

**Walking at the intersection of Seamon's place ballet and Relph's insideness:
Understanding how students experience the university as a place through their
everyday habitual walking**

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Doctor of Philosophy in Political and International Studies

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Abstract

Walking as a way to experience a place is a relatively understudied area of phenomenological study. Furthermore, globally (the world) and locally (South Africa) the study of the experience of tertiary education institutions as walked environments is minimal (see Puig-Ribera et al., 2008; Speck et al., 2010; Mtolo, 2017). However, the events of the South African #MustFall moment – especially the #RhodesMustFall part of the moment and how it began with the desecration of a statue that was walked past and found to be a misplaced artefact in a society that is in postcolonial/post-Apartheid times and space – highlighted the pressing need to study the experience of the university as a place through which habitual walking takes the student through moments of movement, rest, and encounter that are a highly consequential way in which placeness is experienced. This study is a way to document how students at Rhodes University experience the university’s placeness quality, through habitual walking, in an example of the way in which a place is experienced through moments of movement, rest, and encounter. For this study in-depth mobile interviews were conducted with 12 student participants from Rhodes University. The interviews were video-recorded as the participants talked while traversing through habitually walked areas of the campus that are the meaning-infused spaces which make up the Rhodes University that they traverse through on a daily basis. The dissertation found that in the experience of Rhodes University, through habitually walking its placeness, people experience moments of movement, rest, and encounter that are highly targeted and personalised. The experience of the Rhodes University campus is an experience of people and the built-up and decorated environment along similar lines. People bring to the experience of their walked space past experiences which inform consequentially how any space that is walked is experienced. People further employ strategies to ensure that the experience of walking a space is more to their desired quality as an experience, which ends up being meaningful and most likely to affect future instances of walking through meaning-infusing and meaning-infused space. Ultimately, the habitual walking of Rhodes University consequentially informs the relationship between students and Rhodes University’s placeness, as the walking is a way of learning how to be within a placeness that is engaged through alternating moments of movement, rest, and encounter that incrementally ‘open’ for experience Rhodes University in such a targeted manner that every student eventually has their personal and customised Rhodes University by virtue of it being just those sites and situations which have been engaged through habitual walking.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background and Context

The world over, there is a vast collection of literature on higher education institutions (see Barnett, 1992; Kanji et al., 1999; Nguyen and LeBlanc, 2001; Velazquez et al., 2005; Wu and Wu, 2008; Hazelkorn, 2015). The collection of literature spans such themes as higher education quality (see Seymour, 1992; Gumpert, 2000; Biggs, 2001; Marginson and Van der Wende, 2007), transformation (see Clark, 1998; Garrison and Kanuka, 2004; De Boer et al., 2007; Molesworth et al., 2009), and other miscellaneous subtopics (see Ramsden, 2003; Collins and Mowbray, 2005; Knight, 2008; Brown et al., 2013). The amount of literature is an indication of the high importance that the study of higher education institutions has historically gained.

In Africa, as in the rest of the world, there has been a vast collection of literature studying the higher education landscape (see Mazrui, 1975; Saint, 1992; Ajayi et al., 1996; Alidou and Mazrui, 1999; Teferra and Altbach, 2003; Bloom et al., 2006; Castells, 2009; Mohamedbhai, 2014). This literature spans such themes as African higher education and colonialism (see Brock-Utne, 2002; Mazrui, 2003; Assie-Lumumba, 2006; Mbembe, 2016), transformation (see Aina, 1994; Imam et al., 1997; Sawyerr, 2004; Mamdani, 2008), and various other subthemes (see Mama, 2003; Sawyerr, 2004; Essack, 2012; Mohamedbhai, 2014). Higher education in Africa has been the subject of much study as the continent has found the sector to be of much importance for the rest of society.

In South Africa the study of the higher education institution landscape has followed global trends in that it has been historically increasing (see Jansen, 2002; Cloete et al., 2004; Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Badat, 2009; Hall, 2010; Schoole, 2013; Vincent and Idahosa, 2014; Munyuki, 2015; Chiwandire and Vincent, 2017). The collection of literature spans such themes as access (see Boughey, 2003; Howell, 2006; Bitzer, 2010; Luescher et al., 2017), transformation (see Reddy, 2004; Walker, 2005; Badat, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2016), and various other subthemes (see Anthony et al., 2000; Kruss, 2004; Jaffer et al., 2007; Lazarus et al., 2008). Post-Apartheid higher education has been the subject of much internal study.

This present study is a contribution to the literature on the South African higher education landscape. However, unlike most of the literature focusing on this sector, the current study does not zoom in on just one realm of the academy, i.e. I do not simply look at only transformation or only access. Instead the current study focuses on South African higher education institutions as being primarily ‘places’ – places being realities which are geographic and that within them contain people within built-up and decorated environments of some disposition that are meaning-infused and meaning-infusing for the occupants and inhabitants (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979). In other words, I look at South African tertiary institutions primarily as places with buildings and people who walk between those very buildings – walking and engaging in all types of behaviours.

I do a study of walking within a tertiary education institution in South Africa, inspired by the events of the country’s #MustFall moment. The events of especially the #RhodesMustFall part of the moment highlighted to me an often-overlooked part of tertiary education study in South Africa. This overlooked part is that of the populations of tertiary education institutions being primarily people that physically walk within the boundaries of the university space. #RhodesMustFall started at the University of Cape Town and began when someone walked past a statue of Cecil John Rhodes, felt that the statue had no reason to remain erected in an allegedly postcolonial space and time, and decided that the statue had to be desecrated by himself and ultimately removed (see Murriss, 2016; Chaudhuri, 2016; Bosch, 2017; Mbembe, 2016). The protests that ensued showcased how it was that people could experience places – strictly from their built-up and decorated environment with its accompanying ideas and social interactions – so differently when all the while the thought prevails that people always experience places in the same manner. This current study looks at how people who walk within the very same geographic boundary can often have highly diverging experiences of said ultimately phenomenological reality.

The research which has been done on South African higher education has often focused on targeted, isolated issues. For example, most of the research focuses on South African higher education being in a postcolonial space and time (see Badat, 1994; Mamdani, 1998; Gultig, 2000; Jansen, 2002; Cassim, 2005; Portnoi, 2009; Wangenge-Ouma, 2010; Schoole, 2013; Heleta, 2016). However, such research only interrogates the current higher education landscape

as a space of transformation (see Walker, 2005; Badat, 2010), in regard to accessibility (see Howell, 2006; Bitzer, 2010), and in terms of other such targeted study areas (see Jaffer et al., 2007; Lazarus et al., 2008). This research may be argued to lead to a bifurcation of study. The bifurcation leading to there never being a view of the higher education landscape as more than the sum of its parts. My research simply looks at people – without knowing their biography beforehand – experiencing a place (in its entirety without isolating anything) entirely through their walking as moments of movement, rest, and encounter.

What the majority of the post-Apartheid study of higher education in South Africa does highlight is that the academy has realities which prevail and are of importance. For instance, such study does highlight that historically South African higher education was exclusionary (see Boughey, 2003; Howell, 2006), put parts of the population at a disadvantage (see Vincent and Idahosa, 2014; Chiwandire and Vincent, 2019), and is a place in need of change (see Badat, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2016). These realities do affect large numbers of the university population. This is why the country's ministries of education historically looked to re-engineer some parts of the academy to be more in line with the wishes of a country which has done away with past policies which often overlooked certain parts of the country's population.

In the seminal document by the country's Department of Education entitled "Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education" (1997:6-7) it is argued that the transformation of the higher education system and its institutions requires:

Increased and broadened participation. Successful policy must overcome an historically determined pattern of fragmentation, inequality and inefficiency. It must increase access for black, women, disabled and mature students, and generate new curricula and flexible models of learning and teaching, including modes of delivery, to accommodate a larger and more diverse student population.

Responsiveness to societal interests and needs. Successful policy must restructure the higher education system and its institutions to meet the needs of an increasingly technologically-oriented economy. It must also deliver the requisite research, the highly trained people and the knowledge to equip a developing society with the capacity to address national needs and to participate in a rapidly changing and competitive global context.

Cooperation and partnerships in governance. Successful policy must reconceptualise the relationship between higher education and the state, civil society, and stakeholders, and among institutions. It must also create an enabling institutional environment and culture that is sensitive to and affirms diversity,

promotes reconciliation and respect for human life, protects the dignity of individuals from racial and sexual harassment, and rejects all other forms of violent behaviour.

The above-stated requirements highlight the main realities that the ministries of education have historically thought to be in existence in the country's higher education institutions. The prevalence of these realities can be argued to still exist, posing a challenge even in the current environment, as conflicts over the state of things in the academy are pervasive (see Badat, 2010; Vincent and Idahosa, 2014; Nyamnjoh, 2016; Chiwandire and Vincent, 2019). The students who participated in this study exist and walk in an environment characterised by the above realities and more.

1.2 Personal Motivation

I have always been interested in how people experience being in a place. From my personal experience I have always noticed how places seem to have particular effects on me. My very existence has included moving between many places within my life. My schooling has been highly indicative of this existence. I have never spent more than four years at any one school and at one time I spent just four months at one school. It has always been my contention that these schools have quite different atmospheres and are all together most different in terms of their built environments. Academically I came across the study of place during my Masters' thesis. I had come to know of a university research unit that dealt with issues of institutional culture, transformation, and equity. Within the unit was a subsection focusing on place studies. Pursuing the study of place was in line with my own interests in learning about how most people experience what can only be termed as 'placeness'. Placeness is at its simplest how a space, once meaning-infused, takes a quality of being a place for the individual who is within the meaning-infused space.

There were theorists within the field who became rather important to me. The theorist Henri Lefebvre remains perhaps the theorist who is always on my mind when it comes to the experience of place. In Lefebvre's theory of the production of space (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991) the argument is that places are produced through what is termed a spatial triad that people experience within that particular space. This spatial triad involves things such as

the built-up and decorated environment, what people do within the environment, and what the environment looks like on an abstract level being consequential influences in how the place is ultimately experienced. Other important theorists were Tim Ingold, Jo Lee Vergunst, and Gary Bridge. These theorists focused on walking as a way in which people are mostly emplaced. Ingold and Vergunst (2008) in their ethnographic study argued for walking as a way in which memories and emotions are placed and lived on particular spots of a meaning-infused space; Bridge (2013) focused on how the human mind and body negotiate being within a meaning-infused space as a being that consequentially lives within what has been meaning-infused by itself and by others.

The authors above, alongside my own experience of places, encouraged me to attempt to capture the experience of placeness through talking to people who walk within meaning-infused space and get to experience the meanings infused through the subjective reality of simply being within placeness and uncovering at their own pace the consequences of walking through placeness realities. I simply wish to see how walking consequentially informs how placeness is experienced. I will be using the experiential framework of the place ballet to document this experience. The place ballet is at its simplest a theory that argues that people experience places through three states of being within the place, viz. rest, encounter, and movement. In other words, people rest, encounter, and move within a place.

1.3 Rationale

This study locates itself in the debates that look at the experiences of being within higher education institutions in South Africa. It is the case that most studies of the experience of higher education institutions in South focus on either the experiences of the historically excluded and disadvantaged individuals or upon issues of transformation (see Tait et al., 2002; Hay, 2008; Mgqwashu, 2009; Petersen et al., 2009) and other attempts at reconfiguring institutions so as to be more in line with the wishes of a country that is in postcolonial times (see Badsha and Harper, 2000; Woods, 2001; Sennett et al., 2003; Walker, 2005; Pattman, 2007). It is seldom the case that studies focus on the experiences of all different kinds of people within higher education – what I mean here is focusing on not only the previously disadvantaged or only the disabled but to have the research focus on no particular group of people (see Schrieff, 2004;

Cross and Johnson, 2008; Cross et al., 2009; Sartorius and Sartorius, 2013). My argument is that there is no university that is exclusively just a space of transformation, or exclusively a place occupied by the previously disadvantaged. No place is a vacuum and thus all places are multifaceted and deserve to be studied as such. In all places there are the disadvantaged (across the disadvantage spectrum), the advantaged (the full spectrum), the previously excluded (the full spectrum), and the included (across the spectrum of inclusion), and all such themes ought to be considered as encompassing transformation in all its realities. The place that is the university is thus never one place but many places and it is this phenomenon of the multiplicity of place that I seek to illuminate here.

In the year 2015 there was the highly tense and publicised conflict over the profile of the higher education landscape of South Africa. Students along with some staff members protested what they deemed to be a tertiary education landscape that was not suited for the postcolonial context of the country. In other words, there were protests over the sort of places that the country's tertiary education institutions were. The #MustFall moment -- inclusive of such themes as #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall, #OutsourcingMustFall, and numerous other such political statements -- was a moment wherein there was a highly publicised clash over how universities should be for their current occupants and inhabitants (see Lemon, 2016; Mamdani, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2016). The #RhodesMustFall part of the #MustFall moment focused on the part of placeness that is mostly ignored, i.e. the built-up and decorated environment which form part of the institutional culture that consequentially informs the sort of meaning-infused space a place is. That part of the #MustFall moment started with the 'desecration' of the Cecil John Rhodes statue that used to be located at the University of Cape Town's 'Jammie' steps (see Murriss, 2016; Chauduri, 2016; Bosch, 2017). The #RhodesMustFall moment was a look at the built-up and decorated environment of the South African higher education landscape in the everyday experience of participants.

It was a lucky accident that the moment was sparked by someone walking past a statue and deciding to do something to (and about) that statue. The #RhodesMustFall movement forced the higher education population to think of their personal experience of the built-up and decorated environment. People from all walks of life experience the built-up and decorated environment they find themselves in, in specific ways (see Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Tuan,

2001). Furthermore, the #MustFall moment showed people that higher education institutions are the same as any places in the world, i.e. they are made up of certain features (buildings, decoration, preoccupation, unspoken, etc.) that give meaning to the numerous realms of their existence. In other words, the #MustFall moment highlighted that in the built-up and decorated environment there is an experience to be had – an experience that is of equal importance to everyone within the meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space. I aim to use the realities of the moment in order to better understand how it is that any person within a higher education institution might experience that institution.

Meaning-infused spaces are places (refer to Casey, 1996:17). Places have a particular existence for individuals. It is within places that individuals have experiences which stay with them for the duration of their lives (see Tuan, 1975; Buttimer, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991; Wylie, 2006; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). To think of higher education institution as places like any other places in the world is rational because these ‘spaces’ have just the same make-up as any of the other spaces that make up a country’s geographic unit, i.e. they have a mixture of geographic, human, and relational features. A phenomenological study will unpack some of the essences of experiencing such an existence as an individual in a higher education landscape and which is made up of all the same features as those that make up any particular meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space.

In this study my focus is on the student population. The students remain the biggest occupiers and inhabitants of higher education institutions. Volumes of research have been conducted on students as the main population of the country’s higher education institutions (see Kraak, 2000; Akooge and Nkomo, 2007; Waghid, 2008; Badat, 2009). However, the research has often neglected the study of the experience of higher education institutions as places characterised by more than the coexistence of the previously disadvantaged with the advantaged and the struggle over such themes as transformation and equity. I look to university placeness, as an object of study, as an openness to the experiences of human beings -- who walk through scenes of experience that call on their particular existence and experience -- as subjectivities that are strategically and tactically called upon as the main medium of experience. In other words, I look at students in the sense of their having conversations with their environments, not as

environments of just any general features but those features which pop up and are uncovered in action making up students' own habitual walking.

1.4 South African Higher Education Landscape as Placeness

Human beings are always in place (see Tuan, 1977; Seamon, 1979; Pred, 1984; Casey, 2000; Bridge, 2013; Cresswell, 2014). People are beings who exist within a space. This space is meaning-infused and meaning-infusing (Tuan, 1979:407). The space exists as a geographic, social, and relational reality in which individuals are emplaced. From this emplacement there come experiences which the individual goes through (refer to Buttimer, 1976). From these experiences the individual has a particular view of the sort of place that their emplacement site and situation is.

South African higher education institutions are places in the same manner that all other spaces of geographic and human existence are places. The institutions are made up of features both animate and inanimate that make them spaces of some placeness (refer to Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991). These animate and inanimate features work together for there to be a lively existence of place with people that experience meaning-infusion and do their own meaning-infusing activities which affects their experience of placeness. From the built-up and decorated environment to the people who populate the space arise place-based transactions that lead to an overall personal experience of what it is like to be in that particular space that is known as that specific institution for that particular individual with specific subjectivities stemming from experience (Bridge, 2013:307). In other words, placeness is a phenomenological reality of being in place and having an experience of that place as meaning-infused and meaning-infusing.

In the post-Apartheid South African tertiary education research environment there has been a focus on particular parts of the placeness of universities. For instance, there has been a focus on transformation and moving the university space to be more in line with the realities of the current postcolonial environment (see Kraak, 2000; Akooge and Nkomo, 2007; Schoole, 2013; Mbembe, 2016). Although a noble cause, such research normally mistakes a part of the entity for the whole. For instance, disability access is a part of place experience but it is not the whole;

the experiences of the previously disadvantaged are part of the experience of place but this too is not the whole. Such research will look at too little a part of the experience of higher education institutions as places. However, research that focuses on the disabled and poor at the same time would cover a greater part of place experience as it would include not just more people but also people with overlapping experiences that are instructive. Under such rationalisation then focusing on the experiences of any and everyone is putting yourself in a better position to document the experiences which are shared and interact within placeness as people from all walks of life do in fact (at moments) share and interact within placeness.

Place experiences do exist on a continuum from the strictly exclusively personal (see Tuan, 1974; Low and Altman, 1992; Wylie, 2005) to the group-based and sometimes confrontational (see Cresswell, 1996; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Di Masso et al., 2011). There are realities of place experience which appear to be spread through all forms of place experience as a consequential phenomenological reality of human existence. In other words, people, wherever they might be, are often bound to have some experience of being in that meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space.

For this research undertaking I looked to focus on students in a university – how the students who are the participants walk the university into being. My study is a way of contributing to the documentation of how universities – as areas of particular placeness – are walked and experienced in the manner in which they are. I look at how students, through habitually walking, basically make their very own university experience that is consequentially informed by this very habitual walking. In this way I seek to problematize the taken-for-granted understanding of the university as *a place* and seek instead to show how it is many places, brought into being through the ways in which its inhabitants experience it, make it, walk it and relate within it.

1.5 Method, Technique and Procedure of the Research

The study employs a phenomenological approach to answering the research question (see Giorgi, 1985; Merleau-Ponty, 2005; Dowling, 2007). My aim was to document the experience

of placeness in a manner such that its essences were laid bare and it could be better understood how and why people have the qualities of experiences of places that they have (Van Manen, 2016:23). In other words, the phenomenological approach would allow me to ask questions that would give me answers that I could then analyse to capture what may be thought of as the anchoring essences of experience of a particular place.

The research participants were asked in-depth questions on their experiences of Rhodes University as the place within which they are emplaced. In-depth interviews are often lauded as the best way in which the essences of experience that phenomenology looks for can be gained (see Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Mason, 2010; Lewis, 2015). The interviews look at the participants' own understandings of their experience as people of particular dispositions and subjectivities. It is advised that such interviews often exhaust the number of essences to be found within the data collection process when a range of five to 15 interviews are conducted (Patton, 2002:104; Guest et al., 2006:61). The essences are arrived at through the rigour of the in-depth questions that strategically probe to ensure that the most detailed accounts of experience are gained from the participants of the research. For this thesis the questions asked sought to understand how the participants experience their habitual walks as a most consequential way in which the placeness of their current area of emplacement is engaged as an experience. The questions posed to the participants looked at their habitual walking not simply as motion through a space but as a way in which people end up in particular areas within the space and having experiences of such areas that end up determining the overall experience of the university as a place.

The data I collected was analysed using phenomenological methods. I coded the data in cycles of coding. To code is to capture the essences of experience in the words that participants have used in the interviews (Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2013). For the first cycle of coding, to keep in line with the wish to capture experience as close to the participants' own voices as possible, I coded the interviews using the *In Vivo* method initially (Saldana, 2013:22). There were numerous codes generated in this manner. From these codes I then went on to the second cycle of coding which then highlights the categories and themes under which the participants' reflections fall (Saldana, 2013:213). With this cycle of coding I have in essence highlighted the main areas of experience and how they are constructed by the participants. From here on I can

then compared and contrasted the essences of experience between the participants and advanced my documentation of the realities that consequentially inform experiences of placeness as people who are emplaced and walk into being a place's quality of placeness.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the experiences of the students at Rhodes University in South Africa. I looked at the students as they are the people who make up the bigger share of the university population and they also are the people who walk the most within the university space. I looked at people who walk most of the time. I was interested in documenting how people who habitually walk the university see it as an experience. I was particularly interested in the phenomenological reality of people experiencing what can be argued to be a university of their own making as it is their habitual walking which exposes them to particular things about the university – things such the make-up of the built-up and decorated environment within which social interactions are housed. I was looking at placeness as experienced through habitual walking that engages said placeness.

1.7 Thesis Structure

Chapter One: Introduction

In this chapter I introduced the dissertation as an important addition to the prevailing literature on the experiences of the higher education landscape both locally and internationally. I also give my personal motivation, rationale, the conceptual framework, methods and procedures, and the scope of the study.

Chapter Two: Background and Context

This chapter places the study more firmly within African research literature on the documented experiences of the tertiary education landscape. It starts off with a look at the study of the experiences of tertiary education in Africa and the main themes which come from such

research. The chapter then looks at South African studies of the experiences to be found within the tertiary education landscape. Finally, the chapter focuses on Rhodes University as the university within which this study was conducted.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

This chapter looks at the literature on walking as a way to experience place. Walking is looked at in terms of where and when it was used as a tool to look at place experience. The walking literature is organised into themes and subthemes. As the chapter shows, very little work exists on walking and place in the South African literature.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

This chapter details the theories which have to be used in order to anchor the study. I begin by highlighting phenomenological outlooks as the best way in which to gain insights into experience. This approach is utilised in tandem with the theories of David Seamon (the place ballet) and Edward Relph (placeness) to look at walking – in particular encompassing moments of movement, rest, and encounter -- as a way to experience a place.

Chapter Five: Methodology, Procedures and Techniques

This chapter looks at all the methods and procedures I utilised in my management of this research undertaking. I detail here my usage of the qualitative research paradigm, the manner in which I collected data, and the way in which I analysed the data that informs the dissertation. This study is a phenomenological documentation of the experiences of Rhodes University as a place through habitual walks that make the place an event for the qualitative experiences of movement, rest, and encounter. I conducted mobile interviews with 12 students from the university. The interviews were then qualitatively coded and I stopped collecting data once analysis revealed that no new information was being received from the participants.

Chapter Six: Movement – Part One of Place Ballet

This chapter looks at the experience of movement as a way in which the placeness of Rhodes University is engaged by, and engages, the participant. The chapter looks at the walking dynamics, the quality of the routine, and the instances of familiarity which consequentially inform the overall experience of Rhodes University's placeness. I argue here that movement is subject to targeted traversals of the environment that end up being a way in which an individual learns to be within the placeness of Rhodes University because these call upon the individual to (re)negotiate their relationship with place along lines that they find individually useful.

Chapter Seven: Rest – Part Two of Place Ballet

This chapter looks at the experience of rest as a way in which the placeness of Rhodes University is engaged by and engages the participant. The chapter looks at the experiences of comfort, place attachment, and at homeness as instances that consequentially inform the overall experience of Rhodes University's placeness. I argue here that rest is both reflective and reflexive in that people are here most likely to look for moments of rest which they have experienced in places deemed similar to how Rhodes University feels to them, at the same time as making their very own way into rest as a sort of 'live' interaction with placeness.

Chapter Eight: Encounter – Part Three of Place Ballet

This chapter looks at the experience of encounter as a way in which the placeness of Rhodes University is engaged by, and engages, the participant. The chapter looks at experiences of Rhodes University's aesthetics, the people environment, and safety realities and concerns as events which are encountered by individuals that in turn consequentially inform the overall experience of Rhodes University's placeness. I argue here that encounter depends much on reactive perception. People perceive the environment and from this perception engage in judgments that result in relationships with placeness that depend on targeted perception that is informed by the experiences of the individual doing the perceiving.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

In this chapter I conclude based on the findings of the study. I also give a single recommendation for the way forward in terms of appreciating the insights from better understanding the manner in which places and their placeness are experienced through habitual walking.

Chapter Two: Background and Context

2.1 Introduction

All research into the essences of the realities experienced within the lifeworld needs to be contextual. It is through contextualising the research that a better appreciation as to those elements which make up the experience under research consideration is gained (refer to Schutz, 1962; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999; Earle, 2010). The context becomes the scope and scale within which the experience of a lifeworld can be bounded and which make it what it is to the individual who experiences its subjective reality.

In what follows, I lay out the context within which the current research undertaking unfolded. Through this contextualising exercise I will engage the context and its realities within which my research took place (refer to Giorgi, 1985; Patton, 1999; Van Manen, 2003). In this context two things will be occurring. Firstly, I will be locating my research undertaking in its geography. Here I will be placing the research in Africa and South Africa. Secondly, I will be looking to place my research undertaking within the scope of African and South African research on the experience of higher education's possibly numerous lifeworlds. Through these two ways of contextualising there will be the unmistakable placing of my research within a niche not before explored within the phenomenological research area of the experience of higher education in South Africa.

I start off contextualising my research undertaking with a brief overview of the African higher education landscape. For this section I look at African higher education and how it is as a landscape. I will be looking at the issues which dominate the landscape. These issues are indicative of the (sometimes) phenomenological kind of research pertaining to the experience of higher education in Africa. I will then delve into a deeper exploration of South African higher education. I will be looking at the issues within the landscape. These issues, just as with the rest of Africa, consequentially influence what sort of research is conducted on the landscape. The argument arising from this contextualisation is that the issues which dominate the higher education landscape may (and can) at times affect the experience of the lifeworld of

the higher education landscape as a place within which a person lives in Africa and South Africa.

2.2 Overview: Higher Education in Africa

Higher education in Africa is historically related to the colonial experience and project. Higher education in Africa is in many cases connected to the period of colonialism and the institutions which colonialism imposed upon Africa and its many dominated societies (see Yesufu, 1973: 23; Ajayi et al., 1996; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Assie-Lumumba, 2006; Muller and Cloete, 2017). Owing to the imposition of these realities of higher education upon the colonised societies of Africa, certain realities became invigorated during and post colonialization that consequentially became connected to the African higher education landscape.

Many countries within Africa got introduced to higher education during their colonial experience. During such an experience, higher education in Africa was as exclusionary and discriminatory as was greater society, which was dominated by the wishes of the colonising minorities (see Mama, 2003; Sawyerr, 2004:6; Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017:19). In all cases, the majority of the individual country's population was excluded from the higher education experience in such a manner that only the elite and those designated to be beneficiaries of colonialism were to be found within higher education in Africa.

With the end of colonialism and its discriminatory policies - which were active upon the higher education landscape either directly through colonial government policy or indirectly through making the (formerly) colonised countries weak and unable to preside over a successful country with many higher education institutions - came changes to the landscape (see Ajayi et al., 1996; Mama, 2003:104; Lihamba et al., 2006; Morley et al., 2008). In other words, as the African higher education landscape moved beyond being beholden to the whims of colonial domination, new realities had to be dealt with in this landscape now free of the shackles of colonialism.

One of the character traits of African higher education as a postcolonial institution has been its efforts to undo the injustices of the past. What such a disposition does to an institution is to make it a reflective institution, i.e. make it look critically at its past (refer to Mamdani, 2008; Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017:205). This backward-looking stance signals an institution willing to reinvigorate itself with a better understanding and appreciation of what the past brought to its present (see Aina, 1994; Imam et al., 1997; Sawyerr, 2004; Assie-Lumumba, 2006:83; Mamdani, 2008). In other words, reflectively looking at the past is a way in which the present can be shifted so as to be more in line with the desired state of affairs than one which may be problematic because it has not learnt from its previous dispositions.

Owing to the relationship between the African higher education experience and colonialism, most contemporary invigoration of higher education in Africa falls into the category of efforts to undo the past, namely its exclusion of the majority of the country's population from higher education, and research (often government-encouraged) into this state of affairs may be consequentially informed by the past being what it was. In other words, there is a vast collection of literature on African higher education being in a postcolonial era with its own realities that owe much of their existence to the colonial experience and what this era meant for the landscape (see Coleman, 1994:335; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Assie-Lumumba, 2006; Muller and Cloete, 2017:95). Owing to such a researching reality, there are general consistencies within the study of the higher education landscape of Africa.

African governments have acted in ways which have sought to shift the profile and experience of higher education within their postcolonial societies (refer to Muller and Cloete, 2017:19). These postcolonial societies are seen as in need of government encouragement in their move towards having a higher education landscape in line with the supposed wishes of greater society -- basically amounting to the transition of this landscape to the postcolonial era rather than being stuck in the same realities as during colonial times. Owing to this reality of being in a postcolonial space within the African landscape, there have been issues which have been consistent across the different countries' experiences (see Mama, 2003; Sawyerr, 2004; Mamdani, 2008; Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017:163). For instance, individual country daily realities such as access and the inclusion of new experiences within the African higher

education landscape have proven quite topical for an improved understanding and appreciation of what (and how) the landscape currently is.

Access to higher education in Africa has historically been an issue (refer to Teferra and Altbach, 2004). On account of colonialism mass exclusion from higher education prevailed. With the end of colonialism there was the inevitable rise in access because, unlike in the past, the rest of society was encouraged to experience higher education (refer to Kwesiga, 2002:98; Essack, 2012; Mohamedbhai, 2014). This obviously shifted the compositional profile of the higher education landscape. From being mostly made up of faces consistent with the wishes of colonial benefactors the higher education landscape began progressively including the formerly excluded.

Improved access opened the way en masse for people who had historically not had their realities recognised within the higher education landscape. An example would be women. Women have historically been a minority in the African higher education landscape (see Ajayi et al, 1996; Mama, 2003: 102). With the end of colonialism, and most democratic governments looking to be seen as supporters of women within higher education, for a number of reasons, the inclusion of women within higher education has been encouraged. Women inevitably brought in their own gender-influenced experiences of the lifeworld (refer to Ajayi et al., 1996).

With the realities of increased access and the inclusion of new subjectivities within the higher education landscape in Africa there has been a plethora of accompanying research into such realities (see Lebeau, 2000; Musisi and Muwanga, 2003; Altbach, 2010; Mohamedbhai, 2014; Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017). For instance, access has encouraged reflection on its results for the academy and the experience of those who have historically been within the academy (refer to Altbach et al., 2010). Access and the shifting profile and experience of African higher education are inextricably linked. Increased access not only shifts the compositional profile of higher education; increased access also leads to a shift in who gets to interact with whom and under what circumstances (refer to Ajayi et al., 1996; Sawyerr, 2004; Muller and Cloete, 2017). This is argued the daily reality of higher education in a postcolonial Africa. There are shifts within the landscape that lead to shifts in the possible realities within the landscape.

The state of higher education in Africa then is that of a place wherein some people were historically excluded from participation en masse but in time changes saw these people encouraged to come in (refer to Muller and Cloete, 2017; Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017). As such the spatial reality is that of a place with more people and a more diverse group currently than previously. Those in the higher education landscapes of African countries have had to engage in research to document accompanying sentiments, finding there to have been phases which have changed the sector's realities relatively drastically -- from exclusion to mass inclusion of people and experience.

My research is placed within the South African higher education landscape. I now discuss at some length the South African landscape and how my research is placed therein.

2.3 Overview: Higher Education in South Africa

To contextualise the research being undertaken within the wider South African higher education research landscape requires the acknowledgement of the realities which are contemporary and historical to this very landscape. The process involves looking at the issues of the day and how the issues of the day are being engaged throughout South Africa by people in positions to do so. Ultimately, looking at the South African higher education landscape involves acknowledgement of its historical position and how this historical position has been engaged by those within the academy in attempts to capture its essence. In other words, I am to look at the general (often historical) challenges to be found within the higher education landscape of South Africa and what output has come out of the engagement of these realities and proven to be mainstays.

2.3.1 South African Higher Education in a post-Apartheid Environment

Due to the socio-political reality of South Africa being just 24 years into its existence as a non-racial democracy, after its first elections wherein all the country's races were allowed to vote, it is the case that the South African higher education landscape has to be looked at as one which

has only recently become open to all the country's population. In essence, South African higher education since then has been and is looked at in the same light as the rest of the country after the momentous year of 1994, i.e. as being some years into being a democratic landscape (refer to Badat, 1994; Cloete and Bunting, 2000; Pandor, 2005). South African higher education was, before the latter days of Apartheid, highly exclusionary and often in accordance with the dictates of the government of the day.

From this position of higher education being some 24 years into democracy, the South African higher education landscape often finds itself being reflective (refer to Department of Education, 1997, 2001). In other words, the landscape often looks at itself -- as having a past wherein it was in many instances exclusionary and a present climate in which it finds itself attaining degrees of universality (refer to Badat, 2005; Matshediso, 2007). When it comes reflective presence within the South African tertiary education landscape, however, there is scarce a document more instructive than the Education White Paper 3 of 1997 from the Department of Education which is needed to anchor the current realities of the higher education landscape of South Africa. Owing to such a communicated reality in contextualising the current conditions of South African higher education, in this section, I am to quote extensively from the Education White Paper as instructive of the aims and wishes of the present regime for South African higher education.

The Education White Paper 3 of 1997 starts off with the acknowledgement that it is a paper for a South Africa just after the end of Apartheid and its exclusionary policies. The higher education landscape is seen as existing in an area of South African post-colonial reality in need of changes. To illustrate the aims of the Paper, it is subtitled "A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education". According to the White Paper (1997:3):

South Africa's transition from apartheid and minority rule to democracy requires that all existing practices, institutions and values are viewed anew and rethought in terms of their fitness for the new era. Higher education plays a central role in the social, cultural and economic development of modern societies. In South Africa today, the challenge is to redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to new realities and opportunities. It must lay the foundations for the development of a learning society which can stimulate, direct and mobilise the creative and intellectual energies of all the people towards meeting the challenge of reconstruction and development.

With such an opening statement the Paper acknowledges its aims in a general manner while also acknowledging the interplay between the higher education landscape and the historically exclusionary policies of Apartheid. From such an opening statement it is made clear that, owing to the socio-political reality of Apartheid having made South African higher education exclusionary and disadvantageous to some, the contemporary higher education landscape is in need of “transformation”. Ultimately, it is argued that there needs to be a change in the landscape.

The “transformation” of the higher education landscape is also seen as connected to the greater improvement of South African society. Throughout the Paper connections are made between higher education realities and their outcomes for the rest of South Africa. In a sense, higher education is seen as a positive decisive stakeholder for what realities prevail in greater society. In other words, a democratic and caring higher education landscape is a positive contributor to wider life outside the academy.

The Education White Paper 3 then advances what it believes to be a transformed higher education landscape. According to the Paper (1997: 7), the Department of Education aims for a landscape that will:

- promote equity of access and fair chances of success to all who are seeking to realise their potential through higher education, while eradicating all forms of unfair discrimination and advancing redress for past inequalities
- meet, through well-planned and co-ordinated teaching, learning and research programmes, national development needs, including the high-skilled employment needs presented by a growing economy operating in a global environment
- support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights by educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order
- contribute to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, and in particular address the diverse problems and demands of the local, national, southern African and African contexts, and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality.

From the above list of aims that the White Paper 3 lays out it is the case that there is a goal set out to be reached by the Department. This goal is that of opening the higher education landscape up to realities which were seldom seen before the transition to democracy by South

Africa (refer to Department of Education, 2001; Carrim, 2002; Badat, 2004). In the above vision for higher education, it is argued that there is a need for a landscape that is almost like a community wherein all the diverse ideas and realities of the community are taken into consideration and are influential to the overall phenomenological reality of the community. In other words, higher education simultaneously needs to be less insensitive to the lived experiences of people who were historically excluded while also keeping in mind the interests of those who have historically been within the walls of the academy as they too are within the landscape (refer to Badsha and Harper, 2000:16).

Throughout this subsection I have been looking at the Education White Paper of the year 1997 as a document that is directed at a 'landscape' that is 'an area' of greater South Africa. For the purposes of the current research undertaking, the way the White Paper looks at higher education is clearly as a place in need of "transformation" for many reasons related to the injustices of the past under colonialism and Apartheid. I now look at contemporary South African higher education numbers.

2.3.2 South African Higher Education Numbers

To continue with the thought of higher education in South Africa being a 'landscape' that is by extension 'an area,' it is instructive to treat it, for now, as a space/place in the geographic sense. In the study of Geography it is often crucial to look at the numbers for inhabitants within the geographic space under study. Looking out for such numbers often tells of the size of the space, and when the numbers are engaged further, demographics and the profile of who lives within the space/place. For this subsection I will be looking at the higher education population numbers. It is in these numbers that I will be illustrating the size of the landscape and the profile of who inhabits it.

Furthermore, illustrating the numbers and profile of higher education will display the historic development of the landscape. This will in turn provide what is often thought of as a part of the aims of transformation within the landscape. In other words, the numbers are often argued to be connected to transforming the landscape - in the case that transforming is thought of

reflectively and in line with how far along the country is in rectifying the exclusionary policies of the past as they related to higher education. I am to look at the numbers as related to gender and race as these compose the overall higher education landscape.

Table 1: South African Enrolment Numbers by Gender (2000 – 2005)

Gender/Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Female	289 555	321 653	344 979	366 465	403 832	401 019
Male	265 525	283 014	298 257	317 944	340 657	333 906
Total	555 080	604 667	643 236	684 409	744 489	734 925

Data Source: Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008.

Table 2: South African Enrolment Numbers by Gender (2010 – 2015)

Gender/Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Female	512 573	542 997	554 840	573 694	564 784	574 677
Male	380 350	395 117	398 367	409 988	404 365	410 523
Total	892 936	938 201	953 373	983 698	969 154	985 212

Data Source: Higher Education Management Information System of the South Africa Department of Higher Education and Training.

For the above two tables displaying enrolment numbers by gender for the periods 2000 to 2005 and 2010 to 2015 it is clear to note that South African higher education enrolment numbers have been increasing. Furthermore, it is clear to note that females have constituted the student body in greater numbers than their male counterparts. Female numbers increased at a rate faster than male numbers during this same time period -- females moving from 289 555 in the year 2000 to 512 573 in 2010 as compared to males moving from 265 525 to just 380 350 for the same period. Additional to such relationships between the two genders in enrolment, it is also noticeable that when there is a decrease in numbers for enrolment overall both the genders decrease in their contribution to the number.

These numbers can be argued to fall positively into the quantitative realm of transformation. In other words, in the Education White Paper 3 there was the vision of the increasing inclusion

of females within the higher education landscape (refer to Department of Education, 2001; Council on Higher Education, 2004; Barnes, 2007). Female enrolment numbers were historically lower than male enrolments. When transformation is thought of as a shift in composition numbers then the gender numbers have shown a shift in terms of who constitutes the greater contributor to the higher education numbers in terms of gender enrolment.

Another set of figures which show historical shifts and need to be looked at when looking at South African higher education and its focus on transformation (quantitative transformation in this case) are the figures for the racial composition of the student body. Such figures are used to look at the profile of quantitative transformation as it relates to the race of the student body within the academy since people have also been historically excluded from (some parts of) the higher education landscape based on their race.

Table 3: South African Enrolment Numbers by Race (2000 – 2005)

Race/Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
African	317 998	353 327	377 072	403 235	453 621	446 945
Coloured	30 108	32 900	37 906	42 390	46 091	46 302
Indian	39 558	43 436	47 567	51 611	54 326	54 611
White	163 004	173 397	178 871	184 964	188 714	185 847
Total	555 080	604 667	643 236	684 409	744 489	734 925

Data Source: Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions, 2008.

Table 4: South African Enrolment Numbers by Race (2010 – 2015)

Race/Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
African	595 783	640 443	662 066	689 503	679 800	696 320
Coloured	58 176	59 312	58 671	61 034	60 716	68 186
Indian	54 492	54 698	52 284	53 787	53 611	53 378
White	178 190	177 365	172 611	171 927	166 172	161 739
Total	892 936	938 201	953 373	983 698	959 154	985 212

Data Source: Higher Education Management Information System of the South Africa Department of Higher Education and Training.

From the above two tables on the racial composition of the South African higher education landscape for the periods 2000 to 2005 and 2010 to 2015, it is clear that the landscape is now composed largely of African students. The number of African students has generally been increasing along with the total numbers of enrolment. These numbers for African students have also been increasing at a rate higher than the other racial groups. It is also important to note that at the same time that the African numbers have been increasing, the number of White students declined over time -- a trend it is following alone as the other groups' numbers increase and decrease in line with total enrolments whereas the White numbers have been progressively decreasing even when total enrolments have been increasing.

The racial composition numbers are contentious when it comes to their contribution to the transformation debate (refer to Jansen, 2002; Prinsloo, 2009; Badat, 2014). To illustrate the precarious stance of the numbers, the numbers can be argued to be a step in the direction both of inclusion and exclusion along race lines. For instance, the numbers show growing African student numbers while at the same time showing decreasing White student numbers. Whereas the increasing African student numbers can be argued to further transform the profile, the decreasing White student numbers mean that White students are now decreasing in their contribution to the composition of the higher education landscape.

Owing to the nature and shortfalls of only looking at quantities when considering transformation, those probing the higher education landscape have also looked to engage the numbers in a qualitative sense that will give a better feel of the sentiments within the landscape (refer Cele and Menon, 2006; Akoojee and Nkomo, 2008; Bere, 2013). In other words, researchers within the higher education landscape have looked to engage in qualitative research so as to get a deeper look at what the change in quantities might mean for the experience of the landscape. In such an undertaking, researchers have often looked to engage those realities within the higher education landscape that they consider most pressing in terms of overall challenges within the country's higher education.

With this purpose in mind, a momentous document entitled the "Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in

Public Higher Education Institutions” was produced. Colloquially referred to as the Soudien Report of 2008, after its chair Professor Crain Soudien, this report looked more qualitatively at the experience of the higher education landscape by those who were historically within its corridors and by those who in many cases had been historically excluded from the institutions. In other words, the report was a look at the interactions between historic culture and new entries into this culture. The report was a look at the sentiments within the country’s institutions by those versed in the vision and need for transformation within the higher education landscape.

The Soudien Report looked at a plethora of issues within the South African higher education landscape. There was a look into how institutions had manoeuvred so as to be more in line with the visions of the Department of Education in transforming the landscape (Soudien, 2008:10). There were varying degrees of success throughout the institutions and the need for improvement was noted. There was also a look at individuals’ (mostly historically excluded individuals) experience of institutions that were policy-bound to be transformative and in line with new realities that the academy found itself operating in. Ultimately, here too was a need for improvement so as to lead to an experience in line with the government’s aims for the higher education landscape experience (refer to Soudien, 2008:14).

What the Soudien Report acknowledged was that the South African higher education landscape was a place wherein transformation was to change not only the compositional profile of the space but also in many cases to be an event which would probably consequentially shift the scope of the experience of the space. In other words, the higher education landscape was an experience beyond simply its numbers. The experience of higher education was its numbers and what these numbers do as a collection of many subjectivities (Jansen, 2002:11; Soudien, 2008). In other words, the numbers were living a life in the lifeworlds within higher education. In living this life, the numbers were invigorating and animating the different parts of the South African higher education landscape’s placeness. Ultimately, what the Soudien Report illustrated was the qualitative profile of there being general challenges within the South African higher education landscape. I now briefly discuss the general challenges often posted out to be the qualitative profile of South African higher education.

2.3.3 General Challenges within post-Apartheid South African Higher Education

The general challenges to be found within post-Apartheid South African higher education are inextricably linked with the way the country was during Apartheid (refer to Department of Education, 1997, 2001; Soudien, 2008; Badat, 2014). As the country's higher education landscape was largely exclusionary during Apartheid years -- years which included many of the country's higher education institutions partaking in the exclusionary policies of the time -- the country was left with an exclusionary higher education landscape that needed to be dealt with in line with 'new realities' as laid out in the Education White Paper 3 of 1997. In other words, post-Apartheid South African higher education have had to deal with the injustices of the past so as to move into the future in a more inclusive and productive manner (refer to Richardson and Skinner, 1992; Badsha and Harper, 2000:16).

Owing to the above-mentioned qualitative profile, the landscape often has to be reflective when looking for a way forward. What I mean by this is that the landscape must constantly be interrogating itself as to how far removed it is from the policies of the past which it has been commanded to move away from by such momentous documents as the Education White Paper 3 of 1997 (refer to Soudien, 2008; Badat, 2014). Ultimately, the challenges are to realise the vision for South African higher education as set out by the Department of Education.

South African higher education has therefore had to deal most pressingly with issues of access for the historically excluded populations. In this instance, the higher education landscape is challenged to bring in greater numbers of the historically excluded populations into higher education institutions (see Department of Education, 2001; Cele, 2004; Badat, 2005; Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012). This wish is clearly articulated in the Education White Paper 3 of 1997 and is most clearly visible in the direct redress of the past's exclusionary policies when it came to admission. Furthermore, this wish also encompasses bringing in more people into the South African higher education landscape -- to occupy the landscape in the same manner as their historically included counterparts (refer to Cloete and Bunting, 2000; Matshedisho, 2007).

The institutions themselves have also been challenged to accept this changing profile through not only accommodating but celebrating diversity. In other words, the institutions must always keep in mind that there is now an increased diversity of experience within the higher education landscape and that this diversity will in effect mean a shifted profile within the institutions that make up the landscape (refer to Cross, 1999; Odora-Hoppers, 2002; Favish, 2005). For instance, there has been the growing need for higher education institutions to be accommodative of such experiences as disability as the studies conducted within this subgenre of higher education research output are often the champions of compromise between the differing cultures which can be found within the landscape (refer to Matshediso, 2007; Lourens, 2015). Ultimately, the institutions are seen as needing to learn a way of being accommodative of a universe of experience.

One of the ways in which universities have been learning about themselves as spaces within an environment earmarked as in need of transformation, is through qualitative research within individual campuses. I now discuss the sort of research which has been characteristic of research output in the South African landscape that is in line with the vision of transformation towards better understanding the sentiments of the contemporary occupiers of the landscape.

2.3.4 Qualitative Research within the post-Apartheid South African Higher Education Landscape

Qualitative research within the post-Apartheid South African higher education landscape has mainly been focused on the realities met within the post-Apartheid environment (see Soudien and Sayed, 2004; Soudien, 2008; Matshediso, 2010; Harrison et al., 2014). In many instances, the research has been a look into the prevailing sentiments of those who currently inhabit the higher education landscape. For instance, the research has focused on the qualitative experiences of such stakeholders as the lecturers (see Waghid, 2008:21; Mahlomaholo, 2009; Le Grange, 2016), the students (see Dalvit and De Klerk, 2005; Cross and Carpentier, 2009; Aziakpono and Bekker, 2010), and the managers (see Department of Education, 1997; Cloete and Bunting, 2000; Gwele, 2008; White et al., 2010). Ultimately, all the individuals who have a say on how the landscape is as an experience have been engaged on the path to better understand such a landscape.

What has been consistent within the research, however, is that it has focused on experiences as they relate to the transformation which has been encouraged for the landscape within which growing numbers of people find themselves (see Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Badat, 2010; Department of Higher Education and Training, 2012; Lewin and Mawoyo, 2014; Manik, 2015). In other words, the qualitative experiences of groups of people within the South African landscape have been explored with a view to gauge whether it does or does not go along with the aims of a more tolerant and embracing higher education landscape (refer to Cornell and Kessi, 2016:19). Ultimately, all the stakeholders and their views and sentiments have been engaged within their area of existence.

A further point to note about the research on South African higher education is its tendency to focus on parts within parts. What I mean is that research has often focused on particular segments within the landscape. For instance, there will be research focused only on students with disabilities (refer to Howell and Lazarus, 2003; Matshediso, 2007; Lourens, 2015) or on students who are exclusively in their undergraduate years of study (refer to Griesel, 2004; Ngidi, 2007; Tshuma, 2012; Harrison et al., 2014). What this illustrates is the exclusive manner in which research undertakings have been conducted. The findings are instructive. However, there is the risk of research illustrating a landscape of disconnected parts. For instance, research on disability has been negligible when connected to research on students within a particular level of their study. Such discrepancies in research output are clearly visible and signal the need for specialisation to be increased in many areas.

Ultimately, all the qualitative research conducted within the higher education landscape is meant to gauge the sentiments of an important part of South African society -- its higher education community (see Arndt, 2004; Nomdo, 2006; Soudien, 2010; Lourens, 2015). The South African higher education landscape is engaged in such a manner because of its utility as an important determinant of how society at large performs in terms of relations and development. It is felt that the sentiments that prevail in the South African higher education landscape will ultimately determine South Africa's future as a country beyond Apartheid and its exclusionary policies, as historically the qualitative profiling of higher education has informed wider society's prevailing lived experience (refer to Muller and Cloete, 2017:59).

Contemporary events in the South African higher education landscape have reminded the country of what is at stake.

2.3.5 Flashpoint 2015: #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall

My research undertaking in many respects reflects what has been occurring in South Africa -- at least on the grand public debate scale -- as pertains to the experience of placeness. What has been happening in the country since 2015 has been the amplified contest over what placeness should be experienced and how such placeness should be experienced (refer to Badat, 2016). In other words, people have been contesting the experiences of placeness that they have to live through. In this contest, the anchors of placeness have been somewhat laid bare.

In the 2015 there was the incident of a University of Cape Town student defacing a statue of the colonial figure Cecil John Rhodes (see Qwabe, 2015; Chaudhuri, 2016; Council on Higher Education, 2016). This statue was an important piece in the University of Cape Town's built-up and decorated environment (refer to Msila, 2016). In defacing the Cecil John Rhodes statue the student highlighted the experience of walking through the campus and seeing the statue of a man most people consider a staunch racist being effectively celebrated by part of the university's visual culture. Following this action by Chumani Maxwele there was much public interest in the event that established the #RhodesMustFall movement.

The #RhodesMustFall moment is a moment in which some of the people who currently populate institutions in South Africa, which have been around since colonial times and have been proven to have engaged in the acting out of colonial activities, were challenged in terms of their fitness to be fully integrated within the postcolonial/post-Apartheid South African landscape (refer to Qwabe, 2015). What I mean here is that institutions allegedly of commendable institutional heritage -- be that in terms of visual culture and/or knowledge system adoption -- were made spaces of contest as some within the current population felt that these institutions did a disservice to an environment considered to be beyond the time of the oppression of some by others (refer to Zembylas, 2007:16; Chilisa, 2012; Munusamy, 2015). The students -- soon joined by academics in some cases -- were in effect looking to shift (if not

change) the institutional profile or culture of the institutions within which they find themselves. Ultimately, #RhodesMustFall is/was a challenge to placeness, its primarily spatial phenomenological reality in the realm of visual culture, and its representational outlook. The moment was one wherein university students – sometimes with the strategic help of academic and non-academic staff – highlighted the fact that only certain people were within visual culture presentations. This state of affairs was argued to be making it appear as if it were only the people represented visually who were part of the meaning-infused space.

The #FeesMustFall moment also is/was a challenge to placeness dynamics. What the difference is/was between #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall is that #FeesMustFall looked at university fees as a way of (historically) excluding some students from higher education -- students who happened to be black in many cases – whereas #RhodesMustFall was a look at mostly issues of historic visual representation in the tapestries of the universities (see Butler-Adam, 2015; Luckett, 2016; Ngcobo et al., 2016; Biscoombe et al., 2017). Both these #MustFall movements were in a way a challenge to prevailing placeness and its realities. Furthermore, from their invigorations from the year 2015 it became apparent that they were a product of the ever-growing tendency of the different stakeholders within higher education to collide experientially (if not ideologically) with differing experiences of placeness that had been made to coexist (refer to Council on Higher Education, 2016).

Ultimately, the South African higher education experience mirrors in many respects more general African higher education experience historically. Both the South African higher education landscape and the broader African higher education landscape are historically landscapes which used to be highly segregated in line with government policies (refer to Ajayi et al., 1996; Muller and Cloete, 2017). After the abolishment of such discriminatory policies and the encouragement of universal access, many people found themselves in spaces they were historically not exposed to. Historically, the postcolonial (and post-Apartheid) governments have attempted to remedy the injustices of the past (Shizha and Makuvaza, 2017; Muller and Cloete, 2017). However, much of the remedying has had to be done (or at least brought to the public discourse) by the experiences of those dwelling within these spaces and the tendency of their experiences to command these individuals to be more vocal in articulating their highly contentious (and thus political) experiences of placeness.

2.4 Context: Rhodes University

This research undertaking takes place within Rhodes University in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. It is important to contextualise my research through an exposition of the realities of this particular context. Through contextualising the research, a better appreciation as to why and why not certain realities do consequentially affect the documented sentiments, grows. Furthermore, this context allows for a grounded documentation of the essence of experience.

For the Rhodes University context of this research undertaking I will be looking firstly briefly at historic Rhodes University. Here I will be looking at Rhodes University from its establishment and the realities the university experienced as a university under such times as colonialism and Apartheid. Secondly, I will look at contemporary Rhodes University. Here I will be looking at Rhodes University post-Apartheid and what realities the university has found itself within. Such contextual work will place my research within the research area ‘the experience of Rhodes University (and any other university) as a place’. I now proceed with the overview of historic Rhodes University.

2.4.1 Overview: Historic Rhodes University

Rhodes University is a university established in the year 1904. This makes the university one of the older universities in South Africa (refer to Currey, 1970; Maylam, 2017). The university was established in the colonial era before Apartheid. Rhodes University is said to have been established with the help of the funds from the colonialist Cecil John Rhodes, hence the university’s naming as Rhodes University from its dealings with the Rhodes Trust (Maylam, 2017:3). Ultimately, the university got its name through acknowledging where it hoped to get most of its funding from.

At the time of Rhodes University’s establishment the university engaged in the ‘fashions’ of the time (refer to Maylam, 2017:53). For instance, the university was largely populated by

White people who spoke the English language. Furthermore, the university was largely populated by White males as in many cases they were the ones who received the advanced levels of education (refer to Hendricks and Vale, 2005:56). Such realities within the walls of the university firmly placed it within its time as yet another site engaged in the dispositions of its time.

One thing that is often overlooked when contextualising Rhodes University is the subjective reality of its built-up and decorated environment, which like the university's population, was of its time (refer to Maylam, 2017:4). In other words, the look of physical Rhodes University was a look often seen as a generic look of the universities which were around at its time of establishment. Rhodes University basically kept with the English tradition of architecture and based its architectural style on the Oxbridge English model of building universities. The university labelled its buildings (especially the residences) after people who had some stature during the time and had contributed somehow to the establishment of the university -- as memorials of a kind. Ultimately, the university was a British-looking university in one of the poorer provinces of South Africa (refer to Maylam, 2017).

Rhodes University in the later years of English colonialism had actually started accepting black students into its space (Maylam, 2017:51). However, this contingent of black students was highly limited. For example, black students were only accepted when their desired courses were not offered at the close-by University of Fort Hare (a university for African students) and these students were not permitted to stay in Rhodes University's residences (Maylam, 2017:63). This was segregation according to race within the university's walls.

