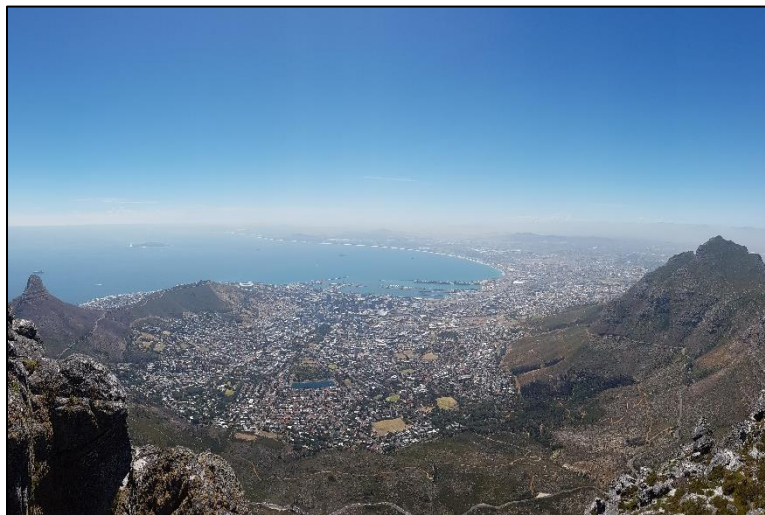


Master of Science in geography

The impact of fear on women's motility *The case study of Cape Town (South Africa)*

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Abstract

Urban space and security are a growing concern since the world's population is mostly urban. The purpose of this study is to see in what fear, in a context of high crime rate, can impact women's motility. Seventy-six semi-structured interviews were conducted in Cape Town with female residents of various social categories to address this questioning. The testimonies allowed to discover that women living in the townships, being still mainly poorer black and coloured women, feel more unsafe than wealthier white women. Crime is particularly present in the townships, being part of these women's every day. However, it is mainly wealthier white women who put in place strategies to avoid crime. Indeed, poorer women do not have the means to adapt their daily geography to their mental maps, forged by fear. Thus, poorer black and coloured women are more mobile than wealthier white women. However, they remain less motile, because of the uneven distribution of public services and crime that implies less access to public transports, less means to access them and less appropriation.

Key-words: Public transport, fear, motility, intersectionality, gender relations, urban space

Résumé

L'espace urbain et la sécurité sont une préoccupation croissante, depuis que la population mondiale est majoritairement urbaine. Le but de cette étude est de voir en quoi la peur, dans un contexte de haut taux de criminalité, peut impacter la motilité des femmes. Septante-six entretiens semi-directifs ont été menés au Cap avec des résidentes de diverses catégories sociales pour aborder ce questionnement. Les témoignages ont permis de découvrir que les femmes vivant dans les townships, étant toujours majoritairement des femmes noires et *coloured* précaires, se sentent plus en insécurité que les femmes blanches plus aisées. Le crime est particulièrement présent dans les townships, faisant partie du quotidien de ces femmes. Cependant, ce sont majoritairement les femmes blanches plus aisées qui mettent en place des stratégies pour éviter la criminalité. En effet, les femmes plus précaires n'ont pas les moyens d'adapter leur géographie quotidienne à leurs cartes mentales, forgées par la peur. Alors, les femmes précaires noires et *coloured* sont plus mobiles que les femmes blanches plus aisées. Cependant, elles restent moins motiles, puisque la distribution inégale des services publics et de la criminalité implique moins d'accès, de moyens d'accès et d'appropriation des transports publics.

Mots-clés : Transports publics, peur, motilité, intersectionnalité, relations de genre, espace urbain

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‘Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated
from all forms of oppression.’

Nelson Mandela

State of the Nation Address
Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 24 May 1994

1. Problematic

1.1. Issues

Since 2008, the world's population is mostly urban, and this part is only increasing. Cities represent future for many, as urbanization has been associated historically with expansion in economic, social and political opportunities. But they are also a place of inequalities and need improvements. Indeed, groups are marginalized because of their class, race, age, sex, gender, and so on, in representations, discourses, policies and territorial schemes. One of the growing concerns is women's security in urban environments. Each year, the Reuters Foundation publish, for example, the ranking of the most dangerous megacities for women. They find out those who need to ensure women are not at risk of sexual violence, harassment and harmful cultural practices and have access to healthcare, finance and education (Foundation Thomson Reuters, 2017). Furthermore, the media relay daily cases of aggression and feminicides in the big cities of our planet. Therefore, this work will focus on the question of women's right to the city¹, to see how women live urban space daily and what is done to improve their security in public spaces.

The United Nations (UN) declares that violence against women constitute 'one of the most widespread, persistent and devastating human rights violations in our world today' (UN, 2017a, s.p.). Some national studies show that up to 70 percent of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner in their lifetime. Big parts of these physical and sexual acts of violence are perpetrated at home. However, it is estimated that, worldwide, 35 percent of women have experienced violence by a non-partner at some point in their lives (UN Women, 2017a). In 1999, by its resolution 54/134, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the 25th of November as 'International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women', encouraging governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to organize activities to raise awareness of these problems. The phenomenon has since grown and reached the civil society, which uses the orange colour in walks or to light buildings, in order to show their support (UN, 2017b).

UN Women then launches the worldwide initiative 'Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces' build on its Global Program 'Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls' launched in November 2010, to prevent and respond to various forms of sexual violence against women in public spaces. This action is one of the flagship programming initiatives to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, no city can be sure, intelligent or sustainable as long as half of the population cannot enjoy public spaces without the fear of violence. Twenty cities then invest in this initiative, engaging to lead studies, implement laws, preventive and punitive policies, invest in securing public spaces and promote women's right to public spaces without violence (UN Women, 2017b). More and more cities are also launching action plans for equality between men and women and local initiatives are emerging.

Public space is a growing concern as in sub-Saharan Africa, the urban population share is almost 40 percent (World Bank, 2017a). The current issues are then to open African cities to the world, but they face big challenges due to rapid population growth paired with a lack of economic growth (Lall, Henderson & Venables, 2017). However, South Africa is far above the sub-Saharan average and even above the global average, with 65 percent of the population being urban (World Bank, 2017b). The country is also above average in terms of violence. In particular, it is the country with the highest rate of aggression and sexual violence in the world, sometimes even named the 'rape capital', with more than 40,000 sexual assaults reported each year (South African Police Service, 2017). Since 1997, the violence against women was added as one of the priority crimes in the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS). Nevertheless, the rate of sexual crimes continued to rise (South African police service, 2017). In this case study, I will focus on the city of Cape Town (Fig. 1), as it takes part in the initiative

¹ This formulation is taken from the lefebvrian notion of access to amenities and services in cities, but is used here to raise the fact that women are excluded from cities.

'Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces' of UN Women. The city, in partnership with the UN, launched a program in 2014 to increase women's security in public spaces, especially with regard to access to public transport (UN Women, 2014). Another interesting feature is that, at the moment of choosing the field, the city was headed since 2011 by a woman mayor, Patricia de Lille. Moreover, she is considered as progressive and feminist. However, in 2018, her relationship deteriorated with her own party and she came into confrontation with the management of the DA (Democratic Alliance), highly criticized for her management of the drought that hit Cape Town over the past three years. In May 2018, she was excluded from the Democratic Alliance for professional misconduct and for failing to fulfil her duty, losing her position as mayor of Cape Town. She has been replaced by the city's deputy mayor, Ian Neilson, until the DA appoints a new candidate and that the Cape Town Council elects the mayor.

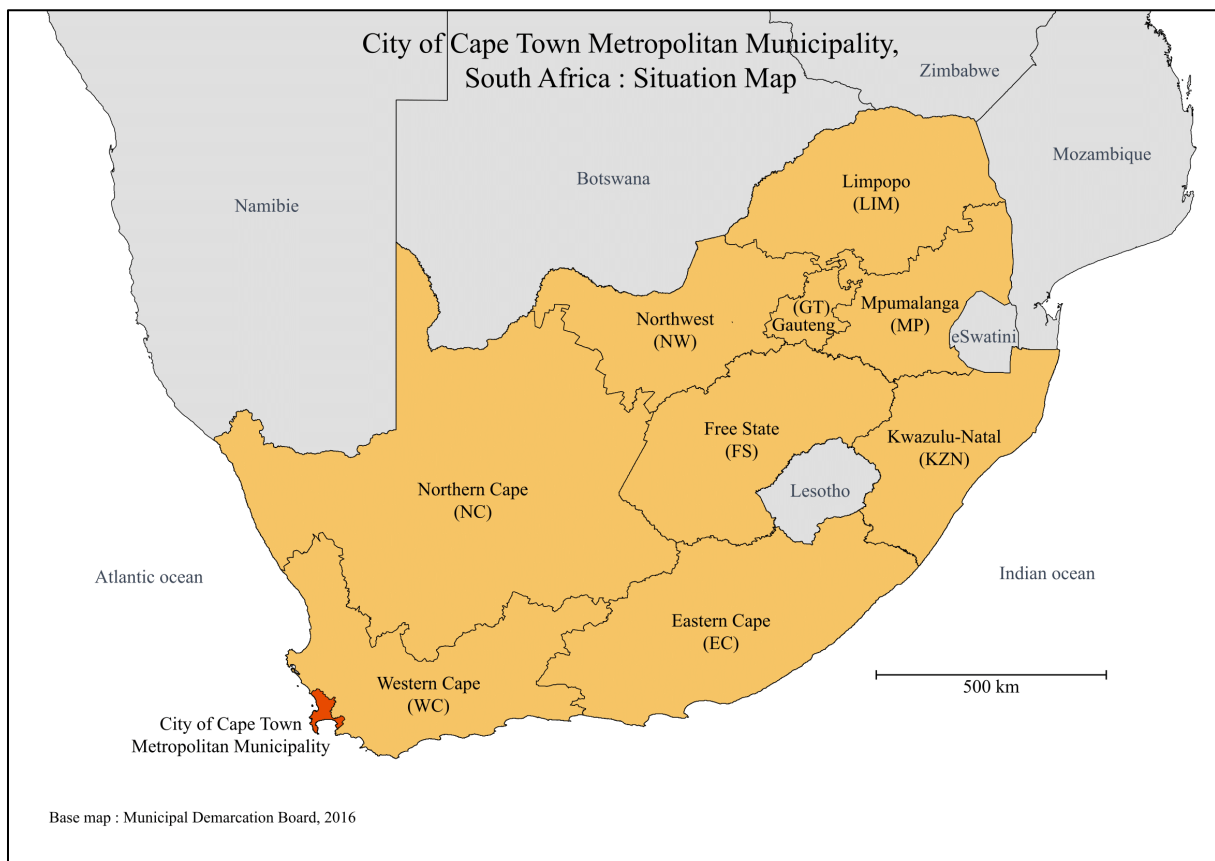


Figure 1 : City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality, South Africa: Situation Map

1.2. Theoretical frame

This theoretical review will help as a framework of the field study that will follow but is not the purpose of this work. First, this study fits in the field of urban feminist geography, using concepts of the feminist discipline to study urban spaces. Then, it also requires literature on gender-based violence and the geography of fear to understand the mechanisms of violence against women and its repercussions on mobility. After that, the concept of embodiment will help understand how urban space is appropriated or rejected through the senses. Finally, a literature corpus on the specific relation between transport and crime will allow to explore the concept of motility.

1.2.1. Urban feminist geography

The conception of the city as a space of freedom and emancipation is a modern conception of cities and among the characteristics of metropolises (Wilson, 1990). Virginie Despentes, that describes her rape in *King Kong Théorie* (2006), demonstrates that urban space is the product of representations and social uses. She does not describe her assault as determined by space, that would be in her case because of the transgression of the assignment of women not to go out at night. Urban space is therefore neither a space of perdition, nor a space of emancipation (Simonetti, 2016).

My work fits in critical cultural geography. Indeed, cultural geography studies human ideologies, beliefs and practices and the relations with their environment. This approach has been augmented over the decades with more nuanced and complex concepts of culture, drawn from a wide range of disciplines. Feminism, for example, is a key discipline to study space and its implications on gender relations. The critical geography, including among others feminist and activist geography, seeks for social justice in a militant perspective.

Initially, we talked about feminist studies or women's studies. It is in the 1980s in the United States that the term gender studies is diffused to designate these researches. Gender studies bring a 'compensatory' dimension in disciplines written in masculine neutral, so they explore areas so far invisible or neglected (Berni, Chauvin, Jaunait, & Revillard, 2016). Four analytical dimensions are central in gender studies: gender is a social construct, a relational process, a power relation and is imbricated in other power relations, with the issue of intersection. Foremost, gender is distinguished from the common notion of sex in order to designate social differences between men and women that are not directly linked to biology. This denaturalization is a major political issue, because nature is often used to justify inequalities. In the 1930s, the American anthropologist Margaret Mead is the first one to talk about 'sexual roles'. She shows that what psychologists call 'temperament' does not directly result from biological sex, but is constructed by societies. In the *Deuxième sexe*, published in 1949, Simone de Beauvoir also makes the distinction between the female and the woman, in her famous quote '*On ne naît pas femme, on le devient*'. However, it is only at the end of the 1960s that the psychoanalyst Robert J. Stoller introduce the terminological distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' (Stoller, 1968). These draw a first definition of gender as a 'sex role' or 'social sex'. This perspective then meets the feminist business of the denaturalization of sex. The sociologist Ann Oakley distinguishes sex and gender in a critical way and fits in the movement of women's liberation. In *Sex, Gender and Society* (1972), Oakley (1972) affirms and specifies the partition between sex and gender. 'Sex' returns to biological distinctions between males and females, when 'gender' returns to cultural distinction between social roles, psychological attributes and identities. Then, gender allows the production and reproduction of differences between the sexes to be revealed. Gender is therefore not determined by sex and belongs to the social sphere. This social sex is the beginning of all feminist theories. However, Judith Butler underlines for example in *Gender Trouble* that the dichotomy nature-culture contributes to reinforcing the division male/female as a natural reality. Gender is therefore the system of hierarchical division of humanity in two unequal halves. It can be thought of as a synonym of 'patriarchy' or 'women's oppression'. It reflects a social relation marked by power and domination (Berni *et al.*, 2016). Gender is

then integrated by people through gender socialization. The first dimension of this process is the learning by boys and girls of different 'sex roles' (Berni *et al.*, 2016).

In that context, urban feminist geographers have questioned the notion of public space, and more largely have shown wherein urban space participate in the production and transformation of gender relations. The division of space between two separate entities – public and private – is the transposition of the economical division between production and reproduction, spread by the patriarchal economic and social model since the eighteenth century. Public space is then devoted to men and private space, confused with the domestic sphere, is devoted to women (McDowell, 1983, 1993, 1999; Simonetti, 2016). This division is thus challenged by the second-wave feminism, in the 1960s and 1970s in Europe and the United States. Indeed, they campaign and claim for emancipation in all spheres of society.

Then, feminist urban geography allows (1) the cities to be analysed with a gender perspective, trying not to 'exclude half of the human in human geography' (Monk & Hanson, 2005), and (2) 'how the other half lives' to be seen (Tivers, 1978). In the 1970s, the first articles that deal with the position of women are published in geographical journals (McDowell, 1993). Linda McDowell (1993) underlines that the process of urbanization linked to the Industrial Revolution and urban growth in Europe favoured the development of a discourse on women insecurity. The aborted response to the supposed vulnerability of women in Victorian England was the promotion of space division between the two spheres. However, this ideal is undermined by the entry of women in the labour market since the 1960s and by the transformations of family structures. Beyond the disclosure of implicit of the dichotomy between public and private, feminists have the merit to question the uses of urban space in the prism of gender, opening a critique of the supposed vulnerability of women (Simonetti, 2016). Feminist geographers began to point to the neglect of women and to the perpetration of inaccurate stereotypes about women and men in much human geography research questioning the achievements of researchers. Indeed, they point the bias of an approach based on an assumption of a male norm (Hayford, 1985). They also insist on the fact that gender is an axis of social differentiation and social power, but also a crucial part of the constitution of subjectivity and identity. Feminist geography redefines concepts of space, place and gender and relations between them. Indeed, space is usually defined as abstract geometry as the notion of places refers to the production of shared experiences and the subjective meanings we link to a space. But feminist geographers raise that these definitions ignore the countless ways in which multiple forms of social differentiation shape people's lives (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). Indeed, experience of city and gender effects are also determined by the interrelation with other aspects of identity as class, race, handicap or sexual orientation (McDowell, 1999; Nelson & Seager, 2005). It refers to the concept of intersectionality, first defined in 1989 by the American jurist Kimberlé W. Crenshaw as a tool to better understand the various interactions of race and gender in the context of violence against women of colour. This idea inspires the third-wave feminism that began in the early 1990s, where the 'other' women (racialized, lesbian, trans, colonized, in southern countries, etc.) claim their own voice against a white and western feminism that speaks for all without understanding the oppression specific to each subjectivity. Until the 1990's, the connections between gender and 'race' were almost entirely unexplored by human geographers. One of the earliest references is in the introduction to feminist geography compiled by the Women and Geography Study Group in the Institute of British Geographers (1984), which signals the fact that in other disciplines there was at the time emerging attention to the intersections of 'race', class and gender, most notably by such pioneer anti-racist feminists as Angela Davis (1981) and Colette Guillaumin (1995). Over the next decade, it became common for feminist geographers to recognize the significance of 'race'. However, it is only in the mid-1990s that the first set of geographical writings in which the intersection of 'race' and gender was the focus rather than a topic mentioned in passing (Kobayashi, 2005). The methodological basis for gendering anti-racist geography was established at this time. Sanders (1990) called for an integration of gender and 'race', considering the double jeopardy of racist and gendered marginalization.

City is thus identified as a key space through which gender is experimented and constituted, but also a conceptual frame that allows social and economic aspects of human life to be analysed together. Daily practices and uses in the city are characterized by a gendered separation of the productive and reproductive spheres. This literature on women and their environment begins to make women visible as urban actors and denounces the sexism of and in the capitalist city.

1.2.2. Gender-based violence

An important dimension of these debates is gender-based violence. The concept of violence covers a wide field of study in social sciences. Crime and violence are firmly established as an important social and development issue in many cities across the global South, and it can exacerbate key development challenges such as poverty and inequality, and undermine residents' sense of well-being and welfare. Crime is also tied to the realities of cities in complex ways. It is, in part, shaped by globalization and rapid urbanization, as well as levels of unemployment, forms of welfare regimes and the effectiveness of urban governance and policing (Satterthwaite, 2014).

Crime is often associated with city life and many cities in the global South are increasingly labelled in relation to their purported high crime level. Rapid urbanization and the inability of the city authorities to manage such urbanization and population growth have meant that cities often lack the governance structures to cope with crime. Crime management can be the focus of multiple governance structures and institutions including partnership organizations working between the police and communities, local political parties, local authority structures, and so on. In South Africa, the dominance of crime on the agenda of local governance structures concentrate their attention on crime management rather than on wider governance issues (such as participation or the delivery of other services) (Meth, 2011). Crime then is a development issue because of its absorption of resources. Urban police are key urban actors across cities of the global South. Crime is also directly affected by changes in wider development indicators particularly employment and governance (Meth, 2014).

However, the analysis of violence to the prism of social relations of sex was for a long time absent. It is in the 1970s that feminists begin to approach violence against women according to a protest vein. Definitions of violence are highly contested, but it usually involves the use of physical force that causes hurt to others in order to impose a wish or desire. The primary motivating factor behind perpetration, either conscious or unconscious, is the gain or maintenance of power, which may be political, economic or social (Moser & McIlwaine, 2006). However, the benchmark is usually the 1993 UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women that state in Article 1 that 'Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life' (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1993). These have also been articulated further in the Beijing Platform for Action with the newly created UN Women (established in 2010) identifying violence against Women as one of its seven priority areas 'that are fundamental to women's equality, and that can unlock progress across the board' (UN Women, 2018). In this definition, commonly shared by most feminist works, it is the structural dimension, linked to the male domination reports on women, that is put forward (Simonetti, 2016).

These types of violence are now widely recognized as restriction of women's freedom of participation in society, a violation of their fundamental rights and become that way an obstacle to the establishment of equality, development and peace. Nevertheless, the international community have been slow to respond. In the 1990s, International Instances as the United Nations (UN) or the World Health Organization (WHO) speak out against violence toward women and promote actions near the States. The elimination of violence against women was only formally called for in 1993 through a United Nations declaration (Satterthwaite, 2014).

All violence is inherently gendered although gender-based violence is distinguished where the gender of the victim is directly related to the motive for the violence. One of the main definitional issues has been the shift from the term 'violence against women' to 'gender-based violence'. But the problem is that it depoliticizes this issue and diverts attention that women suffer disproportionately. In international literature, it is the term 'gender-based violence' that prevails to design sexist violence. Central to these definitions is that gender-based violence occurs not only in the private sphere thus challenging its invisibility and its associated impunity. There is a huge diversity in the types of gender-based violence, especially against women, some specific to particular countries and cultures (Satterthwaite, 2014).

There are multiple causes of gender-based violence. In general, it is rooted in ideological differences between women and men related to the concentration of power in men's hand and the construction of gender identities, especially hegemonic masculinities (Barker, 2005). One set of explanation focuses on accepting male violence as 'natural' and rooted in biological differences, making it difficult to change. The second, shaped by feminist scholarship, related male violence to social constructions of patriarchal forces which may be prevented (O'Toole & Schiffman, 1997). It may also be linked with psychological factors, assessing that men with 'impaired masculinity' may abuse women, influenced by socialization processes involving witnessing violence (Satterthwaite, 2014).

Sexual violence is also an extreme expression of male domination. In the 1970s, when anthropologist as Margaret Mead show that rape is absent from some cultures, sexual violence was redefined. Rape is no more defined as natural and deriving from sexuality or desire, but as learned through socialization, in patriarchal societies. The term of rape culture, that also emerged in the 1970s, is now used to describe societies where sexual violence is seen as inevitable and is even accepted or encouraged (Griffin, 1971). Feminist publications also relay testimonies and theoretical elaboration on sexual violence. Then, they take part in a collective awareness of reality, countercurrent of common representations that make it an extraordinary act and most often makes the victim responsible. Indeed, in a lot of countries, the supposed respectability of women is gauged at their least mobility, especially in the night urban space and their manners and outfit. In addition, the tradition of victim-blaming, reproduced by media images and discourse on violence against women, supports the notion that women should blame themselves if something happens when they enter a situation regarded as 'not suitable' (Gardner, 1990). Further, this all is reproduced in crime prevention advice explaining to women how to avoid risks. It seems to be strongly expected that women be afraid all the time (Koskela, 2005). Then, during rape trials, the fault is usually put on families that should have kept women at home or to their outfit (Simonetti, 2016). In the continuity of a questioning of the naturalness of sex, there is also a questioning of the naturalness of relationships between men and women that leads to affirm that male sexuality does not rest on irrepressible impulses. Then, rape is a way and a consequence of male appropriation of a woman's body and sexuality and constitutes an instrument of social control (Hanmer, 1977).

The lesbian community is also particularly affected by the issue of rape. Indeed, the practice of corrective rape is largely practiced. Men would rape women they identify as lesbian to cure them and reconvert them to heterosexuality (Brown, 2012; Di Silvio, 2010).

Violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men. Therefore, rape evolves from a perspective of an attack on the man's property and family's dignity to an assault on a victim. While in some countries, sexual violence is analysed through the prism of public health with the issue of HIV/SIDA, the political nature of violence and sexual violence against women is central to the declaration of the platform for action of the Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. It states that: 'Acts or threats of violence, whether occurring within the home or in the community, or perpetrated or condoned by the State, instil fear and insecurity in women's lives and are obstacles to the achievement of equality and for development and peace' (Debauche, 2016).

Much of the available research on crime tends to focus on analyses of crime statistics. However, it often does not reveal the more qualitative experiences of crime as detailed by residents and nor does it point

to the consequences of crime. Crime can exacerbate poverty and inequality, and this can occur through the loss of earnings and resources, as well as the loss of the ability to earn or engage in livelihood practices. Given the high crime levels facing particular cities, dealing with crime is part of everyday life for many residents who will adopt a range of strategies to try and minimize criminal experiences, including the ways in which they use and travel through the city and the role of the community to provide protection. There is, as yet, inadequate research on fear and how this shape the lives of urban residents, but a growing sensitivity to the emotional geography of residents across cities of the global South will arguably point to fear (and coping with crime) as a key source of anxiety (Meth, 2014).

1.2.3. Geography of fear

Since the 1970s, in order to complete the quantitative analysis, studies attended to see how people feel and experience places and space, without, however, the term 'emotion' does not appear (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph & Ley, 1978; Rowles, 1978). Indeed, the facts of violence are as important as the fear of violence. It is since the 2000s that the term has begun to crop up with increasing frequency in the world of human geographers. Indeed, activities practiced in the city appear harmless, but in fact the ways to apprehend space, in the places that are frequented or avoided, depend on us, but also the places themselves and the context of attendance (Simonetti, 2016). In feminist geography, however, poststructuralist ideas have been used to show the binary of structures. So, the use of emotion has been avoided because it would have reinforced the binary that opposes 'women and emotion' to 'men and rationality'. Nonetheless, a main exception was made with the geography of women's fear. The purpose was to address one of the gaps resulting from a general neglect of women's experiences (Bondi, 2005). Indeed, it is well established in the sociology and criminology literature of western Europe that women are the gender more fearful of crime and that it is related to women's sense of physical vulnerability to men, particularly to rape and sexual murder (Baumer, 1978; Riger, Gordon & LeBailly, 1978; Stanko, 1987; Toseland, 1982; Warr, 1985). However, little has been written about the geography of this fear. Many researchers then start to study the relationship between women's fear of male violence and their perception and use of public space. They find out that fear manifests itself in many ways, but for many this forges their mental maps and their daily geography.

According to the British geographer Gill Valentine (1989), besides crimes, most women have experienced more diffuse and daily forms of harassment, as being followed, confronted with an exhibitionist, being insulted, insecurely watched, undergo touching and so on. These acts and their repetition can increase the feeling of vulnerability. Gender relations in space vary not only according to social circumstances but also according to personal experiences and feelings, and furthermore these two overlap. Judging whether a path across a dark park is safe to take is a practical question of everyday life, and it is a matter of personal feelings (Koskela, 2005). Though, some surveys show that violence in public spaces does not depend on an exceptional environment but is part of women's everyday (Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques, 2000).

If women's fear is usually regarded as 'normal', then the notion of women as victims is unintentionally reproduced. It is not an inborn quality of women to be fearful. Women's fear is socially produced by the literature from an early age (e.g. Little Red Riding Hood), public entertainment, crime and 'danger' news reporting in the media, prevention campaigns, parental instructions and in the cultural reproduction of ideologies about women and the family (Gardner, 1995; Koskella, 1997; Valentine, 1992).

Thus, women adapt their use of space to their experience of space and secondary information. In everyday life, the dynamics of fear and boldness form a constant, internal negotiation on three aspects : a spatial dimension (where to go), a temporal dimension (when to go) and a social dimension (with whom to go) (Koskela, 2005). Women's daily lives are shaped by the cities in which they live, the cities portrayed in the media and the cities of our imaginations (Preston & Ustundag, 2005). Social markers as age, class, sex, gender or race also play a role in geography of fear (England & Simon, 2010; Pain,

2001; Valentine, 1989). Then, it seems to have fear-inducing environment (Pain, 1991). Women are represented as crushed by urban environments created and dominated by men, with a focus on restrictions on the use and movement of women in urban spaces that result from the fear of crime and the concern about personal security (Bondi & Rose, 2003). Koskella raises that spatial relations, including restricted access to public spaces and limited mobility because of fear of violence, can be seen as a test for equality – a parameter for empowerment. Therefore, fear of violence is to be interpreted not only as a result of crime but also as a sensitive indicator of gendered power relations that constitute society and space (Koskela, 2005).

Gender relations incarnate daily in the space and representations of urban space. In return, urban space participates in the production of gender relations. Then, far from being accessible to all, space is produced and reproduced by social norms, but also offers an arena to challenge, overthrow or transform them (Simonetti, 2016). We also see a mismatch between the geography of violence and the geography of fear. Women suffer more violence at home from people they know, but they are afraid in public spaces and strangers (Valentine, 1989, 1992). Thus, although emotions such as fear may be experienced by individuals, emotions are here understood to be generated by and expressive of wider social relations (Bondi, 2005), which can emerge in different spaces as a result of various practices, including transport.

1.2.4. Embodiment and the sensitive environment

We saw how important it is to take into account the perception of people on their environment. However, perception is not only a result of social relations. Indeed, a growing literature, that fit in a movement of return to the concrete, is interested in the place of the body in such mechanism. Indeed, social and cognitive psychology argue that mental operations involve different stimuli, perceptions, and body actions. From that result the notion of *embodiment*, that explores how our sensory-motor experiences influence our way of thinking. Indeed, it appears that body representations, from our five senses, are transformed into mental representations and may be recorded and reactivated later (Johnson, 1987; Varela, Thompson, & Rosch, 1993). Thus, we see how the body and the senses are important in urbanism for example.

Researchers, in order to study the sensitive interface between people and the city, adopt the notion of *Ambiances*. It is defined as material and moral atmospheres, (Chelkoff, Amphoux, & Thibaud, 2004), bringing together thermal, luminous, sound or olfactory sensations, as well as cultural and subjective apprehension of a place and its occupants. It thus fits in this perspective of *embodiment*, as *Ambiance* allows the transition from the sensitive dimension to the cognitive dimension (Duarte *et al.*, 2008; Thibaud, 2002). Augoyard (1995), one of the main initiators of the aesthetics of the atmospheres, then propose the concept of *sensitive environment*, then followed by the laboratory CRESSON (Centre for research on sound space and urban environment) in Grenoble, France. This concept is fundamental to study the relation of the users to the *Ambiances*. These researchers invite therefore to another form of territory development and urbanism, where the aesthetic² issues are no longer considered secondary or incidental, but are becoming one of the keys to current urban thinking (Thibaud, 2010). Indeed, *Ambiances* influence cognition and thus the appropriation of the city by people. Negative emotions, such as fear, then provoke an exclusion of some people from some part of the city. It is an important dimension for example in the issue of security to transport nodes or in public transports themselves.

In the study, the public transports, including the stops and the transport itself, will be regarded as a public space, although it can include both public and privately-owned public space. Public spaces will be considered thus as spaces that the public frequents regardless of their legal status. The only limit to this definition is that the access to the transports themselves is restricted by the purchase of a transport ticket.

² In the meaning *aisthesis*, the perception from the senses, not only the judgement of taste or the philosophy of the beauty.

1.2.5. Transport: fear and the capacity to be mobile

It is during travel that most attacks occur, with three-quarters taking place in the street, car parks, cars or public transport. For the geographer Jacqueline Countras (1997), distances travelled inform on the relations that people maintain with public space. Daily mobility is also influenced by different sociodemographic variables and take part in the issue and questioning of the right to the city and spatial justice. These places are familiar environments (over 85% of women usually attended them) and not unknown places where they would have ventured. In addition, the assaults did not necessarily occur in the dark because the majority (67.2%) occurred during the day or early morning and in 64.8% of the cases in the morning in frequented spaces and thus possibly in the sight of all (Condon *et al.*, 2005).

However, urban mobility is increasingly becoming one of the main planning and development issues for the cities in the sub-Saharan region. These cities are growing fast, outstripping the current transport infrastructure (Sietchiping *et al.*, 2012). Moreover, the role of transport in social exclusion is widely recognized, because it determines access to a wide range of resources (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000). The traditional factors thought to influence travel behaviours are matters such as perceived travel time and cost. But personal security is also an important but neglected issue, deserving of greater attention by transport planners (Lynch & Atkins, 1988).

Some studies have shown that fear of crime-related personal safety on public transport can have an important impact on ridership (Delbosc & Currie, 2012). The fear of violence, including harassment, is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women and limits their access to resources and basic activities. High social, health and economic costs to the individual and society are associated with violence against women (Debauche, 2016).

However, Kaufmann (2017), raising the inequalities linked to mobility, remind that a difference is not necessarily an inequality. It is then necessary to see in mobility what prevents certain actors to realize their projects of displacements. Kaufmann raises the polysemic notion of mobility and express regret at the lack of conceptual tools with which spatial mobility could be measured. In order to overcome, he proposes the concept of motility, defined as 'the capacity of a person to be mobile, or more precisely, as the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts the potential to use for his or her activities' (Kaufmann, 2002, p. 37). Thus, it is the aptitudes and propensities that each person or group has to move in geographical, economic and social space. The term comes from the biological term referring to the capacity to move (Kaufmann, 2002). Taking inspiration from Lévy's work (2000), Kaufmann considers that motility is comprised of all the factors that define a person's capacity to be mobile. Motility is thus constituted of elements relating to access (available choice in a broad sense), skills (competence required to make use of this access) and appropriation (evaluation of the available access). Appropriation is shaped by the aspirations and plans of individuals and thus stems from their strategies, values, perceptions and habits. It is this aspect that people will use to judge whether or not access is appropriate and thus to be taken into consideration. Appropriation is constructed through the internalization of standards and values, and as such has to do with gender and the point reached in a person's life course (Kaufmann, 2002). Thus, motility provides a key entry to analyse transports, as it allows to see wherein feelings impact mobility, through the capacity to be mobile. Indeed, motility can be constrained by the fear of violence, as it hinders women's appropriation of the transport.

Feminist have always recognized that women's access to resources depends on the ability to move among locations. However, movements across space reflect the interrelation between available resources and social identities (Preston & Ustundag, 2005). Motility thus allows to take into account women's feelings that constrain their ability to move. This violence against women and the fear of criminality, being socially constructed, legitimate gendered approaches of mobility and motility. Then, the analysis by the concept of motility shows the need for gender-sensitive transports, because women have other needs than men and fewer alternatives (Domínguez González *et al.*, 2015; Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000; Smith, 2008).

Within this literature, I would like to fit my research in the geography of women's fear and the urban feminist geography, but in a Southern context, with underlying questions of intersectionality and in a perspective of development issues.

1.3. Heuristic goals

Being mobile, particularly with public transports, in a context of high crime, is a big issue for women. However, as we saw, there is a research gap to fill. On the one hand, there are little qualitative research, particularly on the perception and experiences of women concerning this issue. On the other hand, the geography of fear has been rarely applied to a "southern" context.

Thus, this research aims to see:

In which way does the fear impact
women's motility in the City of Cape Town?

First, we will address the general topic of gendered violence by seeing (1) what are the internal perceptions of female residents concerning women, crime and security. Then, we will enter the specific topic of public transports. The starting point will be to see (2) how transport modes are distributed and chosen. Then, we will enter the core subject by seeing (3) how women perceive safety and security of the public transport system in general, (4) how do women feel in the public transport system and (5) how fear is traduced by avoidance mechanisms. To end, we will see what are (6) the individual actions and (7) the actions undertaken by the public authorities to improve safety. In each part, transversally, it will also be studied if some categories of population are more impacted by others, particularly in the post-apartheid context, and if some women face issues related to intersectionality.

2. Methodology

The methodology (Appendix 1) is composed in three main parts. The first phase is made up of researches on the base of a literature review and preparation through establishing contacts for example. The second and main part is the fieldwork, from the 15th of February to the 31st of March, where most of my methods will take part, such as observations, exploratory walks and interviews. Indeed, it is important in the geography of fear to have contact with the field. During this period, I will adopt an iterative method, allowing a continuous restructuring of my problematic and hypothesis. Finally, returning from the field, I will process and analyse the collected data in order to write the thesis.

Concerning the choice of the methods, there is a debate between feminist geographers about whether qualitative or quantitative methods are feminist or masculinist (Moss, 2005). However, the rationale choice of method remains unresolved. For some authors, qualitative methods appeared to be more congruent with understanding women's lives, less intrusive and more sympathetic (Oakley, 1981). Thus, relating to the research question, qualitative methods will be privileged.

2.1. Methods

The literature review constitutes the base of this work. Realized before, during and after the fieldwork, it allowed to find a research angle among the literature, create the theoretical frame and help find elements of context. Then, the main method was comprehensive semi-structured interviews with women, in order to understand how does fear express itself in a city with a high crime rate. A small exploratory walk was organised as a complement and to help understand issues linked to embodiment. Finally, a few interviews with decision makers allowed to help understand the results with elements of context or bring further reflexions.

2.1.1. Literature review

Foremost, before the data collection in South Africa, a theoretical corpus has been created. This information was used to frame and precise my work, but also help interpret the results. On the one hand, a review of the scientific literature has been done, starting with reference works and authors. In the field of Urban feminist geography, researchers such as Bondi, Davidson, McDowell and Rose are inescapable. In the field of Emotional geography, key researchers are for example Amphoux, Augoyard, Bondi, Rose, Thibaud and Valentine. Official documents and grey literature dealing with my subject have also been studied. For that, I used bibliographic search tools (e.g. Renouvaud, Google Scholar, Cairn, JSTOR, SAGE Journals, ResearchGate) and then looked at more precise scientific journals (e.g. African Affairs, African Studies, Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Environment and Urbanization, Journal of Gender Studies, Journal of Sex Research, Progress in Human Geography, Recherches féministes, Social & Cultural Geography, Urban Geography, Urban Studies, Victimology). In order to find relevant articles, I concentrated on specific key words that have been specified throughout the search. Information have also been collected by networking with other researchers.

On the other hand, data about Cape Town have been collected. Indeed, information about the context is also of great value, especially with the issue of an increasing globalized city, in a post-apartheid country and a Southern context.

2.1.2. Interviews with women

The main part of my work is to collect women's experiences and perceptions of the mobility within the city. To do this, seventy-six women have been interviewed between the 21st of February and the 28th of March 2019, mainly around Cape Town Convention Centre and on the campus of the University of Cape Town (Appendix 2).

The women's panel is quite wide, including any woman living in Cape Town metropolitan area (Appendix 3) and concerned with issues of fear of violence in public transports. The purpose is to have women of different ages, class and ethnicity, in order to explore some issues of intersectionality. Black, coloured and white women were interviewed. However, no Asian woman has been interviewed. Indeed, no Asian woman was met in the city centre. A few were approached within the campus of the University of Cape Town, but none was interested to take part in the study. The reason that came out most often was that they were not here for a long time and were only staying one semester. No strategy has been found to access these women.

The interviewees are also categorized whether they live in the CBD (Cape Town Central Business District), a suburb or a township. The age categories are from 18 to 25 years old, young adults, 25 to 30 years old, young adults with a finished training but not a yet stabilized couple, 30 to 40 years old, often in couples with young children, career and place of life in process of stabilization, 40 to 50 years old, stabilization, financial capacity often allowing the use of individual modes of transport, 50 to 60 years old and 60 years old and more, with usually a decreasing intra-urban mobility.

For practical reasons, it was not possible to ask women to draw mental maps and to realize real interviews. Indeed, the discussions took the form of questionnaires (Appendix 4), because people were approached in the streets, so they were in a hurry and there was no possibility to sit down or to record the interview, as taking a phone off the street makes us a target.

Thus, it was not possible to fully realize the comprehensive interviews originally planned, whose methodology is described by Jean-Claude Kaufmann (1996). As planned, the interlocutor was not seen as an 'interviewee' but to an informant, which allows subjective implications and to surpass the standardization in the semi-structured interviews. The word of the informant is also recognized in this work as a form of knowledge. It joins the point of view of the clinical sociology, which advocates the decompartmentalization of knowledge (De Gaulejac, Hanique & Roche, 2007; Enriquez, 1993). However, the study allowed to collect representations, but it was hard to lead women to deliver analysis or to suggest explanations for their representations, as specified in the methodology of the comprehensive interviews. Moreover, the interviews did not take the form of a discussion but were mainly driven by the grid, which took the turn of a questionnaire.

2.1.3. Exploratory walk

To collect women's experiences and perceptions, an exploratory walk has also been organized. A Facebook event (Appendix 5) and a flyer distribution has been done to advertise the walk (Appendix 6). However, as it gathered only a few people, the results will not be put forward.

Developed in Montreal (Quebec) in the 1990s, exploratory walks were created as an urban tool for women to navigate through safety and security issues. Exploratory walks have been used effectively as part of women's safety audits and, more generally, to assess safety issues along routes to and from transport nodes. The first walk was organized by METRAC2 as part of preventive policies on violence against women and children. This method appears in France at the beginning of the 2000's and then convinced many municipalities that have since tried the experiment. Practically, it consists of the exploration of a neighbourhood by a local group of people and NGOs, politicians and/or researchers. Thus, the local group, often women, identify problems of territory development or urbanism which are causing a feeling of insecurity and sometimes develop themselves proposals of improvements. Indeed,

participative process in planning has been recognized. Therefore, it is now a tool for the decision makers to gain 'user knowledge' on the city and for the residents to pass their experiences to people in charge. It also encourages self and community empowerment. Before the walk, the objectives and methods to be used have to be clarified. The process can be more systematic with a checklist of questions to consider (EFUS, 2010). These methods thus allow evaluating the physical aspects of the city, related to place, with criteria related to seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling or touching for example (Womenability, 2017), but also to space, with the share of everyday experiences (EFUS, 2010).

2.1.4. Interview of decision makers

After that, I interviewed decision makers, in order to see what their point of view on gender-based violence and women's fear in public transports are. The purpose was also to see what is behind the policies implemented. This would give a preview of the perception and response of the polity. On the other hand, I wanted to give voices to the civil society and converse with major actors, as activists for women's cause or organization working in order to help women. These interviews were semi-structured, in order to gather as much information as possible and allow the interviewee to talk, but through a guided discussion.

Two interviews were made among the City of Cape Town and two others among organizations working in partnership with the City. I first interviewed a landscape architect, working in the Urban Design branch of the Urban integration department. The interview took place in Cape Town Civic Centre on the 11th of March. The Urban Integration Department of the City of Cape Town, which is responsible for urban planning from local to metropolitan scale ("City of Cape Town : Departments," 2018). The purpose was to see the implication of the Urban Design branch in the implementation of the Quality Public Spaces Programme and their role in the UN Women Program "Safe cities and safe public spaces" to which the CCT have joined and thus see what the city's priorities in terms of urban planning are.

Then, I got an interview with both the Chief of Law enforcement and security department and the Manager of Transport Enforcement, in the Omni forum in Kuils River, on the 29th of March. The Law Enforcement and Security Department of the City of Cape Town, aims to offer a 'better quality of life for residents' and maintain 'positive public perceptions' ("City of Cape Town : Departments," 2018). The purpose was also to see what the specific issues and point of view of the Transport Enforcement are and see if they play a role in the UN Women Program "Safe cities and safe public spaces" to which the CCT have joined.

After that, I got an interview with the Manager of safety and security within the CCID (Central City Improvement District) on the 19th of March. There are several City Improvement District (CID) in Cape Town (Appendix 7). CIDs are non-profit organisation operating within a defined geographic area. The CCID, for example, only operates in the city centre. They provide services to enhance safety and security, but also urban management, that is to say clean streets (Fig. 2). They also invest in social development, to help people living in the streets. Those services result from a public-private partnership. The city came with a by-law called the Special Rating Area Act, that allows for top-up services in a designated area. Thus, in an area where the majority of the property owners want top-up services, a CID is created. The services are funded by the owners themselves. The levy collected, unlike the rates, can only be spent in the specific CID area. Thus, there are inequalities in the services, as there is little money in the townships and it is hard to define the property owners ("City Improvement Districts," 2009; Manager of safety and security at the CCID, interview 19.03.2019).



Figure 2 : Staff member of the CCID

Finally, I got an interview with the Manager of the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) Programme, in the Media City Building on the 20th of March. VPUU is an area-based community development programme that aims at improving safety, quality of life and economic integration. In Cape Town, they work in the townships of Manenberg, Hanover Park, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Nyanga. They deal a lot with gang-related issues.

2.1.5. Interview of NGOs

The interviews of people working in NGOs allowed to raise issues that are not necessarily treated by the public authorities or discussed among the population. Among all the NGOs contacted, two received me for interviews.

First, the co-founder of Embrace Dignity received me on the 18th of March in their office. Embrace Dignity fights to help prostituted women, especially by trying to decriminalize the sale of sex and punishing the purchase of it. They also help women victim of sexual abuse.

Then, the supervisor of NICRO's office in Cape Town, received me on the 26th of March, also in their office. NICRO is a national organization, with several offices in South Africa. NICRO focus on diversion, that is to say allowing people who have done a petty crime to go into a program and profit from reinsertion instead of the criminal justice system. The Cape Town office particularly focuses on adult diversion and crime prevention. The prevention is done into schools, by giving children coping strategies.

2.2. Access to women and contacts

Despite contact of local residents, researchers or NGOs, nobody could facilitate me the access to women or advise me for my fieldwork. Indeed, none of the NGOs contacted by email before the fieldwork answered. Moreover, the City of Cape Town asked me to fill in a research request to allow me to interview people. My request was approved on the 10th of May, almost one and a half month after my return. Hopefully, I did not wait for their approval and contacted myself the people I wanted to interview, by phone. My strategy to access women was to go to places with a lot of people and gathering people of all socio-economic categories. The only place I found was the building of the Revenue Service in the City Centre. I also went to the University of Cape Town to interview students.

2.3. Limits and bias

One major limit, which was largely underestimated, was security. Indeed, I could not be alone in the streets, even during the day in the city centre. After I got my phone stolen under the threat, I was also very afraid, which prevented me from doing the observations I first planned.

Then, my strategy to access women has definitely influenced my sample and thus my results. On the one hand, by interviewing women in the streets, I approached only women who are mobile, as I did not interview many women dedicated to the domestic tasks. On the other hand, with my choice of places, I targeted many unemployed women at the Revenue Service and students at the UCT. Moreover, the students were probably from families from higher socio-economic categories.

After that, contrary to what was expected, the language was not a problem for the interviews. Indeed, all the women interviewed were fluent in English. Indeed, South Africa is often considered as an English-speaking country, because it is a former British colony. However, South Africa has 11 official languages and only 8.2 percent of population use English as mother tongue (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Nevertheless, all schools teach English as a subject from grade 1 and all classes are given entirely in English from grade 4. Afrikaans language schools are an exception, in that all subjects are taught in Afrikaans (Dada *et al.*, 2009). Thus, South Africa is not an English-Speaking country, although it can be said that English is the most widely shared language of communication. Indeed, English is used in all regions, while Afrikaans is only used in some areas (Gervais-Lambony, 2004).

Finally, during the field work and the results' analysis, I tried to keep in mind my external position of non-resident and my status of a white woman, that may have influenced people's answers and my own perceptions.

3. Context of the case study

The fieldwork took place in a very specific context. On the one hand, we will take into account the national context. South Africa has a very specific background, through colonization and the apartheid policy in particular. On the other hand, the City of Cape Town makes its space as a modern city and emerging economy among the continent and worldwide.

3.1. South Africa

First, we will see how South Africa looks at the future, with a developing economy and innovative policies. However, the country is also still rooted in the past, with a heavy legacy inherited from the colonization and the apartheid, leading to inequalities. Secondly, we will see how these inequalities have expressed in a high crime rate and thus fear concerning personal security. Thirdly, we will see what policies the country developed since the end of apartheid to face issues of criminality. We will also see how the fear of crime was slowly taken into account and women identified as a vulnerable group. Fourthly, we will see how women's movements developed alongside opposition movements during the apartheid.

3.1.1. Overview

South Africa is now a reference power of the continent, as it has one of the most developed economy of Africa and possesses modern infrastructures on all its territory. The country is the second economic power of Africa after Nigeria, in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank, 2016). Nevertheless, the country still faces major challenges. South Africa has encountered numerous social engineering projects, such as colonialism, apartheid and democratization, but it is the inherited dynamics of apartheid that are still a main challenge for the country (Lemanski, 2004). Then, despite the end of apartheid, it seems that inequalities still remain. The Gini coefficient, measure of economic inequalities by the dispersion of a given population, was at 0.72 in 2006 and 0.68 in 2015. The coefficient goes from 0 – perfect equality-, to 1 – perfect inequality and is here measured in terms of income. Thus, South Africa is one of the most unequal country (Lehola, 2017).

3.1.2. Crime and fear of crime

One of the main issues of the country is criminality. Indeed, it impacts economic and social development. Given the extent of serious crime in urban South Africa, the high levels of fear registered amongst city dwellers is understandable. Indeed, the Victims of crime survey 2010 to 2017/18 indicates that only one third of household feel safe walking in their area of residence at night, compared to more than fifty percent in 1998 (Fig. 3).³

³ Fig. 1-4 : Data source : Statistics South Africa, 1999, 2004a, 2004b, 2011b, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2018. Personal graph.

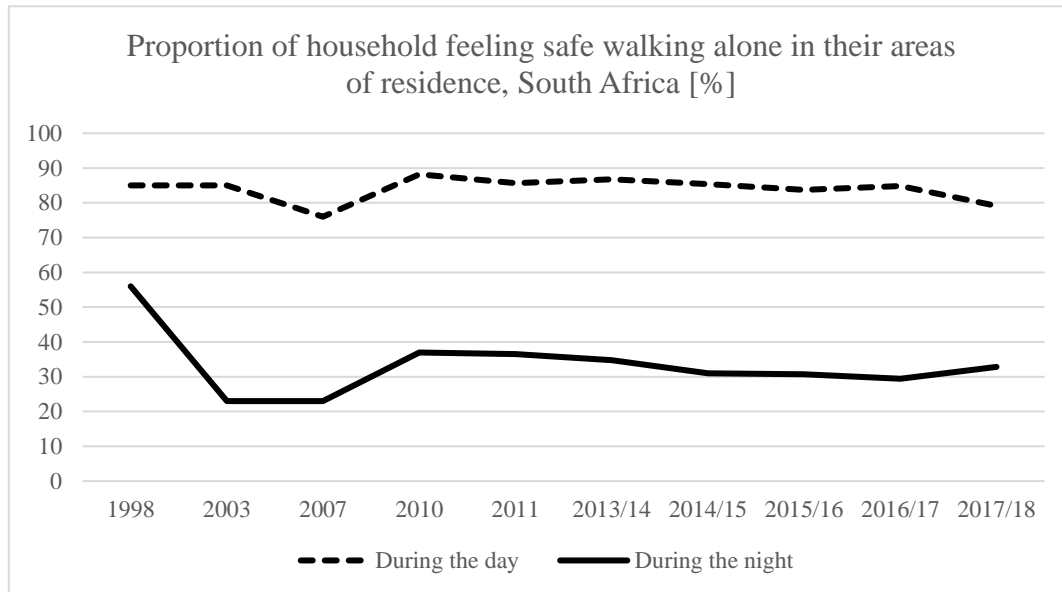


Figure 3 : Proportion of household feeling safe walking alone in their areas of residence in percent, South Africa, 2010-2018³

Since the end of apartheid, criminality has also spread into previously protected white suburbs (Lemanski, 2004). This rise in crime is coupled with a historic mistrust of a police force that previously served as brutal government enforcers rather than citizen protectors (Lemanski, 2004). In recent decades responsibility for providing protection has shifted from state dependence (e.g. the police) towards increasingly private and citizen-based security provision in South Africa and throughout the world (Newburn, 2001). In South Africa this has manifest in ‘neighbourhood watch’. It has also led to the construction of gated communities, with high walls and gates, and security guards patrolling the suburbs, in addition to the restricted time/space movement patterns of citizens (Lemanski, 2006).

3.1.3. National policies and guidelines against criminality

After the first democratic elections since the end of apartheid, the 1994 Green Paper for Safety and Security outline the initial policy direction, with three key policy areas: democratic control, police accountability and community participation (Minister of Safety and Security, 1994). In 1996, the government adopted the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), that provided a multi-dimensional approach to crime prevention. The NCPS identified for example the causes of crime, such as gender inequality, proliferation of arms, socio-psychological factors, youth marginalisation, economic underdevelopment and inequality, poverty and unemployment, institutionalised violence in the society and the encroachment of international criminal groups. The NCPS aims to address crime thru the establishment of a policies, national programs and civil society’s participation (South African Government, 2018a). The principles of the Green Paper and the NCPS continue to frame the development of policy within the Department of Police, formerly the Department of Safety and Security.

Since 2005, the Department of Police develops five-year Strategic Plans. In the Strategic Plan 2005-2010, one of the nine main strategies is the Crimes Against Women and Children Strategy. It aims among others to implement the Anti-rape Strategy, that includes initiatives to reduce rape to improve investigations of rape cases and services provided to victims of rape (South Africa Police Service, 2005). In the Strategic Plan 2010-2014, the Department aims to reduce crime levels, specifically the “TRIO crimes” (house robbery, business robbery and carjacking) and crimes against women and children, including domestic violence. Indeed, one of the eight dimensions of the strategy is to intensify efforts

to combat crimes against women and children and the promotion of the empowerment of victims of crime (South African Police Service, 2010). The strategy of the Plan 2014-2019 is to reduce the rate of contact and violent crimes such as murder and robbery, as well as crimes against women and children (South Africa Police Service, 2014). The Citizen's fear of crime is mentioned for the first time in the Strategic Plan 2015-2019. Indeed, the vision is that « in 2030, people living in South Africa feel safe and have no fear of crime », and that « women can walk freely in the streets and children can play safely outside » (South Africa Police Service, 2014, p.10).

Indeed, South Africa has a National Development Plan for 2030. One of the thirteen chapter is "Building Safer Communities". Thus, the objective is that « In 2030 people living in South Africa feel safe and have no fear of crime. [...] Women can walk freely in the street and the children can play safely outside.» (National Planning Commission, 2012, p.63). Thus, women are seen as a vulnerable group, frequently mentioned alongside children, disabled and the elderly. However, nothing concrete is suggested.

3.1.4. Feminism in South Africa

Feminism in South Africa has been shaped one the one hand by national and transnational struggles for gender equality and on the other hand by struggles for political and racial equality (Buiten, 2016).

South African society are traditionally patriarchal. In the 20th century, women's role was primarily to take care of the domestic tasks. However, with the rise of the industrial economy, urban growth and the development of the migrant labour system, the role of women changed. However, all women, black and white, where subordinate to men, that took all the major decisions both in society at large and within the home (South African History Online, 2011a).

It is mainly during apartheid that women's opposition movements are born. In 1954, the Federation of South African Women is for example created, reuniting women of South Africa without distinction of race, colour or belief. The Federation states that its main purpose is the fight against apartheid. But it also considers that this can only be achieved with the help of the female population. The 9th of August 1956, the Federation organized a march to protest against passes for women, with some 20'000 women. This day later became National Women's Day in South Africa (South African History Online, 2011b).

However, black women in South Africa sometimes do not fully embrace the feminist discourse. First of all, there is a plurality of feminisms. But much of what we perceive as the broader feminist agenda is attributed to movements from Europe and North America. Thus, some have argued that feminism in South Africa was often associated with white, middle class women. For black South Africans, feminism has been seen as a colonial importation (Motlafi, 2015). Moreover, in the black community, most women have tended to subordinate the fight for gender equality to the fight for racial equality (Hendricks & Lewis, 1994; Mabandla, 1991). Indeed, with the issue of intersectionality, women face many issues that are interrelated. Firstly, they stand up against the issue of apartheid, which discriminated against non-whites, and secondly, they cope with the issue of laws and institutions that discriminate women. Moreover, the oppression these women of colour faced also impacted their socioeconomic status, with the working class consisting almost entirely of coloured people. Thus, women of colour faced three separate forms of oppression and discrimination (Kadali, 1995; Steyn, 1998). Thus, black movements emerged. In the 1960s, for example, the Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko, was a new source of resistance. In 1975, a group of politically active women headed by Fatima Meer, established the Black Women's Federation (BWF) (South African History Online, 2011a).

In the 1980s, feminism in South Africa also developed as a response to violence against women in the public and the private sphere and out of desperation for change in a politically unstable time. The movement gain traction as women became more politically active. The movement also inspired from women's rights movements in neighbouring African countries, such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Steyn, 1998).

Feminism in South Africa gained new life with the end of apartheid in 1994. Women benefited from the democratization of South Africa as women were the ones most significantly impacted and oppressed by the male dominated, state repression. During this phase of reconstruction, women unified and lobbied for a more equitable positioning of women within the constitutional framework (Hassim, 2005).

In the present, South Africa has on the one hand one of the largest percentage of women in a national parliament in the world. On the other hand, South Africa also has the highest levels of rape and violence against women in the world. These contradictions highlight the continuities between the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. “While women’s struggles were subordinated to the larger anti-apartheid struggle out of the necessities of a nationalist agenda, in a post-apartheid context, the residue of these modes and repertoires of operation coupled with the patriarchal nature of apartheid, has resulted in ambiguous gender positionings that are highlighted by such polarised statistics – where women are clearly both empowered and victimised, seen and unseen, included and excluded in different ways” (Frenkel, 2008, pp. 1-2).

3.2. Cape Town

Founded in 1652, by the Dutch, Cape Town is considered the mother city of South Africa. It was named after the Cape of Good Hope located at the south of the city. Cape Town is the capital of the colony of Cape (1652-1910) and then of the province of Cape Town (1910-1994). It is currently the provincial capital of Western Cape. In 2000, 6 municipalities merge to form the City of Cape Town (CCT). Since 2010, Cape Town is also the parliamentary capital of the country alongside Pretoria (administrative capital) and Bloemfontein (judicial capital).

