



The Effects of Transfer of Learning and Literacy: An Analysis of Graffiti and Sgraffiti in the City of Johannesburg

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Authors' contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration between both authors. Both authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the social effects of graffiti as pieces of writing or drawings scribbled, scratched or sprayed on surfaces of public toilets or bus termini. The study followed a qualitative exploratory design in which the researchers observed the messages expressed in the graffiti and conducted a discourse analysis on their effects on the moral fabric of society. Themes and perceptions towards some societal ills emerged from the analysis. The main aim of the study was thus to unravel the possible social issues expressed through this art of graffiti and sgraffiti. A purposive total sample size of 10 public toilets and bus termini was used for the study. Among the major findings of this study was the view that the messages conveyed through the graffiti and sgraffiti expressed a disapproval and distaste of such anti-social acts as promiscuity, prostitution and crime that are prevalent in the city of Johannesburg and its environs. In addition, gender based violence, stereotypes prejudices and stigmas against women, homosexuality and HIV/AIDS were among the dominant graffiti and sgraffiti messages. The study concluded that although graffiti and sgraffiti artists tend to deform and deface some public utilities, their call for normative social behaviour in

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society shows that there is a need to deconstruct a number of societal biases such as gender biases, sex, sexual orientation, stigmas, stereotypes and other prejudices associated with the diverse nature of the human species. The recommendation made by this study is that there is a dire need for advocacy by social workers, the city fathers, the metro police division and other human rights organisations to deconstruct and demystify certain human practices, acts and mind sets.

Keywords: Attitudes; gender; graffiti; anti-social behaviour; sexual orientation; stereotypes; prejudices.

1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

After witnessing two women vendors fighting at Newtown bus terminus in the city of Johannesburg over what was written behind toilet doors, we set to investigate the contents graffiti and sgraffitti through analysing meanings of the graffiti behind public toilet doors in the city of Johannesburg which were used mainly by foreigners. We were informed by the vendors in the terminus that this was not the only fight that resulted from what was written behind toilet doors. The graffiti behind the toilet doors was not merely ordinary art or act of vandalism [1] then but a maze of social issues that were being raised not only by South Africans but by thousands of people who visited South Africa each year. The graffiti was worth investigating.

In light of the above, this situation needed to be explored further to find out about the real meanings and purpose for the graffiti language discourse in this community. The fact that people fought over what was written behind toilet doors prompted the need to unravel the meanings behind such messages in other toilets. It is against this background that the study seeks to answer the research question below: What social issues are being raised by graffiti writers and how do these messages reflect perceptions, beliefs and practices of the city of Johannesburg.

1.1 Main Research Question

What social issues are being raised by graffiti writers and how do these messages reflect perceptions, beliefs and practices of the city of Johannesburg?

1.2 Sub-research Questions

The main research question will be addressed by the following sub- research questions:

- What social issues are reflected by the graffiti behind toilet doors.
- What gender perceptions do the graffiti writers portray about the new bus terminus community?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

- Extract social messages transmitted by the graffiti and their implications for the community.
- Identify target audience for such messages.
- Justify why people write behind toilet doors.
- Explore gender issues that are raised by graffiti writers.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study highlights gender issues that need to be addressed in this community. Attention was paid to the needs of different people who use this terminus. Educate and alert city fathers on the importance of graffiti as an important mile stone and source of the social, political and the economic history of the country.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 What is Graffiti?

The term refers to pictures, caricatures and images that are written or drawn on surfaces where the owner of the property has not granted permission for the activity. Because permission has not been given the works are acts of vandalism and the behaviour is treated as criminal. This study looks at graffiti as a form of communication by members of society who are not having full attention from the public because of certain social challenges in their lives.

There were phone numbers attached to drawings of different forms, insults in different languages, statements and warnings that could not be ignored. The graffiti was an expression of people's perceptions, attitudes and concerns about the social lives and the practices of the people of this community.

