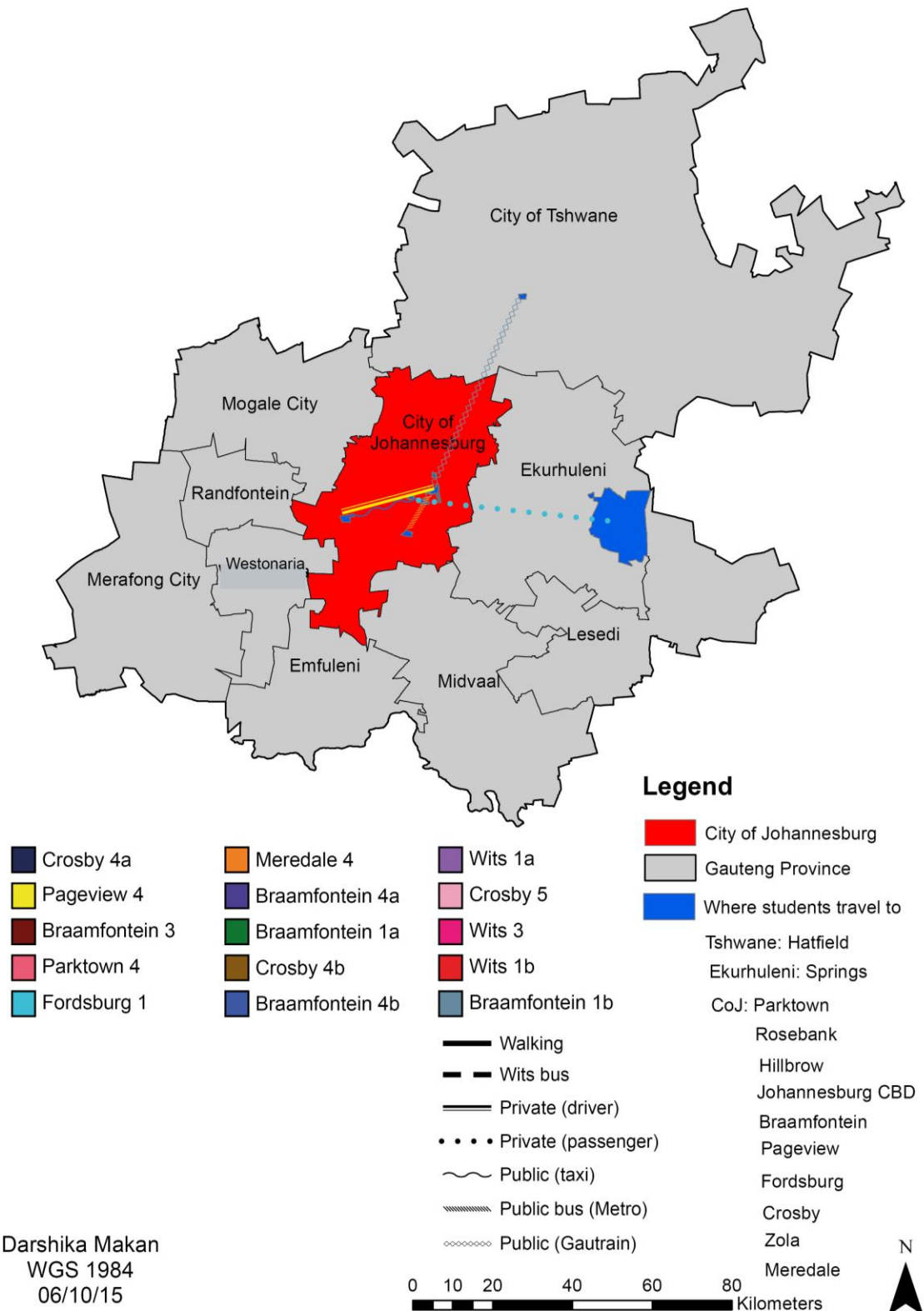
The selection of respondents, who partook in this study, are from a variety of backgrounds. They live in different areas within the city, while many of them reside in Braamfontein. Participants’ ages also vary and participants have lived in the city for varying lengths of time from less than one year to five years. This variety ensures that the findings were not skewed to any particular category.

4.2 Participants' Movement Patterns

Map 4.1 and 4.2 displays all participants' movement patterns, with Map 4.1 highlighting the movement patterns located at far distances from each other. Map 4.2 highlights movement patterns between areas located close to each other. Each participant has been assigned a colour with various line types relating to various modes of transportation. The maps depict all travels documented from the notebooks once. If a participant travels between two destinations more than once, the map depicts this once. The maps have been informed by the notebooks documented for seven days and has been confirmed through the second interview. The maps do not show the exact locations that participants travel to. They also do not show the exact routes that participants use to reach their destination. Rather, the maps illustrate the area that participants travel to. The detail of routes will not be studied in this research as the research is more concerned with the locations of where students travel to, their mode of transportation used and the purpose of their travels.

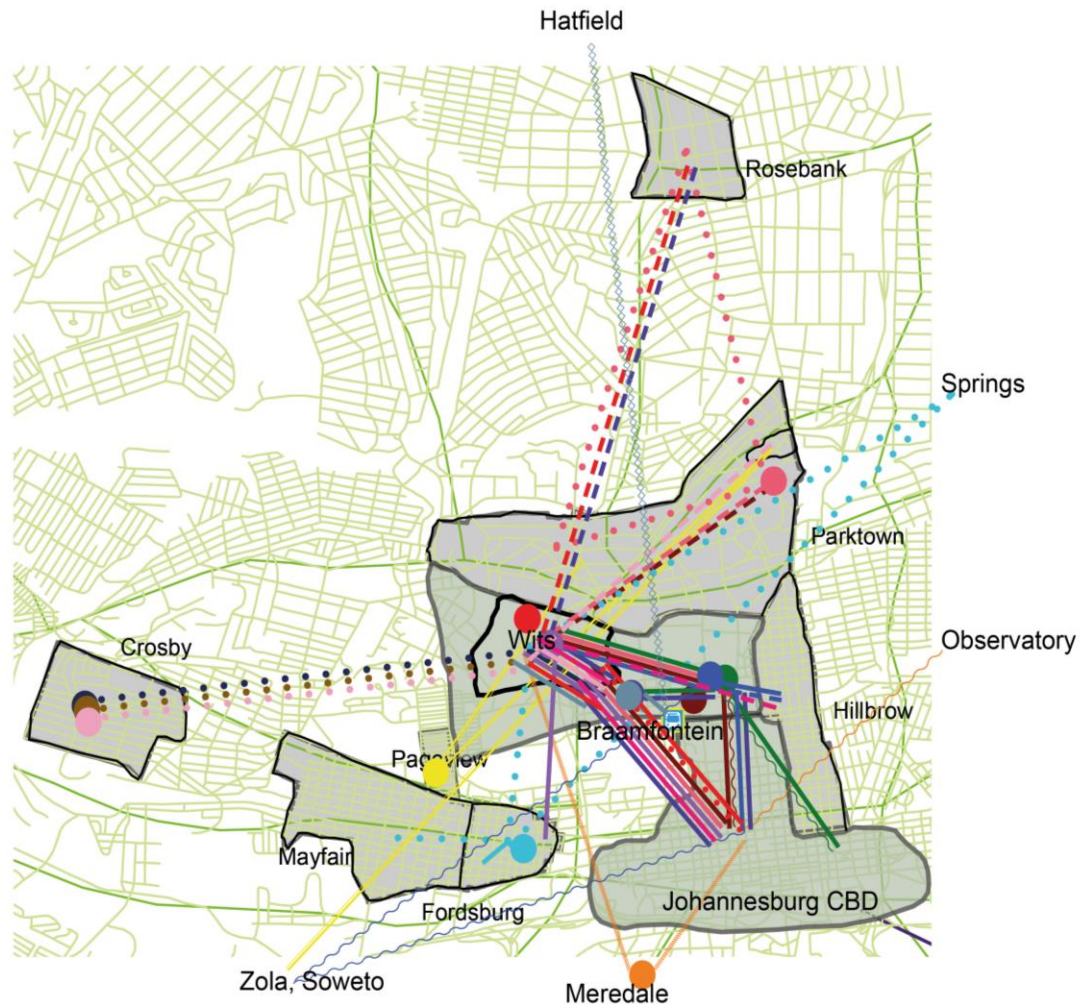
Maps 4.3 to Map 4.17 display individual participants' movement patterns. These maps are colour coded with each student being represented by a particular colour. The maps also distinguish the mode of transportation used in the form of different line types. The maps also include a table reviewing participants' purpose for travels and their perceptions of travelling to the various locations. It is essential to note that perceptions and experience refers to participants' perceptions and experience of their travels and not perceptions and experience with moving in their destinations. The maps also identify the locations of where participants currently reside in order to understand the reasons for their movement patterns.

Map 4.1 Students travels



Map 4.1 Students' travels. This map depicts students' travels of the students who travel far distances from the university campuses. The map also highlights the student who travels the trip and the mode of transportation that she uses.

Map 4.2 Students' travels



Legend

 Crosby 4a	 Meredale 4	 Wits 1a	 Walking
 Pageview 4	 Braamfontein 4a	 Crosby 5	 Wits bus
 Braamfontein 3	 Braamfontein 1a	 Wits 3	 Private (driver)
 Parktown 4	 Crosby 4b	 Wits 1b	 Private (passenger)
 Fordsburg 1	 Braamfontein 4b	 Braamfontein 1b	 Public (taxi)
			 Public bus (Metro)
			 Public (Gautrain)

Map 4.2 Students' travels (shorter distances): The locations of where students' travel to is located on the map above. It shows the shorter distances travelled by students. The map has been colour-coded with each student being represented by a particular colour. The mode of transportation that students use to access various locations is also shown by various line-types representing a different mode of transportation. The further destinations are also shown on this map with the further locations depicted in the form of a label outside of the mapped area.



Map 4.3 Students' travels: Respondent 1



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- ⋯ Public (Gautrain)
- - Wits bus
- • • Private (passenger)
- ▬ Public bus (Metro)
- 🚏 Park Station

■ Crosby 4a

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Crosby	Residence	Safe	Private (passenger)
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Private (passenger)
Braamfontein	Shopping	Not safe	Walking

Map 4.3 Students' travels: Respondent 1: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent one. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and a short description of her perception and experience of her travels.



Map 4.4 Students' travels: Respondent 2



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- Public (taxi)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Park Station

Pageview 4

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Pageview	Residence	Sometimes safe	Private (driver)
Wits med (Parktown)	Studying	Safe	Private (driver)
Parktown	Recreation	Safe	Private (passenger)
Soweto	Studying (practicals)	Not safe	Private (driver)

Map 4.4 Students' travels: Respondent 2: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent two. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.5 Students' travels: Respondent 3



Legend

- Walking
- Wits bus
- Private (driver)
- Private (passenger)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Public (Gautrain)
- 🚌 Park Station
- Braamfontein 3

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Shopping, residence, recreation	Sometimes safe, not at night	Walking
Parktown	Recreation	Safe	Wits bus
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking, Taxi

Map 4.5 Students' travels: Respondent 3: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent three. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.6 Students' travels: Respondent 4



Legend

- Walking
- Wits bus
- Private (driver)
- Private (passenger)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Public (Gautrain)
- 🚏 Park Station
- 📍 Parktown 4

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Wits bus
Braamfontein	Shopping, recreation	Not always safe	Walking
Parktown	Residential, recreation	Safe	Wits bus
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking
Rosebank	Recreation	Safe	Private (passenger)

Map 4.6 Students' travels: Respondent 4: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent four. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.7 Students' travels: Respondent 5



Legend

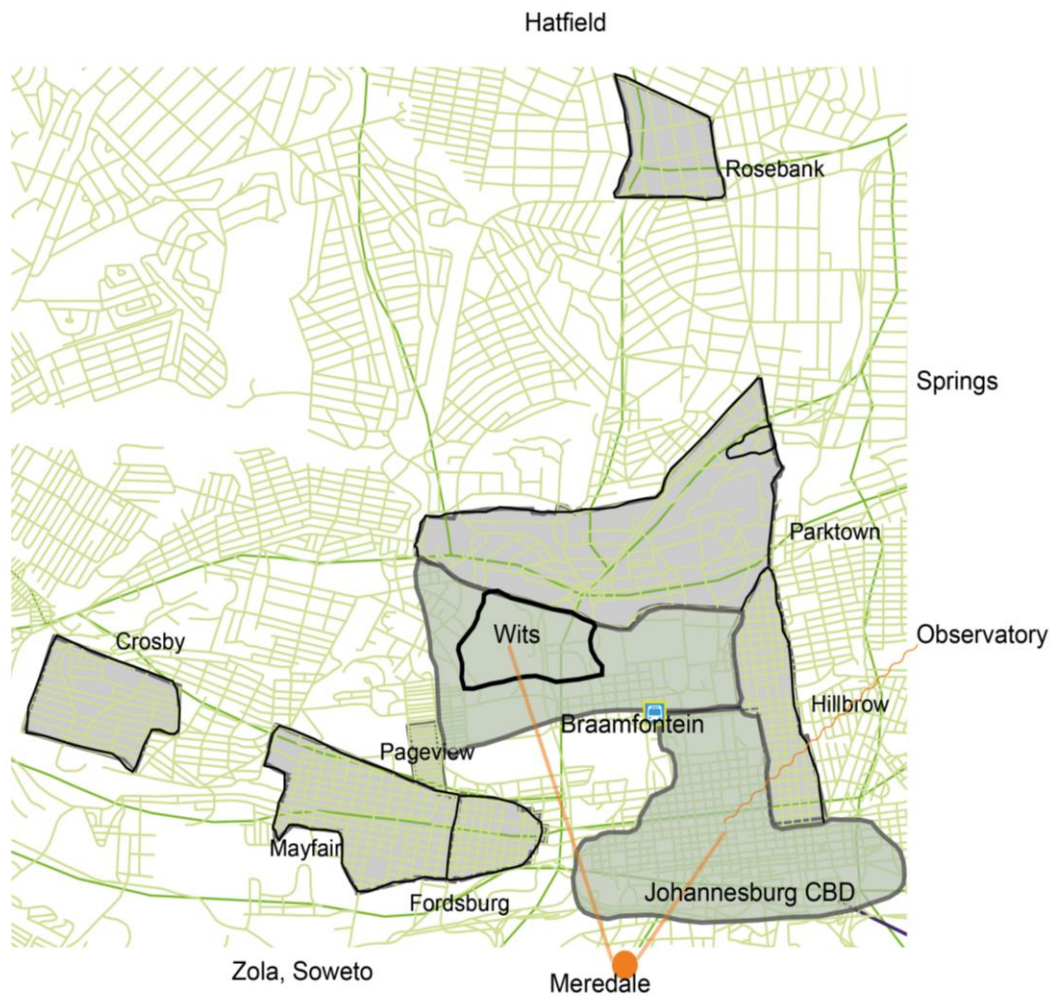
- Walking
- Private (driver)
- Public (taxi)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Park Station
- Fordsburg 1