The limitations on who could attend Rhodes University continued on into the Apartheid era. During Apartheid the university was attended largely by White English and White Afrikaaner students and staff. The black students at the university had to have permission from the Native Authority to attend the university and the university could only accept those people whose courses could not be read at the black universities (refer to Hendricks and Vale, 2005; Maylam, 2017:105). Ultimately, the university during Apartheid was a largely White university.

With the increasing student population as the university expanded there was also the expansion of the variety of viewpoints amongst the people within the university. As such expansion occurred there were clashes of opinion which challenged matters close to the racial politics of the university (Maylam, 2017: 110). There were moments of challenge as to the stance of the university when it came to race and segregation within the university. One such instance was that in the late 1960s when there was a meeting of the country's student representative councils and there was met the socio-political reality of having to segregate the different SRCs according to Apartheid policy (Maylam, 2017:148). Such moments were basically the university space following the realities of greater society's experience of segregation. Such instances were also the demonstration of the university's allegiances during the times of colonialism and Apartheid.

In the later years of Apartheid, Rhodes University started to accept black students rather than directly mirroring the overtly racist policies of Apartheid at its zenith (Maylam, 2017:247). Rhodes University now had a growing population of black students and there was no more an explicit policy of segregation. The university was in effect moving in the same way that South Africa was moving in that the university was becoming more democratic and free (refer to Maylam, 2017:255). Ultimately, the university was more aggressively moving away from the policies which had historically been consequential to its functions and profile as a place. With the elections of 1994 the university was welcomed fully into the post-Apartheid higher education landscape of South Africa.

2.4.2 Overview: Contemporary Rhodes University

Rhodes University is one of the few universities in South Africa which have been around for the periods of colonial, Apartheid, and democratic South Africa (refer to Hendricks and Vale, 2005; Maylam, 2017). This history gives the university a unique character as a place of truly historic change within its space. During this time Rhodes University has experienced a historic shift in its profile as more and more people (and with differing life experiences) enter its walls. It is therefore important to look at some of the changes which have occurred within the university so as to lay out the sort of place the university likely is currently.

It is important that Rhodes University is introduced firstly in terms of the numbers of students within the university and what can be seen from these numbers. Looking at Rhodes University in terms of statistics gives a cursory profile of the people who contemporarily are within the space known as Rhodes University, a place wherein a particular collection of people has decided to dwell. I now put in table form the numbers I believe may help inform the findings of this research undertaking.

It is pertinent to start off with the overall numbers of students at Rhodes University.

Table 5: Rhodes University Student Numbers (Undergraduate and Postgraduate)

	Qualification	Qualification	
Year	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Total
2009	5 318	1 657	7 012
2010	5 246	1 882	7 169
2011	5 237	1 987	7 278
2012	5 243	2 114	7 395
2013	5 130	2 302	7 485
2014	5 152	2 307	7 519
2015	5 579	2 385	8 007

Data Source: Higher Education Management Information System of the South African Department of Higher Education and Training.

From the above table of enrolment numbers, Rhodes University has been progressively seeing rising numbers of students for the period 2009 to 2015. Within this period the student numbers have risen by close to a thousand heads from what was the case in the beginning of the period to the year 2015 -- with the numbers rising more rapidly from the year 2013 onwards.¹

From the above table it can be seen that Rhodes University has historically had a progressively positive increase in its postgraduate student enrolment numbers. Postgraduate student numbers

¹ For the year 2017, Rhodes University's web page lists the numbers as (5 670 Undergraduate; 2 430 Postgraduate; Total Enrolment is 8 100).

have been increasing each and every year within the illustrated range. Undergraduate numbers decreased between 2010 and 2011. However, of the total student body it has always been slanted towards more undergraduate students than postgraduate students. Ultimately, Rhodes is a relatively small university when compared to other universities within the country which often have tens of thousands of students.

The table above, beyond showcasing the number of students Rhodes University has, illustrates an approximation of the amount of time spent by students within the university. Rhodes University retains most of its students throughout their enrolment so that the postgraduate numbers are in large part simply those students that Rhodes University has been able to entice to remain within the institution for their postgraduate study. The postgraduate numbers are not largely made up of completely new students to Rhodes University but are in the majority students who have been within the university from undergraduate study. Regardless, there are differing amounts of time spent within Rhodes University as a place by its students. This is important because there is ample literature on the experience of place and its relationship with the amount of time spent within place. In many instances the amount of time spent within a place often has an effect on the experience as it is informative in terms of both the level of exposure to placeness and what experiences being within the same place has brought to the individual. Thus, in accessing experiences of place it is important to have a mixture of both undergraduate and postgraduate students – with their differing number of years of exposure to Rhodes University’s placeness.

Another table of Rhodes University’s student profile that is important is that which illustrates the student body in terms of its racial composition. The racial makeup of any university in South Africa is important since the country is known to have been racially discriminatory in its past under the policy of Apartheid. To look at contemporary Rhodes University in terms of its racial makeup places it as a place of both racial mixture and a place within South Africa -- a country wherein higher education institutions are encouraged to look to achieving racial representivity.

Table 6: Rhodes University student Numbers (by Race)

Year	Race African	Race Coloured	Race Indian	Race White	Total
2009	3 489	241	299	2 983	7 012
2010	3 615	255	275	3 024	7 169
2011	3 750	256	279	2 993	7 278
2012	3 877	284	289	2 945	7 395
2013	4 046	280	303	2 856	7 485
2014	4 169	296	365	2 689	7 579
2015	4 685	339	420	2 563	8 007

Data Source: Higher Education Management Information System of the South African Department of Higher Education and Training.

From the above table illustrating the racial composition of the student body, Rhodes University is a student body made up of mostly African students for the illustrated period 2009-2015. The number of African students within the student population has been progressively increasing for the period displayed by the table. This rise in numbers has been mirrored by the similar rise of Indian students in terms of numbers within the university space. The number of white students within the university has been decreasing over the years. This number (the white student number) is the only such number, although Coloured student numbers did wobble a bit between 2012 and 2013, which ends up lower than it was in the beginning of the period.

Rhodes University, as a historically white institution, may be seen as on the right path in terms of altering its racial composition. However, there is more to the numbers. The argument can be made that the people who have historically inhabited the place (white students) – and thus perhaps made its placeness in their image – are slowly being phased out and in their place the new majority (black students) are taking their historical places. This has implications for the experience of place as placeness. Ultimately, s/he who dwells within place would like to see themselves reflected within the place that they inhabit.

The illustration of gender as a compositional reality of Rhodes University is important for both the knowledge of who is within Rhodes University and also for how Rhodes University is as a university in South Africa wherein encouraging gender-based enrolment is a policy item since the university space has historically overseen the predominant enrolment of one gender over the other. It will then be pertinent to look at Rhodes University in terms of its gendered enrolment numbers.

Table 7: Rhodes University Student Numbers (by Gender)

	Gender	Gender	
Year	Female	Male	Total
2009	4 116	2 896	7 012
2010	4 219	2 950	7 169
2011	4 284	2 994	7 278
2012	4 306	3 089	7 395
2013	4 356	3 129	7 485
2014	4 473	3 046	7 519
2015	4 753	3 254	8 007

Data Source: Higher Education Management Information System of the South African Department of Higher Education and Training.

From the above illustrated table for enrolment numbers at Rhodes University with regards to gender, it is clear that Rhodes University enjoys more female numbers in its enrolment than males. The female numbers have consistently been above the male enrolment numbers through the period of illustration. The female numbers have also not experienced an incremental drop within any of the years displayed by the table. Males on the other hand did witness a drop in numbers between the years 2013 and 2014.

Rhodes University's gender numbers, beyond showcasing favourability in regards to policy goals addressing historical disadvantage in terms of gender, also show an environment wherein there are more females than males. In such an environment there is bound to be some effect on the overall experience of placeness as such experience sometimes does get consequentially informed by the gender of the person experiencing and of the gender of those in the place being experienced. There is a vast literature on the experience of place as it relates to gender (see

Yuval-Davis, 2004; Valentine, 2007; Massey, 2013; Cresswell, 2014). The main argument is that in many cases females will experience place in a qualitatively different way to males. Thus in the present undertaking it was important to ensure that the sample of participants included both men and women.

Ultimately, the tables above all refer to some of the demographic qualities of the current dwellers and occupiers of Rhodes University's placeness. These qualities have historically been argued to have some effect upon the experience of place. Within this research undertaking, reference to such qualities of the student body within a university both places Rhodes University within the greater literature on South African higher education and also places Rhodes University as a university with its own particular traits that may possibly inform how the university's placeness is experienced by the people currently within the university's placeness.

2.4.3 Research on Contemporary Students of Rhodes University

It is important to note that a body of contemporary research on Rhodes University students does exist (see Aziakpono and Bekker, 2010; Gambushe, 2015; Dlamini, 2017). This research is in line with both the university seeking to maintain its status as a research-intensive institution and the the pertinent need to gauge the overall experience of the university landscape from the students' perspective. The research conducted is in attempt to better understand what it means to be within Rhodes University as a place (in many cases the university seen as a place in one particular respect -- for example, Rhodes University as a residential campus – see for example Quality of Life Survey) and for the institution to be understood within the greater South African higher education landscape with its numerous calls for transformation (see for example Rhodes University Transformation Summit documentation).

The sort of research that has been conducted within Rhodes University as a way of getting a better look at the experience students have of being within the university can be grouped into two groups of research. There is research -- the majority of the research output -- which makes use of surveys and the treatment of students as respondents; and there is research which looks

to engage the reflections of students more deeply, viz. qualitative research that focuses on in-depth interviews wherein the students are thought of as participants.

In the Rhodes University Review of Transformation Related Strategy, Plans and Initiatives (2012:7) it is stated:

Routine statistical reports are needed, but the intelligence of an interpretive layer on such data is imperative. The exercise cannot merely be about setting targets and indicators, and collecting information that informs whether the set targets are met as per the indicators, in order to signal performance or achievement. The continuum must extend from monitoring activities to evaluation activities and beyond, to qualitative research. Through this understanding, the true levers of change can be identified and programmes that will go to the heart of achieving the transformation related goals will be a possibility.

This is thus an acknowledgement that beyond simply looking at numbers, the university needs to engage those numbers in terms of what they mean for the experience of Rhodes University as a place. For example, beyond seeing that there is an increasing number of black people within the university, the university must look to engage how this increase in the number of black students influences the experience of Rhodes University as a place. Ultimately, it is a combination of both the statistics of people and interviews pertaining to certain topics within their experience that is important as a way to gauge a deeper understanding of Rhodes University as a place-based experience.

2.4.3.1 Survey-based Research at Rhodes University

Research that is based on surveys is research that often presents a particular topic to the individual for reflection. This research then gives the interviewed individual options for responding upon the themes which are touched on by the research. In many instances, the individuals who partake in this research are referred to as ‘respondents’ since they are basically responding to what the survey is putting in front of their face for (bounded) reflection. In many instances, this research allows for the ‘interviewing’ of many people since the same questions with the same possible responses can be put to whatever number of people so long as there is a reply.

A survey which always comes up when looking at the experience of Rhodes University as a place (in this case looking at its experience as a space of many residences on campus) is the Quality of Residence Life Survey which was conducted for the years 2010 till 2013. This survey was to look at the experience of the residence system at Rhodes by those students that live within the campus-based residences. There was a list of themes for the student who wished to participate as a respondent to the survey to offer their sentiment.

Themes which emerged from the Quality of Residence Life Survey which are directly relevant to the current research undertaking include Residence Life, Safety and Security (by Gender), and Sexism and Xenophobia. The survey response rate was consistently 50% of the student population. The Residence Life Item was a general look at respondents' experience of the residence within which they were placed. The theme looked at such experiences as personal development, violence, the university orientation experience, and respect for individual difference.

Table 8: Rhodes University Residence Life Item Results

Year	2012		2013	
Sentiment	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Enriched personal development	69%	6.9%	69%	7%
Very positive/helpful orientation experience	54.1%	18.1%	54.2%	19.4%
Respect individuality/difference	72%	5.5%	72.3%	7.2%

Data Source: Quality of Residence Life Surveys 2011-2013.

From the above table it is clear that residence life for many who responded to the survey was largely positive. For instance, 72.3% of the respondents in the year 2013 agreed that there was a respect for individuality and difference within their residence.

Safety and security may be most pressingly related to the notion of encounter within the place ballet. The Safety and Security item by gender looks at safety during walking at night and the safety precautions within residences.

Table 9: Rhodes University Safety and Security Item Results by Gender 2013

Gender	Male		Female	
Sentiment	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Item				
Feel safe walking around campus at night	83%	4%	59%	16%
Safety precautions in residence are sufficient	76%	6%	70%	5%

Data Source: Quality of Residence Life Surveys 2011-2013.

From the results displayed in the table above it is clear that females experienced a noticeably less safe environment than their male counterparts. There is a big difference between the safety experienced by males (83%) and that experienced by the interviewed females (59%). Furthermore, more females than males felt that the safety precautions encouraged by their residences were not adequate to ensure their safety. This shows that female respondents had less trust in their environment in terms of its ability to ensure their safety.

The last item of interest within the Quality of Residence Life Survey is that related to the experiences of sexism and other forms of discrimination within Rhodes University at the time of the survey. This experience is important since tolerance within the country's higher education institutions has been national policy for decades. Furthermore, such an experience is

yet another look at encounter within placeness. This item includes ‘isms’ related to race, nationality, and sexual orientation.

Table 10: Rhodes University Sexism, Racism, Xenophobia and Homophobia Item Results

	Sentiment	
Item	Agree	Disagree
Subjected to hate speech/discrimination because of gender	1.6%	93.6%
Witnessed sexist incident	2%	92.5%
Subjected to hate speech/discrimination because of race	3.8%	89.2%
Subjected to hate speech/discrimination because of nationality/culture	3.6%	89.3%
Witnessed racist incident	3.8%	88.3%
Witnessed xenophobic incident	2.3%	91.5%
Subjected to hate speech/discrimination because of sexual orientation	2.2%	93%
Witnessed homophobic incident	3.2%	90.1%

Data Source: Quality of Residence Life Surveys 2011-2013.

From the above table it is clear to see that for most residence-based students Rhodes University is experienced in a positive manner when it comes to possible discrimination and is a campus accepting of many different profiles of people. What is encouraging is that discrimination is often witnessed by a minute selection of people within the environment. Although zero discrimination is the goal, such low numbers of experienced discrimination are good since they

indicate a largely positive experience of relations between people who may be considered different in terms of their personal traits.

Survey data was also used as demonstrative of sentiment when the university held a summit for reflection upon the institution's performance in relation to transformation. The institution called for the use of surveys to gauge the sentiments of current and former students as related to aspects of transformation which are thought to be pressing as the transformation debate was yet again reinvigorated countrywide during the 2015 #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall protests.

It is important to look at the results from such surveys because they are an introduction to some of the reflections upon the university as a place in the sense that transformation is one of the realities which has been encouraged for decades within the South African higher education landscape. Rhodes University has used the surveys as a compass for where to focus when looking to legitimately transform the university. The surveys were then engaged at the 2017 Transformation Summit held at the university. For the purposes of this research undertaking I will summarise those results from the surveys which can be looked at in terms of their utility for a research undertaking focusing on the experience of place through the interchanging states of movement, rest, and encounter.

The Rhodes University Transformation Summit of 2017 can be thought to relate to the efforts of this current research undertaking through surveying sentiments upon such themes as the experience of the institution as a place with an articulated "Vision and Mission" statement, as a place with visual culture and institutional rituals and traditions, and as a place within the contemporary environment of heightened calls for transformation within South African higher education. The results were largely positive. According to the Rhodes University website:

Rhodes University's vision is to be an outstanding internationally-respected academic institution which proudly affirms its African identity and which is committed to democratic ideals, academic freedom, rigorous scholarship, sound moral values and social responsibility. In pursuit of its vision the University will strive to produce outstanding internationally-accredited graduates who are innovative, analytical, articulate, balanced and adaptable, with a life-long love of learning; and to strive, through teaching, research and community service, to

contribute to the advancement of international scholarship and the development of the Eastern Cape and Southern Africa.

The above states that Rhodes University aims to be a community which is aware of both its local and global context. The statement therefore fuses both the need for a more prosperous and tolerant local environment with the socio-economic reality of the need for an environment that can create individuals who are well-equipped for the international stage as applicable knowledge producers.

From the survey results there was a focus on the first part of the Vision and Mission statement. In other words, there was a focus on the university as an African university and its commitments to be a democratic and inclusive environment. The results on the “Vision” part of the university was that 88% of the respondents agreed that Rhodes was meeting its “Vision” statement as compared to 11.4% thinking that the university is not meeting its aims. There was also a focus on how inclusive the university is. The survey showed there was 83.5% agreement that the university was in fact an inclusive environment whereas 16% thought it was not inclusive enough. Overall, on the count of meeting “Vision and Mission” statements the university was seen in a positive light. Furthermore, the views were also consistent with the views illustrated by the Quality of Residence Life Survey that had been conducted in the years 2011 – 2013.

The Transformation Summit of 2017 also called upon alumni to chime in on the issues of the day, more specifically those the student protests of the year 2015 going into the year 2016 had highlighted. In terms of visual culture, the alumni were firstly exclusively called upon to comment upon the probability of a name change for the university and whether this would or would not lead to transformation, in a related reflection. From the respondents the result was consistent through the two questions. Alumni voted by a majority of 75.29% in favour of keeping the name as it is as compared to 14.5% supporting a name change. Furthermore, a majority of 79.4% of the respondents felt that changing the name would not be transformative as compared to 12.56% who felt it would. These percentages show an alumnus that is largely in favour of the status quo against a change in the visual representation of the university.

The visual culture of the university was also engaged through a 2017 report from the university's Visual Representation, Arts and Culture Committee. In this report, thoughts on the visual culture of the university had been gauged through a survey from 2014 that included both current and former students. The results from that survey were consistent with those from the Alumni survey since in most cases it was the alumni who responded more to the call for responses. Ultimately, the university's visual culture was seen as in large part underperforming as that of a university space that is post-Apartheid and in need of recognising its current occupants as people who also need to be represented in the institution's visual culture. Although there was not overwhelming support for the name change there was support for the need for improved visual representation of the historically excluded individuals within the university's built-up, decorated, and acted-upon environment.

Survey-based research has thus been utilised to gain insight into experiences of the university as a place that is dwelt in. The university seeks to draw upon the results of surveys to come up with ways to improve the experience of campus as an environment that encourages transformation. But surveys do not go into detail as to why exactly people feel the way that they do and how feeling that particular way has the effects that it does for their experience. Qualitative research of the sort that relies on in-depth interviews, observations, documentary analysis and focus groups has therefore been encouraged within the university so as to gain further insight into the texture of experience that may lie behind the results which are often seen in surveys.

2.4.3.2. In-depth interview-based Research at Rhodes University

The in-depth interview method that prevails in much of qualitative research is that which is based on sitting down with an individual and talking extensively about the ways in which that individual experiences a particular part of their existence. From such extensive talk, it is argued, is gained the essence of the experience of a particular primarily spatial reality of the individual's everyday life. At Rhodes University there has been a move to focus on utilising a part of institution-based research to look at the experiences of students as they relate to many aspects of their existence as dwellers of the placeness of Rhodes University.

Rhodes University's Humanities faculty has been engaged in a plethora of research that sometimes does look at the experiences of the students within the university (see Badat, 2008; Aziakpono and Bekker, 2010; Thondhlana and Beluigi, 2017). The numerous departments within the university often engage in department-related qualitative research. An example is the language-related research that has been produced by the African Languages Department (see Mapi, 2009; Gambushe, 2015; Dlamini, 2017; Sibiya, 2017).

A qualitative research-intensive unit of scholars referred to collectively as the Higher Education Institutional Culture, Equity, and Transformation research group has been a particular hub of qualitative research focusing on the Rhodes University context over the last five years. This group has produced research on many aspects of Rhodes University as a place within which students live. Research has been produced on such varied experiences as those of the LGBTI community (Munyuki, 2015), the experiences of students with disabilities (Chiwandire and Vincent, 2017), the experience of first-generation university students (Vincent and Hlatshwayo, 2018), and the experience of the university as a place (Mtolo, 2017).

The qualitative studies above are important to trace out because they have consequentially documented the overall experience and thought of the university within a particular realm of its existence. For instance, the research undertakings are either an isolation of an area (example: the isiXhosa department) or group of people (example: first-generation black students) of Rhodes University and see how it is that people active within that area (example: isiXhosa students and teachers; first-generation black students meeting other more affluent and non-first generation students in residences) experience that particular space on some level. The outcomes of that research undertaking give us a documentation of how an experience is most likely to be. However, more than just giving the researcher and the public a view of likely experience, the projects are basically a documentation of lived experiences which persist and make the university space the university space that it is for some people.

What should be noted, however, is that the university space and experience is not often just about the experience of a particular space within the entire university. This is why my project is about habitual walking anywhere upon Rhodes University. The participant may be an

isiXhosa speaker within the isiXhosa department but this very speaker is most likely habitually walking many other spaces besides that department and this very walking is incorporated into their overall experience of Rhodes University as beyond just the isiXhosa department and how it is experienced. This state of probable documentary experience is how Rhodes University is most likely experienced in an aggregated manner.

2.5 Conclusion

The current research undertaking seeks to add to the body of work of qualitative research scholarship engaging issues of transformation and decolonisation of the greater South African higher education research landscape. Here I look at the experience of place not by a particular sub-grouping of students selected simply because they share a particular demographic trait. Rather, the attempt is made to seek insights from diverse individuals in order to shed light on the phenomenon of place experience. I am not looking at a particular ‘thing’ that makes a place a place. I am not looking at the experience of residence life or the experience of architecture within the campus. Rather, I am looking at place as it is brought into being through experience. I choose here to look at this bringing into being of place through experience through the medium of walking as encompassing a conversation of movement, rest, and encounter. In other words, not only is Rhodes University thought of as a place that is a place because a person is within this particular place. What I am looking at is the experiential reality of movement, rest, and encounter animating (through walking) the placeness of Rhodes University into an experience that can be characterised in its essence. Ultimately, this research undertaking is that of the essence of the experience of emplacement through the periods of movements, rest, and encounter by any student who is moving, resting, and encountering the placeness with all their particular subjectivities which may or may not consequentially inform the experience. The argument is that placeness resides not so much in a singularity that is *the* place that is Rhodes University but rather in the multiplicity of moments of rest, moments of movement and moments of encounter, as experienced by diverse individuals who make the place as they walk in their routines ways.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

For a dissertation on walking as a way to experience place I must locate my study on the relationship between place studies and walking as a way to experience place. There is a vast collection of literature on both the study of place (see Gans, 1962; Tuan, 1974; Korpela, 1989; Cresswell, 1996; Lewicka, 2011; Massey, 2013) and the study of walking within place (see Timperio et al., 2004; Felton et al., 2006; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Jobanputra, 2013). The place studies have historically focused on what makes a place the meaning-infused space that is it and the qualities of the experience once space has become place; the studies of walking within place have historically highlighted how walking a place can be one of the more vivid ways in which places are experienced. To highlight the gap in the literature that I will be contributing towards I must provide an overview of the literature that currently prevails and how my study is a contribution that is needed.

3.2 Place Studies and the Social Geographies

The inextricable connection between the study of place and how people experience it as being experiential inhabitants and occupants has been the historical project of Human and Cultural geography. There is a vast collection of literature on both Cultural (see Duncan, 1980; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987; Whatmore, 2006; Crang, 2013) and Human (see Buttimer, 1976; Seamon, 1982; Tuan, 1990; Fellmann et al., 1997; Pile, 2010; Cresswell, 2014) geographies.

Cultural geography has been publishing consistently since the 1960s (see Wagner and Mikesell, 1962; Rapoport, 1969; Wacker, 1975; Rashid, 1977; Duncan, 1980; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987; Mitchell, 1995; Nash, 2000; Crang, 2013). The literature looks at how culture is related to place and the experience of place (see Duncan, 1980; Hayden, 1997; Sibley, 2002; Knox and Pinch, 2014). There has been the historical argument that culture – be it capitalism or colonialism – ultimately shape places and should be the main way in which places are viewed. Ultimately, the literature focuses on how culture can allegedly inscribe itself onto place and determine how the place looks and is most likely to be experienced (see Mikesell, 1978;

Duncan and Ley, 1982; Price and Lewis, 1993; Nash, 2002; Blunt and Varley, 2004; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008).

Human Geography has also been publishing consistently since the 1960s (see Tuan, 1968; Relph, 1970; Entrikin, 1976; Goodall, 1987; Sack, 1997; Marston et al., 2005; Johnston and Sidaway, 2015). The literature looks at how the human senses are related to place and the experience of place (see Buttner, 1976; Tuan, 1990; Rose, 1997; Gregory et al., 2011; Ley and Samuels, 2014). The literature often argues that places are experienced fundamentally through the five human senses (see Fellman et al., 1997; Hay, 2000; Cloke et al., 2004; Pile, 2010; Kitchin and Tate, 2013) alongside the more emotive experiences which will often be the manner in which place is most consequentially experienced (see Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Cresswell, 1996).

Place as defined by Cultural and Human geography has been historically studied for the elucidation of human-environment relationships under numerous alleged realities of how people relate to place. The experience of place has been historically studied in terms of place attachment (see Fried, 1963; Altman and Low, 1992; Stedman, 2002; Manzo, 2005; Ramkissoon and Mavondo, 2015), sense of place (see Lalli, 1992; Williams and Stewart, 1998; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008; McCunn and Gifford, 2014), and place identity (see Gans, 1962; Korpela, 1989; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996) as the main qualities to be found within people-environment relations. It is important that each area of place research is discussed at length as a way to highlight the space within which the prevailing dissertation will be located.

3.2.1 Place and Attachment

The biggest collection of place-related literature is that related to the experiential reality of the attachment to place that people experience (see Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Harris et al., 1996; Brown et al., 2003; Billig, 2006; Scannell and Gifford, 2017). This literature argues for there being an affective relationship between place and individual as there develops a bond between people and their environment (see Mensch and Manor, 1998;

Stedman, 2002; Ramkissoon et al., 2013). This literature looks at place attachment as related to both the social environment (see Fried, 1963; Lalli, 1992; Bonaiuto et al., 1998; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001) and the physical environment (see Stokols and Shumaker, 1982; Manzo, 2005; Ujang and Zakariya, 2015).

Place attachment as it arises out of the social environment has been researched since the early 1960s (refer to Fried, 1963). Here it is the social environment which is highlighted as being most important in influencing the quality of the attachment an individual has with a place (see Brown and Perkins, 1992; Brown et al., 2003; Wu et al., 2019). The social environment can be within such differing scales as the house (see Cuba and Hummon, 1993; Manzo, 2003) to the neighbourhood (refer to Brown et al., 2003). There is a general agreement within this literature collection that people are affected by the social environment to differing degrees that may or may not afford them attachment to place. What is important is that individuals feel an attachment that is most informed by the social environment within which they are located as inhabitants and occupants.

Place attachment as it arises out of the physical environment has been researched more extensively since the early 1980s (refer to Stokols and Shumaker, 1982). Within this research it is the physical environment which is most consequential to the resulting quality of attachment between individual and place (see Mesch and Manor, 1998; Brown et al., 2003; Kamalipour et al., 2012; Ujang and Zakariya, 2015). The physical environment is historically argued to be in many cases of such a quality that it encourages the development of an emotive bond between the individual and their built environment (see Moore and Graefe, 1994; Felonneau, 2004; Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010; Lewicka, 2011). What is important is that the physical environment most consequentially informs the attachment the individual develops with a place.

Attachment as a result of both the physical and social environment is also studied (see Uzzell et al., 2002; Stedman, 2003; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). It is the case that these studies often look to decide which reality (social or physical) informs place attachment more (see Vorkin and Riese, 2001; Stedman, 2002; Kyle et al., 2010; Lewicka, 2011). It is the case that the researchers want to know the inner workings of place

attachment. This literature often argues that whichever part of the environment leaves a more consequential impression on an individual's emotions ends up determining which part of the space (physical or social) leads to more enduring attachment (refer to Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 2004; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Lewicka, 2011).

Since place attachment is defined as an affective bond (refer Altman and Low, 1992; Scannell and Gifford, 2010) most of the research conducted under this place literature has focused on the psychology of the ultimately phenomenological spatial reality. The Journal of Environmental Psychology has produced many of the papers that deal with place attachment. Most of the research has been conducted geographically in the northern hemisphere (see Lewicka, 2010; Kamalipour et al., 2012; Scannell and Gifford, 2017; Clarke et al., 2018; Wu et al. 2019) and focusing on structured methods of enquiry when qualitative research is conducted (refer to Ujang, 2012; Anton and Lawrence, 2014; Casakin et al., 2015). All of this literature has made the argument for the continued presence of attachment from the individual to the place.

3.2.2 Place and Sense of Place

Sense of place – as fundamentally related to attachment to place – has a healthy collection of literature under place studies (see Lynch, 1960; Hummon, 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Magee, 2016). The literature makes the argument for there being – just like under the attachment to place literature – an affective relationship between individual and place (refer to Williams et al., 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Stedman, 2003; Casakin and Billig, 2009). The literature discusses general sense of place issues (refer to Williams and Stewart, 1998) and so-called predictors of sense of place (refer to Gieryn, 2000).

General sense of place has been studied since the 1960s (refer to Fried, 1963). The literature has historically argued that people develop an affective relationship with a place as a result of individuals having experiences within that place that may be thought of as leading to an affective familiarity (see Relph, 1976; Greider and Garkovich, 1994; Stefanovic, 1998; Casakin and Billig, 2009). This relationship is often argued strictly humanistic as it is often the human

sense of phenomenological reality that encourages the establishment of the affective relationships (refer to Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001). However, there are also studies which have sought to quantitatively examine the equally affective phenomenological realities of sense of place (see Shamai, 1991; Williams et al., 1992; Kaltenborn, 1998). These studies have struggled to come up with an agreed upon list because most people bring in different qualities of experience to their sense of place. What is important here is that the individual grows to appreciate further an environmental setting as they engage in activities which lead to profound person-environment relations.

The literature on sense of place predictors has also been publishing consistently since the 1960s (refer to Lynch, 1960). This literature looks at the process whereby an individual grows to have an alleged sense of place within an environment (see Hay, 1998; Stedman, 2003; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008; McCunn and Gifford, 2014). The literature argues that the quality of sense of place between the individual and the environment can sometimes be measured as this is a subjective reality which can be documented through how the individual is within a place in terms of their communicated appreciation for a place (see Williams et al., 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Carmona et al., 2008; Magee et al., 2016). However, there is no general agreement on what needs to be counted and how much weight it should be given when calculating sense of place (see Stedman, 2003; McCunn and Gifford, 2014; Magee et al., 2016).

Sense of place research has been conducted across the world without much slant towards a particular place (see Lalli, 1992; Williams and Stewart, 1996; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Magee et al., 2016). Owing to the preoccupation with trying to work out the inner workings of sense of place, the main method of enquiry within the research field has been survey work (see Shumaker and Taylor, 1983; Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Stedman, 2003; Shamsuddin and Ujang, 2008). This survey work being in support of the often argued measurability of sense of place as an experience.

3.2.3 Place and Identity

One of the smaller literature collections within place studies is that pertaining to what is termed place identity (see Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Proshansky et al., 1983; Feldman, 1990). This literature deals with the identities that people often believe they have been given by places of meaning (refer to Korpela, 1989). This literature collection has established increased publication in the 1960s (refer to Gans, 1962). The literature argues that people will identify with a place as this place is of a meaning to them that interacts with how and what they believe themselves to be (see Proshansky, 1978; Krupat, 1983; Hormuth, 1990; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). For instance, someone from Durban may take pride in referring to themselves as a Durbanite – a very particular kind of place-basing identification that is filled with emotions and experiences. What is important in this literature is the phenomenological reality of individuals identifying themselves with places and their meanings for them.

3.3 Place Studies and experience through walking

Walking has historically emerged as an important way in which places are experienced. There is a vast collection of literature on walking as a way to experience places (see Jacobs, 1961; de Certeau, 1984; Handy, 1996; Solnit, 2001; Porter, 2002; Saelens and Handy, 2008; Wood et al., 2010). Historically, writing about walking can be traced back to the early 20th century (see Stevenson, 1924; Benjamin, 1983; de Certeau, 1984; Frandin et al., 1991; Edensor, 2000; Solnit, 2001; Saelens and Handy, 2008; Middleton, 2010; Lorimer, 2011). The writings have utilised walking as an object of inquiry in numerous contexts of place-based experience (see Tuan, 1975; Wylie, 2005; Bridge, 2013; Sugiyama et al., 2012). The literature focuses on walking the built environment (see Cao et al., 2006; Handy et al., 2007; King et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2016) and the separation of this environment between urban (see Sennett, 1970; de Certeau, 1984; Pile, 2005; Chow and Healey, 2008; Wood et al., 2010) and rural (see Solnit, 2000; Porter, 2002; Macpherson, 2009a). I am to now provide an overview of the prevailing literature on walking as a way to experience places.

3.3.1 Walking and the (built) environment

Walking the general built up environment has the biggest collection of literature within the literature on the experience of place through walking (see Timperio et al., 2004; Clifton and

Dill, 2005; Cerin et al., 2006; Nagel et al., 2008; Stevenson and Farrell, 2017). This literature often focuses on the effects of the environment on walking (see Handy and Mokhtarian, 2005; Khattak and Rodriguez, 2005; Handy et al., 2007) and this very same effect but on a specific type of walking (see Saelens et al., 2003; Li et al., 2005; Giles-Corti et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2016). What is important is that the way the physical environment is built is historically argued as having an effect on walking.

This literature begins with a look at the general effects of the environment on general walking as a way to experience a place (see Carver et al., 2005; Cerin et al., 2006; Handy et al., 2006; Bias et al., 2010). This literature has been publishing more vigorously since the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Handy and Mokhtarian, 2005) after a slow start in the 1970s (refer to Thayer and Atwood, 1978). In this literature is often the argument that the environment does consequentially inform how and where people walk (see Gauvin et al., 2005; Cerin et al., 2007; Millington et al., 2009; Burgoine et al., 2011). It is the way a place is designed that determines where the individual walks and what features of place that person gets to experience.

The biggest literature collection of walking as a way to experience the built environment is that related to the effect of the environment on walking for particular purposes (see Duncan et al., 1991; Braza et al., 2004; Alexander et al., 2005; Forman et al., 2008). This literature can be separated to literature on the overall specific walking (see Burton et al., 2005; Andrews et al., 2012; Thielman et al., 2015) and literature on specific walking by particular groups (see Macpherson et al., 1998; Timperio et al., 2004; McMillan, 2005, 2007; Giles-Corti et al., 2011). These purposes could be recreational or the person could be going to a designated space such as work or school.

Literature on the effects of the environment on specific walking has been publishing at an increasing rate since the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Saelens et al., 2003). This literature looks at the effects of the environment on specific walking (see McDonald, 2008; Sugiyama et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2016). This collection of literature has been focusing on walking the built-up environment for health (see Frumkin et al., 2004; De Vriese et al., 2013) and recreational walking purposes (see Owen et al., 2004; Cleland et al., 2008). The literature

argues for the environment often being informative in how people move from place to place as the environment either encourages or dissuades people from walking (see Burton et al., 2005; McCormack and Shiell, 2011; Andrews et al., 2012; Grasser et al., 2013). Walking for health is historically argued to be encouraged more by places which have more walking spaces rather than those neighbourhoods seemingly built more for automated travel through cars; Recreational walking is argued encouraged more by places with designated spaces for contemplative walking such as hiking rather than places within central business districts. Ultimately, how an environment is built is argued consequential for health and recreation levels within the place's population.

Literature on the effects of the environment on specific walking by specific groups has been publishing at an increasing rate since the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Ball et al., 2001). This literature looks at specific walking by particular groups (see Timperio et al., 2004; Schlossberg et al., 2006). In this literature there is no agreement over how exactly the environment affects specific walking by particular groups (see Lam, 2001; Timperio et al., 2004). There happen to be many variables determining the effects of traffic on how individuals walk for health. However, there is no agreed measure of effect as there is no agreement on the weights that should be afforded to the different experiential realities which are argued to come in during the walk.

Literature on the effects of the environment upon the walking of a particular group is the last and smallest collection of literature within this collection of literatures on the environment and walking (see Li et al., 2005; Agrawal and Schimek, 2007; Forsyth et al., 2008; Nagel et al., 2008). This collection of literature has been publishing in specialised areas since the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Simpson et al., 2003). This literature looks at the effects of the environment on the walking patterns of a particular group of people (see Humpel et al., 2002; Bates et al., 2005; Lee and Moudon, 2006; McGinn et al., 2007). This literature looks at walking by a group of people sharing particular traits. There is within this literature collection the minute collection of walking the built-up environment as youth (see Carver et al., 2005; Kerr et al., 2006; Frank et al., 2006). This collection of literature has been publishing since the early twenty first century (refer to Clifton and Dill, 2005). This literature publishes on the relationship between the youth walking the built-up environment to reach particular points

within the environment through either commuting on foot (see Timperio et al., 2006; Kerr et al., 2006) or the combination of walking and cycling (refer to Timperio et al., 2004). Ultimately, the youth are seen as important walkers of the built-up environments that make-up places (refer to Saelens and Handy, 2008). The main argument within this collection of literature seeks to connect the environment's walkability and the walking appetite of different groups of people (see Plotnikov et al., 2004; Badland and Schofield, 2005; Papas et al., 2007; Kerr et al., 2007). Ultimately, the argument is that individual traits will at times inform how and where people experience a place most consequentially through walking.

There is lastly the specialising collection of literature on walking the built environment via route choice (see Humpel et al., 2004; Saelens and Handy, 2008; Arango et al., 2011). This literature has been publishing since the late 1970s (refer to Thayer and Atwood, 1978). Within this literature has been the argument for there being certain experiential realities of route that inform consequentially what route is taken within the built environment in terms of route quality (refer to Humpel et al., 2004; Giles-Corti et al., 2005; Alfonzo et al., 2008), walking paths (refer to Arango et al., 2011), and the cost of amenities (refer to Gauvin et al., 2008). Within this collection of literature there is sometimes the focus on adults and how they use the environment in terms of route selection and usage (see Li et al., 2005; Nagel et al., 2008; Sugiyama et al., 2012). People are historically argued to pick that route which gives them some utilities that they do find satisfaction within rather than those which do not make their walking experience as easier. Ultimately, this literature highlights that within the built environment, the route chosen when people decide to walk is important on many counts (see Buhyoff et al., 1984; Handy and Mokhtarian, 2005; Agymang et al., 2007; Sallis et al., 2012).

Most of the literature on the effects of the environment upon walking is conducted indiscriminately across the geographic northern hemisphere (see Li et al., 2005; Handy et al., 2007; Nagel et al., 2008; Andrews et al., 2012). The majority of the literature on the environment as an effect on walking mainly focuses on making connections between the two experiential realities (see Handy, 1996; Schwanen and Mokhtarian, 2005; Cao et al., 2006). With the focus on finding connections between environment and walking experience the literature then often uses observation methods as a way to conduct research (see Giles-Corti et al., 2011; Timperio et al., 2014; Thielman et al., 2015). There are areas of agreement as to the

dynamics of walking and environment. However, there are still disagreement on the exact quality of the effects of environment on walking experience as a way into place experience.

3.3.2 Walking and particular built environment

There is a healthy collection of literature on walking particular built environments as a way to experience place (see Ball, 2001; Humpel et al., 2002; Nast and Pile, 2005; Rendell, 2007; Middleton, 2011). This literature is split between walking as a way to experience the urban environment (see Benjamin, 1983; de Certeau, 1984; Rossiter and Gibson, 2003; Degen and Rose, 2012) and walking as a way to experience the rural (built) environment (see Solnit, 2001; Porter, 2002; Wylie, 2005; Macpherson, 2009b).

Walking as a way to experience the urban environment is the bigger contributor to the experience of walking through a built environment (see Macauley, 2000; Lund, 2002; Leyden, 2003; Pile, 2005). This literature collection can be traced back to the 1970s (refer to Sennett, 1970). The literature focuses on walking an environment as a way to gain a sense of the environment (see Pinder, 2001; Wunderlich, 2008; Middleton, 2009; Wood et al., 2010). The literature advances the argument of walking as a way in which people engage in affective relationships between themselves and their place (see Jacobs, 1961; de Certeau, 1984; Morris, 2004; Middleton, 2011). In other words, the environment is consequential to how people experience places through walking. Furthermore, there is also the minute specialising area of looking at walking as a way to experience a sense of community (see Lund, 2002; Mullan, 2003; Joongsub and Kaplan, 2004; Wood et al., 2010). This is literature that often argues that the greetings people share during the walk and the general environmental pleasantries they find as they walk will often lead to growing senses of community within the individuals. This literature has been conducted mainly in the geographic northern hemisphere (see Pinder, 2001; Middleton, 2011; Degen and Rose, 2012) where the design of places and what it may allow in terms of interaction has mattered more with the growing deliberate design of such places as gated communities.

The literature on urban walking has been voluminous because of the continuous engagements of the seminal works of such theorists as Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau who decided to focus on everyday occurrences as areas for enlightened analysis. Authors such as Jennie Middleton (2009, 2010, 2011) and David Pinder (2001, 2005, 2011) are some of the authors who have been at the forefront of the writings on the act of walking the urban landscape. Both these authors (Middleton and Pinder) have historically argued for there being qualities to the walks upon the environment. Middleton (2009, 2010) has pointed to ways of walking, sometimes informed most consequentially by the factor of time, which lead to a particular feel of the traversed environment. Pinder (2001, 2011) has focused on the alleged poetics of walking which points to certain subjectivities being most consequential to how people walk the environments upon which they are emplaced.

Walking as a way to experience the rural environment is the smaller contributor to the literature on walking as a way to experience an environment (see Solnit, 2001; Porter, 2002; Kuklina et al., 2004; Brownson et al., 2005; Bidwell et al., 2013). This literature collection can be traced back to the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Edensor, 2000). The literature focuses mainly on walking the rural place as a way to get a sense of the space (see Wylie, 2005; Lorimer and Lund, 2008; Macpherson, 2009a). The rural environment is argued to provide a slightly different visual to the urban environment. Furthermore, the opportunities for walking are argued to be more in the rural setting than in the urban setting and its slant in many places towards being more for motor vehicles rather than people. This literature has been conducted mainly in the geographic northern hemisphere (see Edensor, 2000; Kuklina et al., 2004; Brownson et al., 2005). The Northern hemisphere historically being the hemisphere with more literature documenting walking as a way to experience places.

Lastly, there is the relatively small collection of literature on the relative convenience and thus walkability of the built-up environment (see Handy et al., 2006; Saelens and Handy, 2008). This literature collection has been publishing since the turn of the twenty first century (refer to Boarnet and Crane, 2001). This literature connects the probability to walk with such important considerations as where to stay (see Levine and Inam, 2004; Handy, 2005; Cao et al., 2006), comfort levels (see Saelens and Handy, 2008; Cao et al., 2009), neighbourhood compactness (refer to Coogan et al., 2007), neighbourhood functionality (see Suminski et al., 2005; Pikora

et al., 2006), and activity friendliness (refer to Gauvin et al., 2008). Ultimately, the literature argues that the walkability of the built-up environment is important to all people concerned with walking (refer to Saelens and Handy, 2008). The available determinants of walking convenience will determine how often people walk within a place.

In line with the qualitative profile of most of the literature under this subsection of greater walking literature focusing on the built-up environment as primarily a conduit for walking, the preferred methods for most of the research output were the utilities of the survey (see Humpel et al., 2004; Handy, 2005; Cao et al., 2006) and questionnaire (see Timperio et al., 2004; Kerr et al., 2006; Haskell et al., 2007) methods of data collection. The research participants' answers were to be picked from a predetermined variety of possible choices (see Carver et al., 2005; Parra et al., 2011). This will allow for quantification. However, the intensity quality will remain up for debate. In other words, we will not know the varying intensities of the emotions people put towards certain reactions.

3.4 The university as place, social geographies, and walking

The study of the university as a place in the social geography manner is with a rather minute collection of literature (see McAndrew, 1998; Thurber and Walton, 2012; Qingjui and Maliki, 2013). This literature can be traced back to the late 1980s (refer to Fisher and Hood, 1987). The literature has focused mainly on the place attachment (see McAndrew, 1998; Qingjiu and Maliki, 2013; Moghisi et al., 2015) and homesickness (see Fisher and Hood, 1987; Thurber and Walton, 2012; Khademi and Aghdam, 2012) university students may experience. This literature has mostly relied on the questionnaire method of qualitative enquiry (see Khademi and Aghdam, 2012; Qingjiu and Maliki, 2013; Moghisi et al., 2015) and has been mainly conducted indiscriminately amongst the countries in the geographic northern hemisphere (see Fisher and Hood, 1987; Thurber and Walton, 2012; Moghisi et al., 2015). This literature has historically argued for people being in effective affective bonds with places. In other words, such things as place attachment or homesickness will lead to intensified feelings for place.

The study of the university as a place that is experienced through walking has also had a relatively minor collection of literature (see Gilson et al., 2007; Haines et al., 2007; Byington and Schwebel, 2013). This literature can be traced back to the beginning of the 21st century (refer to Felton et al., 2006). The literature collection mostly focuses on the effects of specific realities of the university space on walking – mainly health (see Puig-Ribera et al., 2008; Jackson and Howton, 2010; Haynes et al., 2012). This literature makes no argument beyond documenting the amount of walking done either by workers or students within the university space. The university walking literature does also look, to a minor extent, at the effects of preoccupation on walking the university space (refer to Stavrinis et al., 2011; Byington and Schwebel, 2013). The literature collection has historically relied on the observation method of qualitative enquiry (see Felton et al., 2006; Gilson et al., 2007; Stavrinis et al., 2011; Haynes et al., 2012) and has been mainly conducted in the first world countries of the geographic northern hemisphere (see Puig-Ribera et al., 2008; Jackson and Howton, 2010; Byington and Schwebel, 2013). This literature historically arguing that such things as cellphone usage will affect the quality and amount of walking done by university populations.

3.5 Gap in the literature

From the prevailing review of the literature there is gap to be utilised for academic exertion. From the literature outlined above it is apparent that studying the university as a place in the social geography manner and as experienced through walking is one of the overlooked areas of research interest. From the literature review most of the literature on the university as a place in the social geography sense often focuses on particular feelings by the students – feelings such as attachment (see McAndrew, 1998; Qingjiu and Maliki, 2013; Moghisi et al., 2015) and homesickness (see Fisher and Hood, 1987; Thurber and Walton, 2012; Khademi and Aghdam, 2012). Furthermore, the experience of the university through walking mostly focuses on walking the university as related to health considerations (see Puig-Ribera et al., 2008; Jackson and Howton, 2010; Haynes et al., 2012). Added to this state of affairs, most of the studies of the university as a place that can sometimes be experienced through walking utilise either observation (see Gilson et al., 2007; Stavrinis et al., 2011; Haynes et al., 2012) or questionnaire-based (see McAndrew, 1998; Khademi and Aghdam, 2012; Qingjiu and Maliki, 2013) methods of qualitative study.

For a research undertaking to be looking at a South African context and at a university context that is allegedly most consequentially experienced through walking is to be placed within a literature gap that needs exploitation. Firstly, in South Africa there is little research that focuses on walking as a way to experience any environment (see Behrens, 2005; Jobanputra, 2013; Venter et al., 2015; Mtolo, 2017; Dada et al., 2019). Secondly, most of this research focuses on specific types of walking – mainly road-crossing (Behrens, 2010; Dada, 2017). This literature mostly looking at the difficulty of crossing the road. Finally, the research method for most of the studies – although arguably a multi-methods space – focuses mainly on observation and survey methods of qualitative enquiry (see Behrens, 2010; Venter et al., 2014; Dada et al., 2019). These methods of study arguably do not provide the more expansive qualitative documentation of experience wherein the individual gives the most detailed account of their experience.

My dissertation's research thus is a contribution to the literature on documenting the experience of the South African university as a place in the social geography sense and doing such a documentation of experience through focusing on habitual walking as a way in which a place may be most consequentially experienced. The utility of the in-depth mobile interviewing method alongside photovoice methods of documentation is also a needed addition to a literature collection that is seriously overlooked.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

4.1 Introduction

The study of people and emplacement is vast (see Leighly and Sauer, 1965; Tuan, 1974, 1976; Relph, 1970, 1976; Lefebvre, 1991; Sack, 1997; Malpas, 1999; Wagner and Mikesell, 1962; Tuan, 1976; Buttimer, 1976; Ley and Samuels, 1978; Casey, 1993; Massey, 1993; Cresswell, 1996). The experience of emplacement and its accompanying qualities for the emplaced has proven itself to be one of the more important realities of life. For this dissertation I utilise in tandem the place experience theories as advanced individually by the theorists David Seamon (1979) and Edward Relph (1976).

For this research undertaking the theories to be used, as advanced by David Seamon (place ballet) and Edward Relph (insideness), are most consequentially informed by the humanistic geography school of thought. These theories are firmly based on the individual and his or her relations and reactions to the site and situation of their emplacement. To connect existence with spatiality has been an argument long championed by the study of Human Geography (see Wagner and Mikesell, 1962; Tuan, 1976; Gregory, 1978; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Duncan and Ley, 1993; Cloke et al., 1991; Hay, 2000; Winchester and Rofe, 2000). This is a discipline which connects existence, experience, and geographic site. As argued within the phenomenology of such theorists as Martin Heidegger (1992,1996), situating the human being within the geographic site is a fundamental manoeuvre towards unpacking what being human means in terms of experience and its quality (see Relph, 1970; Tuan, 1976; Buttimer, 1976; Ley and Samuels, 1978; Weiner, 1991, 2002; Entrikin, 1994; Nast and Pile, 2005). Geographic site and situation is argued to be a highly consequential factor in the experience of emplacement and thus is deserving of utility within theory looking to give insight into social phenomenon (see Price-Chalita, 1994; Massey, 2013; Smith, 1988; Mackinnon and Cumbers, 2007; Cumbers, 2009).

4.2 David Seamon and Emplacement

David Seamon's work is informed by the traditions of phenomenological thought. Seamon's arguments stem from a particular view of what it means to exist within the world. This view is that of theorists who have found a manner of discussion and documentation which they as theorists believe is most truthful and explanatory of existence as emplacement. Seamon (1979:7) argues that:

Most conventional work in behavioural geography brings its attention to one limited aspect of environmental behaviour and experience – getting around the city, residents' definitions of the neighbourhood, wilderness users' images of the wilderness. Phenomenology, in contrast, seeks to understand the interrelatedness among the various portions of environmental experience and behaviour. It works to uncover parts of everyday environmental experience as at the same time it insists that these parts must reveal a larger whole.

This is to say that phenomenological work is seen to be the more comprehensive scope from within which to look at the experience of the environment. Whereas the conventional methods only look at a part of the experience, phenomenology looks at all the consequential parts of a dynamic whole. For example, instead of exclusively looking at how people navigate the city, phenomenological study may look at what this navigation of the city means to those concerned and how this meaning to city navigation influences how these people view the wilderness in their everyday imaginings. Ultimately, phenomenological work looks at how meanings are attributed at the individual level with the knowledge that such attribution has far-reaching social implications.

Proceeding from the city navigation example above, phenomenology argues for the often overlooked, taken for grantedness of the experience of the everyday. Giorgi (1970:148) and many other theorists (see Husserl, 1970; Luft, 1998; Sokolowski, 2000; Moran, 2001; Lindseth and Norberg, 2004; Finlay, 2008) have historically argued for an alleged *natural attitude* which consequentially informs the experience of everyday emplacement. The argument is that people become highly preoccupied by the everyday-ness of their existence that they may not notice the makers of their everyday world. For instance, while city navigation may be an everyday thing for someone, this person may not immediately notice that every day he or she actually takes ten minutes to simply go to a public garden for some time of quiet. This action of quiet time may be engaged in for numerous reasons and as a result of some acquired routine and need for whatever it is that they gain from such an activity. Phenomenology simply seeks to

highlight such often-overlooked animations of the human being in regards to emplacement. David Seamon looks to provide a phenomenological explanation-cum-documentation of emplacement and its experience by the being. This documentation by Seamon is most dependent upon movement within site and situation.

Underlying Seamon's theorisation is a dissatisfaction with the then-prevailing methods of documentation preceding and during the 1970s. The groups that Seamon was in disagreement with were the cognitive theory and behaviourist schools of geographic thought upon movement. These schools of thought had prescriptions on the manner in which to efficiently understand movement as part of the experience of emplacement. All the theorists argue for movement as being "any spatial displacement of the body or bodily parts initiated by the person him or herself" (Seamon, 1979:33). For instance, moving an arm when resting is simply a different quality of movement than that of moving from the kitchen to the lounge area through the use of feet. It is a matter of the theories (behaviourists and cognitive map theorists) characterising the movement differently. The behaviourists would argue for there being stimuli causing the arm to move at that particular point; the cognition theorists would argue for there being a mental map causing the smooth movement from the kitchen to the lounge.

Seamon argues that the behaviourists and cognitive map theorists provide compromised interpretations of movement because they utilise already constructed theories for their characterisation. This feigns a predictability and determinism to movement. This feigning is not welcome for it allegedly overlooks a lot about movement and what it may entail. In other words, these theories arguably overlook the highly probable chance that there could be more than mental maps and stimuli to movement, consequentially informing the experience of said movement. To illustrate this point Seamon looks at habit as an area with probable utility in explanation. It is in habitual movement that David Seamon looks to illustrate how the counter-theories fall short in documenting the most consequential dimension of movement as habit within emplacement.

All the theories admit of a habit being "any acquired behaviour nearly or completely involuntary" (Seamon, 1979:38). Habits are things people do involuntarily as highly automated

behaviour. For example, a person may acquire the habit of biting their nails. This habit will always kick in whenever the nails are seen as bite-able, i.e. in need of a bite. It is argued that movement in the geographic realm as well becomes habitual, i.e. people often end up moving in the same circles and triangles. The behaviourists and cognitive map theorists have their own way of explaining movement and habit. Down and Stea (1973:39), as cognitive map theorists, argue in the following manner:

Admittedly, much spatial behaviour is repetitious and habitual – in travelling, you get the feeling that ‘you could do the trip blindfolded’ or ‘do it with your eyes shut’. But even this apparent ‘stimulus-response’ sequence is not so simple: you must be ready for the cue that tells you to ‘turn here’...or evaluate the rush hour traffic that tells you to ‘take the other way home tonight’. Even in these situations you are thinking ahead (in both a literal and metaphorical sense) and using your cognitive map.

This is to say that people in movement have mental maps which they follow towards their desired ends. For instance, a person arrives at their destination through a series of prompts towards the end-goal of that destination. The behaviourists argue similarly that habitual movement is also a series of prompts which lead to a destination in a format of a ‘call-and-response’ interaction by the person and their traversed environment (Seamon, 1979:40). These calls and responses end up being etched on the minds of individuals, in the same way that the cognitive map is argued, in such a manner that they become repeated interactions.

What should be apparent from the above arguments by the behaviourists and cognitive map theorists, Seamon argues, is the emptiness of the theories (Seamon, 1979:40). The theories basically have said nothing about the time or period between one stimulus and the next. That period is a gap in their explanations. It is an arguable fact that during movement –especially walking – there is often a consciousness (and taking in) of all that is part of the movement (see Sheller and Urry, 2006; Adey, 2006; Cresswell, 2014). The individual remains an experiencing being even between the alleged numerous stimuli within his or her environment. To illustrate this arguable fact most clearly, David Seamon invokes the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty and its notions of a body subject as that which, as a being, experiences habit.

