

**THE IMPACT OF THE FEAR OF CRIME  
ON WOMEN'S QUEST FOR  
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES  
IN INANDA NEWTOWN A**

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Master of Management Sciences in Public Administration -  
Peace Studies**

**in the  
Faculty of Management Sciences  
at the Durban University of Technology**

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**APRIL 2023**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Geoff Harris', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

**Supervisor: Prof Geoff Harris**

**13 April 2023**

## Declaration

I, Zanele Ncwane declare that:

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Zanele Ncwane

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this work to my late mother Jabulile Ncwane, Sabelo and Skhumbuzo Ncwane, my beautiful children Mthobisi, Aphelele and Sakhumzi.

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Most importantly, I thank my research participants, community of Inanda Newtown A, God bless you all.

## **Acronyms and abbreviations**

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AMF	Ayanda Msweli Foundation
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CES	Centre for Effectiveness Studies
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DSD	Department of Social Development
DVAP	Domestic Violence Assistance Programme
FGP	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross Net Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
SANTACO	South African National Taxi Council
SAPS	South African Police Services
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
WHO	World Health Organisation

## **Abstract**

Fear of crime has negative effects on people's lives, impacting on their ability to participate in activities important to their wellbeing. This study, which was conducted in Inanda Newtown, Durban, South Africa, to investigate first how fear of crime impacts women's ability to participate meaningfully in economic activities and, secondly, what strategies women use to navigate safety everyday while attempting to pursue a better life. This was a qualitative case study of twelve women of different ages and education levels, and from varied occupations. Data was collected through individual interviews and focus group discussions, and a thematic analysis was used to interpret and analyse the data into the central findings. These findings were that there is ample evidence of the damaging impacts that these women experience as a result of their fear of crime. They are engulfed with feelings of powerlessness, vulnerability and entrapment within a circle of poverty, exposure to gender-based violence and precarious employment. They also suffer specific financial costs that entrench gender-inequality. These impacts deny these women the rights guaranteed in the South African Constitution. The study found that participants have developed a range of strategies to preserve their safety while working towards their economic goals. These strategies include paying men to protect them on their journeys home, using ride-hailing apps for greater protection, renting out businesses rather than running them, self-surveillance and avoidance. A strategy that they found most difficult to speak of was their recourse to transactional sex, a strategy that involved both a form of restricted agency and acknowledgement of vulnerability. While the research design did not aim to encompass action research, the study began to develop a sense of commonality amongst the group. This led into an intervention when one participant was exploited by local taxi owners. With the support of the whole group, a response was developed that led to a successful confrontation by the researcher and two participants with the taxi association. This was a demonstration of concerted action that challenged negativity and emboldened some to find more hopeful strategies. An implication of this study is the need to understand how the impacts of violence are amplified through fear of crime, in particular for women. This should inform policy and implementation at different levels.

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# Chapter 1: Study Introduction and Background

## 1.1 Introduction

Typically, attention about crime goes to the incidence, immediate experience, and prevention of crime. Instead, this study focuses on the fear of crime, specifically with a gendered perspective. In a context such as in South Africa, where levels of crime and violent crime are high, and the incidence of gender-based violence (GBV) is recognised as being far above the world average, there is a need to understand women's fear of crime and the implications of that in their lives.

The South African Police Service (SAPS) crime statistics have started to identify some locations that saw unusually high levels of crime, as statistical techniques improved (Mturi, Xaba and Sekokotla 2005). In the past two decades, Inanda has been recorded as being among the communities with the highest crime rates in KwaZulu-Natal. For instance, in 2001 the South African Police Service reported that KwaMashu, Umlazi, Inanda and Clermont were the top crime hotspots in the province. Indeed, the 2019/2022 crime statistics revealed Inanda as the "rape capital" of South Africa (Clifford 2020). In the 2022 crime statistics, Umlazi and Inanda recorded the highest murder rate in South Africa (Felix 2022). The challenge with the crime statistics is that they are not gender segregated; this means that it is difficult to know the impact of crime on any gender for purposes of policy and budget allocation. Hence, the interest of the study to focus on crime in communities, women's empowerment, women's participation in the economy and effects of fear of crime on women and on their access to economic participation.

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the study providing the background, reflecting on the problem statement, research aims and objectives, brief methodology, limitations of the study and the overall study outline. The purpose of this study was to determine how fear of crime affects women's ability to participate in economic activities. Crime has a negative impact on the mobility and well-being of women, as well as on their economic independence and empowerment. Using Galtung's peace theory and the capabilities approach to guide the researcher's thinking and analysis, this study investigated and unmasked the various forms of violence affecting women in the Inanda community. Drawing on the capabilities approach, the study focuses also on the capabilities and opportunities available to

women in Inanda for their economic development. As a result of the study's findings, those responsible for community safety and security will have a better understanding of women's fear of crime to develop policies that are appropriate and responsive.

## **1.2 Background: Fear of crime**

Smith and Pain (2009: 51) explain that fear "is an emotional response to a material threat," which can take the form of either a physical object or a person. This apprehension may have arisen from a history of trauma or from an actual threat in the present. Fear of crime is defined as 'an individual's feelings and perceptions of physical danger from criminal violence' (South African Police Services 2005). These emotions and thoughts can have detrimental and limiting effects on an individual. The term "fear of crime" refers to the concern about becoming a victim of crime, regardless of the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime (Hale 1996). Fear of crime is now a major political and social issue that affects society. Fear of crime, according to the available data, might arise from a person's perception of danger rather than any objective reality of being a victim (Bailey 2021).

Baghel (2010) claims that the prevalence of fear of crime in South Africa has reached the level of hysteria or paranoia. Although crime rates have been going down, a recent survey of crime victims found that anxiety levels were going up (Fry 2017). Statistics South Africa's Community Survey (2016) shows that fear of crime and insecurity are widespread among South Africans. Fear of crime, as noted by Eagle (2015: 88), influences not just the perceptions of persons who are exposed to crime, but also their attitudes, patterns of behaviour, and reactions to the threat posed by criminals.

In a study done in the Somopho Tribal Authority, in Nseleni, KwaZulu Natal, Ntuli (1998: 25) found that the participants' perceptions of fear of crime had a significant bearing on their subsequent levels of social development. He defines social development as an organised effort to improve people's lives so that the economy can expand rapidly. According to the results, females exhibit more fear of crime than do males. Eagle's (2015) research echoes Ntuli's (1998), in arguing that fear of crime has a direct effect on the attitudes and behaviours of those exposed, especially on how they feel and engage in their daily lives. Even though both studies were conducted a long time apart, they both provide light on the obstacles one faces in a fearful setting.

Fear of crime significantly limits women's ability to participate in the economy freely and fully. Tandogan and Ilhan (2016: 2014) note that “gender is one of the most salient individual characteristics that impacts fear of crime”. According to recent research, females are more likely than males to exhibit high levels of fear of crime (Eagle 2015; Mellgren and Ivert 2018; Tandogan and Ilhan 2016). As a result, many women limit their social lives because of fear of crime (Mellgren and Ivert 2018; Tandogan and Ilhan 2016), which in turn has a negative impact on their ability to make a living.

Fear of crime is strong among women, according to the research of Kaminer and Eagle (2010). Women's fear of crime has a detrimental impact and works against the goals of both general human development and women's empowerment. Inanda is part of the growing number of metropolitan communities where people feel unsafe due to population expansion (Ratnayake 2013). Based on studies conducted by the eThekweni Municipality (2010), it has been found that Blacks and Coloured people have the highest probability of being victims of violent crime, followed by Indians and Whites. The likelihood of this exposure differed most by culture and type of crime. The probability of being a victim of a home invasion was higher for individuals of colour than for Whites (South African Police Services 2005). Most car thefts happen to Whites, then Indians, and finally Coloureds. However, Indians are more likely to be victims of serious property crimes like robbery and carjacking (Cookie 2002). The Black population was disproportionately represented in reports of violent crimes such as assault and sexual offences.

While much research has found racial disparities in criminal behaviour, no studies have separated the data by gender. Because of this, we have a limited and difficult-to-monitor grasp of the relationship between gender and crime. With the use of interdepartmental government cooperation, environmental designs for the city, education initiatives, and collaboration programmes, the Municipality hopes to minimise crime in the city (eThekweni Municipality 2010). Durban's Metropolitan Council is active in a number of crime-prevention efforts, including the formation of Community Policing Forums (CPFs) (South African Police Service 2001). These CPFs are required to be in place at all police precincts and are meant to serve as community representatives (Dianzenza 2016). Community organisations and groups can meet with the police to discuss safety and security concerns during community police forums

(eThekweni Municipality 2010). As a result, they provide a potentially useful stage for bringing everyone involved in safety and security matters to the table.

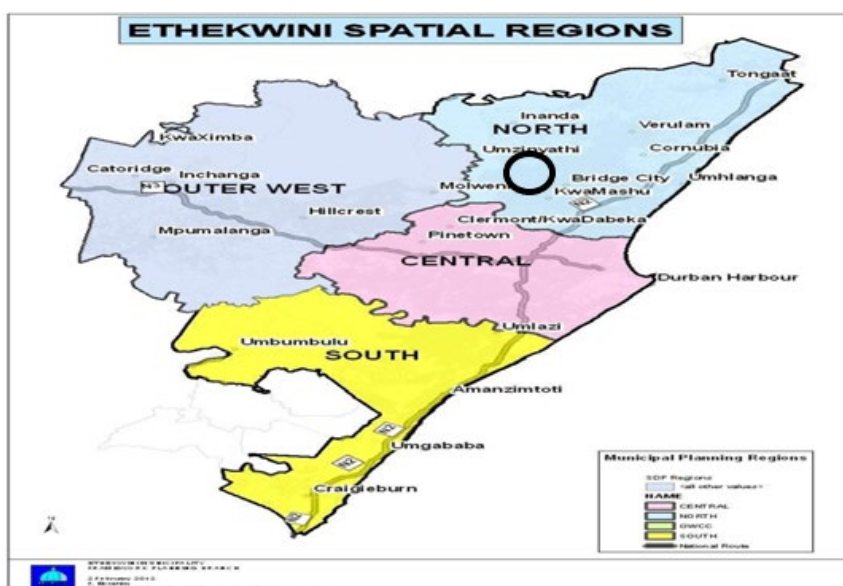
A review of literature reveals that a large number of studies on fear of crime are closely related to criminological and sociological studies that focus more on crime statistics and exposure patterns. In contrast, this study adopted conflict transformation and peacebuilding perspective to reflect on the effects of fear of crime on women. The study utilised Amartya Sen's capabilities approach to the problem of women's fear of crime experiences and the resulting incapacities towards their economic empowerment and participation in Inanda. According to Amartya Sen (2005), an individual's happiness should be measured by the extent to which he or she is able to pursue the activities and identities that are most important to them.

This background has provided an initial insight into the fear of crime and its impact on the functionality of communities – and how its gendered effects have not been fully explored. Thus, the study sought to fill these gaps focusing on the impact of fear of crime on women's quest for economic opportunities in the community of Inanda Newtown A.

### 1.3 Study context

Figure 1.1 below shows the spatial planning map of eThekweni municipality and reveals that Inanda is located in the northern parts of eThekweni.

Figure 1.1: eThekweni Spatial Regions Map (Inanda in North Region)





The township of Inanda in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, was the focus area of this research study. It is a large community that can be found about 24 kilometres north-west and inland from central Durban. Located on the east side of the dragon shaped Inanda Dam, the township of Inanda has southern and eastern neighbours in the form of Phoenix and Ntuzuma, and a northern neighbour in the form of KwaMashu. Inanda Newtown A, B, C; Inanda Glebe; Amaoti; and Emachobeni are a few of the small townships or villages that make up the community.

Although Inanda was originally established in the 1800s as a "reserve" for African people, a sizable Indian population nevertheless resided there until the year 1936. After years of peaceful coexistence, the land was suddenly labelled a "released area" for the exclusive use of Africans, and the Indians who had been living there were forcibly removed in the 1930s due to the apartheid policies.

South Africa's apartheid political system created regulations that began to discriminate against the African people, which had an impact on their ability to trade . As a result of apartheid laws, indigenous people in other parts of South Africa experienced rising levels of poverty, unemployment, and scarcity. Most people were unable to withstand the pressure exerted by these circumstances (Kaminer and Eagle 2010). Large numbers of individuals seeking jobs in what is now KwaZulu-Natal relocated from rural areas to Durban, where no residential area had been planned for them (Ackah 2000). As a result, people moved into Cato Manor, which used to be called Umkhumbane.

As a result of apartheid's restrictions on trade and the resulting inflow of people from rural regions, Inanda became a haven for those seeking low-cost shelter while also providing a means of income for landowners as they could not farm anymore (Trawick and Howsen 2006). Population growth in the Inanda region can partly be attributed to the forcible relocation of residents from Cato Manor in the 1960s (South African Police Services 2005). In addition, the townships of KwaMashu and Ntuzuma were also constructed to house black people who had been forcibly removed from various locations in Durban. The residents of these predominantly black townships, informal settlements, and peri-urban areas have had limited options for obtaining even the most fundamental necessities of life. Thus, a clear pattern of inequality has emerged in the

greater Durban area, leading to high crime prevalence. One of these neighbourhoods that lack adequate resources is Inanda (York 2014).

The high crime rate in Inanda is a major source of community concern, and it is imperative that effective steps be made to lower it. Among the most common crimes are – but are not limited to – rape, murder, robberies, and drug abuse and trafficking. Using Galtung’s peace theory and the capabilities approach in guiding the thinking and analysis of this research. This peace theory will help in exploring and unmasking the different types of violence that are affecting women in Inanda community. While the capabilities approach will help in reflecting on the capacity and opportunities that women are exposed to towards their economic development in Inanda. Consequently, this study seeks to close this gap by investigating how fear of crime have an impact on women’s quest for economic freedom in the community of Inanda Newtown A.

#### **1.4 Research problem**

In South Africa, a country that has a history of violence, fear of crime (FoC) has gained attention as a social problem to be addressed on its own (Bagel 2010). Research reveals that most South Africans have been exposed to various traumatic incidents which include amongst others crime incidents (Eagle 2015). South African residents in under-resourced communities are often vulnerable and victims of crime. Therefore, their fear of crime raises their anxiety of how they feel in their community or homes and how freely they can move conducting their business in the neighbourhood without risk or any hinderance to one’s ability to operate in their environment (Eagle 2015). Studies have shown that women’s fear of crime stops the activities that will benefit them, which is counter active to the goals of women empowerment (Mturi Xaba and Sekokotla 2005). Many studies have been conducted in empowerment and women’s fear of crime across the world. However, previous researchers like Davies (2007), Kaminer and Eagle (2010) and Dianzenza (2016) did not provide common answers concerning the impact of fear of crime on women’s urgency for economic freedom that can be generalised to the whole population. Jonathan (2015) states that the diversity of the results in this area depends on the context of the research. This seems to suggest that the lack of a common answer to the phenomenon under study is because of the diverse contexts, situations or background studied, education, crime and employment, among other issues.

As put forward by Crowe (2000), quality of life is often determined by how safe people feel and how they engage in activities aimed at improving their lives and those of their communities. Women in communities with a high prevalence of crime are at a high risk of being victimised (Bailey 2021). Failure to consider women's safety issues will imply that South Africa is failing to consider half its population as women make up half of the whole population in numbers. This will present challenges for women and girls' development today and for the future.

The impact of crime has had a negative impact on the movement and wellbeing of women in general and on their economic freedom and empowerment. As a result, a growing amount of literature has been written about their fear of crime. Even though this topic has been the subject of quantitative research, few studies have looked at the qualitative aspects of women's fear of crime, particularly in South Africa. This study sought to fill that void by engaging an in-depth exploration of women's experiences in Inanda and unpacking their perspectives on how the fear of crime has effect on their daily economic activities and wellbeing.

## **1.5 Study aim and objectives**

The aim of the study is to determine the impact of fear of crime on women's quest for economic opportunities and to explore strategies that women employ to mitigate their fear of crime. Furthermore, the study seeks to investigate factors that influence the choice of strategies women put in place to ensure their safety in the community of Inanda Newtown A. The objectives of the study are as follows:

- i. To explore how women of Inanda Newtown A who are economically active perceive their safety.
- ii. To identify and document strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A to negotiate safety.
- iii. To describe and analyse the underlying factors that influence the negotiated safety strategy employed by women of Inanda Newtown A.
- iv. To recommend strategies that can alleviate fear of crime and provide safety while women of Inanda Newtown A are involved in economic activities.

These objectives sought to address the following questions:

- i. How do perceptions of their safety obstruct or facilitate the economic activity of women in Inanda?
- ii. What are the strategies that the women of Inanda employ to negotiate safety and what informs those strategies?
- iii. What are the underlying factors that influence the negotiated strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A?
- iv. What strategies can be used to alleviate fear of crime and provide for safety for women in Inanda Newtown A while conducting their economic activities?

The fundamental purpose of this study is to inform attempts to address issues of violence, abuse, and crimes against women in the community of Inanda by better comprehending fear of crime and its effects. An essential goal has been to shed light on how women's economic engagement is hindered by their fears of crime. The researcher hopes that its findings will be crucial in shaping policy initiatives and practices to combat issues like crime, violence, and sexual assault against women. The researcher is optimistic that the study would serve as a wake-up call and motivate urgency towards the crucial measures in reducing crimes against women, even though its limited scope may prevent the generalising of results. The study will also contribute to our understanding of the ways on how fear of crime affects women economic participation, psychological well-being and the possible steps that can be taken to address the problems.

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

Women constitute a high percent (an estimated 51.1%) of the South African population, according to Statistics South Africa report of 2021 (**REFERENCE**), but their freedom of movement and participation in life is hampered by notions of crime and fear of crime. The study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge to ultimately improve the lives and wellbeing of women by providing evidence-based information for policy developments and economic strategies to better women's livelihoods.

Data collected in the study sheds lights to an array of factors contributing to women's lack of safety that impacts on their movement, economic, political and social livelihoods. The dangers women face every day feed into their fear of crime. This is a critical discussion for planners in urban safety, which is fundamental for citizens'

wellbeing and a critical necessity to accessing places and spaces for economic and social purposes.

This current study has brought to light challenges faced by women of Inanda, black and underprivileged. Studies on fear of crime have focused more on white, old age women in suburban areas as the most fearful members of society. With the increase in focus on violence against women, studies tend to focus more also on the population that has experienced crime and less on the impact of crime on those that hear and may have also witnessed crime happening around them.

There is thus a gap in the literature; we need to understand more about the experiences and responses of the very large number of women in township and peri-urban areas.

The study findings are bringing to light the importance of the impact of perceptions of safety and how this contribute to an individual's interaction with their environment and surroundings. The other important part is understanding strategies utilised by the participants in addressing their livelihoods and how these strategies can be utilised to inform responses to combating crime and increasing safety feelings for women. Planners should appreciate community led solutions to problems experienced by communities themselves as these may lead to long lasting solutions.

## **1.7 Scope and limitations of the study**

While most of the studies on the fear of crime have been done quantitatively, qualitative studies remain very few. While only a few studies on this topic have been conducted in South Africa, they shed light on the specific limitations of this study. Firstly, studies that have been conducted on fear of crime have indicated that, given the unique geographical and social settings of communities, the findings on topics such as these are unlikely to be generalisable.

Secondly, it is common in research that the researcher's intentions in gathering data do not always go as planned. The researcher intended to conduct several focus group discussions (FGDs), but, due to the busy schedules of most of the participants, only one FGD was conducted.

Thirdly, the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak had a huge impact on the progress and timeline of the data gathering process, causing disruption and delay.

## **1.8 Research methodology**

The study used a qualitative research design, which allowed the researcher freedom to organise and implement the necessary process that would guarantee the validity of the study findings (Creswell and Poth 2016). It was thus a qualitative case study, the case being limited to women in this specific area. Interviews and focus groups were used in a planned manner to collect data from women in Inanda Newtown A. The interview schedule was designed to elicit information on the participants' experiences with fear of crime and how it affects their economic activities and wellbeing. A process of thematic analysis was followed. This will be fully set out in Chapter 3.

In planning of the study, there was no intention of including an action or intervention. It was not originally designed as an action research study. However, the study took its own life and determined its direction resulting in an intervention, as will be outlined in chapter 5.

## **1.9 Research structure**

The study consists of six chapters which are structured as follows:

**Chapter 1** presents the overall introduction of the study. It provides the study background, context, research problem, study aim and objectives, the study limitations, and briefly the methodology that was used in gathering the findings.

**Chapter 2** engages in review of literature and discussion of the theoretical frameworks that guided the study. It grounds the study in key debates on the fear of crime from different literature and theoretical standpoints.

**Chapter 3** presents the research design and discusses the key methodological processes that were adopted in the study to gather and analyse the relevant data.

**Chapter 4** presents and discusses the study findings. The study findings are presented using thematic analysis reflecting on the relevance and impact of existing literature and theory.

**Chapter 5** provides an account of an intervention that came out from the data collected, planned by the participants to address an urgent matter for peace building.

**Chapter 6** presents the overall study summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study, based on the key study findings presented and discussed in Chapter 4.

## **1.10 Chapter summary**

The chapter has provided the initial orientation to the study. It has presented the background to the study and focused attention on the gendered challenge of fear of crime and its impact on women. It has grounded the study in the context of Inanda Newtown A and established the problem statement. Next, it outlined the study aim, objectives and research questions that guided the study, followed by the limitations of the study. The methodology of how the overall study was conducted was discussed briefly. Finally, the structure of study by chapters was outlined. The next chapter discusses the literature review and theoretical framework.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Violence and crime are central concepts of this study. This chapter thus presents a conceptual and theoretical framework on violence. It first sets out a conceptual map of violence that clarifies the terms used in this study. It then explores various definitions of violence and crime that various scholars have developed. Finally, Galtung's (1969, 1990) concepts of violence, which manifest in direct violence, indirect violence and structural violence, are also presented.

Secondly, it lays out the theoretical framework and critically analyses the capacity building and capability approaches related to transforming communities from violence and violent acts. The chapter thus reflects on the capabilities approach as a theory and demonstrates how, in conjunction with theories of conflict transformation, these can inform studies, such as this, that focus on the impact of crime on the capabilities of women and may inform initiatives that strengthen women's safety.

### **2.2 Conceptual map of violence**

The section engages a conceptual mapping of various definitions to explore and understand the perspectives used to interpret violence in this study. A deeper understanding of what violence entails, how it is defined, and it is viewed is essential in understanding what is meant by the 'fear of violence' and crime in various communities. Thus, this discussion shapes what this study is discussed.

#### **2.2.1 Definitions**

Most scholarly definitions of violence generally present a perspective of a perpetrator on the one hand and the victim on the receiving end (Ahluwalia and Miller 2019; Galtung 1969; 1990; 1996; Johansen 2007). However, it is of paramount importance to trace the evolution of the term violence and how it is perceived. From this understanding, it can be argued that violence is ever-present in almost all societies, although the forms it takes may be peculiar to a certain society at a given time frame. Bufachi (2009) traces the origins of the word violence from the Latin word "*violentia*", which generally is translated in our context to the idea that a certain amount of force



is applied excessively on a victim, which then results in the violation of basic human rights. Thus, violence is often considered synonymous with force, as the use of force is a means to a violent crime.

However, the literature on the definition of violence accepts that the term violence is contested, and there is generally no conclusive definition of the term. “Violence is a slippery term which covers a huge and frequently changing of heterogeneous physical and emotional behaviours, situations and victim-offender relationships” (Levi and Maguire 2002: 796, cited in Han 2009). This definition supports the view that violence as a concept is a subject of debate among scholars. As a result, it is essential to critically define, interpret, and analyse the concept.

Since the term violence is multifaceted, the study explored various definitions. Henry (2000: 3), quoted in Han (2009: 15), define violence “as the use of power to harm one another, whatever form it takes”. This definition of violence is broad; it refers to all forms of violence and harm emanating from different sources and taking all dimensions. Harm, herein related specifically to an individual, does not only relate to physical pain and suffering inflicted on the body but is also attached to the other dimensions of violence: psychological, cultural, and structural. The dimensions mentioned above of violence will be discussed at length in this chapter.

Han (2009: 3) postulates that “violence is socially construed because who and what is considered as violence varies according to specific socio-cultural and historical conditions.” For example, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV 2007: 20) notes that “bullying at school can be considered a trivial part of childhood but in human rights lenses it is a violent act.” As such, what constitutes violence is contested among the scholars and a critical approach is required to explore the complexities of their arguments, in attempting to define violence.