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Mayfair	Recreation	Sometimes safe	Private (passenger)
Fordsburg	Residence, recreation	Sometimes safe	Walking
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Private (passenger)
Springs, Ekurhuleni	Home	Safe	Private (passenger)

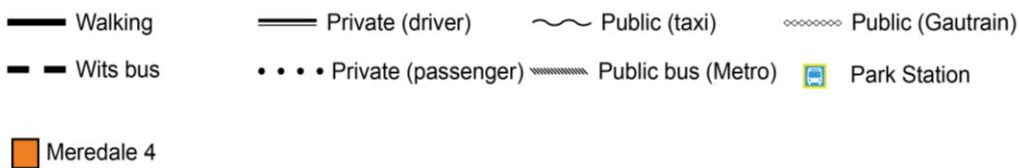
Map 4.7 Students' travels: Respondent 5: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent five. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.8 Students' travels: Respondent 6



Legend



Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Public bus (Metro)
Meredale	Residence	Not safe	Public bus (Metro)
Observatory	Studying	Not safe	Walking, taxi

Map 4.8 Students' travels: Respondent 6: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent six. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.9 Students' travels: Respondent 7



Legend

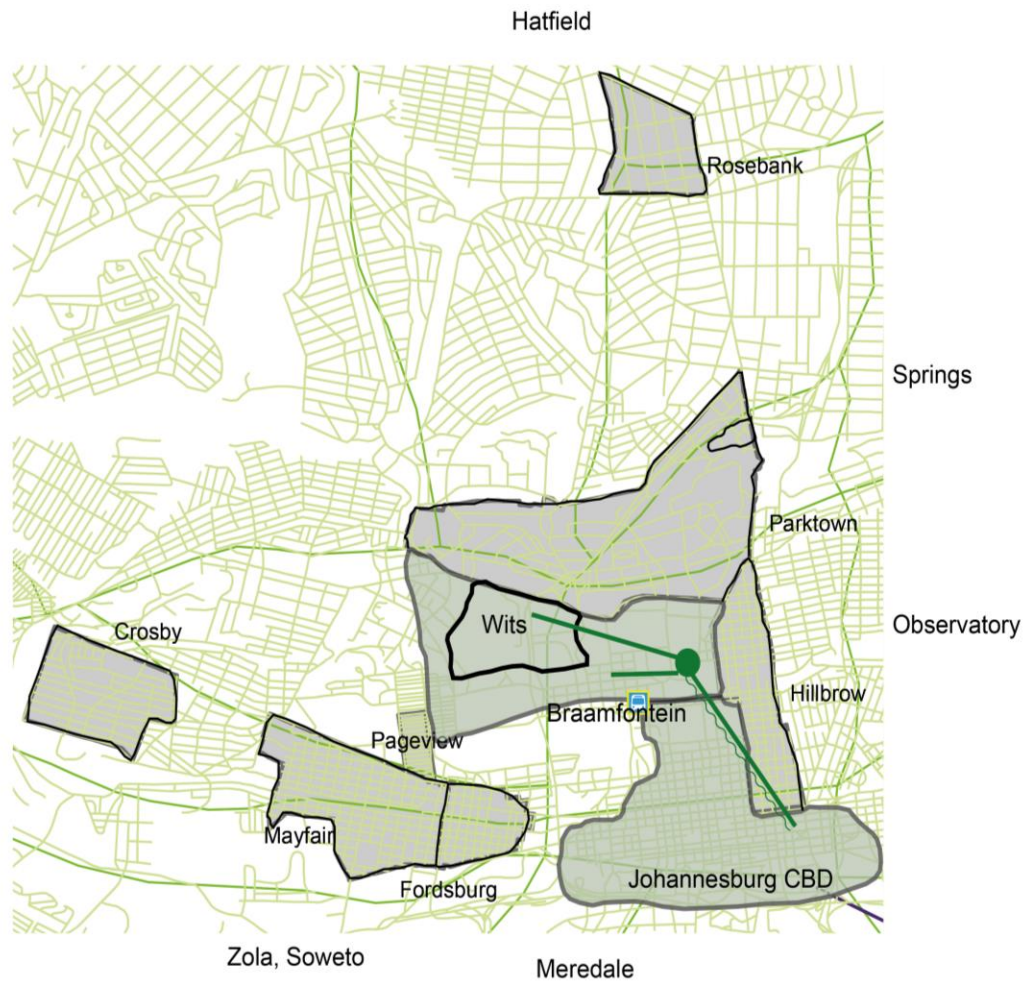
- Walking
- Wits bus
- Private (driver)
- Private (passenger)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Braamfontein 4a
- Park Station

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Mostly safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Shopping, residence, recreation	Safe	Walking
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking, taxi
Rosebank	Recreation	Safe	Wits bus

Map 4.9 Students' travels: Respondent 7: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent seven. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.10 Students' travels: Respondent 8



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- ⋯ Public (Gautrain)
- Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- ▨ Public bus (Metro)
- 🚏 Park Station
- Braamfontein 1a

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Residence, recreation, shopping	Safe but not at night	Walking
Johannesburg CBD (Maboneng)	Recreation	Sometimes safe	Walking, taxi

Map 4.10 Students' travels: Respondent 8: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent eight. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.11 Students' travels: Respondent 9



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- ⋄⋄⋄ Public (Gautrain)
- - Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- ▨ Public bus (Metro)
- 🚏 Park Station
- Crosby 4b

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Crosby	Residence	Not always safe	Private (passenger)
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Private (passenger)

Map 4.11 Students' travels: Respondent 9: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent nine. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.12 Students' travels: Respondent 10



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- Public (taxi)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Park Station
- Braamfontein 4b

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Shopping, residence	Not always safe	Walking
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking
Hillbrow	Recreation	Not safe	Walking, Wits bus
Soweto	Studying	Sometimes safe	Taxi

Map 4.12 Students' travels: Respondent 10: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent ten. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.13 Students' travels: Respondent 11



Legend

- Walking
- Wits bus
- Private (driver)
- Private (passenger)
- Public (taxi)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Wits 1a
- Park Station

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Fordsburg	Shopping	Sometimes safe	Walking
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying, residence	Safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Shopping, recreation	Sometimes safe	Walking
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking

Map 4.13 Students' travels: Respondent 11: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent eleven. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.14 Students' travels: Respondent 12



Legend

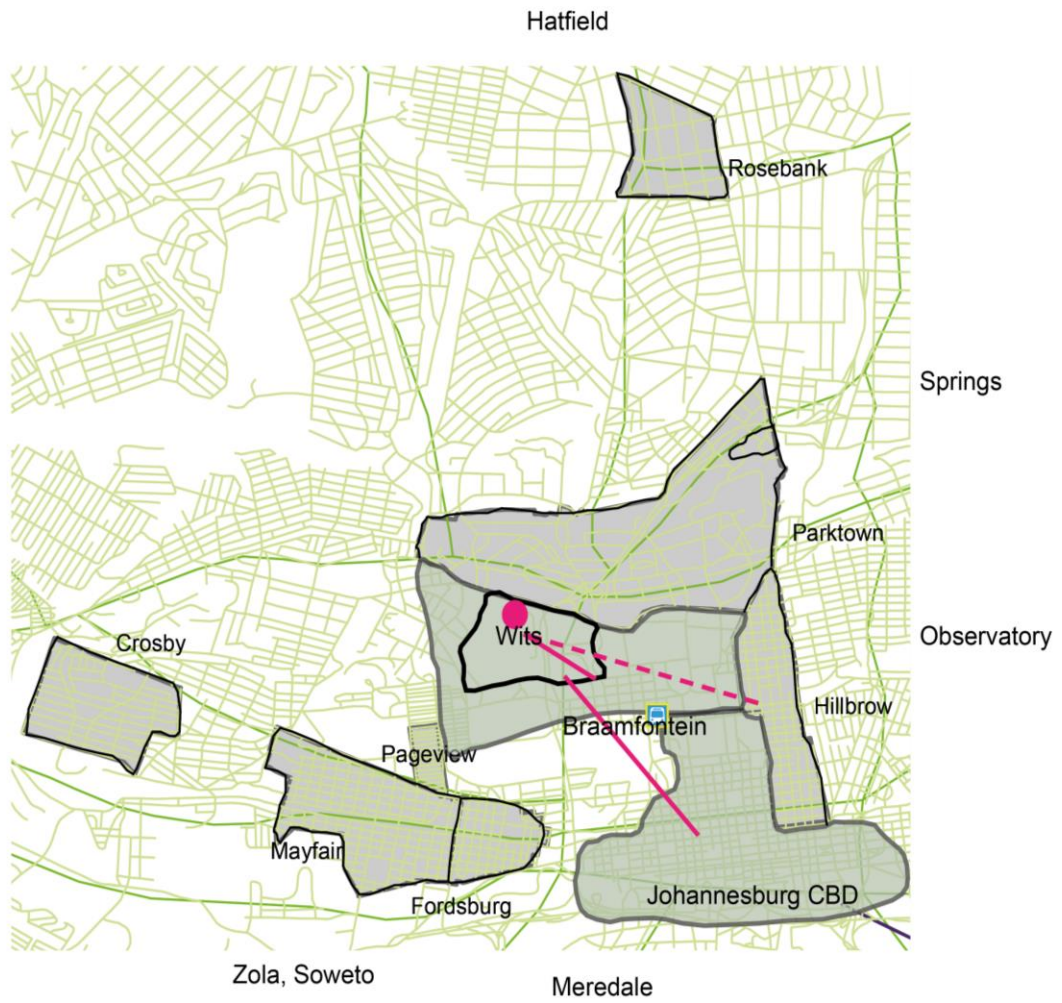
Walking	Private (driver)	Public (taxi)	Public (Gautrain)
Wits bus	Private (passenger)	Public bus (Metro)	Park Station
Crosby 5			

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Crosby	Residence	Safe	Private (passenger)
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Recreation	Safe	Private (passenger)
Braamfontein	Shopping	Not safe	Walking
Wits med (Parktown)	Studying	Safe	Wits bus

Map 4.14 Students' travels: Respondent 12: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent twelve. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.15 Students' travels: Respondent 13



Legend

- Walking
- Private (driver)
- Public (taxi)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Park Station

Wits 3

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying, residence	Safe	Public bus (Metro)
Braamfontein	Shopping, recreation	Not always safe	Public bus (Metro)
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking, taxi

Map 4.15 Students' travels: Respondent 13: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent thirteen. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.16 Students' travels: Respondent 14



Legend

- Walking
- Wits bus
- Private (driver)
- Private (passenger)
- Public (taxi)
- Public (Gautrain)
- Public bus (Metro)
- Park Station

Wits 1b

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying, residence	Safe	Walking
Braamfontein	Shopping, recreation	Not always safe	Walking
Johannesburg CBD	Shopping	Not safe	Walking, Private (passenger)
Rosebank	Recreation	Safe	Wits bus

Map 4.16 Students' travels: Respondent 14: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent fourteen. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



Map 4.17 Students' travels: Respondent 15



Legend

- Walking
- == Private (driver)
- ~ Public (taxi)
- ⋯ Public (Gautrain)
- - - Wits bus
- Private (passenger)
- ▬ Public bus (Metro)
- 🚏 Park Station
- Braamfontein 1b

Locations	Purpose	Perceptions/Experience	Mode of transport
Wits main (Braamfontein)	Studying	Safe	Public bus (Metro)
Braamfontein	Residence	Not always safe	Public bus (Metro)
Johannesburg CBD	Catching a Gautrain	Not safe	Walking, taxi
Hatfield, Tshwane	Work	Safe	Walking, taxi

Map 4.17 Students' travels: Respondent 15: The above map depicts the movement patterns and mode of transportation used by respondent fifteen. The map also highlights the location of where she resides in the form of a dot in her represented colour. The table below the map shows her purpose for travelling and her perceptions and experience of her travels.



It is seen that some participant's travel more than other students and that some routes are more common than other routes. The most common route is that from Wits Main campus to Braamfontein. Participants travel this route for retail and recreation activity and to access their place of residence. Through this common trip it can be understood that Wits Main campus has a good linkage to Braamfontein. Other places of residence include Pageview, Fordsburg, Crosby, Parktown and Meredale. Areas of retail activity that students travel to other than Braamfontein include Johannesburg inner city, Rosebank and Fordsburg. Students also travel to Braamfontein, Rosebank and Parktown for leisure activities. Students travel regularly to Wits Main campus from a variety of areas for the purpose of their studies.

The table below depicts each participants purpose of travel and their perceptions of the journey. It can be deduced that the university Main campus is well located as it allows students to access a variety of land-uses within close proximity of their place of study.

Another common trip is that of travelling to Johannesburg inner city, either from a participants' place of residence in Braamfontein or from Wits Main campus. Participants generally travel to Johannesburg CBD for retail purposes.

The maps show that participants travel regularly, but, the majority of participants do not travel far distances within Johannesburg. This proves that they do not travel within the whole city, rather participant's travel within a small portion of the city. Five out of fifteen participants travel further than Rosebank (North) and Johannesburg CBD (South) and they do these travels because they are required to and not for leisure activity. Some of the participants necessary trips include travel to their place of residence (Meredale 4 and Fordsburg 1) or because they are required to for their studying purposes (Pageview 4 and Braamfontein 4b) travelling to Soweto to complete their practical studies) or for work purposes (Braamfontein 1b). Through this finding, it can be understood that students either find their necessities and recreational needs within close proximity to their place of residence and place of study or they chose not to travel far distances for these activities.

4.3 Mode of Transportation

Participants in this study use a variety of modes of transportation and different combinations of modes to access certain locations. The main modes of travel that the participants use to move around the city are by private vehicle as a passenger and by walking. The use of private transportation as a passenger is generally used by participants who live further than one kilometre from their study

campus, whereas participants, who walk as their main mode of transportation generally reside within one kilometre from their study campus.

Travelling by the Wits bus is also frequently used amongst participants. A participant of this study resides in Wits Junction residence (Parktown 4) utilises the Wits bus. Participants who wish to visit fellow students who reside in Wits Junction residence and Esselen Street residence also utilise the Wits bus (Braamfontein 3 and Braamfontein 4b). A participant who studies at the Health Science campus travels by the Wits bus (Crosby 5). Participants also use the Wits bus as a mode of transportation to access Rosebank Mall during the weekends for leisure activity (Braamfontein 4b; Parktown 4 and Wits 1b).

Other modes of transportation that participants use to move around Johannesburg are by taxi, Metrobus and Gautrain. These modes of transportation are used by participants to access a variety of spaces such as Johannesburg CBD, Newtown, Maboneng Precinct (east of Johannesburg CBD), Parktown, Sandton and Pretoria.