4.2.1 The body in space

4.2.1.1 Body ballet

As phenomenology deals with the notion of being as experiencing some quality of emplacement, the body of a being, in this case a physical body, often becomes of primary concern as it is that existence and being which is a being *there* to experience (see Husserl, 1970; Heidegger, 1996; Merleau-Ponty and Menase, 1996). It is rather absurd to think of the experience of cold nights in the streets as a homeless person without thinking of the necessary bodies that must be physically *there* to experience these cold nights. The argument by phenomenologists is that this body engages itself in often habitual activity designed for manoeuvring within its lifeworld (Seamon, 1979:41; Buttimer, 1976; Merleau-Ponty and Menase, 1996). For example, the homeless person on the street knows how to carry themselves through all which may be encountered during life living on the streets.

Seamon argues further that, this body-subject operates not from some collection of mental images of the world or because of strict choices on its movement. Instead this body acts because it has knowledge, through its emplaced existence and experience in place, ensuring that the body acts and reacts as an intelligent being to its existence and experience (Seamon, 1979:47). Seamon argues further that, the body learns to make its interactions and actions automatic so as to extensively know of its physical environments and thus be embedded, if not become above, in that lifeworld's experience of emplacement. For example, the homeless person may know of the only unlocked door on the street wherein they may take refuge from all things that require such avoidance. This one-time accidental refuge may become sanctuary after habitual stumbling in. It remains the body which does all the movement within site and situation as a movement which is often there and aware of most of the site and situation. Ultimately, the body acquires a movement and existence which is habitual. Seamon argues this acquisition feeds into what he terms body ballets and time-space routines. I now briefly discuss the concepts of body ballets and time-space routines.

For Seamon (1979:54), "body ballet is a set of integrated gestures and movements which sustain a particular task or aim". The body ballet is any movement of the body (or parts of the

body) towards the carrying out of a desired outcome. For instance, to use Seamon's own example, to hunt involves a body ballet. The hunter must know how to manoeuvre so as to result in the desired outcome. Seamon (1979:55) argues further that to this alleged integrated movement there then develops a rhythm and flow so that the activity becomes second nature. This is to say the action becomes a highly-acquainted routine for the individual involved.

4.2.1.2 Time-space routine

The time-space routine can be thought of as simply that which the body does in space through time. Seamon (1979:55) argues that, "a time-space routine is a set of habitual bodily behaviours which extend through a considerable portion of time". This is routinized action upon a space or spaces. Individuals often may grow embroiled in routine that involves waking up at a specific time, not making their bed, going for a jog, bathing at the public pool, and so on. This routine is repeated on a daily basis as part of the individual's lifeworld. It is the body that carries that individual from one particular scene to the next as a panorama of daily scenes of action (Seamon, 1979:56).

Seamon argues further that some changes or 'outliers' to the scene do lead to some discomfort or annoyance from the ensnared individual. For example, if ever the above-mentioned individual finds the public pool too populated for him or her to bathe there, some disorientation may be experienced as there is an alleged consequential change to their routine. This disorientation, according to Seamon, stems from the arguable fact that for most people "time-space routines automatically appropriate activities through time and are an essential aspect of everyday life" (Seamon, 1979:56). The individual basically feels that they own *their* world and that no person or thing should have an impact that is not vetted by themselves.

4.2.1.3 Place ballet

The relationship between body ballets and time-space routines leads to the creation of an alleged *place ballet* (Seamon, 1979:56). This means that the place ballet is an amalgam of movements dedicated to certain tasks which are carried out in time and space that almost

always accommodates for such relation between body ballet and time-space routines. For example, during the hunting exercise, beyond simply knowing how to manoeuvre the bow and arrow, the hunter may also always be in the company of other hunters who may always wish for a friendly drink at the neighbourhood bar after every successful hunt. This adds another potential scene to the day for the hunter. Now the hunter has hunting at a specific time and will most probably go for a drink afterwards if the hunt is successful. These people ultimately do more than just move their bodies within space. Their bodies lead them to routinized interaction with everything (human and non-human) which is *their* environment.

Seamon (1979:56) argues further that, wherever there is a human being there is also the place ballet for it is an amalgamation of experiencing being within space and time. So long as people go to the neighbourhood's bars on a routine basis there is the place ballet. The argument by Seamon goes on to insist on the somewhat accidental nature of most experiential movement within site and situation. The place ballet is typically the intersection of individualised manoeuvres and routines upon site and situation that have no such end goal as that of encountering a habit-informed world beyond that which is out there and just so happens to be theirs. Seamon (1979: 57) thus argues that:

The regularity is unintentional, arising slowly over time as the result of many repeated 'accidental' meetings. People who otherwise might not know each other become acquainted – even friends. At a minimum there is recognition. Participants generally appreciate the climate of familiarity which grow and to which they become attached.

This is to say that from accidental preferences, dislikes, preoccupations and so on, individuals become well-acquainted (and dedicated) to their routinized 'unfolding' of their site and situation (Wylie, 2005, 2006; Bridge, 2013). For example, the drinking hunters may grow to be friends after numerous nights at the bar. Furthermore, were a face to disappear from one of the well-known faces there should be some attempt by the other faces to understand the meaning of the missing.

Ultimately, the place ballet is the individual's manoeuvre within their lifeworld (see Seamon, 1979, 2007; Crang, 1997; Rowles, 2000; Schofield, 2007). The individual experiences emplacement most consequentially through their place ballet as a conversation between body

ballets and time-space routines. The body as medium for manoeuvre is crucial to the place ballet because it locates the individual through scenes of movement, rest, and encounter that collectively grow to be of great significance to that individual's overall quality of emplacement experience.

4.2.2 The resultant place ballet as movement, rest, and encounter

The place ballet leads to what is often termed a triad of environmental experience. This triad is made up of movement, rest, and encounter -- each consequentially informing overall environmental experience (Seamon, 1979:132). This triad can be represented in the form of a triangle. In this upright triangle the top part is the encounter – which is invariably at the middle, the left side marks resting, and the opposite side marks movement. All of these habitual activities intersect and lead to whatever the experience of place ends up being.

The argument is that the three pillars are mutually re-enforcing (Seamon, 1979:133). This is to say that within movement the individual may go through alternating periods of encounter and rest. That same person may also rest in encounter so to later move more freely. This triad exists with all journeys. The theorist Jager (1975:251) argues that:

The round world of dwelling offers a cyclical time, that is, the recurring times of seasons, of the circles of birth and death, of planting and harvesting, of meeting and meeting again, of doing and doing over again. It offers a succession of crops, of duties, generations, forever appearing and reappearing.

This is to state it unequivocally that individuals in movement ultimately plug themselves into and out of scenes which have their own dynamics informing their overall quality. In other words, what the individual is able to engage in during either of movement, rest, and encounter determines the world within which they exist as experiencing beings. Ultimately the place ballet is the individual's world unfolded by themselves.

The individuals within the place ballet are all of equal importance because they all contribute to a ballet which affords them consequential roles. The author Jane Jacobs was amongst the

first theorists to notice and document the intricacies of routinized place experience. Looking at sidewalk usage in the city, Jacobs (1961:50) argued in the following manner:

Under the seeming disorder of the old city, wherever the old city is working successfully, is a marvellous order for maintaining the freedom of the city. It is a complex order. Its essence is the intricacy of sidewalk use, bringing with it constant succession of eyes. This order is all composed of movement and change, and although it is life, not art, we may fancifully call it the art form of the city and liken it to a dance – not to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole.

This is to state that for the experience of emplacement there are numerous assumed roles bringing particular subjectivities to the fore. What one individual gets to see during their performance in their lifeworld may be relayed to some other person who may then navigate through their own lifeworld with the knowledge of this other lifeworld quality of experience. For example, an individual with the appreciation for statues and monuments may communicate to some other individual the intricacies of this appreciation. The intricacies communicated then affect how the recipient of the communication encounters their own environment after such communication.

4.2.2.1 Movement

The very first pillar to David Seamon's place ballet is movement. In this experiential reality all individuals engage in movement within a lifeworld (Seamon, 1979:33). According to Seamon (1979:33), movement entails "any spatial displacement of the body or bodily part initiated by the person himself". It is the case for individuals to be in the world and in their being in the world there is always a time to move for some purpose.

The body in purposive conviction is inextricable to movement. Within the place ballet the body meets the environment as a body-subject. According to Seamon (1979:41):

Body-subject is the inherent capacity of the body to direct behaviors of the person intelligently, and thus function as a special kind of subject which expresses itself

in a pre-conscious way usually described by such words as ‘automatic’, ‘habitual’, ‘involuntary’ and ‘mechanical’.

This is to say that the body does the movements in a manner that does not require much thought. What is important is that the movement is for the achievement of some experiential reality and the body often would have done this very movement numerous times before and thus is well aware of how it is done.

Movement ends up being an important part of experience because it actually plugs the individual into scene after scene of realities that are arrived at through movement (Seamon, 1979:56). For instance, it is through moving through a space that an individual learns about that place. The movement is way in which phenomenological intentionality is engaged (Seamon, 1979:58). The individual comes across the environment in a manner that exposes ever increasing parts of the space.

Everyone in the space, however, is involved in movement (Seamon, 1979:65). The individual who moves is within a space wherein there are other forms of moving occurring just as they too are moving. For instance, a person will be moving across a street at the same time as another individual in that street is moving their arms to play drums loudly. The two individuals are at the same space moving differently and this movement is what makes the place what it is at that moment. These converging movements make the place ballet which makes the place the sort of experience it is for those engaged in such an experiential reality.

4.2.2.2 Rest

Seamon deals extensively with the notion of rest during an individual’s entanglement in the place ballet. Rest is the moment wherein an individual is still (Seamon, 1979:69-70). To be still is to not be in movement. People can be thought of as still at specific sites and situations in their lives. According to Seamon (1979:70) here is a necessary prerequisite to rest:

The essential experiential structure of rest [...] is at-homeness – the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in and familiar with the everyday world in which one lives and outside of which one is ‘visiting’, ‘in

transit', 'not at home', 'out of place' or 'travelling'. The dwelling place is generally the spatial centre of at-homeness.

This is to state that the individual rests in those places of an elevated familiarity for themselves. The individual knows these places somewhat extensively and may be argued to be 'at home' within such spaces. Any other place wherein the individual is observably not 'at home' can seldom be thought of as an area of highly probable rest.

The above-mentioned areas of rest may be thought of as the territory of the more meaningful experiences of that individual's lifeworld. It is in these areas that the individual is mostly likely to be found as a part of routinized movement (Seamon, 1979:71). For instance, were an individual to feel most 'at home' within a church building then that church building may become a sanctuary visited every day for moments of reflection while static. These pieces of territory the individuals grow to feel they own and thus any 'disturbances' to the thought of ownership are unwelcome. This becomes an experiential reality as the person develops a special relationship with their site and situation (Seamon, 1979:75-76). This relationship is consequential because it connects inextricably the individual and the man qualities of their site and situation.

Seamon argues that the home, in a rather surprising manner, as he sees it, is an integral part of the static periods within the place ballet. The home must have some relationship to feelings of at-homeness (Seamon, 1979:78). This is to see the home as one of those places wherein the individual is most likely to be 'at home'. According to Seamon the home often provides a physical centre from where all movement stems (Seamon, 1979:79). The home therefore is fundamentally a physical site. One way to think of it is as that position a ballerina would take at the beginning of a performance. It is from this position of rest that all the 'events' of the ballet will be channelled, in all their decoration.

Once the individual has a 'home' within the ballet that position is thought of as owned by that individual and of elevated importance because it is the point from within which this individual moves out to experience their lifeworld (Seamon, 1979:80). Seamon highlights encroachment

into a home as an event which may be greeted with discomfort from the homemaker. For instance, during the performance of the ballet some ballerina may be out of position – they may be in someone else’s home, this results in compromised performance of both manoeuvre and rest as these ‘misplaced’ individuals tamper with their performances either by mistake or deliberately. Ultimately, the home is a private and highly meaningful space for the individual who mostly looks to rest within the home.

The home within the place ballet becomes a place for both regeneration and peace of mind (Seamon, 1979:81-83). The physical rest within the home has the qualities of rejuvenation. The individual after much movement in the world finds time within the home to physically rest and regain their energies. Furthermore, this time spent at home can be used for thinking about things that were events during the day. These events may become objects of analysis as the individual at rest makes sense of them. Ultimately, the home is where the place ballet either proceeds from or comes to a pause within.

4.2.2.3 Encounter

The last highlighted event of the place ballet is that of encounter. Encounter, it is argued, is not as clear-cut an event as movement and rest. During the encounter the individual and their environment can be argued to experience viewings of each other (Seamon, 1979:99; Wylie, 2006). This is to say that to encounter is to be engaged in an unfolding of site and situation. This unfolding exposes the features, from the most miniscule (sometimes) to the more pronounced, of the geographic site and situation. For example, the individual may encounter a tree in the same manner that they encounter a limping person. Ultimately, encounter is the awareness and engagement of things (animate and inanimate) outside the body of the individual. Seamon then proceeds to argue for there being a continuum of awareness.

Encountering the world can be of varying qualities (Seamon, 1979:103; Bridge, 2013). At some point the individual may notice more about their site and situation. At some other point the same individual may not notice much. For instance, today an individual may notice, and be able to read quite easily, some writings beneath a statue. However, on the following day this

individual may forget where to look when confronted by that statue. This is the phenomenological reality of the varying qualities of encounter. Seamon labels these encounters as a line moving from obliviousness to noticing to watching to stopping on heightened contact and basic contact (Seamon, 1979:103).

To be oblivious to site and situation is to be aloof. To be aloof is to not notice the environment laid out to be unfolded with its features. For example, a person may not notice a broken down statue or a person greeting them simply because during their movement upon site and situation they are in deep thought. Such preoccupation, however, is not always the case. To notice is to bring into full awareness a thing about the site and situation. For instance, a person may notice something about a statue that he or she had never noticed before for some reason. This experiential reality ensures the possibility for surprise and intrigue when manoeuvring within site and situation. Ultimately, what the person sees is informed consequentially by factors that play on that person's capacity to see.

The other types of encounter, viz. watching and contact, are types of awareness that are also either intentional or involuntary. Seamon (1979:104) argues for watching being a conscious activity whereby the individual prefers to be taken in by movement that occurs in front of him or her as they take the time to be static themselves. This is akin to sitting at the neighbourhood park and watching ducks in a pond.

The contacts (basic and heightened) contain moments of the body in complete envelopment with its site and situation (Seamon, 1979:111-116). This is to say that the body is profoundly aware of itself and the site and situation it finds itself within. As a perceptual being the body appreciates its positioning within site and situation as that spatial reality which is most consequential to the quality of its perceptual field (Seamon, 1979:116; Merleau-Ponty, 1996:140; Wylie, 2006; Bridge, 2013). Ultimately, the kinds of encounter engaged inform the quality of the unfolding of place towards its experience. In other words, what is encountered and how it is encountered consequentially inform the quality of place experience.

It should not be lost on the reader of this thesis that under such characterisation the place ballet must necessarily be operating on at least two levels. There is the individual ‘ballet dancer,’ viz. the walker, and then there is the overall ballet as a collection of all walkers engaged in their own distinct movements within geographic site and situation. The overall ballet is therefore a scene of movements, rests, and encounters that inform overall place experience most consequentially because they are the routine everyday experiences of the individuals.

The person engaged in the place ballet often moves, rests, and encounters within the same site and and situation. Each time the place ballet occurs is a time wherein the individual’s subjectivities are engaged by and are engaging their environment. The environment can be thought of as an entity/product that the individual is in effect performing a place ballet upon. However, repetition makes the quality a product always in the production process rather than a finished product. In other words, the actions of movement, rest, and encounter are repeated interactions that are treated as such and not as if activities whose qualities will be judged as just one experience. This experiential reality is of embeddedness in a scene of site and situation that is to remain unchanged if there is no change in the individual’s contribution to the place ballet. Edward Relph (1976) writes expansively about an embeddedness he terms *insideness* in relation to environmental experience. This thesis now discusses the theorisations of Edward Relph as a complement to the already discussed place ballet theory.

4.3 Edward Relph and Emplacement

Edward Relph’s theorisations are steeped in the experience of emplacement that is related to thoughts on sense of place. In relation to David Seamon’s place ballet, Relph’s theorisations may be thought of as preoccupied with the view of the stage upon which the place ballet is performed. In other words, Relph looks at the quality of the stage upon which to perform from the view of the people involved in the performance. This is to note the geographic location before it is an experience but as firstly that which is *there* to be a conduit for experience. Relph argues therefore that, within space there are places which are of meaning in themselves and for the greater meaning of the concerned space. In other words, space is constituted by places and is therefore a collection of places that are experienced by those people located within the site and situation (Relph, 1976:8).

Edward Relph's seminal 1976 book entitled *Place and Placelessness* is the theoretical basis for understanding place within this research undertaking. Like many theorists of place, Relph's theory is an attempt to better characterise the experiential reality of place. Relph's thoughts on place are therefore a considered amalgam of prior considerations of place -- an amalgam taking into further consideration those parts of previously read theories that Relph found to be highly informative.

A theorist that is crucial to understanding how Edward Relph makes his argument is the theorist Luckerman. It is in acknowledging six of Luckerman's prescriptions for what makes place that a deeper understanding of Relph's concept can be grasped. According to Lukermann (1964:169-170) place is understood better through:

1. The idea of location, especially location as it relates to other things and places, is absolutely fundamental. Places can be described in terms of internal characteristics (site) and external connectivity to other locations (situation); thus places have spatial extension and an inside and outside.
2. Place involves an integration of elements of nature and culture.
3. Although every place is unique, they are interconnected by a system of spatial interactions and transfers; they are part of a framework of circulation.
4. Places are localised - they are parts of larger areas and are focuses in a system of localisation.
5. Places are emerging or becoming; with historical and cultural change new elements are added and old elements disappear. Thus places have a distinct historical component.
6. Places have meaning: they are characterised by the beliefs of man.

This is to say that place is about space and, to keep it simple, activity within space. Place is basically what occurs and is of some meaning within a particular geographical boundary. This that occurs within this site and situation makes the boundary the place that it is.

Relph's characterisation of place is an attempt to etch out the skeleton of the above theorisation by Luckerman. This etching out is to highlight that place is not as clear-cut and rigid as Luckerman seems to intimate. The aim is for a more encompassing theory of place as it is the

case that most places might be places yet not with a configuration as such. To etch out the configuration of space, Relph starts his argument through looking to space first.

4.3.1 The spaces

The idea of space has historically been used to discuss the concept of place. The place theorists have found a lot of utility in the theoretical spectrum of space to place. Relph has numerous types of space as well - these types of spaces all somewhat applicable when attempting to understand place. To begin with, there is abstract space. According to Relph (1976:26):

Abstract spaces is the space of logical relations that allows us to describe space without necessarily founding those descriptions in empirical observation. It is a free creation of the human imagination and as such is a direct reflection of the achievement of symbolic thought. [...] In such space places are merely points, symbols constituting just one element within the overall system of abstract elements.

This is to say that in this space people know of the particular spatial reality as just symbols. In other words, what is space is an illustration of symbols in the relationship of drawing up a picture of something. For example, to draw up a farm, a person may use triangles and squares to display what a farm on paper, for display purposes, may be thought of as looking like. This is a simply abstract presentation of a spatial reality.

Closely related to abstract space is cognitive space. In this space the symbols of (and of things within) space are now thought of as in relation to each other (Relph, 1976:24). For instance, the squares are the houses on the farm which are a distance from the triangle which is the feeding area for the livestock. Cognitive space is basically space as thought up in the mind and with the intention to think of how everything within the space relates to another such thing as a functioning whole.

Closely related to cognitive space is architectural and planning space. If cognitive space is the squares and triangles then architectural and planning space is how these squares and triangles are drawn (Relph, 1976:22). It matters how the squares and triangles look. This drawing of

symbols a certain way matters because it determines how the picture/image/illustration of interactive symbols looks. In other words, the space's spatial reality as illustrated in symbols must keep in mind that it is a display of particular symbols that are displayed in a particular way. Ultimately, the square that is a house may simply be square in the conventional sense or it may be a square but with one line curved. The idea is that there are numerous ways in which a square may be drawn.

From the above spaces of minimal population comes those spaces which can be thought of as including people. The above-mentioned spaces (abstract, cognitive, and architectural spaces) do not mention people at all. The very first space to include people in its theorisation is primitive space. According to Relph (1976:8):

Primitive space is the space of instinctive behaviour and unselfconscious action in which we always act and move without reflection. This is an organic space that is rooted in things concrete and substantial and which involves no images or concepts of space and spatial relations. Such space is comparable to, and well characterised in terms of, the 'functional circle' of animals - that is, the environment in which animals survive and function but of which, so far as we can know, they have no abstract images of.

This is to think of space as basically a spatial reality of boundaries. There are boundaries that people move within and envelop themselves. For example, walking a path in a forest is the state of affairs of being in primitive space. The individual in the forest somehow knows to walk between the edges of a trail and not on the actual edges that are decorated with thorns. This is primitive space. It is the space of boundaries that people travel between.

Closely related to primitive space is perceptual space. Relph argues that, it is within perceptual space that the individual is somewhat reflective as a centre of his or her universe (Relph, 1976:9-10). Recalling back to the trail example, the individual walks between the edges of the said trail for the mere fact that there is a boundary, i.e. the end of being 'between the edges'. When thinking of perceptual space the individual walking within the edges walks in such a manner because he or she knows that the thorns as boundaries of the trail will prick them if they attempt walking on them. The individual therefore has thought on the boundaries as things that are purposeful in their being boundaries. Ultimately, perceptual spaces is that experienced through the senses.

The last type of space, the one space that Edward Relph highlights as most reconcilable to notions of place, is the space he terms existential space. This is a space dressed up by all the other preceding spaces and then left to the existence of the human being as a person with a history and subjectivity. According to Relph (1976:12):

Existential or lived-space is the inner structure of space as it appears to us in our concrete experiences of the world as members of a cultural group. It is intersubjective and hence amenable to all members of that group for they have all been socialised according to a common set of experiences, signs, and symbols. The meanings of existential space are therefore those of a culture as experienced by an individual, rather than a summation of the meanings of individual perceptual spaces, though in many cases the two probably coincide. Furthermore, existential space is not merely a passive space waiting to be experienced, but is constantly being created and remade by human activities.

This is to say that existential space is that space wherein an individual lives with all his or her perceptions as a person who has lived in a world of “experiences, signs, and symbols”. Such a space is that in which all the other spaces have actually contributed to bring to life a particular experiential reality of site and situation. It is here that the squares and triangles which are actually houses and feeding areas and the pathways that are actually boundaries that direct the individual’s movements tell the individual that they are in a particular configuration of what is a ‘farm’ - a configuration they may or may not, depending on their past experiences as subjective individuals, find utility in.

It is important to also highlight the second part of the existential space definition. This space becomes what it is through the placement of human being within site and situation. This is to say that it is actually the people who are (often) within the site and situation that make the space what it is as a realm of existence. For example, the homestead is built by the farmer in a particular manner that the farmer (perhaps) finds the most utility in. A different farmer, dependent on their history of experienced signs and symbols, can add or subtract features of the homestead if that space were to ever be for that particular farmer to do as they please with. Ultimately, existential space is for people and by the people. It is the people that are in it and that make it.

Existential space does split into two kinds of space. Existential space splits into sacred space and geographic space. Sacred space is that space that is representatively devoted to religion and its symbolism (Relph, 1976:15). In other words, it is the space of the symbols of religion. This space is that of the church building for churchgoers and its meaning for this very group of people as they exist in a world with such spaces. Geographic space on the other hand is that space where there is located not just sacred space but also the space for other things (Relph, 1976:16). This space has a name. In other words, this space is a named site and situation. For example, this space is Grahamstown, Durban, Nelspruit, and so on. It is the space of so significant an existence that it has been named and incorporates the end-point of the experiential history of all other spaces that are unmistakably human conceptions. In other words, geographic space is landscape with all its people, buildings, and significances bringing the space to life.

Existential space ultimately is the space of places. In other words, existential space is a space of significances within site and situation which are encouraged by a history of “experiences, signs, and symbols”. Owing to such a state of affairs, the people within site and situation experience the space in differing ways in line with their subjectivities as informed by experience. The difference in experience according to Relph is because existential space “must have an inside that can be experienced as something different from an outside” (1976:22). This talk of an “inside” and an “outside” is one of the more important parts of the theory of place as presented by Relph. In summation, the person is inside the sacred (existential) space if they are a religious person of the group that has made the particular building that they are viewing or within. The individual is “outside” if they do not feel any connection between their being and the building that to some might be sacred ground. Ultimately, existential space is that of spaces of sacred and geographic significance because they (as spaces) have been instilled into the mind of the individual as spaces of significance.

Relph’s main argument is that places come from space and are space (Relph, 1976:27). This is to say that the two concepts (space and place) are mutually constitutive. According to Relph (1976:28):

Those aspects of space that we distinguish as places are differentiated because they have attracted and concentrated our intentions, and because of this focusing they

are set apart from the surrounding space while remaining a part of it. But the meaning of space, and particularly lived-space, comes from the existential and perceptual places of immediate experience.

This is to attribute to space a significance that is there for the mere fact that people have lived and do live in the site and situation. This space, rather than remain vacant and without any prospect of ever being discovered and most likely being the site and situation of significant spatial experience, has actually become a lively spatial reality that is jewelled with significant existence.

The above is to say that place is experienced beyond its visual presentation and the fact that it is there. Places have numerous things that make them places and feed into the idea that they are significant spatial realities. Ultimately, places are people, emotions, experience, location, history, and so on (Relph, 1976:44). All of these traits of place lead to the indisputable significance of place in an individual's existence as place is ultimately a site and situation of significant meaning for all concerned.

According to Norberg-Schulz (1971:45) the forms of space (primitive till abstract space) interact with one another as the individual moves from one form of space experience to the other. This is so because "pragmatic space integrates" (Relph, 1976:11). With this arguable fact of multi-faceted experiences of space, the individual experiences space as an amalgam of places depending on their quality of experience upon this particular individual's subjectivities (Relph, 1976:28). In other words, the place wherein I lost a friend is often not of the same significance to someone else as it is to me. It may be of significance to both of us. However, it can never be of that significance for the same reason if we did not lose the same friend there. When within this space I move differently as I am aware of its history and emotion. This history and emotion bring back memories of past times and what life was with the other person still alive.

It is often the case that people identify with one setting, if not a small collection of settings, which they believe themselves to have a truly special bond with. In this instance of an alleged

special bond people believe themselves to be rooted in that setting. Simone Weil (1955:53) argues that:

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognised need of the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of the community, which preserves in living shape certain particular expectations for the future. This participation is a natural one in the sense that it is automatically brought up by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. It is necessary for him to draw well-nigh the whole of his moral, intellectual and spiritual life by way of the environment of which he forms a part.

This is to state that to be rooted is to be situated so to have any experience of the world as a contextualised individual filled with content. It is to experience Grahamstown as a person who has experienced KwaMashu for 19 years before Grahamstown. Being rooted contextualises the person and is often the first determinant of action within the (new) site and situation of the concerned individual (Relph, 1976:43). Ultimately, this state of affairs leads to subjectivities within the spaces of the place ballet. For instance, as someone who has grown up to be used to playing soccer at a particular time back home, once within a new place that person may simply look to continue with this tradition in some manner.

As should be apparent by now places are experienced (and appear) differently to different people. A simple example might be the difference in a soccer field where it may happen that what one person may think of as an area of fun, some other person may think of it as a nuisance area. It is a fact, however, that places are often described as composed of three components. There is the physical setting, the activities with the setting, and the meaning afforded to the setting. These three components combine to create a scene to be experienced by the emplaced individual in a manner that he or she is predestined to experience it in (Relph, 1976:46-47; Camus, 1955:130-131). For example, there is a high probability that a devout non-drinker will experience a place of heavy drinking in a manner that is highly negative. This subjective reality is because the person is aware of the physical reality of the place, the activities within the place, and the meaning he or she has ascribed to such places (see Genereaux et al., 1983; Purcell and Nasar, 1992). Ultimately, places are judged by the individuals as areas of qualities of experiences as a result of emplacement which brings them into view and (often direct) experience.

4.3.2 Insideness

From the above characterisation of place as made up of spaces, Relph then moves on to discuss his concept of *insideness*. This concept is developed in relation to the degrees of identification with a place a person may feel. According to Edward Relph “to be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with the place” (Relph, 1976:49). Utilising the traditional notions of inside and outside the concept as by Relph may be thought of as an attempt to characterise an ‘enveloping’ or ‘embracing’ of the individual by the place as an area of experience. This embracing and enveloping has qualities which may be thought of as either being brought *inside* as a welcomed guest and resident or being left unattended as a person not vetted for warm welcome (Relph, 1976:49; Norberg-Schulz, 1971:25). As there are degrees to *insideness* and *outsideness* Relph does go on to explicate what these qualities of place experience entail.

Relph makes his argument through the use of dichotomous argument. In his argument is seen a continuum of envelopment. This continuum moves from *outsideness* to *insideness* qualities. For purposes of this thesis it will be enough to make mention of only those outsidenesses and insidenesses which may be operational to an experiencer of the stage for place ballet as neither geographer nor artist. It is enough to overlook so-called *vicarious insideness* and *objective outsideness* as they make the stage of the place ballet a ‘thing’ which may be overly abstracted. Such thought leads to a complete overlook of physical emplacement for the individual.

The first *insideness* Relph discusses is surprisingly referred to as *existential outsideness*. According to Relph (1976:51):

Existential outsideness involves a selfconscious and reflective uninvovement, an alienation from people and places, homelessness, a sense of the unreality of the world, and of not belonging. From such a perspective places cannot be significant centres of existence, but are at best backgrounds to activities that are without sense, mere chimeras, and at worst are voids.

This is to state that the individual experiences the places in so negative and disconnected a light that the place becomes that of almost exclusive functional use. For instance, people going to a famous amusement park can be thought of as engaging the experience of existential outsidership. Almost everything about the park, save some of the people of course, is artificial and everyone knows this. After such an experience everyone goes back to places of significance wherein they allegedly belong and are back to their everyday troubles.

Then there comes an *incidental outsidership*. This outsidership is unselfconscious because it may be a while after experiencing it that the person regains their faculties and comprehends fully the experience (Relph, 1976:52). Relph argues that, under *incidental outsidership* the place is often minimised and only the activities which are undertaken within are acknowledged. For example, a researcher who attends conferences at different 'places' may never experience those 'places' beyond the conference area. This is incidental outsidership because this person, not from lack of trying to 'envelop' themselves, only experiences the place in line with what they are in the place to do. Such experience, especially in terms of the miniature scope of experience which is afforded, often does not lead to the unfolding of a sincere experience of place.

From the insiderships there comes most pressingly *behavioural insidership*. According to Relph (1976:53):

Behavioural insidership consists of being in a place and seeing it as a set of objects, views, and activities arranged in certain ways and having certain observable qualities. In contrast to incidental outsidership in which a place is experienced as little more than a background to events, behavioural insidership involves deliberately attending to the appearance of that place. Such insidership is clearest when it is complemented by surrounding walls, by enclaves and enclosures, or other physically defined boundaries.

This is to look at place as a profound incidental experience – most probably stemming from prolonged emplacement. For instance, a person knows *their* KwaMashu township mostly from those behaviours that they themselves and other people engage in because they are *in* KwaMashu (see Genereax et al., 1983). People know their places as images and scenes of activity when they are taken by this insidership. This knowledge separates those places they know behaviourally from other areas they may not be behaviourally familiar with (Relph,

1976:53). For instance, knowing how and where to behave in a specific manner when in Grahamstown may be entirely different to knowing when in Port Alfred - a place a short distance from Grahamstown yet of completely differently envelopments.

There is then a so-called *empathetic insideness*. This insideness is primarily a compassionate experience of place. The individual, although perhaps not privy to the essential characteristics of the place, empathetically experiences the places as of profound meaning to some other person or people (Relph, 1976:54). The work of anthropologists often demands that the practitioners appreciate the places of people that they normally research as these places are often drenched in cultural meanings for those people being studied (see Jordan and Rowntree, 1979; Mazumdar and Mazumdar, 1993; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). For instance, Vatican City can be thought of as a place for such insideness for someone willing to appreciate the city for what it is and represents to its dedicated inhabitants.

The insideness which has historically received the most attention has been that referred to as *existential insideness*. According to Relph (1976:55):

To be inside a place and to experience it as completely as we can does not mean that existentially we are insiders. The most fundamental form of insideness is that in which a place is experienced without deliberate and selfconscious reflection yet is full with significances. It is the insideness that most people experience when they are at home and in their own town or region, when they know the place and its people and are known and accepted there. Existential insideness characterises belonging to a place and the deep and complete identity with a place that is the very foundation of the place concept.

This is to restate that there are qualities envelopment. As an individual I may be enveloped behaviourally and empathetically in a place. However, I still may not be a native of that place. That place may still not be a part of my DNA. Places that make me the person I am are places that I unconsciously, and perhaps pre-consciously, grow to think of as fundamentally a part of my very being. These places are an amalgam of significances that may never leave the individual because they often grow to be referents to all successive experiences of emplacement (see Purcell and Nasar, 1992).

Relph (1976:55) argues further that in these places the individual finds that they belong and are known there as being native. For example, as someone who was raised in KwaMashu from infancy to my late teens I went through many experiences that shaped and continue to shape me as an individual. I know people, houses, and places on not just *my* Mlangeni Road but also on some other roads that remain of significance to me many years later. Therefore, I may argue myself as someone existentially inside a part of the KwaMashu township. Ultimately, existential insideness is a far-reaching relationship between person and environment.

From the numerous qualities of envelopment in site and situation individuals grow to have a *sense of place*. This sense of place is an attitude towards place that is informed by the quality of the experience of emplacement within that site and situation. This sense of place is an almost automatic relationship gauge of the relationship between the individual and their emplaced environment (Nairn, 1965:6). In other words, the individual, as if it is part of his or her nature, grows to have and fashion an alleged personal evaluation of their feelings towards the area in which they are emplaced and thus experience.

There are qualities to sense of place (Relph, 1976:63). Some senses of place may be authentic whereas others are inauthentic. According to Relph (1976:64):

An authentic attitude to place is thus understood to be a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of places – not mediated and distorted through a series of quite arbitrary social and intellectual fashions about how that experience should be, nor following stereotyped conventions. It comes from a full awareness of places for what they are as products of man's intentions and the meaningful settings for human activities, or from a profound and unselfconscious identity with place.

This is to say that the attitude towards place is not distorted by hearsay or attitudes coming from other people. For instance, having a sense of place that is informed only by the judgements and assertions of others upon the place is not having an authentic sense of place. The only authentic sense of place is that coming from the individual themselves exclusively as a personalised toponymia away from the arguments of others (Tuan, 1974:93). Ultimately, an authentic sense of place is optimal for it is the most personal construction.

Having an authentic sense of place also informs the individual's identity and experience of the site and situation of their emplacement (Relph, 1976: 65-66). Whether constructed selfconsciously or unselfconsciously a sense of place can make the experience of emplacement either positive or negative. For example, an individual who identifies him or herself as an individual in one of the groups which are excluded, at least representationally, from the visual culture of the place, is likely to have a negative sense of place or that particular site and situation. This is a state of affairs that is operational in all places because all places are of meaning (Jackson, 1989:67-71). Those individuals who feel aggrieved by the meanings that are either left out or allowed to be displayed grow to resent their site and situation.

The above-mentioned senses of place ensure that the alleged stage of the place ballet is itself judged as an area of prolonged emplacement and experience. This judgement is the experiential reality for all places as stages. According to Relph (1976:141), this is the experiential reality because:

Places are not abstractions or concepts, but are directly experienced phenomena of the lived-world and hence are full with meanings, with real objects, and with ongoing activities. They are important sources of individual and communal identity, and are often profound centres of human existence to which people have deep emotional and psychological ties.

This is to argue that places have their own constitutive factors that make them those particular places. Places are not vacuous expanses. Places are made up of geographic, human, and emotional features. For instance, when an individual thinks of a place the thought is of an identifiable 'thing' which has the earth, sometimes some people, and sometimes some parts of significance – whether they are the earth or some other human or non-human being. Thinking of geographic site and situation as the stage for the place ballet envisions the stage as a mixture of props, people, and significances. Everyone involved in the place ballet is on some level aware of it and what it makes of their experience of emplacement.

4.4 Conclusion

In this thesis, the theories of David Seamon and Edward Relph are invoked to discuss the phenomenon of the sense of place that is Rhodes University as experienced by the participants.

Seamon's theory is invoked when routine upon geographic site and situation is discussed (see Cutchin, 2007; Gallimore and Lopez, 2002; Rowles, 2000). The argument remains that which states that routine upon geographic site and situation is an important way in which a place is experienced. Seamon's highlighted routine and habit are considered the mainstay realities of many an experience of emplacement.

Relph's arguments of insideness-outsideness are invoked when discussing qualities of sense of place (see Moores and Metykova, 2010; Lim and Barton, 2010). The argument remains that which looks at emplacement as prone to an enveloping of the individual in its (human geographic) tapestry towards the determination of some quality of place experience as the site and situation becomes better known scenes of emplacement by the individual (Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976; Seamon, 1979; Gregory, 1978; Jackson, 1989; Casey, 1993; Malpas, 1999; Rodaway, 2002; Pocock, 2014). Ultimately, the place ballet and insideness-outsideness have been closely linked when discussing experiences of emplacement that may be prone to routine and habit that may often lead to site and situation being taken for granted as scenes of emplacement.

Chapter Five: Methodology, Procedures and Techniques

5.1 By way of preamble

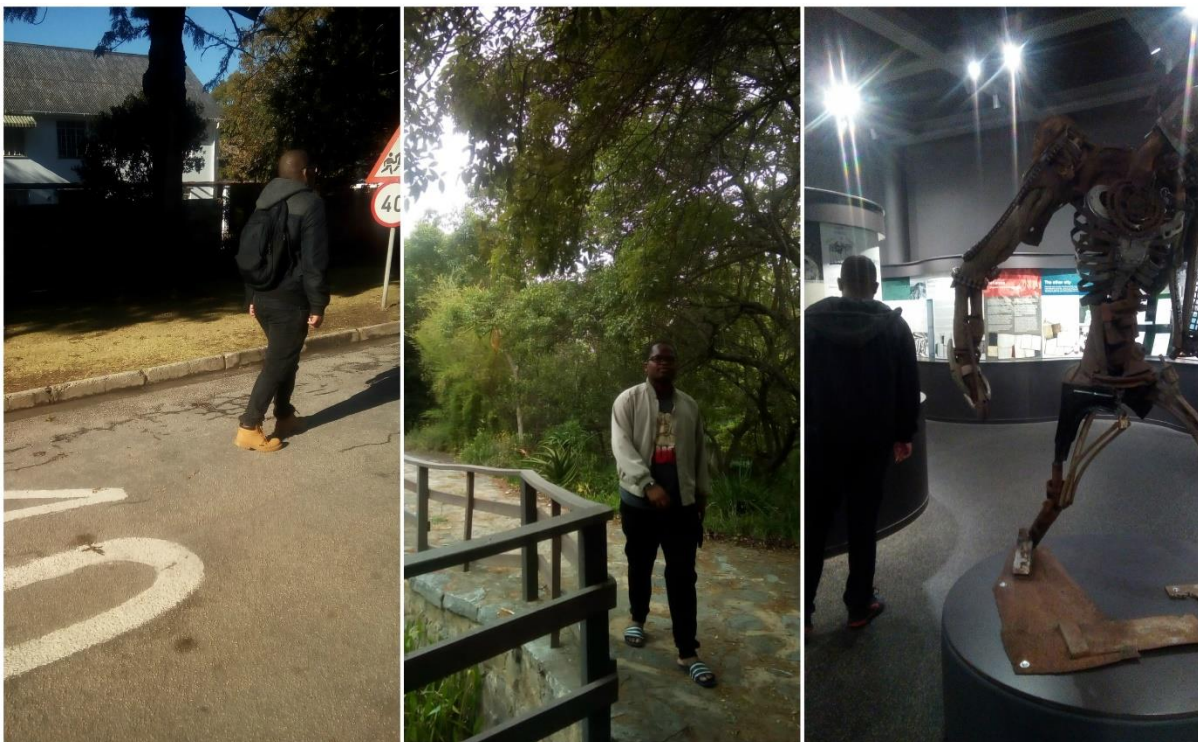
This research undertaking is as a result of an interest sparked within me during the writing of (and general preoccupation with) my Master's thesis. It was during one late night while walking with a friend that the friend made a remark to me that I felt was owed an intellectualisation I probably would not have given it were it not for the fact that it touched on something I believed could be researched further. On our way home, my friend and I decided to stop by at a convenience store for some food items. Nothing particularly striking occurred in the process of loading food into our basket whilst arguing over which items to get, given our budget. It was when we were at the payment point and about to leave the store that something I had not expected occurred.

On my way to pay for the food items I came across an acquaintance who decided to greet me and ask how I was. I responded in the conventional manner, not forgetting to ask him to indulge me as well. To my surprise the friend I was walking with was shocked by the fact that I knew – according to them – someone not only not them but also of a racial group I am not a member of. This friend of mine had never seen me with other people save for them and their one other friend apparently. For some reason my response to the rather excitable behaviour from my friend was to first jokingly dismiss the shock – as is standard with me – and then to critically assess what the real situation was that the three of us (the friend, acquaintance, and myself) had just partaken in.

It was obvious that my friend had not seen much of me (and my behaviour) when not with him. I did let him know that much. There was also a further, and more intellectual I dare say, explanation for what I had just been put through as someone who does not like being thought of as antisocial. The more illustrative characterisation of the unwarranted shock was that it resulted from the simple yet taken for granted fact of me spending considerable periods of time away from my friend doing all types of things – sometimes with other people present with me as I did those things. How was this possible? My body was a presence in space that was preoccupied with presences and absences at different spaces and times in line with where it

was physically. On that night my body was with my friend (and numerous other people at the store) at that point in time and not with other people (and numerous others – if the setting were of numerous people) at that same moment in time. All of these presents and absences were as a result of humanly existence and what it makes of emplacement.

Owing to the fact that at that time I was preoccupied with my Master's thesis and its way of looking at the experience of emplacement by my participants I simplified my intellectualisation of the rather insulting shock from my friend. In its simplified format my argument went as follows: I know this individual (Nick from Germany) who my friend does not know me to know owed to the fact that I walk to the same places that Nick walks to while he is on campus and my friend here is always not there to see us coming across each other and sometimes engaging in activities which have led us to be acquainted enough to have minor exchanges during the late hours of night time. Furthermore, this individual (Nick) I reasoned to be part of the Rhodes University that I know as my everyday Rhodes University. How did all of this amplification of an otherwise mundane occurrence lead to a research topic? It immediately encouraged a presupposition within me.



*Picture 1: Pictures of me walking. The first two pictures are me walking on pathways -- a street near Rhodes University and walking alongside a pond in the Botanical Gardens. The last picture is of me walking inside a museum. It is through walking that I experience most of what I believe is **my** Rhodes University.*

If my strongest defence to what I thought of as an insult was that I walked (my) Rhodes University into existence, then this argument could just as easily apply to someone else. Rhodes University would then be an environment which is walked (and made) into existence and its quality of existence. In other words, everyone would be experiencing the Rhodes University which they themselves walk and get taken by all the intricacies of experience which come with the figurative and literal walking of the university (sometimes into being) as a space and place. This moment of clarity for me is the base of this research undertaking. This research undertaking looks to document most expansively the phenomenon of experiencing tertiary education institutions as places through habitually walking their ‘placeness’. In other words, the dissertation looks at habitual walking as a crucial way in which emplacement is experienced.

5.2 Being-in-the-world back to the things themselves

The natural world is the horizon of all horizons, the style of all possible styles, which guarantees for my experiences a given, not a willed, unity underlying all the disruptions of my personal and historical life. Its counterparts within me are the given, general and pre-personal existence of my sensory functions (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:330).

My approach in this research undertaking was informed by phenomenology. In the above quote is an idea of existence – mostly thought of as spatially located – as experience by every living person. The world is thought of as an ‘event’ – a dialogue, if looking for a word to better capture the idea of indefinite duration – between person and world. The person comes to the world – or rather experiences being *in* the world – as an entity (exclusively human at its base) which is there to *be* in the world as an undeniable primary fact. In other words, the individual exists first and foremost as an individual in (and with) a world – whatever this world is. Being in the world, whatever it might entail for the individual, then results in a dialogue – or even a conversation, if one is seeking words which do not insinuate numbers – between the individual and the world that is.

From reading the preamble of this chapter it should be evident that I turned my experience of the night in question into a kind of meditation on the convictions of phenomenology as a

philosophical ‘leaning’. In the preamble there is most certainly a person (starting with three people and expanding to infinity), there is a world – or even worlds (traversed most pressingly through walking, the argument goes), and there is experience (by the individuals and of the world and worlds). All of these assumed ingredients to the experience of place interact and lead to just that – the experience of the world as an emplacement of, and for, consequential (human) experience. The aim of this research undertaking is to better understand this experience of – or way of experiencing – the world. In order to do this activity of documentation and interpretation a firm base in the teachings of (existential) phenomenology is needed.

5.2.1 Existence and its (given and primary) preoccupation

All phenomenology is preoccupied with the experience of what it terms a phenomenon (see Schutz, 1967; Husserl, 1970; Heidegger, 1988; Cohen and Omery, 1994; Dowling, 2007). The experience of this phenomenon is documented and interpreted for improved understanding as the experience of a ‘thing’ referred to as a ‘lifeworld’ (see Buttimer, 1976; Ley, 1979; Wagner, 1983; Benner, 1994; Hubbard, 1996; Persson, 2007). In rather simple terms, a lifeworld is an existence/being within a particular and daily (static) progression/spectrum of events that come about as a result of the learnt and practiced manoeuvres of the individual within that lifeworld. In other words, the lifeworld is a world constructed and experienced through lifestyle. For instance, a street vendor lives in a world of their own construction in the same manner a student at a university lives their life as a student. The only difference is that the worlds are constructed differently qualitatively and channel somewhat different qualities of experience.

Phenomenology proceeds to argue about existence and how it is constructed in experience. A mainstay argument of phenomenologists is that of the experiential reality of what is termed *intentionality*. Verbeek (2008:387) argues, in the manner that many phenomenologists argue, that:

Rather than separating humans and world, the concept of intentionality makes visible the inextricable connections between them. Because of the intentional structure of human experience, human beings can never be understood in isolation from the reality in which they live. Humans are always directed toward reality. They cannot simply “think,” but they always think *something*; they cannot simply “see,” but they always see *something*; they cannot simply “feel” but always feel

something. As experiencing beings, humans cannot but be directed at the entities which constitute their world.

The above is to say that people in their existence – which is primarily spatial in character – are always looking at something (see Miller, 1984; Tye, 1997; Siewert, 1998; Horgan and Tienson, 2002; Chalmers, 2004). This looking is non-negotiable; it is, however, qualitatively different for people who are blind. For example, the street vendor is always looking in real-time at something that makes up their preoccupation – whatever the preoccupation is, in the same manner that I am currently seeing (to use Cerbone’s (2006) example), amongst other things, my pen and the marks (smudged as they are) that it makes on the page as I write this. In other words, to be alive is to be looking at something that your existence for that moment has allowed you to be conscious of.

The above-mentioned examples are only the beginning for phenomenology. Just as a person is always conscious of some ‘thing’ that is part of their experience through existence they can engage in an exercise to unpack the experience down to its essentials. This exercise is referred to as the adoption of a *phenomenological attitude* (see Bannan, 1967; Giorgi, 1983; Jardine, 1990; Adams, 1995; Moran, 2001; Abbott, 2004; Cerbone, 2006). The phenomenological attitude is that which leads to considered reflection upon the experience of the lifeworld. For example, the street vendor may notice that so-called ‘street kids’ often flock close to their stand and beg for money. The street vendor, regardless of their feelings towards this occurrence close to their stand, may accept the occurrence as a spatial reality that is unavoidable. It is only when questioned at some length that the street vendor will communicate in words that mean sense to him or her how the occurrence was as an experience within which they were a participant.

Intentionality and the phenomenological attitude are the cornerstones of phenomenology (see Moustakas, 1994; Sokolowski, 2000; Gunther, 2004; Moran, 2005; Cerbone, 2006). People are always conscious of an experience and the manner in which that experience is taken in by the concerned individual. Furthermore, Cerbone (2006:44) argues that:

Our pre-ontological understanding of being, as an ongoing engagement with, and responsiveness to, the entities we encounter, cannot be detached or understood in isolation from those very entities. Our understanding of being is always “situated”,

and phenomenology cannot, on pain of distortion and falsification, fail to attend to the ways in which our understanding is located in a broader context.

This is to say that within the phenomenology school of thought existence is thought of as contextual most importantly. The being that is subject to being is an emplaced individual of history, character, and subjectivity as some of the more consequential realities of their being.

Continuing with the street vendor example; the street vendor cannot be said to take in the experience of having ‘street kids’ begging close to their stand as someone who is not cognisant of some personal opinions, history, and experiences with regards to ‘street kids’. Ultimately, phenomenology looks at those experiences that may be taken for granted in regards to their experience as they are experienced in an everyday manner, i.e. with an assumed familiarity-cum-understanding (see Buttimer, 1976; Pollio et al., 1997; Paterson and Hughes, 1999).

Experience in the everyday sense is an experiential spatial reality of numerous ‘objects’ (or ‘events’ or ‘dialogues’ or ‘conversations’ or ‘inter-existence’) in somewhat continuous constitution (see Bannan, 1967; Zahavi, 2003; Cerbone, 2006:46). This is to say that the individual who experiences an existence-influenced experience does so as in a progression of experience that includes that experience as well as part of the experience field or selection. For example, the street vendor experiences the street kids as an experience most probably brought on by a certain time of the day. This experience is an experience which might follow the experience of people in formal attire going to (and coming from) work in the same manner as that of experiencing police people chasing away homeless people from the busy streets. This is to say that the experience is possibly one in a long line of many from the lifeworld (Buttimer, 1976:280). The experiences just so happen to be reflected upon by the individual as consequential experiences of situated existence.

For all of the above realities of existence and its experience, existential phenomenology then highlights the human body as that ‘thing’ *in* which any such experience can emanate. The argument is that it is in the body that there can be consciousness, a notion of intentionality, an experience, and the understanding and explanation of the essence of experience (see Bannan,

1967; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Buttimer, 1976; Giorgi, 1983; Pollio et al., 1997). It would be quite silly to think of experience as being that of nothing (in terms of allocation to a subject) when referring to the ‘what/who is’ question of experience. It is the human body which – no matter its condition (health or ailment of sort in its constitution) – experiences a lifeworld and is consequentially affected in turn by such experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:136; Cerbone, 2006). For instance, the street vendor is a body that is situated and experiences certain realities of its world of existence.

The body is argued as a point of view from which a person “cannot take a point of view” (Bannan, 1967:68). This is to say that the body makes points of view. The body is a sort of unmoved moving mover. Merleau-Ponty (1962:217) argues that:

Vision is a thought subordinated to a certain field, and this is what is called a sense. When I say that I have senses and that they give me access to the world..., I merely express this truth which forces itself upon reflection taken as a whole: that I am able, being connatural with the world, to discover a sense in certain aspects of being without having myself endowed them with it through constituting operation.

In other words, the view that the body perceives and thus experiences is the most pressing view that the body can and is experiencing at that point in its existence. For example, as I am sitting in a rather awkward angle as I write these words, my eyes as the perceiving parts of my body are thus conscious that they currently see what I am writing at an angle as my body as conduit of perception allows them to be. I am thinking that my handwriting could do much better if only I tried hard enough to not be writing at such an angle. Ultimately, it is the body which is there (being a) being-in-the-world, taking part in experience, and then reflecting upon the experience as a consequential one within its lifeworld.

The above-mentioned perceiving should not be confused with a constituting action of a world wherein the eyes make the world piecemeal. The perceiving is rather a conversation to be had (and always in the process of being had) with the world by the individual. This is most evident when thinking of the presence of other people within the experience of existence (Cohen, 1979; Dreyfus, 1991; Sadala and Adorno, 2002). The street vendor sees people in her lifeworld. The characterisation of perception does not mean to say that the street vendor *makes* these people with each of his or her perceptions of them. That would be ludicrous. Rather the street vendor

assumes a point of view from which, in the resultant perception field, the people labelled ‘street kids’ come into view and are experienced (Bannan, 1967: 111; Cohen and Omery, 1994). These ‘street kids’ also experience the presence of the street vendor – under the banner of whatever label the ‘kids’ individually give him or her – in the same manner of possible view point brought into view and experience.

The foregoing arguments of phenomenology do work rather well into the aims of this research undertaking. This should be especially evident when recalling the preamble of this chapter. I have already made mention that I look to understand how students experience their emplacement within their respective tertiary education institutions through walking. At its most rudimentary explanation this research undertaking is a look at how immersion within scenes of images feeds into the experience of the emplaced individual. This is to document and interpret how it is that individuals, as contextualised individuals, walk into and out of the constituent parts/scenes of their lifeworld as qualities that are either consequential or inconsequential to the overall quality of experience of site and situation. Within this broad phenomenological approach, in this thesis I am interested in particular in what it means existentially to be a walker of a tertiary education institution.