Heitmeier and Hagan (2002) argue that “because violence is so highly ambivalent, an increased sensitivity and reflectivity is required in both theory and research on violence.” Riches’s definition in Nussbaum (2003: 6) postulates that violence is an “act of physical hurt deemed legitimate by the performer and illegitimate by (some) witnesses or the victim.” Such definitions focus on only the aspect of physical harm of violence, not, for instance, the psychological aspect of violence. By limiting the understanding of violence purely to physical hurt, such a definition ignores other

different and less visible practices that cause psychological harm. For example, patriarchy, cultural relativism and religious fundamentalism are not taken into consideration. Similarly, in ancient writings, violence has been defined in relation to the use of force, which is primarily intended to do harm, injury or even kill someone (Rutherford, Zwi, Grove and Butchart 2007). There is thus a need for a fuller definition of violence.

A relatively more encompassing definition of violence was propounded by Henry, cited in Nussbaum (2003) who defined it as “the exercise of power over others by some individual, agency, or social process that denies those subject to it their humanity to make a difference, either by reducing them from what they are or by limiting them from becoming what they are or what they may be.” This definition includes within ‘violence’ exercising power over an individual, limiting an individual’s fundamental rights.

Galtung (1969) further argues that “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations.” The World Health Organization (WHO 2011: 7) defines violence as the “intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group of community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.” While some definitions broaden the scope of violence to include other aspects such as threats, oppressive behaviours and punitive cultures, some definitions only limit violence to physical harm. Though all the definitions explored consider violence to be an exertion of physical force to harm another, the most essential definitions that are embraced in this study engage the broader understanding of violence, which can be understood in Galtung’s (1969) categories of violence, namely direct violence, cultural violence, and structural violence.

### **2.3 Categories of violence**

In his work on violence, Johan Galtung (1969) provides a more detailed understanding of violence. He categorises violence in greater depth, unpacking the different manifestations of violence not only between individuals but also within societies at large. This helps understand how violence is occurring and manifesting itself in the context of this study.

Galtung (1969) presents and categorises violence into three forms namely direct, structural, and cultural. While direct violence involves manifestation of physical harms of people through different means, indirect (structural violence) results in (i) manipulation and monopolisation of resources by one group of people, and (ii) setting up of repressive systems and structures that directly or indirectly makes life difficult for certain groups of people (Galtung 1969). This triangular perspective of violence provides insight into the different aspects that separate overt physical violence from other hidden yet existent practices and indirectly affect people's lives. This section presents detailed further discussion on these categories of violence.

### **2.3.1 Direct violence**

Direct violence generally "includes the more common understanding of violence: the direct inflicting of physical or psychological or material threats and injuries to impose one's needs, goals or desires over another" (Galtung 1969: 2). He further argues that direct violence can be subdivided into four categories: self-inflicted violence, psychological harm, warfare, and threats of harm. Self-inflicted violence manifests itself in self-harming practices that include but are not limited to suicide, alcohol and drug abuse. Besides self-inflicted violence, direct violence also manifests itself in domestic violence, which consists of violence perpetuated against a family member or a close intimate partner, like a husband and wife. Scholars on violence and violent crime tend to agree that common violence, also referred to as organised violence, is usually committed by groups to advance a political, financial, or social agenda (Burchard 2016; OECD 2016). According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2019), direct violence also takes in the violent actions of organised crime, urban gangs and armed political groups.

The intentional psychological harm of others is another critical aspect that reveals how direct violence manifests in society. WHO (2019) clarifies that most psychological forms of violence typically involve maldevelopment, deprivation of basic needs or resources to individuals or groups of people and verbal forms of abuse that might end up triggering self-directed violence (against self, like suicide) or interpersonal violence (between two or more people).

Threats of harm are other forms in which direct violence manifests itself in societies. Various manifestations of violence occur in societies that psychologically create fear

for such recurrences. Societal occurrences of violence such as interpersonal violence, criminal behaviours, homicides, police brutality and violent manifestations of grievances often create unpleasant situations that cause people to live in fear of violence (OECD 2016). Understanding the different issues that threaten people and make people or groups within a society feel threatened by any violent practices or forms is essential to this study. It helps contextualise the different forms of violence threats that may affect the women in this study.

### **2.3.2 Structural violence/indirect violence**

The difference between indirect violence and structural violence is only a matter of semantics. Indirect violence and structural violence are conceived as just the same concept. Indirect violence is conceptualised as those forms of violence that emanate from beliefs, laws, values and norms that affect people in their day to day lives, and these forms exist in societal and institutional structures. These structures impose violence through discrimination, injustices and inequality (Reyes 2015). This form of violence emanates from some social structure or social institution that harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs; accordingly, rather than conveying a physical image, structural violence is an “avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs.” This new term was coined to bring the degree of damage and harm it may cause to people’s lives to the limelight.

Structural violence is an important concept in this research. Understanding its components helps to reveal the different structural practices, systems and inequalities that are indirectly violent and harmful to society (Galtung 1969; 1990). Considering that this research focuses on women, the exploration of structural violence has helped expose structural inequalities such as gender disparities, patriarchy, and the general regard of women as second-class citizens in typical African society. Thus, it helps in exposing how women are disadvantaged and made vulnerable to harmful practices and abuses. Literature reveals that women in South Africa are victims of different manifestations of structural violence, such as exclusion from key leadership positions, limited access to education, sexual violence, poor health service delivery and, most of all, being made victims of gender-based violence (Maluleke 2018).

There is a knowledge gap and data insufficiency regarding indirect violence against women for various reasons. This encourages researchers to focus more on public,

political violence rather than violence in the private sphere, which is more prevalent (Dagorn 2020; Sinha, Gupta, Singh and Srivastava 2017). Galtung (1969: 8) explains that structural violence is “indirect, avoidable violence built into structures where there is unequal power and consequently unequal life chances.” To conceive of structural violations of human rights, one must first consider, as a starting point, a “structuralist” view of the world, where structures and institutions are central to the analysis. Landman (2006: 8) states that this “focuses on the holistic aspects of society, including interdependent relationships among individuals, collectivities, institutions, and/or organisations”.

The structuralist analysis focuses on the social, political, and economic networks between and among individuals. Structures manifest themselves in various forms both at the domestic and international levels. Politically and economically, structures include class and class coalitions and institutions, including business organisations, political parties, civil rights organisations and global institutions like the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Socially, structures include sexism and racism and class-based structures (Kathleen 2015).

Structuralism is distinct from rationalism; it asserts that individuals and states do not solely make rational decisions. Instead, individual actors are not entirely free agents capable of determining outcomes, considering individuals and their environment. Structural violence emanates from visible structures that deem themselves powerful and believe what best suits their organisational goals and objectives, political mission, and agendas. As a result, power imbalances become evident as the marginalised, women in particular, are excluded from significant decision-making and exploited. Hoivik (1977) believes that this structural imbalance has the same potential for harm as a bullet from the gun or a knife inflicting pain and suffering. In that manner, women are victims of the social structure as their rights are not prioritised. Galtung (1969: 175) explains that since “structural violence is inequality, above all in the distribution of power, then this can be measured; and inequality seems to have a high survival capacity despite tremendous changes elsewhere”. It is indirect avoidable violence built into those structures where there is unequal power and consequently unequal life chances.

This conceptualisation of violence is not without criticism. Parsons (2007: 6) accuses Galtung of “oversimplifying structural violence by applying it as an ‘umbrella’ concept. He [Galtung] writes that structural violence is often used as an umbrella concept for other types of injustice such as oppression, marginalisation, inequality, exploitation, domination, and repression.” With this picture in mind, it is essential to note that the definitions of structural violence tend to ignore chances and possibilities of change and conflict transformation. Hathleem (2007) takes a more sympathetic approach, articulating that “structural violence theorists characterise the world system as vastly unequal, exemplified by a growing disparity between those who are rich and getting richer and those who are poor and getting poorer.” With the challenge of unequal distribution of wealth, it is necessary to view structures as sources of poverty and violence against the marginalised disputes to trace structural violence back to its source because that would not be ‘meaningful’.

While Galtung (1999) calls for a precise definition of the term ‘peace’ in his influential article, *Violence, Peace and Peace Research*, he writes about structural violence. He notes that “if people are starving when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is committed, regardless of whether there are clear subject-action-object relations... as in the way world economic arrangements are organised today.” In this case, one can argue that the lack of clear subject-action-object relations when elaborating a theory of structural violence is problematic.

Hathleem (2007:13) contends that the “different contexts of each individual present a different set and/or amount of primary goods that allow a person to be able to obtain or perform things he or she values. Thus, a person with disabilities may require more or a different set of primary goods to have the same capabilities as a non-disabled person. Poverty, then, is ‘the failure of basic capabilities to reach certain minimally acceptable levels’, where basic capabilities are understood as basic freedoms ‘such as the freedoms to avoid hunger, disease, illiteracy, and so on.’” For Sen, cited in Hathleem (2007:13), the opposite of poverty and, indeed, the very mechanism to realise fulfilment of basic human rights, is the full realisation of one’s agency. By removing the ‘unfreedoms’ instituted by social, economic, and political inequalities that constrain their agency, individuals can secure their basic capabilities.

Hathleem (2007) accepts that there is inequality related to social issues, for example, race and gender. Apart from the high risk that women experience of contracting deadly diseases such as STIs and HIV, not least because of the gender-based violence that relies on social structures of gender inequality, there are further inequalities that are institutionalised. Scheper et al. (2000: 9) contend that “since social structures have institutionalised structural violence, social structures therein render that violence invisible. For them, structural violence is everyday violence or part of the normative fabric of social and political life. Structural violence is generally invisible because it is part of the routine grounds of everyday life.” Various scholars generally agree that typical social axes of structural violence are class, gender and race inequalities (Galtung 1969; Scheper et al. 2000; Hathleem 2007). The social status of people is of paramount importance when determining how an individual is constrained and what aspects of human rights are breached.

### **2.3.3 Cultural violence**

Cultural violence has been defined by Galtung (1990) as “those concepts of culture, the symbolic of our existence exemplified by religion and ideology, language, language and art, empirical science and formal science that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or cultural violence. Stars, crosses and crescents, flags, anthems and military parades, the ubiquitous portrait of the leader, inflammatory speeches and posters, all this come to mind.” Cultural violence sprouts from the culture of a certain society. It is of importance at this juncture to point out that the features mentioned above are aspects of cultures, not necessarily entire cultures. Coomaraswamy (2002: 4) postulates that “the notions of culture are tenacious and extremely difficult to eradicate; many of the violent cultural practices towards women are rooted in the control of female sexuality and the emotional lives of women. It is only when women’s sexual autonomy is accepted and the respected that many of the cultural practices that are violent toward women will be eradicated.” Hence it becomes clear that cultures differ; what may be accepted in culture A can be condemned or not acceptable in culture B. Thus, there exists a link or relationship between cultural violence and other forms of violence such as direct violence and structural violence. Through cultural violence, women are affected directly and structurally.

Galtung (1977:13) notes that “direct violence is an event, structural violence is a process with ups and downs, cultural violence is an invariant, a permanence remaining

essentially the same for long periods.” Given this line of argument, it becomes clear that cultural violence can be static, resulting in it being a cause of direct violence and structural violence over periods of time. Weber (1971), cited in Galtung (2003: 15), further argues that “a causal flow from cultural via structural to direct can be identified. The culture preaches, teaches us into seeing exploitation or repression as normal and natural, or into not seeing them (particularly not exploitation) at all.” Galtung (2003) noted the cultural domains that precipitate cultural violence include but are not limited to religion and ideology, language and art, and formal empirical science.

Religion has also been used to sustain cultural violence (Galtung 1986). Galtung (1986) explains that some religions make human beings more peaceful than others. This means religious platforms are better positioned to spread the message of peace and address violent challenges affecting society. However, despite the platforms they present to advance peace, they also advance traditions and culture that sustains some violent practices, especially against women. Men in different religions often enact cruelty against women. Galtung (1986) outlines that such cruelties justify patriarchy and are often well articulated in religious texts. With this picture in mind, it is important to reflect that religion alone cannot be relied on in addressing the issue of violence against women since it perpetrates some forms of cultural violence which deny women some freedoms. For instance, in some religious groups in different parts of Africa, women are not allowed to preach or stand in front of men within a congregation. Some religious teachings also encourage them to be submissive and loyal to their husbands even through difficult times; they must not refuse sexual intercourse.

## **2.4 Crime against women in South Africa**

It is important to situate this study within a context in which violence against women is a deep and troubling issue, even though political leaders constantly promise action. Gender-based violence against women, non-conforming persons and intersectional women has reached levels that are unacceptable and cause untold harm. South Africa is counted amongst the highest-ranking countries with unprecedented levels of gender-based violence against women and children (Gould et al. 2017). The 2018 Global Peace Index revealed that South Africa is one of the most violent places in the world, ranked 38 out of 163, with one of the highest murder rates found globally outside of a war zone.



It is argued that GBV is enabled by the prevalence of gender inequality and is rooted in patriarchal gender norms, and it affect women throughout their life cycle.

The heightened levels of violence against women and children could be seen in the SAPS crime statistic reports. showing an escalation every quarter throughout the year. Inanda Police Station, which covers the area of the study, has been reported to be in the top 5 of the 30 Police Stations in South Africa with the highest numbers of crimes against women and children. The lives of women of Inanda are perpetually at risk of crime, which is what informs their constant fear of crime.

In recent years, 2018-2020, South Africans have come to an understanding that crime against women and children also affects the whole community and has to be addressed in a systemic and holistic manner. This research study aims to add knowledge to inform and strengthen response on gender-based violence.

## **2.5 Crime in relation to violence**

Crime and violence are closely connected concepts as a cause-and-effect relationship. Criminal activity is usually violent. Like violence, crime is also a contested term as it manifests itself in different forms, sizes, and shapes. Studies reveal that a crime is an act or default that prejudices the community's interests and is forbidden by law under pain of punishment (Lynch, Stretesky and Long 2015). It is an offence against the State, as contrasted with loot or civil wrong, which is a violation of an individual's right and which does not lead to punishment (Lynch et al. 2015). Crime is against the law as a remedy is usually sought from the courts and the police of that community. The law prescribes the nature of crime and its characteristics as in national statutes and acts of that country.

Sellin (2011: 1) regards crime as a deviation from or breach of a conduct norm. The breach is punishable by the threats of sanction by society. According to this definition, crime is an act in violation of the law, and a criminal is a person who does an act in violation of the law. Garofalo's (1914: 4) definition indicates that:

*Crime is an immoral and harmful act that is regarded as criminal by public opinion because it is an injury to so much of the moral sense as is represented by one or the other of the elementary altruistic sentiments of probity and piety. Moreover, the injury must wound these sentiments not in*

*their superior and finer degrees, but in the average measure in which they are possessed by a community – a measure which is indispensable for the application of the individual to society.*

These views foreshadow Amartya Sen's (1999) work, reflecting how the capabilities of people are often harmed and reduced in a violent environment. Sen (1999) justifies that engaging the capabilities of individuals is essential and important if community problems are to be addressed. Thus, addressing violent crimes must be engaged by harnessing individuals' capabilities within affected communities to promote transformative, sustainable solutions.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) (2007) notes that there are different types of violent crimes, ranging from robbery, kidnapping, rape, beating someone, domestic violence and killing etc. Furthermore, Brennan (2016) outlines a close relationship between violence and crime and further justifies that the use of force in the name of physical violence develops into criminal activity. However, it is important to note that crime is directly violent and involves other aspects such as theft, pickpocketing, and other subtle crimes that inconvenience people of their sense of security and peace, hence manifesting as structural violence.

### **2.5.1 Crime, violence and the fear of crime**

Violence and crime are closely related concepts; in this regard, all forms of violence are criminal in themselves. Against this backdrop, scholars begin to wonder how crime becomes violent. As has been alluded to earlier in this chapter, what may be considered a crime in community A may not be considered a crime in community B. For instance, in the Comanche society, the beating of women is considered love. However, in relation to the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, those acts are considered a violation of fundamental civil liberties, which must be observed and upheld. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV 2008) notes that violent activities must be regarded as a crime in every sense regardless of cultural perceptions. The law, therefore, must provide certain objective definitions in terms of which acts are identified as crime. Victim Support (2007) asserts that the perceptions of culture perpetuate violence against women. Those actions considered violent must be eliminated. Victims of violence, especially those robbed or defrauded, can become

bankrupt; some are made homeless and have to postpone retirement or even return to work after retirement. Victims of rape endure pain or even permanent disability.

To understand how the fear of violence and fear of crime operate concerning the focus of this study, it is necessary to focus on the physical spaces where people fear crime. According to Harwy (2010: 9), “any general theory about a city should be able to relate social processes of the city to its spatial form. The method of space formation can affect social processes deeply. The spatial form of a place reflects social relations.” In urban public places or the central business area, streets and their pathways are the most fundamental vital parts of the city. Erendet et al. (2008) argue the importance of securing cities from fear and vandalism by establishing city security urban structures that protect streets and pathways. They justify that “one of the preconditions of urban life is a sense of security at public places and lack of fear. Tangible security of an environment is a necessary condition for attracting people to the sectors within the city” (Erendet et al. 2008: 18). Public places become non-existent in the literal sense, if people do not use a place out of fear of crime.

Fear of crime in urban public places is a social issue. Different researchers and organisations define fear of crime in various ways, some of which primarily focus on its effect on personal well-being. It must be noted that an individual’s fear of crime reduces or limits personal freedom (as a result of the restriction of movement and activity), public communication, mutual trust and individual’s social capital (Benister and Fife 2001). This usually causes fear, anxiety, and excessive protection by family members and friends, while some may feel alienated or dissatisfied. It there becomes difficult to interact with neighbours and social groups. Thus, “fear of crime must be given the importance as the crime itself, as many people are affected by fear of crime than crime itself” (Miller 1973: 9, cited by Louis and Salem 1988).

People in the urban environment usually enjoy and find themselves being at public places such as streets, squares, alleys, malls, sports stadiums, only to mention a few, these places constituting their environment. Fear of crime is one of the important issues which reduces access to such public places and restricts interaction within them. According to Foster et al. (2010: 9), “Fear affects city form, urban and residential design and spatial distribution of the resident significantly.” In South Africa, most cities record high rates of violent crimes every year, raising much fear of crime-related

violence (Eagle 2015). Blobaum and Hunecke (2005: 13) argue that “ the relationship between fear of crime and city and reinforcing this relation by some urban characteristics (population accumulation, racial and cultural inhomogeneity etc.) causes the resident of the cities to fear crime and this fear and anxiety restricts the individual’s interaction with the space”. In a study by Eagle (2015), it is revealed that women in South Africa have a high sense of insecurity due to high levels of crime that involves interpersonal violation. In a Statistics South Africa report on “Crime against women in South Africa”, Maluleke (2018) reveals that women limit their engagement in various daily activities due to fear of crime. These findings are quite concerning and demand critical attention towards addressing them, hence the need to add to this knowledge by engaging the views and suggestions of women in this study.

## **2.6 Theoretical framework: Capability approach and capacity building**

This study draws on the capability approach as its theoretical framework. The capability approach was first coined by the development economist Sen Amartya and later articulated and developed by Nussbaum in her writings. The approach has its roots in the liberal school of thought (Robeyns 2003).

It is critical to point some salient facets of violence occurring against women. Many women are killed in the course of sexual violence, some are raped, and others are robbed; as a result, they are usually the victims of violence. In armed and communal conflicts, women are abused; the trends of these conflicts occur repeatedly, and it is evident that women are always on the receiving end in the process. Studies reveal the high prevalence in Africa as a whole of the transmission of deadly HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases during sexual intercourse, sometimes during non-consensual sex; this may lead to loss of life (Avert 2019; Kharsany 2016; Wasserman 2006). There are constantly situations in which women are trafficked and forced into prostitution in the guise of promised jobs and are subjected to slavery in the end. The World Health Organization (2003: 8) notes “that domestic violence takes its own toll. The lives of young sex workers are short and miserable.” It becomes clear that the abuses suffered by women represent major limitations on their ability to enjoy life fully. The capabilities approach provides a way of exploring what this means and what we should instead see as a just and nonviolent society.

The capabilities approach seeks to ensure a sense of freedom and liberties in one's everyday life; for instance, it provides a notion that one must be sovereign and secure against any forms of insults or threats (Nussbaum 2000; Sen 1999). Nussbaum (2000) labels this 'bodily integrity' to clarify this nature of freedom and liberties. Pyles (2008: 36) explains that "bodily integrity entails being able to move freely from place to place, in conditions where disturbances are considered minimum or rare". This means one is provided with a platform to think, move, choose, and participate in society without any fear of violation or abuse. For example, 'bodily integrity' pertains to the liberty to choose a partner for sexual desires and the ultimate number of children one must possess. This study harnesses this thinking to help reflect on the integrity of women in addressing issues of violence.

According to Pyles (2008), violence and the threat of violence greatly affect women's fundamental civil rights as they are usually limited by virtue of their being women, and for that reason, they are subjected to certain particular forms of abuse. As a result of this, women have limited powers and rights, for instance, the right to contest for a public office and determine their political affiliation of choice. Pyles (2008) further argues that violence and the threat of violence greatly influence a women's ability to participate in politics (contest for public office), seek employment, enjoy a rewarding work-life, and control land and movable property. Given all these facets, the capability approach groups them unlike other approaches, such as the development approach, which primarily focus on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross Net Profit (GNP). For example, Nussbaum (2003) explains that the development approach aggregates elements of a person's good that are unable to give separate salience to the issue of violence, nor can they draw sufficient attention to how it affects many diverse and heterogeneous components of women's lives. Such approaches also aggregate across persons; they typically do not give salience to the special vulnerabilities that certain groups and people face because of who they are, such as the problem of violence against women (Nussbaum 2003; Pyles 2008). As a result, it is apparently clear that men enjoy a competitive advantage over women, which is generally ignored. The development approach lacks an element of "agency" in conceptualising the effects of domestic violence on women. This was vividly explained by John Stuart Mill (1896), who basically argues that women often exhibit "adaptive preferences", preferences that adjust them to a second-class status.

The other approach which the study did not adopt as the framework is the human rights approach which was strongly criticised by Nussbaum (2003: 16), who argues that:

*...what is wrong with rape is not just the pain and suffering it inflicts, it is the way in which it puts the whole capacity of practical reason and choice in disarray, requiring the remaking of self. The capabilities approach makes it clear that securing a right to someone requires making the person really capable of choosing that function. It makes it clear that human rights have an economic and material aspect. It calls into question the distinction between "first generation" and second "generation" rights.*

In this manner, it can be argued that political freedoms or fundamental liberties are closely related to the notion of material and bodily security, thus involving security against violence as these are intertwined to economic development.

The capabilities approach has reinforced the idea that there exists a gap between public and private spheres (Pyles 2008). The human rights school of thought was developed in very close relation to the notion of negative liberty, or freedom from interfering state action (Pyles 2008). In this discourse Nussbaum (2003) stipulates that the human rights approach has its roots in western societies, which have relied strongly on this distinction between the private and public sphere; hence the family is not included. This assumption tends to neglect women's rights as fundamental human rights. Nussbaum (2003: 12) stipulates that the concept of capabilities has no such baggage to "jettison", and the idea of being able to do or be something can be considered inside a family or outside. Those in positions of power to ensure the realisation of human rights and do nothing about it are conceived to have secured all the basic human rights as they are considered bulwarks against an oppressive regime. Nussbaum (2003) postulates that the capability approach rejects utterly the misinforming aspects of "negative liberty", which see people as free, as women are not 'free' as the notion implies. Therefore, all fundamental liberties must be guaranteed and secured at the heart of the approach. The State must act or is mandated to act with a sense of agency to combat such elements of violence that women face in society.

Nussbaum (2003: 12) argues that “the basic capability advocated for by Sen is the ability to be well nourished, to avoid escapable morbidity or mortality to read and write and communicate, to take part in life of the community, to appear in public without shame.” The capability approach prioritises the basic principle of the well-being of an individual. Human needs are at the centre of the approach, what people can organise themselves to be, how they socialise and live with each other. In the latter, accounts of inequality and well-being often use implicit assumptions about gender relations within the family which are unrealistic and deny or ignore intra-household inequalities (Okin 1989; Bubeck 1995).