Different modes of transportation are also used to access different places. Many participants travel to Johannesburg CBD to purchase clothing, toiletries, fruits and vegetables. This area is accessed either by foot or by taxi. Many participants who do not reside in Braamfontein stay in areas relatively close to Wits, such as Mayfair, Pageview and Crosby. Many of these participants walk to Braamfontein (from Wits Main campus) to purchase groceries and other necessities. Some participants are required to go on practical fieldwork to Soweto. This area is accessed via private transportation as a driver and by taxi. Other areas that participants travel to for leisure activities are to Parktown, the Maboneng Precinct, Fordsburg and Braamfontein.

It has also been noted that there are no participants in this study who cycle or who travel by rail apart from the Gautrain.

4.4 Change in Perceptions

4.4.1 Prior to the Move to Johannesburg

The initial perception held by the majority of respondents was that they thought Johannesburg was very “unsafe” (Crosby 4a; Braamfontein 1a; Crosby 5 and Wits 3), “dangerous” (Braamfontein 4a; Pageview 4; Parktown 4; Crosby 4b, and Braamfontein 1b) and “rough” (Braamfontein 3 and Wits 1a). Many participants said that they had heard many stories of how unsafe the city is.

Pageview 4: *You hear stories about Johannesburg, about how dangerous it is.*

Braamfontein 4a: *I thought that it would be a very bad and dangerous city, full of crime and grime.*

Wits 3: *...that it [the city] is huge and busy and not so safe, you know from stories that it is scary.*

However, four participants had positive perceptions about Johannesburg before the move. They were excited to have the prospect of independence after living under their parents' roof for many years. They looked forward to the amenities the city offered.

Braamfontein 4b: *When I knew I was coming to Jo'burg, I was so excited. It felt like I was going to America, I thought that life would be good here.*

Fordsburg 1: *I was quite excited... I had always come from a small town and I was pretty keen to head into a big city. I was like "oh yay I'm going to Joburg".*

Meredale 4: *I was excited to move to Johannesburg. Since it is such a big and well-known city, I thought that things would operate more efficiently.*

4.4.2 Initial Periods After the Move to Johannesburg

Three participants mentioned that their perceptions about the danger and lack of safety presented within Johannesburg were proven to be true within the initial periods of living in the city. It had also been difficult for them to adjust to a new city. While Braamfontein 4b was excited to move to Johannesburg, within the first month after her move, she had a negative experience in the city.

Braamfontein 4b: *...in the first month I got mugged, my phone got stolen. So this, for me, was like "welcome to Jo'burg, this is what you're in for".*

Parktown 4: *The danger factor was proven to be true as I initially moved into a place in Berea... If I would finish campus at seven pm or later then I would have to take a taxi. That was the most difficult thing for me to do at night. For the first weeks, finding my way around was a challenge.*

However, the majority of students explained that their negative perceptions of the city were proven to be false within the initial periods after their move. They revealed that they had expected the city to be more dangerous than how they experienced it to be.

While the feature of safety is a notable factor, all of these participants also said that the safety factor was not the only issue. The main factor in these initial periods was the adjustment to a different city. They had not known the dynamics of

Johannesburg in terms of methods of accessing various necessities. The participant who had expected Johannesburg to be more efficient than her home town was disappointed.

Meredale 4: *...but then I realised that things wouldn't be as efficient as easy.*

The participants who lived with family or boarded during these initial periods (Pageview 4; Crosby 4a and Crosby 5) settled in faster than others who rented or lived in student accommodation on their own. Those who lived with family or had family living in the city felt that it was easier to get comfortable when they had a support structure.

Pageview 4: *The initial periods were difficult, especially coming from a small town [East London, Eastern Cape] to a big city... But also in these initial stages, I was living with my grandparents so I felt fairly safe most of the time as I was with family.*

Braamfontein 3: *...I wasn't scared in this initial period as I had my sister [also at Wits] and she showed me around and helped me out with settling in. I had that family support that assisted me.*

Those participants who did not have that support structure and lived in rental, student accommodation and on campus residences thought that it was difficult to become familiar with the lifestyle in Johannesburg (as they were familiar with their hometown they were originally from). By this, participants' implied that movement in their hometown could be done with ease as they had family members to transport them to their locations. They were also aware of how to access spaces in their hometown in terms of the mode of transportation (if not travelling by family members) and the route to reach their destinations. They also meant that the same did not apply to Johannesburg, moving around would be a challenge as they do not have a support structure to assist with transportation.

4.4.3 Current Perceptions of Johannesburg

The general theme relating to participants' current perception of Johannesburg is that the city is not as "dangerous" and "unsafe" as how they had initially perceived it to be. participants mentioned that certain areas feel safer to move within as opposed to other areas. This was due to participants becoming more familiar with certain spaces.

Crosby 4b: *I did realise that it [the city] felt dangerous but not as bad as I thought it would be.*

Braamfontein 1a: *I can't really say that I feel safe in the city now, but I have become used to it, or at least I've become used to certain areas in the city. I know which places to go to and which to avoid.*

Parktown 4: *These [current perceptions] have only changed of spaces that you go to often. If you go to a place that you go to often, you feel safer because you become familiar with it.*

Fordsburg 1: *I also walk around in Fordsburg much more than I did before. Maybe because now when I walk downstairs there are certain faces which you become familiar with and they become familiar with you. This provides a sense of security because these people know me and I know them so I will be okay.*

Two participants mentioned that they experienced the city to be more dangerous currently, than initial perceptions of the city. Their assumption was that their initial perceptions of Johannesburg might have been slightly naïve. They have heard of muggings and car hijackings and they currently believe that these are significant issues, which they should always be aware of.

Braamfontein 1b: *There are times when I think that the city is really bad and other times when I think that it's okay.*

Pageview 4: *These stories about car hijackings are real issues that happen in Jo'burg. I'm always scared that will happen to me.*

The particular participant who drives a private vehicle (Pageview 4) repeatedly stated that she does not always feel safe driving alone.

Pageview 4: *When I see dodgy people on the road and especially beggars at robots, I feel slightly unsafe.*

A final trend of participants' current perceptions of the city is that they still see it to be dangerous, but they have become used to the danger aspect in the city. Most participants have this perception.

Crosby 4a: *Nothing has changed, my perceptions of the city are still the same [unsafe], the only difference is that I get used to it.*

Two participants who are required to travel to Soweto for practical fieldwork revealed that safety may be a concerning factor although their practical fieldwork is compulsory and thus are required to travel to Soweto.

Pageview 4: *I don't enjoy driving to Soweto for my practicals but we have to do it and the petrol cost is on us. Some of my classmates come with me so at least that makes the trip better [more enjoyable and safe].*

Braamfontein 4b: *Travelling to Zola is so tiring; I often sleep on the taxi.*

4.5 Perceptions of Different Modes of Transportation

4.5.1 Perceptions of Walking

Many participants deduced that they generally do not feel safe while walking in the public realm in Johannesburg. Participants' mention that they feel safe while walking in certain areas bearing in mind that they exercise caution.

Crosby 4a: *I don't really like walking in Braamfontein. There's just too many people and I worry about my possessions.*

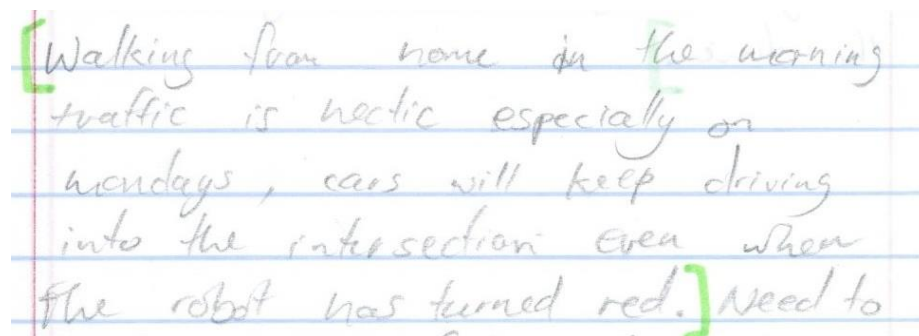
Braamfontein 4a: *I also don't feel comfortable with walking around late at night. Like after seven pm.*

Cosby 5: *I don't like walking around in Braam[fontein] by my myself, I prefer going with my sister.*

Those participants who travel by foot as their main mode of transportation do not enjoy the experience of walking during peak hours. Instead of feeling assured by the presence of other people, they perceive crowds as allowing a chance of pickpocketing. This is due to the presence of many pedestrians walking on sidewalks which makes looking after one's belongings, a challenging task. During peak period, participants are also wary of cars, which do not stop at traffic lights.

Braamfontein 4a: *I always feel more cautious when the streets are busy because anyone can just take something out of my bag, and I won't know.*

Braamfontein 1a:



[Walking from home in the morning traffic is hectic especially on weekdays, cars will keep driving into the intersection even when the robot has turned red.] Need to

Some participants do not feel comfortable with walking around in the area where they reside in. This depends on the nature of the particular area.

Crosby 5: *I am not so keen on walking around in the area where I stay because I've heard of people getting mugged.*

Pageview 4: *I actually think that my perceptions of the city have worsened because of the area that I am currently living in. We often hear of people getting their house broken into and their car stolen. It makes me scared.*

4.5.2 Perceptions of Public Transportation

Public transportation should allow students to be mobile and to access a variety of spaces within the city. Certain forms of public transportation such as the Metrobus, Rea Vaya and taxi are relatively affordable forms of public transportation (Parktown 4). Participants, however, explain that they are often unaware of means to utilise these modes of transportation. Participants are aware that they occasionally may be required to use two or more modes of public transportation in addition to walking in order to reach a destination. Discovering how to access these modes, although, is often a burden, which they would rather avoid.

Braamfontein 1a: ...another thing would be that you would want to go somewhere but the problem arises with trying to find out how to get there. Trying to find out how to take a taxi, how to get there, where? When? How? Where do I start with finding out? That is also quite a challenge for me.

Parktown 4: There are a lot of places I would want to go to but I can't access them. I wouldn't even know where to start, how to find transport, what would happen to me, that kind of thing. The problem is how would I get to the public transport, is there even a taxi that can take me there and if there is, how would I take this taxi, where would I find it, where would I begin.

Wits 3: I feel like public transportation in this city is discouraging because it discourages you from trying because it is a hassle. Like just taking a taxi is a hassle. It's always having to hop on 3 different taxi's going and then coming back is the same thing.

Participants having a lack of knowledge on how public transportation system operates, places them at a great disadvantage. Two participants (Crosby 4b and Crosby 5) have a desire to use Metrobus as a main mode of transportation to access their place of study but choose not to as they often hear of the bus drivers going on strike and thus is not a reliable mode of transportation. This is because students would need to be at classes at a certain time and cannot have an unreliable mode of transportation as their main mode of travel to their campus.

One participant who travels by Metrobus explains that her travel time is discouraging. She has to use a combination of walking and travelling by two buses.

Meredale 4: I get on the bus, I go to Gandhi Square, I then get on another bus and then come to Wits and then when I go home, I do the same process again. Bus from Wits to Gandhi Square and then another bus from Gandhi square to home. So it is 4 buses a day. So I basically dedicate about 3 hours a day to travelling. That's including the buses and walking from the bus stop

to home. It is a long time. Travelling that much in one day should not be normal.

Another factor that worries participants is that they are not entirely familiar with the city, having come from another city and not lived in Johannesburg for a long period of time. These participants fear travelling by minibus taxi when they are unaware of the route to access a particular space. The concerning factor is whether they exit at the correct place. Due to this, participants who desire to travel for leisure purposes may rather choose to stay at home (Fordsburg 1; Wits 1a; Crosby 5 and Wits 3).

4.5.3 Perceptions of Private Transportation

Four participants travel with private transportation as a passenger to access Wits Main campus. These participants pay a set monthly fee to a driver who transports them to the campus. These participants reveal that they dislike having to travel according to times that best suit the driver. They also dislike the high fees to utilise this form of transportation and they disapprove of the length of time to reach their destination. It often takes a long time for these participants to reach Wits Main campus as the private transportation driver has many passengers to pick up. Participants indicated that picking up all the other passengers takes approximately an hour (Fordsburg 1).

Crosby 5: It's convenient in that I get picked up right in front of my house but I still get picked up early, and I have to be ready according to the times of my transportation and not when I want to go.

Crosby 4a: It is expensive but it is reliable and safe and convenient.

Fordsburg 1:

It takes us about an hour to get to campus even though I stay 10 minutes away

These participants mention that they would not choose any other mode of transportation, as these participants believe that private transportation is safe as it takes them from their place of residents into Wits Main campus. Participants mention that this form of transportation is fairly reliable and is safe.

Crosby 4a: He is fairly reliable. I know that he will take me every day and he will tell me in advance when he can't take me.

Crosby 4b: *I use this form of transportation to ensure my safety. I know that I will get picked up in front of my door and I will get dropped off inside the university gates.*

This was replicated for the participants who owns her own car. She explained that it is convenient but owning a vehicle also presents its own set of challenges. She has to be wary of pedestrians who jaywalk and do not cross the road at the designated place and at the indicated time. She also mentions that she has to be wary of bad drivers on the road while driving.

Pageview 4: *I hate people jay-walking... I also feel like I have to watch out when driving behind or next to a taxi driver, you never know when they are going to stop or change lanes [laughs].*

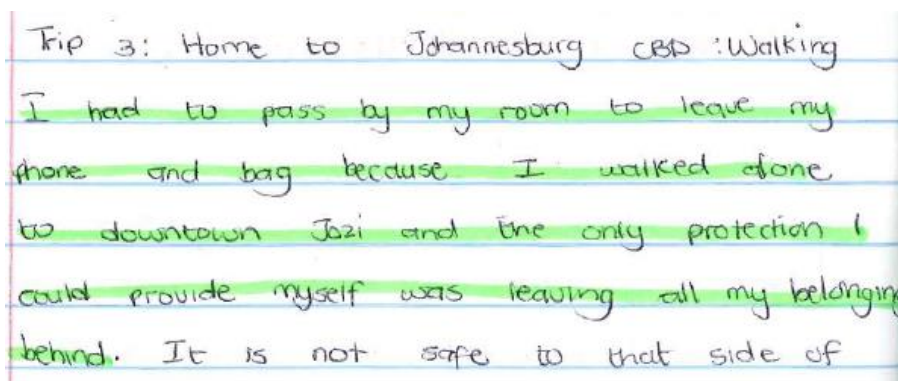
Participants who travel by private transportation as a passenger are seen to be at a disadvantage in accessing leisure activities. This form of transportation is reliable and convenient although it is also costly (Crosby 4a; Fordsburg 1; Crosby 5 and Crosby 4a). These students use this transportation for accessing Wits Main campus for their studies. They do not use this form of transportation to access spaces of recreation activity unless they are travelling with a friend or family member whereby students would not have to pay for transportation.