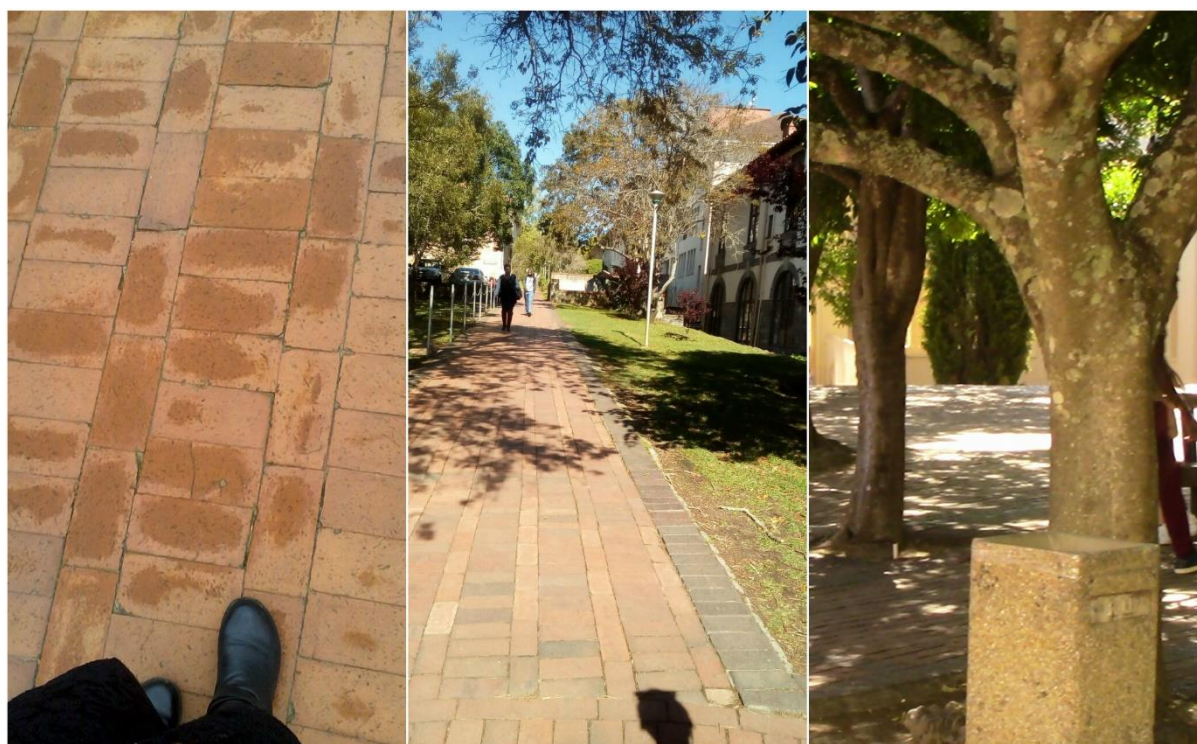
5.2.2 Talking, walking, and video-recording

This research undertaking aims to look at the activity of habitual walking as a way in which people on a university campus experience the university as a place. In order to gain the essence of this experience I had to talk to the people who actually do the habitual walking on a daily basis (see Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This is the only way to faithfully document the experience in its essence before interpreting it. According to Rubin and Rubin (2005:4):

Qualitative interviews are conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion. The researcher elicits depth and detail about the research topic by following up on answers given by the interviewee during the discussion. Unlike survey research, in which exactly the same questions are asked to each individual, in qualitative interviews each conversation is unique, as researchers match their questions to what each interviewee knows and is willing to share.

This is to say that within phenomenological studies the interview is basically that interaction between researcher and participant which is utilised to gain the essence of experience as it turns data into information (see Seidman, 1998; Fontana and Frey, 2000; Glesne, 2011; Cresswell and Poth, 2017). In my interviews I had an extended talk with each participant about their experience of emplacement. Participants communicated to me their rich information about their experience(s) (Rubin and Rubin, 2005:13).

In order to keep close to the ‘spirits’ working my dissertation I conducted my interviewing as I walked alongside the participant (see Lee and Ingold, 2006; Ross et al., 2009; Brown and Durrheim, 2009). Mobile interviewing is a form of ‘talking’ which is engaged in as both participant and researcher are in motion. In other words, I was talking to each participant as we moved upon site and situation. This should not be surprising as the aim was to extensively reflect upon site and situation with the participant. It was only fitting that the site and situation was actually walked upon during this process.



Picture 2: Pictures of participants walking around Rhodes University. All the pictures are in point-of-view style as the walk is often an experience that depends largely on the roving eye. In the first two pictures the participants have noticed parts of their bodies within the picture taken. In the last picture the participant is highlighting how the point-of-view style of taking videos can lead to certain things being obscured – the individual behind the tree being a case in point.

There are numerous advantages to this style of interviewing – especially when applied to studies of emplacement and its experience. According to Garcia et al. (2012:1395):

In a go-along interview, the researcher is able to move one step further, exploring the context with the participant in real time, with the participant in the role of expert guide explaining the meaning of the environment. A go-along interview entails embarking on a participant-guided tour of the real or virtual space within which the participant conducts his or her life.

This is to say that not only does the interview process firmly place the participant in their lived world, lifeworld, and place world, but it also goes further and makes them the expert guide through this world of differing significances. Such a dynamic of the interview process empowers the participant tremendously as yet another important phase of the interview (in this case the backdrop) is completely left to their discretion as the most fitting way to ‘unfold’ the site and situation of experience (see Anderson, 2004; Hall et al., 2008; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Brown and Durrheim, 2009:917). Ultimately, talking while walking will ensure that as much data as possible will be captured as the participants try their best to ‘unfold’ their lifeworld as one laid out in real-time for them for just this very unfolding (see Wylie, 2005, 2006).

For the interviews I used a video recorder with photograph-taking capabilities as my data collector/recorder (see Pink, 2007; Brown et al., 2008). This decision was also in line with keeping true to the aim of the project. The research undertaking was fundamentally one obsessed with walking as a way in which site and situation is unfolded. Walking is linked to viewing in a great many ways. The thought of an ‘unfolding’ is one of bit-by-bit coming to the realisation of (often connected) ‘points’ – whatever these are – being revealed as a ‘thing’ which is viewable. For instance, when one unfolds an origami bird one ends up with a piece of paper with creases that remain as evidence that one’s hands had indeed unfolded something that was once folded. The experience of emplacement is unfolded in this very way in this research undertaking. It is the essential creases and pockets of experienced folding and unfolding that I look to gain from my participants. The video and photographs act as a visual of the folding and unfolding endeavour.

For the unfolding – already done in real-time and at the concerned site and situation – to make possible rendering a thick description in terms of capturing the essence of the experience, I talked to the participants extensively about their habitual walk and its dynamics (see Wylie, 2006; Richards and Morse, 2007; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Pink, 2008). The conversations started off simply with the rather general question of where on campus does the participant walk to; and ended off with the more individualised and complicated topic of how the walk most consequentially affects the individual’s experience of emplacement as one of the more pressing ways in which site and situation is taken in as a place of meaning and subjectivity. The line of questioning is such that all aspects of habitual walking which may be thought of as contributing to some part of unfolding a place are engaged accordingly.

5.3 The participants

For this research undertaking the individuals that I walked with as part of the interviewing procedure were all students. In other words, the students were my population from which I gained a sample of ‘subjects’ for reflection upon a lifeworld. It is from the student population that I was interested in gaining insight into the experience of emplacement within the university places (see Gilson et al., 2007; Puig-Ribera et al., 2008; Speck et al., 2010). The students provided insight into the way in which placeness is experienced at Rhodes University. Above knowing that I am interested in the students’ reflections, according to Patton (1990:169):

[The] logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

This is to highlight that within the segment of the population that I had designated to be potential participants, I needed to ensure that those participants I got to interview were people who were willing to talk extensively about their experiences. It is from people who talk long and richly that more valuable information is gained for the purpose of documenting the essentials of experience. All the participants signed an Informed Consent Agreement².

² Refer to Appendix A: Informed Consent Agreement.

Once having secured the potential participants - people most willing to talk to me - I looked to ensure that these people were not coming from just one demographic group of the population (see Glaser, 1978; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Groger et al., 1999; Sandelowski, 2000). Documenting the experiences of largely similar people was not the aim of this research undertaking. My participants were therefore students who differ in terms of such personal traits as age, gender, race, schooling background, and year of study (see Coyne, 1997; Tuckett, 2004; Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). This I did with the presumption that with the differences in people and their traits I would be expanding the canvas of 'views' upon the experience of the university space as an area of 'placeness' interacting with subjectivity. In other words, I was not particularly hoping for some profound connections between biography in all its inscriptions and the experience of emplacement. Rather, I hoped to gain informationally-rich and diverse insight into the experience of emplacement.

5.3.1 Participants' introductory information

Kabomo – Kabomo is a black female third-year student from Gauteng Province studying in the Science faculty. She is the very first participant I came across. She was by the fountain area in the Administration block with her friend. I recall sharing something about a Monty Python sketch as she was looking at the fish swimming about.

Bolo – Bolo is an Asian male second year-student from East London by way of India. He studies in the Commerce faculty. He is studying towards a second degree after having obtained his first in India.

Baraka – Baraka is mixed-race female first-year student from a country within the SADC region. She is in the Humanities faculty. The way I met her was during my daily walks looking for participants. I was walking towards the English department and she was walking into the Administration block.

Binx – Binx is a black female third-year student from the Eastern Cape. She is in the Humanities faculty. Binx was referred to me by a friend who knew someone who probably

would enjoy walking about and talking about their experience of emplacement. She was the first person to agree to be interviewed by me without ever having met me before.

Armand – Armand is a black female Honours student from KwaZulu Natal. She is in the Humanities faculty. Armand was referred to me by a friend.

Manny – Manny is a black female second year student from a West African country. She is in the Science faculty. I met her at the English Department benches. She was the first person to send me back photographs of her daily walks.

Narnia – Narnia is a black male third-year student from Johannesburg by way of Zimbabwe. He is in the Commerce faculty. Narnia is an acquaintance I have known since 2016. I know him from playing soccer with him. He also was a friend of one housemate of mine in the year 2016. I had a talk with him about my research after we had just played soccer together.

Refiloe – Refiloe is a black female Master's student in the Science faculty. She is from the Limpopo province. I came across her in an accidental manner. I was in the library with the books I usually need for place studies. She probably had a glance at the books and saw the label "Human Geography". She asked me about the label as she also is in the Geography department. Luckily, months later when I suggested that she participate in my research, she was more than willing to do it.

Jane – Jane is a black female third-year student from Pretoria. She is in the Commerce faculty. I met Jane in one of her "chill spots" with her friends.

Greta – Greta is a black female Honours student in the Humanities faculty. She is from a place in-between KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape. I met her outside the post-graduates' library.

Fran – Fran is a black female Master’s student in the Humanities faculty. She is from Durban. She was referred to me by a colleague. Fran is the only student from my participants who had experienced a period since leaving school in which she was no longer a student at the university; after doing her Honours degree she had gone out to find work. She came back to Rhodes in the year 2017 for her Master’s degree.

Android – Android is a black male undergraduate student in the Humanities faculty. She is from East London and likes to highlight that he is specifically from the Mdantsane part of the town. I met him during a night out as he is known for organising recreational events for people from his residence.

5.3.2 Participants with the camera

The interviewing procedure had to include a camera with both video-recording and photograph-taking capability. I used a camcorder for my interviews because experience of emplacement is a largely visual experience for many people.³ I looked to make the interview as close as possible to a real-time reflection on emplacement and its quality. I walked with each participant along their usual transit route on campus (see Anderson, 2004; Hall et al., 2008; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). As Pole (2004:1) writes:

For most of us, the world in which we live is experienced through our capacity to see and make sense of what we see. At its most fundamental, visual research draws on our basic capacity to interpret the world through our sense of sight. In this respect, for those of us who are not in any way visually impaired visual research might be seen to be little more than something we do all the time in order to go about our everyday lives. We might also argue that all or at least the majority of social research relies on our capacity to interpret and to make sense of visual images.

I was in the field with the participants and tried to experience with them the way in which they ‘take in’ their routine environment (Pole, 2004:43). The questions I asked each participant were

³ Up to this day, some 15 years later, I still know the distinct ‘feel’ (through smell and visual) of being at Paul Sykes Primary School in Newlands West, Durban. I get this ‘feel’ through dreaming sometimes; I also get it through seeing and smelling ‘familiar’ atmospheres. Most importantly, in my dreams, Paul Sykes Primary School is as visual as it can be – still frozen in the year 2002.

in line with the relationship between routine and the experience of a place as meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space that is visual and relational⁴. Questions dealt with routine and placeness in a general manner, and themes that, initial data analysis revealed, kept reoccurring as I was going on with the interviews, as well as with the personal details of the participants. I firstly read out the questions to the participant in the beginning of the interview as a guide to what our conversation would be about, and then we merely had a talk on topics that were related to the experience of Rhodes University through routine. As we talked, I was walking and seeing the individual participant's lifeworld in real-time. Ultimately, the interview in video was an expert-guide through the placeness that is each individual's lifeworld (see Pole, 2004:58-63; Wylie, 2005).

I also utilised photographs taken by the participants in a deliberate manner. The photographs were taken to be used for further in-depth reflection. For this component of data generation I utilised a variation of the photovoice method of doing qualitative research. The photovoice method is a way to have participant voices captured alongside a collection of photographs of significance taken by the participants throughout their lifeworld (see Pole, 2004; Gubrium and Harper, 2013:69). In other words, participants take photographs of spaces/places of significance to them within their everyday world and then communicate with the researcher(s) what they see as the significance of the features captured on camera.

Photovoice is normally utilised for research undertakings which are related to a community and for policy aims and implications. For my research undertaking photovoice's anchoring tenets were utilised for the extended reflection upon areas of significance within the routinely traversed placeness lifeworld of each participant. Each participant was asked to take photographs whenever they felt like it during our walk. There was no lower limit for the amount of photographs taken during the interview procedure. There was, however, the upper limit of 25 photographs in the event that the individual participant felt the need to take as many as that number of photographs as spaces/places of significance. I did this restriction to 25 without a lower limit because I did not wish to put pressure on the participants to take photographs even when needless just in order to reach the minimum as arbitrarily prescribed.

⁴ Refer to Appendix B: Interview Questions.

I was not particularly strict on the photograph-taking because I wanted the project to be owned as much as possible by the individual participants (Gubrium and Harper, 2013:79). The project was literally in the hands (and eyes) of the participants. I was to simply listen in on the participants' thoughts on their lifeworlds and then discuss with them their experiences of the daily environment through the routine walks that they take from foot to foot and place to place.

5.3.3 Confidentiality

Conducting qualitative research involves the handling of a lot of data. This data makes the research report because it basically illustrates who gave what information during what event of interviewing. Over the years, the handling of data has had to be subject to numerous rules and guidelines for adherence to best practices (see Ramos, 1989; Orb et al., 2001; Lahman et al., 2015:446). Data is to be handled in such a manner that its handling is ethical.

For this research undertaking I assured the participants during their signing of the Informed Consent Agreement that their identities would be obscured somehow. I sought to do this because it is never known who actually gets to see the data that I present in the final report and how that individual may use the data seen (refer to Van den Hoonaard, 2003:143; Lahman et al., 2015). To obscure the identities of the participants I simply gave them pseudonyms that are known only by myself. I did not wish to do more than giving the participants pseudonyms. I was aware that the participants would have to reflect on actual features within the university space and the actuality of the features and emotions attached to them would only be known and felt intensely through making their actual identity known.

In handling the information that I had collected, I also had to ensure that the identifying data was seen just by myself (Orb et al., 2001:95; Murphy and Dingwall, 2003). Losing transcripts because of negligence can be catastrophic because it can lead to whoever gets the transcript – no matter their intentions with the transcript – knowing who said what. This is why even during the transcription phase I use pseudonyms so that were information to somehow leak I would still not give away who said what. As already stated, the interviews were captured on video

and I used YouTube to transcribe it. In using YouTube I ensured that the videos were made private so that it was only myself who could view the videos. I also deleted the videos after the transcription was done.

Ultimately, in handling the participants' particulars I had to make sure that their true identities were safely obscured no matter the circumstances that may come. What I mean here is that the pseudonyms had to be obviously fake yet refer to general titles. For instance, most people know what 'Narnia' is. However, they have no way of knowing who 'Narnia' is. The aim was to give pseudonyms that are general so that they gave the appearance that they could apply to anyone. These pseudonyms were in transcripts while the videos in which they were not used were kept in a secure location wherein they were seen just by myself. At the same time as giving such pseudonyms and stopping access to video footage, however, I had to keep actual feature names because the reflections are directed to actual features that most people within the space should know.

5.3.4 The interview engaged

When coding In Vivo, I was coding for parts of data which were speaking directly to the experience of placeness through the alternates of movement, rest, and encounter. What I mean here is that I was coding those parts of the data which dealt specifically with the questions I had asked and I dealt with them in ways which sometimes engaged the theory and greater literature which had encouraged my questioning (refer to Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003; Charmaz, 2006; Saldana, 2013). Such coding seeks to lay out the data which might help with unpacking the anchors of the theory utilised and how this theory will at points be experienced as a lived experience.

There is also the need to sometimes count the codes which have come out of the data so as to see their utility in tracing out the overall experience of a phenomenon (see Friese, 2012:73). Since I was using In Vivo Coding for the transcripts, from the initial coding of just 2 transcripts (participants Kabomo and Baraka) I ended up with some 242 unique codes. This number is relatively high for a codes' selection (refer to Gibbs, 2002; Lichtman, 2012:194; Cresswell and

Poth, 2017). These codes were dealing with the various ways in which the participants were reflecting upon the phenomenon as I asked of them through my questioning. The total number of pages I had coded was 314.

It is important to note that with each passing transcript that is coded, the total unique number of codes added decreases (refer to MacQueen, 2009:218; Saldana, 2013). The transcripts were edited so as to have remaining untouched just those parts of the transcripts infused with codes (see Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Rallis and Rossman, 2003; Grbich, 2007; Cresswell, 2013). What I mean here is that from the data coded progressively there is a decreasing increment of new codes which cannot be directly connected back to some prior codes. It is often helpful here to keep a memo book so as to document instances wherein there might be the mirroring of certain codes through the participants' reflections. Under such circumstances it is wise to then proceed to the operation of making categories out of collected codes.

Categories are developed from data when the data can -- through its coding -- be grouped. What I mean here is that the codes within the transcripts can be argued to be dealing with a similar topic. For example, a paragraph with such In Vivo codes as "need to start familiarising," and "feeling slightly nostalgic," would fall under the categories "Familiarity" and "Residence" respectively⁵. This is because the In Vivo codes' selection is here arguing for familiarity in such a way that it also looks at how residence has affected its very experience. From the categorising – the further reduction of the data from codes to categories -- I ended up with 13 categories⁶.

Categorising the data allowed me to look at how the participants reflected on a topic. In other words, the participants' reflections ended up having a sort of collection of mixtures of categories that will sometimes be the same and thus can be thought of as discussing similar instances -- from different participants -- of the essence of reflection (refer to Lincoln and Guba, 1985:347; Denzin and Lincoln, 2002; Bernard, 2011). For instance, the combinations of

⁵ Refer to Appendix C: Categories Emerging

⁶ Refer to Appendix D: Categories and Definitions

categories that are “Familiarity + Time + Contest” from both the participants Kabomo and Greta are closely related as they are made up of codes discussing a similar experience.

I then re-read the reflections as coded and categorised. I returned to the concerned quotes in their entirety to read them again and again (refer to Poland, 1995; Wolcott, 1999:13). I did this so that I could see the utility of categorising a reflection in a particular manner. This also allowed me to see how exactly a particular reflection was communicated to me and in such a way I was able to see how similar or dissimilar reflections are -- sometimes looking at mirrored mixtures of codes to see whether they do or do not really discuss an experience in the same manner.

I then engaged in second cycle coding whereby I now looked to reflections from all the transcripts which might have been the same or closely related mixtures of categories and from this I highlighted further the way in which the essence of an experience was being communicated to me by the participants (see Bazeley, 2009; Saldana, 2013:213) – essentially, participants’ reflections were being coagulated into themes. What I mean here is that the mixtures of categories were such that the reflections could be separated so as to be visible as different ways of talking about a particular category (refer to Dey, 1999:70; Charmaz, 2006). For instance, the category mixtures “Aesthetics + Residence + Contest” and “Aesthetics + Comparison” are two ways in which aesthetics are engaged by the participants. In the former instance the participants are talking about contestation over aesthetics whereas in the latter the participants are talking about comparisons of aesthetics.

This procedure yielded nine main themes and 12 subthemes. These nine main themes and 12 subthemes were the main ways in which the essence of experience was communicated by the participants (Charmaz, 2006:54). Within these themes there were obviously subthemes as these were brought about through the earlier categorisation which in essence was a highlighting of how a reflection was experienced by the participant communicating it to me (refer to Saldana, 2013:213).

Table 11: Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Subtheme
Aesthetics	Comparative Aesthetic
	Aesthetic Contestation
People	Social interaction and signalling
	Social interaction and social connections
Safety	Comparative Safety
Routine	
Walking	Point A to point B
	Convenience
	Notice
Familiarity	Locational Familiarity
	Residence-based familiarity
Comfort	Comfort and the built environment
	Comfort and the people environment
Attachment	
At Homeness	

Themes and subthemes as emerging from the coding of data.

Lastly, in dealing with the coded quotes, I decided on which quotes to include in the analysis chapters as exemplar quotes – quotes in the words of the participants which would best exemplify the argument under construction. The quotes were proceeding from those with the least number of themes and categories within single reflections to those with the most number of themes and categories. In total I had 57 pages of this progression of quotes from least complex to more complex. I included in the dissertation those quotes which I felt captured most effectively the essences of reflection.

The last procedure I did with the essences of the experience as communicated through themes was to examine the themes through the lens of one of the theories that I was using to look at

the overall experience of place. The themes proved to be rather susceptible to being aggregated under the theorising of the place ballet. I was able to group the results of the inductive processes of data coding under the place ballet anchors of movement, rest, and encounter. This allowed for a more well-structured analysis. For instance, under the place ballet concept of “movement” I could easily put the themes Routine, Familiarity, and Walking as they were closely related to the idea of Movement as advanced by David Seamon.

Ultimately, the interviews were engaged extensively through detailed processes of qualitative data coding. These rigorous processes allowed me to highlight the anchors of experience as communicated by the participants. In other words, coding was a way to lay out the different parts in which the experience was taken in and understood by the individual participant experiencing it. From such an operation the essences are laid bare in their most truthful manner, allowing me to better document and appreciate the essence of the experience of Rhodes University as a place through the alternating realities of movement, rest, and encounter as so influenced by routine walking.

5.3.5 Rigour and trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of qualitative research is achieved by being transparent about the processes and procedures by which conclusions are drawn (see Lincoln, 1995; Seale, 1999; Mays and Pope, 2000; Golafshani, 2003; Yin, 2013). Such quality is achieved through always reflecting upon the methods and procedures that are involved in data collection and analyses so as to be as truthful as possible to the received data-cum-information and the most authentic interpretation of collected data (see Sandelowski, 1993; Thomas and Magilvy, 2011). For this research undertaking it is the intimations of Lincoln and Guba (1985) which are taken as crucial to ensuring rigour within the qualitative study. The criteria for improved trustworthiness of studies includes “(a) truth value, (b) applicability, (c) consistency, and (d) neutrality”. It is in the realisation of these four determinants of quality within a qualitative study that its trustworthiness is greatly improved.

In its simplest representation, for research findings to exhibit truth value they have to be identifiable by someone who did not participate in the research – someone not within the study must be able to actually imagine the reflection as being a probable experiential reality (Krefting, 1991:215). This individual must feel that whatever the participant has said at that particular point is basically a moment lived (or able to be lived) in their own life. For example, say an individual is explaining how they love campus when it is raining and what they love about it under such weather: whoever reads this and identifies with the exact thought – if not a close variation of it – is contributing to its truth value. Ultimately, a study about people should capture the thoughts and imagination of exact people – should resonate with human experience in a believable way.

Beyond capturing the thoughts and imaginations of people not in the study, those people within the study must also find areas in which they too share experiences closely (Krefting, 1991; 216-217; De Chesnay, 2014). This is basically the aggregation of essences as experiences which are instigated by the shared site and situation of much of the same visual representation, yet of different subjectivities. In other words, as sites and situations are often of people, meaning, and subjectivity, the more alike these amalgamations of the experiences of the animate atop the inanimate, the more resemblance there should be in terms of overall quality of place experience and its determinants. Ultimately, research findings should point towards some convergence in the experiences of more or less similar environments.

As a researcher I have to take the data as given by my participants and also interpret it as closely as can be to how it was given (see Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Saldana, 2009). The data analysis phase of the research undertaking, although sometimes lauded as the phase for creativity (Glaser and Strauss, 1999), does not mean that I should force my own interpretations and biases into the analysis (see Patton, 1990; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Bradley et al., 2007; Grbich, 2012). The data-cum-information takes me to its own part of the utilised theory and broader literature. Furthermore, the participants are selected randomly, although purposively, so as to ensure that the sample is not so skewed as to be as close to as possible to a useless documentation of experience and its dynamics (see Marshall, 1996; Sandelowski, 2000; Barbour, 2001; Teddlie and Yu, 2007). Ultimately, I have to put in motion

strategies which ensure restricted creativity and considered selection. These two manoeuvres ensure a faithfully interpreted picture of the lifeworld and its scenes of experience.

All the above-mentioned adopted manoeuvres during the research undertaking ensure the improved quality of a study. As a package to ensure quality they have contributed to the increased conviction from myself as researcher that the findings as presented in this study are as close as possible to the clearest and most illustrative picture of the essences of experiencing site and situation through habitually walking it that I could have hoped to provide.

5.3.6 Limitations of research design

This dissertation can be alleged to run the risk of having two possible limitations. Firstly, theorists may argue that the sample could have been more varied as the research participants are all students and at the same university (see Marshall, 1996; Sandelowski, 2000; Barbour, 2001). However, samples could always be made more varied on any study. Some people may think that this state of affairs may mean that the sample is relatively homogenous. However, I did look to get students who are of differing ages, genders, and all other forms of demographics (Chasan-Taber, 2014:246). Furthermore, the research is not about the participant demographics but is about participant experiences – these experiences most likely being informed by the individuals’ demographics (see Atieno, 2009; Chasan-Taber, 2014; Theofanidis and Fountouki, 2018). Theorists who often highlight a sample’s relative sameness often look to make the leap to demographics being most directly consequential to the constructs of an experience. However, in qualitative research, such a leap can never be made.

The above-mentioned state of affairs of samples being alleged as relatively limited in variety is connected to the next alleged limitation which a study such as mine is often labelled as risking. This second argument is that a sample taken from just one location may be limited in that it is just that one location (Atieno, 2009:11). It is true, my research was ultimately conducted just at Rhodes University alone as being an experience. However, the research undertaking did not look to make Rhodes University representative of the rest of the country’s and world’s universities. Rhodes University is purely incidental. The research could have been

done at any other university in the world. The research is about the specific experiences of specific habitually-walking individuals at a specific university that are consequentially informed by the specific life experiences of those very individuals and how they make sense of their world (see Atieno, 2009; Chasan-Taber, 2014; Theofanidis and Fountouki, 2018). The dissertation does such a documentation relatively well. The readers of the dissertation should read with the aim of etching out the soundness and likelihood of the experiences being of appeal to some people (see Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1999; De Chesnay, 2014). The reader will either have or not have the same constructions of experiences of place. Perhaps the reader will have a quality not the exactly the same as the participants and not in the binary choice of ‘does or does not’ (refer to Turley et al., 2016: 3). That is allowed. However, there are people (my participants in this case) who have such experiences and for the reasons outlined in the participant quotes under the analysis section. This is the best way in which to read the dissertation, i.e. read it with the appreciation that it is simply a documentation of experience that is constructed as argued by the participants who agreed to reflect upon their experience for the purposes of this dissertation (Theofanidis and Fountouki, 2018: 161).

5.4 Conclusion

This research undertaking was a project of both personal and academic interest. The research undertaking was a look at the experience of ‘placeness’ through routinely walking a place allowing for experience of movement, rest, and encounter. From the simplicity of looking at a friend walking the same path as myself I looked to design an undertaking that focused on the experience of meaning-infusing and meaning-infused spaces that are frequented by – and thus often familiar to – the individual. To document this qualitative reality of place experience I sought to re-enact the everyday place that each individual qualitatively experiences when he or she is at Rhodes University. I walked with individuals on their usual routes within Rhodes University and asked them questions to elucidate more the manner in which Rhodes University as a place is most consequentially experienced. I looked to focus on both the visual and the relational reality of Rhodes University in the negotiation of the relationship between individual and place. From the reflections by the participants of the research I then constructed what I believe to be the essences of the experience of the placeness of Rhodes University seen through the lens of the features of what is termed the place ballet.

Chapter Six: Movement – Part One of the Place Ballet

6.1 Introduction

Well, my experience of Rhodes is not that interesting. I mean, I have the same routine almost all the time. I go to the very same place almost every day. I walk everywhere (chuckle), I see same places but in a very different way, I must say, in regards to how people take pictures and then I'm able to see that 'oh yeah this is really that place, just that they found a different way in taking it'. Yeah. I don't know, I think my experience of Rhodes is very interesting, but it's not interesting in the way that....I don't know how to explain it. The thing is...I can't reflect...I can't really express it...I can't expand on it because I'm saying it's not interesting in the way that I have the same routine walks and all that but it's very interesting in the way that like social life is nice and I learn new things almost every day. So that makes life interesting everything. Other than that, life at Rhodes is...it's normal. I don't know. I'm really contradicting myself. I really don't know how to explain it (chuckle). (Binx, Interview)⁷.

Walking is a dwelling in motion (see Solnit, 2001:59; Wylie, 2005:239; Sheller and Urry, 2006:212; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008; Middleton, 2010). People walk their place into being. Through walking a particular place, individuals get a better sense for that place as that of their consequential emplacement (refer to Wunderlich, 2008:3; Edensor, 2010:71; Vergunst, 2010:377). Whatever the quality of the experience of emplacement is, people grow to have a consequential relationship with those areas they have been emplaced in and experience through the activity of walking (see De Certeau, 1984:26; Lund, 2002: 304; Butler, 2006; Pinder, 2011).

Movement is the phase of David Seamon's place ballet that is the direct translation for walking (Seamon, 1979:32). The main focus of this research undertaking is routine walking and how it is the way in which the environment (site and situation) is experienced most consequentially. There is a vast collection of literature on movement as a way in which placeness is experienced

⁷ Within the quoted extracts from participant interviews there are stylistic additions by me that are done to indicate something within the communicated reflection. For example; the ellipsis "[...]" – in brackets or not in brackets – indicate a noticeable reflective pause in a participant's reflection – a pause to think of how to proceed with the sentence; the bracketed reference to laughter "[chuckle]" indicates a participant doing just that, i.e. a short outburst of laughter; and lastly, the capitalised expressions "[XXXXX]" – often just a single word or a succession of words – indicate a participant raising their voice for that particular word or succession of words.

(refer to Stevenson, 1924:23; De Certeau, 1984:47; Frandin et al., 1991; Ingold, 2004:328; Lorimer, 2011). What is often consistent throughout the literature is that movement upon place and space ends up as a dwelling in motion (refer to Ingold and Vergunst, 2008:56; Middleton, 2010:576). This is to say that people, although in movement for most of the time upon site and situation, find movement as one of the more consequential ways in which emplacement is experienced.

Edward Relph's argument for what it is that makes place -- his triangle of people-action-place -- sees movement as people engaged in action within a space that grows to be of meaning (Relph, 1976:10). The people (participants) engage in an action (routine walking) upon a space (places such as Rhodes University). This movement is simply one of the ways in which people firmly place themselves within a meaning-infused and meaning-infusing site and situation for worthwhile spatial experience.

To David Seamon movement can be argued as an inalienable part of all existence. According to Seamon (1979:33):

Movement is an enduring phenomenon in nature. At all scales in the natural world, things and living forms are involved in constant and periodic motion. Continents are slowly displaced by interior earth forces, bulks of soil and rocks are moved by the action of water, wind, and gravity; seeds are transported far from their place of origin; flocks of birds migrate long distances in time with the seasons.

This is to say that most animate (and inanimate) features of the world are prone to movement. There are dynamics which cause most things to move and be movable. People, animals, water, wind, etc. all have a time for movement. It is through movement that the placeness of Rhodes University is unfolded as an everyday reality of a particular character.

Seamon focuses on the movement of people within the place ballet. People move so as to navigate the site and situation within which they are emplaced (Seamon, 1979:33; De Certeau, 1984; Frandin et al., 1991; Solnit, 2001; Wylie, 2005; Middleton, 2009:1945). Such mobility is thus one of the three ways in which the placeness of Rhodes University is experienced. Drawing on this interpretation, the chapter argues that the experience of Rhodes University's

placeness through the activity of everyday walking is at its very base a transactional experience (refer to Wylie, 2006:523; Bridge, 2013:306). In other words, it is an experience that puts individual and environment into a mutually affecting relationship that determines overall placeness experience.

To say that the experience of Rhodes University's placeness is at its base a transactional experience is to firmly place its experience in the arguments of phenomenology (see Husserl, 1970; Tilley, 1994; Heidegger, 1996:50; Merleau-Ponty, 1968, 1996; Lopez and Willis, 2004; Delmar, 2006; Van Manen, 2007) and spatial pragmatism (see Dewey, 1938; McDermott, 1973; Strauss, 1987; Rowles, 1990; Sullivan, 2000; Wylie, 2005; Bridge, 2013). Within such traditions the individual experiences placeness (or any experience for that matter) through being in a relationship of experience with a place and this relationship being co-constitutive to both place and individual (refer to Wylie, 2006:521; Bridge, 2013:309). This relationship to place is under the influence of what the individual and placeness bring to the experience. Ultimately, how people experience placeness is customized to their interaction with placeness as both subject each other qualitatively for the experience of placeness.

The argument I am making in this chapter of analysis – an argument with much in common with the other chapters of analysis – is that the experience of Rhodes University's placeness through movement is an experience of placeness through location and idea-bound localised action that encourages a particular relationship between an individual and placeness. When making such an argument it is important to think of movement as localised currently reflexive and future reflective traversal of part of placeness. What I mean here is that the activity of movement upon placeness places an individual within a part of placeness and in such placing encourages a particular view of what the part of placeness is and might be experience-wise for the individual who in many cases has previously been within that particular part of placeness. The individual then grows to have a particular idea of what movement within the area might entail. This is how movement is localised so that areas are laden with expected, already had, and currently being-had experiences that are constantly being engaged each time there is movement upon them.



Picture 3: Binx states that, “I walk everywhere”. The participant is here speaking on walking as a way in which they get to experience most of Rhodes University’s placeness (Middleton, 2009:1944).

Three main themes emerged from the interpretation of the descriptions provided by participants in this study concerning how Rhodes University’s placeness is experienced by way of movement through the campus. These are: routine, walking dynamics, and notions of familiarity. Firstly, in referring to movement and routine the participants were connecting their movement activity with an alleged routine that they have grown to adopt upon placeness. Secondly, the participants spoke about the action of walking upon placeness. Here the participants were focusing on walking as the mode of navigation within placeness and how this mode was an important way in which to establish and interrogate relations between the individual and the site and situation. Lastly, the participants spoke of movement and familiarity. Here the participants were speaking on their spatial knowledge of Rhodes University’s placeness and how this knowledge is experienced most consequentially through the action of walking.

6.2 Routine

It is a routine at Rhodes. You wake up at this time, lectures at this time, tuts at this time, eat at this time plus after that, after 6:00 p.m., you come back to campus. because I know one of my friends was like, "If I don't work at this time, like I'm

already stressed" coz like I mean it has been built in it that okay at this time I'm supposed to be doing this mm-hmm so if she wakes up and then she deviates from that routine, she feels guilty. I mean she...it's like she's set a time for herself to like, "okay from this time to this time I can procrastinate, from this time to this time I must just study". I'm like, 'is that even how it's supposed to work. Coz like sometimes I just take things as they come as nature brings them. Yeah so I'm just like so if I want to study, because I usually don't study on Friday, but sometimes if I feel like I must study on Friday, I WILL study on Friday. But then it's not like I have set a timetable for when I do either this or that around this or that time. (Narnia, Interview).

The participants' reflections upon routine and placeness were engaged as a way in which Rhodes University is for them a site and situation with its own requirements seen from the perspective of the inhabitants and dwellers. The placeness of Rhodes University is thus experienced through specific routines that are customized to – and customize – individual experience.

Routine can be summed up as a repetition of activity upon a place and its placeness (refer to Rowles, 2000:53; Clark, 2000:126; Seamon, 2002:44). Routine is how the individual is occupied within a place's placeness. According to the theorist Florence Clark (2000:127):

Routine may be thought of as a structure through which occupation is organized, and occupations (both habitual and nonhabitual), in turn, can be thought of as the building blocks of one kind of routine, daily routines. Daily routines are defined as the relatively fixed temporal patterns of sequenced occupations in which one participates during a typical day.

People see place through the repeated actions that they engage in during their dwelling in, and engagement with, a place. These repeated actions and preoccupations are what makes the place what it is to its dwellers as people entangled in activity (Rowles, 2000:54; Seamon, 2002:46). People grow to know place and its placeness experience through the people-place relationship being anchored on routine and where this routine takes the individual, thus manifesting as *their* Rhodes University.

It is through routine that emplacement is consequentially experienced (Seamon, 1979:27; Alexander, 1987; Rowles, 1990). Routine can be thought of as related to habit. That which is

routine becomes (or is) habitual (see Rowles, 2000; Cutchin, 2007). This is because the two are merely the progression of a particular configuration of preoccupation. According to Rowles (2000:52):

Over the duration of our lives, we each develop a rhythm and a routine in our use of space and in our relationships with the places of our lives that provide a sense of being in place. We gradually come to wear our environment like a glove, as, with increasing familiarity, it almost literally becomes a part of our persona. As we grow older or become increasingly frail, we adapt to reduced physical capabilities and changes in our environment in a manner that allows us to continue functioning effectively.

People adopt a lasting outlook and set of preoccupations in relation to the environment within which they are emplaced. This way of being is how the individual is constantly doing and being within the preoccupation of being a particular way within the realities of emplacement. In other words, individuals allow for themselves to adopt particular dispositions within place and its placeness realities. This way of being is the main way in which a place is experienced so long as the habits and routines persist.

David Seamon writes of routine as entanglement within the everyday. According to Seamon (1979:56):

Time-space routines automatically appropriate activities through time and are an essential aspect of everyday life. They maintain a continuity in our lives, allowing us to do automatically in the present what we have done in the past. Time-space routines, together with body ballets, manage the habitual, repetitive aspects of life. They free our conscious attention for other eventful endeavours. On the other hand, time-space routines make it difficult to break or modify because people grow attached to them and forget that life could be otherwise.

People adopt a particular way of relating and experiencing placeness as the world. People become entangled in ways of acting that can be argued to qualitatively be the same yet under sometimes changing realities. What I mean here is that people can do the same thing repetitively yet under differing circumstances. This doing of something ends up being that particular individual's way of experiencing placeness as that which he or she is in a relational enveloping interaction with. In other words, placeness is unpacked in the interaction between

place and individual as the event of experiencing placeness has been set in motion through the experiential reality of site and situation with individual and experience.

The opening quote from Narnia attests to the adoption of routine within Rhodes University's placeness. Narnia is here highlighting the effects of routine that he has experienced upon the experience of Rhodes University's placeness. Routine is seen to envelop the individual within a particular way of movement and action upon Rhodes University's placeness. This enveloping ends up being one of the more consequential ways in which placeness is experienced. It is also an enveloping that occurs within the happenings of the particular placeness. For instance, an individual is caught within a routine that requires the acknowledgement of other things which occur within the place – things such as traffic levels and requirements to be within particular places at particular times.

Armand reflects in a similar manner to Narnia when he states that:

It's actually hard to get into a routine because each day is different. On some days I have three lectures that are spread out. On some days I have FOUR lectures that are squashed together. The next day there'll be four lectures spread out. The next day they'll be two lectures and tuts in between. There'll be tut after tut. And sometimes a lecture will be followed by a tut. So, it's difficult to then fall into routine. And we'll be given test dates. You kinda have to like develop your own routine. I kinda have been making use of my alternative lecture. So, I try to have them close together so in the case where an alternative is closer to my lecture so I will attend those and then do some work afterwards. And then if a lecture is close to a tut, I will try to find an alternative so that they are further apart. If not, then I'll try to find an alternative for another lecture so I have time to rest in between. (Armand, Interview).

The way Narnia and Armand reflect upon routine within Rhodes University's placeness is in effect that of finding a way to plug themselves into particular scenes of placeness amidst the requirements to be within particular places at particular times. According to Pred (1984:282-283):

Within any given place certain institutional projects are dominant in terms of the demands they make upon the limited time resources of the resident population and the influence they therefore exert upon what is doable and knowable. Or, certain institutional projects are dominant in terms of the impact they have on the daily paths and life paths of specific people and, therefore, upon the details of individual

consciousness development and socialization. Such dominant projects usually structure daily paths by taking time-allocation and scheduling precedence over both other institutional projects and projects undertaken alone outside of any institutional context. Moreover, dominant projects do not simply influence the sequence and pace of the other projects that participants find possible to include within their daily paths. In addition, once a person has made a commitment to partake in any project at a given time and site several constraints take affect. It becomes impossible to do something else simultaneously elsewhere. It becomes impossible to join any spatially separate, earlier-starting activity whose termination occurs subsequent to the start of the project in question. It becomes impossible to join any spatially separate, later-finishing activity whose beginning occurs prior to the finish of the project in question. It becomes impossible to join any other spatially separate project that presents no simultaneity conflicts but is beyond reach because of travel-time requirements.

Thus, the experience of placeness through routine is experiencing placeness through being within particular places at particular times and in such a manner being in a position to experience whatever qualitative reality comes up within the occupied part of placeness. In other words, the adoption of routine must -- by virtue of its adoption -- be cognitive of the sort of site and situation it is within and how it fares as a preoccupation within such a placeness.

Narnia and Armand, beyond simply imagining what routine over Rhodes University's placeness would be like, go on to look at the instances of routine in their own experiences of Rhodes University as site and situation. Narnia and Armand agree on the alleged person-and-utility-specific adoption of routine. In other words, it is the individual person who choses routine as a way to experience placeness. This adoption of routine is a choice which will have dividends as to the experience of placeness as either a person in routine or a person not in routine (see Relph, 1976:29; Corbin, 1999; Swartz, 2002). Placeness realities are experienced while in the throes of routine and habit.

The way Narnia speaks of it, the adoption of routine may end up being a restrictive way of experiencing Rhodes University's placeness (refer to Barfield, 1979:75-76). Armand cannot speak on the adoption of routine since he has not had the chance to adopt it. However, what is consistent between the reflections by Narnia and Armand is that routine remains a manner in which to be within Rhodes University's placeness as someone often engaged in a largely unchanging mixture of preoccupations within time and space within the site and situation (see

Seamon, 1979:56; Sullivan, 2000). The habits and routine continue being the way an environment is taken in amidst preoccupation with what might be more pressing during the time. According to Clark (2000:128):

Habits are the relatively automatic things a person thinks or does repeatedly. Routines, in contrast, are a type of higher-order habit that involves sequencing and combining processes, procedures, steps, or occupations. Routines specify what a person will do and in what order and therefore constitute a mechanism for achieving given outcomes and an orderly life.

The disposition towards the everyday – a disposition which manages to be repeated as it ends up being preferred – becomes highly influential when looking at the experience of placeness. This disposition will actually become the main way in which placeness is experienced. These person-based and inspired preoccupations (sometimes repeated and sometimes not repeated) become (and make what is) Rhodes University's placeness experience.

Routine then, is the manner in which placeness is experienced as often repeated preoccupation within placeness and its realities. This repeated preoccupation is of some actions (in movement or in rest) which have grown to be appropriated ways in which the particular individual experiences being in placeness (Pred, 1984:279). In other words, placeness is experienced by the individual in a sort of transaction-based manner wherein the individual invigorates only those realms of placeness that their adopted manner of experiencing place (whether it is through routine or not through routine) allows them to experience as the placeness of place (Bridge, 2013:306). Rhodes University is ultimately Rhodes University sometimes within routine and sometimes not within routine. This qualitative reality of the experience of Rhodes University's placeness is highly influential to the overall thought and experience, by the individual, of the quality of the experience of placeness that can and may be had. The routine probability therefore ends up being one of the more important considerations and thoughts on how Rhodes University as a placeness can be experienced and why it can be experienced in such a manner.

6.3 Walking

The participants of the research did dwell extensively on what can only be thought of as the anchoring realities of the walks that are often engaged in within Rhodes University's placeness. Walking is a way in which placeness is consequentially experienced. From the reflections by the participants it was important to note that the location where an individual walks and how they walk within that very location is crucial to the overall experience of placeness as a form of 'dwelling-in-motion' (Sheller and Urry, 2006:214).

The crucial experiential reality to note about walking is that historically it puts the individual in a (co-constitutive) relationship with placeness. According to Wunderlich (2008:1):

As an inescapable part of our everyday lifeworld, walking is an embodied practice with specific lived qualities. It is also a mode of experiencing place and the city, and in this context is an aesthetic and insightful spatial practice. Through everyday walking we develop a sense of (and for) place. The everyday practices of walking vary in their purpose, pace and rhythm, and nurture more or less creative and more or less critical relationships to urban space.

Walking is in all its essence movement upon placeness in such a way that in this movement there is the experience of said placeness under the influence of a walk that is firmly emplaced on placeness and its realities (refer to Edensor, 2010:69-70). Walking by the participants is an inescapable experiential reality of being within placeness. It is through walking that the individuals move from place to place within placeness.

In other words, walking is a way of movement which will take into consideration all these realities of the emplaced individual (and personal subjectivity related to walking as movement upon environment) and make of the placeness of place whatever the combination of realities consequential enough to inform overall placeness experience ultimately determine the alleged placeness experience to be. In short, walking as movement upon placeness is subject to particular realities which inform consequentially how placeness is ultimately experienced as a person is within (and with) placeness (refer to Sheller and Urry, 2006:213). People walk between and within the (sometimes meaning-infused) spaces that make up a place.

The participants reflected on their walking through (and of) placeness in numerous ways. The participants spoke of walking as movement from point A to point B. Here the participants reflected on themselves as movers who are in (sometimes) directed movement upon site and situation. The participants also spoke of walking and its convenience.

6.3.1 Walking from point A to point B

Yeah. Absolutely. Yeah. I don't have a car. (chuckle). So.....so... the only way I can get from point A to B is to walk. So that....that's how I feel like I've learnt about this place. For me that's how I...I need to be present in that specific area to...to INTERACT with it and not be 'Oh! I'm in my room but I kinda can still see the library so I'm interacting with the library'. I kind of need to be specifically there to see whether I...I feel comfortable OR NOT. I mean I'm not much of a social person. So, I would probably come to a place, sit down and observe. I won't be like 'hey! Hi!' to everyone. I'm not that person. I just mind my own business; Keep my own space within the grander space and see what I get from the actual space, how I feel about the space. So...yeah. (Kabomo, Interview).

Walking as a way to move between two points upon placeness is one of the more immediate ways of experiencing placeness (see De Certeau, 1984; Ewing et al., 2005:238; Vergunst, 2010:378). This walking between and within places is a sort of ritual that moves the individual from point to point upon and within placeness. According to Edensor (2010:70):

The speed, pace and periodicity of a habitual journey produce a stretched-out, linear apprehension of place shaped by the form of a footpath or pavement. Serial features install a sense of spatial belonging, including the shops and houses passed – the street furniture – and routinised practices such as the purchase of the daily newspaper enfold social relations into the daily ritual. The daily apprehension of routine features may thus provide a comforting reliability and mobile homeliness. Through walking, a distinct embodied material and sociable 'dwelling-in-motion' emerges.

An individual makes their place experience through being exposed to particular placeness realities that are part and parcel of the sort of movement that is engaged in through walking between and within placeness. In other words, the individual – in walking between and within points upon place – ends up with an activity field that is their movement upon placeness. This movement image is how the individual knows the placeness realities of the place within which he or she is emplaced and engaged in the routine movement between points within said place.

The reflection above from Kabomo is indicative of the manner in which walking is an integral part of the experience of movement upon Rhodes University. The walking itself allows an individual to be within (and be moving between) points of overall placeness of the environment. This movement within particular points of placeness allows the individual to experience those points of placeness as having particular realities. The particular realities of points of placeness are under the influence of numerous things that may or may not be invigorated by the movement that passes and will sometimes stop within a particular point. In other words, the points that the individual is moving through are subject to their own determining realities – realities such as activities consistent with just those areas – that consequentially determine the experience of walking within, between, and through the particular area.



Picture 4: Kabomo stated that, “The only way I can get from point A to point B is to walk”. Here the participant is highlighting the walk as a way in which the individual gets to be within spaces within greater place (Wunderlich, 2008:3).

The participant Refiloe highlights the phenomenological reality of what consequentially informs the walking between points of placeness for her when she argues that:

I think they [places walked to] had more to do with where I stayed and my interests at the time. For instance, in first and second year I stayed in New House. So my

movements were mainly around New House, dining hall -- which was Smuts, that vicinity, lecture place, and then the furthest -- Church. I go to Every Nation -- which used to be HP [His People], so that's when I knew of uh...the Music Department and the Environmental Science Department. If it wasn't for that, I would have never gone towards that direction. So, it's most...it's more like, yeah, places of interest. And then after res, I moved into digs. It was down High Street. So now my movements became from my place towards campus. And even on campus, like limited places. Just places of learning, my lecture venues and then I'd go home. And going to church I wouldn't use that music route. There was no need. I'd use another route. So, during the two years that I stayed on High Street, I don't think I went to...towards...I think they call it St. Peter's campus. I don't think I went towards that region because there was no need. (Refiloe, Interview).

Kabomo and Refiloe speak of a presence and experience of placeness that is movement-led. Their experience of placeness through movement is an alternation of presences upon parts of placeness. The walking is a way in which presence is always acknowledged because it is the more immediate manner in which points of placeness are experienced by the individual. For instance, a person has a feel for the experience of passing the library through actually passing the library and there being a specific idea – internally from either past experience or the experience of the current moment – of what that experience of passing the library is and can be.

Under such circumstances, the individual through moving upon a site and situation is able to witness and experience the numerous features of place which make the place the sort of placeness it is when moved through and within. The theorist Filipa Wunderlich (2008:1) argues this point further when she connects habituality and walking in stating that:

Walking is a mode of engaging and experiencing places. Through habitual walking and wandering one does not just move through physical space but actively takes part and contributes to the social and cultural dynamics of a place. On foot, the body participates in place's temporal patterns of activity and it is an agent in processes of repetitive change in urban places. Rhythms of body and city merge through the experience of walking. Walking is in itself a spatial and social rhythm, and through walking one perceives and lives urban places as a constellation of spatial, social, cultural, natural and other sensory rhythms – urban rhythms. Urban rhythms are everywhere in human activity and life in urban places. They take concrete forms, interact and mingle adjusting to each other, and together they characterise everyday social-spatial environment. These are recurrent and cyclical repetitions in the form of activities, events, sequences of objects, patterns or shadows, to name just a few, which one perceives and experiences, and with which one interacts in urban places.

People develop a sort of walking rhythm that leads them to particular spaces wherein specific things occur. In other words, the individual experiences placeness as a progression of absences and presences which they have to negotiate as the main absences and presences of their placeness experience as walked into (refer to Vergunst, 2010:378). Kabomo and Refiloe are – through the action of walking – come to be in places that are destinations wherein certain actions that they engage in are located and are acknowledged as reasons why the individuals are there.

What is important to note from the above reflections is that the movements are between, within, and through places that the participants (themselves and some other individuals who may occupy these places in times of movement) have grown to know. These walks have grown to be navigational points which are always related to their experience (as places wherein movement is done – as both final destination or way to destination) of Rhodes University as a place (refer to Valentine, 1993:241; Ingold, 2004:327; Sheller and Urry, 2006:214). People go to (and through) places that they either desire to be within or those that they desire to not be within. Places entail experiences which might end up leaving lasting impressions. For instance, the authors Gill Valentine and Tracey Skelton (2003:856–857) when talking about the experiences of homosexual people within place argue that:

Most places contain implicit and unstated, taken-for-granted expectations about how their inhabitants should behave. While it is relatively easy for young people growing up to pick up taken-for-granted codes of behaviour in everyday heterosexual spaces from observation, parents, the media and so on, they usually have little awareness of what to expect on the lesbian and gay scene.

People have particular experiences which may or may not lead to the points of navigational destination or throughway being desired or highly despised. For instance, an individual can like an environment wherein they are left alone unlike where they are constantly interfered with in an undesired manner. The experiences of place ensure that place is labelled with the individual's internal machinations of that particular experience. In such a manner the dots of navigation and destination become experiential dots that have an effect on the utility of particular actions within the traversal of points within placeness – this utility being highly dependent on the experienced placeness realities.

6.3.2 Walking Convenience

When people walk within a particular environment as walkers of place they often think of the convenience of the action. The literature on walking and convenience (see Owen et al., 2004:67; Rutt and Coleman, 2005; McMillan, 2007) refers to the physical environment (sometimes alongside the social environment) as being a spatial reality that is decorated (or is made) with convenience-amplifying realities related to its navigation (refer to Saelens et al., 2003:82; Reed et al., 2006; Timperio et al., 2006). In other words, people as walkers of place are able to make their navigation of place as smooth and undisturbed as it can be in terms of its flow (Ewing et al., 2005:72). To speak of a smooth walk is to speak of a walk that is without disturbance as movement from one point to the next. This walk is without the disturbances of either pause (because of a wall or a person of authority) or the need to reorient self because of an intrusion from an unwarranted experiential reality (such as sporadic noise or newly formed bush) of the environment being traversed. This part of the walk can be thought of as the part that changes the presences and absences of walks to focus on movement between the destinations. In other words, instead of focusing on the activities that direct the walk, the individual now focuses on the route between the destinations.

What the individuals involved in the walk are here doing when they think of the convenience to be experienced in walking placeness is the engagement of the largely cognitive process of calculating the way of the walk. According to Seamon (1979:43) when it comes to cognition:

Though cognition may not have a primary role in everyday movement, it must be realised that it has some role. There are moments in a typical day when movements lose their automatic, unnoticed quality, and the person becomes aware of them. One function of cognition has already been noted: a habitual action of body-subject is out of tune with the physical environment and cognition intervenes.

The thought for convenience is a thought on the mobile presence of a person in routine and attempting to move within placeness as they would like themselves to. When routine is affected consequentially enough the individual looks for alternative ways in which the activity might be better acted out. In other words, walking will be critiqued (and potentially changed) when some avoidable ‘thing’ about walking is pointed out as being responsible for an undesirable

state within the walk (Adey, 2006; Timperio et al., 2006). This is the phenomenological reality of the walk being thought about in terms of all the moments during the walk which may be consequential to its conduct. This calculation is done in the mind so as to make the most out of travel time (Sheller and Urry, 2006:211).

The participants spoke of convenience in two ways. The participants spoke of convenience in terms of ease of navigation and convenience in terms of incidence of pause or reorientation within the walk – a sort of ‘what may come’ attitude. I now discuss each of these in turn.

6.3.2.1 Ease of navigation

The walker engages in calculation aimed at making the walk the way that he or she would like it. The walker thinks about the convenience of a specific route (see De Certeau, 1984; Owen et al., 2004:69; Ewing and Cervero, 2010:268). This thought is in line with how the route chosen will make the navigation of placeness in effect easier and thus more preferred for the individual who has just chosen it. However, the route that is chosen for a walk is of particular importance for it determines what is seen, how it is seen, and how much of it is seen. The individual must then deliberate to determine what sort of walking experience they would like. The walker connects the walking activity with thoughts on how it is likely to play out as they are doing it – making calculations regarding the walk that they are to take.

Armand and Narnia reflected on navigational convenience in a similar manner:

This walk. Well, this walk -- I take it because it's the easiest and the quickest and the reason why I take it coz it's the easiest and the quickest is because in general I am....I don't want to say I'm late coz that's a lie but I, I'll take the easiest route because I'd rather like sleep in...which wastes my time, but I'd rather do that than having to wake up early and leave early and be early. So, it all comes down to sleep. (Chuckle). The reason why I take this route. (Armand, Interview).

Yeah...coz...it's like a shortcut. Yeah because if you...if you're coming from where I stay, the field is like...you know that the shortest space between two distances is just a straight line? So, I ALWAYS go past that field. Because it is straight. Plus it takes time off my.....because if I'm like five minutes late and I just need...to cut off some time from my being late, I go past the field. (Narnia, Interview).