Stewart (2012) outlines that the capability approach provides the theoretical underpinning of much discussion on human development. Therefore, it is centred on the individual, that is, it is human-centric. Development consists of expanding individual capabilities or freedoms that is what a person can be (beings) or do (doings). The approach expands the capabilities of an individual. From this line of argument, the approach views individuals as rational beings able to make informed choices and thus able to do a variety of things in practice. Nussbaum (2008: 14) stipulates that

*Expanding individual capabilities forms the end, or the objectives, while identifying and promoting good social instructions is a means to this objective. In two ways the primary of individualism in the capability approach is at odds with the flourishing of social beings, individuals are so bound up with others that it can be difficult to separate them.*

The sociologist Etzioni (1993: 17), cited in Nussbaum (2008), supports this view, arguing that a basic observation of sociology and psychology is that the individual and the community penetrate each other and require one another, and that individuals are not able to function without deep links to others.

Pyles (2008) highlights ten central human capabilities: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination, thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one’s environment. As mentioned earlier, central to the capability approach is the notion of freedom, the freedom to act and make decisions and opportunities that individuals have in day-to-day life. The instrumental freedoms advocated for by Sen include political freedoms (that is, civil rights and other aspects of democratic processes), social opportunities (that is the access to education and

health care), transparency guarantees (which include societal preventions of corruption and financial irresponsibility) and protective security (that is, a social safety net providing income supplements and employments benefits). The aspect of self-determination therefore comes into mind, people should be able to choose and self-determine their lives. Even self-determination to succeed in one's life. For this reason, all capabilities must be considered vital and prioritised; as Nussbaum (2000: 4) puts it, this approach assumes that all capabilities are "equally fundamental and does not announce a lexical ordering among them".

### **2.6.1 Capacity building**

This discussion of the capability approach works hand in glove with the concept of capacity building; hence it is important at this juncture to define the later. Linnell (2003) refers to capacity that is outcome focused, but also made up of specific organisational capacities and, in tandem, the capacities of individuals. There is clarification that capacity involves skills, individual capabilities, and in some instances, the ability of any organisation to sustain itself (Linnell 2003). Organisations have 'capacity' in relation to every part of the organisational work: governance, leadership, mission and strategy, administration (including human resources, financial management, and legal matters), programme development and implementation, fundraising and income generation, diversity, partnerships and collaboration, evaluation, advocacy and policy change, marketing, positioning, planning, etc. For individuals, capacity may relate to leadership, advocacy skills, training/speaking abilities, technical skills, organising skills, and other areas of personal and professional effectiveness. Capacity building has been defined as "the ability of people, organisations and society as a whole to manage their efforts successfully" (Buss 2010). As for the Agenda 21 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) (1992), capacity building encompasses the country's human, scientific, technological, organisational, and institutional capabilities. A primary goal of capacity building is to link organisational objectives and people's needs. Capacity building is a long-term recurring process. It depends on the participation and constant intervention between all the involved stakeholders: national, local, governments, non-governmental organisations, think tanks, civil society, and academic institutions. It is changing and varies amongst regions, hence there is no straight jacket approach, or one size fits all approach.



Capacity building features prominently in the international development and community participation literature. Many academic, organisations and institutions prioritise capacity building in their quest to develop people's lives, although the term itself is contested. What constitutes capacity building is subject to debate and the concept is forever changing its magnitude, direction, and modus operandi. "Just as there are very diverse understandings of the nature of capacity in organisations and fields, there are significantly varied understandings of the nature of capacity building and different approaches to undertaking this work effectively" (Centre for Effectiveness Services (CES) 2011: 13).

Eade (2007) points to how the use of the same language in different contexts raises a question about the meaning and utility of the term: If it means so much to so many, does capacity building really mean anything to anyone? However, for this study, capacity building is of paramount importance as it helps shape the nature and leeway to end violence against women in African societies. It is a means to this development initiative and conception of women in society.

Hathleem (2007: 7) believes that there are many connotations when considering the capacity building approach:

*There is a large range of capacity-building approaches—a continuum—that includes peer-to-peer learning, facilitated organisational development, training and academic study, research, publishing and grant-making. Adding to the complexity, capacity building also takes place across organisations, within communities, in whole geographic areas, within the non-profit sector, and across the sectors. It involves individuals and groups of individuals, organisations, groups of organisations within the same field or sector, and organisations and actors from different fields and sectors.*

Kaplan (2000) also proposes a series of interdependent elements that are essential to organisational capacity (which is not defined explicitly). He suggests that these form a hierarchy. This 'hierarchy of interlocking elements' model must not be taken simply; the organisation must adjust itself to the model. In as much the 'hierarchy' model is a guide, when applying the model, the organisation must build functionalities at low level and this must also involve other stakeholders that work along with that field.

This study explored the ability of women to organise themselves and engage with positive peace perspectives towards addressing violence issues affecting them. The idea of positive peace was conceptualised by Galtung (1969), with the purpose of promoting peaceful societies through shaping initiatives that facilitate behavioural changes from violent attitudes, institutions and structures. In positive peace principles, when every person within a country is constitutionally guaranteed freedom of choice and mobilising other citizens and groups, they (persons) also have to organise themselves and hold responsible institutions accountable in creating a peaceful environment (Rummel 1981). This view is essential in this study to help in help in exploring the involvement of women with different pressure groups and review their perspectives on the impact and processes that have been or have not been engaged towards addressing violence against women in general and fear of crime in general particular.

### **2.6.2 Capability approach and transformative learning**

The study sought to help integrate some practical ideas and views towards addressing women's fear of crime through the lenses of the capability approach. It further adopts perspectives from Mezirow's (1996) transformative learning theory, which provides problem-solving techniques and communicative engagements. Therefore, the study supposes that if women are rational beings able to do and be, they can devise mechanisms to safeguard their rights, like advocating for good policies and legislative frameworks. They can also communicate with others (communicative learning as transformative theory suggests), educating each other through workshops and awareness campaigns about how they can best combat or remedy violent crimes for them to be safe. It is important to note that the capability approach can best transform societies when conceptualised in the transformative learning school of thought. The heart of transformative learning theory is the belief that human beings can communicate well and expand ideas. Since the capability approach primarily focuses on an individual's ability to work and think independently, making informed decisions, the transformative learning theory provides a framework where individuals can communicate and share their experiences. According to Mezirow (1996: 11), "It is a theory that is partly a developmental process, but more as learning is understood as the process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of one's experience to guide future action". Transformative learning

explains the change in meaning structures that evolves in two domains of learning based on the epistemology of Habermas' communicative theory. The learning process focuses on problem-solving initiatives based on evidence on the ground or baseline data tracing the cause-and-effect relationship.

Perspective transformation explains the process of how people can shape their lives for the better, in this case, how best to eradicate violence against women and ultimately fear of crime, simply put, how to shape meaning structures. Mezirow (1996: 13) explains that,

*Meaning structures act as culturally defined frames of reference that are inclusive of meaning schemes and meaning perspectives. Meaning schemes, the smaller components, are made up of specific knowledge, beliefs, value judgments, and feelings that constitute interpretations of experience.*

These may take the form of tangible elements of our daily habits; how do we discuss with an atheist or a specific member of a particular political party. There occur changes in shaping these meanings and structures with time. For instance, Mezirow (1996:2013) explain that,

*Meaning perspective is a general frame of reference, world view, or personal paradigm involving a collection of meaning schemes made up of higher-order schemata, theories, propositions, beliefs, prototypes, goal orientations and evaluations.*

These views are critical in understanding societal perspectives and their considerations in addressing their perceived problems or challenges. Considering the problem of violence against women, transformative learning provides a comprehensive insight into women's capabilities (views, practices, work abilities and integrity) that can be used in addressing the problem of fear of crime—in Galtung's (1990) view, ending violence and creating a culture of peace requires transformative thinking, engagements and practices. Various scholars in social science research confirm the importance of interacting ideas that help in explaining social phenomena (Bhattacharjee 2012; Mason 2009; Nuijten 2011). With this understanding, the key facets of the capability approach have been discussed in this chapter to help reflect

on the broad ideas that can be engaged within both understandings and addressing the problem of women's fear of crime.

## **2.7 Concluding summary**

This chapter has outlined various concepts of violence, tracing the definitions of violence and different scholarly views on violence. The scope and definitions of different manifestations of violence were discussed at length, as was the categorisation used in this study of direct violence, structural violence (synonymously referred to as indirect violence) and cultural violence. It was also noted that these forms of violence and other different concepts of violence are contested, and thus a holistic approach is required when defining and discussing them. Finally, the chapter has also explored how 'fear of violence' and 'fear of crime' are understood and their significance within the urban environment.

The latter part of the chapter has discussed the capability approach and capacity building as analytical tools that frame how the study will examine the causes, nature and extent of women's fear of violence and how action could be taken to strengthen their capabilities.

In the next chapter, the methodological procedures used by the researcher towards completing the study are presented and discussed.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 2, the focus was on outlining and defining the history of our understanding of violence and centring the discussing on the review of literature and theoretical framework guiding the study. The purpose of this current chapter is to outline in detail the research methodology underpinning the study. This chapter will outline the research design, study population and sampling techniques, data collection method and data analysis. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss ethical issues considered in and during the study, and limitations and data verification methods will be discussed.

### **3.2 Research approach**

The study adopted a qualitative research approach. Creswell (2013) contends that a qualitative research approach enables access to valuable data that provide deeper and richer understanding of people's everyday lives. The qualitative approach was adopted in this study; it further provided insight into people's subjective experiences, and as argued by Marlow (2005), further enabled the researcher to see how participants make meaning of their lived experiences. Creswell (2013) states that qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. In my area of study, a quantitative approach would struggle to capture the quality of the key variable, fear.

Monnette, Sullivan, DeJong and Hilton (2014) also argue that the qualitative research approach offers the researcher an opportunity to access data which is valuable as it provides a deeper and richer understanding of people's everyday lives and behaviour, as well as an understanding of what meaning they attach to their lived experiences.

### **3.3 Research paradigm**

This study is located within an interpretivist paradigm, which is based on social constructionism (Creswell, 2009). This approach treats reality as constructed through social interaction and explores how research participants make sense of their world. This paradigm is particularly appropriate to a study that focuses less on the actual experiences of violence and more on the perceptions of the research participants.

Creswell (2009: 8) writes as follows:

*The goal of the research is to focus as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied... The more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings. Often these subjective meanings are negotiated historically and socially.*

In contrast, a positivist approach that relied on an 'objective' approach to the situations experienced by these women is likely to distance the researcher from what is largely a subjective experience – the fear of crime. The study also distinguishes itself from a more critical paradigm in that it did not aim to give attention to the structural issues of oppression.

However, it is important to note that the study did take a turn that led towards what Creswell (2009: 9) terms an advocacy or participatory worldview. This was not the original intention of the study but arose out of the situation in which women were expressing themselves freely as to the challenges they faced.

### **3.4 Research design**

Merriam and Tisdell (2015: 68) state that a research design is a plan or structured framework that is followed in conducting research. MacMillan and Schumacher (2010:10) also agree that a research design is simply a description of the procedures for conducting the research. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that a research design is basically a plan of how the researcher intends to conduct his or her research. All these scholars agree that a research design is a guiding plan for the path and process of conducting research.

The study was both exploratory and descriptive in nature. The choice of an explorative approach was informed by the objectives of the study, which primarily aimed to answer the 'how' and 'what' questions. Furthermore, this study took the approach of a qualitative case study as it allows for in-depth discussions. In this study, the intention was to answer the question of how women of Inanda Newtown A perceive their safety and how they navigate, cope with their everyday life and make a living, i.e. what their strategies are.

This research was conducted in a centre where postgraduate research is encouraged to take the form of action research; however this study was not planned to be action

research. The researcher set out to purely understand the impact of fear of crime and how women navigate. However, as the process of the research unfolded, a need for an intervention was born from a problem identified by participants as something critical at that stage of the research.

To illustrate the purpose of the study, Table 3.1 below indicate study objectives, research question and data source/s.

**Table 3.1 Research objectives and questions**

Objective	Question
To explore how women of Inanda Newtown A who are economically active perceive their safety.	How do perceptions of safety obstruct or facilitate the economic activity of women in Inanda Newtown A?
To identify and document strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A to negotiate safety.	What are the strategies that women of Inanda employ to negotiate safety and what informs those strategies?
To describe and analyse the underlying factors that influenced the negotiated safety strategy employed by women of Inanda Newtown A.	What are the underlying factors that influenced the negotiated strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A?
To recommend strategies that can alleviate fear of crime and provide safety while women of Inanda Newtown A are involved in economic activities	What strategies can be used to alleviate and provide for safety for women in Inanda Newtown A while conducting their economic activities?

### **3.5 Study area**

The study area is Inanda, a location with a long history entrenched in the past political apartheid regime. In the late 1930s, Inanda was still a farming area, dominated by black families and agriculturalist Indians. These families were living on their crops and agricultural produce. However, the apartheid political dispensation in South Africa brought about laws that started to discriminate against both groups and thus affected their trading powers.

In the other parts of South Africa, scarcity, poverty and unemployment due to apartheid policy aimed at indigenous people were on the rise. People could not cope with the pressure exerted upon them by these situations (Kaminer and Eagle 2010: 17). In what is now KwaZulu-Natal, large numbers of people in search for employment migrated from rural areas towards Durban where they had no residential area prepared for them (Ackah 2000: 564). Many of those people settled in Cato Manor, formerly known as Umkhumbane.

Given the apartheid trading difficulties and the influx of people from rural areas, Inanda provided affordable accommodation for rural migrants and a source of income for Inanda landowners as they could not farm anymore (Trawick and Howsen 2006: 342). Forced removals from Cato Manor in the 1960s also contributed to the increase of the populations to the area of Inanda (South African Police Services 2005: 26). Further, KwaMashu and Ntuzuma townships were built to accommodate this migration and the forced removals of black people from different parts of Durban. Most of the townships, informal and peri-urban areas, which have mainly black residents, have poor levels of infrastructure and hence limited access to basic services. This has resulted in a distinct pattern of inequality across the Durban area. Inanda is among such less resourced residential areas (York 2014: 67).

### **3.6 Study population**

The population, or population interest, is the entire group of people about whom the research needs to obtain information. A population is any complete group for example, of people, sales territories, stores, or organizations that share some common set of characteristics (Dianzenza 2016: 183). The target population in this research were women in the community of Inanda.

As the study was concerned with understanding women's in-depth thinking and what meaning they make of their life experiences, it was imperative that the study needed to focus on a small number to be able to interact and get a deeper understanding of women's lives, experiences and perceptions. The study, therefore, selected twelve women that were involved in some form of 'work' earning and making a livelihood from that 'work', residing in the community of Inanda Newtown A.



### **3.7 Sampling techniques**

A sample is a subset, or some part, of a larger population. Sampling refers to the process of obtaining information from a subset a “sample” of a larger group, the “population”. The researcher then takes the results from the sample and makes estimates of the characteristics of the group (Hill 2000: 392). Graziano and Raulin (2013: 158) contends that sampling allows the researcher to gain information from a small number of respondents who will represent a bigger number of respondents with similar characteristics.

In the case of this study, twelve women involved in some form of employment that they were using to earn an income, were sampled from the community of Inanda Newtown A, following a carefully structured purposive sampling.

The decision on which sampling technique to use depends on the research question being addressed. For the purposes of this study, a non-probability purposive or judgmental technique was utilized. Non-probability sampling refers to a sampling technique in which units of the sample are selected based on purposive sampling (Creswell 2013: 81).

This process relied on a purposive/ judgmental technique and convenience sampling. The advantage of the purposive/ judgmental sampling technique is that the researcher already has knowledge of the population and the elements or characteristics under study (Babbie and Mouton 2004:166; Welman, Kruger and Mitchell 2005:69). The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on those characteristics of a population that are of interest and are going to best enable the researcher to answer research questions adequately. Steyn (2016:) highlights that purposive sampling responds to the judgement of the researcher that a particular person or, group of people based on a set criterion will have information on a specific subject. In this case, the researcher was able to use her extensive knowledge of the community, which is where she grew up and still lives, and her familiarity through observation and interaction with women involved in economic activities in the area..

Beyond the purposive approach, two techniques used for identifying participants were that, firstly, the researcher employed convenience sampling, based on her knowledge of the community and, secondly, extending the invitation to more participants through ‘snowballing’. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that snowballing is a process of

accumulation, as each participant refers to the study others who share those' characteristics that match the study interests.

Snowballing, by its nature, is dependent on someone knowing the other person and sharing similar experiences. This technique is known to produce desired results, as people trust people they know. The choice to utilize snowballing was important, as the subject matter had elements of venturing into personal and private space in nature and was indeed at times intrusive. Only people who knew each other were comfortable to be part of a group that might discuss incidents that could reveal personal experiences, most of which might had never been shared with other people before.

### **3.7.1 Recruitment strategy**

The study took a conscious decision to select participants who would be able to respond to the research questions and satisfy the research objectives. The interest of the research is on how women are ensuring their safety while pursuing activities for economic gain.

The criteria for selection were set as the following:

- Women
- Resident in Inanda Newtown A
- Age between 21 years – 65 years
- Involved in work / employment /had some means of making a living.

The first step was to approach the ward councillor of the area for permission through a meeting and an approval and signing of a gatekeeper's letter. The councillor gave his permission for the research to be conducted in his community and pledged support of the research as it will also benefit the community.

Due to the busy work schedule of the ward councillor, further meetings were held with the chairperson of the Safety and Security Committee. The chairperson later assisted the process by calling a ward meeting to introduce the researcher to explain to the community members the purpose of the research. This meeting afforded the researcher an opportunity to interact with community members and to explain the research in detail.

Based on the abovementioned criteria, a few volunteers came forward to take part in the study. Some women came forward who had to be eliminated as they did not meet the criteria, though they were interested in participating.

The first meeting did not produce the required number of participants, which in this case was twelve (12), hence the researcher had to use the snowballing process for referral for more women that met the set criteria. The study managed to purposively sample eight (8) participants who met the criteria and the other four (4) were reached through referrals, hence the researcher also relied on snowballing to secure more participants. Table 3.2 below shows the demographic details of the participants who were involved in this study.

### 3.7.2 Demographic information of participants

The study data was gathered from twelve women from the community of Inanda Newtown A. I have used pseudonyms to protect their identities. A brief outline of each participant is described in the following table 2 below:

**Table 3.2 Demographic information of participants**

Name	Age	Educational level	Marital status	Job	Location of the Job
1. Mabusi	31yrs	Matric	Not married	Self-employed – running a business of scholar transport	Inanda Newtown A
2. Pinky	23yrs	Matric	Not married	Waitress	Sun Coast Casino
3. Zinde	37yrs	Post Matric	Not married	Machine Operator (Company Manufacturing – Toyota)	Prospecton
4. Dintle	44yrs	Matric	Married	Sales consultant	Durban and greater eThekwini Municipality
5. Tholile	48yrs	Post matric	Not married	Administrator	eThekwini Municipality
6. Khethiwe	43yrs	Post matric	Not married	Sales Manager	Travel agency based in Ballito

7. Nobantu	28yrs	Grade 10	Not married	Waitress	Gateway Mall
8. Deli	32yrs	Post matric	Not married	Factory worker	Isipingo
9. Sarah	51yrs	Grade 10	Not married	Self-employed - Spaza Shop	Inanda Newtown A
10. Mamello	48yrs	Matric	Married	Housewife with small business	Inanda Newtown A
11. Lelethu	26yrs	Grade 11	Not married	Self-employed beautician	Inanda Newtown A
12. Sanelisiwe	23yrs	Matric	Not married	Self-employed – selling different products (Tupperware, Avon, AMC pots and Justine)	Inanda Newtown A

### 3.8 Data collection techniques

#### 3.8.1 Primary data

To understand the underlying factors that impact on women's fear of crime in their pursuit of economic attainment in the community of Inanda Newtown A, data was collected through face-to-face individual semi-structured interviews and through focus groups. This information is regarded as primary data as it presents new information that was not present prior to the study. In defining primary data, Dunham (2006: 89) states primary data is data that was not known before the current research study and is gathered by the researcher for the purposes of the study.

It has been outlined before that the research is qualitative in nature, as it seeks to gather, capture, and understand participants' perceptions and the meaning they make of their circumstances. It was against this background that the researcher used semi-structured in-depth individual interviews to gather information, followed by focus group sessions.

An interview guide was developed to ensure that the process was structured and followed a contained, organized manner that responds to the objectives of the study. Semi-structured questions afforded the researcher leeway to ask questions and probe for clarity. Holloway and Wheeler (2010) contend that semi-structured interviews allow the interview to be flexible enough for the researcher to ask follow-up questions for further clarification. The relaxed style of the questions encourages conversation and

thus provide more depth and insight. It is important to note here that at some point the order of questions may change because of the 'conversation' style employed through semi-structured interviews. Bryman (2012) highlights that command of participants' language is important for the flow of the interview.

Semi-structured questions let the interview be conversational, enabling the interviewee to be comfortable enough to participate optimally. As the research is concerned with the lived experiences of the participants and the meaning they ascribe to their experiences, the use of semi-structured interviews was deemed appropriate.

### **3.8.2 Individual interviews**

An interview programme was designed, allocating dates and times of the interviews for each participant. After pretesting, the time allocation for individual interviews was amended to allow enough engagement between the researcher and the interviewee.

Each participant was informed of the time allocated, venue and their rights to pull out of the research. Holloway and Wheeler (2010) postulate that interviews should ideally be conducted at a comfortable setting, safe from interruptions and distractions.

A set of interview questions was developed to guide the process of engagement with all participants to allow them to share their lived experiences and perceptions of safety. Participants were able to further discuss strategies that they are using to protect themselves against potential crime and to prevent harm from happening to them. The guiding questions are now outlined below:

#### **3.8.2.1 Interview guide**

1. Think about all types of crime, how worried are you about crime?
2. Do you think you can be a victim of crime?
3. How worried are you about becoming a victim of crime?
4. Have been a victim of crime? If yes, specify?
5. How do you keep safe from crime when going to work?
6. Your answer above, why do you use that strategy?
7. Do you use a different strategy when coming back from work? If yes, what?
8. Your answer above, why do you use that strategy?

9. In what way does fear of crime affect your ability to earn a living?

10. Based on your answer above, what can be done to address your fear of crime?

### **3.8.3 Focus group**

The nature of the study was to understand participant's thoughts, experiences and how they processed all the information to make sense of their lives. The study needed to satisfy a rigorous process to attain validity.

Further information was gathered using a focus group with an aim to gain more information for purposes of triangulation. In the context of research, triangulation refers to the application of many methodological tools or techniques (Natow 2020). The phrase itself is derived from the idea that employing several points of observation might aid in locating a location in the realm of navigation. In order to have a more complete picture of the subject being researched and in particular when examining politically sensitive topics, triangulation is crucial in research that incorporates elite interviewees (Jonsen and Jehn 2009; Natow 2020).

### **3.8.4 Pre-testing/pilot study**

This is defined by Monette et al. (2014: 9) as a preliminary application of data gathering techniques to assess their adequacy. This was done prior to the start of the research, to test if the tool was reader friendly in terms of language and assess whether questions lead to the desired process.

Pretesting or pilot study is vital to test the data collection tool prior to the implementation of the research study as it gives the researcher an opportunity to assess the applicability of the interview tool and address any bias. Doody (2015: 171) notes that the term 'pilot study' refers to mini versions of a full-scale study, as well as the specific pre-testing of a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or interview schedule.

De Vos et al. (2001) contend that feedback from pretesting allows the researcher to modify the tool, sharpen it and further measure the time allocation for the tool. Pretesting also offers the researcher an opportunity to familiarize himself/herself with the interview tool.

The tool was tested with one participant from the study community who was not going to participate further with the study. The pretesting process presented the researcher

with valuable information, first in relation to the time allocation for the interview, secondly with regards to the management of the whole interview process. At the initial planning stage individual interviews were allocated 30 minutes each, whereas at pretesting the interview lasted almost 60 minutes.

The pretesting interview was conducted at the home of the participant, Ms T, age 32, who works in New Germany. The interview took place on a Sunday afternoon, started at 15h00 and ended 15h55, amounting to a rounded-off time of 60 minutes. Ms T had organized that we sit in her family lounge for our session.

The family of the participants present on the day of the interview included the participant's aunt, aged about 45 years, and the participant's grandmother, aged about 75 years. It is important to note that the progress of the interview kept being interjected by these two women (aunt and grandmother), putting in their own perspectives on a question asked. The researcher had to keep requesting them to allow the participant to respond with her own experiences. An observation made in the process was that women's concerns about fear of crime and safety are shared from generation to generation because the grandmother had her points to add to the conversation as had the aunt. In the end, the researcher requested that the interview move outside on the veranda away from the aunt and grandmother so as to be able to control the proceedings. The participant was amicable and availed an outside room they use for guests to continue the interview in private.