4.6 Participants Exercise Caution to Prevent Being at Risk

Most participants also demonstrated that the city could be safe as long as they exercise caution. This refers to all modes of transportation and especially for travelling by foot. The participant who was mugged in her first month (Braamfontein 4b) also agreed with this perception.

Crosby 4b: *You just have to be careful not to walk around when it is late and dark; when you can't be seen.*

Braamfontein 3:



Trip 3: Home to Johannesburg CBS: Walking
I had to pass by my room to leave my
phone and bag because I walked alone
to downtown Jazi and the only protection I
could provide myself was leaving all my belongings
behind. It is not safe to that side of

Pageview 4: *I feel slightly unsafe (while driving) but I do take precautionary measures such as ensuring that my windows are up at those times (I feel unsafe), doors are always locked, etcetera.*

Another common trend amongst participants, whether they generally feel safe or not, is that they feel safer travelling with company. All the students of this research mentioned this.

Braamfontein 3: *I don't like walking around [in Braamfontein] at night...If you are with friends, it is better.*

Braamfontein 4a: *I feel a bit more comfortable when I'm moving with friends.*

Wits 3: *...But when I go to downtown, I feel so much more unsafe, I would leave my phone at home and I would go with a friend.*

4.7 Are Participants Satisfied with their Movement Patterns?

Participants were asked if they believed that they explored all of Johannesburg and if not, whether they were satisfied with the current places that they do access. They were also asked if they would like to visit more areas in the city.

Eleven participants mentioned they are not entirely satisfied with where they move within the city. They would like to go to more places in the city. Factors that restricted three participants' movement stemmed from the nature of being a student. Classes occupy their weekdays and their weekends are often taken up with completing assignments so they do not have much time to explore the city. Not having ample time for recreation activities due to participants' studying responsibilities is a major limiting factor in their movement patterns. Many participants have the desire to travel around the city but simply do not have the time to do so.

Crosby 4a: *No I don't [explore all of Johannesburg] because a lot of the times I always have work to do.*

Pageview 4: *Since I'm a student I don't always have the opportunity to go around.*

Braamfontein 1a: *I think that it will take a long time for me to explore all of Johannesburg because most my time goes to studying. I do sometimes visit some places. I like to explore Jo'burg but I think it will take some time.*

Participants mentioned that public transportation would be an aspect that could potentially allow them to travel more and to experience more of the city. In this regard, students mentioned that current public transportation systems in

Johannesburg do not allow them to access the entire city. This is due to the difficulty in accessing public transportation (as mentioned above) as well as travel time between certain areas in Johannesburg.

Braamfontein 1a: *But the fact that Johannesburg is so big. If you are trying to see a place, let's say it is in the northern suburbs, that's far and you would have to go on the highway and all that. You won't just get there quickly. I would consider whether it would really be worth it.*

Crosby 4b: *Like where I stay in Crosby, there isn't really easy access to public transportation. You would have to walk quite a distance to get to a bus stop, and doing that is difficult as the area is not safe and buses often do not come on time. So the most convenient way to get around is by private transportation and that is expensive so it seems like there is always some sort of problem.*

Crosby 5: *I would love to go to more places, especially on the weekends. Being stuck at home is not my ideal... but the problem is that I do not have transportation to take me to the bus stops or the Gautrain station. There would always be some walking involved and I am not so keen on walking.*

Four participants, however, were satisfied with the amount that they travel. A couple of these participants prioritised their studies and even though they may desire to travel to more places, they choose not to in order to place focus on their studies. One participant went as far as saying that she has no desire to explore the city.

Crosby 4a: *I came to Jo'burg for the sole purpose of studying so I'm here to fulfil that purpose and I'm not entirely interested in exploring the city... My main reason to be here is because of studies and I don't feel like I need to enjoy my experience [in the city] while I'm here.*

The other two participants were satisfied with their limited movement patterns due to their ability to acquire their needs within walking distance from their place of residence. These participants do not enjoy travelling far distances and prefer to remain close to their place of residence.

Eleven participants proposed that they would be able to explore more of the city if they owned their own vehicle. It should also be noted that only two participants mentioned that an improvement in public transportation systems would improve their mobility around the city. It has also been discovered that the participant who does own her own vehicle has unique issues relating to movement by private transportation as a driver. It is thus understood that participants who desire their own vehicle have not fully conceptualised the impact of owning their own vehicle. Simply

owning one's own vehicle would not be the solution to improving their lives and certainly not to improving conditions of mobility within the city.

4.8 Factors Affecting Participants' Movement in the City

4.8.1 Safety

This section first discusses certain attributes of space that make participants feel safe and other attributes that make them feel unsafe. Secondly, specific areas in the city are noted in which participants feel unsafe. The third direction of safety discusses the role that perceptions play in the movement patterns of these participants.

The most common feature making participants feel safe is their familiarity with the space. All participants stated that once they became more familiar with a space, they begin to feel safer in that space. Familiarity also has a strong linkage to length of time living in the city. Participants who have lived in the city for more than a year generally feel more comfortable with moving around than participants who have lived in the city for less than a year.

Braamfontein 3: I can't really say that I feel safe in the city now but I have become used to it, or at least I have become used to certain areas in the city. I know which places to go to and which to avoid.

Parktown 4: These [perceptions] have only changed of spaces that I go to often. If you go to a place that you go to often, you tend to feel safer because you become familiar with it. You know where to get a taxi, what to say to the driver.

Fordsburg 1: I also walk around in Fordsburg much more. Maybe [it is] because now when I walk downstairs, there are certain faces, which you know and become familiar with, as well as they becoming familiar to you.

Crosby 4b: Well, since I know Johannesburg a little better now, I feel more comfortable in certain areas as opposed to other areas.

Wits 3: I feel more secure when I'm in a more familiar place.

Many participants discussed how they do not feel safe in areas with which they are not familiar. Some may choose to avoid these spaces entirely, due to the unknown. Participants have the same perception relating to public transportation, they may decide not to travel if the fear utilising a particular mode which they are unfamiliar with.

Wits 1a: I am always uncomfortable in places that I don't know.

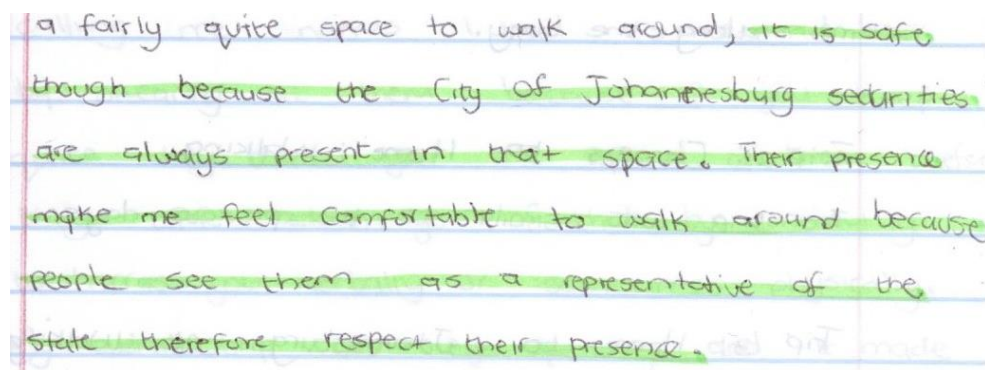
Braamfontein 4a: *I fear going to places that I haven't gone to before or never went alone.*

Fordsburg 1: *I haven't taken a taxi before. I am a bit scared because I won't know what to say to the driver and since I am not so familiar with the city, I won't know if the driver would be dropping me off at the wrong place.*

Wits 3: *I always feel uncomfortable going to unfamiliar places because I just feel like people are going to know that I am lost.*

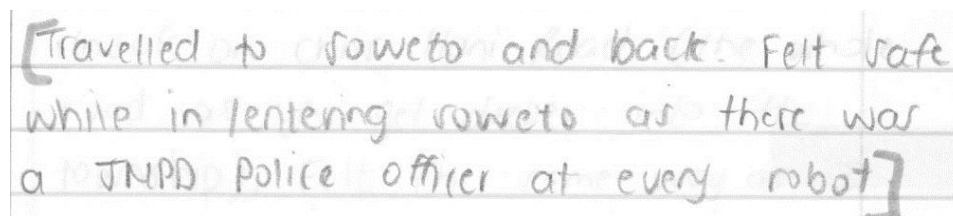
Participants, who travel within spaces, whether being familiar with these spaces or not, feel safer in the public realm when there is a presence of the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) or Braamfontein security guards.

Braamfontein 3:



a fairly quite space to walk around, it is safe though because the City of Johannesburg securities are always present in that space. Their presence make me feel comfortable to walk around because people see them as a representative of the state therefore respect their presence.

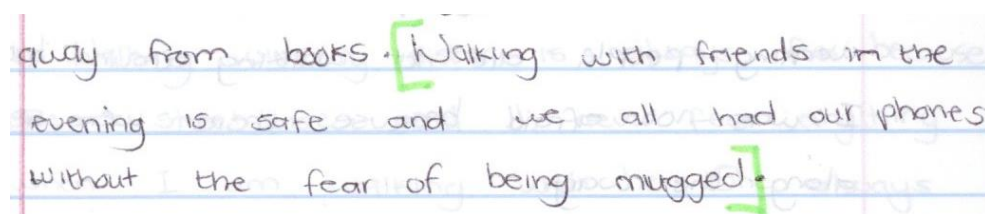
Pageview 4:



[Travelled to Soweto and back. Felt safe while in entering Soweto as there was a JMPD Police officer at every robot]

Familiarity with a space increases the feeling of safety. Participants who reside in a particular area feel safer moving within the area than a person who does not reside in the area. Participants who live in Braamfontein feel safer when they move through the area, than those who live elsewhere.

Braamfontein 3:



away from books. [Walking with friends in the evening is safe and we all had our phones without the fear of being mugged.]

Braamfontein 1a:

at a friend's place on campus, [I
walked back home after midnight
alone.] Since it's a Friday night the str

Braamfontein 4b:

I was walking alone around past 8am
and I used the same street that I
usually use most of the time and
I feel so safe using it.

Crosby 5:

* Don't like walking in Braam
by myself. Prefer going with
Tasneem

And Crosby 5: *I try to make the trip as short as possible and I try not to bring too much attention to myself.*

Wits 3: *I feel more secure when I am in a familiar place like when I am here on campus as opposed to when I am outside. Even in Braam[fontein], I don't really feel safe in Braam[fontein].*

Wits 1b:

[Walked to Braam by myself :C
Risk I took but because I needed
to do my hair I had no option.]

because I did not trust them [only
felt safe when we stepped in
on campus]

Wits 3: *I feel comfortable on campus that when I go out, I feel a bit anxious. It feels like I am going to a new world.*

Another prominent feature which makes participants feel safe, is when they travel with company. Participants tend to feel safer when moving in the public realm if they are doing so with friends. This feeling of safety increases with the number of friends travelling with and also increases and when there is a presence of a male

friend. Through this understanding, it is seen that company can be gender bias to an extent, as participants often feel safer when travelling with a male companion. They indicated that company makes the trip feel “safer, shorter and generally more comfortable” (Braamfontein 1a). This relates to travelling by all modes of transportation. Participants also believe that they would be able to explore more of Johannesburg if they had company to travel with.

Seeking company to move with may be challenging as friends or family of students may not desire travelling as much and when the participant may want to. Participants usually have limited available time. When they are available to explore the city, this may not be the time that their friends are able to accompany them. This makes seeking company, challenging.

Braamfontein 1a:

Handwritten text on lined paper: "on the street, but only reason we felt safe was becaz of numbers, 4 of us with 1 guy". The text is written in blue ink and is highlighted in green.

Braamfontein 3: *[I would explore more of Johannesburg] if I have people to walk around with all the time.*

Braamfontein 4b:

Handwritten text on lined paper: "It was very late around 23h00 pm. I was walking with my friend and floormate so we used Jorriksen Street and I felt safe even though it was late because I was not alone." The text is written in blue ink and is highlighted in green.

Braamfontein 4a: *I feel a bit more comfortable when I'm moving with friends.*

Parktown 4:

Handwritten text on lined paper: "all the time mp but I was okay because there was someone with me at the streets where busy around that time." The text is written in blue ink and is highlighted in green.

Travelling after dark makes students feel more unsafe than travelling during the day by any mode of transportation.

Braamfontein 4b:

[It was very late because it was around 23h00 and I was walking alone. So while walking inside the campus I felt safe because other students were walking. However after I stepped out of the campus gate I felt so unsafe because it was very late and I was walking alone. So I used Jorison Street but I felt very unsafe.]

Pageview 4:

[Travelled back home at night (around 8pm). Felt very unsafe at Smit street off-ramp. There were many beggars and a few cars in sight].

Braamfontein 4b: *I would sometimes run because it was late... I felt unsafe and I wanted to get to my destination [Esselen residence, Hillbrow] faster.*

Participants also feel unsafe when there are people in a space whose motive for being in the space is not easily identified.

Pageview 4:

Travelled back home. [as I entered my neighbourhood, felt a bit weary as there were lots of random people walking in the area, staring at the people that drive by.] Got into the

Crosby 4b: *I don't like people that seem to be lurking. When I don't know what their intentions are, I feel wary of them.*

Braamfontein 3: *When men are just standing around and I don't know what their intentions are, I don't like that.*

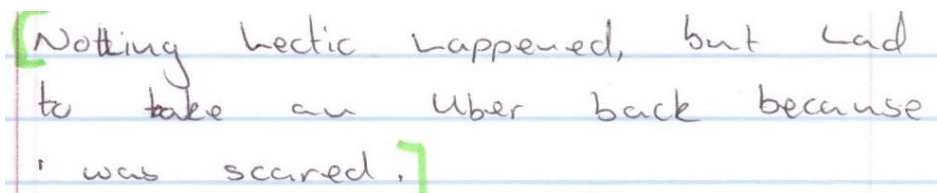
One participant stated that she feels safer when walking in Braamfontein when there is a presence of other students also walking in the area.

Wits 1b: *I feel better when I see other students in Braamfontein. I don't like it when there are other people there like the beggars and other people that don't look like students.*

In terms of safety regarding various modes of transportation, participants feel safest when they are travelling by private transportation.

Crosby 4a: *I know that I pay more, but at least my safety is almost guaranteed.*

Wits 1b:



Nothing hectic happened, but had to take an Uber back because I was scared.

(Uber is a private metered taxi that she hired).