Here the participants refer to their attempts to better navigate the distance that they perceive to be in front of them. There is a literature on convenience and effort when walking within place (see Cutting and Vishton, 1995; Proffitt et al., 2003; Bhalla and Proffitt, 1999). This literature largely focuses on the interaction between distance and energy expenditure while involved in a walk (see Proffitt et al., 2003:106). It is the case that individuals prefer walking for shorter distances than longer distances.



Picture 5: Armand states that, “I take it [the route] coz it’s easiest and quickest”. Here the participant is highlighting that sometimes the direction of the walk is decided based on attempts to travel less distance (Proffitt et al., 2003:106).

According to Proffitt et al., (2003:111-112):

Distance is perceived as a function of both distal extent and the anticipated effort required to walk the extent. Perceived distance specifies an invariant relationship between extent and effort, and thus, it is a function of both. Similar effects have been found for perceiving geo graphical slant. In perceiving spatial layout, the distinction between perception and action becomes blurred. Perception informs action; however, the potential for action is formative in perception itself. Prior to perception's influence on action is action's influence on perception.

This is to say that people often engage in calculations about the distance between two points and how best to navigate this distance. The best way to navigate the distance is through doing it and in such a manner learning about the actuality of distance and energy utility. In actual

fact, the individual is here thinking of ways in which they can navigate between two points within placeness in a manner that, for some reason, is believed to be more in line with the thought that shorter distances travelled mean less energy and time spent walking between destinations.

Rhodes University's placeness is experienced as a sort of board of connections between different presences. Within the grand space that is Rhodes University the participants traverse a place that is experienced as dots with lines connecting them. These dots and connecting lines are the different ways in which an individual may move back and forth between areas within Rhodes University. What emerges is that the particular connecting lines chosen are incidental – convenience, sleeping in and short cuts, along with physical features of the environment and the point of origin of the walker -- all working together to form the particularities of place that a person experiences (see Dewey, 1938; McDermott, 1977; Swartz, 2002; Wylie, 2005; Bridge, 2013). Ultimately, the shortcuts and attempts to make walking through Rhodes University's placeness more amicable end up being the main way in which Rhodes University as a place is experienced.

6.3.2.2 What may come

The second way in which walking convenience was engaged by the participants was through the individual acknowledging that since they are physically within a place then they are bound to experience whatever may come at them as an event within their mobile dwelling in placeness. The literature on the experience of areas through being physically/bodily present in them (see Jacobs, 1961; De Certeau, 1984; Kinsmann, 1995; Matless, 1998; Pinder, 2001; Wylie, 2007; Middleton, 2010), argues that the walk as movement of the body through the elements that make up place -- the elements being both human and non-human – is vital to place experience (refer also to Middleton, 2010: 578). After all, the place is both animate (the people, animals, weather, etc.) and inanimate (the buildings, architectural decorations, etc). The experience is an amalgam of physical environment with social environment.

The body is a sensory existence that takes in placeness sometimes through simple movement. According to Wunderlich (2008:8):

While walking one perceives everyday urban places as dynamic constellations of orchestrated rhythms unfolding over time. In urban space one finds superimposed walking paces, events, activities which repeat over time, rituals, as well as repeated socially familiar and culturally specific dressage, in interaction with daily and seasonal cyclical changes (i.e. changing shadowing, flowering and weather patterns) and also systems of spatial patterns, textures, colour codes, sequences of objects and bodies which move or suggest movement. In urban places one encounters compounds of distinct temporalities – urban rhythms -- that in synchronised form cyclically occur and recur over time.

This is to put the body firmly in the happening of place. The body as part of what is happening within placeness gives those happenings the experiential reality of being the way in which that particular placeness is experienced. In other words, it is through the walk that the individual places themselves within an area and in such a manner experiences the area's particular realities that make up its atmosphere as an area of presence (Wylie, 2006:522; Edensor, 2010; Bridge, 2013:307). This presence is an unfolding of the intimacies of place that make it the sort of experience of emplacement that it is to the individual experiencing it in the manner in which they are.



Picture 6: The walking traffic within a route is important to consider when someone decides to walk (Edensor, 2011:69). Jane states that, “I am cool with few people [present during my walk]”.

Both the dots (places wherein a person is present) and the connecting lines (the routes to places) have realities which become activated in terms of the convenience of the walk from point A to point B (Ingold, 2004:327). As Armand and Jane highlight, convenience is also a product of what is happening within the area being walked through:

Well, I take that route because it's less busy...yeah... and that means there's no traffic so I can walk freely and I can just think yeah think before I get to whatever I'm going to whether it's a seminar or whether it's a meeting, just to collect my thoughts prepare myself it's easier when there's like less commotion, less movement, less momentum from people so I take that route because I just feel like it's more convenient. (Armand, Interview).

I think I'm cool with few people. Coz, in terms of my personality like, I'm an introvert and I don't really like being around a lot of people. So, like, that's a cool change for me to like just see like few people moving around instead of a big crowd. AND like walking, I remember like in first year, walking from like that side of school...like Barratt, when you're walking up to campus and there's like a CROWD, like a LONG...like walking is SLOWER, you don't.....not that your pace is determined by people but then...the fact that there's like SO MANY people like going all in one place, it's different here coz it's like less people moving around, yeah. I hope that makes sense. (Jane, Interview).

These realities experienced through presence are important because they consequentially inform the experience of movement within and between points in navigational and dwelt space (Valentine, 1993:241). The individual must know how to negotiate the realities that are found within placeness.

What Armand and Jane are doing above is thinking of convenience as sometimes under the influence of place rhythms. The literature on walking and rhythms (see Wunderlich, 2008; Middleton, 2009; Edensor, 2010) speaks to how there is a rhythm to the placeness of place. According to Vergunst (2010:378):

A walker entering the street becomes immersed in the movement and the sounds of the time of the day, week, and year and in the changing patterns of activity as the street and the city develop. The street itself is a place of rhythms and interactions. From this perspective, it is the sensing of rhythms in the street (be they coherent or chaotic) that enables it to be understood as a place and indeed form it as place.

Walking is sometimes under the influence of what and who the individual finds when walking a part of placeness. For Armand and Jane, the presence of people within place is seen as

affecting consequentially the experience of that particular place by the individual (Valentine, 1993; Valentine and Skelton, 2003:853). Time and the presence of people become additions to placeness that need to be experienced in their own right as they may transform the place into what it was not -- before their coming into play (Wunderlich, 2008:2). In other words, time and the presence of people become decorations upon place space that need to be negotiated because they now are realities that affect the character of the space and thus its convenience to the individual who is now present within it as an experiencing user of place.

The university space is essentially a navigational field wherein there is movement from one point to another (refer to De Certeau, 1984; Ingold, 2004; Middleton, 2011; Bridge, 2013:306). Here the university is no more than dots with lines connecting them. Furthermore, the university consists of decorated dots and their connecting lines (refer to Wylie, 2007; Middleton, 2010) -- dots with colour and lots of life encountered when walking in relation to whatever qualitative reality of placeness is encountered as the greater placeness of Rhodes University is navigated.

6.3.2.3 Noticing

While walking, the person sees features of both the walk and place which are consequential to their overall place experience (see Nast and Pile, 2005:19; Wylie, 2005; Bridge, 2013). The walking remains linked to visual experience. In other words, as the body moves from place to place it is its eyes which see the place and the visual in the forefront of sensory experience. Features noticed are both internal and external in the course of the walk. Internal because they focus on and make decisions about how they conduct the walk (Ingold and Vergunst, 2008: 9). External because the environment traversed has to be reckoned with in the act of walking and the process of deciding (Wylie, 2005:238).

Noticing is a (very brief) encounter (and an even briefer) rest wherein, although the individual is in motion, there is an aligning of movement (the person) and non-movement (the environment) (refer to Humpel et al., 2004; Spence et al., 2006; Bridge, 2013). At this point

the individual sees (notices) something about the navigated environment not immediately noticeable to a roving eye.

Noticing, as described by the participants, involves having looked at, and rested upon, what was looked at in a reflective moment:

With the walking there are negatives -- it's not just all smooth sailing -- walking. Yeah, it's nice, it's easy, you know, you see beautiful things. There are bad encounters in the walk, if that makes sense. And not even in the actual walk. Like maybe I'm coming from my place to here -- it's not just beautiful things that I see. I see rats -- those things are scary; those things are disgusting. I see....it's not just the beautiful leaves and the trees and the buildings. I see like yucky, scary, disgusting things. And uhm not just like natural, nature, scary....even people -- dodgy people. I see dodgy people. I carry pepper spray everywhere I go because I just don't trust anyone. (Armand, Interview).

Yes, to appreciate. So, let's say you've decided to go to town in the afternoon. Uh....I don't know for others but for me my pace is slow because you have, there's no time constraint, so with that...I don't know, I just...you get to see things that you don't usually see if you were walking faster or driving past. First thing I noticed was that there's a pond by the fourway -- it's diagonal to Jan Smuts. There's a pond there and I'm assuming that if someone was driving by or someone never used that way they'd never know that there's a pond there -- they'd always assume that the only where to find fish in Rhodes is by (chuckle) the fountain. Or you get to see, like social interactions...especially Jan Smuts guys sitting outside their res or sometimes girls by Milner House or Lillian sitting by their res or by the benches around the res. Hmmm ... or the interactions people have -- especially on Fridays at the Kaif, during lunch time, at the Social Broxxx, I don't know...where everyone can sell their food, clothes, they take pictures and then put it on social media. So, I feel like, for me, by walking at a slow pace I'm able to see these things. (Manny, Interview).

As Manny points out, walking allows for resting upon a particular feature of placeness. The individual here sees what was probably always there yet never seen by them in the light of reflective purpose. Both Armand and Manny notice something and then fashion an idea of the entirety of the place with the knowledge that they have now noticed something about the place that they had not before.

The participants think of their noticing as something they perhaps were slow to do because what is noticed is something that is an element of place that is there by design. In other words, what is noticed was there to be noticed a million times before being actually noticed by them. The noticing transforms the place into one wherein the placeness is now constructed in line

with the relatively new noticed thing as an element of the presented amalgam. For instance, to Armand, the “yucky, scary, disgusting things” are now an experiential reality of the place space that she is in (refer to Bridge, 2013:306). These new added realities become part of the experience of the particular place.

Thus, ultimately what makes the place that is Rhodes University what it is, is a composite of navigation from one place to another (see Sheller and Urry, 2006:214; Wunderlich, 2008:3; Vergunst, 2010:377), looking for ways in which navigational Rhodes University can be negotiated in a more desirable way (refer to Saelens et al., 2003:81; Owen et al., 2004:66), and (sometimes) rested vision upon the built and natural environments that is often intertwined with the social environment (refer to Wylie, 2005:235; Bridge, 2013:306). Such a subjective reality of walking is how the participants experience Rhodes University’s placeness as a walked (and for walking) movement-based placeness. Rhodes University’s placeness is thus a customized mobility-based experiencing of the university space. In other words, Rhodes University’s placeness is movement from place to place within the greater place that Rhodes University allows itself to be as the individual moves and unfolds just the placeness that allows itself to be engaged in such a manner.

6.4 Familiarity

The experience of familiarity during movement within Rhodes University’s placeness is one of the more immediate ways in which reflexivity and reflectivity-based experience of placeness is engaged. The experience of familiarity incorporates both navigational knowledge (refer to Passini, 1984; Montello, 1998; Baskaya et al., 2004:840) and the experience of placeness as with familiar decorations from memory (refer to Lynch, 1960:23; De Certeau, 1984; Middleton, 2011). The two spatial knowledge realities ensure that the individual is always in a particular spatial-knowledge-based relationship with the place they are within. Familiarity can be thought of as a form of making sense of the world in a manner that depends much on retracing (reflection) as well as tracing (reflexive presence) the relationship between individual and placeness.

Familiarity places the individual within a locale and highlights the ongoing relationship between individual and placeness. As people move throughout a place the relationship of familiarity is negotiated. This process is that of making sense of the world at hand. According to Light and Smith (2005:43):

The process of making sense of the world can be analysed in the terms of strangeness and familiarity. This is the very basic distinction that does not in itself attribute any particular meanings to objects but puts them in existentially significant categories. In a new environment the objects and events we see and hear are mostly strange. They are not necessarily strange in any ontologically radical sense – when coming to a city we have not visited before, we are not Martians unable to make any connections between the various things encountered. [...] Strangeness means rather that we are not used to seeing and hearing the sort of things and events we occasionally face. Strangeness is the experience of going to Florence, Paris, London, or New York for the first time and trying to orient oneself in these cities both in the concrete sense of finding one's way to a certain area, to a certain hotel, and in the psychological sense of being in the midst of unfamiliar buildings and things.

Through the process of incremental familiarity the individual acquires ever more information about the environment within which they are emplaced. This acquisition leads to a change in the relationship the individual has with the environment. From the environment being little known by the individual, the environment grows to be better known by the individual.

Participants spoke of familiarity as related to navigational knowledge:

I spend too much time in res studying, so I need to get out and actually SEE campus. Uhm.....I had a friend, uhm...I think that was a catalyst for the walks actually. So, he is from the location and he was asking me about these different places and I did not know. It was two years of me living here and he was very surprised and he was like 'you call this place home but you technically don't know much of it or a majority of it. So how can you call a place you don't know home and say that you're comfortable here?' So, I was like 'that is true actually'. (chuckle) So that is why I started to walk and see the different areas and....Rhodes being this open campus, it's much more easier to lose yourself within this whole space. Coz you don't have....there is a clear boundary where Rhodes is and where town is but you can be like...oh okay, you can come out this way (pointing at Barratt Complex) and 'oh! There's town,' or you can come out that way (pointing down Prince Alfred Street) and there's still town. (Kabomo, Interview).

It's just that coz I didn't know like where my lectures ... like where they were and stuff. So, if I was going like I would go with someone from my res who's like going to the same place but now like I don't mind leaving res by myself and going to my lectures coz I know where they are. Yeah...but also like a comfortable thing, like

I guess after more time I'm more comfortable walking by myself, the place is more familiar to me and I don't feel as awkward as like in those first two weeks. (Baraka, Interview).

Both Kabomo and Baraka refer to their becoming familiar with Rhodes University's navigational placeness in a similar manner. They speak of the need to know places' – parts of placeness in this case – locationality so that there is a more desired navigational knowledge of the environment (refer to Passini, 1984:154; Montello, 1998:142; Baskaya et al., 2004). It is through knowing the locational existence of places that people become better acquainted with spaces within placeness.



Picture 7: Baraka states that, "I don't mind leaving res by myself and going to my lectures because I know where they are". Knowing how to get to a location is important for it determines the amount of confidence a person has in their navigational ability (Ujang, 2008:8).

Both Kabomo and Baraka acknowledge a time wherein they had little knowledge of the locational existence of places within greater navigational placeness. According to Montello (1998:143) this experiential reality of acquisition of locational knowledge is as it is because:

People acquire knowledge about the spatial layout of the places they experience (cities, neighborhoods, buildings). This includes knowledge of locations, distances, and directions. The acquisition of this knowledge begins immediately, as soon as one arrives in a place, but presumably continues over long time periods, for months,

years, and even decades. This knowledge can become quite extensive and elaborate. It provides a framework for the organization of experience and supports sophisticated spatial behavior such as creative wayfinding and direction giving.

This is to highlight the progressive nature of locational familiarity within the experience of place. People grow more familiar as they spend more time within placeness and in such a manner learn about ever-increasing numbers of places and how to get to such places (Siegel and White, 1975; Ujang, 2008:7). This process is a directed look at locale in the development of a particular relationship – in this case the relationship of familiarity in navigation – between the individual and part(s) of placeness.

There are then continuous tests of the quality of the relationship of familiarity between individual and locational placeness as Fran and Manny highlighted:

And when I first got here, I got LOST. The department is not where it used to be. It used to be by Jac Labs, that Arts building. And then I kept on going there, kept on going there, and I'm like, "Hhayi bo! Where is everyone? Maybe they've gone for a conference. But all of them?" And then I go to Student Bureau and I'm like, "I'm looking for the School of Languages". And they're like, "No. It's down there now". Coz it used to be a res. (Fran, Interview).

Oh! Luckily enough I had a friend who was also doing the same subjects as me so...I don't know how, but she had memorised the entire map of the campus (chuckle), so I would just tag along when she would go for lectures. But I remember I once got lost coming from a lecture -- so she left before me and I was coming from a lecture to res -- I remember getting lost but luckily enough one of my house comm members she directed me where res was. (Manny, Interview).

Fran and Manny reflect on the experience of tests to familiarity in terms of particular locations that needed to be reached and how the location was a challenge to their personal locational knowledge of the places in question (refer to Golledge, 1999; Foo et al., 2005:196). Such a challenge to the locational awareness of people is an important part of individual experience of locational placeness.



Picture 8: Fran states that, “When I first got here, I got LOST”. This is a highlight of the navigational tests that Rhodes University will sometimes get an individual to experience as their knowledge of locational familiarity is expanding (Baird et al., 1979:92).

Tests on locational familiarity are questions to the reflexivity of familiarity. Getting lost – or being in a position where one can seriously think that one may find themselves lost – is a challenge to the achieved quality of the relationship of familiarity. Getting lost in terms of navigation in an environment is one of the more affectual experiences of placeness. According to Lynch (1960:4):

To become completely lost is perhaps a rather rare experience for most people in the modern city. We are supported by the presence of other and by special way-finding devices: maps, street numbers, route signs, bus placards. But let the mishap of disorientation once occur, and the sense of anxiety and even terror that accompanies it reveals to us how closely it is linked to our sense of balance and well-being. The very word “lost” in our language means much more than simple geographic uncertainty; it carries overtones of utter disaster.

It is the case that sometimes the locational knowledge of people is not enough for the successful negotiation to a part of place. Since navigational familiarity makes the environment destination-based, then being lost between and within the destinations becomes the most pressing experience of placeness (Baskaya et al., 2004:840). The individual is experientially

within a part of placeness that is amplifying the need to have an unfluctuating quality of locational familiarity within placeness.

The presence of support for navigational purposes is highly important for it anchors navigational knowledge. A reference to navigational support is made by Manny who refers to a friend with a 'mental map' of Rhodes University. This mental map is one of the ways in which placeness can be navigated in the desired manner. According to Kuipers (1978:129):

Common-sense knowledge of space is knowledge about the physical environment that is acquired and used, generally without concentrated effort, to find and follow routes from one place to another, and to store and use the relative positions of places. Among other things, this knowledge allows me to follow the familiar route between my home and MIT; to think up a new and shorter route to the shopping center; to elaborate my "mental map" when given a guided tour; to point toward places I cannot see; and to face North. This body of common-sense knowledge is often called the "cognitive map."

Thus, people will sometimes use support mechanisms for navigational purposes. These support mechanisms ensure that place is navigated in the desired manner and that the challenges to locational knowledge are not greater than what the individual can handle (Kuipers, 1978:132). This support is also a call out to the body (whether of this very person or a person who may allow themselves to be utilised as a being who has some locational familiarity as a previous navigator) that has been within a location before.

When it comes to the experience of locational familiarity with the placeness of Rhodes University people experience a growing locational knowledge of the university. This growing knowledge determines where the individuals go within the university and how they get there. Through the process of acquiring better acquaintance with the locational existence of the university, individuals sometimes experience tests to their familiarity as they are called upon to attempt being within spaces where they have not been before in terms of locational presence. What is sometimes helpful to the navigational experience of Rhodes University in such cases is then the exploitation of navigational support mechanism which make the destination-based travel run in a manner that will lead to the successful location-searching navigation of placeness.

There is a further way in which the experience of familiarity was spoken about by the participants. It is the case that people experience a familiarity with place that is residence-based. What I mean here is that the individual experiences a familiarity that is most consequentially influenced by his or her being within a particular place over a period of time (Kuipers et al., 2003:86; Ujang, 2008:7). This familiarity has nothing to do with navigation but rather is a form of pause upon the environment as that of a familiar surrounding scene.

In terms of routine walking, this residence-based familiarity is consistent with often being within the same spaces. According to Light and Smith (2005:44-45):

Strangeness is temporally prior to familiarity, but it cannot be a continual state. While we are living in the lifeworld, doing and making things, acting in different ways in different situations, we create ties to our surroundings, and in this way familiarize ourselves with it. We make the environment “our own,” we create relations that are significant for us and serve our purposes and interests. Our personal likings often play a role in this: we prefer particular kinds of art, for example, classical music to cinema, and accordingly concert halls are a significant factor in our everyday surroundings rather than cinemas, or vice versa. The network of significant-things-for-me can be complicated and surprising in the sense that a person may make connections that do not make sense to someone else. I may take a particular route from the office back home because I find it more beautiful, or because there is a particular grocery store in which I want to do my shopping.

Familiarity is about the place knowledge and experience of particular places within greater placeness. It is through walking the environment that people end up being exposed to a collection of places that they know simply because they walk to, from, and through the spaces (see De Certeau, 1984; Wylie, 2006; Middleton, 2011). This familiarity is selective and stems from the continued exposure of the individual to specific parts of placenes.

Manny and Fran here reflect upon residence-based familiarity in a similar manner, referring to a scene within placeness:

Uhm...well, I think...when I first got here everything, I think uh change of scenery, so you feel like everything was very, it still is but...it was SO interesting, I mean last year. Like how I used to go to the fountain. But then over time, it becomes second nature to you, so you don't really...it's not something, it's not like a WOW!

Even if it is but it's not like a really WOW! factor and uh....in second year I found more shortcuts to use, so that's great (chuckle). Uhm, but then you become agitated with things such as the road works coz...they just block your way of going to places. But weirdly enough there's still some places that I haven't discovered about Rhodes. Maybe I have been busy a lot this year; Maybe next year I'll have a chance to see other places that people go to like the Bot Gardens -- I haven't been there. Maybe if I go there that'll be my peaceful place. (Manny, Interview).

And the reason that I came back to Rhodes.....you know when you know a place and then you think it's gonna be the same not knowing that actually it's not gonna be the same because the people are NOT THERE anymore, it's just gonna be a new place to you coz....I guess the PEOPLE MAKE THE PLACE WHAT IT IS, I don't know. (Fran, Interview).

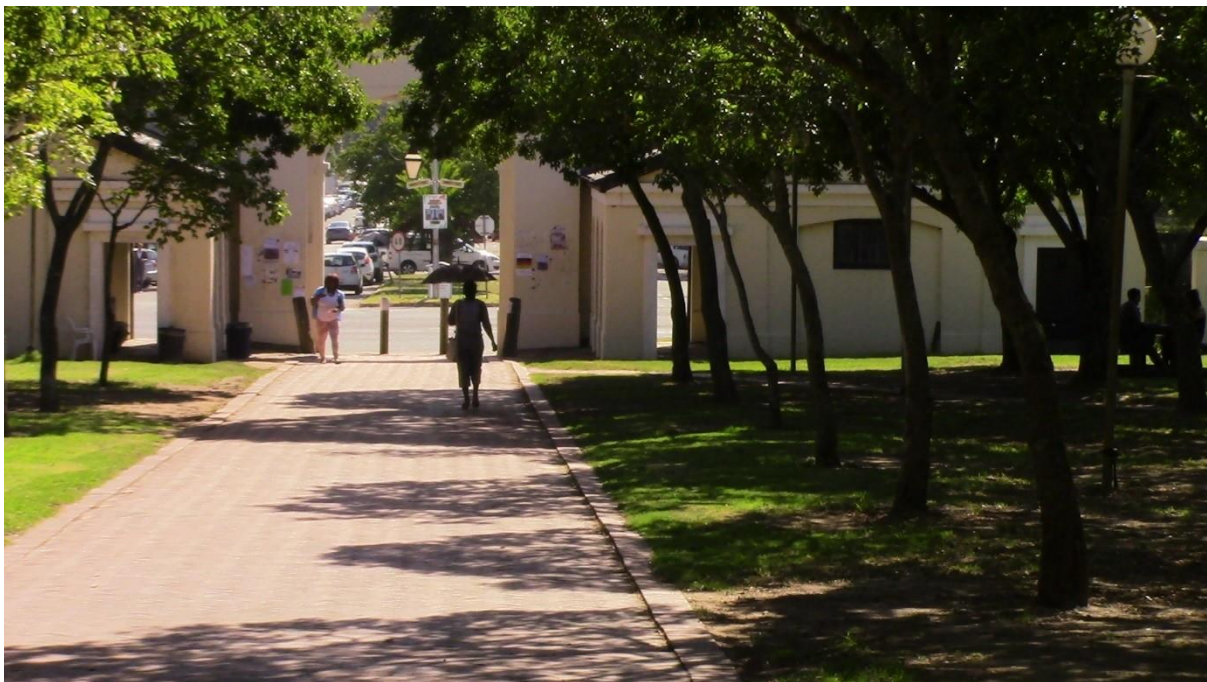
The participants describe here what occurs within placeness as experienced by them through being within and in a relation with the space that leads to growing familiarity (Lynch, 1960:2; Light and Smith, 2005:43; Ujang, 2008). This particular relationship to a space leads to there being a familiarity-based relationship between the individual and the place – a relationship largely informed by the memories the individual has of place (McAndrew, 1998:409; Haapala, 2005). This relationship does not look at a place as part of a navigational plane but rather as a corner of decoration – decoration that makes a particular corner of a place unmistakably that particular corner of the place. This relationship stems from physically being within a particular part of placeness and that very placeness becoming familiar to the individual for the very reason that they are within its particular site and situation. And that in turn allows its familiarity to be engaged in a specific way that will at times be called upon as an experience.

At the same time as the above-mentioned reflections, however, there is also the qualitative reality of a part of placeness being made too 'everyday' to ever be looked at in a manner wherein its features call for a double glancing. What I mean here is that some places through residence become mundane and their allure fades out. Here Armand and Kabomo refer to the experience of familiarity-inspired mundanity:

I don't know I think the only thing that I could just add is like we really take for granted the stuff that we see every day and it just becomes so mundane and normal that we don't really notice like 'oh there's a tree here'. I'm sure there's so many stuff that I've ignored because I'm late or I just couldn't be bothered, or I'm just so used to it that I don't even know when it's there and when it's not there. So, I think this really was interesting for me personally just to think about the walk as simple as that sounds. (Armand, Interview).

Uhm...I'm feeling slightly nostalgic. In first year I had to go to uhm....I still remember...I had to go to a place where....I came by a train....by the train station I took a taxi, the taxi left me there (pointing at the Arch)....I didn't know it was the Arch back then...to me it was "Okay, cool. I have arrived., I guess.' (chuckle). And we walked through here [pointing at glass shards route] to Eden Grove. And when I walk here every day, I don't remember that...coz it seems very different from my first time. Coz when I came in it was like, 'Ohhh kay'. But now it's like, 'Mxm! The Arch'. It had a meaning when I first came. It had that, 'Ohhh. I'm entering a school now. I'm about to be independent. I'll be here for the rest of three years. So, I need to start uh...I need to start familiarising myself with it'. And I did. And now it's just....it's common. (Kabomo, Interview).

Armand and Kabomo describe a familiarity experience that is inspired by residence and the fact that this familiarity leads to some of the features of Rhodes University's (at least) architectural placeness being experienced as mundane and thus relegated to sort of second-class features within the architectural environment.



Picture 9: Kabomo states that, "Now it's [The Arch] just....it's just common". This is a reflection upon the changing relationship between person and environment as the individual grows in their familiarity with the environment (Saito, 2008:109).

The experience of familiarity here is yet again consequentially informed by the duration of time and exposure to the specific part of the environment. However, here the experience is framed in terms of novelty. According to Reid (2005:109):

Novelty is not properly a quality of the thing to which we attribute it, far less is it a sensation in the mind to which it is new; it is a relation which the thing has to the knowledge of the person... It is evident, therefore, with regard to novelty,...that it is not merely a sensation in the mind of him to whom the thing is new; it is a real relationship which the thing has to his knowledge at that time.

This is to say that the experience of a thing as novel has a sort of expiry date. In other words, things do – after continued exposure to people – become less novel and take the quality of an everydayness that is not particularly memorable or noticeable in any particularly striking light. This is how people also experience the Rhodes University environment. Through becoming more and more familiar with parts of Rhodes University’s placeness – in many cases the architectural placeness – individuals grow to experience less novelty.

The reflection by Kabomo is highly informative of a residence-based familiarity that might go beyond simply relegating novelty to everydayness. In Kabomo’s reflection is a familiarity that relegates even place memory, through symbolism within a place, to being mere placeness architecturally. Here the emotional relation to place is arguably overlooked as the place becomes more and more familiar. This is how Kabomo ends up reflecting that, “It [The Arch] had a meaning when I first came”, as a way to highlight that places sometimes decrease in meaning as an individual becomes more familiar with them. This is an experiential reality informed consequentially by the constant referral – as reflection – back to the experience of the particular part of placeness and in the current moment thinking (reflexive action) of the overall familiarity of the moment in familiar site and situation.

The familiarity of Rhodes University’s placeness is subject to two not vastly dissimilar realities. To experience the familiar is firstly simply the experience of locational familiarity. Here the experience of placeness is consequentially informed by the ability to navigate space successfully as it is a placeness of locations and the need to move between the locations. People experience familiarity as they navigate between destinations and are sometimes tested in terms of their locational knowledge. In cases where people are tested in their knowledge, people sometimes experience the use of navigational support mechanisms to moderate the navigation so that it is an experience that they find desirable. There is also the experience of familiarity as in relation to places and residence. For such familiarity there is no longer the focus on location

but the focus on what is experienced within the location. This familiarity is of people who have paused and are no longer in motion. This experience is that which makes part of placeness either a novel experience or the experience of the everyday. Ultimately, familiarity is a highly influential informer of placeness experience as it regulates the relationship between placeness and person both navigation-wise and in terms of the eye as roaming through a familiar or unfamiliar environment of novel or mundane features. In such a manner the relationship of familiarity between person and placeness is constantly being negotiated in the process of continuous navigation and pauses in navigation.

6.5 Conclusion

The opening quote from Binx touches on some of the anchoring themes of this chapter. Binx premises her reflection on the experience of moving upon spaces which are part of her everyday travel throughout Rhodes University's placeness. To Binx there has grown a particular degree of familiarity with this environment. Binx – working with an idea of familiarity with the site and situation – grows to have an experience that is particular to the areas as those of familiar traversal. However, this insinuated idea of familiarity is subject to tests upon its quality as the action of movement always comes back and interrogates the idea that has been fashioned out of prior experiences. In other words, each time an individual decides to move upon Rhodes University's placeness, there is the interrogation of their prior fashioned ideas about the most probable experiences of specific parts of Rhodes University's placeness.

Movement is a way in which an individual most immediately allows themselves to have a particular relationship with a placeness that he or she finds themselves in. Movement influences, and is influenced by, routine, walking dynamics, and familiarity. These influences are shown to be subject to individuals who are reflective, reflexive, and quite aware of the developing relationship between their personness and placeness. Firstly, it is routine that directs movement to areas of interest and in turn makes those areas part of routine and the main way in which the site and situation's placeness is experienced. The individuals will at times become aware that routine is a qualitative reality in the way in which a place's placeness is experienced. This is because, sometimes once people are involved in routine they can find it difficult to pause and reconfigure the engaged routine. This state of affairs leads to the

engagement of only particular experienced placeness spaces within the relatively greater placeness of Rhodes University.

Secondly, walking the site and situation is subject to certain walking-related realities. Individuals walk the way they do (and when they do) for numerous reasons such as the need to be present in a particular site and situation, the need to fold through shortcuts and areas of least pausing, and the most personally convenient way of walking a particular part of placeness within the greater placeness. Without such deliberations the walking experience could be adversely affected as it might lead to the walk not being that which is qualitatively desired. This process requires a constant referral back to what walking is (and was) as a way in which movement upon placeness is done. Here the individuals again are operating with a referral bank for their current actions to be the quality that is being currently experienced. Lastly, the participants experience growing levels of familiarity with their site and situation. This familiarity expands from simply knowing the labels of the configuring features of the site and situation to appreciating that the features are meaning-infused by both the self and others as parts of place. The individuals are again here placing themselves within placeness and its tendency to end up being that of relationships – familiarity-based relationships – between individual and placeness through the action of being within placeness and moving (and pausing) upon placeness as a way within any place.

Movement is personal presence that is personal activity-area within placeness. Ultimately, movement encourages routine that becomes the way in which people unfold through presence-infused qualitative experience the placeness of place as they become familiar with it and experience it. Since this experience of placeness is highly personalised through routines, ways of walking, and familiarity, the individuals can then be argued to be experiencing a Rhodes University of their own making. In other words, the individual can only engage – if he or she so chooses – in particular routines, walk a particular manner through placeness, and become familiar to specific sites and situations which have come to be the experience of placeness simply because they have been made by the individual that placeness of place that personal movement has engaged as most pressing movement upon placeness.

Chapter Seven: Rest – Part Two of the Place Ballet

7.1 Introduction

I don't know like....well, the thing is that I don't spend a lot of time on upper campus, so like... you know, being in a new environment, you kind of need to know how things operate. Coz I mean like I said in the library, my chill spot. So, imagine going to upper campus and chilling in someone's spot. So, it's not like it's written like, "this spot belongs to this person". But because people themselves know ukuthi [that] first year: when we were attending lectures at the Barratt [a lecture theatre], me and my friends used to sit literally in one row. And no matter how late we were we always found that one row empty because people knew that there were people who chilled in that row. It's that sort of thing. I can't go to upper campus and chill UNLESS I am invited by someone -- someone who knows the rules. The rules that are NOT WRITTEN but are known by people. (Narnia, Interview).

To rest is to pause. When something is paused it is, for the most part, motionless. It is the case that people within their routine walking also find time for pause. This pause is a way in which the site and situation are experienced less superficially than in the mere passing that movement affords the individual as a way of experiencing. Resting can be for a short or a long period. What matters, however, is that during the period of pause the individual is afforded a slightly better sense of their emplacement than that advanced through motion exclusively. In other words, during rest the individual has a deeper relationship with placeness than they are prone to have from simply passing through a place without taking the time to look over their own footprints and the spaces which are of meaning to their pause.

Rest, just like movement and encounter alongside it, forms one of the elements of the triangle that Edward Relph advances as crucial to the experience of placeness. The triangle is that of 'people-action-place'. In the moment of rest there are the people (participants) involved in an action (resting) upon a place (meaning-infused Rhodes University). It is in such a manner that people grow to experience a place – in this case, Rhodes University's placeness. In fact, it is through resting that Rhodes University's placeness is given, and disperses, meaning. Once people rest they then reflect on all the moments of previous rest that they believe to be applicable to their current state.

To David Seamon rest is a qualitative reality, just like movement is, for most of what constitutes nature. According to Seamon (1979:69):

Rest, like movement, plays an integral part in the processes of nature. Inorganic forms such as rocks and soil remain at rest, relatively fixed in place for most of their lifetimes. Plants are stationary and thrive or succumb largely according to the conditions of their growing place. Rest becomes crucially important for mobile organisms, including man, because it provides a time of inactivity and quiet in which worn parts are repaired and depleted energies restored.

Rest, then, is deliberative pause. During rest, things are aware that they (as things) are in pause after a period of (some) movement upon or from them (as things). Rest is thought of as a time wherein there is reflection upon the events that led to the pause and there are thoughts on how to proceed after the pause.

In the present study, the participants referred to ways of 'resting' as part of their placeness experience in three main ways: in relation to comfort – which had to do with the built environment and the people in it, territoriality – the emotional appropriation of the site and situation's placeness, and notions of at-homeness-- growing to feel at home within a particular site and situation. What was consistent was the tendency when at rest to deliberately look at the emplaced site and situation as an area of much meaning and this meaning being highly influential to the overall experience of emplacement. In what follows I discuss participants' reflections on each of these aspects of the rest experience – comfort, attachment and at-homeness – in turn.



Picture 30: Narnia states that, “Is there anyone sitting on my spot?”. Here the participant has in effect emotionally appropriated a ‘spot’ as one that is important to them – so much so that they feel the spot belongs to them (Wickham and Graefe, 2002:356).

7.2 Comfort

Comfort and its qualities can be thought of within numerous contexts related to the experience of what it is to be comfortable or uncomfortable (refer to Helander and Zhang, 1997; Duncan and Lambert, 2004; Bissell, 2008:1699-1701). It stands to reason that individuals prefer to be comfortable rather than to be uncomfortable. Being comfortable within placeness is important for it determines consequentially how an individual is able to be within a place and its experienced features of placeness. According to Seamon (1979:147):

Comfortableness relates to bodily and psychological comfort and convenience. It involves freedom of movement and activity in a place rather than infringement and delay due to external devices or regulations...Place ballet succeeds best when there is ease and flow in movement. People using a place normally like to move freely at a pace that reciprocates their reasons for coming to that place.

Comfort within the place ballet has to do with being within a particular (sometimes meaning-infused) space and having some degree of freedom to either do something or move in a manner that is desired by the person. For instance, the individual would like to run without having to jump over hurdles or having to stop because of unevenness in the ground hurting his or her feet

– and is able to do so. To be comfortable is in effect as a result of thinking about the need to have a desired quality of experience and being able to realise that desire to some degree. This desired quality of experience is informed by some aspect of the subjective reality of placeness that needs to be encouraged. People are therefore consistently in the process of negotiating their comfortability when within placeness realities. The latter can be thought of as twofold: relating firstly to the physical features of the built environment and secondly to the human and interactional features of place.

7.2.1 Comfort and the built environment

Participants often referred to comfort as a desired point within the (mainly architectural) realities that (part or parts of) placeness come to be during experience (refer to Evans, 1980:34; Gowans, 1989; Bissell, 2008:1699). In other words, one important aspect of comfort is the relationship between the human inhabitant and those not (readily) human features of a place which matter when it comes to the quality of experienced comfort by the human. Here I discuss the participants' experience of comfort in relation to the built environment as: being able to exercise personal initiative once within a space, having an interactional past with a space, and the presence of company within a space – all of which are determinants of level of experienced comfort.

7.2.1.1 Taking the initiative

Humans do not passively receive their environments as either uncomfortable or comfortable. Personal initiative sometimes might need to be taken so as to make a particular place a comfortable experience.

No, there's no place that I can just uhm say 'I don't feel comfortable in being there'. Uhm...in each and every place I've been in I'm feeling very comfortable coz I make sure that I'm comfortable and that I enjoy myself there to avoid awkward moments from happening. So, there hasn't been...even if I were like... like tracing my steps now. No there hasn't been any place that I might say that I don't feel comfortable being in, going to. Yeah, it's all about being comfortable though. It all goes back to comfort, you know. Why stay if you're not...if you feel the need to move, MOVE. It's like that. (Binx, Interview).

Uhm..I think that...like I've already told you...I've always been in reses and stuff like that, all of my life. So, I always get an attachment to those places. Like if I go home, I never feel.....you understand? Like if I go to India to my house right now... I'm more or less comfortable. And if I go to my house here...I think now I'm getting more comfortable there as I go there more often. But since I've always lived in reses wherever I am that's where I'm comfortable with. (Bolo, Interview).

Binx and Bolo argue for there being the possibility to manage how comfortable it is to be within a particular area within the university's greater placeness (refer to Staats and Hartig, 2004:200). Place is experienced within a comfortability continuum and the individual then seeks to manoeuvre in a manner such that the personally desired level of comfort is reached. In taking the initiative to manage their level of comfort, both Binx and Bolo use the past as a reference point for how to react to the current experience in order to achieve their desired quality of experience. In other words, the participants repeat those actions that they engaged in in the past so as to have an experience of the present that is similar to a past experience that they found to be desirable (refer to Genereux et al., 1983:42; Milligan, 1998; Bissell, 2008:1699-1700). The greater space is thus a place of differing comfort levels that can be negotiated just as the current has been negotiated through a reference to the past if need be.



Picture 11: Binx states that, "I make sure that I am comfortable". Here the individual is highlighting the importance of personal initiative in order to ensure that an individual is indeed able to experience their desired level of comfort (McCreanor et al., 2007:196).

The participants, in their comments about their quality of comfort within place, confirm that they actually did (or do) something within the concerned space (refer to Genereux et al., 1983:43; Bridge, 2013:310). The past and what occurred in the past is referred to in a manner that ensures that a semblance of comfort is gained by the individual. This experience is highly personalised and thus each and every individual will have a differing reserve of past realities to draw upon in their attempt to ensure present comfort. Binx speaks of moving as a way to negotiate comfort while Bolo speaks of familiarity as a way to gain comfort within site and situation. This is the crux of the experience of initiative-based comfortability in that the individual is in a (sometimes meaning-infused) space and experiencing it in a present moment that calls upon past comfortability realities that give the individual the ability to pick and choose what to make of the present as an individual experiencing yet another situation on the comfortability continuum.

7.2.1.2 Interactional past experiences

Armand and Kabomo refer to the importance of past experiences and encounters with places in determining how comfortable within a place they currently are. Whichever place becomes a part of their current occupied space is taken in as an area that they as dwellers of place have been within in the past. It is in this past that the area was placed within a comfortability continuum and from this placing the individuals react in the present. What was consistent in the participants' reflections was that comfort was spoken of in terms of the triad place-action-interactional past: comparative comfort was spoken of in terms of what happened and happens in both the built-up environment and the people-environment realms that are related to the experienced quality of comfort (see Genereux et al., 1983:42; Milligan, 1998:10; Amin, 2002; Wessendorf, 2014). The experience of campus on the part of any individual, engages all the realms of what might be thought of as placeness, encompassing both physical build and social build. The experience of placeness occurs in an environment that is both architectural and the space within which social relationships occur.

The point is that individuals use what has occurred in the past within a part (or parts of) placeness as a reference point which informs how they react to a present situation. Such

reflection has been termed by the theorist Melinda Milligan an ‘interactional past’ reflection. According to Milligan (1998:10):

An interactional past is created for a site through the process of cumulative experiences, which, depending on their degree of meaningfulness, will result in a correspondingly meaningful degree of attachment. The more meaningful the interactions that occur here, the more meaningful the place will become. This process is readily apparent in relation to the locations of extremely memorable events (proposals, breakups, etc.), when the sites of such importance become clearly imbued with their meaningfulness. Individuals often will consciously return to (or avoid) such a site because of its association with a powerful memory.

Places and the actions that people engage in and find within the place-space are of great importance to how they think of that particular place. For instance, a place wherein someone often finds the best mushrooms during mushroom season is an area of significance to them as a mushroom lover. Armand’s avoidance of an area wherein she had a bad experience is illustrative of a negative attachment to an area because of what has historically occurred there in her memory (refer to Genereux et al., 1983:43; Milligan, 1998:9). Places are thought of in terms of the experiences that they as places bestowed (and continue to bestow) on the individuals in place and how these experiences influence the current (and future) relationships between the concerned people and concerned space-place. Places are thus attributed experiential histories which make the places what they are today in the eyes of particular inhabitants with their particular past experiences. People experience placeness as an end-product of accruing experience within the particular place. This accrued experience is consequential enough to change the relationship between the individual and the concerned place even in the present moment.

Here Binx and Kabomo speak of how comfort is comparatively experienced as a product of how a previous experience was as compared to the current experience (refer to Purcell and Nasar, 1992:200):

I KNOW FOR A FACT...not here at Rhodes though, I know for a fact that at the locations you would feel uncomfortable walking there say around 10:00 p.m. alone. I know because of the crime rates that are happening. So you will not feel safe and also in a place where you surrounded by strangers, people that you don't know say maybe.....going out in a pub that you never went to and then you just there with strangers you would definitely feel that sense of discomfort because you stressing about your safety and so also how you would leave there. So, there would be that

discomfort thing going. So, I would say those places, I think, they could be. (Binx, Interview).

I am more comfortable here than at home even though home is stable because you know after five years I'll still find the same people...unless...time takes its toll and Biology does what it wants to do... but there's that stability that, you know....you have the same house ,you will know where your room is, you'll be sure that you'll go back there and you'll find everything...as the way you left it but then here you could go five years and John Kotze wouldn't be called John Kotze. New people would have been in there, your room that you thought was your room is not really your room.,you're changing now. So, there in terms of stability, I think I've conditioned myself to...to be okay with the instability of my new home as long as I'm... I'm within the place. I don't, I don't find it as problematic to have different people every year and now. But then...home, I feel like...having that choice, like having that large choice at home is very important. Because, if I can't be comfortable in whatever... in whatever I want to do in a certain place then I can't necessarily call that home. (Kabomo, Interview).

Binx and Kabomo's reflections illustrate how individuals draw on a schema in order to interpret their level of comfort in any particular environment. In other words, today's experience of comfort is compared to what was experienced yesterday in terms of level of comfort. Furthermore, the compared experiences of comfort are taken from what is relatively the same event considered close to repeated albeit under slightly differing terms. In other words, there is a comparison of like for (close) like as it relates to comfort within the experience of an event. This comparison then determines the overall experience of placeness, as it relates to level of experienced comfort, as a product of negotiation between previous experiences of close-to-similar realities, for the advancement of an outcome that is most desirable in terms of experienced level of comfort in the present (refer to Purcell and Nasar, 1992:201; Milligan, 1998:9). In other words, the experiencing person looks to have an experience of comfort that is comparatively better each time so as to most comfortably be within an event wherein level of experienced comfort is called into action. The more comfortable the person is within place and social interaction the more desirable their experience of placeness and thus their relationship to the placeness as it relates to the level of experienced comfort.

What remains important to note when it comes to comparative comfort is that it brings in both the built-up environment and the people environment and thinks of the two environments as they relate to the triad place-action-interactional past (see Genereux et al., 1983:45; Milligan, 1998:14; Amin, 2002; Wessendorf, 2014). Placeness is an experience that can be thought of as

having periods of both desirable and undesirable configurations of the relationship between individual and placeness realities.

Here Baraka and Manny reflect upon the role that companionship and familiarity play in their experienced level of comfort in their environment:

I would feel uncomfortable... anywhere like where I'm not with my friends. If.... I was alone somewhere on campus that I like have never been before, like if it's not my lecture theatre or whatever I'd feel uncomfortable but that's just because of like me and my own like anxiety about being all alone and stuff; not because the actual space is an uncomfortable space, I think. But no. I mean: do I feel uncomfortable? I don't think so. I mean I don't feel as safe like anywhere on campus as like say you would in your high school obviously. But I wouldn't say that the spaces are uncomfortable. I don't know if that makes sense. (Baraka, Interview).

I'm more comfortable ... when it's around lunch time so I know it will be busy and there's gonna be people around uh and at night, the same thing applies, I'd rather walk if I know...like Fridays it's busy so I know there's gonna be people around rather than walking, I don't know, on a Sunday when it's very quiet and anything can happen. (Manny, Interview).

These reflections suggest the transformative powers of accompaniment and other people to the experience of comfort within space (refer to Genereux et al., 1983:43; Valentine, 1993; Milligan, 1998). Having people and knowing what to expect from a particular space with respect to how it is likely to be populated is sometimes enough to ensure an enhanced level of comfort experienced within that particular space (Valentine and Skelton, 2003:854). People and circumstances that prevail within a part of placeness thus determine how the individual sees that particular part of placeness as an experience that is likely to be had.

An experience of placeness can thus be regarded as a playing field wherein participants will be called upon to negotiate their own level of experienced comfort (Valentine, 1993:241; De Botton, 2006; Bissell, 2008:1699). How comfortable individuals are within a place is directly related to what they are willing/able to do to achieve comfort. For instance, a gay individual may not feel particularly comfortable in an environment that is outwardly confrontational towards gay people (Valentine, 1993:242). Company and familiarity, as they relate to experienced levels of comfort, are yet more ways in which the personal experience of placeness

are related to past interactions in that very same placeness and how this past is negotiated so as to achieve more comfort for the concerned individual.

In essence, the experienced level of comfort within place is informed by the place that the individual is within, the past interactions that people have had with the place or similar place realities, what they as dwellers are willing to do to manage their level of comfort, and how they manage the resources available to them, to moderate the experienced level of comfort. As placeness is transformed to partitions of comfort and discomfort the dwellers of the place look for ways in which they can negotiate their experiences in such a manner that the desired level of comfort ends up being experienced within place. Those people who can successfully negotiate their relationship with placeness to be to their desired level of comfort are the people who experience placeness as more comfortable and more desirable.

7.2.2 Comfort and the people environment

Comfort in a plac is also related to the people that we find ourselves sharing parts of placeness with and the people-to-people interactions we engage in, in those places (see Massey and Jess, 1995:220; Holliday, 1999). The people environment operates at two levels: the one-on-one level and the level of being one individual within a crowd of people.



Picture 12: Baraka states that, "I prefer being around people that I know than people I don't know". This is a call to the desired level of familiarity that will sometimes lead to greater comfort for the individual (Milligan, 1998:8).

The level of comfort that any individual is likely to experience depends in part on being able to manage social interactions in ways that suit them. Here Baraka and Binx reflect on the ways in which comfort resides in being able to manage social interaction:

When you are like around people that you know, you don't really have to watch yourself or you're not like worried about people's like first impressions of you or....not that like I walk around worrying about what people are thinking about me, but like when it's people you know like they know you. When you're around people you don't know, like you don't know what impressions they're getting off you and stuff. Definitely I prefer being around people that I know than people that I don't know. (Baraka, Interview).

I'm REALLY comfortable. I really am..... I feel comfortable but in a way that like if ever I need to go out there and be with people I would find them; if I need to be alone there's also that point where I can be alone in my own room, in my own comfort with no one coming at me and disturbing my peace. And also, I'm comfortable now in a way that the crime rate in this place it's not that high. So if I'm walking alone chances of me getting mugged or....like encountering uhm a situation where I'm not safe on campus, they're not that high. So that sense of comfort is here in a way that, that people that I can go to when I'm feel....when I need that comfort from a person and also if I need to comfort myself I know I have my own place where I can just chill there and just comfort myself and my feelings and my emotions. So, there is that level of comfort. (Binx, Interview).

The social sphere is here transformed into patches of comfort and discomfort wherein any individual must manoeuvre so as to end up on their (more) desired patch of comfort (Valentine and Skelton, 2003:856-857). The achievement or non-achievement of the desired level of comfort is highly influential to the overall experience of that part of placeness. The individual will have a relationship with the part of placeness – a relationship that is coloured by the level of comfort or discomfort the individual feels within the part of placeness.

What is also important to note from Baraka and Binx's reflections is that it is not only the moderation of ultimately phenomenological spatial reality towards a particular desired level of comfort that is operational within the greater play of social interaction comfort. The personal experience of the individual is also operational in determining the level of experienced comfort. The individual uses this experience to consciously move themselves within a continuum of comfortability. The reference to what was personally done in a similar situation before shows how the sort of person that the individual is within the social sphere influences their comfortability resources. Drawing on their own particular histories individuals must take it upon themselves to engage those realities of their existence which are most likely to result in the experience of the level of comfort they seek.

In addition to the negotiation of one-on-one social interactions comfort is also influenced by how individuals experience being one within a crowd – in this case, the greater (communal) social interaction that is Rhodes University's placeness. For Fran, beyond individual interactions, the overall impression is of a place populated by white people and this sense of whiteness as otherness gives rise to her discomfort.

Okay. Cool. Like, at first, I won't lie to you, I was....I wasn't that comfortable...coz it's a very very very white university and I went to a public school so it wasn't, it was very....I can say that I experience a bit of like culture shock. SO MANY WHITE PEOPLE, my god! And like the res I was in was so small and another thing about white people -- I don't know if it's about white people or just, I don't know, this university, PEOPLE ARE SO IN YOUR FACE SO MUCH. They wanna know about you, are you feeling okay now? Is everything okay? Let's go to the dining hall together? With me, like I think -- I don't know whether it's my personality or, I do not know, I just liked being by myself and doing things by myself and the weirdest thing is that my bedroom was near the bathroom in res so like the people, it was just...it's a small res so the upstairs had like only two showers, so if people were showering, some would just wanna chill in my room and wait. And I'm like, "What the hell is this? These people and space?" And I felt like.....maybe they were

just trying coz I was, I don't know, I isolated myself, so maybe they were just trying to know me better or whatever. But eish! At first I didn't like it, hey! I didn't go to the functions THAT much, the dining hall functions. (Fran, Interview).

For Armand, in contrast, the overall sense of place is of an unfamiliar degree of diversity which unsettles his taken-for-granted assumptions.

Well, uh...it is a step outside my comfort zone coz I've never been in a place where there are so many different ethnic groups. Coz you get...almost every ethnic group in South Africa and some outside South Africa as well. And then sometimes you get uh...there's a language barrier...coz uh...when I first saw people uh...I see people with the same skin colour as me, we are in the Eastern Cape, by reflexes I ASSUME that you're Xhosa and then I saw that every person I spoke Xhosa to, their face would just turn blank. They'd just go blank. So, that was sort of a learning curve, that uh...not every black person in the Eastern Cape speaks Xhosa. (chuckle) But yeah, I got to learn about other ethnic groups as well through conversations I have had with people -- these shut down some of the rumours I had heard. (Armand, Interview).

Fran and Armand's experience of discomfort has to do with what, for each of them in their own way, is taken as a standout feature of the greater population. This environment and how its inhabitants are perceived and experienced must be negotiated as part of a process of trying to minimise discomfort and become more at ease.

For both participants their own identity is influential when it comes to this negotiation of comfort. Fran experiences what she refers to as "culture shock" on first arrival at Rhodes University. Culture shock, as Oberg (1954:1) explains, is centrally related to our identity – our existing values, norms, language, beliefs and practices and how these might be challenged or rendered unfamiliar in a new environment:

Culture shock is precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse. These signs or cues include the thousand and one ways in which we orient ourselves to the situations of daily life: when to shake hands and what to say when we meet people, when and how to give tips, how to give orders to servants, how to make purchases, when to accept and when to refuse invitations, when to take statements seriously and when not. Now these cues which may be words, gestures, facial expressions, customs, or norms are acquired by all of us in the course of growing up and are as much part of our culture as the language we speak or beliefs we accept. All of us depend for our peace of mind and our efficiency on hundreds of these cues, most of which we do not carry on the level of conscious awareness.

Faced with a new environment, an individual's 'cues pool' -- i.e. what the individual usually uses to be socially competent – might be less effective, at least initially, in the encountered social situation. Thus, how the individual sees and experiences the social sphere is dependent on what has been seen or experienced before. The past consequentially influences the present and the future. Both Fran and Armand refer to the difficulty of learning to become comfortable within a spatial qualitative reality of diversity. When a prior environment has been experienced as culturally monolithic, for example, then the individual's 'cues pool' will not contain the tools for being able to deal easily with difference.

How individuals negotiate environments characterised by differences of class, race, cultures, and so on (refer to Amin, 2002:967; Wessendorf, 2014:398), it should be noted, is not characterised by an inevitable progression towards greater comfort. According to Amin (2002: 969-970):

Habitual contact in itself, is no guarantor of cultural exchange. It can entrench group animosities and identities, through repetitions of gender, class, race, and ethnic practices. Cultural change in these circumstances is likely if people are encouraged to step out of their routine environment, into other everyday spaces that function as sites of unnoticeable cultural questioning or transgression. Here too, interaction is of a prosaic nature, but these sites work as spaces of cultural displacement. Their effectiveness lies in placing people from different backgrounds in new settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments. They are moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction.

As individuals negotiate living in a place that is experienced as discomfiting, they have options available to them – to hold on to previous perceptions, to refuse interactions with those perceived as different, to seek exposure to difference, to change their perceptions and so on (Wessendorf, 2014:400). While Fran chooses to “stay away” from functions, Armand describes how he “had to learn” about “other ethnic groups” through conversation and how this led him to challenge and dispel some of his prior beliefs and prejudices. Thus, these participants describe different strategies employed so as to negotiate compromised comfort among the crowd. These strategies are linked to what each individual is personally willing to do in order to have a particular relationship of comfort with others.

People-based comfort, just like the (largely architectural) place-based comfort before it, proves to be a subjective reality that is negotiated as it is met within an event. In other words, people experience people-related comfort levels as they meet and interact with the other people within placeness (see Amin, 2002:960; Wessendorf, 2014). This negotiation of level of comfort as it relates to other people can lead to either compromised levels of experienced comfort (in cases where the outcome of the negotiation is not positive) or the desired levels of experienced comfort (in cases where the outcome of the negotiation is positive).

From the above exposition, it is obvious that comfort plays a highly influential role in the determination of placeness experience (refer to Bissell, 2008:1698). The interviewed participants argued for comfort as it related to (sometimes part of) the built environment, the people environment, and in a comparative manner that included both the built-up environment and the people environment (see Genereux et al., 1983:41; Milligan, 1998:11; Amin, 2002; Wessendorf, 2014:397). The manner in which comfort was reflected upon moved beyond Seamon's interpretation of comfort as merely pause as a result of predominately physical barriers in the environment. Comfort, as thought by the participants, relates to interaction that is often memorialised (or rather stays in the consciousness) because it is highly informative of how spaces within placeness are experienced currently and perhaps going into the future (refer to Miligan, 1998:10; Day, 1999). This experience of comfort includes both physical environment experiences and social environment experiences. The experience of comfort/discomfort affects the individual's relationship with placeness in a profound manner.

7.3 Attachment to place

The library, especially study booth 8 and 5. Even when I'm not studying, I go there. And I always feel a bit mad when someone else is occupying one of the two booths because I feel like they're intruding my space or something. I don't know why I'm attached to it. Maybe it's because it gives me a sense of privacy and peace. I don't know. Maybe it's because there won't be people around to bother me. I know that's not a satisfactory answer but that's all I can think about. (Greta, Interview).

Greta highlights the manner in which spaces can become meaning-infused to the point that they hold special emotive significances for the individual. Attachment occurs when people grow to have emotional bonds to place (refer to Tuan, 1974:68). This connection is often highly emotional as a result of people having attributed particular emotional meanings to part (or parts of) placeness (see Lalli, 1992:287; Scannell and Gifford, 2017:360). People become attached to places for numerous reasons that encourage emotional bonds with place (refer to Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2011:207-208). These attachments have to do with the very existence of a part of placeness as a space that may be meaning-infused in numerous personal ways. These personal ways of meaning-infusion lead to a highly affectual relationship between the individual and a part of placeness.

David Seamon connects this emotional attachment to place to what he terms feeling subject. According to Seamon (1979:76):

Feeling-subject is a matrix of emotional intentionalities within the person which extend outwards in varying intensities to the centres, places and spaces of a person's everyday geographical world. Feeling-subject works in two ways: it sustains positive feelings for well used centres and places, and expresses negativity when these centres are changed in some way.

This is to say that the individual grows to be attached deeply to parts of the site and situation that constitute a place. This attachment inspires the constant minding of the place so as to keep intact the relationship between the individual and this part of placeness. The emotional attachment means that the individual will work hard to keep active this special relationship. This attachment encourages elevated relationships with places since their meaning-infusing affords them a highly affective emotional existence directed at the particular individual. In other words, the place is made a space of emotive existence and significance for an individual.

Spaces become meaning-infused because they are thought of by the individual in a particular manner that elevates their emotional significance and therefore the experience of them as when compared to other spaces that may or may not have, in a similar manner of occupation through presence, become meaning-infused spaces. These effects of a special bond that individuals might grow to have with particular places leads to attraction between individual and place

(Altman and Low, 1992:5-6). In other words, although most spaces are meaning-infused, there are particular spaces which acquire an especially emotional meaning-infusing connotation.



Picture 13: Narnia states that, “I can go sit elsewhere. But it is not the same”. Here the participant is highlighting the effects of a special bond that individuals might grow to have with particular places – this bonding leading to a form of magnetic attraction between individual and place (Altman and Low, 1992:5-6).

This is where I come with my friends....yeah with a few guys if you don't feel like being in the library yet.... Procrastination happens usually here and in the library this is where studying is done usually. Also like I'm ALWAYS sitting at the same place in the library. That place....first year, well that's where me and my friends used to chill. But now they do I.S. and all that stuff. They don't come to there. But I still chill there. Yeah. I mean after a year it was hard to change it. It was a year and a half, but it was hard to change it. Like....it's like a dog, you know, when it wees on something -- it OWNS that spot now. (chuckle). Yeah. It's like.....I mean, I can go sit somewhere else but it's not the same; it's not the same. Coz I sit directly outside the librarian's office on Commerce level. So that spot is just....reserved. You know, sometimes when I go to the library the first place I look is like: is there anyone sitting on my spot? (Narnia, Interview).

Yeah. The soccer fields and RMR studios. Yeah. And I am attached because they have like my passions in them. I love soccer and playing it. I am also into music. Not just like listening to it but actually producing it. So, if you can't find me then just look for me in those places. (Armand, Interview).

Beyond attachment being to specific places within Rhodes University's placeness, as these participants' comments show, attachment arises from prior interaction with the concerned place and what this interaction has grown to mean for a person's relationship with that particular place (refer to Lewicka, 2011:208; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013). According to Francis McAndrew (1998:409) attachment comes about because:

Our physical surroundings play an important role in creating a sense of meaning, order and stability in our lives. A sense of the place in which we live is often closely related to our sense of personal identity since so much of what we are depends upon where we live and the experiences that we have had there. Consequently, individuals usually develop very strong sentimental and emotional attachments to the places in which they live.

Places are thus meaning-infused. There are places to which the individual is highly attached just as there are places to which the individual is not so attached. In other words, there are patches of placeness that are afforded attachment value in part as an outcome of the experience of living in their place-based realities that are engaged by and engaging to the individual (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013:124).

Milligan (1998:9) describes the process by which a place becomes the object of attachment:

A known location acts as a containing and organizing device for all of the activities that have happened within it for a given individual, experiences which comprise the interactional past of the site. Activities that transpire in a known location, a site that may be said to have an interactional past for a person, become linked to that past by virtue of having occurred in the same site as previous activities. Such a place becomes imbued with meaning because of the experiences an individual has had within the site and, thus, associates with it. The site has been bestowed with meaning through interaction to the extent that an attachment has formed due to the meaningfulness of the interactions that have occurred there. The events that have taken place in the site are conceived of spatially, through the idea of the site. Their meaning is linked to the idea of the site, represented by the site and made possible by the site. The perceived contents of an interactional past are not fixed, however, in that the meaning of the past is always socially constructed based on current situations. Thus, the interactional past of a given site may be added to or reinterpreted over time.

As emotive experiences occur within particular areas of placeness, people become invested in these areas and the areas grow in emotional value to them. These areas then become sites elevated above others as there is a specific emotional utility to them resulting from the fact of having been historically areas of emotional placeness-based experience. Narnia's attachment

to a spot in the library arises from over a year of habitual use of a place and that place's association with prior relationships and friendships. For Greta, the familiarity of a particular booth and its association with feelings of privacy and peace give rise to a sense of personal ownership of what is ostensibly a public facility. And for Armand, the association of places with pleasurable activities that are meaningful to him, in turn infuses those places with special personal meaning. All three reflect back to moments in their experience of a placeness that led to that particular part of placeness being emotionally elevated to the point that it became an area of attachment. With growing attachment, places provide individuals with particular utilities that they find positive. In Greta's case an area in the library gives her "privacy and peace" whereas Armand finds a place wherein his "passions" are located. In this way the area of attachment is elevated above other areas which do not have the same ability to provide some particular sought-after quality of experience by the individual.

Another important point highlighted especially by Narnia and Greta is the felt need to regulate the utility of a place to which one has become attached so that it is available whenever they personally need it. While the place is publicly "owned" there is a felt need to appropriate it; to have it respected as one's "own". Wickham and Graefe (2002:356-357) refer to this impulse as "territorialising" the place of attachment:

Territorial behaviors are an attempt on the individual's part to control not only the activities of others, but their access to a particular area. Territorial beliefs include an individual's perceptions or beliefs about who should enter a site, what goes on at the site, and who should take care of the site. Territorial emotions include a positive emotional bond for a place and the condition of that site as well as the type of user that should use the area, and negative emotional reactions to possible changes in conditions and users in that very same area. Because recreation sites are often symbolic and have deep personal meaning for people, territorial models (e.g. crowding and conflict) stress an individual's perceived control as an important part of a satisfying experience.

As attachment grows within the individual, that individual would like to believe that they ought to be given preference over the area that is of such emotional significance to them. Attachment to an area gives rise to a desire to have exclusivity in its use and in how others use it. This is because the place and individual are now in a special relationship of emotive affect that is treasured by the individual – an emotive effect that the individual feels is the way it is

exclusively because of themselves and being chosen by the place for a special experience each time.

In sum, at its essence the attachment to placeness is the manifestation of a growing emotional bond between an individual and a part of placeness (Lewicka, 2011:207; Scannell and Gifford, 2017:358). This bond absolutely changes the relationship that the individual has with that part of placeness as this part now becomes of elevated emotional import for the individual who has grown a degree of attachment with the meaning-infused space (Lewicka, 2011:209). The individual grows attached to the place as an area which he or she has occupied before and from this occupation was sparked an emotional bond with the area (Milligan, 1998:8). In some cases, the emotional bond with an area will lead to wishes of appropriating the legitimate use of the place. Places of great emotional importance are elevated to a status above other places, an elevation that might require recognition on the part of others (Wickham and Graefe, 2002:354). The attachment will be engaged and engaging each time the individual is within that particular emotive meaning-infused space. In other words, the emotions of that place will continue being felt in the present just as they have been progressively accrued over the past for that particular human being. Thus, within Rhodes University's greater placeness individual histories, desires, passions and trajectories determine the multiple meanings that micro spaces have for different users.

7.4 At homeness

Hmmmm. I don't know. I mean.....I guess I'm like relatively comfortable here. But I don't, I wouldn't say "at home" coz like there's times when like you feel it in your body that like I just need to be home right now and this, like this doesn't feel like home like because, even the friends I've had, like I've known them for less than a year. Obviously like the people around me don't...like home is where like people...the people, like people know me without me having to explain myself or how I feel or anything like that, you know what I mean? Like here people don't know me like that yet and so I don't know if I would say it's home. I wouldn't say it's like 'my home away from home'. No. Not yet. Not quite; Not yet. Because like times when like you're feeling like sad or like I don't know distressed or whatever like it's not...a comfortable place, like I'm like "I want to go home". So, I wouldn't say here is home. (Baraka, Interview).

The research participants spoke at length about the experienced quality of 'at homeness' within the Rhodes University site and situation. The reflections were premised on thoughts about 'home' and what it is to be 'at home' (refer to Seamon, 1979:69). The connection between these two realities (home and being at home) of experience is that they argue often for a physical/emotional/psychological space/place (home) that is thought of as a state of being (being at home or at homeness). Feeling at home within a place is one of the more important human feelings to have (see Sixsmith, 1986:283; Despres, 1991:102; Moore, 2000). Being at home or not feeling at home are states of being that transform most consequentially the relationship between individual and placeness. An individual 'at home' is qualitatively different from an individual 'not at home' within a particular place and its placeness realities.

David Seamon highlights the connection between home, at homeness, and rest within the place ballet:

The essential experiential structure of rest, I argue, is at-homeness – the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in and familiar with the everyday world in which one lives and outside of which one is 'visiting,' 'in transit,' 'not at home,' 'out of place' or 'travelling'. The dwelling-place is generally the spatial centre of at-homeness. At the same time, the person who is at home establishes taken-for-granted places for the things of his everyday life and is familiar and comfortable with a geographical world extending beyond the dwelling-place (Seamon 1979:70).

This is to think of the experience of 'at homeness' as being that of a sophisticated relationship of emotion between individual and place. Deep knowledge and familiarity with placeness are implied in the adoption of the feeling of being at home in a particular quality of placeness. An individual is at home within a space when they feel they have a deep knowledge and appreciation for the inner workings of it because they have been rooted by their existence within this particular place and its experiential realities. Homeness is informed consequentially by the level of comfort experienced (Mallett, 2004:73). The home in being 'at home' is thought of as the centre wherein all that is outside the centre is counterbalanced against what it means to be within the centre in terms of experience and the attachment it brings.



Picture 14: Kabomo states that, “Home is a place where [...] I am comfortable”. The participant is here reminiscing on what it means for them to be ‘at home’ – an at homeness here that is informed consequentially by the level of comfort experienced (Mallett, 2004:73).

Baraka highlights the relationship between individual and place wherein the individual feels ‘at home’. The inner realities of a place give rise to Baraka’s feelings of being ‘at home’ (Moore, 2000:209; Mallett, 2004:67). Baraka isolates these realities as those that make a part (or parts) of placeness a feeling of ‘at homeness’ that some other placeness realities do not encourage. The difference in experiential qualities ensures that one part and experience can be thought of as ‘being at home’ whereas some other part and experience is not thought of as such an experience between individual and environment.

Armand argued for her feeling ‘at home’ in a similar manner to Baraka:

To be honest at home I never walk. Like we do not walk because, I don't know, personally I just feel like it's safer to not walk around. Like the streets aren't safe. I walk here like everywhere literally everywhere. At home I will not walk everywhere. So there...how can I put this?...like walking here is kind of like a fresh air kind of thing like in the sense that it's something different that I don't do at home. Walking at home: No. No. We don't do that. We're not allowed to do that. We were never allowed from the beginning when we were still young we're still not....well not, not necessarily not allowed but it's just something that I've continued now that I'm older like I just wouldn't walk around in the streets. But here we walk AT NIGHT to Pick 'n Pay. I walk at night to town wherever it is. We're constantly

walking everywhere which is something really interesting and that I only do it here. I don't do it when I'm at home. (Armand, Interview).

Both Baraka and Armand take a particular phenomenological reality that they experience at a place that they consider home, think of how that experiential reality contrasts against the Rhodes University environment, and then arrive at a sense of what “at homeness” has grown to entail in their experience. What level of at homeness we experience, thus has to do with that construct that we have of what we consider ‘home’ and its similarity or difference in comparison with the university environment (refer to Zingmark et al., 1995:50).

It is important to note that ‘being at home’ is in both Armand and Baraka’s cases a work of reference. What I mean here is that Baraka and Armand refer to a particular place – a location – as that which it is to be – at least locational-wise – at home. According to the author Julia Wardhaugh (1999:95) such reflections are consistent within homeness reflections because:

Home is at least partially a physical place, but it is more a state of being. A room, a house, a city or a nation may all be understood as home, in dialectical opposition to something larger, something that lies outside and beyond that which is defined as home. Conversely, spaces generally understood as home may not be experienced as such: the statement that ‘I do not have a home’ may equally mean that ‘I have no house in which to live’ or ‘the house in which I live does not feel like a home’.

Home then, consists in part of meaning-infused locational space and in part of meaning-infused activity space. An individual will have a point in meaning-infused space that they refer to as ‘home’ just as they would have activities and emotions that they consider to be those associated with the meaning-infused space that is considered home. In this way, a sort of imagined scale for “at homeness” is constructed, according to which individuals weigh their experiences in search – whether knowingly or not – for that experience that they expect from a situation wherein they desire to feel ‘at home’. Feeling ‘at home’ being a desired state of affairs, the goal is the experience of being ‘at home’ (Molony, 2010; Ohlen et al., 2014). The environment either grows to support being ‘at home’ or it becomes an emplacement that is distanced from, or antagonistic to, feelings of ‘at homeness’.

To think of levels of 'at homeness' as a battle between 'being at home' and 'not being at home' is nothing new. The feeling of 'at homeness' by nature is a feeling that falls on one side of two poles of experience. It is already established that there are placeness realities that an individual will experience that may or may not encourage feelings of being 'at home' (see Seamon, 1979:70; Zingmark et al., 1995; Moore, 2000). Thus, the experienced level of at-homeness depends upon what is considered home in the first place, and the extent to which present experiences live up to that construction (refer to Zingmark et al., 1995:50). The experience of 'being at home' is therefore quite particular to an individual.

Baraka's comments touched on the notion of homesickness. This is a feeling of longing for what is 'home' and being 'at home' (Fisher et al., 1985; Scopelliti and Tiberio, 2010:338). People sometimes have bouts of nostalgia for being at home and these are usually occasioned by a period when they feel themselves 'not at home' (refer to Fisher et al., 1985:213; McAndrew, 1998). For Baraka, Rhodes University is not a place where she feels 'at home' and this sometimes experience of the world triggers thoughts and memories about where she *does* feel at home. According to the theorist Francis McAndrew (1998: 409-410):

The disruption of one's sense of place through relocation, especially involuntary relocation, can threaten self-identity and be rather overwhelming to those with strong place attachments. The word 'homesickness' is commonly used to describe the feelings of loss that accompany this experience. Fisher (1989) describes homesickness as a dominant attentional focus on home-related thinking and activity and a strong desire to restore the daily experience of being at home.

Individuals often look at themselves as connected to their environment in important ways. When the individual either loses this connection or the connection is challenged in a manner that the individual has not seen before, the individual begins rethinking how they are as a person within that environment's realities. People who are homesick end up re-evaluating the relationship that is had with the place within which they are experiencing particular realities. There ends up being the consistent need to be 'at home' in the same manner that has been historically understood by that particular individual. In such a manner the continuum of 'at homeness/not at homeness' is a constant negotiation for the individual.

The literature on the comparative experience of place (refer to Purcell and Nasar, 1992:201; Nasar, 1994; Wyant, 2008) refers to the ways in which a current place is experientially compared to a perception of a previous place. The person making the comparison will then, upon the act of comparing experiences, decide on which place experience is more in line with how they personally would like their experience of place to be (refer to Purcell and Nasar, 1992:200). In essence, much of place experience sets itself up for comparative reflection. The participants discussed 'at homeness' comparatively in two manners. Firstly, they discussed 'at homeness' in terms of the familial or social connections within what is considered 'homely' and then, secondly, they reflected upon it as the physical property of what is 'homely'.

Social connections are a significant feature of what it means for a person to be 'at home' within a place. Both community and social interaction featured in the way in which the participants constructed 'at homeness'. To be connected socially is to share in something that is mutually acknowledged as being socially shared (refer to Turner, 1988:79). "Community" arises when there is assumed to be a special social connection between the people in a place and this connection makes the population of a place a metaphoric unity (McMillan and Chavis, 1986:8; Chavis et al., 1986:28). More concretely, when people interact socially with each other this interaction can be central to determining the overall experience of the place as one in which one either does or does not feel 'at home'. The quality of the social relationships and the sense of connection to place that an individual has, are central to feeling at home (Ohlen et al., 2014:2). Good social interactions lead to good relationships between individuals.



Picture 15: Fran states that, “For me, home is the people”. Here the participant is highlighting the connection between feeling at home and the quality of the social relationships the individual has (Ohlen et al., 2014:2).

I mean home that's where my family is, my mom, my siblings my cousins, that's where my CLOSE family is. Not that I'm saying my frie...my family here at Rhodes isn't that close but it is. But like that's where home is and then because I'm here most of the time I found comfort, if I may say. And...created a social space here at Rhodes, created friends, made new friends and I've....met people whom I'm close with, that I spend most of my time with and they have become family. So it all goes back to comfort, I'm comfortable in saying that, 'actually this is home away from home. So, I don't feel lost when I'm here. I see this as my home too...most of the time I'm here. And I'm very familiar with the place so it's technically home away from home. (Binx, Interview).

Well, I think it's just...maybe it's just me, coz for me home is the people. The people now are gone -- the ones that I knew. So I had to start afresh and BUILD that home again, you know. But now I've only recent...coz you remember I told you I was gone, and I've only came back, so I was like, "Actually, you know what? Let me not go to the library and work there. Let me work in the department. Just to try and get to KNOW the people in the department better so that next year I at least get that support structure". Coz this year I was just alone in the library and everything. So, I feel like for me the, the...it was made a home by the people, for me. But now the people are gone it's just like a lonely place. And I find that the people around are not as welcoming in any case, so yeah. (Fran, Interview).

Sometimes all that is needed to be ‘at home’ is ‘other people’ giving a homely feel to the individual. Binx and Fran reflect on their ‘at homeness’ in relation to the social connections

that they have made within the university place. They are acutely aware of how their experience of 'at homeness' in Rhodes University's placeness is highly dependent upon social relationships which they either do or do not have/have or have not built. According to the theorist Stefan Baldursson (1995:6):

For most people, the experience of homeness is probably closely related to the experience of others. Most of us grew up with others in a home, and many of us still live in a family. All the places of our childhood home are in some way related to others. The hiding place was where we hid from someone or looked for someone; the secret place was the place we did not want others to know about, and so forth.

Home is thus not only thought of as a physical location but also in terms of the people who inhabit it and the social relationships that prevail within it. This means that thoughts on 'at homeness' will – at many points – refer to the activities and roles that people have partaken in with others when they have been 'at home'. These activities and roles will be highly personal and will be in relation to the sort of individuals that people are when they are 'at home'. Such a qualitative reality means that places are transformed by these participants into those wherein the social connections that they experience are either enough for them to feel at home as dwellers of place or they may find that their connections are not enough to make them feel at home.

For Binx home is a place where the biological family is located. The literature on home and the biological family (see Bowlby, 1997; Moore, 2000) notes that sometimes all that is meant by 'home' is being with the (usually) biological family. According to Mallett (2004:73-74) because the link between home and family is so strong that 'the terms are almost interchangeable':

When conceived as inter-related or overlapping terms, home typically symbolizes the birth family dwelling and the birth family or family of origin. Home encompasses the house or dwelling that a person lived in immediately after birth and/or their childhood family house(s). It also symbolizes the family relationships and life courses enacted within those spaces. As such it is the place where children are nurtured and reared and finally depart when they come of age. Without the family a home is 'only a house'.

Whatever the case is in terms of 'at homeness' it is gotten at through comparing an idea of 'at homeness' with most immediately the idea of the biological/familial home and what is experienced at any other similar place. The home is commonly associated with the family; to be at home is then to be with family. Binx and Fran premise their reflections on a reflexive 'at homeness' in contrast to a 'not at homeness' (refer to Pallasmaa, 1995; Altman and Werner, 2013:51). Established social connections contribute to making an individual feel 'at home'. The current experience remains a product of the present and the past. This is evidenced when Binx refers to a previous dwelling with the words "that's where my family is" (Binx) when thinking of how 'at home' she is in Grahamstown's Rhodes University as compared to her hometown Uitenhage.

Home is, furthermore, thought of as having certain characteristics. For instance home is a place of self-expression and being permitted to be oneself:

Yeah. Yeah. I think I am. Hmm, I think that in any place that you go to, unless there's like a big thing that alienates you, unless you're like there's a big thing that attacks you ... then you'll never feel at home. But here I feel like, I can be who I want to be. So that's what makes it home. There's no one that's like monitoring me and where I go, how I go, what I do, and whether I should do it or not. So, I'm allowed to be uncomfortable in certain places and choose to move away and sit somewhere else or and...yeah, walk HOWEVER I feel comfortable and see different places. There's no one that's like monitoring where I should be, if that makes sense...yeah. So, I do feel at home coz I feel like I'm allowed that opportunit....like I'm allowed that opportunity to just be myself in this space where there's like so many different people who like different things. (Jane, Interview).

To me home is a place where.....first of all; I am comfortable. I am...uh...there is that uh degree of choice where I can have a choice at something. I don't want to say freedom because that's a very complicated situation. Because uhm...I can say that here I am free but when I go back to home there's limitations to how free I can be. So, uhm...comfortability. (Kabomo, Interview).

Kabomo and Jane's experience of feeling at home within Rhodes University is connected to how they experience a certain freedom to 'be' in the university environment. Once again, this sense of a place as allowing the individual the freedom to be, is evaluative and comparative in nature. The present experiential reality is compared to other situations in order to evaluate it as comparatively permissive and therefore conducive to feeling at home (refer to Milligan, 1998:10). The past is a consequential informant of the present.

In effect, the home and ‘being at home’ is a reference point wherein there is a placeness reality that gets strategically referred to when a particular experience is looked at in terms of its experiential qualities and its utility at being a particular experience. The home and ‘being at home’ are static and moving because, according to Benjamin et al. (1995:158), the two are inextricably connected:

The home is that spatially localised, temporally defined, significant and autonomous physical frame and conceptual system for the ordering, transformation and interpretation of the physical and abstract aspect of domestic life at several simultaneous spatio-temporal scales, normally activated by the connection to a person or community such as a nuclear family.

This definition combines both the physical and emotional layers of the home. The home is a physical structure wherein people live. However, beyond being physical, the home also is an emotional ‘knot’ as people within the home ‘structure’ are bound together by emotion – through life experiences, identity, and so on. Home is physical, emotional and social. ‘At homeness’, then, is a state of being that is both frozen in time and desired in the current time. People long to be ‘at home’ within their current environment (refer to Gillsjo and Schwartz-Barcott, 2010:6-7) – in this case, Rhodes University. Having found themselves ‘at rest’ in Rhodes University’s placeness, at some point, the place cannot help but audition for ‘homeness’ (refer to Hayward, 1977:25; Wikstrom, 1995). The participants express the desire for Rhodes University to have at the very least a feeling of ‘at homeness’ about it; a need to feel ‘at home’ within Rhodes University’s placeness.

7.5 Conclusion

The opening quote from Narnia touches on the anchoring themes of this chapter. Narnia refers to the experience that he has of being within a particular spot of placeness. The experience of ‘spots’ of campus speaks to how places are experienced differently by different people as they have ‘rested’ upon them differently – with some giving meaning to particular ‘spots’ which have no such meaning for others. At the base of this reflection by Narnia is that to ‘rest’ within place is highly directed and is engaged and engaging (sometimes) in only the event of occupation by the individual who has attributed (or is attributing) meaning in the current time.

In other words, the experience of rest is that of being within a place that is highly personalised and most likely to be personalised along the same line in the future as it is currently.

Rest is a moment of directed pause upon site and situation. It is when in directed pause upon meaning-infused space that the individual takes a moment to gain a better grasp of the site and situation as a prevailing placeness (see Seamon, 1979; Moore, 2000; Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2017). Rest, as engaged by the interviewed participants, included moments of encounter – fleeting as these moments sometimes were – that are pointed enough to encourage meaningful relations between individual and placeness. It is during rest that the participants thought of such states as comfort, emotional attachment to places, and levels of at-homeness. The experienced level of comfort by the participants was subject to the realities experienced in both the built-up environment and the people environment. In the built-up environment the levels of experienced comfort were consequentially informed by instances wherein the places were the sites of previously affective experience; whereas in the social realm the experienced comfort was as a result of how the individuals relate to other people within the site and situation.

In many cases the participants were focusing on the multi-ethnic makeup of Rhodes University's placeness as a social sphere. They assessed their current experience as being on a continuum of comfort/at-homeness with more or less of the desired qualities in the experience of place. In other words, the level of comfort experienced is a result of how the current situation makes the individual feel in terms of their comfort level. This level of comfort may be a result of the current experienced situation or be a result of thoughts on a largely similar situation and how it was negotiated in the past.

The participants also touched on their experienced levels of attachment to particular sites within the university's placeness. These experiences of attachment were as a result of an amalgam of previous emotive experiences within a part of placeness and the thought that this particular part of placeness had a special effect upon the individual who had grown attached to it. This experience stays with the individual for a prolonged period of time since even in the present moment the individual is able to call on the emotive existence and experience of this particular

meaning-infused space. This calling upon of experience may or may not bring back the emotional experience of the place just as it were in the beginning when it was afforded.

Comfort is an experience of being at ease within part of (or a collection of parts of) placeness as a result of both current and past experiences within said part(s). Attachment to particular realities of placeness as rested upon is perhaps the most striking manifestation of affective relationship between individual and placeness. The experience of at-homeness is a quality of place experience that is longed for and is shaped by what 'home' connotes for any particular individual including not only a location but a set of social relations. Feeling 'at home' within Rhodes University is largely dependent upon what was previously experienced when physically at a place thought of as home. Ultimately, being at rest within site and situation relates closely to the emotional bonds that people develop in relation to placeness. It is at rest that people encounter consequentially the site and situation's placeness which is then engaged on a personal level and which affects the person and their willingness to emotionally invest in that very placeness.

Chapter Eight: Encounter – Part Three of the Place Ballet

8.1 Introduction

Let's see..... I think uhm.....now I feel like I'm in Geography 2 (Chuckle). Uhm, the visual, visual I would say it is, I mean, people are integrated within the visual aspects of Rhodes as a place and as a walking place. Coz you can definitely see and feel the difference on Sundays and during vac -- more especially during vac when campus is almost empty. You can feel that there's almost no one. So it's as if it's two different places and when there are no people I think you notice more of the buildings and your surroundings and then, I don't know, I feel like....people make up Rhodes, yes... along with the buildings and everything else. And then also the different groups of people that you associate with different spaces. Like I would say around science buildings or places that have labs like the Biochem and Chemistry -- that region -- you mostly see these like science students walking up and about -especially in the afternoons -- and they're wearing their lab coats and then uhm...I think it's the drama department. I don't know but I just associate it with BA students coz you can even....not to be stereotypical but you can even see them in their attire and in the way they conduct themselves. I don't know if it makes sense. (Refiloe).

Encounter is when perception and perceiver meet. Encounter is the event wherein two or more bodies (animate and/or inanimate) come into each other's paths for the occurrence of a perceiving by a perceiver (refer to Seamon, 1979). At its most basic, perception is an acknowledgement of an event within a field of existence. This occurrence of event through perceiver and perception is identifiable as an event. In other words, animate and inanimate or inanimate and inanimate or animate and animate come into each other's path for there to be an event of encounter that is identifiable on some level.

The experience of emplacement is seldom just the experience of the built environment – whatever might be meant by such a combination of words (refer to Hayden, 1997:24; Gieryn, 2000: 265; Edensor, 2010:70; Agnew and Duncan, 2014). The built environment is populated by living human bodies who traverse it. These human bodies add to the quality of place experience in numerous ways (refer to Proshansky, 1978; Archer, 1996; Woolcock, 2001:13; Stedman, 2003:674; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008:43). Things such as the way in which people interact with each other and the ways in which they think of the place within which they live affect the experience of emplacement. These ways often interact with the experience of the

built environment and then lead to an overall quality of place experience including both physical structure and human interaction (refer to Stokols et al., 1981:450; Proshansky et al., 1983; Carr et al., 1992; Stedman, 2002:570). This in turn will determine the sort of relationship the environment and the individual will have with each other.

Encounter, along with movement and rest, constitutes the third aspect of the characterisation of placeness experience as advanced by Edward Relph. To Relph, in any place there are people involved in action of numerous kinds. During encounter there are people (the participants) involved in the action (the event of encounter) within a space of the site and situation. This event of encounter lends the space of encounter a meaning within the greater placeness of the site and situation.

Within the place ballet David Seamon views encounter as an event of differing qualities. According to Seamon (1979: 121-122):

Encounter is a better description for the ways we attentively meet the world. Encounter is a multifaceted ebb and flow of attention and involves all shades of obliviousness, watching, noticing and heightened contact. Beneath these more conscious attentive modes is the steady stream of basic contact, which in all but the most oblivious of moments keeps body and world, movements and surroundings, in smooth attunement.

This is to think of encounter as an event of perception that is not fixed but is under the influence of how the perceiver and the perceived/perception interact in their existence. In other words, at any given time perception can either be poor and/or (in)voluntary yet at other times it can be rich and/or (in)voluntary. Whatever the case, it remains that within the experience of placeness, beyond movement and rest, there is the event of encounter between features of existence (animate and inanimate).

In the present study, the participants spoke of encounter in three main ways: in relation to aesthetics, in relation to other people, and in relation to safety. Three themes can be discerned in how the participants spoke of aesthetics. I refer to these as noticing, comparison, and the (contested) visual culture of the university. When it comes to engagement between people, I

discuss engagement as a continuum spanning from inanimate (seeing people as mere features of the environment -- the same as the architectural space) to animate (seeing people as features who interact socially). Finally, I discuss safety in relation to the themes of comfort, comparative safety, and time.



Picture 16: Refiloe states that, “People are integrated within the visual aspect of Rhodes as a place”. This highlights the experience of Rhodes University’s placeness as being made up of both the decorated built-up environment and the people environment (Wylie, 2006:521).

8.2 Visual Aesthetics

One of the first ways in which a place is experienced by most people is visually. Places are taken in aesthetically. It has been historically argued that such taking in is a fact of place because place is often created to be viewable, i.e. built with the eye in mind (refer to Lynch, 1960:18; Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991:83-84; Berleant and Carlson, 2007). This is the often argued fact of many places being visual representations (sometimes before they are) meaning-infused by people who dwell within the place or are influential during the physical construction of a place (Lynch, 1960:8). Rhodes University as a place is no different. The university is subject (and subjecting) to an aesthetics critique as a site and situation for the dwelling of human beings.

People encounter (and are encountered by) a visual that they may decide to critique for its quality of aesthetic presentation. For instance, individuals have a thought on the beauty or lack thereof of the buildings and landscape that they find themselves within for prolonged periods. With the habitual nature of walking the university space under discussion in this dissertation it is only logical to assume that the students are within the realm of what is termed the aesthetics of everyday life (refer to Sartwell, 1995:5; Light and Smith, 2005:3; Saito, 2008). In summary, the aesthetics of everyday life are basically the appreciation (aesthetically) of the scene of emplacement for that day. In other words, people during the day go through visual after visual (scene after scene) that may be thought of in terms of aesthetics. The entire day may even be thought of in terms of its aesthetics, i.e. that which is thought of in terms of beauty and as art (Berleant and Carlson, 2007:13). This is to say that people may think of their day as one huge picture within which they are a moving part that sees some of the other parts within that very same picture.



Picture 17: Binx states that, “It [the buildings] all look the same”. Here is being highlighted the judgement of the look of Rhodes University’s buildings (Light and Smith, 2005:7).

Seamon has his own thoughts on what occurs when the individual involved in the place ballet is within scene. According to Seamon (1979:101):

At different moments, the person pays more or less attention to the world at hand. At times, he is intensely aware of the environment and may even feel that he is in perceptual union with it. [...] At other times the person is very much oblivious to the world at hand and gives it no notice. [...] Even in situations of extreme separateness, however, the preconscious perceptual abilities of body-subject are at work, guarding the person from any unexpected dangers that the environment might impose, and assisting with any gestures or movements that the person is required to make even as his more conscious attention is directed elsewhere.

This is to say that the people within site and situation, in movement or at rest, do and do not notice features of their environment, dependent on their eye, which may or may not wander. In other words, individuals do visually take into consideration that visual presentation of place in which they find themselves within. This visualising of the area of emplacement occurs both voluntarily (the person looks at their surrounding) and involuntarily (the person's surrounding is looked at instinctively or without conscious purpose) (Bridge, 2013: 311). The former is straightforward as the person simply looks at their environment; the latter is more of a feel than an actual look -- it simply is a knee-jerk reaction (instinctual) to the environment as part of it unfolds for the body. Whatever the case might be the point is that people do judge the visual as a presentation of some significance.

8.2.1 General Aesthetics

The Hamilton building ... like it's just so corporate and so professional you know like we're at university to be professional, I'd like to think. So, buildings like that they're very enhancing to the whole idea of what we're doing here. And then like the business and the road, the way the whole thing is structured and the way the whole thing is setup...cars are constantly up and down -- you kinda have to be aware. So, I can't be like consumed by the music that I'm listening to ... I have to also be alert of what's going on around me otherwise cars would knock me down and that's not a good thing. (Chuckle). So yeah I have to, I have to -- as much as I want to be like -- during that walk I just want to be like away... I have to be present. I just wanted to just tell you about the last thing... the chemistry department, the department really looks like a hospital to me. Yeah, it's, it's structured like a hospital. It's right here. This one! The windows, the height, everything and that kind of creeps me out because I'm not like into hospitals. So I try...it's hard to avoid it because I mean it's so central.. so it's difficult. Like look at how it looks; Hospital 101. (Armand, Interview).

The aesthetic experience of Rhodes University is located. What I mean by this is that for the individual to experience the aesthetics of Rhodes University there is the requirement that the individual is located somewhere within the built-up and decorated environment that Rhodes University is (refer to Allport, 1955:14; Berleant, 2005:14). The eye of an individual goes out and sees the world within which it is located (Seamon, 1979:61; Wylie, 2006:519). This eye invariably isolates a particular part of the built-up and decorated environment and thinks of its aesthetic quality.

The isolation of the visual elements of placeness for the appreciation of aesthetic utility is an inevitability. In this isolation, the visual appearance of an environment is the primary consideration of the eye as it looks to speak on its aesthetical utility. According to Berleant and Carlson (2007:16):

Environmental aesthetics concerns the appreciative engagements of humans as parts of total environmental complexes, where intrinsic experiences of sensory qualities and immediate meanings predominate. The experience of the environment as the locus of an inclusive perceptual system includes factors of space, mass, volume, time, movement, color, light, smell, sound, tactility, kinesthesia, pattern, order, information, and meaning. Consequently, the aesthetic experience of the environment is not exclusively visual but actively involves all the sensory and cognitive modalities synaesthetically, engaging the participant bodily in intense awareness. It is important to remember that aesthetics, historically and etymologically, involves the perception by the senses in general. In addition, a normative dimension suffuses the perceptual range, and this underlies positive or negative value judgments of an environment. Environmental aesthetics is thus the investigation of environmental experience and the immediate and intrinsic value of its perceptual and cognitive dimensions.

The visual appearance is first to matter to the individual and from thereon there is the informing of the other perceptual senses of the individual as an appreciator of a view of a particular aesthetically thought-of object. In other words, there are objects within the built-up and decorated environments that lend themselves to aesthetic consideration.

Armand spoke of two buildings within her location that she thinks of in terms of aesthetic quality. From these buildings she basically isolates particular realities – design of the building in one case; design of a building within a collection of buildings and roads in the other case – pertaining to the visual appearance of buildings as parts of the visual placeness of Rhodes

University. This exercise in isolation and consideration is a widespread exercise when it comes to aesthetic appreciation. Here Binx, similarly, isolates a particular element of Rhodes University's placeness and reflects upon its aesthetic quality:

You know, it's just, you know, when I go through my social media I see a lot of pictures that are taken by people whom I'm friends with from Rhodes and I never really notice that it's this particular building, THAT one that I have been passing through almost every day that I, I end up like, you know, liking like what I see because of the manner in which they took the picture, you know...the focus of the camera on that particular building. So, when I take my way or go somewhere I try to see also how I can take pictures of places so that they can also like not look dull and that they can be very interesting. So, it's really great. Because I have always had like that ideology that Rhodes like each and every building here looks almost the same -- especially with the residences -- I don't know like it all looks the same, but when another person like takes a picture of it they all end up portraying a lot of things which makes it different from another building. So...I don't know, it's really interesting. I find it very interesting. And what you'll notice is that there's a lot of trees that cover most of the buildings and when you take a picture of it, it makes it look beautiful. But not now because it was just Winter. But now it's Spring and everything is blossoming, it is going to be bright and nice and...yah. (Binx, Interview).

Binx's assertion that "picture angles make some buildings look good" recalls Edward Relph's insidenesses, in particular what Relph (1976:54) terms empathetic insideness:

Empathetic insideness demands a willingness to be open to significances of a place, to feel it, to know and respect its symbols -- much as a person might experience a holy place as sacred without necessarily believing in that particular religion. This involves not merely looking at a place, but seeing into and appreciating the essential elements of its identity. Such empathetic insideness is possible for anyone not constricted by rigid patterns of thought and who possesses some awareness of the environment.

This is to say that a person can have an experience, or an idea of an experience, of a place that is almost purely psychological/emotional (Nasar, 1988: 258). This experience is also possible through the viewing of pictures of the place and from these pictures imagining what it could be like being the person who actually took the picture as present in that moment of aesthetic presentation and knowing of the significance of that visual and presence. Binx attempts to re-live what the moment of presence in the picture was like to the person who took the picture. She highlights what features of placeness as visual might be crucial to experiences of Rhodes University's placeness. Thus, to experience the aesthetics of a place involves the isolation of

parts of the built-up and decorated environment – whether just a single building or a collection of buildings – and thinking of the aesthetic utility of the isolated part of placeness as deliberate visual presentation.

From Armand and Binx's reflections it is clear that the general aesthetics of Rhodes University's visual placeness are an exercise in located parts' isolation. In other words, the individuals look to aesthetically judge Rhodes University's visual placeness through looking at particular parts of such built-up and decorated environment spatial reality. This isolation of subjective spatial reality is done from within particular parts of placeness that allow for the consideration of the visual placeness quality of Rhodes University. Both Armand and Binx are careful to acknowledge that their aesthetic experience of placeness is much dependent on presence within a particular site and situation and the spatial reality of its particularity in that moment in time. This means that in the moment of aesthetic consideration by the individual that individual is concurrently engaged in the qualitative experiential reality of location particularity. When speaking of environmental aesthetics and engaged individuals, Arnold Berleant describes the co-constitutive aesthetic event as follows:

The environment is not wholly dependent on the perceiving subject; it also imposes itself in significant ways on the person, engaging one in a relationship of mutual influence. Not only is it impossible to objectify the environment, but the environment cannot be taken as a mere reflection of, or response to, the perceiver. Recognizing the influence of specific features in the environment makes it necessary to extend the active model of aesthetic experience to include such factors. Consciousness of the self, of the lived-body, and of lived-space must be complemented by recognizing that the environment exerts influences on the body, that it contributes to shaping the body's spatial sense and mobility and, ultimately, to defining its lived-space (Berleant in Nasar, 1988:93).

This is to argue for an environment that is seen just in the way that it will allow itself to be seen by those who put themselves in positions to see it in turn. In other words, person and environment meet each other in an event of meeting that takes on both parties as equal partners to the event and what may become of it. The individual may be running or walking; the environment may be wet or extremely dirty. The point is that the viewing is subject to realities which either hinder or assist its quality. Ultimately, one of the ways in which the viewing subject makes judgements about a place's aesthetics is comparatively.

8.2.2 Comparative Aesthetics

The architecture, it's obviously much different from where I am from. Over there it's ... I can't say India ... it's a mixture of like Persian, and some other architecture here it's like more EUROPEAN ... It has a European identity to it – which is pretty cool. I've been to other universities as well in other countries and to be honest this kind of stands out... it's the buildings, the material, the whole outline, everything. It's quite different. Or maybe it's just uh when you grow up you watch English movies, you watch all those things...obviously in your head ... I don't know if it's an inferiority complex, but this seems to be ... the BAR. I don't know how that comes into it but at least in my mind this seems to be one of the better architectures. (Bolo, Interview).

In taking in the aesthetic quality of the site and situation that the individual is within, the individual will sometimes look to comparatively judge the quality of what is presented (see Purcell and Nasar, 1992:200; Nasar, 1994:13; Berleant and Carlson, 2007). In other words, the individual visually taking in the particular ultimately experiential spatial reality of a particular part of the built-up and decorated environment in terms of its aesthetic quality often does such an action through sometimes looking to other experiences of visual presentation.

The base of the comparative experience of the visual aesthetics of an environment is largely biographical – or rather of a personal nature. According to Purcell and Nasar (1992:200):

Our experience of the environment consists of repeated encounters with examples of different types of environment. We experience, for example, different types of interior spaces, buildings and outdoor places. Although each specific example has its unique set of physical attributes and relationships between attributes, there are regularities across examples. Through repeated encounters over time with different examples, a predominantly non-conscious learning process takes place. On the basis of this process, the individual constructs a mental representation of these regularities together with the ranges of values typically associated with the attributes and relationships. These structures have been variously referred to as schemas, frames, scripts or more generally knowledge structures.

There is a process of learning and storing internally, as an individual goes about their life, the built-up and decorated character of the environments within which they have been emplaced, as either dwellers or occupiers. For instance, I personally remember what the town Durban was like as I grew up – at least in terms of the places that I was exposed to during my time in Durban – and I now experience how Grahamstown is as compared to Durban. I can only make these

comparisons because I know of environments that are ‘not Grahamstown’ or ‘not this part of Grahamstown’ as juxtaposed against ‘Durban’ and ‘this part of Durban’.



Picture 18: Bolo states that, “The architecture, it’s obviously much different”. Here the participant is comparatively looking at the visual nature of Rhodes University’s placeness (Purcell and Nasar, 1992:203).

Making a comparison involves isolating some visual reality of an area – in Bolo’s case the designs of a collection of buildings – and experiencing its aesthetic in comparison with other similarly isolated features of visual placeness.: This isolation is done in order to find a peer with which to compare for aesthetic quality some relevant aspect of the visual experience of placeness (Purcell and Nasar, 1992:200-201). Greta’s comments exemplify how the experience of comparative aesthetics involves the necessary comparative isolation of a particular visual reality of a particular visual part of placeness.

Well, in first year I’d just see these big buildings and I’d be like, "Hmm. Nice buildings". Like this school is HUGE, you know, and my high school wasn’t this big, you know. Our library was in one room and like here we had like a huge library and stuff. So, I enjoyed coming to the library a lot and not because of books and stuff but because, you know, I enjoyed the whole walking thing of coming to this big building called the library and stuff and just meeting all these people, different people, and stuff. (Chuckle). Even like the lecture theatre ... like walking into the lecture theatres you’re like, "Yoh! This is huge". Like never even been taught using a projector so you’d be kind of like excited, you know. Like whilst you’re walking ... you’d just wake up and just walk there EXCITED, you know, that "okay! I’m on my destination I’ll just get to a building where I’ll get taught on a huge screen and

stuff. Things we weren't exposed to in our previous education and stuff". (Greta, Interview).

The individual has to scroll through their stored knowledge of visual aesthetics to locate the most likely aesthetic experience within which to place the image that is vying for their judgement of aesthetic utility. According to Nasar (1994:388-389):

An individual's experience of a building depends on an interaction between its features and the individual's knowledge structures of experience related to the particular class of building. Through interacting with the environment and developing knowledge structures, individuals from different places, cultures, and subcultures would develop different meanings and preferences across content (or symbolic) categories.

The above is arguing that people, owing to their existence as phenomenologically conscious beings, go through life -- in this case environmentally -- seeing images which may or may not stick with them as examples of yet more images. In other words, people see numerous images of what something looks like and develop a sense of what it should and should not look like. Ultimately, most things are, dependent on the phase of the becoming/became that is now, still in the process of becoming. In other words, the images seen are examples and actualities of what it is that is being viewed aesthetically.

To experience involves going through pages upon pages of what a particular building – or a collection of buildings – within Rhodes University has, in idea or experience, looked like or can look like, as a consequence of particular personal histories. For instance, Bolo is speaking as an Indian who has witnessed examples of Indian architectural style, whereas Greta is speaking as someone who has experienced a different style of building than what she is experiencing currently. Bolo and Greta are experiencing Rhodes University – in parts or as a whole – with the juxtaposition of some other visual environment that can be legitimately compared with it.

The comparison of the aesthetic appearance of Rhodes University's built-up and decorated environmental placeness is important to the individual. According to Purcell and Nasar (1992:201):

Where an example coincides with existing generic knowledge, it would be experienced as a typical or good example of the relevant type. It would also be associated with the experience of familiarity, where familiarity refers to the experience resulting from encountering an example with characteristics that have been frequently experienced before in the context of the particular type. Where an example is very discrepant from existing knowledge structures, the converse would apply-- such an example would be experienced as atypical and unfamiliar. Varying types and extents of difference would correspondingly result in gradations of experience of typicality (goodness of example) and familiarity.

People take with them into a place, ideas of what the visual experience of place should be like. This is not to say that there is a predetermined look for a visual but rather that the visual realm of a particular place – for example, a school – is expected to be within some bounds of what a school should look like. To the extent that the school fits within the bounds of what all the other ideas of school-ness have been experienced to be like, it is put in that category of schools' visual appearance.

People, then, have a relationship with the visual character of a place that is in line with their isolating examination of the visual that they are within (Berleant and Carlson, 2007:67). In other words, the building style is a style that is legible to the individual with a particular appreciation continuum. For instance, I am a student at a Rhodes University that is qualitatively a bit different visually to the University of Cape Town that I attended before ending up here. In actual fact the University of Cape Town is my point of comparative reference as a previous environment that is similar enough, in a category sense, to Rhodes University, to make it both likely and meaningful for me to look at the two environments and compare and contrast their existence as visual entities.

Comparison does not only involve contrasting one environment with an environment other than itself. The participants also spoke of the comparative aesthetics of Rhodes University as compared to itself – whether in parts or as a whole. Here Manny and Refiloe do an interesting thing when they comparatively look at Rhodes University's visual (parts and whole) placeness. It is not only that Manny and Refiloe are looking at comparing Rhodes University – primarily in parts – to Rhodes University, but they are also introducing a comparison of the aesthetics of placeness through primarily moving upon the placeness:

Well, I know that when I'm walking I'm going down and like the upper campus area it's more natural there's more trees, flowers, those weird birds (chuckle). But then when you get, let's say Milner House, that's where you see those uh....I call them sororities...those American houses that people stay in...I call them sororities. So, when I go down campus I see most of the reses are like that because they are VERY old compared to upper campus reses. And then there's less nature coz most of the buildings are down here. Uhmyeah, that's it. (Manny, Interview).

I think when you get to a new space or when you hardly go there, when you get there you're like, "this is new" or not really new...but you COMPARE. for instance, one of the first times I went up the hill to a friend's place the view from that side (pointing up the hill) looking down I was like, "hmm you guys have the burbs" It was LOVELY. But then WALKING up there...Yoooh! It was a mission. like I said, when you get to that new place, it's "okay. this is different," the atmosphere is different. for instance, when.....from this side of campus (English department side) I don't feel that I am amongst a lot of students, I know we're in the library and it's a bit ironic but...it's funny when I move towards inner campus like where the reses are, I'm like "Okay, now I can tell that there's students living here. (Refiloe, Interview).

While Bolo and Greta's reflections can be thought of as those of immobile yet located individuals, those by Manny and Refiloe can be thought of as mobility located reflections.

Walking upon placeness locates – here in a mobile manner – the participant so as to enable comparatively looking at the aesthetics of part and whole of Rhodes University's visual placeness. According to Berleant and Carlson (2007: 103):

Walking locates the body in place. In the repetitious act of turning over our legs — of falling forward, then rising and collecting ourselves into a corporeal rhythm — we are as it were like a large knitting needle stitching ourselves into the local fabric of the environs, grounding and rooting ourselves even if momentarily. In this sense, walking outlines or traces a place through the continuous trail left by the moving body and the memory of its motions. In route, the city is repeatedly taken in at a robust glance. The surroundings are actively synthesized in and through our bodies. We are oriented increasingly from single points to broader positions to localized regions and places. In the urban walk, there is a continuous stream of “information” parading past and through us, most of it more culturally encoded than in the countryside or wilderness.

Similarly to immobile emplacement, moving upon placeness involves isolating what is visually present and comparing this visual presentation to a continuum of visual presentations that are thought to legitimately be of the same visual presentation category.

What is important to note from the experience of comparative aesthetics within Rhodes University is that it depends very much on the cumulative experiences of the individual doing the comparison (see Purcell and Nasar, 1992:201; Nasar, 1994; Berleant and Carlson, 2007). The comparison of aesthetics depends on the experience (often involuntary as it is part of mere existence that people live emplaced) of previous environments that are stored as memory of what has been experienced before the current environment – in terms of visual presentation. For instance, the experience of Rhodes University’s architectural style to Bolo is juxtaposed with the experience of India’s architectural style in the same manner that Manny experiences lower campus as compared to upper campus – both the experiences utilise notions of previously inhabited environments to judge the aesthetic quality of the current environment.

Ultimately, when individuals comparatively look at placeness aesthetics, they compare and contrast the realities that are (and make up) visual environments (current and past environments). These comparisons can be either from positions of immobility or from movement, as the comparisons are at their base the comparing of parts or the whole of visual presentation. From such comparison-based viewing individuals form judgements of a particular environment and its presentation. In other words, the individual grows to like or dislike (or even be indifferent) to the visual presentation within which they are based as their emplaced site and situation. Ultimately, that visual that the individual finds most pleasing to their aesthetic appreciation becomes the apple of their eye as it represents that within which they find the most visual appeal for themselves.

8.2.3 Aesthetic Contestation

Every time I walk around campus I am kind of like conscious....yeah...of uh...of my surrounding and environments referring to the history of Rhodes and the university. Coz...when I came here, I usually asked myself why is it that most buildings are named after a white person and stuff. Whenever I walk around campus [since] 2015 I am kind of like consciousThis is where blacks were hung uh....Okay, this is a mural or an artifact that commemorates or celebrates Khoi-Sans; this is the Admin building that was affected during protest. EVERYTHING from 2015 kind of like...it has a history. I can’t even walk normally past the politics department without thinking that was the police station where black people were tortured and stuff. Like it had a torture room and stuff. I can’t even look at the provost cafe normally because that is where black people were killed. (Greta, Interview).

The located isolation of parts of the visual realities that make up and decorate Rhodes University's placeness are widespread. When walking around, and coming to view the numerous parts of Rhodes University, people do not only have a located view of a particular experiential reality of visual placeness that can be either judged aesthetically in a general manner or compared and contrasted with other experiences of visual aesthetics of placeness. Particular visual appreciation palettes are presented to the roving eye (refer to Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991:39; Goonewardena et al., 2008:46). This is to say that people place themselves within meaning-infused visual representations that are the built-up and decorated environment.

The individual viewing the visual placeness aesthetically will at moments look at the location-based isolated part of the visual in a manner that is reflective of the personally perceived visual culture preference of that very same isolated particular of visual placeness. According to Lynch (1960:6) this is a fact of aesthetic experience because:

Environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer – with great adaptability and in light of his own purposes – selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees. The image so developed now limits and emphasizes what is seen, while the image itself is being tested against the filtered perceptual input in a constant interacting process.

This is to say that the eye, having isolated a particular part of visual placeness as visual aesthetic and culture, proceeds to make sense of the particular view through placing it in a category of meaning that is deemed legitimate for the view as experienced by the individual. For example, an individual may have a category 'Wacky' for a collection of architectural styles that they have personally viewed and thought to be wacky. Ultimately, this operation is further categorising – albeit not in terms of degree of likeness to what has been experienced before – of the visual aesthetics of placeness that the individual is engaging in.



Picture 19: Kabomo states that, “Its [Rhodes University’s statues] not really a representation of who I am”. Here the participant is highlighting the experience of contestation over who is visually represented in the decorations of the built-up environment (Di Masso and Dixon, 2015:48).

Greta makes meaning of that which she comes across. Buildings are first viewed as simply buildings but then there is an accumulation of meaning that moves beyond the simple thought of a building being a better or lesser example of a particular type/category of building. The meaning laid on the building is in line with the personal dispositions of the particular individual in terms of their visual culture preference – a preference often consequentially informed by historic experience of visual culture presentations (refer to Purcell and Nasar, 1992).

To Kabomo the visual culture of Rhodes University is both something she has not seen before and something which she – for reasons of style – at first could not read:

I like Rhodes as whole, but then... when I first came here, I couldn't even read what building it was. So, it's not very.... like it's not really a representation of who I am like....who is this person? I don't know who this person is. But then even with my res, it was the same thing. I don't know who John Kotze was. And so that.... it just puts a bit of a boundary also at the same time. Like it just reminds you that you're not here forever. It's just not as welcoming. At least there's people at like Walter Sisulu House, you see. So, you know who it is, you know. So, it represents part of your history but then I'm sure it's (pointing at Schonland label) like it's this old white man in science who did something in science. So, I understand why it's here.

But there's no kind of reason for it to be here when the majority of the student population is black. (Kabomo, Interview).

The French theorist Henri Lefebvre spoke of meaning attribution as a part of the production of placeness. History, culture and identity combine to render Rhodes University's visual culture placeness illegible to Kabomo. What Greta and Kabomo are doing is actually transforming the built-up and decorated environment of Rhodes University into a field of style dispositions. In other words, the environment is thought of as being representative of particular architectural styles. According to Goonewardena et al. (2008:37):

Spaces of representation: the third dimension of the production of space is defined by Lefebvre as the (terminological) inversion of "representations of space". This concerns the symbolic dimension of space. According to this, spaces of representation do not refer to the spaces themselves but to something else: a divine power, the logos, the state, masculine or feminine principle, and so on. This dimension of the production of space refers to the process of signification that links itself to a (material) symbol. The symbols of space could be taken from nature, such as trees or prominent topographical formations; or they could be artifacts, buildings, and monuments.

This is to argue that when people express a particular aesthetic 'taste' – or express their distaste – they attribute meaning to the visual manifestation as it is isolated and then thought of in terms of the category of visual experience that it is thought to be.

Greta and Kabomo are in essence continuing the categorisation of the visual – whether in part or as a whole – of Rhodes University's placeness. This categorisation is one based on, firstly, viewing the visual from a located angle, and then, viewing it as either an example of a particular category of visual culture or a particular appreciation of visual culture. Such viewings of the visual that Rhodes University is in terms of its presentation of its built-up and decorated environment are largely biography based for they depend much on what the individual has seen, been and experienced before and how it affects what is seen currently. These participants' comments point to the ways in which aesthetic 'taste' is never politically innocent. The viewing self is always a self that is embedded in a political and social milieu and interpretations of self in relation to place (including not only its built character but also its people and history) and place in relation to self is always going to be politically inscribed.

8.3 The social environment

Rhodes University, like most places, is a place where human relationships within site and situation influence consequentially the overall experience of placeness. The participants in this study often looked beyond the physical build of the university space when deciding what to think of Rhodes University as a place. How people are treated by others or how they feel their personhood is affected by others in a place determines their overall response to the environment within which they find themselves emplaced. Encounters of place are, therefore, routinely encounters with people in a place. Therefore, in some instances it is the relationship between people which leads to the more lasting impact on the experience of emplacement. We see the participants in many instances highlighting their fellow students within the university as influencing most consequentially their experience of emplacement – in short, the significant sense in which it is people who make places what they are (see Stockols et al., 1981:440; Zussman, 2004). People, then, are equal determinants of the experience of place as the built-up and decorated environment.

People create an ambience within place. This ambience becomes influential in how the social space is experienced. Rhodes University in other words, is experienced beyond its architecture – the latter being a backdrop in many instances to the more pressing interaction that occurs between people. According to Milligan (1998:2):

[P]hysical sites (however defined by the participants) become the stages for social interaction, stages that are both physically and socially constructed, two processes that are both linked to and distinct from one another. In general, the permanent (or relatively permanent) physical aspects of a site are constructed by individuals who may be thought of as the set designers of the stages for social interaction: the architects, facility managers, property owners, and others who make decisions regarding the physical form of a site, often long before a given performance occurs. After the initial work of these set designers, the physical construction of the built environment is only under the control of actors to the extent that they have the power and resources to manipulate physical aspects of the site and to the extent that they are able to choose the locations of their interactions. The social construction of the built environment, however, is much more under the control of actors in the sense that the meanings of specific objects, including the site itself, emerge in the ongoing processes of interaction. Social construction is itself partially constrained by physical construction, however, in that these meanings are also shaped and constrained by the physical specifics of the site as they influence the interactions that transpire there. Of course, processes of social construction are involved in and influence the decisions made in processes of physical construction, as well. Thus,

while the two processes are distinct enough that we may discuss them separately, they are also inherently interconnected.

This is to say that places are constructed by both architectural undertakings and the social happenings within the places. We can describe this as a transactional relationship between place and person whereby the person and place exist in a mutually constitutive relationship (refer to Milligan, 1998:3; Seamon, 2000; Bridge, 2013:307). The place makes the person in the same way that the person makes the place. In other words, as the person affords meaning to a particular place, that place is experienced in line with such meaning and will in many instances be experienced with the presence of other human beings who may or may not attribute the same meaning to that place as the concerned individual. For instance, the individual may grow to experience the place as exclusionary and thus affords that meaning to their particular experience of the placeness of place.



Picture 20: Greta states that, “It’s the people that make the experience”. Here the participant is highlighting that to them personally it is the social sphere that makes the overall experience of Rhodes University’s placeness – the social experience being more important than the experience of the decorated built-up environment (Turner, 1988:71).

The participants in the present study described many ways in which the people around them contribute to their experience of Rhodes University as a place. These can be usefully divided into two main types. Firstly, the participants speak of a social Rhodes University placeness

that depends much on the subjective reality of social signalling. Here the people are seen as interacting with each other in the form of signals that anchor sustained interaction. Secondly, the participants speak of social interaction in terms of the utility of the connections that have been established with other individuals within social Rhodes University. Here the participants are referring to instances wherein they find themselves within social networks that at times do afford them certain utilities by virtue of being part of the network. These two realities (social signals and social connections) are basically how the social placeness of Rhodes University is experienced. I now discuss each way in which social Rhodes University is experienced.

8.3.1 Social Signalling

Like my previous environments, i.e. my high school and my junior, even those two were much more enjoyable than Rhodes, I won't lie. Like because of the people. It's the people that make the experience. Ah! People are cold here. (chuckle). I don't know what else to add. I mean uh.....you should stay in your lane kind of way. So...that kind of cold. Do you get what I'm saying? So, as a result of that I never really...even though I COULD SEE everything, I never really tried to go an extra mile to create social interaction. I mean, ... I will give you the side you're giving me. The people I have met, the vibes that they were giving me were not really good so I kind of like gave back those vibes. (Greta, Interview).

As people spend a prolonged period of time within an environment and its people there grows particular ideas about the social actions and activities that occur within the place (see Lin, 2002; Kilpatrick et al., 2003:1; Bazzani et al., 2012:1). In other words, how people treat each other as part of the social environment determines how everyone in the site and situation views the environment as part-social existence (refer to Coleman, 1988:111; Edwards and Foley, 1997:677). This on-the-surface judgment is then utilised to decide on how the concerned individual puts themselves out into the social sphere.

This way of interaction amongst people is viewed as a way of life which is indicative of an acquired social parlance. According to Bazzani et al. (2012:2):

Social signals are conveyed, often outside conscious awareness, by non-verbal behavioural cues like facial expressions, gaze, vocalizations (laughter, fillers, back-channel, etc.), gestures and postures. [...] In this context, social interactions are here intended as the acts, actions, or practices of two or more people mutually

oriented versus each other, that is, every behaviors affecting or considering others' subjective experiences or intentions. For instance, talking is the most common kind of social interaction, but working together, playing chess, eating at a table, and offering a cup of water are social interactions too. In general, any dynamic sequence of social actions among individuals (or groups) that modify their actions and reactions by their interaction partner(s) are social interactions.

Not all social interactions require express communication via words. This form of nonverbal communication is somewhat familiar to most people; the people involved know what it is that is being communicated to them. From this knowledge of way of interaction, these people then decide on a way of interacting with the action which has been just communicated to them.

The reflection above by the participant Greta is in line with how the analysis of the experience of placeness through encounter has proceeded thus far. A participant – in this case Greta – isolates a specific subjective reality of placeness – here the experiential reality of Rhodes University's placeness as a social environment – and from this isolation thinks about their personal experience. How the individual negotiates their placement within a social sphere here depends largely on what can be thought of as social signalling. Social signalling in turn depends largely on what the other people within the environment do and how they do it. Kabomo touches on this point further when she reflects that:

Uhm, well...it's the people. Some places are...the places are defined by people. When you enter Rhodes, that's where I feel it's where most people start being free and do the things they want to do or dress the way they want to, talk the way they want to. Uh...so that degree of choice, they can decide, or they choose to do whatever they wanna do. But as you step outside...outside of campus, there's that...you have to walk a certain way; I have to walk a certain way so that I DO NOT draw attention to myself. The choices decrease and the faces that you see then also change. The further you move away from Rhodes, you see less and less of white people and you see a lot of yourself -- low income, middle class, stretching it in a way ... more of yourself type of vibes. It's more clustered, things are a lot more closer together. The quality of things also, the further out of Rhodes....So, you have Rhodes, but Rhodes doesn't end where "Rhodes ends" in terms of boundaries. (Kabomo, Interview).

Signalling is basically a way in which, sometimes without actually talking to each other, people communicate social cues to one another that are taken as being a prelude to any initiated person-to-person-(or-group) interaction. There can be argued to be particular energies that people feel as coming from other individuals within the social environment. These energies lead to particular experiences of this very social environment.

Both Greta and Kabomo experience social signalling in a more or less similar manner. Greta and Kabomo's social signals experiences are place-based. In other words, social signals to Greta and Kabomo are read in ways that are particular to a site. In interpreting social signals Greta and Kabomo are putting the signals within a social organisation frame, i.e. the university. According to Scott (2012:109):

From the standpoint of symbolic interaction, social organization is a framework inside of which acting units develop their actions. Structural features, such as "culture," "social systems," "social stratification," or "social roles," set conditions for their action but do not determine their action. People—that is, acting units—do not act toward culture, social structure or the like; they act toward situations. Social organization enters into action only to the extent to which it shapes situations in which people act, and to the extent to which it supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations.

The symbols dispersed by people are to be thought of as occurring within a constraining and enabling frame wherein they will most probably be understood in their proper context. In other words, the environment wherein the signals are sent is often the best determinant of how the signal should be interpreted. For instance, Greta speaks of the experience within her previous school – a social organisation which she sees as different to Rhodes University -- wherein her experience of signals was qualitatively different to that which is now. However, Greta still uses that previous social organisation as a frame since it too was susceptible to social signalling.

Secondly, there is an acknowledgment of a signal being sent their way in the process of social interaction. Both Greta and Kabomo acknowledge their apprehension of signals in the same manner -- signalling is taken as a sort of rule for engagement with others within the social sphere. According to Turner (1988:121):

As motivated actors signal and interpret, they sustain social interaction across time. Although the persistence of interaction at a single point in time is the most basic unit of sociological analysis, it is the linking together of interactions at different points in time that is more sociologically interesting. Such sustained structuring is accomplished through "chains of interaction" where, in a literal sense, individuals "pick up where they left off" from past encounters. These chains involve remobilization of past motives, remaking of roles, reframing, restaging, reaccounting, revalidating, and retaking of roles in a manner that repeats the basic form of the previous interaction.

The place wherein Greta and Kabomo are present is infused with signals that are sent, read, and most likely returned in kind. The experience of place is at least in part a product of how these signals are sent and received. So, signals received become a reservoir of signals to send back. This reservoir of signals is collected from social memory. In other words, people grow to understand how to both send and receive legitimate signals, through participating in social interaction. To put it plainly, Greta is simply giving as good as she is (perceiving she is) getting (see Trivers, 1971; Kilpatrick et al., 2003:420).

Social signals are thus significant to how people experience social Rhodes University (Hier, 2005:4). Social signals are illustrations of what sort of behaviour is to be expected (refer to Turner, 1988:123; Kilpatrick et al., 2003; Bazzani et al., 2012:3). People encounter specific signals within the social environment. These social signals then either constrict or allow particular forms of individual social behaviour so that there is an arguable continuity between social signals and expressed social behaviour.

8.3.2 Social Connections

It's [Rhodes University] great in a way that...well, in my three years of experience, I've learnt that there's like plus minus six thousand of us and you happen to get to know a lot of people because you bump into faces and then you more like form a bond with those people and make new friends. You create relationships, which turn into families in most cases. So, it's a really safe space with regards to creating relationships with people and also what I've noticed is that when you ask for help, like there are people that are more than willing to help you out. So, I think if it weren't a small space you would kind of feel isolated because you won't be able to form a relationship with most people because you won't be familiar with a lot of people which will make you feel rather alone and isolated, I think. Yeah. So, the small space -- it's really great in a way that you end up knowing people and you happen to like create great social life with most people even if you're not really an active like outgoing people's person. So, it's really great in terms of social life. Even academically you end up meeting people whom you studying with so it's a really great thing. (Binx, Interview).

In their descriptions of their place experiences, the participants referred also to the network of connections that they have with fellow students. People are highly affected by their social

connections with people (refer to Flap et al., 1998:117; Burt, 2001:34; Flap, 2002; Lin, 2017:32). These connections significantly impact on how individuals feel about the places they inhabit.

The participants spoke of social connections in two ways. Some touched on the creation of social bonds with other individuals within Rhodes University's placeness. Some spoke of the benefits accrued from having created social connections with the other people within Rhodes University's placeness. Literature refers to investments in social connections as a form of accumulation of social "capital" (refer to Putnam, 1995; Holt, 2008:229; Lin, 2002). Bourdieu (1986: 249-250) describes social capital as:

The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word.

This is to say that people in placeness end up developing beneficial social relations with other people. These social relations are in the form of personal relationships which are relationships that have a particular 'return' to their being instated. For example, being in a relationship of being a friend with someone has the result of that someone being a 'friend' to you and in such a manner that individual playing out what it is to be a 'friend'.



Picture 21: Binx states that, “You create relationship which turn into families”. Here the participant is speaking on the experience of social bonds wherein the individual actively manoeuvres to reach a particular quality of connection to other people (Granovetter, 1983:203).

The reflection by Binx above is indicative of someone who has isolated the social connections part of their encounter. This aspect of encounter is looked at as an important part of how the social sphere is experienced because it is responsible for linking an individual to other individuals (Kilpatrick et al., 2003:417). Fran touches further on the theme of connections when she says:

Knit and tight community. But it's getting BIGGER AND BIGGER. And people are just more focused on their little groups and them. It used to be one BIG community but now it's just so...you get cliques. Okay, there were cliques back then. But we were....I don't know, maybe it's just where I was at the time -- because Truro is a very small res, and the whole dining hall we all knew each other. But I appreciate the fact that I first started from a smaller group and then.....(Fran, Interview).

The social sphere can be thought of as a network of connections. These connections are what individuals either plug themselves into or out of (Sampson, 1988; Edwards and Foley, 1997:677). Both Binx and Fran speak of social connections which are place-based and which have the character of a network that determines who is able to gain what resource and from what sort of social relationship.

Social connections are – just as the other instances of encounter as a way of experiencing placeness – place-based. The importance of place to social capital cannot be overstated. According to Flap (2002:40):

[S]ocial interaction is often tied to certain places offering foci for interaction with other people. Obvious examples of foci that can organize social ties are public places and facilities, like a bar, shops, schools, disco, restaurant, library or public squares, but one can also think of workplaces, voluntary associations or other organizations. Places in which people are brought together for a particular goal offer an occasion to meet others. As a result their network becomes organized around such a focal point. Social ties emerging in such situations are a quasi by-product of other interactions and the relational demography of such foci strongly determines which ties are actually formed.

The sort of ties an individual grows to experience within place are determined by the sort of place it is, in that it is the place that attracts certain types of people. For instance, a school will create an environment wherein a student is most likely going to form, when within that environment, relationships with other students - and sometimes the teachers and cleaning staff - who are in a position to be in such relationships with the individual.

Binx and Fran comment on how Rhodes University's placeness determines the sort of relationships that they are most likely to have within the university environment (Flap et al., 1998, 117-118; Lindenberg, 1998:11; Kalmijn and Flap, 2001). Binx speaks of Rhodes University as a whole whereas Fran speaks of a part of Rhodes University that was consequential in the sort of social relations she ended up having. The relationships the participants had are thus influenced by the locale which informs the relationships most likely to be had.

Binx and Fran make mention also of the strength of the relationships that they are able to form within a particular environment, in this case Rhodes University or a part of Rhodes University. The environment is the stage upon which the routines involved in the formation of social networks are performed (see Burt, 2001:32-33). Binx and Fran speak on their networked existence. Resources accrue to people as a result of their presence in a network of social connections (Granovetter, 1983:202). These networks are treasured by the individuals because they provide a utility – access to certain rewards for being a part of such a network of

connections (Granovetter, 1983:202). So placeness is sometimes made up of benefits from social connections. This means that placeness is often looked at in terms of how beneficial existence within a particular network of social relations is to an individual. This phenomenological reality in turn determines consequentially how the social environment is experienced.

The participants also highlighted something else about the social environment at Rhodes University and how it may sometimes facilitate social capital accrual. Historically, the creation of social capital gives rise to the possibility of being able to successfully call on social capital for returns after having actively invested in said social capital. At its base social capital is about return on investment (Bourdieu, 1986:85). According to Burt (2000:347):

The social capital metaphor is that the people who do better are somehow better connected. Certain people or certain groups are connected to certain others, trusting certain others, obligated to support certain others, dependent on exchange with certain others. Holding a certain position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right. That asset is social capital, in essence, a concept of location effects in a differentiated market.

This is to say that people benefit from the relationships that they actively call upon and have created. This has been the prevailing thought on social connections (Granovetter, 1983:203; Bourdieu, 1986:87; Burt, 2001:34; Holt, 2008). However, the interviewed Rhodes University students sometimes highlighted a social benefit from social capital not immediately invested in or called upon from a specific group privy to the work put into a relationship in the sought for social capital.:

Like since I'm international so I don't really have...well, I have a family in Joburg but they're really far....so, like during the protests, even though the streets were not safe but I felt as if I was more safer than if I was at Wits University where it was brutal than here...yeah. I don't know like with a small university you end up becoming united, weirdly enough. Yeah. With the students. Like you can easily talk to someone, even a stranger. I don't know, and because it's tiny, it seems as if....you know, sometimes when you're having, I don't know, like a big place, you sort of....let's say you live in a big neighbourhood and then you're not really close to your neighbours because everybody is doing their own stuff, but here, you become like a little family. (chuckle), if I'm making sense. (Manny, Interview).

But Rhodes University, it's like....well, I mean, the culture at Rhodes, it's like a family. It's like a family. When something happens at Rhodes University everyone knows about it. So, if you need help I mean I've seen someone saying that they don't have money to go home on Facebook and people were like, "you know what? just inbox me". So, Rhodes is that kind of place where like if you, if you need help

it's like it's like the community with our differences people do come together to support each other. (Narnia, Interview).

There is a sizable literature on feelings of community within place (see McMillan and Chavis, 1986; Chavis et al., 1986; Gieselman and Fisher, 1985:33). According to McMillan (1986:11), a “sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met by their commitment to be together”. This is to speak of an experienced social connection among a collection of people which is accompanied by emotional bonds – bonds not tied to active efforts to build such bonds for future benefit – stemming from such realities of lived experience as feelings of community and family within the same place-space (Fisher et al., 2002:3). This sense of community will take over the active creation of social connections to more closely connect people who are at best loosely associated. According to Pretty et al. (1996:366):

Sense of community is not necessarily rooted in actual experience, but in the perception that one is part of the "common good" which will be accessible to you should the need arise. As a result, one may sense the support of a new environment, such as a new neighborhood, before having the opportunity to establish interpersonal contact. Similarly, one may continue to perceive a setting as supportive even when familiar individuals have left. Sense of community may be strengthened by actual experiences of social support, but it is not dependent upon it.

Sometimes people may socially benefit from these forms of loose social connections. For instance, think of neighbours within a closed, gated community and how a new neighbour will benefit from being seen to be part of such a community despite not having previous ties to it or its members.

Returns on social capital investments, just like the creation of bonds alongside them, are spatially based. The entirety of the place (especially socially) that is Rhodes University influences what is possible socially (refer to Pretty et al., 1996; Flap et al., 1998, 117-118; Lindenberg, 1998; Kalmijn and Flap, 2001:19). People’s awareness of the potential benefits of social capital, which are available to them because of some of the characteristics of the place, gives the dwellers of Rhodes University a particular view of Rhodes University as a social space. In other words, the presence of social capital and its perks within Rhodes University

ensures that the university's social placeness is one wherein socially the individuals who dwell within it can manoeuvre, so as to end up socially benefiting from their actions, which call on the greater social environment, yet without having actively invested in a form of social capital (refer to Granovetter, 1983:204; Burt, 2001:33). In contrast with bigger, more alienating environments, people can negotiate their social position more easily so as to benefit from available social ties and networks. In such a way then the environment makes its own conditions for the benefits of social capital to accrue to individuals although they have not necessarily actively sought to nurture relationships for this very accruing (Flap et al., 1998:118). This is one of the ways then that the social sphere does determine how a place is experienced.

The people, as components of social space, are ultimately productive of overall place experience in two ways. Firstly, the people can be argued to signal social cues to each other within the space. Here the inhabitants and users of place point each other to the ways in which they should each expect their interactions to be were they to ever move beyond the signalling phase (refer to Turner, 1988:76). Secondly, the individuals interacting within place develop (and see the development of) social connections with each other. These social connections are worked on (via social investment) and have social returns attached to them which are appreciated by those interacting in the place (refer to Bourdieu, 1986:54; McMillan and Chavis, 1986). The people in the environment prove to be just as important as the physical setting upon which they stand when it comes to the determination of overall quality of place experience (Milligan, 1998:3). In other words, the social environment is of high importance when it comes to the experience of a place's placeness. Rhodes University's placeness is in part a social space wherein people act towards each other through signalling and the formation of connections – these connections being both actively sought and the result of the historic disposition of places in terms of the social reality.

8.4 Safety

Safety was surprisingly one of the more spoken about experiences during the research undertaking. Safety – as with aesthetic appreciation and the social environment parts of encounter – is an experience that is location-based as well as arising from a particular

disposition that the individual has towards safety concerns. What I mean here is that people in the experience of safety are consequentially informed by a sort of historical stock of safety concerns and realities that is engaged when interpreting safety concerns within the current environment.

In line with the argument that the experience of place is largely transactional, when looking at experience through routine walking, most of the participants' reflections upon safety had to do with the acting out of routine walking and how this might lead to safety concerns and realities. According to Brantingham and Brantingham (1995:11):

Paths are critically important in shaping routine activities, everyday life and special events as well. Paths determine where people go and what they learn about the city. People spend long hours in routine paths, travelling to and from work, school, shopping, entertainment. Paths determine where people search for criminal targets and where people are victimized.

Routine activities give rise to experienced safety concerns and realities. The routine activity of walking will lead to people being in parts of placeness wherein safety concerns and realities are one of the main ways in which placeness is experienced.



Picture 22: Jane states that, “90% of it [movement choices during the night] is safety”. Here the participant is highlighting that safety concerns will sometimes affect where the individual goes (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995:5).

The interviewed participants engaged safety concerns in terms of their personal safety currently and as an experiential reality which can be compared to some other time in which it probably was different to what it currently is. Just as with the aesthetic appreciation and social environment elements of encounter, a particular ultimately qualitative experiential reality of Rhodes University's placeness (in this case its alleged personal safety consideration) is isolated. Here Jane and Armand speak of situations wherein they feel that they were at the risk of being victimized:

Oh! Okay. Yeah. The reason for taking the Oppi Bus [University's transport service] during the night is **FIRSTLY, I NEVER DID**. I never was a frequent Oppi Bus taker. I usually walked. Like even if it was at night like I'd walk -- no matter what time it was. Like....until, I can't remember when, probably....I can't remember when but I almost got mugged and then I was like, "Okay, no..."(chuckle) I need to start taking the Oppi Bus" so I started taking the Oppi Bus. So that's how I decided to do that. So, when it's dark I don't walk, I take the Oppi Bus. And then when it's light outside, when it's still, when I can still see (chuckle), when it's not like, the sun hasn't set yet, then I walk. I think the reasoning mainly is safety. Like 90% of it is safety and then 10% of it is coz like I'm probably really lazy to walk. (Jane, Interview).

Yeah. There is a difference. There is a difference. You know, during the day you see a **WHOLE** lot of people on the road-side of the blue route; but during the night you see more people on the **OTHER** side of the road -- Debonairs, during the night. And that area during the night is actually dodgy as well. Especially when you go beyond Pick 'n Pay (chuckle). I've noticed that that area is dodgy. I wouldn't walk that area alone. (chuckle). Especially when you walk alone, and you come across someone -- maybe a beggar or a street kid. They see a chance. It's one-on-one now. You are going to Spar, so you definitely have cash (chuckle). So, I just wear my hoodie and I look at them like, "What you wanna do?" (chuckle). (Armand, Interview).

Being victimized is linked to the experience of vulnerability. The level of vulnerability experienced by the individual determines how safe they feel within the environment. Both Jane and Armand highlighted their sense of physical vulnerability. According to the theorist Chris Hale (1996:17):

At a common sense level people who feel unable to protect themselves, either because they cannot run fast, or lack the physical prowess to ward off attackers, or because they cannot afford to protect their homes, or because it would take them longer than average to recover from material or physical injuries, might be expected to 'fear' crime more than others.

With increased feelings of vulnerability there is then the accompanying feeling of fear within the individual. Jane and Armand fear that they are likely to experience criminal victimization (refer to Fisher and Nasar, 1992; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995:9; Jackson, 2011:18). The individual is basically thinking of situations wherein their ability to mitigate risk might be limited – if not altogether muted. This experience of fear – be it by Jane, as someone almost mugged, or Armand, as someone who is aware of the risks of wandering off – does solicit the thought of manoeuvre for future safer passage (refer to Innes, 2004; Chadee, 2015:169). These manoeuvres from the individual ensure that there is a (regained) semblance of control over the likelihood of experiencing criminal victimization within Rhodes University's placeness.

It is important to note that both the participants do speak, at the very base of their reflection, on the relationship between part of place and probability of criminal encounter. Jane speaks of automobile travel as a way to mitigate arising in a particular part of placeness whereas Armand speaks of a particular area as being of concern to him. According to the theorist Gill Valentine (1989:387):

Not all public places are perceived as equally threatening all the time because in many places or at some times the behaviour of those occupying the space is externally regulated either formally or informally, so reducing the perceived opportunity for attack. Formal control of public space is exercised not only directly by the police or private security guards, but more indirectly by store managers, bus conductors, park wardens and other authorised personnel in the process of providing a public service.

Areas within placeness are not uniformly either safe or unsafe at this or that time. Safe or unsafe passage is in many instances in line with what is happening within that particular part of placeness and who is within that particular part of placeness (Weisburd et al., 2009:93). Both Jane and Armand are aware of this phenomenological reality and thus look to act accordingly so that their safety concerns and realities are in line with their personal wishes.

Personal safety is thus thought of in terms of the amalgam of the likelihood of becoming victim to criminal encounter (refer to Fox et al., 2009), the ways in which a person might respond within criminal encounter (refer to Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987:15), and the appreciation that the environment is not uniformly safe and that therefore the individual will need to find ways

to manoeuvre upon the environment in such a manner that their safety concerns and realities are ameliorated (refer to Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995:7). This isolation of safety consideration in line with where the individual is and how they have reacted before to a similar situational experience.

The above reflections on safety arise from being inside Rhodes University's placeness – an insideness that is now inextricably linked to thoughts on safety. According to Relph (1976:53):

In itself behavioural insideness tells us merely that we are somewhere, but it is the patterns, structures and content of this inside that tell us that we are here rather than somewhere else. These patterns are, in the first instance, those of our immediate experience, and perhaps the most important element of this is sight.

Through experience – in most cases through seeing what experience results in – the individual can then work on personal behaviour so as to have a behavioural existence that is to their preference. For instance, both Jane and Armand, through having a view of what could happen within site and situation, prefer to behave in particular manners so as to be better off than if the situation is negotiated in a manner not as that which is ultimately chosen.

The participants spoke comparatively about their personal experiences of safety within Rhodes University's placeness, focusing on victimization, criminal encounter negotiation, and the environment as a determinant of criminal encounter.



Picture 23: Fran states that, “This place is not as safe as it was”. This is a participant comparatively looking at their experienced level of safety (Wyant, 2008:45).

Fran and Refiloe comment on their concern for safety as a location-based experience that is ultimately dependent upon the room for manoeuvre that they have given their awareness, and prior experiences of, potential threats to their safety:

Coz like, okay HONESTLY, I'm gonna be super honest, this place is not as safe as it was. GRAHAMSTOWN as a whole is not as safe as it was. I always go to Joburg, but I'm from Durban, I've never been mugged in my life. And the first time I got mugged was HERE, this year. And I was like, "What the hell? What is this? What happened to Grahamstown?" But at least here on campus they're trying but still, even on campus like it is NOT as it should be. Coz I remember back then you could do whatever, I said to you when I said, I used to stay in Aries Nest at some point. I used to go there, AT NIGHT, come to campus AT NIGHT. But now I could never think of going....I'm here at Doves but I would never think of just walking EVEN on campus. Coz I remember I went to the Botanical Gardens the other day and it was in the afternoon. Shame! The security people really try! And the guy was like, "Hhawu! Where are you going? I'm really worried about you. Why are you going this way?" And I'm like, "No. I just wanna chill a bit". And he's like "No. Be safe coz this place has tendencies, you know". Some people just...coz locals can even come in. And it sucks that....okay, I know it shouldn't be gated, the university. BUT eish! It's weird though, hey! Coz many universities have walls and stuff. Maybe they just tried to incorporate it with this community, they don't wanna...I don't know what the whole thing is behind it but it's creepy, it's scary how people can just walk in and out of this campus....coz many universities, like you have to use your student card to go in and out, here it's just the library where you get to do that. Even the reses are not as tight as I think they should. I don't know. Remember that girl who got killed? (Fran, Interview).

Well, in undergrad I don't think I... fussed much about safety because I just lived within campus and it, it was really...it SEEMED to be relatively safe. But now that I'm in digs and after the recent stories in the news of uhm...women being abducted uhm yeah also staying digs I don't think I like walking at night as much -most especially if you have like valuables. Valuables like your cell phone, laptop. But if I'm walking around campus and I see some security guards close by I can sort of relax. But if I'm walking from campus towards home in the evening and I don't see any security guards anywhere and the route I normally use through St. Peter's it's usually dark and if it's like late after hours -say after 11 or 12, you are, you are on a very high alert. (Refiloe, Interview).

Fran and Refiloe touch on the criminology of space in slightly differing manner. The manner in which the criminology of space has been engaged here, as contrary to the engagement by Jane and Armand above, is in terms of its utility in curbing against the incidence of crime via safety compromises (refer to Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995:9; Cozens et al., 2004:7). Whereas Fran touches on the need to have a gate on the campus, Refiloe touches on the experience of darker patches within campus that might be attractive to criminal encounters.

The literature on the connection between probable criminal encounter and the profile of the physical environment (see Newman, 1972:29; Smith and Wilson, 2000:493; Cozens et al., 2004) documents how important the profile of the built-up environment is in relation to estimations of the probable experience of crime. The reflection by Fran highlights the usage of boundaries to curb access and thus decrease the probability of criminal encounter – in other words seeking to change some significant feature of the physical place. This is what is termed Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design – or CPTED – a concept focusing on “reducing opportunities for crime by denying access to potential targets and creating a heightened perception of risk in offenders. Access control can include informal / natural (e.g. spatial definition), formal / organised (e.g. security personnel) and mechanical (e.g. locks and bolts) strategies (Cozens et al., 2004:8). This is to use the environment – some configuration of the environment – to help in separating out who is allowed to be within a particular space and the sort of activity they should be looking to engage in. The regulation of access ensures that the people within an area are there legitimately and are fully cognisant of the boundaries within which they are to act.

Refiloe speaks further on this idea of the built-up environment as a crime fighting tool. To Refiloe the environment can be argued to be in need of better management so as to be better suited to moderate safety. Refiloe would like for there to be further visibility. According to Cozens et al., (2004:3):

By optimising opportunities for surveillance, clearly defining boundaries (and defining preferred use within such spaces) and creating and maintaining a positive 'image', urban design and management can discourage offending. This is explained by the fact that offenders are potentially more visible to 'law-abiding' others, and therefore, perceive themselves to be more at risk of observation and subsequent apprehension.

This is to further use the built-up environment – through the lighting arrangement now – to regulate the probable incidence of criminal encounter. Here the university is illuminated so much that the potential offender gets the feel of constantly being under a watchful eye that is likely to punish were it to witness what it considers illegitimate behaviour.

The presence of patrol services are aimed at the deterrence of unwanted behaviour and the quelling of safety worries. The people within that environment are then less worried about the probable incidence of criminal offence as it will be most likely be taken care of by the spatial reality of patrols. According to Koper (1995:31) when talking about police patrols within placeness:

[O]ne of the ways that the police can more effectively control soft-crime is by increasing their presence in situations where they wish to control the incidence of soft crime or its consequences. By being present, they either increase the risks of potential offenders to the point that offending is thwarted or their presence increases the probability that those being observed can be arrested for some infraction of the law.

From the above characterisation of the built-up environment as a way in which the placeness of a place might be moderated so as to decrease the incidence of crime, it is obvious that there is a consequential reliance upon support services to ensure that there is at least some resemblance of surveillance and guaranteed punishment to mitigate against feelings of vulnerability on the part of inhabitants.

However, as Fran and Refiloe's comments highlighted, despite efforts to ensure their safety, safety can never be fully guaranteed. Breaches to security concerns and risks to individuals

within Rhodes University's placeness persist despite efforts designed to help alleviate safety anxieties. Individuals' own vulnerability – perhaps most directly a perception of physical vulnerability on the part of women in an environment that is regarded as unsafe for women (refer to Warr, 1985; Valentine, 1989:387; Hale, 1996:17; Day, 1999; Jackson, 2011) – is exacerbated when they perceive efforts to ensure their safety as being inadequate (refer to Clarke and Weisburd, 1994:171; Cozens et al., 2004:10). Feeling vulnerable to crime is an experience that is – no matter how numerous the resources put aside to alleviate the feeling – hard to negotiate definitively.

The experience of, or hearing about, criminal encounters has, historically, particularly given rise to legitimate anxiety on the part of women who feel particularly vulnerable to attack (see Warr, 1984:238; Box et al., 1988; Keane, 1998; Sutton and Farrall, 2004:212). According to Box et al., (1988:123):

People's fear of crime can be affected by their knowledge of crime. This derives from various informational sources. There is, for instance, a commonly accepted belief that people who have been victimised, particularly in their neighbourhood, or know others who have been similarly victimised, will tend to be more afraid. However, a simplistic victimisation-leads-to-fear hypothesis has to be amended by the awareness that victims frequently neutralise their experience. Victims who readily accept their own culpability, or who believe they have learned effective ways of avoiding further victimisation, or who believe they pursue a higher loyalty, like protecting a friend, will probably experience less fear than those unable to neutralise their experiences.

When people either hear about or experience criminal encounter then they grow to experience placeness in a rather different way than they would have, had the incidence not come to their purview of (sometimes probable) experience. Fran and Refiloe's experience of the Rhodes University environment is refracted through the lens of their crime receptors as they now regard criminal encounter within the university as being a likely probability.

Safety concerns have a consequential influence on the way the routine walk unfolds the placeness to the individual as a subjective being. The individual walks parts of Rhodes University's places and as safety concerns and realities are engaged the journey is one in which the safeness of the environment is an experiential reality which is consequential to the overall

experience of the campus. The individual looks to such realities as their vulnerability to criminal encounter, the support they might receive from both the built-up environment and (support) people in terms of dealing with challenges to their personal safety, and the effects that their personal traits may have on their being able to negotiate the manner in which they are able to ameliorate their safety concerns and realities. In this way, the individual has here isolated yet another part of Rhodes University's placeness – the safety experiential reality and concern part of placeness – which consequentially informs their experience of, and engagement with, placeness.

8.5 Conclusion

The opening quote from Refiloe touches on many of the arguments made in this chapter. Refiloe starts off with a thought on the relation between the social environment and the built-up environment – a thought that Refiloe connects to her biography as a Geography student. Afterwards, Refiloe speaks on her presence within this two-fold environment of built-up physical decoration and the people environment. All of these reflections are premised on her having a roving eye that sees the environment(s) as what she is within and is visually perceiving. The argument made in this chapter is that the experience of placeness as encounter is an experience of place that is anchored on presence-inspired isolation and transaction between person and environment (social and built-up/decorated) that leads to an appreciation of consequentially affective relations between person and placeness. In other words, the individual experiences Rhodes University's placeness through being within and experiencing a particular *part* of its placeness. This experience is consequentially informed by the (qualitative experience) realities of the individual's and Rhodes University's placeness and what they bring to the transaction as a way in which placeness is experienced. Ultimately, the person and the environment meet each other to be in a relationship that is consequentially informed by particular experiences that have led to the experience that is unravelling at the moment of experience.

Encounter for the interviewed participants of this research was reflected upon within three themes. The participants spoke of the aesthetics of Rhodes University's visual appearance. Here the participants were looking at Rhodes University's placeness as a visual situatedness

and what this brings through (and to) the roving eye. The participants also spoke of the social environment that is experienced at Rhodes University. Here the participants were reflecting upon the experience of social connection with the people that populate Rhodes University as a social place. Lastly, the participants spoke of the experience of safety concerns and realities within Rhodes University. Here the participants were speaking on the experience of real and imagined criminal encounter within Rhodes University's built-up decorated environment and the social environment. It will be clear that in all such reflections there were the consistencies of presence and the isolation of placeness realities that led to the experience of placeness being the way that it ended up being. In other words, people isolate the placeness reality that is experienced and from this experience there is reflection that is often of a personal nature informed by having been in other such experiences.

The overall experience of Rhodes University's visual aesthetics is one based largely on the isolation of parts and wholes of the built-up and decorated environment that makes up Rhodes University visually. This isolation is the way in which an individual experiences Rhodes University as a placeness that is all around yet can afford him or her the utility of isolation so as to consider what experience is being had and what might be the reasons behind the particular experience. In other words, the individual is in a transactional relationship with the visual placeness of Rhodes University wherein within the experience of this very visual nature of placeness the individual gets to experience realities of placeness that he or she then keeps close to heart, and can from them decide upon the sort of relationship he or she is most likely going to have with the built-up and decorated environment as a visual presentation within which they exist as an experiencing being. In this way, the experience of Rhodes University's visual placeness is highly personal as it is often the personal dispositions of the individual within the visual that determine the overall nature of the experience to be had.

Encounter during place experience is one of the more sticking experiences of being enveloped in a site and situation's placeness. The encounter is basically a deeper dwelling into what can be thought of as the inner machinations of placeness. It is through encounter that people experience a site and situation's placeness through engaging its people and aesthetics under numerous guises encouraged by the people and placeness transaction that always accompanies encounter. In this very transaction the people and place come together and engage in a

transaction that is subject to realities of placeness that consequentially inform the placeness to be experienced in a particular manner because it has been engaged under particular realities.

People who are sighted are primarily visual animals who use vision for numerous manoeuvres. In this case vision is used to view the built-up and decorated environment of Rhodes University. People go on to comparatively look at the aesthetic visual of the university and in some cases people grow to contest the visual representations which may be thought of as the visual culture of Rhodes University's placeness. Secondly, people experience social relationships within Rhodes University's placeness in a particular way. The Rhodes University social sphere is one wherein there are people engaging in both symbolic interaction and interaction based on networks of social connections. Lastly, people within Rhodes University's placeness encounter situations wherein their safety concerns and realities come to the forefront as informants of overall place and people experience. Here the individuals must face personal concerns and realities over criminal encounter and in many cases the encounters are looked at comparatively as thoughts on victimisation are sometimes the more pressing thoughts when it comes to criminal encounter.

Ultimately, both the people and aesthetics of Rhodes University's placeness are perceived realities subject to judgment and (in)voluntary relations built upon the transactional experience of encounter. In other words, the encounter, whether fleeting or sustained, is the door to deeper relations with placeness as it is from the eyes and social interaction that lasting interactions between placeness and individual come. These transactions by way of encounter are ways in which the individual and the environment enter into location-based specific experiences that determine that quality of overall place experience. Ultimately, the encounter part of place experience places the individual in particular placeness and dares him or her to have a deep relationship with the placeness that folds and unfolds right in front of his or her eyes for their immediately pressing experience.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Placeness is an experiential reality in which the particularities of a space – particularities which are humanly experienced by any human within and upon that space – become the main ways in which that specific place is known and experienced. According to the theorist Edward Relph (1976:63), people experience places as realities which are on a sort of kaleidoscope of ‘placeness’ wherein spaces are experienced as having place-specific and place-informing realities which make them what they are as places to the individual who is experiencing them. In other words, as people are emplaced within sites and situations, people grow to fashion ideas out of these sites and situations. Furthermore, these ideas are influenced by the senses-informed experience of these spaces – senses which in many cases may be coming from the sort of lives and cultures that these individuals have been exposed to.

The human being does have to move within the space for there to be meaning-learning and meaning-infusing. The theorist David Seamon (1979) speaks of routinised movement upon spaces and places. It is through moving, resting, and encountering that people meaning-learn and meaning-infuse within and upon the spatial reality that is the ultimately subjective reality of ‘placeness’ (Seamon, 1979:125). Through routinized mutual engaging between individual and ‘placeness’ the experience of place is made and the individual has a particular outlook on what the place or space is to him or her. Documenting the experience of Rhodes University’s placeness through movement, rest, and encounter was the aim of this research undertaking.

Objectively, Rhodes University is a university located in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. This university has some 8 000 students who come from South Africa and a number of countries. This university can be clearly outlined within a geographical map that allows for such outlining and its geographical features can be outlined in the very same manner. The university is a place. The university has a clearly identifiable date of establishment and has been around – in more or less the same manner – ever since this day of establishment. The university has a history like all places. People and Rhodes University itself have had experiences within Rhodes University ever since its establishment. The university truly is a place as all places are.

My interest in documenting the experience of Rhodes University's placeness through the alternating periods of movement, rest, and encounter was sparked by two preoccupations that I have been within during my life – the first preoccupation being academic and the other one being of a personal nature. Academically I was doing my Master of Arts when I first came across the argument that places can be 'produced'. This was the argument from the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991) who argued that people produce places through things such as holding ideas about what the built-up and decorated environment looks like, what people do within the space, and how the place is actually built. I was thoroughly convinced by the argument that Lefebvre was making. At the same time as reading Lefebvre I noticed that I also had a particular view of Rhodes University as a place. This particular view was inspired by how I saw Rhodes University – yet how I saw it was inspired by where I had been within Rhodes University and the sort of things I had experienced where I had been within the university. I wanted to know more about how this experience of Rhodes University came to be the way that it is and how it was that I could have such a different experience of Rhodes University when compared to any other individual within the (rather porous) boundaries of the university. Edward Relph (1976) and David Seamon's (1979) theories were my chosen tools to document the experience of place. Placeness and the place ballet document a place in both its movement and its stillness. I am convinced that the best study of 'placeness' highlights its existence as a mutually-affective ultimately experiential qualitative reality between individual and place.

To answer my question I interviewed 12 individuals who are students within Rhodes University. I looked to the experiences of Rhodes University's placeness which were related to the often-routinized existence of being within a place. I found that the experience of Rhodes University through movement, rest, and encounter was at its base the experience of particular parts of what can be referred to as Rhodes University the place. The analysis process aimed to interpret how it was that people ended up with the (highly personalized) experiences of the – to be cynical here – very same Rhodes University. This is important to document because in South Africa currently (especially from the year 2015) there is an increased questioning of the sort of 'placenesses' that people find when they engage (and are engaged in return by) the country's many tertiary campuses and other places on many levels.

The participants in this research undertaking almost always reflected upon the experience of Rhodes University's 'placeness' in a targeted and personal manner. What I mean here is that the experience of 'placeness' was directed towards an ultimately experiential spatial reality of the Rhodes University 'place' – both its architectural and people environment – and it was always a subjective reality that is consequentially informed by the individual person who experiences 'placeness' as a person of subjectivities and histories of place experience. These two realities of Rhodes University, being a place of (targeted) spaces and experienced in terms of the personal histories and subjectivities of the individual, were how Rhodes University was experienced most consequentially as a place of emplacement. The participants relayed to me how it was that the currently prevailing personal experience of Rhodes University came to be. In such a manner the participants reflected back to instances that they deemed to have been consequentially informative to their current disposition towards Rhodes University as a place. Speaking and thinking back to the informative and accumulative experiences as essences of the current disposition towards a phenomenon is the historical project of phenomenological study (refer to Bannan, 1967:68; Buttimer, 1976:280; Zahavi, 2003; Cerbone, 2006:46). In other words, the interviews I conducted with the participants were then a way in which to lay bare the essences that inform the current disposition towards an experience.

The nature of the research undertaking – the decision to focus on the experience of placeness through what is termed the place ballet – deployed the interpretive devices of movement, rest, and encounter in order to reveal how Rhodes University as a place is experienced. The participants, in responding to the question, 'How do students experience Rhodes University as a place?' spoke of the experiences of:

1. Routine.
2. Walking.
3. Familiarity.
4. Aesthetics of place.
5. The people environment.
6. Safety.
7. Comfort.
8. Attachment to place.
9. At homeness.

In this study, the experience of placeness through movement as an experiential reality of routine, walking, and familiarity is an experience placed most firmly on what Rhodes University is as a built-up and decorated, meaning-infused space. Rhodes University is an institution that has its own rules that must be followed, ways for walking, and places which grow to be occupied more than others. What this means is that Rhodes University is a place wherein an individual may be predisposed to experience a particular section of the place and not others (Relph, 1976:29; Seamon, 1979:63). This experience of Rhodes University is an experience that completely wipes out the other parts and sides of the university which do not fall within the purview of an individual who has chosen a particular way to be within the university as a place. In such a manner, to the person being within Rhodes University's placeness – although the rest of the country may be in upheaval mode against what might equally be deemed as dissatisfactory about some aspects of Rhodes University's placeness – an individual who has not had the opportunity to experience this particular ultimately subjective qualitative reality may be in two minds towards the upheaval. This is because the experience of placeness is highly personalised and with this personalisation comes a disposition which must keep true to the accumulated experience of placeness (Relph, 1976:69). In such a manner, different individuals with different experiences thus grow to have – in most but not all cases – different reactions to an alleged experience.

In line with the above, I argue that Rhodes University's experienced placeness is highly targeted. What I mean here is that the experience of Rhodes University is actually the experience of a personal Rhodes University – that there is in fact no *single* 'Rhodes University' but rather multiple Rhodes Universities. The individual makes their very own Rhodes University. In other words, the individual, through their routine walking and becoming familiar, ends up with a Rhodes University that is particular to themselves. Rhodes University becomes where routine is, where the person walks, and where the individual is familiar or unfamiliar. Through movement the individual picks a part/corner of what is objective Rhodes University and this corner is meaning-infused so as to be the Rhodes University that is experienced. And even if two people were to pick the same corner and walk the same way, their experience of that objective place would differ because the individual brings to the walk – and to the seeing – their own biography and embodied identity. So Rhodes University is

experienced not as an objective space that will remain as a particular scale of earth but will rather grow or contract along with the individual's preoccupations. What I mean here is that my Rhodes University is my moved upon Rhodes University that I have experiences within. However, since these experiences can always be added upon or subtracted from, I can have a Rhodes University that I am just still getting familiar with as compared to a Rhodes University that I am already familiar with. In such a manner, Rhodes University is not really an enclosing but rather is a relationship between enclosing and the individual in movement within and in such a manner knowing the realities of parts of this very enclosure.

The experience of Rhodes University's placeness through encounter via the environmental aesthetics, social environment, and safety realities of place is highly linked to the experiential reality of Rhodes University being at its very base yet another experience of targeted experience. What I mean here is that the experience of aesthetics, social environment, and safety are directed at the Rhodes University that the individual experiences. In other words, the individual will only know those aesthetics of the environment that they have experienced as things that they have come across. Although Rhodes University is objectively made up of spaces of aesthetics, social environment, and safety, the individual who is within Rhodes University plugs themselves into particular such realities. The individual knows only of some social environments and not others. This ensures that the social environment experienced at Rhodes University by an individual is only that social environment that the individual has become exposed to. However, things do not end here. The idea of exposure is quite broad. The individual can be exposed to something both directly and indirectly. In such a manner, hearing about something within the environment might be enough exposure to it. For instance, imagine that I hear that there is a Nazi statue somewhere on campus. Instead of now only knowing Rhodes University as a place for beautiful and harmless statues, I now think of Rhodes University as a place with some beautiful and harmless statues but with the odd Nazi statue that might be experienced by someone as neither beautiful nor harmless. In this way, encountering realities within Rhodes University's placeness is highly consequential to place experience because it negotiates the relationship between person and environment in such a manner that not only is the individual the master of their experience but the experience is also most consequentially influenced by what might happen during interaction and transaction with other animate and inanimate being that are part of the environment.

When individuals rest upon the placeness of Rhodes University through moments of experienced comfort, attachment to place(s), and being at home, the individual calls into a prevailing moment the more pressing emotional relationships that a place has encouraged within them through mutual interaction. Places are here afforded a meaning that repeats – if not comes back as a quality of a repetition – each time that the place is interacted with. This means that places within the objective space that is Rhodes University are made to be in a sort of (shapeshifting) mosaic of effect wherein some places have more emotive effect than others. For instance, in the collection of places that I may know as my personal Rhodes University there are places that mean more to me than others. Furthermore, these places that mean more to me will at each point wherein I either am within them or think about them remind me of why it is that they are elevated as places of emotive importance to me. These places are then only a selection of overall places within Rhodes University. In being a selection, the individual is thus in a relationship wherein Rhodes University – their experienced Rhodes University – is actually a rationed meaning-infused space because not all the places within the university mean the same thing emotionally to him or her. All the individuals within Rhodes University have its placeness as a patch that is sometimes consequentially emotive and in other times is a field of indifference. This meaning that the individuals within the university impute to the space will always never be equally affected by the happenings and realities within the university since they will continue forging relationships with placeness that are highly targeted and personally reflexive as this is the main way in which person and place relationships are negotiated.

The experience of Rhodes University's placeness through moments of movement, encounter, and rest is demonstrative of what and how the current higher education landscape is within South Africa as an experience of placeness. The moments of the configuration of the place ballet tell of the ultimately experiential qualitative reality of differing reactions and experiences of the higher education landscape as the placeness space that it is. Routinised existence within placeness ensures that people experience a place in a reflexive and directed/targeted manner that results in a human/place relationship that can always be referred to as a way in which to experience placeness. Firstly, individuals are exposed to only a self-selected collection of places that are primarily objectively their place. What I mean here is that people end up partaking in a routine that is over a particular area of (sometimes) meaning-infused space. This

corner of a place is the place that it is because it is here that the individual either knows particular places more than others or frequents more places than others. Secondly, within the areas within placeness that the individual is familiar with there are then those realities of place which affect the individual in a manner such that he or she constantly has to adjust how these particular areas of place are negotiated. For instance, the individual has to know how to interact with particular people, place decorations, and so on and so forth. Thirdly, the manner in which the individual interacts with (and is interacted with by) an area of placeness sticks with the individual and he or she is constantly reminded of the quality of the experience of being within that part of placeness. This means that places within placeness might have ‘trigger values’ that need only referral. In other words, a place is experienced as a potential – although at times quite pleasant – minefield of emotion for places that individuals are familiar with whether through direct experience or hearsay.

In terms of the implications of these insights when it comes to the experience of the South African higher education landscape – a landscape that has looked to move itself out of colonial ideas and constructs that had historically isolated and excluded the majority of the population on many counts that count when placeness takes place, I argue an individual is only affected by those realities which they find and can have a referral to their experience that warrants a particular way of reaction. What I mean here is that people will only react when they are able to see and think up an experience and be affected enough to act upon the sighting and thought. For instance, taking the #RhodesMustFall movement as a reference point, I am only able to see and think up what the problem might be with, primarily, statues because I take it that I know that statues have cultural significance and I have actually come across people who felt themselves culturally affected enough to warrant their explicit desire to see some statues done away with. Although I personally may not experience statues as significant cultural manifestations, I do acknowledge someone else’s thought of them as being such. Furthermore, even if I may not agree on the significance of statues, I still am in an environment – a place through a meaning-infused space – wherein people are fighting over a thing (in this case a statue) that is important enough to warrant them struggling over what should happen. There are basically many ways in which a place can affect and be affected by an individual when it comes to its placeness and the sort of experience it encourages. The overall effect is that of the quality of the experience that people and places must inevitably be in the process of negotiating

on terms which they both come together to realise the effects of in the overall determination of placeness experience.

There is perhaps no quote better from the participants reflecting on the experience of placeness through the place ballet than when Kabomo argues that, “I need to be present”. It is my argument that the entirety of the experience of placeness depends upon presence – a rather broad conception of presence. The individual is firstly present in that there is a place and its spatial reality is the field within which they are present. What I mean here is that the individual is upon a site and situation that is their occupied or inhabited place. Secondly, the individual is present in that the site and situation has the individual’s thoughts and actions directly acknowledging its existence. Here the individual is in a transaction with place and this transaction acknowledges the existence of a thing (the human) and another thing (the place) being in a mutually-affective relationship. Thirdly, the individual is present in a largely reflective manner. Here the individual’s presence is closely related to the occurrence of thought in that the place is a thought process that is engaged. For instance, the individual may be at Rhodes University yet be constantly comparing Rhodes University to an experiential reality of the University of KwaZulu Natal. In this instance, the individual is able to be indirectly present within a place that has some experiential reality that the individual can identify with the experience of.

To the experience of a place’s placeness what presence means is that placeness is of the individual place-maker’s making. In other words, what a place is comes from the transaction between an individual and a place both with realities which must inevitably determine how a place is experience. For example, how I experience a place as Siyathokoza Monwabisi Mtolo is in line with how I am affected by place spatial reality and how that ultimately subjective spatial reality is taken in by myself as a person with a history of experiencing and experienced places. However, the personalised experienced of place does mean that there might be as many places as there are people – places that are actually within the very same meaning-infusing and meaning-infused space. It is the case that the phenomenological reality of presence means that everyone is present at the same time and with a presence that must necessarily result in the experience of a place’s placeness in a particular manner that is in line with the qualities of the experiences inherent in their emplacement within place. This does mean that there will in many

cases be purely accidental – or rather improbably strenuously similar – overlaps between the placeness experiences of people. This little overlap is an arguable fact because it is seldom the case that two people experience the same thing in exactly the same manner and for the exact same reasons coming from the experience of the very same realities. It is the case that people who identify with each other's experience simply agree to meet each other on an agreed-upon point that sees the slightly-differing experiences being lumped into an experience that is shared.

Over the years I have noticed that my experience of Rhodes University's experience is quite similar to a close friend of mine. This friend of mine I have only known since the year 2015. Before the year 2015 there was a rather slim chance of the two of us meeting – most probably because this friend was a whole different country away from South Africa. However, once we got together and started talking and getting to know each other we both started agreeing on many things about Rhodes University – things that spoke of both its people environment and the built-up and decorated environment. I believe that our agreement had more to do with the sort of people we are (probably the obvious preference for quiet and reservation), the time in which we met (both of us coming to begin our postgraduate studies after having spent some time away from university), and our overall worldviews being quite similar (both of us studying the very same thing for quite similar reasons). These things about my friend and I were probably some of the realities which pushed us to have similar views on many topics. It is the case that Rhodes University is an enclosure of many people having particular reactions to its numerous realities. What I mean to say here is that people's presence within the university's meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space results in realities of experience that may be as varied and affectual as there are a number of people – people diametrically disagreeing and people largely agreeing. The placeness of Rhodes University may be thought of as a kaleidoscopic mosaic because it is an affectual experiential meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space that is both frozen in experience (people have corners of their own little Rhodes University) and forever morphing in the same experience (people and placeness realities are always negotiating the relationship of experience that they have). In other words, Rhodes University's placeness allows for multi-layered experience for as many reasons as people and places allow themselves to have.

Presence as the main way in which placeness is experienced does mean that Rhodes University is in a mutually affective relationship that is horizontally perpetually incremental between environment and individual. In other words, the individual and place meet each other in a relationship of meeting that depends on many realities of both individual and place being put in transactions which mix and interact so that there is a resulting experience. For instance, to any place, there is always an objective spatial reality of that place being visited for the very first time. Personally, I visited Rhodes University for the very first time in the year 2015. However, the very first experience of a particular place is not just that particular experience but is likely to call into the moment previous moments of being in places. For example, when I came to Rhodes University for the very first time, not only was it a rainy day but I also noticed that Rhodes University looked slightly different to my previous university. All places are an experience in such a manner. The individual and the place meet each other halfway and collectively determine the overall experience of a place's placeness. Each and everything about a place (its weather, its people, its build and decoration, etc.) all come together with the individual for a transaction of placeness and individual that determines the quality of the overall experience of placeness. Each ultimately experiential qualitative reality of Rhodes University as experienced by an experiencing person within Rhodes University contributes to the thought by the individual on the placeness that is to be found within the place that is Rhodes University.

A Recommendation

From the findings of this research undertaking it is evidently clear that the experience of placeness is a largely personalised experience. What I mean here is that how individuals experience places is in line with the sort of individuals that they are and the sort of experiences that these individual have, wish to have, and have had with places. Such experiences are consequentially informing of the overall experience of placeness because they put the individual in a particular relationship of interaction and transaction with placeness. Looking at the current situation within the higher education landscape of South Africa and greater South Africa – people looking to change such realities as those of the built-up environment in its decorations and the people who occupy the walls of such placeness – there is sentiment afoot that seeks to consequentially affect placeness in such a manner that it becomes a different relationship between some places and some people within the meaning-infused and meaning-infusing space. In other words, people are looking to have places which are more to their desires

and the things which might make them feel more welcome, acknowledged, and treated well within the higher education landscape as both the built-up and decorated environment and the people environment. From the findings of this research undertaking such desires can be realised. However, since the experience of placeness is personalised, there are too many differing eventualities of an alleged desirable placeness. What I mean here is that since every person at a place like Rhodes University will be experiencing what can only be thought of as *their* Rhodes University then there really is no one-size-fits-all approach to reworking placeness; whatever placeness will be eventually looked at as being the desired placeness profile will inevitably isolate someone at the same time that it integrates someone else. Be-that-as-it-may, there is also the probability that there will be more people integrated and feeling more at ease within placeness than those that do not feel such a transaction with placeness. Such a state of affairs all boils down to people having had differing experiences with placeness while growing up and these experiences leading them to Rhodes University and then having particular experiences within the placeness of Rhodes University. This state of affairs goes beyond Rhodes University because it too is only a sample of the greater placeness that is a country. The same ultimately experiential qualitative reality of places meaning different things to different people, because of different experiences and means of attributing and reading meaning within placeness, applies to South Africa as a whole. It is the case that South Africa itself is a country of people having their very own experiences of what is *their* South Africa. Whatever is done to placeness will have differing effects on different people because people often have differing experiences of placeness and what it does to the relationship between individual and place.

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Appendix A: Informed Consent Agreement

Informed Consent Agreement between Siyathokoza Mtolo (researcher) and _____(participant).

This document records the understanding between myself as researcher and you as a participant in my research. If you have any questions about this consent form, please feel free to ask me.

My research is about the experience of emplacement through habitual walking. The place (and its ‘placeness’) I am looking at is Rhodes University (RU). As a place this tertiary education institution –like all other places –is a site and situation of meaning and accompanying subjectivities which inhabit the space referred to as RU. This place –RU as a historically-White university –has place ‘features’ (be they aesthetics, demographics, institutional cultures, etc.) which make the place the space it is as site and situation of considerable meaning (and meaning-making). In recent years –most explicitly with the advent of the #RhodesMustFall movement –walking has been identified as an activity which will put everyone involved in the walking of a site and situation in contact with that environment’s decorating features which in many cases intersect with a ‘placeness’ subjectivity. Through focusing on the habitual walking upon Rhodes University I hope to better understand how the walk as an ‘unfolding’ of ‘placeness’ feeds into the overall feel of having experienced a place most consequentially.

I do this research in fulfilment of my doctoral degree supervised by Professor Louise Vincent. I hope to publish some of my findings in academic journals on completion of my doctoral thesis.

All participants have the option of remaining anonymous in the way in which I report the findings of my research. Anonymity will be achieved through the use of pseudonyms and the removal of additional potentially identifying features of biography. I assure all participants of my respect for their rights and confidentiality during the process of transcription, analysis and storage of my data.

Participation in my research is voluntary. If at any stage during the research you wish to withdraw your consent for some reason, you are entitled to do so.

If at any stage after the interview you wish to contact me, my number is 062 690 2535 (cellular phone) or mtlsiy001@myuct.ac.za (electronic mail). You are also welcome to contact my supervisor, Professor Louise Vincent on L.vincent@ru.ac.za.

I _____ agree to be interviewed by Siyathokoza Mtolo concerning my experience of being in the place that is Rhodes University/University of Fort Hare.

I understand that:

1. The research is being conducted as part of the requirements for a doctoral degree at Rhodes University.
2. In addition to a thesis, aspects of the study may be published in the form of an academic article.
3. My participation will involve being interviewed and videotaped at my convenience for a duration of about one hour per interview.
4. I may be asked questions of a personal nature, but I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life that I am not willing to disclose.
5. I am invited to voice to the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study, or consequences I may experience as a result of my participation, and to have these addressed to my satisfaction.
6. I am free to withdraw from the study at any time should I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.
7. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible for me to be identified by the general reader if I so wish to be unidentifiable.

Signed on (Date): _____

Participant: _____

Researcher: _____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Questions for Interview:

1. Can you provide me with a brief biography: name, city, year of study, residence/digs, etc.
2. Can you tell me about how you ended up being a Rhodes University student? (How you found out about Rhodes, how you decided to come to Rhodes over other universities, how the first day was at Rhodes University -first day ever -not of lectures but touching down here).
3. Can you tell me about your overall thoughts on Rhodes University as a place? (Talking about it as any other place you have been in for a period of time, i.e. talking about it as you would the place you are from, how living here has been, perhaps how you have adjusted to university life, how the university has been treating you as a place you spend a lot of time within).
4. Can you tell me about routine in your experience of Rhodes University? (Routine as in habitual activity within the university environment and how this is a way in which you are here. Routine as in repetition that is basically how you are taking in Rhodes University as a place you stay in).
5. Can you tell me about being familiar with the Rhodes University space? (Familiar as in knowing the space better since you have been here for a period of time. Perhaps you can recall back to your very first moments being on campus and how campus has been to you with your continued stay. Here you can talk on such topics as knowing where what is in terms of venue and maybe seeing things for the very first time and then seeing them all the time. This is a question on you and your living within the university space for a period

of time moving from it being a new place to it being a place you can argue to know to a degree).

6. Can you tell me about your comfort within Rhodes University? (Comfort as in how at ease you are within the university space. You can mention things that affect the level of comfort and how that level of comfort is basically determined).

7. Are you at home here? (Answer in line with what you understand home to be, i.e. the feeling of home. This is to get what it means to be 'at home' to you and if you actually have that feeling of being 'at home' according to whatever you believe 'at homeness' to be).

8. Are there any spaces on campus that you feel attached to? (These are places or a place that someone could even argue that you are always to be found there for some reason. These are places or a place you have grown very fond of. I would like to know about such spaces and the reasoning behind that elevation to such a level of attachment as to essentially be linked to your experience in a highly emotive manner. Have you ever felt a sense of ownership for these areas, i.e. you would feel robbed of something were you to find someone other than yourself at that spot when you wanted to be there yourself at that very moment).

Can you tell me your thoughts on safety within campus? (Is it a thing that crosses your mind? Why does it cross your mind? Recall back to why safety is or is not a thing you think about when on campus).

Appendix C: Categories Emerging

Codes selection	Categories
<p>“upper campus more natural”</p> <p>“more trees”</p> <p>“see sororities”</p> <p>“very old compared to upper campus”</p> <p>“less nature; more buildings”</p> <p>“those big houses”</p> <p>“looks amazing”</p> <p>“reses look like that”</p> <p>“they are houses”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison</p>
<p>“get used to walking fast”</p> <p>“developing a quicker pace”</p> <p>“go to lectures on time”</p>	<p>Walking</p>
<p>“it’s greener”</p> <p>“it’s very peaceful”</p> <p>“feel the same next year”</p> <p>“building more reses”</p> <p>“Able to see the view”</p> <p>“the way the res is”</p> <p>“can only see West”</p>	<p>Aesthetics</p>
<p>“makes you appreciate”</p> <p>“when driving you don’t see”</p> <p>“unlike when pace is slow”</p> <p>“appreciate what’s around”</p> <p>“pace is slow”</p> <p>“no time constraint”</p> <p>“get to see things”</p> <p>“don’t usually see”</p>	<p>Notice + Walking + People</p>

<p>“walking fast”</p> <p>“first thing I noticed”</p> <p>“you’d never know when driving”</p> <p>“get to see the social”</p> <p>“people sitting outside res”</p> <p>“the interactions people have”</p> <p>“they take pictures”</p> <p>“walking slow makes me see”</p>	
<p>“Quite an interesting environment”</p> <p>“Different from where I’m from”</p> <p>“Come from a different environment”</p> <p>“In two different worlds”</p> <p>“From where it’s just one race”</p> <p>“Here is a mix of everything”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison + People + Residence</p>
<p>“Home is the people”</p> <p>“The people are now gone”</p> <p>“I had to build home again”</p> <p>“I was gone; now back”</p>	<p>Homeness + People</p>
<p>“obviously much different”</p> <p>“Here it’s more EUROPEAN”</p> <p>“It has a European identity”</p> <p>“I’ve been to other universities”</p> <p>“This stands out”</p> <p>“It’s quite different”</p> <p>“Maybe cultural inculcation”</p> <p>“An inferiority complex”</p> <p>“Comparison to BAR”</p> <p>“One of the better architectures” .</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison</p>
<p>“European in every way”</p> <p>“Should appreciate something like this”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + People</p>

<p>“A mistake to abolish”</p> <p>“Isn’t as well-built”</p> <p>“Everything means different to different people”</p> <p>“Nothing really hurtful”</p>	
<p>“try to KNOW people”</p> <p>“Get a support structure”</p> <p>“I was alone in the library”</p> <p>“People make it home”</p> <p>“It’s a lonely place”</p> <p>“People are not as welcoming”</p>	<p>People</p>
<p>“Social life has been good”</p> <p>“refuse to study”</p> <p>“Notion of groupisms”</p> <p>“Depends on how you put yourself out”</p> <p>“I have friends from every race”</p> <p>“Social life is pretty good”</p>	<p>People</p>
<p>“I’ve always been in reses”</p> <p>“Always get attachment to those places”</p> <p>I’m more or less comfortable”</p> <p>“More comfortable as I go more often”</p> <p>“I’m comfortable wherever”</p> <p>“This is homely”</p>	<p>Residence + Comfort</p>
<p>“I wasn’t that comfortable”</p> <p>“it’s a very very white university”</p> <p>“I went to a public school”</p> <p>“A bit of culture shock”</p> <p>“so many white people”</p> <p>“Res was small”</p> <p>“people are so in your face”</p> <p>“They wanna know about you”</p>	<p>Comfort + People + Comparison</p>

<p>"I liked being by myself"</p> <p>"Would want to chill in my room"</p> <p>"These people and space"</p> <p>"I isolated myself"</p> <p>"Trying to know me better"</p> <p>"I didn't like it"</p> <p>"I didn't go to functions"</p>	
<p>"It was scary"</p> <p>"Here before other people"</p> <p>"It was intimidating"</p> <p>"I wasn't comfortable"</p> <p>"It was big and scary"</p> <p>"Different types of people in one place"</p>	<p>People + Residence + Comfort</p>
<p>"Knight and tight community"</p> <p>"It's getting bigger"</p> <p>"People focused on groups"</p> <p>"Used to be one BIG community"</p> <p>"You get cliques"</p>	<p>People</p>
<p>"The res is too small"</p> <p>"they just know everything about you"</p> <p>"I decided to change res"</p> <p>"New res bigger"</p> <p>"I missed the other res"</p> <p>"Kanti what do I want?"</p>	<p>Comparison + People</p>
<p>"I came back"</p> <p>"Place would be the same"</p> <p>"It isn't the same"</p> <p>"People are not here anymore"</p> <p>"It's a new place to you"</p> <p>"The people make the place"</p>	<p>Familiarity + People</p>

<p>“Didn’t get to continue with people”</p> <p>“I try to maintain cliques”</p>	
<p>“Where I walk everyday”.</p> <p>“take it; it’s the easiest; the quickest”</p> <p>“I’ll take the easiest route”</p> <p>“Don’t want to be late”</p> <p>“Whatever it takes to not be late”</p> <p>“Usually walking to the library or department”</p> <p>“two all-day-everyday-for-sure destinations”.</p> <p>“Union; once here and there”.</p>	<p>Walking + Sustained action</p>
<p>“Not as safe”</p> <p>“I’ve never been mugged”</p> <p>“I was mugged here”</p> <p>“What happened to Grahamstown?”</p> <p>“On campus they are trying”</p> <p>“Still not as it should”</p> <p>“used to come to campus at night”</p> <p>“Now I can’t think of it”</p> <p>“Never think of just walking”</p> <p>“The security people try”</p> <p>“It shouldn’t be gated but...”</p> <p>“Many universities have walls”</p> <p>“It’s creepy and scary”</p> <p>“people can walk in and out of campus”</p> <p>“safe place to walk in”</p> <p>“Don’t see those signs anymore”</p> <p>“You’re at your safest”</p> <p>“You’re not as safe”</p> <p>“They’d be signs”.</p>	<p>Safety + People + Comparison + Notice</p>
<p>“I got lost”</p>	<p>Familiarity + Residence</p>

<p>“The department moved”</p> <p>“I kept going there”</p> <p>“It’s down there now”</p> <p>“It used to be a res”</p>	
<p>“had a year to get used to people”</p> <p>“other people would come”</p> <p>“had to reconditions myself”</p> <p>“be comfortable again”</p> <p>“Change from home to res”</p> <p>“It is not stable”</p> <p>“Wouldn’t have the same people”</p> <p>“people would leave”</p>	<p>Familiarity + People + Comfort</p>
<p>“Campus is very beautiful”</p> <p>“I have been to other campuses”</p> <p>“It’s very large”</p> <p>“It’s very closed off”</p> <p>“you can’t just get in”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison</p>
<p>“I like Rhodes”</p> <p>“everything is close”</p> <p>“they have different campuses”</p> <p>“not much time to travel between”</p> <p>“I belong here”</p> <p>“I was meant to be here”</p> <p>“I was in a small school”</p>	<p>Comparison + Residence</p>
<p>“I like Rhodes as a whole”</p> <p>“I couldn’t read the buildings”</p> <p>“Not a representation of who I am”</p> <p>“I don’t know who this is”</p> <p>“puts a bit of a boundary”</p> <p>“Not as welcoming”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + People</p>

<p>“You’re not here forever”</p> <p>“You know who it is”</p> <p>“It represents part of you”</p> <p>“I understand why it’s here”</p> <p>“No reason for it”</p>	
<p>“People make places”</p> <p>“Places I don’t feel comfortable going into”</p> <p>“that’s because of the people”</p> <p>“Certain types of people with social rules”</p> <p>“bound to those areas”</p> <p>“Too many people”</p> <p>“It’s an uncomfortable space”</p> <p>“Where there is a lot of people and social behaviour”</p> <p>“I would rather be alone”</p>	<p>People + Comfort</p>
<p>“actual name a male”</p> <p>“a sort of distinction”</p> <p>“it’s very opposite”</p> <p>“but that’s a dude”</p> <p>“a totally different situation”</p> <p>“first-time boundaries”</p> <p>“buildings are mostly white old men”</p> <p>“It’s very weird”</p> <p>“I haven’t interacted with white old men”</p> <p>“used to seeing a lot of blacks”</p> <p>“now a majority of whites”</p> <p>“It was a shift”</p> <p>“be comfortable with seeing these people”.</p>	<p>Aesthetics + People + Comfort</p>
<p>“spend too much time studying”</p> <p>“I need to actually SEE campus”</p> <p>“friend was a catalyst”</p>	<p>Time + Notice + People + Walking + Familiarity</p>

<p>“Asking about different places”</p> <p>“I did not know”</p> <p>“call this place home”</p> <p>“don’t know much of it”</p> <p>“you don’t know this place”</p> <p>“How are you comfortable?”</p> <p>“I started to walk”</p> <p>“Rhodes is an open campus”</p> <p>“Easier to lose yourself”</p> <p>“no clear boundary to Rhodes”</p> <p>“places that I don’t know”</p> <p>“divides I wouldn’t have noticed”</p>	
<p>“Home is where I am comfortable”</p> <p>“there is a degree of choice”</p> <p>“not freedom”</p> <p>“limitations to how free”</p> <p>“there’s comfort and familiarity”</p> <p>“I know where I can get things”</p> <p>“what time to come back and be safe”</p> <p>“It has to be beautiful”.</p>	<p>Homeness + Familiarity + Residence</p>
<p>“It’s the people”</p> <p>“Places are defined by people”</p> <p>“when you enter; you become free”</p> <p>“a degree of choice”</p> <p>“whatever you want to do”</p> <p>“outside campus; walk a certain way”</p> <p>“choices decrease”</p> <p>“do not draw attention to self”</p> <p>“faces you see change”</p> <p>“less of white people”</p>	<p>People + Comfort + Notice</p>

<p>“see a lot of yourself”</p> <p>“it’s more clustered”</p> <p>“things are closer together”</p>	
<p>“I’m not welcome”</p> <p>“too many people”</p> <p>“gets too me”</p> <p>“associate with definitions”</p> <p>“associate with judgement”</p> <p>“people trying to act a certain way”</p> <p>“act a way to be part of space”</p> <p>“I can just walk it”</p> <p>“It is quiet”</p> <p>“I can just be”</p>	<p>People + Residence + Comfort</p>
<p>“Feeling nostalgic”</p> <p>“I still remember”</p> <p>“I didn’t know it”</p> <p>“walked through here”</p> <p>“I walk through here every day now”</p> <p>“it seems different from my first time”</p> <p>“It had a meaning when I first came”</p> <p>“It’s common now”</p> <p>“Just too familiar now”</p> <p>“No longer the feeling it had”</p> <p>“changed from what I’ve been told”</p> <p>“Became a symbol of whiteness”</p>	<p>Residence + Walking + Sustained action + Comparison</p>
<p>“a love-hate relationship”</p> <p>“love changes as you find out”</p> <p>“opposing views to yours”</p> <p>“Do you still love it”</p> <p>“I adore campus”</p>	<p>Residence + Aesthetics + Time</p>

<p>“need to look at it from my beliefs”</p> <p>“doesn’t hold as much love”</p> <p>“I am changing as a person”</p> <p>“beliefs are changing”</p> <p>“meaning of places should change”</p> <p>“mean as much as now”</p> <p>“time adds to appreciation”</p>	
<p>“I don’t have a car”</p> <p>“How I learnt about this place”</p> <p>“I need to be present”</p> <p>“need to be specifically there”</p> <p>“Not much of a social person”</p> <p>“I come to sit and observe”</p> <p>“Keep my own space”</p> <p>“What I get from actual space”</p>	Walking + People
<p>“Less comfort when out at night”</p> <p>“much less secure at night”</p> <p>“Can’t just go anywhere”</p> <p>“It’s less bright”</p> <p>“Anything can happen”</p> <p>“get to where you want quick”</p> <p>“touch and go”</p> <p>“take a new route”</p> <p>“get lost”</p> <p>“things are not easily see at night”</p> <p>“night you see more bodyguards”</p> <p>“you should feel safe”</p>	Comparison + Comfort + Safety + People
<p>“more comfort here”</p> <p>“home is stable”</p> <p>“find the same people”</p>	Comparison + Comfort + People + Residence

<p>“things change here”</p> <p>“room is not really yours”</p> <p>“you change”</p> <p>“I have conditioned myself”</p> <p>“okay with instability”</p> <p>“I don’t find it problematic”</p> <p>“different people every year”</p> <p>“having choice is important”</p> <p>“comfort leads to homeness”</p> <p>“have to limit self”</p>	
<p>“the time spent”</p> <p>“people grow up”</p> <p>“not really part of the family”</p> <p>“more comfortable here than at home”</p> <p>“home is home because of familiarity”</p>	<p>Time + People + Homeness</p>
<p>“go past chapel”</p> <p>“absolutely beautiful”</p> <p>“calming”</p> <p>“something really beautiful”</p> <p>“Don’t trust that bridge”</p> <p>“walk really fast”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Walking</p>
<p>“Take this route everyday”</p> <p>“Don’t like the Cycle of Life”</p> <p>“Take that route; less busy”</p> <p>“no traffic so can walk freely”</p> <p>“I can just think”.</p> <p>“there’s less commotion”</p> <p>“less movement”</p> <p>“less momentum from people”.</p> <p>“It’s more convenient”.</p>	<p>Sustained action + Walking + People</p>

<p>“Don’t think about specific place”</p> <p>“I’m used to them now”</p> <p>“Only time; when I have to go there”</p> <p>“Usually have earphones”</p> <p>“beautiful campus; all I see”</p> <p>“campus is old”</p> <p>“absolutely beautiful”</p> <p>“thought into it”</p> <p>“they thought it out”</p> <p>“campus is small”</p> <p>“buildings are proper”</p>	<p>Familiarity + Aesthetics</p>
<p>“Hamilton Building; so corporate and professional”</p> <p>“buildings are enhancing to idea”</p> <p>“whole thing is structured”</p> <p>“have to be aware”</p> <p>“can’t be consumed”</p> <p>“must be alert”</p> <p>“cars would knock me”</p> <p>“I have to be present”</p>	<p>Aesthetics</p>
<p>“It’s tiny”</p> <p>“Campus is so small”</p> <p>“can finish campus in 10 mins”</p> <p>“That’s what I love”</p> <p>“Grahamstown is also small”</p> <p>“It makes things easier”</p> <p>“I would literally leave five minutes before”</p> <p>“everything is like in proximity with everything”</p> <p>“Buildings are close to each other”</p> <p>“Makes things so much easier”</p> <p>“Library, lecture venues; CENTRAL”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + walking</p>

<p>“small in a good way”</p> <p>“Get to places much easier”</p> <p>“there’s no growth”</p> <p>“nothing changes”</p> <p>“tired of seeing the same places”</p>	
<p>“everything is beautiful; night and day”.</p> <p>“Can’t imagine anything other than this”</p> <p>“Would look boring if these weren’t here”</p> <p>“It would look naked”</p> <p>“It has a lot of trees”</p> <p>“Looks beautiful; summer and spring”</p> <p>“It’s colours go well with the painting”</p> <p>“trees are good during the seasons”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison + Time</p>
<p>“Would be an injustice to look at one perspective”</p> <p>“something to be admired”</p> <p>“Can’t just look at one thing”</p> <p>“same with the night”</p> <p>“still just as beautiful”</p> <p>“Really take for granted the things we see every day”</p> <p>“it becomes mundane and normal”</p> <p>“we don’t really notice”</p> <p>“so many stuff I’ve ignored”</p> <p>“I just couldn’t be bothered”</p> <p>“I’m just so used to it”</p> <p>“when it’s there vs when it’s not”</p>	<p>Comparison + Aesthetics + Residence + Notice</p>
<p>“Really like safe”</p> <p>“Stuff has happened”</p> <p>“Not beyond my ability”</p> <p>“feel at home here”</p> <p>“Have got lots of friends”</p>	<p>Safety + Comparison + Homeness</p>

<p>“it’s a home away from home”</p> <p>“I’m okay being here”</p> <p>“I miss home”</p> <p>“it’ll never be HOME home”</p> <p>“It’s close to home”</p>	
<p>“I’m here six months; home three weeks”</p> <p>“Here again for another six months”</p> <p>“would have lost it by now”</p> <p>“So much is happening here”</p> <p>“stressful and time-consuming”</p> <p>“very demanding”</p> <p>“everything would be upside down”</p> <p>“I wouldn’t be here”</p> <p>“Even at home you have trials”</p> <p>“trials are manageable”</p> <p>“Not beyond our capacity”</p> <p>“It’s stuff we can deal with”</p>	<p>Residence + Comparison + Homeness</p>
<p>“At home I never walk”</p> <p>“we do not walk”</p> <p>“safer to not walk around”</p> <p>“streets aren’t safe”</p> <p>“I walk here everywhere”</p> <p>“At home I will not walk”</p> <p>“Walking here is fresh air”</p> <p>“It’s something different”</p> <p>“Not allowed to walk home”</p> <p>“Never allowed from the beginning”</p> <p>“Just wouldn’t walk around”</p> <p>“Here we walk AT NIGHT”</p> <p>“We’re constantly walking”</p>	<p>Walking + Homeness + Comparison + Safety</p>

<p>"I only do it here"</p>	
<p>"Was nervous in the beginning"</p> <p>"Walking is a culture here"</p> <p>"We walk everywhere at any time"</p> <p>"A matter of assimilating"</p> <p>"Being okay with it"</p> <p>"Being comfortable"</p> <p>"Everybody walks here"</p> <p>"It's nothing new"</p> <p>"I'd NEVER do that at home"</p>	<p>Residence + Walking + People + Comparison</p>
<p>"I'm not saying I'm not scared"</p> <p>"It's not absolutely safe"</p> <p>It's manageable".</p> <p>"I feel at discomfort"</p> <p>"I've had bad experiences"</p> <p>"Almost got mugged"</p> <p>"Things I can think of are bad"</p> <p>"I try to avoid that vicinity"</p> <p>"It has negative connotations"</p>	<p>Safety + Comfort + People</p>
<p>"there are negatives"</p> <p>"it's not just smooth sailing"</p> <p>"there are bad encounters in the walk"</p> <p>"not even in the actual walk"</p> <p>"It's not just beautiful things"</p> <p>"scary and disgusting things"</p> <p>"It's not just beautiful leaves"</p> <p>"even dodgy people".</p> <p>"I carry pepper spray"</p> <p>"I just don't trust anyone"</p> <p>"they could do anything"</p>	<p>Notice + Walking + Aesthetic + Safety</p>

<p>“buildings which should be demolished”</p> <p>“it’s not working”</p> <p>“It’s a black dot on white paper”</p> <p>“stuff I see during the walk”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Walking + Notice</p>
<p>“their beauties are different”</p> <p>“Hamilton building is sophistication”</p> <p>“Admin building is chilled beauty”</p>	<p>Comparison + Aesthetics</p>
<p>“At home we were socialised”</p> <p>“Here I can’t be at our place”</p> <p>“I need to come here”</p> <p>“I can’t be worried about safety”</p> <p>“I’ve got stuff to do”</p> <p>“I NEED to come”</p> <p>“Safety will take a backseat”</p> <p>“It’s there”</p> <p>“Need to do stuff that’s gonna protect me”</p> <p>“Nothing I can do about that”</p> <p>“I have to come”</p> <p>“I can’t be living in fear”</p> <p>“If something happens, it happens”</p> <p>“we’ll deal with it”</p>	<p>Homeness + Residence + Safety</p>
<p>“It has changed”</p> <p>“Self has changed environmental-wise”</p> <p>“I wasn’t exposed to things”</p> <p>“Controversy about the university”</p> <p>“Looking at everything from a blind eye”</p> <p>“Didn’t know the history of Rhodes as a place”</p> <p>“Related to it as it came”</p> <p>“2015 things changed”</p> <p>“Transformation started to happen”</p>	<p>Time + Residence + Notice</p>

<p>“My perception took a significant change”</p> <p>“Movements were established”</p> <p>“I did history”</p> <p>“Tried to block out influences”</p> <p>“Influences went into the classroom”</p> <p>“had accepted colonial idea”</p> <p>“Whites are really superior”</p> <p>“One of the best institutions”</p> <p>“A previously white institution”</p> <p>“Whiteness as a form of superiority”</p> <p>“associated whiteness with greatness”</p> <p>“No one to tell me otherwise”</p>	
<p>“I did history”</p> <p>“change of perspective”</p> <p>“perception was skewed”</p> <p>“got exposed to a different idea”</p> <p>“changed me a lot”</p> <p>“came on fertile soil”</p> <p>“came to understand things”</p> <p>“relate to Rhodes differently”</p> <p>“I recognised things”</p> <p>“Exposed to other ideas”</p>	<p>Residence + Notice</p>
<p>“I’d just see buildings”</p> <p>“Nice buildings”</p> <p>“this school is huge”</p> <p>“My high school wasn’t this big”</p> <p>“enjoyed coming to the library”</p> <p>“Enjoyed walking to the big building”</p> <p>“You’d be excited”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Comparison</p>

<p>“things you weren’t exposed to before”</p>	
<p>“A lot changed”</p> <p>“I’m kind of conscious”</p> <p>“refer to the history of Rhodes and the university”</p> <p>“I usually asked myself</p> <p>“where blacks were hung”</p> <p>“murals celebrate”</p> <p>“Buildings affected by protest”</p> <p>“It has a history”</p> <p>“Can’t walk normally”</p> <p>“can’t look at it normally”</p> <p>“I can’t look at the place normally”</p> <p>“I get reminded constantly”</p> <p>“Not really sleeping”</p> <p>“I wasn’t exposed to the information”</p> <p>“I accepted everything that came”</p> <p>“I can’t accept without fighting”</p> <p>“anything that attacks my personhood”</p> <p>“I grew up conservatively”</p> <p>“Everything has changed”</p> <p>“I can’t keep turning my cheek”</p> <p>“People trample all over you”</p> <p>“Must fight back”</p> <p>“Accepted in an environment that’s exclusionary”.</p>	<p>Comparison + Residence + Walking</p>
<p>“It’s not easy”</p> <p>“Change must come with me”</p> <p>“Try and change the environment”</p> <p>“influence people around me”</p> <p>“A very Eurocentric space”</p>	<p>Residence + Aesthetics</p>

<p>“Work hard to be accepted”</p> <p>“Every time you remember”</p> <p>“Get reminded what happened”</p>	
<p>“those spaces are difficult”</p> <p>“Make sure that you change the environment”</p> <p>“No one will change it for you”</p> <p>“this has to change”</p> <p>“it suffocates us”</p> <p>“people have tried”</p> <p>“Names have historical significance”</p> <p>“been unsuccessful so far”</p> <p>“keep on trying”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + People</p>
<p>“Previous environments were more enjoyable”</p> <p>“people make the experience”</p> <p>“People are cold here”</p> <p>“stay in your lane”</p> <p>“extra mile for social interaction”</p> <p>“vibe with me”</p> <p>“I’ll give you the side you’re giving me”</p> <p>“vibes were not really good”</p> <p>“give back those vibes”</p> <p>“I will keep to myself”</p> <p>“People make the environment”</p> <p>“high school was very nice”</p> <p>“small and enjoyable”</p> <p>“here buildings impressed”</p> <p>“environment feels cold”</p> <p>“people are different”</p> <p>“can’t open up to them”</p> <p>“we greet”</p>	<p>Comparison + People</p>

<p>“End of conversation”</p> <p>“Just look at you”</p> <p>“Why are you even talking”</p> <p>“most interaction in dining hall”</p> <p>“same people everywhere”</p> <p>“Rhodes is small”</p>	
<p>“I kind of felt suffocated”</p> <p>“I felt out of place”</p> <p>“I FELT EXCLUDED SOCIALLY”</p> <p>“Out of place totally”</p> <p>“I’d run to the monument”</p> <p>“Feeling the air on my face”</p> <p>“Relax my body”</p> <p>“Quite a long walk”</p> <p>“sitting and looking at Grahamstown”</p> <p>“Went there at night”</p> <p>“Can’t see the segregation”</p> <p>“symbolic thing for me”</p> <p>“at night it’s just dark”</p>	<p>Comfort</p>
<p>“Institution not built for people like me”</p> <p>“I felt out of place”</p> <p>“Everything reminds me of colonialism”</p> <p>“remember black people suffering”</p> <p>“commemoration to colonialism”</p> <p>“the way it’s built and stuff”</p> <p>“felt detached”</p> <p>“people were cold”</p> <p>“everything excluded me”</p> <p>“this place was exhausting”</p> <p>“walk was refreshing”</p>	<p>People + Comfort + Aesthetics + Walking</p>

<p>“sense of belonging that lacked”.</p>	
<p>“Used to feel safe” “I no longer feel safe” “this place is horrible” “Anything can happen” “You always have to be guarded” “no longer feels the same” “relation to the environment changed” “they sold us a dream” “I bought the dream” “I got exposed to things” “This environment is not for me” “I’m not safe at all”</p>	<p>Safety + Comparison + Comfort</p>
<p>“It’s suffocating” “Why is this person smiling” “It’s an alien thing” “back home you greet” “here you get a cold shoulder” “you get ideas” “remind me of everything I want to forget” “people I don’t want to meet” “Names haven’t changed” “experience has been suffocating”</p>	<p>Comfort + People + Homeness</p>
<p>“Cool with few people” “don’t like being around people” “A cool change to see less people” “walking is slower” “people determine walking” “less people moving around”</p>	<p>People + Walking</p>
<p>“I usually walked”</p>	<p>Walking + Safety + Notice</p>

<p>"I'd walk always"</p> <p>"I almost got mugged"</p> <p>"When it's dark I don't walk"</p> <p>"I walk when I can still see"</p> <p>"Safety is the main reason"</p>	
<p>I'm comfortable"</p> <p>"It's a small university"</p> <p>"I'm drawn to quiet places"</p> <p>"Not filled with noise"</p> <p>"It's like very quiet"</p> <p>"Little noise"</p> <p>"From the beginning I felt comfortable"</p> <p>"The more I'm here, the more I'm comfortable".</p>	Comfort
<p>"Any place can be home"</p> <p>"Things that attack you"</p> <p>"I can be who I want"</p> <p>"This makes it home"</p> <p>"No one is monitoring me"</p> <p>"allowed to be uncomfortable"</p> <p>"walk however I feel"</p> <p>"No one is monitoring where I should be"</p> <p>"Allowed to be myself"</p>	Homeness + Comfort
<p>"memorised map of campus"</p> <p>"tug along"</p> <p>"Once got lost"</p> <p>"directed me to res"</p>	Familiarity
<p>"I'm more comfortable"</p> <p>"walking alone in afternoon"</p> <p>"I know it will be busy"</p> <p>"people will be around"</p>	Comfort + Walking + People

<p>“discomfort when few people around”</p> <p>“anything can happen”</p>	
<p>“need to be careful what you say”</p> <p>“Walls have ears”</p> <p>“people are sensitive”</p> <p>“they will crush you down”</p> <p>“people will attack you”</p> <p>“they will crash you down”</p> <p>“as you walk down campus”</p> <p>“have to be mindful”</p>	<p>People + Walking</p>
<p>“depends on the time”</p> <p>“Feel uncomfortable walking”</p> <p>“not much street light”</p> <p>“very dark”</p> <p>“don’t know who might lurk”</p> <p>“prefer using that route”</p> <p>“use the car route”</p>	<p>Comfort + Walking + Time + Safety</p>
<p>“the campus was safer”</p> <p>“still able to walk down”</p> <p>“I walk on a daily basis”</p> <p>“at the time dining hall closed”</p> <p>“things became violent”</p> <p>“had to choose when to go down”</p> <p>“it wasn’t safe”</p> <p>“feel safer here”</p> <p>“I’m international”</p> <p>“during the protests”</p> <p>“streets were not safe”</p> <p>“I was more safer”</p> <p>“It was brutal there”</p>	<p>Safety + Comparison + Walking + Sustained action + People</p>

<p>“small universities united”</p> <p>“easily talk to someone”</p> <p>“unlike big neighbourhood”</p> <p>“you’re not close to neighbour”</p> <p>“everyone is doing their own stuff”</p> <p>“you become like a family”</p>	
<p>“first got here”</p> <p>“change of scenery”</p> <p>“everything was interesting”</p> <p>“over time becomes second nature”</p> <p>“not a WOW factor”</p> <p>“found shortcuts to use”</p> <p>“Agitated by roadworks”</p> <p>“they block your way”</p> <p>“places I haven’t discovered”</p> <p>“I have been busy”</p> <p>“chance to see other places”</p> <p>“that’ll be my peaceful place”</p>	<p>Residence + Comparison + Walking + Aesthetics</p>
<p>“It’s like a shortcut”</p> <p>“shortest distance is straight line”</p> <p>“Always go past”</p> <p>“it takes time off”</p> <p>“time from being late”</p>	<p>Walking + Time</p>
<p>“come here with friends”</p> <p>“procrastination happens”</p> <p>“always sitting in the same place”</p> <p>“where me and friends used to chill”</p> <p>“they no longer come here”</p> <p>“I still chill there”</p> <p>“it was hard to change”</p>	<p>People + Comfort</p>

<p>“like a dog”</p> <p>“it wees on something”</p> <p>“it owns that spot”</p> <p>“I can go sit elsewhere”</p> <p>“it’s not the same”</p> <p>“that spot is reserved”</p> <p>“anyone sitting on my spot”</p>	
<p>“see that people are different”</p> <p>“people with cars”</p> <p>“people walking”</p> <p>“people who are stressed”</p> <p>“we are at university”</p> <p>“some people are chilled”</p> <p>“walking campus at night”</p> <p>“people coming from the bar”</p> <p>“see the same people at library”</p> <p>“this is an opportunity”</p> <p>“either this or there is no this”</p>	<p>People + Walking + Comparison</p>
<p>“usually go home this way”</p> <p>“the streetlights work here”</p> <p>“they don’t work that side”</p>	<p>Walking + Notice</p>
<p>“used to like using that road”</p> <p>“there was a time of robberies”</p> <p>“too dark because of trees”</p> <p>“Started using the other road”</p> <p>“Security would be sitting there”</p> <p>“Can actually see me”</p> <p>“I was given panic button”</p>	<p>Safety + People</p>
<p>“It is routine at Rhodes”</p> <p>“wake up at this time”</p>	<p>Sustained action</p>

<p>“tuts at this time”</p> <p>“you come back to campus”</p> <p>“if you don’t work, you stress”</p> <p>“it has been built in”</p> <p>“I’m supposed to be doing this”</p> <p>“deviate from routine; feel guilty”</p> <p>“set a time for yourself”</p> <p>“is that how it should work?”</p> <p>“I take things as they come”</p> <p>“I have no time table”</p>	
<p>“Don’t spent a lot of time”</p> <p>“being in a new environment”</p> <p>“need to know how to operate”</p> <p>“chilling in someone’s spot”</p> <p>“this spot belongs to this person”</p> <p>“people know who chills there”</p> <p>“cannot go chill unless invited”</p> <p>“people know the rules”</p> <p>“the rules are not written”</p>	<p>Comparison + Comfort + People</p>
<p>“the culture at Rhodes”</p> <p>“It’s like a family”</p> <p>“everyone knows about things”</p> <p>“you get help”</p> <p>“the community supports each other”</p>	<p>People</p>
<p>“depends on how you define home”</p> <p>“go back home”</p> <p>“this is home”</p> <p>“not really home”</p> <p>“unfulfilled ambitions”</p> <p>“Grahamstown does not allow”</p>	<p>Homeness + Comparison + Safety</p>

<p>“I can pursue ambitions”</p> <p>“I can’t use it in this community”</p> <p>“meeting influential people”</p> <p>“direct you what to do”</p> <p>“you still lack”</p> <p>“Can have a good idea”</p> <p>“no one to support you”</p> <p>“I’m settled”</p> <p>“I’m at home”</p> <p>“I’ve walked around”</p> <p>“I feel comfortable walking”</p> <p>“there’s crime”</p> <p>“crime is in every area”</p> <p>“I’ve been very comfortable”</p> <p>“at home past hours”</p> <p>“taking a risk”</p> <p>“Grahamstown not much of a risk”</p> <p>“environment is chilled”</p> <p>“mostly because of services”</p>	
<p>“been a second home”</p> <p>“I’m going home”</p> <p>“not actually home”</p> <p>“it’s been welcoming”</p> <p>“people have been accommodating”</p> <p>“Had some nice friends”</p> <p>“wonderful memories”</p> <p>“Had a good time”</p>	<p>Homeness + People</p>
<p>“get to a new place”</p> <p>“when hardly go there”</p> <p>“this is new”</p>	<p>Familiarity + Comparison + Walking</p>

<p>“you compare”</p> <p>“went up the hill”</p> <p>“guys have the burbs”</p> <p>“It was lovely”</p> <p>“walking up, a mission”</p> <p>“don’t make comparisons”</p> <p>“this is different”</p> <p>“Atmosphere is different”</p>	
<p>“where I stayed determined it”</p> <p>“interests at the time”</p> <p>“stayed in New House”</p> <p>“Movements mainly around New House”</p> <p>“that vicinity”</p> <p>“never gone in that direction”</p> <p>“places of interest”</p> <p>“moved into digs”</p> <p>“from my place to campus”</p> <p>“limited places on campus”</p> <p>“wouldn’t use that route”</p> <p>“no need to go there”</p>	<p>Walking + Comparison</p>
<p>“nothing for me that side”</p> <p>“Don’t like getting lost”</p> <p>“coming from somewhere”</p> <p>“ended up at Barratt”</p> <p>“I can’t remember”</p> <p>“Not where I want to be”</p>	<p>Familiarity + Residence</p>
<p>“Rhodes is small”</p> <p>“can walk whole campus”</p> <p>“the pace at which you walk”</p> <p>“being fit”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Walking + People</p>

<p>“just taking strolls”</p> <p>“Walking leisurely”</p> <p>“in good company”</p> <p>“just clearing your mind”</p> <p>“won’t get tired”</p> <p>“if you rush, get tired”</p>	
<p>“fussed much about safety”</p> <p>“lived within campus”</p> <p>“seemed relatively safe”</p> <p>“now in digs”</p> <p>“women being abducted”</p> <p>“don’t like walking at night”</p> <p>“valuables are important”</p> <p>“can relax when security visible”</p> <p>“don’t see security”</p> <p>“it’s usually dark”</p> <p>“on high alert”</p>	<p>Safety + People</p>
<p>“free to move”</p> <p>“except for safety”</p> <p>“At home you are cut”</p> <p>“Rarely need to go out”</p> <p>“inform your parents”</p>	<p>Walking + Homeness</p>
<p>“people are integrated in visual”</p> <p>“A walking place”</p> <p>“See and feel difference”</p> <p>“campus almost empty”</p> <p>“feel there’s almost no one”</p> <p>“two different places”</p> <p>“notice more of the buildings”</p> <p>“people make up Rhodes”</p>	<p>People + Aesthetics + Notice</p>

<p>“different groups of people”</p> <p>“people associate with places”</p>	
<p>“at night it’s dark”</p> <p>“you can’t see much”</p> <p>“there’s like bushes”</p> <p>“things can jump out”</p> <p>“it’s too open”</p> <p>“look over my shoulder”</p>	Time + Safety
<p>“I try to get there as quick as possible”</p> <p>“I have my head down”</p> <p>“walking to class is awkward”</p> <p>“Don’t like walking around by myself”</p> <p>“Don’t pay much attention to surroundings”</p> <p>“Never listen to music”</p> <p>“It’s distracting”</p> <p>“I’m gonna fall over”</p> <p>“Not hearing my surroundings”</p>	Walking + Notice
<p>“Always actually early”</p> <p>“Paranoid about time”</p> <p>“Leave the house earlier”</p> <p>“Not usually late”</p> <p>“Walk really fast”</p> <p>“Everyone always complains”</p>	Walking
<p>“Never go that side”</p> <p>“Spend a lot of time studying here”</p> <p>“It is my place”</p>	
<p>“We’re going backwards”</p> <p>“How I always walk home”</p> <p>“I think it’s faster”</p> <p>“I haven’t tried others”</p>	Walking + Familiarity

<p>“Took me long to figure route”</p> <p>“Used to go another way”</p> <p>“I’m fine with it”</p> <p>“Walking’s not that fun”</p> <p>“Distance is important”</p>	
<p>“Took me a while”</p> <p>“Wouldn’t walk to lectures alone”</p> <p>“Always with a friend”</p> <p>“Familiar with the place now”.</p> <p>“Sense of direction is bad”</p> <p>“Takes me a while to learn”</p> <p>“Only been there twice”</p>	<p>Familiarity + People + Walking</p>
<p>“I’m gonna compare it to high school”</p> <p>“It’s been cool”</p> <p>“more comfort and interaction in high school”</p> <p>“I knew everyone”</p> <p>“Everyone was cool”</p> <p>“I don’t really talk to anyone”</p> <p>“Don’t really see people I know”</p> <p>“I just like getting to where I’m going”</p> <p>“Try not to trip over stuff”</p>	<p>Comparison + Comfort + People</p>
<p>“Around people that you know”</p> <p>“Don’t watch yourself”</p> <p>“Not worry about first impressions”</p> <p>“When around people who don’t know you”</p> <p>“Don’t know the impressions”</p> <p>“Prefer being around people I know”</p> <p>“Already spent 7 years”</p> <p>“You get very comfortable”</p> <p>“You know everything really well”</p>	<p>Familiarity + Comfort + People + Residence</p>

<p>“All the people; all the places”.</p>	
<p>“I didn’t know where my lectures were” “I would go with someone” “Now I don’t mind” “I know where they are” “a comfortable thing” “More comfortable walking by myself” “The place is more familiar to me” “I don’t feel as awkward”.</p>	<p>Familiarity + Comfort + Walking</p>
<p>“The thought of getting lost” “Wouldn’t leave res by myself” “Would rather miss a lecture” “I can’t handle that” “Wish I could handle stuff” “Nice to be independent”</p>	<p>Familiarity</p>
<p>“Gonna compare to high school” “High school you felt safe” “People protected you” “People here not here to protect you” “Changes how you feel about place”</p>	<p>Comparison + People</p>
<p>“I feel uncomfortable” “Anywhere without friends” “If I am alone” “Somewhere I have never been before” “Own anxiety about being alone” “Not because space is uncomfortable” “depends on the people in the space” “find people you can relate to”</p>	<p>Comfort + Familiarity + People</p>

<p>“Relatively comfortable here”</p> <p>“Wouldn’t say ‘at home’”</p> <p>“Want to be home”</p> <p>“Doesn’t feel like home”</p> <p>“Friends known for less than a year”</p> <p>“the people around me”</p> <p>“home is where people know me”</p> <p>“here people don’t know me”</p> <p>“it’s not home away from home”</p> <p>“I want to go home”</p> <p>“Here is not home”</p>	<p>Comfort + Comparison + Homeness + People + Familiarity</p>
<p>“Not my routine walk”</p> <p>“Walk I take when anxious; need to chill”</p> <p>“Walk to calm myself down”</p> <p>“Try to console myself”</p> <p>“Not really a safe walk”.</p>	<p>Sustained action + Walking</p>
<p>“Usually walk around 6pm”</p> <p>“A bit dark outside”</p> <p>“I take a chance”</p> <p>“I’ve been safe”</p>	<p>Walking + Time</p>
<p>“Advised to take a walk”</p> <p>“Not getting anywhere”</p> <p>“There’s a lot of people outside”</p> <p>“Take a route where there’s hardly people”</p> <p>“Hardly see people here”</p> <p>“Take my quiet walk”</p> <p>“Where there’s people; interruption”</p> <p>“Have to explain myself”</p> <p>“start up a conversation”</p> <p>“end up wasting time”</p>	<p>People + Walking</p>

<p>“Rhodes has REALLY exciting buildings”</p> <p>“Structure and shape: unique and beautiful”</p> <p>“Feel like taking a picture”</p>	<p>Aesthetics</p>
<p>“Always leads to School of Languages”</p> <p>“That’s where my day starts and ends”</p> <p>“Same routine walk every day”</p> <p>“most of my class at the School of Languages”</p> <p>“Spend most of my time there”.</p>	<p>Sustained action + Walking</p>
<p>“Rhodes is very small”</p> <p>“Close to almost everything”</p> <p>“shopping centre is walking distance”</p> <p>“don’t need a taxi to go there”</p> <p>“Don’t need a car to go out”</p> <p>“Can literally walk by your own”</p> <p>“Really convenient for many people”</p> <p>“Accommodating everyone basically”</p>	<p>Aesthetics + Walking + People</p>
<p>“Great in a way”</p> <p>“You happen to know lot of people”</p> <p>“You bump into faces”</p> <p>“form a bond with people”</p> <p>“you create relationships”</p> <p>“people help you out”</p> <p>“You’d be isolate if place was big”</p> <p>“Won’t be able to form relationships”</p> <p>“Won’t be familiar with a lot of people”</p> <p>“You create great social life”</p>	<p>People + Familiarity</p>
<p>“I see pictures”</p> <p>“I never notice”</p> <p>“been passing through everyday”</p> <p>“End up liking the building”</p>	<p>Notice + Walking + Aesthetics</p>

<p>“Focus on a particular building”</p> <p>“Try to see how to take pictures”</p> <p>“Try to make pictures interesting”</p> <p>“each building looks the same”</p> <p>“I don’t like similarity”</p> <p>“Seeing a picture changes similarity”</p> <p>“things make it different”</p> <p>“It’s really interesting”</p> <p>“A lot of trees”</p> <p>“Makes it beautiful”</p>	
<p>“I’m REALLY comfortable”</p> <p>“I can go out with people”</p> <p>“I can be alone”</p> <p>“Crime is not that high”</p> <p>“Chances of getting mugged are low”</p> <p>“I have people I can go to”</p>	<p>Comfort + People + Safety</p>
<p>“Can only be one home”</p> <p>“It’s become home away from home”</p> <p>“Home; that’s where my family is”</p> <p>“I have a family here at Rhodes too”</p> <p>“I’m here most of the time”</p> <p>“I have created a social space”</p> <p>“I’ve met people I’m close with”</p> <p>“They have become family”</p> <p>“I don’t feel lost when I’m here”</p> <p>“See this as my home too”</p> <p>“Most of the time I’m here”</p> <p>“I’m very familiar with the place”</p>	<p>Homeness + Residence + People + Familiarity</p>
<p>“This is home”</p> <p>“No rules here”</p>	<p>Homeness + Safety</p>

<p>"I'm not restricted"</p> <p>"No situation wherein I'm unsafe"</p> <p>"I can go wherever"</p> <p>"What I do home I do here too"</p>	
<p>"Feel comfortable everywhere"</p> <p>"Feeling very comfortable"</p> <p>"I make sure that I'm comfortable"</p> <p>"All about comfort"</p> <p>"Why stay if you're not comfortable?"</p> <p>"If you need to move, MOVE"</p>	<p>Comfort + Comparison</p>
<p>"Know for a fact"</p> <p>"Might be discomfort in Location"</p> <p>"Crime rate is high"</p> <p>"You will not feel safe"</p> <p>"Not safe being surrounded by strangers"</p> <p>"You will feel discomfort"</p> <p>"You will stress about safety"</p> <p>"Stress about leaving there"</p>	<p>Comfort + Comparison</p>
<p>"Time plays a huge role"</p> <p>"if it's dark"</p> <p>"Not many people outside"</p> <p>"During the day; be seen"</p> <p>"Someone will see what's happening"</p> <p>"Time plays a role"</p> <p>"Darkness decreases chances of being seen"</p> <p>"During the day, people free"</p> <p>"People are chilling"</p> <p>"You see faces"</p> <p>"In evening, less faces"</p>	<p>Time + People + Notice</p>

<p>“Experience is not interesting”</p> <p>“I have the same routine all the time”</p> <p>“The same places every day”</p> <p>“I walk everywhere”</p> <p>“I see the same places”.</p> <p>“matters how people take pictures”</p> <p>“Different ways to take pictures”</p> <p>“Experience of Rhodes is interesting”</p> <p>“Not interesting”</p> <p>“Don’t know how to explain it”</p> <p>“Can’t express it”</p> <p>“I have the same routine walks”</p> <p>“Social life is nice”</p> <p>“I learn new things”</p> <p>“Make life interesting”</p> <p>“Life is normal”</p> <p>“Don’t know how to explain it”.</p>	<p>Sustained action + Aesthetics + People</p>
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Appendix D: Categories and Definitions

Category	Definition
Aesthetics	Here the participant is in essence aesthetically judging what it is that they are seeing in front of them. Be it Rhodes University's statues or its buildings.
People	Here the participant is speaking on the other people that they find within their experience of Rhodes University. These people can be other students, lecturers, and they can be supporting staff.
Time	Here the participant is speaking on the experience of time or the passing of time as they are within Rhodes University. This time can be either amount of years or the changes within a day.
Walking	Here the participant is speaking on their activity of walking. The participant is in effect looking at the dynamics of walking as an action either through pace or through space covered.
Familiarity	This is the instance of growing knowledge of the place. The participant is speaking on getting to know the place better somehow. The participant can talk in terms of knowing locations or knowing the meaning behind some part of the space.
Comfort	The participant is speaking on how much at ease they are within the university. Comfort is closely to both the event of people and places as experiences.
Contest	Here the participant is highlighting something that they either dispute loudly or they support loudly. The participant is speaking on a conflictual relationship over a thing.
Safety	Here the participant is talking on issues of being secure. This reflection is often in relation

	to other people or the environment within which security issues may arise.
Notice	This is a moment wherein the participant considers themselves being somehow made aware of something. This awareness can either result from the participant themselves or it can be encouraged by others so that something previously unnoticed becomes noticed.
Comparison	This is a moment wherein the participant compares and contrasts two realities. These two realities are considered relatable and thus are subjected to comparing and contrasting.
Residence	The participant is here speaking on the amount of time that passes as they occupy spaces within the university. This passage of time is closely related to being within the same space for a prolonged period.
Sustained Action	This is the participant speaking on repetition within their experience of daily life within Rhodes University.
Homeness	Such thoughts are related to the experience of a home. The participants are thinking of Rhodes University's chances of masquerading as a 'home' on some count of its experience.