Different scholars reveal that graffiti contains profound socio- psychological and cultural information that cannot be ignored [3] and is seen as an anonymous way by which individuals who were marginalized and who feared victimization expressed their perceptions and opinions [4;5]. For the reason that South Africa was home to many foreign nationals, it was important to investigate if the graffiti expressed the general perceptions and attitudes of both the visitors and hosts.

Previous studies reiterated that graffiti can be taken as an opportunity by disadvantaged groups to air their views [6] they do so through signs and statements on walls bridges, buildings and behind toilet doors in a language that is not understood only by them but the community surrounding them. In addition, graffiti writers reflect perceptions of social ills [6]. Authorities tend to ignore the rich meanings behind these writings and paintings, and paint-over this graffiti every year because it is seen as some form of vandalism which defaces beautiful buildings. This is reiterated by [7;8;9] who argue that graffiti was work of criminal elements and that the messages displayed showed vengeance and dislike of the police. Graffiti is based on peoples' behaviour expectations for a particular space and time [10] the graffiti can be indicators of supply lines of drugs (5). Studies carried out in Australian and New Zealand (5) established that graffiti was based on people's perceptions and it carried cultural meanings of both the writers and the community. Furthermore, graffiti was some kind of tip off on common crimes committed by people in the local community [5] work of criminal elements [7] full of cultural meaning [11] create networks and alliances, reflect vengeance, power and personal identity on individuals [8] showed creativity and artistic talents and gang members use it to express neighbourhood power as shown by obscene connotations and demeaning political connotations [12].

Studies carried out in British Wales and America further indicates that the messages

were romantic and focus on sexuality [13;14]. Other researchers noted that the messages were anti-gay and political even in females' toilets; it's an anonymous self-expression of social and political views [15].

2.2 Ethics

Permission was sought and granted by the owners of the toilets. Participants were promised anonymity.

2.3 Data Management and Analysis

The findings that are presented and discussed in this article is based on the data collected through analysis of photographs of graffiti was collected from ten toilets around major long distance bus terminus in the city of Johannesburg and through unstructured interviews with participants who were randomly selected after using the toilets. Of the 40 people who were randomly chosen, 20 were male while the other 20 were female. The objective was basically to elicit gender balanced data as postulated by [16]. The participants were mainly cross border traders, bus drivers, and rank marshal's vendors who sell goods at the terminus and shop owners who have shops in the terminus. Interviewing the above mentioned participants was deemed necessary in order to understanding social and the cultural meanings underpinned by the language used by graffiti writers who wrote behind toilet doors. All the graffiti art analysed was collected from behind toilet doors through photographing the graffiti. The data analysis for this study was conducted through a thematic approach and the use of descriptive statistics. The analysis was consistent with thematic approach requirements a study of perceptions and attitude takes [17].

2.4 Demographic Attributes of the Participants

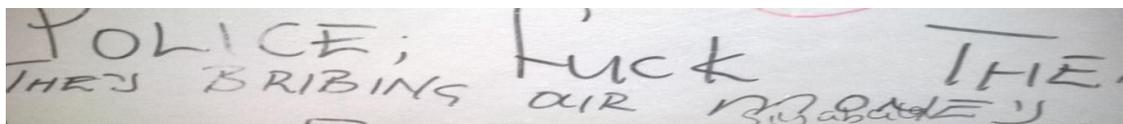
The participants were adults between the ages of 25-56 years. 85% of the women were single parents who were involved in the buying and selling business.2% was still single at the time of the study and 13 were married. About 86% of the men claimed to be married did not stay with their wives but the wives came to visit once in a while.4% were staying with their wives and10% were single.

Table 1. The demographic attributes of participants

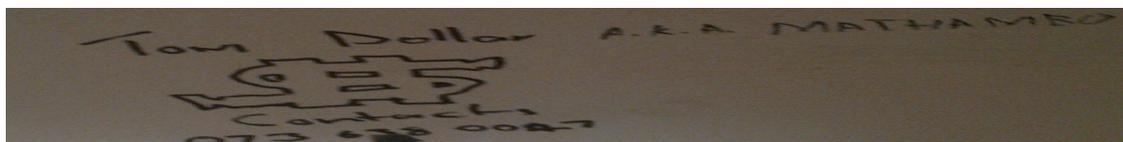
Programme Sex	Education		Total Frequency (%)
	F	M	
Age Range			
20-25	4(20%)	4(20%)	20%
21-24	3(15%)	5(25%)	20%
25-30	5(25%)	6(30%)	28%
Above 30	8(40%)	5(25%)	33%
Marital Status			
Single	2(10%)	3(15%)	13%
Single parent	14(70%)	2(10%)	40%
Married	4(20%)	6(30%)	25%
Staying with partner			
Married not staying with partner	2(4%)	12(60%)	32%
occupation			
Drivers	3(30%)	0	15%
Marshals	3(30%)	0	15%
Vendors	8 (40%)	15(75%)	53%
Shop owners	1(5%)	0	3%
other	5(20%)	5(20%)	20%

2.5 Social Issues Reflected by the Graffiti behind Toilet Doors

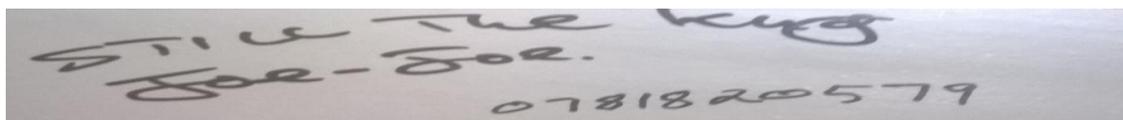
This message is expressing public feelings on the level of crime by police officers who are seeking bribes from victims in the area.



Drug lords are giving contact numbers to those who might want to buy or order substances.



Gangsters express neighbourhood power. The boss is accessible on the numbers given



Homosexual messages which were collected from male toilets not used by females.

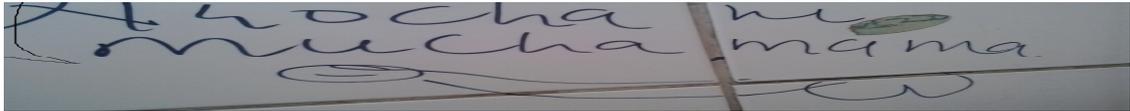
A homosexual is advertising sex and he was to be given a female name. He was to be called Joyce. A flirtatious code-word flirtatious code - name. His phone numbers are given next to the drawing.



Political messages encouraging Zimbabweans to rise against their government. They are expressing lack of happiness with their leadership.



Insults directed at homosexuals. Shows lack of tolerance from the public which does not understand the diversity of sexual orientations.



This message was on Zuma the South African leader. The asylum seekers were pleading with him to stop supporting Kabila (Democratic of Congo President).



The message below was written in Shona. It can be interpreted in several ways

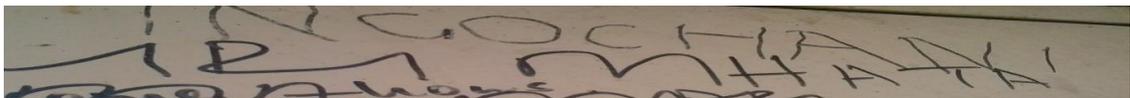
- Racial insult written in Shona that a vagina of the black person is disgusting
- Black vagina is disgusting
- Black vagina is the sweetest



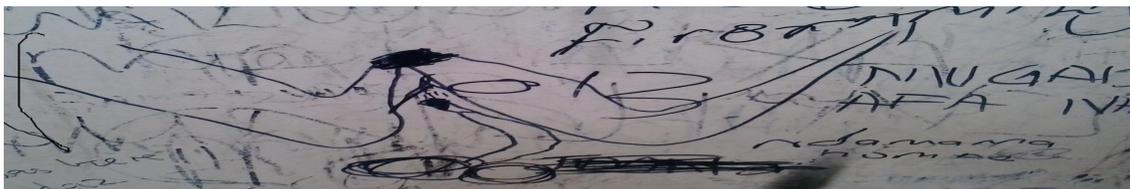
This message can be considered xenophobic. It is a threat given to foreigners. It instructs foreigners to go back or leave the country or else something big will happen to them.