The researcher was able to assess the reliability, validity and applicability of the tool at pretesting stage. Most importantly, pretesting allowed the researcher to check the strength of the interview questions in terms of language appropriateness and eliminate ambiguous questions.

An important observation made also was to ensure that the interview venue is considered, as the subject matter could lead to very sensitive issues. This matter touches on the ethical aspects of the research and ensuring confidentiality of information.

At the end of the pretesting, the researcher made the following observations, analysis and changes to the tool and schedule:

- The time allocation was adjusted from 30 minutes to 45 minutes.

- The participant's information tool was improved to include demographic data.
- A decision was made to ensure that interviews are held in a private space between the researcher and the participant, to eliminate interference of other family members and to ensure privacy, as required by good ethics.
- A note on the speed of writing and capturing the interview indicated a need for a research assistance or an audio device. At this stage a decision to utilise a tape recorder was the best option as this was going to eliminate the need to train a research assistant and to go through further confidentiality agreements.

The research concluded by providing light snacks for purposes of keeping the interview friendly, light and comfortable.

### **3.8.5 Use of audio tape recording**

The interview was conducted by the research alone with no research assistant to take notes during sessions. The researcher felt the need to record the interview to ensure that she is not disturbed by trying to write and capture everything the participant/interviewee is saying as this would delay the flow of the session and some information might get lost. According to Rubin and Babbie (2001), a tape recorder is an essential tool for the researcher because of the in-depth nature of qualitative interviews.

Tape recording allows the researcher to be able to listen tentatively and participate actively in the interview process. This allows the researcher to be able to probe and ask follow-up questions. The researcher gets the freedom and confidence of being a full participant in the interview session without fear of losing some vital information. It also gives the researcher an opportunity to observe and record by pen, body language and unspoken expressions. This was a lesson learnt during the pretesting phase.

Tessier (2012) notes that the use of tape recorders is advantageous in that it stores the interview in the voice of the participant making it real even at an analysis stage. The other advantage Tessier mentions is that tape recorders can capture every spoken word, as opposed to a human being who may not be able to write at the same speaking pace of the interviewee. Tape recording ensures that the interview is properly stored, can be listened to, and replayed repeatedly, while digital recorders provide unlimited "replay ability."



Access to a recorder posed a financial challenge as the researcher did not have the resources to buy one. Assistance in the form of a loan of a recorder was sought from a friend and this rendered positive results, making data collection a success. The total number of the study participants was twelve (12); for the focus group a total of six (6) participants was chosen. The following section reflects on how the gathered data was analysed.

### **3.9 Data analysis**

Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the collected data since it is well-suited to a qualitative study. Thematic analysis is “used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. The usefulness of thematic analysis is that it makes it easy to illustrate data in detail, bringing order and structure to a vast body of collected data. Furthermore, it deals with diverse subtopics that can come to a number of different interpretations” (Mohammed 2012). Thematic analysis requires a lot of reflection on the part of the researcher, so as not to miss important points. The daunting task for the researcher is to be able to ‘spot’ related information that belongs to one theme.

The researcher followed the process that Braun and Clarke’s (2016) developed, a six steps process to ensure that no data is missed. This is a vigorous process of reading, understanding, sifting through loads of data to come up with patterns that form meaningful themes. Hence, the researcher started off by data familiarization of gathered transcribed information from interviews and focus group discussions. This involved reading data until one understands it. The researcher then coded the data and generated themes from the gathered information. The next steps are reviewing the themes and then defining and naming these identified themes. The final stage was the write up process where the gathered findings were presented and discussed in the next chapter.

### **3.10 Ensuring trustworthiness**

This section is concerned with proving how reliable the data collected was in its analysis and in the findings of the study. In this present study trustworthiness was achieved by ensuring that the following elements were systematically addressed: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability of the research.

### **3.10.1 Credibility**

Holloway and Wheeler (2002) contend that credibility is defined as the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings. This means that credibility is about the confidence that the research is a true reflection of what participants said and that the researchers' analysis does indeed do justice to the original data. In this study the researcher is confident that data was thoroughly engaged to establish rigour. The researcher used participants to verify transcribed data as a true reflection of what they had said during interview sessions. In each case, the participants concurred as to the accuracy of the transcription.

Another strategy utilized was sharing information and progress with peers who were also researching in the same field of peace building. These sessions were held on Zoom as the impact of the coronavirus forced the country to be on lockdown with very strict movement limiting regulations.

In the study under discussion, two main methods of data collection were used, namely individual interviews followed by focus group sessions. The data collected was verified against each of the abovementioned research tools to test the validity of information. The focus group was a source of great support, as it was a good place to verify some of the individual interview responses. Participants' responses in a group were evaluated to assess if they were still saying the same thing in the group as said in the individual sessions. This process of checking if data is consistent across different data collection tools is called triangulation. The process revealed a high degree of consistency between responses in individual interviews and in the focus group. This study can thus stand the test of time in terms of credible data.

### **3.10.2 Transferability**

The writing of the study, from selection of participants to data collection and analysis of the findings, was made as explicit as possible, to enable a reasonable judgement to be made as to the extent to which findings may be transferable. To test this, the study could be replicated in another context where the participants are purposely selected to fit the criteria stated in this research study.

### **3.10.3 Dependability**

It has been mentioned that the study is using thematic analysis to interpret data, using the six steps of processing information. Thematic analysis strengthens dependability

as it has all the elements that validate dependability. It is important to borrow from Bitsch (2005: 86), who argues that dependability is about the stability of findings over time. Specific elements that support dependability have been utilized in this study, such as triangulation.

#### **3.10.4 Conformability**

Conformability concerns itself with proving that the study results are based on actual research, not something made up by the researcher, as Anney (2015) argues. In this present study, the data collection tools, interviewing schedule, minutes of meetings with the ward councillor and the chairperson of the Safety and Security committee are all kept in a safe place for future referencing, proving that study results are not a figment of the researcher's imagination and machinations.

Guided by the research ethics, a researcher is expected to store data for a certain period if a need arises to look at the data again it will be available. Interviews were conducted and recorded in an audio tape recorder and were later transcribed into a notebook. Storing audio material is even cheaper and more convenient.

### **3.11 Ethical considerations**

In ensuring that the study neither intended to harm anyone nor did harm anyone, the research complied with those sections of the Durban University of Technology Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines that applied to the current study, as follows.

#### **3.11.1 Informed consent**

A letter of information (see Appendix 3) outlining and explaining the nature of the research study was written in English and IsiZulu, the contents of which invited the participants to the study and requested access both to the community and to the individual participants. The letter was asking for the participant's consent; if in agreement, she was requested to append her signature on the letter of consent (see Appendix ). The researcher also signed every consent letter as a commitment to uphold her part of the research agreement.

The other part of informed consent concerned itself with ensuring that participants were aware that they could at any time pull out of the study and that their participation was entirely voluntary.

### **3.11.2 Confidentiality**

As indicated in the letter of information, confidentiality was ensured in this study. Participants were assured that the writing would not use their real names to protect their identity. Pseudonyms were used, and each participant was given a 'research' name. Furthermore, data collected was stored according to the DUT guidelines, including complying with keeping all data for a stipulated storage timeframe, after which the data will be erased.

### **3.12 Concluding summary**

This chapter has outlined the steps taken in data collection starting from approaching the community leadership structures to recruitment of participants and the planned and actual processes of data collection. It has further reviewed the process of data analysis and addressed issues of ethical considerations.

The research methodology and design were adequate to afford the researcher to collect data to understand how fear of crime impact on women's quest for economic freedom in the community of Inanda Newtown A. The next chapter will present and discuss the findings of the study.

## **Chapter 4: Presentation of findings**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 3, I have outlined the research methodology employed in this study in detail. This current chapter, Chapter 4, presents the main research findings based on the data collected, using one-to-one in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. In organising data, Braun and Clarke's (2016) six-step procedure for thematic analysis was used to guarantee that no data was overlooked. The steps of the work began with data familiarisation, reading the data until one understands it followed by coding and theme generation. The subsequent phases included examining the identified themes and then defining and naming them. The final phase was the writing phase presented in this chapter.

The first section of the chapter will provide a synopsis of how the qualitative data for the study was collected using interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). The second section focuses on presenting and analysing the major study themes that have been identified and presented in the chapter. The next section presents the findings organised into four broad themes: feelings of entrapment, powerlessness and vulnerabilities, cost of fear, and do what needs to be done to keep safe. Each theme is presented and discussed with supporting evidence, including quotations from participants' voices and relevant references to the literature set out in chapter 2. The action research processes, and key outcomes will be presented thereafter, followed by the discussion of findings.

To enable the reader to relate these findings to the overall study, I present the relevant key research questions that guided the researcher in gathering the relevant data, and these are:

- i. How do perceptions of safety obstruct or facilitate the economic activity of women in Inanda Newtown A?
- ii. What are the strategies that women of Inanda employ to negotiate safety and what informs those strategies?
- iii. What are the underlying factors that influenced the negotiated strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A?

- iv. What strategies can be used to alleviate and provide for safety for women in Inanda Newtown A while conducting their economic activities?

The next section summaries how the relevant data for this study was gathered.

## **4.2 Brief reflection on the data collection process**

The relevant qualitative data for this study was gathered using semi-structured interviews (n=12), and FGD (n=6). Semi-structured interviews were used to collect in-depth information from (n=12) participants in Inanda Newtown Section A. The interviews allowed the researcher to explore their experiences and views of crime as women in the community. It helped to gather insight on their feelings, challenges, and needs regarding policies and implementation of measures that can ensure safety and guard them from their fears.

A focus group discussion (n=6) presented a reflection platform which allowed the research to probe deeper into the key challenges being experienced by women in Inanda Newtown Section A. The discussions allowed the women to share ideas and reflect on different scenarios that affect them within their community. The platform led to the engagement of measures that can be implemented and became a platform for engaging transformative interventions in addressing fears against crime and other measures that expose them to different form of crime. The next section presents the key themes that were identified from the gathered from the semi-structured interviews and FGD.

## **4.3 Presentation of study themes**

The fear of crime affects the individual so much that it negatively affects their social life and financial standing and limits their movement and general ambitions in life. Participants in this study shared their experiences of how fear of crime has impacted their lives, limiting their opportunities for better livelihoods. Their experiences were shared and organised as outlined in this section, with excerpts from interviews to emphasise the participants' voices.

The following themes in Table 3 were developed and grouped through a vigorous process of sorting and coding responses from the participants, both from one-on-one interviews and the focus group, reflecting on their experiences and fears of crime in

the community. The table below shows eminent themes that were developed through the process of data analysis:

**Table 4.1 Key themes and subthemes**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Subtheme</b>
1. Feelings of entrapment	Circle of poverty Gender-based violence Unemployment and precarious jobs
2. Powerlessness and vulnerabilities	Physical vulnerabilities Socialisation and vulnerabilities
3. The cost of fear	Financial costs Limited participation in social activities Psychological costs
4. Do what needs to be done to keep safe: Women's agency Ayikho enye indlela: There's no other way	Paying someone Using of ride-hailing apps Transactional sex Self-surveillance and avoidance Renting out business

#### **4.4 Theme 1: Feelings of entrapment**

A number of participants expressed feelings of not having resources and a way out of whatever hardship they are facing in their lives. They shared that their situation was the same for their mothers and elder sisters. An emphasis was placed on the situation being more challenging for women than for men. Women remain victims of different forms of cultural, structural, and direct violence across societies. For instance, many harmful cultural practices directed at women have their origins in the attempt to exert power over their sexual and emotional lives, making it difficult, if not impossible, to erase such deeply ingrained ideas. Many harmful cultural behaviours toward women can only be removed when women's sexual autonomy is understood and supported, hence in most cases women feel trapped and unheard in society (Coomaraswamy 2002).

The entrapment of women in Inanda was categorised in three sub-themes which are circles of poverty, gender-based violence (GBV), and unemployment and precarious jobs. These sub-themes kept coming up during individual interviews as well as in focus groups. Participants said that there is not much difference between their lives and

those of their older sisters and their mothers, based on what they have observed happening to elder women. This is though there are so many rights for women, but their reality and lived experiences do not reflect any progress. In reporting on the pilot pre-interview, I have outlined the interjections from the aunt and the grandmother. These interjections, agreeing and adding to what the interviewee was saying, indicate that there is a strong sense of entrapment, meaning little or no change at all.

#### **4.4.1 Circle of poverty**

The cycle of poverty is a challenging crisis that most South African households are trapped in and struggling to shake it off. Cammack (2004) understands the cycle of poverty as a devastating trap that reenforces itself, meaning that once one is poor, there are high chances that the generation to follow will have to work hard to break the cycle. In most cases, this is not easy. For example, a poor family might struggle to educate kids, further reducing their chances to break the poverty trap. In South Africa, most black women are trapped in this state of poverty. Participants from Inanda expressed how they felt trapped in this perpetual cycle of poverty. One participant pointed out that,

*I have been trying different things to get a better life, but nothing lasts, you see, we, women, we do not get support for our businesses instead we get robbed all the time making our lives not to be better, instead we are stuck in this community with nothing (Sarah).*

Sarah has a spaza shop, but she has given it up for rental, which has an impact in her earning capacity. Sarah's concerns were also shared by another participant who highlighted that there is no improvement in the quality of life that her mother lived and the one she is living now. She argued that,

*I am working in the same factory that my mum was working before passing away, there is no way that my sister and my kids will be different, the money I earn is so little, nothing will ever change in our lives (Deli, a factory worker; she was called to take her mother's position after her mother passed away, having worked more than five years in the same factory).*

Another participant, Pinky, also confirmed the above concerns by pointing out that,



*...it is hard being a woman in South Africa because you try to work but things just do not work out and your life ends up same as it has been for your mother and sisters, nimelwe usizi nje (you are just facing poverty) (Pinky).*

The participants therefore feel trapped in a circle of poverty. Unfortunately, gender inequality makes it harder for women to empower themselves and break the circle of poverty. As a result, most of the young women's lifestyle is the same as their mothers or grandmothers or worse. This is why Mamello pointed out:

*...there is 40 years difference between me and my mum, but I feel like I am living her life, I am a housewife, just like her at my age, I sell ice and second-hand clothes, she used to sell 'iziqeda' – homemade flavoured small ice blocks. I am just making ends meet, I am her, nothing has changed except the generation (Mamello).*

The level of poverty is generally defined as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living, which, according to the World Bank, is measured in terms of basic consumption needs or income required to satisfy those needs (Cammack 2004). Therefore, poverty, in its narrow definition, can be understood as a reflection of the "inability of individuals, households or entire communities to sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living" (May 2000: 5). Research and reports from Statistics SA further present that woman headed households face poverty far more than households with males (Stats SA 2022).

The participants quoted above all indicate a level of hardship and feelings of not being able to move out of poverty due to circumstances they find themselves living under. The analytic interpretation that I make here is that there is a shared feeling of entrapment in the cycle of poverty.

A similar concern for participants is the occurrence and exposure to what they perceive as gender-based violence. This belief and assertion were supported by the following statements under the subtheme of gender-based violence.

#### **4.4.2 Gender based violence**

As indicated, in 2.4, gender based violence is one of the main complex criminal activities in South Africa. Compared to many who can experience robbery and lose

valuable assets, women often suffer from a double-edged sword as they get raped or sexually harassed and also lose assets in the process. Such experiences can leave deep psychological trauma that needs counselling. As a result, women feel more unsafe and try to limit their mobility in order to minimise the chances of becoming victims. Unfortunately, women are still not safe from domestic violence, even when they choose to limit their mobility. Highlighting the fear of becoming a victim of crime in the future, Mabusi pointed out:

*...I am in constant fear that because I am a woman, I am a soft target for hijacking, rape and my Venture taken away from me anytime (Mabusi).*

Women live under constant fear of a threat of violence against them just because of their gender. Inanda is one of the 30 top police stations in South Africa with high levels of reported cases of violence against women. This statistic has been constant for more than two years now; it is then understandable if my study participants express fear of crime perpetrated against them because of their gender (Crime Statistics 2019). One participant reported thus:

*...these boys meet you on the street with your work equipment, you know, like make up brushes, my kit, things to do clients hair, on the way to a client, anything can happen, you are robbed of your equipment, your phone; if you are lucky, you are not sexually assaulted (Lelethu).*

There is therefore a strong belief that there is a link between patriarchy and crime in South Africa. This belief was expressed by most participants who pointed out that the perpetrator will most likely choose a woman as a victim due to the societal perception of women as weak creatures. One participant commented:

*... one day confirmed that my weakness is being woman. We were walking from work, a few distance ahead of us, walked our male colleagues. Three guys passed them, when they got to us, one pulled a gun, the other two, took out knives. Just like that, we were robbed of all our possessions... (Nobantu said this with so much anger).*

The same point was supported by another participant, Sarah, who reported:

*I have a spaza shop, I have been robbed more than five times in this year alone, I am not counting the other years. Just last month, me and the bakery truck, delivering bread, was robbed by my gate, they took all the money I was supposed to pay the days order with, took whatever money the driver had on him from previous deliveries.*

Sarah shared that this incident was not the first of its kind in her business life, she has been robbed at gunpoint and lost valuable stock like cigarettes and airtime numerous times. Her belief that her attack is because of her gender are based on the fact that there is another spaza shop less than 500m from her, owned by a man, which has not experience robberies as much as her.

In one focus group participants agreed that crime is high against women because women are believed to be soft and have no physical strength to fight a man. All of the 12 participants strongly believe that they are targeted by criminals because of the fact that they are women. They strongly argue that as women they are not safe at all. It is important to note here that even those that have never experienced direct, physical acts of crime against them also felt that as women they are not safe, in that they expect to be robbed at some point in their lives. This belief and expectation to be robbed has a huge impact in their daily lives as they tend to 'guard and police' themselves. Their movements are limited by thoughts of safety and planning for safety as part of their daily planning. This point will be explored further under the theme on women's self-surveillance.

As they plan to do something, go somewhere, a question arises: 'how safe I will be while doing that activity?'. Sometimes fear dictates whether or not to participate in an activity. Fear of crime has limited their actions at a cost of a better future as evidenced in the following discussions:

*I have stopped taking overtime because its either I leave home very early or come back very late. I learned the hard way, though I need this extra money from overtime, my life is more important (Deli).*

Deli shared that she experienced attempted robbery but was able to run away. She jumped to a house nearby, but in the process, she fell and broke her leg in two different places. She shared that she had to stay home for three months healing, during which time she earned less than her full salary under her company's sick leave pay policy.

Engaging with Tholile, she put an emphasis on women's belief that they are targeted because of their gender, which is perceived as easy targets. She said the following:

*One of my neighbours, ubhuti wakhona (older brother), always drives the latest model of whatever car he is driving; my other neighbour they have three cars, my neighbour at the front opposite drives an Audi A4 Sport, my mum drives a Hyundai i20, we got robbed and hijacked right in front of our driveway. The difference with all my neighbours is that they are all guys and we, at home, are a family of four women, a safe target.*

The South African National Development Plan (NDP), commonly known as 'Vision 2030', is a plan with a vision of what is to be achieved by 2030. It highlights and promises that all people in South Africa are and feel safe. This document was adopted by Cabinet in 2012 as the roadmap for all government future policy making. In detail, chapter 12 of the NDP sets out how the country is committed to building safer communities (National Planning Commission 2013). It further acknowledges that fear of crime has consequences for women and girls and their ability to achieve their potential in every sphere social and productive life. It is stated that gender-based violence in all its forms denies women and girls an opportunity to achieve equality and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution (National Planning Commission 2013).

Despite this grand plan, in 2018 August, we saw a massive movement, across the country, of women marching against the fast high rising numbers of gender-based violence. Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) had released a report which indicated a gigantic rise in the numbers of violence against women, including murder and sexual violence (Stats SA 2022). Violence against women in South Africa is alarming, to the extent that the president was forced to address residences in Cape Town following the brutal murder of a girl in a post office (Harris 2021). Such murder caused anger among the people as it was a reflection that women are no longer safe to even go to a post office during the day.

The Stats SA report was telling a story of a country failing to deliver its own promise to its citizens, to its women citizens, where safety is concerned. In 2018, Statistician-General, Risenga Maluleke, presenting the Crime Statistics Series Volume V, said "women walking free in the streets and children playing safely in open spaces are the core of the NDP goal on safety and security" (National Planning Commission 2013). A

society that is free from fear of crime is essential not only as a basic human right but also as the foundation of economic development of a country. Evidence in this report shows that the constant fear of crime limits women's engagement in various daily activities.

Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) provides for a number of rights like, the right to life, the right to freedom and security of the person, in particular section 12 (1)(c) which stipulates that "to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources". These rights seem to exist on paper yet, in reality, crime and violence against women are so pervasive in South Africa. The narrative from all participants individually and in focus group discussions indicate that women in Inanda feel unsafe and have constant fear that they can be victims of crime anytime, anywhere.

#### **4.4.3 Unemployment and the precarious jobs women hold**

Participants indicated that lack of employment leaves them with minimal or no option of changing jobs even if the current job exposes them to potential danger. In South Africa levels of unemployment are very high. At the time of conducting interviews and data collection in 2021, second quarter, the unemployment rate was at 34.4% (Statistics South Africa 2021). The situation was more dire for women, as, at the same time of reporting, women's unemployment was at 36.8%. This situation forces women to try to hold on to and keep a job under whatever situation and conditions, as chances of getting another job were dwindling and diminishing at an alarming speed every quarter.

Three participants indicated that they have never been employed from the time they left school to look for a job. Lelethu, Sanelisiwe and Mabusi have never been employed, due to lack of job opportunities. They shared that since prospects of finding a job were not looking great, at some point they found themselves pushed to start some form of a business to generate income.

Sarah and Mamello told the group that at some point they had a job but due to challenges of transport, safety, and rotating working shifts each had to resign because it was '*not worth to work anymore; the costs to maintain a job were too high for the salary earned*'. Both ladies opted to start small businesses from home.

Mamello indicated that she is not making a lot of money from her home business which is mainly selling ice to shops and liquor outlets in her community and the surrounding locations. She says she saves on transport and work-related costs like lunch box and her general upkeep like perfume and cosmetics while she is working from home.

On the negative side she argues that she spends too much time being a housewife performing tasks like cleaning, cooking for her family – most of them go to work, but she is not financially compensated for this work. Although a focus on women's unpaid work is not the focus of this study, it forms a backdrop to the harsh conditions experienced by the participants. Scholars like Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka (2014) pointed out that women's unpaid labour is often the missing aspect of gender studies, further highlighting how researchers underestimate this role that women play in stabilising families and ensuring the success of such families. The following examples are some of the works that women do and are not compensated. Cooking, cleaning and taking care of kids etc. In fact, patriarchal expectations are placed on women to perform these roles without compensation. In some instances, a failure to perform such duties for free can even lead to a family divorce.

The challenge is that women spend more of their time doing these unpaid work activities compared to men. For women that go to work, there is a double jeopardy as they are still expected to come back and perform such unpaid activities at the house (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka 2014). Scholars like Montle (2020) believe that the culture of lobola in South Africa heavily contributes to the expectation that women must perform housewife duties. In other words, proponents of lobola tend to believe that the duties were already paid for the day man paid lobola for his wife. However, women believe that unpaid work is part of gender inequality that limit women agency.