We will first see how the demography of Cape Town evolved since the end of apartheid. Then, we will see what are the particularities of Cape Town’s urbanization and the implications of this spatial planning in relation to demography. After that, we will see more particularly the evolution of the transport system, until nowadays. Finally, we will see some statistics concerning criminality in the city, that may impact mobility.

3.2.1. Demography

Cape Town is the second most populous city in South Africa behind Johannesburg. At the end of apartheid, Cape Town has the particularity to be mainly metis (50%), with a white (27%) and black (23%) minority (Statistics South Africa, 1991).

However, the black population grew rapidly because of the end of the apartheid policy that limited the displacements. Since then, the part of black population is increasing, with a corresponding decline in the proportion of the white population. In 2011, the agglomeration of Cape Town has 3,740,025 inhabitants (42.4% coloured, 38.6% blacks, 15.7% whites). Thus, Cape Town is now dominated by coloureds and Blacks, rather than coloureds and whites (Statistics South Africa, 2011).

3.2.2. Urbanization

At the urban level, apartheid established race-based residential segregation. This spatial distancing of blacks to urban peripheries reflected and facilitated the social distancing from whites, who were allocated large central areas of land. Since the fall of apartheid in 1991, apartheid legacy appears embedded. Indeed, despite various social transformations and government interventions, spatial polarization persist (Lemanski, 2004). Indeed, the mapping of social diversity per race indicated that even if some wards have a good racial diversity, such as in the city centre, some are really segregated (Appendix 9) Indeed, nowadays, it is still mainly the Black and Coloured population that live in the townships, eccentric from areas off employment and the city centre (Baffi, 2012) (Appendix 10-12).

Moreover, the fear of crime impacted the residential urban form (Lemanski, 2006). Indeed, with a perceived decrease security and changing social pattern, the richest population, mostly whites, moved in gated communities. The worldwide spread of gated communities reached Southern Africa in the 1980s, at a time of dramatic political and urban transformation linked to transitional contexts (Morange, Folio, Peyroux, & Vivet, 2012). The effect of fear on urban form is a crucial issue around the world. But in South Africa, the issue is to not recreate apartheid patterns. Indeed, gated communities are criticised for creating social difference by physical exclusion (walls, gates), private security (armed guards, electronic surveillance) and symbolic exclusion (perceptions of undesirables). Furthermore, residents of gated communities tend to be socially similar and able to function with limited interaction outside their walls, ensuring that spatial separation becomes intertwined with social exclusion and thus creating a 'new urban segregation'. Improvement Districts, although not having the same level of physical exclusion, also restrict access via property prices for example. However, far from being a lasting solution, these measures only displace crime elsewhere. Furthermore, enclaves actually reinforce fear by excluding difference and limiting social mixing, thus increasing paranoia and mistrust between groups (Lemanski, 2004, 2006).

3.2.3. Transports

The users of public transport remain mainly the poorest populations, forced to use transport services (train, bus, minibus), that are expensive, long and weakly integrated between them (Baffi, 2012). However, in recent years, it seems that the population using public transport is increasingly mixed. Indeed, turning 2010, there have been a shift in transport policies. Previously, the goal was to develop the mobility of excluded populations, to defeat the legacy of apartheid. However, in South Africa particularly, a high mobility does not necessarily mean accessibility. In the contrary, a high mobility, that is to say a high amount of kilometres travelled or transports taken can translate high access constraints. In 2010, the goal is then to develop the accessibility of all citizens to urban resources. Thus, a modal shift takes place: white people turn to public transport again, increasing social diversity (Baffi, 2017).

In 2012, the national government delegate a part of his prerogatives concerning the regulation of transport to the metropolitan governments. This movement of decentralisation modifies the governance of transports. In 2013, it is concretized by the creation of a metropolitan transport authority: Transport for Cape Town (TCT). This transport agency is directly managed by municipality. The main objectives are then a harmonization of transport by common schedules and method of payment and a reduction of costs for users. It is thus the advent of a real intermodal and integrated transport system, able to ensure the mobility of all citizens, that is currently under construction (Baffi, 2017).

3.2.3.a. Train

The first urban transport line was built in Cape Town in 1860 by the British, to control a new colonial territory, but first of all to induce economic benefits by the transport of goods. From the end of the nineteenth century, it is the intra-urban rail network that expands. Since the twentieth century, it is the interurban network that grows. With the economic growth and the arrival of workforce, the logic is then to limit the social mix within the train, for example by building parallel railway sections (Baffi, 2014). In 1902, one year after the plague epidemic, the 10'000 Africans present in the cities are moved to the Ndabeni site, the first suburban township (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2007). During the apartheid, the railway becomes an instrument of separation and control (Baffi, 2014).

The train is actually the most used public transport. It deserves mainly the suburbs and the central line (in blue) deserves some townships (Appendix 13). It is privileged by poor households, because of its price, lower than other means of transport. But Metrorail, the national metropolitan rail company, has seen a sharp decline in government subsidies. It resulted in a degradation of the quality of service (delays, non-renewal of equipment, neglected maintenance and maintenance causing frequent and frequent disturbances on the network, safety in vehicles) and a reduction in the number of trips (Clark

& Crous, 2002). There are also issues of criminality on the train. Indeed, the train is considered as the most dangerous mean of transport in rush hour because of the number of pickpockets and assaults that take place in transport (Baffi, 2012). The train is thus still a stigmatizing social marker (Baffi, 2014).

3.2.3.b. Bus

In the light of these disadvantages, several users, especially women, prefer to use the bus. The network was set up during apartheid in order to ensure the labour mobility of the inhabitants of the townships. Still today, this mode of transport is mainly used by workers. However, the cost is higher than the train. The main company of Golden Arrow (Fig. 4) and the small company of Sibanye ensure daily 18% of the transport of passengers, mainly between the townships and the zones of employment (Baffi, 2012).



*Figure 4 : Golden Arrow bus
(Personal photography, 2019)*

There is no map of the network of the Golden Arrow buses, but the stops in the city centre have been identified by the team of WhereIsMyTransport (Appendix 14).

Nearly ten years after the democratic transition, the transport reform finds a new impulse with the constitution of the City of Cape Town. Then, Cape Town prepare the implementation of a new mode of public transport, Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), whose service is called MyCiti (Baffi, 2017) (Fig. 5). Serving first the city centre and the wealthy suburbs, the network has now expanded to the townships (Appendix 15).



*Figure 5 : MyCiti bus
(Personal photography, 2019)*

The Jammie bus also appeared in discussions and interviews. Jammie buses are the University Shuttle, serving the suburbs around the campus (Appendix 16).

3.2.3.c. Minibus

Then, the last main mean of public transport is the minibus (Fig. 6). This self-organized mode of transport operated by a multitude of entrepreneurs is inherited from the apartheid era during which there was no public transport in the townships (Baffi, 2014). They carry 29 percent of daily commuters (Baffi, 2012). Their high usage can be explained both by the deficiency of rail transport and the fine service they operate within the neighbourhoods (Baffi, 2014).

This transport has become so indispensable that the government has undertaken a policy of regulation of the sector since 1994. The formalization was based on three axis: to legalize the organization of the sector, to renew the fleet of vehicles and to democratize the operation by designating spokespersons. This attempt at formalization was perceived as a failure, mainly because of the maintenance of a top-down logic in planning (Baffi, 2017). Despite the mixed success of this policy, minibuses remain an extremely popular mode of transport with the most developed network in the metropolis, despite major



*Figure 6 : Cape Town taxi rank
(Personal photography, 2019)*

issues of security (Baffi, 2012). Again, the exact network is not known, and the exact routes are sometimes not even known by the users. The stops in the city centre has been identified again by the team of WhereIsMyTransport (Appendix 17).

3.2.3.d. Car

If industrialization has made rail a transport dedicated to the segregated populations, the accession to the automobile at the end of the nineteenth century accelerated the flight of the white population towards more distant suburbs, on the model of the American cities. A few years later, this mode of transport becomes more democratic, and the car becomes a key element of white culture (Baffi, 2014).

3.2.4. Criminality

South Africa is confronted on the whole with issues of criminality. However, Western Cape has always exhibited much higher levels of fear and insecurity than the nation as a whole (Fig. 7-9). It is particularly an issue in the field of transports. Indeed, in South Africa, it is more than 10 percent of households that avoid using public transport as a result of crime in their area. Yet, in Western Cape, it is more than 25 percent of households that are prevented from using public transports because of their fear of crime, since 2014 (Fig. 7). That is more than double the national average, even though South Africa has already a high rate of crime and fear of crime.

Moreover, criminality does not impact all the populations in the same way. Indeed, in Cape Town, white suburbs experience less crime per capita than black areas, but are disproportionately affected by property crime (40 percent of crimes against whites are burglary). In contrast, black areas host both property crime (25 percent of crimes) and high violent personal crime (34 percent of crimes against blacks are murder or assault). This is aggravated by apartheid's distorted sociospatial distribution of resources.

Indeed, the whites are more protected by infrastructure (e.g. private cars, street lighting) and better able to afford private security. Furthermore, despite lower crime rates in former white areas, they are allocated more police human resources (Pretorius, 2016).

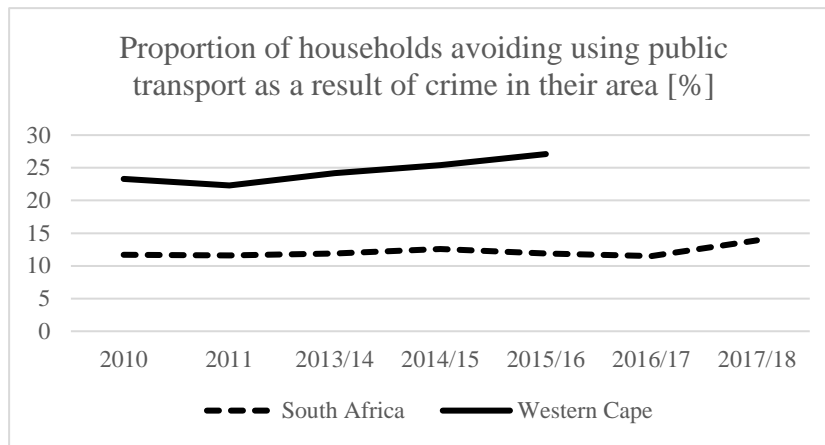


Figure 7 : Proportion of households avoiding using public transport

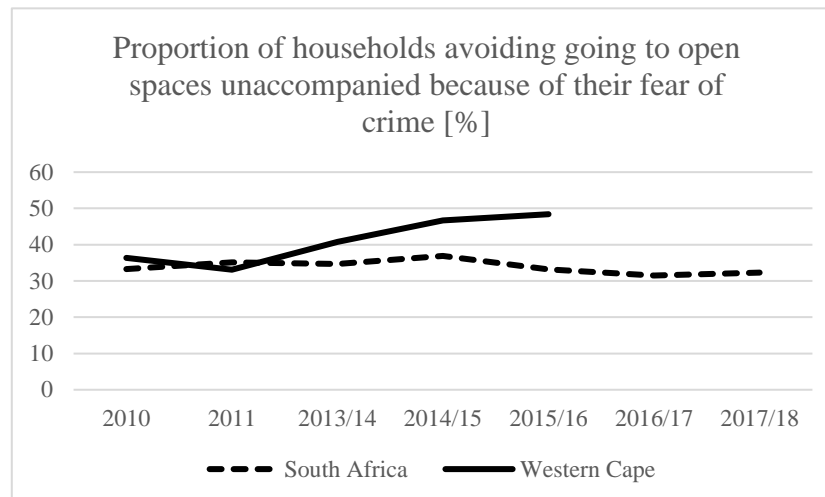


Figure 8 : Proportion of households avoiding going to open spaces

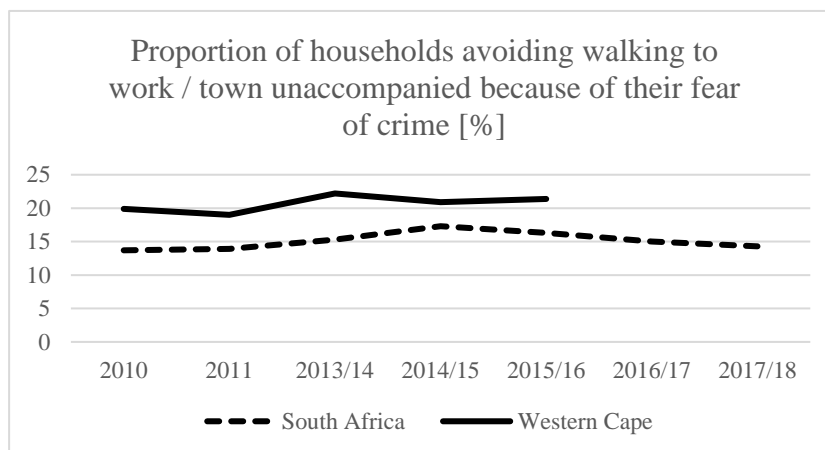


Figure 9 : Proportion of households avoiding walking to work / town

4. Results

4.1. Characteristics of the sample

Being a qualitative work, the sample of this research is not representative. However, the purpose when looking for interviewees was to talk to people of all the groups of race, age, socio-professional categories or neighbourhoods.

4.1.1. Race distribution

Almost half of the women interviewed were black, more than a quarter coloured and less than a quarter were white (Fig. 10). Thus, looking only at this criterion, a variety in the sample has almost been respected. However, while looking for interviews, it was hard to find white women taking the public transports, except among students. Moreover, there is no representation of the Asian population, who is present in Cape Town.

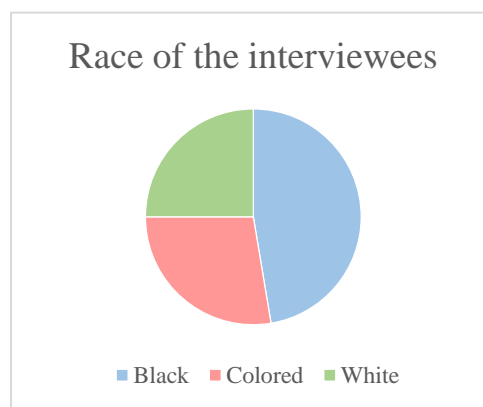


Figure 10 : Race of the interviewees, 2019

4.1.2. Neighbourhood

Almost three quarters of the interviewees live in the suburbs of Cape Town City. More than a quarter of the women interviewed live in townships, while only two live in Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) (Fig. 11).

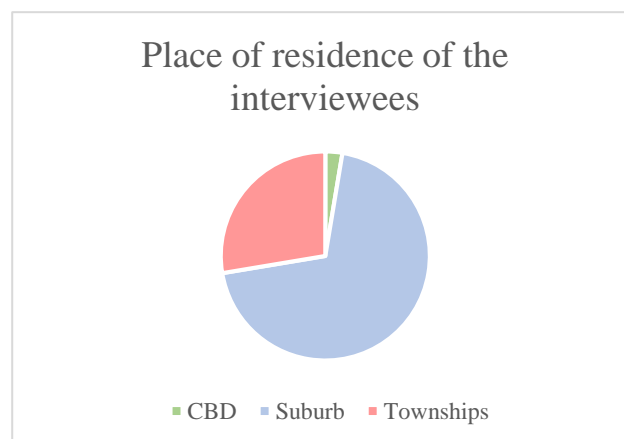


Figure 11 : Place of residence of the interviewees, 2019

Among the interviewees living in the suburbs, there is exactly one third of Black, Coloured and White. Among the twenty-one women living in the townships, on the contrary, all are black, except two that are coloured. One of the two women living in the CBD is Coloured, the other is White.

4.1.3. Age distribution

More than half of the interviewees are between 18 and 25 years old. Almost three quarters are between 18 and 30 years old. Indeed, it was particularly difficult to find women working or with children taking the public transport. A lot of women explained they bought a car as soon as they had money, as it was more convenient and safer. Moreover, some studies show a decrease in mobility among elderly people (Dumas, 2012), who slowly stop driving, but do not take public transports further, because of the walking distance and the arduousness of the waiting and the ride (Le Ruyet & Dejeammes, 2005). However, women of each age group were interviewed (Fig. 12).

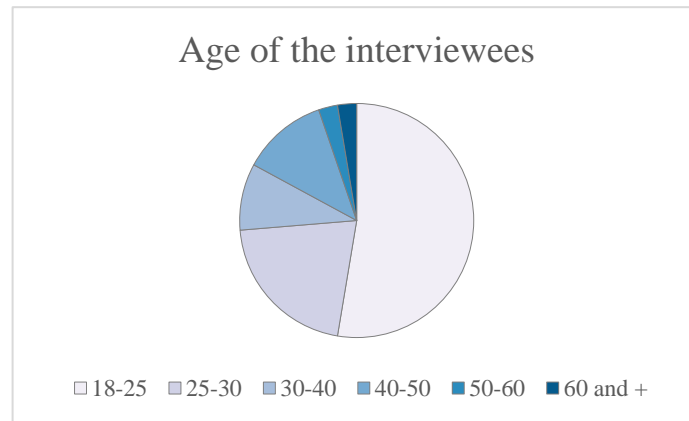


Figure 12 : Age of the interviewees, 2019

However, inequalities of age distribution in the sample are more visible when combined with race. Among black interviewees, the age distribution is well distributed between the age categories, except women of 60 years old and more that are not represented. Among coloured interviewees, only four on the twenty-one women were older than 25 years old. Among white interviewees, only four of the nineteen women were older than 18 years old, and nobody older than fifty years old approximately was interviewed (Fig. 13). Indeed, it was extremely hard to find white women, who are not student, and take the public transports.

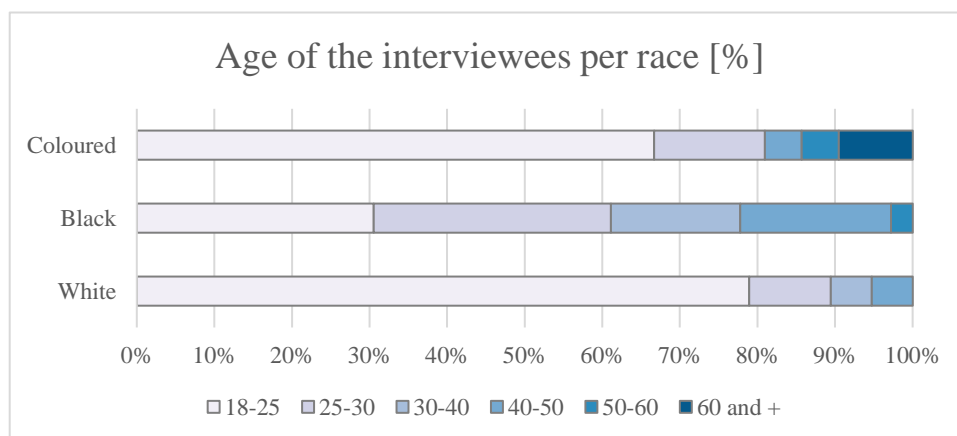


Figure 13 : Age of the interviewees per race, in percent, 2019

4.1.4. Socio-professional category

On the seventy-six women interviewed, twelve were unemployed. Among them have been included three women that declared they are at home and two retirees. Thirty are students and two trainees. Thus, less than half of the women interviewed were engaged in a remunerated job. Half of these women had what we could categorize as a low-income job, such as cleaner, cook, cashier or waitress. Six women had middle-income jobs, such as nurse, safety officer or dentist assistant. The other women had high-income jobs such as Professor, project manager or consultant (Fig. 14).

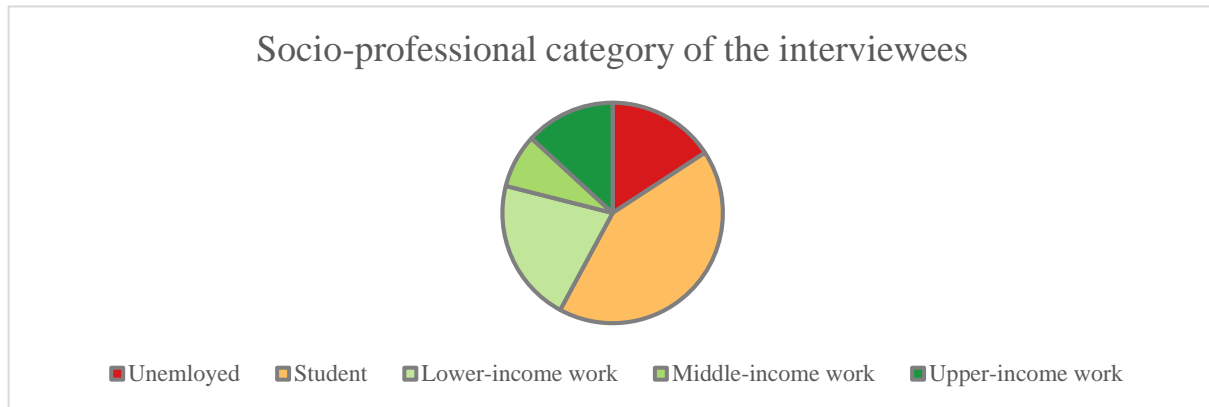


Figure 14 : Socio-professionnal category of the interviewees, 2019

All unemployed women were black or coloured. This joins the national issue concerning a disproportionate unemployment of the black and to a lesser extent the coloured population. Indeed, respectively 40% and 28% of the black and coloured population were unemployed on a national level in 2014, compared to 8% of the white people (Statistics South Africa, 2014). Then, among the sample, less than half of the students interviewed are white, one third coloured and less than one quarter are black. Every woman practicing a lower-income job were black, except one coloured woman. Middle-income works are better distributed, as they are occupied by three black women, one coloured and two white. It is even better in higher-income work, as there are four black women, three coloured and three white. Thus, in addition to unemployment, the distribution of jobs among race according to qualification is another important issue. Indeed, low-skilled jobs are occupied by 87% by black people and 98% by black and coloured people. Moreover, this number has increased since the 90s (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

Without much surprise, a clear link can be noted between the work category and the neighbourhood. Women practising a lower-income job all live in a township, except three that live in a suburb. Among women having a middle-income job, they all live in a suburb except one who lives in a township. Concerning higher-income job, more than half of the women live in a suburb, while the others live in the CBD or in a township, such as a project manager and a teacher. Thus, the only two women interviewed who live in the CBD have higher-income jobs. Unemployed women live either in townships or in suburbs, about equal in number. All the students live in the suburbs, but here it is more a question of geographical situation, as they all live in neighbourhoods around the University of Cape Town (see part 4.1.3). As lower-income jobs imply living in a cheap neighbourhood, that are mainly townships or some suburbs, and as lower-income jobs are occupied by black and some coloured people, we can assert that the spatial distribution of the people according to their race is not very different from that of apartheid. However, this segregation is no more dictated by laws, but by the economy.

4.2. Gendered perception

The purpose was to know how local women themselves perceive women and gender relations. It allows not to apply a western perspective of local issues. On the one hand, the goal was to see how they perceive women while looking at crime and security. On the other hand, the purpose was to know women's perception of violence against women.

4.2.1. Gender differences concerning security

A little bit more than a quarter of the interviewees told that they think there are no differences between women and men concerning security. Almost all of them advanced the fact that it is dangerous for everybody, everybody is confronted to crime and victimized.

"They [the criminals] don't make differences, they rob everybody." (Interviewee 14)

Another woman declared that there is no difference because nowadays, men help if a woman is in trouble. Among the fifty-five women that think there is a difference, 40 percent said that the difference lies in the fact that men can fight for themselves, fight back or take care of themselves or on the contrary that women cannot defend themselves, fight back or cannot protect themselves. Nineteen of the interviewees then put forward the fact that women are sexualized, that they can be harassed, assaulted in a sexual way or raped or on the contrary that men do not have to fear sexual harassment or assault.

Rape is a big issue in South Africa that can impact everybody. Indeed, as we already said, it can concern children (4.3.3), but it is also a huge issue for women (1.2.2). South Africa has the highest rape rate in the world, with more than 40,000 reported rape each years (South African Police Service, 2017). Women get raped either within homes or communities or in the public space. Moreover, a lot of rape are not reported.

Fourteen also mentioned that women are weaker or have less (physical) strength, have not the right appearance or that men are stronger. Thirteen of the interviewees thought that women are easier targets, while nine think women are more at risk and more often victim of crime and seven that women are more vulnerable. Five interviewees also mentioned that it was hard for women to walk alone or that they have to walk accompanied. Then, some women talked about the stereotypes and mentality that tend to show women as weaker, more victimized or more targeted. To end, two interviewees mentioned that women are more afraid and one that *"Men harass because they want to show power and dominance. Especially in this country, after years of oppression during the apartheid."* (Interviewee 74).

Two on the nineteen white women, less than one third of the coloured women and more than one third of the black women interviewed think there is no differences between men and women concerning security. Among the black women interviewed thinking there is a difference, more than half of them think that the difference is that women cannot defend themselves or, expressed differently, that men can defend themselves. In second, four women on the twenty-three think the difference is based on the fact that women are weaker or that men are stronger. A few women then mentioned the possibility for a woman to be raped, but also that women are easier targets, more at risk, more vulnerable or more afraid. Among the fifteen coloured women interviewed thinking there is a difference, one third said it is because of the fact that women can be raped or harassed and one third also think that women cannot defend themselves and men can. Three women mentioned the physical strength and the fact that women are easier targets. Other think that women are more at risk, more vulnerable or that it is harder for women to walk unaccompanied. More than 40 percent of the white women thinking there is a difference think it lies in the fact that women can be raped or harassed, while men do not have to worry about that. Almost one third of them also think that women are more vulnerable and one quarter that women are physically weaker and men stronger. Three women on the seventeen also think that it is harder for women to walk unaccompanied. A few other mentioned that they think women are easier targets, are more at risk and more afraid.

The two women interviewed living in the CBD think there is a difference between men and women concerning security. For the first one, women feel more at risk because she thinks they are statistically more at risk, and also that women are weaker and can be raped. One quarter of the women living in a suburb think there is no differences. Among the others, almost one third think that the difference lies in the fact that women can be raped or are sexualized. One quarter think that men can defend themselves and women cannot. One quarter also mentioned that women are weaker or men stronger. Almost one quarter also think that women are more vulnerable. Six of the interviewees think that women are easier targets or can be seen so. Six also think that women are more often victims. Five women mentioned that women are more afraid. The other think that the difference is that women walk accompanied, talked about the stereotypes or the link with power and dominance. More than 40 percent of the women living in a township think there is no difference between men and women concerning security. Among the other, three quarters think that the difference is that men can defend themselves and women cannot. One quarter, namely three women, mentioned the fact that women are weaker or men stronger. One woman mentioned the fact that women can be raped and three others respectively that women are easier targets, are more at risk or have to walk accompanied.

From 18 to 60 years old, the proportion of women thinking that there are no differences between men and women concerning security increases. Five on the forty women aged between 18 and 25 years old think there is no difference. Among the women that think there is a difference, for more than one quarter the difference lies in the fact that women can be raped or are sexualized. One quarter think that men can defend themselves and women cannot. For almost one quarter, the difference is the physical strength. Seven women think that women are more vulnerable. Five women think that women are seen as easier targets and five mentioned that women feel more unsafe than men. Four interviewees think that women are more at risk and more often victims. Three women mentioned the fact that some differences are linked to stereotypes or are false assumptions. A few also mentioned that women have to walk accompanied. One think that men harass to show power and dominance. Six on the sixteen women aged between 25 and 30 years old also think there is no differences. Among the then others, half think that women cannot defend themselves and men can. Then, three interviewees mentioned that women can be raped or are sexualized. Two others think that the difference lies in the fact that men are stronger or women weaker. Three of the seven women interviewed aged between 30 and 40 years old between men and women concerning security. The other think there is a difference because men can defend themselves or women cannot, women are weaker and that women are more vulnerable, easier targets and more at risk of being a victim of crime. Five of the nine women aged between 40 and 50 years old think there is no difference. Among the others, two also think that men can defend themselves and women cannot. The other think that there is a difference because women are weaker, more vulnerable, more afraid and more at risk. The two women aged between 50 and 60 years old think there is no differences, because it is dangerous for everybody. On the contrary, the two women aged more than 60 years old think there is a difference, for one because men are stronger, for the other one because men can defend themselves and it is hard for women alone.

4.2.2. Perception of violence against women

Violence against women can be expressed in a very varied way and can be physical, sexual, psychological and/or economic. The most known forms are for example violence within the couple or the family, forced marriage, female sexual mutilation, rape, sexual violence, prostitution or trafficking. For the NGO Embrace Dignity, for example, prostitution is part of violence against women, whether those who are prostituted or the others. Indeed, prostituted women suffer from psychological, physical violence and/or sexually transmitted infections. However, more generally, prostitution also perpetuates patriarchy, and thus women oppression and thus gender violence. They hope the law they suggest would break the cycle of violence. Moreover, they think that prostitution may increase the feeling of insecurity,

because “if you can regard one woman is for sale, you can regard any woman as for sale” (Co-founder of Embrace Dignity, interview 18.03.2019).

Thus, the question of what the interviewees think of violence against women is wide. Almost one third of the women seemed to be embarrassed to talk about this subject and only told about violence against women that they feel or that it is bad, sad, not good, not great, not nice or they do not like it. Then, fifteen women declared that it is awful, terrible, disgusting or that it breaks their heart. Thirteen women confided that it is scary, that it makes them feel unsafe or that they were afraid of going out or alone. Three of them raised the fact that it limits their freedom of movement. Seven people emphasized the fact that it seems that nothing is done or that more things should be done, like more awareness. Five women were afraid first of all for children or thought it was even more awful, because it steals their lives.

Five women declared they think there is too much violence against women. Three women said they do not know any victim personally. Three others raised the fact that “we” do not talk about it, or not enough or that we should talk more about it. Two people also declared it is a big problem in South Africa, while two others think it is not specific to South Africa, but more a global or worldwide issue. However, two women raised that it targets mainly poor and coloured people. Another concern was that victims cannot report to the police because they would be stigmatized or have no faith in law enforcement. Other people wondered how it can still happen despite the laws or if it is going to change one day.

Indeed, “it is just starting that some police stations have rape centres, where they can do analysis, try to get fingerprints or that sort of things” (Landscape Architect, Urban Design branch, interview 11.03.2019).

On the one hand, some women express their disagreement or even want to fight against some or all forms of violence against women. During informal interviews, some women even identified South Africa as a country with a rape culture. On the other hand, some women seem to have been integrated into this rape or violence culture.

The majority of the black women interviewed, namely almost half of them, seemed embarrassed talking about the subject of violence against women. Indeed, they just answered that they thought it was bad, sad or they do not like it. Only two black women said it was scary. Among coloured and black women, the answers that came out the most often were that it is disgusting, or it make them feel unsafe. Indeed, more than one quarter of the coloured women interviewed think that it is terrible and another quarter that it makes them feel unsafe. Less than a quarter also told that it is bad or sad. Half of the white women interviewed think that violence against women is awful and disgusting. Less than half of them confided that it makes them feel more unsafe or that it is scary. In each race group, one or a few women also said there is too much violence against women, that it was awful when it implies children, that we should talk more about it, that nothing is done or that they do not know anyone personally touched by this problem. Some also think it is a big problem in South Africa, while others think this problem is not specific to the country. One black woman also mentioned that report and victims are stigmatised. One white woman thinks that this problem impacts mainly poor and coloured people.

More than half of the women living in a township declared that violence against women is bad, not good or sad. Then, twelve on the fifty-three women living in a suburb, as well as one of the two women living in the CBD, declared it make them or women in general feel more unsafe, and for two women that it limits freedom. Eleven women living in a suburb also declared it is bad, not good or sad.

It is mainly young women who feel more unsafe because of the climate of violence against women in South Africa. Indeed, among the women aged between 18 and 25 years old, the answer that came out most often, namely for one quarter of the group, was that violence against women is scary or make them feel more unsafe. Moreover, two women confided it limits women's freedom. It was also mentioned by one woman aged between 25 and 30 years old and one aged between 50 and 60 years old. The second

main answer among the women aged between 18 and 25 years old, that is the answer that mostly came out among the other age groups, was that violence against women that it is bad, sad etc. Women of all ages talked about children.

4.3. Transport mode

The distribution of the modal share, the choice behind it and the use of private transport, in relation to social categories, will already allow to identify some differences that might be inequalities.

4.3.1. Distribution of the modal share

The public transports the most taken by the interviewees are the minibus taxis and the Jammie buses (Fig.15). In the sample, less than one third of the women interviewed take several public transports (Fig.16).

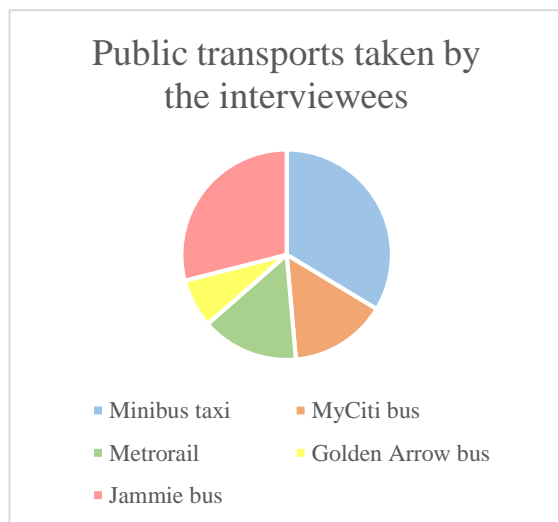


Figure 15 : Public transports taken by the interviewees, 2019

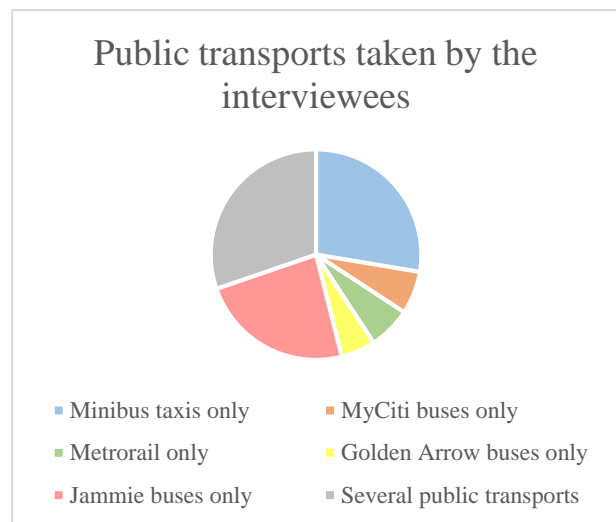


Figure 16 : Public transports taken by the interviewees, 2019

4.3.1.a. Race

More than two third of people using the minibus taxis are black. Only three on the thirty-six people are white. Among interviewees using the MyCiti buses, almost half of the women are white. In the Metrorail, the three groups are almost equally represented. Almost two third of the Golden Arrow users interviewed are black. More than half of the women taking the Jammie are white (Fig. 17).

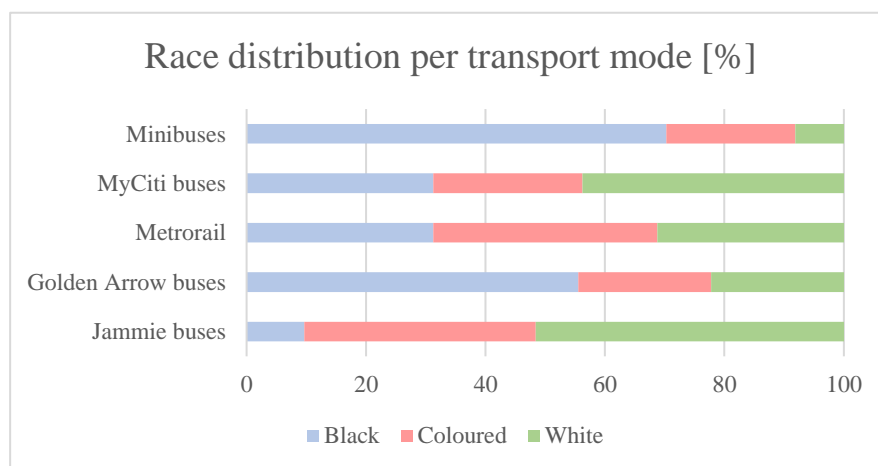


Figure 17 : Race distribution per transport mode, in percent, 2019

4.3.1.b. Neighbourhood

Minibuses and Golden Arrow buses are used almost half by people living in a suburb and half by people living in a township. Thus, Minibuses are not only taken by people living in the townships, as some people believe. No one living in a township take the MyCiti buses, while the routes deserve Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha since the end of 2014. The majority of women interviewed using the Metrorail live in a suburb. Jammie buses are almost exclusively used by women living in a suburb, as all students interviewed live in a suburb (Fig. 18).

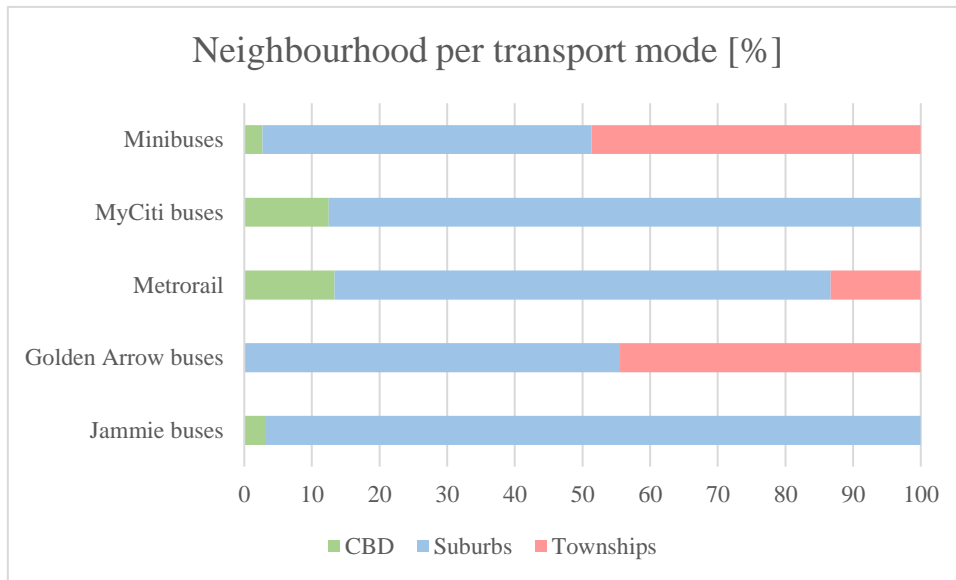


Figure 18 : Neighbourhood per transport mode, in percent, 2019

While, as we saw, Minibuses are not only taken by people living in the townships, three quarters of the people living in a township take the Minibuses, while the other take the Golden Arrow buses and the Metrorail. For women interviewed living in a suburb, most of them also use the Minibuses, if we except the Jammie buses, while around a quarter take the MyCiti and the Metrorail. A few of them also take the Golden Arrow buses. Among the two women living in the CBD, both use the MyCiti buses and the Metrorail, but one also uses the Minibuses while the other also uses the Jammie buses (Fig. 19).

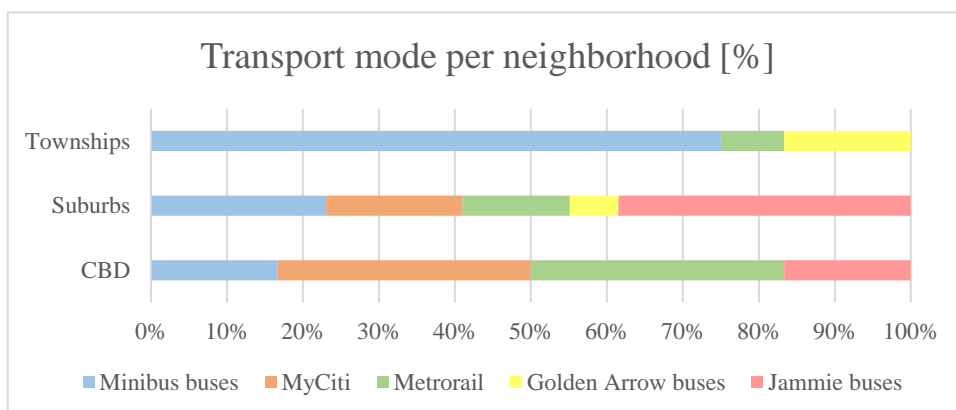


Figure 19 : Transport mode per neighbourhood, in percent, 2019

4.3.1.c. Age

Less than half of the women interviewed aged between 18 and 25 years old use the Jammie buses, as most of the women in this age category are students and thus have free access to this transport, that deserves the suburbs around the campus. Thus, only women under 30 years old declared using the Jammie buses. Women aged more than 50 years old who were interviewed only take the Minibuses and the Metrorail. Otherwise, no clear pattern can be identified except that, as said early, the sample is mainly composed of young women as older women taking the public transports were hard to find (Fig. 20).

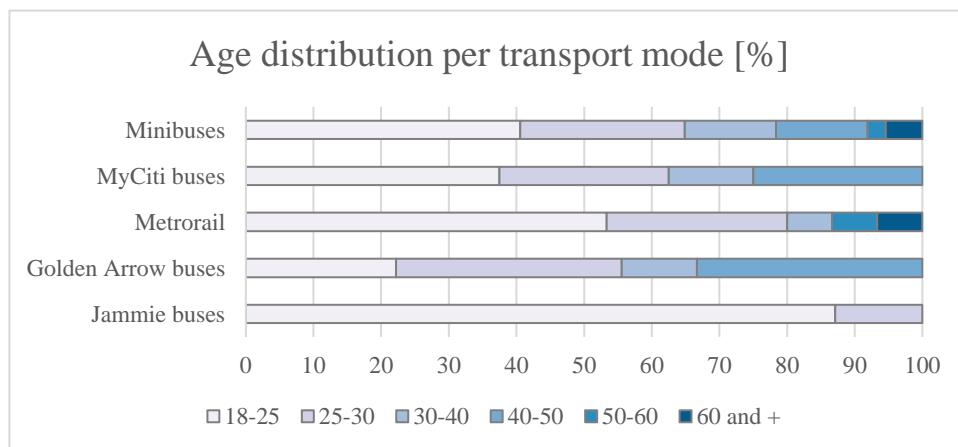


Figure 20 : Age distribution per transport mode, in percent, 2019

4.3.1.d. Socio-professionnal category

The minibuses, the MyCiti buses and the Metrorail are taken by a wide spectrum of socio-professional category. However, almost 90 percent of people taking the Metrorail are unemployed, student or have a lower-income job. It is also the case for more than three quarters of the women taking the minibuses and the Golden Arrow. It can be explained by the fact that these transports are quite cheap, with the Metrorail being the cheapest. Moreover, no woman having an upper-income job use the Metrorail. MyCiti buses, on the contrary, are used by more than two third by women having a middle- or upper-income job. Jammie buses, being university shuttle buses, are used mainly by students, but also by Professors (Fig. 21).

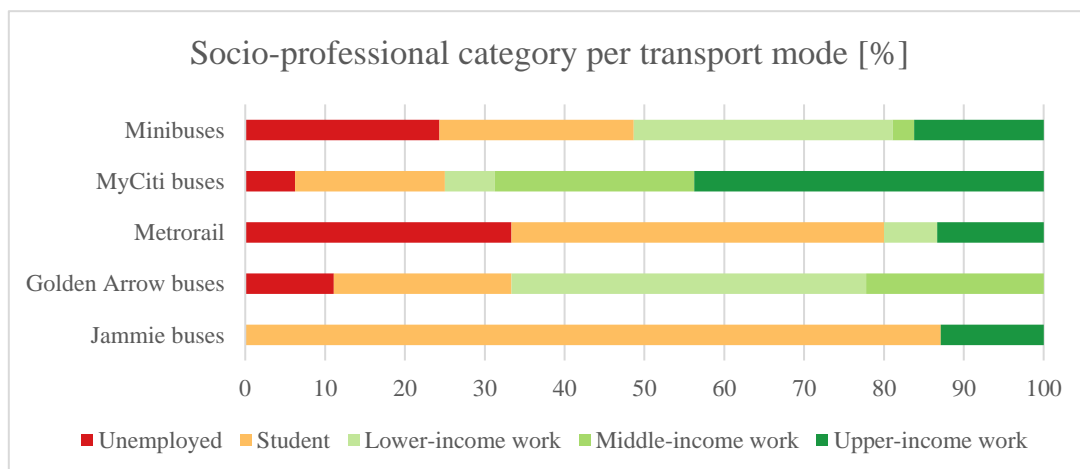


Figure 21 : Socio-professional category per transport mode, in percent, 2019

Almost 90 percent of unemployed women take either the Minibuses or the Metrorail, while almost 90 percent of lower-income take the Minibuses or the Golden Arrow. More than half of the women having a middle-income job take the MyCiti buses, while the others use the Golden Arrow buses and the Minibuses. Women with an upper-income job also use mainly the MyCiti buses, followed by the Minibuses, the Jammie buses and the Metrorail (Fig. 22).

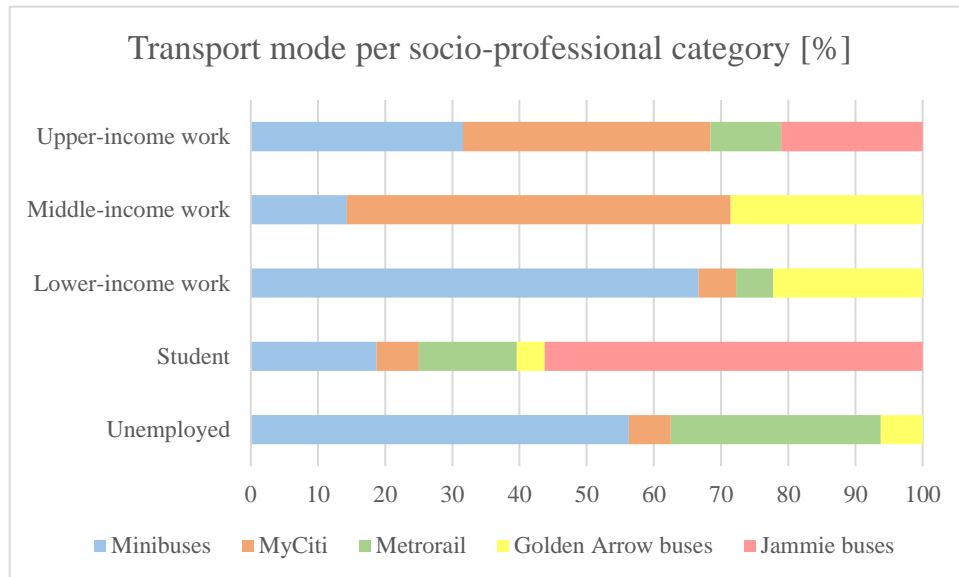


Figure 22 : Transport mode per socio-professional category, in percent, 2019

4.3.2. Choice of public transport

The choice of public transport results in several factors. However, some of them stand out depending on the transport mode. For example, most people taking the minibus taxis said that they choose this transport because it was the fastest. Then, one main reason is also that it is the cheapest for them. For a few people, it is also the only one. Some also highlight the fact that it's for them the safest, closest to the house, most convenient or also most efficient. Concerning the MyCiti buses, there is no reason that stand out comparing to the others. However, the reason that came back a little bit more often was that it is the safest public transport. It also came out that it's the most efficient, cheapest and fastest. People using the Metrorail choose it by far because it's the cheapest. For some people, it's also the fastest or just the only one. The Golden Arrow convinced people because it was cheap and close to their house. The Jammie buses are particular, because it is free for people having a card from the University of Cape Town. Therefore, almost all people said to have chosen this transport because it's free. However, some people mentioned the fact that it's safe and efficient.

It is also interesting to see the answers that did not come out. For example, nobody taking the MyCiti buses declared that it was the only one they could use. Concerning the Metrorail, nobody said that it was the safest for them. And the Golden Arrow buses were not the fastest, for anybody. Thus, it is certainly aspects on which the city could work.

4.3.3. Use of private car

For two years, Cape Town is the most congested city of South Africa, taking the "crown" from Johannesburg (Manager of Transport Enforcement, interview 29.03.2019). Thus, transport mode is a key issue for this city.

On the one hand, while looking for people to interview, a lot of people I approached did not take the public transport. I briefly asked them why, and it was mostly because they find that public transports are unsafe. Other main reasons were the lack of efficiency, because of delays or lack of connection between the different transports. A complement to help improve public transports and thus women's mobility, that has not been made because of a lack of time, would be to interview women who do not take the public transport to understand why. Moreover, even women who do not take the public transports face issues concerning security in the streets, so it would be interesting to collect their perceptions as well and even compare them to women taking the public transports.

On the other hand, two third of people taking the public transports that were interviewed also sometimes use a private vehicle. Among them, almost one half use a private car, either theirs or someone else's and almost another half use Uber. Just three people interviewed said using sometimes meter taxis (Fig. 23).

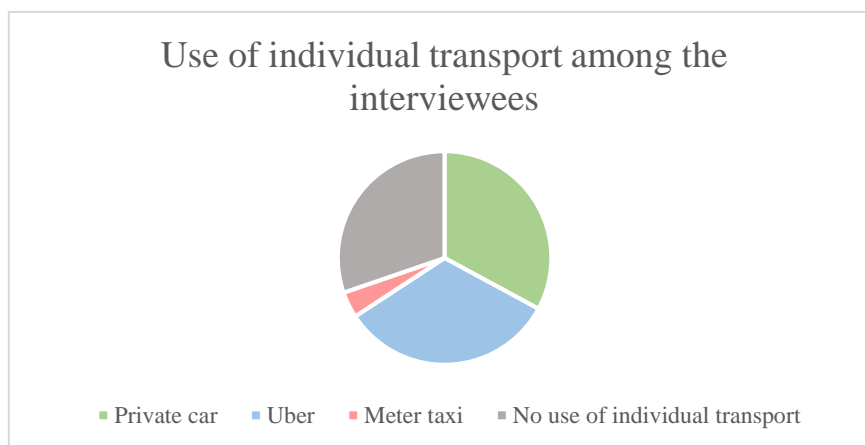


Figure 23 : Use of individual transport among the interviewees, 2019

Among people using sometimes a private car, the major reason was to go to some specific destinations. It is either because it is faster, more convenient compared to the public transports, with the connections or waiting periods, or just because it is the only way for them to join this destination. In second position, with almost the same amount of people, the safety was mentioned. Then, it was to avoid bad traffic that can stuck the buses or the minibuses. Some reasons were also that it is more convenient with kids or in a group, but also that it allows to not depend on the schedule. One person also has to use a car when her train is delayed, so that she does not get fired. The use of private car is thus anytime, or during peak hours if it is to avoid getting stuck in the traffic in a public transport.

Concerning Uber's users, the reason that stands out is safety, mainly when it is dark. Then, it is also to go to some specific destinations, or to go faster. A few people also have to take an Uber, because there are no more public transports, because it is too late. Here, the link with temporality is more visible, as almost half of the people take Uber at night. Indeed, night time implies on the one hand the end of public transport services and on the other hand darkness. The three people taking the meter taxi also take them to go to some specific destinations.

All white women interviewed except one and all coloured women except two sometimes use an individual transport. On the other side, less than half of the black women interviewed declared sometimes using a car.

More than three quarters of the women living in a suburb sometimes use an individual transport, as well as the two women living in the CBD. However, a little more than 40 percent of women living in the townships use them.

Women aged between 18 and 25 years old are the most numerous to sometimes use an individual transport, as they are 80 percent. Only two on the seven women aged between 30 and 40 years old

sometimes use an individual transport. Around two third of the women aged between 25 and 30 and 40 and 50 also use them, as well as three on the four women aged more than 50 years old.

Around 80 percent of the students and women with a middle-income and upper-income job interviewed use at least sometimes an individual transport. Among unemployed women, it is around two third and among lower-income women a little more than 40 percent.

Thus, to decrease the use of private car, the public transport has to be more efficient, that is to say faster, with less or better connections and less delays, but also safer. Moreover, as we saw, it is mainly black women, having lower-income jobs and living in townships, who do not use individual transport. Most of them explained it was because they cannot afford it. Thus, as increasing their income would be hard short term, the increase of attractiveness of the public transports, particularly for the white and wealthy population, would increase social diversity. Besides, it is apparently the city's new strategy, as described earlier (see 3.2.3.)

4.4. Perception of safety

The purpose was to see if people's avoidance mechanisms match their own reflections and declarations concerning security in the public transports. First, we will see which public transports the residents do not take in their neighbourhoods and why, to see if it is related to security. Then, we will see how each public transport is perceived, as people had to tell which is for them the safest and the most unsafe public transport they know in the town. After that, we will see how women perceive children's security in the public transports. Finally, we will see which bad experiences women have already concretely experienced in the public transport to see how this have impacted their perception of security.

4.4.1. Public transports not used

It was asked if people had public transports in their neighbourhood to which they have access, but that they do not use. Some people answered they have no alternative or did not really know. For those with alternatives, some declared that they did not take them because it was too far from their homes, not convenient for them or that it was not the right routes for them. However, other answers revealed more the perceptions that people have of the public transports.

People having a train station in their neighbourhood declared not taking the train because it is too dangerous in terms of safety and security, too far from their homes, but also because it is unreliable and too slow. People avoiding the minibuses talked mainly about the unsafe driving, but also crime in the minibuses and at the stops. They also said that they are crowded, get stuck in the traffic and are unreliable. The minibuses are also too expensive for some people. Concerning the Golden Arrow buses, the main reasons preventing people from taking them is that there are too slow and not frequent enough. It is also not the right routes for some women, or the stops are too far for them. For those who have MyCiti buses as alternative, they declared not taking them only because of convenience, either because the stops are too far or because it is not the right routes for them.

Almost two third of the white women and half of the black women interviewed declared having no other public transports in their neighbourhoods except the one(s) they use, compared to only four on the nineteen coloured women interviewed. Among all the race groups, the train is the transport that is mostly not taken. Among the white women having alternatives, more than half have a train station, but do not take the train mainly because they perceive it as too dangerous. Two women could also take the minibuses and two other the Golden Arrow, but there are also described as too dangerous or not convenient. Among the black women having an alternative, almost half could take the train as well as the minibuses. The train is again seen as unsafe and unreliable and the minibuses are mostly not taken because there are too expensive. A few others could take the buses, but it is either unreliable, not the right routes or unreliable. Almost half of the coloured women interviewed with alternatives also avoid

the train because of crime. A few could also use the buses or the minibuses, but do not because it is not efficient or unsafe.

More than half of the women living in a township, as well as more than 40 percent of the women living in a suburb and one of two women interviewed living in the CBD declared having no other public transport in their neighbourhood except the one(s) they use. Again, the train is the most unused public transport, with about half of the answers, mainly because of safety.

Around half of the women between 18 and 40 years old declared having no alternative public transports in their neighbourhoods except the ones they use, as well as one third of the women aged between 40 and 50 years old and the two women aged between 50 and 60 years old. However, it seems that younger women avoid the transports mainly because of safety, as the argument of older women is more linked to efficiency or price.

Finally, while analysing the answers in connection with the place of residence, we can see that most of the interviewees declaring they have no alternative transports in their neighbourhoods actually have (an) other one(s). For example, no woman interviewed living in Mitchell's Plain or in Khayelitsha mentioned the existence of the MyCiti route. On the contrary, people living more in the city centre did not always know the existence of Golden Arrow or Minibuses route. Indeed, the exact route of these transport can be hard to know, as the stops are not indicated in the streets and no map of the network exists.

4.4.2. Perception of safety of the public transport system

It was asked what was for people the most unsafe and the safest public transport in Cape Town, to see if people's transport choice match their perception of security of the different transport modes.

4.4.2.a. The most unsafe public transport

Two third of the people find that it is the train that is the most unsafe public transport in Cape Town. Almost the rest of the interviewees declared that for them, it was the minibus taxis. One told that for her, none was unsafe and another that all of them were. Concerning people thinking that the train is the most dangerous public transport in Cape Town, one quarter use it anyway. Among them, one third even use train as only transport. Among the people who identified minibuses as the most dangerous public transport, 40 percent take them anyway, more than half of them as only transport.

Every race group find that the train is the most dangerous public transport, as three quarters of the white women interviewed, two third of black and 60 percent of the coloured women interviewed voted for the train as the most dangerous public transport. Concerning the minibuses, it is one third of the coloured interviewees and one quarter of the black and white women.

Among women living in the townships, almost 85 percent think that the train is the most dangerous transport in Cape Town, compared to more than half of the women living in a suburb and the two women living in the CBD. The other women living in a township think it is the minibuses, as well as one third of the women living in a suburb. A few other women living there think that all are unsafe, or none is.

Among all age groups, the train was mentioned as the most dangerous, except for the women aged between 40 and 50 years old. Here, one more woman voted for the minibuses.

Coupled with the previous question, we see that the train and the minibuses taxi have a really bad image concerning safety and security and are thus avoided by a lot of women. Indeed, three quarters of the women do not take the public transport they find the most dangerous. The following testimonials will confirm that the train and the minibuses taxi are quite dangerous. As we saw, 70 percent of the women interviewed taking the train as well as 90 taking the minibuses were black or coloured. Thus, it is these populations that are exposed to those dangerous transports.

4.4.2.b. The safest public transport

The answers for the safest public transport were really wide. Almost a quarter think it is the Jammie buses, while less than one fifth think it is respectively the MyCiti buses, the Minibus taxis or the buses in general. Two women also voted for the Golden Arrow buses and only one for the train. Eight of the seventy-six interviewees also told that none were (really) safe.

Every woman who mentioned the Jammie buses use it, as it is known only by the students using it. Eleven of the thirteen people electing the minibuses as the safest public transport and thirteen people of the eighteen who voted for the MyCiti buses did use these transports. The two people who voted the Golden Arrow and the woman who selected the train take them as well. Among women who declared that the buses are the safest, the majority do not actually take them. Indeed, most of them use the minibuses.

Then, it is interesting to see that for the most unsafe, women had no problem to answer based on their perceptions and things they heard, as three quarters of them did not take the public transport they designated as the most dangerous. On the contrary, when asked for the safest, most women told the safest they experienced, adding things like *"I don't know about the others, I never took them"*. Indeed, this time, more than three quarters of them did take the mentioned transports. Thus, we can already see here that bad perceptions will drive women to restrict their mobility, by the modal choice. However, positive perceptions seem harder to share and do not seem to impact mobility.

Among white women, the Jammie is by far the safest public transport, with three quarters of the answer. One third of the black women interviewed voted for the minibuses and almost one quarter for the buses. Among coloured women, one third also think it is the Jammie buses, more than one quarter voted for the MyCiti buses and 20 percent for the buses. Around 20 percent of the black women also think that no public transport can be described as the safest.

As most women interviewed living in a suburb are students, 40 percent of them think that the Jammie buses are the safest public transports in Cape Town, as one of the two women living in the CBD. One quarter also voted for the MyCiti buses, also mentioned by the two women living in the CBD. Among women interviewed living in a township, almost 40 percent think that the buses are the safest and one third the minibuses.

The Jammie buses were mentioned only by women aged less than 30 years old, as nobody older use them. However, it is the safest public transport only for half of the women aged between 18 and 25 years old. One third of the women aged between 25 and 30 years old voted for the MyCiti buses. Around 40 percent of the women aged between 30 and 50 years old as well as the two women aged more than 60 years old think that the buses are the safest. One of the two women aged between 50 and 60 years old voted for the minibuses, while the other said that anything is safe except the train.

4.4.3. Safety for children

Still in the evaluation of the perception of safety of the public transport system, it was asked if women find the public transports safe for children. Here again, a wide variety of answers came up, from a firm yes to a firm no. Indeed, eleven on the seventy-six women interviewed declared that they find public transport safe for children. Then, further on the spectrum, more than one third of the interviewees answered "yes if..." or "no, except if...". There, we can identify four different groups of answers. Firstly, thirteen women answered that it was safe if children were accompanied. Secondly, twelve women referred to a public transport. A few of them declared for example that public transports were safe for children, but only the MyCiti buses, the buses, the minibuses or the school bus. On the contrary, some said that they thought it is safe, except for the train. Thirdly, concerning temporality, a lot were

afraid of children's safety at peak hours, because they can be crushed. On the contrary, some were more afraid at quiet time, where they can be kidnapped. Others said it is safe, but only during the day. Fourthly, concerning the child, some had reservation particularly concerning young children, that can be easily injured or mugged. On the other extreme of the spectrum, more than half of the interviewees said that public transports are not safe for children. The main reasons that came up were on the one hand the dangerous driving of bus or taxis drivers and on the other hand crime. People were also afraid because "anything can happen", like kidnapping, mugging or children left on the road because they are accused of not having paid. Some people also talked about people under influence.

"Of course, no, it's not even safe for adults." (Interviewee 76)

More than half of the black women interviewed find public transports unsafe for children, with more than 40 percent of the coloured and almost one third of the white women. Indeed, it is also the black and then the coloured women interviewed who had the most contact with crime or are the most afraid in the public transports themselves.

More than 60 percent of the women interviewed living in a township think that public transports are unsafe for children, compared to less than 40 percent of the women living in a suburb. Indeed, almost half of them think that public transports are safe or unsafe only under certain conditions. On the two women living in the CBD, one thinks it is unsafe and the other safe but only in groups.

It is women aged between 25 and 40 years old that are the more numerous to find public transports unsafe for children. Indeed, more than 70 percent of the women interviewed aged between 30 and 40 years old find public transport unsafe for children, as well as more than 60 percent of the women aged between 25 and 30 years old. These women, who belong to the age category that usually includes women with (young) children, could thus restrain their mobility to protect their children. Thus, to improve women's mobility, special attention must be given to children's safety, as the care of children still mainly lies to women.

An issue, that has not been explicitly mentioned but that is largely relayed by the media, is violence against children and child abuse (Fig. 24).



Figure 24 : Don't abuse children sign in South Africa

Source : https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Don%27t_Abuse_Children_sign_in_South_Africa.jpeg

This problem is particularly present in the townships. Around one third of the children had experienced some form of sexual abuse at some point in their lives (Optimus Foundation, 2016). In addition to rape culture, the belief that HIV/AIDS can be cured by having sex with a virgin has been identified as a possible factor in the rape of babies and children in South Africa. (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002).

4.4.4. Contact with crime

Less than half of the interviewees, namely thirty-two women on the seventy-six interviewees declared having already witnessed or been a victim of a crime. Among these women, almost all talked about robbery. Two third of these robberies were witnessed, while one third was suffered. It was mainly robbery in the streets, either pickpocketing, smash and grab or by threat with a weapon.

"I saw many times women getting their bag stolen. It makes me feel very unsafe." (Interviewee 13)

"One morning, I was looking outside the window of my apartment and I saw someone being robbed. And I felt bad because it was a woman." (Interviewee 16)

"Yes, witness of robbery. Three guys took the bag of a woman near the bus station. She resisted so they hit her, and she fell on the ground. I think she was very shocked. And you? I was so afraid. And I'm sad because I couldn't do anything." (Interviewee 54)

"Yes, I witnessed a smash and grab. I was scared, but grateful it wasn't me." (Interviewee 70)

"I once was in a taxi that was entirely robbed. Gangsters came in and robbed everybody. I also saw a woman getting robbed early in the morning." (Interviewee 27)

Two women also had their home broken and another was carjacked.

"My house was robbed. Since then, I feel unsafe even in my own house." (Interviewee 61)

After that, one fifth were witnessed of fights, often gang fights and shootings. One woman was also victim of assault and another of sexual harassment in the streets.

"I have been harassed several times in the streets. Men followed me and tried to talk to me or touch me, while I told them I wasn't interested." (Interviewee 43)

More than one third of the white women and 40 percent of the coloured women, compared to almost half of the black women interviewed have already witnessed or been victim of crime.

In each group, women have suffered mostly of robbery. Twelve of the black women, namely 70 percent, witnessed robberies and seven, namely 40 percent where victim of it.

"I was robbed in the streets by two men with knives." (Interviewee 36)

Four black women declared to have witnessed fights, often gang fights. One woman was carjacked and another assaulted.

"I have been robbed and assaulted." (Interviewee 3)

Eight on the twenty-one coloured women interviewed, namely 40 percent, have also been a witness or a victim of crime. Five were witness of robbery and four have been victim of it. Another woman witnessed fights.

"Yes, there are always fights or shootings in the train, robberies." (Interviewee 8)

Almost two third of the white women declared having never witnessed or been victim of crime. Among the seven white women who shared their experiences with crime, three also witnessed robberies and two were victim of it. Two were also victim of home breaking and another confided she was harassed.

Less than one third of the women interviewed living in a suburb, compared to two third of the women living in a township, declared having already witnessed or been victim of crime. The two women living

in the CBD declared having already been violently robbed. One has also witnessed a lot of pickpocketing. Among women living in a suburb, ten have been victim of robbery and eight witnessed it. Two women have been victim of home breaking, two other witnessed fights or shooting and another got carjacked.

“I got my phone stolen out of my hands when I was walking in the streets. And how did you feel about that? Stupid... I should've been more careful.” (Interviewee 72)

Among the women living in a township, twelve were witness of robbery and four confided having been victim of it.

“Yes, I saw a lot of people getting robbed in the townships. You see that, but you can't do anything, because then you are in danger. We can't fight against a man.” (Interviewee 55)

Three women were witness of fights and shootings and one victim of assault.

Between half and two third of each age group declared having never witnessed or been victim of crime. For the others, women have mainly been victim or witness of robberies. Two women aged between 18 and 25 years old have also been victim of home breaking and a few others between 25 and 60 years old mentioned being witness of fights.

4.5. Feeling of security

It was asked to women if they had already felt unsafe in the public transports, at the public transports stops and in the streets, to see on the one hand which part of the mobility is the most problematic and on the other hand if some categories of women feel more unsafe than others.

4.5.1. Feeling of security in the public transports

The feeling of unsafety is a huge issue in the public transports. Indeed, three quarters of the women interviewed declared feeling unsafe in the public transports, at least sometimes. Among them, more than one third are afraid of robberies. The majority is afraid of isolated robberies and a few women fear generalized robberies. Then, almost one quarter of the women interviewed are afraid of being raped. A few are also afraid of accidents.

Feeling of unsafety impacts mainly black and coloured women, as respectively more than 90 percent of black women and more than three quarters of coloured women feel unsafe at least sometimes in the public transports, compared to less than 45 percent of the white women interviewed. In each group, the main fear is robbery. It is then followed by the fear of sexual harassment and accidents.

The feeling of insecurity in the public transports impacts mainly women living in a township. Indeed, all women living in a township except one feel unsafe in the public transports at least sometimes, compared to only 60 percent of the women interviewed living in a suburb. For women living in a suburb or in a township, the most common fear shared by about half of them is being robbed. Then, almost 40 percent of the women are afraid of sexual harassment or assault, sometimes coupled with kidnapping, followed by the fear of assaults. However, in the townships, the second main fear is accidents. Only one woman mentioned the fear of being kidnaped, without mentioning what it could imply afterwards, and none talked about aggressions. A few women of each groups then mentioned the fear of shootings or violent fights. The two women living in the CBD also declared being afraid of sexual harassment or assault, in the train for one, in every public transport for the other. The second one also mentioned the fear of being mugged.

It seems that older women feel more unsafe in the public transports. Indeed, all the four women aged between 50 and 60 years old declared feeling unsafe at least sometimes in the public transport. On the contrary, two third of the women interviewed aged between 18 and 25 years old feel unsafe at least

sometimes in the public transport. It is thus the age group that is the less afraid. About 85 percent of the women aged between 25 and 40 years old and two third of the women aged between 40 and 50 years old also feel unsafe in the public transport. Again, the major reason of unsafety is the fear of robberies, except for the women aged between 30 and 40 years old for which it is accident. Among the women aged between 18 and 40 years old, the main fears are then sexual assault and aggressions. The fear of sexual aggression is a particular concern among the women aged between 18 and 25 years old, as 40 percent mentioned it. Women then talked about the fear of accidents, followed by violent fights. Among the four women aged more than 50 years old, one woman of each age group mentioned robberies and killing, while the other was worried because of accidents.

As we saw, women perceive the train and the minibuses taxi as the most unsafe public transports in Cape Town. Confirming this perception, it is these two transports that have the largest proportion of women feeling unsafe. Every woman taking the train declared feeling unsafe, at least sometimes. The main reason, as for the minibuses, is the fear of being robbed. Again, it can be either an isolated theft or pickpocketing, or a generalized robbery, where gangsters get on the train, rob everybody and get off. From the point of view of the interviewees, it can happen anytime, but mainly during quiet time and at night. In second position, it is the fear of being sexually harassed or raped, but also violently assaulted. They also fear that mainly during quiet time. On third, it is the fear of being stuck in the train during a settling of accounts, that usually results of violent fights and even shootings inside the trains. One woman, besides, is afraid of being killed while taking the train. Finally, a few people feel unsafe at peak hours, because the trains drive with the door open, so you could easily fall outside or be pushed. One woman also told about the bad maintenance of trains.

Concerning minibuses users, every woman except two feel unsafe at least sometimes. The main reason, shared by more than one third of the women taking the taxi, is the fear of being robbed. On the one hand, it can either be isolated robbery, as one person can threaten another or steal by force or with violence. On the other hand, there are generalized robberies, that they say happen quite often.

“Sometimes people get on the taxis, but in fact there are gangsters and they rob all the people inside.” (Interviewee 28)

One woman explained that these generalized robberies happened when the taxi drivers do not pay the gangsters a tax. Concerning the temporality, most people say it can happen anytime, particularly concerning generalized robberies. However, people are most afraid when it is quiet, so early in the morning, late at night and during the weekends. Indeed, there are no witnesses or people to help. One third of commuters traveling with the minibuses are also afraid of accidents, mainly because of the way taxi drivers drive. They are afraid of accidents at any time, but mainly during peak hours, when the traffic is the densest. Another fear linked to drivers happens during quiet time. Indeed, some women are afraid to find themselves alone with the taxi driver and his assistant. If it happens, they feel at the mercy of these two men and they fear being robbed or kidnapped and raped. A few women also told feeling uncomfortable when taxi drivers or assistant under influence dragged them and were insistent. Some women also mentioned taxi drivers fighting between them on the road. One woman also told that they sometimes fight with people over money and sometimes they make everybody get down the minibus, even if it is on a highway. Another woman told about one time were the taxi driver lied about the destination just so that she would get on the bus. But it was the wrong route, so she got really afraid as she did not know the area and got lost.

A few women told that they feel unsafe, because they are robberies every day on the Golden Arrow buses coming from the townships. Other reasons why women feel unsafe, is because drivers drive fast or badly and are sometimes rude, but also because of fear of pickpocketing, sexual harassment or violent fights between young people on the bus. Pickpocketing happens mainly during peak hours, while the other crimes or acts can happen anytime.

About one third of women using the Jammie shuttle service declared feeling unsafe at least sometimes. The two reasons mentioned were the fear of being mugged and the fear of being sexually harassed or assaulted. One woman also mentioned the fear of being abducted.

“I am not afraid of robberies, it is not important for me if somebody steal my stuff. But I am really afraid of sexual assaults or abductions.” (Interviewee 49)

Most women are afraid of that anytime. One mentioned quiet time and another night time.

Nobody declared feeling unsafe specifically on MyCiti buses. However, one quarter of the interviewees feel unsafe in all public transports in general, so they concern MyCiti buses as well. They fear mainly robbery, followed by sexual harassment or assault.

4.5.2. Feeling of security at the stops

More than half of the women interviewed declared feeling unsafe at public transport stops at least sometimes. Among them, two third mentioned being afraid of theft or robbery.

“You can't know who to trust, because they can suddenly rob you.” (Interviewee 7)

Nine women were afraid of mugging and eight of sexual assault.

“There is no security, so there are a lot of pickpocketing and strange people. I also fear being raped there [at the train stations].” (Interviewee 39)

A few were also afraid of gangsters and gang fights, being kidnapped, crime in general and a few mentioned the lack of security.

“You know, the stops, it is where the gangsters meet and stay.” (Interviewee 8)

The majority of the women interviewed feeling unsafe are afraid all the time. But some of them mentioned they are more afraid late in the day or when it is dark or when it is quiet, early in the morning, at night or during the weekends.

Almost all women did not specify at which stops they feel unsafe, because it was often at all of the one they frequent. However, it is women taking the Golden Arrow buses, the minibuses and the train that feel the most afraid, with almost three quarters for each mode.

“It can become dangerous when there are delays because you are stuck a long time at the [train] station and they know that.” (Interviewee 52)

Among women taking the train, half were afraid of robberies, while the others were afraid of gangsters, rape, assault and crime in general. For minibus taxi users, three quarters were also afraid of theft and robbery, and the other of gangsters and gang fights, assaults and crime in general. Concerning the Golden Arrow buses users, the fear for almost all women is robbery, and assault for one. The lack of security and the fear of rape was also mentioned. One third of women taking Jammie buses declared feeling unsafe at the stops at least sometimes. This time, the main fear was rape, followed by mugging and kidnapping. Only two women on the sixteen using MyCiti buses declared feeling sometimes unsafe at the stops, one being afraid of robbery and another of rape and kidnapping at the open bus stops.

Again, black women are disproportionately impacted by fear, here at the public transport stops. Three quarters of the black women interviewed feel unsafe at least sometimes at the public transport stops, compared to 40 percent of the coloured women and a bit more than a quarter of the white women interviewed. However, there is a difference in the type of fear. Indeed, among women feeling unsafe,

85 percent of the black women, as well as almost half of the coloured women feel unsafe because they fear being robbed. Then, a few women fear violent fights, assault, sexual assault or crime in general. However, among the white women feeling unsafe, all are afraid of sexual assault and all except one of mugging.

Women living in the townships are again more impacted by fear, as almost 90 percent of the women living in a township are sometimes afraid at a public transport stop, compared to 40 percent of the women living in a suburb. Among these women, robbery is another time the most common fear, shared by almost 90 percent of the women living in a township and almost half of the women living in a suburb. Then, one third of the women living in a suburb mentioned the fear of sexual harassment or assault, but none of the women living in a township. Women were then afraid of assault, followed by crime in general. One woman living in a township is also afraid of gang fights. Indeed, a lot of the women living in a township mentioned the gangsters in their answers, as the public transport stops are places where they meet and thus where there is more crime. On the two women interviewed living in the CBD, one does not feel afraid at the stops, while the other feels unsafe at the train stops, fearing pickpocketing and rape, while there is no security.

Gangs are a serious issue in Cape Town's townships. The Numbers Gang, one of the most known and feared gang in South Africa, operating primarily in the Western Cape prison of Pollsmoor, is only one among many. Indeed, each gang directs its territory among the townships. A lot of men join the gangs for their protection and that of their families. Gang-related murders focus mainly on young males, because of treason inside the gang or territorial or drug conflict with another gang. However, women and children are particularly vulnerable within the gang territories. They get robbed easily, it is the tax people have to pay to the gang and they are pursued if they try to move somewhere else. The alcohol and drug problems also lead to issues of physical or sexual violence against women (Manager of the VPUU Programme, interview 20.03.2019).

As for the feeling of insecurity in the public transports, it is also the women aged between 18 and 25 years old that are proportionally less afraid, as less than half of them declared feeling unsafe, at least sometimes, at the public transport stops. Among all the age groups, the most common fear is again robberies, except for the two women aged between 50 and 60 years old for which it is the fear of violent fights. Only women aged between 18 and 25 years old mentioned the fear of sexual harassment or assaults. Moreover, it is a big issue for them, as this fear is equally shared with the fear of robberies. Women aged between 18 and 40 years old are also afraid of mugging. One of the two women aged between 50 and 60 declared feeling unsafe at the stops because it is where the gangsters stay. The other does not feel unsafe at the stops. Among the two women aged more than 60 years old interviewed, one declared feeling unsafe because of robberies and the other not.

4.5.3. Feeling of security in the streets

More than three quarters of the interviewees declared feeling unsafe while walking in some streets or staying at some place. Thus, it is in the streets that most of the women interviewed feel the most unsafe, followed closely by the public transports and then the public transport stops. Almost two thirds of the women feeling unsafe in the streets mentioned being afraid of theft or robbery.

“On the morning, it is dangerous. I already got my bag and my phone stolen.

It is also dangerous in the evening, so I ask people to come get me at the stops.” (Interviewee 1)

Then, violation of the physical integrity is a huge concern, shared by more than half of the women feeling unsafe. Indeed, almost one third are afraid of being mugged or assaulted. Almost one quarter are afraid of sexual assault, while nine mentioned street sexual harassment. Then, the interviewees are mainly afraid of gangsters and gang fights, followed by the fear of being kidnapped or more specifically of human trafficking. A few do not feel safe because of vagrants.

"Being robbed and...I always look if no one is following me, or if a car slows down next to me..."

What do you fear?

Well... always the worst fear... being kidnapped, raped." (Interviewee 48)

"In the afternoon, it is often really quiet, and I am afraid of snatching."

"Snatching? You mean getting robbed or kidnapped?"

"Both. You can be violently robbed or kidnapped."

"And if you get kidnapped, what happens next?"

"I don't know... They take you somewhere, rape you and let you there." (Interviewee 53)

"I am afraid of being kidnapped. Because there is a rumour that taxi or car kidnap people."

"And if you get kidnapped, what happens next?"

"Human trafficking." (Interviewee 55)

Human trafficking is a huge issue in South Africa. Grizelda Grootboom, a survivor of sex slavery and now activist, tries to raise awareness of this problem to fight it, through the telling of her story. After her dad was killed in the streets, she returned to live with her mother, in Khayelitsha. There, she was gang-raped at the age of nine. Her mom beat her for coming home without the water she had to fetch. She went back to Cape Town to live in the streets. At the age of 18, she met a young lady who promised her a better life in Johannesburg. As they arrived in a house, people put her in a room and inject her with crystal meth, before making men sleep with her. After a short time, she was addict, so she had to find clients to get her fix. She got pregnant and they made her abort at six months. An hour later, she had to get back to "work". This event helped her get out, not without having been beaten, in the coma and in rehab (Co-founder of Embrace Dignity, interview 18.03.2019).

The exploratory walk revealed that many women avoid the city centre. Indeed, the main roads of the CBD, like Bree Street, Loop Street or Long Street, are seen as quite unsafe. The main reasons raised where the lack of security, of light and the presence of crime. Only younger women go there sometimes for the bars or the art galleries. Even if St Georges Mall and Green Market Square are pedestrian, nobody goes there in their spare-time. One place on which everybody agrees on, on the good side, is Company's Garden. During the walk, everybody felt safe walking there and declared liking this place. It is also the only time in my study where the concept of embodiment can be applied. Indeed, almost everybody says they like this place because of the good smell, particularly near the aromatic plants, where everybody stopped to smell, but also touch the plants. They also raised the fact that this garden is one of the only places where there is more space between the individuals, which allows to release a little bit the attention. Except this place, the city centre has a lot of nice spots to go but does not seem to be a place to stroll.

About 20 percent of as well the black, coloured and white women interviewed declared feeling unsafe at least sometimes while walking in the streets. However, there are variations in the type of fear. For 90 percent of the black women and almost half of the coloured women, the main fear is robbery. Among the white women interviewed feeling unsafe, two third fear sexual harassment and assault, as well as aggression. Only one third is afraid of robberies. 40 percent of the coloured women and a few black women also fear sexual harassment, followed by the fear of aggression. A few also mentioned the fear of crime in general or violent fights.

Here again, women interviewed living in a township are way more impacted by fear. Indeed, all women interviewed living in a township, without exception, compared to three quarters of the women living in a suburb declared feeling unsafe while walking in the streets, at least sometimes.

"I have to walk during ten minutes in Khayelitsha to join my home and there is a lot of crime there, as theft, fights, rape and so on." (Interviewee 3)

Again, the main fear is being robbed, mentioned by all the women living in a township and almost half of the women living in a suburb. Almost half of the women living in a suburb are then afraid of sexual

assault, compared to only three women living in a township. Indeed, the second main fear among them is violent fights. More than one third of the women living in a suburb are also afraid of aggressions, as two women living in a township. A few women then mentioned crime in general. Among the two women interviewed living in the CBD, one does not feel unsafe while walking in the streets, while the other is afraid of being mugged or sexually harassed.

More than 80 percent of the women aged between 18 and 40 years old feel unsafe in the streets, at least sometimes, compared to more than half of the women interviewed aged between 40 and 50 years old. Three on the four women aged more than 50 years old interviewed also feel unsafe. The main fear is robbery, except for women aged between 18 and 25 years old for which it is sexual harassment or assault. Only women between 18 and 40 years old mentioned the fear of sexual harassment and women between 18 and 50 years old the fear of mugging. A few mentioned crime in general or the fear of violent fights.

4.6. Avoidance mechanisms

After seeing how women experience fear, occasionally or on a daily basis, the purpose is to see if those fears sometimes push women to avoid some public transports or at some moments.

4.6.1. Avoidance of public transport

Even if three quarters of the women interviewed feel unsafe in the public transports, less than half to declared sometimes avoiding taking a public transport because of fear. Among them, more than a half avoid all public transports. The big majority avoid them in the evening, at night or when it is dark, when the rest avoid them anytime. The reasons are mainly the fear of being robbed, mugged or assaulted, but also kidnapped, raped or sexually harassed. But a lot also avoid them as soon as they have an alternative, like get a ride from a friend.

The other half of women who avoid public transports at least sometimes specified a mode of transport. It is either their usual mode of transport that they avoid at some time or a transport that they would never take. Seven women declared avoiding the train, because of the fear of robberies, aggressions, sexual aggressions, but also fights. Less than half of them avoid the trains anytime, another half when it is quiet, and the others avoid them during peak hours. Four women sometimes avoid the minibus taxis, the main reason being robberies that can happen anytime, but especially at night, but also because of fear of sexual aggressions during quiet time, dangerous driving and drunk drivers anytime. Only the woman afraid of being sexually assaulted does not take the minibuses taxi as regular transport and prefer the Golden Arrow buses. Only two women sometimes avoid taking the Golden Arrow buses, because of the fear of robbery and fights. They mostly avoid them during quiet time, early in the morning, late at night and during the weekends. One woman also avoids taking the Jammie buses at night, because she fears being robbed.

On the one hand, some women deploy avoidance mechanisms, like get a ride from a friend. So, the fear and the avoidance of public transports ensuing does not hamper the mobility, as the journey happens anyway. But on the other hand, the avoidance of some women, like not taking some public transports or not taking them at some time of the day or day of the week, greatly reduces mobility and can have an impact on some activities. Among women who never avoid a public transport, it is either because they are not afraid or because they have no choice or do not know when crime will strike.

Do you sometimes avoid taking a public transport?

“I try, but I have to take them.” (Interviewee 55)

“No, because you never know when this happens.” (Interviewee 28)

Proportionally, it is the train that is mainly avoided by its users if possible. Indeed, five of the fifteen women taking the train, either in peak hours or when it is quiet, because they fear the fights or being

robbed, assaulted or sexually harassed or assaulted. Two women on nine sometimes avoid taking the Golden Arrow buses, fearing robberies or fights. Among the thirty-seven women taking the minibus taxis, only three declared avoiding taking them sometimes. Two avoid them because of fear of robbery. For one it is at any time and for the other at night. Another avoid taking them in the middle of the day, when they are empty, because she fears getting raped. Only one of the thirty-one women using the Jammie shuttles avoid taking them when it is dark, because she fears being robbed. Nobody avoids taking the MyCiti buses in particular.

Contrary to the part on the fear among the public transports, where the black population was proportionally the more afraid, there black population is here the one that avoids the less the public transports. Indeed, almost two third of the coloured women, as well as more than half of the white women avoids the public transports at least sometimes, compared to more than one third of the black women. It can be explained by the fact that a great part of the black women interviewed have little financial means and thus no way to avoid the public transports. The main fear for black women is robbery for almost two third of them, followed by assaults. Almost half of the coloured women avoid the public transports because of fear of sexual harassment, closely followed by the fear of aggression, as well as robbery. Almost three quarters of the white women interviewed avoiding public transport are afraid of aggressions and a half of sexual harassment or assault. A few women also mentioned the fear of accidents, violent fights or crime in general.

Concerning the neighbourhoods, the feeling of security and the avoidance does not correspond here again. Indeed, it was women living in the townships who were proportionally the most afraid, but there are only a little more than one quarter to avoid some public transport sometimes, compared to more than half of the women interviewed living in a suburb declared sometimes avoiding some public transports. The two women interviewed living in the CBD avoid all public transports, because one always fears crime in general and the other fears being mugged or sexually harassed at night. Among these six women living in a township and avoid the public transports sometimes, four fear being robbed, two are afraid of violent fights, one of assaults and another of accidents. Concerning the suburbs, half of them avoid the transports because of fear of aggression and one third because of fear of sexual harassment or assault. Almost one third also fear robbery. Three women mentioned crime in general and one accident because of drunk drivers.

When talking about fear in the public transports, young women were the less afraid. Here, however, it is mainly young women who do avoid the public transports. Indeed, around 60 percent of the women aged between 18 and 30 years old avoid taking some public transport sometimes. In comparison, only two on the sixteen women aged between 30 and 50 years old avoid taking the public transport sometimes. The two women aged between 50 and 60 years old said not avoiding any public transport. One of the two women aged more than 60 years old avoid the train when it is empty because she is afraid of fights and robberies. The women aged between 18 and 25 years old avoid the public transports mainly because of fear of personal injury. Indeed, half of the ones afraid fear assaults and more than one third sexual harassment or assault. One fifth fear robbery and another one fifth crime in general. One woman fears violent fights. Among the women aged between 25 and 30 years old, four fear robbery and four other assault. Three fear sexual harassment and a few other mentioned fights or crime in general.

4.6.2. Avoidance of stops

Even if more than half of the women interviewed declared feeling unsafe at public transport stops at least sometimes, less than a quarter declared sometimes avoiding going to a public transport stop because of fear. Among them, more than a half mentioned avoiding the stops because of the fear of aggression. Almost a half also fear sexual harassment. Then, a few women fear robbery, followed by violent fights and crime in general.

Train stations are the most avoided, as seven of the sixteen women taking the train avoid going to the stations because of the fear of mugging mainly, but also robberies, shooting, sexual harassment, rape and kidnapping. Then, more than one third of women using the Jammie shuttle service sometimes avoid going to the stops. For most of them, it is because of the fear of rape or sexual assault. Some also mentioned kidnapping, robbery or crime in general. One fifth of women using the minibuses avoid the stops because of the fear of robbery, shooting and assault. Only one woman avoids the Golden Arrow bus stops because she fears being mugged or sexually harassed.

A few women mentioned that they avoid Cape Town Station in particular, because of the presence of vagrants on drugs or because of robberies and assaults. Women mainly avoid the stops at night. Some of them also avoid them early in the morning or during the weekends, when it is quiet.

Here, it is again mostly white women who have avoidance mechanisms, with more than one third of them. But this time, it is coloured women who are the less numerous, with only two on the twenty-one interviewed. One quarter of the black women also declared avoiding some public transports. Both coloured women avoid the public transport stops at night. One of them because she fears being assaulted, the other because she fears being mugged, kidnapped and/or raped. One the nine black women interviewed who declared avoiding the public transport stops, five of them mentioned the fear of being robbed, four of shooting and killing and three of aggression. Two women also fear sexual assault and two mentioned crime in general. Among the seven white women, five confided being afraid of sexual harassment and assault, on mentioning rape. Five also talked about aggression, but only one of robbery.

As for the public transport, women living in a township are the most numerous feeling unsafe at the public transport stops, but the less numerous to avoid them. Indeed, only three women on the twenty-one interviewed living in a township avoid going to a public transport stop, at least sometimes, compared to a little more than one quarter of the women living in a suburb. One of the two women living in the CBD also avoids the stops sometimes. Again, we can see a difference for the reason of avoidance. Indeed, the three women living in a township avoid the stops because they fear robberies, shooting and assaults, one at night, one when it is quiet and the other anytime.

“Yes, at night I pay an extra so that the taxi drops me in front of my home.” (Interviewee 2)

On the contrary, the women living in a suburb and the woman living in the CBD fear mostly sexual harassment and assault. Indeed, half of the women living in a suburb and avoiding public transport stops fear sexual harassment or assault. A little less than half of them also talked about the fear of mugging. A few then mentioned robbery, but also violent fights or crime in general. For most of them it is during the night, but the two who mentioned the shooting avoid the stops anytime.

Again, even if younger women were the less afraid, they are the more numerous to avoid some public transport stops. Indeed, one quarter of the women aged between 18 and 25 years old, as well as more than one third of the women aged between 25 and 30 years old avoid going to some public transport stops, at least sometimes. The women aged between 18 and 25 years old all avoid the public transport stops at night. The main fear, mentioned by more than half of them, is the fear of sexual harassment or assault. Half of them also fear being assaulted. A few mentioned robbery or violent fights. Among the women aged between 25 and 30 years old, the avoidance occurs for half of them at night, for the other when it is quiet, that is to say during the night, but also early in the morning or in the afternoon. Among the six women, three mentioned aggression and then each time two talked about robbery, sexual assault and violent fights. On the contrary, only one woman aged between 30 and 40 years old and one aged between 40 and 50 years old avoid going to a public transport stop, at least sometimes. The first one fears robberies and shooting, anytime, and the second one is afraid because of robberies, assaults and vagrants on drugs. The four women aged more than 50 years old all declared not avoiding going to public transport stops.

4.6.3. Avoidance of streets and places

The streets were where most women felt unsafe, as more than three quarters of the interviewees confided feeling unsafe at least sometimes or at some places. So, it is not with much surprise that the streets are also what women avoid the most, as two third of the women said avoiding going to some places or streets, at least sometimes.

The answers that came up the most, mentioned by thirteen women, was that they avoid going to or walking too much in the townships, anytime, because of crime in general or particularly gangsters, assaults or harassment. Some women specified they avoid Khayelitsha, Nyanga or Mitchell's Plain. On the contrary, nine women declared avoiding every places and streets at night, because of fear of robbery, assault, sexual assault or kidnapping. Eight women avoid Cape Town CBD, particularly Long Street, Lower Long Street and Loop Street, anytime or at night, because of fear of robbery, harassment, assault or kidnapping.

Five of the interviewees also avoid quiet places or empty streets at night, fearing first of all sexual assault, but also robbery, assault or street harassment. A few women avoid some specific neighbourhoods around Cape Town City Centre, as Observatory, Woodstock, Bo-Kaap or Rondebosch, or at least some streets inside these neighbourhoods. They avoid these streets or neighbourhoods anytime or particularly at night. Two women also mentioned avoiding badly lit areas and/or side roads at night, fearing rape, harassment and robbery. Another interviewee never goes to rural areas because of assaults and killing. Another woman avoids going everywhere, anytime:

"I don't walk much around my house, because... you know, you hear so much stories of pickpocketing, robbery, rape..." (Interviewee 44)

Thus, there are on the one hand some spatial avoidance, some coupled with temporality like the CBD at night, some independent of the time like the townships. On the other hand, there are temporal avoidance, like avoiding all streets and places at night, that drastically restrict mobility at night. Besides, these avoidances could constitute the "survival rules guide". Indeed, knowing this reality, I would not have to write that in my field notebook the first day of my arrival:

"Phone stolen by two black men with knives... thanks for the welcome party" (trad.)

Moreover, by understanding the avoidances, it could allow the city to focus their forces at the right places and the right time, until the general economic and social situation improves.

As for the public transport stops, it is the white women who are the most numerous avoiding some streets or places, followed by the black and the coloured women. The main fears are sexual aggression for two third of the white women, robberies followed by crime in general for the black women and fear of aggression and robberies for the coloured women interviewed. Moreover, no black woman mentioned the fear of sexual aggression.

Here also, it is mainly women living in a suburb, as a little more than two third of the women living in a suburb avoid going to some streets or places, at least sometimes. Almost half of them fears sexual harassment or assault. About 40 percent also fears robbery, while one third is afraid of mugging. Eight on the thirty-six women also talked about crime in general. In comparison, more than half of the women living in a township avoid some streets or places, sometimes. One the ten women, four fear robberies, two aggressions and two other crime in general. Three in total mentioned avoiding the streets because of the presence of the gangsters, one fearing the shootings. Among the two women living in the CBD, the same women avoiding public transport stops also declared avoiding streets. Indeed, she avoids going to Bo-Kaap, anytime but especially at night, because she fears being mugged or sexually assaulted. The other declared, again, not avoiding a street. All women, regardless of their place of residence, said avoid going to or staying to much either in the townships, the city centre or some suburbs.

Concerning the age, it was here hard to identify a scheme. Indeed, around 60 percent of the women between 18 and 50 years old declared avoiding going to some streets or places, sometimes. The two women aged between 50 and 60 years old declared not avoiding any street, while the two women aged more than 60 years old do. However, we can identify some differences in the type of fear. Only women under 30 years old mentioned avoiding the streets because of the fear of sexual harassment or assault. This is beside the major fear among women aged between 18 and 25 years old, as two thirds of them avoid the streets because of that. More than one third of them also mentioned the fear of aggression and one third of them also talked about robberies. Five women talked about crime in general and one confessed fearing violent fights. Among the eleven women aged between 25 and 30 avoiding streets, four put forward the fear of robberies, as well as assault. Two also fear sexual harassment and crime in general. Four out of seven women between 30 and 40 years old avoid going in townships for two, everywhere for the two others, because of the fear of crime in general and particularly robberies and assault for one. On the nine women aged between 40 and 50 years old, six avoid the streets. Four mentioned crime in general and three robberies specifically. The two women interviewed aged between 50 and 60 years old declared not avoiding any street. However, one of them specified that she does not avoid a street because for her, "All the streets are dangerous in the suburbs". On the other hand, the two women aged more than 60 years old avoid some streets, sometimes. One, living in a suburb, avoids going to the townships, anytime, because of crime, that is to say robberies, assaults and killing. The other avoids going everywhere at night, fearing robberies, assaults, homeless people and drug addicts.

4.7. Individual actions to improve safety

The purpose is first to see which strategies women put in place before having to move and secondly if clothing is part of it. Thirdly, we will see the strategies once danger is here.

4.7.1. Strategies to feel safer

More than half of the women interviewed declared developing strategies to feel safer. Among women saying they do nothing, some started thinking about this situation.

"Do you do something to feel safer?"

"No, nothing. But now I'm thinking that I should!" (Interviewee 68)

However, some women may develop strategies without being conscious of it. Thus, this shows the strategies that women are aware of.

On the seventy-six interviews, the two strategies that came up the most were carrying a pepper spray for fourteen women and not being alone for twelve. This defensive weapon made women feel more self-confident, even if some of them admitted they did not know how to use it. One woman also had a pocket knife. Seven women also follow self-defence courses.

After my welcome party (4.5.3), I bought myself a pepper spray and followed self-defence courses in Observatory, Cape Town. However, I was quite surprised when my self-defence teacher, Jay, told me he struggles to find participants.

The other strategies mentioned were to always stay alert and follow your instinct, avoid places you do not know and hide your stuff. A few women also share their locations with their family or friends, avoid shady areas and run if they do not feel safe.

More than two thirds of the white women, compared to less than half of the black and coloured women declared deploying strategies to feel safer. The pepper spray is the most spread strategy in each group. Then, it is not being alone for white and black women. Two or three women of each group also follow self-defence courses. Staying alert was also mentioned in each group. One black and one white woman also share their locations with family or friends.

Only less than one quarter of the women living in a township, compared to more than 60 percent of the women living in a suburb as well as the two women interviewed living in the CBD declared deploying strategies to feel safer. Among the five black women, three have a pepper spray, one takes self-defence courses in Khayelitsha and one try not staying alone. Among the women living in a suburb, the strategy that came out most often was not staying alone for almost 40 percent, followed by having a pepper spray for one third. Five women follow self-defence courses, mainly at the UCT, as well as one woman living in the CBD. Five others try to always stay alert. Three women said hiding their stuff and two other share their location with family or friends. Another confided following her instinct. Two others avoid some places, for one it is places she does not feel safe going to and for the other shady areas. It is shared by the other woman living in the CBD, who said walking in the middle of the streets at night to avoid corners and shady areas.

Between 50 and 60 percent of the women aged between 18 and 30 years old deploy strategies to feel safer, as well as almost half of the women aged between 40 and 50 years old, one woman aged between 30 and 40 years old and one aged between 50 and 60 years old. The main strategy among women aged less than 25 years old is not staying alone. Carrying a pepper spray is done only by women aged less than 40 years old. Indeed, it is done by around 40 percent of the women aged between 18 and 30 years old as well as the woman aged between 30 and 40 years old who deploys strategies. Avoiding shady areas, as well as sharing the location was also only mentioned by women aged between 18 and 25 years old. However, this last thing can be explained by the fact that new technologies are more largely used or known by teenagers or young adults.

4.7.2. Adaptation of clothing

More than half of women declared thinking about security when choosing their clothing. Among them, almost all of them fear of being sexualized and thus harassed. For them, some outfits can encourage street harassment, like cat call or induce rape. Other women try to have clothes that allows to hide stuff, either with a lot of pockets, that thus not carry a purse or put more loose clothes that allows to carry a bum bag under them. The other half of the interviewees said that the main criterion for their clothing was work and clothing was not very important for a few other.

Among the black women interviewed, less than one quarter think about security for clothing, compared to two third of the coloured people and almost 90 percent of the white women. Among black women, six try to prevent sexual harassment and two put on clothes that allows to hide stuff. Thus, more than three quarters think mainly of work for clothing. Among coloured women, two think of hiding stuff and the twelve other think of sexual or street harassment. Then, among white women, only one put clothes to hide belongings and the others are afraid of sexual harassment.

Only two women interviewed living in a township declared thinking about security while dressing up. For one, it concerned sexual harassment and for the other the clothes must allow to hide stuff. The other thought first about work or did not really pays attention. Among women living in a suburb, two third also think about their security for clothing. Three thought about hiding stuff and thirty-one of sexual harassment or assault. The two women living in the CBD think about their security while dressing up. The two think about street harassment, but the second also try to put on large clothes with a lot of pockets to hide stuff without having to carry a purse.

It is only women aged less than 30 years old who were afraid of sexual harassment, mainly students. On the contrary, women aged more than 25 years old and having a work thought about work.

4.7.3. Reaction in case of feeling of unsafety in a public transport

In case of unsafety in a public transport, the two main strategies are to get off, with more than one third of the answers and call a friend, either to let them know where they are or so that they can pick them up, with one quarter of the responses. Two other strategies that came up a few times were to talk to the driver or talk with somebody that seems truthful. Five women would call an Uber. Some women just wait. One woman declared that she would pray and only one said that she would “maybe call the police”. On the contrary, some said they would not call the police, because it would be useless. A few people do not know how they would react, and others seem desperate.

“You are hopeless on the train, you can't get off and they [the gangsters] know it. So, you just give your money, phone or bag and hope they don't shoot you.” (Interviewee 8)

In each race group, get off is also the strategy that mostly came out. Indeed, less than one third of the black women, as well as 40 percent of the coloured women and more than half of the white women interviewed said they would get off the transport in case of unsafety. Then, the second main answer is calling a friend or family. Less than 20 percent of the black and coloured women have a more passive strategy, like waiting or praying. Only black women said they would talk to the driver and three talk to somebody who seems trustful. One would eventually call the police. A few coloured and white women would call an Uber.

One of the two women interviewed living in the CBD would call a friend to join her and the other would get off if possible.

Among women living in a suburb, as well as the two women living in the CBD, the answer that came out most often is again getting off for almost half of the women, followed by calling a friend for one third. However, among the women interviewed living in a township, the answers that came out most often is on the one side a passive reaction for more than one quarter, as five would wait and one pray, and get off, again for more than one quarter. Then, almost one quarter would talk to the driver. Then, only a few women living in a suburb described a passive reaction, as five would wait and one pray. Five would call an Uber, three talk with somebody and one talk with the driver. Among women living in a township, two said they would talk to somebody and one would maybe call the police.

The main answers in each age group is either get off or wait. However, among women aged between 18 and 25 years old, the answer that came out even before was that they would call a friend, for 40 percent of them. Only women aged between 18 and 25 years old said they would call an Uber.

Five women would call an Uber and four talk with somebody who seems trustful. Only one said she would talk to the driver.

4.8. Actions undertaken by the public authorities to improve safety

The purpose is to see on the one hand which improvements have been noticed by the female residents and on the other hand what they really one.

4.8.1. Improvements noticed

More than half of the interviewees did not see any improvements concerning security these last years. Four people even think that it is decreasing, because there is less security and more poverty. Ten interviewees arrived recently in the city or did not really take note, so more than a quarter of the interviewees, noticed improvements. For most people, it was the presence of more visible policing in general, at the public transport stops, at university or in shopping malls. Some also mentioned the CCID and Metro Police in particular. One woman raised the fact that MyCiti buses were quite safe and another that there was more monitoring. The Cape Town Metropolitan Police Department (Metro Police) is the police force of the City of Cape Town. They work closely with the South African Police Service (SAPS),

but the Metro Police focus more on preventing crime (City of Cape Town, 2019; Chief of Law enforcement and security department, interview 29.03.2019). Moreover, it seems that people are more afraid of Metro Police, because they are less likely to take bribes (Landscape Architect, Urban Design branch, interview 11.03.2019).

However, nobody seemed to have notice the staff of the transport enforcement unit and the rail enforcement unit (Manager of Transport Enforcement, interview 29.03.2019). No answer came up either concerning urban design. The Urban Design branch is currently upgrading the streets as part of the Quality Urban Spaces Programme. They install benches, trees, pave the streets and pedestrianize them, or build sports fields. However, these improvements have not always been seen positively, particularly in terms of security. Indeed, the trees for example create shadows and allow people to hid behind. So, the landscape architects started to put lower lights to counter this problem. Moreover, the landscape architect told me they install CCTV cameras only if they have money, and it is usually in town and there are not necessarily monitored, as there is not enough staff at the central. Another solution they try to put in place is a 24 hours city, because always having people around helps with safety. Urban Design does not concentrate specifically, however “as a female Landscape designer, you are always more sensitive for these things than men. It is an overall impression. Because we are more vulnerable, and we are more aware of these things happening specifically to other women.” (Landscape Architect, Urban Design branch, interview 11.03.2019).

Two third of the black women, compared to more than half of the coloured and the white women, did not noticed any improvements concerning security. Two black and two coloured women even think it is getting worse. Around one quarter of the black and coloured women noticed more policing, but for three black women it was not in their area. Three on the nineteen white women interviewed noted more policing and one woman said MyCiti buses were pretty safe. More than one quarter did not know, mainly because the sample of white women was composed of students, some of which were here only for one semester.

Three quarter of the women living in a township interviewed did not saw any improvements, of which two again think it is worse, compared to more than half of the women interviewed living in a suburb. The two women interviewed living in the CBD noticed improvements concerning security. The two noticed more visible security, citing the CCID. Only less than a quarter of the women living in a township noticed more policing, but for half of them it is not in their area. A few women living in a suburb noticed more visible policing. One woman saw more monitoring, and another said MyCiti is quite safe. Ten women did not take note.

Between half and two third of each age group think that there were no improvements or that it is even worse. It is mainly women aged between 18 and 30 years old who noticed more visible policing. The four women aged more than 50 years old did not noticed any improvement.

4.8.2. Improvements wanted

When asked to people what is still to be done to improve security, five group of answers came up; more and better security, improvements of society, improvement of the public transport, education and concrete solutions.

Firstly, most people think there should be more and better security. Indeed, three quarters of the interviewees think it should be more (visible) security forces.

“They should spend more money on security, because it seems that there are always more important issues.” (Interviewee 64)

Most of these people talked about more security everywhere and anytime, but some others specified in the townships, in shopping centres or at the university.

“Definitely, more vans to patrol in the townships. Like currently, there is maybe only one in a big township. So if something happens somewhere, they're too far away to do anything.” (Interviewee 55)

A lot also request more security at and around the stops and in the transports.

“More security at connections and stops. But there is still the problem of walking to the stop.” (Interviewee 20)

Moreover, eight people declared they want better policemen. For five women, it is better in the sense of more reliable, not corrupted and fully involved in the case of an assault against a woman.

“We must put an end to corruption. And we should be able to trust our policemen. Male policemen sometimes sexually harassed or rape people. If you are in trouble, you shouldn't stop by a policeman and go to the next police station.” (Interviewee 43)

“Having more reliable police forces, so that you would be more likely to call them if you have a problem. Because now if you have a problem you call friends or family.

And why are you not likely to call the police?

You know, you hear stories of corruption, rape... or they don't take you seriously.” (Interviewee 62)

Secondly, fifteen people requested improvements of the society by the government. Suggestions were for example to fight against drug and alcohol, decrease poverty, end corruption, end racial inequalities, end prostitution or get cases to court to have real penalties.

Thirdly, ten people want improvements of the public transport system. They want more public transport or more routes, particularly in the peripheries, either to have the choice of a more secure transport or so that more people would take the public transports. They also want more controls on the taxis or a system of property registered taxis. Finally, one woman suggested to improve the efficiency of public transports to avoid getting stuck at insecure places.

Fourthly, three people proposed more awareness and education, particularly in schools. They want education and awareness to prevent violence, in particular gender-based violence and crime in general. One woman said she would like more training for women. The training would consist in self-defence courses and information about what is right or not and where to find help.

Fifthly, some more concrete solutions came up. First, some women suggested a card system to enter train stations, like the ones already in place in some cities for the subways. Like that, only people with a ticket could enter the station. It would prevent vagrants and poorer people to sleep there and assault people. Thus, it would improve security at the stops. Then, another solution was to install more lights in the streets, to improve the feeling of safety during the night and prevent criminals to hide in the shadow, waiting to assault people. Finally, the last concrete solution that came up was to install emergency buttons in the streets. The interviewee told that there is already that kind of mechanisms on the campus of the university. These buttons would allow to call for help simply by pushing one of these buttons.

Sadly, some seem desperate: *“I have no solutions and no more expectations. Politicians just tell beautiful stories. [...]”* (Interviewee 8)

Among all the race groups, the answer that came out most often was that they want more or better policing. Indeed, more than 85 percent of the black women, as well as two third of the white women and more than half of the coloured women interviewed want more or better policing. Then, they want improvements of the society. Among the black women, one think government should fight against drug and alcohol related problems, another against violence against women and children and the other that government should get more help to the townships. Two coloured women want the end of racial inequality and poverty, for another end crime and another get cases to court to penalise the crimes. Two

white women think we should put an end to corruption and for the third one decrease poverty and addiction. Then, all groups again want an improvement of the public transport system, followed by more awareness and education. Coloured and white women requested a card system to enter public transport stops, an emergency button and more lighting.

More than three quarters of the women interviewed living in a township, as well as two third of the women living in a suburb, want more or better policing. Then, among women living in a suburb, seven want improvements of the society and five women want an improvement of the public transport system. Four proposed concrete solutions and three want more awareness and education. One seems desperate. Among women interviewed living in a suburb, two want improvements of the society and two improvements of the public transport system. One wants training courses for women. Among the two women interviewed living in the CBD, one think there should be more security and the other that government should get cases to court to have real penalties.

Younger women are the less numerous, proportionally, to want more or better security. Indeed, almost all women aged more than 30 years old want this improvement, compared to around 60 percent of the women aged between 18 and 25 years old. Among the others, seven of the forty women also want improvements of the society and four other improvements of the public transport system. Four proposed concrete solutions and two want more awareness and education.

5. Discussion

The link between urban space and gender relations is a subject of growing concern. In the global north, more and more women's and feminist movements emerge. The women's* and feminist strike, that took place on the 14th of June in Switzerland, is a good example of the will of women to assert their right to public space. These movements claim an equal access of men and women to public space. Thus, public space is an entry point for gender equality at the level of society. In a southern context, through the lens of urban feminist geography, it seems that urban space takes part in the maintaining of an idea of male superiority. Indeed, during the interviews, a lot of women said they are weaker than men. Moreover, women themselves seem to believe that they do not belong to public space, as a lot of them go out only accompanied by a man. Moreover, there are currently no women's or feminist movements in Cape Town who claim women's right to the city. Women do not seem comfortable or legitimate to go into the public space. My exploratory walk event, for example, was appreciated online, since it was shared on social networks and 'liked' by hundreds of women. However, it did not materialize in a women's or feminist movement. Thus, it is important to see what the real claims of the female residents are. Currently, women in Cape Town ask for more security for everybody. Indeed, the major issues on which they have drawn attention are theft or mugging, that can happen to anyone. So, it is important not to impose our concerns, claims and solutions to another context, but to let the demands and movements come in a bottom up dynamic. However, on a worldwide scale, it should be important not to trivialise the exclusion of women of the public space, violence against women and sexual violence and help women talk and fight against it. Moreover, local government should implement measures to allow women to use public space feeling legitimate.

Stereotypes also participate in gendered power relations, by maintaining a separation between public and private, men and women. In northern context, it is just beginning that we deconstruct the stereotypes concerning women, particularly in the context of public space. Degrading stereotypes concerning women, gender, sexual orientation or sexuality are increasingly condemned by public opinion. Globally, it is a movement of women's empowerment. Indeed, the first step is that women believe more in themselves, in order to fight in a second time against this image and perception of physical weakness for example. In Cape Town, it seems that a lot of inaccurate stereotypes about women are still perpetrated, even by women themselves. One example is the belief that women are weaker than men or cannot defend themselves. Women also see themselves as more vulnerable, easier targets and as more often victim of crimes. As we saw, on the contrary, the statistics show that men are more at risk. These stereotypes maintain the fact that women feel like they do not belong to public space. In the North as well as in the South, initiatives develop to help women feel more confident, like self-defence courses. It becomes quite popular in the global North, even taking place during feminist strikes. However, even if a few courses exist in Cape Town, they struggle to gather participants especially women, which may seem paradoxical, since the context is quite more dangerous for personal security. Thus, it is not enough to make available activities for women to be stronger and less defenceless. It is also necessary to change mentalities so that women think that it is actually possible.

In addition to social constructions, the City of Cape Town is known for its high crime rate. In southern context, and particularly in this city, it is closely linked to inequalities. On the one hand, globalization and rapid urbanization brought rich people and tourists, but also jobs in the field of service. On the other hand, unemployment and thus poverty still targets mainly communities prejudiced during the apartheid. This situation is aggravated by the welfare regime. Thus, crime happens as poorer or homeless people have access to object of great value and/or money through wealthier inhabitant or tourists. But crime does not only impact wealthier people. As other cities in the global South, crime is a social and development issue. Indeed, the majority of crime and violence is concentrated in the poorer areas, mainly inhabited by the black and coloured community. The spatial distribution of violence is also determined by the city's strategy in terms of development. Indeed, development has been concentrated mainly on touristic areas as well as on the CBD. Moreover, public-private partnerships increased security only in

the wealthier areas. As few is done in the townships compared to the needs and a lot is put in place in the rich and touristic areas, it exacerbates challenges such as poverty and inequality. South Africa and particularly Cape Town is also known for one particular form of violence, sexual violence, that target mainly women. However, it seems that much more is done in the northern context, however the rape rate for example is quite lower. In Cape Town, sexual violence, either in the public or the private sphere, seem to be a taboo subject and not be on the agenda of the city. Indeed, no specific politics has been implemented to protect women. Thus, the first step is to open the dialogue on the subject, to sensitize and inform the population. Thereby, it will be possible to implement specific measures, like facilitate the report of sexual aggression at police stations, which is only beginning or put in place victim support centres. Currently, only one centres like this exists and is managed by an NGO. Thus, both in the global North and the global South, there is a lack of information and means to advise and help women victim of gender-based violence in the public and the private sphere. This helps maintain a normalization of gendered violence.

In our northern context, the explanation of gender-based violence through social constructions of patriarchal forces is slowly spreading. Feminist movements, women's gatherings and communication through social medias help spread the message that gender relations are constructed and uneven, as well as all forms of gender-based violence, including sexual violence. During the interviews in Cape Town, only few women seemed to join the feminist scholarship, and thus see violence as preventable. We can thus speculate that in a southern context, a lot of women still seem to accept male violence as 'natural' as it is linked to biological difference, and thus against which we cannot fight. Sexual violence as well are seen as natural and are accepted. Worldwide, in northern and southern countries, it must be clear that gender-based violence and sexual violence are rooted in social construction. Without this, violence against women will remain seen as unpreventable. Feminist theories could allow to decline violence against women, but also to improve how women feel after an aggression. Currently, in addition to accepting this violence and rape culture, the dynamic of victim-blaming, in case of assault, seems highly internalized. Thus, women adapt for example their clothing, not to tempt a potential sexual predator. They also avoid situations seen as 'not suitable', as going out alone or by night. These dynamics are still largely widespread in the North as well as in the South. In the global North, it is only beginning that feminist movements and victim support centres try to send the message that aggression will never be the fault of the victim. However, worldwide, some environments continue to blame the victims, as the police stations, courts and so on, where the victims' clothing and behaviour are still at the centre of questioning in case of aggression.

Victim-blaming, but also women's as victim is socially reproduced. Indeed, almost all the interviewees seem to see women's fear as normal, so the notion of women as victims is unintentionally reproduced. Moreover, the interviews allowed to see that the facts of violence are as important as the fear of violence. Although the City of Cape Town knows a high level of crime, most of the women interviewed feel unsafe but have never witnessed and even less been victim of a crime. Thus, it is crime, but first of all fear of crime that limits women's freedom. The interviews also showed that women's fear of crime is closely linked to their physical vulnerability. In Cape Town, this physical vulnerability is expressed in two ways. For younger women, particularly the white ones, the fear of sexual assault is very present. For other women, it is the perceived physical weakness of women that they say make them easier targets for robberies.

The body also plays a role in the relation between the interviewees and their environment. In Cape Town, the main representation of embodiment is the fact that a lot of women explained that they always stay alert and are aware of their surroundings, using mainly sight and hearing. Thus, the body takes into account all sensations for the purpose of personal security. When looking for a particular *Ambiance*, people tend to look for nature. A lot of people go to the mountains surrounding Cape Town, as the Table Mountain. The Company's Garden could also play this role, as people raised during the exploratory walk that the place was quiet, that we can here birds singing and smell the plants and flowers. However,

it does not seem to be privileged by inhabitants. At the moment of the study, the people interviewed did not seem to go to some places of the city for pleasure. The urban design branch is currently trying to work on that issue, as it seems to start thinking about the concept of *sensitive environment* for their planning. In the global North, cities are also growingly thinking about embodiment for urban design.

Crime and fear of crime, translated through embodiment, limit women's freedom. First, women's freedom is limited on a spatial dimension, as fear forge women's mental maps. On a city level, women differentiate the suburbs and the townships while talking about security, even for women living in a township. They tend to associate townships to crime and poverty. Concerning the streets, they differentiate mainly the side roads, that they will avoid mainly at night and the main roads, that they will privilege because they are usually better lit and busier. Secondly, women's freedom is restricted on a temporal dimension. They differentiate night and day, weekdays and weekends. Thirdly, women's freedom is limited on a social level, as a lot of them go out only accompanied, and usually by men. In a northern context, women's freedom is also limited on these three dimensions. However, the spatial dimension is more important in South Africa as spatial planning inherited from the apartheid is still in place. The temporal restrictions are also less applied in our northern context. Indeed, weekends are usually when people use public space, either to go out with friends at night or go to parks or squares in family. In Cape Town, during the weekends, people avoid public space the most they can.

Every citizen in Cape Town, men and women, black, coloured and white, deal with crime on a daily basis. However, all women do not approach public space the same way. Indeed, specifically in South Africa, in the post-apartheid context, the issue of intersectionality is crucial. As we saw, the spatial planning is inherited by apartheid, so black and coloured people are still living in the townships, also because they tend to earn less than white people and to be more exposed to unemployment. The interrelation of gender and race must be taken into account. Women's experience of the city, in terms of facts and feeling, vary depending on race, as well as the avoidance or adaptation mechanisms and strategies. The interviews showed that it is women living in the townships, mainly black and coloured women, who tend to feel more unsafe. Indeed, violence in public spaces does not depend on an exceptional environment but is part of these women's every day. However, it is the wealthier women, usually white women, who tend to deploy the most avoidance mechanisms. Indeed, they have the resources to avoid criminal experiences. They choose their public transports, take an Uber or have their own cars. However, poorer women living in the townships do not have many choices. Only a few public transports serve the townships, some stations are far away which is dangerous, some transports are too expensive. And they usually do not have enough money to have their own car. So there is an inequality in the exposition to crime, reinforced by an inequality at the same time of public infrastructures and of private means. To rebalance the situation, much more have to be invested in the townships in terms of public services and amenities, including public transports and security. Moreover, more financial investment in the welfare would allow poorer people to have more choices concerning their mobility as well. However, the purpose is of course not that everybody avoids the public transports and the soft mobility, but that in the long term the attractiveness of public transport and peripheral neighbourhoods is improved. Thus, the purpose is to take into account the several identities of social status, race and gender. It will allow to improve social diversity, on a financial and racial dimension and prevent the combination of several inequalities.

Transport is also a huge issue, particularly in the global South, as it plays a role in social exclusion. However, personal security is a quite neglected issue when looking for people's choice of transport mode. The fear of violence, including harassment, is a permanent constraint on the mobility of women. Thus, taking into account mobility, we see differences, to simplify, between wealthier white women on the one hand, and poorer black and coloured women on the other hand. We could say that wealthier white women are less mobile, particularly while looking at public transports. Indeed, they tend to take less often and less sorts of public transports. But that is because they have the means to avoid crime. However, this study shows that taking into account personal security is a luxury that some women cannot

afford. These women are poorer women, usually living in the townships, mainly black or coloured. Thus, although these women might be more mobile, they are less motile. First, the women living in the townships have less access to public transports, as there are fewer in the townships and the public stops can be remote. Moreover, crime complicate access to transport, as women must adapt their paths to their mental maps. They must also adapt their schedule according to crime. Secondly, they have less information concerning public transports and schedule and less means to have access to them, what we could compare to less skills to fit the definition of motility. Thirdly, they do not really appropriate the public transports they take. On the contrary, wealthier white women seem to have appropriate transports such as the MyCiti buses. To sum up, poorer black and coloured women living in townships may be more mobile but are less motile. Thus, crime and fear of crime impact mobility of the wealthier and generally white women, but do not impact mobility of the poorer black and coloured women, as they have to take the public transports anyway, having no alternative. However, crime and fear of crime does impact the motility of these poorer black and coloured women, as it prevents them from having a good access to the public transport and appropriate them. Nevertheless, crime and fear of crime is not the only issue that reduce these women's motility. To improve the motility of poorer women living in the townships, there must effective, affordable and accessible public transports, less criminality in the transports and the streets and more women empowerment.

6. Conclusion

The interviews and discussions have confirmed the high level of violence and crime within Cape Town. A lot of women are targeted by crime, either general crimes that could target anybody or violence against women. Women living in the townships are more exposed to crime in the streets and are more numerous to feel unsafe. Because of apartheid planning, it is the black and coloured population, that still live there. The townships being far from services and work places, these women have to be more mobile. Moreover, the fact that they are poor imply that they have to take the public transports, whether it is safe or not. However, although they feel unsafe, they are not the ones avoiding the most the public transports. This could be explained by the fact that they have no other alternative, no choice. On the contrary, white and young women are the one feeling proportionally the less afraid, but are also the more numerous developing avoidance strategies, because they have the means and the opportunity to do it. Thus, fear does not impact their level of mobility, but their daily well-being. Moreover, although they make the obligatory journeys anyways, the motility could be improved with safe and efficient public transports, as women could be able to go more safely and thus freely everywhere and at any time.

Concerning the actions undertaken by the City of Cape Town, a lot of means seem to be implemented to improve the City's image concerning security, in order to attract more investors, businesses and tourists. A lot is or has been done during sports events, for example. The pedestrian accessibility has been improved for the Football World Cup, from the city centre to the stadium and they secure the public transport system each year for the Cape Town Cycle Tour, which attracts people from all over the world. However, the City does not seem to have enough means for the safety of her people. Moreover, nobody focuses specifically on women, despite one of the highest rape rates in the world. The international projects concerning women like the UN Women project "Safe cities and safe public spaces" seem to have been set aside with the departure of the mayor Patricia de Lille.

As a first step, in the short term, the City should reinforce security. Moreover, they should enhance their services offer in the townships, to reduce the territorial inequalities that have incidences on racial inequalities. On the long term, the city should listen to what women, half of the population, has to say. Indeed, the purpose is not to impose a white western feminism, but to create a space to allow women to express themselves if they wish. We saw that a large proportion of the women interviewed view themselves as inferior to men and are embarrassed to talk about issues concerning women, as violence against women. So, they could undertake prevention campaigns, activities, trainings and so on to show that violence against women and children is not normal and that women can be as strong and capable as men. Of course, these actions cannot be undertaken if social inequalities remain. Indeed, a lot of issues result from unemployment and poverty. On the long term, the country must rebalance wealth and redistribute services.

More generally, the fight is still long for women all over the world, in so-called northern or southern countries, western or eastern cultures, more or less rich, or more or less 'developed'. In our capitalist patriarchal system, masculine and feminine, is prioritize. Women are exploited with the non-payment of domestic work, which exposes women more easily to precariousness. Sexism, discrimination, stereotypes are still largely widespread. Women of all social belonging, sexual orientation, gender identity, origin, culture, age or handicap level should have the opportunity to decide themselves for their lives and achieve equality.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Time chart

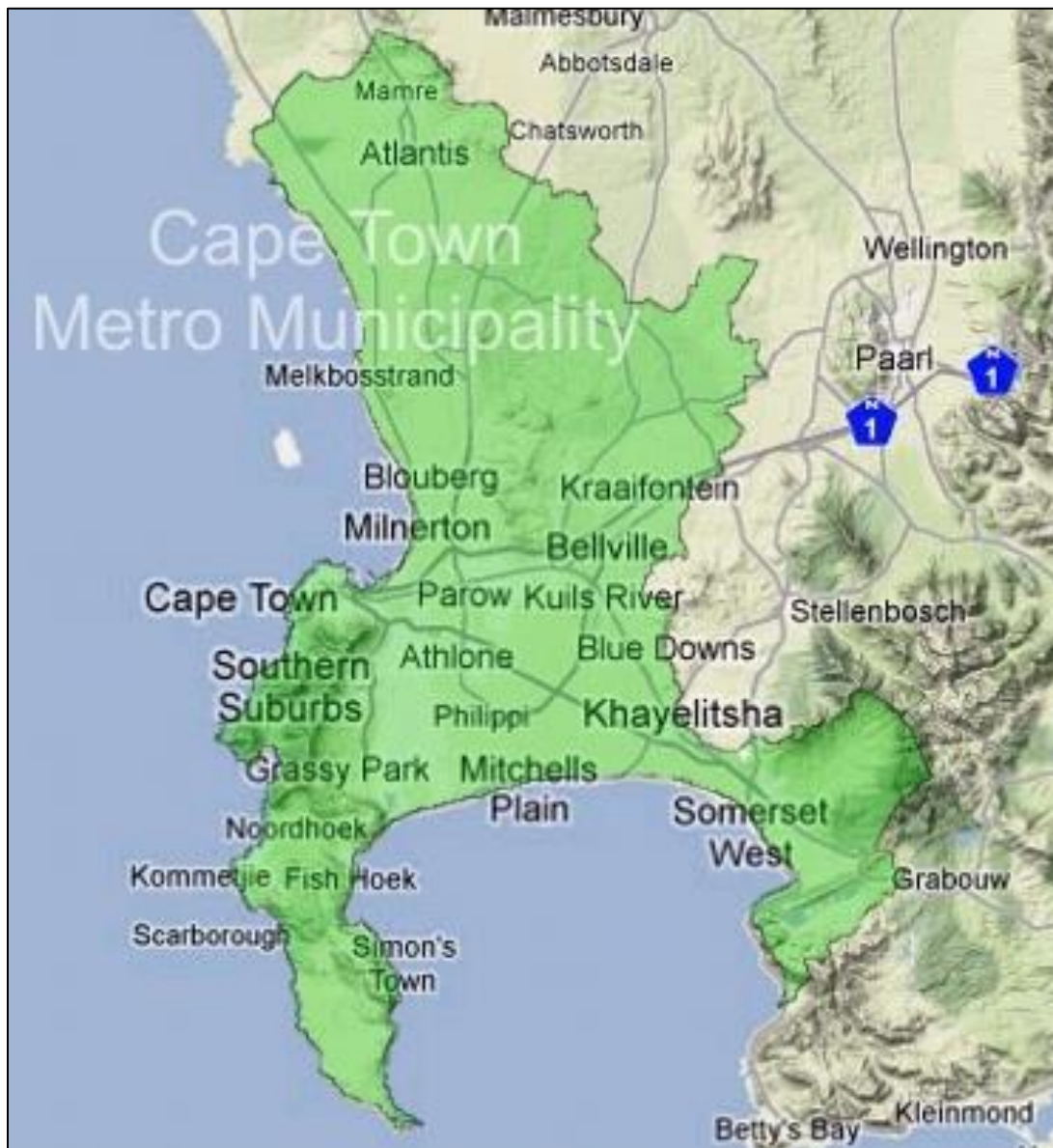
	2018								2019					
	January-May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June
Literature review	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue			Blue	Blue	Blue
Theoretical frame	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue								
Contact key actors		Purple	Purple	Purple	Purple	Purple	Purple	Purple						
Plan an exploratory walk							Purple	Purple						
Plan interviews								Purple						
Prepare interview guides							Green	Green	Green					
Fieldwork: data collection										Orange	Orange			
Data processing												Yellow		
Data analysis													Yellow	
Writing of the thesis													Green	Green

Appendix 2: Interviewees

	Race	Age	Activity	Neighbourhood	Date	Place
1	Black	50-60	Cleaning woman	Mfuleni (township)	21.02.2019	Icon building
2	Black	18-25	Cashier	Delft (township)	21.02.2019	Icon building
3	Black	18-25	Cook	Khayelitsha (township)	21.02.2019	Icon building
4	White	40-50	Nurse	Bloubergstrand (suburb)	21.02.2019	Icon building
5	Black	30-40	Cook	Khayelitsha (township)	21.02.2019	Icon building
6	Coloured	18-25	Unemployed	Lavender hill (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
7	Black	40-50	Safety officer	Parklands (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
8	Coloured	50-60	Unemployed	Northern suburbs (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
9	Black	25-30	Waitress	Pinelands (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
10	Black	25-30	Cleaner	Manenberg (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
11	Black	40-50	Nanny	Nyanga (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
12	Black	40-50	At home	Wynberg (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
13	Black	18-25	Seamstress	Khayelitsha (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
14	Coloured	25-30	Waitress	Strand (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
15	Coloured	60 & +	Retiree	Athlone (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
16	Black	18-25	Unemployed	Bonteheuwel (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
17	White	18-25	Self-employed	Camps Bay (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
18	Black	25-30	Waitress	Hangberg (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
19	Black	30-40	Teacher	Dunoon (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
20	Black	40-50	Nurse	Parklands (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
21	Black	40-50	Business entrepreneur	Seawinds (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
22	Coloured	18-25	Unemployed	Atlantis (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
23	Black	40-50	Self-employed	Khayelitsha (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
24	Black	25-30	Unemployed	Khayelitsha (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
25	Black	30-40	Cleaner	Nyanga (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
26	Black	25-30	Cashier	Kayelitsha (township)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
27	Black	40-50	At home	Bellville (suburb)	28.02.2019	Revenue service
28	Coloured	40-50	Dentist assistant	Woodstock (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
29	Black	25-30	Waitress	Mfuleni (township)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
30	Black	30-40	Consultant for airlines	Observatory (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
31	Black	25-30	At home	Gugulethu (township)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
32	Black	18-25	Student	Duynefontein (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
33	Black	25-30	Intern	Kraaifontein (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
34	Coloured	60 & +	Retiree	Mitchell's plain (township)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
35	Black	25-30	Unemployed	Khayelitsha (township)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
36	Black	18-25	Project manager	Nyanga (township)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
37	Black	25-30	Unemployed	Strand (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD

38	Black	30-40	Unemployed	Strand (suburb)	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
39	Coloured	18-25	Teacher	CBD	01.03.2019	Cape Town CBD
40	White	18-25	Student	Rosebank (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
41	Coloured	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
42	White	25-30	Assistant professor	CBD	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
43	White	18-25	Student	Claremont (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
44	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
45	White	18-25	Student	Mowbray (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
46	Coloured	18-25	Student	Lansdowne (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
47	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
48	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
49	Black	18-25	Student	Lansdowne (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
50	Coloured	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
51	White	18-25	Student	Observatory (suburb)	04.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
52	Coloured	18-25	Trainee	Strand (suburb)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
53	Black	30-40	Cleaning woman	Mfuleni (township)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
54	Black	25-30	Call center	Gugulethu (township)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
55	Black	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
56	Black	18-25	Student	Thornton (suburb)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
57	White	30-40	Accountant	Milneron (suburb)	25.03.2019	Revenue service
58	Coloured	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
59	Coloured	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
60	Black	18-25	Student	Mowbray (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
61	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
62	White	18-25	Student	Plumstead (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
63	White	18-25	Student	Observatory (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
64	White	18-25	Student	Green Point (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
65	White	18-25	Student	Mowbray (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
66	Coloured	18-25	Student	Mowbray (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
67	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
68	White	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
69	White	25-30	Assistant	Gardens (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
70	Coloured	18-25	Student	Observatory (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
71	Black	18-25	Student	Mowbray (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
72	Coloured	18-25	Student	Goodwood (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
73	Coloured	18-25	Student	Rondebosch (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
74	Coloured	18-25	Student	Pineland (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
75	Coloured	25-30	Assistant	Observatory (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT
76	Coloured	25-30	Assistant	Observatory (suburb)	28.03.2019	Jammie Plaza, UCT

Appendix 3: Cape Town metropolitan area



Source : https://www.westerncape.gov.za/your_gov/33

Appendix 4: Questionnaire women

For me :

a. Age

- 18-30
- 30-45
- 45-60
- 60 & +

b. Race

- White
- Black
- Coloured
- Asian
- Other

Questions

1. What is your main activity?
2. In which neighbourhood do you live?
3. What are your usual travels (Work, family, groceries, hobbies)? → *Explain / show on map*
4. What transport(s) do you frequently take?
 - Minibus taxis
 - Golden Arrow buses
 - MyCiti buses
 - Metrorail
 - Meter taxis / cabs
 - Uber
 - Private car
 - Other(s):
5. Why do you choose this / these one(s)? → *Time, cost, security, efficiency?*
6. Do you sometimes take the car?
Why / when do you sometimes use individual transports?
7. Do you have children?
 - *If yes:* From your point of view, are the public transports safe for children?
 - Why / why not?
8. For you, what is an unsafe public transport?
9. For you, what is a safe public transport?
10. Generally, do you feel safe in the public transports?
Why / why not?
11. Do you feel safe at public transports stops and intermodal platforms?
Why / why not?
12. Do you feel safe walking to your minibus/bus/train stop?
 - *If no (12/13):* Do you think that women are particularly vulnerable?
13. Do you sometimes take the public transports at night?
 - *If yes:* Do you feel safe in the public transports at night?
Why / why not?
14. What do you do if you do not feel safe in a public transport?
15. What do you do to feel safer?
16. Do you think about security while dressing?
17. Have you ever been a witness or victim of a crime in public transports or at stops?
18. Did you see an improvement of the security in public transports these last years?
 - *If yes:* In what?
19. For you, what is still to be done to improve security in the public transport system of Cape Town?

Appendix 5: Facebook event exploratory walk

The screenshot shows a Facebook event page. At the top, there is a search bar with the text 'Rechercher' and a search icon. To the right of the search bar, the user's name 'Célia' is visible, along with 'Accueil' and 'Retrouver d'. Below the search bar, there are two tabs: 'Évènement' (selected) and 'Statistiques'. On the left side, there is a sidebar with the heading 'Évènements' and a sub-heading '12 Évènements'. Below this, there are several menu items: 'Évènements', 'Calendrier', 'Anniversaires', 'À découvrir', and 'J'organise'. At the bottom of the sidebar, there is a blue button with a plus sign and the text 'Créer un évènement'. The main content area features a large photograph of a cityscape, likely Cape Town, with a blue body of water in the background. Below the photo, the event title is 'Women in the city centre : exploratory walk in Cape Town'. The date is 'MAR 10' and the time is 'Dimanche 10 mars 2019 de 14:00 à 16:00'. The event is 'Public' and 'Organisé par Women exploratory walk Cape Town'. There are two buttons: 'Intéressé(e)' with a star icon and 'Participe' with a checkmark icon. Below these, there is a section for 'À propos' and 'Discussion'. At the bottom, there are options for 'Message', 'Ajouter photo/vidéo', 'Vidéo en direct', and 'Créer un sondage'. A section for 'Exprimez-vous' is also visible. At the very bottom, it says '12 y ont participé - 182 intéressé(e)s' and a link 'Voir tout'.

Appendix 6: Flyer exploratory walk



Women in the city centre :
exploratory walk in Cape Town

Public space belongs to **everybody**, both women and men citizens.

Come to express **women voice** by sharing your **experience** of the public space.


What do you like or what could be **improved** in your city ?


Come **re-appropriate** the city !

Sunday the 10th of March, woman's week

Meeting point : **2pm** at the Arch for Arch, Company's Garden

Registration and information:

 womenwalk.capetown@gmail.com

 Women in the city centre:
exploratory walk in Cape Town

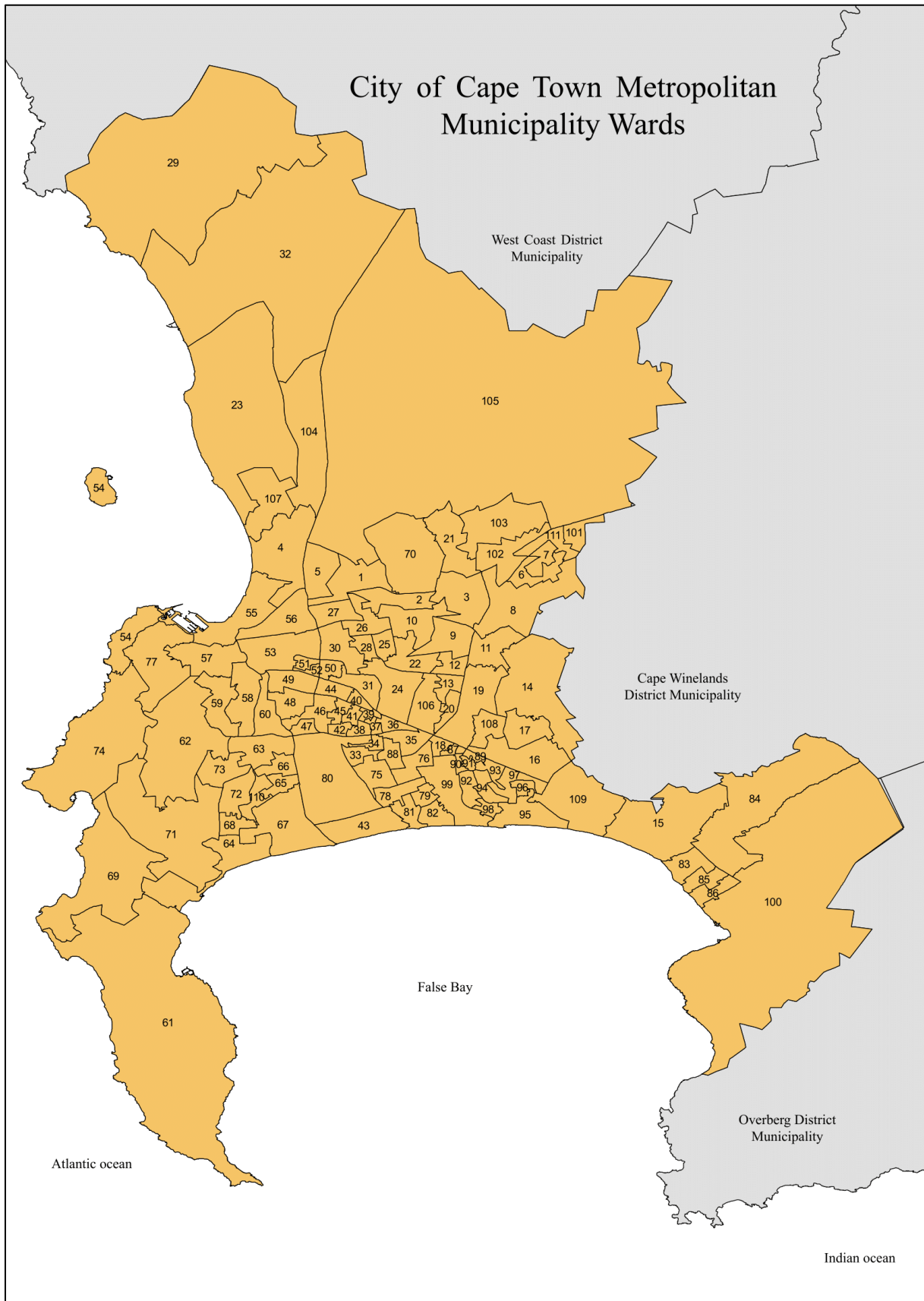
This walk is part of a research for a master thesis on women's security in relation to their mobility. The research is attached to the faculty of Geosciences and environment at the University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

Appendix 7: CIDs map

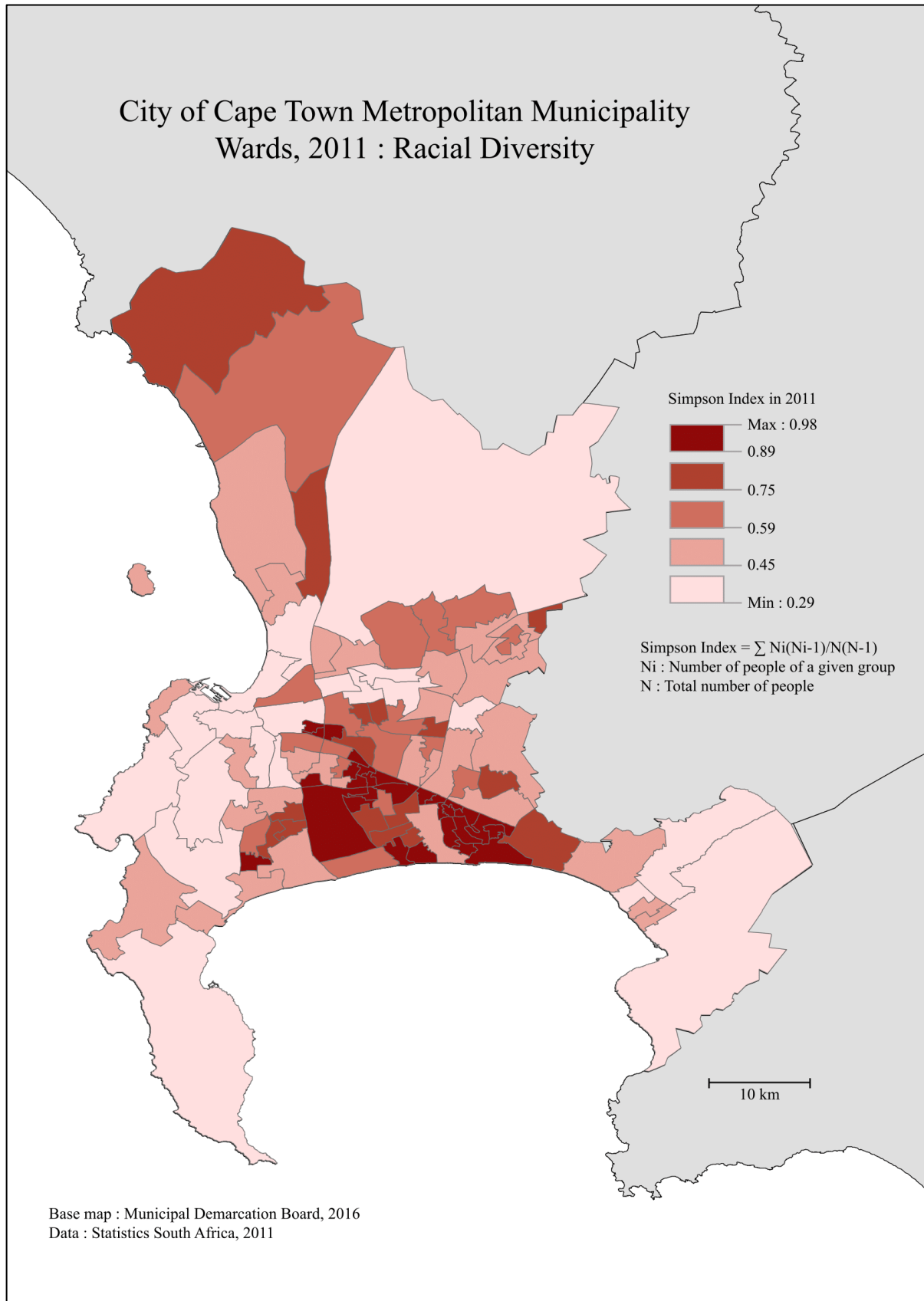


Source: <http://www.cityimprovement.co.za/>

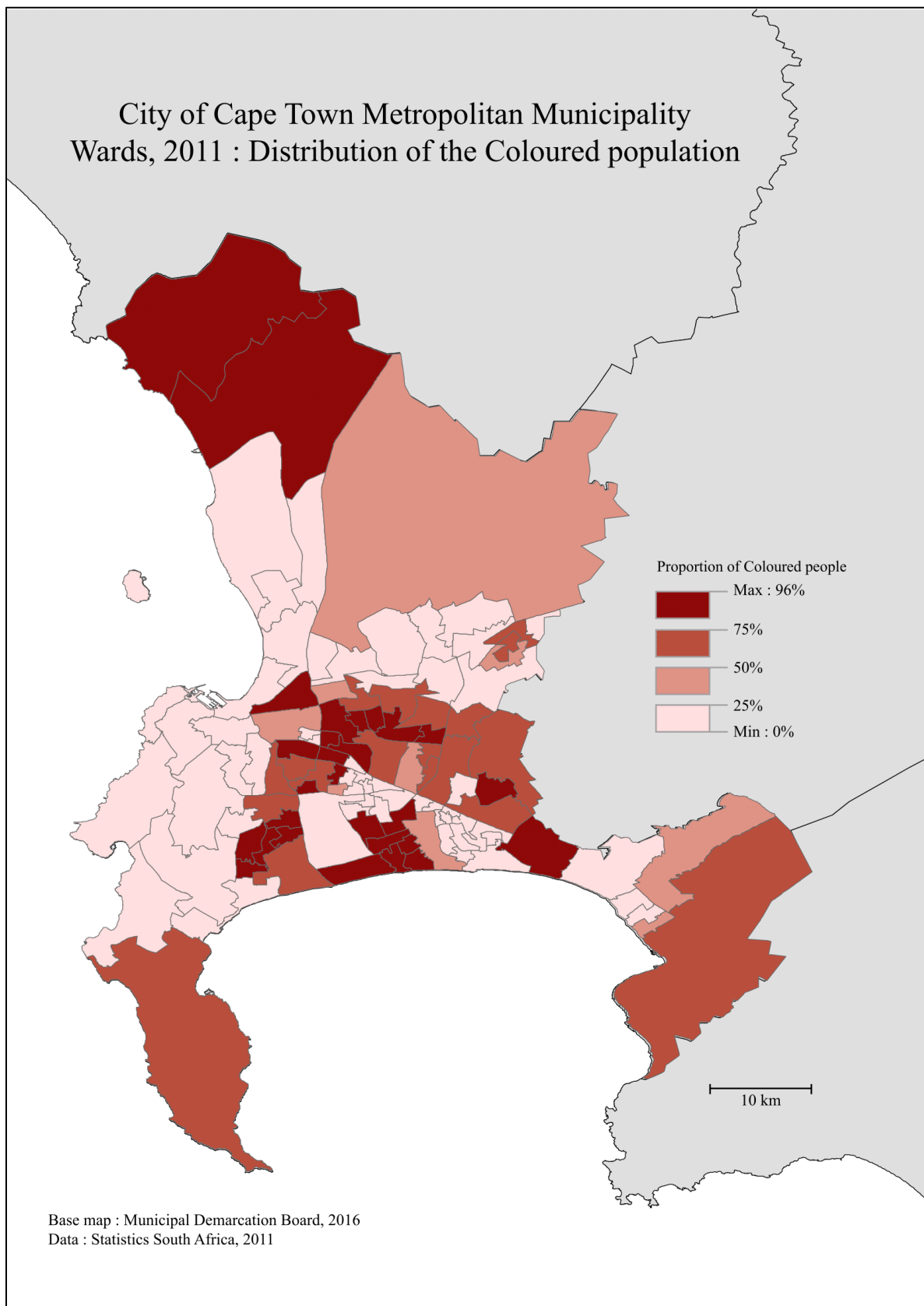
Appendix 8: City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Wards



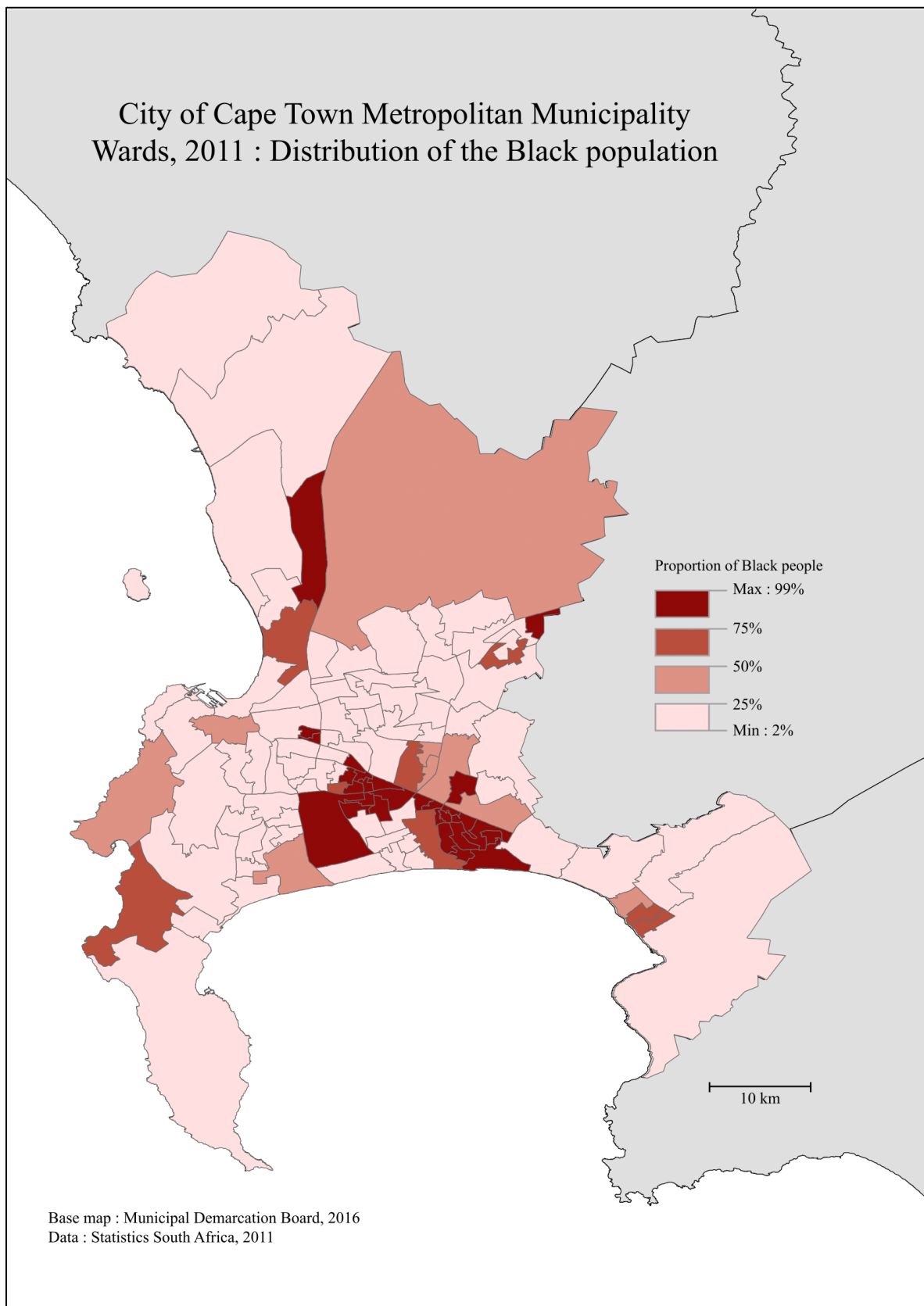
**Appendix 9: City of Cape Town
Metropolitan Municipality Wards, 2011 : Racial Diversity**



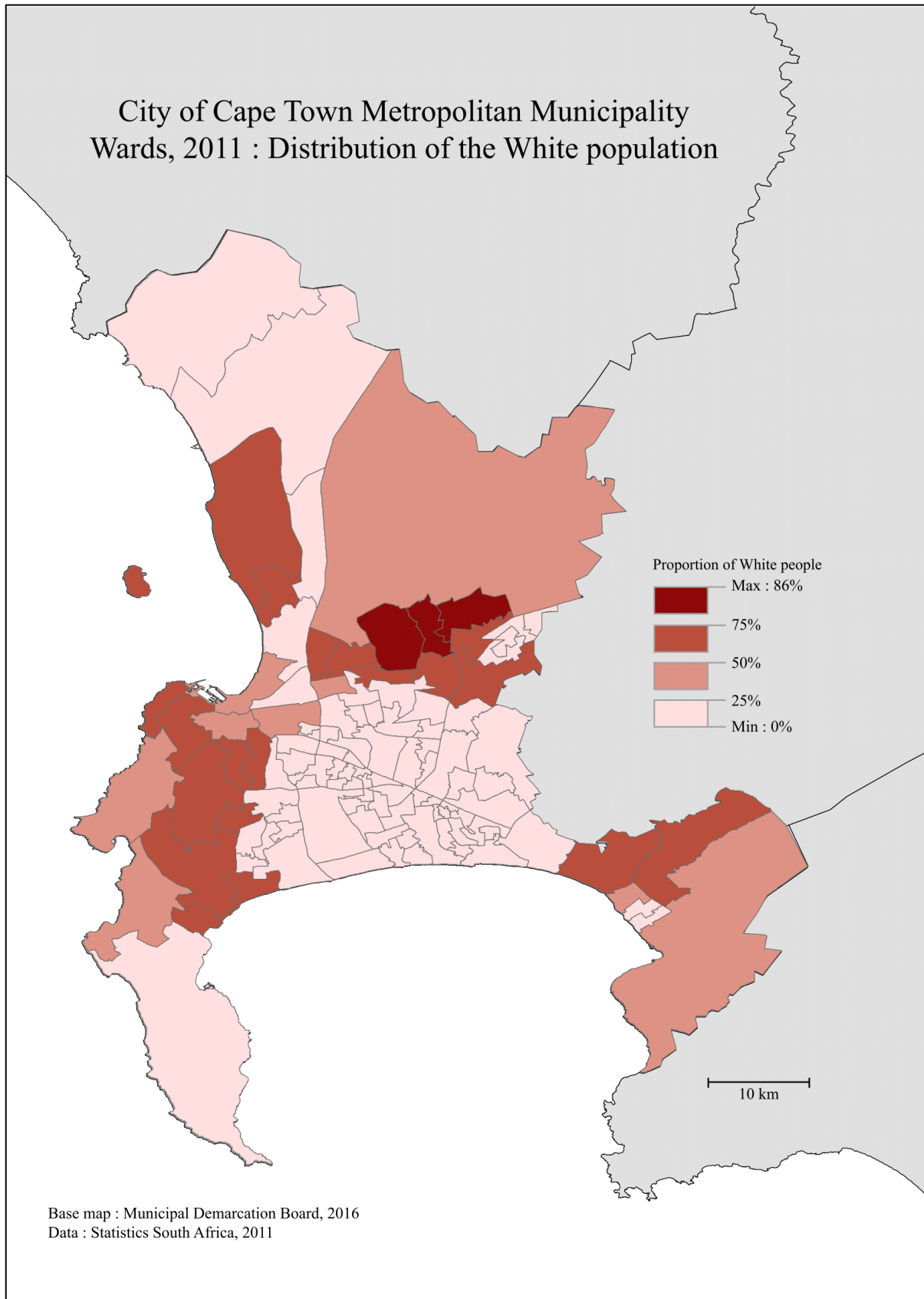
Appendix 10: City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Wards, 2011: Distribution of the Coloured population



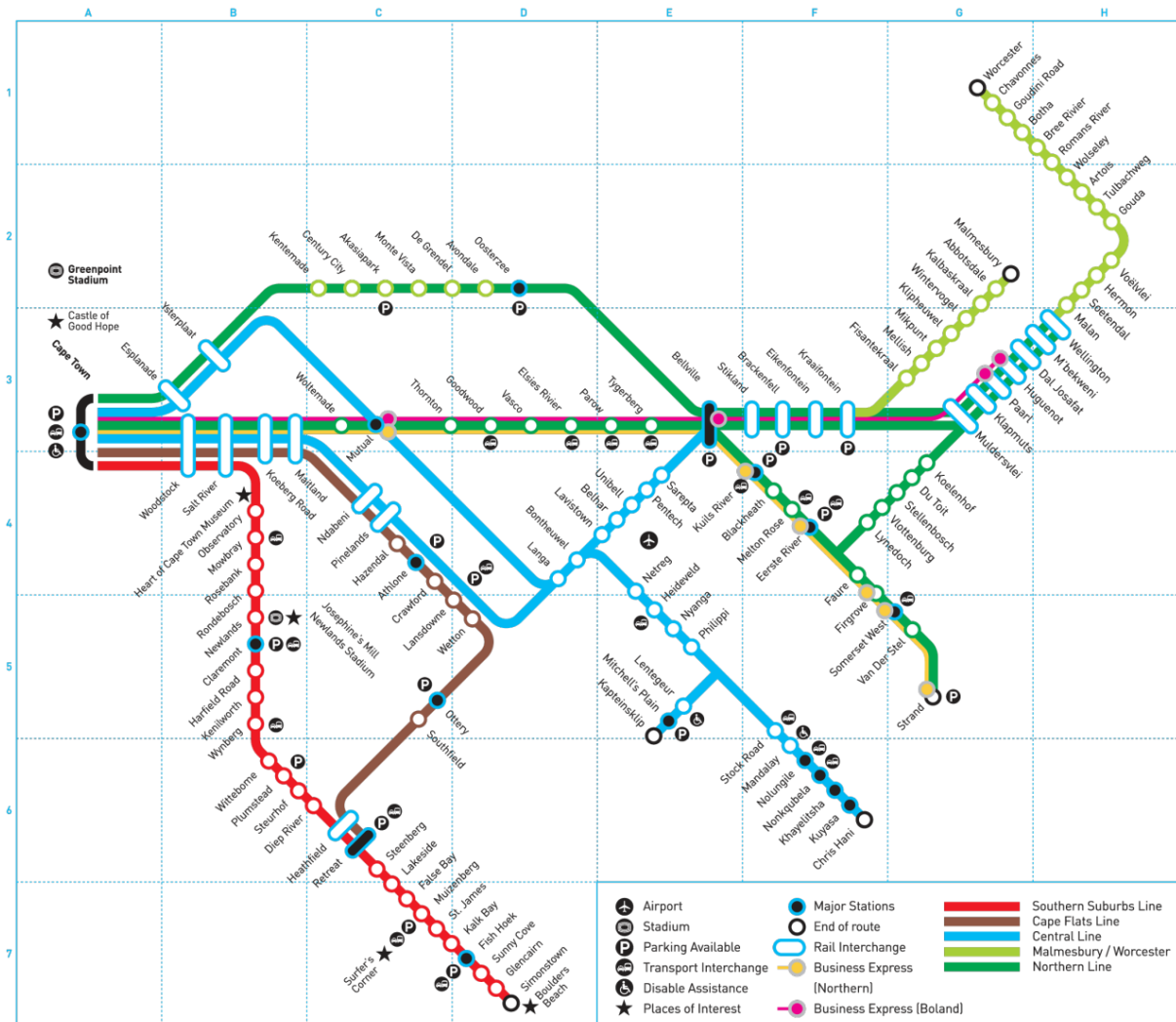
Appendix 11: City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Wards, 2011: Distribution of the Black population



Appendix 12: City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Wards, 2011: Distribution of the White population

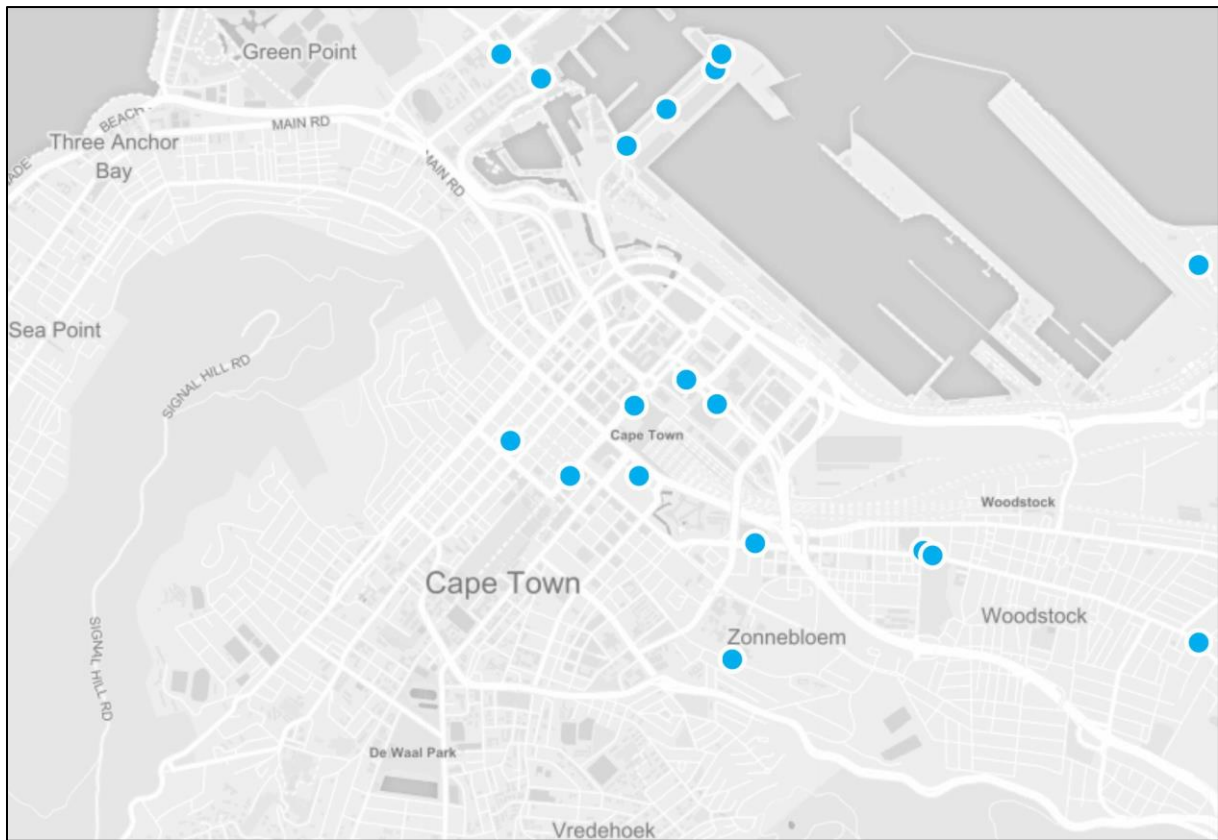


Appendix 13: Metrorail network map



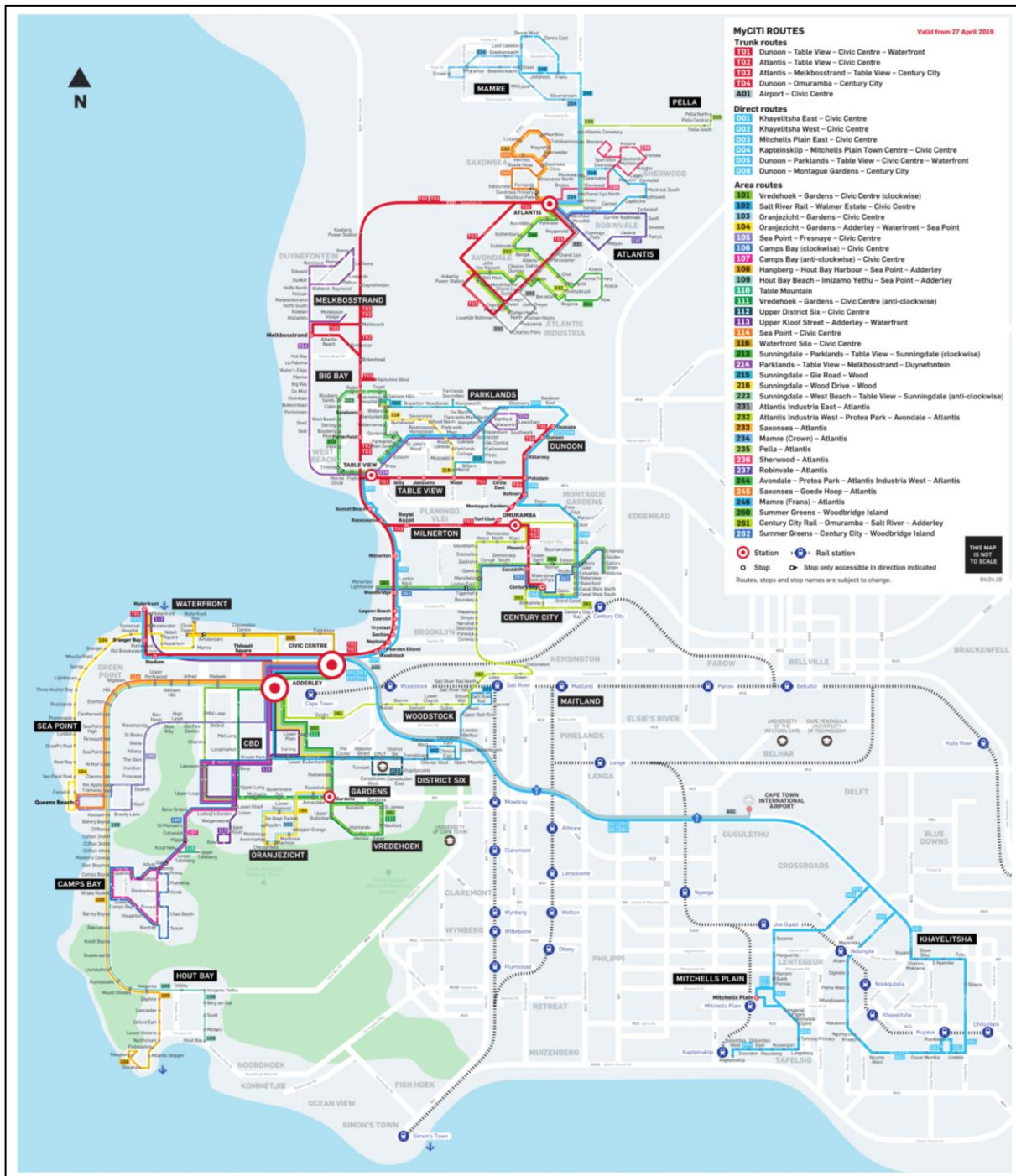
Source : http://www.metrorail.co.za/maps/CT_RailMap.pdf

Appendix 14: Golden Arrow Bus Services (GABS) stops map



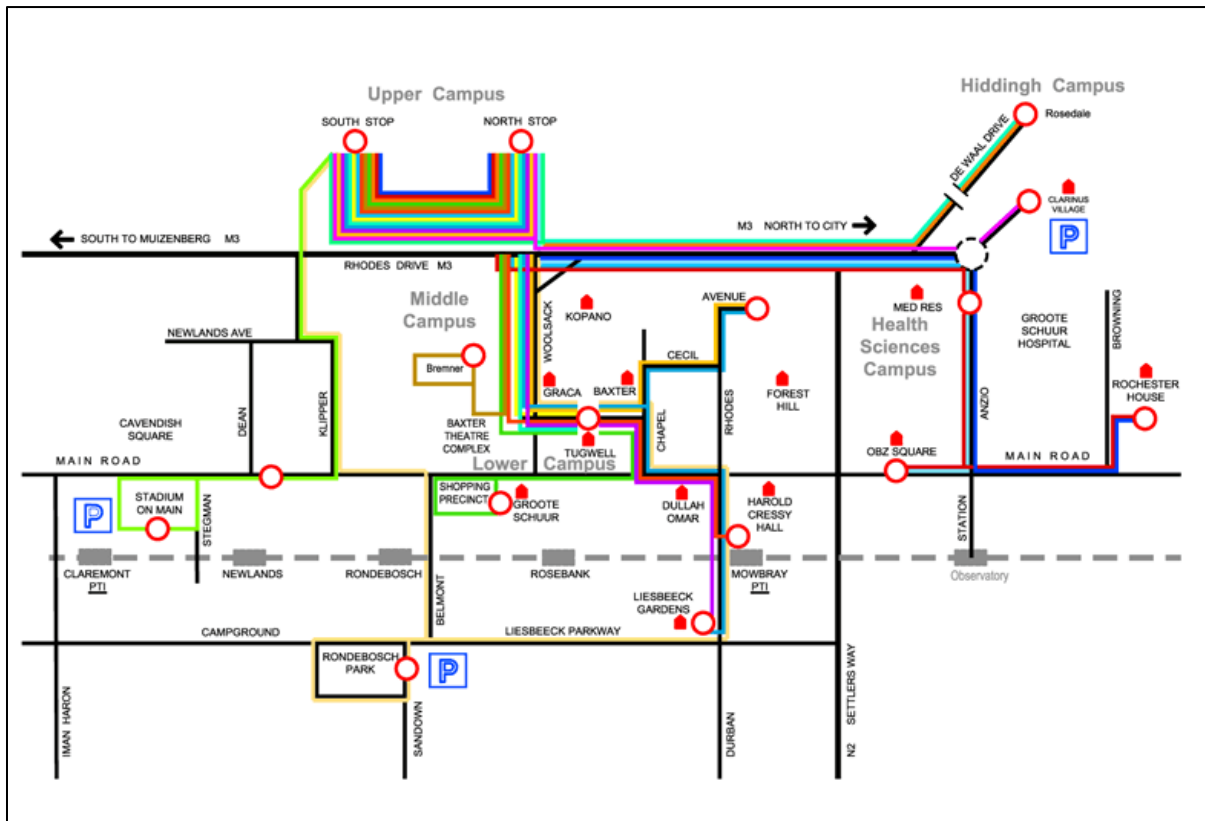
Source : WhereIsMyTransport

Appendix 15: MyCiti Bus network map



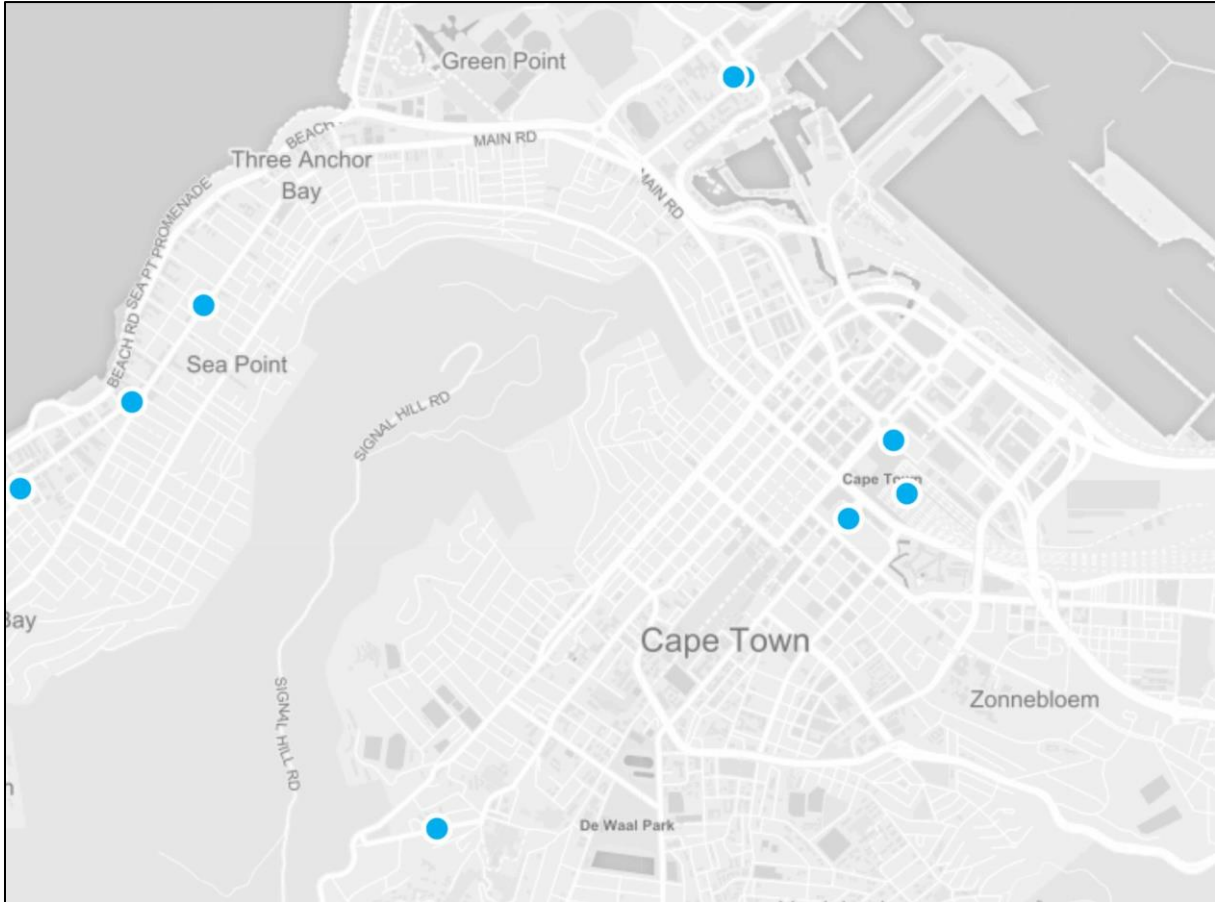
Source : https://myciti.org.za/docs/697/system_map.pdf

Appendix 16: Jammie buses map



Source : http://www.students.uct.ac.za/images/uct.ac.za/currentstud/services/jammie/jammieallroutesBig_2017-07-03.gif

Appendix 17: Minibuses taxi stops map



Source : WhereIsMyTransport