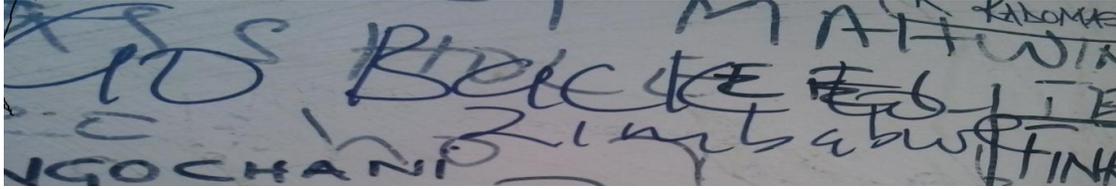
This insult was collected from man's toilet. A man who is gay is likened to a woman's vagina. In African culture if one is likened to a woman's private parts he is despised and regarded as less of a man.



The message below was found in a male toilet. It shows men having sex with men. Phone numbers were written so that clients would approach the gays. The nature of diagram even shows how and where the penetration would take place.



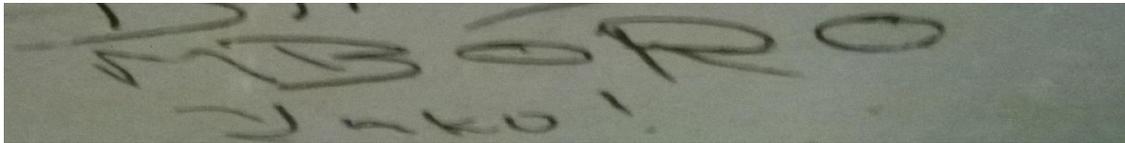
This message below says Zimbabweans must go back home to Zimbabwe. They were staying as asylum seekers.



The message below was photographed from a male toilet accusing men who work in the terminus for sleeping with married people. African cultures despise men who have sex with other people's wives as social misfits.



Sexual insults using terms of male sexual organs.



The graffiti behind toilet doors carried social issues that could be classified in different groups.

Table 2. The messages, examples and purpose

Message	Example	Purpose
HIV/AIDS related messages	Mugano and Patricia love unprotected sex,(nyorovita) They have HIV/AIDS be careful Ngoma is dying of HIV/AIDS Rovanyoro (have unprotected sex)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laugh at and accuse people who are HIV positive and promiscuous. Warn people of possible infection from infected people who do not use condoms To advise people not to sexual relationships with the affected individuals. Influence people to have unprotected sex
Gender Based Violence	Cross border women are prostitutes All women are bitches Your vagina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Messages are degrading women Women who have multiple partners are regarded as prostitutes Words depicting women's private parts are used to insult people
Whistle Blowers	Jonas and Gora you are stealing phones too much Chengetedzai homwe(be careful of pick pockets)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Name and shame people who commit crimes Alert people of common crimes in the place
Gay & Lesbian	Big cock ,gay sex and call me Josphine cell 073764879	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> marketing gay and lesbian sexual relationships avoid victimization and stigma

Message	Example	Purpose
Promiscuity	Madriver ekwa Masimeri and nemahwindi you are taking people's wives and husbands Woman who sell computer discs are prostitutes. Susan is sleeping with Gugu and Thandi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • providing contact details to possible homosexuals • To name and shame those who practice commercial sex • High light prevalence of sexual abuse cases in the termini • Accusing computer discs vendors of prostitution • Prevalence of multiple partner relationships
Criminal Behaviour	Doni and Karabo you are selling stolen phones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warn people not to buy stolen phones
Political Messages	Vote x party.x must go	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Express personal opinion and encourage each other to fight
Anti-police message High lights of corruption in the force	Fuck the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilizing other criminals to attack the police • Showing that there is high level corruption in the area by the police
Xenophobic Messages	-Go back to Zimbabwe -Foreigners go back to your countries - foreigners you are taking our jobs and women fuck your ass -Foreigners you have taken Johannesburg over to hell with you	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show dislike of foreigners • Locals were blamed foreigners for unemployment • Local were concerned that the foreigners were taking over businesses in city of Johannesburg

3. FINDINGS FROM THE UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The messages were written by asylum seekers to express personal opinions. They wrote in the toilets because they were afraid of being victimised and they had to remain anonymous. The other interviewees indicated that they read the messages and also wrote back to support and give their personal opinions as well [18]. The extracts below shows what the asylum seekers felt:

"This is our network my brother. We get in touch through these messages".

"Our countries do not allow freedom of speech so we write in the toilets. Sometimes we have strong connections from the toilets but these guys who own the place paint our messages off. So we write behind toilet doors where everybody sees".

The issue of promiscuity was confirmed by the majority of the people. They assumed that the majority of the people who worked as cross border traders were not married they were single parents. In addition, the majority of women

selling their goods in the terminus were also assumed single parents. The men, mainly drivers and rank marshals were staying in South Africa without their wives and the wives either came periodically or the men would look for small houses. The statement below shows what these people felt about the above views:

"We the single parents are in the majority here. People sleep around carelessly here they left their spouses back home. Most of those you see selling computer discs are commercial sex workers who pry pubs during the night".

"This is the only opportunity one has to name and shame these prostitutes and thugs. They are turning our image into disrepute. Most of those engaging in careless sexual behaviour are married back home and they busy cheating here .if we write in the toilets some good Samaritans might read and sent messages to the husbands of such people".

"The business of ceiling computer discs was not good enough sometimes I just get about R30 per day .This is not enough to pay rent and so I have to find a man from those

whose wives are in Zimbabwe to support me”.

“If you are in love with a Nigerian the story is different because these guys do not here with wives and they some also get easy money which they easily squander easily as well”.

“This is how I survive but as I am South African the majority of my customers are Nigerian men or Zimbabwean who have proposed marriage in order to obtain papers. My friend here is Zimbabwean and has been approached by South African cross boarder drivers have approached her. They need to marry her after which they would obtain papers for her stay her as permanent resident”.

The men who sell second hand phones were approached. They said they ordered phones to sell from any one and never bothered to know how these people obtained them. The statement below shows what they felt:

“Where the individuals got the phone whether the phones were stolen or not was none of my business?”

“They were selling phones here at the terminus because most of the phones were blocked. Blocked phones were either reported stolen or lost”.

“Even the owners of the phone come and sell them to us to get quick bucks because they can be replaced through insurance”.

“Stolen phones are blocked by mtn, voda or cell c but work in other countries therefore we have a market in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and DRC”.

The fact that people fought over graffiti written behind the toilet doors was clear evidence that what was written had a grain of truth. The statement below corroborates the views above:

“We know what these people do and we write it to warn our friends”.

“There are some men who are raping stranded women here and write their names in the toilets”.

The people felt that individuals who knew their HIV/AIDS status were inhuman because they

were deliberately infecting those who were negative. The following extracts reflect on this:

“We know of two or so drivers here and rank marshals who had affairs with people’s wives here. Some of them are HIV positive here but they have sex without condoms”.

“You see that man over there he went with me one day and when I insisted using condoms he openly said he would pay more to have sex without condoms. He gave me one thousand rand and we had unprotected sex. The next morning I rushed to the hospital and reported that I suspected that my partner had HIV and the doctor gave me drugs to prevent. The doctor even assured me that the medicine worked within 72 hours”.

The South African citizens who wrote xenophobic messages indicated that the foreigners were criminals and they were selling drugs to their children and so they wanted them gone. The statement below reflects this view:

“We are frustrated with these thugs who are busy destroying our children by their drugs. Their children are safe in their countries they must go”.

“The foreigners take our wives and jobs they should leave”.

There was also a sign that there was no unity between the two major tribes of Zimbabwe. Some of the Ndebeles and Shonas had ill feelings against each other, which could be a recipe that leads to civil unrest. The following statements reflect on the above view:

“The Ndebele are the main criminals here because they are not educated”.

“Shonas are dictators and they must be punished for the murders they committed”.

The people also felt that crime could not stop in the area because demanded bribes from illegal immigrants and criminals. The following statements reflect this sentiment:

“Police officers are the most corrupt here. They demand bribes from criminals. Criminals can commit any crime without fear because they are protected by the police who are on their pay roll”.

“Illegal immigrants who have money are never deported. They just bribe the police. The problem is the police nowadays demand too much.”

4. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The study established that environs around Johannesburg were made up of people of different nationalities who came to South Africa for different purposes. The graffiti that was photographed and analyzed reflected the social and cultural scenarios that obtained in their countries. Others, used this platform to set networks, to sell products, to vent off their anger, to warn and influence. The fact that they wanted to remain anonymous may mean they were afraid of being victimized. The use of drawings and phone numbers might have been done by individuals who were not fluent in English which was used mainly by most of the foreigners from neighboring countries. The other observation was that the majority of the messages were written by people who spoke Shona or Ndebele. This may mean that the majority of migrant workers around Johannesburg were Zimbabweans. Since most of the Zimbabweans had come to seek refuge in South Africa do to political unrest, it may be that most messages were written in the toilets for fear of being victimized. It may be these asylum seekers had freedom of expression in their home countries. Studies reiterated that graffiti has different audience; eliciting a different interpretation and reflective of the culture of the writers and the community it is situated [19].

Grffiti suggested that crimes of all forms were being committed by people who were staying in this vicinity. Among other crimes, women who were stranded were sexually abused, drugs were being marketed, stolen goods smuggled by drivers across the border. Studies by Taylor [20] equated it with violent crime and the presence of gang activity. This study viewed graffiti as a source of information that can be used for crime prevention. Nick and Susan [19] established that law enforcement agencies were not supposed to ignore graffiti because it was a hint of the presence of crime.

This study established that the content of graffiti is a reflection of the culture and beliefs of the community. Culture was used as a measure of acceptable behaviour. The messages on behind toilet doors showed a clear dislike of promiscuity and those who perpetrated such behaviour were

stigmatised, named and shamed. Cultural values were used to judge and stigmatize those who were involved. This finding gives credence to studies by [21;11] which establish that graffiti messages reflected people's cultural beliefs.

This finding is in line with what [22 23], found that women who practiced prostitution in Zimbabwe were despised and shamed by society. The messages also showed that Zimbabwean cultures despise commercial sex and promiscuity especially by women. The finding gives precedence to findings by Ditmore [24] found that in most African cultures women are who practiced commercial sex were labelled and judged as immoral. Frances [22] found that in countries such as Zimbabwe prostitution was regarded as a crime punishable by law. Most people who were staying in this community and regarded as promiscuous were victims of stigma and cultural stereotypes.

The writing on the wall about foreigners gives an insight into the feelings people hold against each other. This also is shown through statements by Shonas that Ndebeles should go back to school and that Mashona muchamama (Shonas we will fix you here). The statements indicate dislike and lack of tolerance among the two main tribes of Zimbabwe. This finding is in tandem with findings that graffiti reflect vengeance, power and personal identity [8].

A few Ndebele speakers who were interviewed indicated that they felt Shonas marginalized Matabeleland for too long and a feeling of vengeance is inherent among most Ndebele communities. This finding is in line with finding of vengeance as a main reason for insulting other people and tribes [8].

Writing the messages behind toilet doors was very strategic because most people who used the toilets seats would look at the door and would under normal circumstances see and read the messages. The messages had a wider audience who would read and disseminate the messages to their colleagues. One interviewee said, “In our country we have no freedom of speech this is an opportunity to vent off our anger and share among ourselves our feelings and hopes in a foreign land”. Some of the people who visited these toilets were asylum seekers they were the ones writing statements asking their presidents to relinquish power and calling them names. They used names of women's sexual organs, “XXX urimhata yomunhu (XXX) (XXX you are a

vagina of are person fuck you). This finding gives credence to findings that graffiti writing is taken as an opportunity by disadvantaged groups to air their views and a reflection of perceptions of social ills experienced by the community [6]. This finding is in line with [24]'s finding that in most African cultures women who practiced commercial sex were labelled and judged as immoral.

I have a feeling that there are a lot of thugs in this place. The messages that we have displayed will help to flush out these menacing individuals so that law enforcers will deal with them. There is a guy here who has survived through selling second hand phones where does he get all these seemingly new second hand phones. This finding confirms the claim that graffiti reflects work of criminal elements [7].

Those women who sell computer discs are busy have sexual relationships with the marshals and drivers here. Some of the marshals have HIV/AIDS and they do not want to use condoms. We are just warning them to be careful. This shows that graffiti is used to express social ills affecting this community. In line with this finding, other studies also found that graffiti is based on peoples' behaviour expectations for a particular space and time [10] full of cultural meaning [11].

What is written on the walls is true some of the drivers from that bus company take advantage of women who are stranded here and they promise them accommodation and free transport back to Zimbabwe and rape them. This finding confirms the claim that graffiti can be an indicator of criminal activities committed by gangs and common crimes committed in its vicinity [7;19].

Some women do that to get assistance at the border. The drivers will smuggle their goods and that will help them not to pay duty. This finding is supported by the sentiment that graffiti writers show common crimes committed in the vicinity [7;19].

Graffiti writers expressed dissatisfaction with the way cross border women traders conducted themselves when they were away from their families. The use of the terms sifeve (bitch), "You are here to spread your HIV", is testimony that people in this community are leading promiscuous lives. As mentioned earlier these sentiments were line with Dittmore [24] finding that in most African cultures women are that practiced commercial sex were labelled and judged as immoral.

The other messages were written by vendors who wanted to sell their products such penis enlargement, breast and drugs they believed that the adverts would be read as toilets were visited by almost everyone.

Antisocial elements had their own part in writing the graffiti. They wrote insults not directed at anyone but just to vent off anger at life. However, most of the messages they wrote depicted women's private parts and were directed at the police. For example messages such as, "Fuck the police." This finding confirmed what was found earlier studies by [24;7;8;9] who explain that some graffiti messages were written by criminals who were angry with the police.

This study also found that Graffiti writers liked to display their names. There were messages just written, "Jose was here." The writing had the date and time of visit. This finding that's confirms the findings that some graffiti writers had thrill of wanting to seeing their name displayed [25;3].

This study found that graffiti messages found in female toilets targeted home sexual relationships. Most sexual insults in the toilets were on stigmas associated with homosexuality and HIV/AIDS. This finding was in contrast to [26;27] who reported that graffiti found in female toilets had romantic content may due to the fact that when the two studies were done HIV/AIDS was not a very common epidemic.

5. GENDER PERCEPTIONS THE GRAFFITI WRITERS PORTRAY ABOUT THE TERMINUS COMMUNITY

The messages also show that most people do not respect women. The use of terms such as sieve, (bitch) are all over. The messages that that are used to insult people on the graffiti not only depicted female sexual organs but also called women bitches (sifeve). In the eyes of the writers of the graffiti men who practiced prostitution were not labelled. In fact, it seems there are no similar terms used to depict men who are also involved in extra-marital relationships. It seems that society accepted it as norm that it was normal for man to have multiple partners. This finding confirmed findings from Frances [26] study that found that society believed that real men were bulls who could have multiple partners. Similarly, the Kange'the and Mafa [27] study that found that traditional and patriarchal ways condoned gender based violence against woman and that most males

held on to stereotypes that discriminated against women.

The study established the cross border trading increased the risk of promiscuity and spread of HIV/AIDS in African countries. Other studies blamed this on migration and divorce [27] and on the increase of single parent families [24]. It is recommended from the study that more advocacies, sensitisation, access to free testing and counselling services and cheap anti retroviral drugs should be made available to both legal and illegal immigrants.