Sarah runs a spaza shop, which is basically a township convenient store stocking mainly everyday grocery needs. Sarah used to work in a factory as a machinist for a clothing company but was faced with frequent short time due to challenges in the textile industry. She explains as follows:

*We were put on short time maybe to work two or three days a week, I ended up working for transport ngivukela amakinati (waking up to earn nothing but peanuts).*

She further lamented how she could not get a job in her area of expertise:

*I had a certificate as an overlocker, but I couldn't get a job anywhere else because the Chinese cheap clothing flooded the whole Durban town, we lost our jobs because people were now buying cheap 'fongkong' clothing.*

Similarly, Mamello raised the same point but highlighted that the fear of crime worsened her situation. She was forced to resign from work due to unfavourable working hours which required her to work night shifts. She commented:

*I did not lose my job because I resigned but my problem was that I was looking for a better one in terms of some flexible hours of work because my shifts were just not safe. I feared that one day I will be attacked and the worst like rape will happen. But I looked for more than a year.*

Mabusi explained how she went searching for a job – “eyofesa”- loosely meaning ‘searching for a job and facing prospective employer’s:

*I submitted CVs with no success until I decided ukuyofesa at the companies and factory gates, nothing stable or permanent came through until I decided to take advantage of the fact that I had a driver's licence and at home there was a vehicle that I could use to start a business. Though I am doing as my source of income I am not hundred percent free as you know that driving scholar transport is a male dominated industry, so as a woman I have to toughen up and be a man.*

The participants' response demonstrates that the society is patriarchal in nature and favours women who are not scared to toughen up and break away from the societal expectations that women are soft. This resonates with Morewitz (2019) who argued that modernisation present women with different opportunities to exploit. For example, women can try work in the transport industries as Uber and Bolt, the ride-hailing businesses, since they do not require any specific gender. Unfortunately, this industry is still dominated by man as it is considered risky and vulnerable to robberies, thereby scaring women with intention to work as Uber or Bolt drivers.

*Mina I just knew from seeing my sisters behla, benyuka befuna umsebenzi (going all over places looking for employment), I said no I have my hands, I have skills, I am going to stand on my own. I needed to do that fast*

*because I already had two kids, that's how I started my business. It was a need, not just a choice, there was no job out there waiting for me (Lelethu).*

The stories above indicate the life stories of women who had to start own businesses, not because they knew that they have the potential to do so, nor was it their goals, but they have started these small businesses out of necessity. All participants say they started a business because they couldn't find employment, and they needed to survive. Raniga (2021) writes that it is widely acknowledged that women across the Global South countries are unable to secure employment in the mainstream economy and end up in the second economy out of necessity rather than choice (Chant and Pedwell 2008; Frye 2013; Raniga 2021).

The above participants constantly face challenges of the threat of robberies and the fear of crime happening to them at any given moment, as shared above, and thus limit their involvement and uptake even in these businesses they have started.

Mabusi explained that she could put a second 'kombi' on the road as the demand is very high for more scholar transport, but she fears that criminals will target her thinking she has money. On the other hand, Sarah shared that she has completed negotiations with some Pakistanis to rent out her spaza shop because she had suffered enough incidents of robberies and fears that one day, she might be killed.

It is clear that the impact of fear of crime for these two small businesswomen limits their economic potential and will have a negative impact in their wellbeing and limit them in exploring further what they could be able to achieve. Sen (2005), in his advocating of freedoms highlights what he termed protective security, which looks at the social safety net providing income supplement and employment benefits, as one of the vital freedoms for humans to flourish. These limitations on women further reinforce male dominance in most societies.

The other theme that came very strong from the other participants was the concern on how precarious their jobs were. These participants are mainly working as waitresses employed at food chains and restaurants. The nature of employment contracts entered into in these food chains and restaurants is not always up to the standards set out by Labour Relations Act and emphasised by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. (Bamford 2004). Precarious employment is defined as insecure employment that consists of atypical employment contracts, a high risk of unemployment, low job



tenure, minimal or no social benefits, low wages, high risks of ill-health, poor working conditions, and less opportunity for training, career progression and social representation (Barchiesi 2011; Vosko 2010; Standing 2008). Despite such challenges, participants highlighted that workers are desperate for work and not ready to risk losing their jobs even if they are being underpaid. This is why Nobantu said:

*People come and go, you may be employed today but you can be easily fired next month, remember we are also scared to be part of unions, scared to lose our jobs (Nobantu said this with despondent eyes).*

This situation shows how women are vulnerable and powerless to change their working conditions due to the fear of losing their jobs. Another participant also pointed out:

*Where I work, it seems as if they target us, young people, mainly girls, worse, black, from townships!! We are not paid what is there by Department of Labour, but because you can come today, be gone the next day without warning or even notice period; we soldier on. (Pinky, with a very sad face).*

Women therefore suffer from gender-based violence and structural inequalities, but this is worse for black women due to the racial prejudice that exist in South Africa. Another participant also stated:

*You see, what went on with Covid 19, shops closed, we were paid peanuts compared to what was said on TV, but who am I to ask? I can just not be on the roster next week if I ask these questions, sisi (emphasised by Pinky, indicating how easy it is to be fired from the kind of job she is doing as she feels they have minimal labour rights).*

The above comment shows how women in the restaurant industry remain subjugated, especially in the post Covid era where unemployment is high. One participant showed how Covid affected workers by explaining as follows:

*Our factory closed for Covid; we got paid so little compared to what I heard on the news. It was just to help you get by, you know, we also do not complain much as I know how long I stayed at home with no job, I cannot risk losing this one.*

It is important to mention that data collection started prior to the national lockdown but had to stop due to the restrictions. We resumed our sessions after Lockdown level 3 because regulations permitted meetings as small groups. Data above and discussions reflected that my study participants were highly impacted by lockdown restrictions, as the majority of them are working jobs that have no long-term security.

In this study, the precarious nature of the jobs that the study participants were involved in indicates in detail their insecurities created by the nature of their employment. They were faced with a consistent and continuous fear of losing one's job and therefore accept unfavourable working conditions, unfair working hours, and an ever-present risk of retrenchment.

There is a considerable argument to be made about the structural subjugation of women's freedoms forcing them to adopt adaptive preferences and behaviours in the face of limited freedoms. According to the International Labour Organisation (2021), the post Covid employment environment was tough for most workers, males and females, though women tend to be affected the most, especially single mothers. According to Madgavkar et al (2020), the impact of Covid-19 is that it increased the burden of unpaid work for women as they had to take care of home responsibilities and kids. This explains why job loss was more prevalent among women than men. Data from ILO revealed that women make up to 39% of global workers yet 54% of the overall job loss (International Labour Organisation 2021). Consequently, women's agency remains suppressed as their ability to become independent continues to be hindered post Covid.

#### **4.5 Theme 2: Powerlessness and vulnerabilities**

This section will focus on women's feelings of powerlessness and vulnerabilities, whether real or perceived, as a theme that came up strongly in individual interviews and focus groups discussions. Women shared how insecure, powerless, and vulnerable they feel as they move around, working in their different fields of work.

Media have often highlighted the extent of violence against women, and this has a huge impact on women's freedom of movement. Such reports are a constant reminder that as women they are not safe.

I will first attempt to address the use of both the terms powerlessness and vulnerabilities in the same sentence. Though the terms are not the same, in the process of data collection I found that study participants were using these terms in the same sentence more in explaining and emphasising a point. Therefore, I will also use these two words interchangeably.

In explaining what powerlessness is, I want to explain what power is and argue that powerlessness is the total opposite of power. Most scholars understand power as the capacity to get something done (directly or indirectly) or the ability to not to do something when another demands it of you (HCWSC 1995; Okome 2002; Social Watch 2005). Thus, powerlessness in this study refers to one's inability to change a situation (own circumstances or those influenced by the community). Most women's capacity to change their situations is limited, hence they remain powerless to effectively change their fate.

#### **4.5.1 Physical vulnerabilities**

Most women expressed their fear of crime in South Africa due to the physical vulnerabilities that they possess. For example, women are perceived to be weak and lack enough physical power to fight off offenders. This is why societies committed to fighting gender-based violence have to recognise that crime has made most societies unsafe for women; hence the need for the government to intervene and improve security. I will discuss how physical and financial vulnerabilities exacerbate women's fear of crime and limits their participation in activities that could have a positive impact on their livelihoods.

*My most fear is that of being robbed and the thought that I can further be raped.*

Sanelisiwe said this as she navigates selling different products like Tupperware, AMC pots and Justine beauty products. She argues that she is faced with fear of being robbed of her products every time she leaves her home.

Study participants felt that, because they are women, they do not have the physical power and strength to defend themselves by fighting off would-be attackers. The narrative of gender-based violence became strong in the focus group discussion. Participants were debating whether they are afraid and attacked because they are

women or because the attackers believe they have something of value in their possession.

Dintle suggests that, in her field of work, women have reported being victims of robbery and attempted sexual assault more than their male counterparts, which makes her believe that women are attacked more because of their gender. She said:

*Two of my colleagues have been robbed of their laptops and cell phones while conducting assessments for potential clients. The one incident they were sitting in a restaurant; this guy just grabbed the laptop and ran out of the restaurant, just like that; he was out, crossed the street and disappeared.*

It is clear that women are increasingly becoming targets of petty crime and robberies even during the day in public places that looks safe. For example, one participant reported as follows:

*A client arranged a meeting with my female colleague under the pretence of adding more products to his portfolio. He asked to meet her by the beach, they did meet in his car. In the middle of their discussion, he changed the topic and started fondling her. She tried to open the door, but the car was locked. Fortunately, the car guard noticed something and approached the car, saw my colleague fighting in that tight space. The car guard called for help. That is how she escaped being raped, imagine by someone you already know as he was an already existing client.*

Zinde concurred with the above based on her personal experience as she goes to work very early and come back late. She argued that alighting from the taxi to her work-block she still has a walking distance, and women especially are the targets of handbag snatching and serious robbery at knife point. Many times, these incidents do not happen when women are walking in the company of their male colleagues. Zinde said the following,

*I am always scared, in the morning I leave very early around 4h00, it is still dark and not a lot of people are moving around, literally no one is at the same taxi stop. Even the taxi drivers they know I catch a taxi there at that time. The Polo car missed me by luck one day, I ran for my life back home.*

*Everybody knows about the Polo. My mum stand by the veranda until the taxi leaves, hayi this day, I was screaming, running back to the house – baleka ma, nansi iPolo!! We ran back to the house and locked. I heard the next day that Nobuhle was stabbed two times by the Polo thugs, robbing her, taking her cell phone, watch, her money and took off her shoes, off from her feet!! She couldn't run fast enough. That is what we are faced with as women here in Inanda my sister, because we are weaker than men, thugs take advantage.*

It is evident that the issue of rising crime in the communities of Inanda has a serious negative impact on the movement of its people. The situation is worse for women as they feel that they are targeted because they are of a 'softer gender physically'. This notion makes women feel helpless, powerless and in need of protection from and by men. This is a serious paradox - women's needs of protection by men while the same men are also perceived as the 'perpetrators of violence against women'. In clarification of this point participants argued that at some level they are afraid of the men they do not know, men that they are not familiar with. There was an indication of some level of trusting the men they work with, believing that those men can and will protect them should they be attacked.

This believed and expected protection from men needed some further enquiry, to which participants provided that this protection has its roots from religious beliefs. For instance, it is said in the Bible, a man is the head of the household and thus has a responsibility to protect his wife and family (Ephesians 5:23 ESV). Women themselves believe that men believe, and accept the responsibility, takes the responsibility seriously, and respect it as an instruction to protect women.

It was further cited that in the Zulu culture men have a responsibility of protecting women. The challenge of this outlook is the fact that it limits women's agency, trivialising women's fear of crime and the limitations it imposes on women's access and enjoyment of freedoms as a simple matter to be resolved through religious or cultural means, and/or physical protection.

Müller and Shahrokh (2016) wrote that seeing men as protectors is paternalist in nature, and most importantly, it is based on patriarchal norms and beliefs. Accepting the notion of the male protection renders women powerless as someone unable to

care for herself. It leaves the fundamental structural systems of women's oppression unquestioned (Nussbaum 2000).

#### **4.5.2 Vulnerabilities arising from socialisation**

South Africa remain a patriarchal community despite its strong constitution and the bill of rights that advocates for equality and non-discrimination on gender, or any other grounds listed in the Bill of Rights (Montle 2020). In most societies especially rural areas and townships, the effects of patriarchy are overwhelmingly high in empowering men and disempowering women. This often results in vulnerabilities that result from the socialisation of girls from a very young age. Below are some of the responses from the participant that shows how society entrenches patriarchal roles. The responses show how men and women, boys and girls are taught to be behave. For example, one participant highlighted:

*If you are a girl at home and you already have kids and you are unmarried – you have to make ends meet. No matter the conditions, you must feed your kids and do what you have to do, even people judge you.*

Another participant expressed her disappointment with the gender roles and expectations that society place on women. She said:

*As a girl child you have a conflict of being expected to play a bigger role because boys do not want to pitch and share responsibilities – this conflict comes up now when you start to try and exert your authority as the bread winner – you get reminded that you are just a girl.*

The same concerns were raised by another participant who argued that men still expect women to be submissive, even at the workplace. She highlighted this:

*Language use by men is often authoritative and controlling women's activism and limiting my agency. This is worse because of the way I was brought up, being taught to be submissive even at work – intombazane ayikhulumu kakhulu. This creates a culture of silencing women when they are supposed to report unwanted sexual advances at work or harassment and general unfair labour practices.*

The participants' responses resonate with Nussbaum's argument that women's rights to equality must not only exist on paper but must be reflected in their everyday

livelihoods (Nussbaum 2000). Here, the role of the society in facilitating the disempowerment of women is witnessed. According to Lew and Sale (2017), society is a strong tool of exerting male dominance over women. This is often done through institutions such as families and churches that teach young females to be submissive and young male to be dominant in order to be regarded as a man in the society. These expectations and gender roles assigned to young adults become part of their identity, thereby making it hard for man to respect women despite their hard-working capabilities and contributions that they bring to the family.

Though women's capabilities are increasingly becoming appreciated, as breadwinners and how they contribute to the economy of the country, the majority of women still believe that the process could be better if submissiveness and gender roles are dealt away with at the family level. For example, one participant highlighted how her family treated her brothers with respect simply because they are man, even though they contributed nothing to the family. She argued:

*In my family, it is only my brothers who are allowed to speak with the ancestors. My parents further made it clear that only my brothers will be sent to the shops as they can handle themselves. There was no punishment for them even when they came back late and drunk. However, the same parents told me that I must stay at home even though I was older than my brothers.*

This shows that women's capacity to handle themselves is not appreciated enough in patriarchal societies. There is a general understanding that a good girl must stay at home, thereby limiting their agency and need to actively pursue a better future. A critical point to raise here is that men too are not spared crime in Inanda; SAPS crime reports indicate high numbers of murders with young men being victims. Studies have indicated how men respond to questions of fear of crime by saying they are aware that there is crime, but they do not change any of their behaviours and movements.

A conclusion that one can make from the experiences shared by the participants is that women are socialised to accept and normalise fear of crime as a part of their life. This normalisation and lose of agency are a result of what Dr Mzi Nduna term as 'poly violence', which is violence that happens to women in different spaces and places, shapes women's interaction with life. It could be violence women experience in

churches, at the workplaces, at homes and even in public transport. The end result is that women's fear of crime is shaped from birth through socialisation and gets normalised through the systems and structures governing family, community and the workplace.

#### **4.6 Theme 3: The cost of fear**

The findings of this study established that fear has major but different costs for women in Inanda. Hence, there are different strategies that women employ to ensure their safety as they continue to make a living. It became very clear that, individually and as a group, these women have diverse strategies that they employ. Some of the strategies are planned, in some cases opportunities presented themselves and they capitalised on the opportunity. Subthemes below will highlight some of the strategies participants are utilising to address or manage their fear of crime, it also highlights what the participants are paying as costs in financial terms, and as costs in emotional and psychological terms.

##### **4.6.1 Financial costs**

Over the years, the link between crime and its consequences has been shown to be complex and not as simple as most would expect (Garofalo, 1981). However, research in the field of criminology has clarified this link. One of the most common links between crime and its consequences is the financial costs that associated with the victims of crimes. Unfortunately, this financial burden is also experienced by those that are not victims of crime but invests in security measures to due to the fear of being victimised. According to Dyubhele (2011), women spend more on security as they anticipate encountering crime incidents compared to men. This anticipation of fear is worse for women who experienced fear before as they will try by all means to avoid being victimised.

One participant shared that she was robbed at knife point before, about five years ago, but still today she fears walking that route, she would rather take a taxi to pass through. She explained her ordeal as follows:

*...they just came from nowhere behind us, I did not realise that we are now being robbed when that guy said to me where is your phone, I thought he was asking for time, until I saw a knife. I threw him my whole handbag. Since that day, almost five years ago, I do not pass that route; I rather take*



*a local taxi, short distance but it is ok to spend money than what I went through that day.*

The majority of the participants agreed that it is a norm to ask someone to accompany you to or from the bus stop or taxi stop for protection. Sometimes one goes with even very small kids, as long as there a number of them to make noise if there is an attack. One participant said this:

*Mostly during the day, I am accompanied by my son and his friends, ages range from 9yrs to 12yrs at the most. They won't be able to fight back if I am attacked by in numbers, they will be able to scream and attract attention. Every adult will come out wondering what's happening to the kids. I give them small change like R2 rands for chips.*

Women households are easily targeted by criminals compared to men. Recall how Sarah in 4.4.2 (Gender based violence) pointed out that she owns a spaza shop and she been robbed countless times compared to the spaza shop next door which is owned by a male. Data from Budget Insurance company in South Africa shows that in 2021 alone, there was a massive increase in physical security measures. Data further shows that since 2018, demand for locking bolts increased and an increase in customers who preferred to invest in security gates was also noted (Businessstech 2021). The anticipation of crime and fear of being victimised results women spending on security measures such as burglar bar windows, electric fences, remote controlled car garages, home alarm systems, CCTV systems and dogs. Most of these security measures are costly and would have been unnecessary if crime was not rampant in South Africa. As pointed by Garofalo (1981), criminals are opportunists who try to minimise costs by picking easy targets, thereby explaining why women are mostly targeted.

During a focus group discussion participants were sharing what measures they are taking as means of protection; Khethiwe said she has invested in the following measures:

*I have spent so much money firstly upgrading the gate at home into an electrical remote-controlled gate, so that I do not have to get out of the car*

*coming in and out. For the car itself, it is a fortress, it has an alarm, a panic button, and the gorilla steering locker.*

There are also other financial costs related to fear of crime that can easily be overlooked. For example, former victims of crime often invest in defensive security systems such as joining fighting clubs to learn basic ways to defend yourself and investing in pocket weapons such as paper spray (Alexander 2016). These measures require money, yet the majority of South Africans are struggling to put food on the table, hence spending on security becomes luxurious for poor families.

Mabusi shared that she has contemplated applying for a licenced firearm because she feels that in her line of work it is a norm to have a firearm as they are forever at risk of hijackings. She said at the moment though she carries a pepper spray just so at least if she gets an opportunity, she can protect herself.

*Besides putting all the necessary safety requirements in the car like Tracker, for the insurance company, which are very costly, I still felt the need to add a gun for protection. That process is long, so for now I have a pepper spray (Mabusi)*

#### **4.6.2 Limited participation in social activities**

Applying the lens of women empowerment with self-determination, some participants have actively taken charge of their lives in the midst of scarce and limited resources. Their actions are supported by a number of authors as accelerating women's agency. However, the majority of women do not feel safe to roam around as they please due to the fear of encountering criminals, especially at night. As a result, most women avoid crowded public places such as CBDs. Highlighting on the experiences of women in CBDs, Minyuku (2017) concludes that women have accepted that fear is part of their daily routine every time they go into the CBDs in South Africa. This fear is worse for women who use public transport. There is a sense that the society itself is complacent towards crime, as most people can only watch with sympathy as someone gets robbed in front of them. This is why Minyuku (2017) voiced out that it is wrong to talk or celebrate Women's Day without addressing the issues that limit women agency such as crime.

The fear of crime further entrenches the patriarchal roles in South Africa societies, as women prefer to stay home and ask men to do certain activities on their behalf. This

comes from the patriarchal belief that men are less likely to be targeted by criminals compared to women and they are physically in a better position to defend themselves compared to women. As pointed out by News24 (2021), almost 80% of South African women are scared and do not feel safe when jogging alone. For a number of years, scholars like Coan (2013) have pointed out how most women who wish to be physically active do not feel safe to jog in their neighbourhoods, with the resulting limitations to their ability to enhance their wellbeing. As a result, most women end up being more exposed to sedentary lifestyles compared to men. The same concerns are still relevant to date, highlighting on how the community has not changed in addressing women concerns. Most women's nightmare is therefore the fear of physical harm such as rape rather than the fear of being robbed. This fear restricts women movements or activities especially at night.

Police reports of violence against women in Inanda are very high; participants indicated that it is a risk that one thinks about all the time when they think of going out for leisure. The majority of the participants argued that it is better to take the risk of going to work or for something that will help you earn money, because any movement comes with financial costs either in the form of paying for transport or paying for protection. Sometimes weighing the costs against entertainment makes one rather look for entertainment locally. The researcher can relate with this point of the participants entertaining themselves where they see an opportunity, as on the 16th December, when it was supposed to be a group discussion, it ended up being a braai instead as someone came with alcohol and said she will have a few while we meet. The session got distracted because other participants liked the idea and started putting together money for braai meat from the butchery together with their drinks. Participants were saying they wanted to 'chili' after the session, but the researcher opted to cancel the session as it was clear that concentration will be compromised. This incident shows that when these participants see a safe opportunity to relax and 'chili' they make the most of it.

#### **4.6.3 Psychological costs**

The impact of fear of crime on people's life has been found through research, that it is dire as many have found to suffer psychological illnesses like anxiety and depression (Eagle 2015). This is how Garofalo, in his development of the theory of fear of crime, argued that fear of crime is as an emotional reaction characterised by a sense of

danger and anxiety (Garofalo, 1981: 840). Women in South Africa live under constant and persistent threat of danger, in which crime is seen as inevitable in most communities. Evidence from the SAPS crime report shows that the prediction of the inevitability of crime happening is a true and ever-present reality.

Violence against women has reached a state called an endemic stage, it is ever present, causing major concerns regarding access and promotion of equality for women. The situation and reality of life faced by the women participating in this study is no different; they are fighting for their rights and voices to be heard.

The sense of anxiety and danger is produced by the threat of physical harm and threat of losing important property belongings. The threat of physical harm often results in deep psychological effects for women compared to the fear of economic loss. In fact, there is a general understanding among South African societies that life or health is more important than money or gadgets such as phones, laptops and cars that are generally targeted by criminals. This insinuates that victims must surrender the belongs to avoid being physically harmed or killed. However, unlike men, women are not guaranteed safety by handing over their belongings without providing any resistance. This is because women sometimes suffer the double jeopardy of losing belongings and being raped. The psychological effects of physical harm such as rape can be overwhelming, leading to anxiety and depression or suicide (Maluleke and Mamabolo 2022).

Saneliswe had shared that her worst fear is that she could be robbed and raped. We have heard from Dintle how her colleague escaped attempted rape by a client she knew. It is understandable that all the participants indicated that they fear crime generally but fear the threat of sexual violence more. This threat is ever present in their daily lives, to the extent that it controls their movement.

Tholile indicated that there are routes she avoids because they remind her of her vulnerability. She has a huge psychological trauma that she needs to address in that she still fears something that happened more than five years ago. Sarah has experienced robberies, theft of her property several times, she has constant fear that it could happen again. For Mabusi, she accepts fear as part of her daily life because of the business she is in. Normalizing is not normal, there must be a psychological shift that took place for a person to reach that fear normalization stage. In a study by

Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyi (2016) findings outlined how the taxi industry is fraught with a history of violence that seem to have been accepted as part of the industry.

#### **4.7 Theme 4: Do what needs to be done: Women's agency**

Studies on women's agency frequently focus on patriarchy and how abusive relationships force women to adapt and find their own survival strategies (Jasor 2021). This study also identified that crime and its financial costs on women force them to develop a thick skin to adapt. In order to be safe, women have developed different forms of agency and came up with different strategies that will be discussed below.

I posed a question asking participants to share strategies, what they do to keep safe while continuing working. In almost every answer there was a sense of 'I needed to do something otherwise I would have no income'. Participants devised plans and find ways around their fear of crime, their fear of being a victim, to ensure that they are active citizens taking charge of their lives. The answer to the question of 'what strategy you utilise to keep safe while pursuing a living was typified by this:

I do what needs to be done, whatever that is, all but to ensure that I get where I have to be, I get to work using whichever means that are available to me because what else can I do sisi (my sister)?

The main theme was borne out of this assertion as all participants related to the point that whatever it is that they are doing to keep safe is because in the first place they feel that they need to take care of themselves because no one else can. In short it says stop complaining and do what needs to be done to get on with life. My analysis of this statement is that it gives an allowance and acceptance and maybe even pardon the strategy employed, whether accepted or not by society. I argue that this is the representation of women's agency at their level with whatever resources available to them.

##### **4.7.1 Paying someone to phelezela (accompany) or hlangabeza (meet)**

Most women acknowledge that the government is not doing much to combat crime. As a result, woman have to take desperate measures to protect themselves from crime. The most common measure taken by women is to avoid unnecessary movements especially at night. However, if this cannot be avoided, it is best to avoid

going to certain places where the crime rate is high or avoiding walking through dangerous routes.