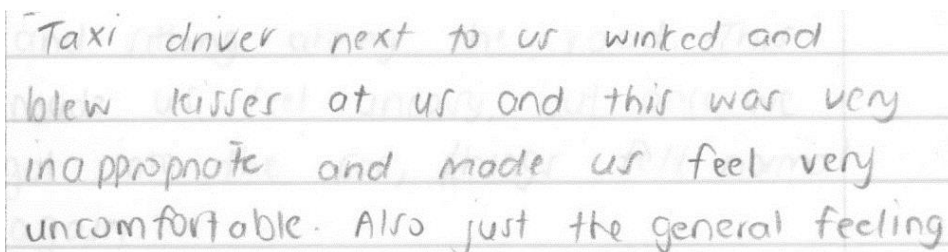
One participant drives her own vehicle. She often stated that she does not feel safe driving on her own in the city.

Pageview 4: *...and I know that we shouldn't be scared of them but you know we have heard so many stories where some beggars come to harm people.*

Pageview 4: *...but I do take precautionary measures, such as ensuring that my windows are up at those times, that my doors are always locked and that my bag or wallet cannot be seen.*

Besides being concerned with beggars, this participant mentioned that she had been harassed by drivers who stop next to her at a traffic light.

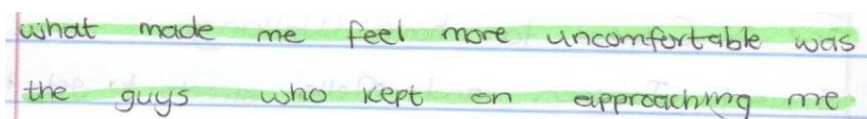
Pageview 4:



Taxi driver next to us winked and blew kisses at us and this was very inappropriate and made us feel very uncomfortable. Also just the general feeling

Many participants (Pageview 4; Braamfontein 3; Parktown 4; Braamfontein 4a and Wits 1b) revealed their concern with harassment upon travelling within the public realm. This not only makes them feel insecure but also wary of whether the harasser may harm them physically.

Braamfontein 3:



what made me feel more uncomfortable was the guys who kept on approaching me

and calling me by names like "sweetie", "mama"
"baby". These kind of show how they disrespect
women walking around the city and their behaviour

Parktown 4: *...there was this group of guys that approached me and they were speaking in vernac[ular language] but I just pretended like I did not hear them and I kept on walking on and one of them said "spoilt brat, she can't even hear the African language" but I just kept on walking on.*

However, Braamfontein 3 refused to show her fear on a previous occasion.

Braamfontein 3: *They want to see what you will say and if you will be scared and when I replied to him, I was looking straight in his eyes so he could tell that I wasn't scared of him.*

All participants who travel to Johannesburg CBD, "downtown", state that they do not enjoy their travels to the area nor do they enjoy moving within the area (Braamfontein 3; Parktown 4; Braamfontein 4a; Wits 1a; Wits 3 and Wits 1b).

Wits 3:

!! today I have to go to down
town. No!!!

Wits 3: *In almost every street we crossed, a man would greet us and would touch our hands. I felt so unsafe that I couldn't wait to walk back... we walked with so much speed that we literally could have dodged a bullet.*

Wits 1a:

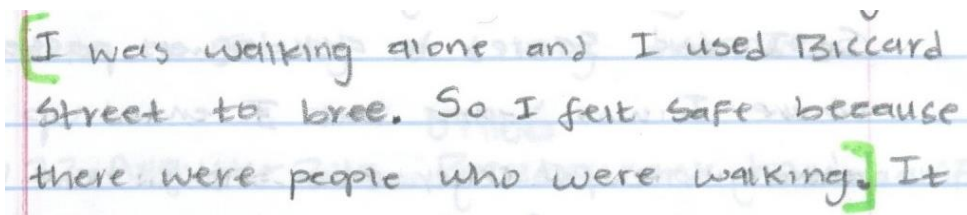
I met a guy who wanted my
ring and did not feel comfortable
as he wanted to talk to me, ~~he~~ and
~~kind of~~ he attempted to hold
my hand.

Parktown 4: *I don't like going there because it's always so crowded.*

The reasons for participants disliking their experience in Johannesburg CBD are due to verbal harassment from men, and concern for their possessions in crowded spaces.

One participants, however, mentioned that her experiences in the inner city are often pleasant.

Braamfontein 4b:



I was walking alone and I used Biccard Street to bree. So I felt safe because there were people who were walking. It

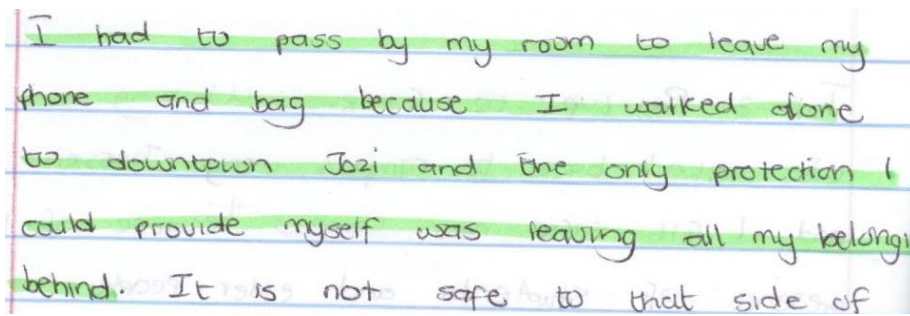
4.8.1.1 Impact of Safety on Movement Patterns

Most participants' report that concerns for their personal safety has an impact on how and where they move (Parktown 4; Meredale 4; Crosby 4a; Wits 1a; Crosby 5; Wits 3 and Wits 1b). This grouping can further be divided into participants whose movement has been severely curtailed by safety concerns (Crosby 4a and Crosby 5), and others whose movement has been limited but not prevented (Parktown 4; Meredale 4; Wits 1a; Wits 3; and Wits 1b). It can be seen that the latter is more common.

Participants who feel that concerns for personal safety does not restrict them from moving in the public realm indicate that they are always conscious of being wary of a possible violent occurrence. Due to this, they often adopt mitigation measures when moving in the public realm.

Meredale 4: *Sometimes I would carry two phones, like I would keep the cheaper phone in my pocket so if I do get mugged, I would give them the cheaper phone.*

Braamfontein 3:



I had to pass by my room to leave my phone and bag because I walked alone to downtown Jozi and the only protection I could provide myself was leaving all my belongings behind. It is not safe to that side of

Wits 3: *I always feel unsafe going to downtown so I would always take a friend with.*

Braamfontein 4b: *Within my first month of living in Johannesburg, I got mugged. They stole my phone. I was very upset after that incident but after moving around in the city more, I realised that the city is not so bad. I understand that was a one-time thing. I would just have to make sure that my phone is not visible because that day, my phone was in my front jeans pocket*

and it could be seen. So now I know to put my phone deep in my bag where it cannot be seen.

Some participants feel that being wary of one's safety is not an aspect that is unique to Johannesburg. It is an aspect that is common to all South African cities and it is something that all children are taught how to react towards.

Braamfontein 3: It is just a part of who we are. It is a culture of South Africans. It's kind of how we have been brought up. Where ever you go into any city, you would have to think about safety and where you are going and what you are doing there so I think that it is part of who we are so I don't really see it as a restriction.

The participants have internalised the dangers that the city may represent.

Wits 3: ... I think it is just something we have to do, being cautious, it's almost normal for us.

Wits 1a: You sort of automatically adjust differently depending on the surroundings.

4.8.1.2 Impact that Negative Experiences has on Participants' Future Movement Patterns

Participants of this study have told the researcher about certain negative experiences, relating to movement within the public realm in Johannesburg.

Braamfontein 3: I was accompanying my friend to campus... five guys approached us and asked my friend "why are you walking with such a beautiful woman, she should be walking with us". We tried to walk away, the security guards just stood by and did nothing... We walked really fast and eventually got away from these guys but it was so scary at the time.

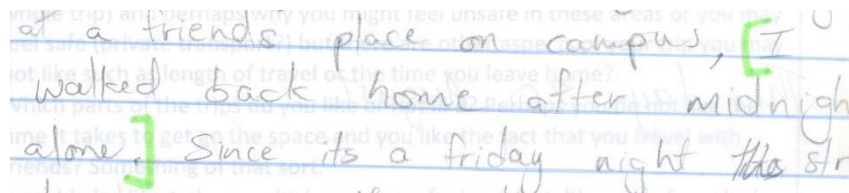
Braamfontein 4b: There was once these guys in a taxi with me and they were drunk and they were insulting this other older man in the taxi. It was so uncomfortable. We were all in a confined space so there was no where to run, I had to wait until we got to my destination. I couldn't wait to leave. I just tried to hide myself [in the taxi] in hope that they wouldn't say anything to me.

Participants were asked whether these experiences have had an impact on their movement patterns within the city and whether these incidents have stopped them from moving around. The general reply was that these experiences did not have much of an impact and participants continued to move within their usual areas, while ensuring that they take various mitigation measures.

4.8.2 Time

Time of day of travel has an impact on some participants' travel patterns, but not all. Some participants specifically state that time of day matters depending on where they are travelling. Participants who live in Braamfontein reveal that they are generally content with walking in the area after dark.

Braamfontein 1a:



at a friend's place on campus, [I
walked back home after midnight
alone.] Since it's a Friday night the str

However, all of these participants state that they would feel more comfortable if they were walking in the area with friends at night.

The participant who drives around the city explains that time of day plays an considerable role. She tries to avoid travelling during peak hours.

Pageview 4: *I would rather leave later in the evening to avoid the peak traffic... but then again, driving alone when it is dark is also unsafe. I don't enjoy doing it.*

Besides time of day, a common factor that all participants have to consider is that of duration of trips. More participants consider the aspect of their duration of travel as opposed to time of day. Many participants mention that they do not enjoy travelling for long periods of time.

Meredale 4: *... I travel for about three hours a day. It just wastes so much valuable time.*

Crosby 5: *The once I wanted to go to Park station and I couldn't get the usual private transportation that I would take, so I took a tuk tuk and the tuk tuk wouldn't take me all the way to Park Station so he took me to a taxi and then I had to go by taxi to the station. And the taxi stops on the complete opposite side of where I normally get off by park station so I had to walk so far to get to the entrance so that was really uncomfortable and plus, I had to be at the bus by 11 [am] and I only got there by 10:30 so I was panicking. Also, if I would make it on time. I had left so early but I didn't realise that all these modes of transportation, tuk tuk, taxi and walking would take so long.*

Three participants say that they would rather opt to stay at home than travelling somewhere that will take them a long time to get to.

Wits 3: *I would consider whether I really need to go and if I don't then I would rather stay in my room.*

4.8.3 Cost

Cost of movement (affordability of transport) has an impact on some participants but not on others. Participants who stay on campus, in Braamfontein or in Wits Junction often do not pay for transportation. For the majority of these participants, the main mode of transportation is walking, or taking the Wits bus. At times, they would be required to travel to areas by a minibus taxi.

Wits 1b: *I do sometimes take a taxi. It's quite cheap but I almost always don't feel safe. I prefer to use Uber. It is more expensive but I know I'll be safe.*

Some participants explain that their limited financial situation has an impact. Many places within Johannesburg are located far apart. It may be costly to travel to them.

Braamfontein 4a: *...another thing is that many of the places that I would like to go to in Jo'burg are very far and as a student, you often don't really have the money and I would like to go but I am sort of priced out.*

The participants that drives as her main mode of transportation mentions that her costs are very high.

Pageview 4: *Petrol is very expensive. I can't always go out whenever I want to and plus I have practicals and I travel to these hospitals with my own car. Wits does not provide me with transportation to get there, nor do they give me money for petrol, it's all on my own expense...I do take some of my classmates, but I'm not the kind of person that can ask for money, so the cost is all on me.*

One participant uses the Metrobus as her main mode of transportation (Meredale 4). She says that while Metrobus is not very expensive, it is also not always reliable.

Meredale 4: *I would walk for ten minutes to the bus stop and then I would wait for a bus. If a bus doesn't arrive, then I would have to take a taxi and then I would have to hope that I have cash on me because I usually use my bus tags to travel with Metrobus as it is cheaper to load money on my bus tags.*

4.8.4 Xenophobia

One participant is affected by xenophobia.

Braamfontein 1b: *Joburg is a megacity. There is quite a lot one can do but one is not able to explore all this due to its hostility, unfriendliness and high*

crime. The feeling of uneasiness is heightened when one is a foreign national as you are constantly haunted by xenophobia attacks in the past.

4.9 Do Participants Refer to Johannesburg as their 'Home'?

Participants of this study were asked if they refer to Johannesburg as their 'home' and if they believe that the city can ever be made their home. In response to this, the majority of participants (thirteen students) responded that they do not refer to Johannesburg as their home and they do not think that the city can ever be made their home.

Crosby 4a: Never, no no no, never ever. You get used to it. You just bear it because you have to. It's not a place that you actually grow affection towards. Even with the four years [that I've been living in Johannesburg], I mean something should have happened by now, but no, I've not grown affection to this city.

Pageview 4: No, never. I like that question... I'm very familiar with things back home. I haven't experienced much or all of Jo'burg but [from] what I have experienced; it's not a city I'd want to live in forever.

Braamfontein 1a: Well home is a very deep word. [Pauses to think] Home is where my family is. My family is in East London, so no, Jo'burg is not my home.

Wits 3: No, I kind of feel like I have to adopt to the city because of the opportunities available here. I wouldn't ideally want to live here but if I get a job here then I guess I'll remain here.

4.10 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Research

One of the most positive aspects of this research was the high number of participants who took part in the research. This allowed for a variety of responses and ensured that conclusions were not based on a singular perception. Another strength of this research was the selection of Wits students. This narrowed the search for participants.

The greatest challenge for the researcher was finding willing participants to partake in the research. The researcher also had to face the challenge of some (two participants who were not entirely forthcoming with the journaling task. These responses limited the findings that the researcher was able to extract. In light of this, another limitation was the researcher found it a challenge to seek white participants.

The white students she was able to speak to were students from Johannesburg and thus, did not qualify for this study.

4.11 Summary of Findings

There are many different experiences that participants' face, which limit their movement patterns depending on the mode of transportation used to access particular locations.

Participants use a variety of modes of transportation and usually use one particular mode to access the same space. While they generally had negative perceptions of the city before moving to Johannesburg, after living in the city for some time, many do not view the city in the same light and do not feel as unsafe as they thought they would.

The participants felt that the city was safe if they exercised caution and utilised mitigation measures while moving in the public realm to avoid the risk of being harmed. Participants also feel safer travelling with company.

Participants do not enjoy travelling after dark, especially when walking. They also do not feel safe with travelling in spaces with which they are unfamiliar. They feel safer where there is a security personnel presence. Participants who live in a particular area, they will feel more comfortable with moving in that area as opposed to a student who does not reside in the area. The participants are wary of people who have unidentified purposes for being within a space. They also feel uncomfortable when men verbally harass them.

Participants also do not enjoy travelling far distances. Safety limits movement but does not prevent movement.