This study found that promiscuity and prostitution were used as mechanisms to survive by most women in this community as a result of poverty. In concurrence, other studies observed that promiscuity and prostitution by women was a means of survival [27;26].

There was a reflection of gender intolerance in the graffiti. Most people are still homophobic as shown by the anti- gay messages.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There was a reflection of gender intolerance in the graffiti. The communities around Johannesburg should be made aware of sexuality in its diversity to curb victimization of homosexuals. The governments that treat homosexuality as a crime punishable by law should be more liberal and allow people to express their sexuality in its diversity. If people are allowed to have dialogue and to openly hold discussions around the practice society may be more inclusive. After all criminalizing homosexuality does not mean people are not involved.

This study found that graffiti written pointed to the kinds of crimes that were committed in the area. This study recommends that cross border crimes must be detected through a study of some of these messages. International police as a regional force should track those people who trade in stolen goods to reduce crime in the region. Recently they have been armed robberies on cell phone outlets. This could be fuelled by the need to reach out and supply foreign markets.

The males who work in the terminus view women as prostitutes. This study recommends advocacy to change people's mindsets towards commercial sex workers. Where possible the practice should

be decriminalised. This is a practice that involves both males and females should not be used to insult women only. Sexuality issues should be made part of the social programmes that educate the public.

The study found that graffiti messages indicated simmering tribal sentiments between the Shona and Ndebele tribes which could not be ignored as they are recipe for civil unrests. This study recommends that Zimbabwean government should take serious steps to educate people about the importance of unity and solidarity. Thus, policy of ensuring that Ndebele and Shona are both taught in all primary schools which was abandoned is ideal in promoting tolerance and unity among Zimbabweans and should be reintroduced. By learning each other's language the two main tribes would understand each other's cultural practices and share a lot of experiences as one people. Thus, by exposing people to language an understanding of values, norms and experiences is enhanced to promote tolerance. The practice that was abandoned had a lot of sense. Exposure to each other's culture would go a long way in reducing gender-based violence, stereotypes, prejudices and stigmas based on gender or cultural intolerance.

This study found that the graffiti messages indicated that there were many cases of violence against women in all its forms. Therefore, this study recommends constant visits to these toilets by law enforcement agencies. Crimes perpetrated against especially women should be investigated and prevented. Cases of gender-based violence should be investigated perpetrators of such crimes if caught should be prosecuted and punished.

The evidence collected from this study showed that travellers who were stranded and failed to secure overnight accommodation were sexually abused. This study recommends that old buildings around the terminus can be converted into cheap overnight accommodation that can be rented to stranded travellers to prevent incidents of them being raped.

The study of graffiti messages revealed that there was high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the area. It is therefore recommended that mobile centres for voluntary counselling and testing can be stationed at these centres to ensure easy access to testing facilities for this community. This might influence behaviour change and early treatment.

The interviews with the terminus community revealed that most immigrants were separated from their spouses and as result they resorted to promiscuity and multiple relationships. This study recommends that South African immigration laws should encourage migrants to be granted permanent residence with their spouses because migrants who came without their wives were serious HIV/AIDS vectors.

The study found that some of graffiti messages were xenophobic. This study recommends that xenophobic messages were to investigated and followed to prevent incidences that may lead to incidences xenophobic violence in the future.

This study found that graffiti writers pointed out that having multiple partners was a common practice. This study recommends that advocacy and HIV prevention messages must be taken to these people in order to sensitise them on prevention strategies of HIV/AIDS. In addition, free condoms should be kept by those individuals who clean toilets by the door so that commuters who use the toilets may collect from them.

Interviews with cross border traders revealed that women needed to be empowered so that they could not be victims of abuse by men. This study recommends that, to sustain survival through cross- border trading, policies should be put in place to protect women against abuse and enable them to have access to loans with low interest rates so that they may be effective entrepreneurs.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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