In some areas, especially townships like Inanda, women do not feel safe to walk alone especially when it is dark. As a result, they are forced to get someone to accompany them or even pay someone, in most cases a man. This strategy is known as the act of pheleza or hlangabeza, which indirectly reinforces male dominance as the protector (Chiliza and Masuku 2020).

Nobantu is a waitress at the Gateway Mall in Durban. She shared that working in a restaurant comes with long hours of work than office work. Her employer does not provide transport for the workers and as a result staff members make their own plans. Nobantu explained that, when she works late shift, she finishes after 22h00, going back home with public transport. The last taxi arrives in her area close to midnight. It goes without saying that Nobantu reaches home at a very dangerous time for a woman, having to walk alone from the taxi drop off point to her home. Her strategy is that she reached an agreement with a young man who is her neighbour to wait for her at the drop off point to walk her home every evening when she works late shift. This service comes with a financial cost, as she pays this young man.

*...I have a good relationship with my neighbours, so one of the guys yase next door I used to phone him asking him to please come meet me estobhini [at the stop], shame, poor guy he will be there without fail. To say thank you I used to buy him a packet of cigarette or airtime. one day he asked me for money to buy lunch box, things for his kid. That was when I realised that it will be best to give him money so he can utilise it for his needs. I pay him R200 a month (Nobantu).*

*I pay my own brother for either meeting me from work or walking me in the morning because, if I work opening shift, I must leave home around four in the morning. At times it is still dark and there is not a lot of people on the streets(Pinky).*

Mabusi added that she too at times pay someone to drive with her, especially when she heard that there was a hijacking in the area recently. She pays one man for a few days until she feels the dust has settled.

As participants mentioned paying someone as a strategy, they also pointed out that the strategy came at an additional cost to their already tight and already constrained budgets. Mabusi pointed that she gets a fixed amount of money for her scholar transport; there is no other way of making extra money. While for Pinky and Nobantu it depends on tips; if patrons are generous enough to tip then the burden for 'protection' cost is lessened.

Pinky shared a further frustrating occurrence, which happens more than once in a month, that her brother come to collect her drunk. She says in instances like these she feels more vulnerable to crime because of her 'protector' who is intoxicated and is not in a position to 'protect' her, instead he becomes loud and attract attention unnecessarily.

Participants discussed at length the costs and the value of paying someone, it was clear that there are benefits but costs are also embedded in their strategies. The biggest debate was on the role of men as protectors, whilst fearing same or some men as perpetrators of possible harm on women. An observation made here was how fear of crime gives away women's power to men, requiring them to play the important role of protectors. In the previous chapters I have touched on the paradox of needing men to protect women but also fearing men as they are perpetrators of violence against women. There is a need to investigate further this paradox of 'which men are safe, which men are unsafe'. Even though women feel this way, they still felt that there is no other way of 'surviving' without relying on men's protection.

Paying someone, in this instance, a man, seemed to be a strategy that is working, albeit some challenges as mentioned in the discussions above. Above all, it imposes additional financial costs for the women in the study.

#### **4.7.2 Use of ride-sharing apps**

The fear of crime is a major challenge especially for women who work night shifts. Most major companies understand the level of crime in South Africa and therefore provide staff taxis to their workers (Pelders and Nelson 2019). However, some workers do not have this privilege and will therefore have to make alternative measures such as creating a club lift or using Bolt and Uber, the ride-sharing applications. Unfortunately, crime against women in this industry is also increasing in South Africa, further limiting women's mobility (Wilmans and Rashied 2021).

In highlighting the use of Uber as a strategy, Sanelisiwe shared her story that she collects some of her products in Durban's Berea Centre, from where she has to walk to the taxi rank some 2kms away or catch a taxi. She says there is a lot of crime if you walk, the route is not safe there; there are many 'paras' (thugs) that snatch away your products. The phenomenon of 'paras' has its links to substance abuse and crime. There are a number of studies looking into the phenomenon but what is important to note is that Durban city centre and the surrounding areas are faced with a rise in 'paras' and crime related to 'paras'.

For Sanelisiwe, using the services of Uber presented a safer and faster method. She further shared that sometimes she clubs with another agent who is also residing in Inanda when they collect their products. In this way they are able to share the costs of an Uber. This cuts her costs but also provides some further protection against any threats that might be posed by the Uber driver. Again, crime related to ride-hailing applications has risen in the past years where mainly women have fallen victims of the drivers. They are vulnerable to being sexually assaulted and also robbed of their possessions. This current study did not interrogate in detail crimes committed by such drivers; instead, it explored the use of ride-hailing as a strategy for safety. A point that one can make though is that even the strategies women are using have their own elements and possibilities of them experiencing crime. The strategies that are adopted carry their own threat of violence. When this point was raised to Sanelisiwe, she said:

*What can I do? I use Uber knowing that it has challenges, but I take that risk because I see no other better way. I have to do what I can otherwise I have no other means of collecting my products, ayikho enye indlela.*

This phrase, *ayikho enye indlela* (there is no other way) spoke to a sense of inevitability and fatalism amongst the participants.

Sanelisiwe also mentioned that most of her clients use ride-hailing applications when collecting their products from her home. Previously she used to deliver but, due to experiencing robbery, she stopped. People collecting their own products from her home have also helped to cut her costs as she was paying for delivering.

Lelethu says she uses Uber to move around going to clients, who are mainly around the location. Ubering is a bit safer in safeguarding her equipment. The cost is a bit



expensive compared to taking a local taxi but she decided that she would rather incur those costs than risk the threat of losing her equipment.

Mamello also supports using ride-hailing applications, for the same reasons that it offers some degree of safety especially because it picks you at home and drops you exactly at your destination. She says there is a lot of crime enroute to the places where she orders and buy her products. There are dangers to and from these places – on the way to the wholesaler you can be robbed of your cash, while on the way from the wholesaler you can be robbed of your purchase. She also uses Uber, though she points out that she too has some reservations, as there are many incidents reported of crime perpetrated by the Uber drivers. In this instance she says she makes sure that she screenshots the trip details and sends that information to someone else. Just in case there is an incident, someone will have information on the driver and time of her trip for investigation purposes.

*At least sisi there will be some information to start your case if you are robbed or disappear, coz even Uber is not safe, women are raped, robbed, and sometimes killed by Uber drivers. But I feel it is a better evil, I take my chances. You see one gambles with life; which is a better way, to be robbed, raped, or killed? Taxi? Criminals out there on the streets or take a chance with Uber? Well for me, most times I go for Uber (Mamello).*

#### **4.7.3 Transactional sex**

The above-mentioned alternative strategies to ensuring earning a living can be costly to average working-class people, hence the reason why some women opt to use transactional sexual engagements to meet their needs. Transactional sex has been defined as a sexual relationship, outside of sex work, motivated primarily by the expectation of material gain (Leclerc-Madlala 2002). The gain maybe in the form of money, gifts or exchange for a certain benefit. A study conducted in uMlazi, a township in Durban, amongst young women professing to be engaging in transactional sex (Leclerc-Madlala 2002), indicates that this is a behaviour of long standing.

In some cases, participants shared that other women resort to sexual transitional relationships with taxi drivers in order to reduce the costs of transport (Huschke 2019). Thus, desperate measures maintain the patriarchal dominance in South African societies. This is because for most women, fear often results in limited mobility and

ambition as some women end up deciding not to work overtime, thereby failing to reach their financial goals. This is a challenge that was highlighted by most participants who argued that fear disempowers women unless women find alternative measures to avoid limited mobility. Hence the reason why some women opt to use transactional sexual engagements to meet their needs.

When one participant introduced this topic in the group discussion at first there was a sense of uneasiness and an observed reservation by the majority of the group. The researcher asked why people are not engaging with the topic like the other points before. One participant responded that the issue is 'too personal' and she fears that the discussion might end up as a story in the community. The researcher suggested that the group must discuss how they would like to proceed; should the topic be dropped and or be discussed further in individual interviews? The group asked the researcher to step out for a minute so that they can discuss amongst themselves. When the researcher was called back to the session, she was informed that the group has agreed that the point be discussed in general, so that not anyone of them would disclose whether they are currently involved in transactional sex. But they informed the researcher that some of them have and still sometimes do utilise this strategy when there is a need.

The researcher asked why there was such apprehension to discuss this strategy like the other strategies. The following points were raised:

- The strategy is too personal, in most cases those that are using it they do it in hiding.
- There are acceptable and unacceptable behaviours sexually; transactional sex was seen as unacceptable behaviour in the broader society.
- There are known and social expectations about how women should behave sexually.
- They do not want any member of the research participants to be later stigmatised as 'selling her body'.
- Some of them, if not almost all, they are prominent members of church, and their families are also members of different churches. A risk of this research be accessed by someone from the church might have dire consequences for them and their families.

Listening to the participants explaining the above reasons, as a researcher, I had to respect their decision. Our engagement going into this research was based on trust, so I had to make sure that I keep loyalty and abide further by the DUT ethics in ensuring that the research must course no harm to anyone.

I have made few observations for myself about this process. The first one is how on guard these women are when it comes to how their community view them. They clearly care and cherish being part of the community and are not about to risk being seen as behaving outside of what is accepted in the community. Fearing that church members might find out about the transactional sex and the fear of being ostracized was also something that was indicating the amount of value they placed in being accepted, to be part of the community. At the time of the incident, I wasn't clear on the use of 'selling body' instead of transactional sex – whether participants are aware that these are two different though sometimes entwined phenomena. This question was asked later. The following conversation will not have names; even though I am using pseudonyms, we agreed to further not utilise any names at all.

*I used to travel with the last taxi from work because of the late shift, if I am on closing duty I knock off after 23h00 most of the times. Before COVID it was even later because people were still eating out and going to clubs so we will close almost at midnight. The last taxi from my work to here at times will not have full load, but the driver understood because vele (anyway) we pay midnight fare, so he covers his costs. The cost of night transport, the night shift itself were very strenuous on me. Every day I wanted to quit. When the drive made advances, I took a decision to benefit from his 'love' request. As a girlfriend I won't pay. So, for me that how it started, I say it is a nikanika (give and take) situation because outside the work trips we actually do not see much of each other, except when I am to spend a night with him 'to pay his dues'.*

This participant further elaborated that there is no serious love between them; the relationship exists for and during the night travel. There is no spoken agreement on what she says in terms of relationship but argues that it is implied in how they speak and not speak to each other outside the night shift trips. Other participants weighed in on the matter, adding that the sole purpose of this type of a relationship is to help each

other – the women to get what she wants or needs and for the men to get sexual service.

*One thing to remember is that I have my boyfriend and this person too has his girlfriend, so I shouldn't think about him much. I am in this relationship as a means to an end.*

The researcher posed a question:

*So, you can be called a 'sex worker'?*

Participants explained that what they do in the nikanika business is totally different to sex work in many ways. First, they are not involved in a business or work like sex work; for them there is some form of a relationship that is long 'termish' as opposed to one night service. In the case of transactional sex, there is some level of a relationship in and out of a sexual encounter as the relationship/s mainly originate from a loose love relationship. Furthermore, they argued, you are involved with the same partner for the duration of the 'relationship' as opposed to sex work where you might serve different people a day. In a study conducted in Madagascar, authors (Freedman, Rakotoarindrasata and Randrianasolorivo 2021) write that "whilst participants did not self-identify as sex workers, several talked about how young were using their bodies to earn money and doing what they referred to as "body work". In several of the FGDs, participants tried to identify the difference between girls involved in TS and what they called "prostitutes (the term sex worker)". There are similarities in these findings from Madagascar to the view held by women in Inanda that there is a difference between sex work and what they are involved in, which is transactional sex. The other similarity between the two studies is the question of whether women engage in transactional sex to strategically promote their agency, or it is a result of financial strain.

Previous research in Malawi highlighted the tensions which exist between understandings of transactional sex as a form of "constraint" or "coercion", and explanations which prefer to highlight women's agency and strategic use of TS for various purposes (Swidler and Watkins 2007). Stories of lived experiences of the participants in Inanda are in line with this belief that the women are independent conscious beings who are strategic in their pursuit for strategies to navigate mobility and thus evade crime. At the very basic, women's agency is about women's ability to

define one's goals and then act on achieving if not getting closer to achieving those goals. Engaging in transactional sex gets the study participants closer to their goals.

An important observation that the researcher made is that unintended the women engaging in transactional sex are challenging dominant gendered norms of men take lead in determining matters of sexual agreements. One participant said:

*It is my body, I will use it for my benefit, I am exercising by right to bodily autonomy.*

Fear of crime has been proven that it disempowers women, unless women find alternative measures to avoid limited mobility they could be at risk of losing living a life they would value.

#### **4.7.4 Self-surveillance and avoidance**

This strategy seemed to have been the most utilised amongst a number of participants, who indicated that it is part of their daily lives to know which areas are safe to go through and avoid those areas that are deemed unsafe.

Participants engaged on the fact that the 'unsafe' areas are unsafe for women, not for men, as these areas pose particular dangers and provoke fear if you are a woman. They highlighted that there are 'hotspots' or 'women unfriendly' areas where it is known that a women will certainly be robbed passing through that area. As mentioned before, Inanda is one of the top 30 police stations with reported cases of crimes against women, so it is understandable that there is a high level of fear amongst women of Inanda.

*I plan my route carefully before leaving home so that when I get on the road, I am somewhat ready, problem is that the route I use is longer, so I spend more time and petrol (Khethiwe).*

Khethiwe further elaborates that though she has her own vehicle she is not spared from crime, as she has heard of so many horrible stories. Car hijacking is very high, and she fears that as a 'soft target' she can be hijacked anytime. She then polices herself by limiting her movement according to safety. She avoids going to or through areas that are considered unsafe.

Zinde advised that she tries her best not to look like a worthy target by not dressing up in nice clothes, not putting on a weave and, most importantly, she says she does not carry her expensive phone when she is going to work as she leaves and comes back late. She says:

*You need to check yourself, how you look and make sure you show-off nothing of precious or expensive possession with you.*

Another participant concurred with above sentiments, saying that in her line of work it is safe to be as simple and modest as one can possibly be, because one never knows for sure that, come the end of the day you wouldn't have travelled in an unsafe place. The participant said:

*Luckily, we have a work uniform, but to be safe I do not wear any jewellery. This includes my wedding rings which had many times created tensions; at home my husband not happy that I take off my rings.*

A very interesting point was raised by Mabusi, who said in her case and her line of business she found that she has to present herself as macho as opposed to her true self as feminine. This is her form of protection; she has to look and behave manly so she can be respected by fellow drivers but also to try and deter would-be attackers and hijackers. Mabusi shared that she faces harassment from her fellow male drivers plus from the community members. She said the following,

*As a scholar driver we are called umalume – uncle, this is a man's job, people are used to omalume being male. I have looked at my womanhood and concluded that for the job I am doing, for the most part of it I need to be like a man. I have seen how woman are made to feel inadequate, sexualised and harassed by both my fellow drivers and community at large in this business. That is why I try to do and behave somewhat like them, the men.*

Self-surveillance has become a norm in the participants' lives, such that they talk about how they are always alert not to attract attention to themselves. Fear of crime has taught and pushed them to police themselves and limit their movement, because that is how far they have control over the situations. They believe they have limited power to change the outside environment; the best solution is guard yourself.

#### **4.7.5 Renting out business**

Sarah was the only one in the group who had a business that was operating from a proper physical structure. The significance of her lived experiences and lessons she learned necessitate that we do not leave her experience behind. In contrast, the other participants that were running small businesses were operating from their own homes. During the group discussions Sarah shared that she took a drastic decision to rent out her place to the Pakistanis. She argued that this decision was a very difficult one, but she was tired of working at a loss due to criminality and competing with giant supermarkets.

She had experienced a lot of armed robberies in her spaza shop, a lot of break-ins wherein stock will be stolen and sometimes even some equipment. At some point criminals broke in, stock was stolen and a deep freezer was also stolen. All these break-ins were setting her back, such that at some point it become very difficult to recover. It is important to mention here that she could not access business funding from a bank because her business was not registered with the Companies Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC). She said she was operating a simple township business and never thought in her life that it would be important to register the business and to keep important documents as proof of the business operations, especially the financials.

*I started this business from selling chips and sweets, I did not worry much about taxes and bank books. When I was struggling after break-ins, I couldn't count properly my financial losses. All I knew was that things are not ok.*

Some scholars have written a lot on the failing of township economic development (Tengeh and Mukwarami 2017) There are a number of factors contributing to this challenge, which include the establishment of township malls that come with supermarkets owned by major companies like Shoprite, Spar and Boxer. Development of these malls have advantages and disadvantages. On the advantages side, communities are able to shop closer to their homes, saving a lot of money on transport. Most importantly, these malls present employment opportunities for the locals. In Inanda, there was Dube Village Mall, that had Shoprite, there was also Bridge City Mall with both Shoprite and Spar. A number of residents of Inanda got employment in

these malls. In terms of disadvantages, the malls meant that not a lot of people buy from local spaza shops, as the township spaza businesses struggle to compete with the prices of the big supermarkets. Product prices from the big supermarkets undercut township spaza shops a lot, with most businesses ending up suffering and struggling to make any profit. Sarah gave this account of her business:

*It was very painful for me to give someone else my shop, something that I started from nothing as a woman, a girl in the family with a man's ideas, that was me. I was a man for being brave and open a spaza shop. A first self-owned business in my family, started by me, a girl. It was groundbreaking, so, you can imagine how hard it was to fail. I was not making much profit because of the big supermarkets; robberies and theft were making it worse.*

Elaborating further, she said:

*Renting out my container is one of the ways I earn an income, it is not much but it is reliable and guaranteed. I then add with the small other things I sell; I am managing to survive.*

Sarah's life was turned upside down further by the events of the July unrest in KZN that saw her spaza looted with a lot of damages to the structure. The Pakistanis who were operating the business ran away as they were scared for their lives, meaning there is no rent to collect anymore, no income for Sarah as the business was not operational. She couldn't benefit from the Government Covid relief fund for small businesses. She also could not qualify for relief for the unrest as her business was not registered, she had no business tax number nor official business banking history.

*I have now properly registered my business; it has a name known in Pretoria!!! I have also started the process of getting business tax things sorted at SARS. This time around I am going to do things according to the books so that I can benefit from a lot of government business support. I learned a lot listening to radio during Covid, there is a lot of support for women owned businesses.*



## 4.8 Conclusion

The chapter presented and discussed the main findings from the participants. Using a thematic analysis, four themes were identified and discussed. These include feelings of entrapment, powerlessness and vulnerabilities, the cost of fear and strategies women use to protect themselves and participate in the economy.

The study identified that women in Inanda are exposed to different types of violence ranging from structural to physical violence. These forms of violence disempower women on the basis of their gender. Despite the increasing awareness against gender inequality, most women still feel trapped in the same old patriarchal roles. For example, the circle of poverty has not changed for most participants who feel like they are following in the footsteps of their mothers and not improving their lives. Moreover, gender-based violence and unemployment remain high in South Africa, phenomena that directly impact on these by participants from Inanda. Most participants highlighted that women are targeted more by criminals as easy options compared to men.

The study also identified that women from Inanda live in constant fear of being the next victim of crime. This makes women feel powerless and vulnerable, since they are forced to stay at home. On the other hand, structural violence such as unequal treatment of women at work compared to men further disempowers women (Sen 2005). In most cases, women are desperate to be financially independent, hence are less likely to complain about any unequal or labour abuse at work due to the fear of losing their jobs. Most participants also pointed out that the society itself plays a big role in disempowering women. For example, gender roles are instilled by families in their children from a very young age, when girls are encouraged to be submissive. Moreover, women are expected to stay at home and take care of unpaid responsibilities.

The study also identified that the high level of crime in South Africa has forced women in Inanda to spend more on security compared to men. Women perception on safety greatly affect their economic activities and opportunities, there is a direct link between fear of crime and economic consequences. For example, fear of crime can limit women mobility and inflict financial costs. This is worse for victims of crime who suffer direct loss of their assets or physical harm that leaves psychological challenges such as

anxiety and depression. Due to such challenges, women from Inanda were forced to man up and come up with surviving strategies that can empower them.

The study identified most of these strategies as desperate measures, actions that they felt they had to improvise to take care of themselves. Someone has no choice but to work nightshifts to feed their families as single mothers. They use different strategies, such as paying a man to accompany them, using ride-hailing applications or lift clubs, maybe purchasing safety security equipment like pepper spray or installing anti car theft devices. The study concluded that bravery of women to continue to participate in everyday life, in businesses, in the economy shows how women can empower themselves in a patriarchal society.

## **Chapter 5: Intervention and evaluation**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Scholars have highlighted that action research starts with everyday experiences and is concerned with the development of living knowledge (Kemmis 2010). In action research, intervention should come as a result of data collected and should respond to needs of the research participants. As noted in Chapter 3, this was not an action research study. However, the processes of the study within a critical paradigm, led into an intervention that calls for further reflection, as it became a common experience that provided significant evidence for the possibilities of change.

This chapter thus presents the narrative of the intervention, with an exploration of its significance and its relevance to theory.

In this current study the intervention came as a result of a need to respond to an urgent crisis identified by participants. One participant had an encounter with the Taxi Association that participants viewed had the potential of erupting into a violent confrontation that could lead to instability in the community. A need for an intervention to address the situation in a nonviolent manner to resolve the perceived crisis was agreed upon by all participants. Czempiel (1979) argues that peacebuilding is a continuing process even if interventions themselves are a crisis-response manner.

In Chapter 4, I presented findings and analysis of women of Inanda's fear of crime and strategies they use to navigate their daily lives. Most of the participants indicated that they use Uber and other private transport to commute, especially at night when they are coming back from work.

## **5.2 The incident that triggered the intervention**

*Tholile shared an incident that happened two weeks prior to the focus group session. She narrated that her boyfriend decided to drive her home after a date. The boyfriend drives a company branded vehicle. He dropped her home and had to travel back to work. The route passes by the taxi owners' spot, where they control the flow of taxis in and out of the area.*

*Her boyfriend was stopped by the taxi owners at gun point, accusing him of interfering with their business by giving a lift to someone they know uses taxis every day. He tried to explain that he was dropping off his girlfriend; his explanation fell on deaf ears and they demanded that he pays a fine of R3000 otherwise they were taking his car. The boyfriend called Tholile to inform her what was happening and asked her to come and reason with the taxi owners as she is a member of the community maybe they would hear her.*

*Tholile narrates that when she arrived the taxi owners threatened her, demanding that she and her boyfriend the fine. Although they explained that this was a couple's trip together with no financial reward to the boyfriend, no explanation was accepted.*

*In the end, fearing for her life and that of her boyfriend, she ended up agreeing to pay the demand as she could see that the situation is becoming more tense – her boyfriend was also threatening that he will come back with his gun and his friend to collect his car as he did not have the demanded amount of money.*

*In preventing a hot and volatile situation getting worse Tholile decided to pay the demand. She was taken to the petrol station in the area to withdraw money from the ATM. Throughout the whole process she was being threatened with a promise of being 'taught a lesson' if she does not comply with the demand.*

*Money exchanged hands, boyfriend was given his car keys and advised to come to their office and write his details and car registration number so that he will not be stopped again. The boyfriend explained that this is a company car not operating as*

*some form of a public transport. With that argument he refused to 'register', nor share his details, still promising to address this matter as men one day.*

This incident was a recipe for violence. It is known that the taxi industry is very violent. In KZN there is a long history of violence in the taxi industry with recurrent attempts to broach peace by different structures, including the MEC of Transport, faith-based organisation and the Premier.

A relevant paper by Ngubane, Mkhize and Olofinbiyisa (2020) identifies factors causing such high violence in the taxi industry, such as the poaching of routes, loading in routes outside associations' demarcated routes, corruption and greed. We have identified greed as the source of violence in relation to the experience of Tholile and her boyfriend. Taxi owners demanded payment even though it was clear that there had been no offence committed, even in terms of their own informal but enforced 'rules'. Furthermore, one may continue to argue that even in the instance of actual ride-hailing drivers, taxi owners are still driven by greed in preventing them from working in the communities.

The study participants and I identified the behaviour of the taxi owners as a major challenge and a course for concern for peace and safety in the community, and we took a decision that we were going to address the matter. Below is a highlight of objectives the participants set to achieve:

- Meet with Taxi Association of Inanda Newtown A.
- Bring to the attention of the Association the incident of Tholile.
- Engage Association about challenges women face in terms of transport at night, introducing and motivating for the use of ride-hailing apps.
- Get a commitment from the Association to ensure safety of women.