Participants desired to visit more spaces in the city but cannot do so due to considerations of safety, cost, difficulty of utilising public transportation and their limited time availability due to campus responsibilities. Cost of movement affects their movement patterns. Most participants are unaware of how to use public transportation and often do not enjoy using it. Some participants would pay more to travel by private transportation rather than to use public transportation.

The majority of the participants to the city do not refer to Johannesburg as their home, rather, they refer to the city as a place that they have bear with during their years of studying.

Chapter 5: Deciphering the Experiences of Female Student Newcomers in Johannesburg

I want to leave my footprints on the sand of time
Know there was something that, something that I left behind
When I leave this world, I'll leave no regrets
Leave something to remember, so they won't forget

I was here, I lived, I loved, I was here
I did, I've done, everything that I wanted
And it was more than I thought it would be
I will leave my mark, soul, everyone will know, I was here

Beyonce Knowles – I Was Here
(Shaw et al., 2011)

This chapter analyses the findings presented in the previous chapter. It examines the findings in terms of main themes raised in the literature chapter. The chapter begins by analysing the concept of familiarity with city, which is the strongest theme relating to female student newcomers. The chapter relates the concept of belonging in terms of its impact on the movement patterns of participants. Familiarity relates to how the city is imagined and communicated. It refers to perceptions of the city and participants' sense of belonging in the city. Passive surveillance as well as travelling with companions are important factors that makes participants feel safer. Participants' length of their stay in Johannesburg is also discussed regarding their movement patterns in the city.

The gendered nature of Johannesburg is then explored through the experiences of the participants, including verbal harassment, the precautions they take and their fear of travelling after dark. The next theme discussed is that of the migrant experience in the city. It will explore how participants move to the city to obtain a tertiary education but often remain isolated from the city.

The difficulty in navigating the complex city of Johannesburg is the next theme examined. The factors that limit and facilitate participants' movement include accessing public transportation, time and cost of movement as well as the opportunities that Braamfontein represents for students. Participants' unique experiences relating to moving within Johannesburg inner city is also assessed. The University of the Witwatersrand Main campus is well located within Braamfontein. The impact of Braamfontein on participants is also expanded on. Lastly, the chapter discusses the effect that a negative experience has on participants. The chapter then summarises the main points revealed and links it to considering whether the city adequately plans for female student newcomers.

5.1 Familiarity with Space

5.1.1 How the City is Imagined and Communicated

Hollander (2001) states that a city's physical realm is defined by the way people talk about it, conceptualise it and imagine it. Pain (1997) and Phasha (2012) both discuss the concept of preconceived perceptions of space. The majority of participants had been told negative tales about Johannesburg prior to their move and had always been warned to be careful when moving in the city's public realm. These negative stories led participants to envisage the city as being dangerous and unsafe. This creates an initial negative image of the city before there students interacted with

the city and decided for themselves what the conditions of the public realm are. Despite these cautionary tales of the city, they had still moved to the city to further their studies. By this, it can be understood that this negative perception of the city did not affect their intention to move to the city. These students were willing to take the risk of moving to Johannesburg and this was regarded as manageable in order to further their studies.

5.1.2 Perceptions Determine Female Students' Movements

Their initial perceptions often limit female students from fully experiencing the city. They feel safe and comfortable when they are in certain areas but not in other areas. This is where the concept of social construction of safe and dangerous spaces can be applied (Pain, 1997). Female students mentally assess a space to decide whether they believe it to be a safe or a dangerous space. This assessment is made upon features of the space, such as lighting (when it is dark), crowdedness, and public waste maintenance, as shown by some of the respondents who fear walking in Braamfontein after dark. At night, one participant walks back to her residence along Jorissen Street instead of De Korte Street as she states that Jorissen Street has more street lighting. Whitzman (2008) argues that a person under the influence of alcohol makes other people fear them. This is apparent in the case of the participants who felt that she was in a potentially dangerous situation as she travelled in a taxi with a person under the influence of alcohol.

Soon after their move to Johannesburg, many participants felt that the city was not as dangerous and unsafe as they had initially anticipated. Phasha (2010) discusses the media and stories passed through word of mouth and the impact they have on perceptions. This is evident in the case of female student newcomers. The negative perceptions of the city are passed through the media and reinforced through word of mouth, which exacerbates the actual situations of crime in danger in the city. While crime statistics show that comparatively high levels of criminal activity occur in Johannesburg, people's sense of the danger presented in the city is further intensified through both media reports and cautionary tales.

It should be noted that this research is particularly interested in studying the journey and not the destination, however, perceptions of the destination directly impacts on perception of the journey. For example, it is seen that a student may have a negative perception of a particular area, due to this; it is highly likely that she would have a negative perception of the journey to the area as well. This perception can be altered on various levels by the selection of mode of transportation to access this

area. Travelling by private transportation to the area would make the journey feel safer than travelling to the area by foot. Essentially, mode of transportation does not eliminate the feeling of being unsafe on the journey but rather decreases it.

5.1.3 Sense of Belonging in Cities

The most common finding is that participants feel safer in spaces that they visit on a frequent basis. As Fenster (2004) suggests the more women become familiar with a space, the more comfortable and safe they feel in that space, and they feel that they belong within it. Participants do not desire travelling to spaces that they have not visited before due to their fear of the unknown. When women do not know much about a space, they are often reluctant to visit that space. In a similar way, they are reluctant to utilise a particular mode of transportation (especially any form of public transportation) that they have not used before.

Through this understanding it can be assumed that in order for students to become more familiar with a space, and to travel to more spaces in the city, they would have to overcome their fear of travelling to spaces for the first time. Students would have to frequently visit a space to become more familiar with it in order to feel comfortable in the space. The question relating to this arises when it is considered how these students would have the courage to make that initial trip to any space they have not been to before.

The more students interact in a space, their perceptions of the space also changes. This is a concept is discussed by McDowell (1999) and applies to the case of female students in Johannesburg. The more they interact within a particular space, their perceptions of the space changes positively. They would feel more comfortable within a space due to regular encounters with it. Regular encounters refers to more familiarity with and further, more familiarity creates the sense of belonging in cities.

Another factor that is that perceptions of the city will depend on perceptions of the area one is living in. This is an aspect that can be added to current literature. If a student feels safe in the area in which she resides, she will generally have positive perceptions of the city, whereas if she feels unsafe within the area that she is living in, she would have negative perceptions of the city. This relates to participants' perceptions of safety depending on their surroundings. They may feel safer in areas that they are familiar with, however, this would depend on the nature of the particular area. Students may be familiar with the area which they reside, however, if the area is always quiet, this would make them fear moving around in the area.

5.1.4 Passive Surveillance

It is essential to distinguish the difference between passive surveillance and crowdedness. Passive surveillance refers to the presence of other people who watch over pedestrians walking in a space, which has the effect of facilitating their safety (Kent, 2013). Crowdedness is the agglomeration of many people in a particular space where crowdedness refers to congestion and passive surveillance refers to security. One participant feels safer walking in streets near to where she resides as she has become familiar with certain people on these streets and she is aware that these people have become familiar with her. On the other hand, participants have also expressed their dislike with travelling in crowded spaces. This makes them feel wary of the possessions due to the congestion of crowded spaces. A common trend is that spaces of passive surveillance are familiar spaces whereas crowdedness is seen to be associated with spaces, which are not as familiar to students.

Participants also feel safer in areas when there is a presence of a JMPD police officer or security guard. Thus, they feel more comfortable in a space when they are aware that there are people observing them. This does not only relate to people responsible for safety and security, but also relates to the general public observations.

5.1.5 Travelling with Company

Pain (1997) discovered that women feel safer while walking with company. In the same way, the participants feel more comfortable if they are with companions, and this arrangement seems to give them access to more spaces. Adding to Pain's study is the observation that the participants also feel safer using all modes of transportation when they are accompanied, and not limited to when travelling by foot.

5.1.6 Length of Stay in Johannesburg

Hollander (2001) suggests that age has an impact on how one perceives the urban environment. He argues that young women are more cautious with regards to movement. They feel more vulnerable while moving than older women. This is, however, not strongly apparent among these female student newcomers. The findings have rather shown that the more time a participant lives in the city, the more comfortable she will be within the city. This would mean that women need time and exposure to become more comfortable in the city, rather than being determined by

their age (Nkoane, 2014). Participants who have lived in the city for a longer period of time (more than one year) generally feel more comfortable with moving around in the city than those that have only lived in the city for shorter periods of time (less than one year). This finding is closely linked to that of perceptions and familiarity as those students who have lived in the city for longer, would generally be more familiar with areas and have more positive perceptions of the city and spaces. They would thus, feel safer moving around as opposed to students who have not lived in the city for a long period of time. Students who have lived in the city for a shorter period of time (less than one year) would generally not be as familiar with the city and may not want to travel as often as they would fear male violence in space.

It was initially assumed that an individual's race would determine how they move in the city (Hollander, 2001; Kihato, 2013). This was, however, not the case among the participants. It was also assumed that being a foreign national would have an impact on students' experiences (Kihato, 2013). Conversely, only one of the several foreign national participants indicated that concerns about xenophobia affected her movement. The perceptions of the other foreign nationals supported the finding that length of stay and familiarity with the city were primary factors determining movement patterns.

A key finding is that length of stay in Johannesburg is a primary factor in determining how the participants move in the city, as well as the particular modes of transportation that they choose. As young women become more accustomed to the city they generally feel comfortable with expanding their movement patterns. The same is seen for utilising different modes of transportation: as young women are exposed to using various modes of transportation, so they feel more at ease with travelling by the different modes. On the other hand, young women who have not lived in the city for a long period of time may have the desire to explore the city, but may not actually travel much as they are fearful about moving in the city.

5.1.7 Participants' Places of Residence

The location of participants' current residence the city has an impact on their movement patterns. The majority of participants reside in Braamfontein and Wits. As a City Improvement District, Braamfontein is patrolled by security guards twenty-four hours a day. As has been discovered, the presence of security guards makes the participants feel safer. Others boarded with family members, which not only provided them with safety and comfort, but also guide them around the city.



Figure 5.1 Braamfontein security guard: An image of a Braamfontein security guard patrolling in the area.
Source: Makan, 2015

5.2 Gendered Nature of Cities

5.2.1 Fear of Men's Violence

Being harassed in the public realm concerned all the participants. According to the findings, verbal harassment from men on the streets of Johannesburg occurs on a regular basis. Participants feel uncomfortable in public spaces due to this. It often discourages them from more extensive movement. While the factor of verbal harassment did not prevent participants from moving around in the city, it did, however, make them reconsider their decision to travel. In this way, harassment by men served as a constraint to their free movement. Verbal harassment on streets also enforces male power over women in the public realm (Hollander, 2001), as these participants' fear of harassment by men, make them reluctant to travel, thus enforcing male dominance.

Fear also restricts female student newcomers' movements due to the risk of possible violence occurring in the space (van Donk, 2004). This fear of potential physical harm is related to their fear of the unknown. More specifically, it reveals the gendered nature of cities whereby young women avoid certain spaces due to the possibility of male violence directed explicitly against them as women.

5.2.2 Women's Tactical Relationships and Precautionary Measures

Existing literature suggests that women make tactical relationships with the city (Kihato, 2009). It is evident that the participants also carefully plan their trips: they

decide upon their travel destinations, the mode of transportation they utilise, they would consider the route they would take and factor in cost of travel. If walking, their choice of route may change in transit, as they would continually assess their surroundings. If they noticed a potentially hazardous situation, such as a deserted or unlit street, they would choose to use an alternative street. It is also confirmed that women mentally map their routes (Scraton and Watson, 2010). Participants walking to Johannesburg's inner city have conceptualised and created a visual image of how to reach their destinations, although they are not necessarily familiar with the street names.

The participants explained that they feel safe in spaces as long as they exercise caution. Examples of acts of caution include not carrying valuable possessions, not carrying a bag, travelling with friends, not travelling to certain areas late at night and choosing routes that are well-lit. The positive side of the act of exercising caution is that participants have found ways to adapt their behaviours in spaces to retain their mobility rather than being too afraid to access these spaces. The negative side, however, is that by taking precautionary measures to avoid male violence, young women's freedom of movement is constrained and contingent.

5.2.3 Fear of Moving After Dark

Pain (1997) and Davis (2015) discuss how women fear moving after dark. This is also evident in the case of some of the participants. Many of them avoided travelling after dark to certain areas, especially spaces unless they feel safe in the selected mode of transportation and if they are accompanied.

Participants who reside in Braamfontein often walk to their place of residence after dark as long as they do so with others or if they walk along a well-lit street. Their feelings of relative safety are further reinforced as they are familiar with the area, and the passive surveillance offered by other pedestrians provides them with some comfort.

5.3 Sense of Safety Depends on Surroundings

Vetten and Dladla (2000) argue that women feel safe in certain areas of the city and not in others. They suggest that women's feeling of safety is determined by their surroundings and that perceptions differ as surroundings differ. Participants' perceptions of personal safety are based on close assessment of their surroundings. Paradoxically, they feel safer when streets are neither deserted nor crowded. Being

surrounded by too many people makes them feel wary of their possessions, but the absence of people also makes them feel at risk. The number of people required to make participants feel safer depends also on their surroundings as well as time of day. It would also depend on the activities of other people occupying the space.

If fellow pedestrians were perceived to be 'lurking' or 'loitering', participants would feel wary of them. They prefer to be surrounded by pedestrians whose intentions for being in the space are clear. An example of this would be shop owners standing outside their shop, a pedestrian walking towards a particular shop or purchasing items from a street vendor. People who do not display these kinds of clear intentions are treated with some caution.

5.4 Migrant Experience

5.4.1 Relocation to Improve Living Conditions

Kihato (2013) discusses how migrant women relocate to improve their living conditions. This is seen for the case of participants who relocate to Johannesburg to further their studies. These participants had left the comfort and security of their home and taken the risk with studying in a city they perceived to be unsafe and dangerous. This shows students' desire to gain the necessary tertiary qualifications for better employment prospects as to improve their living conditions.

5.4.2 Remain Dislocated from the City

Kihato (2013) discusses the concept of home and the relationship that migrant women have with Johannesburg. While migrant women often relocate to the city to improve their livelihood, they often do not feel a sense of belonging and remain dislocated from the city. This is also evident in the experiences of participants. The majority do not regard Johannesburg as their home. Some participants stated that they would only remain in the city if necessary, but would prefer to return to their home town or settle in another city other than Johannesburg. This temporary condition confirms Simelane's point (2011) that youth migrants are a grouping of individuals who migrate and remain in a city for a short period of time.

5.5 Difficulties in Navigating a Metropolitan City

It had been suggested in the literature that the difficulty in navigating the public realm was due to the physical inaccessibility of Johannesburg (van der Bol, 2009). This was in terms of various activities located at far distances from one another. While this was confirmed through the findings, it was not the most prominent reason experienced by the participants. Instead, their difficulty lies in their limited knowledge about accessing and utilising public transportation systems in the city. While public transportation is fairly affordable and should allow young women to travel to more spaces in the city, perceptions of its unreliability and poor safety discouraged the participants from using certain forms of public transportation. It is noted that not all forms of public transportation was seen as a challenge to access. The participant who travels by the Gautrain did not have any issues with accessing and utilising this mode of transportation. The forms of public transportation participants perceived to be inaccessible and unreliable were minibus taxi's, Metrobus and Rea Vaya.

Young women, and especially those who are newcomers to a city require a safe form of transportation due to their unfamiliarity with the city. For students to reach their classes on time, they would require a reliable form of transportation.

The findings confirmed Whitzman's (2008) observation that women often choose to spend more money to travel by private transportation to ensure their safety. The participants, who do not live within a walking distance from campus, utilise private transportation as a main mode of transportation. Many of them do not have access to their own vehicle and are wary of using public transportation, and this means that their movement patterns are restricted even though some of them would prefer to travel to more places in the city.

5.6 Factors of Time and Cost Affecting Participants' Movement Patterns

It has been shown that time of day has an impact on young women; they are especially reluctant to travel after dark. Length of travel time also has a significant impact on participants' movement patterns. Many participants prefer not to spend a long time travelling. Due to long travelling time, participants often avoid travelling to certain areas in Johannesburg. Participants would prefer to access their necessities and partake in leisure activities located in close proximity to their place of residence.

Cost of movement has an impact on how scholars move in space (Kent, 2013). The research revealed that cost also has the same impact on participants'

movement. The participants chose not to travel to a particular place due to the cost attached with travel (by any mode of transportation).

Cost does not affect all of the young women. Some participants are able to travel to a variety of destinations due to the convenience of the Wits bus, which offers free transportation between campus, residences and Rosebank Mall over the weekends. This limited mobility however, is not available for those participants who do not reside on campus, in other Wits residences and in Braamfontein, and thus their movement patterns over the weekends are more restricted. These participants do not always feel comfortable utilising public transportation and often are not able to afford the expense of hiring private taxis. In this case, many participants opted to remain at their place of residence during the weekends. Cost has a strong influence over these participants' movement patterns.

5.7 Participants' Experience within Johannesburg CBD

Van Donk (2004) finds that women do not enjoy their experiences in the inner city of Johannesburg, primarily because of the verbal harassment they encounter. All the participants who travel to Johannesburg CBD also do not enjoy travelling to and within the area. Reasons from participants include, verbal harassment from men, the waste and refuse in certain streets, as well as the volume of people. Despite these negative experiences, they continue to travel to the CBD for various reasons, such as the availability of affordable goods to purchase. These participants ensure that they take precautionary measures before they travel to the area.

5.8 Participants' Relationship with Braamfontein

Braamfontein is an area containing a variety of leisure activities appealing to students including shopping and recreation in the form of nightclubs, bars, coffee shops, and parks. The participants who reside in Braamfontein have easier access to these activities and are able to enjoy them at any time of the day (allowing that they take precautionary measures when necessary). Those participants who do not reside in Braamfontein do not have the same access to these activities. The residential areas in which they live do not have a similar range of activities as those in Braamfontein.

Residing in Braamfontein allows these young women to be more mobile within the area at various times of the day. They are more familiar with moving within the space and feel relatively safe within it and thus, will access it more often. Those

participants who do not reside in Braamfontein have more limited opportunities to access the area. When they do, they are not as comfortable in the area as those who reside in the area.

Participants who reside in Braamfontein are also able to access campus facilities after hours as they are often not restricted by time of day and thus are able to remain at campus until it is necessary for them to leave. Those who do not reside in Braamfontein are required to leave campus at times determined by their mode of transportation. Some forms of private transportation would be available only during the day or participants may choose to take public transportation during the day in fear of travelling after dark. These participants do not have the same extensive access to campus facilities after hours.

5.9 Effects of a Negative Experience

The participants believe that safety is an aspect that may limit them from moving within the public realm, but is not entirely a restricting factor. When they need to make trips into areas that they may consider unsafe, they take precautionary measures to reduce the risks that may arise.

The participants, who have been involved in a negative experience in the public realm, agreed that the experience had not prevented them from moving within the public realm. Whitzman (2008) and Pain (1997) suggest that these kinds of negative experiences may have a lasting psychological effect on women's well-being, and it may be assumed that they would influence how these women engaged with the city after these events. However, they have not yet been perceived by the participants as damaging or traumatic. They view these occurrences as random events of bad luck. They appear to learn from these kinds of experiences and therefore adopt measures to avoid or better respond to such situations.

5.10 Culture of Violence

One participant believes that being concerned with safety is not synonymous with Johannesburg, and she is wary when she is in her hometown and other South African cities. She has been taught from a young age that she should always be cautious of her surroundings and careful of her possessions. She believes that there is a culture of violence present in South Africa and that individuals should always be cautious when moving in urban spaces and not only when in Johannesburg. This belief confirms the "culture of violence" that Dirisuweit (2002) discusses.

5.11 Complexity of Participants' Movement Patterns

It can be seen through the preceding analysis that the factors that determine the movement patterns of female student newcomers are multi-dimensional. Some factors are more prominent than others and some factors apply to some participants and not to others. This section summarises the main points influencing female student newcomers' movement patterns by highlighting the familiarity of spaces, gendered nature of cities, migrant women's experiences and the difficulty of navigating the public realm. The section also highlights other factors apart from the above, which influences their movement patterns.

Familiarity, or lack thereof, is noted as a key concept influencing female student newcomers' movement patterns. The participants often had negative perceptions of Johannesburg prior to their move, which had been developed through the media as well as in conversation. These negative perceptions often make participants fearful about their move to the city, but these concerns are overridden by their desire to obtain a tertiary education. Most, however, regard their relocation to Johannesburg as a temporary phenomenon, and intend to leave once their studies are completed. They often feel dislocated from the city and do not establish a sense of belonging with Johannesburg.

The perceptions that young women have of the city determine how and where they move. It also determines the mode of transportation they choose and how frequently they travel. The perceptions of female student newcomers to the city are fluid and change over time. The more they interact within a space, the more familiar they become with it. Further, the more they have a sense of belonging to the city, although this may be quite temporary.

Passive surveillance is a factor that makes participants feel safer in a space and more willing to move about. It provides them with a feeling that, the presence of other users of space ensures their safety. The participants generally prefer to move about with company. Travelling in numbers allows them to feel safer and less vulnerable than travelling alone. Another factor that influences the movement patterns of the participants are their perceptions of spaces that they have not been to before. If participants have not been to a particular space, they are more reluctant to visit it. The length of time living in Johannesburg is an important factor influencing their movement patterns, as it gives a rise to familiarity with the city in general and certain places in particular. Young women who have lived in the city for longer than a year feel more comfortable with moving in the city than those who have lived in the

city for less than one year. Familiarity with spaces often encourages more extensive movement about the city among these young women.

Johannesburg is significantly gendered in its nature as fear of men's physical power and potential violence is apparent of the participants' experiences of Johannesburg. Young women frequently face verbal harassment from men in the streets of Johannesburg. They also fear being attacked by men. They tend to feel wary of male users of the space whose intentions are unclear. These experiences and perceptions affect their enjoyment of the city and restrict their ease of movement in urban spaces. Due to this fear, young women have developed a number of precautionary measures in order to avoid or minimise the risk of a potential dangerous encounter. Even with these precautionary measures in place, young women are still disadvantaged as these challenges limit their desire and ability to move in the city.

Johannesburg is a difficult city to navigate. The accessibility of public transportation is one of the key factors that influence the movement patterns of these young women in increases their difficulty in navigating the city. They often find it difficult to obtain information about how public transportation systems operate in the city. They also lack the willingness to use public transportation systems due to their perceived unreliability and the difficulty in accessing various forms of public transportation. The participants are unaware of how and where to catch a minibus taxi. The same applies to catching a Metrobus. Participants are also aware that they may have to utilise more than one mode of transportation to access a certain space, and this often discourages them.

Cost of travel is also a factor that influences these students' movement. They do not always have sufficient resources for the costs of travel by their desired mode of transportation. Thus, the cost of transport is also a factor that restricts participants' movement.

The final factor that limits participants' movement patterns is that of the lack of time available to travel. Participants often do not have time to do much else other than focus on their studies. Participants are in classes during week days and are often busy with assignments over the weekend, and they often do not have much more time to travel around and explore the city.

Participants have negative perceptions and experiences of moving in Johannesburg's inner city, and avoid it whenever possible. They often make this trip as goods can be purchased cheaper in the inner-city as opposed to purchasing the same items elsewhere. Braamfontein is an area located within walking distance from Wits Main campus. It accommodates a number of students and contains various

amenities such as retail and leisure activities. The participants who reside in the area have more extensive access to these activities than participants who do not reside in the area. They also generally feel safer and more comfortable in the area than the other participants who do not reside in the area.

It has been noted that if female students have a negative experience of movement in the public realm, it often does not have a lasting impacts on the individual's psychological well-being. Students learn from their experience and learn to adopt mitigation measures to avoid similar experience, or reduce their impact. These factors limit young women's movement in the city, and not necessarily prohibit their movement. They are considering factors where young women may adopt one or more of the factors upon moving. In some cases, participants would choose not to travel. In the majority of cases, however, participants would find an alternative means of travel to allow them to move. Within spaces that participants become familiar with and feel safer in, they appear to enjoy these spaces as they become more familiar to a space with constant visits. Further, they would only make constant visits when they enjoy interacting in the space. While participants mentioned that they do not refer to Johannesburg as their home, they still do find temporary comfort in certain spaces.

It can be seen that the experiences of participants confirm much of the existing literature on various groupings of women. It is also evident that their experiences and the factors that influence their movement patterns are significantly complex with different combination of factors influencing each respondent.

It is seen that participants are continuously facing the same challenges presented in the literature, and it can thus be assumed that the city does not adequately plan for their particular needs in the city. Some findings have confirmed aspects of current literature and other aspects can be added to current literature. Participants are continuing to experience difficulties with regards to movement within the public realm. Their issues are not adequately addressed by the city. These young women have rights to the city and to access the city's amenities and while it is seen that they are able to do so, to a certain extent, it is also the duty of the city to assist these women with safety and comfort of movement.

The city should aim to understand a variety of sub-groupings of individuals in society and consider their needs to better plan for an inclusive city, which is particularly gender sensitive. It is seen that women feel insecure when travelling after dark. They also feel insecure and vulnerable in spaces which they are unfamiliar with and when there is a lack of security presence in spaces. They require safe and reliable forms of public transportation. They also require the presence of security

guards in spaces to make them feel safer while walking. Student newcomers have a desire for spaces in Johannesburg to be legible.

Chapter 6: Summing up Current Experiences and Gazing towards the Future

Preacher man, don't tell me
Heaven is under the earth
I know you don't know
What life is really worth
It's not all that glitters is gold
'Alf the story has never been told
So now you see the light, eh
Stand up for your rights. Come on!

Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights!
Get up, stand up, don't give up the fight!
Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights!
Get up, stand up, don't give up the fight!

Bob Marley – Get Up, Stand Up
(Marley and Tosh, 1973)

The chapter serves to conclude the study through discussing the research focus, which is the extent to which limited accessibility and perceptions of safety influences the movement patterns of female student newcomers. It will also discuss the sub-questions of the research. These are the issues women commonly face regarding navigating the urban public realm, the experiences of female newcomers in Johannesburg and the factors that influence their movement patterns in Johannesburg. In answering the research question and sub-questions, the chapter summarises the main findings of the research. From this basis, the chapter makes recommendations on how urban planning of the city can better accommodate young women in the city and particularly female student newcomers. The chapter then provides a brief summary of research.

6.1 Bringing the Research to a Close

6.1.1 The Extent that Limited Accessibility and Perceptions of Safety has on Movement Patterns of Female Student Newcomers to Johannesburg

The research aimed at assessing the extent to which limited accessibility and perceptions of safety influences the movement patterns of female students who are newcomers to the city. This research discovered that both these factors have an impact upon the young women's mobility but not to the extent that it was initially anticipated. Research also showed that there are many other factors influencing their movement patterns in the city in addition to the two suggested.

Limited accessibility referred to the limited ability to access various destinations within the city. This has proved to be a challenge for participants. They particularly expressed their difficulty in accessing forms of public transportation. It was discovered that participants are often unaware of means of accessing minibus taxis and fear travelling by this form of transportation for two reasons. The first relates to the feeling of being unsafe and insecure in this mode of transportation. The second reason relates to their unfamiliarity with the city as they were afraid of exiting the minibus taxi in a space they are unfamiliar with. They also expressed their displeasure in utilising public bus transportation systems of Metrobus and Rea Vaya due to perceiving that these forms of transportation are unsafe and unreliable.

Participants' perceptions of safety have also been shown to limit their movement whereby they are reluctant to travel to unfamiliar places, especially travelling to unfamiliar spaces after dark. They feel safer in certain spaces and not in other spaces. Spaces which they feel safe in are generally spaces they are familiar

with. They also expressed their displeasure with verbal harassment from men in the public realm. Students also do not feel safe in Johannesburg inner city.

Their reasons for movement in Johannesburg cannot solely be explained in terms of these two factors. A critical factor is the length of time that participants have lived in the city; with those who have lived in the city for longer than one year, generally feeling more comfortable than those who have lived in the city for less than a year. Length of stay is also strongly related to perceptions of the city as a whole, and more specifically to feelings of relative safety and comfort in certain places. Spaces that participants visit regularly become spaces they are more familiar with. Ideally, participants have the desire to become familiar with spaces, and to create the feeling of belonging in spaces thus feeling comfortable with moving in the city. Another factor that limits participants' movements is the lack of available time for leisure activity. Due to their studying responsibilities, these young women do not have much time to explore and enjoy the various activities available in the city. The final factor is that of the cost of transport, which means that many young women are often restricted to a few places to which they can travel.

Their movements within the city are limited to spaces they visit frequently. This can be seen in the maps presented Chapter Four. The trips of participants accessing their place of residence are trips that students need to do. Leisure trips on the other hand are trips that they choose to do. The majority of participants move within Braamfontein, Rosebank, and Parktown for leisure activities. These areas are shown to be the extent of their leisure movement. Participants do not travel to many other spaces within Johannesburg apart from the necessary spaces, which participants access to reach their place of residence or for their studying or work responsibilities. It seems that most participants restrict themselves to certain few spaces and do not make use of or enjoy many of the other areas in Johannesburg. Participants do not explore or experience the entire city.

6.1.2 Issues Women Commonly Face Regarding Navigating the Urban Public Realm

Traditional gender roles cast men as the financial providers of the family belonging to the public realm, whereas women were seen as the caretakers of the family and confined largely to the private realm (Rasool et al, 2002). These gender roles have changed as women have gained an education and are occupying the labour market along with men (Hayden, 1980; Todes et al, 2010). Women have

equal rights to the city and it should be ensured that women have the ability to access this right.

Women are often seen interacting in certain spaces in the city and not in others. This phenomenon is referred to as gendered urban boundaries, whereby women assess the city according to spaces in which they feel comfortable (Miranne and Young, 2000). Women also make tactical relationships with the city (Kihato, 2009) as they carefully consider the routes and modes of travels in the city.

Hollander (2001) argues that the city's physical realm is defined by the way people talk about it, conceptualise it and imagine it. This means that the physical realm of the city is discursively constructed through conversation and through the media (Phasha, 2012). This often affects women, as negative perceptions would lead women fear of interacting within the city.

Perceptions of a city determine how women move and the how frequently they move (van Donk, 2004). Negative perceptions of a city are expected to limit women's movement whereas positive perceptions would encourage greater movement. For a woman to develop positive perceptions of a city, it would indicate that she would have to become familiar with spaces in the city and make a note of spaces where she feels comfortable as opposed to spaces where she does not feel comfortable (Fenster, 2004).

Women often fear spaces with which they are unfamiliar due to the risk of male violence in the space (Hollander, 2001). Women would take precautionary measures when travelling to spaces they are not secure with (Pain, 1997).

6.1.3 Experiences of Female Newcomers in Johannesburg Regarding Accessibility and Safety

The majority of participants have negative perceptions of Johannesburg prior to their move to the city. These negative perceptions give them the initial fear to move around in Johannesburg. Upon arriving to the city, these students realise that the city is not as unsafe as they had perceived it to be. Through interacting within various spaces within the city, they become more familiar with certain spaces and feel safe and secure in these spaces. Participants' perceptions of the city constantly change positively over time. Thus, participants who have lived in the city for a longer period of time (greater than a year) are generally noted to move more than students who have lived in the city for a shorter period (less than a year). Participants do not enjoy travelling to spaces that they have not been to before. They also express their

displeasure in utilising a mode of transportation, which they have never used. They fear travelling after dark and limit their movements after dark.

Participants experience verbal harassment from men in the public realm, which makes them feel uncomfortable while travelling. This decreases their enjoyment of the experience. In order to avoid an act of violence by men, participants adopt mitigation measures. These mitigation measures include not travelling with valuable possessions and selecting the time of day of travelling. Participants also feel safer when travelling with company and when walking in a space where other users of a space, watch over them. They often have challenges with and do not enjoy moving within the inner city of Johannesburg.

Participants have expressed their difficulty in accessing various forms of public transportation systems. They have revealed that they are often unaware of how to access minibus taxis, Metrobus and Rea Vaya and perceive these forms of transportation to be unreliable. The cost associated with movement and the travel time to reach a destination also limits the movement of participants to the city. These participants consider the factor of cost when deciding to move and may opt to change the selected mode of transportation or would rethink their decision to visit the space due to cost. This was also proven to be the case for travel time. Students also have limited time available for leisure travels due to their studying responsibilities.

6.1.4 Factors Influencing Female Student Newcomers' Patterns of Movement in the Public Realm of Johannesburg

Chapter Five showed that many of the factors that influence participants' movements are experiences which have confirmed existing literature. This is evident through Fenster's (2004) concept of belonging as women create a sense of belonging to spaces with which they are familiar with. Participants feel isolated in areas that they are not familiar with (Kihato, 2013). Familiarity is developed over time as participants become familiar with a space they visit on a regular basis. Thus, the more time young women live in the city, the more secure they would feel. This confirms Nkoane's (2014) finding. They feel safer in spaces containing passive surveillance, which Kent (2013) discusses. Pain (1997) argues that women do not enjoy travelling after dark. This is also confirmed through the findings. Verbal harassment occurs in the streets of Johannesburg (van Donk, 2004). Participants also experience verbal harassment and may take mitigation measures to avoid the harassment as well as to avoid violence from men which is what Pain (1997) discusses.

Pain (1997) argues that negative experiences could have a lasting effect on an individual's well-being. The findings of the study contradicted Pain's findings as participants revealed that they view a negative experience as a random act of bad luck and is a scenario, which they learn to adopt mitigation measures from to avoid a similar experience regarding further travels.

According to van der Bol (2009), Johannesburg is a difficult city to navigate. This has been confirmed through the findings of this research and is a feature, which can be added to existing literature. Accessing the city's forms of public transportation was proved to be a particular challenge amongst participants. This is due to the unfamiliarity with the city and the reluctance with travelling by an unfamiliar mode of transportation within an unfamiliar surrounding.

It has been discovered that there are many factors that influence female students' movement patterns. The factors that influence their movements such as time of day of travels and the route to take are factors that would make students consider alternatives if they feel insecure before or while moving. They would select a different time of day to travel or take a different route if they feel insecure. Thus, factors that influence female students' choices of movement are complex and determined by perceptions.

6.2 How Urban Planning can better Accommodate Female Student Newcomers in Johannesburg

This section highlights ways in which urban planning can address specific needs of female student newcomers in Johannesburg. The focus is on implementing gender-sensitive planning in Johannesburg, and also prioritising particular needs which participants have highlighted. Some of the proposals presented in this section are developed from the proposals presented in Chapter Two. Other proposals are context specific to female students at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Women's safety can be protected in urban areas through adopting certain general measures in cities. These measures include principles of layout planning which Behrens and Watson (1996) discuss. Such principles include place-making, scale, access, efficiency and the creation of choices. Todes et al (2009) argue that it is essential that women are included in politics, as this ensures that they are able to make a positive change for women in cities. Another proposal these authors put forward is to allow women to be actively involved in participatory processes in the city. This ensures that women's voices and specific needs are heard. Planning processes in the city should also be done from the grass-roots level. This

complements participatory planning processes and allows planning to address specific needs (Cleobury, 1994). Bank (2015) argues that slow violence should not occur in cities and that a city's policies and plans should focus on more sustainable long-term plans for development and improvement. He argues that these long-term goals should address achievable goals of improvement within a city.

The fear of harassment and assault from men within the city could be addressed by the implementation of more policing. There are two areas in which policing can be adopted. Bergen (2013) suggests implementing twenty four hour police departments. These could be implemented in various areas of Johannesburg. It would allow female students to feel safer while walking as they would be aware that if they face a potentially dangerous situation, they would be able to make a quick exit to one of these departments at any time of the day or night. The second area of implementation of more policing would be in the form of security guards in areas in which female students feel unsafe in. The most notable area would be that of Johannesburg inner city. Improving the safety of public buses such as Metrobus and Rea Vaya can be achieved through hiring bus attendants who can ensure that passengers are not harmed while on the bus. This would address young women's fear of travelling by public transportation after dark. These attendants could also assist users who are not familiar with utilising the bus system and may require assistance regarding the exit point. This would address student newcomers' fear with utilising public transportation.

Creating the feeling of belonging in the city can also be achieved broadly through creating legible spaces. Legibility refers to how easily people can understand the layout of a space (Bentley et al, 1985). Legibility allows easy access to more spaces. Creating legible spaces in Johannesburg would include installing more maps in areas to inform pedestrians to be aware of where they are and to plan how to reach their destination. This would allow student newcomers to become familiar with streets more quickly.

Participants indicated challenges in travelling to spaces they have not visited before. This could possibly be addressed through encouraging students to be socialised to a variety of spaces in the city, which can be achieved through assistance from the university. Orientation week could consist of more activities that include movement around the city by visiting different areas. Students would be able to learn how to move around the city and would begin to get accustomed to more spaces in the city. This would improve the future mobility of students. They would feel more comfortable with moving to these spaces and interacting with different environments.

The university can also assist with movement by providing transportation along more routes than current routes. These buses should extend their routes to travel to spaces such as Johannesburg inner city, including the Maboneng Precinct. This would minimise students' uncomfortable travels to the area and would allow them to access the area on a regular basis. The Wits bus could also extend their route to Park Station. The bus currently does travel to Esselen Street residence which is not far from Park Station. Accessing Park Station would allow students to further access many other spaces in Johannesburg by Gautrain or by Metrorail.

Assisting student newcomers with preparedness of the dangers presented in Johannesburg can be achieved through counselling and meeting sessions for Wits student newcomers. These group meetings could be organised by the Wits Student Representative Council and can provide student newcomers the chance to meet other newcomers to the city to be able to share experiences to create preparedness and to develop mitigation measures accordingly.

6.3 Reflections

An inclusive city is a city where all citizens are able to have equal access to explore and enjoy the city without any form of discrimination. An inclusive city is where residents feel like they belong. It is also a city that residents love and have a desire to be a part of and where they enjoy interacting within.

This research aimed at understanding the grouping of female student newcomers in Johannesburg in terms of their movement patterns and their experiences of movement in the city. Johannesburg is not a city within which participants have become fully socialised. These students do not explore and make use of the entire city. It has also been revealed that it takes time for them to feel comfortable in space and to be willing to travel. These students often feel isolated from Johannesburg and like they do not belong.

The practice of urban planning of the city can be used to create a more welcoming city for these individuals. It should be addressed in a manner that creates positive perceptions about the city so instead of young women being scared and nervous to move around in the city, they would be optimistic and excited of their adventures in the city.

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Annexures

Wits Ethics Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR

28 May 2015


TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**“Navigating the city: Female students’ experiences of movement
in Johannesburg”**

It is hereby confirmed that the enclosed research material has been distributed in accordance with the University’s approval procedures for such a project. Please be advised that it is your right to withdraw from participating in the process if you find the contents intrusive, too time-consuming, or inappropriate. The necessary ethical clearance has been obtained.

Should the University’s internal mailing system be the mechanism whereby this questionnaire has been distributed, this notice serves as proof that permission to use it has been granted.

Students conducting surveys must seek permission in advance from Heads of Schools or individual academics concerned should surveys be conducted during teaching time.


Nicoleen Potgieter
Deputy Registrar

Participant Information Sheet

Research Participant Information Sheet

*This form is in line with the Guidelines for Human Research Ethics Clearance
Application (Non-Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand*

You have been invited to partake in a study on female students' perceptions and experiences of movement in Johannesburg. The title of the research report is 'Navigating the City: Female Students' Experiences of Movement in Johannesburg'. This research will be conducted by myself and is solely for academic purposes in obtaining a degree towards a Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning for the year 2015.

The aim of the study is to understand movement patterns of female student newcomers to the city and to assess the impact that perceptions of safety has on their movement choices within Johannesburg as well as the ability of newcomer students to be able to overcome the challenges of living in Johannesburg. The research report will be completed by November 2015. The interviews will be taking place in August 2015 whereby I will be asking questions regarding how you move around in Johannesburg and if there are areas in Johannesburg that you feel unsafe amongst various other questions.

You have been selected on the basis of being a female student at Wits as well as being originally from a city other than Johannesburg. This is the particular grouping of individuals that my research is based on.

I will be providing you with a map and a diary and will be asking you if you could please keep these two things with you for a week and to map out the trips you make around Johannesburg within the week. As for the diary, I would ask you to please jot down how you felt upon travelling through each trip. This would be related to level of safety and comfort within the space. It must be noted that these trips are related to those within the public realm. i.e. outside of private property.

Once you have kept the diary and map for a week, I would then ask for a follow up interview where I would ask you to return the map and diary to me and I would ask you how you felt about the task.

Please note the following:

- Your participation in this research is voluntary, and refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.
- You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits.
- There are no foreseeable risks, discomforts, side-effects or special benefits arising out of being a part of the study.
- Your valued insights will be represented honestly and accurately.
- You have the right to remain anonymous in the report.
- Audio recording devices may be used to record the contents of the interview. If you have any objection to this, the interview will not be recorded.

The research will be made available publically through the University of the Witwatersrand. If you have any more queries regarding my research or what is expected of you, please do not hesitate to contact me, Darshika Makan (student number 547034). You may also contact my supervisor, Amanda Williamson if you do not wish to ask me personally.

Darshika Makan

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011 717 7713

Participant Consent Form

Formal Informed Consent Form

*This form is in line with the Guidelines for the Human Research Ethics Clearance
Application (Non-Medical) of the University of the Witwatersrand*

I consent to participate and be involved in Darshika Makan's (547034) research report titled 'Navigating the City: Female Students Experiences of Movement in Johannesburg'. I am aware that there is no financial or any other compensation or benefit other than being referenced in the report for the insights and information I provide. I am aware that I may withdraw from the study at anytime without prejudicing any current access to facilities. I do/do not (please circle) give permission for the researcher to record the interviews.

I am aware of the researchers aims and what is required of me. I am aware of how to use the diary that is provided to me by the researcher and I will fill this out to the best of my ability during the given week.

Signed

Date

Questionnaire One

Questionnaire 1 (before providing the diary)

Background information

- 1) Which city and country do you come from?
- 2) How old are you?
- 3) What course are you studying?
- 4) How long have you lived in Johannesburg?
- 5) Were you familiar with the city before you moved to Johannesburg?

Detailed questions about Johannesburg

- 6) What were your perceptions of Johannesburg before you moved to the city?
- 7) How did you feel within the first week/month upon your move to the city?
- 8) What are your perceptions currently of Johannesburg?
- 9) Do you think that your perceptions of the city have changed over time, and if so, in what ways has it changed?
- 10) Do you refer to Johannesburg as your home or can ever be made your home, over time?

Detailed questions about movement

- 11) How do you feel about moving within the public realm in Johannesburg?
- 12) What is your main mode of transportation that you use to move around?
- 13) Do you feel safe taking this mode of transportation?
- 14) Do you feel that your movement is hindered by certain factors such as safety considerations, cost of movement, time of movement, or studies responsibilities? And if so, which factors do you feel hinders your movement?

Questionnaire Two

Questionnaire 2 (after the week of journaling)

Reflections on mapping and diary entries

- 1) Do you think that the trips you took this week were a true reflection of the way you generally move? Are there normally places that you would normally go to but just happened to not go this week? If not, could you please tell me of the routes that you would normally take but just happened not to within the given week? This question is to ensure a correct understanding of your regular movement patterns.
- 2) How do you feel about the movement that you make with a week? Is it restrictive? Are you satisfied with where you go? Would you like to have gone to more spaces within the city?
- 3) How did you feel about writing these entries on experiences of movement? Is there anything notable that you would like to tell me about your experience? Positive or negative.
- 4) Are you surprised with how often you feel unsafe in areas or was it something you expected?
- 5) How do you feel about your cost of movement within a week?
- 6) Would you like to tell me any stories about your experiences of movement that are not mentioned in the diary? Or general experiences throughout your months or years of living in Johannesburg?

General reflections about safety of movement

- 7) Do you believe that you explore and enjoy all Johannesburg's benefits? And if not, how do you think you can be able to do this? (Example: better or safer public transportation, owning a car, living close to family)
- 8) Do you think that this aspect of consideration of safety defines you (to a certain extent) as an individual or perhaps restricts you from being yourself?