Once we had identified the objectives of the engagement, a further need was to draw a road map identifying steps to be taken to reach the objective of meeting the Taxi Association. The group acknowledged that not all participants need to attend the meeting, as the group is big, a total of 12 members.

<b>Task</b>	<b>Decision</b>
1. Select a task team to plan and meet with the Association.	Tholile, Deli and Pinky – I was also requested to be part of the team.

2. Identifying how we request a meeting with the Association.	The researcher has a working relationship with an influencer in the Transport industry – Mr Mkhize of (AMF) who has a direct line with SANTACO (South African National Taxi Council).
3. Develop agenda/speaking points for the day of the meeting.	Such will be developed with assistance of Mr Mkhize, guided by the objectives of the meeting.
4. Meeting with the Taxi Association	Date to be confirmed.

### 5.3 Meeting with Mr Mkhize of AMF

The researcher organized a meeting with Mr Mkhize as they already have a working relationship; Mr Mkhize availed himself. The venue of the meeting was also provided by the researcher in town because of its centrality. Members of the task team organized themselves to come to town for the meeting.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March 2021, the meeting with Mr Mkhize was held in town in a venue organized by the researcher. Two representatives of the research participants, Tholile and Pinky, attended that meeting. The researcher introduced all present and explained the purpose of the meeting. Mr Mkhize requested to introduce himself first and what work he is involved in so that the meeting proceeds understanding to ask what is within his ability. He explained that he works for Ukhozi Radio Station, presenting on road traffic matters. He further outlined that this role has been used to establish a good relationship with several transport organisations, be it taxi associations, truck and big fleet companies and government and private businesses. He has also registered an NPO, a foundation the goal of which is to uplift the community.

In turn the researcher explained the study and requested an opportunity for the two (Tholile and Pinky) to explain the turn of events. Tholile narrated the story and concluded by asking help to recoup her money, but, most importantly, for Mr Mkhize to open an opportunity to engage with the Association to bring to their attention how the community is subjected to the violent behaviour of the drivers.

After some lengthy discussions sharing challenges that research participants encounter at the hands of taxi drivers and owners an agreement was reached that Mr Mkhize will approach SANTACO Ntuzuma Association, as Inanda follows under Ntuzuma. The meeting would be to inform the Association about Tholile's incident as they may not be aware of it. The other point will be to engage the association on the importance of protecting the community, especially women.

Mr Mkhize and the researcher committed to coordinate the meeting with the Association. In a few days we learned that the committee is always available in their office by the taxi rank, and we confirmed a meeting, although we did not explain all details.

The researcher then informed participants of the confirmed date and time through a WhatsApp group that was created for easy of communication and planning. Participants engaged on the group, discussing how they should approach the meeting. In this planning session the researcher was a passive participant, observing participants expressing agency for their issues.

Having decided previously that Tholile, Deli and Pinky and the researcher were to attend the meeting, the team concluded by a prayer for wisdom and protection as taxi owners are feared as it is believed that they are violent.

#### **5.4 Meeting with Inanda Taxi Association 5 April 2021**

Tholile collected Mr Mkhize as he was not familiar with the area; he drove following Tholile, whose mother assisted her with transport. When the meeting was to commence, the researcher went in first to confirm that the meeting would take place. In the room there were three males who first wanted to know what the meeting was about, to which the researcher responded that it was a complaint about a fee in the form of money that was paid.

The researcher was then requested to wait a bit since some members of the committee were still on their way and was told to wait outside. She was to be called in when the committee was ready. In about 10 minutes it was indicated that we may come in.

Committee members recognized Mr Mkhize the minute we entered the meeting room and immediately greeted him. The committee introduced itself, their chairman taking the lead by chairing the meeting. We also introduced ourselves, Mr Mkhize gave the

background to his work and how he works with the researcher in promoting matters of gender equality and awareness of gender-based violence.

The researcher was then given an opportunity to explain the research and how the incident came to light. Tholile explained all details of her ordeal, producing proof in the form of a bank statement that showed a withdraw of the money at an ATM just next to the same offices, which is a petrol station. We were taken aback when members of the Association expressed shock of the incident and vehemently distanced themselves with the incident. They acknowledged that they knew the people Tholile spoke about, but they are not taxi owners; instead they are employees, a queue marshal and two rank managers.

The committee accepted liability and committed to paying the money back before the end of the day and said they will then deal with the matter following their internal processes.

The researcher then requested time be given to Deli and Pinky to speak on the broader concerns that they have in how the taxi operators treat them especially at night when they are coming back from work using either staff transport or Uber.

Deli and Pinky explained how taxi marshals and rank managers chase vehicles suspected to be operating as an Uber. They shared incidents where Uber drivers were confronted at gun point by people driving association vehicles who insisted that in this community Ubers are not welcomed. Pinky pointed out that she works in a restaurant and sometimes they close very late, at which time the taxis have stop operating as it would be outside of their operating hours. She indicated that in times like those she needs safe transport that will take her from her work and drop her at her home gate. She says she cannot risk waiting for a bus as she would have to alight at the bus stop and risk being robbed, with the possibilities also of being raped.

The researcher explained experiences of the other members of the research team how fear of crime is limiting and affecting their lives. Furthermore, she provided background information, using the SAPS crime statistics report highlighting Inanda as the community with highest crimes committed against women. A link between the behaviour of taxi marshals and rank mangers and the possibility of being a victim of crime come out clearly. In all the discussion, the Association committee members kept

explaining that they have never given an instruction to the marshals and rank managers to act against Uber drivers and passengers.

Some time was spent engaging on what role the taxi industry can play in the eradication of gender-based violence. The Association members spoke of awareness programmes spearheaded by the provincial office in promoting women's rights. The researcher and Mr Mkhize invited the association to participate in the project of removing taxi stickers that are deemed to be patriarchal in nature and offensive towards women. The aim was to replace these unacceptable stickers with ones that promote social cohesion, respect for all genders and promoting peace.

The reception and discussions indicated a willingness and openness from the Taxi Association to listening to the concerns of their clients, in this instance represented by Tholile, Pinky and Deli. Though there was no concrete agreement regarding the operating of ride-hailing apps in the community, a concession was made in respect of the people who come back very late after the operating hours.

Before the meeting adjourned, the Association blamed the researcher and the participants for going out and involve Mr Mkhize in matters of the community, arguing that their offices are always open for the community. They pointed out that the visit of Mr Mkhize for them is more like a demerit as Mr Mkhize is a symbol of the highest office and he has a lot of influence. They further pleaded with the researcher that, when she writes her report, she makes sure to indicate that they value their passengers and the community at large. They further shared some community projects that they initiated, one being the back-to-school project where they donate school uniforms to indigent families.

The committee requested to be included in any further awareness programme on gender-based violence so that they can be able to be in line with what the country is doing. They are aware that GBV is a big problem in the country and do not want to be part of the problem as what at this point seem to be the case. This concern and request indicated a willingness to learn and be part of the change. The researcher and Mr Mkhize welcomed the request and committed to explore possibilities.

Later the same day, Tholile received a call from the Association to come to collect her money. The researcher and Pinky accompanied her to be witnesses; indeed the



money was paid back with lot of apologies and a request to report any further incidents with a promise that attention and redress would be given urgently.

Later that day we held a WhatsApp group video session discussing the intervention and its outcomes. The group was proud of themselves for being able to stand up and face such a feared structure, the Taxi Association. They assigned this boldness to the sessions they have been having throughout the research sessions. Khethiwe said she feels like she has found her voice, she can speak up now at home. Dintle shared that she finds herself alert about things that in the past she would have overlooked; an example she gave was that in a staff meeting at her work place she spoke strongly about the company not extending company policy to cover the safety of employees outside the office space even though nature of their work demands that they work 85% outside of the office. She said she was able to explain how limited she is by the knowledge that if anything happens to her while in meetings outside the office there will be no compensation. She informed the group that this fear of being a victim of crime and a further fear that, should she be a victim, she will not be compensated limits her earning capacity as she sometimes hands over potential clients to her male colleagues.

Sarah proposed that maybe it will be good to keep this group as a social support group meeting at least once bimonthly to support each other even after the research has been concluded. She said that participating in this study had helped her to think deeply about her business and some of the decisions she had taken. As a start she is considering taking back her spaza shop and not to rent it out anymore, so that she is able to access government financial support programme for township-based businesses. She has had engagements with Sanelisiwe, Lelethu and Mamello on a few business initiatives they can start together.

We further explored further as to whether a support group or register a non-profit organization that would focus on community development and safety matters in the area. Zinde proposed that the group should get a person to come and educate them on the different aspects of an NPO and business cooperatives, so that they are empowered enough to decide.

The above WhatsApp video session took a whole two and half hours, with some of the participants running out of data, recharging and re-joining the meeting. The meeting was adjourned with following tasks:

- Research the differences between NPO and Cooperative
- Get more information on the community safety committee

While the group was exploring options, the researcher accessed the Department of Social Development website, downloaded and printed NPO information that was shared with members individually when the researcher went to the community on another business. This was done so that participants can start reading and understand the process and purpose of establishing an NPO. When the time comes for the information session participants will already have some information to build on.

## **5.5 Evaluation of the intervention 26 June 2021**

The researcher called a WhatsApp meeting again on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 2021, having informed participants that there is a need to evaluate how the intervention went. The aim of the evaluation was to assess how they as participants felt about the planning of intervention, the actual intervention, and the outcome of the intervention.

Before outlining the evaluation procedure, let me briefly outline the meaning of evaluation. Taylor et al. (2005) define evaluation as a process of assessing the effectiveness of a piece of work, project, or a programme. Rossi (2003: 2) defines evaluation as “a social science activity directed at collecting, analysing, interpreting and communicating information of how a programme has worked or its effectiveness”. According to Blanchard and Thacker (2007: 337) evaluation is, “measuring the degree to which objectives are achieved”. From these definitions, one gathers that evaluation implies measuring the outcome or impact of an intervention against its intended objectives. In other words, it measures the extent to which objectives have been met or how a problem has been addressed.

The researcher asked three questions, as follows:

1. What have you learned by being a part of the planning for the meeting with the Taxi Association?
2. Do you think the meeting with the Taxi Association achieved its purpose?

3. What do you still wish to see happening to ensure that fear of crime is addressed?

Prior to addressing the evaluation, participants said they would like to start by apologizing and confessed that after the last WhatsApp meeting, they had not met to follow up on the recommendations taken regarding NPO registration and formation of the Safety committee. There has not been any progress on the tasks identified in the previous meeting. Participants discussed the reasons leading to this challenge and agreed that the mistake that was made was that of not appointing specific people to be responsible for the resolution and recommendations taken.

The researcher reminded them that she shared copies from DSD explaining about the NPO registration process. It transpired that, though some participants did read the document, they were waiting for someone to call a meeting to discuss as a group. A lesson learned was that things do not happen on their own, there should be a deliberate effort and commitment to the process. Mabusi and Sanelisiwe were elected to coordinate and plan the information sharing session the following month, which will be July.

The meeting then discussed the day's activity which was to participate in an evaluation response to the evaluation questions see below:

**1. What have you learned by being a part of the planning for the meeting with the Taxi Association?**

Participants engaged with this question with much enthusiasm, expressing surprise in being able to put together this plan. One implication of Sen's work is that people should take opportunities to participate in actions and activities they want to be a part of exercising and accessing their functioning. The intervention was one such opportunity for the participants to embrace Sen's capabilities theory and to understand crime and deprivation as violation of the five freedoms of the human development paradigm: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security.

Access to a safe public transport is one of the indicators for human development; that is why participants pointed out how the situation in Inanda's public transport limits them in achieving their goals on a daily basis. Access to public transport is a gateway to

economic freedom, as most work opportunities are outside of Inanda community. Lack of safe public transport is indicative of a limitation in functioning.

Zinde pointed out that she learned that being together with other people who share similar ideas like herself they can make a difference in the community. She argues that she has been concerned for quite a long time about the behaviour of the taxis and the dangers they as commuters get exposed to but was not brave enough to do something about it. Other participants like Mabusi supported this idea of working together as 'there is power in unity'; planning as a team ensured that points were refined until they were correct to put as agenda items.

Khethiwe raised a point that being part of the planning made her get a sense of belonging; through participating in the planning session she found others that share similar concerns like her. She pointed out that belonging to a community is something that she has been feeling that is missing in the area, as each one was only concerned about their own issues. Affiliation is one of capabilities highlighted by Nussbaum in her list of ten capabilities. In this instance, Khethiwe is referring to a situation where one is able to show concern and empathize with others.

For Mamello and Sarah, their highlight was the opportunity to share compassion and love for others and feel needed and appreciated. Mamello argued that she had always wanted to share her knowledge as an adult but had no safe space to do that. Sarah further explained that she had been owning her business for a long time and has vast experience to share; she pointed out that it used to pain her a lot to see young women sitting at home and not working as they couldn't find employment. She says she wanted to encourage them to start own businesses but never saw an opportunity to do that. The planning session had taught them how they can go about putting their ideas through. An important observation was that the two participants were not thinking about themselves but concerned about the community at large.

*I have never gone hungry though I have never been employed by umlungu [a white person or boss]. I have always been selling something, at some point I was selling ama kip kip to school kids, I went on to selling second hand clothes, until I opened the spaza shop. There is absolutely no need to go hungry you must just observe what people need and provide for that need. I want to share my lessons with other women (Sarah).*

*I want women, especially young women of my community to “hlanganisa” (make ends meet) with honest means, they need to know what is good from bad and do, at all times, that is good (Mamello).*

These were some of the lessons that participants indicated that they had learned from being part of the planning session. At the top of the list was the opportunity to share ideas on meeting one of the most feared stakeholders. The other part of lessons was the process itself, the planning and the understanding that for an action to take place there needs to be proper planning which involves sharing of ideas.

In Chapter 2, I touched on transformative learning theory as important to frame this study. Transformative learning theory supposes that women, as human beings are rational being who are able to communicate with and amongst each other to devise ways and means to safeguard their freedom and safety. The intervention as outlined by the evaluation process has offered such an opportunity to share skills and knowledge amongst each other, as attested to by Mamello and Sarah.

In support of the transformative theory, Lelethu shared that what stood out for her was that there are people who are willing to support a good initiative, people who have knowledge and skills. The whole group acknowledged that without the researcher and Mr Mkhize they wouldn't have been in a position to understand how the taxi industry works. It was clear that all that is needed is to look and ask for assistance.

## **2. Do you think the meeting with Taxi Association achieved its purpose?**

All participants thought the meeting achieved more than what was initially planned, which was to engage with the Taxi Association Committee to address the issue of Tholile's money and to plead with the Committee to take seriously the safety of passengers, particularly women.

The intervention was relevant as it addressed a real issue that concerned them as community members and most importantly as users of public transport and at times Uber. The other critical point was that the results or outcomes of the intervention were to be used as building blocks to more focused programmes with the Taxi Association and the community.

According to the participants, the meeting was able to achieve more than it planned, as narrated below:

*Those men know now who we are thina bafazi baka A, they have never been confronted by women (Pinky).*

Pinky had been part of the delegation of the meeting. She said she had never thought of herself that brave to speak in a meeting, let alone such an important meeting. She argued that something in her just felt that this needs to be done, who else was there to do it? This bad treatment by the taxi industry was done to them as women, so it is right that women themselves stand up for themselves.

*Through the meeting at the taxi rank, I found my voice, I found myself and realized that I can do more for myself and my community (Pinky)*

*'I realized that we are powerful and if we know our power, we can go out there and demand to be treated better (Sanelisiwe).*

These assertions came as a surprise to the researcher, as this had not been the intended result. The meeting with the Taxi Association was aimed at addressing women's safety, that was what participants spoke strongly about during the interviews that they were not feeling safe in their neighbourhood – safety to move about, going to work, and for those who are self-employed, safety to do their businesses, safety to do the things that will bring them close to living a life their value, to achieve wellbeing.

Dintle highlighted that the other important point was that the intervention was conducted in a peaceful manner. The exercise proved that there are peaceful ways of engaging and resolving differences without resorting to violence. The approach used to request the meeting and the manner how the meeting was conducted was a lesson in peace building.

What should be noted is that these women had embarked on a very important exercise without any form of training in peacebuilding or conflict resolution or transformation. This is an example of a community led peacebuilding initiative. The active role participants took addressing a challenge that is relevant to the circumstances faced by their community, in that they became the agents of change. The women know the problems and are best placed to designing locally and culturally relevant solutions.

### **3. What do you still wish to see happening to ensure that your fear of crime is addressed?**

*We need to remember that our meeting with the association was necessitated by the incident ka Tholi, though it has given us somewhere to start, I believe we still need to discuss how we talk about measures to improve our safety and this time this should be for the community, issues like resuscitating the community patrols (Deli).*

This participant successfully reminded the meeting that the intervention was responding to an urgent matter that had imminent danger for the community, though related and relevant to the study.

*When we started this group, some of us were in the community meeting where we were informed about what is going to happen. So I agree, we should go back to the community and tell them of what we have done and present some of the safety projects we wish to see implemented, either by us, or with an inclusion of other community members. In this way we will get a buy in and blessing of the leadership and community (Khethiwe)*

Bringing in 'community leadership' is, I believe, an important point because that will strengthen accountability, as safety of the community members is a responsibility of government, in this instance represented by the local leadership in the form of the ward councillor. This approach is powerful in that it places the responsibility of providing safety in the hands of the elected leaders, thus making them able to hold them accountable. Using human rights approach to development in a case like this makes the community the 'rights holders'; it is their right to live in a safe environment, while leadership are 'duty bearers'; it is their duty to abide by the promises and aspirations of the constitution.

The session discussed at length how this process should be used as an opportunity to bring back the spirit of unity and ubuntu as a community. The strength and power they had seen that they possessed through the planning and meeting with the Taxi Association meant that they could participate in community matters. The community would be able to come together for a good cause, ensuring that there is a sense of a one goal and a common ground for action is developed.

*This process must be led by us women, for us to do that I believe we need to be better trained or given more knowledge on managing community and*

*thinking about programmes that are promoting doing things in a peaceful way like we did with the taxi meeting (Mamello).*

*Our community desperately needs to change to resolve problems in a peaceful, nonviolent manner as opposed to what is happening currently. Take an example of how community deals with 'amapara', we attack and sjambok them instead of trying to resolve the matter without violence (Nobantu).*

Mamello's assertion that women must be in the forefront of the community peace initiatives and activities is a welcome observation of the role that women can play in driving peace initiatives in their communities. Women have lived experiences of safety or lack of safety; in that, they are an asset in developing programmes that will respond to real issues affecting the community. Participants summarized this point by saying:

*We know the problems we have faced and continue to suffer from, it is crime, it is affecting our safety and thus limit our movement. We should therefore be part of formulating solutions.*

Participants were further in agreement that they need to be trained to engage communities in large scale programme; they need to be able to facilitate community awareness programmes. Drawing from participants' responses, it could not be too ambitious to say that significant learning took place during the planning and execution of the meeting with the Taxi Association, as participants are now looking for ways of bringing change in their communities.

Participants concluded the evaluation session with a request that the researcher further assist them again with information to register an NPO as they are determined to explore that avenue, the NPO to focus on women empowerment and peace initiatives.

## **5.6 July unrest and looting**

Plans for meetings were cancelled due to the unrest that engulfed the province of KwaZulu-Natal during the month of July 2021. All research participants were affected by the unrest in many ways. The researcher kept in touch with participants via WhatsApp to hear if they were safe. The impact of the unrest was unconceivable; people suffered job losses as some companies were looted and had to be shut down



permanently due to the severe extent of the damage, with some more fortunate companies closing only over the period of looting. Several companies closed for longer due to extensive repairs.

It was very sad as some participants had relatives that were amongst those killed in Phoenix. After this time it took quite a lot to get back to the research as the focus was divided among what was seen to be priority and addressing issues of loss of employment, loss of friends and relatives. In the end an agreement was reached that the remaining part, that of community meeting, would be put in abeyance and that the researcher should conclude her work.

## 5.7 Stages of implementation of the intervention

It may be helpful to set out the sequence of events.

**Table 5.1 Stages in implementation of intervention**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Session</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Outcome of the session</b>
7 March 2021	Agenda was to verify and confirm actual information.	All participants were invited, two apologized.	The session focused on planning an intervention
23 March 2021	Meeting with Mr Mkhize	Nominated representatives – Tholile, Pinky, Deli, and the researcher	A concrete decision to meet with the Taxi Association.
5 April 2021	Meeting with Taxi Association	Mr Mkhize, Tholile, Deli, Pinky and the researcher	Presentation on the impact and role played by the taxis in making transportation not safe for women. Received Tholile's money back.

5 April 2021	Reporting back on the intervention with Taxi Association	All research participants	Debriefing from fear and anxiety of the meeting with association. Ideas on registration of an NPO.
26 June 2021	Evaluation of the intervention	All research participants. (Apology received from 4 members)	Participants shared their opinions. An overall satisfaction and feeling of empowerment.
12 July 2021	Checking on well-being of the (due to unrest)	All research participants	Postponement of the NPO discussion. Concerns about people's safety during this time was concern because of paramount importance due to unrest and the Phoenix murders.

## 5.8 Conclusion

The intervention came as a response to the urgent needs of the participants, proving that at the core of critical research studies are the needs of the research participants rather than something imposed by the researcher. There was a great involvement of the participants at every step, from planning the intervention to the implementation stage.

The intervention was at the core of women's agency where participants had very clear goals or objectives of what they wanted to tell the Taxi Association; with some help they were able to meet with this most feared structure, explained their dissatisfaction with the mistreatment they receive from taxi drivers and other employees. The bonus was recouping Tholile's money.

## **Chapter 6: Summary, conclusion, recommendations and reflections**

The study aimed to determine the impact of fear of crime on women's quest for economic opportunities in the community of Inanda Newtown A and to explore strategies that women employ to mitigate their fear of crime. Furthermore, the study investigated factors that influence the choice of strategies women use to ensure their safety and took a deep dive as to whether the strategies alleviate fear of crime.

The main objectives of the study were as follows:

- To explore how women of Inanda Newtown A who are economically active perceive their safety.
- To identify and document strategies employed by women of Inanda Newtown A to negotiate safety.
- To describe and analyse the underlying factors that influenced the negotiated safety strategy employed by women of Inanda Newtown A.
- To recommend strategies that can alleviate fear of crime and provide safety while women of Inanda Newtown A are involved in economic activities.

Chapter four presented and reflected the emerging themes from the study. These themes came from the analysis of data collected using in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions outlined in detailed in chapter three of the research methodology.

This current chapter presents a *summary* of the findings according to the identified themes, make recommendations, conclusion, outline limitations and conclude by recommendations.

### **6.1 Feelings of entrapment**

Participants shared that fear of crime limits their capacity to be free and full citizens in their community. This limitation affects their mobility, which has a huge impact on their ability to reach their goals. In individual interviews, it emerged that some participants had ambitions to own businesses but due to fear of crime and the escalating violence they witnessed, they abandoned those ambitions. Other participants indicated that they have limited their hours of work, which resulted in a decrease of their earning

capacity. The effect of these limitations for the participants meant that they are not able to change their life circumstances thus feeling entrapped, as they identified, in the circle of poverty, in relationships experiencing gender-based violence facing high levels of unemployment. Those that are working argued that their employments were at best not secure.

### **6.1.1 Circle of poverty**

Participants shared that, as they are not able to engage themselves meaningfully in earning and participating in the economy, their chances of breaking what they perceive as circle of poverty is an unattainable wish. South Africa has a history of inequalities, gender inequality being in the forefront. It is then not surprising to find women bearing the brunt of such inequalities, exacerbated by the high levels of poverty they are experiencing.

Some participants shared how poverty has been experienced by their families generations before them, thus the theme circle of poverty. Amongst the 12 participants, all had experienced poverty or the threat of poverty, if we use as a definition of poverty the inability to attain a minimum standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or income required to satisfy those needs (Cammack 2004).

Limitation on women's movement as a result of fear of crime prevents women to access opportunities to better themselves and live a life they value.

### **6.1.2 Gender-based violence**

South Africa has been likened to a country at war because of the high levels of reported murders. Violence against women is one contributor to the high reported numbers of violent crimes in the country. Inanda is an area identified by the South African Police Services as having very high numbers of reported cases of violence against women.

In relation to the study, participants shared that media reports on crime against women have heightened their fear of crime. The gruesome nature of attacks against women keeps them in constant and paralysing fear of being the next victim. The thought of a possibility of crime against a women's body makes them limit their movement and thus serves as the biggest form of oppression and exclusion from participating in the economy.

Provisions of the Constitution of South Africa that set out a commitment to ensure that its citizens are safe, and the specific promise of the National Development Plan that women and children are safe, have not been met.

### **6.1.3 Unemployment and precarious jobs**

The commitments of government policy to ensure the economic development of women has not been met in the lives of these women. The majority of the participants are in low paying jobs with less or no job security and some are exposed to long working hours. For most of the participants their jobs are also one source of their exposure to crime, in situations where the employer failed to provide necessary and sometimes legally mandated protection or safety measures.

## **6.2 Powerlessness and vulnerabilities**

The life experiences of the participants have made them feel a deep sense of powerlessness to change the situation and conditions their lives have been subjected to as a result, amongst many factors, of cultural beliefs that informed their socialisation. Many participants feel that their upbringing neither equipped them nor empowered them as women to face the challenges of the world. They argue that they have been socialised to accept and believe that they have no power to bring change in their lives, for their families and the community.

The feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability has brought a sense of being a citizen of a lower status, having to struggle and fight for recognition. These vulnerabilities have exposed to exposed them to cultural violence, structural violence and in particular direct violence. Women shared how much vulnerable they are against crime because of the biological and physical structure of being a woman. They are easy targets for crime because they are physically weaker than men who take this advantage to abuse women through gender-based violence and to rob women of their assets through robbery and theft. The situation is made possible by how families socialise women into accepting and even promoting male dominance over women (Lewis and Sale: 2017).

## **6.3 Costs of fear**

Anxiety, financial loss, limiting and policing oneself are amongst the costs women in Inanda are paying as a result of fear of crime. Participants have shared in individual

interviews the excessive amounts of money they are spending in trying to address their fear of crime. The levels of psychological impact as a result of constant threat of violence and the fear of crime participants have committed to measures that cost them financially.

### **6.3.1 Financial costs**

The direct financial costs that have been incurred, and continue to burden the women, are mainly for paying for protection services. Women in Inanda have been reduced to live in a victim mindset, where one is constantly thinking about being attacked and thus seek protection. It is important to remind the reader that this fear of being the next victim is not always because one has experienced crime before but rather because of the fear of being the next victim. We have seen the country in the past two years having a lot of social media campaigns against violence perpetrated by men against women. These incidents of violence against women resulted in a worldwide campaigns like *#Amlnext???*.

Studies say that women spend more money on security measures in anticipation of crime than men. In this study, participants shared the expensive strategies they used to mitigate their exposure to crime.

### **6.3.2 Limited participation in social activities**

The other part highlighted by participants is the loss of being able to participate in community and social events. They argue that they mostly choose to limit going out avoiding *ukuba wuvanzi* meaning not to be out and about. This self-imposed restriction is counterproductive to their need to move out of poverty and to live a life of value.

Some have developed an acceptance of crime as part, an element of their lives. This normalisation and acceptance of crime has brought with it dire consequences in the pursuit of economic betterment. The findings, based on the data collected and interviews is that their ambitions to achieve more has been arrested.

### **6.3.3 Psychological costs**

In this study, one of the sad things to learn was that some participants have been victims of crime, meaning that their fear is justified. The effects of such experiences are devastating and debilitating for the individual. Scholars like Garofalo argued that fear of crime is as an emotional reaction characterised by a sense of danger and

anxiety (Garofalo 1981: 840). This is true as participants shared how crime has and is affecting them daily.

Mostly participants are paralysed by the thoughts of sexual violence should they be attacked. The constant thought of this heinous crime affects participants in their everyday movements, resulting in either changing routes or paying more for transport or protection.

#### **6.4 Do what needs to be done to keep safe: Women's agency**

Participants range from the age of 23 to 55 years, all of whom employ certain strategies to survive and to cope, but most importantly to pursue goals to participate in the economy. Interviews and group discussions exposed the daily hardships that women of Inanda are facing due to lack of safety. One thing that all participants had in common was that whatever the situation and conditions they are in, they continue to try means of attaining financial independence.

##### **6.4.1 Paying someone to 'phelezela' and or 'hlangabeza'**

Protection far outweighs the cost of such services and as a result a number of participants shared that they use some have used this strategy. Data suggested that men are taken on for this 'job' of protecting women. A discussion took place on the paradox of needing men for protection out of fear that some men might attack us. Participants argued that this role and responsibility are necessities because the fear is also informed by the perceived physical power and strength the 'criminals' might have to overpower the women.

The men for this role are the ones that participants have some level of trust that they will not turn around and harm them. Trusted in this role the 'protectors' do not always maintain standard.

##### **6.4.2 Using of ride hailing apps**

The chance of being attacked while walking to and from your destination and losing personal belongings and money motivates the use of this service. Participants shared that this strategy is also convenient as it collects you at your gate and drops you exactly at your destination. What also was highlighted as an additional benefit was that people can club to take one ride and share the cost.



On the negative side participants mentioned that there is a rise in crime committed while in transit, by the drivers. The other challenge is the violent tension between ride hailing drivers and the minibus taxis. This tension has costed lives; there also have been unrests bringing the city of Durban to a standstill when both the minibus and ride hailing operators marched to the Department of Transport complaining about each other.

The implications for the participants who have experienced the brunt of these tensions were presented under chapter five.

#### **6.4.3 Transactional sex**

Participants started by being a bit uncomfortable to discuss this strategy for fear that someone might 'out' those who say they utilise this strategy. Time was taken discussing the dangers of 'outing' someone, examples were shared. One example was 'outing' someone about their sexuality. All participants appreciated the discussion and agreed that the research promised confidentiality and amongst themselves they too entered some sort of a social compact by signing consent forms to be part of the research group. In the end it was agreed that in the group discussions the strategy would be discussed as a known phenomenon without anyone personalising it. Then further information would be shared in individual interviews.

This strategy was said to be an old age one that belongs maybe to the family of sex work. With transactional sex, those involved have some form of 'a not serious' love relationship with benefits. The strategy does provide relief in that transport it provided safely and saving money.

#### **6.4.4 Self-surveillance and avoidance**

Participants argued that the whole of Inanda is not safe and proof is in the SAPS reports identifying Inanda as one of the areas with high rates of crimes against women. Generally, moving around in the area is an act that in recent years has become more risky, due to the rise in crime. The new type of crime engulfing the community is crime committed by drive-by cars. It is proving to be difficult to deal with such crime as it happens very fast; as a result participants shared that the best strategy is to be always vigilant and aware of your surroundings. This comment is in line with self-surveillance.

Agreement was that also, to be safe, participants in some cases decide to avoid going to areas that are perceived to be risky.

#### **6.4.5 Renting out businesses**

One of the joys for an entrepreneur is the pride of owning a business and for the business to make profit. It is even more of an achievement if the thriving business is owned by a woman. This is against the patriarchal history of South Africa that relegated women to a role limited within the household. Participants shared how they have been struggling to keep their businesses afloat amidst the high incidence of crime, in particular theft and robbery against their businesses. The COVID lockdown was even harder on their already ailing businesses, worse still as they couldn't claim government support because they did not meet the criteria of registered businesses.

### **6.5 Recommendations**

The experiences of the participants in the study speak volumes on the urgent need for interventions that move towards long term solutions. Participants during sessions kept referring to other people who were not part of the study, sharing the traumatic experiences that those people experienced due to crime. Based on the data collected and findings the following are recommended:

#### **6.5.1 Recommendations to improve the lives of women in the area**

- Formalise engagements with the taxi industry to ensure continuity of women's safety commitments.
- Support with coordinating a capacity building workshop to understand the functions of an NGO/NPO/CBO.
- Support in building networks and linkages with government small/ community business.
- Building linkages with municipality gender desks.

#### **6.5.2 At the community level**

- Maintenance of the sidewalks.
- Installation and maintenance of street lightings.
- Police visibility to deter crime.
- Community wide safety survey, to understand better the crime situation at a community level.
- Reviving of the community / ward safety committee.
- Strengthening of the Community Policing Forum.
- Creation of crime free zones/spots.

- Conduct community safety and security awareness programmes.

### **6.5.3 For research**

- Explore the role of community driven peace initiatives – to build on the intervention initiated by the participants.
- Widen the number of participants, including policy makers .
- What is the role of having a positive social system – a positive social compact in addressing crime and fear of crime for women?
- This study could not make any determination on the ‘paradox of men as protectors and or men as perpetrators’ – a productive area for future research.
- This study could not make any determination whether woman of different races have similar experiences with fear of crime.
- Further research to compare lived experiences of women of different races and compare what strategies are employed by each race to keep safe.

## **6.6 Limitations of the study**

The study was qualitative in nature, exploring a subject that invited participants to engage in sharing their experiences. The major challenge was not lack of data, it was more the fact that participants were eager to talk and the researcher was struggling to capture all that was being said. In this case the researcher had made plans to acquire a tape recorder to ease the flow of engagements. Permission was requested from participants to utilise the voice recorder. It would have been effective to have an assistant especially during group discussions so that the researcher could be able to pay attention to unspoken interactions like body language and attitudes of the participants. Unspoken language, gestures give a lot of information that can lead to a bigger discussion.

South Africa was put under Covid-19 lockdown in March 2020 which lasted for a long time, putting our planned interviews on hold. A contingency plan was to utilise WhatsApp video call but a limitation on that was funding for buying data bundles. Due to the Covid lockdown a number of the research participants had no means of earning. Though there was government support through UIF, the process had many challenges as some employers took long to pay their employees as per labour arrangements that employers submit information of their employees for the funds to be release into the

employers account to pay employees. The number of sessions we had planned to have on WhatsApp had to be revised to accommodate these financial challenges.

Interviews with the chairperson and the committee members of the ward safety committee never materialised as I was informed that the committee was dissolved. Reasons for the dissolution were not shared. A new committee has been elected but this happened after the data collection process had elapsed.

The study sampled a small number of participants, transferability of the findings cannot be guaranteed.

## **6.7 Reflections**

In this section I want to share my reflections of conducting this study. Developing the topic of the research study, I was curious to understanding the ways in which women of Inanda keep their smiles and seem to cope with life when the little that I observed in that community left me with much to worry about.

The experience of the field work and intervention at times left me with tears in my heart because of the experiences participants were sharing, but there were times equally where my heart would be filled with awe because of the resilience of these twelve phenomenal women.

### **6.7.1 Reflections on the data collection process**

Some of the participants were selected in a process of a community meeting and others identified through snowballing. That means that some knew each other already but there those that knew each other from a distance. An observation noted through the plenary sessions, which had been set up to introduce the research objectives, was that some participants were a bit reserved, speaking only to those that they were familiar with. It did not take long for the participants to establish some form of friendship. I observed a great willingness to 'like' someone. Understanding the purpose of the research helped to establish a sense of oneness as participants started to identify with the topic and realised that the other person too might have some experiences that might be similar to yours. It is important to mention here also that I found participants willing to be part of the study because they wanted their stories to be known; it was an opportunity for their voices to be heard. They voiced their appreciation for the opportunity and said, 'at least when the big offices now talk of us,

they will talk *ngento abayizwe ngathi* (talking about what we the women of Inanda said). I found this to be very profound because it simply means ‘nothing about us without us’.

Over time, participants developed friendships, which I observed mainly through our group WhatsApp group. The group was created for ease of communication regarding interview sessions and venues but, as time went on, members started to include random greetings and sharing mainly of motivational quotes, at times checking on each other. This development of some sort of a social pact was very interesting to see growing, an opportunity for one to establish meaningful networks. An incident that confirmed that participants really care about each other was when we were discussing transactional sex – group members were very quick to look after and protect each other. As a researcher I respected their actions .

### **6.7.2 Challenges experienced during the research process**

The biggest challenge was missed appointments and cancellations at short notice as these caused delay. Researching in an area that you grow up in means that there is a lot of laxity, as people believe you will understand. One participant missed an appointment and when I called to check, she said *‘ngizokuxoxela later oe ukuthi kwenzekeni’* meaning ‘I will tell you later friend what happened’.

The other challenge I experienced at the beginning of the data collection process was not having a venue for meetings. When I conducted the pilot study I learned that being at the place of the participant is a distraction because other family members interrupt by answering the questions and adding their opinions. I decided to host sessions at my mother’s place as it is quiet and my family understood fully and respected the research. But there were a few participants that would inform me at a short notice that they were not able to come mainly because of transport costs. The area of study was not that vast, but it is always convenient to use a local taxi at a flat rate of R10. In these instances, I would either pick the participant with my vehicle or ask them to borrow money, which I would refund. This point leads me to another challenge, the disbursement of the research resources. For a local taxi there is no receipt to prove how funds were utilised. Meetings at my home created the need to offer something to drink, maybe with a sandwich, which dipped deep into my pocket. Sessions would take an hour to an hour and half; such time in a Zulu household is long enough for you to

offer refreshments. The same applied for focus group session. My sister cooked from our home grocery rice and curry, and we bought cooldrinks from the spaza. I replenished some of the groceries at home but there would be no easy way to claim these monies from the research funds due to lack of proper supporting documents.

Some of the sessions resumed when COVID restrictions were relaxed but some regulations were still enforced, like masks, social distancing, and sanitising. I needed to be very strict to promote compliance to the regulations.

### **6.7.3 Analysis of experience**

Looking back into the process of data analysis, cleaning, and coding to come up with themes was a very emotional process for me as I have never imagined what people go through to make it to the next day. The process humbled me, and I realised that, though I am from the same community with the participants, our struggles are not the same. I had an advantage of education and later in my life am able to utilise that for my livelihood.

I have learned a lot about a person's resilience, survival against all odd, falling down and getting up again and again. I have learned that there is always a way, a solution – might be a wrong way/solution but at this point in time it is a solution open to me. This is the attitude I have learned that the participants embrace. They find a way to move on and think of the consequences later.

I have also learned that these women are very strong and have ambitions for a better future. They took an initiative to confront the taxi owners to prevent violence in their community. I believe they are capable of doing more.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

This study has highlighted how fear of crime impacts on women's quest to participate in the economic activities which are the cornerstone of their livelihoods. Women have shared how they constantly live in fear of crime and how these thoughts about crime influence and impact on their daily lives. The study found that women internalise crime happening to other people, known and unknown to them, and imagine that happening to them, thus experience an increase in fear of crime.

The data revealed that fear of crime is experienced in the same way by women involved in different kinds of work. There are self-employed women, business owners

and women employed in different industries, all interacting with people through their work in different contexts, who have said that fear of crime is an ever-present feeling for all of them. Some participants have experienced actual crime and this was found to have heightened their fear of crime. All the above-mentioned findings are in line with the researcher's hypothesis that women fear crime, and that has a severe impact on their quest for economic opportunities.

This study revealed that women are in charge of their livelihoods and know what works for them. They have the capacity to manoeuvre under strenuous conditions to ensure that they are able to care for themselves and their families. The choice of using the word manoeuvre is deliberate as in my observation, women in Inanda are living under tough conditions that requires 'manoeuvring' skills and abilities. Family and society, through processes of socialisation, have limited and to some extent controlled women's potential by socialising women to look up to men as protectors.

A central implication of this study is that the society, not least policymakers at all levels, need to understand how the fear of crime serves to amplify the impacts of violence, in particular for the most vulnerable groups, like women, denying them access to the most fundamental rights promised in the South African Constitution. Another is that concerted action is possible, but it takes careful thought and co-ordination.

This research has further revealed that women of Inanda can agitate for their agency in remarkable ways, utilising multiple strategies. Decisions on which strategy to employ are, though, taken under limited and constrained conditions. Participants understand the unfavourable conditions they are in faced with but choose to rise above all and pursue steps that take them closer to earning a living.

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## Appendix 1: Gatekeeper's letter

**DVAP**  
DOMESTIC  
VIOLENCE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME  
750 FRANCIOS ROAD  
311 INTUTHUKO JUNCTION  
MAYVILLE 4058

Dear Miss Zanele Ncwane

The work of our organisation is to support survivors of domestic violence by assisting with obtaining protection orders, court preparation and outreach and awareness. We work in eThekweni Municipality and the INK area forms part of our area of focus.

In Inanda we do our work mainly giving advice and participate in Msiphephe Network. We are situated in the office of the Councillor. We participate in the ward war room where also other NGO's and sometimes Departments attend to hear the concerns of the community.

We are please to assist your work by referring some of the people that have accessed our services.

As an organisation we further wish to establish a working relationship with yourself and the university to address the scourge of violence. We are looking up to your findings to take the community forward and afford safe environment for the women, girls and children in the community.

Ms NN Cele



Outreach Officer

**DVAP**  
DOMESTIC  
VIOLENCE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME  
750 FRANCIOS ROAD  
311 INTUTHUKO JUNCTION  
MAYVILLE 4058

## Appendix 2: Formal acceptance of proposal



30 May 2019

Reference: Proposal Approval: Ms Z J Nowane

Student number: 21855648

Dear Ms Z J Nowane

**MASTER IN MANAGEMENT SCIENCES: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (PEACE STUDIES)**

This serves to confirm the approval of your research proposal by the Faculty Research Committee, at its meeting on 9<sup>th</sup> May 2019, as follows:

1. Research proposal and provisional dissertation title: **THE IMPACT OF FEAR OF CRIME ON WOMEN'S QUEST FOR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES IN INANDA NEWTOWN A**

Supervisor: **Mr C Hemson**

Co-supervisor: **N/A**

Please note that any proposed changes in the thesis/dissertation title require the approval of your supervisor/s, the Faculty Research Committee, as well as ratification thereof by the Higher Degrees Committee.

2. Research budget to the amount of **R10 000.00**

Please note that this funding is not a scholarship or bursary and is therefore not paid directly to you, but is controlled by the Faculty. Any proposed changes to the use of this funding allocation requires the approval of your supervisor and the Dean. Please note that funding will be reimbursed to you after the provision of receipts.

The Institutional Research Committee has stipulated that:

- (a) This University retains the ownership of any Intellectual Property (patent, design, etc.) registered in respect of the results of your Masters/Doctors Degree in Technology studies as a result of the award and the provisions of the above Act;
- (b) Should you find any of the terms above not acceptable then you are given the option to decline the Research budget award to your project in writing.

May we remind you that in terms of Rule G25(2)(b), if you fail to obtain the Masters/Doctors degree within the maximum time period allowed after first registering for the qualification, Senate may refuse to renew your registration or may impose any conditions it deems fit. You may apply to the Faculty Research Committee for an extension.

Please note that you are required to convert your registration from the informal to the formal course and re-register each year.

Please note that the following must be adhered to:

**Registration:**

1. Ensure formal registration has taken place *(the onus is on the student and the supervisor to ensure registration takes places at the beginning of each year whilst the student is currently engaged with his/her Masters or PhD qualification)*
2. Ensure that application for Conferment of Status has been made in the event of your undergraduate qualification being different to this application. *Your attention is drawn to the fact that Conferment of Status is required for registration.*
3. Ensure that your supervisor has submitted your proposal to the Faculty Research Officer (FRO) for IREC clearance (institutional research ethics committee). This is in the case of Ethics level 2 IREC and level 3 IREC (in the case of a study dealing with vulnerable populations). See guideline attached. *It is the researcher's responsibility to check the Ethics requirements and submit to the relevant bodies irrespective of the reviewer's recommendation.*

**Dissertation submission for examination:**

1. Ensure that you submit the intention to submit form (PG 5), signed by the HOD and Supervisor
2. Ensure that the signed checklist is submitted with the PG 5
3. Once your dissertation is submitted to the supervisor for examination purposes, communication from here on will only be with you supervisor and not with the faculty.
4. Your supervisor MUST nominate the examiners three months prior to submission of the dissertation/thesis for examination.
5. On submission for examination, please note that three ring bound signed copies must be submitted to your supervisor along with the completed and signed PG 7 form, FMS Checklist and Turn It In report.
6. Feedback will be provided to your supervisor regarding the examination result after the result is ratified by the Higher Degrees Committee (HDC).
7. In the event of a resubmission the reports will be submitted to the supervisor who will communicate with you for revision. Once revision has taken place your supervisor will submit to the FRO for resubmission to the examiners.
8. In the case where there is a discrepancy in examiners results, an Arbiter will be nominated via the HOD and supervisor and tabled at FRC and ratified at HDC. On completion of this process, the Arbiters report will be tabled at FRC and ratified at HDC.
9. Results of the Arbitration process will be communicated to your supervisor

**Graduation requirements:**

1. Ensure that you submit a completed signed PG10 form
2. one hard bound dissertation/thesis with a pdf version on CD
3. response to post graduate examination form
4. completion of study form (JREC form)

Should you experience any problems relating to your research, your supervisor must be informed of the matter as soon as possible. If the difficulties persist, you should then approach your Head of Department and thereafter the Faculty Research Coordinator.

Please refer to the 2017 General Rule Book and the Postgraduate Students' Guide 2017 concerning the rules relating to postgraduate studies, which include *inter alia* acceptable minimum and maximum timeframes, submission of thesis/dissertations, etc. Please do not hesitate to contact this office for any assistance. We wish you success in your studies.

Kind regards,



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Prof SP Rawjee

FRC Chairperson: Faculty of Management Sciences

Cc Supervisor: **Mr C Hemson**



### **Appendix 3: Letter of information**

#### **Title of the Research Study: The fear of crime on the women's quest for economic opportunities in the community of Inanda Newtown A.**

Good day,

My name is Zanele Ncwane, I am a postgraduate student registered for a master's degree in Peace Studies at Durban University of Technology. As part of the requirement for the degree, I am conducting a research study on the impact of fear of crime on women's quest for economic opportunities in the community of Inanda Newtown A.

The purpose of the study is to obtain evidence on the impact of fear of crime on women's quest for economic opportunities. The other part of the study is to understand the strategies women use to negotiate safety as they pursue better economic opportunities for their livelihoods.

I therefore invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and your refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes. We will have three sessions in total at different times to gather information.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable answering.

Participating in this study will not cost you any money and please note that also there will be no payment to you for participating. With your permission, the interview will be recorded for easy of writing. No one, other than myself and my supervisor, will have access to the recorded tapes which will be kept in a safe lockable cabinet. Your personal information will be kept confidential with no identifying information included in the final report, should a quote need to be made a penname will be used to protect your real name.

If you agree to be part of the study:

- You may be part of a group of 12 people participating as part of interviewees as a group.

- You may be requested to take part in individual interview.

I am available to answer any questions regarding the study on 082 529 6937, or my supervisor Professor Harris on 031 373 5499 or my co supervisor Mr Crispin Hemson on 031373 5499/082 926 5333.

Thank you for taking your time to consider participating in this study.

Yours sincerely

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Zanele Ncwane

## Appendix 4: Consent Letter

### Statement of Agreement to Participate in the Research Study:

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the researcher, Zanele Ncwane, about the nature, conduct, benefits and risks of this study. I have also received, read and understood the above written information (Participant Letter of Information) regarding the study.

I am aware that the information, including personal details regarding my sex, age, date of birth, initials will be anonymously used for the study report.

I understand that I am participating on my own free will, and that I may refuse to answer any particular questions and or withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and of my own free will declare myself prepared to participate in the study.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Full Name of Participant    Date                      Time                      Signature    /    Right  
Thumbprint

I, Zanele Ncwane herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature, conduct and risks of the above study. I agree to the conditions stipulated in the consent form and undertake to respect and adhere to them.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Full Name of Researcher                      Date                      Signature

## **Appendix 5: Individual interview guide**

1. Think about all types of crime, how worried are you about crime?
2. Do you think you can be a victim of crime?
3. How worried are you about becoming a victim of crime?
4. Have been a victim of crime? If yes, specify?
5. How do you keep safe from crime when going to work?
6. Your answer above, why do you use that strategy?
7. Do you use a different strategy when coming back from work? If yes, what?
8. Your answer above, why do you use that strategy?
9. In what way does fear of crime affect your ability to earn a living?
10. Based on your answer above, what can be done to address your fear of crime?

## **Appendix 6: Focus Group Questions**

1. How safe do you feel in your area?
2. Have you ever witnessed a crime taking place in your area?
3. Who do you think is the most vulnerable to crime in your area? And why?
4. How do you protect yourself against crime?
5. Why you choose the above-mentioned method of protection?
6. What can be done to make your community a safe area?

Appendix 6:

