

**The Creation of Lived Public Spaces by African Migrants and People of Diverse
Ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD and its Implications for Urban Planning
A Phenomenological Investigation**

By

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Declaration

In accordance with Regulation 4(e) of the General Regulations (G.57) for dissertations and theses, I declare that this thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree *Philosophiae Doctor* in the Department of Architecture at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

I further state that no part of my thesis has already been, or is currently being, submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification.

I further declare that this thesis is substantially my own work. Where reference is made to the works of others, the extent to which that work has been used is indicated and fully acknowledged in the text and list of references.

This thesis has (63 406) words.

Melchior Jacobus Stander November 2019

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LIST OF SELECTED TERMS

- African Migrants:** Common term for African foreign national peoples residing in host countries
- African Urbanism:** The study of African urbanism and the outflows of it in public space
- Co-ethnic Networks:** A group of people of the same ethnicity usually operating as migrants connected in host countries via their mutual ethnicity
- Diverse ethnicity:** A diversity of people from multiple ethnic backgrounds sharing a common public space; physically and socially
- Ethnic enclave:** A geographic area with a high ethnic concentration
- Ethnographic indicators:** Behaviours that may indicate differing spatial uses and needs by African migrant peoples and groups of diverse (mixed) ethnics, for public space settings in the Pretoria CBD.
- Hegemonic power:** Relating to this study, spatial planners and authorities conceiving space through the Firstspace and the Secondspace for those on the margins of society
- Receiving destination:** Host society receiving migrants from a sending destination
- Remittance:** Money sent back home for support of ethnic group and family by migrants working away from home
- Sending destination:** Country or area of origin from where migrants originally come
- Spatial autonomy:** The ability to act and exercise political, economic and personal power in certain public or private spaces
- Spatial planning:** The act of planning or conceiving built form and spatial morphology through the act of planning it beforehand
- Trans-local trading network:** Network of local co-ethnics that trade in a place or area, temporarily or seasonally, with mutual support for the members
- Trans-national trading network:** Same as above for traders from outside of RSA.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the lived spaces created by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, and to determine the implications that they could have for the spatial planning disciplines. A literature study provided the parameters for the phenomenological approach to the investigation. This depended upon the researcher closely acquainting himself geographically with the selected area and building trusting relationships with the migrant community there in order to gauge the suitability of the Pretoria CBD for a large and growing population of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, for whom it was not originally designed. The study developed ethnographic and spatial indicators for the lived spaces that African migrants may generate in a city space context. It also expanded the concept of spatiality, to better understand the everyday lived spaces of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity within the Pretoria CBD. Results of the investigation indicate that ethnographic indicators and spatial principles may be developed that describe the behaviour of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in a city space context such as the Pretoria CBD, where public spaces are not adequate for these groups of people that suffer from marginalisation and exclusion. Ethnographic indicators and concepts such as marginalisation, loss of power and spatial autonomy have a profound influence on the aspirations, perceptions and use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. Recommendations from the findings of this study are made for the spatial planning disciplines as well as the authorities that represent power in the Pretoria CBD.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The twenty first century has been called the age of migration (Kane & Leedy 2013: 1; Mbembe 2017: 23). According to Dominique Malaquais, who describes Africa as a continent on the move (Malaquais 1998: 36), a significant part of these human migrations has taken place in Africa. In order to understand certain motivations and spatial behaviours of residents of contemporary African cities and the public space patterns that they generate, the above-mentioned statement should be understood in the context of the Africa of today.

In African immigrant cultures, the act of moving and translocating oneself to another place, one that is not of your own culture and that perhaps has different historic ties to the people living there, will by implication generate new challenges of acceptance and familiarity for the new inhabitants (Matarrita-Cascante 2015: 1-5). Migrants who move between African cities typically fashion new identities and affinities. These do not replace existing ones, but often complement them as the situation warrants (Murray & Myers 2006: 119). Local familiarity and historic ties to public space are therefore not absent, but are not always evident amongst migrants.

In describing the above situation, the term co-ethnics refers to a dual link between the country of birth and the imagined homeland, and has come to be recognised as a recent phenomenon that signifies certain migrant groups such as the Igbo of Nigeria or the Murid people of Senegal. These migrants are caught in a duality between their country of birth and their imagined homeland. This is especially true of the second-generation children of migrants who have had limited or no exposure to the ethnic culture of their homeland. There is an emerging view concerning the so-called co-ethnics, which posits that the new African diaspora is not only profoundly changing the sending community, but the host community too (Reynolds 2006: 272).

One observable result of this co-ethnic phenomenon is ethnic enclaving in the host city that leads to strong concentrations of co-ethnics within certain areas. They often transpose certain of their sending communities' attributes and aspirations onto the new city space,

which they inhabit, with the result that these cities then recreate parts of their culture in other cities within Africa (cities public spaces resemble cities from the sending destinations). The challenge is therefore that authorities in cities need to cater for the diversity in ethnicity from various African countries, as well as from migrant groups from within South Africa (Khumalo 2017: 30).

In South African cities, many of the inhabitants are from the rural hinterlands of South Africa and these groups constitute diverse ethnic backgrounds. The importance of taking into account the different needs and aspirations that these groups as a whole place on public space in cities, cannot be overestimated.

Landau (2013: 4) has found tremendous changes in African mobility patterns since the start of the 21st century. Urban spaces within cities have become closely linked to the rural hinterlands due to the phenomenon of trans-local migration. Many of these persons and groups are so far removed from the culture and people of their home area that they could be viewed as internal migrants or trans-local migrants (Kane & Leedy 2013: 11).

“Due to globalization and new communications technologies, transnational peoples increasingly participate in shared social lives across vast geographic distances” (Reynolds 2013: 272). The powerful impact of technology upon human spatial behaviour and the phenomenon of a global youth culture also contribute unique facets of meaning to this problem. Carter states that the new African mobility is made possible through technology that links the host country with the sending destination (Carter 2013: 59). A possible example of the influence of this phenomenon on public space may be witnessed by observing tenants from buildings within the Pretoria CBD who cluster around the Wi-Fi towers that offer free access, at certain times of the day. These places have good Internet reception and there is presumably an element of socialisation there as well. Many of these residents are in contact with people back home, thus linking their current area of abode with their home spaces as well as strengthening the migrant and ethnic network of which they are part. Currently, very little provision is made for these people with regard to public spaces or places of safety in the Pretoria CBD.

In order to investigate the influence of migrant culture and diverse ethnicity on the use of public space in South African cities and more pertinently, the Pretoria CBD, the

phenomenon should be seen in its historic entirety. There is a long history of migration in Africa and the author believes that the unique set of attributes found in the Pretoria CBD is perhaps partially a confluence of old patterns that become new while still having their historic roots in Africa (Makwetla 2019: 35).

There are many reasons why people in Africa migrate within their own countries or to other African countries. These could be financial motivations, political instability or poverty. One may assume that these motivations would be the primary reasons for mobility in Africa, but there are also many more complex reasons as to why people move around in the continent and which are often difficult to understand. A less obvious motivation could, for instance, be the aspiration of a person to be accepted in a migrant culture and therefore, have the privilege of accessing the advantages of the network of co-ethnics who are in the receiving destination (Dougnon 2013). Another motivation could be the incentive to escape a social milieu, which places obligations of remittance on the migrant who leaves home. The migrant will be able to selectively transmit information from his/her new locale to home in order to hide his real financial situation and escape the pressure to share his (presumably) good fortune with relatives back home (Whitehouse 2013: 25).

At a continental and civic scale, there are also forces that promote and increase migration. African intergovernmental bodies, such as the ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) and the SADC (South African Development Community) are driving migration between African member states, this has been happening since at least the 1980's (Olatunde, 1980: 571,572). Much groundwork has been done by these organizations to facilitate ease of movement, trade facilitation and easing of passport restrictions between neighbouring states, but little planning has been done to accommodate the spatial needs for these new immigrants to the large African cities, such as Pretoria and Johannesburg. According to Oloruntoba and Gumede, (2020: 1, 14) Nigeria as well as South Africa are ideally positioned to be catalyst countries for regional integration of African states, in order to increase development which in turn means that should these efforts reach fruition, there will presumably be an unprecedented level of migration into these large South African cities, with very little thought given to the public space needs and aspirations of these migrants.

Another perspective is offered by Dougnon who mentions the phenomenon where, in many of the Malian tribes, such as the Soninke, Bamana and Malinke, the young boys take on the role of a migrant in order to gain social acceptance and status. These journeys form part of a cluster of values that contribute to the migrant's over-all identity (Dougnon 2013: 35).

This seems to indicate that diverse ethnicity and belonging to a migrant culture hold implications not merely of physical spatial attributes, but also of intangible identity constructs. In other words, through migration, not only is physical space accessed and appropriated, but through the experience, a social status is acquired too. Both of these attributes, physical and intangible, could influence the use of public space in different ways. Landau mentions that "migrants formulate multiple identities in a complicated network of real and imagined theories that they believe gives them the right to local acceptance" (Landau 2013: 101).

The researcher thus adopts the position that there are possibly cultural ethnic and migrant values and/or behavioural patterns or causal effects (known as ethnographic indicators) that accompany these individuals when they share public space in an urban arena, such as the Pretoria CBD. These, it is presumed, will have an influence on the use of public space to the extent that a new way of looking and understanding spatial planning in cities that host African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, has become essential. Many of these indicators are not as obvious as poverty or refugee status, but nevertheless contribute enough significant meaning to the individual's identity and consequently, his or her use of public space. It is for these reasons that the researcher believes it will influence the use, needs and aspirations of public space in the Pretoria CBD, and consequently, the planning of public space.

1.2 THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

Large-scale migration from within Africa to other African countries as well as to the United States and Europe gathered momentum in the early 1980s (Kane & Leedy 2013: 1). This was partially catalysed by the United States diversity visa lottery system enacted for the first time in 1988, via congress (Law, 2002: 3, 4). By the late 1980s, black people, predominantly from townships, started moving into the Johannesburg CBD and by 1993, 85% of the Johannesburg inner city population was represented by black people (Bremner 1993: 186).

Bremner argues that they were mostly better off than their counterparts in the townships, which was one of the motivators for moving in the first instance. The latter part of the 1990s saw the arrival of African migrants from other countries such as the DRC and Nigeria as well as other African countries. This led to contestations over public space and the rise of ethnic clustering as well as xenophobia (Bremner 1993: 186).

Commenting on South Africa's 2006 Statistics, and specifically, the population census data for Johannesburg ([Statistics South Africa; census/population/2006](#)), Landau (2013: 97) argues that the Johannesburg inner city population is a fairly new population. Only 14% of the non-citizens had been living in the inner city for longer than ten years. The extent to which people move around in the inner city is also evident in terms of the apparent lack of social cohesion and rootedness. Just 55% of South Africans and 31% of non-citizens, who had been living in Johannesburg's CBD during the 2006 survey, had occupied their current residences for more than two years. Many of the Johannesburg migrants are domestic trans-local migrants who would generally have little in common with the people they find there (Landau 2013: 98). This could indicate a population that is both transient and non-permanent, as well as unrooted in a locational identity.

The survey also showed remarkably low levels of trust between ethnic and national groups. Even more noteworthy was the low level of trust inside these ethnic networks. In Johannesburg, there are immigrant networks and trans-local ethnic networks, but these often only function as an initial stepping-stone, helping the migrant overcome the first settling-in challenges and thereafter the network strength becomes less coherent (Landau 2013: 97). This may be indicative of a culture of transience and a diminished reliance by migrants on lasting ethnic social networks. In addition to using the physical space in which to temporarily live and work, on a psychological level it is also an opportunity for the migrant to declare his or her presence, which although temporary, needs to be acknowledged. The accompanying non-verbal message during the appropriation of space is as strong and relevant as the physical appropriation itself. Described by Soja (1996) and based on the theories of Lefebvre, it represents a psychological position or status taken by the person who appropriates the space. Although temporary, the physical space turns into a strategic location from where positions of marginalisation and oppression may be challenged (Smith 1999: 20).

Bremner, in her essay titled *Living in the Ruins of Apartheid* (Bremner 2007) states that 90% of people living in the inner city areas of Johannesburg as well as the other major cities of Tshwane, eThekweni and Nelson Mandela Bay, come from 'elsewhere', i.e. the rural hinterlands or other countries in Africa. These people are mostly caught up in the informal economy and the instruments of the state do not acknowledge or cater for them. Therefore, according to Bremner (2007: 78) parallel institutions and networks have emerged, such as ethnic and nationality (migrant) formed constructs. Bremner (2007: 79) further finds that

“this has transformed these parts of South African cities into volatile assemblages of shifting alliances, reciprocal linkages and mobile jurisdictions. Navigating them requires familiarity with a multiplicity of overlapping territorial codes, and a finely tuned sense of what belongs to whom, who belongs where, at what time and for how long.”

Further on she states: “Home is not one place, but many, spread across multiple sites of mobile belonging.” (Bremner 2007: 79).

African immigrants in South Africa are for the most part not interested in taking root or gaining citizenship (Kane & Leedy 2013: 9, 10). After the 2008 widespread xenophobic attacks this attitude was reinforced, during which time the immigrant groups strengthened their transnational connections with their home country (Kane & Leedy 2013: 10). Murray and Myers (2013: 119) suggest that the rapid growth of African cities has gone hand-in-hand with confrontations over the use of urban space.

It is suggested that the influence of diverse ethnicity on public space in African cities, compounded by migrant cultures seeking to occupy such space, has not been adequately researched. According to Jay and Schraml (2014), scholars from the United States have been studying immigrant and ethnic minority recreation patterns since the 1960s, whereas it appears that there has been much less scholarly effort in Europe, in this regard. They further state that the number of scientific publications on the topic of ethnicity and migrant culture, specifically related to the topic of outdoor recreation spaces in an urban context, is very low. Using Gentin's 2011 study, Jay and Schraml (2014: 39) state that just 14 publications concerning migrant groups in relation to outdoor recreation and public space have appeared in the last 25 years. This does not infer that ethnography and African migrant

cultures have not been intensively studied, but there appears to be a need for published research relating these two phenomena regarding the use of public space, particularly in African and South African cities.

Myers and Murray (2013: 3) believe that the challenge of African cities is not to describe their inability to emulate Western models of urbanisation, but to seek a deeper understanding of why they have developed the way they have. The bulk of scholarly literature in urban studies has developed from engagement with leading cities in Europe and North America. Myers and Murray (2013: 3) argue that despite claims to the contrary, conventional theories of urbanisation have largely ignored cities of the global South; this has caused them to be underemphasised and under theorised.

The researcher believes that in South African cities, there is a visibly emergent pattern of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds moving to inner city areas and CBD areas. There are those from the rural hinterlands of South Africa who could be called trans-local migrants and there are those who come from other African countries who are new immigrants to South Africa. These people fashion temporary local identities which they live out in the public spaces of the large South African cities. All of them must share the public space of, for example, the Pretoria CBD, while foregoing what may likely be their true needs and aspirations for public space.

In the case of the Pretoria CBD, certain specific problems have been identified that form the focus of this research. It could be argued that the effects of diverse ethnicity and belonging to an immigrant culture would be present in all African cities inhabited by these people. This is true in the case of the Pretoria CBD, where the following confluence of circumstances relating to diverse ethnicity and immigrant culture have emerged, and which pose unique challenges:

1. The Pretoria CBD was not designed for a large residential component
2. There is currently an influx of new residents resulting in a shortage of accommodation and, by implication, a shortage of associated appropriate and usable public space
3. The residents currently residing in and planning to move to the Pretoria CBD, are from diverse ethnic backgrounds with some belonging to a migrant culture. This has

implications for these residents' needs and aspirations of and for the public spaces in the Pretoria CBD.

If the historic literature is examined, one can surmise that the Pretoria CBD came into being as a place of commerce and civic governance and that it was never intended to house a large residential component and related public spaces.

The City of Pretoria, today known as the Central Business District of the greater Tshwane Metropole, was established in 1855. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, son of the Boer leader, Andries Pretorius, was the founder of Pretoria as well as the first president of the South African Republic (Allen 2007: 18). However, it had been inhabited by Dutch settlers as early as 1842. The original settlement grew from and around the area today known as Church Square, which was a meeting area for the burghers (citizens) and a place to *outspan* (unyoke or unhitch) oxen and partake in Holy Communion at the local church. The first church on the Square was known as the old Doppe church which burned down and was later replaced by the new Doppe church, which still exists today, albeit no longer on the Square (Allen 2007: 25). In the early years, there was a residential component around the Square, mostly in the form of houses on large erven. Later, after the Boer Republic fell and South Africa came under British rule, the role of the CBD became more civic in nature and by the late 1970s, the Pretoria CBD was largely a place of government and commerce (Allen 2007: 45). The City of Pretoria was also subject to the groundswell of political change in the period of the 1990s to the early 2010s, which were characterised by the so-called "white flight" from Pretoria's historic core toward the suburban fringe areas. New commercial and civic nodes developed in suburbs such as Menlyn and Brooklyn, which, amongst others, assumed the role of main shopping areas.

However, Pretoria's inner city stability can mainly be attributed to the presence of the public sector tenants, unlike that of Johannesburg, which has much deeper seated problems regarding precinct and building decay (Donaldson, Jurgens & Bahr 2003: 26). Provincial government's commitment to address urban decay has historically been very limited. Since the early 1990s, the City of Tshwane has had several urban framework proposals, all of which have borne little fruit, according to some authors (Donaldson et al. 2003: 15; Clarke & Corten 2011: 888).

Clarke and Corten (2011: 888) state that a lack of political will and leadership in the late 1990s and early 2000s created a vacuum, which private investors in the city centre filled; in the case of Pretoria's CBD, a company known as *City Property* was the major investor.

Pretoria's CBD consists mostly of office blocks with some retail activities at ground level, but is lacking in all other amenities (Corten et al. 2007: 17). There are also various open or derelict plots around the CBD. Although the historical core may be considered to be in a good state of repair, Corten et al. (2007: 19) find that one of the CBD's major weaknesses is its lack of public open space. They find that there is some change, due to the work of *City Property* and other re-development companies, but there remains a need for regeneration in Pretoria's inner city precincts. This is however, hampered by the lack of a clear spatial planning policy (Clarke & Corten 2011: 891).

Taking the problem of children's play areas as an example, Suthentira Govender, in a *Sunday Times* article mentions that there is a general play facility crisis for children in South African public spaces (Govender 2017: 10). Citing Nolan from the UNICEF UN Children's' fund, the advocacy group 'Play Africa' believe the country is facing a "play crisis" due to a lack of appropriate public spaces in South African cities. According to Govender (2017: 10), the City of Tshwane claims to have a plan for park development in the city to address the backlog of park infrastructure. However, Anthony Nolan, a UNICEF child protection specialist, stated that "the biggest stumbling block in the provision of child friendly green space planning is the financial aspect of developing and maintaining these spaces" (Nolan in Govender 2017: 10) This example illustrates the challenge of public space development and use in South African cities in general, and with specific reference to the Pretoria CBD.

Another example of the lack of clear understanding regarding the demographics of the current residents of the Pretoria CBD, can be found in the article by Sakhile Ndlazi, which appeared in the *Pretoria News* on 6 October 2017. According to the article, the then Executive Mayor, Mr. Solly Msimanga, was shocked to learn that the majority of people sleeping on the streets of the Pretoria CBD were in fact informal traders safeguarding their stock and not homeless people as was initially believed (Ndlazi 2017). This situation has resulted from the minimal provision that has been made for the people in the informal

economy to store and safeguard their stock after hours. This also highlights the size of the informal economy in the Pretoria CBD.

If one takes into account the prevalence of diverse ethnicity and migrant cultures, the convergence of a multi-faceted problem may be observed, specifically in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The fact that the private sector is currently driving most of the change regarding the provision of formal housing, is perhaps indicative of a route that could partially meet some of the diverse needs of the new Pretoria CBD residents. However, the *status quo* needs further investigation regarding the influence of diverse ethnicity and belonging to an immigrant culture and the effects that these two phenomena have on the use and expectations of public space in the Pretoria CBD.

The following four issues made the research problem unique with regard to the specific study of the Pretoria CBD, rather than, for instance, the suburbs of Sunnyside or Arcadia, where the manifestation of these two issues may also be prevalent:

1. The presence of ethnically diverse residents.
2. The presence of immigrants from other African countries and trans-local migrants from the South African rural areas.
3. The fact that the Pretoria CBD was not designed for a large residential component in terms of the provision of adequate and appropriate public spaces.
4. Despite the 'flight' of capital and people from the Pretoria CBD during the past two decades, the population is not decreasing, but increasing. This has led to the phenomenon of office blocks being converted into residential units.

Figure 1 illustrates the confluence of forces currently acting upon the Pretoria CBD as well as the research gap that this presents.

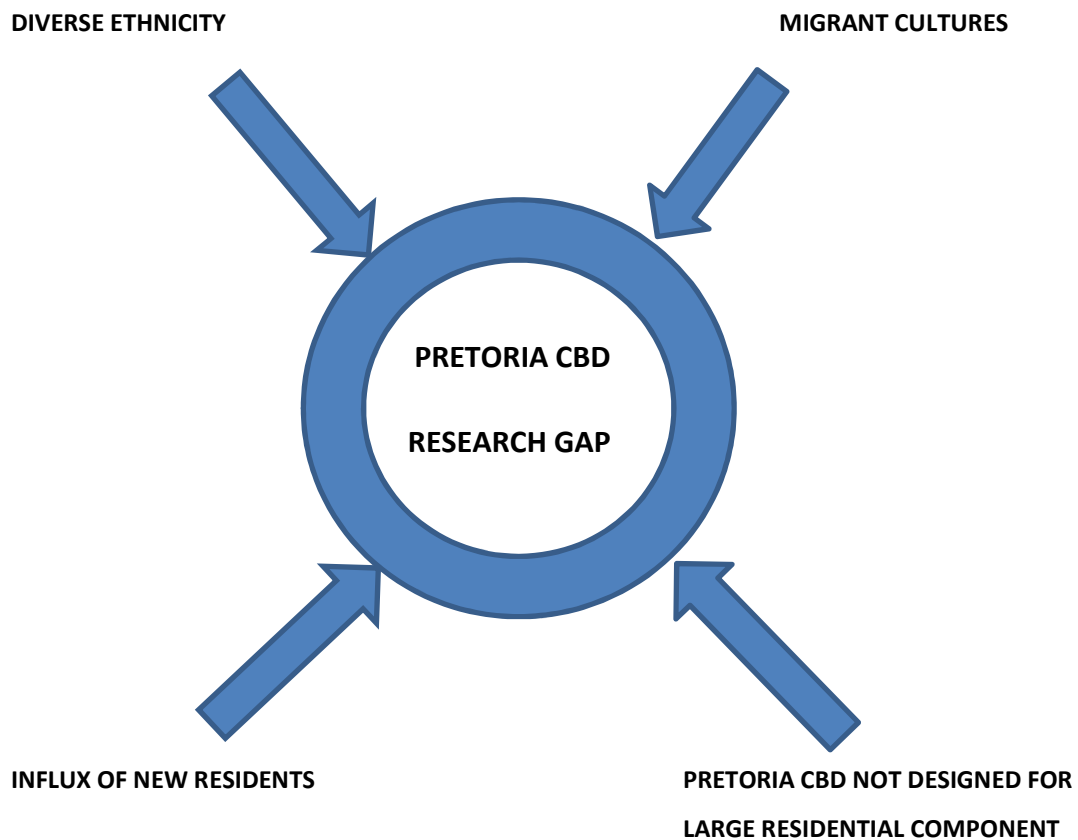


Figure 1: Forces working upon the Pretoria CBD

This research deals with physical manifestations of the abovementioned Figure 1 phenomenon in the Pretoria CBD. However, there are also intangible manifestations, which are likewise interrogated to determine to what extent they influence the provision and use of public space. For instance, Herz (2015) suggests that social ties in migrant networks (which are a form of an intangible identity construct) have more value to the migrant than physical built space. This confirmed the need for this study to investigate intangible determinants too.

Urban residents constitute the most fundamental and important part of urban connectivity in city spaces (Simone 2006: 244). The implication therefore, is that individual identity formation carries portents of meaning and spatial use in public space. The researcher believes that personal identity formation and the ethnic and cultural values that accompany it will influence public space use in physical ways as well. Many of these constructs can be

readily identified, such as communal eating and street-side conversations. Other issues, such as the influence of communication technology on public space, will result in a hybrid situation where technology, such as Wi-Fi provision in the Pretoria CBD, forms part of the identity construct of the person.

1.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

The research identifies ethnographic markers or indicators related to the phenomena of diverse ethnicity and African immigrant culture. These indicators represent behavioural patterns or identity constructs that appear to be unique to African migrant cultures and the related diverse ethnicity that accompanies them. Ethnographic indicators could be either tangible or intangible manifestations, regarded from the point of view of spatial planning.

The ethnographic indicators developed by the researcher can be classified under one of the following two headings developed from the literature study:

1. Ethnographic indicators related to **tangible** manifestations. Migrant social networks are critically important to this study and all ethnographic markers relate to the social network in some way.
2. Individual identity constructs or **intangible** indicators. These are ethnographic indicators that relate to personal individual phenomena. These indicators would be intangible and in the mind of the person experiencing them. The researcher however, believes that they could yield data that could have an influence on the provision and use of public space.

There is a paucity of information on the Pretoria CBD residents. Similarly, very little information is available on the demographics of the main user groups of the Pretoria CBD. As far as could be established, there are presently two distinct ethnic groups of people to be found there. One group consists of local South African people, who, as mentioned earlier, may be described as trans-local migrants. These are people that come from either a South African township or from the rural hinterlands of South Africa. A person currently residing in the Pretoria CBD may have so few ties and such minimal assimilation with the local people and the public space in the Pretoria CBD that they could be viewed in part as an African migrant from elsewhere, grappling with the same immigrant identity constructs.

The researcher bases this theory on Landau's (2013: 97) argument that a domestic worker residing in the Johannesburg inner city, could possibly be viewed in the same light as a trans-national immigrant from elsewhere in Africa.

Thus, it is suggested that such people are not truly invested and naturalised in the culture and spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They could possibly suffer from the same feeling of alienation and exclusion that an individual from another African country may have. Such a person might also seek out a network of local co-ethnics from their homeland that will help with acceptance and assimilation in the CBD public space arena. The possibility therefore exists that in the Pretoria CBD, there are networks of the said co-ethnics from the rural hinterland of South Africa that operate in a similar fashion to traditional African immigrant networks. Obviously, this too will have some influence on the use of public space (Landau 2013: 97).

There is a second group of people residing in the Pretoria CBD, hailing from other African countries and who may be referred to as immigrants or trans-national migrants. They come from different nationalities, but more importantly, they are also of diverse ethnicities. It is suggested that many issues regarding ethnicity will be relevant to these people and, to a lesser degree, certain aspects of migrant identity will apply to trans-local migrants as well. The influence of both these groups, together with their needs and aspirations for public space in the Pretoria CBD, is where the research gap is believed to be. Scant information is available on other groups of people in the Pretoria CBD, such as the African migrant and local Muslim populations, with this paucity of information also extending to the number of youth living there. It is hypothesised that many of these trans-local or transnational migrants in the Pretoria CBD find it difficult to find gainful formal employment and some resort to street hustling or drug trafficking.

1.4 LIVED SPACES

This study intends to provide a broader view on the creation of living space in the Pretoria CBD to complement traditional disciplinary approaches. It is the contention of the researcher that although the national and international migrants in the CBD are not owners of land, i.e. landowners, they have a historical, social and cultural footprint that should be taken into account in urban spatial planning. For this to work in a domain of increased complexity, it would be required that the urban spatial planning professions expand their

disciplinary boundaries and work with a broader epistemology that emphasises social justice.

It is therefore necessary to bring the constructs of legitimation of knowledge, binarism and space, spatiality and lived space into the discourse.

North Atlantic and Eurocentric narratives have dominated the approaches of many disciplinary areas worldwide for decades. Supported by Modernism and approaches such as Newtonian thinking of cause and effect, knowledge which was based on scientific reasoning, was, and still is, regarded as valuable. It was unfortunately often placed in opposition to indigenous, intuitive and collective knowledge, which led many people to think that science through reason is the norm, while other kinds of knowledge were accordingly seen as deviating from the norm and inferior (Bauman, 1997:50). While this epistemological approach has not always been used to improve the lives of people, during colonisation and apartheid, however, it was used to subjugate indigenous people to the prevailing authority.

Today, the urban spatial planning disciplines as well as other scientific fields, should reconsider the traditional position of a so-called neutral, value-free science. Or to put in in another way, to reconsider the traditional approach of regarding knowledge based on scientific reasoning as an indisputable way to interpret humanity and to address the challenges in the discipline, despite “the terrifying conditions that define daily life at the second decade of this new century” (Denzin & Lincoln 2018:xiii).

Space is a construct inherent in the spatial planning disciplines. The focus is usually on two aspects of space: (1) fixed existing space, which can be empirically mapped and (2) ideas and representations of fixed space. In explaining Lefebvre’s [1991] thoughts about space, Soja (1996) describes the former as “Firstspace” or perceived space, and the latter as “Secondspace” or conceived space. He explains Firstspace as epistemologies focusing on accumulating and mapping increasingly accurate factual knowledge about physical space. Soja’s argument against the fact that material descriptions and measuring of space, may eventually lead to determining human spatiality, is explained by the researcher.

Secondspace is understood as the ideas people have about space. This is the terrain of, amongst others, the urban spatial planning professional, where space is re-designed and re-

presented according to existing narratives. By frequently negating indigenous narratives and treading the line of a 'neutral science' (not becoming involved in social issues), these creative designs eventually come to define and order reality. In Chapter 3, the researcher indicates how an urban spatial planning professional who relies solely on Eurocentric narratives may develop space on his or her own terms, and according to Lefebvre (1991), with the risk of not taking sufficient account of how this space is socially produced; is linked to history and sociality and represents the active production of cultural and social lived space. It (urban social planning) ideally turns physical space into a strategic location, a psychological position from which, for example, a marginalised person such as a migrant may develop not just a physical, but a psychological foothold from where to develop a speaking position (Smith 1999: 20). As expanded on in Chapter 3, Third-space is therefore a position of marginalisation, but also of resistance and denotes the concept of disrupting the binary dialectic of the traditional approaches to spatial planning and opens up radical new ways of thinking about, engaging with, and contributing to space for people who are marginalised and 'different'. The author would also stipulate that this thesis view's the concept of Modernism, as described in architectural terms as more than just that. In terms of migration and the African Diaspora, the process of people translocating to other African and European countries can be viewed through the triple lens of Modernism, Modernity and modernization. Many of the Secondspace interventions found in cities today, can be traced to Modern movement planning principles (Trancik, 1986: 5). However, people migrating across African borders can be said to be taking part in the Modernization of the continent, but also partaking in modernity, a process that should not be exclusively viewed from the point of view of European schools of architecture, or Eurocentric philosophical approaches. The African diaspora should rightly be included in the process called Modernism, which would include the concept of Modernity as well as Modernization.

1.5 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question was:

How are lived spaces created by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, and how can the implications of this be established for urban planning by doing a phenomenological investigation?

In Table 1, this question is deconstructed into four sub-questions to more fully express the research problem and how the researcher approached it.

TABLE 1: Research sub-questions and corresponding objectives

RESEARCH SUB- QUESTIONS	CORRESPONDING OBJECTIVES
<p><u>Sub-Question 1</u></p> <p>What are the implications of the historic spatial development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?</p>	<p><u>Objective 1</u></p> <p>Investigate the implications of the historic spatial developmental background of the Pretoria CBD for the current new residents consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity</p>
<p><u>Sub-Question 2</u></p> <p>What are the cultural and religious indicators for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><u>Objective 2</u></p> <p>Determine from the literature certain indicators for the unique needs and aspirations (for public space) of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who currently live and work in the Pretoria CBD.</p>
<p><u>Sub-Question 3</u></p> <p>How can the construct of spatiality be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?</p>	<p><u>Objective 3</u></p> <p>Determine how the construct of spatiality can be expanded to better understand space as a construct with social and historical links for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity, with specific reference to the inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD.</p>
<p><u>Sub-Question 4</u></p> <p>How can an in-depth investigation into the personal experience of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines/urban planning in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><u>Objective 4</u></p> <p>Determine, by means of a phenomenological investigation, how the personal experiences of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD, could contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines in the Pretoria CBD.</p>

1.6 DELIMITATIONS

This study firstly investigated specific questions relating to African urbanism and public space use in direct relation to the effects of immigrant culture and diverse ethnicity upon these spaces. It was however, not an exhaustive study of the subject. For the purpose of this study, the effects of this phenomenon were investigated with reference just to the Pretoria CBD and solely in relation to its effect on the general use of public space there (the Pretoria CBD).

Secondly, it is (was) accepted that a large number of related topics and fields contribute to the discipline of urban design, and that all of them have an influence on a study such as this. However, this study focuses just on the effects of ethnicity and belonging to a migrant culture with regard to the use of public spaces in the Pretoria CBD. The research did not investigate an alternative approach to urban design in African cities, but merely proposes to contribute new knowledge to the current discourse on African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity and the lived spaces that they create in the public spaces of cities in South Africa and in particular, the Pretoria CBD.

Thirdly, the study area for this research was limited to the Pretoria CBD. Although the Pretoria CBD does contain a number of residential buildings, the bulk of the buildings were designed as office blocks or commercial buildings. The area between Nelson Mandela Street to the east and Es'kia Mphahlele Drive to the west, as well as Skinner Street to the south and Bloed Street to the north, form the boundaries for the study area. However, it was decided that if the researcher found large clusters of co-ethnics in close proximity to the study area and which would be useful for the study, those areas would then be included in the study too. It was further determined that the location of the greatest number of co-ethnic clusters and ethnographic indicators for the study would be determined by an initial foot survey as described in the methodology section. An activity log indicating most of the ethnographic indicators in the study area was developed.

Fourthly, it was accepted that various aspects form part of the phenomena of diverse ethnicity and belonging to an immigrant culture. These aspects include issues such as ethnic enclaving, migrant identity and birth generation order. The context of this study includes topics such as gender, religion, commerce, financial motivation, technology use in the public

sphere, economic, racist and geopolitical hierarchies in society. While acknowledging them, they were not the main focus of the study. These aspects are so broad and related to so many fields in urbanism and the public space discourse that each could form the basis of a separate study in itself. These aspects were therefore investigated as part of this study only insofar as their relation to- and influence on either of the two main phenomena are concerned; that is, immigrant culture and diverse ethnicity on the lived public spaces in the Pretoria CBD.

An additional delimitation is that the focus of the target study area was data gathering at street scale and the perimeter near and around the blocks where the relevant buildings were situated. This study was thus not a macro investigation of urban uses of the Pretoria CBD, but remained focused on the street scale uses of public space and the shaping of lived spaces by African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity.

Due to the qualitative phenomenological nature of the research, it did not attempt to implement or put into effect a full-scale urban design intervention that includes formal approaches to the problem, such as working from precinct and catchment scale down to backyards and proposing a citywide masterplan. The scale was kept small in order to extract the most useful information while not losing the grain and urban texture of the phenomenon at street level, which is the scale at which the study aimed to contribute new knowledge. The study dealt with behavioural patterns and human identity constructs related to origins and ethnic embeddedness that contribute meaning to everyday lived spaces, and the research should be read and understood from this perspective. The aim was not to formulate design guidelines or similar mapping exercises related to urban and architectural spatial planning, but rather to contribute new understanding amongst the spatial planning and urban design disciplines, regarding the phenomenon under study.

1.7 ASSUMPTIONS

The primary assumption of this study was that diverse ethnicity and belonging to an immigrant culture amongst the Pretoria CBD inhabitants would influence the use of public space. Visual observation, as well as referring to the work of Dominique Malaquais (Malaquais 1998) and her publication entitled *Douala/Johannesburg/New York: Cityscapes*

Imagined, prompted the author to investigate this seemingly little researched field of African urbanism and the related issue of lived spaces that could contribute new knowledge to the public and academic spatial planning discourse.

Another assumption was that current public spaces in the Pretoria CBD are not adequate (to a lesser degree in numbers and to a larger degree in type and function) to address the needs, aspirations and expectations of an ethnically diverse population and African trans-national migrants. It was assumed from visual observation and based upon the findings of Roger Trancik (Trancik 1986), that there would be at least some unused or vacant spaces in the Pretoria CBD, which could satisfy these needs. While these (presumed) spaces could be used to partially address the needs of the new residents, the focus of the study however, was rather on contributing new knowledge and understanding, to the spatial planning disciplines, with regard to the said two groups of people currently residing in the Pretoria CBD. It was also envisaged that, based upon the findings of this research, designers and planners would be enabled to contribute essential new ideas and planning principles that are needed to change the way the Pretoria CBD environment is physically shaped as well as the way that the current inhabitants use it and interact with each other.

Finally, the author further assumes that the phenomenon of people of ethnically diverse origin and African migrants arriving and residing in the Pretoria CBD is a trend that will continue in the foreseeable future.

1.8 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to determine, by way of a phenomenological investigation, how African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity create lived public spaces in the Pretoria CBD and the implications thereof for the spatial planning disciplines.

1.9 OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives that the study set out to accomplish were related to the respective research sub-questions that are tabulated in Table 1.

1.10 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM

1.10.1 Ontology

The ontological approach to this research is an interpretivist/constructivist duality. Due to this research and the associated research questions being partly seated in the humanities, the researcher felt it would be difficult to approach the problem from a purely positivistic ontology.

The researcher considers the philosophical worldview that underpins this study as a collaboration between the interpretivist and social constructivist paradigms. These two approaches are often combined in qualitative research designs (Creswell 2009: 8). Some writers, such as Bloomberg and Volpe (2012: 28) appear to describe these as one paradigm, whilst Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006: 346) describe them as being separate.

Interpretivist research seeks to understand phenomena from within their own context, while social constructivism involves a more distanced, sceptical understanding (Terre Blanche et al. 2006: 346).

Bloomberg and Volpe (2012: 28) argue that the central assumption underpinning the social constructivist / interpretivist paradigm is that reality is socially constructed; individuals develop subjective meanings of their personal experiences, giving rise to multiple meanings or realities, which the researcher needs to understand from the perspective of the participants.

Similarly, Creswell (2009: 8) suggests that social constructivists

“...hold assumptions that individuals seek, understanding of the world in which they live and work. These meanings are varied and multiple and the researcher, therefore, needs to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas.”

In the context of this study, the researcher therefore explored the lived experiences of inner city migrants and strived to acquire a sense of the prevalent discourses around African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, specifically regarding their influence on the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.

1.10.2 Epistemology

The epistemological background to this research is derived from the ontology of phenomenological interpretivism. The researcher recognises that by definition, a certain degree of bias in the study was unavoidable, due to his use of case studies as an epistemological approach. Welman, Kruger and Mitchell (2007: 7) argue that one should guard against viewing qualitative research approaches as easier substitutes for quantitative approaches. Their argument is based on the quantitative methods having built up an extensive arsenal of checks and balances, which may aid the researcher in averting unjustified conclusions. It was hoped and anticipated that the case studies of the participants and their lived experiences used in this study would yield finely grained and rich data. Since each case study is personal and complex in terms of human expression, each participant may give different wording or taxonomic expression to a question or phenomenon asked about by the researcher. These factors guided the researcher in selecting the epistemological approach of phenomenology as the most pertinent approach for this study.

1.11 DATA COLLECTION

1.11.1 Data Collection Techniques

The following data collection techniques were used in this research:

1. Case studies that consist of interviews with individual participants
2. Observation, augmented by frequent informal verbal contact
3. Group interviews
4. Interviews with subject experts.

A field scoping exercise was undertaken by the researcher to familiarise himself with- and to identify the areas in the Pretoria CBD where the phenomenon was observed. Research participants for the case studies were selected via a purposeful selection method. For the purposes of this research, public space as described further in the thesis, consists of the following areas: Streets, pavements, open areas of ground, spaces between buildings that are public, and areas that are frequented by people living, moving and working in these spaces on a daily basis such as the street traders. This study does not investigate private residential or civic spaces that could be deemed to be public, and also does not investigate the areas within buildings and parking lots.

1.11.2 Selection of participants for case studies

To orientate himself in the area of research, the researcher observed the daily activities of the people who live and work in the Pretoria CBD. Whilst doing this, the researcher kept the following questions in mind:

1. Who are the most active groups of co-ethnics in the Pretoria CBD? Are there any true co-ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD which possess institutional completeness as described by Qadeer, Agrawal and Lovell (2010: 336)
2. What activities and behaviours are occurring in the Pretoria CBD that could be described as part of the studied phenomenon; could they be described as either ethnographic indicators or demonstrating Third-space different spatial principles (spaces of the marginalised and powerless)?
3. Where are these activities happening in the Pretoria CBD? The researcher searched for areas between buildings, open pieces of ground, parking lots, pavements and streets. All these areas are, by definition, not private residential areas, but form part the public spaces used by the residents that live and move in the Pretoria CBD on a daily basis.
4. When are these activities happening? The researcher visited the CBD at various times of the week and at different times of day and night to determine whether the CBD was used by different groups of people at different times of the day and week.
5. How are the activities enacted? The researcher used the ethnographic indicators and other spatial principles from the literature to guide him when he observed any potential activities.

Participants for the case study interviews were selected via the purposeful sampling method. Respondents had to be willing to share their experiences of living and moving in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

1.11.3 Selection criteria

The selection criteria for participants in the case study interviews were:

1. Adult individuals who live and work in the Pretoria CBD
2. Adult individuals who would avail themselves for an interview
3. Certain participants prefer to be interviewed as part of a group. The participants for the group interview were selected by means of convenience sampling (Coolican 2009: 55).

1.11.4 Selection of subject experts to be interviewed

As mentioned, selection of subject experts was done via the purposeful sampling methodology. Purposive sampling is described by Simons as being well-suited to a phenomenological case study because the researcher can understand or gain insight into the case by choosing those people from whom one is most likely to learn about the issue in question (Simons 2009: 34).

1.11.5 Data collection instrument 1: Individual interviews

The individual interviews were semi-structured which enabled the researcher to prompt for additional answers. The questions for the interview schedule were generated by the literature survey and consisted of the ethnographic indicators and their spatial constructs. The interviews were audio recorded and afterwards transcribed to text format.

1.11.5.1 Data collection process for the interviews

The data collection for the interviews, was done according to the following phases:

Phase 1

The researcher walked over the whole demarcated target study area of the CBD, familiarising himself with it and there noting the phenomenon under study.

Phase 2

During this phase, the researcher approached possible candidates as case studies who were willing to be purposefully selected.

Phase 3

The researcher obtained permission from willing participants to use them as case studies and to observe them in their day-to-day activities in the Pretoria CBD. Once this had been established, the interviews were conducted. (Chapter 4 describes the research methodology and methods in greater detail).

1.11.6 Data collection instrument 2 for the case studies: Observation

In addition to the interview process, the researcher observed the participants for at least half a day and where possible, a full day in their CBD spatial area where they conduct business or socialise. This took place before, during or after the semi-structured interview/s. The researcher also used the interview schedule as a guideline to observe any habits,

behaviours or enactments that could describe an ethnographic indicator or illustrate a spatial use principle.

1.11.7 Data collection instrument 3: Group interviews

The researcher used the questions in the group interview schedules to facilitate the conversation and to ensure that all themes were explored. Probing or follow-up questions were asked where necessary. The conversation was audio recorded and detailed notes were made.

1.12 DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the interviews and observations was guided by the data analysis process as proposed by Terre Blanche et al. (2006: 322). This process followed an interpretive phenomenological approach, which involves immersing oneself in the data to the extent that one begins to see things from the participant's perspective. The steps proposed by Terre Blanche et al. were adapted for this research as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Data analysis method (adapted from Terre Blanche et al. 2006: 322)

Data analysis method: Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006: 322)	
Step 1	Familiarisation and immersion
Step 2	Inducing themes
Step 3	Coding
Step 4	Elaboration
Step 5	Interpretation and checking
Researcher's adapted data analysis method	
Step 1	Familiarisation, checking and immersion
Step 2	Inducing themes
Step 3	Coding, based on theme induction
Step 4	Elaboration and expansion
Step 5	Interpretation and checking

1.13 MEASURES FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS

Measures for trustworthiness and credibility are discussed in depth in Chapter 4

1.14 RESEARCH ROADMAP

1.14.1 Chapter 1 Background

Chapter 1 provides the background to and definition of the problem and its setting and frames the research process. It generates the four research sub-questions as well as the corresponding objectives used in the attempt to answer them.

It presents the roadmap for the study and a basic outlay of the research approach and methods and it ends with a summary of Chapter 1.

1.14.2 Chapter 2 Literature Review

In Chapter 2, relevant literature is reviewed to determine the state of the research regarding the four research sub-questions and partially addresses each sub-question and contributes data needed to answer the research questions and to achieve objectives 1-4. It uses the data analysis methods as described by Terre Blanche et al. (2006:326) to initially develop and refine the ethnographic indicators as well as the spatiality principles needed to inform each research question and to formulate the interview schedule for the case studies. It ends with a summary of the findings from the literature.

1.14.3 Chapter 3 Pertinent issues that require further research

In Chapter 3, the findings from Chapters 1 and 2 are briefly summarised in order to identify pertinent issues that have not yet been answered by the previous chapters. It describes in more detail the ethnographic indicators that were developed from Chapter 2 and uses them to establish the survey questionnaire. It asks what has been found so far and what still needs to be developed. It concludes with a summary.

1.14.4 Chapter 4 Data collection

Chapter 4 briefly restates the background to the research problem and the methods needed to do an empirical investigation of the phenomenon in order to answer all of the research sub-questions. It describes the research design and methods and provides the rationale for the empirical research and the research paradigm.

Chapter Two then describes the data collection methods for the case studies as well as the data collection instruments. It describes the different phases of the data collection process

and concludes with the data analysis methods chosen and the measures taken to ensure data trustworthiness.

1.14.5 Chapter 5 Data Analysis

In this chapter, all the relevant data from Chapter 2 as well as the empirical data from Chapter 4 are integrated and interpreted. From the interpretation the researcher then attempted to answer all the research questions and to achieve research objectives 1-4. Each ethnographic indicator as well as Third-space principles are discussed, based on the findings of the empirical data.

1.14.6 Chapter 6 Findings and conclusions

Chapter 6 re-introduces the main research question and re-focuses the aim of the study. It describes the four sub-questions for continuity and ease of reference and holistically describes the results of the findings. The findings focus on determining the influence of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity on public space use and planning in the Pretoria CBD. In this chapter, attempts are made to develop recommendations for the spatial planning disciplines, as well as for further research of the topic under investigation.

1.15 THE IMPORTANCE AND BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

This study aims to generate new knowledge regarding African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in their need for and use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. Various authors such as Jay and Schraml (2014: 38) and Myers and Murray (2013: 3) have commented on the need for more research on the phenomenon of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity and the challenges migrants experience in host cities.

The study will contribute new knowledge to literature regarding the state of South African cities in terms of their demographics for residents of diverse ethnicity and people from migrant backgrounds, with a specific focus on the Pretoria CBD. Bremner finds that the rise of African migrant cultures and people of diverse ethnicity has created contested public spaces in the cities of South Africa (Bremner 1993: 186). This phenomenon is not yet fully understood, and planners and urban designers are perhaps at a loss as of the direction forward to cater for this growing phenomenon. This researcher hopes, in this way, to make

a meaningful contribution to the dialogue about this current confluence of determinants acting in on the cities of South Africa.

It is suggested that the research context and framing of the study is perhaps unique in terms of approaching the problem from a humanistic and biophilic angle. The research starts from a social and anthropological base and asks questions of human relationships and internal identity constructs that could perhaps influence the provision and use of public space. By purposely avoiding the traditional approach to urbanism and urban design methodology, the researcher hopes to contribute useful and significant new knowledge to the area of public space design and specifically, for the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

Landau (2013: 6) argues that the current state of research and theory informing African urbanism studies are seated in a Eurocentric paradigm, and that a whole new vocabulary needs to be developed to adequately and accurately describe this phenomenon for African cities.

The spatial planning disciplines will hopefully benefit from this study through its contribution to new bedrock knowledge, which the researcher believes has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

1.16 THE RESEARCHER'S EXPERTISE TO COMMENT ON THE TOPIC

The researcher holds a Master's degree in Architecture as well as ten years in practice where urban design issues also formed part of his background. To some extent, this research explores themes that were touched on in his Master's degree dissertation regarding the design and principals involved in African communal farming settlements.

1.17 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 1

Chapter 1 presents the main research question, the four sub-questions and concomitant objectives. It describes the process of data gathering, the analysis used and how the research endeavoured to answer the main research question. It then provides a roadmap of the chapters that the study followed in order to achieve the stated objectives.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

This review makes reference to the four sub-questions and the researcher's attempts to answer these by finding relevant information in the literature.

The sub questions are:

Sub-question 1: What are the implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?

Sub-question 2: What are the cultural and religious indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?

Sub-question 3: How can the construct of spatiality be addressed to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?

Sub-question 4: How can an in-depth investigation into the personal experience of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial and urban planning disciplines in the Pretoria CBD?

2.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRETORIA CBD

Section 1 of the Literature review attempts to answer Sub-question 1, i.e. *what are the implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?*

2.2.1 The Pretoria CBD's historical background

The City of Pretoria's CBD, now known as the CBD of the City of Tshwane, was founded in 1855 by Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, also the first president of the South African

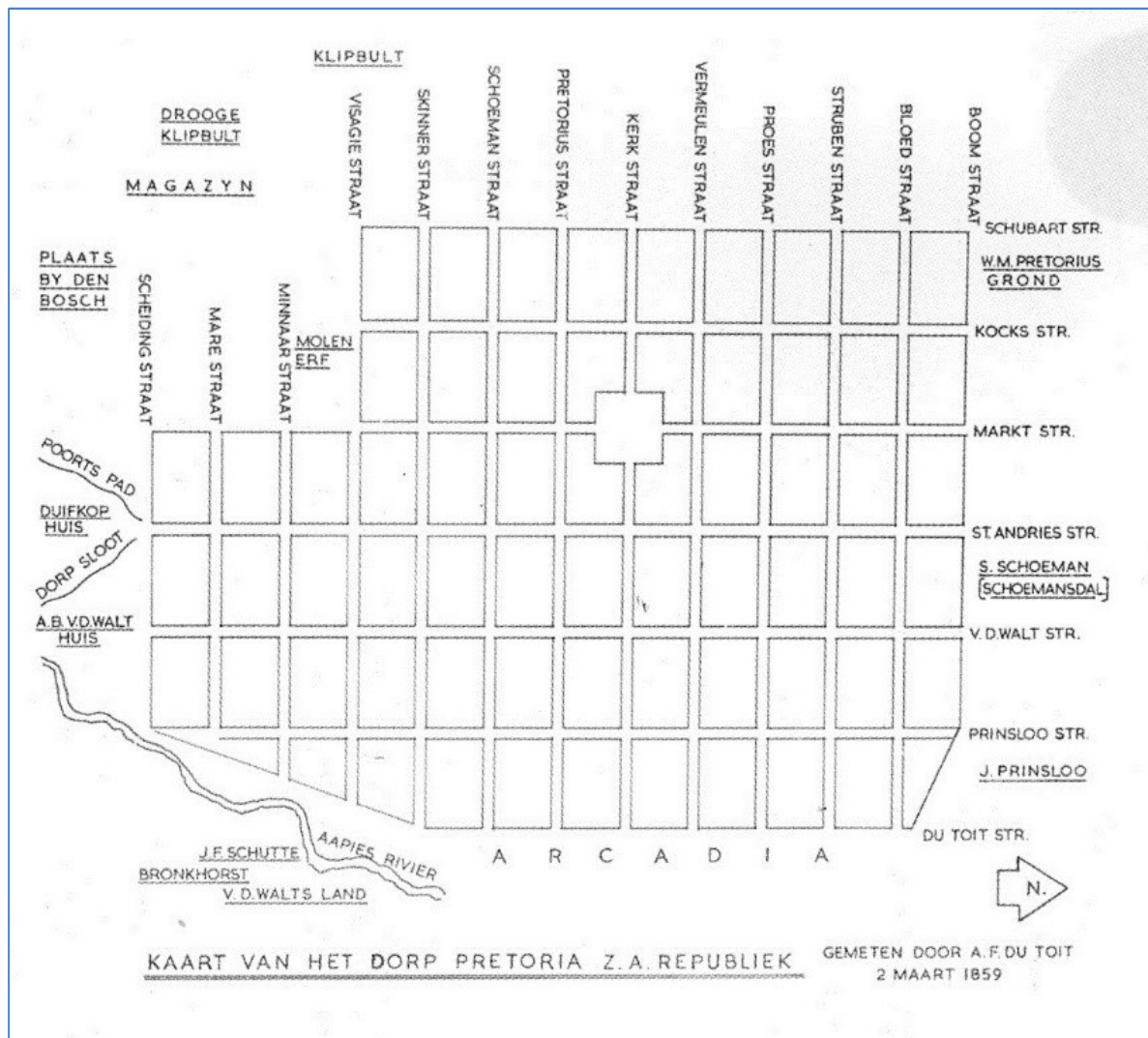


Figure 2: Pretoria Town plan by Andries du Toit 1858 (Allen 2007: 16)

Republic (Allen 2007: 18) and the son of Andries Pretorius the Boer leader. Dutch colonists had settled Pretoria as early as 1842. The original settlement grew from and around the area today known as Church-Square. This was a meeting area for the burghers and a place to outspan their oxen and partake in *Nachtmaal* (Holy Communion) at the local church. The first church on the square was the old Dopper Church, which after burning down, was replaced by the new Dopper Church, albeit no longer on the square (Allen 2007: 20).



Figure 3: Holy Communion on Church Square 1898 (Allen 2007: 25)

Allen (2007: 20) found that Church Square, which is situated centrally in the Pretoria CBD, was the heart of Pretoria since it was also historically known as market square, which describes its original role.

Auctions were held in the south-western corner of Church-Square known as The Oaks from three large oaks which stood there. This was a meeting place for gossip and exchange of news. “There one met friends and watched the comings and goings, transacted business or took a drink or two” (Allen 2007: 32).

Allen (2007: 41) further suggests that the square also had a recreational role, since locals and visitors from outlying districts would play cricket matches there when coming for Holy Communion. The reason why this area was used for settlement was largely due to the availability of potable water from two fountains south of Church Square now known as Fountains Valley.

As the new settlement grew under the rule of the old Transvaal Government (current day Gauteng), roads were still unpaved and there were problems with hygiene due to the lack of appropriate sewage infrastructure. Towards the end of the 1890s, consideration was given to a functional water work with a reservoir and pipes, but the city would only get a City



Figure 4: The old Oaks between buildings on Church Square 1891 (Allen 2007: 62)

Engineer after 1902 under British rule. After 1900, the city started paving the streets and established a functioning City Council.

By 1910, the fountain structure in the square had been moved to the Zoological Gardens and, according to Allen (2007: 45) Pretoria had exchanged its heart for a commercial tram terminus. This period could possibly be viewed as the time that the true commercial role of the area was determined.

There are many historic references to the commercial role that Church Square and by implication, the surrounding Pretoria central business district area played and its eventual transformation to a business core.

The name 'Church Square' was used on the deed of transfer of the land from MW Pretorius to the Dutch Reformed Church in 1867, but the name Market Square persisted in common usage up until the 1890s (Beanes 1961: 43).

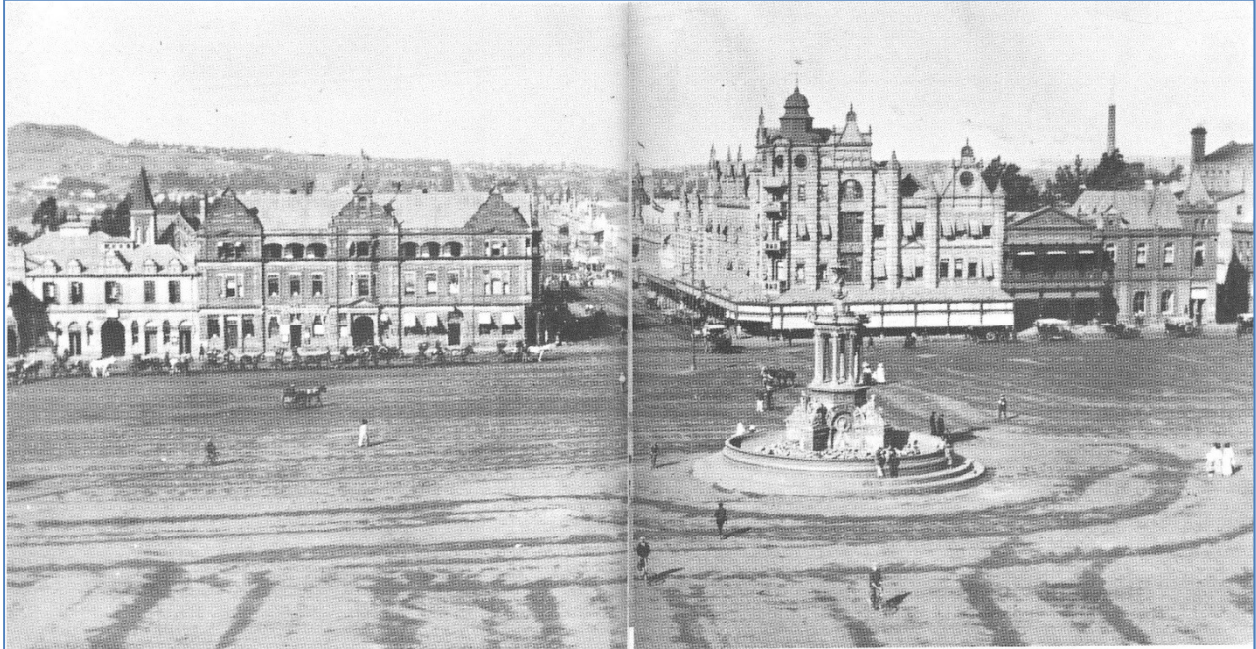


Figure 5: Church Square 1905 showing extent of commerce. By that time the Sammy Marks fountain is present, but not yet working (Allen 2007: 38)

Early street names, such as Bank Lane, Bureau Lane and Mutual Street have commercial connotations. Mutual Street was named for the Mutual Bank building that was erected in 1903. By 1885, the Square was already enclosed and a hive of activity (*Pretoriana* 1992: 39) and traffic was considered a major problem as early as 1905. On the corbeling above the Café Riche entrance and facing onto the square is an owl sculpture with an engraving below that reads 'Commerce' (Rex 1992: 35).



Figure 6: Tom Beckett's store on the corner of Church and Van der Walt Streets in 1910. A horse drawn tram and commercial patrons are visible in this very busy area (Allen 2007: 144).

2.2.2 The South African Union and the Apartheid state

The early formative years saw the rapid development of Pretoria and the spread of commerce. South Africa became a Union under British rule, a governance system that would later give rise to the Apartheid state and the legislation and planning that accompanied it. It is evident that from a very early stage the provision of public open space and outdoor recreational facilities in the CBD was lacking. However, in the early days, the square was sometimes used as a sports field (Behrens 1962: 24).

As early as 1910, a Mr. AA Roberts recalled watching a cricket match in Berea Park, a planned sport and recreational facility that is quite far from Church Square (Roberts 1962: 39). It seems as if the sport and recreational activities had moved out of the Square by then. Mr Roberts studied at the Transvaal University College that would later become the University of Pretoria and he states that the nearest outdoor facilities that they could find for a cricket team and rugby team was in Park Lane to the north of Burgers Park. There was also a tennis court in Burgers Park at the time (Roberts 1962: 39).

The years 1905 to 1930 saw an influx of architects into the Transvaal, each practicing in their own preferred architectural styles (Meiring 1962: 21) most of whom had a civic concern for the inner city and especially Church Square. This is evident in the archived work of the Old Pretoria Society of which some members were architects, as well as in articles from the *Panorama* magazine of the time. By the late 1950s, the CBD of Pretoria had already undergone drastic changes to its architectural character as well as its outdoor and urban space. In 1958, Norman Eaton made a case for soft landscaping in the city which, in his view, had been subjected to “man-made harshness and the hard aggressive spread of urban building” (Eaton 1958: 12). He lamented the way the city was growing too rapidly and thoughtlessly. “We are overawed by and becoming the slaves of technical things” (Eaton 1958: 13). According to him, the Government was promoting and encouraging developers to build office space and rent at rates that would force the buildings and the surroundings to be of the lowest possible quality (Eaton 1958: 18).

According to Eaton (1958) the urban quality of Pretoria of 1958 was not ideal by any means; there were too few parks, public spaces and greenery; the same condition is still evident today. Punt states in a letter that the old City of Pretoria has been replaced with houses and office buildings of a modern city (Punt 1961: 5) while Eybers also makes a case for the keeping of parks and greenspaces in Pretoria in a protestation against the ruthless development and construction of office buildings in Pretoria (Eybers 1962: 7). There appears already at that stage, to have been certain major parking and traffic problems occurring in the CBD. Various developer factions were vying for the construction of a parking garage below Church Square. Part of the response by the Old Pretoria Society at that time was to question whether the so-called parking garage would alleviate any of the problems at all (Cloete 1962: 10). The architect, Roelf Botha, refers to the importance of Church Square as the centre of the CBD, and emphasises that Church Square was at the centre of a fast growing business area of Pretoria (1962: 14). He (Botha 1962: 14) states that [we] should do everything possible to preserve the character of Church Square notwithstanding the civic and commercial onslaught. He suggests encouraging social use of Church Square. In the same vein as Norman Eaton, he calls for a renewed interest in Church Square and the surrounding area to be not simply a place of commerce (Botha 1962: 14).



Figure7: The Post Office next to the old State Bank in 1970. By this time the whole of the CBD had become commercialised (Allen 2007: 73)

During the same period, the secretary of the Old Pretoria Society, Mr. AM Davey, called for the cessation of all activities that would further harm the character of Church Square (Davey 1962: 31). He mentioned that the new Transvaal Provincial Building (which can be partly seen in the top left corner of Figure 7), was regrettably built to overshadow the Old Raadsaal as well as the Palace of Justice (Davey 1962: 31). The available literature indicates that a large portion of Pretoria's residents, as well as many architects, such as the mentioned Norman Eaton and Roelf Botha, felt that the CBD was being marred by low cost developments and that the outdoor and recreational and social spaces were poorly planned and then approved by unscrupulous government employees (Botha 1962: 15; Eaton 1958: 19).

2.2.3 From political independence to present

Pretoria Central and Sunnyside were the City's main cosmopolitan areas during the 1980s. The situation however changed after 1990 with the scrapping of the Group Areas Act (Donaldson, Jurgens & Bahr 2003: 23, 24). Bremner found that by the late 1980s, migrations started from the local townships and rural areas to city centres and were later joined, after 1994, by African foreign nationals. By 1993, 85% of Johannesburg's inner city population

was represented by Blacks (Bremner 2000: 186). The City of Pretoria was also subject to this groundswell of political change and migrations and the period of the 1990s until the early 2010s was characterised by the so-called ‘white flight’ from Pretoria’s historic core toward the suburban fringe areas. New commercial and civic nodes such as Menlyn and Brooklyn were developed and have become the main shopping areas, as well as to some degree, the civic presence. However, Pretoria’s inner city stability may mainly be attributed to the presence of the public sector institutions that serve as an anchor for stability, as opposed to Johannesburg, which has much deeper-seated problems regarding precinct and building decay (Donaldson et al. 2003: 26).

The commitment of Provincial Government to addressing urban decay has historically been very limited. The City of Tshwane has had a few urban framework proposals since the early 1990s that bore little fruit (Donaldson et al. 2003: 15; Clarke & Corten 2011: 888). Due to the lack of political leadership at the time, a planning vacuum developed in the city centre and, in the case of Pretoria’s CBD, was filled by private investors such as City Property Pty Ltd. whose projects counteracted urban decay (Clarke & Corten 2011: 888).

Mono-use office blocks, which lack most other amenities and uses largely define Pretoria’s CBD, Corten et al. (2009: 17) point out that there are many open and vacant plots around the CBD area. Although the historical core may be considered to be in a good state of repair, one of the CBD’s major weaknesses is its lack of public open space (Corten et al. 2009: 19). This is being partly addressed by private property re-developers, but there remains a need for the regeneration of Pretoria’s inner city precincts which, according to Clarke and Corten (2011: 891), is hampered by the lack of a clear spatial planning policy.

2.2.4 Pretoria’s historic core.

This research is concerned with the CBD of Pretoria’s historical core, which predominantly focused on business and retail activities, as evidenced by the historical record as well as by the plethora of commercial office buildings in the area. If the historical records are examined, it becomes clear that the area today known as Church Square was a significant space and the city’s core during the formative period of the city.

All of Pretoria's other precincts were developed after the Church Square area was established. The square was used in many ways, but as indicated above, it is evident that one of the primary roles was that of commerce, which in later years became even more entrenched there. It was only after the advent of democracy in the 1990s and the capital flight from the inner city that this role changed. Although the CBD is still predominantly commercially orientated, there is now a strong and growing residential presence. This research focuses on the influx of African migrant peoples and people of diverse ethnicity to the Pretoria CBD and the unavoidable engagement that these new residents have with lived public spaces.

From an initial survey by foot and casual conversations with inner city residents, it can be stated that the residents predominantly view the CBD as the area between the Nelson Mandela carriage way and Es'kia Mphahlele roadway on an east west axis and from Bloed Street in the north to Skinner Street in the south, with Church Square roughly in the middle of this area.

In order to demarcate the study area for this research, it was necessary to include the public spaces mostly used by African migrants and the people of diverse ethnicity. Most of the street traders and migrants tend to congregate in the dense inner core of the CBD. The commercial activity decreases from the dense inner core toward the peripheral areas.

Clarke's and Corten's work (2011: 888) which in turn, is based on the 2005 Re Kgabisa Tshwane programme, is helpful in defining the different precincts of Pretoria's inner city. Their work consists of a spatial development framework (SDF) that was designed for the inner city area of Pretoria. It identifies seven major nodes in the area, i.e. the Presidency precinct, Mandela corridor precinct, Sammy Marks Square precinct, Paul Kruger North Precinct, Church Square Precinct, Museum Park Precinct and the Salvokop Precinct.



Figure 8: The Re Kgabisa Tshwane Precinct map (Clarke & Corten 2011: 888)

As may be seen from Figure 8, the precincts which are applicable to this study are the Church Square Precinct, Paul Kruger North Precinct, and to a lesser degree, the Sammy Marks Precinct. According to Clarke and Corten (2011: 887), Church Square is a coherent urban precinct, which is also true for the block east of the square, i.e. the Sammy Marks Precinct. However, moving north and west of the Square towards the Paul Kruger North Precinct, coherence diminishes (Corten, Van Dun, Clarke & Van Der Lans 2009: 28). The precincts that fall within the study area of the Pretoria CBD are therefore Church Square, Paul Kruger and Sammy Marks. The area to the north-west does not fall directly into any precinct area but may be called the Marabastad Western Precinct (See Figure 10). This area also falls within the study area. The Corten et al. (2009: 19) map of urban functions (Figure 9) points to an over-supply of office blocks in the central CBD area and with a low number of public open spaces and housing components.

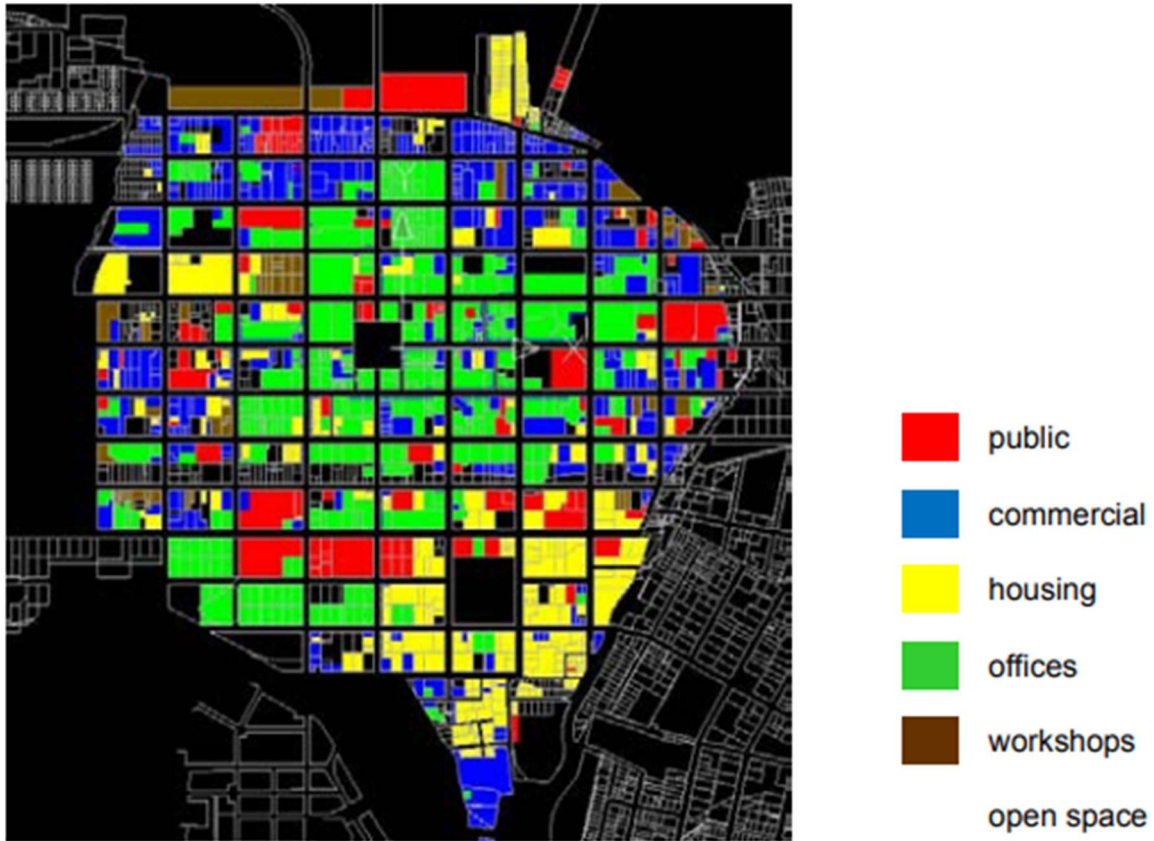


Figure 9: A Pretoria CBD functions map taken from Corten et al. (2009: 19)

There are relatively low numbers of public service buildings (indicated in red in Figure 9) and with housing (indicated in yellow in Figure 9) mostly found just in the south-eastern corner. It may therefore be seen that office blocks indicated in green and commercial activities indicated in blue, define the Pretoria CBD's character. However, since 2009, many of the office blocks as illustrated Figure 9, have been converted to residential units.

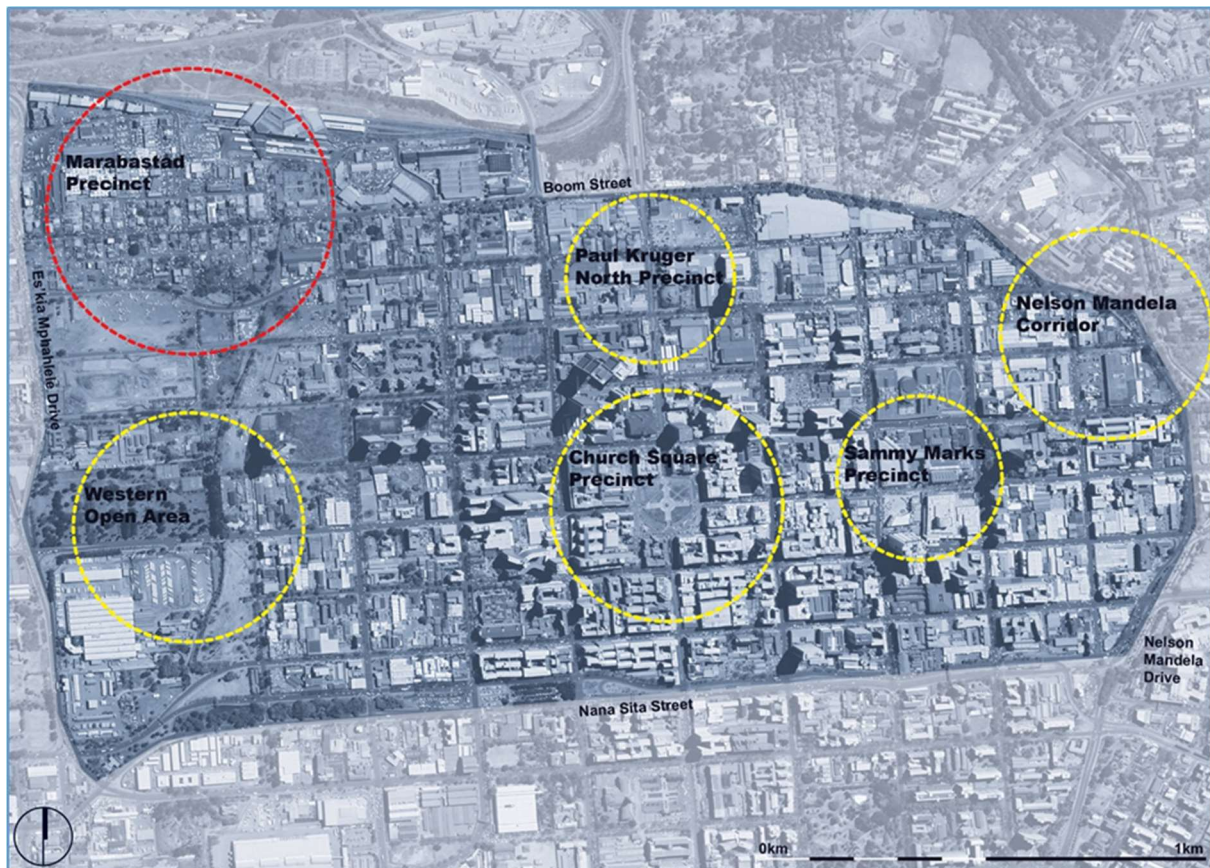


Figure 10: Pretoria CBD study area and precincts map (WKID: 3857, Tshwane GIS Maps)

2.2.5 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to partially answer research sub-question 1, i.e. *What are the implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?*

The conclusion to research sub-question 1 is that the Pretoria CBD was not originally conceived or planned for a large residential component and therefore cannot ideally accommodate an increasing influx of migrants seeking accommodation in the associated public open space. The narrative traces the original establishment of the city through the mid decades of the 20th century up to the advent of democracy. The current built form and morphology of the Pretoria CBD developed during this period. Based on the reviewed literature, it is evident that there was a primary focus on the civic and commercial roles that the CBD had to fulfil. Throughout the 20th Century, these roles became even more prominent and by 1910, the CBD had exchanged its heart for a commercial tram terminus (Allen 2007: 45). Throughout the first half of the 20th century up to the 1980s, various

commentators on the Pretoria CBD lament the crass commercialisation and lack of outdoor public spaces (Eaton 1958; Punt 1961; Botha 1962; Cloete 1962).

The researcher therefore postulates that the Pretoria CBD was never purposely planned to accommodate a large residential population and as the CBD grew throughout its formative years and during the apartheid planning decades, there was never any intent or contribution in the spatial planning policies to accommodate a large residential population. African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity only started moving into the area in the early 1990s. Therefore, if the historic record is perused and the apartheid planning policies of the time are considered, the Pretoria CBD planners did not take into account that there might be a large residential population of people of diverse ethnicity and African migrant peoples.

2.3 AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURE AND CO-ETHNIC NETWORKS

The Literature review attempts to answer sub-question 2, i.e. *What are the cultural and religious indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?*

2.3.1 Historic background

There is a long history of movement and migration in Africa; as an example, Dilger (2013: 115) finds that mobility and migration have been central characteristics of the Western Mara region of Tanzania for a long time. In pre-colonial times, the African village inhabitants viewed traveling and journeying as dangerous and to be avoided. However, in more recent times, Dougnon (2013: 35) finds that the Malian migrant is often seen as a hero leaving on a journey of discovery and when they return they are celebrated as heroes with stories to tell. This increases the desire, based on the mythology of the traveller, for the yet unproven young person and in many Malian tribes such as the Soninke, Bamana and Malinke, young males strive to be [a] migrant from a very young age in order to become a man (Dougnon 2013: 35). These migrants have a taste for adventure. In order to prove to the village the truth about their journey (Dougnon 2013: 38) these adventurers are frequently required to bring back souvenirs from their travels.

The post-colonisation period in Africa's history indicates that early migrations were closely linked to mining and agriculture. They were mostly males and the migrant flow was cyclical. The 21st century has been called the age of migration, and this is certainly true in the case of Africa (Kane & Leedy 2013: 2). In Africa, the first waves of large-scale migration started in the early 1980s and gradually built momentum to reach the current situation where some European countries and the USA are severely restricting the inflow of migrants from the African continent. In the late 1980s, the enforcement of World Bank and IMF policies in Senegal led to the large scale migration of Senegalese citizens to the USA in particular (Babou 2013: 233). There has also been a steady flow of Nigerian Igbo immigrants to the USA since the 1970s (Reynolds 2013: 270). However, less well known is the intra-African migration (Africans migrating within Africa) which is still much larger than international migration to Europe or the USA (Kane & Leedy 2013: 3).

Whitehouse (2013: 21) argues that African migrants are embedded in vast social networks that reach to wherever these migrants go. The importance of this social network in African migrant culture is central because of the connectedness that migrants still have with their sending community. He also suggest that these embedded social networks consist of social capital, historic roots and shared public spaces and that someone with a social connection to a migrant is much more likely to become a migrant himself than someone that does not know such a migrant (2013: 22). This close association of kindred and ethnic networking does however also produce certain negative results. When migrants communicate with their social networks back at home, they only send selective information and thus possibly give rise to misinformation amongst these migrant sending communities. This frequently results in a false perception of the migrant destination among the positive hopefuls still at home. The result is then a flow of migrants towards a destination, which has been incorrectly or insufficiently represented and which does not necessarily result in the benefits claimed. Nevertheless, the power of the social network is strong enough to perpetuate the migrant flow long after the destination has become undesirable. Whitehouse (2013: 25,26) finds that tense social relations between migrants and non-migrants also inhibit the spread of truthful reports about conditions at migrant destinations, thereby turning social networks into vehicles of false and deceptive information in certain cases.

2.3.2 Embedded social networks

Whitehouse (2013: 25) mentions a young Cameroonian named Vincent as an example that illustrates the effect of social pressure that compels young migrants to seek work abroad. Vincent was working in Brazzaville in the Congo selling sandwiches, an occupation looked down upon in that locale. The fact that he was looked down upon did not bother him as he was removed from his embedded social network in Cameroon and was earning more than the average Congolese civil servant, a person greatly admired in the Congo. At that distance, he would not lose face with the people who mattered to him (Whitehouse 2013: 26) by taking up ambulant vending.

The importance of this example centres on the value that the young immigrant places on the social network of his ethnic background. In many ways, the migrant's intangible ethnicity is placed above the tangible spaces of his present surroundings. This is a clear indication of the power that ethnicity potentially holds over the use and associations of public space in Africa.

Carter (2013: 61) refers to another example of an immigrant named Babacar, who was interviewed in his apartment in Turin, Italy while his children were back home in Dakar, Senegal. He was getting older and expressed his wish to return home soon to his country of birth, a hope he has been nurturing for years. This gives credence to the concept of being 'otherwhere' as described by Dominic Malaquais (Malaquais 1998) in her paper titled *Douala/Johannesburg/New York, Cityscapes Imagined*.

This new African mobility contains within it the seeds of change regarding the perceived uses and identities ascribed to outdoor city space. It appears as if many of these immigrants and travellers are never fully settled in their host cities and countries, but often view these places as stopovers or a temporary situation. In the South African context, just 45% of foreigners surveyed by Landau (2013: 102) felt that they were part of South African society; local South Africans were not trusted and many of the foreign nationals were found to remain within their immigrant networks and do not even have one local acquaintance. He states that migrants formulate multiple identities in a complicated network of real and imagined beliefs that give them the right to local acceptance. They do not however maintain specific ties to any one local structure of power or authority (Landau 2013: 103).

The conclusion is thus reinforced that multiple ethnic identities and historic spatial ties are transported with these traveling migrants, with no particular long-term plan to put down roots. Furthermore, these same migrants plan to leave ‘some time’, thus heightening the sense of un-rootedness that they bring to public space in African cities.

2.3.3 Transnationalism and local identity

Vertovec (2009: 2) describes transnationalism as “the sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation states”. Youngstedt suggests that transnationalism is at the core of the diasporic experience (2013: 135). This phenomenon should be viewed in conjunction with African migrations since Malaquais (1998) postulates that African migrant culture is as much a state of physical mobility as being metaphysically elsewhere.

The formation of a local identity or lack thereof and ethnic culture appear to influence the physical and intangible perceptions related to the use and allocation of shared social space. Fouchard and Segatti (2015: 3) link citizenship [in the South African context] to territory [territoriality] and the right to belonging. Local South African people engaging in xenophobic attacks view it as a form of “boundary making” (Kirshner, 2014: 120). Xenophobia can thus possibly restrict access to certain groups, and promote access for others, rendering public space unequitable. In many cases, African migrants see the world as highly stratified in terms of status and belonging. This tendency to stratify the sense of identity and belonging along the lines of status, culture and even adventure needs to be better understood to produce meaningful outdoor public spaces that aspire to cater to such a diverse audience; Kane and Leedy (2013: 11) agree that diasporic identity is very important to understand the drive behind migrant behaviour in host cities.

As an example of the powerful effect of the African diaspora, Buggenhagen (2013: 252) finds that the true motor of Senegal’s economy is the extent of the emigration of its inhabitants and the remittance that they send back home; its emigrating transnational citizens have carried the economy ‘elsewhere’. This illustrates the power of the African diaspora and how the members of these transient peoples shape and influence the places that they go.

Many religious leaders travel abroad to gather new disciples for their causes, to the point that the African religious diaspora has a profound influence on the cities where it occurs and that its agents are actively re-seeding themselves in new locales. This has implications for the use of urban and public space in the new African cities; e.g. the need for culturally specific religious spaces and gender specific spatial needs, amongst others. In the case of South Africa, it is important to distinguish who these migrant and ethnic traveller residents are in order to provide appropriate public or social urban spaces.

2.3.4 Rural to urban migrants

The rural to urban migrants that form a large part of migrant cycles in Africa are closely tied to national and trans-national migrants within Africa. Armstrong (1987: 137) mentions an example of strong ties between rural and urban families that shape a reciprocal society in Tanzania. This phenomenon occurs in many African countries where people migrate from rural areas to urban areas within national borders as well as desired destinations in other African cities. These migrations require an understanding of modernity which implies that urban spatial planners need to be aware of understanding who and how public urban space may be used by migrant users. This phenomenon is similar to traditional urbanisation, but it differs in terms of the ethnic and cultural background of the people moving to these cities. These internal migrants typically do not plan to stay permanently and are often part of seasonal migration cycles. This in turn influences and modifies the way they engage with the public spaces of the receiving destination. It is important to understand the social and urban networks that migrants form and which are influenced by their ethnicity, consequently influencing public space use in Africa (Dilger 2013: 117). South Africa also has a long history of cyclical migration that started when mining operations commenced in the colonial era, but this eventually spread to the agricultural and industrial sectors as well.

There is an observable pattern of African migrants across the continent where the first move will be from rural areas to cities before embarking on international migration routes. This is in order to learn urban skills and build social networks before embarking on international journeys. Youngstedt (2013: 147) suggests that movement and transience define the ethos of residents in Niamey, Niger, where migration is a constant topic of conversation. It is a city of dreamers and dreams, both realised and frustrated. Stoller (2013:

164) describes West Africa, which seems to provide the highest number of permanent migrants as well as urban-rural migration, where there are two types of wealth, i.e. monetary wealth and human capital as expressed through social networks of which they are part. It could be inferred that social networks are valued at least as much as the lure of financial gain.

When the Murid people first began migrating out of the rural peanut basin areas, to the urban areas of Senegal, they started establishing religious associations known as Da'ira, which means circle. These associations were gender based and helped newcomers to the cities to find their feet and offered friendship in unfamiliar places. These structures have endured in modern times and such organisations can still be located in New York where the first Da'ira was established in 1986. There are as many as thirty Da'ira associations in New York City and they usually meet in gender-segregated gatherings (Buggenhagen 2013: 253).

Research into the Igbo immigrants of Nigerian descent in Chicago (Reynolds 2013) found that they formed various home-groups and they have regular meetings on Sundays. The largest of these groups consists of 140 families and could be viewed as one of the most successful immigrant groups of the African diaspora. They have access to large amounts of human and social capital that enable new-comers to avoid exploitation as well as receiving sound advice and direction when they arrive. They have been migrating to the United States since the early 1970s (Reynolds 2013: 274-276).

A further example of this is the migration networks of the Igbo in the Nigerian city of Kano that help create and retain identity. The majority of these migrants are connected in social migratory circuits with a shared place of origin as well as a larger ethno-religious identity (Jordan-Smith 2006: 57). Herz (2015: 71) suggests that social ties in migrant networks are as important as shared built spaces.

2.3.5 Hometown links

It is evident from the literature review that there are strong hometown links that exert a certain degree of influence over migrants in Africa. Whereas this may not always be the case in all situations, migrants usually maintain their links to kin back home because they will find

re-insertion into the communal fabric easier when they return. The bonds with home areas will always remain strong and are perhaps not emphasised enough in current research.

The situation in the Niger is unique due to the evidence that there are as many Nigerois living outside Niger as within. This is particularly true when first and second generation migrants are taken into account (Youngstedt 2013: 133). Almost half of Nigerois have ties to other countries, with kinship bonds and ethnic ties linking divergent spaces across Africa and the world. Bearing this in mind, the importance of the hometown or country also known as the sending community is perhaps undervalued in the study of African migration and diasporic activities. Little research has been done on the role and influence that the sending community, with its associated urban and rural spaces, has on the receiving community of the diasporic migrants (Youngstedt 2013: 133). It is important to investigate this phenomenon and attempt to discover to what extent the sending community influences and informs the use of and aspirations for outdoor and recreational spaces in the cities of Africa.

Examples of this phenomenon may be seen where cultural integration opened up the possibility for West African migrants in New York to, over time, bring their families to live there. These families may be called trans-national families (Stoller 2013: 163). Another example could be the Senegalese hair braiders in New York City, who will sit side by side braiding hair and gossiping and so they replicate in essence the atmosphere back home (Babou 2013: 233). This gives credence to the idea of migrants importing social texture and urban identity into new urban locales. For the Igbos of Nigeria living in the northern city of Kano, the internal migrant experiences are the defining elements in religious and ethnic identity, which are produced and distributed through the internal migration and social circuits that connect migrants to their places of origin (Jordan Smith 2006: 54). These trans-national linkages have enabled many urban refugees in Nairobi to become successful entrepreneurs elsewhere (Murray & Myers 2006: 121).

This home town/country link theory is also manifested by the widespread migrant trading practised across Africa. Many African migrants are trans-local traders who have trading links in various other large African cities in their home country and sometimes in other African

countries (Buggenhagen 2013: 249). Commerce and trade in public space form an important social space aspect of African migrations and ethnic enclave theories.

2.4 AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURES AND CO-ETHNIC NETWORKS IN PUBLIC SPACE: STATE OF THE RESEARCH

2.4.1 Background

Myers and Murray (2013: 3) find that African urbanism has to date not been as intensively researched as, for example in the USA, where scholars have been studying migrant and ethnic minority recreation patterns since the 1960s. However, Europe has undertaken much less research concerning this phenomenon than the USA, and Jay and Schraml (2014: 38) find that the number of scientific publications on the topic of ethnicity and migrant culture and the use of outdoor recreation spaces in an urban context seems to be very low. Jay and Schraml quote Gentin's study of 2011, which indicates only fourteen publications on the topic in the last 25 years (cited in Jay & Schraml 2014: 39). However, this does not include all aspects of African urbanism, but refers solely to ethnic migrant groups and their interaction with public recreational space, but which still indicates that the topic is possibly insufficiently researched. Anthropological approaches to migration first changed from economic push and pull factors to neo-Marxist models in the early 1970s. The current trend is for anthropologists to view African migration from a historical as well as socio-cultural perspective (Dougnon 2013: 35).

Historically, in the main two theories underpin migration. Byerlee (1974: 543) suggests that the African migrant pattern is based on the "dual system theory" which views the migrant in the host area as living in a duality between the village of origin and the host city. It is thus a reciprocal system where the migrant remains closely tied to the local identity in the village of origin. This local identity is even used to promote the city dweller in the national political scene. The local villages become satellite states that influence the national politics at various levels. The other widely held trans-local theory views the migrant, to a larger degree, as cut off from the local village culture and identity, and who then tries to re-create local culture and identity in the host city (Byerlee 1974: 543-556).

However, African cities are so diverse and heterogeneous that each city should be viewed individually. The problem of trying to formulate typical or standard models is that this tends to over-simplify current situations. The obvious path then becomes one of understanding the culture and identity of those that find themselves within any specific African urban environment at any given time.

The question of African migrant public space use then shifts to one of personal identity, raising the following issue: What implications does this have for the use of public space and the aspirations of residents in an African city context? According to Youngstedt (2013: 133), “separate places become a single community through the continuous circulation of people, money, goods and information”. This is an important consideration for all African cities that are host destinations, such as the City of Tshwane Pretoria CBD and the Johannesburg CBD. It touches on all aspects of real and imagined cultural identities as well as the degree of assimilation and participation that the new resident will experience in his/her new urban environment. This, to a large degree, negates the option of a one-size-fits-all urban design approach to a city such as Pretoria.

2.4.2 Classification approaches

Adogame argues, “The theory and interpretation of space, place and spatial identity have remained contentious in socio-scientific discourses” (2013: 176). This is evident from the diverse interpretations of uniquely African expressions of spatial usage. The problem however, as Murray and Myers (2006: 7) state, is that existing theories of urbanisation provide little ground for understanding African cities. According to Murray and Myers (2006: 8), scholars tend to make two flawed assumptions when trying to classify African cities. The first is the over-reliance on ideal typical models that are Eurocentric in origin. The second is to rely on overly simplified taxonomic and economic models that were developed during previous periods and even for a previous century. Scholarly efforts at constructing a typical model for African cities have always failed (Murray & Myers 2006: 7). The conclusion of most of these taxonomic and classification approaches to African cities is that most of the cities are grouped together into a ‘hybrid’ model and which now requires a new research approach when dealing with African urbanism (Murray & Myers 2006: 8-9). Notwithstanding this contentious and disputed research approach, planners and scholars continue to adopt

analytical and policy tools drawn from European, North American and Latin American experiences to manage and describe new African cities (Landau 2013: 94). Landau (2013: 93) stresses the point that research on African urbanism and the study of immigrant inclusion is very low. According to him, traditional formal approaches to urbanism and policy making should, to a large degree, be disregarded, as inclusiveness in the sense of local identity with African migrants is mostly either misunderstood or not properly documented. In his words, “...we need to build a new vocabulary that can correctly map the metaphysical act of belonging of those moving through African cities” (Landau 2013: 94).

2.4.3 Scholarly approaches to African urbanism

Murray and Myers (2006: 1-2) find that there is a common perception amongst scholars that African cities are so hopelessly chaotic and disorderly that they are beyond redemption; this perception is very prevalent in the bulk of the literature on African cities. Most scholarly research on African cities tend to focus on the shared similarities of African cities regarding taxonomy and classification, as opposed to their differences at the individual level. This causes most contemporary accounts and research on African cities to “focus on the deviation from normative Western models and shifting the focus to decay, neglect and ethnic strife” (Murray & Myers 2006: 2). Policy recommendations for African cities that aim to inhibit further decay and promote liveability have been framed by the ideologies of modernisation and developmental growth models. According to Murray and Myers (2006: 1-3), the real challenge of African cities is not to describe the failure of them in emulating Western models of urbanisation, but to seek a deeper understanding of why they have developed the way they have.

2.4.4 The presumed influence of state power and how it permeates decisions made in the spatial disciplines

Scholars and policy makers in most African countries often misunderstand the extent of the influence of state power. Landau argues that African states have very rarely exerted enough influence to determine real outcomes of policy in their urban centres (2013: 98). In African states, generally speaking, a stubborn adherence to approaching spatial challenges from a Eurocentric perspective still prevails. Such approaches often rely on theory based on North-Atlantic and Western canons and do not take into account the “...substantive issues of

everyday life” (Cloke, Crang & Goodwin, 1999: 1). Instead, the state, which usually considers itself willing and capable of influencing the new urban populations of its city centres, often by default rely on such theory without taking into account that lived space is socially and historically produced (Landau 2013: 98). The ideological direction state authorities take is often supported and followed by the professions.

As explained in Chapters 1 and 3, decisions about space usually take place in what Soja (1996:3) referred to as Secondspace. It is usually authorities such as the state, which produce “...mechanisms that translate social difference into space patterns” (Smith, 1999: 14). In other words, a person from a certain social status may be seen as deserving of a certain space. This kind of discrimination opens up spaces in which to live, work, learn and be creative to some people and closes them down to others. It is these hegemonic Secondspace powers that Soja (1996: 3) refers to. Moreover, Landau (2013: 99) contends “...perceptions of state centrality and influence continue to inform an undue amount of scholarly research and policy relevant work on African urbanism”. Hence, it is evident that the over-reliance on state power for spatial development and policy framework guidelines for the re-development of urban space in South African cities may prolong the construction of social categories and identities through spatially discriminatory material practices (Smith, 1999: 14). Landau (2013: 100) argues [that by] “focusing only on institutions and policy frameworks, scholars too often ignore forms of inclusion negotiated outside the power of the state or means of forging belonging that draw on state initiatives, but in unpredictable ways”. In African cities, Murray and Myers (2006: 237) find that the poor and marginalised often respond to hegemonic power by *inter alia* resistance. These social and spatial responses of the residents have ensured that urban planners are never able to shape the urban landscape in accordance with proposed planning schemes; the poor just will not let them.

2.4.5 African migrant culture: a global identity

There is a sentiment among many African peoples, especially the young, to reach for a type of African global identity. Dougnon mentions this when he states that the constant portrayal of the risks involved in traveling across Africa by the ones that have returned, creates the very fuel that stokes the fires of the collective imaginations of the ones left behind (2013:

38). Due to the increasing rate at which African cities are changing, the real needs of residents are difficult to ascertain. This often leads to sporadic outbursts of violence as was recently witnessed in South Africa during the 2008 xenophobic violence, as well as the spate of xenophobic attacks countrywide as of 2019. What is less obvious are the attempts of the individuals living in the cities to “...foster inclusion, belonging and identity” (Landau 2013: 94). It strengthens the theory of African migrant culture displaying high levels of transience.

“Social capital is gained, traded and bargained for in sporadic ways to foster inclusion as well as generate temporary identity. This identity is linked to the construct of modernity, sophistication and free spirited cosmopolitanism” (Landau 2013: 95).

Bennet and Robards (2014: 2), argue

“... the internet has brought new dimensions to what has conventionally been referred to as youth culture. In particular the internet has served to redefine notions of public and private space and the relationship between the global and the local”.

Landau finds that in African cities

“... inclusion is thought of as more than claiming a right to the city or becoming part of a stable urban community. Often the move is indicative of a larger desire to step into the global imaginary of youth culture, new universal urban lifestyles and most importantly opportunity for onward journeying”.

Migrants and trans-local migrants also aim to “...access the phenomenon known as urban youth culture, new universal urban lifestyles as well as opportunities for onward journeying” (Landau 2013: 101).

Youngstedt’s research shows that the Hausa of Niamey use cell phones as markers of modernity, though many of them struggle to afford them (2013: 147). Murray and Myers say that Africans, as elsewhere, have access to the global flow of ideas, information and images that have profoundly reshaped the identities of well-to-do urbanites. Their sense of belonging and social allegiance becomes less rooted in specific localities and more tied to global consumer culture. There is also a strong affinity for globalised consumerism, especially among the youth (Murray & Myers 2006: 5). Adogame also argues that African immigrants will thus bring a global identity to the spaces that they inhabit due to the consciousness of their links to the wider world and their countries of origin. “Most of the African cities, which are host to migrant populations, now contain the seed of this global

identity, which has been shaped by successive waves of new immigrants, bringing with them their cultural and ethno-religious identities” (2013: 176- 177). This is important because it has implications for the use and intent for gatherings and outdoor recreational space for African cities. According to Murray and Myers “The intersection of the global and the local has produced hybrid spaces where clarity, coherence and consistency do not exist” (2006: 27).

2.4.6 Creating distance: African social networks and the remittance system

The remittance system is part of African migrant culture and is strongly linked to the social networks of which migrants are part (Levanon 2014: 13-29). In South Africa, the phenomenon is locally known as ‘black tax’. It is inevitable that remittance practices will bind the migrant to his area of origin, whether it is desired by the migrant or not. The remittance patterns are very similar all over Africa, and South African cities are no exception (Kane & Leedy 2013: 4). This means that the rural-to-urban migrants will be bound to their rural areas by more than just social ties and ethnic bonds of kinship, but in most cases, economically too, because of pressure from the sending poor rural communities who expect support from the migrants in the city.

For the migrant with this social pressure for remittance, come feelings of failure and shame when he or she, particularly the males, often cannot even fend for themselves in the city of residence, let alone send monetary support to the community back home. In Brazzaville, the young unattached male migrants or ‘*aventuriers*’ are especially prone to this. They work as unskilled labour and are unable to send remittance home. These migrants remain abroad and would rather live in abject poverty than face shame by returning empty handed and unsuccessful. Whitehouse found that, however desperate their situation in the Congo, returning home was far worse (2013: 25). Travel, living and accommodation all weigh heavily on the new migrant and this situation is often exacerbated by the fact that the rural dwellers back at home perhaps have a skewed notion of what real job opportunities exist for migrants in the large African cities. In Niger, group considerations and assistance are always crucial to migration decisions. The further the destination, the less likely it is that the migrant will handle the costs independently. This constraint also ties the migrant to a form of bound remittance that he must uphold as his side of the bargain (Youngstedt 2013: 147).

Obligations of remittance is a common thread throughout the African travel culture. What is not commonly understood among westernised individuals, is the strong obligation on the sent traveller in Africa. Many African people migrate to cities or neighbouring African countries to escape this obligation. Lisa Cliggett (2005: 144) quotes a Zambian migrant who said that people who have left home are “saved by distance”. Many would-be African entrepreneurs choose to go abroad in order to escape economic disincentives generated by their social milieu.

2.4.7 Maintaining migrant and ethnic social networks

From the above it becomes evident that there are strong home area links that exert a certain degree of influence over migrants in Africa. Migrants therefore need to maintain their links to their kin at home since they will find re-insertion into the communal fabric easier when they return; the bonds with home areas will always remain strong.

2.5 ETHNIC ENCLAVES

Describing and accurately defining an ethnic enclave does not readily conform to a simple definition. At its core, an ethnic enclave may be described as a form of segregation. Johnston et al. use the traditional method of indexing dissimilarity to partially measure this segregation,

The index of dissimilarity is a percentage value measuring the unevenness of two distributions across a set of areas. It has been widely used to identify the degree of residential separation between two ethnic groups. It ranges from 100, indicating complete separation, to 0 indicating complete similarity (Johnston, Forrest & Poulsen 2002: 610).

The indices of dissimilarity and segregation focus on the unevenness of distribution. Massey and Denton (cited in Johnson et al. 2002) argue that segregation is multi-dimensional and have developed five different components of segregation (enclave facets) i.e.:

1. Unevenness: the distribution of any two (or more) groups in a city context

2. Exposure: The degree of neighbourhood sharing between minority groups and the host society
3. Concentration: How these minority groups physically occupy space in a city
4. Centralisation: The degree to which the group occupies the inner city areas or CBD
5. Clustering: The spatial distribution of ethnic groups relative to each other in a city context.

This similarity or dissimilarity as described by Johnston et al. (2002: 597) may be called degrees of assimilation. They refer to polarised enclaves, which are residential areas where co-ethnics form at least 60% of the population in that area and hence may be seen as a residential concentration among ethnic minority groups (Johnston et al. 2002: 595,608).

Zhigang Li, Laurence, Ma and Desheng-Xue (2009: 702) label ethnic enclaves “*transnational spaces*”, which they say “is by no means unusual for international migrants to transform spaces within globalizing cities into enclaves when seeking markets and products.” When referring to transnational African spaces in the Xiaobei province in China, they find that “It is remarkable how this early pioneering migrant’s choice of location for work and residence subsequently led to the formation of a significant transnational space for Africans in Guangzhou city. More specifically, many African migrants can now be found in specific buildings as well as in the Xiushian, Taochi and Guolong “mansions”, the lower floors of which are typically occupied by shops and the upper floors by apartments. The origin of an ethnic enclave is usually attributed to a single person or small group of likeminded co-ethnics, which could then become an anchor point for new immigrants and co-ethnics.

Zhigang-Li et al. (2009: 711) suggest that most African migrants in Guangzhou, China, are country based (nationality and ethnicity) each with a respected community leader, known as a ‘president’ whose main function is to assist newly arrived countrymen. Some of these communities are developed to the level that members may possess identification cards showing their membership status, and they may undertake fund raising projects in order to help other co-ethnics or their countrymen in need (Zhigang-Li et al. 2009: 711).

They find that the migrants’ choice of locations is closely tied to their proximity to infrastructure such as railway stations as well as the proximity to the local trading market where many of the African migrants sell goods (Zhigang-Li et al. 2009: 707, 708). This

perhaps gives some insight in the choice of place and space for ethnic enclaves, with transport hubs and trading locations being prominent.

Qadeer, Agrawal and Lovell (2010: 317) studied ethnic enclaves in the Toronto area between 2001 and 2006 and argue that an enclave is both a spatial and an institutional phenomenon. The necessary condition for an enclave is the ethnic concentration, but also the formation of ethnic based businesses, services institutions and associations. It is the “institutional completeness” of a community at the neighbourhood level that makes an enclave (Qadeer et al. 2010: 317). It is therefore important to differentiate between ethnic enclaves that have the above-mentioned attributes and what have been called ghettos, as well as ethnic clustering. Qadeer et al. (2010: 317) argue that

“... an enclave is not to be confused with a ghetto. A ghetto is a neighbourhood of racial or ethnic concentration that is largely the result of social exclusion practised by the mainstream society characterised by poverty and blight”.

Any research focused on the phenomenon of ethnicity and social remittance in public space should be aware of the difference.

Stoller (2013: 162) labels enclaves ‘vertical villages’ that the immigrant Nigerois of New York create in apartment buildings, especially among first generation migrants, “the men of these vertical villages spend much time together and converse on street corners in their native language”. This description perhaps best describes an ethnic enclave of African immigrants. These ‘vertical villages’ could also be called ethnic clusters. The personal activity spaces of these co-ethnics can be very limited due to culture and language differences with other groups. These places generally consist of the buildings or public spaces where they work, sometimes sleep, conduct their businesses and express their religions (Zhigang-Li et al. 2009: 712); these authors also find that that the migrants spend much of their time outside of their physical sleeping spaces in various local public spaces.

Qadeer et al. (2010: 320) argue that enclaves are not just residential concentrations of co-ethnics, but it must also constitute community life through businesses, services, places of worship, clubs and institutions. The important fact is that migrants may form enclaves that continue to thrive even after the original migrants have dispersed. Hence, a crucial

determining factor for enclaves is the presence of these cultural networks and institutions or their institutional completeness (Qadeer et al. 2010: 320).

The study by Qadeer et al. (2010) also highlights the following growth patterns of enclaves, observed over time:

1. Enclaves are continually realigning with shifting centres and changing their internal contours of density
2. Enclaves usually begin with some ethnic households forming a core, expanding outwards, first as fragmented clusters that later tend to coalesce and form an ethnic band
3. A band of highly concentrated clusters gradually emerges, around which clusters of ethnically less dense clusters form. These formations are continually influenced by the ebb and flow of the migrant in and out cycle
4. Over time, the enclave will start to contract as the population intake starts to reduce
5. If a well-established enclave's migrant input is reduced, it may still be strongly coherent due to the above-mentioned cultural institutions and institutional completeness
6. Eventually, the enclaves will spawn new enclaves in the suburbs, which may offer more affordable housing. Theoretically, ethnic enclaves, in their final form, will thus be expanded to suburban areas.

To differentiate further, ethnic clustering is a phenomenon that is often a precursor to an ethnic enclave and a necessary condition for its existence (Qadeer et al. 2010: 336). Ethnic clustering is simply a concentration of co-ethnics in a building, group of buildings or an area.

2.6 RELIGION, MIGRANT CULTURE AND CO-ETHNICS

Islam and Christianity, the latter predominantly represented by the African Pentecostal churches, are the two most prominent religious belief systems in South Africa. There are many variations within these two major belief systems as well as a few other faiths, such as the Rastafarians and the religion of ancestral spirit worship. However, in most cases these other religious beliefs tend to blend in with the two major streams of Christianity and Islam

in many aspects. Migrants export these African religious identities to other African nations and worldwide.

Religion can lead to conflict and friction at the urban level. Stoller (2013: 166) finds that profound religious differences between West African migrants and American people for instance can cause social stress and misunderstanding. Many West African migrants are of the Muslim faith, and tend to strongly adhere to their faith. Stoller's (2013: 167) study refers to a West African migrant in New York who rises early and prays five times per day in order to keep his faith strong and to help guard himself against the influence of people around him.

Adogame posits that African religious communities emplace themselves in new urban spaces and create new ritual spaces; these may be seen as attempts to establish a position of power and identity and it is important to understand the politics of belonging in new urban contexts. The new African Pentecostal churches and Islamic congregations in American and European cities, as well as in host African cities, are creating new identities through sacred space reproduction (Adogame 2013: 175).

This phenomenon is partly enabled by the use of social media and electronic communication. In this way, these African immigrant churches stay connected to their sending countries and identities (Adogame 2013: 174). The use of media, such as internet, cell phones and visual media, is common in West African religious circuits. Their display of religious dress and festivals is eagerly shared on digital platforms between host and home countries in the African migratory and religious context (Buggenhagen 2013: 250) emphasising the importance that technology has in the use of public space and the practice of their rituals. In these African migrant religious communities, they remain the locus of identity, community and security and offer a home away from home. A type of religious and ethnic identity is engendered through the church (Adogame 2013: 179). This process can be called trans-locational positionality, whereby immigrants connect with their communities and countries of origin via religion; they reconstruct religious space in their urban residences and public spaces that creates and reinforces locality at the religious level (Tetey (2007), cited in Adogame 2013: 188).

There is a significant contingent of Nigerian Pentecostal churches operating in South African cities as well as in the rest of Africa (Meyer, 2007: 14). These churches help to orientate these new urban dwellers, but South Africa is seen by many of them merely as a gateway country to launch acolytes into Europe and the USA (Crush 1998: 1-11). This then raises the issue of transience and migration when dealing with providing public space in Pretoria's CBD. It could be postulated, that these churches act as an alternative to a more traditional urban community and identity for many of the newcomers to the city (Landau 2013: 101). As a result, these churches often temporarily use spaces in the inner cities of South Africa for their religious practices (Adogame 2013: 178).

The difference between the public personas that these two religions (Christianity and Islam) generate should not be underestimated. Christianity and Islam differ in many significant ways in their approach to public space engagement, especially regarding gender. For example, Jordan-Smith (2006: 56) notices that there is a marked difference in the use of public spaces between the women of the Kano Muslim population in the north of Nigeria and the Igbo migrants from the south. The southern Christian women move around freely among the population, wear western style of dress and buy in the local markets. This is in direct contrast to the women in the north who are predominantly Muslims. Moving from rural areas like Ubakala in Nigeria's north to one of the large southern cities like Lagos requires a significant adjustment for rural Igbo's. The differing cultural and urban experiences when moving between these rural urban areas in Nigeria are extreme. The defining feature of Christian Igbo migrant life in the northern city of Kano, which is a predominantly Muslim city, is the degree to which they reproduce social institutions and cultural practices from their place of origin. The Muslim people from Kano in the north tend to dress in formal attire and the women stay in the family compounds and rarely venture into public spaces (Jordan-Smith 2006: 56-57). Evidently, religious belief systems have a profound influence on mixed gender public spaces and should be considered when approaching mixed-use public space planning in Africa.

2.7 GENDER, MIGRANT CULTURE AND CO-ETHNICS

The phenomenon of African migrant culture and ethnic clustering has many important indicators at different levels of society. According to Whitehouse (2013: 12), one aspect that

has been growing in importance and scope is the role of gender in African migrant groups. Historically, female migrant numbers in the African context were extremely low; this has however changed in the last twenty years as many more African women are migrating trans-locally as well as trans-nationally. The increased arrival of females in migrant communities, with the associated births and raising of children, may change the migrants' long-term views of staying in the host society and city. Where women have been involved in migrant communities, they tend to become the foundation of migrant communities abroad and foster the emergence of diasporic Identities among themselves and their children (Whitehouse 2013: 12-13).

Zhigang-Li, (date) quoting Brown (2009:710) argues that

“... it is known that African countries hold quite diverse attitudes toward the role of women in the economy. On the one hand, in countries such as Ghana, women dominate market trading and as a result, females run over 90% of Ghanaian businesses in Guangzhou. On the other hand, for Tanzanian Moslems, women play a more subservient role. Because the Africans in the Chinese Tianxiu Building are mainly Muslims from Mali, Nigeria and Kenya, few females appeared in the sample”

Gender expectations for women in public space may therefore be influenced by the sending countries' cultural and ethnic norms and values.

Youngstedt (2013: 137) observed that in Africa, the current feminisation of migration, especially among Hausa females as well as the significant role that women play in most types of migration, has changed the ethnic and migrant landscape in Africa. Today Hausa women migrate almost as often as the men do. Women traditionally function as the anchors of the Niamey households and form a crucial part of the global Hausa diaspora. Just as importantly, however, the people who are left behind still play a crucial role in supporting the migrants abroad, maintaining the social networks and caring for the elderly and children. The majority of stay-behind people are women. This leads to other societal problems such as divorce, where stress caused by the absence of husbands in Niamey is a determining factor in the divorce rate (Youngstedt 2013: 133-138, 148).

2.8 COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY AND AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURE

2.8.1 Introduction

The way that African migrant communities express solidarity with and attachment to home culture can be seen through the use of technology. This statement should however be qualified in so far as the use of technology and the new globalised youth culture are not unique to African migrant cultures. The convergence of new communication technologies, such as media streaming and various digital platforms, coupled with traditional migrant culture and diverse ethnicity, could nonetheless be unique.

Reynolds finds that, “due to globalization and new communication technologies, transnational peoples increasingly participate in shared social lives across vast geographic distances” (2013: 272). Due to modern technology and mobility the divide between rural and urban has become increasingly blurred (Whitehouse 2013: 8). The use of technology thus enables a sense of the local hometown or sending destination in a receiving city’s urban context.

Trans-national as well as trans-local migrants have historically mostly relied on messengers, fellow travellers, pay phones and written letters to relay news and remittance back home and found it much harder to retain their identity in the new environments in which they had established themselves. During and after the 1990s and since the advent of cell phone technology, this situation started changing. Since 2001, cell phones have become the primary technology linking and tying together the Hausa global diaspora (Youngstedt 2013: 147). Today more than 85 percent of the Hausa in a global diaspora communicate regularly with friends and family back home via their cell phones (Youngstedt 2013: 147-149). The current African diaspora has definite new facets that are linked to the use of technology and its adaptation to ethnic culture and public space rituals in most African migratory circuits.

Murray and Myers (2006: 6) contend that

“The physical and social spaces of the urban landscape in African cities has become more fragmented and disconnected and disjointed, thus social collectives of all kinds such as religion, ethnic identification hometown connections or youth culture have emerged offering solace, emotional support and leisure”

These authors argue that global youth culture emerges as a strong part of the new African urbanism. The often problematic tensions that some of these migrant youths need to overcome to gain social assimilation in their new environment can often only be overcome through the use of technological communication devices connected to social media, as well as direct communication technologies, visual as well as aural.

Reynolds (2013: 278) uses the example of the Nigerian Igbo youths who are second-generation migrant children in the United States. They experience fragmentary forms of assimilation into several of the youth cultures of the United States. As is the case with other middle class immigrant youth in the United States, these Igbo youths are skilled at using digital media. This becomes a method of connection with their peers inside and outside of the immigrant culture. The adult Igbo's use of digital media is often linked to mass marketing for business purposes as well as cultural identity building. These cross-cultural migrants, or children of immigrants, are often caught between cultures and they do not conform to the strict Igbo ideal that their parents desire. They blend their cross-cultural identities on social media in order to foster new and imagined identities. These same children experience that when they return to Nigeria, their African-ness is deeply suspect among the local people; hence they feel in-between or liminal (Reynolds 2013: 277- 280; Karsten 2005). This dilemma illustrates the struggles that migrant youth have with identity construction and the way they use technology to partially remediate the situation. In this case, the use of technology in the public spaces of new African cities is related to urban youth culture and the ways in which it could influence their behaviour in outdoor settings.

Where public space planning is concerned, the use of technology in group activities among youths and young adults should be accommodated spatially. As mentioned earlier, Murray and Myers (2006: 5) contend,

“...in Africa, as elsewhere, easy access to the global flow of ideas, information and images has profoundly reshaped the identities of well-to-do urbanites as their sense of belonging and social allegiance becomes less rooted in specific localities and more tied to global consumer culture”.

Technology can possibly generate new spatial attributes in the physical manifestation of space in these new African cities.

2.8.2 Communication technology use and religion in public spaces

An example of the use of communication technology in the religious practices of migrant communities may be seen in the large number of Senegalese Murid public gatherings, which is a way to display their religion publicly. Elegant dress forms part of the display and they share media images thereof with their ethnic networks back home.

Through religious public displays the women attempt to create a persona of movement, mobility and motion. This is central to the idea of Harakat, which they do through media outlets such as the internet and recordings, which are then sent home (Buggenhagen 2013: 254-257) and which gives these Muslim women an opportunity to gain religious status and merit in a diasporic situation and relay their new status accumulation back to their home country where often none of this would have been possible. It is evident that these Muslim women are using diaspora and migration as a means to attain religious favour outside of their sending destination. Another expression is global Muslim conferences that are often broadcast on the local television station back in Senegal, a much-anticipated event in the home country (Buggenhagen 2013: 254-259).

The major Christian faiths in African cities are the African Pentecostal church and the multiple offshoots and branches thereof. Kane and Leedy (2013: 4) find that African Pentecostal churches have a major influence on the use and perception of outdoor space of migrant communities in host cities. Adogame (2013: 174) argues that migrant African religious communities position themselves in the host cities' urban spaces and create new ritual spaces. Adogame (2013: 174) also observed that these new African Pentecostal churches and the Islamic congregations in American and European cities as well as in host African cities, are creating new identities through sacred space reproduction and they use social media and electronic communication in ways that foster connection to their host countries and identities.

2.9 STATUS EXPRESSION IN AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURES

Carter (2013: 65) comments on an important tenet regarding status in culturally diverse ethnic settings, whereby only the established and accepted may gain social relevance; "To the rest belong a type of collective invisibility, which can be described as a rootless identity

of nothingness”. This is a problem in a city context as identity and belonging, even in a marginal way, is the only real path to interaction and participation in urban spaces in a multicultural context. Expanding on this issue, Babou (2013: 230) finds that economic empowerment and changing societal values among African immigrants are eroding the traditional cultural values and social hierarchies of African immigrants.

Babou finds that, for the Senegalese diaspora in the United States, economic success is becoming the defining element of social status (2013: 230). The relationship between expressing economic success and the use of public outdoor space with its stratified layering of ethnicity, culture and religious values, should be taken into account when robust, appropriate and usable outdoor spaces are designed. The expression of wealth signifies arrival, status and economic success on the personal level. In addition, gender roles regarding income and economic status have also changed significantly; the increase in women’s wealth among Muslim African migrants is starting to affect the balance of power within these households; this is observable from the high divorce rate among Senegalese hair braiders in the United States (Babou 2013: 236). Nyairo (2006: 73) agrees that spatial imagination relating to female status in the African city context is related to relationships of power.

Cultural and social capital, such as education and qualifications, may be another reason for exclusion and division amongst migrant communities and correlate with social status and placement in the urban strata of urban space (Haase, Grossmann & Steinführer 2012: 319). The Pretoria CBD has, until recently, mostly housed civil servants of local origin; they would tend to be at least moderately qualified professionally as opposed to lower economic strata migrants who have congregated in suburbs such as Sunnyside, east of the Pretoria CBD.

Danzer, Dietz, Gatskova and Schmillen (2014: 230) found that migrants also use visible consumptive behaviour to impress their new neighbours and generate social acceptance; this can be seen in cities all over the world and it seems to engender a certain accelerated acceptance from the resident population; their research indicates that internal migration to urban centres generally improves the migrant’s income and socioeconomic status. In their survey of Kazakhstan city dwellers, Danzer et al. (2014: 239) further found that internal migrants spent more of their resources on status consumption than the resident population.

The authors argue that this is possibly an adaptation strategy aimed at acquisition of social capital as well as endeavouring to define a niche in the social strata of the host city.

Depending on the respondent, expression of status in an inner city context may signify multiple meanings and it can be an aid in social capital acquisition and acceptance. It could signify an attempt at crossing stratified social layers economically, socially and perhaps even politically. There is little doubt that status expression in a stratified economic sociality will have some effect on the use and perceptions of public space.

2.10 THEORIES ON THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACES FOR RECREATION IN AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURES

Jay and Schraml (2014: 39) argue that, in terms of the theories informing ethnicity and migrant identity in recreational public space use, there are two major approaches to positioning the research. Firstly, there is the ethnicity thesis, which proposes that observable differences in outdoor recreation are culturally driven and shaped by ethnic background. Secondly, there is the marginality thesis that proposes discrimination and economic disadvantaging are at the core of outdoor recreation use by ethnic migrant minorities.

For the purpose of this study, both of these theories are accepted since it is argued that both of them are valid for most new residents of the Pretoria CBD, even though many of the current residents are no longer economically disadvantaged. They could possibly have a history of economic disadvantaging, but it should not be assumed so in all instances. Perhaps the theory of ethnicity will find broader acceptance in a study such as this, due to the nature of ethnicity and migrant culture, but it does not mean that the economic disadvantaging theory should be discarded.

There are many examples of inner city decay in Europe and the United States where economic disparity has played a significant part in informing public space use. However, the focus area of this research is on ethnicity and migrant identity and how these two factors influence the perceived use of and aspirations for outdoor recreation space in the Pretoria inner city context. Therefore, the ethnicity theory was predominantly adopted, without discarding the economic theory.

2.11 MIGRANT AND CO-ETHNIC INDICATORS IN PUBLIC SPACES

There are certain physical attributes regarded as universally observable societal behaviour patterns which, to a large degree, are prevalent in many African cities and which would not typically be part of common behavioural patterns amongst people in North America or European cities. This is not to say that these societies did not or do not currently possess these traits, but they seem to be less observable than in contemporary African societies.

The four physical attributes referred to here are:

1. Communal eating in public space
2. Commercial activity in public space
3. Public conversation in public space
4. Recreation patterns (for African migrants)

2.11.1 Communal eating in public

The act of eating in public settings is practiced by all cultures and is manifested in food outlets and restaurants. Where the difference comes in however, is that to Africans, eating is fundamentally a social act or a group activity; one that is often practised outdoors. Stoller (2013: 164) finds that Africans often buy or prepare food for the group and rarely for themselves alone. West African traders in New York City build up social networks and links with their host society merely by practicing this African custom of inviting everyone to eat with them (Stoller 2013: 165); when New Yorkers then refuse this invitation, it is considered rude or impolite. Jay and Schraml (2014: 41) report that in Stuttgart, African migrants value walking and communal eating outdoors as important public space activities. Although there is evidence in literature of communal eating, the development of plural identities in new spaces such as a CBD, may result in individuals not engaging in social or group meals.

2.11.2 Commercial activity and social capital

Commercial activity in shared social spaces by African migrants is closely linked to the abovementioned communal eating and it is important to consider when discussing public space use in African cities. Commercial activity may be seen as a means of extending social ties and building a network of communities (Stoller 2013: 164).

Murray and Myers (2006: 119) report that African kerb-side traders have transformed sidewalks, public parks and street corners into vast open-air markets. These traders are placing themselves in a public setting in order to build social capital and acceptance for various reasons, such as return customers, but also for social acceptance and assimilation. Street vending may be used to extend income capabilities and will usually be tied to the migrant's co-ethnic social network.



Figure 11: Commercial trading activity in the Pretoria CBD



Figure 12: Commercial trader's trolley used in the Pretoria CBD

Other examples of commercial activities in public spaces by African migrants in the Pretoria CBD and in the suburbs of Sunnyside and Arcadia are the hair salons. Such commercial activities are strongly ethnically correlated, and they are usually open for long hours into the evenings. This activity tends to generate social interaction in the surrounding public spaces such as sidewalks and parking areas.

2.11.3. Public and street conversation

Thirdly, and in many ways tying all these attributes together, is the concept of social conversation among African people and which is often misunderstood by and difficult to understand for most Westerners.

Conversation is a fundamental part of the social fabric of African people. As an example, Stoller (2013: 166) finds that storytelling, street side conversation and even conversation clubs are common among the West Africans living in New York. They (the West Africans) argue that American society is socially impoverished due to the lack of good and neighbourly conversation among their American clientele. In another example of the importance of conversation among African peoples in a city context, Youngstedt (2013: 140) researched the Hausa people of Niamey in Niger. The men typically cover ten kilometres walking the city on any given day. They are mostly looking for work, engaging in prayer and most importantly, looking for conversation via social networking. These daily rounds are to engage in “a vibrant social life filled with intelligent conversation and clever humour” (Youngstedt 2013: 140). Most of these men spend little time at home and participate daily in multiple street corner conversations that are scattered throughout the city. The Hausa women spend time visiting family, friends and partaking in female centred social networks even though they are partly constrained by their religious customs (Youngstedt 2013: 140). The Nigerian Igbo migrants in the United States have hometown associations dispersed throughout US cities. These home associations, as they are known, are established in order to sustain ethnic Igbo culture and it provides the opportunity to share language, gossip, and engage in political talk (Reynolds 2013: 274).



Figure 13: Commercial conversation group Pretoria CBD 1

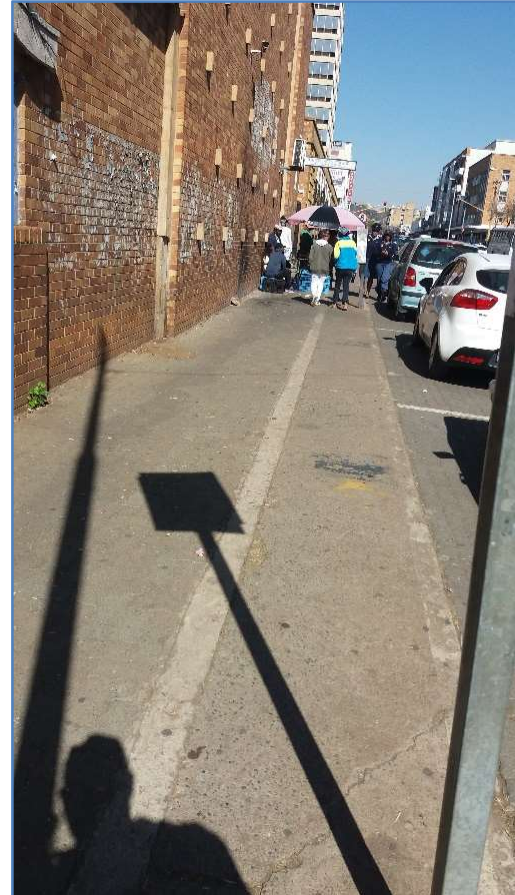


Figure 14: Commercial conversation group Pretoria CBD 2

The above examples illustrate the value of conversation as a group activity and which the African migrants look for as part of their daily routine. In certain instances in the USA, the Igbo ethnic association meetings, rituals and ceremonies, such as song and dance, masquerades, drumming and dancing, take place in public spaces (Reynolds 2013: 283).

2.11.4 Outdoor recreation in public spaces by African migrants

Dahmann, Wolch, Joassart-Marcelli, Reynolds and Jerret (2010: 441-443) find that for formal leisure and recreation of migrant groups in cities in southern California, more than half of all recreation activities take place away from a formal recreation facility. Thus, for these migrant groups, outdoor recreation activities are not necessarily linked to a formal park or designated green space or formal recreation area. Migrants also seem to disproportionately favour informal recreation in an inner city context (Dahmann et al. 2010: 441-443).

The published research on outdoor recreation in African cities seems to be limited. Nevertheless, rising immigration rates worldwide have highlighted the difficulty that immigrants experience in host cities regarding participation in recreation activities. They are usually unfamiliar with the system and how to access these recreation programmes. Conversely, Forde, Lee, Mills and Frisby (2015: 127) find that community centres for sport and recreation in many countries report that these formal recreational activities often become the primary opportunity for recent immigrants to connect with neighbours and to assimilate into the social fabric. Thus, Forde et al. (2015: 127) indicate that sport and recreation can play a role in immigrant inclusion in new communities. Floyd, Taylor, and Whitt-Glover (2009) observe that residents of colour in low-income inner city communities often engage in less physical activity, possibly due to a lack of access to sport facilities. Floyd et al. (2009: 156) also argue that approaches to park use, recreation preferences in general as well as constraints to park use, vary by race and ethnicity. As an example, they find that African Americans prefer developed areas to natural settings and Latino's prefer familial orientations toward outdoor settings (Floyd et al. 2009: 158). This example illustrates that worldwide, ethnic and migratory considerations have a marked effect on the aspirations and expectations of migrants for outdoor public spaces. In the case of African migrants in Europe or the USA, this could be even more pronounced due to the strength of their co-ethnicity.

Jay's and Schraml's (2014) study highlights some interesting aspects of outdoor recreation in public spaces by African migrants. They find that physical patterns of recreation use differ based on ethnicity; this means that not only do differing groups expect different things from outdoor recreation space, but they also use them differently (Jay & Schraml 2014). The physical locality and settings preferred for outdoor recreation differ amongst ethnic groups such as Hispanics, Caucasians, Asians and African Americans. For instance, the Turkish Dutch and the Moroccan Dutch migrant populations tend to engage in outdoor activities with a strong social aspect, such as barbecuing, unlike the native Dutch (Jay & Schraml 2014). These authors also found that black and minority ethnic groups have lower levels of visiting outdoor green spaces compared to white and non-migrant populations. They further concluded that childhood experiences are a significant indicator of adult outdoor recreational preferences (Jay & Schraml 2014).

To understand the meaning that a particular group attaches to outdoor recreation and public space, it is important to furthermore understand the related individual and group identity construction (Jay & Schraml 2014). Migrant collective identity is pliable and changeable depending on the circumstance in which they are and context thus becomes important. Large numbers of the respondents in Jay's and Schraml's (2014: 39-42) Stuttgart survey indicated that the immigrants living there associate their outdoor space experience with feelings of nostalgia related to childhood experiences. The authors argue that migrant outdoor leisure time and use of outdoor recreation space are indicative of the level of assimilation into the host society and concomitant public spaces.

Another key finding in Jay's and Schraml's (2014) study is that of local familiarity. The loss of familiarity often makes it difficult for immigrants to assimilate with their new public space environment. Familiarity is a key aspect of the meaning of outdoor leisure and is closely linked to familiar home landscapes; nonetheless, some immigrants are able to become involved in new leisure activities that were not available in their original home setting. This is observable, particularly with regard to second and third generation migrants who will be more likely to assimilate and accept the new outdoor environment (Jay & Schraml 2014: 42-45).

It is therefore hypothesised that migrants to the Pretoria CBD may have significantly different expectations of and from outdoor public and recreation spaces than people who are native to the inner city or people from other suburbs close to the CBD.

2.12 AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURE AND CO-ETHNICITY: PERSONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTS AND PUBLIC SPACE

2.12.1 Introduction

The intangible attributes of the phenomenon of African migrant culture and diverse ethnicity relate to personal identity and the formation of a personal identity response to public and outdoor space. These attributes also influence the degree to which individuals choose to freely interact with members of other races and ethnic groups within the confines of an inner city area such as the Pretoria CBD.

Kane and Leedy (2013: 11) argue that the concept of a diasporic identity is fundamental to understanding the drive behind migrant behaviour in host cities. With regard to trans-local African ethnic migrants, their identification with the home village is even stronger and the link is rigorously maintained. An example of this is the domestic workers in the Johannesburg area who refuse to participate in the local public space arena and who choose to identify with and remain closely allied to their various home areas (Kane & Leedy 2013: 11). Belonging to something or some place is a prerequisite for identity forming for members of the African Diaspora (Carter 2013: 59). Urban planners in African cities are not always cognisant of what citizenship and belonging mean to people, particularly to African migrants and co-ethnics who find themselves in new locales (Landau 2013: 94).

2.12.2 The impermanence of African migrants

The striving for an eventual return is part of the Malian concept of migration; for them the journey of migration should always culminate in the eventual return of the adventurer migrant. The returnee will then be celebrated as a hero, he will hopefully bring gifts, and some form of financial relief for his immediate family and perhaps the village as a whole (Dougnon 2013: 45). In rare cases, the migrant leaves on a permanent basis due to family or village problems, with the implicit intent of not returning. He would perhaps also leave his identity behind and take up a new name and identity in the receiving city or country; such a migrant would then approach his new permanent home with a different set of criteria that would perhaps make him able to be more receptive toward absorbing and assimilating his new culture (Dougnon 2013: 46). This illustrates two important facets of migrant life cycles in African cities. The concepts of return or non-return, have profound implications for the spaces that the migrant occupies in the receiving destination. In the first case, there will perhaps be a lack of true engagement with the migrant's new surroundings, with the option of returning someday still being possible. In the second instance, the migrant will attempt to entirely assimilate his new surroundings in his attempt to create a new identity (Dougnon 2013: 46).

2.12.3 Importing identity by African migrants

Babou (2013: 234) refers to instances where North American clients complain about Senegalese hair braiders' tendency to have their workplace and home in the same venue,

and the author states that this illustrates how Senegalese migrants import ethnic identity into the public spaces of receiving destinations. In such a situation, living space and the immediate outdoors (public space) within a certain implied perimeter, become their living locale. Other authors also argue that African migrants' ethnic and cultural identity will attempt to recreate familiar home country spatial identities (Jordan-Smith 2006: 59; Jay & Schraml 2014: 39).

The absence of familiarity can cause immigrants to avoid assimilating with their new public space environment because African migrants' recreational choices are closely tied to their lives and the subjective meanings that they ascribe to places and experiences (Jay & Schraml 2014: 40-44).

2.12.4 Social remittance

Importing identity forms a facet of social remittance and, according to a study done by Levitt (1998: 926), "...social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending destinations". Social remittances flow through identifiable channels (ethnic networks) and are therefore reasonably predictable. Levitt (1998: 926) finds that "...migrants bring a set of social and cultural tools to aid their adjustment to their new lives". These social remittances usually take on one of three forms:

- They abandon the social and cultural tools of their sending destination, or
- The social and cultural remittances remain unchanged from the sending destination this is usually due to limited interaction with the host society, or
- Migrants add new items to their cultural repertoire without altering existing ones (Levitt 1998: 932).

Levitt's study was conducted among the Miraflorenos' from the Dominican Republic living in Boston, USA. Levitt adds that there are three types of social remittances, i.e. normative structures, systems of practise and social capital (1998: 932-934).

To clarify, normative structures are ideas, values and beliefs or norms from a certain culture. These include norms for behaviour, responsibility, neighbourliness and religion. These norms can shift or remain static depending on the migrant's assimilation with the host society. Systems practise are the actions of people shaped by these normative structures;

for individuals these include household labour, religious practices and patterns of civil and political participation. In larger structures such as organisations or communities, they include modes of membership, recruitment and socialisation practices. If a migrant person acquires social capital as a leader or migrant in a receiving destination, this social capital will be transferred to his extended family in the sending destination (Levitt 1998: 935).

2.12.5 Birth generation order

A unique aspect of migrant communities in urban public spaces is assimilation and generational embeddedness; this directly affects the ways that migrant communities interact with urban outdoor spaces.

There is an emerging view of co-ethnics that the new African diaspora is not only changing the sending community profoundly, but is changing the host community too (Reynolds 2013: 272). Those born in diaspora and who are second or third generation migrants tend to identify with their parents' natal village as their identity, even though many have never visited it. On the other hand, the young Hausa migrants aged between fifteen and twenty-five consider Niamey, capitol of Niger, as home, even though they may still identify with their fathers' paternal village as their true identity construct (Youngstedt 2013: 140).

Stoller (2013: 162-163) refers to 'vertical villages' that, particularly the first generation migrant Nigeriens, created in apartment buildings in New York. During the early wave of migrations from Niger, the men of these 'vertical villages' spent much time together to converse on street corners in their native language. However, over time the West African migrants started to assimilate into the social fabric of New York City, and the 'vertical villages' became fewer and less migrants lived communally than before (Stoller 2013: 162,163). This observation seems indicative of a generational change in the use of outdoor space by African migrants.

The particular generation of migrants to which the individual belongs, has bearing on the perceptions and use of outdoor recreation space. Jay's and Schraml's (2014: 39, 44) study indicates that second and third generation migrants will be more likely to assimilate and accept the new outdoor urban environment.

2.12.6 Transnational alienation

Stoller describes transnational alienation as a feeling of alienation and being misunderstood that never leaves migrants, while they have an ever-present longing for home (2013: 163,167). Transnational alienation can be associated with issues such as tactical cosmopolitanism, self-exclusion, liminality, flux and movement and mobility (Stoller 2013: 167). Alienation created by xenophobia and territoriality is thus not a matter of choice for foreign national peoples in these localities, but is most of the time a situation that is forced upon them by circumstances outside of their control with, Charman and Piper (2012: 99) contending that South Africans have some of the highest xenophobic attitudes in the world.

2.12.6.1 Transnational alienation (tactical cosmopolitanism)

By its very definition, the notion of contested ethnic public spaces in African cities signifies what is called multiculturalism. To be accepted as modern and cosmopolitan, the city dweller in the current African city carries portentous messages of identity and modernity that are related to a new contemporary global youth culture. Multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism are not new and have always been part of the vocabulary and cultural malaise of the avant-garde city dweller

Landau's definition (2013: 95) of cosmopolitanism is useful in this context, he argues that migrants, confronted with virulent localism and xenophobia, have responded with a kind of "tactical cosmopolitanism that negotiates partial inclusion in host societies without becoming bound and absorbed by them". Outsiders, especially foreign nationals, insert themselves into city life while simultaneously distancing themselves from it. Landau describes this as tactical cosmopolitanism, which occurs [when] "they position themselves in a localized but unrooted position that escapes localized social and political obligations"...This type of cosmopolitanism emphasizes individualism, generality and universality. They are participating in many worlds without becoming part of them. They do however, draw upon the language and rhetoric of cosmopolitanism to live outside of belonging while claiming the benefits of it (Landau 2013: 102).

2.12.6.2 Transnational alienation (self-exclusion)

To further expand on Landau's (2013: 100) theory, he finds that the concept of self-exclusion occurs where the migrant or outsider will formulate a type of self-exclusion in order to protect him or her from existing local conditions and demands. This is

understandable, as there have been especially violent and large-scale attacks within the Pretoria CBD and surrounding areas on foreign nationals during 2019. One form of mitigation against xenophobia by foreign nationals, is passive resistance techniques, such as invisibility, micro arrangements with locals as well as silence and avoidance of local people where possible (Fouchard & Segatti, 2015: 9). These temporary mitigations and negotiations are however fragile, and do not guarantee safety. This phenomenon can also be observed at street level in areas of mixed ethnicity and, with a cosmopolitan population, and Landau finds [that]

“Johannesburg and a number of other African cities host alien populations that are shaping their own idioms of transient superiority which is a means to actively resist transplantation. Migrants hover above the soil and orient themselves to a future outside their country of residence. Whatever its origins, many migrants deny ever having held aspirations of assimilation or permanent settlement” (Landau 2013: 100-101).

One should bear in mind that most cities in Africa are experiencing these national and transnational migrations and these will inevitably give rise to outcomes of exclusion or assimilation among migrants. The author suggests that his theory could be called negative assimilation or planned exclusion, where the fact of excluding oneself thus negates any possibility of rejection thereafter (Landau 2013: 100-101).

2.12.6.3 Transnational alienation (liminality)

Youngstedt (2013: 138) finds that in Niamey, Niger’s capital,

“...most people’s lives are circumscribed by transience and liminality rather than permanence and completion. The question on everyone’s mind is not so much where are you from, but where are you between?”

This well describes liminality in the context of African migrant urbanism. Hausa men and women spend most of their lives in transnational and national migration circuits, however most of them never forget their hometowns. This is their origin of identity, even more than their ethnicity (Youngstedt 2013: 137-138).

Liminality could therefore be seen to be linked to hometown or a yearning for a previous area of living. Stoller (2013: 10) finds that Hausa migrants in New York City are caught in a

liminal space that will change when the wives and females from the host countries arrive. Stoller (2013: 15) tells the story of Issifi, a Nigerois living in New York, who communicates almost daily with his family back home although he has not physically seen them for over twenty years. After twenty years, he said he still felt like a stranger and would soon like to leave (Stoller 2013: 15). According to him, immigrants are continuously in a state of liminality, with the pull to return home always present and most immigrants never fully escape this state and they remain for the most part alienated from their host city's cultural and spatial surroundings (Stoller 2013: 16). They are forever returning "next year" which eventually never comes. Stoller (2013: 16) however finds that some who do depart for home, are likely to return to the destination country the following year.

From the above, this author concludes that migrant city dwellers' assimilation within their host city environment may often be problematic and possibly precludes their real attachment to place and surroundings.

2.12.6.4 Transnational alienation (flux)

Malaquais (2013: 31) finds that in the city of Douala, Cameroon, the majority of the inhabitants are in flux, inside and outside of Cameroon they are constantly busy with voyages, real and imagined. She argues that Douala, like Lagos and Kinshasa, are "cities that are significantly less invested in ideas of locality than cities such as London or Paris", meaning that the population of these African cities are not as attached to them as the inhabitants of the European cities (Malaquais 2013: 31). She describes Douala as a city defined, above all else, by mobility and one of its primary characteristics is the state of flux and movement in which the citizens constantly live (Malaquais 2013: 32).

Haase et al. (2012: 319) argue that, inevitably, such city residents who are in constant flux collectively change the social fabric of a place and they illustrate this by referring to the transitory phase of life of Polish and Czech residents in the post-socialist cities of Poland and the Czech Republic, which gave rise to considerable housing mobility (Haase et al 2012: 321). Stoller (2013: 164) describes his finding that the feeling of alienation and being misunderstood never leaves the West African migrant in New York. There is an ever-present longing for home and Stoller calls it transnational alienation and that it always has an effect on African migrants away from their hometown and country (2013: 163, 167).

2.12.6.5 Transnational alienation (movement and mobility)

As discussed in the previous sections, there is an inclination for many African people to migrate and the narrative has shown that there is a strong connection between African migration and local identity forming. Myers and Murray (2006: 27) argue that these new forms of urbanity involve the transgression of barriers, borders and boundaries; this implies that the mobility or constant movement becomes a permanent part of a migrant's mind-set and may have an influence on their urban space use.

Malaquais (1998: 35) finds that the citizens in Douala, Cameroon, often imagine living elsewhere and they may know more about cities such as Paris and New York than the actual residents in those cities may. The conjuring up of journeys, imagined and / or planned is constantly at the back of these citizens' minds (Malaquais 1998: 35). It may be argued that this imagined 'elsewhere' shapes the city spaces of Douala in real and tangible ways.

Malaquais (1998: 35) suggests that places of transit and movement in Douala take precedence over the static and the everyday spaces. Transit stimulates their imagination and fuels the ability to be elsewhere and everywhere at the same time and she finds that one constant topic of conversation in Douala is the telling of tales of travel and movement in and out of the city, and the adventures and experiences along the way (Malaquais 1998: 35). A regular trope of tales entails their travels between Douala and Johannesburg, the latter that is a favourite destination for Doualais (Malaquais 1998: 32-36). A significant number of Doualais are in regular dialogue with multiple 'other-where's', which may be half a world away and that movement, in a sense, becomes 'place' for them (Malaquais (1998: 46).

The construct of identity remains closely tied to mobility. Murray and Myers (2006: 119) find that migrants who migrate between African cities typically fashion new identities and affinities; these do not replace older ones but merely substitute them as the situation warrants. In the South African context, this phenomenon may be observed in Johannesburg, where Landau's 2006 research reveals that Johannesburg's population is largely a new population. Just 14% of the non-citizens had been living in the inner city for longer than ten years and this movement into the inner city may explain the lack of social cohesion and rootedness (Landau 2013). In his 2006 survey findings, he reported that merely 55% of South Africans and 31% of non-residents who (at the time of the survey) were living in

Johannesburg's CBD had occupied their current residences for more than two years (Landau 2013: 96).

Landau (2013: 96) found that many of the Johannesburg migrants are domestic trans-local migrants and who may have as little in common with the local people they meet in Johannesburg as would the trans-national migrants. Landau's survey showed remarkably low levels of trust between ethnic and national groups; even more remarkable was the low level of trust inside these networks of migrants (Landau 2013: 97). Landau (2013: 97) finds that there are migrant and co-ethnic networks in the Johannesburg CBD, but these often function merely as an initial stepping-stone, helping the migrant overcome the first settling and thereafter it becomes less coherent. However, with regard to Pretoria's CBD, it remains unclear to what extent the area experiences this phenomenon.

2.13 INTENTIONAL SELF EXCLUSION

Based on the arguments of Babou (2013) and Malaquais (1998), this author contends that an African migrant, who may be in a state of liminal flux, might not invest emotionally in the public places and the spaces around him or her; their host city's public spaces becomes largely irrelevant since the person travelling, while on the journey, experiences the state of movement as the primary locus of their spatial identity.

Malaquais (1998: 34), in describing the phenomenon, uses the French term '*imaginaire*' for imagination, which is a more wholly inclusive term for this phenomenon and is closely linked to the English word 'imaginaries'. The city of Douala, Cameroon, is given as an example of the phenomenon where it is said that... Douala is a city of the '*imaginaire*' (collective imagination) of its population. The first aspect of describing the phenomenon is the ability to imagine oneself elsewhere over vast distances to a future place which the person hopes for and aspires to, i.e. the city of the imagination (Malaquais 1998: 34). Cognitively, they are always elsewhere or journeying and the journey becomes the destination (Malaquais 1998: 36). This constant movement and flux has a bearing on the person's spatial understanding; in other words, how they read and perceive the places that they occupy and move through. The conclusion then is that impermanence, together with intentional self-exclusion, will have a powerful influence on the assimilation of the person in a host city space context; how they perceive and aspire to public spaces of the receiving destination.

Murray and Myers (2006: 27) agree with Malaquais (1998) and argue that cities, besides their physical manifestation of space, consist of an imaginary dimension through which urban residents define themselves and give meaning to their everyday lives. Whereas this may be true of migrants in all cities, in the case of African co-ethnicity and migrant culture, it does however appear to signify much more than just local attachment and embeddedness in the social fabric of place as commonly understood (Murray and Myers 2006: 27).

Migrants need to feel a sense of belonging. Carter (2013: 66) describes some Senegalese travellers who are seen as being on the uncharted waters of an African diaspora, leaving behind all claims to a former life and living in the refuge of their cultural co-ethnic or religious group alone. There is a case to be made for the sense of belonging that migrants need in order to feel included in the social and cultural life of a place (Carter 2013: 66). How they satisfy this belonging and acceptance in Africa may however prove more complicated than is generally understood.

2.14 CONCLUSION

This chapter attempts to answer Sub-question 2 of the main research question, i.e. *what are the cultural and religious indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?*

From the foregoing, it may be argued that there are a number of ethnographic indicators related to African migrant peoples and people of diverse ethnicity that may signify a difference in their perception and uses of public space settings compared to local city dwellers. The tangible and observable phenomena relating to migrant culture and co-ethnicity have been investigated and the following ethnographic indicators were developed:

1. The existence of co-ethnic networks
2. The forming of ethnic enclaves
3. The influence of a global consumer culture
4. The importance of religion amongst migrants
5. The influence of gender
6. The use of communication technology
7. The expression of status among migrants
8. Recreation indicators for African migrants in receiving destinations, e.g. communal eating in public space, commercial activity related to co-ethnic networks in public

space as well as public conversations and group conversations as a form of recreation.

The research indicates a definite migrant reliance on social networks when in the process of moving to or residing in the destination area. Migrant cultures and co-ethnic networks have been part of the African migrant landscape for a long time and it finds new expression in the modern age. The literature indicates that being part of a migrant network will have definite implications for the receiving destination's use of public space.

Published research on the phenomenon of migrant culture and co-ethnicity and the resultant public space use seems to be limited in the case of South Africa, particularly in the case of Pretoria's CBD. The findings of Levitt's and Jaworsky's (2007) study are highlighted: the focus seems to be moving away from economic push-pull factors that dominated African migrant discourse for so long and that globalisation has become increasingly important in this field of research. They contend that globalisation has influenced every sphere of life and this includes African migrant behaviour (Levitt & Jaworsky 2007: 146).

The African remittance system has been scrutinised and it illustrates the influence of social obligation for African migrants. This also supports the theory that migrants behave in certain ways in the host cities with regard to maintaining their social networks with the sending country. This has implications for ethnic enclaving and rural-to-urban migration as well as other ethnic indicators such as religion, gender and status consumption in public spaces.

All of the above ethnographic indicators are enabled and maintained by the availability of modern communication technology, which has become an essential tool for connectedness in the African migratory system. Communication technology seems to have a direct link with migrant and co-ethnic public space use in host cities. Migrant behaviour in terms of outdoor recreation patterns have been investigated and the literature seems to indicate a definite difference in the use of outdoor recreation space for people from differing ethnic backgrounds.

The literature review examined aspects of intangible identity constructs with regard to African migrant cultures and diverse ethnicity and the following aspects were identified:

1. impermanence of the migrant
2. Social remittance and social capital
3. Birth order
4. Transnational-alienation
5. Intentional self-exclusion.

An important and perhaps neglected part of African urban public space studies is the influence of individual identity constructs on the use of shared social space. The literature review investigated the influence that a sense of transience and impermanence has on the use of public space. The indication is that there is a difference in the way in which people who regard themselves as impermanent residents view their current surroundings and their social public spaces from those who regard themselves as settled. This can be in the form of non-participation, lack of engagement with fellow residents in public space and a mental withdrawal from their surroundings and thus living 'elsewhere' in their minds.

Migrants may also import their identity from the sending destination; Adogame (2013: 177) argues that "Migration travel and mobility have the potential to create a 'global' place whereby place is placed into the context of other places, in opposition to that space's own history". This means that migrants may change the public space that they inhabit in accordance with their imported identity. The generational order of birth has implications for local assimilation into the social fabric as well as the ways in which migrants will use public space.

Tactical cosmopolitanism and self-exclusion are identity constructs that influence the way migrants relate to others in public space. It speaks of the need to generate self-acceptance and defend against exclusion or rejection before it has a chance to happen.

When in a state of liminality, the migrant believes he has not yet arrived at his destination but cannot move forward for various reasons. This has certain follow-on effects that may include basing one's identity on the premise of movement or being in a constant state of travel. The space that the migrant then identifies with is neither the sending destination nor the hometown, but the journey itself. Eventually the migrant may display the effects of intentional self-exclusion, i.e. being physically present but emotionally and cognitively absent. Malaquais (2013) speaks of the city of the imagination, which indicates that people

are living elsewhere and cognitively in their minds. This leads to a breakdown in social fabric where people do not notice their neighbours anymore and being at an imagined destination becomes the true identity of the person.

2.15 BROADENING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF SPACE

Sub-Question 3 sought to discover: *How can the construct of spatiality be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?*

2.15.1 Introduction

The previous section of the literature survey looked at developing ethnographic indicators. These indicators can potentially indicate different behaviour for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in their use of public space. These include behaviour linked to ethnic social networks as well as identity indicators that could illustrate personal responses to public space, based upon personal psychological identity constructs. This section of the literature survey attempts to go beyond this normative indication phase, which may be seen as a form of external outcomes of behaviour and is based upon tangible and intangible behavioural attributes of these two groups, acted out in public space settings. These indicators would be observable and may possibly be intervened for from an urban spatial planning point of view.

The target population group for this study may be viewed as marginalised and ‘different’ from the local resident population and because the target population does not have historic and social links to the area in which they now live. It is therefore considered valuable to investigate spatiality and the holistic understanding of public space use from their viewpoint. Landau (2013: 94) argues that the reality of current spatial planning responses is that urban planners and scholars continue to adopt analytical and policy tools drawn from European, North American and Latin American experiences and they still use these to manage and describe new African cities. We do not know what citizenship and belonging mean for people in an African context, especially for the local and transnational migrants (Landau 2013: 94).

In order to expand the construct of spatiality, the researcher refers to the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) and his ideas on the production of space. Lefebvre postulated that there is a

relationship between society and space and between history and space. As a result of social and political power, social categories developed. Examples are what the role of women in society is, or in what circumstances a poor person may live (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg & Monzó 2018:236). The danger of universal social categories, also represented by the laws of the country, are that the person who is depicted within such a category loses his or her voice (Bauman 1995: 200). These social categories were, for a long time and often still are, taken for granted and are legitimised by scientific and political authorities. Depicted as 'real', fixed and mutually exclusive, they obscure the possibility to employ human meaning making by the spatial disciplines. When spatial professionals accept social categories, the division of society into economically unequal classes may be the starting point of spatial analysis, not the outcome of processes that remain to be explained. Lefebvre employed his expanded description of space to help professionals realise how their subjective conceptions of the world affect their approach to their work and still legitimise Western and North-Atlantic knowledge. What Lefebvre was aiming at was a greater emphasis on social justice in the so-called neutral sciences.

2.15.2 First, Second- and Thirdspace

In 1.4 the researcher explained how it came about that Eurocentric knowledge and social categories were imposed on people and came to dominate the approaches of many disciplines worldwide. Instead of uplifting people, it is often used by the prevailing authorities to subjugate powerless people. The urban spatial planning disciplines have in the past mostly operated in terms of First and Secondspace; Firstspace being fixed, measurable space and Secondspace being the creation of ideas about space (refer to 1.4). These professionals base their approach on the wisdom of a previous generation of thinkers, and on widely acceptable social categories. Unfortunately, according to Smith (1999: 15), the spatial distributions of social categories have left their unmistakable marks on the patterning of urban space.

“As long as we could think of space in geometric (or Cartesian) terms and take social categories for granted, patterns of residential segregation would provide clues to the structure of social relations, the processes of integration and the problems of ghettoization” (Smith, 1999:15).

Trancik (1986: 4, 10, 11) and Lefebvre (in Soja 1996: 45) agree that 20th century architectural responses to the marginalised and the perceived 'different', particularly during the Bauhaus period and later the Modern Movement, had a detrimental effect on spatiality for these groups.

Soja (1996) takes exception to the fact that material descriptions of space eventually leads to determining human spatiality. In all big CBDs and worst neighbourhoods of the major cities, there are vulnerable and unemployed people. The fact that they are there means that they do not have the social credentials to participate in public decision-making; that they are not familiar with and do not possess the attitudes and social skills of the dominant culture (Bourdieu, in Sullivan, 2002). This is not only a reflection of a history of social exclusion, but the positioning affects future employment and economic options.

The traditional approach of Western philosophy was to view the spatial planning disciplines through the two lenses of historicity and sociality, in other words, attempting to capture social relations in a contained space. The critical missing third lens is spatiality (Soja 1996: 10). The debate has always been captured in a didactic reasoning cycle where either or, or centre and periphery modes of thinking were developed, which were entrenched within parts of the Western philosophical canon. According to Lefebvre (in Soja 1996: 20-35), this is the main reason behind the failure of the architectural practice of the 20th century to produce social spaces that are not divisive and fragmented for marginalised and oppressed people. In other words, the spatial planning disciplines focus on a dialectic (two-sided) reasoning approach that tends to entrench hegemonic power that is expressed in ill-planned cities, which often tend to create the opposite result of what the designers hoped for (Soja 1996: 35; Trancik 1986: 4, 11).

The question is therefore no longer 'How are particular social groups spread across space?' but rather, 'how does urban spatial planning matter for the construction of social life?' In transcending the limitations of the First- and Secondspace epistemologies, Soja (1996) interprets Lefebvre's thoughts and identifies Thirdspace. According to him, encapsulating First and Secondspace, Thirdspace is a physical space, but the physical space also becomes a strategic location, a metaphysical space, status or position. Smith (1999: 20) argues that

Space has become a source of community for those oppressed by the social categories that society has worked with for so long – by ideas about, and practices around – race, class, gender, sexuality, age, nation, region and colonial status.

Lefebvre sides with those on the ‘periphery’ or those who are ‘different’ (in Soja 1996: 32). The very act of marginalisation creates an opportunity to have a space which becomes a psychological foothold, a position where the powerless person can develop a voice, a space from where to resist old social categories.

Thirdspace is therefore the space of resistance. Bell Hooks (in Soja 1996:85) explains Thirdspace as a position a marginalised person would not wish to lose or give up as it creates the opportunity to move in solidarity with others to resist certain social categories. She therefore considers marginality as “a space of radical openness that becomes a context from which to build communities of resistance”. Her ‘politics of location’ (in Soja 1996: 84) therefore emphasises the fact that people on the periphery who have no social credentials or power, may challenge this position by using their marginality to take a stand and determine who they will be. The spatial professions should be open to this voice of self-determination. Instead of thinking of inner city spaces solely as material spaces, they should consider how different groups are located relative to one another in the economic, political, social and cultural hierarchies. This creates a Thirdspace, where real and symbolic spaces of oppression are made into something new (Smith 1999: 20).

All social relations become real and spaces become expressed concretely as a part of our lived social existence only when they are spatially ‘inscribed’ as being the everyday lived experiences of the inhabitants (Soja 1996: 46). It may then be argued that African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity will only experience some assimilation and achieve a Thirdspace of their own if their sociality is ‘inscribed’ in their daily lived public spaces. The researcher argues that this group of people is unknowingly already doing this ‘inscribing’ and these inscriptions are then to a large degree what this study is concerned with. It is in these Thirdspaces of the peripheral and marginalised that new forms of citizenship may be defined and realised.

According to Lefebvre, space is more than just a medium; it contains power in itself and should be treated the same way as the historically accepted duality between historicity and

sociality (in Soja 1996: 46). Social realities, although by definition non-spatial, are always tied to spatiality in some way.

Lefebvre (in Soja 1996: 55-60) vehemently opposes any form of complete textbook type theories regarding spatial planning. He contends that it should be left open ended and allowed to change with the particular space and people that occupy it. To understand this argument, we need to examine Lefebvre's (in Soja 1996: 60) 'thirding as othering' principle. Thirthing-as-othering is a critical step in transforming the closed logic of 'either/or' to the dialectically open logic of 'both or also'. It does not just constitute an in-between position between opposites, or a superficial consensus, but becomes a position with combinatorial potential that not only brings together competing values ('shall we follow only Eurocentric knowledge or indigenous prior and intuitive knowledge in our spatial planning?') but brings together what is available and which serves a purpose. (Soja 1996: 61) adds that, "thirding-as-othering, produces what might best be called a 'cumulative trialectic' that is radically open to additional 'otherness' to a continuing expansion of spatial knowledge".

This approach to the research was adopted by the author as a means to build new spatial knowledge of the lived spaces of the population, without trying to formalise it in a set of guidelines that should be employed to propose appropriate and sustainable public spaces. Rather, it was so that knowledge may be developed and that the findings of the research may produce approximations of useful information that can assist the spatial planning disciplines.

2.16 CONCLUSION

The concept of Thirdspace contains various intangible identity constructs, as well as certain practical and applicable facets that may be considered when dealing with people who are marginalised and those who are perceived as 'different'. For this study, these considerations relate to the spatial planning disciplines, whilst keeping in mind that Thirdspace theory relates to a much larger philosophy and understanding of human historicity, sociality as well as spatiality.

Thirdspace principles, as mentioned above, may be applied to spatiality to expand the term for marginalised peoples and people who are viewed as 'different', such as African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity. Applied Thirdspace theory may yield the following themes:

- Thirdspace resists binary closures of any type. This means that these spaces should always be open and dynamic, ready to change and adapt daily and to resist hegemonic power in terms of intrusiveness and over-regulation
- Thirdspace are spaces of inhabitants and users. These spaces are 'lived' everyday by the people that inhabit them. These people 'inscribe' their everyday lived spaces with their own unique identity and cultural practices
- Marginality may be seen as a form of radical openness. In the current hegemonic power duality, e.g. in the case of the City Council and the local governing powers who are at the centre, then the marginalised and 'different' peoples (African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity) are at the periphery. Thirdspace should be seen as pliant, flexible and accommodating to accept the 'inscriptions' by the people that live there on a daily basis
- Participation in the world of the everyday (access). Marginalised people should be granted access to participate in the everyday CBD life. This could mean access to ablutions, freedom from political harassment, safety and access to water, sanitation, and so forth
- Thirdspace crosses the boundaries of class, race, gender and ethnicity. The lived spaces of the Pretoria CBD should be free of class divisions, racism, ethnic xenophobia, as well as be safe and empowering for women. It thus attempts to avoid social divisions in whatever form they may be found
- Political choice: Thirdspace theory, applied in its true sense, aims to give back power to the powerless. It is a form of collective resistance, but also a way to regain a political and civic voice for the marginalised and 'different' peoples. In the case of the Pretoria CBD, it could mean that African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity will have a voice and influence in the creation, running and interventions of their everyday lived public spaces
- Identity: The Thirdspace concept attempts to universalise the right to identity expression in lived spaces. These would include personal identity, ethnic identity and collective ethnic identities. It may also be tied to a form of self-expression and individualism that is part of being human

- The Thirdspace concept should enable flexibility, empathy and co-operative alliance between different groups. This can mean that if all groups within the lived spaces of the Pretoria CBD regained their political power and are allowed freedom of expression regarding their ethnic and historic cultural identity, there should be a social contract of co-operation and freedom from oppression that allows these principles to flourish. To a large extent, this would be the right to self-determination of lived public spaces
- Legitimacy: The Thirdspace concept attempts to legitimise the illegitimate. This does not mean legitimising anti-social ideas or crime, but rather legitimising marginalised people and returning their voice of self-determination and autonomy in the public sphere of the Pretoria CBD
- Access to private spaces (spatiality) which are free from hegemonic power and that are self-determined and lived-in by the ethnic or national group that the person belongs to. The ethnic groupings should therefore be free to determine the lived spatiality of their local area in the CBD, without fear of violence or retribution from the hegemonic powers that regulate the spatiality of the Pretoria CBD. Home place is also a site of resistance and empowerment for the individual
- Choice: The right to choice is an important need in human spatiality. Giving the residents choices and options in the lived public spaces of the Pretoria CBD is an important facet of Thirdspace
- Changing and being in flux: Thirdspace is highly adaptable, always changing and avoids resistance to change at all cost. Thirdspace should be flexible, robust and quick to adapt to change. Thirdspaces should promote solidarity and foster inclusion for the 'different' and marginalised (Soja. 1996: 45).

The Thirdspace themes listed above may therefore be translated into the following spatial indicators:

- Regulatory intrusiveness
- Cultural expression
- Accommodating spaces
- Participation
- Ethnic division

- Political choice
- Legitimacy and citizenship
- Spatial choice.

This chapter is a survey of the relevant literature on the phenomenon under study in order to partially answer the research question and sub-questions. Chapter 3 builds on the findings of Chapter 2 and identifies the research questions and pertinent issues that have not been sufficiently addressed in Chapter 2, and which still require further research to answer the other research questions.

CHAPTER 3: PERTINENT ISSUES THAT REQUIRE FURTHER RESEARCH

3.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS FROM CHAPTER 2

Chapter 3 briefly identifies what has been developed to date as well as identifying those questions that have not yet been fully answered in Chapter 2 and the pertinent issues that still require further investigation to answer the remaining research questions from Chapter 1.

The following has been achieved regarding the research questions and objectives thus far. Following on from Chapter 2, the research questions are re-stated for clarity.

3.2 SUB-QUESTION 1

What are the implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity? The corresponding objective 1, i.e. to investigate the implications of the historic developmental background of the Pretoria CBD for the current new residents, which consist mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, has been fully answered from the literature survey.

The researcher therefore finds that the Pretoria CBD was never purposely planned to accommodate a large residential population. As the CBD grew throughout its formative years and through the apartheid planning decades, there was never any intent or contribution from the spatial planning disciplines to accommodate a large residential population. Despite, the Pretoria central core containing a residential component, at the time of its establishment, the tendency in later years was to develop more commercial and civic functions (Corten et al. 2009: 17). It may therefore be stated that the planning for the current Pretoria CBD is inadequate for a large residential component. Corten et al. (2009: 17) concur that Pretoria's CBD is largely defined by office blocks and it lacks all other amenities.

The implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, including African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, are that the public

spaces that they currently use are inadequate in various ways. The residential population appears to be increasing and this may exacerbate the problem in the future.

3.3 SUB-QUESTION 2

What are the socio-cultural and religious indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?

The corresponding objective 2, has been partially addressed in the literature survey; i.e. to determine from the literature certain socio-cultural indicators for the unique needs and aspirations for public space of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who currently live and work in the Pretoria CBD. Some of these needs may be common to many people, but will have a unique meaning or expression in the African urban context. The literature survey has generated some indicators for these groups in terms of their use of urban public spaces. These indicators can in turn be divided into two groups. Tangible indicators and intangible indicators.

This study includes knowledge gleaned from the social sciences regarding the use of public space by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, since it may be pertinent and useful to the spatial and urban planning disciplines. These indicators may not provide all the spatial design principles or guidelines for urban planners, but it should be kept in mind that they will have some correlation with the use of public space by these groups. This is where the value of these indicators is illustrated, since all of them have the potential to influence public space use in some significant ways. These socio-scientific aspects, i.e. the intangible indicators, are an important part of the study due to the potential that they possess to inform the spatial planning disciplines, providing new insights in the way that inhabitants from different places access and use public space within the Pretoria CBD.

3.3.1 Tangible indicators

These are facets of the phenomenon that by their expression, could be observed in physical manifestations in public spaces. These indicators include:

- The presence of co-ethnic networks

- The presence of ethnic enclaves in and around certain buildings
- Importing of socio-cultural identity into the Pretoria CBD by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity (Trans-locational positionality)
- The use of communication technology in the public space of the Pretoria CBD
- The presence of trans-national and trans-local trading networks in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD
- Religion and religious practises in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD
- Gender prescribed behaviours and risk for females
- Status projection in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD
- Recreation and various recreational practises of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD.

3.3.2 Intangible indicators

These indicators, by their nature, are intangible but nevertheless play an important part in the use patterns of the CBD public spaces by migrants and include the following:

- Non-permanence, the feeling of never belonging
- The levels of assimilation of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity and their levels of permanence in the Pretoria CBD
- Transnational-alienation or the presence of homesickness among African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD

As can be noted from the above, the indicators that have been identified are diverse and multi-faceted and they relate to public space use by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity. However, to what extent these indicators are present in the Pretoria CBD and how they influence public space use remains to be determined by the empirical study

In order to address sub-question 2, i.e. *What are the cultural and religious indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?* It is suggested that there is a high probability that many of these indicators prevail in the Pretoria CBD. It may be that some of them are absent or very weak. It is also unclear to what degree, if present, they influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.

While these indicators have been identified and developed from the literature, it does not preclude the possibility that certain indicators have been missed, incorrectly interpreted or contextually misaligned. It is therefore imperative that the phenomenon scoping field exercise and data gathering phase should investigate the prevalence of these indicators.

3.4 SUB-QUESTION 3

Sub question 3: i.e., how can the construct of spatiality be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?

Due to this research focusing on African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, an answer to sub-question 3 is necessary to formulate a comprehensive and adequate viewpoint through which to frame the research. Migrants who move between African cities typically fashion new identities and affinities. These do not replace older ones but merely complement them as the situation warrants (Murray & Myers 2006: 119). Reynolds argues that the African diaspora is not only profoundly changing the sending communities of migrants, but also the host communities that receive them (2006: 272). Murray and Myers (2013: 3) also suggest that cities of the Global South have been under-theorised and under-studied. The implication is that African urbanism and the movement of people between cities and places in Africa are probably not well understood. In turn this has implications for the urban spatial planning professions. Murray and Myers (2013: 3) further contributed to moving away from the Eurocentric lens by suggesting that the discourse change. Instead of asking why African cities failed to emulate Western models or urbanisation, researchers should rather seek a deeper understanding of why these cities have developed the way they have.

If African urbanism, and the growth of African cities are beyond the realm of conventional spatial planning disciplines, due to a lack of physical and mental engagement with them by spatial planners as mentioned by Landau (2012: 13), then by implication, the spatial planning disciplines should ask fundamental questions regarding the actual situation and use of these spaces by the people who occupy them. This is why the study aims to revisit the important facets of framing and describing African urbanism in a way that more thoroughly

informs the urban spatial planning disciplines. These fundamental questions then further ask if spatiality as a construct, can be redefined and expanded to give a voice and new meanings for this group of people and the public spaces in which they live and daily move .

As explained in Chapter 1 and 2, the spatial planning disciplines usually focus on two aspects of space: (1) fixed existing space, which can be empirically mapped and (2), ideas and representations of fixed space. In explaining Lefebvre's re-conceptualisation of space, Soja (in Lefebvre, 1996) refers to the former as "Firstspace" or perceived space, and the latter as "Secondspace" or conceived space. He explains Firstspace as epistemologies focusing on accumulating and mapping increasingly accurate factual knowledge about physical space, systematic analysis, accurate description and explanation of fixed spaces, and examining human occupancy and relations between societies. Soja (1996:76) argues that the key difference brought about by the so-called quantitative revolution is the presumption that these increasingly accurate empirical descriptions of geographical reality also contain the intrinsic sources of spatial theory; in other words, that the material form of things determines human spatiality. Instead of inquiring how spaces are socially produced, human spatiality has become the outcome of the scientific study of fixed spaces (Smith 1999: 13).

Secondspace epistemologies acknowledge the material reality of fixed space and is reflexive and ideational about space. The Secondspace professional is creative and re-designs and re-presents fixed space according to his or her subjective imaginaries and imagined geographies. Soja (1996:78) refers to it as the "utopian urbanist seeking social and spatial justice through the application of better ideas and good intentions". The imagined space tends to become the geography, in other words, the imagined comes to define and order reality. Secondspace is also the space of the powerful, where narratives are imposed, where power through authority in knowledge is represented and operationalised, especially in research, which is considered a "power driven act" (Kincheloe et al. 2018: 244). Despite often having good insights about human spatiality, urban planners may fall prey to categorical idealisations, such as what a person of a certain social status may need, what a certain culture group would prefer, what the wealthy versus the poor would prefer, or merely, "I know what you need" (Smith 1999: 13). People's identities may incorporate aspects of a number of categories, or they may develop in between or on the boundary of

categories. This may lead to a conceived space to define and determine urban reality on its own terms, again without always taking into account how these cognitive imageries were socially produced.

Lefebvre first proposed a broadening of our understanding of space by adding a third dimension and his ideas have since been interpreted and re-presented by various authors. Soja (1996:73) referred to it as “Thirdspace”. Thirdspace represents the “constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances and meanings” and is a “vital third mode of practical and theoretical understanding” of the first two (Soja 1996:2, 6). It draws upon the material (the perceived) and mental (the conceived) but extends well beyond them in scope, substance and meaning.

Two constructs, sociality and historicity, were added, to broaden our understanding of Thirdspace. Inherent in Thirdspace is the aspect of time, to which there is no beginning or end. Referred to as “the historical present” (Denzin & Lincoln:2018:1) this is where all social events are seen as developing, becoming, transitional and never fixed, where the idea of past, present and future is inherent and present in all human activities at once.

Thirdspace, or lived space, is continuously generated by society and their links to the past. People do not just inhabit, but are active generators of space. It is directly lived, appropriated and used (Kincheloe et al. 2018: 247). It is further a way of being, a psychological foothold in the world, which makes it a space of resistance, of developing a “speaking position” (Smith 1999: 20). By leaving fixed identities behind, Thirdspace creates the opportunity to entertain difference, to complement one’s cultural identity with other identities and in so doing creates a “cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha 1994: 4). It is therefore the foothold created for themselves by the oppressed and the marginalised, resisting that the imposition of traditional disciplinary conventions.

The literature survey investigated the principles of Thirdspace as a way of giving new meaning and understanding to the spaces that African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity inhabit in the Pretoria CBD and it could be expanded to include African migrants in any city. Certain principles have been developed from the literature, which could be applicable to African migrants and marginalised people in shared public spaces, bearing in

mind that Thirdspace relates to marginalised people and people who have lost power in various ways. Thirdspace indicates a way that these marginalised and different peoples could perhaps regain their voice and power in the public sphere.

The following Thirdspace principles, with a short description of each, were identified from the literature (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg and Monzó (2018); Soja (1996); Denzin and Lincoln (2018); Lefebvre (1996); Smith (1999)).

- Regulatory intrusiveness:

Spaces should be open and dynamic, ready to change and adapt daily and to resist hegemonic power in terms of intrusiveness and over-regulation

- Cultural expression:

These spaces are 'lived' everyday by the people that inhabit them. These people 'inscribe' their everyday lived spaces with their own unique identity and cultural practices

- Accommodating spaces:

In the current hegemonic power duality; in this case the City Council and the local governing powers are at the centre, the marginalised and different peoples (African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity) are at the periphery. These spaces should be seen as pliant, flexible and accommodating to accept the inscriptions of lived lives by the people that live there on a daily basis

- Ethnic division:

The lived spaces of the Pretoria CBD should be free of class divisions, racism, xenophobia, as well as safe and empowering for women. It thus attempts to avoid social divisions wherever possible

- Political choice:

In the case of the Pretoria CBD, it may mean that African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity will have a voice and influence in the running, creation and interventions of their everyday lived public spaces

- Cultural expression:

Thirdspace theory universalises the right to identity expression in lived spaces. These would include personal identity, ethnic identity and collective ethnic identities. It can also be tied to a form of self-expression and individualism that is part of being human

- Legitimacy and citizenship:

Thirdspace theory legitimises the illegitimate. This does not mean legitimising anti-social ideas or crime and so forth, but legitimising marginalised people and returning their voice of self-determination and autonomy in the public sphere of the Pretoria CBD

- Spatial choice:

The right to choice is an important need in human spatiality. Giving the residents choices and options in their lived public spaces of the Pretoria CBD is an important facet of Thirdspace.

As may be inferred from the above Thirdspace constructs, many of them are political and social extensions of the ethnographic indicators in sub-question 2. Thus, they broaden and expand the basic questions of sub-question 2, and attempt to expand the understanding of the term spatiality for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in an African city context. They attempt to do this by adding the element of human dignity, self-governance and autonomy back into the public spatial sphere.

It must also be remembered that the people currently residing in the Pretoria CBD and who daily use the public spaces, are often African migrant peoples and as well as local South African people who attempt to survive on a daily basis. Many of them are poor and some of them sleep on the streets and in the hidden areas of the city. Space is continually contested and survival depends on a multiplicity of ethnic and national networks that contribute a certain degree of acceptance and autonomy. This however, does not preclude the possibility of violence, harassment, intimidation and powerlessness to be part of the daily lives of these people.

Thus, objective 3 has been partially met, due to the fact that the above mentioned Thirdspace principles were developed from the literature as well as from the initial rudimentary foot surveys undertaken by the author. The Thirdspace principles had to be confirmed by the empirical data acquisition phase addressed in Chapter 4 and the interpretation and conclusions drawn from the data in Chapter 5.

3.5 SUB-QUESTION 4

How can an in-depth investigation into the personal experience of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines/urban planning in the Pretoria CBD?

Sub-question 4's objective was to determine, by means of a phenomenological investigation how the personal experiences of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, who live in the Pretoria CBD, could contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines in the Pretoria CBD.

Objective 4 therefore attempted to test and expand the indicators and Thirdspace principles developed in objectives 2 and 3 and to determine whether the indicators and constructs were prevalent in the Pretoria CBD and to what extent.

It sought, by way of the specific research methods employed, to investigate whether other indicators and constructs that the researcher failed to develop from the literature, were present. The research methodology employed to achieve this objective is explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Objective 4 is therefore not yet answered and is addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers a description of the methods and procedures used in the empirical research, the aim of which was to explore the phenomenon of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity using public spaces in the Pretoria CBD. The rationale for the empirical research is presented, followed by a description of the target population and sampling procedure. The data collection methods employed: individual interviews, group interviews and observations, are presented and motivated. This is followed by a description of the data analysis process, strategies to ensure trustworthiness, ethical considerations and the role of the researcher in conducting this study.

4.2 RATIONALE FOR THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The research problem relates to a specific group of people who resided in the Pretoria CBD at the time that the research was conducted. These people are from diverse ethnic backgrounds, and diverse nationalities in Africa. The problem addresses spatial planning matters as well as socio-cultural issues, which may impact spatial planning. Empirical research whether qualitative or quantitative, is therefore employed to conduct scientifically repeatable studies as well as to extract personal and unique facets of the personal lived experiences of the selected targeted participants.

Because the lived experiences of the participants are unique and personal, scientifically repeatable research of a quantitative nature would not suit the research strategy. Welman et al. (2007:7) propose that qualitative research requires the researcher to 'become one of the research tools'. The researcher's experience, with certain local cultures, such as the Tsonga and the Sotho speaking peoples, further placed him in a unique position 'to act as a research tool' in order to distinguish and make interpretations on the data that were generated.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Creswell (2009:5) argues that research design is the “intersection of philosophical worldviews, strategies of inquiry related to those worldviews and the specific methods or research procedures that translate that approach into practice”. As Welman et al. (2007: 7) state, “phenomenologists are therefore not concerned with the description of phenomena but the experience of these phenomena” and that “one should guard against viewing qualitative research approaches as easier substitutes for quantitative approaches, because the quantitative methods have built up an extensive arsenal of checks and balances which may aid the researcher in averting unjustified conclusions” In qualitative research, the researcher themselves become the primary research instrument (Welman et al. 2007: 7-8). Qualitative findings are not generalizable to other people or other populations. Still, important principles may be identified for the spatial disciplines.

4.4 PARADIGM AND RESEARCH APPROACH

The philosophical view that underpins this study is an interpretivist phenomenological one. Interpretivist research seeks to understand the social and individual context of the research participants (Cresswell 2009: 8). The social and individual context is necessary because reality is a socially constructed phenomenon (Bloomberg & Volpe 2012:28). In complementing the interpretivist approach, a phenomenological study allows the researcher to find multiple meanings or realities that originate from with the participants and which are unique to them. To examine the varied circumstances and backgrounds of the people who live in the Pretoria CBD, the phenomenological approach was deemed particularly appropriate for an investigation in which the researcher endeavoured to explore the experiences of people of diverse ethnicity and migrant origin who live and move in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

It is therefore the direct appearance of things, rather than interpreting and re-interpreting through so-called objective social lenses that is of particular value for this research. Creswell (2009:231) contends that phenomenological research is a qualitative strategy in which the researcher “identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described

by participants in a study”. This means that the researcher sought the complexity of views rather than emphasising the categorisation of data as the focus of the research. In the context of this study, and at the heart of interpretative phenomenological analysis too, is the assumption that individuals are actively engaged in interpreting the events, objects and people in their lives in order to “make sense” of it all (Breakwell Smith & Wright 2012: 441).

Since the research approach for this study is qualitative, Creswell (2009: 4) describes such research as a means of “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem”. This approach involves “observing, describing, interpreting and analysing the way that people experience, act on or think about themselves and the world around them” (Bazeley 2013: 4). It also seeks to describe people’s opinions and feelings in human terms rather than through the quantification and measurement approach of quantitative research (Terre Blanche et al. 2006: 272).

Phenomenology, which was chosen as a research method, is described by Moran (2018: 72-90) *“Phenomenology, broadly speaking, involves the careful, unprejudiced description of conscious, lived experiences (Husserl’s Erlebnisse), precisely according to the manner that they are experienced, without the imposition of external explanatory frameworks, whether these be drawn from the natural or social sciences”* The author also borrowed from Merleau-Ponty (2012: 735), which states that *“the practice of phenomenological seeing is meant to disrupt the everyday. It aims at “disclosure of the world”*. Likewise, Husserl states that *“all experiences are interpreted in terms of one’s linguistic, cultural and intentional horizons”* The author drew from these authors to formulate the reasons for a phenomenological approach to the migrant data acquisition. The author planned the study to include data acquisition that was derived from this viewpoint, because he wanted to see life from the viewpoint of the participants.

Secondly, the author developed the ethnographic indicators from literature as well as from initial observations, all of them being constructs that needed testing. Thus the data analysis by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006: 322) reflected this positivistic data coding approach, which was simply designed to detect if the ethnographic indicators were strong or weak in the area under study. The data acquisition strategy can be called a triangulated approach, which used phenomenological as well as positivist approaches to sample data and reach conclusions.

For the purposes of this investigation, the following data collection techniques were used:

- Case studies that consist of individual interviews
- Observation, enriched by frequent informal contact
- Group interviews, that were conducted
- Interviews with subject experts

4.5 DATA COLLECTION

A field scoping exercise was undertaken to identify the areas in the Pretoria CBD where migrants and people of diverse ethnicity live and/ or work. Research participants for the case studies were purposefully selected. Data collection from the case studies consisted of three in-depth individual interviews and observation, enriched by frequent informal contact. In addition, two group interviews were conducted, one with two brothers and the other with six migrants living and working in the Pretoria CBD. After this, a group interview was conducted with staff members from a large property administrator in the Pretoria CBD. Hereafter, an interview was conducted with a Pretoria CBD specialist, a person with more than 25 years of experience working with African migrants and people on the streets of the Pretoria CBD. Two religious leaders were interviewed, one was the pastor of an established Francophone Pentecostal church whose congregants are mainly African migrants, a church which has been in existence for 25 years in the Pretoria CBD. This was followed by an interview with the Moulana (religious leader) of the Queen Street Mosque in the Pretoria CBD whose congregants include a high percentage of African migrants. The reason for this combination of methods was to increase the credibility or trustworthiness of the findings (Menter, Elliot, Hulme, Lewin & Lowden, 2011: 36).

4.5.1 Selection of participants

Groenewald (2004:8) refers to sampling as the “locating” of participants for a qualitative study, in this case purposefully selected on the basis that they would be not only representative or informative, but willing to share their experiences of living and moving in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

4.5.2.1 Selection of participants for case studies

To orientate himself in the area of research, the researcher immersed himself in the daily activities of the people who live and work in the Pretoria CBD. The approach based on the initial scoping exercise, was to use the following themes as guidelines to formulate questions for the interviews:

1. The most active groups of co-ethnics in the Pretoria CBD: This theme also led to the researcher seeking to establish whether there are any true ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD, which possessed institutional completeness as described by Qadeer et al. (2010: 336).
2. Activities and behaviours that are taking place in the Pretoria CBD that could be described as ethnographic indicators and Thirdspace principles as developed from the literature in Chapter 2 and which are influencing the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.
3. The places where these activities take place in the Pretoria CBD: The researcher was looking for areas between buildings, open pieces of ground, parking lots, pavements and streets. All the areas are by definition not private residential areas, but form part of the public spaces used by the residents on a daily basis.
4. When these activities take place and which groups are involved in them: The researcher visited the Pretoria CBD over the course of a month on various times of the day as well as different times of the week.
5. How these activities were enacted: The researcher used the ethnographic indicators and the Third Space principles as developed in Chapter 2 as guidelines while observing any potential activities.

During this time, the researcher held informal conversations with street traders, shop owners, security guards and hustlers. While gaining contextual information of public space use, the researcher met individuals, explained the goal of the research and the advantages of the research for the inhabitants of the area. The selection criteria were as follows for participants in the case study interviews:

- Individuals who lived and worked in the Pretoria CBD

- Individuals who availed themselves for an interview
- The participants were adults
- South African citizenship and gender was not a selection criteria

Five people agreed to participate in the research as case studies.

4.5.2.2 Selection of participants for the group interview with street traders

The participants for the group interview were selected by means of convenience sampling (Coolican 2009: 55). One of the traders, a Rwandan lady, introduced the researcher to a group of fellow Rwandans who agreed to participate in the group interview as a case study. The two brothers from Zimbabwe work together, and agreed to partake in a group interview as case studies.

4.5.2.3 Selection of members of staff for a group interview which were working at a property administration firm.

As a means of purposive sampling, the researcher approached a property administration firm, which is located in the area where the empirical research took place. They were aware of the phenomenon under study and were enthusiastic to share their experience and expertise with the researcher. It should be kept in mind that this is a large property administrator that houses people from the higher income strata of the CBD. Thus, it is not a true representation of each indicator, but it promised to add rich information to, and provide a wider view on the needs and circumstances of traders who live and work in the Pretoria CBD. Purposive sampling is described by Simons (2009: 34) as being well suited to a phenomenological case study because “the researcher can understand or gain insight into the case by choosing people from whom one is most likely to learn about the issue in question”.

4.5.2.4 Selection of a person who has specialist knowledge of the Pretoria CBD

The author used purposive sampling in order to locate a subject expert that has intimate knowledge of the phenomenon under study, specifically related to the Pretoria CBD. This subject expert was ‘located’ (Groenewald 2004: 8) via various enquiries to prominent local academics who are knowledgeable in the field of study. All of the ‘locating’ responses indicated the same person, as the most knowledgeable expert in the field. The author

approached him telephonically and asked for a semi-structured in-depth interview, which was granted. This person has served on councils, worked with homeless people and migrants, and has done research on the Pretoria CBD, for a period of 25 years. He was well aware of the phenomenon under study.

4.5.2.5 Selection of two religious leaders

It was deemed necessary to enrich the research data with the knowledge and experience of religious leaders who operate in the CBD, and who have congregants who are African migrants. Purposive sampling was therefore employed to approach two religious leaders in the Pretoria CBD, one being a pastor of a large Francophone African Pentecostal church, and the other an established Imam (Moulana, or religious leader) of a Mosque within the Pretoria CBD. The researcher discovered a prominent Francophone church in the Pretoria CBD, the international Church of Pretoria. This Francophone African Pentecostal church has been in existence for 25 years, and caters to a large population of African migrants from the Francophone speaking countries. Further inquiries led to the Queen Street Masjid (Mosque) within the Pretoria CBD. The author approached the religious leader (Imam) and an interview was granted. This is a small mosque, smaller than the Metro Masjid mosque in near proximity, but initial enquiries indicated that this Mosque possibly had higher levels of Islamic members who were also African migrants.

4.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Data collection methods for the case studies and group interview will now be explained:

4.6.1 Case studies

A case study as research tool contains the historical, temporal and socio-spatial context of research participants. Gobo (2011: 16) describes a case study as being “embedded in a particular physical and socio-cultural context”, using diverse methodologies, methods and data sources. For the purpose of the case studies, individual interviews and observation were chosen as data collection instruments. As explained, the data collection instruments were enriched by information gained through frequent informal contact between the researcher and participants.

4.6.2 Individual interviews

Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 141) contend that phenomenological investigations rely almost exclusively on lengthy interviews with participants, all of whom are directly linked to or have experience of the phenomenon. In contrast with quantitative measurements, the interview enables the researcher to build rapport with the participants and it helps to gain their co-operation and trust (Leedy & Ormrod 2010: 188).

The interviews for the case studies were semi-structured. This enabled the researcher to prompt for additional answers while attempting to gain sufficient data for each theme. The creation of open-ended questions and time to reflect created a space where participants could feel free to add more information if they wanted to or even to bring up a different topic that was important to them. Although the researcher created an open atmosphere that prompted dialogue, he followed the guiding themes as in the interview schedule.

4.6.2.1 Data collection process for the individual interviews

(a) Individual interviews with street traders

Phase 1

The researcher displayed his TUT identification card during the interviews. The Pretoria CBD grid layout was walked from east to west and from north to south. The objective was to cover the whole Pretoria CBD area under study. This included the area from Nelson Mandela Street to E'skia Mphahlele Street on the western border. Then from Skinner Street down to Bloed Street in the lower CBD (See Chapter 2 for the Pretoria CBD study area demarcation).

The researcher observed any activities that possibly related to the ethnographic indicators and the Thirdspace principles as developed in Chapter 2 of the study. The researcher noted where such activities occurred, and made contact with people on the street. These notes described the general dispersion of the phenomenon under study, as well as the major ethnic groupings that were practicing it. The researcher avoided using a map, as it was felt that a map would be too densely packed with similar information and would lose the descriptive effect of a written log. Moreover, the fact that street traders constituted the

majority of ethnic migrant populations in the CBD, negated the point of a formal mapping exercise.

Phase 2

Where possible, the researcher first observed the situation and then attempted to approach the person/persons for conversation. This was done in a non-threatening manner and the researcher attempted to establish his bona-fides as a neutral researcher, who was attempting to establish certain facts regarding the uses and effectiveness of the Pretoria CBD public spaces. From these initial scoping notes, the researcher identified possible participants for the case study interviews if the situation presented itself and if the participants seemed willing.

Furthermore, the researcher attempted to build a relationship of trust with the respondents in order to later facilitate further discussions. The researcher made it clear that the study did not promise any form of remuneration or physical changes to the environment, but it merely attempted to better understand the phenomenon under study.

If the respondent/respondents were willing to engage, and a relationship of trust was established, the researcher then attempted to garner extra information from the identified respondents, regarding more in-depth aspects. This included determining whether they were aware of ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD, and which activities occurred there. This aided in establishing an accurate spatial understanding of the ethnographic indicators and the Thirdspace principles within the stipulated boundaries of the area under study in the Pretoria CBD.

Phase 3

The researcher received permission from the willing respondents to use them as case studies and to observe them in their day-to-day workings in the Pretoria CBD. Once again the researcher made it clear that he could not give them any form of remuneration and that the study would not lead to any type of spatial intervention in the Pretoria CBD.

The interviews were held at the locations frequented by the respondents in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The respondents were asked if they wanted the interviews to be

conducted elsewhere, but all of them were willing to be interviewed while they were working, and helping their customers in their daily locales. Each interview lasted approximately one to two hours and were recorded and transcribed. In addition to the interview, the researcher also observed the participants during their routines in the Pretoria CBD for up to a full day.

(b) Group interview with property administrators, individual interviews with religious leaders and an academic expert

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the two religious leaders and the subject expert, as well as a group interview with two members of a property administration firm. The interview schedule themes were used as a guideline, in order to prompt rich and nuanced data from them. Welman et al. (2005: 166) state that “in semi-structured interviews the researcher has a list of themes and questions to be covered, although these may vary from one interview to the next”. Further on, they state that “the interviewer may adapt the formulation, including the terminology, to fit the background and educational level of the respondents” (2005: 167). This approach was applied to the interview structure, due to the fact that the respondents were all highly educated with two of them having PhD’s and the other, a prominent Islamic scholar. The property administrators were experienced and knowledgeable in their field. The subject expert was interviewed in his office, at the University of Pretoria, the Francophone pastor was interviewed at his home, and the Moulana from the Mosque was interviewed at the Queen Street Mosque offices. The group interview for the property administrators was done at their offices in the Pretoria CBD. All the interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed. The themes from the interview schedule were followed where possible, but space was created for personal opinions and deviation from the list of themes as well. The interview for the property administrators was conducted in Afrikaans, and was later translated to English.

4.6.2.2 Data collection process for observation

Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 141) contend that observation methods for case studies and ethnographies (very similar methods) differ in terms of the following: In case studies, the

researcher observes individuals very closely, whereas in ethnographies, he or she observes groups very closely. Due to the nature and structure of this research, observation was chosen as the method to gather information about the case study participants while they were immersed in their daily routine. The researcher then observed any co-ethnic group activities, if occurred around the case study participant.

As part of the observation technique, researchers typically use any or all of notes, film, photographs and recordings as evidence to gather data. However, the researcher soon realised that any form of visual recordings were taboo in the Pretoria CBD resulting in relying solely on audio recordings and written notes from the observation schedule. Due to seemingly low levels of trust between the CBD populace, law enforcement and the Council, there is a precarious situation regarding visual recordings of anyone. The researcher decided that it would be unethical to take hidden photographs (photographs taken without the permission of the subjects) and the idea was abandoned. Annexure B contains the transcribed notes of the observation schedule that the researcher took for each case study.

4.6.2.3 Data collection process for group interviews

The first two group interviews were with the two brothers from Zimbabwe, followed by the five Rwandan traders in the Pretoria CBD. The Rwandan group interview was with one primary respondent referred to as Anna and four acquaintances, standing around during lunch hour. It was felt that a group interview with a group of people who live and work in the Pretoria CBD would help to generate reciprocal and validated data, as opposed to the sole opinion of one person. This would thus contextualise the phenomenon under study and ground the responses collectively within a group identity, such as the group of Rwandan respondents.

The researcher used the question themes in the interview schedule (Annexure C) to facilitate the conversation and to ensure that all themes were explored. Flexibility was, however, employed to allow participants to recall experiences from their own perspective (Wellington & Szczerbinski 2007: 89-90). Probing or follow-up questions were asked, where necessary and where possible. The interviews were audio recorded and detailed notes were made. The duration of each group interview was between 80 and 120 minutes long.

4.6.2.4 Expert interviews

The two religious leaders, were identified from the field scoping exercise as well as questioning people on the street. The subject expert was identified via an academic inquiry. The property administrators were identified via the field scoping exercise.

4.6.3 Data analysis

The audio recordings of the interviews (individual and group) were transcribed (raw transcriptions appear in Annexures E-M and the data analysis including identification of themes, coding of data under themes and interpretation of each case study and/or individual and or group interview appear under Annexure D). The case studies with for the individual street vendors and group interviews as well as the interviews held with the individual subject expert and the religious leaders, are listed as follows:

Case study 1, street person Donovan, Annexure E.

Case Study 2 Brothers Edward and Robert from Zimbabwe, Annexure F

Case Study 3 Mathew from Mozambique, Annexure G

Case Study 4 Tina local Tsonga lady, Annexure H

The group interview with the Rwandan street vendors, is in Annexure I

The group interview with the staff of the property administrators is in Annexure J and the original Afrikaans interview before translation is in Annexure N

The individual interview with the subject expert is in Annexure K

The individual interview with the Francophone pastor is in Annexure L

The individual interview with the Imam is in Annexure M

The data analysis for the interviews and observation, was guided by the data analysis process as proposed by Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006: 322). This process follows an interpretive phenomenological approach and, as explained earlier, involves immersing oneself into the data to the extent that one begins to see things from the participant's perspective. The technique was therefore, to test the existing indicators via the interviews, and also to sift and generate new potential indicators, patterns or principles. Hence, the data analysis technique that the researcher used, which was based on the technique proposed by Terre Blanche et al. was as follows:

Step 1: Familiarisation checking and immersion – The researcher read the data and reflected on the meaning, developing impressions about its significance and sought to confirm these impressions by taking other research data into account.

Step 2: Inducing themes – While reading and reflecting, the essence of the data gradually became more evident as themes that relate to the research question began to emerge.

Step 3: Coding – Data was closely inspected to identify specific sentences, phrases or words that related to the identified themes. They were highlighted, coded and grouped according to themes, categories and subcategories as these emerged. For ease of understanding, the context of each coded phrase or sentence, paraphrased questions and contextual information were added next to the coded data.

Step 4: Elaboration – At this stage, themes were explored more closely so that significant information missed during the initial coding process, could be identified. Sections of text were compared to establish differences and similarities so that related texts could be grouped together (Terre Blanche et al. 2006: 326).

Step 5: Interpretation and checking – Information gathered was reviewed and integrated into appropriate interpretations for each participant or group of participants. Finally, all the data were integrated to shed light on the research problem at hand.

4.7 MEASURES FOR TRUSTWORTHINESS

Research generally has to meet the requirements of reliability and validity. The former refers to the degree to which research results can be repeated (Terre Blanche et al. 2006: 92). Whilst the results of this study cannot be repeated in the precise context, with the same people in the exact environment on a specific day Terre Blanche et al. (2006: 93) contend: “Interpretive and constructivist researchers do not assume that they are investigating a stable and unchanging reality and therefore, do not expect to find the same results repeatedly. On the contrary, they expect that individuals, groups, and organisations will behave differently and express different opinions in changing contexts”.

This study therefore had to prove its dependability rather than its reliability. According to Terre Blanche et al. (2006: 93), dependability refers to the degree to which the reader can be

convinced that the findings did indeed occur as the researcher claims they did. This was achieved through rich and detailed descriptions that show how certain actions and opinions are rooted in and develop out of contextual interaction.

Validity refers to the “degree to which a measuring instrument measures what it is supposed to measure” (Du Plooy, 2004: 193). As a qualitative study, this research needs to prove credibility, instead of internal validity (or ‘truth value’ and authenticity) and transferability, instead of external validity (the extent to which outcomes the study can be transferred, or generalised to other contexts) as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994:278, 279). A large part of this study is context and culture sensitive. This implies that the specific case study findings will not necessarily comply with general transferability of their specific data, but the credibility and transferability of the ethnographic indicators, and the Thirdspace principles is deemed to be applicable wherever African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity congregate in city spaces on the African continent.

4.8 ETHICAL MEASURES

The University of Pretoria Ethics Committee granted ethical approval for this study. The document approval reference number is **EBIT/19/2018** and a copy of the document is available in Annexure A.

4.9 SUMMARY

This chapter described the design of and procedures for the research, which aims to explore the phenomenon of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity using public spaces in the Pretoria CBD, with a view to making recommendations for spatial planning of the CBD.

The rationale for the empirical research was presented, followed by a description of the participants and sampling procedure. The data collection methods employed – individual interviews, group interviews expert interviews and observation were presented. This was followed by a description of the process of data analysis, strategies to ensure trustworthiness, the ethical considerations and the role of the researcher in conducting this study.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS FROM THE DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The research questions and answers obtained from the literature survey in Chapter 2 were summarised in Chapter 3 to determine which of these required further investigation.

In Chapter 4, the research methodology for collection of the empirical data was presented. This included the research paradigm, research approach and data collection methods as well as the data analysis. The data were analysed according to the method as set out in Chapter 4.

5.2 RESULTS FROM THE CASE STUDIES

The ethnographic indicators and spatial principles, as identified in Chapter 2, guided the interviews for the case studies, further individual interviews and group interviews. As the indicators and principles were simply a guideline to conduct the semi-structured interviews, it follows that not all the indicators and principles appeared as themes in the case studies. In addition to conducting the interviews, the researcher spent two weeks in close proximity to the participants and through observation and informal communication, gathered contextual information, which was added to enrich the data where relevant.

The researcher analysed the raw data and where germane, existing indicators and spatial principles were identified as themes (Terre Blanche et al. 2006). Where applicable, further themes were identified from the data analysis. The coding of the data into themes for each participant, as well as the integration of the coded data under the themes, are presented in Annexure D. The raw transcriptions for each interview appear in Annexures E to M. The case study number, a description of the respondent(s) and a summary of the interviews are presented in this chapter. The coded and contextualised interviews appear in Annexure D.

Note to reader: ALL CASE STUDY NAMES ARE PSEUDONYMS

5.3.1 Case study 1: Donovan, street person

Donovan is a young Ndebele man who lives and works on the streets of the Pretoria CBD, directing cars where to park and dealing drugs. He originally lived in Mpumalanga and is a first generation migrant who has lived in the Pretoria CBD for the past five years. His ex-wife and child still live in Mpumalanga and he has no contact with them.

The raw transcription of the interviewee's responses are in Annexure E. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of Case study 1

Donovan is part of the street hustler network in the Pretoria CBD. They make up a large group of people who live and move in the public spaces of the CBD. Of all the groups in the Pretoria CBD, the street people and the drug addicts in particular, are the least prone to ethnic enclaving as an end in itself.

Donovan has not imported any Ndebele culture or ritual to his every day lived experiences in the Pretoria CBD.

Donovan's lack of communication technology use is common among the street hustlers as confirmed by the researcher's observations throughout the CBD.

He survives by joining in the street hustling among the other street people. They do tend to display a high level of sharing, including their food. Donovan thus seamlessly blends his workplace with commerce and they often sleep nearby if there is shelter in the form of a roof. His commercial activity thus directly influences the public spaces of the CBD.

Donovan does not participate in any religious activity that would influence outdoor space in the Pretoria CBD. Being a male, Donovan displays no gender specific behaviour in the Pretoria CBD.

The researcher could see no evidence of status projection from the street hustlers that could have any meaningful effect on public space use in the Pretoria CBD.

Donovan does not practice ethnic recreational activities in the CBD. He does not partake of formal sport, but does play informal soccer. They do eat communally as they also seek out conversations throughout the day. He does not display recreational patterns from his country of origin.

If the street hustlers are seen as a tribe or network of co-ethnics, then Donovan may be deemed a first generation migrant to the Pretoria CBD or a first generation trans-local migrant. He does display some of the traits of first generation migrants, such as not moving far from his current network and not assimilating well into the broader public of the CBD.

In the case of the street hustlers/addicts, the researcher suggests that they all suffer from feelings of rejection and shame, as they have mostly been rejected by their families and society as a whole. The drugs also change their outward behaviour from morbidity to cheerful and excitable, thus further masking the phenomenon.

Donovan does display tendencies of suffering from a form of trans-national alienation, due to the fact that he does miss his people back home and by implication a loss of familiarity, but this is difficult to detect due to the drug use and the fact that he has been adopted by the current street people network.

He does withdraw from normal society, as all the addicts seem to do, apart from their own network, where they find some comfort and solace.

No responsibility or ownership is taken for the spaces around them.

Donovan obviously suffers from very high levels of regulatory intrusiveness in the CBD. This is not entirely the fault of the Metro police or taxi drivers, because the street hustlers are involved in a disproportionate level of crime compared to the normal street traders and non-drug addicts. Donovan also has low levels of participation in the public spaces, as well as low levels of spatial choices. The spaces in which Donovan and his network daily live and move are not accommodating to their needs. There are no public toilets that they can use, no overhead shelter for the most part, and a lack of potable water nearby. They are dependent on allegiances with shop owners and religious organisations for water, and this will usually occur during daytime hours. They wash and clean themselves in the stream nearby as they have no access to washing facilities.

There are levels of ethnic division among the street hustlers, but only as far as is permitted within their own network of rules and cultural expression.

5.3.2 Case study 2: Edward and Robert, brothers from Zimbabwe

Edward and Robert are brothers. They are originally from Zimbabwe and have been living as first generation migrants in South Africa for the past two years. They have an informal stand in the Pretoria CBD from where they sell fruit and snacks. They work long hours and they seem fixated on making a success of their business venture. They seemed very interested and

helpful regarding the interview. The raw transcription for their interview is in Annexure F. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of Case study 2

Edward and Robert are members of a strong Zimbabwean co-ethnic network operating in Johannesburg, but this does not seem to have taken root in the Pretoria CBD.

At face value, they appear to be well assimilated, but they have not made the CBD their permanent home. They state that they are here only for the money, but they seem to prefer the Pretoria CBD to living in Johannesburg. They are however sufficiently assimilated into the culture and spaces of the CBD to venture beyond the other few men that stay with them. They thus have a low level of assimilation in the community and public spaces of the CBD, except for their trading customers.

They display a tendency to disassociate with their original ethnic identity, as do many of the foreign national traders. While they still seem somewhat attached to their homeland, they prefer South Africa as it provides them the possibility of earning an income.

They do not engage in any communication technological activity which could influence the use of public space. Moreover, they are also not linked to a co-ethnic network using social media, nor are they part of a youth movement using technology in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

Edward and Robert have a typical foreign national street business selling snacks. They do not use their co-ethnic network to garner business, but their business does influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.

They are Christians, but their religious activities do not happen in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

Both brothers were aware of the phenomenon of status projection and the impact it may have on public space in the CBD. They do not however partake in it. They have also personally been affected by it at some point, judging by their negative reaction to the question.

They seem to have a number of people with whom they speak daily and some of the conversations occur with up to three people. There are challenges with the physical

environment such as muddy pavements, and a lack of pavement space to sit and converse on. The state of the pavements and lack of roofing deter conversation and the possibility of street dining. They do not want to import their ethnic traditions into the CBD. The researcher got the distinct impression that if their specific locale was in better condition with seating and paving, that their recreation patterns such as street side conversations and communal eating might be different.

Edward and Robert have been in the Pretoria CBD for just two years and are thus first generation migrants. Apart from their commercial interaction with customers, they tend to stick to their ethnic cluster where they stay. They have no children here and there seems to be some tension between longing for their homeland and their new home.

The two brothers' interaction with their clients is perhaps tailored to suit their business needs. At the researcher's suggestion that there may be a partial self-exclusion from their side, they answered very unconvincingly, as they did not want to appear negative or weak.

The researcher believes that they do suffer from a form of trans-national alienation, but they did not feel comfortable admitting it. The researcher believes that they have accepted and become attached to their locale to a greater extent than many of the other foreign national traders.

Edward and Robert suffer from over-regulated spaces. This hampers their business as they are harassed by the police. The fact that they do not have legal identification documentation seems a problem for many foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD who do not have papers.

They suffer from low levels of political participation regarding the spaces that they use every day.

The spaces in which they daily live and move, do not accommodate most of their basic needs such as ablutions, weather protection and potable water. They partially alleviate this situation where possible, by relying on local shop owners and businesses, otherwise they need to walk far to use a pay toilet. They state that the spatial choices presented to them in the CBD are adequate, but the previous theme contradicts this; the researcher believes they said this to appear positive and not weak.

They show no inclination to express cultural or co-ethnic activities in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They claim to be free to do so, but the researcher believes that this would not be the case if they did chose to express co-ethnic activities in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

They have no political or participation options in the Secondspace power structures of the Pretoria CBD. While this is due to their not having the required documentation, they would still be excluded from the political power structures of the local government, if they did.

They do seem to suffer from ethnic divisions and fear of xenophobia and the consequent marginalisation that follows from this, even though they claimed that it does not worry them.

5.3.3 Case study 3: Mathew, a Mozambican street trader

Mathew is a 21-year-old street trader in the Pretoria CBD, selling cigarettes, sweets, fruit and biscuits. He is originally from the Machaze District in western Mozambique. Mathew is a first generation migrant who came to South Africa in 2010. He first stayed and worked in Tembisa and moved to the Pretoria CBD two months ago. The raw transcription for his interview is in Annexure G. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of case study 3

Mathew is a trans-national cyclical trader from Mozambique. He is part of a trans-national trading network, but he is thus far the only member in the Pretoria CBD.

Mathew does not have a strong co-ethnic network in the Pretoria CBD. His true ethnic enclave is in Tembisa, some 40kms away. In Pretoria, Mathew belongs to what can be termed the beginning of co-ethnic cluster in the Pretoria CBD.

He displays low levels of assimilation in the general population of the CBD. The language barrier poses a significant problem and he converses with very few other people daily.

Mathew does not import any ethnic identity or rituals into the Pretoria CBD.

Mathew does not use communication technology in such a way that it would influence the use of public space.

He does not rely on his co-ethnic network for business, and does not supply co-ethnic merchandise. He does not mix co-ethnic gatherings with commerce to garner trade. His

business is very poorly established. His commercial interest does have an influence on public space, as he occupies part of the pavement, but there is no shading, paving, seating or toilet facilities nearby.

His religious practice and customs do not influence the public space in the Pretoria CBD.

The respondent does not practice any of the recreational indicators such as communal eating, or street side conversations in the public spaces of the CBD. The researcher believes that Mathew would partake in informal soccer or even ethno-specific recreational patterns if he was not afraid of the rejection and xenophobia from which so many of the foreign nationals seem to suffer.

Mathew is a first generation migrant and his behaviour in public space would corroborate this. He sticks close to his network of co-ethnics and does not trust people outside his network.

He also suffers from feelings of rejection and exclusion from the general population of the CBD.

He genuinely seems to like South Africa, but he is torn between his feelings of isolation, rejection and loneliness and his desire to make his new living area work.

Mathew suffers from regulatory intrusiveness due to his lack of formal registration papers.

He feels powerless to participate in the everyday affairs of the spaces he inhabits. He feels that he is stripped of his right to participate in the CBD and he has no power or voice with which to respond.

The Pretoria CBD spaces are not accommodating of his basic, everyday needs. His access to ablutions and potable water is contested and highly restricted. His problem is exacerbated due to the fact that he trades alone and cannot leave someone behind to mind the stock if he wants to relieve himself.

His spatial choices are also limited and he feels restricted from accessing other spaces in the CBD

Mathew does not feel safe or comfortable expressing his cultural activities in the Pretoria CBD. He travels to Tembisa to do so and he feels safer and more comfortable enacting it

there. He thus does engage in cultural activity, but he travels to his true ethnic enclave, which is in Tembisa, to do so.

He feels that he has no political voice. He suffers from high levels of ethnic division or xenophobia. Even if he wanted to, being an illegal immigrant precludes him from approaching law enforcement to intervene.

5.3.4 Case study 4: Tina, local Tsonga woman

Tina is a young Tsonga woman, originally from Tzaneen. She is a second-generation local migrant in the Pretoria CBD. She moved to Atteridgeville in 2003. She currently lives with her mother who has lived in Atteridgeville since 1997, and an aunt. They are traders in the Pretoria CBD where they have separate selling posts. She has one child who lives with her grandparents in Tzaneen. The raw transcription for her interview is in Annexure H. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of case study 4

Tina is of local origin and her mother is part of a trans-local trading network, of a partly cyclical nature. They are both entrenched in a very strong co-ethnic network. They use the CBD as an extension of Atteridgeville.

Tina is well assimilated in the population of the CBD and she speaks and moves among people who are outside her co-ethnic network.

There is strong importing of cultural identity among Tina and her co-ethnics. They enact dance rituals from the Tsonga culture as well as eating communally outside the buildings where they stay.

She does use technology in public space, but only to the degree that will not affect the use of public space.

Tina's network of co-ethnics do have a religious link to their home area in the form of a live-streamed religious service every Tuesday (evening). If this happened outdoors in the CBD public spaces, it would have a direct influence on the use of public space. They do not appear to use the Pretoria CBD public spaces for religious gatherings.

Tina appears to be comfortable being a female in the Pretoria CBD, with no particular expectations for behaviour in public space placed upon her from her network of co-ethnics. The only negative aspect of gender for her and by implication most other females in the Pretoria CBD, is the fear of crime, with females probably being the easiest targets.

Tina is definitely aware of status projection, but does not seem to approve of or partake in it.

Tina sees many co-ethnics daily. She is thus very likely to engage in recreational activities as defined by this research. The Tsonga culture in the Pretoria CBD consists of communal eating, street side conversations and general co-ethnic behaviour. However, the main ethnic traditions such as dancing and ritual enactment happen outside the CBD.

The researcher also understood that the co-ethnic networks view exercise as a recreational activity, which is not solely for fitness.

Tina is a second generation migrant, and she is much more relaxed than her mother, regarding her openness to strangers and her general assimilation in the CBD. It is clear that her mother is still very much a traditionalist in terms of her co-ethnic network and she characterises the ways of a typical first generation migrant. First generation migrants, such as Tina's mother could be the reason why the Tsonga co-ethnic network has not fully integrated their ethnic rituals and dance in the Pretoria CBD. They could be the driving force behind keeping the core ethnic traditions alive, such as singing and dancing, but only in Atteridgeville.

The researcher postulates that when these second-generation migrants take over from their parents, the CBD may experience higher levels of ethnic activities. Tina's child would represent the third generation of trans-local migrants, but she has remained in the rural home area and can thus not be considered a third generation migrant unless, at a later stage, like Tina, she also comes to the CBD.

For Tina and her mother, most of the regulatory intrusiveness comes from the metro police. They did not complain about the lack of roofing or paving but said it is a problem. However, she did acknowledge that it was due to her mother's lapsed trading licence that they picked up problems with the metro police.

Tina participates fully in the public spaces of the CBD and it does not appear that she is excluded anywhere. Provision of roofing and paved spaces where they sit would help a great deal, but they did not specifically mention this as a problem.

Tina, her mother and their co-ethnics evidently feel free to express her cultural identity in the CBD. For some reason however, they do not do this, but choose to take these behaviours to Atteridgeville. She does feel a certain low level of political choice in the everyday running of the CBD. She is however, a South African citizen and she would at least be able to vote. She does not experience racism or xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD.

5.3.5 Case study 5: group interview: Rwandans

Anna, Jonathan, Margaret, Rose and Peter are originally from Rwanda. Anna has a sewing and mending business on a sidewalk in the Pretoria CBD. She has worked and lived in the Pretoria CBD for the past 10 years. She is a first generation immigrant and has two children who live with her and who are therefore considered second-generation immigrants. The raw transcription for their interview is in Annexure I. A thematic summary of the interview is provided in Annexure D.

Summary of case study 5

Anna is part of a co-ethnic network of Rwandans. She does not send remittance home.

Her co-ethnic network helped her gain entrance into the receiving destination, but the link with her home country has, to a large degree, been severed.

Anna is well assimilated in the CBD, especially regarding her co-ethnic network. However, she is not well assimilated into the populace and the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. She suffers from exclusion and the collective trauma that the Rwandan people went through at various times in their history.

Anna and her fellow Rwandans make a point of not importing their identity into the receiving destination. It is evident that they wish to be disassociated from their home country. However, this does not mean that they do not wish to engage in any ethno-specific behaviours.

They do not use communication technology in public space in any manner that would fundamentally influence the spaces.

Anna is not part of a trans-national trading network. She only knows one other Rwandan in the CBD selling on the street. She states that many Rwandans are shop owners. Over lunch times a group of Rwandan people often congregate around her work area. This is a positive indicator.

Anna and the Rwandan group do not practice religious rituals or ceremonies in the Pretoria CBD public spaces. They view religious importation as tribalistic and distasteful. Thus, the practice of their religion does not influence public space use in the Pretoria CBD.

Gender differences have definitely had an effect on Anna in the Pretoria CBD. She is generally under more threat from crime, and she fears for her children as well. The problem of being a foreign national without legal documentation increases the problem for her. However, for her, there is no prescribed gender specific behaviour in public spaces.

The indicator of status projection was very strong among the Rwandan group. They all seem to display the phenomenon, and the fact that they have a lower socio-economic standing does not preclude them from attempting to project status.

They all feel restricted in their use of public spaces. It became evident that should they attempt to use certain open spaces or public spaces for ethnic related recreation or ritual, they fear xenophobic retaliation and violence. Thus, they live a type of shadow existence where they purposely refrain from any of these activities, due to fear. This indicator was very strong.

The researcher suggests that they would probably engage in ethno-specific recreational activities if they felt safe to do so.

Anna is a first generation immigrant. Her children are in the Pretoria CBD in different primary schools. Her children's safety is a concern for her, but other than that, they are well assimilated in the population of the CBD. Anna does display certain traits of first generation immigrants, such as sticking to her co-ethnic network and not assimilating wholly in the population and public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

Anna suffers from trans-national alienation. She can be said to be in flux, where she is in-between places and she does not feel at home in either. The researcher believes she has no local attachment to place and that she is in cognitive flux regarding her ethnic and spatial identity.

Anna and the group as a whole suffer from regulatory intrusiveness due to frequent problems with law enforcement. Most of the problems that they experience are related to not being SA citizens and this regulatory intrusiveness is a problem for them.

They all have very low levels of participation in civic life and in public space. This is also rooted in their not being SA citizens and any dispute or contestation over public space will automatically negatively affect them.

They are excluded from civic and public spaces due to contestations of citizenship and belonging. This exclusion is fostered by the local population and it seem also law enforcement authorities, if and when they get involved.

They perceive spaces as not accommodating to them at all, with no access to public toilets, water or ablutions, unless these are paid for. From their responses the researcher suspects that in certain cases they are excluded from using public toilets and gaining access to water.

Their choices regarding public spaces are very limited and they seem to have withdrawn from public space participation to a large extent, due to the rejection and hostility that they often have to face.

The group as a whole feel strongly that they cannot express their culture. The extent of exclusion and xenophobia that they experience would prohibit this. They therefore display very low levels of cultural expression.

Their political choice is extremely limited, and they all feel that the South African Government excludes and discriminates against them. They collectively experience extreme ethnic divisions and that the local population and this government marginalise and exclude them from participation in all facets of society.

5.3.6 Interview 6: interview with two property administrators

It should be kept in mind that this property administrator company mostly provides residences in the CBD for people from a slightly higher income strata, than that of the street vendors. Their responses are therefore not necessarily a true representation of each indicator, but they still add rich information to the phenomenon under study. The two participants in the group interview are staff members in a property administration company in the Pretoria CBD. They describe a part of their responsibility as preventing encroachment of street businesses in the public spaces of the CBD. Their clientele who rent living and working space in the CBD mostly consist of lower middle class families who work for a salary or who have their own business in the CBD, in other words, live and work in the CBD. Almost a third of their clientele consists of students. The families living in the CBD are mostly nationals and to a lesser extent foreigners. The parents who are foreigners may be described as first generation migrants while their children, who attend schools in the CBD, may be described as second-generation immigrants. Although the participants do not have daily contact with street traders and street people, they do possess knowledge of and experience with these groups. The raw transcription for their interview is in Annexure J. The original interview transcription in Afrikaans appears in Annexure N. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of interview 6

The fact that people in their buildings do not cluster or create enclaves, does not mean the phenomenon is not present, only perhaps that the regulations and administration of their buildings prohibit it. Their comments confirm the perceptions of the case study participants: that true ethnic enclaves are very low within the Pretoria CBD.

The responses corroborate the view that the Pretoria CBD has very low levels of true ethnic enclaves, the company's business practices seemingly prohibit the formation of true enclaves, due to the fact that tenants are placed randomly within certain buildings.

After the interview, the respondents provided the following information with regard to the ratio of applicants from countries of origin:

Pretoria applicants by country of origin for tenement units in Pretoria CBD

Country of origin	% of Applicants
South-Africa	94.48%
Zimbabwe	2.41%
Nigeria	1.06%
Congo	0.82%
Ethiopia	0.30%
Ghana	0.28%
Uganda	0.22%
Angola	0.20%
Malawi	0.14%
Cameroon	0.08%

As can be seen from the list above, the majority of the property company's building occupants are local people. However, it does also confirm the researcher's findings and reflects the statistics on the streets regarding the informal population of the CBD. The largest contingent of foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD is the Zimbabwean population. In comparison, less than half of that percentage is then Nigerians. This directly reflects the researcher's findings on the streets of the Pretoria CBD.

The buildings of this property administrator have a large turnover rate with tenants staying on average, just 18 months. This displays very low levels of permanence and attachment to place, even from the local population.

Economic factors have a large influence on turnover, with affordability being the prime indicator.

The respondents agreed with the researcher's summary of the indicator that this is typical of African migrants and immigrants, in that they have low levels of attachment to space and place due to impermanence.

The respondents' feedback corroborate the findings of the researcher for the general population of the Pretoria CBD. There are very low levels of identity importation. The social market that the respondents mention is a fringe arts movement that does not directly

correlate with the indicator of African immigrants and migrants importing social rituals into their receiving destination.

The interview with the property administrator staff also indicates a low level of trans-locational positionality (identity importation) for the users of their buildings in the Pretoria CBD.

The response from the interviewees concurred with the researcher's findings on the street. There is a need for connectivity and access to communication technology data for all the people in the CBD. These spaces would however, have to be safe and free from exclusion and xenophobia.

The biggest need for safe data-connected spaces however comes from the young people that use their digital devices continuously. The researcher saw many of them being unaware and vulnerable while absorbed in these tasks. They form groups and take clips and photographs in spaces that they like and that are accommodating to them. They also partake in group online activities and move around in mobs, such as in Pokémon games.

The respondents are aware of the extent of commercial activities, and stipulate that they do not allow it at all in the buildings under their control. If the tenants were allowed to, they would probably encroach on and transform the public spaces around their residential and commercial buildings. The respondents make a distinction between their commercial tenants and their residential tenants and find that these two groups differ widely. They divide the commercial tenants and the residential tenants into two different categories; with the latter arguably less educated and perhaps more inclined to display the indicators as described in this study.

Religion does not seem to influence public spaces directly, except for the Muslim prayer days as indicated. They agree that very few religious activities happen in the Pretoria CBD's public space, such as on sidewalks and in parking lots.

5.3.7 Interview 7: CBD subject expert interview; Professor Stephan De Beer Director Centre for Contextual Ministry, University of Pretoria

The respondent has a PhD in Theology at the University of Pretoria, and has since completed a Master's degree in Architecture at the University of Pretoria as well. He has been involved

in the arrival of African migrant peoples in the Pretoria CBD since 1993 and has served on various inner city boards, as well as being personally involved with the Tshwane Leadership Foundation and the YEAST housing unit; two of the oldest inner city housing projects and NGO's involved with the Pretoria CBD. He has an intimate knowledge of the various local and foreign national groups currently in the Pretoria CBD and access to various governmental and non-governmental role players that are active in the Pretoria CBD. He is directly involved with the help and support of African foreign nationals at street level within the Pretoria CBD. The raw transcription for his interview is in Annexure K. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of interview 7

The Pretoria CBD has minimal or no true ethnic enclaves as described in the literature study, with the peripheral areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia, which fall outside the study area, having much higher levels of true ethnic enclaves.

There are concentrations of ethnic networks in the informal trading sector and on the streets, with groups of co-ethnics clustering together at street level. African Pentecostal churches also display high levels of ethnic clustering, especially the smaller churches that are not tied to international groups. Housing does not yet show evidence of ethnic enclaving. However, before the Schubart Park buildings were evacuated, a certain level of enclaving was displayed there.

There are low levels of assimilation of foreign national peoples in the Pretoria CBD, but it appears to be higher than in areas such as Mamelodi and the township areas around Pretoria. This is possibly due to the high number of foreign nationals within the CBD, and also because there are true enclaves to be found in Sunnyside and Arcadia, which would concentrate the foreign nationals away from these other areas. The ethnic groups tend to stick together, and assimilation with local people is possibly also delayed due to the high levels of enclaving found in areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia.

Christian churches, especially the smaller ones, tend to have very low levels of ethnic assimilation.

Most of the African migrants tend to view the Pretoria CBD as a permanent destination and not a place of temporality, and thus not a springboard to other destinations in Europe and the USA, this is possibly different from the situation in Cape Town and Johannesburg, with higher levels of temporality.

African migrants do import socio-cultural identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They import certain ethnic rituals, but food and eating as well as importing religious identity appear to be the most prevalent. Eating-places can become places of assimilation for African migrants and the spaces are diverse, including inside buildings, in the street at formal eating-places or informal group settings. It could happen in public space or semi-private spaces too. This could indicate a larger need for such spaces within the Pretoria CBD. The African Initiator Churches (AIC), seem to be the main importer of religious and cultural ritual into the spaces of the Pretoria CBD, such as open spaces and outdoor spaces sometimes under trees; however they leave little evidence of their presence in these spaces in their absence, indicating a high degree of temporality with regard to their use of these spaces.

Technological communication devices have a low impact on the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. The youth groups do use outdoor spaces around Wi-Fi hot spots, but these can only be used at certain times, due to safety concerns.

There do seem to be trans-national trading networks present in the Pretoria CBD that influence the use of public space in various ways. These trading networks operate within co-ethnic networks and the CBD appears to be ethnically stratified, regarding the allocation of public space for commercial purposes.

The use of outdoor public space for formal religious services in the study area is low. Only the African Initiator Churches (AIC) use the spaces in this way. However, religion does tend to become a vehicle of access into the Pretoria CBD for African migrants, which helps to orient them and supply their needs for information and support across a wide spectrum, as well as helping them with integration in the population of the CBD.

Christian churches do tend to be ethnically stratified, but mainly relating to demographic language use from specific areas in Africa, such as the International Church, which is a

Francophone church, with French language speakers being the common denominator. Language makes up an important facet of the religious indicator. Demographically, the Christian faith is substantially larger than the Islamic faith within the Pretoria CBD, and the growth of Christian churches has been substantial since the advent of democracy in 1994. Many of these churches do not have adequate premises of their own, and tend to share premises with other churches. There is a need for spaces for activities such as choir practise and youth groups, which do not have spaces to use outside of formal service times, and these tend to spill over into the public spaces in and around the study area in the form of public parks. Currently, the respondent is not aware of the use of any other type of public spaces for these activities.

Islamic believers do not seem to influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD to any degree, with all their religious activities happening within the mosques.

African migrants do import socio-cultural identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They import certain ethnic rituals, with food and eating as well as importing religious identity seemingly the most prevalent. Eating-places can become places of assimilation for African migrants; the spaces are diverse: in the street at formal eating-places or informal group settings. Public space or semi-private spaces are also used.

African migrants who reside in the Pretoria CBD have extremely low levels of political power and representation. This problem becomes acute when they do not have legal residency documentation. They have no influence on legislative mechanisms that could influence the spaces in which they daily live and move. Social housing for example, is not accessible to African migrants at all. African migrants tend to avoid political engagement in order to avoid exposing themselves, especially if they are not legal residents. The political and legal rights of foreign nationals are very limited in comparison to the local population that reside in the Pretoria CBD, however it does improve once they are naturalised citizens.

Xenophobia is present in the Pretoria CBD but to a lesser extent than in areas outside of the CBD, such as Mamelodi and the townships around Tshwane. It appears that the Pretoria CBD has higher levels of tolerance towards foreign nationals than these other areas. African foreign nationals will exclude themselves from certain spaces in the

Pretoria CBD due to fear and hostility, and thus they cannot express their full needs for public space use as they may have done, had they felt free to do so.

5.3.8 Interview 8: Dr. Emmanuel Tshilenga; Pastor of the International Church of Pretoria

He has completed a doctorate in theology, and has been closely involved with the Francophone African migrant population in the Pretoria CBD for the last twenty-five years via the International Church of Pretoria. They are currently representative of 22 African countries, which are part of their congregation. He, like the theologian of interview 7, has an intimate knowledge of the needs of newly arrived migrants. They attempt to help many of them to find shelter and work when they arrive in the Pretoria CBD. The raw transcription for his interview is in Annexure L. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of interview 8

The level of ethnic enclaving in the Pretoria CBD is very low. Since the advent of democracy in 1994, there has been a history of ethnic clustering of various ethnic groups, but these have never formed any true enclaves. Currently there are very low levels of ethnic clustering and no true enclaves in the Pretoria CBD.

The African migrants currently residing in the Pretoria CBD often struggle to assimilate in the public spaces and population of the Pretoria CBD. African migrants tend to use the CBD as a point of arrival, after which they go to other areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia, which have higher levels of ethnic enclaves, which could support them. The African migrants in the Pretoria CBD tend to have high levels of temporality, due to fear and xenophobia, and consequently, they tend to remain obscure in order not to reveal themselves. This scenario possibly leads to low assimilation with the general population.

They do import certain of their dress codes in some instances; especially women. They also tend to import communal eating as an ethnic recreational activity. They however, encounter problems with importing identity in terms of the language barrier. The anxiety associated with speaking French or one of the central African languages seems to prohibit them from expressing their cultures fully, due to fear of exposure.

African migrants from Francophone countries also import their French speaking religious life from the sending destinations in terms of using the church to express some of their cultural needs, albeit only partially. Language makes up an important facet of African migrants and their struggle to assimilate and to express their cultural identities in the Pretoria CBD, as there is an overriding amount of fear regarding exposing oneself as a foreigner.

The general population of the Pretoria CBD do not use communication technology to influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. Most of the people access internet cafés within buildings inside the CBD.

There are low levels of true trans-national trading networks in the Pretoria CBD. These networks are much more prevalent in areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia. African migrants living in the Pretoria CBD would generally go to those areas, which have ethnic food and merchandise available to migrants. This situation also partially prohibits faster assimilation with the local CBD population due to being able to access familiar culture in those neighbouring suburbs.

The practice of religious ritual, such as outdoor services, is very low in the Pretoria CBD. Churches tend to become the main points of access that African migrants use to gain entrance to the spaces and population of the Pretoria CBD, but there is low communication between the various churches and the smaller ones tend to be ethnically stratified.

There are however, low levels of conflict between these different religious groups, with the Christian faith being in the majority, within the Pretoria CBD. The possibility exists that more churches might want to use outdoor space in the CBD for religious purposes, but there seems to be a reluctance to access public spaces for this purpose, due to fear of the authorities, which it is believed would need to approve the use of such spaces for religious use.

There are also low levels of prescribed behaviours for women in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. This could possibly be due to the fact that there are much fewer Islamic adherents than Christians, in the Pretoria CBD. Most of the Islamic religious expressions happen within their houses and at the mosques. It is generally believed that culturally prescribed behaviours cannot be expressed in the Pretoria CBD, due to it being a different environment and they do not have the option to express themselves in this way. The spatial usage patterns tend to reflect that acceptance.

Status projection as an indicator is low in the Pretoria CBD, and when it happens, it is mainly practised by local people. This phenomenon happens more frequently in the areas outside of Pretoria such as Atteridgeville and Mamelodi, and then to a lesser degree in Sunnyside and Arcadia, among the African migrant populations there. African migrants also display a very low level of status expression in public space due to the fact that most of them earn so little.

The Pretoria CBD has low levels of recreation happening in public space, with Church Square being the area of choice. For recreation, most people go beyond the boundaries of the formal CBD to places such as the Union Buildings, where there are large green areas.

There is a need for communal eating as a recreational activity, but the space for that is limited, as people want to go to areas with garden-like spaces, which usually fall outside the study area. Street-side conversation is also a need for many of the foreign nationals, and they seek it out but they have few people to converse with. In addition, the language barrier remains a problem for them, especially those migrants who are from francophone countries and who do not speak the local dialects. Recreational sport, such as soccer and basketball, are mostly practised outside the study area, such as on the formal soccer pitches on the western and eastern side of the CBD. There is a precinct-wide fear among African migrants to access open public space, due to fear of exposure and xenophobia. This fear tends to decrease once migrants get their formal registration papers however, but it does not mean that the fear disappears completely.

African foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD, suffer from high degrees of regulatory intrusiveness, especially the street traders and sellers. The metro police tend to target them for not having trading licences, but also exploiting them in terms of bribes in order to be able to continue trading illegally. The African foreign nationals who trade in the public spaces of the CBD have no other option than to trade illegally as they have no other source of income. Regulatory intrusiveness creates many problems for them, including a loss of income, harassment and it also exposes them to xenophobia.

The Pretoria CBD has low levels of spatial participation for the inhabitants, especially the foreign nationals. There is a general lack of access to basic facilities such as toilets and ablutions, but this is especially true for newly arrived foreign nationals, as well as the street people. The number of ablution facilities in the CBD are inadequate, and this contributes to

public urination and overcrowding of facilities such as the Van Der Walt street police station. There is also a need for temporary shelter for newly arrived migrants, as well as for many of the homeless people living on the streets of the CBD.

African migrants do not feel free to express their cultural habits in the Pretoria CBD, even if they wanted to do so. They also have very low levels of political choice, in exercising control over the everyday spaces that they use in the Pretoria CBD. There is widespread resistance against foreign nationals in the form of xenophobia. However, there is also tension among migrant peoples from the same areas in Africa such as Nigerians, from the north or south of Nigeria, or Hutu's and Tutsi's from the same areas in Rwanda. This also contributes to the high levels of ethnic division in the Pretoria CBD; African migrants are afraid to access and use open public spaces in the Pretoria CBD, due to fear of xenophobia and victimisation.

5.3.9 Interview 9: Moulana (religious leader) Queen Street Mosque

The Moulana is the spiritual leader of the Mosque in Queen Street in the Pretoria CBD. The Moulana (religious leader) is a scholar of Islam and knowledgeable about the congregants that attend his Mosque, many of whom are African migrants of the Islamic faith. Evidence indicates that there are many Islamic congregants in the Queen Street mosque who are African migrants. The raw transcription for his interview is in Annexure M. A thematic summary of the interview is given in Annexure D.

Summary of case study 9

There are various groups of foreign nationals from Africa that attend the Queen Street Mosque, but there are low levels of ethnic enclaves that are members, living within the Pretoria CBD. Most of the congregants live outside the CBD area, but they attend the mosque during the day, in their working environment and by implication, many of them attend other mosques which fall outside the CBD area, which could be called their home area mosque(s). Some of them are in Pretoria West, which is west of the CBD study area and is a Somali and Ethiopian enclave. Some of those people use the mosque when working in the CBD, but their main mosque is in an old decommissioned Dutch reformed Church that is being used as a mosque in Pretoria West, which is to the west of the study area.

Most of the attendees of the Queen Street Mosque are well assimilated in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, due to their shared faith that they follow with other Muslims also residing in the Pretoria CBD. This common belief system seems to generate acceptance from the other followers of Islam in the CBD, but their general assimilation within the greater population of the CBD is unknown. The general tendency of Islamic adherents to stay within their faith might be a factor that works against their greater assimilation with the population of the CBD.

The congregants of the Queen Street Mosque do not import ethnic identity into the Pretoria CBD from their sending destinations. This is also perhaps due to the fact that the Islamic faith is felt to be confined and practised in the mosque and at home, especially for the females, thus confining a large part of the ethnic rituals and prescribed behaviours to areas within the mosque or behind closed doors.

The congregants of the Queen Street Mosque do not influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD with electronic communication devices. They do not send or receive religious content via these devices in the public spaces of the CBD.

There are low levels of trans-national trading networks among the congregants of the Queen Street Mosque. This could possibly be interpreted that there are low ethnic trading networks present among the Muslim migrants in the Pretoria CBD.

The congregants of the Queen Street Mosque do not enact any religious behaviours in the Pretoria CBD; these are restricted to the mosque or the private homes of congregants.

There are gender specific behaviours for Islamic adherents within public space, especially for females, but it is expected of females to rather stay indoors and at home when possible and to avoid the use of public space entirely. It could thus be argued that there is no need for them for private spaces or areas where they could go.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the empirical data were analysed using the adapted data analysis method as proposed by Terre Blanche et al (refer to section 4.6.3). The data were arranged according to ethnographic indicators as well as Thirdspace principles as developed from the literature in Chapter 2. In addition to examining how relevant the indicators were, the empirical research also investigated new themes and knowledge regarding the phenomenon of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity living and moving in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The goal was to widen the discourse in the urban spatial planning professions, produce generally derived principles, yet not to produce scientifically valid conclusions. While the coding of the data appear in Annexure D, a summative integration of the findings for each case study and interview appear in Chapter 5. The purpose of Chapter 6 is to re-align the focus and purpose of this study as well as to place the findings of the study in context of the initial objectives. It reviews the main research question and its related four sub-questions by summarising the literature and empirical findings, and then integrating all the findings. It finally draws conclusions and makes recommendations in relation to the findings from the literature and the empirical research.

6.2 REVIEW OF THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The main research question that this study aimed to answer was:

How are lived spaces created by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, and how can its implications for urban planning be established by doing a phenomenological investigation?

The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and move in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. Literature postulates that there are certain cultural-ethnic and migrant spatial habits and identity constructs, referred to as ethnographic indicators, as well as spatial principles related to a loss of personal and political power, that accompany individuals when they share public space in an urban arena such as the Pretoria CBD. These, it is suggested, may have an influence on the use of public space to the extent that a new way of investigating

and understanding spatial planning in cities that host African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity, has become necessary. This study specifically examined the CBD of Pretoria and the unique situation that it presents regarding this phenomenon.

The literature investigation proposed that the lived spaces of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity are partly created and expressed by the ethnographic indicators and spatial principles that were identified from the research. Based on this, the empirical research then concentrated on creating awareness and discourse around this phenomenon for the spatial planning disciplines concerning the Pretoria CBD as well as for other cities in South Africa where this phenomenon may also be experienced.

The findings of the research are discussed in detail here, as all the research questions are addressed.

6.2.1 Research questions and objectives

For ease of reference, the research questions and corresponding objectives are repeated herewith from Table 1

TABLE 6.1: RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS AND CORRESPONDING OBJECTIVES

RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS 1-4	CORRESPONDING OBJECTIVES 1-4
<p><u>Sub-question 1</u></p> <p>What are the implications of the historic spatial development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?</p>	<p><u>Objective 1</u></p> <p>Investigate the implications of the historic spatial developmental background of the Pretoria CBD for the current new residents which consist mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity</p>
<p><u>Sub-question 2</u></p> <p>What are the cultural and religious indicators for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><u>Objective 2</u></p> <p>Determine from the literature certain indicators of the unique needs and aspirations (for public space) of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who currently live and work in the Pretoria CBD.</p>

<p><u>Sub-question 3</u></p> <p>How may the construct of spatiality be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?</p>	<p><u>Objective 3</u></p> <p>Determine how the construct of spatiality can be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct with social and historical links for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity</p>
<p><u>Sub-question 4</u></p> <p>How can an in-depth investigation into the personal experience of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines/urban planning in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><u>Objective 4</u></p> <p>Determine, by means of an empirical phenomenological investigation how the personal experiences of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD could contribute to an improved understanding of their needs by the spatial planning disciplines in the Pretoria CBD.</p>

6.3 AIM OF THE LITERATURE STUDY (CHAPTER 2)

The aim of the literature study in Chapter 2 was to obtain relevant information from available sources to determine the following:

- Was the Pretoria CBD historically designed for a large residential population living in and using the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, bearing in mind that this population has probably also recently increased?
- What were the motivations and history for providing public spaces that eventually led to the current morphology and typology of public space?

By examining the available literature, the current situation and the shortcomings of the area regarding the provision and use of public space in the Pretoria CBD were identified.

The review then turned to literature which concerns African migrant cultures and the historic ebb and flow of the migrant cycles in Africa. It examined migrant behaviour and many of the ethnographic indicators that are associated with migrants in host cities were developed from this literature review.

It therefore became necessary to identify unique ethnographic indicators that described certain social and cultural constructs relevant to migrant people. The literature review

specifically investigated the work of Henri Lefebvre, as referred to in the work of Edward Soja and other authors (refer to section 2.4), to help develop and expand the construct of spatiality as it would contribute to expanding the understanding of space as physical and measurable, to space as planned, created, inhabited and lived. This expanded meaning has implications for integrating the sociality and historicity in understanding African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity. This part of the literature study addressed marginalisation, loss of political and spatial power, personal identity and spatial autonomy. These issues illustrate the lack of a voice for marginalised and fringe groups such as African migrants in receiving destinations, and attempt to reinstitute power for the voiceless and the marginalised.

6.3.1 Findings from the literature review

The following discussion summarises the findings of the literature survey, addressing the three sub-questions as described above.

6.3.2 Sub-question 1: Historical development of the Pretoria CBD

Sub-question 1:

What are the implications of the historic development of the Pretoria CBD for the current influx of new residents, consisting mainly of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity?

6.3.2.1 Formation and early years

The City of Tshwane and its current Pretoria CBD, were founded in 1855. The original settlement grew from and around the area known today as Church Square and which includes the area known as the Pretoria CBD. There are various roles ascribed to the area but there was always a strong commercial role. By 1910, the fountain in the Square had been moved to the zoo and it was felt that Pretoria had exchanged its heart for a commercial tram terminus (refer to section 2.2.1). This period may be seen as the time that the true commercial role of the area came to the fore. Even during these early years, there was a lack of usable outdoor public space, as is evidenced by several comments in journals of residents and their recollections of sport matches and recreational activities taking place outside of the CBD area at this time (refer to section 2.2.1).

By the late 1950s the CBD and central area of Pretoria had undergone drastic changes, particularly regarding the outdoor and urban spaces and, according to Norman Eaton, (refer

to section 2.2.5) these changes were not for the better. In 1958, Eaton, who felt that the spread of urban building created a harshness to the environment, proposed soft landscaping in the city (refer to section 2.2.2). He also commented on the poor type of public spaces offered by the Pretoria CBD area. In 1962, architect Roelf Botha described Church Square as being an area where Post Office workers eat their lunch, and in the same vein as Norman Eaton, renewed calls to transform Church Square and the surrounding area into a place of more than commercial interest alone (refer to section 2.2.2). Thus, as the Pretoria CBD developed through the decades, its civic and commercial character increased and became the dominant reason for land use. If the commentary of these prominent architects and planners are taken into account, it becomes evident that the Pretoria CBD, notwithstanding its civic and commercial role, also represented an urban space which was not entirely adequate or suited to a large residential population (refer to section 2.2.2).

6.3.2.2 Political independence up to present

By the late 1980s, migrations started from the local townships and rural areas to the inner cities of South Africa (refer to section 2.2.3). After 1994, when the Group Areas Act was scrapped, more African local and foreign nationals started migrating to said inner cities. During this period, the Pretoria CBD experienced an exodus of the established urban residents and tenants (refer to section 2.2.3) and from the 1990s until the early 2010s, the CBD was characterised by the so-called 'white flight' from Pretoria's historic core, mostly toward the eastern suburbs.

6.3.2.3 Current situation

Due to the presence of many public sector institutions in the Pretoria CBD, it is reasonably stable compared to that of the Johannesburg CBD, in so far as the Pretoria's CBD has less inner city decay and abandonment of properties by owners whose buildings are occupied illegally. Pretoria's public sector partly serves as a moderating influence on the use of the buildings and tenant stability. Despite the presence of remaining public sector institutions, other vacated buildings, predominantly offices, created an opportunity for private investors to convert these into residential units in the Pretoria CBD.

The morphology and typology of the Pretoria CBD are mostly defined by office blocks and a lack all other amenities (refer to section 2.2.3). Most vacant areas are to be found in the

north-west of the study area (see Figure 9/ section 2.2.4). Although the historical core may be considered to be in a good state of repair, one of the CBD's major weaknesses is its lack of public open space. There is a precinct-wide need for regeneration in Pretoria's inner city areas, but this is hampered by the lack of a clear spatial planning policy (refer to section 2.2.3).

The different precinct areas of Pretoria's inner city was defined by the 2005 Re Kgabisa Tshwane programme. These precincts are the Presidency Precinct, Mandela Corridor Precinct, Sammy Marks Square Precinct, Paul Kruger North Precinct, Church Square Precinct, Museum Park Precinct and the Salvokop Precinct (see Chapter 2/ section 2.2.4, Figure 8).

Church Square is described as a coherent urban precinct, which is also true for the blocks east of the Square, e.g. the Sammy Marks Precinct. However, when moving north and west of Church Square towards the Paul Kruger North Precinct, coherence diminishes. The precincts that fall within the study area of the Pretoria CBD are Church Square, Paul Kruger and Sammy Marks. The area to the north-west does not fall directly into any precinct area, but the researcher referred to this area as the Marabastad-western precinct. Figure 9 illustrates that the central inner CBD area has the largest concentration of office blocks with a low number of public spaces and residential accommodation (See Figure 9/ section 2.2.4).

This condition is however changing as the Pretoria CBD receives more residential units in the form of converted office and civic buildings. It may be seen from Chapter 2, section 2.2.4, Figure 9, that office blocks in green and commercial activities in blue, define the Pretoria CBD. However, since 2009 some of the office blocks have been converted to residential units (Figure 9/ section 2.2.4).

6.3.3 Research Sub-question 1: Conclusion

The reviewed literature traces the development and spatial planning morphology of the Pretoria CBD from its establishment in 1855 to the present. The Pretoria CBD kept growing and accommodating its primary civic and commercial role throughout this time. This role of the CBD did not change until the early 1990s, when a large number of local people, as well as African foreign nationals, started immigrating and sought accommodation in the CBD.

The morphology and spatial use are defined by office blocks and commercial buildings with a low residential component (see section 2.2.4, Figure 9).

It was therefore concluded that the Pretoria CBD was not planned to accommodate a large residential population, and that the public spaces were not adequate for a large and growing residential population consisting, amongst others, of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity.

6.4 SUB-QUESTION 2: AFRICAN MIGRANT CULTURE AND CO-ETHNICS

Sub-question 2:

What are the cultural and religious (ethnographic) indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?

6.4.1 Historical background of African migrant culture

Africa has a long history of migratory movement. Migrants from different African countries began migrating toward the USA and Europe on a large scale from the early 1970s. However, African migrations between African countries are still more prevalent than African migrants moving to other countries (refer to section 2.3.1).

6.4.2 Embedded social networks

African migrations have always been characterised by co-ethnic networks. These embedded social networks consist of ethnic ties, social capital as well as historic roots with shared public spaces from the home country. The migrants' identity and success abroad are tied to the perceived approval and acceptance, not just of the receiving destination, but also that of the sending destination (refer to section 2.3.2). They are therefore invested in and indebted to the sending destination's co-ethnic network. African migrants import certain cultural and co-ethnic shared spatial behaviours with them to the receiving destination.

Transnationalism tends to produce a diasporic identity that has low levels of personal investment in public space, and this influences the tangible and intangible perceptions related to the use and allocation of shared social space (refer to section 2.3.2).

Together with trans-national migrants, there are also trans-local migrants from the same country. This local migration phenomenon is closely tied to traditional urbanisation, but differs in that these internal migrants do not plan to stay permanently and are often locked into seasonal migration cycles. In Africa, social networks are valued at least as much as the

lure of financial gain. Many of these transnational migrants such as the Igbos from Nigeria form home associations or '*Da'iras*' to perpetuate their sending destination's culture and to aid new migrants (refer to section 2.3.2). These migration networks help create and retain their ethnic identity. For migrants, their networks are perceived as equally important as the physical built spaces that they occupy. The practice of migrants to import social and urban identity to new urban locales then becomes an important facet of African migrant studies and public space use.

6.4.3 Current state of the research

There is a paucity of research on the role and influence that the sending community, with its associated urban and rural spaces, has on the receiving communities of African migrants. The level of urban research for Africa as a whole is also low. However, African migrations have more recently been viewed anthropologically and from a socio-cultural perspective, as well as from the more traditional historical perspective (refer to section 2.4.1).

In the literature review it was argued that there are two theories underpinning migration studies. Firstly, the "dual system theory" which views the migrant in the host area as living in a duality between the place of origin and the host city. The other widely held theory is the trans-local theory that views the migrant as, to a large degree, cut off from the local village culture and identity, where he/she accordingly attempts to re-create local culture and identity in the host city. However, spatial planners should avoid following a single approach to define African urbanisation, but each city should be dealt with on its own merits. Then again, existing theories of urbanisation provide little ground for understanding cities in Africa (refer to section 2.4.2). Scholars tend to make two flawed assumptions when trying to classify African cities. The first is the over-reliance on ideal models that are Eurocentric in origin. The second is to rely on overly-simplified taxonomic and economic models that are based on previous periods and developed for a previous century. The outcome of most of these taxonomic and classification approaches to African city planning is the 'hybrid' model (refer to section 2.4.3).

The use of State power to enforce spatial outcomes is very often employed by spatial planners in African cities (refer to section 2.4.4). This Eurocentric approach however does not take into account that African cities, including South Africa's inner cities, rarely exert enough hegemonic and regulatory power to enable any of these outcomes. Spatial planners

in African cities are rarely able to shape the urban landscape in accordance with proposed planning schemes due to the fact that they too often ignore forms of inclusion that marginalised and migrant residents negotiate outside the power of the State (refer to section 2.4.4).

6.4.4 Global culture, the remittance system and maintaining migrant networks

6.4.4.1 Global consumer culture

Young transnational and trans-local migrants subscribe to the phenomenon known as urban youth culture, and new universal urban lifestyles. Their sense of belonging and social allegiance becomes less rooted in specific localities and more tied to global consumer culture, including the use of social media. This may have implications for the use and intent for gathering and outdoor recreational space for African cities (refer to section 2.4.5).

6.4.4.2 Remittance system

Remittance obligations to their sending destination will bind migrants to their area of origin. Remittance patterns are very similar in Africa and South African cities are no exception; this also links the receiving destination economically to the senders' location (refer to section 2.4.6).

6.4.4.3 Maintaining migrant networks

Migrants need to maintain their sending destination links in order to facilitate re-insertion if they wish to return. This may influence their behaviour culturally and ethno-socially in the receiving destination (refer to section 2.4.7).

6.4.5 Ethnic enclaves

Ethnic enclaves may be described as a form of segregation that is multi-dimensional and which may be divided into five different components, i.e. unevenness, exposure, concentration, centralisation and clustering (refer to section 2.5). Ethnic enclaves are also called 'transnational spaces' and the choice of enclave location is closely tied to their proximity to nearby infrastructure. An enclave thus refers to both spatial and institutional phenomena (refer to section 2.5). The necessary condition for an enclave is the co-ethnic concentration, but the enabling condition is the formation of co-ethnic businesses, service institutions and associations. *Institutional completeness* therefore makes a true enclave (refer to section 2.5). A distinction must be made between a ghetto, which is a neighbourhood of racial or ethnic concentration that results from social exclusion, and

ethnic clustering, which is a precursor to an ethnic enclave and a necessary condition for its existence. Ethnic clustering is simply a concentration of co-ethnics in a building, group of buildings or an area, which could possibly lead to a true ethnic enclave (refer to section 2.5).

6.4.6 Religion

In Africa, religious belief systems may broadly be divided between Islam and the various Christian African Pentecostal churches. Migrants' religious belief systems may be linked to religious communities from the sending destination and thus may influence public space use in the receiving destination (refer to section 2.6). However, it may also lead to conflict and friction at an urban level. Pentecostal churches, as well as Islamic congregations in American and European cities, create new identities through sacred space reproduction (refer to section 2.6). South African Pentecostal churches in the inner cities of South Africa often temporarily use and appropriate spaces for their religious rituals, both indoors and outdoors. There is however a marked difference between public space use by Islamic and Christian believers, especially regarding gender segregated space. Islamic prescriptions stipulate a segregation of the sexes and various other behaviours required in public space (refer to section 2.6).

6.4.7 Gender

Gender behavioural expectations of female migrants in public space may be influenced by the sending destinations' cultural and ethnic norms (refer to section 2.7). There has been a large increase in the number of African female migrants within the last 20 years. This may change the migrants' spatial influence on receiving destinations. Where women are involved in migrant communities, they tend to become the foundation of the said communities and they tend to perpetuate diasporic migrant identities among themselves and their children in these receiving destinations (refer to section 2.7).

6.4.8 Use of communication technology

Due to modern communication technology and mobility, the divide between rural and urban has become increasingly blurred. Communication technology now links the sending destination and the receiving destination (refer to section 2.8.1). Because communication technologies are more accessible, it makes the process of maintaining the sending destination's spatial habits and customs easier through the use of digital sending and receiving of cultural and religious events. Migrants may therefore stay in contact with their

co-ethnic network more often than was previously possible. The adoption of communication technology to enable and express ethnic culture and public space ceremony and rituals seems to be widespread amongst African migrants. African Pentecostal churches have a major influence on the use and perception by migrant communities of outdoor space in host cities (refer to section 2.8.2).

6.4.9 Status expression

The expression of wealth is becoming an important element for African migrants in receiving destinations. Economic success may influence the use of public space in African cities. Throughout the world migrants tend to use social capital, such as education and qualifications, to elevate their social status and position in the strata of urban space. They also rely on status expression behaviour to generate accelerated social acceptance in public spaces in certain instances (refer to section 2.9).

6.4.10 Recreation

There are two major theoretical approaches to describe migrant recreational patterns. There is the ethnicity thesis, which proposes that observable differences in outdoor recreation activities are culturally driven and shaped by ethnic background. Secondly, the marginality thesis proposes that discrimination and economic disadvantaging are at the core of outdoor recreation use by ethnic migrant minorities. For the purposes of this study both these approaches were accepted as valid (refer to section 2.10).

A uniquely African migrant habit could be one such as eating in public space as a recreational activity. African migrants value communal eating outdoors as an important public space activity. Commercial activity in public space is seen as a means of extending social ties and building community networks, which often occur in recreational settings (refer to section 2.11). Conversation in public spaces is also experienced as a recreational activity and valued by African people worldwide (refer to section 2.11.3).

Migrants seem to favour informal recreation in inner city contexts; however, sport and recreation may play a role in the extent of inclusion of migrants in new communities. Patterns of recreation may also differ, based on ethnicity (refer to section 2.11.4).

6.4.11 Intangible indicators of African migrant culture

The intangible attributes of African migrant culture and diverse ethnicity relate to personal identity and the formation of a personal identity response to public and outdoor space (refer to section 6.4.14).

6.4.12 Impermanence, migration and identity

The issue of return or non-return of migrants to their home country will have implications for the (public and living) spaces that these migrants occupy. The use of public and private space can be linked to personal identity in African cities (refer to section 2.12.2). This leads to the conclusion that migrants will, by definition, bring identity and ethnic spatial constructs to the public spaces which they inhabit in the receiving destinations. If they perceive the use of these spaces as temporary, they may not fully engage and their aspirations for public space use will be different, without ever expressing their true ethnic and personal needs (refer to section 2.12.3).

6.4.13 Social remittance

Social remittances refer to the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending destinations (refer to section 2.12.4). These social remittances usually take on one of three forms, i.e. the migrants may firstly abandon the social and cultural tools of their sending destination, or secondly their social and cultural remittances remain unchanged from the sending destination. This is usually due to limited interaction with the host society. Thirdly, migrants add new items to their cultural repertoire without altering existing ones. There are three types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice and social capital.

Normative structures are ideas, values and beliefs from a certain culture. Systems of practice are the actions of people shaped by normative structures such as household labour, religious practises, and patterns of civil and political participation. Social capital may be the benefits and privileges that a migrant enjoys from being part of a co-ethnic network (refer to section 2.12.4).

6.4.14 Birth order of migrants

First, second or third generation migrants may each interact and experience assimilation differently in the receiving destination. First generation migrants may have a tendency to cling strongly to their co-ethnic network, whereas third generation migrants may generally be much better assimilated in the cultural and public spaces of the receiving destination.

This might imply different spatial behaviours for different generations of migrants, with each generation of migrants displaying different behaviour and needs (refer to section 2.12.5).

6.4.15 Trans-national alienation (includes tactical cosmopolitanism, self-exclusion, flux and movement and mobility)

Migrants who are confronted with xenophobia, may choose to avoid assimilation in the host society, and therefore might not truly engage or integrate. They do not portray their real needs and aspirations for public space use in these receiving destinations. Migrants often resist assimilation into the host society and may accomplish this through self-exclusion from the local public spaces and population. This may influence public space use by migrants through their non-engagement, impermanence and a desire to keep traveling or migrating (refer to section 2.12.6.2). Migrants being in a constant state of flux may collectively change the social fabric of a place or space. These changes may take the form of the societal fabric dissolving or avoidance of collective responsibility for public spaces. Being in flux may also lead to trans-national alienation, which is described as a feeling of alienation and being misunderstood and which never leaves migrants. Trans-nationalism therefore encapsulates all of the above concepts of tactical cosmopolitanism, self-exclusion and being in flux (refer to section 12.2.6.5).

6.4.16 Sub-question 2 conclusion

Sub-question 2:

What are the cultural and religious (ethnographic) indicators for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and work in the Pretoria CBD?

Based on the literature review, certain ethnographic indicators were identified. (refer to section 4.6.3). These ethnographic indicators were divided in two groups, namely tangible and intangible indicators. Certain indicators represent tangible constructs that could be seen physically and certain indicators portray identity constructs, which are unique to African migrants. It was argued that these indicators may indicate differences in the perception of a city's public space by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity.

6.4.16.1 Tangible indicators

- **Co-ethnic networks**

These networks are the defining characteristic of African migrations. They transmit and disseminate culture, spatial habits, social capital and all the other indicators that are bound to these co-ethnic networks. The co-ethnic network is the most valuable form of social capital that an African migrant possesses.

- **Ethnic enclaves**

These are direct spatial outflows of co-ethnic networks. The presence of true ethnic enclaves, with institutional completeness, may indicate the presence of a strong co-ethnic network of migrants that have appropriated private and public space for themselves within an inner city context. Ethnic enclaves may transmit and disseminate cultural spatial habits and recreate familiarity for the members. All of the tangible indicators may be stronger in the presence of a true ethnic enclave space.

- **Global consumer culture and youth culture**

People that adopt a form of global youth culture may sometimes inhabit African city spaces. This youth culture has overtones of modernity and sophistication. Social media and communication technology are employed to generate group identity, express habits and appropriate certain spaces for picture 'selfies' and 'groupies', as well as communal online gaming, and digital 'hang outs'.

- **Religion**

African migrant cultures appropriate public spaces for religious rituals and expression in certain places. They may connect the receiving destination's religious community with the sending destination via communication technology such as streaming and projection and by appropriating temporary ritual spaces in public areas.

- **Gender**

Certain African cultures, especially those adhering to the Islamic faith, may prescribe gender specific behaviour and gender segregation in public spaces.

- **The use of communication technology**

The use of communication technology may have an influence on public space use in African cities. These may include global youth culture, free Wi-Fi usage at certain times

of day, group streaming to sending destinations and religious appropriation of public space via communication technology.

- **Status expression**

Stratification based on income and status in African city contexts is a well-known phenomenon. It may aid in assimilation and accelerated acceptance for migrants. The spatial causality is linked to car culture, outdoor and street parties and temporary spatial appropriation. Negative causality may be noise pollution near residential areas, alcohol abuse in public spaces and urban strife.

- **Recreation, commercial activities and public conversation**

Indicators for African migrants in receiving destinations are communal eating in public space, commercial activity related to co-ethnic networks in public space and public conversations and group conversations as a form of recreation.

6.4.16.2 Intangible indicators

- **Non-permanence**

The issue of return or non-return to their home country may have implications for the public and lived spaces that migrants occupy. Migrants may bring identity and ethnic spatial constructions to the receiving destinations. The spatial responses of migrants may differ depending on their planning to stay or to return.

- **Social remittance**

Social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending destinations. To what degree African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity remit these behavioural identities in the receiving destination remains uncertain.

- **Transnational alienation**

Migrants that experience tribalism or xenophobia may respond with a so-called tactical cosmopolitanism (superficially fostering inclusion without true attachment). They may avoid true engagement and assimilation by concealing their real needs and aspirations for public space use in the receiving destination. As mentioned earlier, migrants may actively resist assimilation into the host society by self-exclusion from the local public spaces places and population. Furthermore, it was concluded that collectively, migrants who are always in a state of flux may change the social fabric of a place. All of the above

may lead to trans-national alienation, which is a feeling of alienation and being misunderstood that never leaves migrants, but leaves them with an ever-present longing for home.

6.5 SUB-QUESTION 3

Sub-question 3:

How may the construct of spatiality be expanded to create a better understanding of space as a construct having social and historical links for African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity?

6.5.1 Introduction

In order to expand the construct of spatiality, the researcher referred to the work of Henri Lefebvre and his seminal work, *The production of space*. Lefebvre's work is referred to in the book *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real and Imagined Places* by Soja (refer to section 2.15). The Thirdspace theory is used as a theoretical basis for expanding the concept of spatiality.

6.5.2 First-, Second- and Thirdspace

Spatiality should be as important as historicity and sociality when it comes to theorising about space (refer to section 2.15.1). Soja questions the traditional Western binary approach to philosophy of either-or didactical reasoning and uses the term 'trialectics' to describe a critical third leg to the traditional didactic reasoning approach by Western philosophies on theorising about space. The traditional approach of Western philosophy is to view the spatial planning disciplines through the lens of historicity and sociality. The critical missing third is spatiality (refer to section 2.15.2). This theory provides a different approach to studying 20th century social spaces, which were divisive and contributed to fragmentation, isolation and marginalisation for the oppressed people (refer to section 2.15.2). Lefebvre aligns himself with those on the 'periphery' of society, and those who are 'different' from the traditional acceptance of what society expects them to be. Implementing Thirdspace theories may make it possible for the marginalised and the different to form a collective resistance as well as to use political choice to regain their voice and, in so doing, regain spatial and political power too (refer to section 2.15.2). It is the researcher's contention that all social relations become real and spaces become expressed

concretely as a part of our lived social existence only when they are spatially inscribed or inscribed by the habits and behaviours of people that live and move in them on a daily basis.

The researcher suggested that these migrants are unknowingly already doing this inscribing; for example, by appropriating sidewalks for co-ethnic conversations, commerce and communal eating. These inscriptions are part of what this study is concerned with as well as the way in which the said inscriptions may inform the spatial planning disciplines of the needs of these African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity. It is then through this Thirdspace of the peripheral and marginalised, that new forms of citizenship and belonging may be defined and realised.

Lefebvre suggests that the whole of social space proceeds from the human body and is planned around the human being. In so doing, it places the human being at the centre of any debate around spatiality and the spatial planning disciplines (refer to section 2.15.2). In other words, spatial planners should start with human life, habits and needs before embarking on spatial planning interventions. The researcher interprets this as meaning that human social, cultural and personal knowledge should take preference to spatial planning codes, plans or interventions.

6.5.2.1 Firstspace

Firstspaces are those that we may see and touch, and that are typically conceived by Secondspace planners and designers. Soja argues that the Firstspace epistemology continues to dominate the spatial planning disciplines (refer to section 2.15.2).

6.5.2.2 Secondspace

Secondspace epistemologies may be distinguished from Firstspace epistemologies by their focus on conceived, rather than perceived space as spatial planners do when they conceive of or design spaces for others. These spatial planning epistemologies represent power and an ideology of control (refer to section 2.15.2).

6.5.2.3 Thirdspace

Thirdspaces are spaces of representation or lived spaces. Thirdspace is concerned with going beyond these two dialectically opposed Firstspace and Secondspace approaches and gaining new insight from the people that are marginalised and perceive themselves as different. Bell Hooks likens Thirdspace to a form of political choice (refer to section 2.15.2). The centrality of (personal) identity remains a crucial construction of Thirdspace. This may be tied to concepts such as self-expression, cultural identity expression and political power to a degree that would have an influence on their everyday lived public spaces.

Central to the tenet of African migrants' and people of diverse ethnicity's lives, is the concept of legitimacy. Thirdspace is an invitation for people to express themselves, with a feeling of making themselves at home being there. Private spaces are needed away from the presence of hegemonic aggression. Spaces also partially form us, and that choice for different spaces is an important need in human spatiality (refer to section 2.15.2).

6.5.3 Attributes of Thirdspace

Based on the work of Lefebvre, the researcher developed the following attributes of spatiality in terms of the Thirdspace concept and suggests that these attributes may have an influence on the expansion and understanding of the term 'spatiality' for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD. Following this, the researcher presents key attributes that informed the empirical investigation for this study:

- Thirdspaces are everyday lived spaces of the habitants and users. These people 'inscribe' their everyday lived spaces with their own unique identity and cultural practices
- Spaces should be pliant, flexible and accommodating to accept the 'inscriptions' of the lives of the people that live there on a daily basis. These spaces should thus be robust enough to accommodate the needs of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in a city space context
- Thirdspace should enable access for the marginalised and the different peoples. This may mean access to ablutions, access to water, sanitation, and so forth, but also freedom from possible harassment and exclusion by State powers
- Political choice: Thirdspace attempts to re-empower the powerless
- Legitimacy: Thirdspace attempts to legitimise the illegitimate

- Accommodating spaces: Thirdspace accommodates all inhabitants and not just those who possess hegemonic power
- Adaptability: Thirdspaces are highly adaptable, always changing and they avoid closure.

6.5.4 Thirdspace indicators

Based on the work of Lefebvre and the above listed attributes, the researcher developed the following indicators which formed part of the empirical investigation. These indicators are presented in the form of questions whose answers may confirm their presence or absence (refer to section 2.15.2).

- **Regulatory intrusiveness:** Do African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD suffer from the intrusion of hegemonic power in their everyday lived spaces? Examples may be regulations that prohibit them from fairly competing with other local traders, confiscation of their goods due to regulations, or general harassment from authorities due to a lack of residency documentation. Do regulations of city space use prohibit and hamper them from making a living in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?
- **Participation:** Do they participate in the everyday running of affairs in the Pretoria CBD? Do they have a participatory voice to effect change if they need it, and are they given the right of participation?
- **Accommodating spaces:** Are the physical spaces of the Pretoria CBD accommodating to their everyday needs? This may include access to ablutions, water and overhead shelter. Do the spaces accommodate or constrain their everyday lived experiences in the Pretoria CBD?
- **Spatial choice:** Do they have sufficient spatial choices for their everyday lived needs in the Pretoria CBD? This may include choices for different needs, such as gender based or religious needs. Are they denied access to certain spaces due to their being migrants?
- **Cultural expression:** If they wished to express their cultural habits in the form of ethnic rituals or ceremonies related to their ethnic background, will they feel free to do so, or will they decline due to fear of harassment or xenophobia?

- **Political choice:** Do they participate in the power structures of the Pretoria CBD? May they vote and express their political opinion regarding their everyday lived experiences in the Pretoria CBD?
- **Ethnic division:** Do they suffer from ethnic separation in the form of harassment, exclusion or xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD?

6.6 THE AIM OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Sub-question 4:

How may an in-depth investigation into the personal experience of African immigrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live in the Pretoria CBD contribute to an improved understanding of their needs to inform the spatial planning disciplines in the Pretoria CBD?

The aim of the empirical research was to collect data regarding the personal experiences of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity who live and move in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. To achieve this aim, five case studies were undertaken, two group interviews and three individual interviews on the topic under investigation in the Pretoria CBD. Each case study participant(s) took part in a lengthy semi-structured interview, as well as allowing the researcher to observe them throughout the day of the interview. The data obtained in the interviews and observations addressed the ethnographic indicators as well as the spatial principles developed from the literature review in Chapter 2.

6.7 FINDINGS FROM THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The findings which were derived from the coded data are presented in the form of a discussion of the themes as they emerged from the data. For ease of reference, Table 6.2 provides the list of participants who contributed to this study.

Table 6.2 Case Studies and interviews

Case study or participant number	Name/ pseudonym	Culture/ country/ affiliation	Referred to in the thesis as	Interview and coded data appear in Annexure:
Case study 1 (Individual interview and observation)	Donovan	Ndebele, South African	Donovan (Case study 1)	Interview in annexure E Coded data in annexure D
Case study 2 (Group interview and observation)	Edward and Robert	Zimbabwean foreign nationals	Edward and Robert (Case study 2)	Interview in annexure F Coded data in annexure D
Case study 3 (Individual interview and observation)	Matthew	Mozambican foreign national	Matthew (Case study 3)	Interview in annexure G Coded data in annexure D
Case study 4 (Individual interview and observation)	Tina	Tsonga, South African	Tina (Case study 4)	Interview in annexure H Coded data in annexure D
Case Study 5 (Group interview and observation)	Anna, Jonathan, Margaret, Rose and Peter	Rwandan foreign nationals	The Rwandans (Case study 5)	Interview in annexure I Coded data in annexure D
Group interview	Property administrator 1 and 2	Staff members in a property administration company in the Pretoria CBD	Property administrators	Interview in annexure J,N

				Coded data in annexure D
Individual interview	Professor Stephan De Beer	University of Pretoria	Prof de Beer	Interview in annexure K Coded data in annexure D
Individual interview	Pastor Emmanuel Tshilenga	International Church, Pretoria CBD	Pastor Tshilenga	Interview in annexure L Coded data in annexure D
Individual interview	Moulana (Religious Leader)	Queen Street Mosque, Pretoria CBD	Imam of the Queen Street Mosque	Interview in annexure M Coded data in annexure D

The findings from all four case studies, as well as the group and individual interviews, are integrated under each theme as follows:

6.7.1 Co-ethnic networks and ethnic enclaves

All the case study participants, except Donovan (Case Study 1), who is an Ndebele national, are still in contact with and maintain their co-ethnic networks to a greater or lesser degree.

The data appear to indicate that all of them, except Donovan, also used their co-ethnic networks to gain access to support and help in settling into the receiving destination.

Donovan is of local origin, but is part of the street hustler and drug addict network in the Pretoria CBD and has been abandoned by his traditional co-ethnic network. This group may be considered a separate network in their own right, even though they are not ethnically constituted. The participants in the foreign nationals' case studies display a lower level of attachment to co-ethnic networks within the Pretoria CBD, and the data seem to indicate that they all belong to strong co-ethnic networks located outside of the Pretoria CBD, such as in Tembisa and Johannesburg. The analysis of the data was corroborated by both

Professor De Beer and Pastor Tshilenga, who participated in individual interviews. Their true co-ethnic networks and the concomitant ethnic enclaves may be outside the Pretoria CBD, while the case study participants represent satellite ethnic clusters within the Pretoria CBD. Thus, none of the case study participants formed part of what could be called a true ethnic enclave as described in the literature as they do not possess institutional completeness. Nonetheless, they all, to varying degrees, display the precursor to true enclaves, referred to as 'ethnic clustering', within the Pretoria CBD. Tina (Case study 4), who is of local Tsonga origin, displays a very strong co-ethnic and trans-local trading network. Despite this network having been active within the Pretoria CBD for more than 20 years and a very strong co-ethnic network within the Pretoria CBD, Tina's group also does not form a true ethnic enclave within the Pretoria CBD: this ethnic enclave is situated outside of the Pretoria CBD, in Atteridgeville. This position was supported by participants 7 and 8, i.e. Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga. Professor de Beer indicated that true foreign national enclaves are to be found in the periphery suburbs of Sunnyside and Arcadia. Pastor Tshilenga explained that there has been a long history of ethnic clustering within the Pretoria CBD, but none has ever produced a lasting ethnic enclave with institutional completeness. The data does however indicate that the local ethnic, co-ethnic and trans-local trading networks have a strong appropriation of public space in the Pretoria CBD, and the foreign national co-ethnic and trans-national networks do not.

6.7.2 Assimilation and permanence

The local national participants display a sound level of permanence and a feeling of being assimilated. The foreign national participants, in contrast, display low levels of assimilation among the population of the Pretoria CBD, with the exception of Anna (Case study 5), who has been in the CBD for 10 years; the other participants have not remained in the CBD for longer than two years. This relatively short period is evident in their struggle to find good trading spots and to feel part of the general social order in the CBD.

In addition to the influence that the duration of their stay in the CBD has on the assimilation and permanence of the participants, other challenges, such as the seeming difficulty in obtaining trading licenses, language issues and that they, as foreign nationals, are perceived as competing with local vendors, all seemed to have an impact. Moreover, the continuous attempt, not just by them, but by everyone around them to find better trading spots and

circumstances had a bearing on their experience. Their efforts at appropriation of and attempts to settle in a space may therefore be described as being in a state of flux. The fact that the foreign national participants express the wish to one day return to their country of origin, further confirms a lack of assimilation and permanence. Professor de Beer however argued that the levels of assimilation within the Pretoria CBD are still higher than suburban and fringe areas such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. This is perhaps due to the fact that Sunnyside and Arcadia, which are in close proximity, accommodate large numbers of African migrants. Both Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga supported this statement and mentioned that African migrants tend to use the Pretoria CBD as an initial arrival area, after which they tend to be absorbed into the more strongly established enclaves in Sunnyside and Arcadia. However, both experts agreed that the Pretoria CBD, for reasons that are unclear, has higher levels of permanence for African migrants than any of the other major cities in South Africa, such as Johannesburg and Cape Town.

In conclusion, the local co-ethnic networks and trans-local traders display a much higher attachment to and assimilation within the CBD's spaces, places and populace, as well as general assimilation, than the foreign national case study participants. The latter all displayed high levels of temporality and low levels of assimilation with local space, place and populace. The foreign national cases study participants also display low levels of attachment to space and place in the Pretoria CBD. However the children (second and third generation) of the local and foreign national case study participants all display higher levels of assimilation in the CBD, possibly indicating higher future assimilation for this generation of foreign nationals.

6.7.3 Importing socio-cultural identity

The data indicate that none of the case study participants tend to have imported socio-cultural customs, rituals or habits into the receiving destination, except Tina (Case study 4) who is a Tsonga national and part of a local co-ethnic network. However, both Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga contended that there is a degree of importing identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD by African foreign nationals, especially regarding dress code for females as well as occasional communal eating. Recreational conversation on the streets occurs often, but many of the more specific dance and rituals by, for example the Tsonga culture, are enacted outside of the Pretoria CBD. Donovan, the street hustler/drug

dealer emphatically states that he prefers the CBD people to his own co-ethnic network, even though he does miss his people. The data indicate that there is an element of fear underlying the foreign nationals' reluctance to display socio-cultural customs, rituals or habits in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The data further indicate that this fear is partly due to being exposed by their language of origin, which is a constant problem for African migrants in the Pretoria CBD. A fear of the authorities as well as fear of the local population also contribute partly to this. The data however seem to indicate that the African Initiator Churches as a single entity, are the largest importer of religious and cultural ritual into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

6.7.4 Communication technology in public space

The data indicate that none of the participants use communication technology in a way that may influence the use of public space. They neither congregate around free Wi-Fi towers (which apparently work only intermittently) nor engage in ethnic or religious rituals that are transmitted or received in individual or in group settings. However, the property administrators mention the phenomenon of youth culture using communication technology in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD to a significant degree. This statement corresponds with the researcher's observations while visiting the study area. This youth group consists of school age children and tertiary education students. The youths select particular spaces that are purposely designed and equipped by the property owners to 'hang around' in, and interact with each other via communication devices, engage in social media, play online games and take selfies and groupies. The property administrators referred to this space as the "Instagram wall". Data obtained from Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga concur with the case study data, that there are low levels of communication technology that would influence the use of public space. However, Professor de Beer was of the opinion that these spaces can only be used at certain times of the day, and that safety is a problem. Pastor Tshilenga found that most of the foreign nationals do use communication technology to maintain ethnic ties with networks back home, but most of this activity takes place in internet cafes within the CBD.

To conclude, the data do not confirm the wide use of communication technology in public spaces of the Pretoria CBD by most of the groups, although there is a strong use of communication technology in certain public spaces by the youth group. There is however a

problem with safety for this group while engaging in this activity; these spaces can only be used at certain times due to this problem. It may therefore be deduced that the need for safety and anonymity (to not be identified as a foreign national) may conceal an important need for access to technology.

6.7.5 Commercial transnational/local trading networks

The data suggest that this indicator has the greatest influence on the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The street hustlers have a commercial model that is unique to their own network. It is possibly linked to crime at many levels, and the daily hustling of parking spaces for cars may be seen by some as a mild form of extortion. Their 'spaces of commerce' are the pavements and sections of the street that they appropriate on a daily basis. All the case study participants, except the street hustler, are part of co-ethnic networks, but not all of the foreign nationals are part of a trans-national trading network. Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga agreed that there are low levels of true African trans-national trading networks in the Pretoria CBD, and that most of the African migrant traders operate more or less on their own. The data indicate that the foreign nationals do not rely on their co-ethnic network for commercial sales to any significant degree. Pastor Tshilenga found that most of the true African trans-national trading networks are located in Sunnyside, and that most of the African migrants that seek ethnic merchandise will acquire it there. The data however, seem to indicate that the trans-local traders do rely on their ethnic network to a certain extent. The data distinguish between the trans-local traders and the trans-national traders. The trans-local traders are strongly embedded in the public spaces that they have appropriated and the data seem to indicate that they have appropriated large areas of the Pretoria CBD for themselves, if their numbers are taken in account (referring to the Tsonga network). Their acceptance by the law enforcement fraternity where they sell, also appears to indicate this. This is in contrast to the situation in which the foreign nationals find themselves, since they display low levels of commercial space appropriation and embeddedness, high degrees of temporality as well as exclusion and xenophobia from the local populace as well as some law enforcement officers. All the traders suffer from poor conditions around their stands: over-crowding, lack of shade and roofing for weather protection as well as a lack of facilities for those that sell food for washing pots and pans and no potable water to cook with. All of these items of cookware and wash-ware need to

be transported to their area of trading on a daily basis. Many of the selling locations have very poor paving or none at all, with dishwater pooling in certain places, and mud when it rains.

The property administrators made a distinction between residential and commercial tenants in their buildings, finding that their commercial tenants tended to be a lot less educated and their trading tended to be of a cyclical nature with very low levels of spatial embeddedness and spatial appropriation over long periods. This confirms the findings from the case studies and individual interviews.

6.7.6 Religion

The data indicate a very low level of religious influence on public space use in the Pretoria CBD across all groups. None of the participants of the case studies practiced religious rituals or ceremonies in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga, who are both involved in religious practice in the Pretoria CBD, agreed that the use of public space for religious expression within the Pretoria CBD is very low. This is in contrast to cities such as Johannesburg, where there seems to be a higher use of public space use for religion. For the Christian African migrants, churches tend to be vehicles of access and ethnic integration into the culture and spaces of the CBD. Be that as it may, data from interviews with Professor De Beer and Pastor Tshilenga, indicate that Christian churches in the Pretoria CBD tend to be ethnically stratified. They are also stratified according to sending countries' language, with the French speaking countries' migrants tending to gravitate toward the francophone International Church of Pretoria, which is led by Pastor Tshilenga. Both participants concurred that there is a definite lack of religious space for Christian churches. They explained that despite the tendency to share premises, there is very little lateral communication between congregations, which differ ethnically. Data indicate that there is a need for activities such as choir practice and youth groups after formal services, which then spill over into the parks in and around the CBD. Pastor Tshilenga argues that, although there is a need for outdoor space for religious practice among some of the churches, people would be discouraged to use public spaces due to fear of the authorities and xenophobic action. The property administrators supported this view. The Moulana [Islamic religious leader], was of the view that the influence of Islam on the public

spaces of the Pretoria CBD is extremely low as all their religious activities take place in the mosque and at their homes. This fact was confirmed by the property administrators.

To conclude, the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD for religious purposes is very low, with more Christian than Islamic adherents within the public space of the Pretoria CBD.

6.7.7 Gender

Two of the case study participants are female. The data for the gender indicator did not yield any conclusive finding for the case study participants, except for Anna (Case study 5) who is a trans-national female Rwandan trader. The data obtained from Tina, (Case study 4), who is a South African Tsonga national, (the local Tsonga female trader) do not display any gender related spatial prescriptions from her co-ethnic network or from her religious affiliation. Anna indicated that her gender places her at a higher risk of crime, as well as xenophobia from the local population. In contrast to this, Professor de Beer contends that the Pretoria CBD is a highly gendered space and a highly patriarchal society, which places females at risk from harassment. Pastor Tshilenga explained that certain African migrant females would prefer to practice religious and ethnically prescribed behaviour in the public spaces of the CBD, but due to the fact that they are guests in a host society, they may not feel free to display such behaviour. The Moulana from the Queen Street Mosque explained that women from the Islamic faith are required to stay indoors if at all possible, and should avoid accessing the public spaces of the CBD if they can. The Islamic faith prescribes certain behaviours for males and females, but such behaviour is enacted in their private living spaces and the mosques and not necessarily in the public spaces of the CBD.

To conclude, the data seem to indicate that gender, as an indicator, has little influence on public space use in the Pretoria CBD. It highlights the problem of crime and safety for females in the CBD; however, this is a general concern for all people in the CBD, and females will generally display a higher risk for crime related incidents. There is possibly a need from African migrant females in particular to display ethnically prescribed behaviour, but this is avoided due to their fear of being exposed as foreign nationals.

6.7.8 Status projection

The data indicated that none of the case study participants make use of status projection to encourage acceptance within the general population of the Pretoria CBD. All the

participants seem to be aware of the phenomenon and of social stratification with the projection of status in the CBD. All of the case study participants display a negative response towards the phenomenon due to the consequences that it may have for the general population. However, data obtained from Anna and her group (Case study 5), who are Rwandan foreign nationals, indicated that the Rwandan population in the Pretoria CBD is highly stratified according to their social status, with shop owners and vehicle owners perceived as having the highest status. They do occasionally feign wealth to garner temporary acceptance within this social order. They perceive social exclusion to be harmful to those who are not wealthy. The participants explained that status projection, when it occurs, takes place in public space, at open-air gatherings and street parties. Most of these events take place during the evenings and over weekends. The rest of the participants agreed that this phenomenon is mostly practiced by the local population and sometimes by African migrants in areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia, where it may be safer to do so. Pastor Tshilenga felt that more African migrants would indulge in this indicator if they had the financial resources to do so.

To conclude, the data indicate an awareness of the phenomenon among all the participants. The phenomenon is present and may have negative effects, in the form of psychological rejection and stratification along class lines. This will be especially true for the poor and the marginalised, when trying to access equitable use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.

6.7.9 Recreation

The data indicated that public and group conversation, as an ethnographic indicator, is practiced and sought out by all the case study participants. Despite this need for social affiliation, the data indicated that the foreign nationals do not practice communal eating in public space, even though they state that it happens in their countries of origin. Tina, the South African Tsonga woman, does however practice communal eating in the Pretoria CBD. Playing soccer and going to gym are the most practiced activities by all of the participants, but none of the foreign nationals play soccer in the informal open spaces of the Pretoria CBD, even though they may want to. The data, especially from Anna and her group, who are Rwandan nationals, indicate that foreigners struggle to access outdoor public space when they attempt to participate in informal outdoor recreational activities, such as playing soccer. This is due to spatial contestation from the local population, fear of authorities, fear

of the local population and a lack of formal registration documents for most of them. This indicator creates an awareness of the high levels of fear that foreign nationals experience in accessing the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The property administrators' tenants are 90% local people, and the restricted recreational areas that they provide are for tenants only. The street hustler does play soccer, but outside the study area.

Commerce, mixed with recreation, is practiced by all the case study participants in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. Pastor Tshilenga emphasised the need from the African migrants at least, for large green areas, for communal eating spaces and for communal street conversation. Many of the foreign nationals seek out conversations and spaces where they can converse, but fear and the language barrier remain an obstacle. Both Professor de Beer and Pastor Tshilenga mention the need for all foreign nationals to access open public space. This however is a contentious issue, due to their having no legal standing as long as they do not have legal residency. Pastor Tshilenga argues that this fear does diminish once the foreign nationals have legal registration, but this does not mean that these spaces are now open to them, as xenophobic actions however do not distinguish between foreigners who are registered and those who are not.

To conclude, there is a need for public open space for informal and formal recreational needs. These include public conversation, communal eating and for sport and leisure for all groups. There is a specific need for public green spaces for religious activities and outdoor recreation.

6.7.10 Trans-national alienation

All the case study participants who are foreigners, except Edward and Robert, (Case study 2), experienced trans-national alienation. The reason why Edward and Robert seem to experience less trans-national alienation may be due to the fact that they are brothers and thus assist each other with immediate close family support. All the participants, including the South African participants, do however miss their relatives and friends back at home. In addition to experiencing trans-national alienation, Anna's group who are from Rwanda, appears to suffer from a type of collective trauma from their country's history of genocide through which all the participants had lived. These Rwandan participants appeared to be in

a state of flux. They do not wish to return home in future, but they also state that they do not feel that South Africa has become their true home. In contrast, Tina (Case study 4) who is a South African Tsonga speaker, is firmly embedded in her co-ethnic network, and the data indicate that she receives comfort and security from her co-ethnic support network. She does not suffer from trans-local alienation. Donovan (Case study 1) does suffer from a form of trans-local alienation, because he has been abandoned by his co-ethnic network. Although he is not spatially attached to any place, he does however receive a form of support and inclusion from his street-network.

The foreign-nationals experience a low level of attachment to space and place. They express a need for additional ethnic and close family support, and feel homesick even if it is just for familiarity and ethnic comfort.

6.7.11 Regulatory intrusiveness (Participation - Accommodating Spaces - Spatial choice)

The data indicate that all the foreign national participants suffer from regulatory intrusiveness in their everyday lives in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. This is a consequence of not having legal registration documents, which means that they may not obtain a trading license from the City Council. This situation exposes them to harassment, xenophobia and the regular confiscation of their goods by law enforcement officials. Donovan (Case study 1) suffers from disproportionately high regulatory intrusiveness due to being a street hustler. Tina (Case Study 4), who is a South African Tsonga speaker, is the only participant who does not experience high levels of regulatory intrusiveness. Their negative experiences with the authorities are related to lapsed trading licenses that may be avoidable on their part since they have legal citizenship documents and are thus able to obtain trading permits. Pastor Tshilenga is of the opinion that African migrants often have no choice but to trade illegally as they have no other source of income, which in turn exposes them to harassment and bribery from law enforcement and criminalises them due to no fault of their own.

With regard to social, economic and legal participation, the data indicate that all the foreign national case study participants have very low levels of participation. All of them experience powerlessness and exclusion from participating in the affairs of their everyday lived public

spaces. The data seem to indicate that only Tina (local trader) exerts a large degree of voluntary participation in the public spaces of the CBD.

In terms of accommodating spaces in the Pretoria CBD, the data indicate that none of the participants live and move in accommodating spaces within the Pretoria CBD on a daily basis. Overhead shelter in the form of roofing – a commodity that is highly sought after and contested – is generally lacking. The authorities do not, as a rule, allow the use of gazebos due to the possibility of traffic light obstruction, especially near street corners. The data also indicate that the lack of accessible toilets and potable water is extremely problematic for all the participants. While Tina, being a local, has access to nearby facilities, all the other participants are required to walk at least four street blocks to a toilet on a daily basis. The participants who sell cooked food have an additional problem of dishwater disposal. This fact was also evident during the initial survey of the CBD. Many of the traders use storm water drains, but these are not always close by and completely inadequate from a hygiene point of view. Mathew (Case study 3) experiences a particular problem as he works alone and has no one to mind his stock while going to relieve himself. Out of desperation Mathew and people who are in the same position then use nearby trees and bushes where available, or plainly relieve themselves on the pavements or walls near their trading spots. This creates a significant hygiene problem in the Pretoria CBD. There is also a lack of seating space in general, and the state of the paved sidewalks is very dilapidated in certain areas, creating mud and drainage problems when it rains. Pastor Tshilenga emphasises the problem of the lack of and state of public ablution facilities. This is especially a problem for newly arrived migrants, some whom often sleep on the streets and approach churches for temporary help.

Spatial choice is therefore limited for all of the participants. The foreign national participants, especially if they work alone, find this lack of spatial choice challenging. This is exacerbated by locals preventing or discouraging foreigners from accessing certain spaces in the Pretoria CBD. It also seems as if this behaviour is supported by most of the local population, including formal shop owners. During the initial survey, the researcher gained the distinct impression that this process is implemented and managed by shop owners who use security guards to enforce limited access to public spaces.

There is a clear difference in the experience of regulatory intrusiveness between South African citizens and foreigners. Even so, none of the participants experience the Pretoria CBD's spaces as accommodating of their daily needs.



Figure 15: Foreign national man bathing in Apies River; Unaccommodating spaces

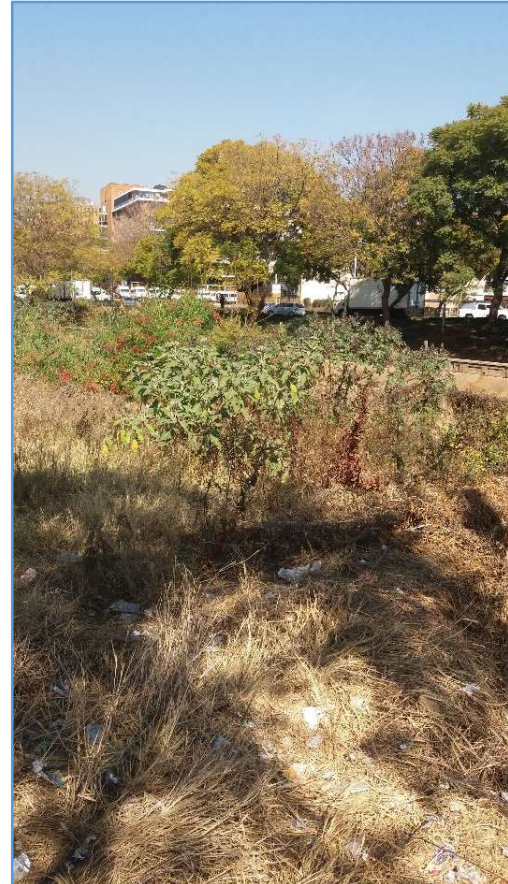


Figure 16: Periphery space of CBD where street people sleep

6.7.12 Cultural expression (Political choice - Ethnic division)

The data indicate that none of the case study participants who are foreign nationals express their cultural activities in the Pretoria CBD. Donovan (Case study 1) does not desire to do so, as he belongs to a new 'cultural' network. The data seem to indicate the reason for this is a climate in which fear of and rejection by the local population dominate as well as sometimes being confronted by xenophobic attitudes or even attacks by the local people. Additionally, law enforcement may prohibit them from expressing themselves culturally, in the form of public ritual or specific ethnic behaviours. The data indicate that only Tina (Case study 4), the local participant, feels free to do so, as she indicated that she has no fear to do so if she wished. In addition, the foreign nationals fear communicating in their home

language and perceive this as a limitation of their freedom of cultural expression. In terms of political choice, the data indicate that all the foreign national participants have no political choice or participation in the power structures of the Pretoria CBD since very few of them have legal registration documents. With regard to Case study 1, Donovan does not suffer from a sense of ethnic separation to any large degree, due to the street hustler network being reasonably inclusive in this regard. Tina (Case study 4) who is part of large Tsonga co-ethnic network, does not experience ethnic separation at all. All the foreign nationals are heavily impacted by ethnic division in the form of xenophobia. They have all experienced victimisation through xenophobic actions. Mathew (Case study 3) and the Rwandan group (Case study 5), all experience extreme xenophobia. All the other participants agree that the foreign nationals are exposed to high levels of rejection and xenophobia, with Pastor Tshilenga reporting that many of his congregants are affected by this on a daily basis.

6.8 INTEGRATION OF THE LITERATURE AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

An integrated discussion of the findings of the literature and empirical research as they relate to the main research question is now presented.

6.8.1 Introduction

The main research question that this study aimed to answer was:

How are lived spaces created by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, and how may its implications for urban planning be established by doing a phenomenological investigation?

This research investigates an age-old phenomenon, that of appropriation of space by people who move from their country or city of origin to seek improved livelihoods elsewhere. It focuses on the phenomenon from an African perspective, and the influence this phenomenon has on the provision and use of public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. The literature illustrated the point that globalisation and new communication technologies, allow transnational peoples to continue shared social lives with people back home. These shared social lives however come at a cost, socially, economically and personally, to the migrants and the people who leave their country of origin and attempt to foster inclusion,

acceptance and a new life in receiving destinations such as the spaces and places of South Africa's inner cities.

The Pretoria CBD's public spaces are predominantly used by four distinct groups on a daily basis. These groups live and move in the public spaces and to a large degree, physically influence the use of these public spaces; unlike for instance, the tenants of residential buildings who live in access-controlled environments and work elsewhere. These four groups are the street hustler/drug dealer network of street people, the trans-local traders, the trans-national foreign traders and the youth group that seem to have fostered a culture of their own regarding the spatial use of certain spaces in the Pretoria CBD. These groups are not the only ones, but seem to be the groups most likely to influence public space use on a daily basis. The following prominent themes emerged from the research:

6.8.2 Commercial space and ethnic division

The data indicate that the most prominent indicator for African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD is the use of public space for commercial purposes. This is confirmed by the literature study, indicating that public spaces, which are used for commercial purposes, are characterised by alliances, networking and jurisdictions, all temporary and prone to change. In contrast to the trans-local traders, the foreign national traders display low levels of commercial space appropriation and embeddedness, high degrees of temporality, as well as experiencing exclusion and xenophobia from the local populace. The situation in the Pretoria CBD is perhaps unique and in contrast to the Johannesburg inner city, in that the Pretoria CBD population seems to have a firm hold over the appropriation of commercial space for local co-ethnic networks, mostly by the local Tswana, Tsonga and Venda speakers. However, the principal reason for the marginalisation of the foreign national street traders is discussed in the following theme, i.e. that of a lack of formal residency documentation. It should be kept in mind that a very large part of the population that lives and moves in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, on a daily basis, rely completely on the informal economy for their livelihoods.

6.8.3 Foreign nationals and the problem of legal residency documentation

None of the foreign national participants for this study is in possession of legal residency documentation. This prevents them from acquiring commercial trading licenses from the City Council. This in turn often leads to the confiscation of their goods, harassment from the

local population and law enforcers and exclusion from certain public spaces in the Pretoria CBD. The consequences for the foreign nationals are often untenable and lead to withdrawal, victimisation and exclusion from public spaces. This lack of legal residency documentation has consequences for them at all levels, from spatiality and equitable access, to assimilation and integration within the CBD population as a whole. This situation creates fear of participation and therefore a lack of accessing and engaging with all kinds of public spaces for various reasons, the main one being fear of retaliation and xenophobia. The result is then a withdrawal from public space use, where at all possible, and this leads to a form of public hiding that they practice to protect themselves. Consequently, they cannot fully express any of their needs for socialisation, identity, recreation or any other need that requires the use of public space. This fear and covertness do subside once they receive legal residency documentation, but there are also issues of xenophobia and public space appropriation and territoriality from the local population that do not distinguish between foreigners who are registered and those who are not.

6.8.4 Constructing spatiality for the marginalized and powerless

The literature indicated that spatiality does not only mean physical space, but the potential to create lived spaces with social and historical links. The empirical research examined what spatiality and spatial participation – or the lack thereof – mean for the participants of this study. This in turn expands the meaning of the term when used in the context of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, particularly for the purpose of spatial planning.

Based on the literature, it was further argued that the spatial planning disciplines of the 21st century should change their understanding of space by adding new dimensions of meaning. Those with authority traditionally design spaces, which Soja refers to as the Secondspace, for the powerless in society, in accordance with universal and mostly western perspectives (refer to section 2.15.1). In other words, spatial planning disciplines have the authority to design spaces for others according to their own understanding of space, often without taking into account the needs and wishes of those who will use the spaces. The research confirms how pertinent it is to approach the design and provision of public spaces, not only with an understanding of the powerful underlying narratives, but also by referring to the Thirdspace concept, i.e. the inclusion of the elements of sociality and historicity in their

understanding of space. The public spaces of the Pretoria CBD were originally created in this Secondspace, by people in authority (refer to section 2.5.5). The literature further confirms that the Pretoria CBD was not originally planned to house a large residential population. The fact that the planning and morphology happened at a time when these Secondspace planners could not foresee the influx of African migrants as well as the increasing residential role that the Pretoria CBD would fulfil, led to inadequate public space provision, largely centred around commercial and civic functions, for a population that was mostly present in this environment only during daytime.

In the case of the current Pretoria CBD condition, African foreign nationals are the most marginalised and disempowered group. The empirical research confirms the above principles of spatiality by revealing participants who are in a daily struggle for survival from authorities who exploit them, do not assist them and who give preference to local traders who also play a part in keeping them in a position of powerlessness. According to the empirical research, the traders who live and work in the Pretoria CBD, have no political power, no means of cultural or social expression and no spatial autonomy. They suffer from high levels of trans-national alienation, regulatory intrusiveness and ethnic division (xenophobia) and suffer from very low levels of spatial participation.

6.8.5 Accommodating spaces

One of the major disadvantages of the dense inner CBD is its lack of public open spaces (refer to section 2.2.3). At a street level scale, the empirical data corroborate this, and also indicate that all the case study participants suffer from a lack of accommodating public spaces. There is a lack of permanent shelter, overhead roofing and ablutions. There is very scant access to drinking water and people have to negotiate with shop owners or building owners to use their ablution facilities.

Certain foreign nationals are discouraged or prevented from using the available facilities. Storm water drainage is a problem at times. Traders who sell cooked food also do not have dishwater disposal options, which as mentioned before, creates problems from a hygiene point of view throughout the Pretoria CBD. The lack of seating and the poor state of the paved sidewalks in public spaces are confirmed as problematic by all the participants. The use of gazebos as temporary overhead shelters is often forbidden by the City's law enforcers

due to the restrictions they impose on visibility for traffic lights; consequently overhead roofing remains a large problem.

6.8.6 Youth culture

The literature study indicates that trans-national and trans-local migrants demonstrate and participate in the phenomenon known as urban youth culture, among other players. Their sense of belonging and social allegiance becomes less rooted in specific localities and more tied to global consumer culture (refer to Section 2.3.3). An unexpected finding of this research was of the large urban group of young people that live and move in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They are school aged children as well as tertiary education students, together with local and foreign national youths and young adults. The property administrators mention the “Instagram wall” that is used by this youth group to interact in, and take ‘selfies’ and ‘groupie’ photographs, and use the available backdrop to ‘hang around in’. A significant part of these findings is that the young people choose certain spaces that have been beautified, and have access to data for their digital devices. The literature shows that the internet and technology, has changed the spatial structures of public spaces, especially as used by the urban youth. It has also changed the distinction between private and public space (Section 2.3.3). These youth groups appropriate a large part of the lived spaces of the Pretoria CBD on a daily basis.

6.9 CONCLUSIONS

It was found that there are four distinct groups of people that live and move in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD on a daily basis. These groups are the street hustlers’ network, the trans-local traders, the trans-national foreign traders and the urban youth group. There are no true ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD that possess institutional completeness, but only limited ethnic clustering, which could be a precursor to true enclaves, and the reason for this may be related to fear and xenophobia.

The physical spaces of the Pretoria CBD are currently not accommodating of the needs of these four groups. There is a distinct lack of overhead shelter, the ablutions are too few and far, and partially contested in the case of the foreign nationals. There is a lack of adequate paving and seating spaces for all the groups. Storm water drainage is problematic and the

street traders have no dishwater discharge options if they trade in cooked goods. The youth group, and possibly all national and foreign traders, have a need for adequate communication technology engagement spaces that are safe and have data available. Fear, related to crime, is a problem for all of the groups.

The foreign nationals group is at risk of xenophobia and ethnic division on a constant basis. These are manifest in the form of exclusion and marginalisation regarding access to public space use for recreation, personal and commercial use. It affects their personal psychological state and their ability to generate a living in the public spaces of the CBD. Their lack of legal residency documentation is largely at the root of this powerlessness and lack of spatial autonomy. They have low levels of assimilation and do not display permanence or attachment to place and consequently, do not take responsibility for and ownership of the public spaces in the Pretoria CBD.

The root problem of spatial inadequacy and inequality in the Pretoria CBD is then firstly related to the city's morphology and the fact that the Pretoria CBD was not purposely designed for such a large residential population. This population is also increasing, which exacerbates the problem. Secondly, the situation of diverse ethnicity, constituted of local people and African foreign nationals, is the driver behind almost all the spatial marginalisation, exclusion and xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD, and leads directly to underutilised and poorly understood spatiality. The presence of these two groups is the main source of friction, and until a way forward can be found, will remain a source of friction, contested spatiality, marginalisation, oppression and powerlessness for a large part of the Pretoria CBD population.

The above conclusions necessitate specific recommendations, which are given in the section hereafter.

6.10 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are presented in two sections, i.e. those recommendations that follow from the findings of the research question and those recommendations that are relevant for further research.

6.10.1 Recommendations regarding the findings of the main research question

How are lived spaces created by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD, and how may its implications for urban planning be established by doing a phenomenological investigation?

- All four groups in the Pretoria CBD suffer from inadequate public spaces. There is a need for precinct-wide accommodating spaces for all the population, but particularly for the informal sector of traders and foreign nationals. These spaces should not only be accommodating, but created in such a way as to promote safety too.
- For the street traders in general, it is recommended that where possible, informal trading venues that have been established over time, should be formalised and supplied with overhead shelter, permanent fixed seating for the traders as well as for their customers. They all need a water connection that is perhaps metered and paid for. In addition, traders that deal in cooked food need a hygienic system for dishwater disposal. Some of them make fires to prepare food, and these also need access to adequate garbage and ash disposal facilities. There is also a need from all the street traders for waste water disposal points and general waste disposal points.
- The trans-national traders need a form of temporary legitimisation, even if they do not have current legal residency. The fact that they mostly do not possess legal residency documentation, leads to an untenable situation where they are victimised, excluded and harassed by law enforcement and the local population. The foreign national traders are a group that by now have probably been permanently established and the situation will only get worse if attention is not given to this problem and action taken.
- For the population as a whole, it is suggested that conversation spaces should be provided with seating and shading, at least one per street block where possible. These spaces could possibly have the character of semi enclosed court-yard type spaces that perhaps link certain thoroughfares or spatial nodes. Spaces that are welcoming and beautified from an architectural perspective may also serve as spaces for the urban youth to engage in. These spaces should be safe, perhaps under CCTV monitoring by law enforcement and have adequate access to Wi-Fi. They may be set back from the main sidewalks and perhaps partially placed between buildings or in courtyards if these spaces could be made available to the public.

- There is a precinct-wide need for public toilets that are accessible for everyone and free from exclusion. Thought should be given to an equitable way to provide toilets for the whole population, including people from the Islamic faith who have specific needs. The CBD needs more potable water points, and this could be supplied in the form of secure drinking fountains, that perhaps are located in the social gathering spaces. If the socio-economic problem of xenophobia and exclusion can be resolved, the researcher suggests that certain open or vacant spaces may be converted to soccer fields, as well as trim-parks, where informal recreation and exercise may be undertaken by all of the CBD's population. These spaces should be safe and also under CCTV monitoring by law enforcement agencies. The researcher believes that larger open spaces to the north-west of the CBD could be converted to formal park-like settings for larger groups of people. These should contain play areas for the increasing number of children, soft landscaping and formal green spaces. This area could also be used for soccer pitches and other multi-use spaces for sport facilities.
- From a political perspective, the foreign national population should be allowed some sort of political or decision-making participation in the everyday lived spaces that they inhabit. In other words, legitimacy and a degree of political power and autonomy should be afforded them. A large problem for the authorities, spatial planning disciplines and the population at large in the Pretoria CBD may be addressed by granting legitimacy to the illegitimate. The authorities should consider a way of giving this group some legal status, as they are the source of continuous friction and strife in the current public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. Most of the usable public spaces, and the needs of a large part of the current CBD population will remain unaddressed if this critical problem is not resolved adequately. The success of spatial planning recommendations depend upon this.
- If spatiality as a construct is understood from a planning perspective by spatial planners, and they can move past the Firstspace and Secondspace spatial planning mentality, they may be empowered to design equitable spaces that are inclusive for the entire population of the Pretoria CBD; that discourage friction and non-participation, and that include the marginalised and 'different' people (African migrants). A critical finding of this study recognises and recommends an approach that spatial planners should follow when designing public spaces for African migrants

and a population of diverse ethnicity. A better understanding of the way that African co-ethnic networks operate and manifest in public spaces should inform proposed interventions in a city space context. Before embarking on typical Eurocentric spatial interventions, spatial planners should spend time on the ground and among the people to understand the context in which they live. They should become aware of the underlying co-ethnic power structures, political motivations and the unwritten rules and forces that inform the social outcomes of public space use by these groups. If they do not do this, then they will perpetuate spatial interventions that are inappropriate and only partially used or neglected by the population. The researcher believes that this awareness of uniquely African spatiality, historicity and sociality and the concomitant spatial problems engendered by it if not understood correctly and as currently witnessed in the Pretoria CBD, is the main contribution of this study to the spatial planning disciplines.

- Serious consideration should be given to the issue of the informal economy in the Pretoria CBD. The sheer size of the informal economy in this area suggests that authorities, NGOs as well as spatial planners should investigate the phenomenon at street level in an attempt to find ways to partially legitimise and formalise it. This ties in with the larger problem of economic spatial contestation, but is also indicative of a greater need for the large-scale revision of economic laws and provisions for the economic sector of the Pretoria CBD, and cities in South Africa as a whole. The researcher suggests that a way must be found, without unleashing chaos, to decriminalise the informal economy, and research should be aimed at understanding the reasons why it exists in the form it does. These reasons could then suggest possible ways to incorporate it into public space economically and spatially.

6.10.2 Recommendations for further research

- It was argued in this study that the current state of urbanism in Africa is still mostly informed by Eurocentric approaches to spatial planning. There is a need for further research regarding a new approach to African urbanism that takes into account the presence of African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in cities of South Africa.
- Further research is also needed on the phenomenon of African co-ethnic networks and ethnic enclaves and the way that this phenomenon influences urban public

space. This research has not explored this phenomenon fully and the researcher recommends that further research be done by using these findings and recommendations as a point of departure.

- Further research is needed regarding legitimisation and citizenship for foreign national peoples (African migrants) in South African cities. The problem of illegitimacy remains at the core of many endemic and systemic spatial contestations of public city spaces in the South African context. An example could be a temporary residency permit for those without legal papers.
- There is a definite need to investigate different possibilities and approaches to the problem of public spaces that can legally accommodate diverse ethnicity in an African city-space context. One line of inquiry could investigate the legality and practical implications of supplying certain areas of public space specifically for the use of foreign national peoples, that have the same or similar rights as foreign embassies for example, in so far as the people that use them may be free of harassment and even law enforcement, to an extent that is practically possible or safe for the general population of the Pretoria CBD. This would be a critical departure point for further research on this topic.

6.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- Language was a barrier to this research, as many of the participants spoke broken English, and the researcher needed to understand them above the noise of the everyday life of the Pretoria CBD. Some parts of the transcriptions are indistinct as can be seen in Annexures E to I.
- The participants often had limited time, and the interviews were frequently undertaken under very difficult circumstances. Some were at night, and were cut short due to dangerous circumstances. On occasion, the interviews were done while the participant was engaging with clients or other co-ethnics. The fact that there was practically no other way to interview the case study participants, made the empirical research difficult.
- There was the ever-present danger of crime. The researcher suffered various attacks and attempted muggings while undertaking this research. The Pretoria CBD is an

extremely difficult research area for a single person. The presence of crime and danger in an area such as the Pretoria CBD made field research extremely arduous.

- An initial lack of trust and acceptance of the researcher by the local people was also problematic, since he is a white male person and the locals do not regularly speak with such persons. This was especially true of the foreign nationals, who are very distrustful of the local South African population.
- Some participants, particularly the foreign nationals, suffer from a high degree of temporality and often could not be found again for follow up interviews.
- Social-religious conventions limited access to certain persons, for example, women of Muslim faith, or the African Initiator Churches members, who will not entertain any questions about- nor allow observation of their rituals.
- Only a small number of participants were interviewed and observed. Although the researcher interviewed experts and others who have academic and professional knowledge and experience of the Pretoria CBD to add more depth to the empirical research, further research among people who occupy spaces in CBD's in general is necessary.

6.12 PROPOSED DESIGN STRATEGY FOR SPATIAL PLANNERS WORKING IN THE PRETORIA CBD

A table (Table 6.3) of the researcher's proposed design strategy approach for spatial planners engaging in spatial interventions in the Pretoria CBD is now presented. The strategy summates the findings and proposed recommendations with specific contributions by the researcher of Section 6.11 above. It is recommended that spatial planners use the strategy when attempting to design any public spatial intervention in the Pretoria CBD. The strategy does not prescribe typical urban design approaches but only makes the spatial planning disciplines aware of the contribution of this study. The design strategy is displayed in a numbered sequence and should be followed in this sequence.

Table 6.3 Proposed design strategy/guideline for spatial planners in the Pretoria CBD

1. BEFORE SPATIAL PLANNERS START INTERVENTIONS IN THE PUBLIC SPACES OF THE PRETORIA CBD, THEY SHOULD BE AWARE THAT:

1. The Pretoria CBD has a precinct wide need for accommodating spaces (spaces are currently not accommodating to the majority of user's needs)
2. There are 4 distinct groups of users for public space in the Pretoria CBD.
3. The Pretoria CBD has a significant day/night/weekend population shift.

These 4 primary user groups are:

1. Street people/	2. Street traders / local ethnicity	3. Street traders / foreign national ethnicity	4. Youth group consisting of school age children and young adults, mostly students
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Live in CBD full-time and tend to withdraw to the periphery at night and congregate around safe communal groups ❖ Sleep in hidden areas of CBD and along the Apies River among shrubbery ❖ Could temporarily appropriate shopfronts in evenings for overhead shelter. ❖ High probability of drug addiction/crime related. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Enter the CBD in the morning and leave in the evenings. ❖ Can stay until 11 in the evenings at the latest. Very few stay that late. ❖ Have a very strong appropriation of public space for commercial use ❖ Will have a strong ethnic support network surrounding them, with specific group leaders ❖ Possible ethnic clustering in immediate vicinity (shops, law enforcement, other co-ethnic traders) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Tend to enter the CBD in the morning and leave in the evenings. ❖ Could stay later in the evenings than local traders. ❖ Might sleep in the shrubbery and in outdoor spaces in and around the CBD similar to street people, but mostly not ❖ Will have a weak ethnic support network, if at all. ❖ Tend to have high degree of temporality regarding spaces used for trading ❖ Will tend to move away from ethnic conflict with local ethnic networks/fear xenophobia ❖ Could move to lower traffic areas in order to survive, but with almost no customer support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Are most active during the day time, spaces that they appropriate in the daytime are too dangerous at night ❖ Youth group spaces are appropriated during specific times, and tend to be deserted in evenings. ❖ In evenings tend to leave the CBD to a significant degree especially school age children. ❖ Seek out beautified/aesthetic spaces that facilitate group and self-images related to social media ❖ Seek out spaces that facilitate the use of technological communication devices with available data and reception ❖ Safety is a large concern for this group.

Do:

- ❖ Spend time in the immediate vicinity of the area at various times of day and night as well as weekends.

Do not:

- ❖ Assume that spatial interventions are desired/needed by all four groups
- ❖ Assume that design based approaches will solve ethnic and social issues

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Determine which groups are most active, and if there is a strong ethnic network appropriating the immediate area ❖ Identify prominent members or leaders of identified groups. ❖ Identify specific needs/conflict areas from the identified groups from street conversation and relationship building with leaders and people on the street ❖ Assume that xenophobia will be present, and explore possibilities to accommodate for this spatially (this is a further research recommendation, but currently there is no clear strategy) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Assume that all four groups will utilise intervention if delivered ❖ Assume that Groups 2 and 3 will not be affected economically by the intervention ❖ Expect intervention will be resistance free, resistance may come from groups that feel intervention might threaten their income/ethnic networks strength, various other reasons
<p>2. THE SPATIAL PLANNER SHOULD APPROACH THE AREA OF THE PROPOSED INTERVENTION AND DO THE FOLLOWING:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Spend time on the streets among the day/night/weekend specific users of that area ❖ Determine which group is present at which time (Which ethnicity; local/foreign and determine which co-ethnic networks and co-ethnic trading networks are present) ❖ Determine the strength of the network and to what degree it has appropriated the space for that group (this could influence the approach to the initial intended use of the intervention and it might need to be revised) ❖ Determine if the space is currently used for commercial purposes especially pavements and street corners and certain areas and entrances to parks and green areas. (If so, the recipients could resist the intervention due to possibly losing their trading spot/reduction of customers etc. If the spatial planner ignores this step, and goes ahead, the intervention will possibly fail, and could create more conflict and tension than was present before) ❖ After spending enough time, approach ethnic network leaders and attempt to build relationships ❖ If successful, try to determine the needs of the recipients above and beyond the planned needs of the intervention, (what unknown needs and desires are present among all the groups, social needs, ethnic expression, religion etc.?) ❖ Determine if there will be any specific areas of conflict that the intervention will magnify or worsen (for instance the addition of permanent seating or overhead roofing could lead to large scale contestation and conflict due to groups re-positioning themselves for the commercial advantages that the intervention could bring to the immediate vicinity. There might be two or more groups of opposing religious beliefs etc.) ❖ The spatial planner should beforehand (presentation drawings) introduce the proposed intervention, and attempt to reconcile all the affected groups, before any building starts. If this critical step is ignored, the intervention will fail or be only partially successful. It could result in more conflict and xenophobia than was present before the intervention. An effort at agreement should be made between all the affected groups, preferably in writing. <p>The spatial planner should be aware that one or more competing co-ethnic networks may attempt to use them for their own groups benefit (neutrality and broad consultation will be critical for a successful intervention) the above two steps are the most critical for any spatial intervention to succeed in the Pretoria CBD.</p>	
<p>3. AFTER STEP 2 THE SPATIAL PLANNER SHOULD NOW:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Be able to finally identify the groups that are the main users of the areas needs/aspirations ❖ Plan the intervention according to new information obtained ❖ Investigate possible solutions to spatial interventions that will generate conflict, exclusion and xenophobia ❖ Re-consider if intervention will be helpful or harmful and adapt accordingly (different groups might not agree, underlying tensions might be exacerbated or opposition might occur for various reasons) 	

If intervention is still viable, and agreement is reached among all the groups, the spatial planner should incorporate **general** recommendations to any spatial intervention in the public space of the Pretoria CBD. These interventions must form part of all new spatial interventions and will be applicable to all four groups. These general recommendations are:

- ❖ Design overhead shelter as part of any spatial intervention if and where practical. This should be in the form of fixed overhead roofing, but thought can be given to lightweight and non-permanent roofing systems, if possible. Seating should form part of this recommendation.
- ❖ Include a drinking water fountain in or near the intervention, fed by municipal supply. This should be robust and auto-closing. The Islamic foreign nationals are in the minority, but thought should be given to ritual washing spaces for them if there is no mosque nearby.
- ❖ Provide public toilets as part of any public spatial intervention if at all possible. There is a need for Islamic ablution facilities as well. Further research is needed regarding the equitable and accessible use of these ablutions and water points, in order to reduce the exclusion of their use by foreign nationals.
- ❖ Consider extending the impacted area around any spatial intervention, and provide small pockets of greened or beautified spaces that can facilitate street-side conversation, communal eating and relaxation space. Thought should be given to security (further research is needed)
- ❖ These spaces should all have some internet access, as well as a strong signal. The Tshwane Wi-Fi system could be upgraded or further investigated.

4. AFTER THESE GENERAL GUIDELINES HAVE BEEN FOLLOWED, THE SPATIAL PLANNER SHOULD:

Determine the main users present in that area based upon the work done in Step 2. This group/groups will use the spatial intervention on a daily basis. The following recommendations are specific to each of the four main groups present in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.

For Group 1. Street people/drug addicts:

- ❖ In addition to the general needs in the CBD for overhead shelter, Group 1 has a specific need of overhead shelter as well as general shelter in the form of permanent structure, as the majority are homeless. Thought should be given to supplying permanent shelter for these people, especially on the peripheries of the CBD and along the shrubbery of the Apies River
- ❖ If possible, incorporate overhead roofing for them in the form of permanent shelter, as well as seating or flooring below it. This will only be possible in specific areas, away from shopfronts and commercial open spaces
- ❖ Their present places of sleeping and living in can be investigated to supply this need. These permanent structures could be formalised as part of supplying their basic needs.
- ❖ Supply ablution facilities in these designated areas. These should include washing and bathing facilities. (further research is needed regarding a way to supply this need from a council perspective)
- ❖ There is a specific need for potable water in these areas. Conflict and resistance could possibly be avoided by supplying them their own water supply spots, away from the general recommendations of water fountains for the other three groups
- ❖ Supply designated refuse disposal facilities for this group

For Group 2 street traders/local ethnicity:

- ❖ Add a form of dishwater disposal facilities if traders tend to deal in cooked goods. These facilities could possibly be incorporated with the sewage system and thus avoid contaminating the storm water disposal system
- ❖ All areas without paving should be paved over, and areas with degraded paving should be upgraded with new paving
- ❖ Supply designated areas for trash disposal that can accommodate the disposal of wood fire ash.
- ❖ Consideration should be given to formalising certain trading spots, in terms of a fixed lease or partial ownership for commercial purposes

For Group 3 street traders/foreign national ethnicity:

- ❖ All of the above recommendations for local traders are also applicable to areas which house a large number of foreign national traders

- ❖ Additionally, thought should be given to further research regarding a way to legitimise this group legally. A large proportion of the friction and contestation of public space in the Pretoria CBD could be alleviated if this problem is solved. Any spatial planner working in the Pretoria CBD should give serious consideration to this problem from a legal, sociological and humanitarian perspective (further research required)
- ❖ Spatial planners must investigate possible public space production that is free from the normal legal restrictions as imposed by South African law, regarding illegal aliens (further research required)
- ❖ Spatial planners must incorporate certain historic and social norms in these public spaces, as determined by the needs of certain African foreign nationals (e.g Congolese tradition that children may never know their parents are going to the toilet) Spatial planners need to spend time with people on the street to determine these specific social and historic links from the sending destination
- ❖ Spatial planners should investigate the production of public space in a way that fosters inclusion and safety for this group (further research required)

For Group 4 Youth Group:

- ❖ Supply areas that are beautified and conducive to converse in for small groups of youths
- ❖ These areas should contain seating and greenery
- ❖ Incorporate a vertical backdrop that is photogenic (determine the specific needs for this from Step 2)
- ❖ These spaces should not be isolated, but for safety reasons, in full view of the pedestrian traffic
- ❖ Supply a form of internet connectivity that is reliable and of adequate strength
- ❖ Specific thought should be given to connecting these spaces to TMPD CCTV crime monitoring system (further research required)
- ❖ Adequate refuse disposal should be supplied in these spaces

6.13 SUMMARY

The research method used for this study is regarded as appropriate. This is evident in various aspects, *inter alia*, intensive involvement of the researcher and participants, establishment of trust, openness and honesty between participants and the researcher and the production of scientific data needed for the study.

Making deductions from the information presented above, the researcher may confidently state that the results adequately fulfil the aim of the study and offer ways to approach future research on this topic.

6.14 THE RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF STUDY

The critical contribution of this study is to the spatial planning disciplines in the South African context and which relates to African spatiality. This research does not aim to contribute new typical planning typologies *per se*, to the current discourse, but rather to create an awareness of African spatiality at a deeper social, historical and spatial level. The necessity of spatial planners working in South African cities understanding the fundamental mechanisms of sociality, historicity and spatiality in African communities and ethnic networks, is paramount in the contribution of this study.

By revealing, to some extent, the root causes of the current state of inadequate spatial planning and spatial planning approaches to public spaces in South African cities, the researcher has added new knowledge to the academic discourse in the spatial planning disciplines in South Africa. This awareness of African co-ethnic networks and the effect of this significant social phenomenon on public spaces in a city context, is considered important if spatial planners wish to improve and contribute meaningful spaces to residents in South African cities, with specific reference to Pretoria.

By extending the current spatial planning paradigm for African urbanism, which is rooted in a Eurocentric approach to spatial planning, towards an expanded concept of spatiality, the researcher has created a much needed awareness of African spatiality in the context of co-ethnicity. This includes a Thirdspace understanding of spatiality from the viewpoint of the actual users of these contested spaces in African cities. The research creates deeper understanding and empathy for spatial planners, working in these contested areas, to fully understand the problem from within a social, historical and spatial context of the users.

The research also developed little understood indicators and principles, which are unique to these urban public spaces that house African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity. These indicators and spatial principles can be considered to contribute new knowledge to the general discourse around African urbanism and spatial planning in South African cities. The research furthermore highlights the need to investigate the effects of the informal economy on the production of space in South African cities, especially regarding the diverse ethnicity prevalent in all these spaces.

A sociological and personal understanding of public open space from the perspective of people that actually use them can contribute to the much needed humanisation of such spaces, an aspect which is often neglected for aesthetic, rational and planning considerations. This process is simplified, by way of a proposed design strategy that presents a numerical process to follow that spatial planners can employ, while considering interventions in these spaces.

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ANNEXURE A



Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology

Fakulteit Ingenieurswese, Bou-omgewing en
Inligtingtegnologie / Lefapha la Boetsenere,
Tikologo ya Kago le Theknolotši ya Tshedimošo

Reference number: EBIT/19/2018

11 June 2018

Mr MJ Stander
Department of Architecture
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0028

Dear Mr Stander

FACULTY COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ETHICS AND INTEGRITY

Your recent application to the EBIT Research Ethics Committee refers.

Approval is granted for the application with reference number that appears above.

1. This means that the research project entitled "The creation of lived public spaces by African migrants and people of diverse ethnicity in the Pretoria CBD and its implications for urban planning: A phenomenological investigation" has been approved as submitted. It is important to note what approval implies. This is expanded on in the points that follow.
2. This approval does not imply that the researcher, student or lecturer is relieved of any accountability in terms of the Code of Ethics for Scholarly Activities of the University of Pretoria, or the Policy and Procedures for Responsible Research of the University of Pretoria. These documents are available on the website of the EBIT Research Ethics Committee.
3. If action is taken beyond the approved application, approval is withdrawn automatically.
4. According to the regulations, any relevant problem arising from the study or research methodology as well as any amendments or changes, must be brought to the attention of the EBIT Research Ethics Office.
5. The Committee must be notified on completion of the project.

The Committee wishes you every success with the research project.

Prof JJ Hanekom

Chair: Faculty Committee for Research Ethics and Integrity
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING, BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

ANNEXURE B

OBSERVATION NOTES

Case study 1 Donovan

- During the observation period, the researcher saw minimal interaction between Donovan and other co-ethnics.
- Donovan is friends with a man called Lucky from Zimbabwe and they seemed to interact throughout the day, especially regarding change for hustling and drugs. Often other street people come by for some reason and where possible the researcher tried to ascertain if they were also Ndebele speakers.
- Donovan seems very well assimilated in the CBD. This is evident from his dealings with fellow street hustlers throughout the day.
- No observation of cultural habits or rituals were made, during the observation phase.
- Donovan does not use technology in any way during the observation period. One street hustler did have a cell phone but he did not stay long. No one asked to borrow or use it.
- Donovan spent most of the day hustling cars for parking money. It was surprising how few people actually gave him money.
- Donovan did not take any breaks to eat or go to the toilet that the researcher was aware of. He did however smoke a lot of Nyaope throughout the day.
- Donovan would often change his behaviour with different people that he dealt with throughout the day. The taxi boss that was parked across the road at one stage seemed to know Donovan, a man that was seemingly wealthy and important.
- Donovan did not display any behaviour during the observation period with regard to status projection that could influence public space use.
- The researcher saw numerous street hustlers using sidewalks for board games and various forms of gambling related activities throughout the day, especially late afternoon.
- Donovan did speak to a number of people during the day.
- During observation the researcher did not see any metro police or any form of regulatory intrusiveness.
- The researcher observed that the spaces where Donovan hustles and where they stay, are not accommodating. There is no paving, no overhead roofing and they sleep in the bushes, depending on the circumstances.
- They seemed to have very low levels of spatial choice, even though the street people move freely round the CBD.

Case Study 2 Edward and Robert

- The researcher did not observe any evidence of importing socio-cultural identity during the observation period, they only worked and spoke frequently to each other
- The two brothers seemed to have a busy trading position and it seemed as if they made a reasonable amount of money throughout the day.
- They do not appear to have an ethnically derived client base, as many of the people that buy from them are local
- The researcher did not observe communal eating or enacting rituals in public space.
- He did observe a lot of speaking and street side conversations, even from local customers.
- During the time of observation, the pavement was wet and there were muddy puddles. One man slipped and got mud on his trousers.
- The researcher did not observe any regulatory intrusiveness or lack of participation during the observation period. There were no metro police to be seen, though they did drive by.
- The researcher did observe a lack of accommodating spaces and a lack of spatial choice during observation, especially regarding shading, and accessible ablutions, and paving
- Edward and Robert listen to music on their phones via earphones, and they seem to be in their own world a great deal of time.
- They went to the toilet once each as the other one watched the stand. The toilets were far as they were away for at least 20 minutes.
- The younger brother was often sent on errands to buy things or other activities that the researcher was not aware of. Edward the older brother seems to be the leader and his younger brother looks up to him for support.

Case Study 3 Mathew

- During observation, Mathew was alone the whole time. He does not have anyone to help him when he needs to go to the toilet or get water.
- He relieved himself behind some trees that were half a block away
- The researcher observed Mathew trading and selling on the sidewalk. He had a large stall and definitely influenced the public space around him, even though this was a quiet part of the CBD.
- Perhaps due to the fact that this was a new stand there was not much trade happening throughout the day.
- He spent the whole day sitting on two bricks on the ground, as this part of the pavement is not paved. We were sitting with our backs to a fenced area and the site was exposed to all sides. There is no shading, paving, seating or ablutions near his trading post.
- The researcher observed that Mathew seemed very withdrawn and constantly looked down or away when addressing clients.
- The researcher observed that Mathew' access to ablutions and potable water posed a problem.
- He brings water with him to trade with, but this adds extra weight to his already heavy trolley that he uses for transporting his merchandise.
- He only ate some of his own stock bananas.
- The researcher did not observe any of the other indicators during observation.

Case Study 4 Tina

- The researcher observed that the Tsonga dialect was used to communicate with passers-by, as well as a number of police officers.
- Both Tina's family and many of the police officers also reside in Atteridgeville, which indicates a strong Tsonga co-ethnic component.
- Tina stayed around her mother's stall until after 14:00 and seemed in no hurry to return to her place of work.
- The researcher observed people from different ethnic groups buying from their stalls.
- The researcher observed that the area where Tina and her mom traded appeared as an ethnic cluster during the day. They communicate and trade with a large number of people during the day.
- The researcher did not observe Tina's mother using a cell phone but Tina called someone before she left for her afternoon shift.
- Tina's mother owns a large trading stand. There were continuous movement and trading around the stall. There was a strong commercial presence. The stand was very busy and it seems Tina's mother makes a good income.
- There was a lot of dirt from washing of pots and cooking water. There is a lack of dirty water disposal as well as a roof and proper paving around and under the large trees where the stands are (common to all street traders that sell cooked food where pots and cutlery are used)
- The researcher often saw groups of up to seven people gathering around the selling point. This would generate heated debate usually regarding some news event. The researcher listened to a lot of talk about politics and other general topics. There was often a lot of laughter in these large groups with Tina's mother being very quiet, and the people around her generating most of the conversation.
- Quite a few of the customers would sit on the pavement on bricks around her and listen or partake in the conversations while having a meal. Most of these conversations would be during the morning. The researcher observed definite evidence of conversation and communal meals as examples of recreational activities.
- Tina was comfortable in the space that she appropriated in the CBD. She made eye contact, had conversations with every one and never withdrew from people.
- The researcher observed the lack of public ablutions and water for the general public, as well as for the traders. This, together with the lack of roofing and proper paving are the most contributing to a lack of accommodating space for Tina and her mother.

Case Study 5 Anna (Group Rwandans)

- The researcher observed that a group of fellow Rwandan people surrounded Anna during lunchtime.
- Among her group of co-ethnics Anna appeared well assimilated. The people that came by and her clients that picked up garments were all on a friendly but professional manner without too much talking. Most of them seemed to be local
- The researcher observed Anna working and dealing with customers in the public space of the Pretoria CBD. She occupied a part of the pavement, and the large group of Rwandans that often congregate there definitely influence the spaces around them.
- There was a lack of seating and shade, as well as overhead roofing. She has no ablutions or potable water nearby.
- The researcher observed that Anna seemed more detached from the people around her than the average CBD dweller.
- Anna did not leave her stand to go to the toilet or any other activity
- She seemed to have a small meal that she nibbled from throughout the day. There was no evidence of her eating communally
- She spoke a lot to the group that surrounded her, but they drifted off after lunchtime and the interview.
- The researcher did not see her children and he was not aware what the arrangement was for them to return from school or so was
- For the most part of the day she seemed invisible to the people walking by, and she worked with her head down and seldom looked up.

ANNEXURE C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SURVEY QUESTIONS RELATING TO ETHNOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

2.1 Co-ethnic social networks (enclaving) (Objectives 2 and 4)

To determine if the respondent is imbedded in a co-ethnic social network which can be seen in physical terms such as clustering of co-ethnics in a certain building or area.

Leading question: Is respondent part of your co-ethnic social network?

- From which country are you?
- Does he/she live in or near an ethnic enclave of co-ethnics? Are there many other (co-ethnics) people from where you live?
- Is he/she maintaining his social network via remittance and regular communication? Do you send money home to your people?

2.2 Assimilation and permanence

To determine if the respondent is well assimilated in the culture and public space of the Pretoria CBD or has he only kept to his co-ethnic network?

Leading question: Is respondent well assimilated into the culture and public space of the Pretoria CBD or do you only mix with co-ethnics?

- Do you speak to many (co-ethnics) daily? How many?
- How long have you lived in your current dwelling?
- Do you plan to stay here permanently? For how long?
- Do you plan to return home one day or are you migrating for good?

Trans locational Positionality (Importing Identity)

Question Motivation: *determine if the respondent tries to import his/her local ethnic identity from the sending destination into the Pretoria CBD?*

- Do you do anything from your countries culture here in the Pretoria CBD? Such as rituals, dance music in the public space?

2.3 Technology in Public Space

2.4 **Question Motivation:** *To determine in what way does he/she use technology in public space in the Pretoria CBD that directly influences the use of that public space?*

Leading question: In what ways do you use technology in public space in the Pretoria CBD that directly influences the use of that public space?

- Do you use the free Wi-Fi network in the Pretoria CBD to phone or whats-ap people at home?
- Does he/she keep in touch with co-ethnics via technology? And do they use public space via technology for meetings? Do you often communicate with your people back home? When how with what cell phone skype or?

2.5 Commerce

Question Motivation: *To determine if the respondent's commercial or business interests happen in public space and what influence do they have on public space?*

Is he/she a trans-local trader?

- From where? Where is your home area in South Africa?
- If from Africa where?
- Trading with what? What do you trade with?
- Do you always sell here or other places also?
- If from Africa Do you know other traders from home country area?
- Does he/she use his/her co-ethnic network to gain business? Do you mostly sell to other (co-ethnics) people from...(country) or anyone that passes by?
- Does he/she supply co-ethnic specific merchandise to his/her own group such as certain dress fabrics, food stuffs or other?
- Does he/she mix social gatherings or co-ethnic behaviour with commerce in the Pretoria CBD? (e.g. hair-salon with co-ethnic socialization onto sidewalk, playing board games while selling merchandise etc.)

2.6 Religion (Objectives 2 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine if religion has a specific influence on public space use for the respondent? Open air prayer groups, direct streaming of services etc.?*

Leading question: Does your religion have a direct influence on the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? If so, how?

- Which religion do you belong to?
- Do you pray have sermons or attend church in open air places/ outside buildings?
- Did his/her faith create the main link with his/her co-ethnics in the Pretoria CBD?
- Did people from the church/Mosque help you to come here initially when you first came? Help you to settle in. Where they the first people you befriended?
- Does he/she use electronic media to import sacred ritual into the Pretoria CBD from the sending destination? Do you ever use cell phones or other media in church services?

2.7 Gender (Objectives 2 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine if the sending destinations' culture prescribes any gender related behaviour of the respondent in the public space of Pretoria CBD, e.g. segregation of the sexes in public, dress codes, or gender specific behaviour?*

Leading question: If the response to the above leading question does not sufficiently address the objectives, the following supplementary questions may be asked:

- Is respondent male or female?
- Is it difficult to be a lady in the Pretoria CBD? If so Why? How do you deal with this?

- Of what faith are you?
- Does your faith or people you come from say that ladies must be separate from men?
- How do you deal with this problem?

2.8 Status related behaviour (Objectives 2 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine if social status is projected or practised in the public space of the CBD in order to garner inclusion or acceptance from the local population? What could these behaviours include? Dressing up, car culture, any other? What influence will it have on public space?*

Leading question:

- Does he/she believe the Pretoria CBD is stratified according to social status? (Income, education, ethnicity?)
- Do you believe that the rich and middle and poor people are stay apart separate in the CBD/don't mix with each other?
- Does this influence his/her behaviour in public space? How? Where? Why?
- How do you feel about this, do you sometimes try to make as if you are richer than you are so that people must accept you? Do you think it works?
- Does he/she use visible consumptive behaviour in public space to foster inclusion? (Car culture, Flaneur, fashion, any other?)
- If you do try to look richer sometimes, how do you do it? Clothes? Jewellery, Anything else

2.9 Recreation (Objectives 2 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine what influence does recreation have on public space in the Pretoria CBD for the respondent? What are the typical recreational habits for the respondents in the Pretoria CBD regarding public space use?*

Do you partake in recreational activities in the Pretoria CBD? If so what activity and what influence does it have on the Pretoria CBD public spaces?

- Does he/she eat communally in public spaces? (Where, when, with whom?)
- Do you eat together with other people outside the buildings?
- Do you talk with many people daily the Pretoria CBD? (Where, when, with whom?)
- Does he/she partake in ethnic rituals in public space? (Where, when, with whom?)
- Does he/she partake in any formal recreation such as organized sport? Where, when, with whom?
- Do you play sport gym or anything else in the CBD? If so where do you do this?
- Did he/she use formal or informal recreation to foster inclusion in the Pretoria CBD?
- Does playing this sport/activity help you to be more part of the CBD? That people accept you better?

- Does he/she reproduce recreational patterns from the sending destination such as mentioned above?
- Do you do cultural stuff of the ...people (tribe) (specific country related) stuff here in the Pretoria CBD?

SURVEY QUESTIONS RELATING TO NON-PHYSICAL ETHNOGRAPHIC INDICATORS (IDENTITY CONSTRUCTS)

These survey questions will attempt to answer research objectives 2 and 4

3.1 Birth Generation Order

- Are you a 1st 2nd or 3rd generation immigrant?
- Where do you feel your true home is? Here or elsewhere? Where?
- Do you have children here? Do his/her children feel accepted and assimilated in the Pretoria CBD?
- Does you want your children to retain their ethnic identity or to assimilate with the new people in the Pretoria CBD?

3.2 Tactical Cosmopolitanism and Self-Exclusion (Objective 2 and 3 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine if the respondent practises self-exclusion among the residents of the Pretoria CBD for various reasons? These could be fear of rejection, fear of xenophobia or an innate belief in cultural superiority etc.?*

- Does he/she feign assimilation (false assimilation) with the CBD population but in reality, wishes not to assimilate?
- Is he/she authoring self-exclusion in order to protect himself/herself from rejection?
- Does he/she feel people back home were better? (lack of familiar culture)

3.3 Liminality and Flux (Transnational alienation) Question Motivation: *To determine if transnational alienation can be called home-sickness and can have behavioural causality in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.*

- Does you often wish to go home?
- Does feel that feel that you belong nowhere? Not here or at home?
- Do you miss talking to people back home?

3.4 Movement as Identity (Objectives 2 and 4)

Question Motivation: *To determine if the respondent's primary locus of identity has been divorced from a specific location and become imbedded in the experience of movement and travel?*

- Do you like to travel and go on trips often ?
- Do adapt your identity to each place you lives at in order that people must accept you?
- Do you travel often to make you feel better?

Imagination as place

- Do you often imagine that you are somewhere else?
- Do you sometimes wish that the Pretoria CBD is another city/place? Where?
- What is his/her ultimate city/destination in the world? How does he/she rate the Pretoria CBD in comparison?

4.1 Regulatory Intrusiveness.

- Does you feel the Pretoria CBD has too many rules regulations and laws?
- Does this affect you?

4.2 Cultural Expression. (Objectives 2, 3 and 4)

- Do you feel free to practise your own culture in the Pretoria CBD?

4.3 Accommodating Spaces

- Does the Pretoria CBD work for all the stuff that you do here? Or do you struggle with certain things that are against you?
- Who makes the rules in the Pretoria CBD that you have to follow?

4.4 Participation (Objectives 3 and 4)

- Do you have access to ablutions in the Pretoria CBD?
- Do you have access to drinking water in the Pretoria CBD?
- Do you have access to all the spaces of the Pretoria CBD or are you blocked from accessing certain spaces (public spaces)?
- Do you feel safe and do you have access to police or security protection? Or do you fear and avoid the Metro police?

4.5 Racial division. (Objectives 3 and 4)

- Do you experience racism in the Pretoria CBD?
- Do you experience xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD?
- (for females) Do you feel that as a woman you are excluded in certain spaces in the Pretoria CBD?

4.6 Political choice. (Objectives 3 and 4)

- Are you allowed to trade freely in the Pretoria CBD or are you generally harassed and at odds with the shop owners/authorities? How does this situation play out generally?
- Do you believe you have a choice or power to say anything in the CBD? Especially regarding your own affairs?
- Do you ever participate in voting ? If not why?

4.11 Choice. (Objectives 3 and 4)

The right to choice is an important need in human spatiality. Giving the residents choices and options in the lived public spaces of the Pretoria CBD is an important facet of 3rd space (Soja 1996: 103, 105).

The respondent will be asked the following questions:

- 4.11.1 Do you have different choices for public space use in the Pretoria CBD?
- 4.11.2 Are your choices for public space use inhibited for any reason? Such as?

ANNEXURE D

CODING OF THE DATA

The information in the tables below are presented as follows: The data are coded under themes. In the left column of each table, the questions are presented in paraphrased format. In the second column, the answer of the participant appears in italics, aided by the specific contextual question again in square brackets to link the specific answer with the question. In the same column appears, where relevant, additional contextual information in round brackets. In the third and last column appears the interview line number of the sentence or fragment that was coded in the table. Below the coded sentences and sentence fragments appear data gained through observation, where such data exist.

CODING OF DATA OF CASE STUDIES:

CASE STUDY 1: DONOVAN (NOT HIS REAL NAME)

Theme 1 Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>How long has he been in the Pretoria CBD? Where did he originally come from? What is the character of the network that he is a part of?</p>	<p><i>Five years, I have been here for five years.</i> <i>Ja at home is Mpumalanga</i></p> <p>[With regard to people from Zimbabwe]: <i>No I don't like them.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: Donovan has for all practical purposes abandoned his co-ethnic network. This is due to him being a drug addict. He is part of the street people network and they make up a large group of people who live and move in the public spaces of the CBD. They can be viewed as a separate 'tribe' or co-ethnic network of their own, the only network identified in the study that is not ethno-specific. Donovan and his co-street hustlers tend to form temporary convenient alliances that are constantly shifting and changing across the social landscape of the Pretoria CBD. One of his friends from nearby, Lucky, is a man from Zimbabwe, and they seemed very close as the observation period progressed.</p>	1.1-2
<p>Does his family know where he is? Does he contact them?</p>	<p><i>They know</i> [meaning his relatives know where he is]. <i>I was calling people at home but I ended up selling it</i> [his cell phone].</p>	1.11
<p>Does he tend to mix with the Nigerian people?</p>	<p><i>No</i> [meaning that he is not afraid to mix with them.] (Contextual information: Of all the groups in the Pretoria CBD, the street people and especially the drug addicts are the least prone to ethnic enclaving. This is due to a multitude of factors, one of which is that they have usually been abandoned by their families and their co-ethnic networks due to their problems with drugs. As</p>	1.18-19

	may be seen above, they may be viewed as a separate 'tribe' with their own unique set of rules and behaviours in public space.	
Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks	During the observation period, the researcher saw minimal interaction between Donovan and other co-ethnics (Ndebele people from Mpumalanga). Donovan is friends with a man called Lucky from Zimbabwe and they seemed to interact throughout the day, especially regarding change for hustling and drugs. Often other street people would come by for some reason and where possible the researcher tried to ascertain if they were also Ndebele speakers.	
Summary of theme 1: co-ethnic networks		
Donovan has no contact with his relatives in Mpumalanga, nor does he have observable ties with a Ndebele co-ethnic network in the Pretoria CBD, the most important reason for this is possibly that he is a drug addict and seller. He is now part of the street people network and in the Pretoria CBD they make up a large group of people who live and move in the public spaces of the CBD. They can be viewed as a separate tribe or co-ethnic network of their own, the only network that is not ethno-specific. Of all the groups in the Pretoria CBD, the street people and especially the drug addicts are the least prone to ethnic enclaving as an end in itself. They may therefore be considered a separate tribe with their own unique set of rules and behaviours in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Is there any sign of the Ndebele culture in his day to day activities according to Donovan? Does he still have an affinity of the Ndebele culture and the people back home?	<i>No</i> [no Ndebele culture]. <i>No</i> [street people don't bring their culture here]. [Regarding the question if he has an affinity for the Ndebele culture]: <i>No. I like the people in the CBD more than I like the people at home.</i>	1.76-83
Data from observation relating to assimilation and permanence	It was evident from his dealings with fellow street hustlers throughout the time of observation that Donovan has assimilated very well in the CBD and the fact that he has been there for 5 years, means he is now part of the culture. This was evident from his dealings with fellow street hustlers throughout the day.	
Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Donovan does not identify with any part of the Ndebele culture but considers himself a part of the people who live in the street. It seems as if drugs are the main focus of solidarity and networking for the group with whom he identifies.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Has Donovan brought with him any customs or rituals that may signify the Ndebele culture? Is there any identification figure in the Ndebele culture that he used to look up to?	<i>No</i> [He did not bring with him any part of the Ndebele socio-cultural identity]. [With regard to a strong identification figure]: <i>Ja mmmh in Ndebele we call him Nkosi</i> [Chief or king].	1.121 1.74-78

Data from observation relating to trans-locational positionality.	No cultural habits or rituals were observed during the observation phase.	
Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality Donovan has not retained any Ndebele culture or ritual to his every day lived experiences in the Pretoria CBD, except that he recalls the Ndebele Chief as a strong person. This is due to being part of a new network of street hustlers that he needs to be part of. It seems as if this network is formed around drugs.		
Theme 4: Communication technology in public space		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does he have a cell phone?	<i>I was calling people at home but I ended up selling it.</i> <i>No</i> [He did not make use of the free Wi-Fi when he still had his cell phone].	1.34+
Does he make use of the free Wi-Fi network in the Pretoria CBD?	(Contextual information: Many of the people on the street with whom the researcher communicated had sold their cell phones for money).	1.36
Data from observation relating to technology in public space	Donovan did not use technology in any way during the observation period. One street hustler did have a cell phone but he did not stay long. No one asked to borrow or use it.	
Summary of Theme 4 Technology use in Public Space The lack of technology use among the street hustlers is typical of the researcher's observations throughout the CBD. Most of the drug addicts and street hustlers do not have cell phones. As a result, they are usually cut-off from their relatives at home and from their co-ethnic networks.		
Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
From which countries are the people that Donovan does business with? Does he do business with South African people?	<i>Yes most of them</i> [people that he does business with] <i>are from Zimbabwe, Tanzania.</i> [Regarding the question if he does business with South African people]: <i>No, I don't like them.</i> (Contextual information: In spite of this statement, it is the researcher's experience that street hustlers will work and accept anyone on a temporary basis if it suits their needs.)	
Data from observation relating to commerce	Donovan is a street hustler and spend most of the day hustling cars for parking money. It was surprising how few people actually gave him money. Donovan did not take any breaks to eat or go to the toilet that the researcher was aware of. He did however smoke a lot of Nyaope throughout the day, which is believed to keep the hunger away.	
Summary of theme 5 Commerce Donovan is typical of the street hustlers/drug addicts that occupy the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. He survives by joining in the street hustling among the other street people. They do tend to display a high level of sharing, including their food. Donovan thus blends his workplace with commerce seamlessly and they often sleep nearby if there is shelter in the form of a roof. His commercial activity (although some of it may be illegal) thus directly influences the public spaces of the CBD.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Religion and ways of religious practice. Are	<i>The religion is Apostolic Church.</i> [We attend in] <i>Marabastad.</i>	1.22-26 1.56-61

church attendees from one ethnic group or all people in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>It is the local people [who attend and also] Zimbabweans. [The Zimbabweans] mix it up sometimes; sometimes they go the Zimbabwean church. (Contextual information: Thus they do tend to form ethnic groupings regarding religious activity)</i>	
Summary of theme 6 Religion Donovan does not do any religious activity that would influence the outdoor spaces of the CBD. The Pretoria CBD displays a very low level of religious activity in public space.		
Theme 8: Status projection (stratification)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
The participant's perception of separation between rich and poor in the Pretoria CBD. Does he mix with rich people? What does he do when he comes close to a rich person?	[With regard to the question if he sometimes mixes with rich people]: <i>No not all of them. Some but it's the Nigerian guys.</i> [When he sees a rich person]: <i>Ja I act like I'm not smoking.</i> (Contextual information: In spite of Donovan being addicted to drugs, he appears to be very intelligent and to have a good understanding of social status in his environment. It is possible that the links he has with Nigerian people are drug related)	1.42-48
Data from observation relating to Status projection	Donovan would often change his behaviour with different people that he dealt with throughout the day. The taxi boss that was parked across the road at one stage seemed to know Donovan, a man that was seemingly wealthy and important. Donovan did not display any behaviour during the observation period with regard to status projection that could influence public space use.	
Summary of theme 8 Status projection Donovan was aware of status projection and the difference between rich and poor. He did not display any behaviour or opinion about status projection that could influence public space use.		
Theme 9: Recreation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does Donovan take part in recreational activities?	<i>Ja, [he plays] football. We go to the Caledonian stadium.</i> [He used to play]: <i>I was playing [before he had a fracture in his foot]. We [place bets]. We call those [who] are smoking and [those who] don't smoke. We make teams. We make eleven people and eleven. Then we play then we bet with money [play for money]. It's like we are gambling.</i> (Contextual information: The Caledonian is outside the study area and to the east of the CBD. Donovan's recreational activities should therefore have no effect on space use in the Pretoria CBD.)	1.21 1.37 1.49-57
Where does Donovan have his meals? Does he take part in communal eating?	<i>Sometimes we do [eat together].</i> <i>We just buy something like the cheapest bread with a R4 and the juice for R2 and then we say we eat [together]. [We are usually] maybe three or four people.</i>	1.60-64
Where does Donovan hang out with his friends?	<i>No [he does not use any spaces such as parking lots or street sides for recreation or games]</i> <i>Yes [he has friends and customers whom he sees every day and points to pedestrians on the street]: Ja like those ones they are passing there.</i>	1.68-72

<p>Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks</p>	<p>In spite of Donovan denying that the group he hangs out with use the CBD streets as space for recreation, the researcher saw numerous street hustlers using sidewalks for board games and various forms of gambling related activities throughout the day, especially late afternoon. Donovan did speak to a number of people during the day.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 9 Recreation Donovan does not take part in recreational activities in the CBD, but plays soccer, depending on how his foot is healing. He takes part in communal meals and seeks out conversations throughout the day. No type of recreation which was transferred from his original Ndebele culture was observed. Donovan shows a definite need for a group to belong to, not only for drugs but for social reasons as well. He does rely on public space for recreational activities, even though he does not see it that way.</p>		
<p>Theme 10: Transnational Alienation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Does he sometimes miss home and his people?</p>	<p><i>Ja I do.</i> (Contextual information: Donovan was despondent and downcast when being reminded of his family)</p>	<p>1.84-85</p>
<p>Summary of theme 12 Transnational alienation: Donovan experiences trans-national alienation and is not attached to any place at present and it does not seem as if his identity is rooted in his culture. He only engages with the space he occupies in the Pretoria CBD insofar as he can sell drugs to people or earn money by hustling cars.</p>		
<p>Theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness.+ Participation + Accommodating Spaces + Spatial choice</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Regulatory Intrusiveness</u> What is Donovan's opinion regarding rules in the CBD? How do the laws affect him? What is his opinion with regard to the metro police?</p>	<p><i>Yes [there are too many laws]. Some [police officers] they do harass us. They take us to the police station. They arrest us. They call it when they see us on the street parking cars they call it [loitering]. It makes me feel angry because we didn't do anything. They just arrest you and we are looking after the cars. But they arrest you.</i> (Contextual information: Donovan, as well as probably other street traders, feel the laws are overly restrictive. This is because they are in a continual running battle with the metro police regarding drug distribution and crime networks.)</p>	<p>1.119-126</p>
<p><u>Participation</u></p>		
<p><u>Accommodating Spaces</u> What is Donovan's opinion about the spaces on the streets where he and other people live, are they accommodating?</p>	<p><i>Ja it's dangerous because we don't sleep under the shelters, we just find a place there's shelter on top. [With a roof over so you don't get wet?] Yes.</i></p>	
<p>What is Donovan's opinion about ablution facilities in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>There are enough toilets but they are not public toilets [meaning he is not allowed to use them].</i> <i>No [we don't have anything. There is] nothing. [When asked if he has to go behind bushes to relieve himself]: Yes.</i></p>	<p>1.33-35 1.154-155</p>
<p><u>Spatial Choice</u> Does Donovan feel that he has any say in the running of the CBD? Is</p>	<p><i>There is someone. There is some guy working at the metro he is a security.</i></p>	<p>1.142-145</p>

<p>there anyone he can speak to that would listen to him?</p>		
<p>Data from observation relating to regulatory intrusiveness</p>	<p>During observation the researcher did not see any metro police or any form of regulatory intrusiveness. The researcher observed that the spaces where Donovan hustles and where they stay, are not accommodating. There is often no paving, no overhead roofing and they sleep in the bushes, depending on the circumstances. The seemed to have very low levels of spatial choice, even though the street people move freely round the CBD.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 11 regulatory intrusiveness Donovan understandably experiences high levels of regulatory intrusiveness in the CBD. This is as a result of the disproportionate level of crime that drug users and street hustlers are involved in compared to the other street traders and those who do not use drugs. Donovan also has low levels of participation in the public spaces, as well as low levels of spatial choices. The spaces that they live and move in daily are not accommodating to their needs. Roof overhangs are highly disputed spaces in the Pretoria CBD because the street traders and street hustlers all need overhead shelter. The Metro Police as a rule do not allow gazebos near the robots and intersections due to visibility constraints. Overhead roofing is therefore a large problem for all street people in the Pretoria CBD. There are no toilets that they can use publicly, no overhead shelter for the most part, and a distinct lack of potable water nearby. They are dependent on allegiances with shop owners and religious organisations for water, and this will usually be during daytime hours. They wash and clean themselves in the river nearby, as they also have no access to washing facilities.</p>		
<p>Theme 12 Cultural Expression. + Political choice + Ethnic division.</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Cultural Expression</u> Is there any part of his Ndebele culture that he still remembers? Is any part of the Ndebele culture practices in the Pretoria CBD? Is there a new street culture that Donovan shares with others?</p>	<p><i>Ja, the chief. In Ndebele we call him Nkosi. No [no part of the Ndebele culture is practiced in the Pretoria CBD.]</i> <i>No [he is not aware of any new street culture or that people from different cultures form groups].</i></p>	<p>1.173-179</p>
<p><u>Political Choice</u> Who do you think makes the decisions in the Pretoria CBD. Who has got the power? Who is making the laws and doing all the stuff that is affecting your life?</p>	<p><i>It is the mayor.</i></p>	<p>1.130-132</p>
<p><u>Ethnic Division</u> Is Donovan aware of xenophobia?</p>	<p><i>Yes. It was the taxi drivers [who attacked him and chased him away].</i> (Contextual information: Although Donovan is not a foreign migrant, he views himself in the same way a foreigner would</p>	<p>1.139-141</p>

	view himself, due to his position as drug dealer and street hustler. For this reason, he probably saw the taxi drivers' attack on him as xenophobia.)	
Summary of theme 12 cultural expression Donovan does not express his Ndebele culture in the CBD. He has adopted a new street hustler network, and thus abides by their codes. He is of the opinion that he suffers from xenophobia but it is probably because he considers himself in a way as a foreigner. The street hustlers do not generally seem to suffer from ethnic division, especially if they are of local origin. He has no knowledge of political power and seems to have no political choice. He does not appropriate any space for himself and experiences complete marginality and powerlessness where spatiality is concerned.		

CASE STUDY 2: EDWARD & ROBERT, BROTHERS FROM ZIMBABWE (NOT THEIR REAL NAMES)

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do they know other people from Zimbabwe who also live and work in the Pretoria CBD? Do they share accommodation with other people from Zimbabwe? Did they approach fellow Zimbabweans as support when they decided to come to South Africa?	<i>We're just us and three other guys. Yes [the three guys] they are also from Zimbabwe [are all sharing a flat]. Ja, we just ask each other the friends or the relatives or anyone that we know just for a place to stay. Then they can help us.</i>	2.1-2 2.12-16
Do they still have contact with their relatives in Zimbabwe? Are family ties still important to them?	<i>Ja, we used to call them. If we don't call them we feel guilty. Ja ja [family ties are important to them].</i>	2.31-33
Do they have relatives in South Africa? Where do they live? Were they a part of the participants' support network when they first came to South Africa?	<i>Ja we have [family] in Jo'burg. Ja I go and see them [for support when they arrived in South Africa].</i>	2.77-82
Summary of theme 1: Co-ethnic networks Edward and Robert display a strong co-ethnic network that helped them to get here. They are obviously devoted to each other and they support each other. The contact with relatives in Zimbabwe has decreased but the reasons are not clear. They have a brother in Johannesburg whom they contact. Although they admit that they are not at present having regular contact with their relatives in Zimbabwe, they insist that keeping contact with their relatives is important to them.		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines

<p>How long have they lived in the Pretoria CBD for? Do they want to stay in Pretoria or are they in Pretoria temporary? Do they plan to return to Zimbabwe?</p>	<p><i>It's like two years [that we have lived in South Africa]. Ah, actually were just looking for a job. Ja if we can get money we will go back but if we can't get money we won't go back. Because here we are looking for the money. [But] we will go back.</i></p>	<p>2.12-13 2.16-19 2.3-4</p>
	<p>(Contextual information: Like most of the foreign nationals the researcher had contact with, these two participants tend to give mixed signals regarding attachment to home. They do not want to go back, but they also do not seem attached to their current living locale)</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 2 Assimilation and permanence Edward and Robert seem have lived in Pretoria CBD for two years and are able to venture to Johannesburg to visit their brother. However, they do not consider the Pretoria CBD or South Africa as their permanent home and say outright that they are here 'for the money' and will go back one day. They thus have a low level of assimilation in the community and public spaces of the CBD except for their trading customers.</p>		
<p>Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do you have any cultural-specific rituals or customs that you practice in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>Here in South Africa? No we don't do that [bringing the culture here where they stay]. No, never.</i></p>	<p>2.35 2.115-118</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to trans-locational positionality.</p>	<p>The researcher did not observe any evidence of importing socio-cultural identity during the observation period.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality Edward and Robert do not display their socio-cultural identity in the form of rituals or customs in the Pretoria CBD. This confirms the attitude of other foreign national traders with whom the researcher had informal conversations. They are still attached to their homeland and state that they prefer South Africa only as long as they can earn a living here.</p>		
<p>Theme 4: Communication technology in public space</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do the participants have cell phones? Do they call their relatives in Zimbabwe? Do they make use of the free Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>Yes [they own cell phones]. Ja, we used to call them. No [they don't make use of the free Wi-Fi].</i></p>	<p>2.30-34</p>
<p>Summary of theme 4 Technology use in public space Edward and Robert both have cell phones but they use them on a minimal basis. They do not engage in any activity with regard to technology which could influence the use of public space. They are not linked to a co-ethnic network using social media, and they are not part of a youth movement using technology in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>

<p>What are they trading with? Did you start trading in Zimbabwe? Do they sell to anyone or mostly to Zimbabweans?</p>	<p><i>We're selling foods and Zimba's</i> [fruit, snacks and chips]. [They did not start trading in Zimbabwe]: <i>Only when we came here. Yes</i> [they are selling to any customer]</p> <p>(Contextual information: They had quite a large stand, which was heavily laden on two trolleys for transport to storage in the evening)</p>	<p>2.7 2.37-43</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to commerce</p>	<p>The two brothers seemed to have a busy trading position and it seemed as if they made a reasonable amount of money throughout the day. They did not appear to have an ethnically derived client base.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 5 Commerce Edward and Robert have a typical foreign national street business selling snacks. They do not use their co-ethnic network to garner business, but their business does influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. They influence public space by occupying the pavement, and creating a visible commercial node on that corner. They encroach on part of the pavement and they often cause visibility problems for traffic due to using a gazebo that the metro police confiscated. Their stand is large, as the researcher had to physically walk in the street to get past the stall, as do the pedestrians that walk along this busy route. They have thus appropriated this piece of public space for commercial purposes, and in doing so they have created additional problems regarding safety, accessibility and local regulations.</p>		
<p>Theme 6: Religion</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Religion and ways of religious practice. Do their church members practice any part of their religion in the open spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Did their church help them to come to South Africa?</p>	<p><i>We are Christian. It is the Pentecostal one on the corner of Bosman and Bloed Street. Ja</i> [indicating that he attends regularly]. [In answering the question whether he ever practices his religion outside the church in any open area in the Pretoria CBD]: <i>No Never.</i> [In answering the question whether his church helped him to come to South Africa]: <i>No. I started to go to the church when I [came] here.</i></p>	<p>2.23-29 2.45-46</p>
<p>Summary of theme 6 Religion Edward and Robert are Christians, but their religious activities do not involve the use of public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They did not make use of religious co-ethnic links to gain admittance and acceptance in their new location.</p>		
<p>Theme 8: Status projection (stratification)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>The participants' perception of separation between rich and poor in the Pretoria CBD. Do the participants attempt to show they are rich by for example dressing in expensive clothes as some in the Pretoria CBD do?</p>	<p><i>Ja, I do believe</i> [that there is separation between rich and poor in the Pretoria CBD.] [Rich people] <i>will take you down.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: Edward indicates with a gesture and rolls his eyes, indicating that they don't attempt to show that they are rich.)</p>	<p>2.49-53</p>
<p>Summary of theme 8 Status projection</p>		

Both the brothers were aware of the phenomenon and the impact it may have on public space in the CBD. They do not however partake in it. It seems as if the strata of rich and poor in the CBD does have an effect on them.		
Theme 9: Recreation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do they have their meals in their home, or do they sometimes have a meal where they work? Do they eat as part of a group?	<i>We eat early in the morning before we come and then we eat again later when we are at home. No [when] we eat [it is] only me and my young brother.</i>	2.54-58
Do they speak to many people every day in the CBD? Is it important to them?	<i>Yes [they talk with many people]. Ja I like it [with regard to the importance of talking with people]. [When they do not have the opportunity to talk with people]: Yes, I feel bored.</i> (Contextual information: The researcher's assistant who accompanied him is from Zimbabwe, and he was constantly speaking to the other brother in their local Shona dialect.	2.59-62
Do the participants take part in sport? Where do they go to the gym?	<i>I used to [play football] but my sport is gym. Also gym [according to his brother]. There in town [indicating where the gym is]</i>	2.63-76
Do they take part in recreational activities on the street in the CBD, for example group gatherings or parties? Do they practice any cultural activities that their people in Zimbabwe would? Did they bring any part of their cultural customs with them?	<i>No [they don't take part in recreational activities on the street]. No, never [they don't practice any cultural activities]. No, we are not doing that [they have not brought any part of their cultural customs with them].</i>	2.74-76 2.115-118
Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks	The researcher did not observe communal eating or enacting rituals in public space. He did observe a lot of talking and street side conversations. During the time of observation, the pavement was wet and there were muddy puddles. One man slipped and got mud on his trousers.	
Summary of theme 9 Recreation		
The brothers have not brought their ethnic traditions with them to the CBD. They do however seem to have many conversations with passers-by during the day. There is a distinct lack of space to sit and talk, and the state of the pavements and lack of roofing inhibit the conversations. There is a possibility that more people would have a communal lunch at their place of work or more clients if there were seating, a roof overhead and paving. The physical size of their stand also encroaches almost into the street and forces pedestrians to go around parked cars in the street.		
Theme 10: Transnational Alienation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do the participants feel included or do they feel rejected? Do they prefer their old life in Zimbabwe or do they	<i>Ja I used to. Ja [He used to feel isolated and on his own]. No now its better; now it's right. But I used to [feel isolated]. We like it more here [when comparing their life in Zimbabwe with their life in South Africa]. [In answering the question whether they would like to go back]: Ah no not so much.</i>	2.83-88

<p>prefer their current life? Do they sometimes wish to return to Zimbabwe?</p>		
<p>Summary of theme 10 transnational alienation The participants originally felt isolated but have succeeded in building relationships in their new environment. They seem to have accepted and become attached to their new space to a greater extent than seems to be the case with many of the other foreign national traders. The reason appears to be that they have become familiar with the Pretoria CBD to such an extent that they can make a living in the CBD and are able to travel to Johannesburg.</p>		
<p>Theme 11: Regulatory intrusiveness + Participation + Accommodating spaces + Spatial choice</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Regulatory intrusiveness</u> How do they experience the involvement of the metro police? What are challenges with regard to the trading licence? How often are they confronted about a trading licence? Are their goods sometimes confiscated? Do they know who make the rules for the CBD? Do they have a say in decisions that are made with regard to the spaces they occupy?</p>	<p><i>They just need licence [the metro police usually ask for a trading licence]. I try to get the licence then they give the letters [for someone] to come and see the place but it's difficult. Mostly ja [they come every week] but this week they didn't come. Whole of last week they did come. [Are their goods sometimes confiscated?]: Robert: On 15 of July they come here and took our stuff. I go there and pay the fine and then I come back and explain, it is just the stuff.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: It appears that they don't have a trading licence. They are therefore trading at the mercy of the local Tshwane police.)</p> <p><i>No, we don't know [who the mayor of Tshwane is]. We just hear the name but we don't know him. Ja, we feel like we have no power.</i></p>	<p>2.96-102</p>
<p><u>Participation</u> Do they know who the mayor of Tshwane is? Do they feel that they have a say in decisions that are made with regard to spaces in the CBD? Do the people who occupy spaces in the CBD work together/ support each other?</p>	<p>[In answering the question whether people in the CBD support each other]: <i>The way that I see is that they don't really care. No, they [the people around them] used to be [against them] but me I don't mind that.</i></p>	<p>2.120-121 2.129-131</p>
<p><u>Accommodating spaces</u> What do they do when it rains? Do they have access to public toilet facilities in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>[When it rains] <i>I close then I go. If it's very cold I'm wearing the jacket and I work. I [used to have a gazebo] but they don't allow us to use it. They say they do not want us to use something like shade behind the robots.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: The researcher learnt that a gazebo may block visibility of traffic lights.)</p> <p>[In answering the question whether they have access to ablutions]: <i>Yes there by Church Square. We are paying R2.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: The corner where they were trading is at least five blocks from the nearest public toilet facilities)</p>	<p>2.104-110 2.21-28</p>

Spatial choice What are additional needs with regard to the spaces they occupy?	<i>No, for now there is nothing.</i>	2.133
Data from observation relating to regulatory intrusiveness	The researcher did not observe any regulatory intrusiveness or lack of participation during the observation period. The researcher did observe a lack of accommodating spaces and a lack of spatial choice during observation, especially regarding shading, and accessible ablutions.	
<p>Summary of theme 11 Regulatory intrusiveness</p> <p>Edward and Robert experience difficulty with regulatory intrusion in the space they occupy. Although the interference by the local police is understandable, as they do not have a trading permit, they perceive it as a challenge to do business. The fact that their goods are sometimes confiscated result in the brothers experiencing it as harassment. The challenge of not having a trading licence is experienced by all foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD. They are not involved or allowed to participate in the decision making process with regard to the spaces they occupy. These spaces are not accommodating to most of their basic needs such as ablutions, protection against the weather and accessible sources of clean drinking water. These circumstances are in contrast with the participants stating that they do not need anything else over and above from what they already have.</p>		
Theme 12: Cultural Expression.		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p><u>Cultural expression</u></p> <p>Do they prefer their culture back in Zimbabwe or do they prefer it in the Pretoria CBD? Do they practice their Shona cultural activities in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<i>We like it more here. No, never [they do not practice their own cultural activities in South Africa].</i>	2.85 2.115- 121
<p>Summary of theme 12 Cultural Expression</p> <p>The brothers show no inclination to express cultural or co-ethnic activities in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They claim to be free to do so and not be bothered by it, but the researcher believes that they do not feel free to express themselves even if they wanted to. They have no political choice or participation in the Thirdspace power structures of the Pretoria CBD. This is due to the fact that they do not have a trading licence and they perceive they would still be excluded from the political power of the local people even if they did. Although they do not say it directly, xenophobia is a challenge for them, as well as the marginalisation that is usually a result of xenophobia.</p>		

CASE STUDY 3: MATHEW (A MOZAMBICAN STREET TRADER, NOT HIS REAL NAME)

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
How many other Mozambicans are the participant acquainted with in the Pretoria CBD? Did he know the people with whom he shares a flat before he came to South	<i>Four guys [with whom he shares a flat. They are friends, not relatives]. Ja I knew them before [he came to South Africa]. Yes [they came to South Africa together].</i>	4.1-7

Africa? Did they come to South Africa together?		
Does he have relatives in Mozambique? Does he have regular contact with them?	<p><i>Yes, just a mother and father [indistinct] wife. Yes [he contacts them by calling them] maybe three times a week.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: It was unclear if Mathew is married; it later transpired that he has a child that he is supporting who stays with his parents in the southern part of Mozambique.)</p>	4.73-80
<p>Summary of theme 1: Co-ethnic networks</p> <p>Mathew does seem to belong to a small co-ethnic network in the Pretoria CBD, while it became apparent that his true ethnic enclave is in Tembisa and that he traded there before coming to the Pretoria CBD for better commercial prospects. Thus, Mathew belongs to what may be considered the beginnings of an ethnic cluster in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence</p>		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does the participant sell his goods to anyone or most people from Mozambique? Do clients buy from any trader irrespective of his ethnic group? How long has he been at this spot where he trades? Does he know other people from Mozambique who are also street traders?	<p>[He sells his goods to anyone]: <i>Ja, no anyone. Ja</i> [the clients buy from any trader]. <i>Ha, just yesterday</i> [He arrived only the previous day at the spot where he trades]. <i>Yesterday I was Van Der Walt. Too much Metro that side.</i> [In answering the question whether he knows other Mozambican street traders in the Pretoria CBD]: <i>Ja it's that side, Schubart Street.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: Mathew has only recently moved to this location due to perceived harassment by the Metro Police closer to the centre of the CBD. When I met him at his new trading post, it was a move of desperation and he had only been at this spot for one day.)</p>	4.52-51
How many other Mozambicans are the participant acquainted with in the Pretoria CBD? Where did he live first before he moved to Pretoria? Is he planning on staying in South Africa?	<p><i>Four guys</i> [with whom he shares a flat. They are friends, not relatives]. <i>Ja I knew them before</i> [he came to South Africa]. <i>Yes</i> [they came to South Africa together]. <i>Ja ja</i> [they are friends]. [They stayed in] <i>Tembisa</i> [Before they came to Pretoria]. [In] <i>Tembisa there's no business; here I'm coming to sell this stuff.</i> [In answering the question whether he wants to stay in South Africa]: <i>No, I want to go back. In December</i> [and return next year]. <i>Sometimes I get money, then I'm going. I want to open here</i> [have a permanent business here], <i>go up and down</i> [visit] <i>and come [back] here.</i></p>	4.5-16
Which is his real home, Mozambique or South Africa? If he has to choose one country, what would it be?	<p><i>Yes</i> [Mozambique]. <i>Ja, I choose Mozambique.</i></p>	4.96-100
Data from observation relating to assimilation and permanence	<p>During observation, Mathew was alone the whole time. He does not have anyone to help him when he needs to go to the toilet or get water.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 2 Assimilation and permanence</p> <p>Mathew views describes his preferred way of life as that of a trans-national trader. This is a theme that is evident among many street traders in the CBD. Mathew has not cut ties with his home country, nor has he stopped contacting or visiting his relatives at home. He still considers Mozambique his home. He</p>		

displays low levels of assimilation among the general population of the CBD. He has difficulty in speaking English. This may prevent easy conversation with other people. He speaks to few other people during the day and has probably only his flat mates to communicate with.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Requesting information about the participant's ethnic group of origin. What are the customary rituals of the Machazi?	<i>Machazi, it is Ndaou</i> [referring to an ethnic group in the south of Mozambique]. [The language is] <i>Ndaou</i> . [The cultural rituals are] <i>there but not too much. No</i> , [it is not practiced in South Africa].	4.17-23
Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality Mathew does perhaps want to import some of his ethnic rituals in the CBD but as can be seen later in the interview, his fear of xenophobia poses a significant problem for him.		
Theme 4: Communication technology in public space		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does he have a cell phone? Does he call his relatives? How often?	<i>Yes</i> [he owns a cell phone]. He calls his relatives [<i>maybe three times a week</i>].	4.24-28
Does he make use of the free Wi-Fi network in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>Ja</i> [he knows about the free Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD] <i>Yes</i> [he makes use of it at] <i>16:00</i> [when he goes home]. <i>Ja in the flat</i> [he uses it in his flat]. (Contextual information: Mathew' answers contradict what all the other traders say, namely that the Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD is not always functional and that they have all but given up using it.)	4.29-43
Summary of theme 4 Technology use in public space Mathew does have a cell phone but he does not use technology in such a way that it would influence the use of public space.		
Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
What does he trade with?	<i>Cigarettes, sweets, bananas, snacks, oranges, eggs, and the biscuits.</i>	4.44
How many other Mozambicans are the participant acquainted with in the Pretoria CBD? Did he know the people with whom he shares a flat before he came to South Africa? Did they come to South Africa together?	<i>Four guys</i> [with whom he shares a flat. They are friends, not relatives]. <i>Ja I knew them before</i> [he came to South Africa]. <i>Yes</i> [they came to South Africa together].	4.5
Why did he decide to move from Tembisa to the Pretoria CBD? Does he want to stay in South Africa or does he want to go back?	[In] <i>Tembisa there's no business; here I'm coming to sell this stuff</i> . [In answering the question whether he wants to stay in South Africa]: <i>No, I want to go back. In December</i> [and return next year]. <i>Sometimes I get money, then I'm going. I want to open here</i> [have a permanent business here], <i>go up and down</i> [visit] <i>and come</i> [back] <i>here</i> .	4.9-15

How long has he been at this spot where he trades?	<i>Yesterday I was Van Der Walt. Too much Metro that side.</i>	4.44-47
Data from observation relating to commerce	The researcher observed Mathew trading and selling on the sidewalk. He had a large stall and definitely influenced the public space around him, even though this was a quiet part of the CBD. He spent the whole day sitting on two bricks on the ground, as this part of the pavement is not paved. We were sitting with our backs to a fenced area and the site was exposed to all sides. There is no shading, paving, seating or ablutions near his trading post.	
Summary of theme 5 Commerce Mathew is trans-national cyclical trader from Mozambique. He is part of a trans-national trading network, but he is, as far as he knows, the only Mozambican trader in the Pretoria CBD. The Mozambican network is much stronger in Tembisa, but the researcher has learnt that the Tembisa sites are over-traded. Mathew does not rely on his co-ethnic network for business, and does not supply co-ethnic merchandise. He does not mix co-ethnic gatherings with commerce to garner trade. His business is very poorly established and his lack of citizenship causes him trouble with the metro police. His commercial interest does have an influence on public space, as he occupies part of the pavement. There are no shading, paving, seating or ablutions nearby.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Religion and ways of religious practice. Did people from his church help him when he moved to South Africa?	<i>Zion [referring to ZCC]. Ja ja his that one. [Referring to the open air meeting in Schubart street]. No [he does not practice his religion outside of the designated ZCC space. No [No-one from his church helped him when he came to South Africa. He came on his own].</i>	4.57-66
Summary of theme 6 Religion The respondent does not practice any religious ritual in public space and did not use his religious network to garner local acceptance and transition into his new living area. His religion does not influence the public space in the Pretoria CBD.		
Theme 8: Status projection (stratification)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
The participant's perception of separation between rich and poor in the Pretoria CBD. Does he mix with rich people? Does he at times appear to be rich to be accepted? What does he do when he comes close to a rich person?	<i>Yes [he is familiar with the separation between rich and poor in the CBD]. [With regard to where he places himself in the material status in the Pretoria CBD]: Somewhere in the middle. [In answering the question whether he thinks rich and poor functions separately]: They all mix. No [he never attempts to present himself as rich by wearing nice clothes]. (Contextual information: In the experience of the researcher most of the street traders, even though they seem poor according to general standards, tend to view themselves as middle class in the status levels of the Pretoria CBD. The researcher further learnt through informal conversations that the street people and drug users are viewed as the bottom tier in the status stratification of the Pretoria CBD.</i>	4.67-72
Summary of theme 8 Status projection He is aware of the phenomenon but does not partake in it. It does not influence his behaviour in the CBD public spaces and it does not influence the public space around him.		
Theme 9: Recreation		

Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does the participants have his meals in his home or does he sometimes partake in communal eating in the public space?	<i>Always inside. Ja</i> [he mostly only talks with the people with whom he shares a flat, not with people in the CBD]. (Contextual information: It seems as if Mathew does not have any friends or acquaintances in the CBD, other than his immediate co-ethnic network that he has known since immigrating to South Africa. This indicates possible close ethnic ties. It may also indicate an inability to assimilate in the broader culture and spaces of the CBD.)	4.81-85
Does he take part in sport? Would he take part if he had the chance?	<i>Ja I like the sport. Ja I like football. Ja</i> [he used to play football] <i>in Mozambique I was playing but not here. It's too far. No</i> [he does not go to the gym]. <i>Yes</i> [he would take part if he had the opportunity].	4.86-95
Summary of theme 9 Recreation The respondent does not practice any of the recreational indicators such as communal eating or street side conversation in the public spaces of the CBD. Although he did not say it directly, it seems as if he would take part in recreational activities if he felt more welcome.		
Theme 10: Transnational Alienation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Which is his real home, Mozambique or South Africa? If he has to choose one country, what would it be? Does Mathew sometimes feel isolated and marginalised? Does he communicate with people other than those with whom he share a flat?	<i>Yes</i> [Mozambique]. <i>Ja, I choose Mozambique.</i> <i>Yes</i> [he sometimes feel isolated and marginalised but <i>No</i> [he doesn't feel rejected. <i>Yes</i> [he also speaks to other people]. <i>Yes</i> [he misses home and sometimes wish he could go home]. <i>Ja it's English but talking is a problem... not too much</i> [though].	4.98-99 107
Data from observation relating transnational alienation	The researcher observed that Mathew seemed very withdrawn and constantly looked down or away when addressing clients.	
Summary of theme 10 Transnational alienation Mathew experiences transnational alienation or homesickness. He sticks close to his network of co-ethnics and he hardly speaks to the population of the CBD except when selling merchandise to them.		
Theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness + Participation + Accommodating Spaces + Spatial choice		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Regulatory Intrusiveness What is his opinion about involvement by the metro police? How often is he confronted about a trading licence? Are his goods sometimes confiscated? Does he know who make the rules and laws in the CBD?	<i>Eish I want to talk</i> [participate] <i>but no papers no what, maybe sometimes they are taking my stock. Yes</i> [they are worrying him]. <i>No</i> [none of the foreign nationals succeed in getting trading permits]. <i>No</i> , [he doesn't know who makes the law] (Contextual information: Mathew' demeanour is one of desperation and powerlessness)	4.121-123

What are challenges with regard to the trading licence?		
Participation Does he have the power to do anything about the challenge to get a trading licence? Does he have an identity document?	<i>No</i> [he does not think he has the power to do anything]. <i>Ja, no it's not right.</i> <i>No</i> [he does not have an identification document].	4.152-156
Accommodating spaces Does he have access to ablutions and drinking water? Does it pose a challenge to him?	[He has to go to] <i>the bushes</i> . <i>Yes it is</i> [a challenge]. <i>No</i> [the local people don't want him to use the public ablutions]. <i>Ja</i> [he has to ask people to use a toilet and ask for water]. <i>Ja</i> [sometimes people say no]. <i>Ja it's a problem</i> . (Contextual information: Mathew displays embarrassment. This is a repetition of other traders' experience, where they are prevented to access ablution facilities in the CBD. It is even more difficult for Mathew as he works alone and has no one to mind his goods while he searches for a place to relieve himself.)	4.125-130
Spatial Choice Does he have access to public buildings and public spaces?	<i>No</i> [he doesn't have access to all public buildings and public spaces]. <i>Yes</i> [they prevent him from entering]. (Contextual information: The researcher has learnt through various informal conversations that foreign migrant traders and street hustlers are viewed as a threat and undesirable. The researcher could not establish how they are prevented to enter such spaces, but deduced from the opinions of those he spoke to that security guards, who mostly work for shop and property owners, enforce these restrictions. The restrictions include certain buildings, as well as the public spaces, courtyards and small green areas adjacent to the business where patrons might sit and support the primary business.)	4.132-134
Data from observation relating to regulatory intrusiveness	The researcher observed that Mathew' access to ablutions and potable water posed a problem. He brings water with him to trade with, but this adds extra weight to his already heavy trolley that he uses for transporting his merchandise. The researcher did not observe any of the other indicators during observation.	
Summary of theme 11 Regulatory intrusiveness Mathew experiences regulatory intrusiveness due to his lack of formal registration papers and the fact that he has no identity document. He feels powerless to participate in the everyday affairs of the spaces he inhabits. He feels that he is stripped of his right to participate in the CBD and he has no power or voice to respond with. He appears extremely depressed about this situation, which directly affects his ability to make a living. The Pretoria CBD spaces are not accommodating to his basic everyday needs. His access to ablutions and potable water is contested and highly restricted. His problem is doubled due to the fact that he trades alone and cannot leave someone behind to mind the stock if he wants to relieve himself. His spatial choices are also limited and he experiences that he is being prevented to enter some public buildings and spaces in the CBD.		
Theme 12: Cultural Expression. + Political choice + Ethnic division.		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.	Lines

<p>Cultural Expression Is the participant able to have a social gathering for example a party together with his fellow Mozambicans in a public open space in the CBD?</p>	<p><i>I do that but not here, I do that in Tembisa. Ja [because there are many] people from Mozambique there.</i> (Contextual information: The researcher has learnt from other traders that also they prefer not to have public social gatherings with their co-ethnics in the Pretoria CBD, but prefer to travel to places such as Tembisa. The reason for this is unclear).</p>	<p>4.157-159</p>
<p>Political choice Does the participant have any political citizenship rights in South Africa?</p>	<p><i>No [he does not have an identification document]. No [he does not vote in South Africa].</i></p>	<p>4.156</p>
<p>Ethnic division Is he acquainted with xenophobia? Does he experience some people to be against him? How does he react when someone takes his stock without paying for it? How often does it happen? Does he have hope that things will improve?</p>	<p><i>Ja ja [he knows about xenophobia]. Ha, sometimes he's passing me, he's drinking beer they are just taking my stock . Yes, yes [the people cause trouble]. Ha, they say foreigner, what what, they are taking my stock or take two banana and no pay. [In replying to the question what does he do when this happens]: I just... First time it happens yesterday there [he has moved to this location the previous day and indicated that it has happened before]. Yes it is hoped maybe [that things will improve].</i> (Contextual information: Mathew becomes emotionally upset when he speaks about his frustration, humiliation, anger and powerlessness.)</p>	<p>4.139-147</p>
<p>Summary of theme 12 Cultural expression Mathew does not feel safe or comfortable expressing his cultural activities in the Pretoria CBD; he travels to Tembisa to do so and he feels safer and more comfortable enacting it there. He thus does engage in cultural activity but he travels to his true ethnic enclave, which is in Tembisa, to do so. He feels that he has no political choice as can be seen from the indicators in section 12 as well. He also suffers from high levels of ethnic division or xenophobia. He is literally attacked by local people when they are drunk and he feels powerless to do anything about it. Even if he wanted to, being an illegal immigrant precludes him from approaching law enforcement to intervene.</p>		

CASE STUDY 4: TINA (A LOCAL WOMAN WORKING IN THE CBD, NOT HER REAL NAME)

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>How many Tsonga people does she have contact with daily? Do they visit their relatives in Tzaneen? Did her relatives help her to come to Pretoria? Is she planning on ever going back to Tzaneen to live there?</p>	<p><i>Plus or minus thirty to fifty. No we go home over holidays. Yes [her sister was here already]. Yes [like a network]. Yes [one day she will be going back to Tzaneen].</i> (Contextual information: Tina's answer confirms the view of most other participants – that they are here to generate an income and that they are planning to go back.)</p>	<p>5.19-25 5.50-61 5.108</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks</p>	<p>The researcher observed that the Tsonga dialect was used to communicate with passers-by, as well as a number of police officers. Both Tina's family and many of the police officers also reside in Atteridgeville, which indicates a strong Tsonga co-ethnic</p>	

	component. Tina stayed around her mother's stall until after 14:00 and seemed in no hurry to return to her place of work. The researcher observed people from different ethnic groups buying from their stalls.	
Summary of theme 1: Co-ethnic networks Tina and her mother are part of a seemingly well-established trans-local trading network that has been active in the Pretoria CBD since the early 1990s. Her mother is a trans-local trader, of cyclical nature that uses and relies on her co-ethnic network to generate business. Tina and her mother are therefore part of a co-ethnic network of Tsonga people that are most active in the area of Atteridgeville and they use the Pretoria CBD as an extension of Atteridgeville. In addition to Atteridgeville, they have clearly appropriated the CBD space as their social and commercial territory. This appropriation of space by South African local traders reminds of the stark reality and dire circumstances of the foreign traders.		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Where do the participants reside? How many Tsonga people do they have contact with from day to day? Are they in the CBD permanently?	<i>In the CBD [referring to Atteridgeville as the CBD]. Plus or minus thirty to fifty. We go home over holidays. We [eventually] want to go back home [to Tzaneen].</i> (Contextual information: The implication of such a large co-ethnic network is that the participants are free to display their cultural identity and that they possibly have a large influence in the CBD's public spaces. The fact that they go home over holidays also indicates a strong rural co-ethnic link that they are maintaining. This is confirmed by her wish to eventually return to Tzaneen to live there.)	5.9 5.19- 27 5.44
Data from observation relating to assimilation and permanence	The researcher observed that the area where Tina and her mom traded appeared as an ethnic cluster during the day. They communicate and trade with a large number of people during the day.	
Summary of theme 2 Assimilation and permanence Tina and her mother are well assimilated in a wide co-ethnic support network. They are assured of their trading locale as many of the law enforcement personnel also form part of their co-ethnic network. The considerable period that they have lived in Atteridgeville and traded in the Pretoria CBD (her mother since 1997 and Tina since 2003) has entrenched them in the local space and culture of the Pretoria CBD. Notwithstanding their assimilation in the Pretoria CBD, Tina acknowledges their wish to return to Tzaneen to live there permanently one day.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do they practice their cultural rituals and customary festivities in the Pretoria CBD? Are some people afraid to practice their culture rituals and activities in the CBD?	<i>No not in the CBD, only in Atteridgeville. Yes yes. We go and dance maqua and shibella. We are not afraid [to practice cultural rituals].</i> (Contextual information: Although the local people practice their right to expression in contrast with the foreigners who display no cultural expression, they will still only do it in Atteridgeville and not in the CBD). This is a common trans-locational identity construct that many African people practice throughout cities in Africa. This is a strong indicator of cultural importation of the Tsonga people in the Pretoria CBD	5.30- 36

<p>Do the members of the Tsonga community sometimes eat together outside the buildings in the CBD? How many people will be in such a gathering?</p>	<p>Yes [they often eat together in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD]. [The number of people in such a gathering] <i>may be six</i>.</p>	<p>5.80-85</p>
<p>Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality The data indicate that there is strong trans-locational positionality, or cultural identity importation among Tina and her co-ethnics. They will have communal meals in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, but will practice their cultural rituals and festivities where they live in Atteridgeville. They do thus influence public space use in a meaningful way.</p>		
<p>Theme 4: Communication Technology in public space</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do the participants make use of the free Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD? Do they know how much data they have available daily?</p>	<p><i>Yes the Tshwane Wi-Fi. [There is about] 500 MB [available per day]. [It is mostly used] in the evening maybe.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: When Tshwane initially made free Wi-Fi available in the CBD, masts were erected in the city where people would congregate. This had a direct influence on public space use as there was a need for more seating. There was also a risk of crime. However, according to some case study participants, there seems to be challenges with the system.)</p>	<p>5.37-40</p>
<p>Do the participants make use of church services that are broadcast and could be followed via cell phones?</p>	<p><i>Every Tuesday yes.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: The broadcasting of sermons only happens at the UNISA venue where there is a church. This could indicate that they import their religious ritual into the new locale, but in this case it is not the public space of the Pretoria CBD)</p>	<p>5.62</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to technology in public space</p>	<p>The researcher did not observe Tina’s mother using a cell phone but Tina called someone before she left for her afternoon shift.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 4 Technology use in public space She does use technology in public space but only to the degree that will not affect the use of public space.</p>		
<p>Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>What do the participants trade with? How long have they been trading here for?</p>	<p><i>Ja, mealies and fruits, and Niknaks and stuff. [They have been trading here] since 1997.</i></p>	<p>5.41-45</p>
<p>What do the participants do with their goods at the end of the day? Are there places in the CBD where people can keep their goods overnight? Does one have to pay for the service?</p>	<p><i>[Tina’s mom] uses the storage. It’s here inside the Police station. Ja [there are places where people can keep their goods overnight]. No she’s not paying.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: The fact that her mother has an arrangement with the policemen, to store her goods there every day indicates the fundamental difference between local and foreign street traders. An additional benefit to having a safe place to store her goods free of charge, Tina’s mother is also</p>	<p>5.11-13</p>

	protected from people stealing her goods. This reminds of Mathew who has neither protection nor a trading licence.)	
Did the participants receive support from other Tsonga people when they first came to Pretoria?	Yes [they received help from other Tsonga people]. <i>Her sister [Tina's aunt] was here already.</i>	5.60-61
Data from observation relating to commerce	Tina's mother owns a large trading stand. There were continuous movement and trading around the stall. There was a strong commercial presence. The stand was very busy and it seems Tina's mother makes a good income. There was a lot of kitchen waste from washing of pots and cooking water. There is a lack of dirty water disposal as well as a roof and proper paving around and under the large trees where the stands are (common to all street traders that sell cooked food where pots and cutlery are used)	
Summary of theme 5 Commerce		
Theme 5 seems to indicate in Tina's (and her mother) case, that they belong to a long-standing co-ethnic and trans-local trading network of Tsonga speaking people. The relative ease with which they communicate, trade and are protected, indicates the difference between the local co-ethnics and the foreign nationals. The fact that they are accepted and protected by police officers and have been there for more than 20 years is an indication of permanent assimilation and a very strong co-ethnic network. The researcher believes that the Tsonga speaking group of co-ethnics will exert a strong presence in the public space of the Pretoria CBD. They use their position as speakers of a local language to gain acceptance and inclusion in the spaces of the CBD and this perhaps generates more direct business for them in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. Their stand is large enough and so long established, that it could in a way warrant permanent shelter.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do the participant attend church sermons? Where do they attend?	<i>Yes. We are Christians. We are Presbyterian. We go there at UNISA for the church [UNISA's Atteridgeville satellite campus].</i> (Contextual information: Religion can have a very strong influence on public space use, as is the case in the Johannesburg inner city areas. There multiple gatherings of co-ethnics and foreign nationals congregate in public spaces. It seems as if it is the opposite in the Pretoria CBD as there is almost no religious activity in public space.)	5.50-58
Do the participants make use of church services that are broadcast and could be followed via cell phones?	<i>Every Tuesday yes.</i>	5.62
Summary of theme 6 Religion		
Tina's network of co-ethnics do have a religious link to their home area in the form of a live-streamed religious service every Tuesday evening in their church in Atteridgeville. They do not appear to use the Pretoria CBD public spaces for religious ceremonies.		
Theme 8: Status projection (stratification)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Are the participants aware of the different strata with regard to financial status in the CBD? Are they aware	<i>Yes [she is aware of different strata of status]. Yes [she is aware that there are people who want to appear rich or show off their status]. No [rich and poor do not mix].</i>	

<p>that there are people who attempt to show that they are rich? Do rich and poor mingle in the CBD? Where would the participants place themselves with regard to financial status?</p>	<p><i>No, we're in the middle</i> [indicating that they see themselves as neither rich nor poor].</p> <p>(Contextual information: After thinking about it for a while, Tina confirms that she is aware of status projection. The researcher learnt that the status projecting happens within certain groups of co-ethnics such as Nigerians and local people. The group interview with the Rwandans casts more light on this phenomenon.)</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 8 Status projection Status projection tends to evoke an emotional response from most participants and casual contacts on the street. Status projection is definitely prevalent in the Pretoria CBD. This can be seen in open-air gatherings and street parties that take place at night and over weekends. People commandeer whole streets and pavements, clearly influencing public space. Tina is definitely aware of it but does not seem to approve of it. Typical implications can be noise pollution if near living areas, drunkenness and disturbing the peace.</p>		
<p>Theme 9: Recreation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do they practice their cultural rituals and customary festivities in the Pretoria CBD? Are some people afraid to practice their culture rituals and activities in the CBD?</p>	<p><i>No not in the CBD, only in Atteridgeville. Yes yes. We go and dance maqua and shibella. We are not afraid</i> [to practice cultural rituals].</p>	<p>5.30-36</p>
<p>Does the space where they trade sometimes become the centre of communal conversation? Do people stop to have a conversation? Do people sometimes eat together outside on the street?</p>	<p><i>Yes</i> [the space where they have their stall is like a conversational area.] <i>Yes</i> [people stop to have a conversation.] <i>Ja</i> [people often eat together in the open public spaces]. (Contextual information: The presence of traders like Tina's mother seem to generate welcoming conversation and acceptance).</p>	<p>5.80-85</p>
<p>Do the participants take part in sport? Where do they take part? How often do they take part? Does taking part in sport help them to meet friends?</p>	<p><i>Me I'm going to gym, Planet Fitness. Ja</i> [in the CBD], <i>three</i> [times a week]. <i>Yes</i> [taking part in sport does help them to meet friends].</p>	<p>5.95-101</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks</p>	<p>The researcher often saw groups of up to seven people gathering around the selling point. This would generate heated debate usually regarding some news event. The researcher listened to a lot of talk about politics and other general topics. There was often a lot of laughter in these large groups with Tina's mother being very quiet, and the people around her generating most of the conversation. Quite a few of the customers would sit on the pavement on bricks around her and listen or partake in the conversations while having a meal. Most of these conversations would be during the morning. The researcher observed definite evidence of conversation and communal meals as examples of recreational activities.</p>	

Summary of theme 9 Recreation The participants engage in their cultural activities in Atteridgeville but not in the CBD space and in recreational activities such as taking part in sport and communal meals and conversations in the CBD space. The space where they trade often becomes the centre of communal conversation. People stop to take part in a conversation. Tina takes part in sport by attending a gym regularly. It seems as if taking part in sport is considered a recreational activity and is not practiced only for the sake of physical exercise.		
Theme 10: Transnational alienation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<u>Transnational alienation</u> Does Tina miss her original home? Does she often pay her relatives at home a visit?	<i>Yes [she misses her original home]. I go home once a month at least. Ja, [she misses speaking to her people back home]. I have to call them every day.</i>	5.114-115
Do the participants have regular conversations with people in the CBD? Do the mostly speak to Tsonga people? Do they at any point feel marginalised or isolated in the CBD?	<i>Yes [they have regular conversations]. [They speak to] anyone, anyone. No [they don't feel unwelcome or marginalised].</i>	5.89-90 5.112-113 5.149-150
Data from observation relating to tactical cosmopolitanism	Tina was comfortable in the space that she appropriated in the CBD. She made eye contact, had conversations with every one and never withdrew from people.	
Summary of theme 10 Transnational alienation Tina is not a foreign national thus by definition she cannot suffer from trans-national alienation. However, they are trans-local traders and she misses her people back home. Thus she does suffer from homesickness, but her strong support network in the Pretoria CBD negates this to a large degree. From the interview and observation, it was clear that Tina never attempted to present herself in a certain way to gain acceptance. She displays comfort and security in her immediate and larger co-ethnic network.		
Theme 11: Regulatory intrusiveness + Participation + Accommodating spaces + Spatial choice		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<u>Regulatory Intrusiveness</u> Does the participant think there are too many rules and regulations in the CBD? Are they sometimes affected?	<i>Not really. Ja it [does] affect [her mother]. [She is here referring to the local police confiscating Tina's mother's goods because her mother allowed her trading licence to lapse.]</i>	5.139-142
<u>Participation</u> Is the participant able to practice her own culture in the CBD without anyone trying to prevent her?	<i>Ja, I can do that.</i>	5.143
<u>Accommodating spaces</u> Do the participants experience challenges with regard to services, for example ablutions and drinking water, in the CBD?	<i>Ja public toilets is a big problem [and paying to use the public ablutions]. Ja, [putting up a gazebo is also a problem]. Ja [accessing drinking water is also a problem].</i>	5.144-148

<p><u>Spatial choice</u> Are there spaces in the CBD where the participant would feel unwelcome or where she would be prevented to enter? Does she have any additional needs with regard to spaces in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>No [she is of the opinion that she can access any public space that she wants]. No [she does not have any additional needs regarding spaces in the Pretoria CBD].</i></p>	<p>5.149-165</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to regulatory intrusiveness</p>	<p>The researcher observed the lack of public ablutions and water for the general public as well as for the traders. This, together with the lack of roofing and proper paving are the most contributing to a lack of accommodating space for Tina and her mother.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 11 Regulatory intrusiveness For Tina and her mother the most regulatory intrusiveness comes from the metro police. They did not complain about the lack of roofing or paving but said it is a problem. However, she did acknowledge that it was due to her mother's lapsed trading licence that they picked up problems with the metro police. Tina has full participation in the public spaces of the CBD and it does not appear that she is excluded anywhere. As the rest of the CBD population Tina feels that the lack of public toilets and ablutions together with access to water is the largest problem regarding accommodating spaces in the CBD. Roofing and paved spaces where they sit would help a lot but they did not specifically mention this as a problem.</p>		
<p>Theme 12: Cultural expression + Political choice + Ethnic division.</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Cultural expression</u> Is the participant able to practice her own culture in the CBD without anyone trying to prevent her?</p>	<p><i>Ja I can do that.</i></p>	<p>5.143 5.102 5.161-163</p>
<p><u>Political choice</u> Does the participant know about the mayor of Tshwane? Does she feel that she has political power or a voice?</p>	<p><i>Yes [she knows about the mayor]. [When asked whether she has political power or a voice she seems unsure and does not answer.] Yes [she does vote].</i></p>	
<p><u>Ethnic division</u> Does the participant have knowledge about racism and xenophobia in the CBD?</p>	<p><i>[She shakes her head, indicating no, no-one has acted in a racist way towards her.] [She acknowledges that she knows about xenophobia]: Ja no I don't suffer from that.</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 12 Cultural expression Tina evidently feels free to express her cultural identity in the CBD, but the actual practice of cultural rituals take place in Atteridgeville. She is however, a South African citizen and she would at least be able to vote. She does not experience racism or by definition xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		

CASE STUDY 5 GROUP INTERVIEW: RWANDANS

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks

Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>What is their country of origin? How many Rwandan people are in the Pretoria CBD? Do they form a closed knit community? Do the Rwandan people form enclaves such as the Nigerian people for example?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>I'm from Rwanda. No</i> [referring to the question about the number of Rwandan people in the Pretoria CBD]. Jonathan: <i>No, we actually stay separately. We don't</i> [form enclaves] <i>like the Nigerians; they like living together. We are not that [many Rwandans] and we are living individualised lives.</i> Anna: <i>No, no</i> [referring to the question whether the Rwandan people have a strong sense of community].</p> <p>(Contextual information: The group agrees and they appear to have pride in saying that they live more individualised lives.)</p>	<p>6.10-15 6.77-81</p>
<p>Do they send money to relatives in Rwanda?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>No, no.</i></p>	
<p>Did they have Rwandan people who helped them when they first came to South Africa?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>Ja ja, I was having someone</i> [her brother] <i>helping me, supporting me.</i></p>	
<p>Data from observation relating to co-ethnic networks</p>	<p>The researcher observed that a group of fellow Rwandan people surrounded Anna during lunchtime.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 1: Co-ethnic networks Anna is part of a co-ethnic network of Rwandans. They denied that they form enclaves with other Rwandan people in the Pretoria CBD and insisted that they live individualised lives and they seemed proud about the fact. Notwithstanding this, they replied to all the questions as a group and remained in the group during lunch. In addition, Anna admitted that her brother was already here when she arrived in the Pretoria CBD and that he supported her in finding her feet. She does not send remittance to relatives in Rwanda nor does she seem to have any ties with them, except her sister that she phones once a month.</p>		
<p>Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence</p>		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>How long have they been living in South Africa? Do they plan to stay? Do they consider South Africa their home?</p>	<p>Anna: [has been living in South Africa for] <i>ten years.</i> [In answering the question whether she misses her country or whether she wants to go back to Rwanda]: <i>No I don't.</i> [In answering the question whether South Africa is her home]: <i>No! I wish I wish, in my heart I wish but it is not the case. Yes</i> [saying that she prefers to be in South Africa.] <i>Ja, because there in Rwanda there is no family. I'm alone... because of the fighting in Rwanda, you know of the fighting in Rwanda? Yes</i> [agreeing with the researcher] <i>it is very bad.</i> (Contextual information: It seemed as if Anna hoped that South Africa would become her real home but that the wish is not fulfilled yet. The researcher observed resentment against local nationals and bitterness against the government who is seemingly not protecting them. Although not the emphasis of this study, the data gained from the Rwandan group should be read and understood</p>	<p>6.19-23</p>

	against the backdrop of the genocide that took place in Rwanda, leaving people with psychological trauma).	
Data from observation relating to assimilation and permanence	Among her group of co-ethnics Anna appeared well assimilated. The people that came by and her clients that picked up garments were all on a friendly but professional manner without too much talking.	
Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Anna is well assimilated in the CBD, especially regarding her co-ethnic network. However, she is not well assimilated into the populace and the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. She has been in South Africa for 10 years, have other Rwandan people around her, but emphatically denies that this is her home. After what seemed like a denial that she misses her people back in Rwanda, she explains that there is no family and that she is alone, mentioning the genocide of the nineties in Rwanda. (The researcher later established that Anna has a sister in Rwanda.) Her reply about family nevertheless indicates that she still experiences trauma from incidents she may have experienced during the time of genocide in Rwanda.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Are they able to express their culture of origin in the Pretoria CBD?	<p>Jonathan: <i>Ah no we don't have a culture.</i></p> <p>Margaret: <i>No we do have a culture...</i></p> <p>Jonathan: [Interrupts previous speaker] <i>but we are not united and we are always suffering...but the culture is still there...</i></p> <p><i>It would be difficult [to practice their cultural customs] due to economic constraints. You know in the town (CBD) there are many cultures [indicates that they have generic cultural practices when they are with non-Rwandans].</i></p> <p><i>Some cultures in the town [CBD] . they don't want to expose themselves as foreigners, that's why they don't stray too far...the idea of foreignship can be alarming.</i></p> <p>Jonathan [In replying to a question if people withhold their culture because of fear]: <i>Ja ...why are you speaking English if you are a South African Black? Now a language becomes a barrier, it's an issue.</i></p> <p>(Contextual information: Many foreign nationals mention that language is a problem. If they speak English, they expose themselves as foreigners. If they speak Swahili, they do as well. Thus, they speak very little in public spaces and places. This is the strongest indication yet of foreign nationals not being willing to engage in their co-ethnic spatial behaviour in the CBD due to fear. This is a clear indication that they find themselves in a marginal space, that they perceive a sense of powerlessness, and that they fear the authorities and the local population)</p>	
Summary of theme 3: Trans locational positionality		
Anna and her fellow Rwandans make a point of not importing their socio-cultural identity into the receiving destination. Initially there is disagreement about whether they have retained their own culture, but then they agree that “straying too far” as Jonathan puts it, by speaking Swahili, practicing their own cultural customs or exposing themselves in any way as foreigners, may be “alarming”. Jonathan confirms that foreign people live in fear to such an extent that they will give up speaking their own language (Swahili or other central African languages, which is the lingua franca of the Africans north of Zimbabwe and Mozambique) and use English, which is considered a colonial language in Africa. Instead of uniting		

<p>them, they feel that their language has become “a barrier”. This is a clear indication that they find themselves in a marginal social and political space, that they perceive a sense of powerlessness, and that they fear both the authorities and the local population.</p>		
<p>Theme 4: Communication Technology in public space</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do they make use of the free Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>We don't have [free Wi-Fi]. There's nothing like that, it's just a dilemma. That free Wi-Fi is there, corner of Visagie and Van der Walt, it only operates just a few hours. And Church Square and Burgers Park. There's no free Wi-Fi here [where they are]. The government pretends [that there is free Wi-Fi but apparently, there isn't].</i></p>	<p>6.44-48</p>
<p>Do they call their relatives in Rwanda?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>Ja I phone my sister. Once a month.</i></p>	<p>6.130-132</p>
<p>Summary of theme 4: Technology use in public space According to the participants, free Wi-Fi spots are too far for them to use. They are in need of a dependable and free Wi-Fi source. At present, they do not use communication technology in public space in any way that would influence those spaces.</p>		
<p>Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>What are they trading with? Do they live close to their place of work? Do they do business with any person or mostly with Rwandans?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>I only sew. [Mentions that in the evening she packs up her stuff and that she lives in Madiba Street].</i> [In replying to the question with whom she does business]: <i>No it's not [only] the people from Rwanda, it's any one that comes and talks to me [including Rwandans].</i></p>	<p>6.48-61</p>
<p>Do they know other street traders from Rwanda?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>I know one. [But there are] many [who] have shops.</i></p>	<p>6.49</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to commerce</p>	<p>The researcher observed Anna working and dealing with customers in the public space of the Pretoria CBD. She occupies a part of the pavement, and the large group of Rwandans that often congregate there definitely influence the spaces around them. There was a lack of seating and shade, as well as overhead roofing. She has no ablutions or potable water nearby.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 5: Commerce Anna is not part of a trans-national trading network. She only knows one other Rwandan in the CBD selling on the street. She states that many Rwandans are shop owners. There is often a group of Rwandan people especially over lunchtime that congregates around her work area. This is an indicator that may point to the fact that the space around these shops are influenced in a social way by the people occupying them.</p>		
<p>Theme 6: Religion</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Religion and ways of religious practice. Do more Rwandan people attend church there? Is your church linked to a church in</p>	<p>Anna: [We are] <i>Christian. [We attend church] at the F.A.N. in Sunnyside.</i> Jonathan: <i>Ah, actually when they [fellow Rwandan people] get here they don't go to church honestly speaking.</i> Jonathan: <i>Me I don't go to church.</i> Rose: <i>Many people from Rwanda they are Catholic.</i></p>	<p>6.64-86</p>

<p>Rwanda, for example through live streaming of services from your country?</p>	<p>Anna: [The church where we attend] <i>is not</i> [linked to a church in Rwanda]. Jonathan: <i>Yes those people (Nigerians) they do it</i> [live streaming of services from Nigeria to South Africa], <i>those people they are so much tribalised, more than us ja.</i> Anna: <i>No we don't do that.</i> Jonathan: <i>we are receptive we are very inclusive. Ja ja, we are Westerners</i> Anna: <i>Me my church, the pastor is a South African.</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 6: Religion Anna and the rest of the Rwandan group do not practise religious ritual or ceremony in the Pretoria CBD public spaces. They view religious importation as tribalistic and choose to refer to themselves as “inclusive”, which means that they to a certain extent forego their original cultural customs and assimilate into the kind of religious practice of the environment where they live and work. Thus, their religious practice does not influence public space use in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 7: Gender</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Challenges for women doing trading in the Pretoria CBD. Has there been theft? Do women feel excluded in the CBD space?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>Yes they steal her stuff but there is nothing she can do</i> Anna: [Once they stole] <i>this inverter</i> [the inverter to convert the current of her sewing machine]. Anna: [With regard to perceived exclusion]: <i>Because I have a two kids they are girls; always I am afraid I can't leave the kids in the house I have to pay fare [day care]. I don't want to find that my kids are dying here.</i></p>	<p>6.87-91 6.162-163</p>
<p>Summary of theme 7 Gender Gender definitely has an effect on Anna in the Pretoria CBD. She perceives more threat from crime, and she fears for her children as well. This would probably influence her behaviour in the public spaces. It also signifies a new theme, that of childcare and safety for children of single parents in the Pretoria CBD. The problem of being a foreign national without papers aggravates the problem for her. There is however, no prescribed gender specific behaviour in public space.</p>		
<p>Theme 8: Status projection (stratification)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>The participants' perception of separation between rich and poor in the Pretoria CBD. Do the participants think that people will use status to be accepted in a place such as the Pretoria CBD? Is it people of all ethnicity or only Rwandans? Do the participants sometimes pretend to belong to a higher stratification to be accepted?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>Ja ja like the people from my country it's too much</i> [they stay separate]. [It's called] <i>stratification.</i> <i>From my country, rich people cannot even talk to us. I was surprised here in South Africa when I come here even people with a car talk to us.(indistinct) (Jonathan) When it comes to Rwanda, economic status is the Devil itself.</i> Jonathan: <i>Ja they want to be worshipped. They are satanists. (Indistinct)...even my own country, people they see me they don't a greet me. Because I am poor.</i> Anna: <i>Jaa, (Jonathan agrees strongly)</i> <i>Many, many people from my country he pass here he doesn't greet me.</i> Jonathan: <i>Yes</i> [the rich will reject the poor even if they are from the same country]. Anna: <i>Yes, I feel I want to die.</i> Jonathan: <i>They organise an event and invite only rich people who are owning these big business. They</i></p>	<p>6.92-113</p>

	<p><i>might pass by here by her stand, they might even invite all of us, but once you get there they will be calling on the list. You understand ja?</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: OK so you over there, rich people will be sitting by the front and even getting these expensive beers.</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: So exclusive, so exclusive</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: No, it's not everyone. The Rwandan community is number one [for practising social exclusion].</i></p> <p><i>Anna: My people is number one. He is number one!</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: I stayed with some of the Nigerians, and I enjoyed their community more than ours. You know whenever there is an event, [they would invite him] they would not even ask me to contribute. They could see I was a student and I didn't have any money but at least they could say ... invite me include me ask me to serve the guests. You know take this because you belong here ...</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: [In answering the question whether they sometimes wear expensive clothes to be accepted]: No no we don't wear, our rich people who are billionaires, wholesalers, they just wear normal clothes. But when it comes to like expressing their hegemony, their wealth. You can ask them to come and help me take my child to hospital and he is not coming. They won't come! But if I were rich</i></p> <p><i>Anna: They come very fast!</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: Obsessed with money... Even if a child is just coughing they will come forward, they are so demonized..[We will pretend to be rich, for example by wearing expensive clothes] not to be rich...to be received by society. You need to have a car, a shop. You know they don't mind whether you have PhD or not? They hate schooling. Having a PhD means nothing; they invite people that have a shop.</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: That one [being a shop owner] is better than a medical doctor.</i></p> <p><i>Anna: Is true!</i></p> <p><i>Jonathan: [To the shop owners] we are squatters. [The events take place in public and private space, in- or outside] wherever they can do them.</i></p>	
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Summary of theme 8 Status projection

It seems as if the Rwandan custom of associating only with people of the same economic status is customary in Rwanda and remained a custom among Rwandans who live in the Pretoria CBD. Such projection of status for the Rwandan participants means owning a car and being a commercial shop owner. Although Anna runs her own business, it is on the street and not on physical premises. For Rwandans, owning a business has a higher status than academic qualifications. These factors, namely owning cars and businesses and celebrating events in public spaces, will have a definite influence on the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. The participants displayed strong feelings with regard to the social stratification and shared how Rwandan people will not greet or associate with fellow Rwandans because of social status. They express emotional pain because of the exclusion and confess that they will sometimes act rich just to be accepted, for example by wearing expensive clothes.

Theme 9: Recreation

Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Do you eat communal meals? Do you share	<i>Anna: Ja we are eating together.</i>	6.114-120

<p>in recreational communication with others? Do you practice sport? Why are you not able to practice sport?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>Not all of us. For instance me, I grew up in the western society, we believe in sharing. Outside there, in Rwanda they do [people eat together outside], not here.</i> [With regard to recreational communication] <i>we are not talking to anyone because everyone is busy...It is not easy to talk to them.</i> [With regard to practicing sport, football, gym or any recreational sport]: <i>No, no we can't do that, because we are being excluded here, constrained by conditions.</i> [We cannot come together and play soccer on an open field because] (Jonathan) <i>we are blocked access. (Jonathan) and, remember we need to register with South African culture and sport whatever, so they need documents.</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 9: Recreation This indicator has revealed rich information regarding the Rwandan participants, and by extension possibly other foreign nationals and the problem regarding public and open space use in the Pretoria CBD. They acknowledged that communal eating is customary in Rwanda but they would not do it in the Pretoria CBD. As a reason to why they do not have regular conversations with others outside their circle, they explain that “everyone is busy”. They share that they are excluded from using public spaces to practice sport and are under the impression that they need to register at a sport body before they would be allowed to practice sport in the CBD. Moreover, foreign nationals are excluded to a large degree from accessing formal and informal public spaces for recreation, due to the fact that they do not have registration papers in South Africa.</p>		
<p>Theme 10: Transnational alienation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Transnational alienation</u> Do they see South Africa as their home country? Do they miss their people in Rwanda?</p>	<p>Anna: <i>No [not considering South Africa her home country but at the same time not missing her people in Rwanda]. I wish I wish, in my heart [that she could consider South Africa her home country]. I wish but it is not the case. Yes [saying that she prefers to live here].</i></p>	<p>6.21-23</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to transnational alienation</p>	<p>The researcher observed that Anna seemed more detached from the people around her than the average CBD dweller. Although not the purpose of this research, the researcher became aware of psychological pain in the demeanour of the Rwandan people. This observation was made every time the group of Rwandan participants in this case study referred to Rwanda.</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 10: Transnational alienation Anna experiences trans-national alienation. She does not want to go back to her home country, but she is also not at home in South Africa. She can be said to be in flux, where she is in-between places and she does not feel at home in either. The Rwandan history of genocide, although not the focus of the study, is relevant here. It seems as if the Rwandan participants experience psychological pain in addition to their feelings of alienation. Anna has also made movement a type of locus of identity for her. It seems as if she has no local attachment to place and if she is in flux regarding her ethnic and spatial identity. She also uses her imagination as a way of escaping her present reality by yearning to live in a different country than South Africa. This was a very strong indicator and the researcher believes it will influence their perceived use and engagement with the public spaces in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 11: Regulatory intrusiveness + Participation + Accommodating spaces + Spatial choice</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p><u>Regulatory Intrusiveness:</u></p>	<p>Anna: [With regard to the metro police]: <i>They worry me.</i> Jonathan: <i>They harass her.</i></p>	<p>6.142-146</p>

<p>How do they experience the involvement of the metro police? What are challenges with regard to the trading licence?</p>	<p>Anna: [Indicating that she needs a trading licence]: <i>But when I go to ask it they ask the ID, I don't have it.</i> [With regard to the biggest problem for Anna in the Pretoria CBD]: <i>It is the ID. I need to pay the rent and no ID.</i> Margaret: <i>He has no ID.</i> Anna: <i>Yes.</i> Margaret: <i>Other problem it's this metro.</i> Anna: <i>Yes, jaa</i> [while the group agrees with them]. Rose: <i>And many many of us here in South Africa we do not have an ID document. In other countries, you can sit three to five years you get a document (ID) but here in the next 20 years you can't get a document.</i> Anna: <i>Ja</i> [referring to the fact that they cannot trade freely].</p>	
<p>Participation What is their biggest need with regard to the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>We need access. Like access like documentation. You cannot enter like those open spaces, which are exclusively [indistinct] for the South Africans. The first thing I would need is the access, which is [related to] documentation. It is the real problem.</i> (Contextual information: What Jonathan is stating is that foreign nationals do not have access even to these public open spaces. The researcher thinks that this lack of documentation leads to fear of accessing public spaces due to legal implications. This is the strongest indication yet that foreign nationals are excluded from public space use in the Pretoria CBD)</p>	<p>6.168-6.169</p>
<p>Accommodating spaces Do they have access to public toilet facilities and drinking water in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>No there's no public toilets.</i> Anna: <i>No.</i> [General agreement]: <i>Ja ja.</i> Anna: <i>There is a public toilet but you pay money.</i> [In referring to access to drinking water]: <i>There by.</i> [points to an area that is reasonably far from where they are]. Jonathan: <i>Nothing nothing, there's no public services.</i> (Contextual information: Although not said directly, the group creates the impression that they are not free to use public ablutions. It is difficult to ascertain whether it is discrimination from the local populace, fear from the Rwandan's side or a combination of both.)</p>	<p>6.147-152</p>
<p>Spatial choice What are the challenges to have free access to the available spaces and services in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>We are not wanted and for us this is really apartheid.</i> Rose: <i>Bribes they want bribes...</i> Peter: <i>Let me tell you another thing. Even the hospitals [discriminate against foreign nationals].</i> With regard to accessing services at a hospital] <i>they</i> [staff at the hospital] <i>say: "Why don't you get yourself checked in your own country?" We are here, how can we go to another country to look for a doctor when we are here?</i></p>	<p>6.146</p>
<p>Summary of theme 11: Regulatory intrusiveness Anna and the group as a whole experience regulatory intrusiveness in the Pretoria CBD. There is a lack of ablutions and clean drinking water, which is aggravated by a seeming unwillingness by the local people to allow them to freely make use of the facilities. Most of the problems that they experience are related to not being able to obtain citizenship. Their hesitation to participate in civic life and in public space and often active exclusion become understandable in this context as any dispute or contestation of public space would automatically negatively default to them. This exclusion is not only experienced where the</p>		

<p>local people are concerned, but also when the police are involved, or when they seek medical care at a hospital.</p> <p>Spaces are therefore not accommodating to them at all. Their spatial choices are very low and they seem to have withdrawn from public space participation to a large extent, due to the rejection and hostility that they often have to face. It may be that the more affluent Rwandans buy access and spatially appropriate certain areas for themselves.</p>		
Theme 12: Cultural expression + Political choice + Ethnic division.		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>Cultural expression Are they free to express their culture and use their language in public?</p>	<p>Peter: [In referring to public transport]: <i>To go to Soshanguve, Mamelodi.</i></p> <p>Jonathan: <i>That's the second hell</i></p> <p>Peter: <i>because all of us we do have the money to pay those fares [for transport]. You know in the social community the poor the middle and the rich</i></p> <p>Peter: <i>Some they are supposed to go to Soshanguve, Mamelodi to stay there. They are supposed to take the taxis to come here [to the CBD]. It's not too expensive to pay for it, the problem if you get there it's that [you are] exposing your life.</i></p> <p>Anna: <i>Ja ja, its dangerous.</i></p> <p>Peter: <i>Its very dangerous. I remember once we were in the [bus] just talking, talking our language, someone he told me stop talking this language, meaning you are not allowed to talk in your language, that is not correct.</i></p> <p>Hmmm [Anna agrees].</p> <p>Jonathan: <i>Ja, we are using English, but English also has become a problem.</i></p>	6.163-165
<p>Political choice Do they experience political exclusion?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>Exclusion Ja. Ja, this thing is being intensified and indoctrinated by government. Not the South African people but the government [indistinct].</i></p>	
<p>Ethnic division Do they experience racism and/or xenophobia in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>Jonathan: <i>No racism. The problem is not between Black and White, it's between Black and Black.</i></p> <p>Anna: <i>Yes, xenophobia [followed by strong group agreement].</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 12: Cultural expression</p> <p>The group as a whole felt strongly that they are not completely free to express their culture by for example speaking their own language. The extent of exclusion and xenophobia that they experience would prohibit this. They do not blame the local nationals around them, but feel betrayed by the South African government whom they believe causes ethnic division between them and local people. Their political choice is therefore extremely limited.</p>		

INTERVIEW 6: GROUP INTERVIEW OF PROPERTY ADMINISTRATORS

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<p>Are there concentrations of co-ethnic</p>	<p>GM1: <i>No, not really I think it is much more demographically representative and maybe not in terms of black and white but it is much more integrated. There is usually a diversity of people living in our buildings.</i></p>	7.1-6 7.7-15

<p>social networks who live in the buildings that are managed by the property administrator? Are the participants aware that in Johannesburg for example people tend to form what seems like ethnic ghettos in certain buildings? Are most of the people who rent their buildings local? What is an important characteristic of the population who rent space in the CBD?</p>	<p>GM1: Yes [they are aware that certain ethnic groups form enclaves in the Johannesburg CBD]. [Most of the people who rent their buildings are local]: GM1: <i>Local mostly, there is a percentage that is foreign, but the majority are South African.</i> [In answering the question what an important demographical characteristic of people who rent in the CBD are]: <i>..but there are many, and I think that this is why it's slightly disjointed in terms of demographics, is that many of them swot here. That demographic changes the statistics a bit. Students make up [about] 33%. The others work here.</i> (Contextual information: The property administrator rents out space to people from a higher income strata than the street traders and mostly to local people. Notwithstanding this fact, they have daily contact with the street traders. Although there may be ethnic clustering or enclaving in other buildings of which they are not aware, their view supports the view of the traders with whom the researcher conducted interviews, namely that ethnic clustering or enclaving is not characteristic of the Pretoria CBD.)</p>	
<p>Summary of theme 1: Co-ethnic networks The participants are of the opinion that there is a low level of ethnic clustering and/or enclaving in their buildings but admit that the street traders are usually not their clients. Their buildings are mostly occupied by people who work for a salary, and secondly, by students. The participants said that ethnic enclaving does not generally occur in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do the tenants generally stay long enough to develop an attachment to their space or a sense of permanence, or do they tend to move relatively quickly? When looking at</p>	<p>GM1: <i>Yes we have a high churn (turnover) rate, they tend to stay 18 months on average. They sign a 12 month lease specifically in the residential space. But the average is 18 months but many of them move out after 12 months, because there is usually an increase after 12 months of rental, and then they move. What we also find is that they move from one of our buildings to [a building with lower rent]. They do not necessarily churn out of our company. They churn to another building or they move on. Many of them and I am generalising now, might get a promotion. So they won't necessarily work in the city. Then they will go and stay in Moreleta Park, because they get work in Menlyn Main, or whatever.</i> <i>So I think economic factors have an influence on it. We have tried to generate some loyalty lately, this is in its pilot phase and it works well. So</i></p>	<p>7.21-26 7.142-148</p>

<p>children in the CBD, what is the participants' view of their integration?</p>	<p><i>if they sign for another year they get discount. It makes it easier for everyone. [But] they are very mobile and they move around.</i> GM1: <i>You know, we are involved with Pretoria primary school there on the corner of Nelson Mandela and ...somewhere there, is a large number of children there of foreign nationalities, as local children, and I must say maybe English is not well of their first language but I can clearly see the integration there. So there's no issue there.</i></p>	
<p>Could the habit of renting for a while and moving have an influence on rootlessness, resulting in someone never making the spaces their own?</p>	<p><i>Yes it's very true what you say [that the lack attachment to place has an effect on the use of public space]. Yes, I think that is totally [true] [that is about survival].</i></p>	<p>7.27-29</p>
<p>Are they aware of travelling habits of their clientele and whether they return home after having lived here for a period?</p>	<p>GM1: <i>students that have finished their studies and then leave, and that goes for the local black people as well that leave when they have finished their studies. Some are at UP and then leave on completion. [In replying to the question whether tenants go home during December]: Yes.</i> GM2: <i>Some of the local people go about once a month if they have extra money.</i> GM1: <i>I think a lot of that question depends on if he comes in the New Year, because we have a peak period in January and February where we house thousands of people. They come, stay, and start up their things, and when the lease expires at the end of the year, he is gone. That is maybe part of the churn but I can't say it with certainty.</i> GM1: <i>I don't know if trips [travelling] are a thing?</i> GM1: <i>Many of the nephews and nieces and brothers and sisters come and visit. The building managers need to draw a line somewhere. Yes and we are very strict. You may stay only so long otherwise you must register as a co-habitant.</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence The buildings managed by the property administrator have a large turnover rate. The participants ascribed it to mostly economic reasons, as tenants tend to move to a cheaper building as a result of annual rent increases. Although the tenants under discussion are mostly local, this theme depicts low attachment to space as a result of temporality and therefore a lack of identification with the space. In contrast it seems as if children from different nationalities integrate more easily. With regard to travelling habits, they are often related to students being temporarily part of the study area and then returning home on completion of studies or for holidays. There seems to be a large contingent of visitors of the tenants that contribute to the temporality of the public spaces of the study area.</p>		
<p>Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality (Importing socio-cultural identity)</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Are the participants aware of tenants bringing with</p>	<p>GM1: <i>[With regard to importing socio-cultural identity]: No I don't think in our buildings, but I know there is... we had a place with a tenant, but it was quite a while ago. They were called the social market [an art movement]. Now I don't know if they are still on the go, but in the end they moved to across Kara.</i></p>	<p>7.38-40</p>

<p>them and practicing their rituals or cultural customary habits?</p>		
<p>Summary of theme 3: Trans locational positionality There is very little evidence of importing socio-cultural identity. The social market that the participants mention is a fringe arts movement, the culture of origin was not known to them.</p>		
<p>Theme 4: Communication Technology in public space</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do the participants know whether the free Wi-Fi is still available for tenants and traders in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p>GM1: <i>They are still going, there where issues before, and when the new administration took over there were also some problems. They are everywhere. If you walk with your Wi-Fi on you will pick them up. All the parks have them, when I go home in the evenings, my phone picks them all up. The State Theatre, Church Square. Open spaces, Burgers Park. I think it's the whole time. It's like they are always on their phones nowadays and people use the free Wi-Fi. At one stage, there was 500MB per day and then it was reduced to 250MB per day. And remember the schools also have, there are a few schools in the CBD. Also for instance the National Library.</i></p>	<p>7.65-66</p>
<p>Does the availability of Wi-Fi influence the use of public space?</p>	<p>GM1: <i>Absolutely, I am thinking of a stupid example, Just behind us here, I call it your Instagram wall [addresses GM2].</i> GM1: <i>We started a student thing here in Johannes Ramogoase Street, at the college; [his colleague] has this one building where I park. On the corner she made this beautiful easy grass lawn, planted some plants, and beautified it a bit. I call it [colleague's name's] Instagram wall. So nowadays, the students are hanging around there. So that's where they take photographs, just now there was one posing and ...</i> <i>I think they are doing it more and more nowadays and the increased need for Wi-Fi connectivity from residents not only for phones but also for their decoders, they all want Exploras. That why our projects team work on these things and the buildings are geared for it. And you know that's something we find a lot, even at 012 Central. Many of the pedestrians going past 012 Central are students because of all the colleges in that street and there are taxi drop-off points. So it has a large influence on the amount of people walking past there.</i></p>	<p>7.47-52</p>
<p>Do the participants know whether their tenants use technology to stream church services from their home countries?</p>	<p>GM1: <i>I am not aware of that.</i> GM2: <i>No we know there are very large churches.</i> GM1: <i>Yes but they are not in public [space].</i></p>	<p>7.56-61</p>
<p>Data from observation relating to</p>	<p>The researcher saw many young people in groups and individually sitting around and using their phones and digital devices. Often they would wear earphones and be in their own world while accessing these devices. The researcher could see a clear need</p>	

technology in public space	for spaces that are safe and inclusive for these young people to sit at and interact with each other and their devices.	
Summary of theme 4: Technology use in public spaces		
The participants' initiative to beautify a space where there is Wi-Fi had the result that young people "hang around" the area, interact and take photographs of each other. This response significantly contributes to the value of creating spaces in the CBD and it points to a special need among youth, not only for their need to be able to use social media, but to have spaces where they can congregate.		
Theme 5: Commerce (transnational/local trading networks)		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Are the participants aware whether some of their tenants work close to where they live, for example having a business such as hair salons or cooking food out on the street?	GM1: <i>I definitely think so, and I am specifically thinking of the commercial tenants. We have a large contingent of people coming in that have hair salons. They tout nails, and they tout for business on the street.</i> (Contextual information: The participants indicate that the expression of commercial interests in the Pretoria CBD is very different from Johannesburg. The morphology and circulation of the Pretoria CBD buildings have an influence due to them having only one storey of commercial spaces and then tenement units above. In addition, the size of manageable building lots is larger in Pretoria where whole blocks can be administered and kept clean, et cetera.)	7.41-42
Is there a specific culture group that have more shops?	GM1: <i>Yes [the Nigerians] and they do braiding as well, so we have one building specifically for hair salons. You can literally rent 2,5 to 5,0 square meters of space, and the business is tough. Yes they are not allowed to tout in the streets. It is also in terms of that we do not have a CID anymore. The CID is the City improvement District, and because they are not there anymore it is really a free for all. The building for the hair is amazing house, and it's a cut-throat business.</i> GM2: <i>yes but here is not as bad to me as in Johannesburg, where you almost fall over the people there are so many. And the building managers say that many of the women do not only sell hair. [Reference to illicit prostitution]</i>	
Are they aware that some street traders sell drugs?	GM1: <i>I think the situation in Pretoria is easier to manage due to the fact that we have pockets of buildings, for example we will have this whole block, and that makes it much easier to manage and to keep clean. In Joburg it's much more spread out. I think that causes the issues where you have a commercial tenant and right next to him the guy is doing just what he likes. And Joburg also has that weird two level commercial spaces before you find the other things. Yes, Pretoria is traditionally a lot more one level and then the stuff above, so it refers to that business.</i>	7.43-44
Do the tenants mix social gatherings with commerce in the CBD? Does the [business] allow it in their	GM1: <i>Yes those people with the cups and games. I think it really is so and mostly after work. There are some of those guys that drive the others very hard for trade. So if so it will be after hours. It's not like it's some idyllic old Greek man sitting and playing games while drinking coffee. We don't allow it at all. No, it is strict trading hours and the building managers won't allow it. It depends on their licence so some may trade to 8pm or whatever, I speak under correction however. But because many of the buildings have residential above it won't be allowed. It is strictly</i>	

buildings? What about after hours?	<i>according to the lease conditions, so you trade up to that time and nothing else.</i> (Contextual information: The encroachment of commercial activity into public space is regulated and prohibited by this property administrator and they infer that it is easier to do in Pretoria than Johannesburg.)	
Are there any other behavioural aspects beyond these issues that come to mind regarding African migrants who are tenants in the business' buildings?	GM2: <i>I would say the big difference that I notice is the difference between residential and retail tenants.</i> GM1: <i>Yes</i> GM1: <i>The retail tenants do not always have the savvy or may not even speak proper English, where the foreign tenants that are residential are very well educated, fluent in English and so forth.</i> GM1: [In referring to the Zimbabwean people whom the researcher refers to as fluent English speakers]: <i>And I think that many of the retail guys come and have a small shop, not necessarily with us, they have something to sell, I see it all over the city, you can see they are not South African. I think it's like a tried and tested recipe where if I can get a spot and I have an offset point people will buy my stuff. Where I think GM2: is quite right, the residential people are here for a totally different reason. I don't want to say a different class, but they can communicate much better and have a higher income.</i>	7.158-159
Data from observation relating to commerce	The researcher observed a lot of commercial activity on the streets of the Pretoria CBD. His observations are concurrent with the expert interviews in that the indicator is a lot more formal in the Pretoria CBD than in Johannesburg, but it is still present and has a large degree of influence on the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.	
Summary of theme 5: Commerce		
The respondents are aware of the phenomenon of people who have their business near their homes. They said that they do not allow it at all in the buildings under their control. If the tenants were allowed they would definitely encroach and transform the public spaces around their businesses. The respondents were also clear to make a distinction between their commercial tenants and their residential tenants and that these two groups differ widely. (See gender indicator). They split the commercial tenants and the residential tenants into two different categories, with the latter being a lot less educated and perhaps more inclined to display the indicators as described in this study.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
With regard to Islamic believers who need space for their daily prayers, are the participants aware of prayer spaces?	GM1: <i>Yes [there are many African Islamic people in the Pretoria CBD].</i> GM2: <i>And another thing is if the Muslims have a festive time you will find when coming into the city in the mornings, then they will be sitting there on the side of the road praying.</i> GM1: <i>Especially when it is Eid [they will pray in the open air]. Yes [they pray in the open air].</i>	7.75-80
Are the church services held inside the buildings or are some held outside? Are	GM2: <i>No [Especially not in Pretoria. In Johannesburg, they will have open parking lots and so forth, up to three churches will sometimes congregate there together]. [Pointing to the Metro Mosque as seen through their office window]: During Eid they will pray [there]. Predominantly African Pentecostals, also Islamic. All gather inside. No [the participants never see people practice their religion outside the buildings].</i>	7.81-86

<p>the buildings that are rented out – do all gather inside the buildings? Do they ever see people using the buildings of the business using outdoor spaces for religious purposes?</p>		
<p>Are the participants aware of any gender related behaviour, or example segregation of or gender discrimination?</p>	<p>GM1: <i>I think it is as you say, it is the women with the burkas, and the hum, ladies with the mannequins, and the wigs, there was one there at centre walk the other day that couldn't even speak English. You could see she was only there to sell stuff. How can you sell stuff and not even speak English?</i> No [she did not wear the burka]. <i>It's about values.</i></p>	<p>7.84-86</p>
<p>Summary of theme 6: Religion Religion does not seem to influence public space directly in the physical sense, except for the Muslim prayer days as indicated. The participants agreed that very few religious activities happen in the Pretoria CBD within public space, such as pavements or in parking lots.</p>		
<p>Theme 9: Recreation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Are the participants aware of tenants practicing recreational activities such as having communal meals in public spaces? Do they take part in recreational communal conversations on the street?</p>	<p>GM1: [No] <i>they don't practice recreational activities such as communal meals in public. Yes I think that they do [take part in communal conversations on the street] because it's much more sociable and really talking, yes definitely.</i></p>	<p>7.118-21</p>
<p>Do the people in the CBD take part in cultural ritual behaviour or</p>	<p>GM1: <i>I know there where I drive home just before Fountains at the BMW garages, they play soccer. GM1: Also when Church Square was still open they played soccer there. GM1: there was a restaurant off Church Square that was very social which I always thought were probably more people</i></p>	<p>7.122-126</p>

any other recreational behaviour?	<i>from Central Africa. GM1: Yes. I don't know if they are still there. They mostly ate communally.</i>	
Are they aware of organised sport? Are there recreational areas just for tenants?	GM2: <i>A lot of them jog. Yes here at the Union Buildings. There are many joggers there and they stretch and do yoga In one of our buildings, we have gym in the park area down below.</i> GM1: <i>Yes just on that you obviously know that at most of our places we make leisure spaces available? Yes inside the buildings... or in a courtyard or on the roof. At [his colleague's] place, we have our largest leisure area to date which is almost 3000m². Yes and people don't just use it for the kids but adults definitely also use it.</i>	7.127-133
Are they aware of informal recreational activities, for example playing soccer in the street?	GM1: [Indicates negatively].	7.138-140
<p>Summary of theme 9 Recreation</p> <p>The participants' clientele generally do not have communal meals in the public spaces, but prefer to eat in their homes. This may be a result of building management policy that prescribes the use of outdoor spaces around their buildings as this could be viewed as a disturbance for other tenants. Social gathering and communication in the street is prevalent. Their opinion that there is little organised or informal sport or recreation in the CBD confirms the researcher's experience. It was noted that the property administrator provide recreational space in their buildings, in parking areas or on the roofs of buildings, for their tenants. These spaces are used by adults as well as children. Taking into account that their clientele consists of 90% local people, such areas are then not accessible to foreign migrants and immigrants.</p>		

INTERVIEW 7: CBD EXPERT; PROFESSOR STEPHAN DE BEER

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Is he aware of any co-ethnic networks or ethnic enclaves in certain areas of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>immediately what came to mind, and I don't know why that happened, hum, but immediately I thought of a couple of spots in Sunnyside [No, there is more enclaving in Sunnyside] [On the situation of enclaves in and around the study area] So if you went just a little South, to Burghers Park, [South of Study area] the residential neighbourhoods in Burghers Park tend to be more South African [population], Ok? Whilst in Sunnyside in tends to be much more diverse [Foreign nationals]</i>	10.2+ 10.3
On the change of demographics in the Pretoria	<i>And then, of course the CBD itself, after Schubert Park happened [evacuation of a large multi block housing unit by the City Council] so that has quite changed [the residential demographics of the study area]</i>	10.3+ 10.4

CBD in recent years		
Are there any true ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD, and where can they be found?	[Yes but] <i>it is much lower than in Sunnyside and even Arcadia.</i> [On the area they are most prolific] <i>I think towards Marabastad</i> [northwestern side of CBD] [Yet] <i>it is [Still] much lower than in Sunnyside and even Arcadia.</i> [Are there low or high levels of enclaving?] [Low] <i>in terms of residential</i> [So does he find enclaves in the study area?] <i>I don't find those enclaves there yet[CBD], in the same way as in the neighbouring areas and surrounds</i>	10.5+ 10.8+ 10.10
Except for residential, what other types of ethnic clustering are there?	[On the different types of ethnic clustering except for residential] <i>informality, informal businesses, in terms of church life, religious life, that's quite different</i> [more prolific in terms of ethnic concentration]	10.8
On the question of where most true ethnic enclaves can be found and why they formed outside the study area	<i>Now I don't know why those dynamics,</i> [why Sunnyside and Arcadia have high levels of ethnic enclaves] <i>but it's almost like what I think happened in Hillbrow, and certain parts of Cape Town. Places like lower Wine-Berg, and those kinds of places, it seems like certain ethnic groups arrive, they feel comfortable, they feel safe, other groups take the que,</i> [Where can most true enclaves be found?] <i>Sunnyside and even Arcadia</i> [Towards the south and east outside but in close proximity to study area]	10.6+ 10.8
Summary of theme 1: co-ethnic networks:		
There are pockets of ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD, but they are far less than areas such as Sunnyside, and Arcadia, which fall outside the study area. The Pretoria CBD thus has a very low concentration of ethnic enclaving, but there is ethnic concentrations around informal trading, and churches, but not yet around housing. The Pretoria CBD did contain higher levels of ethnic concentrations before the Schubart-Park buildings where evacuated. This also led to a decrease in the CBD population. For reasons that are unclear, the highest concentration of true ethnic enclaves can be found in the suburbs of Sunnyside and Arcadia, in near proximity to the south and east of the study area.		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Are the foreign national peoples in the CBD, generally well assimilated in the spaces of the Pretoria CBD	<i>I think there is assimilation,</i> [But] <i>there is not assimilation in the sense that I think you would mean it.</i> [Can higher levels of assimilation be found elsewhere?] <i>That,</i> [better assimilation] <i>I find in other parts of the city.</i> [Where is there better assimilation?] <i>it seems to me that the better assimilation, where people take almost a sense of ownership, this is my space, happens around that [area around CBD, Sunnyside and Arcadia]</i>	10.11
Do they stick mostly to their co-ethnic networks?	<i>It seems to me that they</i> [foreign nationals] <i>stick more to themselves.</i>	10.11

<p>An example of this lack of assimilation in the north western part of the CBD</p>	<p><i>we found that certain buildings, Blood Street, those areas, where there would be one building with six churches. When we asked them, those six pastors have never met each other even, they don't speak to each other.</i></p>	<p>10.11</p>
<p>On the tendency of churches to act as facilitators to entry for different foreign national groupings in the Pretoria CBD</p>	<p><i>, there is for example the International Church of Pretoria [how long?] for the last 25 years [Its functions is] the function of that place is almost like, it almost becomes like an entry point, a facilitator of peoples access. [What kinds of places become facilitators to foreign national's access into Tshwane?] there are these religious places for example, that becomes facilitators of peoples entry into Tshwane</i></p>	<p>10.11</p>
<p>On the tendency of churches to become foreign nationals temporary community</p>	<p><i>often when they come alone that's their point of entry but also it becomes the community that holds them until they are more established.</i></p>	<p>10.11</p>
<p>On the tendency of foreign nationals to view the Pretoria CBD as a place of permanence or a place of temporality</p>	<p>I don't know [in isolated cases] There was a big [Rwandan] family So this [Pretoria CBD] was a springboard for them, and some of the other Francophone people as well, but my sense is that South Africa is viewed as the US or Europe [For most migrants] [A final destination]</p>	<p>10.12</p>
<p>Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence: There is some assimilation of foreign national peoples in the Pretoria CBD, but it is currently low. The ethnic groups tend to stick together, and higher levels of assimilation happen in the areas outside of the CBD, such as Sunnyside and Arcadia, where the true ethnic enclaves are to be found. Churches for instance that share the same premises, and are ethnically concentrated, have very low levels of communication between each other, indicating very low levels of ethnic assimilation. However, most African migrants tend to view the Pretoria CBD as a permanent destination and not a place of temporality, and thus not a springboard to other destinations in Europe and the USA.</p>		
<p>Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality [Importing socio-cultural identity]</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>On the question if African foreign nationals tend</p>	<p><i>[Yes] and it's a strong sense,</i></p>	<p>10.13</p>

to import their social and cultural ethnic identity into the spaces of the Pretoria CBD		
What socio-cultural identity do they import?	<i>[Religious rituals] definitely... you do it like that in that setup and you come to South Africa, and you do it in exactly the same way. [Also] Food, around food and eating [where] small little shops, or spaza shops, or whatever [where communal eating happens] and that becomes a glue, place[s] that brings people together [for communal eating] [but it also leads to] the more adventurous [that] hang out there [at the communal eating spaces] so I have a sense that [these places] become places of assimilation.</i>	10.13+ 10.14
What kinds of spaces are employed for these eating spaces?	<i>It could be physical, [buildings] it could be on the street, it could be informal. [could they be semi-private as well as public spaces?] Ja ja [Yes]</i>	10.15
What other ethnic culture do migrants import into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>...again back to religion. [religion] [Who imports religious ritual into the public spaces of the CBD?] the AIC's, the African Initiated Churches [what kinds of spaces do they use?] there are specific spaces, open [spaces] and that is because they often worship under trees. So you would find places that, if they are not there at the moment, then you would not know it is a church [How prevalent are these AIC churches in the actual CBD of Pretoria?] before the 90's it wasn't [prevalent] and its quite prevalent [now]</i>	10.18
<p>Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality: African migrants do import socio cultural identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They import certain ethnic rituals, but food and eating as well as religious identity importation appear to be the most prevalent. Eating-places can become places of assimilation for African migrants, and the spaces are diverse, including inside buildings, in the street at formal eating-places or informal group settings. It could happen in public space or semi-private spaces too. The main importer of religious identity into the Pretoria CBD are the AIC [African Initiator Churches], which use open spaces and outdoor spaces sometimes under trees as places of worship, leaving little evidence of these spaces in their absence .</p>		
Theme 4: Communication technology in public space		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
On the question of the influence of technological communication devices on the public spaces of the CBD.	<i>[On the question if it is prevalent] No, no. [Do various church groups such as the AIC or any other religious organizations use technology in public space?] no I haven't seen it [On the question of live-streaming of services between countries] I think [so] but that will then be the bigger churches [Indoors]</i>	10.29+ 10.30+
On the question of	<i>[Yes] I've seen how young people, [doing this] there are places and you wonder why are there so many young people sitting here with their cell-</i>	10.33+ 10.35

how communication devices can influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD, with specific reference to youth culture	<i>phones, but it is because that is where they can best access Tshwane Wi-Fi. [Examples of such spaces could be] outside the Sunnyside swimming pool, there's a couple of places like that, you know it's like hot-spots [What are the limitations of these spaces?] you can only sit there when it's safe and certain times of the day. [Is there a need to formalize these spaces?] I think so [why have these spaces not been formalized yet?] because most architects and planners don't live in those spaces. [is this a definite indicator?] this is definite because of youth culture and their attachment to technological stuff.</i>	
Summary of Theme 4 Technology in Public Space: Technological communication devices have a low impact on the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. However, the youth group do use outdoor spaces around Wi-Fi hot spots, but these can only be used at certain times due to safety concerns.		
Theme 5: Commerce [transnational/local trading networks]		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
On the question, if there are any trans-national trading networks in the Pretoria CBD.	<i>[Yes] I think definitely, [But] also backed up by what [GG Alcock; Kasi-Nomic Revolution 2018] is saying. [Research]</i>	10.37
On the question of whether foreign national traders, or trans-local traders use commerce in a public space setting that would influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD.	<i>I would just confirm that.</i>	10.38
Summary of theme 5 Commerce: There does seem to be trans-national trading networks present in the Pretoria CBD, this is corroborated by his own experience, as well as the research of GG Alcock. The also influence the use of public space in various ways.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines

<p>On the question of whether religion is practised in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD.</p>	<p>[On the question if he wants to use the answer from theme 3 since the previous answer was negative, it is not practiced, except for the AIC churches] Ja ja [Yes]</p>	<p>10.39</p>
<p>On the question if foreign national people use religion as a main entrance vehicle into the Pretoria CBD.</p>	<p><i>Definitely [Yes] it's also an entrance vehicle in the full sense of the word. So that's where they find their own [people] but also where they find, that's almost the information hub. For anything, from health to economy to housing, to everything ja. Legal assistance, hum paperwork, documentation, that's the place where that happens and it happens mostly free.</i></p>	<p>10.40</p>
<p>On the question if co-ethnics that gather at the same churches.</p>	<p><i>Its mixed [But] the common denominator [at the International Church] is that they are from francophone African countries [French language] [But it is also] a place that they get assisted to find ways on how to integrate in the country</i></p>	<p>10.41+ 10.42</p>
<p>On the question of demographics of religion in the Pretoria CBD.</p>	<p><i>[In the Pretoria CBD] there has been a huge shift in religious demographics, from white to black, but also from more reformed traditional Western Christian expressions, to Charismatic Pentecostal and then African Initiated Religions. [Yet] it will still be predominantly different flavours of Christian faith, [religion since 1993] when we started in 1993, there were like 9 churches in that area that you are looking at [Pretoria CBD], now there's about 60 to 65. And those are not the ones under the trees [African Initiator Churches] those are just indoor spaces, and it's also not like house churches were people just worship in their apartment buildings, which is also common. [On the question if the Christian faith is larger than the Islamic faith in the study area?] Ja, ja. Very much so. Probably 85% ja [Yes]</i></p>	
<p>On the question of the influence of the Islamic faith on the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD</p>	<p><i>I don't think, I don't think much [influence] And most activities [religious] happen there [Within the Mosque] [On the question whether people of the Islamic faith have any barriers to accessing a Mosque in the Pretoria CBD] No, no</i></p>	<p>10.44+ 10.45</p>
<p>On the question if there are many African foreign nationals that are new Moslems in the Pretoria CBD</p>	<p><i>I'm not so sure [How many] My guess is that Marabastad will be more diverse [have more African migrants] because of the proximity to the, well to the transport hub there [north-western part of the CBD]</i></p>	<p>10.46</p>
<p>On the question of</p>	<p><i>People tend to be very religious in the CBD and Sunnyside [high percentage of the population] the two fastest growing things are churches and</i></p>	<p>10.47+ 10.48+</p>

how does religious activity specifically influence public space use in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>shebeens [taverns], and those co-exist the whole time [in this area][Regarding] public spaces, so there's a spill over the whole time [into public space], because many of these churches don't have their own fixed spaces [building premises] [The kinds of activities that spill over into public space are] all the other activities [not formal church services] like youth groups or choir practise, they need [some other] space, and then those kinds of things spill over into [outdoor] public spaces [because no other are available] [What kinds of public spaces are accessed for this spill over?] I have only seen it in Parks [such as] Burghers Park [outside study area southeast], Princess Park [inside study area].</i>	10.49
<p>Summary of theme 6 Religion:</p> <p>The use of public space for formal religious services in the study area is low. Only the African Initiator Churches AIC use the spaces in such a way. They leave no signs of their presence when they are not there. Religion does tend to become a vehicle of access into the Pretoria CBD for African migrants, which helps to orient them and supply their needs for information and support across a wide spectrum, as well as helping them with integration in the population of the CBD. Christian churches do tend to be ethnically stratified, but mainly relating to demographic language use from specific areas in Africa, such as the International Church, which is a Francophone church, with French language speakers being the common denominator. Language makes up an important facet of the religious indicator. Demographically the Christian faith is substantially larger than the Islamic faith within the Pretoria CBD, and the growth of Christian churches has been substantial since the advent of democracy in 1993, with more or less 65 churches within the study area. However many of these churches do not have adequate premises of their own, and tend to share premises with other churches. There is a need for spaces for activities such as choir practise and youth groups, which do not have spaces to use outside of formal service times, and these tend to spill over into the public spaces in and around the study area in the form of public Parks. Currently the respondent is not aware of the use of any other type of public spaces for these activities. Islamic believers do not seem to influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD to any degree, with all their religious activities happening within the Mosque's.</p>		
Theme 7: Gender		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
On the question, do the people in the CBD especially foreign nationals have gender prescribed behaviours in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>[No] I'm not sure that people's behaviour changes so much necessarily or immediately [After arriving in the CBD] [But, they] would still want to observe or respect or honour their faith [But because they are] Now obviously in a secular society [They] will have to reserve [gender prescribed behaviours] for their home or their Mosque or whatever.</i>	10.51
On the question of if inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD suffer	<i>Ja, ja. [Yes] [It includes local and foreign national females] our sense is that [the Pretoria CBD is] one of the most gendered spaces [and these CBD spaces are] the spaces to see how patriarchy operates [this could be] anything from touch to hum just chatting up people in inappropriate ways to assuming I can do that because I'm a man.</i>	10.52

from gender related issues in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD		
On the question if there is a need for safe spaces for females from harassment in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>Right ja ja. [Yes]</i>	10.55
<p>Summary of theme 7 Gender: Due to the fact, that the Pretoria CBD is a secular society, the African foreign nationals which come here with ethnic and religious gender prescribed behaviours in public space, do not necessarily practise it in the Public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. They have to enact these behaviours in private or at their Mosques. However, the Pretoria CBD is a highly gendered space, where patriarchy operates, and females are at risk of harassment. The respondent feels that there is a need for safe spaces for females in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
Theme 8: Status Projection		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
On the question if he is aware of status projection influencing public space in the Pretoria CBD	<i>[Yes] if we restrict it to Pretoria CBD, I see that all the time, but I see it as, more a local South African expression. [do foreign nationals also practise it?] Not in the CBD, maybe in Sunnyside [is it different for them?] it's not so much the big car thing, as that we are strong and we sell drugs [expressing solidarity] [But in the Pretoria] CBD, there are [types of spaces such as] pockets, often public spaces, often just pavements, car wash spaces, those kinds of places [practised] mostly [by] South Africans, young Professional [South Africans] that show [wealth] off</i>	10.56+ 10.57
On the question if there's more than car washing going on, but perhaps a need for exposure?	<i>Ja ja [Yes] And there's also... socialising, that's were the gang meets, you know, that's the bonding and whatever, on Sunday morning get away from home, that happens [when] often on Sundays,</i>	10.58
On the question if these spaces are prevalent in the Pretoria CBD, and what we could call them	<i>Ja, ja [they are prevalent]. [these spaces are related to] vehicles and music and, drink (alcohol) [and they are] all mixed ja. [are they utilised for socialization?] Ja, ja. [yes] And [these spaces are] very gendered, its often only men. Sometimes its mixed, but its often men only.</i>	10.59

<p>On the question how does this practise influence public space use in the Pretoria CBD</p>	<p><i>Ja ja. [it does influence public space] [it could also relate to] gender [by way of] If the socializing and the partying goes too long, [and women who walk past] might actually wish they had walked another route [however] my sense of the [Pretoria] CBD and foreign nationals, is that they are still finding their foothold, they want to almost be a little bit discreet. Whilst this [status projecting] is putting them out there [while] in Sunnyside if you're a foreign national... you are [not a] minority, there are many [therefore in Sunnyside foreign nationals] can be bolder.</i></p>	<p>10.60</p>
<p>Summary of theme 8 Status Projection: Status projection in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD does happen, and often, but it is mainly done by the local South African population. The African foreign nationals tend to engage in this behaviour as well, but they express it differently by way of showing solidarity and unity as a means of projecting strength in numbers, and they do it outside of the study area, mainly in the suburb of Sunnyside. When it is practised in the Pretoria CBD it happens in public spaces such as pockets of space, pavements and car-washing spaces. It is related to showing off wealth, socialization alcohol use and escapism. Negative consequences can be drunkenness, gendered spaces, and harassment of females.</p>		
<p>Theme 9: Recreation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Regarding the question is he aware of the recreational habits of inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD regarding the use of public space?</p>	<p><i>there's all kinds of things [such as] using parks...to hang out, sometimes to study, practise choir [also] dating, a lot of the CBD young people don't have money, so that's where they go to sit and meet [additionally] things like kitchen teas, baby showers and so on [because people live in] apartments [and] there's no real space [if] you want to invite friends.</i></p>	<p>10.61</p>
<p>On the question if African cultures tend to be more, elaborate regarding these rituals such as baby showers and kitchen teas.</p>	<p><i>Yes it's a ritual, it's an important ritual and people are willing to spend money on rituals, [where are these rituals enacted] public spaces are used for [these] rituals. [Its more than just religious rituals, it can be] family rituals, its initiation rituals, there's a baby or now you are getting married [and] people attach a lot of value to that [in addition it can be] a reunion of friends and family. [but then, there are] the other uses of recreational [spaces] homeless [people] simply don't have anywhere else to go, so they use public spaces, that's where they sit that's where they hope they can sleep tonight [does it become their living space?] that's right, it's their living space... at night becomes a bedroom... [unfortunately] public spaces are also the places where street drugs and stuff happen [therefore] tension happens in public spaces [between] people [that] want to have these three thousand rand cake celebrations [rituals] and then there's a deal happening there</i></p>	<p>10.64</p>
<p>On the question if these recreation spaces become</p>	<p><i>Ja [Yes] I am always thinking of spaces in terms of contestations, its contested spaces, [this is because] the way in which [spatial planners] design it [they] don't consider that [contestation] properly, [also] the regeneration of those spaces are contested, [by] clean[ing] [them] up and put[ting] heavy security [there] and [then] push[ing] homeless guys out, [thereafter] we criminalise [them, hence] it's always contested, [the</i></p>	<p>10.65</p>

contested spaces	question is] <i>who's space is that? If it's a public space, who does it belong to? And those things in a sense are up for grabs</i> [by all these groups]	
On the question if inhabitants local or foreign national, practise communal eating in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD	<i>I have said</i> [about the different rituals] <i>so it could be churches, after church they want to eat somewhere but the space is small so they go</i> [outdoors to eat together] <i>it could</i> [include] <i>all these different events, celebrations, rituals, graduations, parties or just picnics, children's parties all of those</i> [where communal eating happens]	10.67
Regarding the question if inhabitants eat outside on pavements or as an ethnic tradition or something that they would carry over from their host country?	<i>Hum not that I know of</i> [however] <i>in a sense</i> [due to] <i>the way that spaces are designed</i> [by spatial planners, they are] <i>very Western</i> [spaces], <i>and</i> [this] <i>inhibits</i> [their use in a more ethnic way]. <i>There are these unwritten and written rules that inhibits full expression of what people would have expressed if they lived in their own countries or in a rural areas.</i> [might there be more of an expression of this public space eating if it was felt that it was appropriate?] <i>Ja, ja</i> [Yes]	10.68+ 10.69
On the question if inhabitants, especially foreign nationals practise street side conversation as a recreational activity in the Pretoria CBD?	[Yes] <i>I think so, and its different things its hum, but it's just informal happenings...street trade</i> [and the associated] <i>informal eating places</i> [that accompany them] [additionally] <i>petrol garages where they have added a kind of outdoor space</i> [also] <i>cars, where people sit</i> [inside vehicles] [and it includes] all kinds of people, [also] foreign nationals [it also includes] <i>people with suits coming from their offices, and</i> [over] <i>lunch time they would sit there</i> [and eat together] [what kinds of groups are these?] <i>it's almost new, informal slash formal, public space slash private, its open spaces</i> [people] <i>move into space[s] that might be a bit more public, and they use it for as long as they are not chased away,</i> [spaces such as] <i>petrol garages where they have added kind of outdoor space</i> [or another example where] where [people] have put tables and chairs [in these semi public spaces] and people sit and they socialize and they drink and what-not [is there a need for talking in a uniquely African way?] <i>Ja, ja</i> [Yes]	10.70+ 10.71
On the question if the inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD practise ethnic rituals in public space	[No] <i>not really</i> [that only happens when] <i>there are festivals or celebrations</i> [outside the study area] <i>in terms of an informal</i> [ethnic ritual] <i>no, no.</i> [Those that do happen, will be religious rituals, such as] <i>the worship</i> [of ancestors], <i>it could be</i> [Christian] <i>baptisms in Marabastad, it could be the spruyt</i> [Apies river in eastern border of study area] [these religious rituals could be practised by] <i>both locals and foreigners.</i>	10.72
On the question of the location and type of spaces	[these religious rituals will happen] <i>where there's an open space, a space that is really open</i> [however] <i>the spaces where these</i> [rituals do] <i>happen, are not like parks or parking garages</i> [they are] <i>those few natural spots, where there are lots of trees and maybe a spruyt or a river, or whatever</i> [in	10.73+ 10.74+ 10.75

that these religious rituals are practised in	other words, a truly natural area] <i>ja</i> [yes] [is there a need for such spaces in the CBD, and are there any?] <i>ja</i> [yes] [where] <i>only</i> [in] <i>Marabastad, that part</i> [north-western border of study area]	
<p>Summary of theme 9 Recreation:</p> <p>The Pretoria CBD has a need for, and lack of various outdoor recreational spaces. The fact that people live inside in apartment blocks, contributes to a lack of outdoor recreation spaces for them. These needs include informal gatherings of people for socialising and reunions, church spill-over such as choir practise, celebrations such as baby-showers, kitchen teas and birthday parties and then also for religious ritual practises such as ancestor worship, and initiation ceremonies. These are however only practised in truly natural areas, and currently this is only available in the north-eastern part of the CBD, in the area of Marabastad, which is dangerous, and not easily accessible to all people.</p> <p>The spaces are highly contested in terms of the different groups that need them, with the aforementioned celebratory ritual enactors, clashing with the homeless people and the drug dealing networks over the use of these spaces. There is a large contingent of homeless/street people that appropriate these spaces as their living spaces. The criminalization of homelessness also contributes to the continuation of space contestations in the Pretoria CBD due to the fact that these people have nowhere else to go.</p> <p>There is a need for communal eating in public space, and people do this after church services or as informal group gatherings, or related to the celebratory rituals. People may do this more if they had appropriate spaces to do it in. People also practise conversation in public as a form of recreation, as they will encroach on semi-public and public spaces such as near petrol stations, often times until they are asked to leave.</p>		
Theme 10: Transnational Alienation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics	Lines
On the question, whether transnational alienation, which could be called homesickness, could have behavioural causality in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>I think it will ja</i> [yes], <i>it will affect</i> [public space use] <i>they probably develop coping mechanisms</i> [and] <i>I think public spaces will become the places where they self-medicate</i> [this] <i>homesickness</i> [by enacting] <i>gatherings, through eating through religious expression</i> , [so are they re-creating familiarity?] <i>Ja</i> [yes] <i>re-creating those connections back to home</i>	10.86+ 10.87
<p>Summary of theme 10 Transnational Alienation:</p> <p>Transnational alienation or homesickness can have an effect on the use of public space by migrants in the Pretoria CBD. They create coping mechanisms of ethnic familiarity, such as gatherings in public space, public eating and religious expressions, all of which would need accessible and safe public spaces where it could be done. The re-creation of familiarity from the home country thus forms a part of this indicator, and the concomitant behaviours which flow from it.</p>		
Theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness.+ Participation + Accommodating Spaces + Spatial choice		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines

<p>Regulatory Intrusiveness: On the question if people in the Pretoria CBD suffer from regulatory intrusiveness in their daily lives?</p>	<p>[Yes] <i>I think these are issues [that] are regulatory intrusiveness, [as well as] regulatory irregularity. I mean there are rules that are not implemented, so there are different things, there are rules that are sometimes not implemented, which affects [the population], [by the] council. [Some regulations can be applied] selective[ly]. [Also not looking at] patterns [of how the population lives and moves in public space] [and by doing so] they will create something where no one wants to go to, where there are no feet, [even though they did] a study [on the area] instead of saying well look organically, this is where it already happens, can't we do this or formalise it or regulate it [as well as a] lack of innovation. [also] there are corrupt practises, you can trade here as long as you pay me. [the root of this problem is] tick[ing] off of addressed need[s] [determined by] consultants [without any real engagement with] organically [used spaces by inhabitants] [this is also a form of] regulatory un-creativity or lack of innovation.</i></p>	<p>10.91</p>
<p>Participation: On the question of if the inhabitants of the CBD have adequate participation in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD</p>	<p><i>when I hear participation, I [define it as] making spaces, [as well as] managing spaces, and [lastly] living in those spaces [when defined as such] I don't think there's adequate anything for anybody [So is participation totally inadequate currently?] ja ja [yes] [examples can be] [a] ward councillor [in] cahoots with [a] hotel owner [and consequently] certain gates of Burghers Park [were] closed [to the public] So I would say in terms of making spaces [and] in terms of managing spaces [participation is] extremely limited [also] in some parks for example, because of the issues [such as] crime [and] drug-use [the] ablution facilities are locked and sometimes permanently so [and it would affect] those with less access and who don't have the right papers even more [foreign nationals]. [Is access to potable drinking a problem would you say?] Yes yes. And then religious needs, people use public spaces for that, [and] noise levels [can also be a problem] Those legislative mechanisms that are set-up to ensure participation in all levels and consultation, doesn't really happen. [this is partly because] the populations in the CBD are more mobile [this then leads to a lack of participatory leadership, because] the moment you think you have a group of leaders in the CBD, they have left, [and] that plays a role in many of these things [as] migrants might move between Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Joburg, depending on where they can find (work) so [their mobility] makes it tricky [due to being a transient population]</i></p>	<p>10.96</p>

Summary of theme 11 regulatory intrusiveness:
Regulatory intrusiveness is expanded, to include regulatory irregularity. It can include the non-implementation of rules, as well as the selective implementation of these rules by the city council, and the officials who implement them. Corruption forms part of regulatory intrusiveness by extorting bribes from those who have no legal recourse or legal standing to defend themselves, such as foreign national peoples, trading on the streets of the Pretoria CBD. This irregular application of rules leads to the infringement and intrusion upon of the rights of certain parties in the public space of the Pretoria CBD with negative effects for them.
Regulators employ spatial planning consultants, some of who have no real engagement with the inhabitants and users of the public spaces of the CBD, they then do not pay attention to the organic and spontaneous use of space by the people who live and move in these spaces when planning new interventions in public space. Instead, they commission studies by these experts, and then implement solutions to perceived problems tick-box style in places that do not need them and where they will not

be used by the general population. There is a general lack of engagement, understanding, and creativity from the city council when planning and commissioning spatial interventions in the Pretoria CBD.

People in the Pretoria CBD, especially foreign nationals suffer from low levels of participation in the everyday use of public spaces in the Pretoria CBD. A lack of transparency and consultation from the council side, as well as political actors such as ward councillors leads to a lack of access for all people in certain places such as parks, walls and certain areas in the Pretoria CBD. Ablutions are often times locked, due to the prevalence of drug users and street people, with the consequent problem of a dire lack of ablutions for these people. Foreign nationals especially need these spaces and ablution areas, mostly when they just arrive and they are also most at risk of not being able to access them when they are most needed. There is a general lack of legislative mechanisms that ensure adequate participation for the whole population of the CBD. Due to the transient nature of many of the foreign nationals, it is also difficult to establish leadership structures from among them in order to represent this segment of the CBD population. Noise levels in the public spaces of the CBD, especially in parks, also restricts participation for many people.

There is thus low levels of participation, spatial choices are limited and most of the spaces in the Pretoria CBD are not accommodating to the needs of the population whom reside there.

Theme 12:

Cultural Expression. + Political choice + Ethnic division.

Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Cultural Expression:	AS PER PREVIOUS DISCUSSION	10.97
Political Choice: On the question if foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD have political choice and by definition, any form of political power.	[No] <i>I don't think they have much [political power] [it depends] on their status [as registered citizens] but it takes so long [to get formal residency status] [If] you are not naturalised, you are here at the grace and the behest of the government of South Africa. So the kind of politics you can practise you would do it in a way that is very cautious, not to compromise your position [reveal yourself] [an example of this powerlessness could be] housing for example, which I know quite well, social housing [cannot be accessed by] foreign national[s] [they] cannot access it at all. So people don't have access politically and they don't have the political clout to actually inform [policy regarding public space needs] [would foreign nationals suffer from lower levels of political choice and rights than the local population?] Ja, ja [yes] [but they may sometimes] exercise those rights [but the rights] are still limited in comparison [to the local population] [but it is] always limited until they are naturalised</i>	10.99+ 10.100
Ethnic Division: On the question if there is xenophobia and ethnic division in the Pretoria CBD	<i>I don't know I cant say that it isn't there [is not] [but] I think xenophobia is alive and well [in the Pretoria CBD] [on the question if the local population displays xenophobia toward the non-local population] [in comparison] to places in Mamelodi, or in black townships, it will be different [less, because] it seems to me that inner city areas have become more cosmopolitan in that sense [and] there are higher levels of tolerance [however there is also an] anti-foreign [sentiment within] legis[ation] [does xenophobia influence the</i>	10.104

	use of public space in the CBD?) [Yes] <i>they might withhold [exclude] themselves from using a space in a certain way.</i>	
<p>Summary of theme 12 cultural expression: African migrants that reside in the Pretoria CBD have extremely low levels of political power and representation. This problem is acute when they do not have legal residency documentation. They have no influence on legislative mechanisms that could influence the spaces that they live and move in daily. Social housing for example, is not accessible to African migrants at all. African migrants tend to avoid political engagement in order to avoid exposing themselves, especially if they are not legal residents. The political and legal rights of foreign nationals is very limited in comparison to the local population whom reside in the Pretoria CBD, however it does improve once they are naturalised citizens. Xenophobia is present in the Pretoria CBD but tot a lesser extent than outside areas such as Mamelodi and townships. It appears that the Pretoria CBD has higher levels of tolerance towards foreign nationals than these other areas. African foreign nationals will exclude themselves from certain spaces in the Pretoria CBD due to fear and hostility, and thus they cannot express their full needs for public space use as they may have done.</p>		

INTERVIEW 8: RELIGIOUS LEADER; DOCTOR EMMANUEL TSHILENGA, PASTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHURCH OF PRETORIA

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
On the question: are you aware of any co-ethnic networks or ethnic enclaves in certain areas of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>Yes [he is aware of them] many times there were some ethnic groups, sometimes [these groups] die, [due to the fact that] the people move, and sometimes new ones are created [again] Some come and some go, yes ja.</i>	9.4+ 9.5
On the question if within the study area, was he aware of ethnic enclaves	<i>More [enclaves] in Sunnyside, but in this area for this moment no [not many] [so are they very low then?] Yes. [Are the enclaves different in Pretoria from Johannesburg?] in this area [Pretoria CBD] we have not, I don't think what is the same [enclaves] places [as Johannesburg] They [co-ethnics] can come to work [together] in the same places but not to live together yes, ja.</i>	9.6+ 9.7+ 9.8
<p>Summary of theme 1: co-ethnic networks: The level of ethnic enclaves in the Pretoria CBD is very low. Some ethnic clustering has taken place in the past, but these come and go. Currently there are very low levels of true enclaves in the Pretoria CBD.</p>		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines

On the question if foreign national people in the Pretoria CBD, are generally well assimilated in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD	<i>In the first time [initially] they [did] not [assimilate] come easily [struggled to adapt] they [then] tend to go to churches, [for help] and some churches [then] refer them to us. When they come to see me, the first problems may be food but it can also be accommodation, where can I stay for the first time? [after this initial stage] most of the people go to Sunnyside [because] it give[s] [them] more opportunities to live together in [the] same flat, [where] it can be two or three families at a time, [or] some people are bachelor[s] and they can stay together and minimize the costs yes ja. But [in the] CBD not too much.</i>	9.10
So you're saying that you're observing that it is happening outside of the CBD area?	<i>Yes ja.</i>	9.10
Do the foreign nationals tend to view the Pretoria CBD, as a springboard, or like a setting of point for other destinations in Europe?	<i>Exactly yes, they [do] not plan to stay long, because [of] fear, the reason [migrants] think this is [due to] attack[s] on the foreigner[s] [and also] xenophobia, [thus] when they come, they are not really sure [if they will stay] also they are not sure that they will be welcome, and [if they] cannot find a job, and maybe place to stay this [becomes] a problem for them [thus they will] want to be [discreet] hiding [in order to remain anonymous].</i>	9.11
Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence: African migrants can struggle to assimilate in the public spaces and population of the Pretoria CBD. African migrants tend to use the CBD as a point of arrival, after which they go to other areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia, which have higher levels of ethnic enclaves, which could support them. The African migrants in the Pretoria CBD tend to have high levels of temporality, due to fear and xenophobia, and consequently they tend to remain obscure in order not to reveal themselves to xenophobia. This scenario thus leads to low assimilation with the general population.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality [Importing socio-cultural identity]		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
On the question of if foreign nationals import ethnic culture and identity into	<i>They could [import ethnic culture] but the problem is [the] culture [of the CBD is English] and language is part of the culture [of a place] for example our church is French, and [Francophone migrants] like to come to [our] church because we speak French. That is one part of the culture [that they import], [as well as] cloth[ing], mostly the women [do this], they keep [wearing] clothes [that] women from [those] African countries, [such as] Nigeria and other [similar] countries. The [fashions] that the women [from</i>	9.14

the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?	these places] <i>wear is different</i> [from] <i>women in South Africa. So this is the</i> [ethnic] <i>culture they bring</i> [import] <i>here.</i>	
On the question if they would be afraid to use traditional ethnic dress in the Pretoria CBD	<i>Sometimes yes</i> [they would be afraid] [because they could] <i>expose themselves</i> [as foreigners] [Another one is] <i>food.</i> [because] <i>it's part of their traditional</i> [ethnic culture] <i>so they could get together and</i> [practise their] <i>culture</i> [by eating] <i>ja.</i>	9.15
On the question of if they import rituals like dance, singing stuff like that into the Pretoria CBD?	[No] <i>not too much</i> [but they do eat traditional] <i>food, there is some place around Church Square</i> [for example] <i>where a Nigerian sold Nigerian food, the</i> [migrant] <i>people preferred to come to buy there</i>	9.15
<p>Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality: African migrants do not import ethnic rituals such as dance and song into the Pretoria CBD, but they do import their dress codes, in some instances, especially females. They also tend to import communal eating as an ethnic recreational activity. They encounter problems with identity importation in terms of the language barrier. The fear of speaking French or one of the central African languages seems to prohibit them from expressing their cultures fully due to fear of exposure. African migrants from Francophone countries also import their French speaking religious life from the sending destinations in terms of using the church, to partially express some of their cultural needs, however this is only partial. Language makes up an important facet of African migrants and their struggle to assimilate and to express their cultural identities in the Pretoria CBD, due to the fact that there is a large amount of fear regarding exposing oneself as foreigner.</p>		
Theme 4: Communication technology in public space		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Do foreign national peoples (Pretoria) CBD use technology in public space to enact religious ceremonies such as live streaming services from other countries	<i>No not so much</i> [but they make use of] <i>Internet café[s]</i> [to] <i>do it</i> [communicate home] <i>but in public space I</i> [did] <i>not see much</i>	9.17
<p>Summary of Theme 4 Technology in Public Space:</p>		

<p>The general population of the Pretoria CBD, do not use communication technology to influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD. Most of the people access internet cafés within buildings inside the CBD.</p>		
Theme 5: Commerce [transnational/local trading networks]		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Are there any what we call trans-national trading networks operating in the CBD at street level?	<i>No [not currently] [there used to be] a Malian [man, and] in his time [when they sold] it was around Du Toit street [within study area] But now not anymore, many people who come from Africa and need something, go to Sunnyside. Because in Sunnyside there [are] shop[s] [that are] selling specifically African food but in this place [CBD] not too much.</i>	9.18
Summary of theme 5 Commerce: There are low levels of trans-national trading networks in the Pretoria CBD. These networks are much more prevalent in areas such as Sunnyside and Arcadia. African migrants living in the Pretoria CBD would generally go to those areas, which have ethnic food and merchandise available to migrants.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Do foreign nationals practise any religious activity in the outdoor spaces of the Pretoria CBD?	<i>What I saw last year or two years back, I saw different people come to Church Square, from Benin from Ghana, they [practise] around Church Square [ritualistic] manifestation [but] just for one weekend or [a] Sunday. [so it wasn't permanent?] Not permanent ja</i>	9.19+ 9.20
So the use of any form of religious activity outside actual physical buildings would be very low in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>[Yes] Ja very, very low.</i>	9.20
On the question if foreign nationals use religion as an entrance vehicle into the Pretoria CBD	<i>Yes yes they do, if it is here [their church of choice] they do [Is that very common?] It is very common. Even Catholic churches outside the area assigned [study area]</i>	9.24
What are the main demographics	<i>Definitely more Christians Maybe more like 80/20 something like that? Yes ja definitely more Christians</i>	9.24

for religion in the Pretoria CBD?		
Are you aware of any conflict between these people (Muslims vs Christians) or not?	<i>No no no, there is no conflict, because they are in a foreign country, they do not want to cause confrontation with anyone. Very low yes.</i>	9.25
So why don't churches go outside and hold services outside, does somebody stop them from doing that?	<i>In Pretoria, I don't know why, but what I can say is that I suppose they have to go to government to ask the permission. The Metro, that is why many people are scared, they preferred to run (the church) like a business to pay [So they couldn't just use outdoor space, as the metro police would perhaps stop them?] Exactly ja exactly.</i>	9.27+ 9.28
Summary of theme 6 Religion: The practise of religious ritual is very low in the Pretoria CBD. Churches tend to become the main points of access that African migrants use to gain entrance to the spaces and population of the Pretoria CBD. There are low levels of conflict between religious groups, with the Christian faith being in the majority, within the Pretoria CBD. The possibility exists that more churches could use outdoor space of the CBD for religious purposes, but there seems to be a reluctance to access public spaces for this purpose, due to fear of the authorities, which it is believed would need to approve the use of such spaces for religious use.		
Theme 7: Gender		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
are you aware of any peoples or groups in the CBD, especially foreign national people that have prescribed behaviours that they must enact or so forth in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>No not at this moment.</i>	9.31
Do you think that females, from foreign	<i>Well yes, it is different it depends from country to country, and culture, just to give you an example, in some cultures when the parents go to [the] toilet, children [may not] know. The toilet has to hidden and the parents</i>	9.31+ 9.32+ 9.33

<p>countries, when they come to the Pretoria CBD, do you think that they feel that the cultural habits where they come from, is different for females there than here in South Africa?</p>	<p><i>must not be known [to go] but when they come here [Pretoria CBD], they find the toilet is in the middle of the room [house], and now the child knows [their] father or my mother is now in [the] toilet. This is a cultural shock [for them] In some house[s], the parents take a curtain to separate the beds, and the children are sleeping not far from the parents, and this is not acceptable for many African cultures. [So what you are saying is they have to put aside their cultural needs and norms?] Exactly. [Because they don't have an option?] Exactly yes, they are forced to do it yes.</i></p>	
<p>Summary of theme 7 Gender: There are low levels of prescribed behaviours for females in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD. This could possibly be due to the fact, that there are much fewer Islamic adherents than Christians in the Pretoria CBD. Most of the Islamic religious expressions happen within their houses and at the Mosques. It is generally believed that culturally prescribed behaviours cannot be expressed in the Pretoria CBD, due to the fact that it is a different environment and they do not have an option to do this.</p>		
<p>Theme 8: Status Projection</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Are you aware of status projection as a form of public space activity in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>Not in the CBD [because few] people live in the CBD. But what I know is in the corner of Bosman and Pretorius, there is many people doing this, if one maybe get a good job, and hum, especially to show the others, because the salary of all of them is very, very small, but maybe more (indistinct) to do with [showing] the car.</i></p>	<p>9.34+ 9.35</p>
<p>Would you say that status projection would be more the local population?</p>	<p><i>Yes ja, around there it is more [Ateridgeville and Mamelodi areas outside CBD]</i></p>	<p>9.35+ 9.36</p>
<p>So not so much by the foreign nationals?</p>	<p><i>It's not happening so much, because most of them [do] not [have] the salary. [So you would say that (status projection in the Pretoria CBD, would be a local people phenomenon?) Exactly.</i></p>	<p>9.37</p>
<p>Summary of theme 8 Status Projection: Status projection as an indicator is low in the Pretoria CBD, and when it happens, it is mainly practised by local people. This phenomenon happens more frequently in the areas outside Pretoria such as Ateridgeville and Mamelodi, and then to a lesser degree in Sunnyside and Arcadia, among the African migrant populations there. African migrants have a very low level of status expression in public space due to the fact that most of them earn so little.</p>		
<p>Theme 9: Recreation</p>		

Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Are you aware of the recreational habits of the inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD, regarding the use of public space?	<i>The only place I can think of in the CBD is just Church Square, some people can come there and picnic and, but [generally] they have to go to Union buildings. [So they go outside the CBD?] Yes outside the CBD.</i>	9.40+ 9.41+ 9.42+ 9.43
so is there a need to eat communally, do the people want to do that?	<i>Exactly [yes] ja but they have not the space. If you are not doing it there [church grounds] you have to go outside CBD, [to a place] place with a garden [So the CBD does not really allow for that?] No no no, there is no place for that [So there is maybe a need for that?] There is a need, yes ja.</i>	9.44
Do foreign nationals, practise street side conversation as a recreational activity in the CBD?	<i>Yes its really a need, because the people who want to talk, when I was living myself in the city [CBD] for ten years, I was also preparing my PhD in this time, you would see people would come all the time and sit and talk to you, but you're struggling between my need to work [PhD] and to listen to people. They need to have somebody to talk to.</i>	9.45
So would you say that many of the foreign nationals don't have anybody to speak to?	<i>Exactly, yes [And that is a need of theirs?] Exactly yes. And the language barrier is a problem [cannot speak with locals] [So the language barrier is a big problem then?] Yes, ja</i>	9.46
Do inhabitants of the CBD practice rituals or customs in the CBD?	<i>No not</i>	9.48
What form does informal sport and recreation mostly take in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>Many young people come to play basketball [So they don't play informally in public spaces?] No no no, they play there [formal soccer pitch] just outside the study area.</i>	9.49+ 9.50+
So even in the western side	<i>[Yes] Ja , out of fear [So the foreign nationals won't use public open space?] Ja ja except if he became citizen they can join, but nobody do it, they can't</i>	9.51+ 9.52+

<p>of the CBD, you know above Marabastad, there is a lot of open ground, but I don't see people using that, is that out of fear?</p>	<p><i>(wont) do it, but some children go to school, and at school they can play there. [So do you think there is a need for recreational space in the CBD? But it is (participation) withheld because of fear?] Exactly, ja ja. So when people get their citizenship, they lose a lot of fear because now they have rights? Yes yes, exactly.</i></p>	<p>9.53+ 9.54</p>
<p>Summary of theme 9 Recreation: The Pretoria CBD has low levels of recreation happening in public space, with Church Square being the area of choice. For most recreation people go outside the formal CBD to places such as the Union Buildings, where there are large green areas. There is a need for communal eating as a recreational activity, but the space for that is limited, as people want to go to areas with garden like spaces, which usually fall outside the study area. Steet-side conversation is also a need for many of the foreign nationals, and they seek it out but they have few people to converse with, and the language barrier remains a problem for them, especially those migrants who are from francophone countries and who do not speak the local dialects. Sport recreation usch as soccer and basketball are mostly practised outside the study area, such as the formal soccer pitches on the western and eastern side of the CBD. There is a precinct wide fear among African migrants to access open public space, due to fear of exposure and xenophobia. This fear tends to decrease once migrants get their formal registration papers however.</p>		
<p>Theme 10: Transnational Alienation</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>NO QUESTION</p>		
<p>Summary of theme 10 Transnational Alienation:</p>		
<p>Theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness.+ Participation + Accommodating Spaces + Spatial choice</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Regulatory Intrusiveness: Do you think people in the Pretoria CBD, suffer from regulatory intrusiveness</p>	<p><i>Look, one of the biggest problems, [for] these people [is that] they are under pressure to sell, you see Lillian Ngoyi [street] [foreigners] were selling there, but [the] Metro [Police] come to chase them away, and they can do nothing [they couldn't] leave [stop trading], because that's where they get the[ir] income. and, the [council side] regulations make big problems [for them, trying to get them] to leave, because they [do not] have a job and [at the] same time they have to sell some stuff to survive,[but the] Metro [Police] do not care. Some [foreigners] carwash, but most of the parking is on this side [north of] Pretoria CBD, [consequently] they have to pay to get to this place, and they work all day and maybe they can get R50 or something like that. [Additionally] some companies exploit them [for example] you can wash the car, and you need to make the money to pay the boss who allow you to work [who exploits you]</i></p>	<p>9.63+ 9.64</p>
<p>Participation: Do you think the</p>	<p><i>No, I think it was not designed to welcome, to accommodate that [participation] ja [And do you think that is the biggest problem? Not being designed for its new role] Ja it is the biggest problem yes [And do you think</i></p>	<p>9.65+ 9.66+ 9.67+</p>

inhabitants of the CBD have adequate, spatial participation	if we could fix that, what would need to be done?] <i>Oh, well' have to redesign the whole CBD, because it's more of an administrative place, it is a state place [governmental area] so this means it will be very difficult [to redesign] [there are] very little public toilets, in general. There are not toilets there [in the CBD]. Our church have toilets, many people they come there [to use the toilets] and now the church must find someone that can keep it [controlled] and clean it. [thus additionally the] CBD was [also] not designed to welcome [inadequate for] people who sleep on [the] street. There are so many [street people] that go to [the] Police station, for toilets, but they [are inadequate to] take all of them. And, they come to sleep even around our church, and there is no toilets for [them] [in some cases] people can go two days without going to [the] toilet.</i>	9.68
<p>Summary theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness: The African foreign nationals suffer from high degrees of regulatory intrusiveness, especially the street traders and sellers. The metro police tend to target them for not having trading licences, but also exploiting them in terms of bribes in order to trade illegally. The African foreign nationals who trade in the public spaces of the CBD have no other option but to trade illegally, due to the fact that they have no other source of income. Regulatory intrusiveness creates many problems for them, including a loss of income, harassment and also exposes them to xenophobia.</p> <p>The Pretoria CBD has low levels participation for the inhabitants, especially the foreign nationals. There is a general lack of access to basic facilities such as toilets and ablutions, but this is especially true for newly arrived foreign nationals, as well as the street people. The amount of ablutions are inadequate, and this contributes to public urination and overcrowding of facilities such as the Van Der Walt street police station. There is also a need for temporary shelter for newly arrived migrants, as well as for many of the homeless people living on the streets of the CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 12: Cultural Expression. + Political choice + Ethnic division.</p>		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
<u>Cultural Expression:</u> Are inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD, free, do they have the freedom to express their cultural needs in the public spaces of the CBD, especially foreign nationals?	<i>It is very difficult [for them] [So are you saying that they won't feel free to express themselves?] Yes yes, ja</i>	9.74

<p>Political Choice: Do most of the foreign nationals in the CBD have political choice?</p>	<p><i>No, they would not. [have political choice] Not for now No. Even if it was [their] own embassy, they won't accept [them for help]</i></p>	<p>9.75</p>
<p>Ethnic Division: Is there ethnic division and xenophobia present in the Pretoria CBD?</p>	<p><i>Yes, it happens in some behaviours, of the local population [as an example] there is a man who is working [at] the embassy, legally, and he's a member of our church. [he wanted to do a bank] transaction, and the man asked him for his ID, [he had no] ID but a passport, when he saw the passport, he said are you coming to take our jobs? So this kind of reaction. [And does it happen on the street as well?] Yes, yes there too.</i></p>	<p>9.79+ 9.80+ 9.81</p>
<p>What do you think is the cause for ethnic division and xenophobia in the CBD?</p>	<p>Well Xenophobia I think, comes into the mind [of the locals] that the foreigner comes and takes our jobs, this is common [however] ethnic groups even people from the same country don't love each other, so even among ethnics.</p>	<p>9.81</p>
<p>Do you think that this xenophobia, does it influence the way that foreign nationals use public space in the Pretoria CBD? fear of xenophobia or that they have experienced?</p>	<p><i>Ja, they, are afraid, something can happen if you use [the] public place[s] So basically they would avoid using these places out of fear? Yes ja ja.</i></p>	<p>9.83</p>
<p>Summary of theme 12 cultural expression: African migrants do not feel free to express their cultural habits in the Pretoria CBD, if they had wanted to do so. They also have very low levels of political choice, in exercising control over the everyday spaces that they use in the Pretoria CBD. There is widespread resistance against foreign nationals in the Pretoria's CBD, in the form of xenophobia, however there is also tension among migrant people's from the same areas in Africa such as Nigerians, from the north or south of Nigeria, or Hutu's and Tutsi's from the same areas in Rwanda. This also contributes to the high levels of ethnic division in the Pretoria CBD. Due to this situation, African migrants are afraid to access and use open public spaces in the Pretoria CBD, due to fear of xenophobia and victimization.</p>		

INTERVIEW 9: MOULANA (ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADER) QUEEN STREET MOSQUE PRETORIA CBD.

Theme 1: Co-ethnic networks		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Are people that attend this Mosque, especially African foreign nationals, members of a co-ethnic network?	<i>Yes, there is societies and communities, like Nigerians, they have their own community and committee, hum group [In the CBD, or do they mostly live outside the CBD?] Some of them are outside some live inside [the CBD] [some of the African foreign nationals] have their own programmes in their own language [withing the Mosque] [however the] Somalian and Ethiopian [congregants] they are very few, here in [the] CBD but they have their own community in Pretoria west</i>	11.1+ 11.2+ 11.3+ 11.4
in your opinion are most of your congregants are they, do they live outside the Pretoria CBD?	<i>Ja most of them they are living outside of the CBD [So they come here to work in the day and so forth?] Ja, ja, ja.</i>	11.5
Summary of theme 1: co-ethnic networks: There are various groups of foreign nationals attending the Queen street Mosque, but there are low levels of ethnic enclaves living in the Pretoria CBD. Most of the congregants live outside the CBD area, but they attend the Mosque during the day, in their working environment. Some of them are in Pretoria West, which is west of the CBD study area such as a Somali and Ethiopian enclave. Some of those people use the Mosque when working in the CBD, but their main Mosque is the old Dutch reformed Church that is being used as a Mosque in the Pretoria west, west of the study area.		
Theme 2: Assimilation and permanence		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Do people that attend this Mosque in your opinion generally tend to be well assimilated in the culture and the places of the CBD	<i>Yes in this regard [due to the articles of the Muslim faith which they follow] they follow commonly the Islamic teachings [and doing this they more easily assimilate with the Muslim population of the CBD]</i>	11.6+ 11.7
Summary of theme 2: Assimilation and permanence: Most of the attendees of the Queen street Mosque are well assimilated in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, due to their shared faith that they follow with other Muslims. This common belief system seems to generate acceptance from the other followers of Islam in the CBD.		
Theme 3: Trans-locational positionality [Importing socio-cultural identity]		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines

<p>Do people that attend this Mosque from other African countries, tend to import or bring with them specific behaviours or practises from their countries where they are from?</p>	<p><i>No not at all</i></p>	<p>11.8</p>
<p>Summary of theme 3 Trans locational positionality: The congregants of the Queen street Mosque do not import ethnic identity into the Pretoria CBD from their sending destinations</p>		
<p>Theme 4: Communication technology in public space</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do any of the people in this Mosque ever use communication technology, devices such as cell phones or tablets or whatever, to share or import religious content from other countries</p>	<p><i>No they do, but they do it individually</i> [So do they ever do it in the public spaces of the CBD?] <i>No no.</i> [Not, so it would only be inside the Mosque?] <i>Inside the Mosque and they do individually</i> [at home]</p>	<p>11.9+ 11.10+ 11.11</p>
<p>Summary of Theme 4 Technology in Public Space: The congregants of the Queen street Mosque do not influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD with electronic communication devices. They do not send or receive religious content via these devices in the public spaces of the CBD.</p>		
<p>Theme 5: Commerce [transnational/local trading networks]</p>		
<p>Paraphrased questions</p>	<p>Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.</p>	<p>Lines</p>
<p>Do any of the people that attend your Mosque have commercial businesses on the streets outside shops in the public spaces of the CBD and are</p>	<p><i>Some of our</i> [Muslim] <i>brothers, you know, they are doing business on the street, in the CBD, but they don't have any group or any, what you call, organization or anything that can connect people or help them increase, or they do extra business, nothing is like that. But they do business on the streets, some of them.</i></p>	<p>11.12</p>

they according to you part of a larger African co-ethnic trading network?		
Summary of theme 5 Commerce: There are low levels of trans-national trading networks among the congregants of the Queen street Mosque. This could possibly be interpreted that there are low ethnic trading networks present among the Muslim migrants in the Pretoria CBD.		
Theme 6: Religion		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
Do any of the people that attend this Mosque, enact faith based principles, in the Pretoria CBD?	<i>No, no. [They] Only they do [this] inside the Mosque or at their home. Not outside in the street. No no no, Muslims they don't do like this</i>	11.13
Summary of theme 6 Religion: The congregants of the Queen street Mosque do not enact any religious behaviours in the Pretoria CBD.		
Theme 7: Gender		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
Does your faith prescribe any gender specific behaviour for your congregants that attend this Mosque in the public spaces of the CBD? Between males and females,	<i>Ja people, [in public space] don't stare at [strange women] Ja so the men tend [to] these teachings and behaviour [in the public space of the CBD].</i>	11.14+ 11.15
Are there any prescriptions that the Islamic faith places on the ladies?	<i>Ja females, specifically they should cover themselves, not expose their body parts, don't wear the tight clothes that can you know, can expose, and hum and without any valid reason, they shouldn't come out from their house [should attempt to avoid appearing in public] [is there a need for specific spaces for females to be separate?] there is a separate section for the ladies [in the Mosque] [but not outside the Mosque?] Not outside, inside [Is there a need for outdoor spaces for them where they can be separate from the men?] No it is not necessary, as long as every Mosque has this facility [separate genders] for the ladies, if they want to do any</i>	11.16+ 11.17+ 11.18+ 11.19

	<i>activity outside of the house, so it should be in a room where the other people will not be able to see them, and it shouldn't be easily accessible</i>	
Summary of theme 7 Gender:		
There are gender specific behaviours for Islamic adherents within public space, especially for females, but it is expected of females to rather stay indoors and at home when possible, and to avoid the use of public space entirely.		
Theme 8: Status Projection		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
NO QUESTION		
Summary of theme 8 Status Projection:		
Status		
Theme 9: Recreation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics.	Lines
NO QUESTION		
Summary of theme 9 Recreation:		
Theme 10: Transnational Alienation		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics	Lines
NO QUESTION		
Summary of theme 10 Transnational Alienation:		
Theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness.+ Participation + Accommodating Spaces + Spatial choice		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
NO QUESTION		
Summary theme 11: Regulatory Intrusiveness:		
Theme 12: Cultural Expression. + Political choice + Ethnic division.		
Paraphrased questions	Reply in the form of sentences and sentence fragments in italics. Context is given in round brackets where relevant.	Lines
NO QUESTION		
Summary of theme 12 cultural expression:		

ANNEXURE E

Interview 1 Donovan. C/O Johannes Sefaku and Metro Mosque

1.1 Hello Donovan thank you for partaking in this interview. How long have you been here in the Pretoria CBD?

Five years, I have been here for five years.

1.2 And you come from Mpumalanga?

Ja at home is Mpumalanga

1.3 Why did you come to the Pretoria CBD?

The reason to come to the Pretoria CBD is I was looking for a job, so I ended up smoking drugs.

1.4 So you got trapped here?

Ja, I got trapped I can't get out of it. It's not easy..

(Donovan seems down cast and forlorn as he says this)

1.5 Is it Nyaope?

Ja, its Nyaope.

(Nyaope is the local drug of choice for the street people in the Pretoria CBD. The origin of the drug is purportedly Atteridgeville, and the main ingredients are heroin and Dagga. Users who take it can go days without eating, and Donovan is very thin and haggard looking.)

1.6 So are all the guys on the street taking Nyaope?

Ja, but not all of them others they are smoking glue. But most of them we are on drugs.

1.7 So most of the money you make you take it for drugs?

When you get money, you must go to the drugs. You can't eat first you must smoke first then you eat after. (Donovan appears very thin and in poor health. His eyes have a yellowness that indicates liver damage)

1.8 And all of you guys you are staying across you are sleeping in that field over there?

Yes we are sleeping next to the river.

1.9 So it's a hard life.?

Yes it's a hard life. When we hustle, we hustle for Nyaope. Even if you see your shoes are finished you can't buy it you are going to buy Nyaope.

1.10 Ok so most of the people that you hustle with are they local people or from Zimbabwe...or?

Yes most of them are from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, you know the most of those people they are robbing the people in the CBD is the Tanzanians and the Zimbabweans. It is them who are making a crime. The South Africans they are few(er) they are doing crime. (Most of the local

people claim the same, that the foreigners do crime, but the researcher was almost mugged at one stage and the perpetrators were local people speaking Tsonga men. This is a common theme among local people that the foreigners are responsible for the crime, but the reality is much different)

1.11 So do you prefer to work (hustle) with South African people? You don't like to work with Zimbabwean people?

No I don't like them. (This statement is rather ambiguous as will later be seen. Donovan and the street hustlers tend to form temporary convenient alliances that are constantly shifting and changing across the social landscape of the Pretoria CBD. One of his friends from nearby, Lucky is a man from Zimbabwe)

1.12 So the people you are staying there in the bush with, are they South Africans?

They are mixed.

1.13 They are mixed? Zimbabweans, South Africans?

Ja, and Tanzanians. (Many of the drug addicted street hustlers hide their true origins, as many of them claim to be local people, especially if they speak Tswana, Tsonga or Shangaan, which is a language, which local people also speak. As can be seen in the later interviews, language becomes an important marker for identity construction, especially for street hustlers and foreign street traders)

1.14 Even there where you are staying in the bush, do the South Africans and the Zimbabweans stay apart? Or do they stay together?

No they are separate.

1.15 They are separate? So even there, they are separating.

Ja.

1.16 Tell me do you send money anywhere? Do you support anyone?

No.

1.17 Do you have children or a wife?

I have one child but I don't support them. They are with my family.

1.18 In Mpumalanga?

Ja.

1.19 Do they even know where you are?

They know.

1.20 Ok but you are not going home?

Ahh no...

1.21 Is there anything that you do from Mpumalanga like ritual's or religion or stuff that you do there that you do here in the CBD maybe like Muthi or..?

No.

1.22 From what religion are you?

The religion is Apostolic Church

1.23 Do you go to church anywhere here in the CBD?

Ja, in Marabastad.

1.24 Is there an Apostolic church there?

Ja.

1.25 Do you walk there

Ja.

1.26 Not every Sunday?

No.

1.27 So growing up in Mpumalanga where did you live? In a town or a city?

It was in Mpumalanga it is a hometown.

1.28 So the culture there was it Pedi ...or?

Ndebele.

1.29 So the people you grew up with were Ndebele. The people you grew up with was it in a township?

No, its not a township, just a place, the old place.

1.30 A place with houses and stuff?

Ja.

1.31 So here where you live and work on the street can you say that this is your house. Like you live here?

Ja.

1.32 So there where you sleep is your bedroom and there is your sitting room. You don't have a house with a roof on anymore?

No. (For the drug addicts and street hustlers who stay on the street the outdoor spaces have become their home. Thus, they tend to view certain areas as "owned" by them, even though they are in open public areas. An example can be the areas where they store their blankets and few belongings. The normal public give these areas a wide berth, as they feel they are intruding into these street dwellers living spaces. They tend to sleep under building overhangs on the pavements when possible and then these paved spaces become their "territory" temporarily)

1.33 Do you ever use a cellphone?

Ja

1.34 What do you do with it? Just for drugs or do you phone people at home?

I was calling people at home but I ended up selling it.

1.35 So now you have no cell phone?

No nothing.

1.36 When you had the cell phone, did you use the free Wi-Fi network in the CBD?

No. (An interesting facet of the street people is that they do not appear to be interested in online activities, as they are too pre-occupied trying to hustle for drugs. Many of them I spoke to had sold their phones and therefore were cut off from their last contact with family and people outside the street group)

1.37 Do you partake in public rituals, ethnic gatherings anything like that?

No.

1.38 Do you ever phone people back home? Not since you don't have a phone anymore.

No.

1.39 So your main thing here in the Pretoria CBD is you are hustling? You don't trade only hustle?

Ja.

1.40 Do you ever do any religious stuff outside? Only in the church?

Ja .

1.41 So you are 26 years old?

Ja.

1.42 Here in the Pretoria CBD are there many rich people. I see that taxi boss is over there. You don't mix with the rich people?

No not all of them. Some but it's the Nigerian guys. (Drug dealers) (Donovan appears to have a keen intelligence and the researcher thought that he is someone that could possibly have been very successful as he has high EQ and he is very sharp, notwithstanding being addicted, and fairly high during the interview.

1.43 So you're not afraid to mix with the Nigerian guys?

No.

1.44 So if you see that rich guy would you act different?

Ja I act like im not smoking...

1.45 Like you are clean? (drugs)

Ja.

1.46 So people that want to show how rich they are clothes and shoes, it is almost like status ne?

Ja.

1.47 Do many people in the Pretoria CBD try to show they are rich driving cars and..?

Ja.

1.48 But you don't do that because people can see that you are on the street?

Ja. (almost all of the street hustlers were aware of status projection and the effects it could have on public space, but they are mostly beyond caring about that, and the state of their clothes and appearance would prohibit any ambitions to status projection in any case)

1.49 When it comes to recreating anything like football or sport, anything like that, do you do anything like that?

Ja.

1.50 Do you like soccer, football?

Ja football.

1.51 Do you ever play?

Ja.

1.52 Before your foot was broken where you playing soccer?

I was playing ja.

1.53 So you guys are staying there in the bush, if you want to play soccer where do you go?

We go to the Caledonian stadium. (The Caledonian is outside the study area and to the West of the CBD. It has lately developed a reputation for drug addicts hanging out there, and there was a local clean up drive from the community to restore it to its former glory. It could be that the gambling and soccer go hand in hand with drug dealing and illicit activities)

1.54 Caledonian?

Ja.

1.55 So the street people also play soccer?

Ja.

1.56 So only after five?

(indistinct)...we batch (place bets) we mix up, we call those they are smoking and others they don't smoke we make a team(s). We make eleven people and eleven. Then we play then we betch with money (play for money)

1.57 So its for money?

Ja its like we are gambling.

1.58 I see the people on the streets are gambling most things?

Ja

1.59 So they are playing dice with money they make in the day?

Ja even chess. (Gambling is a huge problem for street people, as it often gets them into debt with drug dealers and criminals, for whom they then have to "work")

1.60 So where do you eat? Where do you guys from the street eat? Do you eat together?

No, sometimes we do.

1.61 You wont eat here? Where do you eat?

No, Just we buy something like the cheapest bread with a 4 rand and the juice for R2 and then we say we eat,

1.62 You eat together?

Ja.

1.63 How many of you eat together usually?

Maybe 4 or 3...

1.64 Not more than 5?

No.

1.65 Do you often speak to people on the street? Do you like to talk to people?

Ja

1.66 So would you say that if you do not speak to people that you miss it, like feel lonely...?

Ja, If you are lonely you are not communicating with people.

1.67 In the CBD, where you stay do you feel rejected? Do you feel other people they don't want you, or include you in stuff. Do you feel people shift you to one side?

Ja. Its true

1.68 Do you speak to lots of people on the street everyday?

Ja

1.69 Or only the people you are hustling?

Ja.

1.70 Do you have friends here on the streets, like customers you see every day?

Ja like those ones they are passing there. (Points to pedestrians on the street)

1.71 Do you ever use any other spaces like parking lots or street sides for games?

No (this is not strictly true as the researcher saw numerous street hustlers using sidewalks for board games and various forms of gambling related activities throughout the day. However mostly it is after 4 when most people are leaving and the hustling for the day is over)

1.72 So only soccer at the Caledonian

Ja.

1.73 So you're culture is Ndebele?

Ja

1.74 So that Ndebele culture, do you bring any of that culture here? Do you have a strong Ndebele culture where you grew up?

Ja mmmh in Ndebele we call him Nkosi (Chief or king)

1.75 So this Ndebele culture where you come from is there any of this Ndebele culture in the CBD? Does anybody ever do Ndebele cultural stuff here?

Nnno ... (hesitant)

1.76 So there's no Ndebele culture?

No.

1.77 So not even the street people, they don't bring their culture here?

No.

1.78 So do you have a new culture here of the streets? No Ndebele or nothing?

Nothing.

1.79 Do different people in the CBD like Sotho people or Venda people; do they tend to stick together? Do people from different cultures make groups?

No.

1.80 Do you ever keep yourself one side in the CBD. Do you feel maybe they are going to reject you or maybe they don't like you. Do you stay one side?

Yes I stay one side. I stay alone.

1.81 So do you feel rejected by most of the people?

Ja.

1.82 Do you sometimes pretend to other people that you are part of the CBD culture just so that they must accept you that you can maybe be part of them?

Ja, ja I do that.

1.83 Do you think that the Ndebele people of you're home town were better than the people here? Do you like them more than the people in the Pretoria CBD?

No. I like the people in the CBD more than I like the people at home.

1.84 Do you sometimes miss going home?

Ja I do.

1.85 Do you miss you're people?

Ja.

1.86 Do you sometimes feel that you don't belong anywhere? Like you're totally alone in the world?

Ja sometimes. When you don't have something to smoke you feel like you are nothing.

1.87 So the drugs help you to feel?

Like you are something in the world.

1.88 How long have you been on drugs?

Maybe now its six years.

1.89 Six years is a long time ne?

Ja.

1.90 Do you ever travel anywhere? By taxi...

I do travel.

1.91 Where do you go?

I'll go to Limpopo and then I go to , What do you call... Transkei.

1.92 What do you go and do there?

Transkei is where my father was born. (Possibly seeking roots to connect to an imaginary homeland)

1.93 What do you do, do you have people there?

Ja, I have the family of my father.

1.94 Do you like to travel?

Ja I do like.

1.95 I f you travel do you feel you can escape feeling bad here?

Ja.

1.96 Do you often travel?

Ja.

1.97 If you move around does it feel like you feel a bit better?

Ja. I feel better then. (movement as identity)

1.98 So the moving makes you feel that you can see other stuff?

Ja, see different things in the world.

1.99 Would you say that you are a person that constantly moves around in order to feel better about you're situation?

Ja.

1.100 When you travel say on a taxi or hitch hiking those people that are on the train or whatever with you do you speak what you want them to hear? So that you feel they accept you better?

Ja.

1.101 You listen with your ear and you hear these people they are Ndebele so they will accept you more?

Ja.

1.102 You know the imagination when you go inside your head. Do you sometimes imagine that the CBD is another place?

Ja, ja. (He immediately feels drawn to this question and his eyes light up. He knows what I mean)

1.103 What place do you want it to be?

Like the United States.

1.104 Like the United States? Do you want to go to the United States? Are you only then going to stay in the CBD for a while?

Ja. (Non-permanence and planning to leave)

1.105 And then you are going to move on?

Ja.

1.106 Where to the in the United States?

I wish. (to go there)

1.107 Do you have a plan?

Ja, I do have a plan.

1.108 What is you're plan?

My plan is that when I get the money for the road accident fund I'm planning to go. (Donovan is on crutches and his foot is in plaster. The situation does not look good, as the foot and leg appear swollen and unhealthy. He is hustling with this broken foot)

1.109 And where in America do you want to go?

Ah, Los Angeles.

1.110 Los Angeles? Why Los Angeles?

Because Los Angeles there is the most talented people.

1.111 Talented hey?

Ja.

1.112 So what kind of talent, music drawing what?

Music and movies, and doing the movies.

1.113 And what is it you want to do there?

Also me ja, I have a talent of singing...rapping ja.

1.114 So you would like to become one of those ...

Usher, Raymond...(referring to rappers)

1.115 So that is your dream? To become like a famous singer

Ja.

1.116 Do you play guitar or anything like that?

No.

1.117 But you can sing well?

Sure.

1.118 So if you can say that you're dreams come true then Pretoria must be Los Angeles? It would be a better place?

Ja for sure.

1.119 Do you think there are too many rules and regulations in the CBD?

Ja.

1.120 How do the laws affect you. Do the metro police worry you guys?

Yes some they do they do harass us. They take us to the police station.

(bothered by a street person looking for money)

1.121 So you say the metro bothers you the most. Where do they take you?

They take us to central police station.

1.122 What do they do there?

They arrest us.

1.123 For what?

They call it when they see us on the street parking cars they call ikt eeh what do you call ehh..what do you call that law ehhh.is ehhh..

1.124 Loitering? Like vagrancy something like that?

Ja...

1.125 Are you not allowed to hang around on the streets?

No.

1.126 How does this affect you, does it worry you?

It makes me feel angry because we didn't do anything. They just arrest you and we are looking after the cars. But they arrest you.

1.127 So if you want to change anything will it take a long time? (Participation) So you say you are Ndebele. If you wanted to practise your culture or cultural habits like maybe the songs or dances will you be free to do that in the CBD? Would people laugh at you or harass you if you did that?

No, I will be free to do it

1.128 The spaces that you use here in the CBD are they dangerous spaces. Is it dangerous to live here?

Ja its dangerous because we don't sleep under the shelters, we just find a place there's shelter on top (Referring to roof overhangs. Roof overhangs are highly disputed spaces in the Pretoria CBD because the street traders and street hustlers all need overhead shelter. Often times the Metro Police do not allow Gazebo's near the robots and intersections due to visibility constraints. Overhead roofing is a alrge problem for all street people in the Pretoria CBD)

1.129 With a roof over so you don't get wet from the dew?

Yes.

1.130 Who do you think makes the decisions in the Pretoria CBD. Who has got the power? Who is making the laws and doing all the stuff that is affecting your life?

It is the mayor.

1.131 The mayor? Do you like the mayor?

No.

1.132 You don't like him?

No.

1.133 Are there no public toilets you can use in the Pretoria CBD?

No.

1.134 Nothing?

Nothing.

1.135 So if you want to go to the toilet you have to go to the bush?

Ja.

1.136 And behind trees?

Ja.

1.137 Do you sometimes feel that people from other cultures exclude you?

No not.

1.138 Do you ever experience racism from anyone in the Pretoria CBD?

No not.

1.139 Xenophobia where different people attack other peoples? Do you ever get that?

Yes.

1.140 Who attacked you?

It was the taxi drivers. (Even though Donovan is local, he views himself as part of a sub-culture or even a foreigner due to the street hustler drug connotation. Thus if taxi drivers harass them he sees himself as a foreigner suffering from Xenophobia. Thus, a case can be

made that the drug addicts and street hustlers are a sub-culture similar to foreign nationals and suffering from many of the same problems as foreign nationals)

1.141 Did they chase you away here?

Ja.

1.142 Do you feel you have any say in the running of the CBD? Is there anyone you can speak to that would listen to you? If you have a problem with water or toilets is there, anywhere you can go to that would listen to you?

There is someone. There is some guy working at the metro he is a security.

1.143 So you can speak to him?

Ja. (It is doubtful if a security guard could possibly help them regarding public participation and expression)

1.144 Are you allowed to hustle freely in the CBD or do they harass you?

They harass us.

1.145 So it you are not free to work here?

No.

1.146 So the place where you stay (referring to open bush where they stay) most of the people are local and Zimbabwean?

Ja.

1.147 So are most of the street people local, Zimbabwean and Tanzanian? (this reflects the experience of the researcher on the streets as well)

Ja.

1.148 So in these street places do most guy's stick together like locals and Zimbabweans do they form groups?

Ja some others we stick (together) but were not like a group like maybe 5 Tanzanians maybe there are 5 south Africans maybe they can be two Tanzanians and they just come and sit with us. And then its big (referring to group size including different racial groups)

1.149 So inside your own group the street people do the different people from Zimbabwe or Tanzania ever fight with each other? Because they are from different...

Ja.

1.150 What do they fight about?

They fight about something they were talking about. Some others say no it is not like this it is like that. Other one he says it is not like this it is like that. Then they end up saying hey fokkoff voetsek, he wat wat...

1.151 So would you say that the different groups tend to stick together?

Ja.

1.152 So if a fight starts the Tanzanians, Zimbabweans etc. stick together?

Ja.

1.153 And they become a group?

Ja.

1.154 Do you think the Pretoria CBD has enough of the stuff that you need to make a living? Like enough toilets, enough spaces? Or not?

There are enough toilets but they are not public toilets

1.155 So it is a problem?

Ja.

1.156 This church of yours what kind of people go there? Is it local people?

It is the local people.

1.157 Zulu pedi...etc. All south African speaking then?

Ja.

1.158 When it comes to the churches I see there is a big ZCC church that side on Sundays (pointing to Western side) There almost above Marabastad.

Ja ja ja.

1.159 Are those all local people or do people from Zimbabwe also go to the ZCC church?

Ja, there are Zimbabweans there are.

1.160 But you're apostolic church were you go it is only South Africans?

Ja.

1.161 When it comes to church do people from Zimbabwe go to the same church, others they go elsewhere, or do they mix it up sometimes?

They mix it up sometimes, sometimes they go the Zimbabwean church

1.162 Donovans life story

Hello My name is Donovan my surname is Matjika. I live in Mpumalanga but now I'm here in Pretoria. Eish my life, I was born in 1990 25 January. I started doing my life when I was 17 years old. I started to smoke dagga, and stuff. I ended up smoking Nyaope when I came to school in Pretoria. The reason I started smoking Nyaope is because of the school things, because of the school things I ended up on the street. After the school, I ended up smoking Nyaope and after Nyaope I ended up sleeping on the street.

So my life now is too rough I don't know where, where I can to become a right person but my life is too hard now. Because of this Nyaope.

1.163 Tel me about your mother and father.

My father and mother is still alive. My father is in Transkei and my mother is here in Soshanguve. It's me only who is on the street. I have two sisters one sister is a policewoman, and the other one is still at school.

Me I left school I break up school at 2013. I break up the grade 12.

1.164 How do you feel about your life now?

Now I feel like poor, Im nothing. I feel like im nothing on the earth nothing. I feel like I'm nobody nobody.

1.165 But you do have hopes and dreams, to go to America?

I have I have. Ja. Sure

1.166 Tell me a bit about your hopes and dreams. When do you want to leave South Africa? When do you plan to go to America?

Maybe next year or next of next year I'm dreaming of going there.

1.167 Do you want to leave South Africa?

Ja

1.168 And why do you want to leave South Africa?

Because I want to be something I want to be an artist who, or an actor something that's the reason I want to leave South Africa to go and learn something there in the States. I want to write a story and you can get it tomorrow. A big story, a full page.

END

ANNEXURE F

Interview (2) Edward and Robert from Zimbabwe August 03 2018

Evening past 19:00

2.1 Good evening are you two guys brothers?

Yes.

2.2 You guys are from Zimbabwe?

Ja, ja ja .

2.3 How long have you been in the Pretoria CBD?

Ahh it's like 2 years

2.4 Two years?

Ja.

2.5 Tel me when you came here the first time did you know other guys from Zimbabwe? How did you come into the CBD. Did you know people who helped you or did you come totally on your own? Did you come first and then the younger one? (Pointing to the older brother)

Ha, no first it was me who come first then after that ja, I called my younger brother. (So Edward was the anchor-person between him and his brother, but he also came in with the help of their ethnic network)

2.6 So its only you two?

Ja, ja. (Later in the interview it can be seen that they are part of a large ethnic network including their mother and other family members. They mean that they are alone here in the Pretoria CBD)

2.7 What do you guys sell here? Do you have a stand? Are you selling the fruit what is in here? (Referring to trolley packed up ready to be transported to storage)

Ah, no were selling foods and Zimba's (Fruit, snacks and chips) (They had quite a large stand, which was heavily laden on two trolleys for transport to storage in the evening)

2.8 Where do you guys stay?

We stay here in town.

2.9 Do you sleep on the streets?

Ah, for now we do not sleep on the streets. (He means that they did sleep on the streets initially. This is common for 1st generation African migrants to go to extreme lengths to gain a foothold in the target area)

2.10 Do you have a place to stay?

We are paying rent. (The implication is that paying rent denotes permanence, a sum that they could not contribute when they came initially. This was also said with some pride, as evidently he feels that they have now made it due to being able to pay rent)

2.11 Ok in a flat in the CBD?

In a flat yes. (Apartment)

2.12 How many other guys from Zimbabwe do you know in the CBD? Do you know others?

Haai were just us and three other guys.

2.13 Only you and three other guys? Where you are staying in the flat are you all from Zimbabwe?

Ja, They are also from Zimbabwe. (They also display the formation of ethnic clustering so typical to Pretoria's CBD)

2.14 So when you looked for a place to stay you looked for your fellow Zimbabweans?

Ja, we just ask each other the friends or the relatives or anyone that we know just for a place to stay.

2.15 Ok.

Then they can help us.

2.16 So you only know three other guys from Zimbabwe?

Yes.

2.17 Do you want to stay in Pretoria for long or do you want to leave some or other time?

Ah, actually were just looking for a job.

2.18 Is it?

Ja. (Laughs)

2.19 So are you going to go back to Zimbabwe?

Ja if we can get money we will go back but if we can't get money we won't go back. Because here we are looking for the money. (Most of the foreign nationals tend to give mixed signals regarding attachment to home. They do not want to go back, but they also do not seem attached to their current living locale)

2.20 So you don't want to go to another country? Lots of people say they want to go America or they are just here for a while etc. Are you going to stay in Africa?

Ah, mine I don't have that mind (Does not agree)

2.21 And one day, do you want to go back to Zimbabwe or do you want to stay in South Africa if it is all right?

Ah, we will go back.

2.22 Do you miss your people back home? Your culture and stuff from Zimbabwe do you miss it here?

No. (See above comments regarding ambiguous tendency of foreign nationals not to be attached to community or place)

2.23 What faith are you Christian or Islamic?

We are Christian.

2.24 African Pentecostal? Or...

Pentecostal.

2.25 Do you go to church on Sundays?

Yes I do

2.26 Where is the church that you go to?

It is the Pentecostal one on the corner of Bosman and Bloed street.

2.27 Do you go every Sunday?

Ja. (Most of the non-drug addicts among the foreign nationals tend to be strict churchgoers)

2.28 Do you ever do stuff like praying or stuff like that on the street? Or only in the church?

(Nods to agree only in the church)

2.29 Do you ever have church under trees or places like that? With your friends. Never?

No Never.

2.30 Do you guys use cell phones? Do you have cell phones?

Yes I do.

2.31 Do you phone people back home often?

Ja, we used to call them. (Implies that they do not phone so much anymore. Possibly means that the ethnic network has started to diminish since they have become more established residents)

2.32 So if you don't call them do you feel responsible?

Ja if we don't call them we feel guilty. (Both of them look at each other and seem to feel guilty)

2.33 Do you feel it's important to retain your family back home like your mother and people like that?

Ja ja

2.34 Do you make use of the free Wi-Fi?

Ai, no

2.35 So you don't do any rituals in public like. Do you have any cultural ethnic rituals like..ceremonies. Traditional?

No we don't do that. (This is also said with some distaste, almost as if such rituals would be offensive. Many of the Christian foreigners tend to frown upon any form of ethnic rituals and ancestral worship due to their religious beliefs)

2.36 No?

No.

2.37 So you guys are traders that's how you make you're living?

Ja.

2.38 Did you start selling stuff in Zimbabwe, or only when you came here? (Transnational trading)

Only when we came here. (Edward and Robert thus did not initially form part of a transnational trading network, however they are probably related to one in Johannesburg where their mother stays. They started the first trading network here in Pretoria with Edward coming first and then his brother followed when he had established a foothold)

2.39 So you guys sell sweets and fruit and.

Ja sweets and fruits and Zimba's (chips)

2.40 So you trade on this corner?

Ja.

2.41 So every day you come here?

Ja.

2.42 What is this corner?

Bosman and Vermeulen.

2.43 So the people that you sell to everyday on the street, are they mostly other Zimbabweans or do you mostly sell to anyone? (Most of the foreign street traders do not seem to have an ethnic client base. Many of the central African shop owners, especially the Muslims, do have strong ethnic client bases)

Ah, it's different (Alluding to selling to different ethnic groupings)

2.44 So you wouldn't say in your opinion that the Zimbabweans tend to stick together?

Ah no.

2.45 So you are Christians, you don't do stuff in public space. When you came here to South Africa did the people in the church help you?

No. I started to go to the church when I'm here. (Only attended church in South Africa)

2.46 For the first time?

For the first time.

2.47 How old are you (Referring to the elder brother Edward)

I am 22

2.48 And you? (Referring to the younger brother Robert)

19

2.49 So the people in the CBD. Some people say for instance the Nigerians like to be flashy, they like expensive shoes and shiny cars and, to make as if they are very rich...and stuff like that. We call it status. So, do you believe there are different people in the CBD some are poor some are rich.

Ja, I do believe.

2.50 So do you believe that people that are rich they won't mix with you they,?

Ja they take you down. (Edward says this with some wounded pride in his face. This is obviously a sore point for him)

2.51 Is it? So you feel like that then?

Ja.

2.52 And the people that are trying to show they are rich what do they do? What kind of behaviour do they have cars with lots of loud sound? Do they park on the corner? Are they loud and open the doors. What kind of stuff do people do to show they are rich in the Pretoria CBD?

Eish I can't even explain it. (Laughing, alluding to the fact that it is too complex to explain, while laughing. He indicates with a gesture and rolls his eyes. The conversational context that he indicates is that the people that do this are theatrical and ridiculous. They are hardworking and proud of their achievements, and they obviously disapprove of the status projection that seems to be so prevalent in the CBD)

2.53 I see. Is there nothing that you can say?

No, there is nothing that I can say. (Meaning that the phenomenon is positive and he appears to be very sure of his answer)

2.54 So recreation, when you guys eat during the day do you eat here on the pavement? Or do you just quickly eat while your brother is selling?

We eat early in the morning before we come and then we eat again later when we are at home.

2.55 So you don't eat here when you are working.

No.

2.56 So when you are at home do you all eat together then? Or is it just you two?

Ah, no we eat just only me and my young brother.

2.57 Do you eat inside the building or do you go outside and eat maybe on the pavement?

No, we eat in our house.

2.58 Just in the house?

Ja.

2.59 Do you speak to lots of people every day in the CBD?

Yes.

2.60 Do you like speaking to people, is it like important to you to speak to people every day and have conversations?

Ja I like it.

2.61 If you do not have a conversation for a long time do you feel you are missing it?

Yes, I feel bored. (The researcher's assistant that accompanied him on this evening hails from Zimbabwe, and he was constantly speaking to the other brother in their local dialect, which is a form of Shona. Both the brothers are very alert and intelligent, and they conversed seamlessly and seemed intrigued by the questions)

2.62 Bored and deprived?

Ja.

2.63 Do you guys play sport? Do you like football...

I used to but my sport is Gym.

2.64 Gym so you like to Gym?

Ja.

2.65 And you Robert? (Referring to brother)

Also Gym.

2.66 So you guys don't play soccer?

Ah, no.

2.67 Not .So where do you go to the Gym?

There in town.

2.68 In town? So you have to pay?

Yes we pay 150 per month.

2.69 So that's the only sport you do? No soccer, running, or such?

No. Not even if we like to do another sport, we don't have time. (They imply that they do like soccer but their business prohibits them spending afternoons practising it. The researcher also suspects that they may have xenophobic fear related to using communal informal and formal public spaces together with the local people)

2.70 Ah, yes because you are working all the time.

Ja.

2.72 And what are the hours that you work? What time in the morning do you come here?

Early in the morning like past six.

2.73 And then this time in the evening? (Referring to half past seven on a Friday evening)

Yes.

2.74 Is there anything else that you do in the CBD like maybe friends or like having parties and stuff like that on the street. Do you ever do stuff like that outside the building?

Ah No. (Possibly, also fear related)

2.75 So you go home you sleep you come back you work?

Ja.

2.76 So you guys are working hard hey?

Ja.

2.77 Do you have any family in SA that are from Zimbabwe?

Ja we have.

2.78 Where are they are they in Pretoria or somewhere else?

The other guy's in Joburg.

2.79 In Joburg?

Ja.

2.80 So when you came to South Africa did you first go to him?

Ja I go and see them.

2.81 Did you phone them from Zimbabwe? When you came to South Africa, did you see him?

Ja we did.

2.82 Why did you decide to come to Pretoria and not JHB?

Simply because of the situation. (Unclear motive)

2.83 Do you sometimes feel rejected by people in the CBD. Do you feel sometimes that you are on your own one side. That people are not accepting you. You are just like on your own?

Ja I used to. Ja

2.84 And now?

No now its better now its right. But I used to. (Edward says this with an unconvincing expression on his face. Robert is looking down at the pavement and they both seem to have made a commitment to not let this rejection get to them. The researcher thus believes they are trying to stay positive about this situation, which is still a problem for them)

2.85 Do you think your culture and people were you come from in Zimbabwe was better than here? Or, do you like it more here?

Ah, no we like it more here.

2.86 Do you sometimes feel lonely and want to go home? Do you often wish to go home?

Ah no not so much.

2.87 So you don't want to move on at any time?

Shakes head.

2.88 So you're plans are to stay?

Ja, ja.

2.89 Do you like to travel? Do you travel a lot? Do you take trips on taxis or trains?

Yes I used to do but nowadays I don't do.

2.90 And Robert do you travel around much? Because some people they like to move, they don't like to sit still. Then they go to JHB another guy said he goes to Transkei.

Like me every Sunday I go to Church (Robert) in Jhb.

2.91 So far ?

Ja.

2.92 Why do you go to different churches?

My Mom was staying there that side in Joburg, I have to go and see her (Robert). Sometimes I go together with my brother there to church also.

2.93 I understand. What church is that? Also a Pentecostal church?

It is (indistinct) church also (Pentecostal)

2.94 Ok. Do you sometimes wish Pretoria was another city? If you could choose any city in the world which one would you choose...you're favourite country?

South Africa.

2.95 South Africa?

Ja. Ha no I like South Africa cause it's the one that I know. (not planning on moving)

2.96 Do you think there are too many rules and regulations in Pretoria like for instance like the metro police, do they ever do they ever bother harass you? Or things like that?

Ja.

2.97 So one of the problems I see with that is the people say that the metro police want every month this, what do they call that thing?

Oh, the trading licence.

2.98 Yes the trading licence. Do the police often come and ask for the trading licences or do they want bribes or stuff like that?

Ah, they just need licence (ask for licences) Ah, I try to get the licence then they give the letters to come and see the place but it's difficult.

2.99 So it's difficult?

Yes its difficult to get (implies that they are trading without a commercial licence)

2.100 Do they come every week?

Mostly ja, but this week they didn't come. Whole of last week they did come. On 15 of July they come here and took our stuff. (Robert)

2.101 They took you're stuff?

Yeah. Me I go there and pay the fine and then I come back and explain, it is just the stuff.

(Edward and Robert look at each other while speaking and they obviously rely heavily on each other for support and social contact. It appears that they don't have papers and thus they must be trading on the mercy of the local Tshwane police)

2.102 And don't they want even a small bribe?

Ha, no they just take the stuff. (This would obviously be illegal if they did have a trading licence)

2.103 I see in Pretoria they are tough these police. If you have a problem here like for instance, it's raining or, you don't have a roof here then?

Ja. (They do not have a roof. A common problem for all the street traders)

2.104 So what do you do if it's raining?

I close then I go.

2.105 Do you go home?

Ja.

2.106 And if it's very cold?

If its very cold I'm wearing the jacket and I work.

2.107 So just the rain is a problem?

Ja.

2.108 So you don't have a gazebo then?

N,o I was having it but they don't allow us to use it.

2.109 They don't allow you?

Ja.

2.110 Really what do they say?

They say ha, they do not want us to use something like shade behind the robots. (Causes visibility problems for motorists to see the robots)

2.111 Ahh I see behind the robots, then the people can't see the robots?

Ja.

2.112 And tell me are you guys Ndebele?

No Shona.

2.113 Shonas?

Ja.

2.114 So other guys from Zimbabwe they are Ndebele?

Ja.

2.115 So the cultural practises that the Shona people practice do you do any of those things here?

Here in South Africa?

2.116 Yes here where you stay.

Ha, no. (He says this in an incredulous tone as if such a thing would be unthinkable)

2.117 Never?

No never.

2.118 So you guys do not want to bring you're culture here to where you stay?

(Laughs) No, we are not doing that.

2.119 So the city council via the police are giving you some trouble?

(Nods agreement)

2.120 Do you know who is making the rules for this CBD? Do you know who the mayor is?

No, we don't know. Ha we just hear the name but we don't know him.

2.121 Do you guys feel that you have no power here? Like with you're trading or...

Ja, we feel like we have no power.

2.122 Do you have public toilets that you can go to? Here? Do you ever use any public toilets?

Yes.

2.123 Where are they?

There by (indistinct)

2.124 Do you have to pay?

Ja we are paying R2.

2.125 There by Sammy Marks or Church Square?

Yes there by Church Square.

2.126 Yes, I also used that one

Ok.

2.127 So if you go to the toilet then you're brother must watch? (The stand)

Ja.

2.128 So vice versa then

Ja. (The corner where they where trading was at least 5 blocks from the nearest public toilet that the researcher could see. The use of ablutions is a large problem for them evidently)

2.129 So you work together then. Do you think the different racial groups in Pretoria do you think those people stick together? Or don't they really and everyone is just mixing?

Ah, the way that I see is that they don't really care.

2.130 They don't care then. This place then you would say is very free then. So no one here you would say are against people from Zimbabwe for instance?

No, they used to be but me I don't mind that. (This answer is ambiguous and he does not appear convincing. The researcher believes he does not want to appear negative or xenophobic in other peoples eyes hence the generic answer)

2.131 So you don't care about that then?

No we don't care.

2.132 So the only people that are bothering you are the metro police? No one else bothering you like tsotsis?

Ah, no not that much. (The fact that they are 2 strong young men together also negates a lot of crime problems from petty criminals)

2.133 Do you feel that the Pretoria CBD has got all the stuff that you need? You say you go to gym, you are trading on the street, You go to church, so you think that this CBD has got everything that you need? There's nothing that you think I wish there was like...

Ah no for now there is nothing.

At this stage they were fidgeting to go and they needed to get their stock to storage. The researcher thanked them and they left.

END OF INTERVIEW

ANNEXURE G

Interview 3: Mathew from Mozambique

Street Vendor corner of Pretorius and Andries

4.1 Mathew from which country are you?

From Mozambique, from Machase.

4.2 The people from Mozambique are there many that live in the Pretoria CBD?

Ha, no I don't know.

4.3 You don't know? Alright, do you send money home to support someone there?

Yes.

4.4 Do you have the family there? (Mozambique)

Yes Just a mother and father (indistinct) wife (It was unclear if Mathew did have a wife, it later transpired that he has a child that he is supporting that stays with his parents in the Southern part of Mozambique.)

4.5 How many other guys from Mozambique do you speak to every day?

Only one guy every day. (This is not accurate as it later transpired that he lives together with 4 other persons from Mozambique. What he meant by this was that the person he speaks to is his a brother or close relative. He thus conflates speaks every day with the person he is closest to. He does however see 4 other persons of Mozambican origin every day that he evidently must speak to as they live together.

4.6 There where you stay in the flat?

Only one guy.

4.7 How long have you lived there in that flat?

Ha only maybe two months.

4.8 Two months? And where did you live before?

Tembisa.

4.9 Tembisa? Why did you come to the CBD to live and not in Tembisa?

Ha no Tembisa theres no business, here I'm coming to sell this stuff (refers to his stock on pavement) (It becomes clear at this stage that Mathew has only recently moved to this location due to harassment of the Metro police closer to the centre of the CBD. When I met him here, it was a move of desperation and he had only been on this spot for one day.)

4.10 Do you want to stay in South Africa?

Heh?

Do you want to stay in South Africa or do you want to go back to Mozambique?

Ha no I want to go back. (Mathew is only about 21 years old and as evident from his facial demeanour and general attitude he is in psychological pain and he is perhaps too young to be fending for himself like this. He does however have a facade of extreme toughness and resolute demeanour. As soon as he started trusting me he signalled a lot of desperation and he appeared to have a yearning for acceptance and speaking to someone that appears to care)

4.11 When do you want to go back?

In December.

4.12 And then next year you come back again?

Ja.

4.13 Do you go home once a year every December?

Ha no sometimes I get money, then I'm going. (Only if he has the money. This would mean that Mathew has been fending for himself on the streets since being a teenager. He was however in Tembisa before where there is apparently a large contingent of Mozambican people. Tembisa is however a notoriously dangerous and rough area for all migrants.)

4.14 Ok so its just when you have money?

Ja.

4.15 And one day if you have money do you want to go and live in Mozambique again or do you want to stay in South Africa?

Eish sir no I want to open here (trade) go up and down and come here. (Referring to being a transnational trader that circulates between SA and Mozambique. This is a common theme among all the street traders in the CBD. Transnational trading is a very strong theme)

4.16 So you see it like one country then?

Ja ja (laughs)

4.17 So there where you come from Mozambique, what culture are you from? Are you Shona?

Machazi, it is Ndaou.

4.18 Ndaou?

Yes Ndaou.

4.19 So it's like an ethnic tribe ?

Ja.

4.20 What area of Mozambique is this North or South?

Refers to the fact that it's closer to South Africa than Zimbabwe meaning it is in the South.

4.21 And the language you speak is it Machazi?

No, Ndaou.

Ok

4.22 So these Ndau people where you come from do they do any rituals or stuff that you want to do here like dancing or any cultural stuff?

Ha, it's there but not too much. (No)

4.23 You don't do it here in SA

Ha, no.

4.24 Do you know there is the free Wi-Fi in Pretoria?

Ja.

4.25 Do you use it ever?

Yes.

4.26 Where do you use it at those cell phone masts those ones that are standing up?

Ja.

4.27 So when do you use it? What time do you go home at night?

Six o'clock. (Thus uses it in evenings. However, the Wi-Fi in the Pretoria CBD is not always functional and many of the street traders said that it works intermittently and that they have given up using it)

4.28 Do you go home then you use it or do you use it in your flat?

Ja in the flat.

4.29 Do you sometime phone your people back home with the cell phone?

Yes.

4.30 How many times once a week?

Ahh no maybe three times a week.

4.40 Three times a week?

Ja.

4.41 Your wife is there?

No.

4.42 Your wife and children ?

Ja.

4.43 So you speak to them three times a week?

Yes.

4.44 What do you sell here? What stuff do you sell?

Cigarettes sweets bananas snacks oranges, eggs, and the biscuits.

4.45 Alright and you've only been here two months. And this corner how long have you been selling here?

Ha, just yesterday.

4.46 Ah so you only come here yesterday?

Yesterday I was Van Der Walt.

4.47 Why did you come here? Why did you not stay there?

Van der Walt?

Ja

Too much Metro that side. (referring to the Metro police)

4.48 Too much Metro?

Ja.

4.49 Do you know other people from Mozambique they are selling on the street?

Ja its that side Schubart Street.

4.50 Ok do you speak to them every day do you see them?

Ja ja.

4.51 Ok they are friends of yours?

Yes.

4.52 The people that you sell to here on the street do you sell to anyone or mostly people from Mozambique or just anyone that is coming past here?

Ja, no anyone.

4.53 So you don't care?

Ja.

4.54 So you don't see other people they want to know where you're from, they don't care the people they buy from anyone?

Ja. (All the foreign case studies interviewed mentioned that they don't care whom they sell to. This theme is very strong in terms of the fact that they do not want to be identified as foreigners. Traveling in taxis is also a problem as many of the locals mentioned that if someone answers a phone in English it means he is a foreigner as he is reluctant to reveal that he speaks a non-South African Language to the other commuters. There is a very strong fear among the foreign traders among the local people especially after the xenophobic attacks of 2011)

4.55 If he is hungry he buys?

Ja

4.56 So it doesn't matter if you are from Mozambique or Zimbabwe they don't care?

Ja no. (they don't care)

4.57 Tell me do you go to the church?

Ja. (All the case studies and street informal interviews where of a religious persuasion. There were no respondents which were not either Christian or of the Muslim faith)

4.58 Are you Christian or Muslim?

H,e Zion. (referring to ZCC)

4.59 What is that Pentecostal?

You know Zion?

4.60 Oh, ZCC?

Ja ja ZCC.

4.61 So on Sundays you go to that big one down here? (Referring to the open air meeting in Schubart street)

Ja ja his that one.

4.62 It's a big church that one hey?

Ja he's big.

4.63 Do you ever do anything like praying or stuff from the church outside?

(blank stare)

4.64 Ok that place is outside but when you are on your own do you pray together with other people on the outside of the buildings? Because this thing (study) we are not looking inside but outside of buildings. The pavements to the streets you are never praying outside or doing stuff like that?

No.

4.65 When you first came to South Africa, the first time you came in 2010 did you look for the church people? Did the people from the ZCC help you to come here?

Ha, no.

4.66 Not you came on your own?

Yes.

4.67 So the people in the CBD do you think there are rich people, middle people and poor people?

Ja.

4.68 Where do you think you are? Are you rich poor or medium?

Ha no some where the middle.

4.69 In the Middle?

Ja. (most of the street traders, even though they are poor seem to view themselves as middle median in the status levels of the Pretoria CBD. The street people and drug users are viewed as the bottom tier in the status stratification of the Pretoria CBD)

4.70 Do you think the people in the CBD that are rich middle and poor do they stay apart? Do the rich people, the medium and the poor do they stay one side or do they all mix together?

Ha, they all mix.

4.71 Ok so you don't think so (stratification). Do you sometimes, anytime pretend that you are rich? You wear nice clothes shoes and you walk around or not? Are you always like you are now?

(Laughs) Ha not. (Does not partake in status projection)

4.72 You know some people they do it, like the Nigerian people they maybe they are poor but they put on these clothes that they are so flashy because they want the people to accept them.

Ja ja. (It is generally accepted by all the case studies that there is social stratification in the Pretoria CBD. They do not however mostly seem to be bothered by it, except in the case of the Rwandans. This could be due to be due to various factors including the fact that they tend to remain quite close to their co-ethnic networks)

4.73 There were you stay in your flat those other people who is staying with you in the flat? Other people from Mozambique?

Ja is there.

4.74 How many are you in the flat?

Mh, 4 guys.

4.75 4 guys? All from Mozambique?

Yes.

4.76 Those guys that are staying with you from Mozambique did you know them before 2010? (Before he came to South Africa alluding to co-ethnic social networks)

Ja I know them before.

4.77 So you all come together to South Africa?

Yes.

4.78 Is it your family or just friends?

Ha, its just friends.

4.79 And you've been friends since then for 8 years?

Ja its 8 years.

4.80 You all stay together ne?

Yes.

4.81 Do you sometimes eat together outside the building or always inside the flat?

Always inside.

4.82 You don't go outside on the pavement to eat together?

No.

4.83 Do you like to talk to people every day in the CBD? You know like have conversations do you do that every day? Do you speak to the people that buy from you or do you have friends in the CBD?

Hm. (seems unsure)

4.84 So its just those guys that you speak to every night?

Ja. (Alludes to the fact that he does not have any friends or acquaintances in the CBD other than his immediate co-ethnic network that he has known since immigrating to South Africa. This speaks of close ethnic ties and a reluctance to assimilate in the broader culture and spaces of the CBD)

4.85 Do you play sport or do gym?

Sport?

4.86 Ja do you like the sport?

Ja I like the sport.

4.87 What do you like football?

Ja I like football.

4.88 Do you play?

Ja.

4.89 And do you go to the gym?

Ah, no.

Not?

Ha. (No)

4.90 Do you often play football?

Ja.

4.91 Where do you play?

Ha, no in Mozambique I was playing but not here.

4.92 If you had a place you would go?

Ja, yes.

4.93 But not now?

Ha, no its too far

4.94 Its too far?

Indistinct recording but: (Uses gestures to allude to being felt left out and unwelcome, mentions that only two guys he knows play but it is for whatever reason too difficult. this is probably due to his lack of assimilation and clinging to his co-ethnic social network that he feels he cannot play his favourite sport. There is a great deal of distrust and fear of the local people from the foreign nationals. See Rwandan interview for more clarity on fear of public space use)

4.95 But you like football. If you had a place, you would go there?

Yes. (here he uses gestures again and the underlying implication is that he would play if he felt he was welcome and not excluded. Certain of the respondents have different levels of assimilation)

4.96 So you were born in Mozambique ne?

Ja.

4.97 You don't have children here in SA?

No.

4.98 Do you think that your real house, the place that you come from in your heart it is still Mozambique?

Yes. (definite yes, face lights up and he is very positive about it. There is a common theme among the foreign nationals that they are home-sick and struggle to assimilate in the fabric of the Pretoria CBD).

4.99 It is still you're no1 home? Not South Africa?

No. (Implies it is not South Africa)

4.100 So if the people say now! You must choose one country you will chose Mozambique?

Ja, I choose Mozambique.

Ok

4.101 Do you sometimes think that the people here in Pretoria CBD, do you feel sometimes they shift you one side you are feeling maybe a bit you know rejected or uhm, that maybe they don't like you so much do you feel one side?

Ja. (means it is correct)

4.102 Do you only speak to those people there in the flat where you live? Do you speak to other people every day? So you have other friends here too?

Ja.

4.103 So you won't say those other people they are rejecting you? (Referring to other groups and local South Africans)

Eish no. (Seems very unsure and the researcher believes he does feel so, but for whatever reason feels he should not admit it. This can be seen from the facial expressions and the reluctance and uncertainty with which he answers. Also, the above-mentioned answers seem to contradict what he says)

4.104 Do you sometimes miss do you want to go home to Mozambique? Are you longing to go home sometimes?

Ja (Appears to be sad and this is a positive response. It can be seen that he is homesick and missing home by his facial expression. At one stage there is a tear in the corner of his eye)

4.105 So you would like to see you people that you miss but you don't have the money then you cant?

Yes

4.106 The Ndaou people of yours that you speak of?

Yes

4.107 Do you sometimes wish that you could speak it more, your own language? Here you speak English only?

Ja its English but talking is a problem... not too much (Here he implies that speaking their home dialect is too dangerous, especially on the streets or public spaces. This is a common theme among all the foreign nationals interviewed. They avoid speaking foreign African languages due to fear of xenophobia. This is very strong theme among all foreign nationals)

4.108 Do you travel around a lot? Do you sometimes go on the taxis or the trains, you go other places to go and see. Like the Holiday, do you do that?

Ja I do.

4.109 You do that? Do you like to go and see places, you like to do that?

Ja I do.

4.110 If you go on this traveling around (movement as identity) do you feel you like to do it is it nice?

Yes

4.111 Do you feel better? Do you feel its almost like a holiday or something like that?

I don't understand what is it?

4.112 Like traveling ne?

Ja

4.113 Do you sometimes go to other places like JHB on the train or the taxi, do you do that or do you only stay here in the CBD?

Im staying here in the CBD

4.114 You don't travel around?

But sometimes I do it but not too much. Once a month maybe (this is said with a very sad voice and a despondent look on his face)

4.115 Where do you go?

Eh, Joburg eh Alexandra eh, ja. (Movement as identity is a construct, which is entrenched in the psyche of many migrants, especially the younger ones that have been fending for

themselves since childhood or their early teens. Mathew seemed very sad and distant while speaking of this traveling, which is used for psychological relief. This is partly done to remedy the lack of attachment to place, and by definition a lack of attachment to the Pretoria CBD spaces as a real home)

4.116 What do you do there?

Just im going places where is nice..(indistinct)

4.117 Ahh maybe talking to the people...? Or seeing how its looking.

Ja

4.118 You like to do that?

Yes.

4.119 Tell me, if you can take the whole world, like United States, Europe those places, do you one-day want to go the America or do you want to stay in South Africa? What is your plans long in the future? Do you want to go to another country or do you want to stay in South Africa?

I want to stay in South Africa.

4.120 Do you like South Africa?

Yes

4.121 Do you think there are too many rules and laws and problems here in the CBD? You said the metro they are worrying you ne? Do you find that it is difficult to make business here?

Eish I want to talk (participate) but no papers no what..maybe sometimes they are tasking my stock...(Mathew seems very despondent and speaks in a far off depressed voice and a downcast face. He appears to be desperate and unsure of what to do when he says this. He refers to the fact that none of the foreign nationals have registration papers and thus cannot acquire the necessary metro licences to trade legally. This is one of the biggest obstacles to foreign nationals trading in the Pretoria CBD. Mathew is obviously at his wits end as he is trying to make a living yet he feels that these rules and powers are beyond his control and he has no voice or power to defend himself. This much is evident from his tone and expression as well as his answer. He feels voiceless and powerless.)

4.122 So they are worrying you then?

Yes

4.123 Do you know who is making the rules and the boss of the metro police? Do you know who is making the rules in the Pretoria CBD? Do you know who is the big boss the mayor? Or don't you know?

Ha no...(this is answered with a resigned expression and a quit voice)

4.124 So you are a Christian ZCC Zion ne?

Yes

4.125 Do you, where do you go to the toilet? Do you have public toilets here?

Hm, the bushes (Seems unsure of his answer, perhaps due to embarrassment due to a lack of facilities and the fact that he will be admitting to not using public toilets or any toilets most of the time)

4.126 Is it a problem then public toilets?

Yes it is (Almost all the foreign nationals and local street traders indicated that public toilets are a problem. Mathew also has to make do with either relieving himself illegally behind trees, shrubs, or behind structures when he can. When street traders are alone like Mathew their problem is doubled because they have no one to ask to mind their stock while they go to the toilet.)

4.127 So the people they don't want you to? (use the the public toilets)

No..(What Mathew is implying is that the use of these public toilets in the Pretoria CBD is a hugely contested issue due to various issues. Firstly there are too few public ablutions in the CBD. Secondly, there is distrust among the different groups including the local traders, foreign traders hustlers as well as the shop owners. Most of the shop owners will not accommodate the street traders by way of using their ablutions. This is a form of controlling and fighting back against the street traders whom it is perceived is taking away their business, even though many of them poses legal trading licenses to trade on the streets of the CBD.)

4.128 And where do you get water if you want to drink water now where do you go?

(indistinct answer on recording) (Here Mathew was referring to the fact that he needs to scout out these basic services as part of his everyday problems of trading and making a living.)

4.129 But everywhere that you are selling you must first find a place, you ask the people for a toilet you ask for the water sometimes they don't want to?

Ja...

4.130 It's a problem?

Ja it's a problem

4.131 Are there some places in this CBD that you cannot go? That people stop you?

What?

4.132 Are there some places ne, some streets some buildings that if you want to go there the people say no you cannot go here?

Yes

4.133 So they stop you, they block you? (Here Mathew by his body language indicated that he was uncomfortable with the question so the researcher decided not to push the question further. This is possibly due to fear of repercussions from some imaginary group or power, which he fears. Most of the foreign nationals tended to answer in guarded and veiled ways saying very little and trying to avoid perceived implication in trouble or fear of revealing themselves or their identity. The short staccato answers where thus read in conjunction with facial expressions and body language to get deeper contextual knowledge around each topic)

Yes

4.134 So you feel maybe sometimes the people they stop you from doing stuff?

Ja (This question poses the issue of access to various types of buildings which are often off limits to certain groups. The street hustlers as well as the foreign nationals are perceived as the lowest on the rung of access to certain areas, and viewed as a threat and undesirable. It is unclear how access is restricted but the researcher suspects that security guards, which are mostly of local origin, are used to enforce these restrictions. These restrictions are placed there by shop and property owners that do not want certain groups to have access to buildings as well as certain public spaces which feed into their businesses or form part of the public space extensions of a business. Examples are pavements, courtyards in and between buildings, and small green areas where patrons might sit and support the primary business. These other groups are viewed as a threat to the established clientele as well as the actual business takings of the shop owner)

4.135 Do you feel safe?

Heh?

Do you feel safe, are you afraid of the crime or tsotsis, most of the time here

Yes

4.136 Do you feel that you are scared or do you feel safe.?

I feel safe

4.137 So you are not afraid of tsotsis and stuff like that?

No (Even though Mathew states he is not afraid there is a lot of underlying tension and fear that is evident in the CBD. There is quite tangible hostility and Mathew stated before via other questions that Xenophobia is a fear of his. The foreign national traders live in constant fear of the authorities as well as the locals, especially after the 2011 Xenophobic attacks. The answers below also tend to negate this answer of his)

4.138 Do you know what racism is?

Ja

4.139 When other cultures and local people of different races like the Pedi people or the Venda or the Zulus here in South Africa sometimes they don't like foreign people then we call it racism or xenophobia you know that?

Ja ja. (he gives a very positive answer, indicating that he knows the feeling)

4.140 Do you feel sometimes that those people they are against you?

Ha, sometimes he's passing me, he's drinking beer they are just taking my stock (throws his hand indicating that these people basically attack him when drunk and take his stock. His face is filled with sadness and an expression of powerlessness.)

4.141 So they abuse you? Causing trouble ?

Yes, yes. (I get the sense that Mathew is feeling that I am the first person that he has ever been able to speak to about this problem and vent his frustration)

4.142 What do they say?

Ha they say foreigner, what what, they are taking my stock or take two banana and no pay,

4.143 So they are looking for trouble then?

Ja ja

4.144 And what do you do then?

Ha I just um. (His shoulders slump and he indicates that he is powerless to do anything about it. He gets angry while saying it at one stage and he seems humiliated by the fact that these people abuse him and he is powerless to do anything about it. It is evident that his lack of citizenship casts him as a lower class citizen in his own mind. He feels that he is illegal and thus powerless, and has no voice or right to protect himself. He is thus at the mercy of people that are citizens, the metro police and ultimately the local authorities.)

4.145 How many times does that happen, like once a month?

Ha first time it happens yesterday there..(refers to his previous location which he moved from just today. It had evidently happened at other locations before)

4.146 So here you feel it will be better, you hope it will?

Yes it is hoped maybe two days...(unclear answer but in the vein of the previous answer)

4.147 So you say the people that are worrying you in the CBD its these local guys they are sometimes drunk they are looking for trouble ?

Yes

4.148 And then it also the metro police? They come they want licence what?

Yeahh (answers very softly and despondently indicating that this is a tender point to him)

Yes (definite yes)

4.149 When they take your stock what do you do?

Im telling my brother he give me money and I start again

4.150 You start over again?

Yeah..(At this stage he appeared very sad and the researcher also became rather sad due to listening to this emotional part of the interview.)

4.151 Eish its hard hey?

Eish ja too much.

4.152 This stuff, these things they are worrying you like the metro police take, do you feel that for you, you have power to do anything about it?

No.

4.153 You have no power?

Ja

4.154 Ja so its not right hey?

Ja no its not right (At this stage Mathew once again has a tear in the side of his eye. He seems forlorn and downcast as he speaks and keeps looking down at the ground as he is apparently mulling on these thoughts as well as previous happenings in his mind)

4.155 They are not treating you correctly with respect and stuff hey?

Ja

4.156 You don't vote in South Africa ever. You don't have the ID?

No

4.157 Ok so there are certain places in the Pretoria's CBD that you cannot use like the public toilets but if you want to say you and your friends ne. Those guys in the flat those Mozambique guys, you want to maybe go together with some other guys from Mozambique, you want to maybe have a party would you be afraid to do that? Is there some place that you can do that outside or do you just stay inside the flat?

Ha, I do that but not here, I do that in Tembisa.

4.158 Ok so it's better there to do that? So that's why you sometimes go there?

Ja

4.159 So there's many people from Mozambique there you are more safe there?

Ja is too much (indistinct) (people from Mozambique there.)

4.160 Ok so Mathew, his life story

(Speaking into recording device) Hello my name is Mathew I am from Mozambique I am selling the stuff here. If there is problem, metro is take my stock, but metro they are make me suffering they take my stock

We are interrupted and then resume the conversation

Ok so you can carry on speaking

He he (He doesn't know what to say further and it becomes evident that Mathew is too shy to speak about himself and prefers to answer short abrupt questions. The researcher then asks him some leading questions to prompt further response)

4.161 So you have people back home in Mozambique, you are suffering here (in South Africa) what do you think in your heart?

(He laughs and appears shy again) Eish English is a problem for me.

4.162 Ha, its ok I wil understand

He laughs further and is reluctant to speak again.

END OF INTERVIEW

ANNEXURE H

Interview 4 Tina local Lady from South Africa

Tina was sitting by her mother whom has a stall on the side of the street. Her mother is a full time street trader selling roasted Mealies as well as other snacks next to the Pretoria Central police station, with Tina also selling.

5.1 Good day what is your name?

Tina

5.2 Tina? Right. And are you from which country are you a local or from another country?

Im from Tzaneen. (Tina seemed very confident and she was chatting in the local Tsonga dialect to the people moving around. The corner where they sell is a prominent and busy corner, and the researcher felt that a foreign national would have a hard time acquiring this spot, which had a lot of law enforcement traffic moving by)

5.3 So you are Venda?

No Tsonga

5.4 Tsonga ok, Tsonga so you are close to Zim then?

Ja (Tzaneen is one of the Northern most town in South Africa close to the border of Zimbabwe)

You know? (Asking me if I knew the area)

5.5 Ja I used to live in Soekmekaar, Moketsi those places. (The researcher states that he knows that area and he used to live in the areas described)

O ok (The fact that I knew the mentioned areas, and understood some of the dialect puts her at ease and she seems more open and friendly. Interestingly the fact that I am white does not bother her but only that we share a common area as background. Many of the local traders and people in the CBD shared this sentiment, and ignore the fact that I am white and accepted me as a co-ethnic if I knew of or had lived in the areas mentioned. As evidenced by the first few questions Tina is very confident and feels at home speaking to me in very good English. She is not afraid to ask return questions and seems very interested in what I am doing. While we are speaking her mother is selling many mealies next to us, and some of the police officers ask me what I'm doing in a friendly manner. They also over hear the conversation and I hear that they speak to each other that the Magua (white guy) also comes from their ethnic area.)

5.6 Is this your stand or is it this ladies stand? (referring to her mother next to us)

It is hers (she refers to the other older lady). She is my mother.

5.7 She is your Mum?

Ja

5.8 Really is she also from Tzaneen?

No she is married she is staying at Bushbuck ridge (This point indicates that Tina and her mom are definitely part of an ethnic network due to the fact that she mentions her mom is married and staying at another location. This means that she is still from her original ethnic network, which is Tsonga and by implication loyal and part of it, and she does not live there due to the fact that she is married. It means she is still part of the co-ethnic network and has not been shunned due to moving away as being married and marriage accepted by the community means that she has legitimately left her area of origin without losing her status in the co-ethnic network)

5.9 Ok. So tell me you guy's are Tsonga and do you see lots of other Tsonga people every day. Where do you stay?

At the (indistinct) area.

5.10 Do you come here every day?

Yes

5.11 How does your Mum take this stuff every day, or does she use the storage?

No she uses the storage. It's here inside the Police station. (The fact that her mother has an arrangement with the policemen, to store her goods there every day says something about her standing in the community.)

5.12 I see there's a few places here in the CBD that people can keep their stuff ne?

Ja

5.13 But you have to pay ne R5 or something?

No shes not paying (This is a fundamental difference between Tina's mother which is of local origin and foreign national street traders such as Matthias. She has a prime spot, she is selling right beside the Pretoria central police station on the corner of Francis Baard and Schubart streets. This is an extremely busy corner and her mother from observation has a very good relationship with the various inspectors, constables and higher ranking police officials constantly moving past her spot. This also illustrates the difference between the foreign nationals and the local street traders. The local traders mostly have trading licences and are completely accepted by the local populace. Often times they hail from the same area, which will be even more beneficial for them, which suggests that tribalism still plays a part in the everyday workings of the Pretoria CBD.)

5.14 Issitt ok. Your Mom does she send money back home to people there to support them?

Yes

5.15 Is it only you two who are here? (on that spot trading)

Yes

5.16 Tel me what do you do here in Pretoria do you help your Mom sell or do you study or...?

Im working at (retail shop)

5.17 O so youre just on lunch now?

Ja

5.18 So I must hurry up hey?

Ja (says this laughingly)

5.19 So how many other Tsonga people do you see every day?

Plus or minus thirty to fifty.

5.20 O so lots ?

Ja

5.21 So you are a big community of Tsonga people then?

Yes (It was evident from the observation period that Tina's Mother spoke the local Tsonga dialect, which is close to Shangaan in sound to most of her customers. It was very evident from observing the police officers around there that most of the talk the researcher heard was of Tsonga origin. This means that there is a definite strong Tsonga presence among the police officers many of whom also stay in Atteridgeville. The fact that Tina stays in Atteridgeville and from casual conversation, while observing it became evident that Atteridgeville seems to have a large Tsonga component)

5.22 And you are staying there in Atteridgeville ne?

Yes

5.23 How long have you lived there in Atteridgeville?

From 2003

5.24 Yo yo... a long time?

Yes (Tina is still fairly young thus it means she must have grown up in Atteridgeville and went to school there if she has been there for 15 years.)

5.25 So you guys are staying in Pretoria permanently you're not going back? (When referring to Atteridgeville many residents speak of Pretoria interchangeably. Thus when I asked do you stay in Pretoria she views Atteridgeville as the same place. Many of the Atteridgeville residents view it and Pretoria as interchangeable due to the fact that Atteridgeville is one of the oldest satellite settlements of Pretoria. Also the researcher believes due to the fact that the city and Atteridgeville have grown together and become one as can be seen if driven down Church street in its East West axis)

No we go home over holidays.

5.26 O ok alright. And one day maybe in the future do you want to go and Live in Tzaneen again or not? (permanently)

No

5.27 So you rather stay here in Pretoria

No we want to go back home

5.28 Ok so its more for money and so?

Ja (This is an example of a trans-local trading network. Tina's Mom has been here since the early 2000's but they still keep vigorous contact with their co-ethnics back home. They go home at certain times of year, which then becomes a ritual of sorts where gifts and so forth are taken. Tina's Mom is also thus responsible to take in certain children and kindred who wish to come to the city for various reasons. The village back home will keep in contact with her and decide whom to sponsor to come the big city and work here. These people in turn will then also be responsible to send remittance back home. This is a clear-cut example of a remittance society of co-ethnics which is cyclical)

5.29 Are the people there poor? (Tzaneen)

Ja (Said with emotion and a lot of conviction. There is perhaps a little shame in her voice too)

5.30 So tell me this Tsonga culture ne, do you know many people they have like rituals and dancing and certain things from you culture ne, do you ever do those things maybe in Atteridgeville or here in the CBD?

Yes yes. (this is also said with conviction)

5.31 You do do them? What kind of things do you do?

We go and dance maqua and shibella.

5.32 O those are the things that I'm looking for. Do you know anyone in the CBD they are doing those things or only in the areas... (such as Atteridgeville)

Only there...(Atteridgeville) Yes

5.33 Would people be afraid to do them here?

Only at the locations

5.34 So they don't do them in the CBD?

Ah e..(No)

5.35 I see that a lot of people in the CBD they are a bit afraid of different stuff like maybe the metro and maybe other cultures and stuff like that ne? So you can do those things maybe you are afraid that...

We are not afraid (This is said very proudly and with conviction. This is another marked difference between local traders and foreign nationals. The local people believe they have a right to ethnic expression without fear but do not do it in the CBD for whatever reason. None of the case studies or causal interviewers stated that they did any kind of cultural expression or ritual in the Pretoria CBD. It is a common theme that they do these cultural expressions and rituals in the outlying areas such as Atteridgeville and Mamelodi and in Mathews case in Tembisa where there is a large contingent of Mozambicans)

5.36 But there in Atteridgeville you can do it without fear ne?

Yes

5.37 Do you guys use the free Wi-Fi in Pretoria's CBD?

Yes the Tshwane Wi-Fi

5.38 Ja. How much GB or whatever do you get a day?

Eeh 500 (MB)

5.39 O so it's a lot hey?

Ja

5.40 Do most of the people use it?

Ehh ja in the evening maybe

5.41 Oh so its nice hey? Ok so you're home area is Tzaneen and you are form the Tsonga people. What do you trade with here? Its food ne.

Ja Mealies and fruits, and nik naks and stuff.

5.42 Do you allways sell here? How long have you been here on this corner?

She speaks to her Mom in Tosnga and her Mom replies since 1997

5.43 Sjesh so it's a long time?

Yes

5.44 Do you know other Tsonga people that are selling in the CBD?

Ja many of them (At this stage it should be noted that Her mom has been here since 1997 which is more than 20 years. This is an unprecedented amount of time for a street trader to occupy a trading spot. This was shortly after the end of apartheid and her mom thus must be a person of some prominence in the Tsonga community.

5.45 So you are like a family? (This statement clarifies the fact that there is a large trading network of Tsonga speaking people in the CBD. The researcher found that a large proportion of local people who where informally interviewed also spoke the dialect. Thus there is a large network of Tsonga speakers in Atterdigeville whom travel into the CBD every day for business.)

Aheee..(dialect for agreement)

5.46 So the people that buy from youa re the mostly local Tsonga people or are they anybody?

Anybody.

5.47 So theres not like...?

Anybody (She makes this statement emphatically)

5.48 This selling place (referring to their stall) does it sometimes become like a many people having a conversation. Almost like a conversation area? Does it become like that where people stop here and then more stop and more stop and

Yes

5.49 So it sometimes happens?

Yes

5.50 Do you guys go to church?

Yes

5.51 Are you Christians or...

We are Christians

5.52 Which church...

We are (indistinct)

5.53 You are ZCC or Pentecostal or..

We are Presbyterian

5.54 Presbyterian ok.

Yes

5.55 So you go in Atteridgeville not here in the CBD?

Haai no we go there at UNISA for the church.

5.56 Ok. And do you ever do like any of your faith stuff like praying or sermons and stuff, do you do it outside the buildings like in the...

No inside

5.57 Always inside the building?

Yes. We also visit the hospitals and the prisons and places.

5.58 O really hey?

Yes

5.59 When you guys first came to Pretoria, but you're mom has been here longer than you ne

Ahh hhhh..(yes)

5.60 Did your Tsonga people help you to come here. Did other Tsonga people help her (mom) to come here to Pretoria?

Yes (emphatic yes, said with some pride regarding her ethnic-network) her sister was here already.

5.61 Like a network ne?

Yees..(strong agreement)

5.62 Do you guys ever use cell phones and stuff like that in your church? Do you sometimes maybe have a service or from home and you and you broadcast it here?

Every Tuesday yes (this however does not happen in public space but in their UNISA venue. This venue it was later discovered happens on campus in a space allocated for this purpose. It is a definite technological link between their home area religion and their current ethnic network, which is cyclical trans-local traders.)

5.63 Ok that's interesting. Is it difficult to be a lady trader in the CBD? Are there some challenges regarding that?

Ja, ja

5.64 Safety and..

Especially the metro they come and took all the stuff and the metro police ja (this is also said with a sadness behind her voice as she is evidently close to her mother. Interestingly the metro police which enforce these bylaws are impartial to the ethnicity of the traders, even though her mother knows many of the normal policemen that come around.

Ja, she has to go there and pay to get that stuff back.

5.65 Pay the licence hey?

Ja

5.66 It's the trading licences hey?

Ja

5.67 I see your mom is a local person she has an id ne..

Ja

5.68 I see a lot of these foreign guys they can't buy a trading licence because they don't have an id?

Mhhhh...(agreement)

5.69 It's a problem they are running around with the trolleys

Ja

5.70 And running away from the Metro police they got the oranges in the trolleys that I see. So your mom being a lady, maybe it's a bit more difficult than for a man to sell? Or not really

Ja it can sometimes (indicates that it can be violent, more so for females than males)

5.71 You know status some guys they like to have this, they have expensive cars and they have parties in the street with the cars and stuff..?

Uh hu... (She indicates acknowledgement of this fact by smiling and facial expressions which indicates she knows exactly what I am talking about)

5.72 There are rich people, poor people do you think that in the Pretoria CBD they sometimes try to show their status a lot?

(Indicates with a positive gesture) Especially during the weekends then they are here. (By this, she means the resident population of the CBD that live there. Many of them work elsewhere in the day and in the weekdays but on weekends the resident population which resides there are present. It is they who like to show of and express status over weekends. This is stated almost like an accusation)

5.73 Do you think guys that are rich, medium and poor, do they mix in the CBD?

(She shakes her head vigorously indicating that they don't mix)

5.74 So they don't mix, you can say there are different layers of people (She nods her head)

Yes

5.75 So the rich guy's they drive around in cars they only stay in flats, how does this make you feel? Where would you say you guy's are?

Middle (definitive answer)

5.76 So you don't really mix with the rich guy's also not with the poor guys?

No, were in the middle (Fairly typical response of the case studies as well as the casual interviews. The Pretoria CBD does tend to display a high level of stratification according to income as well as ethnicity and nationality)

5.77 So there's definitely different types ne?

Ja

5.78 Now these people that are rich, do they sometimes try to show that?

Ja they must show them like their clothes and stuff like that (After initially realising what the question represents the respondent tends to get quite vocal and it does appear to be a sore point among the stratified lower and middle income groups. This however does not mean that the exhibitors of status are necessarily really wealthy, it only proves that status projection is prevalent in the CBD and that it is a cognitive tool to facilitate acceptance in the spaces and populace of the CBD. It also appears that the status projecting happens within certain groups of co-ethnics such as Nigerians and local people. The group interview of the Rwandans casts more light on this phenomenon.)

5.79 Ja so there's definitely something like that

Ja

5.80 So you're part of the Tsonga community in the CBD, now these other Tsonga people and you do they sometimes eat together outside the buildings?

Yes

5.81 You do that?

Yes

5.82 How many people will do that? More than 5?

Hmm maybe six...(This is a definite response)

5.83 So you like to do that?

Yes

5.84 So that is a cultural thing that you do then?

Yes

5.85 Do a lot of people do that in the CBD?

Ja

5.86 Ok because if you can ask these foreign guy's they don't seem to do that but maybe they are too few?

Ahhhm (Positive response)

5.87 If they had more of their own people there, they would maybe do that ne?

Ja

5.88 Because that is something I see African people like to do to eat outside and to speak, not a party but like they like to talk its like a big family almost?

Ja

5.89 Do you speak to a lot of people every day in the CBD?

Yes

5.90 Do you speak mostly to other Tsonga people or anyone?

Anyone, anyone...(This is said in a way that conveys a surety that it is so. Tina wants to make sure that she is not viewed as xenophobic or tribalistic in her dealings with other people. She makes the point twice in stating that she speaks to everyone and does not exclude anyone. This is also a point to note on ethnicity and tribalism in South Africa where many of the local people share the view of Ubuntu where it is expected of African people to accommodate other tribes and races without exclusion. It has a holistic connotation of inclusiveness. This can readily be seen on the Streets of the CBD where a higher income/status person will chat for a while to the person cleaning his shoes with a genuine engagement and interest. Thus it is at least important culturally to be seen to show the characteristics of Ubuntu among a mixed ethnicity population such as the Pretoria CBD even though the Xenophobic attacks of 2011 seem to contradict many of these findings. However it must be remembered that these attacks where not within the Pretoria CBD but in outlying areas such as Alexandra and Mamelodi. Thus a case can be made for the cosmopolitan nature of the Pretoria CBD that perhaps more readily accommodates mixed ethnicity even though there are definite under currents of animosity and exclusion)

5.91 So people don't avoid each other because of different races...

Yes

5.92 Do you ever partake in ethnic rituals these Tsonga rituals in the CBD? I don't think you do you said you only do this in Atteridgeville.

No

5.93 Do you play sport go to gym anything like that?

Me 'Im going to Gym, Planet Fitness

5.94 Is it, you are going?

Yes

5.95 Planet Fitness in the CBD?

Yes

5.96 How many times a week do you go (respondent laughs because obviously this is a tender point. Then the researcher starts laughing as well)

Three

5.97 So you don't play any other sport ne?

No

5.98 Ok. And do you think doing this stuff going to the gym stuff like that, does it help you to be more part of the people in the CBD you know more friends

Yeah

5.99 Is it ?

Ja

5.100 Is it like a social ?

Of friends (she completes the sentence)

5.101 Almost like a thing to ...friends..

Ja (thus recreation and fitness is viewed as a social activity by many of the people in the CBD especially the local people. For unknown reasons but perhaps also fear, the foreign nationals tend to avoid sport and only tend to focus on gym or football where there are large contingents of their own co-ethnics.)

5.102 You know mister Solly Msimanga he is the mayor of the CBD?

Yes (Interestingly, the local people when interviewed all displayed a much better understanding of local politics and rights of citizens. They all knew who the mayor is and most of them only feared the metro cops and only if they were trading without a hawkers licence)

5.103 This is your mother then, so you are a second-generation person here in the CBD?

Yes

5.104 Do you have any children?

I have one

5.105 Here in, does your child stay here with you?

No he (she) is staying in Tzaneen

5.106 Ok with your...grandparents?

With my sister

5.107 With your sister ok. And tell me in your heart ne, your real home is it Tzaneen?

Yes

5.108 So one day you will stay there, if you are old you want to go back there?

Yes (Also a very positive response. Many of the local respondents seem to share this view that they are only here in the CBD to generate remittance due to the lack of economic opportunities back home. However, some of this is contradictory due to the fact that they have established lives here and often have two sets of partners, one back home and one here with children on either end. The researcher believes that this phenomenon is partly due to South Africa's history of migrant labour, which split up the traditional family unit. This rootlessness and lack of attachment to place and

family has become endemic in the South African black population and the contemporary version of migrant labour contributes considerably to family instability and children growing up without their biological parents)

5.109 And tell me your child why do you not bring your child here with you, do you want her to retain that identity of the Tsonga people ? if you bring your child here do you think he/she will lose that culture?

No its because things here are very expensive, the crèche and everything so at home..(implies that it is much simpler to keep the child back home in Tzaneen due to costs)

5.110 Oh ok

Ja I don't afford the things around here.

5.111 Is it? So its economical the reason? Its not cultural?

Ja

5.112 You don't feel, I can see that you are, you don't feel that people reject you or anything in the CBD ne?

No (clear definite no said with some pride. Part of the answer also sounds as if the respondent views herself as part of the CBD population and not apart or an intruder. Therefore it follows that she is not rejected as she is part of the population that makes up the populace)

5.113 You are quite...you feel wanted ne?

Ja (this is no-doubt due to her co-ethnic network that is very strong in the CBD as well as in Atteridgeville where she stays.

5.114 Do you often wish to go home. Do you miss your home

Yes (Said with loud surprise and a little indignantly)

5.115 Ok

I go home once a month at least

5.116 If you don't go you will become heart sore?

Eish...ja (said with some emotion)

5.117 Ok. So you miss speaking to your people back home? Your mother stays here but your other family do you miss them?

Ja, I have to call them every day

5.118 Every day?

Ahhm (positive response)

5.119 Do you like traveling around? Do you like going on trips?

Yes (Very positive response and her face lights up when I ask this. This is responded to with a certain relish, as she seems to think of previous trips)

5.120 Like maybe, where do you go?

Last month I was at Durban

5.121 Durban yes...

In October we are going to Cape Town

5.122 Ok

Me and my friends

5.123 Ok and so with whom do you travel?

With my friends my colleagues ...

5.124 Ok and how many of you travel together?

4 to 5

5.125 And what is the purpose of these trips, just to see...?

Haa Just to see

5.126 And tell me when you go on these trips does it make you feel, it's almost like a holiday,

Ja, ja

5.127 Maybe getting a bit of relief from the city something like that?

Ja ja

5.128 Ja like a holiday..having a good time and so?

Yes

5.129 And does it make you feel better?

Yes (definite yes)

5.130 Ok so it does. Do you often imagine in your mind that you are in another place? Like in your imagination inside (indicate the head) do you sometimes think that Pretoria is another city or not really?

Nods here head

5.131 Do you?

Ja (She has the appearance of having awareness about it for the first time, evidently being something that she has done before)

5.132 If you can choose your favourite city in the world or country, where would that place be?

In the country? (Asking if I mean South Africa)

5.133 In the whole world. What country or city would you like the most to be in? Would you like to be in America or Europe...?

America! (She laughs loudly when saying this)

5.134 Is it which place, New York?

Ja eish new York is a busy place

5.135 So do you like busy places?

Ja, I would like to be in Paris

5.136 Paris haa so Paris then?

Yes

5.137 o you sometimes think that Pretoria CBD does it feel like Paris for you?

Ahh (frowns and pulls a face. Evidently not. Pretoria does not live up to the Paris of her imaginings. Thus it can indicate frustration with the real space scenarios in the Pretoria CBD)

5.138 Not?

Not

5.139 Ahh ok. Do you think there are too many rules and regulations in the CBD?

Haa, not really

5.140 Not really ? Does it affect your mother like the metro cops and stuff?

Ja it affects her

5.141 So here is a policeman but he is not doing anything? So he will buy also?

Ja

5.142 So it is just certain people they are chasing and giving trouble? But not the normal (police) because the police station is around the corner ne?

Ja (implication here is that the metro police which are housed elsewhere are the enforcers of the by-laws in the CBD and they are universally despised by the populace foreign and local)

5.143 Do you feel free to practise your own culture in the CBD. Say you wanted to practise any Tsonga culture you can do that no one will stop you?

Ja I can do that

5.144 How well do you think the Pretoria CBD works for you? Are there certain things that are difficult like I see like public toilets, water

Ja public toilets is a big problem yeahh..

5.145 Ok ja that's the biggest problem it seems, and then of course a roof ne, but now I see like people they are trading they cannot put the gazebo because the metro they say it is a problem for the robots people they can't see and stuff?

Ja

5.146 So you don't have easy access to these ablutions in the Pretoria CBD you must walk far you must pay...?

Ja

5.147 I see even for me you know its difficult

You have to pay

5.148 And drinking water also it's a problem ne?

Yes

5.149 Is there any place in the Pretoria CBD that you would feel unwelcome or that you will be blocked from going there?

No

5.150 Not?

No

5.151 You are free to go wherever you like?

Yes

5.152 Do you feel safe in the Pretoria CBD?

No

5.153 Not, and from what, from Tsotsi's (thieves) or the police or everyone?

No the tsotsis (Not the police)

5.154 Eish and me they almost mugged me I tell you....

(She shakes her head in sympathy)

5.155 Do you ever experience racism in the CBD?

What?

5.156 Racism , has anyone ever been racist to you?

(shakes her head)

5.157 Xenophobia? but you are local ne?

Ja no I don't suffer from that

5.158 Do you feel as a woman that certain places you are excluded from going?

No, never

5.159 Ok so you never feel that...?

(shakes her head in agreement)

5.160 So you're not allowed to trade freely the people they harass you? (Implied to her mother which was sitting nearby)

Ja

5.161 Do you feel you have political power? In the CBD or...?

(Shakes her head and indicates that this might be a point of contention). (Many of the locals and foreigners felt that they suffer from a lack of political power and influence. The Pretoria CBD is still

relatively free from harassment and political interference if compared to Johannesburg or certain other African cities such as Lagos or Niamey, which have a poor history of political power for their residents.)

5.162 Do you have a voice?

(She looks down and seems rather unsure. She however decides not to answer the question. She pulls the corner of her mouth and shakes her head slowly)

5.163 Do you vote?

Ja

5.164 Do you have enough spaces in the CBD to do everything that you want to do? You don't live here, your moms here?

Ahh no. (Means its fine according to her)

5.165 Is there anything else that you need in the CBD?

Ahh no (by this stage the respondent had become interview fatigued and the researcher could see that further questioning would be futile. He did however go through the list)

END

ANNEXURE I

Interview 5 Rwanda group interview

This interview turned into a group interview, which was a rich source of information from a foreign national group. Due to the fact that the group consisted of four additional people, the researcher calls the people answering except for Anna the following:

Group Member 1 (**GM1**) Well-dressed man which speaks the most and is apparently an academic with good English

Group Member 2 (**GM2**) Older Lady that seems to be dressed in traditional attire of sorts. She later also becomes outspoken and she has the appearance of a matriarchal person.

Group Member 3 (**GM3**) Lady that also stood one side and listened. Later on, she also participated.

Group Member 4 (**GM4**) Was a man of short stature that was very quiet at first and seemed to be gauging the conversation but later on he committed and gave some answers in length.

GM answers are in Blue

Anna has a small battery and a foldable sewing table to do her sewing work on. There is obviously no power outlet for her to use. Her entire workstation needs to be folded up and packed, to be taken home every evening after work.

INTERVIEW

6.1 Good day what is your name?

Anna

6.2 Anna

Eh, (yes)

6.3 And from what country are you. Local or from another African country?

I'm from Rwanda (At the beginning of the initial meeting Anna seemed very puzzled and intrigued by the researcher which was apparently outside her scope of reference. She was surrounded by fellow Rwandans who happened to be there over her lunch hour. Most of them became absorbed by the questions and started responding and eventually it was felt that they all felt very isolated and oppressed by the local population as well as the South African government)

6.4 Where do you live in the Pretoria CBD? Or do live outside the CBD?

Central.

6.5 Central? So you mean the central CBD?

Yes.

6.6 So are there many people from Rwanda that you know of?

I have many. (Means yes she does know)

6.7 Are you guys all from Rwanda? (Researcher realises that the group of people four in all, standing around the respondent are all from Rwanda)

6.8 OK I see , I was lucky. I was looking for different people from across Africa that are in the Pretoria central you see.

Yeahh (She laughs and acknowledges this. Anna is a very shy and quiet person with a sharp wit and she seems very intelligent. There is however, a lingering sadness just below her eyes, which becomes evident when certain topics are broached. Later in the interview, the reason for this becomes apparent)

6.9 Now I've found a Rwandan group of people. (Group of people laugh together) So there were you stay is it in a flat or what? Like a block of apartments?

Yeah it is a flat

6.10 Are there lot's of people from Rwanda that stay together there? Like a community?

No. (She thinks about this for a while and seems to be calculating numbers then replies)

(GM 1) No, we actually stay separately.

Really

Ah (yes)

6.11 So the guys from places like New York and so, the people from Nigeria and so forth they tend to go to the same buildings (group agrees in unison, they know the phenomenon of enclaving) Do you guys do that in the Pretoria CBD?

(GM1) No we don't. Like the Nigerians, they like living together.

6.12 Ok but not you guys from Rwanda?

No!. (This is a communal no, that they all express with emotion. At this stage of the interview GP1 a well dressed male that seems very educated and an academic of some sort speaks the most. He often interrupts Anna when I ask questions, which at a certain stage annoys her. Sometimes she tends to flip her hand at him and then she answers for herself. He is obviously the most outspoken of the group and his English is perfect. The rest of the group consist of two other ladies which are first analysing the discussion and one other male who is reasonably quiet until the end when he starts responding as well. This group discussion yields valuable data regarding the co-ethnic network of Rwandans in the Pretoria CBD)

6.13 Why is that?

(GM1) We are not that much and we are living individualized lives.

Ok ja ja.

(GM1) More like (Indistinct)

6.14 So you guys don't have such a strong sense of community maybe like the Nigerians?

No no, (Everyone gives a communal no. This is definitely not the case for Rwandans, and it appears as if they are all very proud of the fact)

6.15 Ok so that's interesting.

So do you send money home? Do you support people back in Rwanda?

No no

6.16 Do you have children here?

Hmm?

Do you have the children here?

Yes

6.17 Are they here in South Africa? They stay with you?

Ja ja (Thus Anna is alone here in South Africa with her two children. She does not support anyone in Rwanda via remittance. The general interview and the appearance that most of the Rwandans don't have contact back home and are gone for good)

6.18 How many guys from Rwanda do you speak to every day? Like all these guys standing here?

They, they are mostly my customers (It does seem strange that all her customers are Rwandans and they were having a communal chat over lunch time)

Many of my customer's they are from South Africa supporting me

O ok I understand

Ja

6.19 And how long have you stayed there in the flat in Pretoria where you are staying now? In your apartment. How many years?

Ten years

Wow so long hey it's a long time hey?

Yes it is

6.20 And do you plan to stay in South Africa or one day you want to go back to Rwanda?

No I don't

6.21 So you feel that South Africa is your home?

He ahh no! (She laughs at this statement as she obviously has some strong feelings on this issue)

O is it?

I wish I wish, in my heart I wish but it is not the case. (What this statement possibly means, is that Anna hoped that South Africa would become her real home but due to certain things this did not happen. The answer is meaningful at various levels the first being that she is a person that left her home for whatever reasons, and hoped that her new location would become home. This did not happen and the researcher believes from statements that follow from the group that the Rwandan people suffer from a form of collective trauma wherever they tend to go. They are the only group that felt true resentment against the local populace)

and government at the level that they describe. The researcher believes that this is partly projected anger and resentment towards authority due to what their nation went through in the genocide of 1972 and then later again between 1990 and 1994. Collectively and based upon this groups statements the Rwandan people are in a nomadic sort of diaspora and are still harbouring deep pain and psychological scars from that incident. The researcher also believes that the lack of communication that Anna has with her people back home is also rooted in this. She says that she hoped South Africa would become her home and she evidently feels South Africa and the local people have failed them)

6.22 O, so do you ever miss your people there back in Rwanda?

No no. (This is said with her head thrown back and waving her hand. She seems to make the statement with some bitterness. The answer seems to indicate that she is angry with the people back in Rwanda)

6.23 O so you prefer it here?

Ja ja

Ok (the researcher leaves it there as this is obviously a tender topic to broach, the group collectively seem downcast, and they look around and away from each other.

6.24 So you do not one day want to go back there to Rwanda you want to stay here?

Ja because there in Rwanda there is no family

No Family hey?

Ehh (no family)

6.25 O so youre all on your own?

I'm alone (She states this in a loud voice similar to someone making a declaration. She also makes a theatrical wave of her hand while saying it. There is also the sense that she wants to be heard and acknowledged that she is alone, a fact that is perhaps not ever been acknowledged until now)

O ok

(indistinct then...because of the fighting in Rwanda, you know of the fighting in Rwanda?)

6.26 Yes I know about the history of Rwanda its very bad ja...

Yes...its very bad (said with sadness and a type of finality. This is no doubt the reason why Anna ended up in South Africa)

6.27 And now is it better now? (in Rwanda)

No! He's still bad. (Surprisingly Rwanda is still at simmering point after the genocide which is almost 25 years ago. The group all seem to agree in unison and they reflect a type of group acknowledgement of the fact that it is still bad there and one should not go back there. This also possibly lies behind the motive of fragmented networks of co-ethnics where they believe that Rwandans all live by themselves. This is the only ethnic group that seemed to portray this sentiment. The other ethnic groups such as Mozambicans, Nigerians and Zimbabweans, all tended to harbour a desire to live out their ethno-cultural habits in the public spaces, but

due to the circumstances in the Pretoria CBD these activities are done in safer areas such as Tembisa and Mamelodi, where there is a larger contingent of co-ethnics and possibly true ethnic enclaves, certainly more so than in the Pretoria CBD which at best tends to display the formation of what can be called ethnic clustering)

6.28 The Hutus and the Tutsis?

(GM1) Yes it's a complex of politics.

Still?

(GM1) Ja.

6.29 That happened in 1997 no?

1994 (Group answer. The researcher's dates were a bit rusty)

6.30 So long ago hey, it feels like it was yesterday, I remember

Ja

There's so many people that died hey?

Yes..(They all agree and seem to have a communal moment of sadness)

6.31 So did you have people that were affected by that genocide?

Family of mine, my brother...(she says this with a blank unemotional expression while looking down)

6.32 Show it is sad hey?

Hmmm. (yes)

6.33 There where you come from in Rwanda, your culture, your ethnic culture and stuff, is there anything that you do in the Pretoria CBD and you guys also can answer (referring to the rest of the group) That's like...for instance the Venda people they have a certain culture with the rain dance you now those kind of ethnic rituals do you have anything like that that you do, ever do here? Or did you leave your culture behind?

Ah. (she seems to mull the question)

(GM1) Ah no we don't have a culture..(Once again the cynical response to their culture. GM1 definitely has trauma as well as anger towards his country and people)

(GM3) No we do have a culture...(She looks at him incredulously and annoyed that he would state such a thing)

(GM1) (Interrupts her)... but we are not united and we are always suffering...but the culture is still there...

6.34 Is it? So if you wanted to do that local culture (Rwandan) here in the CBD would it be difficult?

(GM1) It would be difficult due to economic constraints.

6.35 Ok. And you don't think anyone would stop you or maybe...would you feel a bit awkward if you want to do some ritual or song or dance or something from your own culture?

(GM1) Ah, no.

6.36 Its strange because in the Pretoria CBD most people they don't want to bring their culture here, if you ask them then they say no no...they don't want to do it. But now the Tsonga people the local people they say no, no they do that but only in Atteridgeville, they don't do it here?

(GM1) (You know in the town (CBD) there are many cultures (indicates that they intertwine and mix together)

6.37 Ah yes almost like a universal culture or a ...its one culture but its no ones culture its just kind of a getting along and keeping the peace almost...

(GM1) Ja ja, some cultures in the town (CBD) are (low key) they don't want to expose themselves as foreigners, that's why they don't stray too far...the idea of foreign ship can be alarming..(This is the strongest indication yet of the foreign nationals not being willing to engage in their co-ethnic spatial behaviour in the CBD due to fear. This is a clear indication that they have lost their third space power and are in a state of fear from the authorities as well as from the local population)

I understand ja I understand

(GM1) Ja

6.38 Do you think some people withhold their culture because of fear?

(GM1) Ja ...why are you speaking English if you are a South African black? (The conversation that follows is indistinct but it repeats the same statement that many foreigners mentioned about speaking English to each other in order to avoid being identified speaking Swahili or other central African languages, which is the lingua franca of the Africans north of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. They however say that speaking English to each other is a sure sign to the local people that the person is a foreigner)

6.39 Ja ja, I've heard that before ja

(GM1) Now a language becomes a barrier, its an issue

6.40 So the one guy from Tanzania his name is Washami, he said to me that most of the guys from let's call it middle Africa you know those countries they are speaking Swahili..

(GM1) Ja ja its East Africa

6.41 So Kenya...?

(GM1) (GM3) Tanzania Uganda...Rwanda (he completes the sentence they all chime in)

6.42 Ok so you also speak Swahili?

Yes

6.43 Ok so it's like almost the English of that place ne? (The researcher should have said French, which is the common language in many of these East African areas together with English and Swahili)

No no we don't have English we are French

Ok ja, ja I understand. (They temporarily lost the thread when the researcher compared English to the lingua Franca of middle Africa that is Swahili. However Rwanda has a strong French component)

6.44 Do you guys use the free Wi-Fi here in Pretoria ...

(GM1) We don't have.

6.45 You don't have?

(GM1) There's nothing like that it's just a dilemma it's something.

6.46 It's a problem?

(GM1) Formally.

Is it?

6.47 So how do the people...someone said there is free internet the Wi-Fi they have the towers here, but how do you access that stuff what do you need to get that free Wi-Fi?

(GM1) that free Wi-Fi is there corner of Visagie and VD Walt, it only operates just a few hours

Ok

(GM1) And church square and Burgers park there's no free Wi-Fi here

Ok

(GM1) The government pretends(That there is free Wi-Fi but apparently there is not)

6.48 Ah I see that's why I am asking because nobody seems to know about it if you ask them. What are you trading you are working with sewing ne?

Hmmm (yes)

6.49 Is it all you do you don't sell other stuff?

No, I only sew

6.50 Do you always sit on this place, is it your place or do you move around?

Indistinct...(mentions that she does do her business here and in the evening she pack sup her stuff)

6.51 And you stay, where is the place you stay?

Madiba street

Madiba street?

Ehh and Bosman (Corner of)

6.52 Ok do you know other guy's that are selling on the street from Rwanda?

Ja

6.53 How many do you think there are?

Is hee, (counts on her fingers, and then seems surprised) I know one.

6.54 So it's not so many?

Ehhh (Yes). Many they have shops

6.55 Oh so do many guys from Rwanda have shops?

Ehh. (yes)

6.56 More up that way ne? (Researcher indicates up to the Southern boundary near Skinner street. There is a large contingent of Muslim shop owners there from Central Africa. This area is mostly dominated by Nigerians, Tanzanians and Somali shop owners. Many of these people are of the Muslim faith.)

6.57 And the people that are using your business are they also mostly people from Rwanda or anyone?

No it's not the people from Rwanda, its anyone that comes and talk to me (but evidently also Rwandans)

6.58 O they do that? Like South Africa...Ok so your clients are coming from everywhere, anyone can come

Ja any.

So they don't really care ne? (The customers that Anna is from Rwanda)

Huh uh. (No, they do not)

6.59 I can see that this business of yours ne, There are now one two three guys from Rwanda (GM4 joined later on) you are having a conversation in the street here do you often do that?

(GM1) Ja! (laughs out loud) That's a demographic indicator! (Says this while he is still laughing. GM1 is definitely an academic of sorts and he laughs because he realises what the questions I am asking are about)

6.60 Do you like to do that?

(GM1) Ja we do (he laughs heartily now that he realises that they actually do do that. GM 2 and GM 3 also laugh self-consciously to one side with their hands before their mouths. They all seem to have realised this as a pattern of theirs)

6.61 Because I was wondering about why. (The researcher also cannot help getting caught up in the laughter and momentarily loses his focus...)

6.62 Do you come here every day?

Indistinct discussion follows with everyone contributing simultaneously. Sometimes we pass by...they all seem to agree that they often do but not every day.

Anna indicates that she is here every day.

6.63 And you guys all work here in the CBD?

Eh?

Do you all work here in Pretoria in the central?

(GM1) Ja.

All of you?

They all nod their heads.

Ok.

6.64 Do you go to church, do you belong to a religion?

Yes.

6.65 Are you Christian or Islamic?

Christian

6.66 And what church do you go to?

There by F.A.N in Sunnyside

6.67 O you go in Sunnyside?

Eh. (Yes)

6.68 Is it a Pentecostal church? Its not ZCC or Catholic church?

No.

6.69 And how many people from Rwanda go to that church?

What do you mean?

From your?

She laughs loudly.

6.70 I want to see how many people stick together when you get here. (She realises this and she laughs to one side)

(GM1) Ah, actually when they get here they don't go to church honestly speaking (seems to infer that the Rwandans don't go to church mostly when first reaching South Africa)

6.71 Because some people when they come here they say they are angry with the church?

(GM1) Me I don't go to church.

(GM4) Many people from Rwanda they are Catholic.

6.72 O ok I see there is a large Catholic church up here (researcher points toward the large Catholic Church in Skinner Street)

Eh. (Group seems to confirm this)

6.73 And you are you catholic? Asked to GM3)

(GM3) Me no I'm not but many, many people they are

Ok I understand.

(GM1) She is born again.

6.74 Ja ja, like an evangelical what do you call it. You also you are born again?

Ja. (Anna)

6.75 When you first came to South Africa, what year, how long ago was that?

2005.

6.76 So you say 2005, Sjoe it's a long time hey?

Long time I come when I am still young. Now I have two kids. (She says this with an air of pride and she lifts up her chin. This gesture seems to indicate pride in her self-reliance and resilience)

Is it you are old now hey? (Researcher laughs and Anna laughs)

Ja, I am old.

You don't look old. (She laughs and seems to become more light-hearted as the researcher builds rapport with the group)

Me I'm going grey (researcher laughs at himself)

6.77 When you first came here, did you come here totally on your own? Just one on your own did you travel here or did you know like a network of people that helped you?

Ja ja, I was having someone helping me, supporting me (Typically a co-ethnic network that helped her on the journey)

6.78 And when you come to Pretoria did you go to the church first?

No I come finding my brother. (Her brother was the first link in the ethnic network and he helped her to get established)

6.79 O he was already here.

Eh. (Yes)

6.80 Ok so you come through your family ne?

Ehh it is my family

6.81 They helped you to start and find a place and stuff?

Ja.

Ok.

6.82 You guys this church of yours ne, is it linked to a church in Rwanda or not?

It's not

6.83 Is it like you know the ZCC guys they are there in Morea, then sometimes they use the church services they show it on the media, on a screen then the guys listen to it, some of the Nigerian churches they also do that

(GM1) Yes those people (Nigerians) they do it, those people they are so much tribalised, more than us ja.

6.84 So you wouldn't say guy's from Rwanda do that?

Ah e, no we don't do that.

(GM1) we are receptive we are very inclusive (indistinct)

6.85 So people from Rwanda you can say hmm... they are adaptable ne?

(GM1) Ja ja, we are Westerners (This snippet of conversation illustrates the following. When the researcher asked them about the live and recorded streaming of religious-cultural services such as is commonly done by the Nigerians as well as certain of the local people such as the Tsonga people (see interview 5) they all reacted offended as if the question would mean they are tribalised, and therefore not true Westerners. The Rwandan people as this group indicated as well as some street conversation in the scoping exercise all seem to view themselves as above tribalism and they all seem to be part of the global African diaspora as mentioned in chapter two. They thus adapt to the circumstances of the place they are and forego their culture and Rwandan identities in order to assimilate in the culture of the new locale. It thus becomes apparent that certain of the African migrants do forsake their ethnic cultures. They also all viewed this live streaming and religious connection to the home countries as a negative tribalistic component. Most people spoken to viewed the Nigerians as the most tribalistic and ethnically connected people in the CBD.

Me my church, the pastor is a South African (Anna is also illustrating that she does not conform to the Rwandan ethnic-religious networks due to the fact that her pastor is a white South African)

6.86 Is it a local guy?

A white guy.

A white guy?

Ja.

6.87 Ok. Do you sometimes find it difficult to be a lady trading here? Do you think there are other challenges for a lady like for instance some of these guys they are men they are selling but do you have like problems with Tsotsi's or do you sometimes fear or not really?

No (Anna takes a long time thinking about this and then answers. The answer does not seem wholly convincing)

6.88 Do you think to be a lady here in the CBD is not a problem?

(GM1) Yes they steal her stuff but there is nothing she can do

Ehh (she agrees)

6.89 So they steal your machine or what?

Eh one day they steal this inverter (Anna works with a small machine on a stand and she has a 12 v battery and a small inverter to convert the current to alternating current)

O I see ja so you use a battery ne?

Eh (yes)

Eish ja and then they run away?

Eh?

They run away with your

Yes they run away

6.90 So your people back in Rwanda they don't have any rules that say ladies and men they must be separate? Your culture?

(GM1) No no

6.91 Like Islam there's nothing like that?

(GM1) No we are generally balanced

Ja so I understand ja

6.92 Tell me this CBD ne, do you think the rich people the medium people and the poor people they stay separate?

Ja ja like the people from my country its too much eeehh ja

6.93 Ok se we call it like almost what would be the right word for people staying in different ...

(GM1) Stratification (GM knows all the research terms as seen above. He answers before the question is complete).

From my country, rich people cannot even talk to us. I was surprised here in South Africa when I come here even people with a car talk to us..(indistinct) (The researcher was surprised at the level of stratification of wealth and social status in Rwanda that this group allude to)

(GM1) When it comes to Rwanda, economic status is the Devil itself (This question regarding status projection and economic stratification really hit a nerve with the Rwandan group. Its hard to transcribe the whole response as they were all speaking together but the general consensus was that they all feel that the CBD is stratified according to income and various other factors perhaps even lineage, and that the Rwandans here in the CBD are just as bad as back home.)

Is it?

(GM1) Ja

6.94 And tell me do you think that people use status when they come to a place do they like to sue showing of status so they think that people will accept them?

(GM1) Ja they want to be worshipped. They are Satanists...(Evidently there are strong feelings regarding this stratification of the CBD and back home. This indicator really struck a nerve)

(The whole groups starts laughing and Anna jokingly reprimands him by throwing her hand at him. However, they all seem to know about it and take it seriously)

(Indistinct)...even my own country, people they see me they don't a greet me. Because I am poor.

(GM1) Jaa...(GM1 Agrees strongly)

Many, many people from a my country he pass here he doesn't greet me..

Ha yes I understand because you are poor?

Yes

6.95 So you think definitely that people they are rich they reject people that are poor even from you're own country?

(GM1) Jaaa ja (Shouts out strongly)

6.96 So in you're heart you feel like that?

Ja I feel I want to die...(This obviously is very bad for Anna when she feels rejected by her own countrymen)

6.97 And tell me when the people want to show that they are rich in the Pretoria CBD not just from Rwanda the people that want to show status wat do they do how do they..

(GM1) Ok ok, can I tell you?

Ja please do

They organise an event and invite only rich people who are owning these big business. They might pass by here by her stand, they might even invite all of us, but once you get there they will be calling on the list. You understand ja?

Ja

(GM1) Ok so you over there, rich people will be sitting by the front and even getting these expensive beers. (it seems that the Rwandans have a highly economically and socially stratified community in The Pretoria CBD.)

6.98 So they make it to exclude people hey?

Ja ja...(whole group erupts again interrupting each other and shouting)

Those people from my country jo...(Anna has picked up some of the local dialect using the jo jo...which is a mixture of various local dialects and is meant to impart strong emphasis to a sentence or idea)

(GM1) So exclusive so exclusive (GM1 says this with a lot of disdain in his face, and perhaps some hurt beneath it)

6.99 Ohh so what kind of people is it in the CBD is it everyone...

(GM1) No its not everyone. The Rwandan community is number one (for practising social exclusion)

My people is number one. Hees number one! (Anna says this with emphasis that her people are definitely the most socially excluding group in the Pretoria CBD)

Even in Rwanda, if you are poor he doesn't greet you. (this phenomenon is obviously an aspect of Rwandan culture that has flowed over into the receiving destination. The researcher also believes that some of these events are held outdoors)

6.100 Really?

Ja

6.101 Its not right hey?

Noo its not right! (Anna feels very strongly about this)

6.102 So the Rwandan people are the worst...? (Researcher starts laughing as most of the others also burst into laughter... GM1 1 has broached the topic and revealed a deep issue of pain and rejection for them, over which they laugh now due to their extreme reaction to it. Many of the questions revealed to them are a kind of ethnic mirror that once asked they identified themselves in. It also felt as if the group really liked to answer the questions and the researcher got the distinct impression that they all felt they could get a load of their chests so to speak. Obviously, there was a lot of frustration behind some of these indicators)

I thought it was the Nigerians... (The researcher jokes as the Nigerians are the most notorious for these types of ethnic behaviour in the CBD)

(GM1) I stayed with some of the Nigerians, and I enjoyed their community more than ours. You know whenever there is an event, (indistinct... they would invite him) they would not even ask me to contribute. They could see I was a student and I didn't have any money but at least they could say (indistinct) invite me include me ask me to serve the guests. You know take this because you belong here ...

6.103 So you guys all seem to agree hey?

(GM1) Ja

6.104 I didn't know that because if you talk to the local guys they will say the guys that are the most for this status (indicator) are the Nigerians. They wear those shoes (expensive multi coloured clothing) lots of gold (jewellery)

(GM1) No no we don't wear, our rich people who are billionaires, wholesalers, they just wear normal clothes.

Ok

(GM1) But when it comes to like eh expressing their hegemony, their wealth. You can ask them to come and help me take my child to hospital and he is not coming.

I understand

(GM1) They won't come! (GM1 has obviously had some bad experiences with his countrymen, and this whole phenomenon may be linked to the genocide that is still festering and causing social divisions all these years later. This topic could warrant a research topic on its own regarding the national psyche of the Rwandan people)

Ok

(GM1) But if I were rich...

They come very fast! (Anna completes his sentence)

(GM1) Even if a child is just coughing they will come forward, they are so demonized..(Here GM1 is probably referring to how the rich people act in the church services when they come

forward for prayer and so forth. GM1 now starts to wander from the topic. (Religious ties are perhaps stronger than they initially gave credit for in the previous questions)

Ja ja

(GM1) Obsessed with money...

6.105 Ja, I hear what you are saying. Ok, and tell me do you sometimes make as if you are rich so the people they must accept you?

(GM1) Ja not to be rich...to be received by society

(Other group members all chime in and the conversation is unintelligible. It is one of general agreement. Thus status projection is definitely practised by this group)

6.106 So you can maybe just wear expensive clothes so that people must accept you?

Ehhh.(yes)

So you guys do that?

(GM1) No

6.107 Because you guys don't look poor (other group members laugh and look self-conscious. This is an indicator that they all seem to know and partake in)

(GM1) You need to have a car, a shop (thus status projection for the Rwandan co-ethnics consists of owning a car and being a commercial shop owner. Interestingly the status component is not in the commercial aspect as Anna is also a business person, but in the fact that the person is a shop owner, which by definition must be in a physical premise as opposed to on the street)

(GM1) You know they don't mind whether you have PhD or not? They hate schooling. Having a PhD means nothing, they invite people that have a shop or...(indistinct) (GM1 is an academic of sorts and evidently his academic credentials have not helped him to garner acceptance from the Rwandan social elite)

(GM1) That one his better than a medical doctor (referring to the shop owners and car owners as being ranked higher than academics or medical doctors)

6.108 Is this true? (The researcher laughs and asks the question to the other participants.)

Is true! (Anna shouts and vehemently defends what GM1 just said)

(GM1) We are squatters, ja we are squatters (According to him the Rwandan elite see them as squatters)

6.109 Ha no I believe you, I believe you (the researcher makes fun of GM1 which he takes good naturedly)

6.110 But it is interesting how these things tend to influence people's lives. Ja, it's difficult. So you say when these guys (rich) the things that they do ne, its cars, maybe not so much clothes, events you said

(GM1) Uh hu..(yes)

6.111 These events do they do it in the public space or only inside because you see this study is about public space

(GM1) Wherever they can do them, wherever (thus in public space as well as private space)

6.112 Ok so it could be inside or outside?

(GM1) Yes outside places, wherever

6.113 So they want people to see?

(GM1) Ja but one condition is wealth..

6.114 Ja I understand that makes sense then. Ok and recreation ne, do you eat together with other people outside the buildings ever? Do you ever eat communally you know together. Is that something in your culture to eat together, have a meal? Or do you only eat inside there where you stay?

Ja we are eating together. (Thelma at least does practise this but she doesn't say if it is in public space)

(GM1) Not all of us.

6.115 Do you guys ever eat outside?

(GM1) For instance me, I grew up in the western society, we believe in sharing.

6.116 Ja ja. But is it something from Rwanda that people would outside in public space eat together?

(GM1) Outside there, in Rwanda they are, not here. Corrupt these ones, they are corrupt already so they don't share. (So they do practise communal eating in Rwanda but not here. The common theme for foreign nationals is not to practise these ethnic traditions in the Public spaces of the Pretoria CBD)

6.117 I see yes. Do you guys talk to many people in the CBD every day?

(GM4) We are not talking to anyone because everyone is busy...It is not easy to talk to them. (GM4 seems to be a man of small stature and very shy. From his reaction, the researcher believes that he suffers from trans-national alienation. He does know at least these people whom he is friends with but this seems to elude him. The researcher thinks that he does not speak to people outside his co-ethnic network due to fear and alienation. He took along time to partake in the discussion as well)

What sport do you play? Do you go the gym or anything like that?

(GM1) Not really

6.118 Football don't you play football? Gym do you go to gym?

No

6.119 You don't do any recreational stuff?

No (Anna says this reluctantly and the researcher can see that there lies more behind this answer than meets the eye)

6.120 So cultural stuff you don't do ne?

Ja

6.121 So your re you a first generation...you are an immigrant from Rwanda ne, but you're parents they stay in Rwanda?

No

6.122 They stay in South Africa?

No, they passed away.

6.123 So you, you are a first generation person, your children they are second generation here in South Africa ne?

Ja ja

6.124 So you say you like South Africa you have two children ne?

Ja

6.125 Where do they...do they go to the school here?

Ja they go to the school ja

6.126 Where do they go?

Pretoria primary

Pretoria primary?

Yes

Ok

Just the one, the second is going to college

6.127 Oh so he's already ...(older)

(GM1) No his a private college from grade one..(So for some reason Anna's two children are in different schools. Even though they are still both at primary school level)

6.128 Do you think your children here in Pretoria, do they feel that the other children accept them? Like they are part of the culture here? Or do they feel more like they are from Rwanda?

Ja they play with them, the others (it seems that Anna's children are accepted in the general population of the Pretoria CBD, this would tie in with the assimilation level of second generation migrants, or the children of migrants)

6.129 So you wouldn't say then? (that they are not accepted)

No

6.130 Do you ever phone anyone back in Rwanda with a telephone, with a cel-phone?

Ja

6.131 Who do you phone, your family?

Ja I phone my sister

Is it?

Ja

6.132 Like once a month or once a week?

Once a month

6.133 Once a month ok. Do you like to travel around to go on trips?

Ja, (says this very engagingly and almost in a longing way, as if she is perhaps planning the next trip)

6.134 Where do you go? Do you only do it if you have money?

Sometimes I go to Mpumalanga Joburg what what, but not always.

6.135 And what do you do you just go and see what it looks like there?

Ehh (yes)

6.136 When you go on these trips does it make you feel better inside?

Ehh (yes) makes me feel better (she holds her hand to her heart and strokes her chest indicating that these trips sooth her emotionally)

6.137 Do you often think that you are in another place in your mind? Do you feel in your imagination? Do you want Pretoria to be some other city?

Jaa I want it to be another city!

6.138 What city must it be?

Not a South African (city) I want it to be America (city)

6.139 America then? Why do you like America?

(She laughs and seems self-conscious)

I want it to be America or Australia. Australia more likely.

6.140 Really why Australia?

Because I have a friend, he's calling me to go that side (indistinct)

6.141 So If you could choose any country in the world you want to go to Australia?

Yes

6.142 This CBD here do you think there is too many rules and regulations, too many laws and do the metro police worry you?

Ehh (yes) metro police they worry me

(GM1) They harass her

6.143 Do they want the trading licence?

Ehh (yes) but when I go to ask it they they ask the ID, I don't have it (indistinct)

I see that many of the foreign traders it's a problem that.

Ehh yes

You can't get the trading licence if you don't have the ID ne?

Ja

6.144 What do you think are the biggest problems for you here in the Pretoria CBD? What is the stuff that is making your life the most hard?

His the Id. I need to pay the rent and no ID

(GM2) He has no ID.

Yes

(GM2) Other problem its this metro

6.145 Even the local guys say that is a problem for them

Yes, ja (group strongly agrees as well, and general complaints are lodged among the group. They feel very strong about this point)

(GM3) And many many of us here in South Africa we do not have a documents (ID)

Yes

(GM3) Other country you can sit three to five years you get a document (ID) but here in the next 20 years you can't get a document

6.146 I understand ja but why, why is it such a problem?

(the following part of the conversation is difficult to follow and analyse, as they all speak together and they feel very passionate about this topic. They all seem to be venting their frustrations with the system)

(GM1) We are not wanted and for us this is really apartheid

(GM3) Bribes they want bribes...

(GM1) this is really apartheid these...(government)

(GM4) Let me tell you another thing Even the hospitals (discriminate against them)

Really ?

(GM1) Ja

(GM4) Now everyone is speaking together but GM4 says above the others that at the hospitals they basically ask them to go to their own country for medical attention. Why don't you get yourself checked in your own country...and so forth

Really ?

(GM4) We are here, how can we go to another country to look for a doctor when we are here?

Ja ok I didn't know that hey?

(GM1) Ja it is a problem

6.147 And tell me do you have access to the toilets here because it seems to be a problem for everyone but do you have access to toilets nearby? Public toilets?

(GM1) No there's no public toilets

Ah ehh (no)

(they all speak together again lamenting the state of public toilets in the CBD and the lack thereof)

6.148 So no toilets for you?

(GM1) Ja ja (agreement) (The researcher is not sure but it does appear as if they might also be discriminated against when it comes to access to public ablutions. It is difficult to ascertain if it is discrimination from the local populace, fear from the Rwandans side or a combination of both)

6.149 Is there anywhere nearby that you can get drinking water?

There by ...points with her finger to (names a commercial area that is reasonably far from there)

6.150 So toilets or water that you want...(GM1 interrupts the researcher)

(GM1) Nothing nothing, theres no public services

6.151 Yes so that's a problem for you (communally)

Ja (communal agreement)

There is a public toilet but you pay a money

6.152 Ja I saw that

Ja

6.153 Tel me do you feel safe or do you feel afraid when you work here in the CBD?

Hmm... (she thinks of the words..then GM interrupts her)

(GM1) No we don't feel safe! Its not right to her human rights, anyone can come and beat her they will arrest her, after two hours they release the criminal. (The researcher heard of this phenomenon from other street traders that many of the criminals will attack foreign traders and then both of the parties will get arrested by the metro police. The local criminals will then be released earlier due to having an ID and the foreign nationals then still need to deal with the fact that they have no ID. Thus the CBD is a very unsafe place for Anna and her fellow Rwandans)

6.154 Even me three times the tsotsis they almost mugged me (local dialect for street criminals)

(GM1) Ja ja (said in sympathy)

Ehh here is a tsotsi too much (There are too many criminals)

6.155 So you would say mostly you are afraid?

Yes (group agreement)

6.156 Do you experience racism in the CBD?

(GM1) No racism

6.157 Xenophobia?

(GM1) the problem is not between black and white, it's between black and black.

6.158 So its Xenophobia?

Ehh Xenophobia (strong group agreement)

6.159 So you experience a lot of Xenophobia here?

(GM1) Exclusion Ja

6.160 Exclusion ne?

(GM1) Ja, this thing is being intensified and indoctrinated by government. Not the South African people but the government (indistinct)

6.161 Ja. Our South African government?

Hmm(yes)

6.162 Do you think because you are a lady, a woman, do you feel excluded from certain places because you are a woman?

Jaa. Because I have a two kids they are a girl, always I am afraid I can't leave the kids in the house I have to pay fare (What she means by this is that she needs to pay for day-care for her kids because it is too dangerous to leave them in her apartment by their own. I don't want to find that my kids are dying here..)

6.163 Jo jo no you don't want that. Sjo thats bad ne?

Ehh ja

(GM4) another example of what's she's saying is to go to Soshanguve, Mamelodi..

(GM1) That's the second hell...

(GM4) because all of us we do have the money to pay those fares (transport) You know in the social community the poor the middle and the rich...

Ja ja

(GM4) Some they are supposed to go to Soshanguve, Mamelodi to stay there they supposed to take the taxis to come here (CBD) it's not too expensive to pay for it, the problem if you get there it's that exposing you're life. (What GM4 means is that the foreign nationals feel exposed using the taxis and public transport due to the language barrier. Most of them can only speak rudimentary local dialects, and thus need to converse in English which immediately exposed them as a foreign national. Thus it seems that Xenophobia is a large problem for foreign nationals)

6.164 Ja ja, its dangerous

(GM4) Its very dangerous. I remember once we were in the (bus) just talking, talking our language, someone he told me stop talking this language, meaning you are not allowed to talk in your language, that is not correct (GM4 seems despondent and downcast when saying this. These type of xenophobic events have undoubtedly scarred them emotionally and generated a lot of fear)

Hmmm (Anna agrees)

6.165 Ja ja. The its a big problem, most of the guys they are saying that (foreign nationals of different nations) So what language do the foreign nationals mostly use, is English ne?

(GM1) Ja we are using English, but English also has become a problem.

6.166 Is it? Is it because if you speak English they say why are you speaking English?

(GM4) Yes, they are saying why can you speak English...

Ja ja I understand because lots of guys are saying in the Taxi if you answer the phone if the guy speaks English then everyone is haa, whats this, because now they know it's a foreigner?

Ehh talk to him in their language ...(the foreign nationals think the local people want them to speak to them in the local dialects)

6.167 So you are not allowed to trade freely, the metro they are giving you hassles ne?

Ja

6.168 Here in the CBD all the public spaces ne, do you feel that everything that you need that you want, to do your life, does the CBD of Pretoria have everything or does it lack some stuff that you want? Maybe to do you complete life maybe like parks or open spaces or anything like that? What is it that you need the most or is it ok?

(GM1) We need eh... we need like access. Like access like documentation. You cannot enter like those open spaces, which are exclusively (indistinct) for the South Africans. The first thing I would need is the access, which is documentation (related) (What GM1 is stating is that they as foreign nationals do not have access even to these public open spaces which are apparently only accessible to the local South African population such as Thelma and the Tsonga co-ethnics as example. The researcher thinks that this lack of documentation leads to fear of accessing public spaces among others because if there is a dispute or trouble of any sort then the foreign nationals do not have ID documentation and will therefore have no legal or political footing to stand on if the police or authorities get involved. This is the strongest indication yet that foreign nationals are excluded from public space use in the Pretoria CBD)

6.169 So that is the real problem?

(GM1) Yes it's the real problem.

6.170 So if you guys wanted to, say all the Rwandans came together ne, like friends or a big community hey and you wanted to do a soccer game what, where, would you be able to go to an open piece of ground..?

(GM1) No no we cant do that, because we are being excluded here, constrained by conditions

6.171 You would be afraid to do that?

Hmmm (Group agrees and nods their heads)

(GM1) No no, we are blocked access.

6.172 And if you do that then the other guys would come and say hey who are these guys what what, and then and maybe some trouble will come?

(GM1) And, remember we need to register with South African culture and sport whatever, so they need documents. (Thus foreign nationals are excluded to a large degree from accessing formal and informal public spaces for recreation, due to the fact that they do not have registration papers in South Africa)

END

ANNEXURE J

Interview 6: Staff from Property Administrator

The researcher interviewed two staff that work with inner city housing for a large property administrator in the Pretoria CBD.

This interview was conducted mainly in Afrikaans, of which the original transcription is in Annexure (N)

Text in black is the researcher speaking and:

The indented italic text in blue is the answer from either of the two respondents, which are GM1 and GM2 (Group Member 1 and Group Member 2)

Beginning of Interview:

This interview works as follows, I will ask you questions, and then transcribe them afterwards. (They laugh as we speak). So I am looking at the physical phenomenon of change of people that live and work in the CBD. You are of the experts that work with the phenomenon every day. There seems to be a stratification and we are not sure who lives in the buildings. Many of the people such as some Zimbabweans live on the streets and they are moving around. Like the guy down there (researcher points to man who is a street hustler in the street below) All those bags are packed around that tree, that means they are moving around and there is no stability. Like that open piece of ground (corner of Nelson Mandela and) next to the river?

(GM1) Yes

They sleep there. There's always rivalry and ethnic tension between the Zimbabweans and the other groups. They basically, on a weekly basis create alliances among themselves but the ethnic tensions always remain. If there's a fight or dispute then the Zimbabweans will stick together for instance

(GM1) Yes

You understand those types of things all have an influence on how public space is used down to the smallest level. We do not think about that because we think of buildings. And not spaces surrounding them.

(GM2) Yes

Ok so let's go through the questions then.

(GM1) That sounds interesting

Researcher gives them the question schedule as approved by ethics committee with questions, which would be relevant to them.

You can look at this if you like, or I can send it to you. So there's the motivation for the questions in red, and the things I ask them. (Researcher points to the different research indicators on the page before them). So I will just ask them and you can loosely speak your mind?

(GM1) ok.

(GM2) Are you happy that we give these answers, I don't want to put you on the spot? (GM2 asks GM1 which is the main respondent in the interview working with the phenomenon under study. GM1 nods her head in acknowledgement)

(GM1) Yes I think that if there's something we don't know we will try to find the information for you. There may be some of it, which is not relevant to us that I know of.

Yes.

(GM1) But I can try to find out for you.

Yes obviously the study is about public spaces but you guys are probably the largest investors in building stock where people live, so you should have an idea about the demographics of who the tenants are and sometime if you go to buildings you may see people outside, but if you don't know just say and that is also fine.

(GM1) Ok we will do that

Ok so question 1 is the question whether the person is part of a co-ethnic social network. That is something people are unaware of, that the person's whole livelihood is dependent on his co-ethnic network. For instance if he is a Zimbabwean then he will come into South Africa via his co-ethnic network, as he won't be able to do it on his own.

(GM1) Yes

So he relies 100% on this co-ethnic network of his, with people in cities all along the way, as he needs money to get here. So the first thing he will do when he gets here is to look for his network of co-ethnics, it could be a church or a...so that is what a co-ethnic network is. It is something that has a huge influence on public space, it eventually causes ethnic clustering in buildings, and we will still get to that question. So, that is where the question comes from. You will see that many of the questions are linked to this one.

GM1) Ok

So I will read in English and then.

(GM1) Yes, yes.

7.1 Are you aware of any co-ethnic social networks in your buildings, this could be called ethnic enclaves or ethnic clustering so what this means is do you find in your buildings, that for instance Zimbabweans or any co-ethnic groupings tend to congregate in one building? Do you find large contingents of co-ethnics or even local people?

(GM1) No, not really I think it is much more demographically representative and maybe not in terms of black and white but it is much more integrated. There is usually a diversity of people living in our buildings.

7.2 Ok so not really then?

(GM1) Yes

7.3 Because I see on the street in Joburg, many of the buildings become almost like ethnic ghettos?

(GM1) A concentration yes.

7.4 They call it an ethnic enclave where the Nigerians take over the whole building

(GM1) Yes (GM1 nods approvingly die to the fact that se knows what I'm talking about.

7.5 And I don't see this at all in Pretoria?

(GM1) No

7.6 So it seems that the phenomenon is not so strong here?

(Now the interview must move venues and the researcher and the respondents move to another venue, which is more comfortable)

7.7 Are most of the residents of your buildings from local South African areas, are they foreigners from other African countries?

(GM1) Local. Local mostly, there is a percentage that is foreign, but the majority are South African.

7.8 Can you give a thumb suck?

(GM1) O I will have to find out those stats for you.

7.9 But mostly local guys?

(GM1) Mostly local

7.10 Ok what is roughly estimated your most prolific ethnic group using the CP buildings for local people and then for African migrants? So a thumb suck of the local demographics would it be mostly local Pretorian, Zulus? Do you have any idea of the ethnicity of the people using your buildings?

(GM1) Many of them are the normal population around Pretoria, Then, many of them come from Mpumalanga, Polokwane, There are many from KZN, but there's many, and I think that this is why it's slightly dis-jointed in terms of demographics, is that many of them swot here. That demographic changes the statistics a bit.

U Hu.

(GM1) Many of them come from example Mpumalanga to come and swot.

7.11 So who are the largest users of your buildings, students?

(GM1) no students make up only 33%

7.12 Ok. And who are the others, do they work here?

(GM1) They work in the city

7.13 While walking in the streets I saw that many of the local people that I spoke to did not live in the CBD but in Pretoria West, Atteridgeville.

(GM1) Yes Hammanskraal, Mamelodi...

7.14 So is it a resistance to live in the CBD?

(GM1) Not necessarily a resistance, but more affordability. We have an activation centre in Hammanskraal, Soshanguve and those types of areas. It is still more affordable for them to stay there than here, even if they work in the CBD. (Thus many of the local people tend to travel from these outlying periphery areas to the Pretoria CBD for daily work)

7.15 Ok even with the transport cost?

(GM1) Yes even with the transport. Some guys will work in the CBD and live in the East, Morelleta park, that side. They have an extra taxi to take, but that is your more affluent guy.

Ok

(GM1) So he has to take 2 or 3 taxis to get here, where the guys from Soshanguve side only need to take one. The majority of guys work here and also want to live here.

Ok so it is for those reasons. I picked up that the people who do live here especially the locals, just about all prefer the CBD to Sunnyside and those places.

(GM1) Yes

7.16 There seems to be a bad connotation to Sunnyside?

(GM1) there is a large influx, especially Nigerians in Sunnyside. Definitely yes.

Yes it seems so.

(GM1) And it is probably also in Arcadia, where its slightly more mixed, but I don't think there are as many Nigerian nationals as in Sunnyside.

7.17 Before I forget I also need to ask you, in the last 10 years say, is there a large influx of people into the CBD that have come to stay? Is there an increasing demand in the CBD and is this why you are converting buildings?

(GM1) Yes it is definitely so. It is one of the reasons why we did such large developments in the last three years. One on mutual has 160 apartments, and Sharron's place has 399. Currently there are only 30 units left there. Except for that, we also started the conversion of office blocks to tenement units, this is due to that need.

(GM1) Yes I think so, it is definitely so, the need for housing is just increasing.

7.18 In the CBD?

(GM1) Yes

7.19 Ok so that answers a large question. So African migrants from other countries which would you say makes up your largest demographic that occupy your buildings? From which country, lets say your top 3?

(GM2) We have had many foreigners but foreigners with small shops.

(GM1) Yes many of them have retail shops.

Ok

(GM1) So as we speak they are not necessarily residential tenants but commercial tenants.

Yes

(GM1) Definitely people from Ethiopia, much more that way (means central and east African countries).

(GM1) They also stay with us but I know that some of them stay more towards Marabastad that way, more towards Pretoria West. That is where all the drama happened in the beginning of the year. (Referring to xenophobic attacks)

Yes, yes.

(GM1) There is a large compliment of them that stay that way

7.20 So from all your tenement units in the CBD and taking the African nationals, which group would you say are the most prolific in CP buildings?

(GM1) I will have to find out

You have no idea?

(GM1) I have no idea

Is it?

(she makes notes on stats that she needs to find for the researcher)

(GM1) So another thing is the Fields in Hatfield, we get many students there.

Ok

(GM1) Apparently, many of the students who come to stay in the Fields are foreigners who swot at TUKS.

Ok yes

(GM1) So that is also a proximity yes

Ok so if you can get those stats it will be much appreciated.

(GM1) Yes it will be interesting for us to know as well.

7.21 Ok so assimilation and permanence... is the respondent well assimilated in the spaces and culture of the CBD or has he only kept to his own ethnic network, what implications could this have for the public spaces. So this means typically the person comes here, then like back in the day the Portuguese ladies that never learnt to speak English, they only mixed with their own co-ethnics. So this is where question 2 comes from. So how long more or less do most residents stay in the CP buildings? Do they tend to move around a lot?

(GM1) Yes we have a high churn rate, they tend to stay 18 months on average. They sign a 12 month lease specifically in the residential space. But the average is 18 months but many of them move out after 12 months, because there is usually an increase after 12 months.

7.22 Of rental?

(GM1) Yes of rental, and then they move. What we also find is that they move from one of our buildings to Sharron's place, because they go for the lower rent. So I think economic factors have an influence on it.

7.23 Yes I think this could have an influence on rootlessness. The person floats around the CBD, he has his friends but he never really makes the public spaces his own.

(GM1) Yes and we try to generate some loyalty lately, this is in its pilot phase and it works well. So if they sign for another year they get discount. It makes it easier for everyone. Yes and its very true what you say, (regarding public space) in terms of me and you and Luna, I will die if I have to move (laughs, thus she implies that we as another strata of society are perhaps more attached to place and space)

Yes

(GM1) They are very mobile and they move around.

7.24 Yes this is critically a part of this study. It is exactly this lack of attachment to place that has an effect on the use of public space.

(GM1) U hum (yes)

7.25 If me and you stayed in the CBD for 10 years and we stay in a building, we will make the public spaces our own. You know that you will know the places, know the people, but this rootless moving around that is so typical of African migrants has a huge influence on the use of public space, and I think to a certain degree that is why African cities are sometimes so chaotic (perceived) because nobody takes ownership because nobody is rely invested mentally in the spaces around them. Its just about the cheapest rental, and you move around. They make local short-term alliances with local people in their proximity, just to get along, but when they leave it changes again. So it's a type of survival situation, and this is what the study is about.

(GM1) Yes, I think that is totally. (True)

7.26 So I will send you a copy anyway if you are interested.

(GM1) O yes I would like to have that.

7.27 No for sure, I will send it to you. Ok so according to CP do they view South Africa as permanent or do they move along to Europe or any other ... According to you, because that is what I was mentioning before?

(GM1) It is difficult to say, I don't think I can ...

7.28 You don't know where they go do you?

(GM1) No

7.29 So you say they churn, but not necessarily out of the city?

(GM1) No and they do not necessarily churn out of our company. They churn to another building or they move on. Many of them and I am generalising now, might get a promotion. So they won't necessarily work in the city. Then they will go and stay in Moreleta Park, because they get work in Menlyn Main, or whatever.

Yes I understand

(GM1) It is often the people that are young professionals, and even more so in Johannesburg. In Joburg we find many more professionals. They have an internship or a scholarship that they must wat do you call, and they are definitely more concentrated there as young up-coming professionals.

7.30 Yes, that makes sense. So would you say, only speaking of local black people and African migrants, excluding Europeans, are most of the people in your buildings black people?

(GM1) Yes

7.31 You would say?

(GM1) Yes

7.32 The great majority of them?

(GM1) Yes if you take an umbrella over all.

7.33 So do you think they view the Pretoria CBD as a (springboard)...as you say they get a promotion and they are public servants, would you say the general feeling among them is that they actually want to move out of the CBD to the outlying suburbs?

(GM1) I think yes and no, but I think many of them do actually stay here. We have long-standing tenants of 10 to 15 years.

7.34 Would you say they like the CBD?

(GM1) Yes, others do want to go to Moreleta and other places. And I think it is hum, I don't want to say quite a nice balance, but I think it does however bring some stability.

7.35 Yes

(GM1) You will always find the guy's that come in to come and swot, and then go home again to work there. But there is definitely some of them that stay.

7.36 Yes I understand that. So you have no idea about the split between those two? Those that stay and those that don't want to.

(GM1) No

7.37 Are CP aware of any ethnic clustering in their buildings?

(GM1) No

7.38 Ok so Trans-locational positionality, is where people are importing identity.

(GM1) Yes

7.39 Does he/she import the sending destination culture into the Pretoria CBD? You know it is quite a large phenomenon in some other African cities, but it seems Pretoria has its own ... So do you see CP tenants importing social texture and ritual from the sending destination into the PRETORIA CBD public spaces. These could be rituals or cultural habits. Are you aware of any such things in your buildings that for example Zimbabwean or people from Ghana do ?

(GM1) No I don't think in our buildings, but I know there is hum, we had a place with a tenant at 012 Central, but it was quite a while ago, they were called the social market. Now I don't know if they are still on the go, but in the end they moved to across Kara.

7.40 The Social market?

(GM1) Yes

Yes

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(GM1) Definitely not your standard ethnic stuff.

U-hum

(GM1) It is very creative and they have this social connection with each other but I think it is only because they are artsy, and there is definitely something involved (refers to smoking pot). But I think in terms of what they offered the public of the CBD, it was really very inclusive. It was not at all that you don't fit because ...

Yes, I will have a look.

(GM1) Yes, it can be something that you can look at in terms of. Why I think of that is the relationship to festivals and cultural habits. And the Kara centre can perhaps give you some details if they still exist. I think it's thereby Sophie De Bruin street.

7.41 Yes I will have a look. The CBD is bigger than one realises, you attempt to start walking and then you realise. Ok so do CP tenants blend workplace and home area in public space such as hair braider salons spilling onto the pavement cooking etc?

(GM1) I definitely think so, and I am specifically thinking of the commercial tenants.

Ok.

(GM1) We have a large contingent of people coming in that have hair salons. They tout nails, and they tout for business on the street.

Yes the wigs and so forth, I saw it.

(GM1) Yes

But it is mostly Nigerians that do it, not so?

(GM1) Yes, and they do braiding as well, so we have one building specifically for hair salons. You can literally rent 2,5 to 5,0 square meters of space, and the business is tough.

7.42 Yes what I saw was that the Metro is very hard on them, I spoke to Nigerians on the street with mannequins, and when the Metro police drive by they all run away, because it's about the trading licences.

(GM1) Yes they are not allowed to tout in the streets. It is also in terms of that we do not have a CID anymore. The CID is the City improvement District, and because they are not there anymore it is really a free for all. The building for the hair is amazing house, and it's a cut-throat business.

(GM2) yes but here is not as bad to me as in Johannesburg, where you almost fall over the people there are so many.

Yes

(GM2) And the building managers say that many of the women do not only sell hair. (Reference to illicit prostitution)

7.43 I saw that yes, and the street traders apparently sell drugs in the evenings underneath their merchandise?

(GM1) I think the situation in Pretoria is easier to manage due to the fact that we have pockets of buildings, for example we will have this whole block, and that makes it much easier to manage and to keep clean. In Joburg its much more spread out. I think that causes the issues where you have a commercial tenant and right next to him the guy is doing just what he likes. And Joburg also has that weird two level commercial spaces before you find the other things.

7.44 Pretoria only has one level business?

(GM1) Yes, Pretoria is traditionally a lot more one level and then the stuff above, so it refers to that business.

7.45 Yes so regarding Pretoria you guys are the only real players regarding housing. Are there any other groups?

(GM1) Yes there is you can look at mid-city, and Huurkor you can look at ...

7.46 But they are not on your scale are they?

(GM1) No

(GM1) They do have a few, but I think in terms of the amount we have we are the largest in Pretoria. Not so big in Joburg, but also in terms of the quality of offerings we are also ...

They are actually minor players in Pretoria aren't they?

(GM1) yes

That is why everyone always says CP, CP

(GM1) Yes

7.47 Ok so the next thing is to determine in what way does he/she use technology in public space that directly influences their use. So at one stage there where those Wi-Fi masts. Are they still there?

(GM1) They are still going, there where issues before, and when the new administration took over there where also some problems.

7.48 Where are they?

(GM1) They are everywhere. If you walk with your Wi-Fi on you will pick them up. All the parks have them, when I go home in the evenings, my phone picks them all up. The state theatre, Church Square.

7.49 Open spaces?

(GM1) open spaces, Burgers Park ...

7.50 Because they congregate there at certain times?

(GM1) Yes definitely

7.51 What times would you say?

(GM1) I think it's the whole time. Its like they are always on their phones nowadays and people use the free Wi-Fi. At one stage, there was 500MB per day and then it was reduced to

250MB per day. And remember the schools also have, there are a few schools in the CBD. Also for instance the national library.

7.52 So it does have an influence on the use of public space?

(GM1) Absolutely, I am thinking of a stupid example, Just behind us here, I call it your Instagram wall (refers to GM2)

(GM2) What Instagram wall?

(GM1) Here at Bosch, didn't you do Bosch?

(GM2) Yes

(GM1) We started a student thing here in Johannes Ramogase Street, at the college; Luna has this one building where I park. On the corner she made this beautiful easy grass lawn, planted some plants, and beautified it a bit. I call it Luna's Instagram wall.

(GM2) Laughs

(GM1) So nowadays, the student are hanging around there

Hmm ok

(GM1) So that's where they take photographs, just now there was one posing and ...

Where's this place?

(GM1) Just here around the corner

So on the corner of?

(GM1) So if you drive down here (motions with hand) and you turn out of Du Toit into Johannes Ramogase before you get to Sisulu.

(GM2) So between Du Toit and Sisulu.

7.53 I will definitely go and check it out.

(GM1) And you know that's something we find a lot, even at 012 Central. Many of the pedestrians going past 012 Central are students because of all the colleges in that street and there are taxi drop-off points. So it has a large influence on the amount of people walking past there. (Referring to people using certain outside spaces of the buildings for selfies and photographs. This is due to the design interventions that where done on a small scale like the Instagram wall. The students also use 012 Central as such a location)

Ok

(GM1) I think the schools as well. They are there maybe for a year, and then they move.

7.54 Yes they are perhaps fly by nights?

(GM1) Yes and it is their schools too.

7.55 Yes as they receive the rental.

(GM1) Yes, yes and it has a large influence on the public space use, and the large amounts of people at 012 Central, it is not necessarily, what we want to see. (What GM1 is referring to

here, is the unplanned and perceived chaotic use of public space by the people, especially the students on the street. They have for instance made the Instagram wall that is used via technology by young people extensively but they use the public space around 012 central more chaotically and to a level that annoys the property administrators. This would be technology and group activities combined)

7.56 Ok so that's interesting. Does he/she do this use of technology in public space outside of his/her residence?

(GM1) I think they are doing it more and more nowadays and the increased need for Wi-Fi connectivity from residents not only for phones but also for their decoders, they all want exploras. That why our projects team work on these things and the buildings are geared for it.

7.57 Ok and do they ever use this technology, and we will get to religion shortly, for church service streaming?

(GM1) Yes

7.58 Let's say it come from Ethiopia, and let's say Islamic people from Nigeria, they will send this service back there and they are literally connecting this place and the sending destination via technology.

(GM1) Oh wow...

7.59 You understand, there are some people having a church service and they are singing, or they project it on a wall and everyone listens to the pastor from Nigeria, so that's what I mean with this influence of technology.

(GM1) Ok

7.60 They are literally linking those African cities with this one.

(GM1) I am not aware of that

7.61 You do not know about it?

(GM2) No we know there are very large churches.

(GM1) Yes but they are not in public (space)

7.62 Yes I drove around on Sundays and the only things I saw where a large ZCC gathering above Marabastad, and then the Shembe people

(GM1) Yes...

7.63 The people with the white outfits.

(GM1) Yes, they are in public

7.64 So you don't really see public gatherings and services in the Pretoria CBD, not really?

(GM1) No

7.65 Do they keep in touch with co-ethnics via technology do they thus plan outdoor meetings via technology?

(GM1) No I don't think so

7.66 If it's not so then its fine

(GM1) Yes

7.67 Commerce is big, it's probably the biggest one that I have seen.

(GM1) Yes

7.68 To determine If the respondents commercial or business interests happen in public space and what influence do they have on public space? What I want to ask is does he/she mix social gatherings or co-ethnic gatherings with commerce in the CBD, such as hair salons playing board games, sidewalk conversations while selling merchandise such things. For example, I saw a lot of car washers which are prone to playing games on the sidewalks and then gambling their earnings.

(GM1) Yes those people with the cups and games. I think it really is so and mostly after work. There are some of those guys that drive the others very hard for trade. So if so it will be after hours. It's not like it's some idyllic old Greek man sitting and playing games while drinking coffee.

7.69 So we are speaking of your commercial properties, these are the ones we are speaking of? The people in the residential areas they are not prone to do this? Do the people in your residential buildings trade with anything?

(GM1) We don't allow it at all.

7.70 All right, not allowed. And in your CP buildings do people tend to do this? When in the evenings for instance people will sit around and cook and it becomes a social gathering?

(GM1) No, it is strict trading hours and the building managers won't allow it.

Ok

(GM1) I think the management we have are very good.

7.71 So it is not allowed in the evenings?

(GM1) It depends on their licence so some may trade to 8 or whatever, I speak under correction however. But because many of the buildings have residential above it won't be allowed.

Ok

(GM1) It is strictly according to the lease conditions, so you trade up to that time and nothing else.

7.72 A person can see it for example the other evening I was at a place below the large Catholic Church in what is it Visage down there?

(GM1) the Catholic church?

Yes the large one above Skinner

(GM1) Yes when you come down there is it not Lillian Ngoyi?

Well the one that is not parallel with Skinner

(GM1) Yes Lillian Ngoyi

7.73 Now there is a building with a hair salon about 8 in the evening that was on the ground floor. I'm not sure whose building it was but I spoke to the guy there, a car guard and caretaker, and he said there is often large gatherings of Nigerians, but I don't think it is your building.

(GM1) I don't know but I doubt it

7.74 So what you are saying if CP does not enforce this people will sit there till 12 ?

(GM1) yes I think so and it is an extra way to make money

7.75 Ok to determine if Religion has an influence on public space use. I know there are many African Pentecostal churches here and it seems like a large contingent of African Islamic people as well.

(GM1) Yes

7.76 Yes especially the Tanzanians and the Nigerians, are large and the Southern African people tend to be large. And then let's say the more North African people like people from Nigeria are prone to being 50/50.

(GM1) Yes and because we have the Mosque right across here you can actually see the mix.

7.77 Yes. And according to you what is the mix do you have any idea?

(GM1) No I have no idea

7.78 So it is a difficult thing to determine, because if you ask people then they say they are Islamic, like one guy I spoke to from Tanzania. He says that he packs his bags every day from the CBD then he walks home to Pretoria North. He then returns the next day. He is Islamic and there are no public toilets for him. There are pay-toilets but he cannot use them. He thus does not use the toilet for the whole day.

(GM1) yes wow.

7.79 So he stands there in the CBD all day and in the evening, he goes home. This is a huge problem for Islamic people that is not commonly known. Al right does he/she use temporary available ritual space in the Pretoria CBD and does he share this ritual space with other ethnic groups? In Johannesburg, they will have open parking lots and so forth, up to three churches will sometimes congregate there together. I have never seen this in Pretoria?

(GM2) I also don't think so.

7.80 So all the churches are inside buildings as far as you are aware?

(GM1) Or in a shop or.

7.81 Yes they are?

(GM1) Yes and alternatively, the guys you said with the white outfits there by fountains. I have never seen this when I have been in the CBD on Sundays.

7.82 Yes I came in on Sundays and all I could see of this phenomenon was up there in Marabastad, there is this ZCC church. There is about 2000 people; in I think a building site that is enclosed with shade netting. And you are not allowed to take photos. That is another thing these photos.

(GM1) Yes, they don't like it.

(GM2) And another thing is if the Muslims have a festive time you will find when coming into the city in the mornings, then they will be sitting there on the side of the road praying.

7.83 Where is this now?

(GM1) Especially when it is Eid.

Eid yes

(GM) So when it's Eid

(GM2) So when you come into the city the first street is I think Rissik, not Rissik I think it's the second robot from there. It is there by Nanna Sita and Skinner

Ok there

(GM2) It is in nanna Sita, and at the robot.

7.84 What do they do there?

(GM2) So the Muslims go and pray there.

7.85 Do they pray in the open air?

(GM2) Yes, yes.

(GM1) Where is that? Because if you come down Skinner there's the slipway ...(they discuss a map of the CBD and pin point the location) Ok I know where it is its near Sunnyside.

(GM2) No

(GM1) O not really?

7.86 It should be linked to this Mosque (researcher mentions the Metro Mosque as seen through their office window)

(GM1) I think so, and when it's Eid they will pray (there)

Yes

(GM1) yes

(GM2) I think its just too many people to accommodate everyone, it can get pretty hectic.

(GM1) Do you mean this area? (Points to map. Another dispute arises over the exact location on the CBD map is meant)

(GM2) You are correct

(GM2) They have danger tape demarcating the space, and each one brings their prayer mat and they pray

Really?

(GM2) yes just like that

7.87 How many times per year is this Eid?

(GM1) it is once a year

7.88 And for how long?

(GM1) Its usually a large prayer from the morning, and this I get from my friends, from sunrise till sunset then the fast is broken. I think they pray until 8 or 9 in the morning.

(GM2) Yes they are there very early.

Ok that's interesting so that's all you know about religious outdoor space except for the Shembe, which are mostly Zimbabweans?

(GM1) Yes

7.89 Ok so what are the main demographics for CP buildings are they mainly African Pentecostal or are they Islamic?

(GM1) O its difficult to say, I think a thumb suck it would predominantly be African Pentecostals.

7.90 Pentecostal?

(GM1) Hey Luna?

(GM2) U hum. (Nods agreement)

7.91 But there is a large Islamic contingent?

(GM1) definitely, yes yes.

7.92 Would you say more than 50% is African Pentecostal?

(GM1) Yes, I would say so.

7.93 Ok. Do you ever see the tenants using CP buildings outdoor spaces for religious purposes such as praying evangelising, Islamic Zikr or so?

(GM1) shakes head and indicates a no

7.94 Don't you allow it?

(GM1) Not in our public space areas.

7.95 You haven't seen this?

(GM1) it wouldn't happen in front of our buildings.

7.96 Ok gender, to determine if the sending destinations culture prescribes any gender related behaviour to the respondents in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, segregation of the sexes, public dress codes, any such type of behaviour. Do you see any of this in your buildings?

(GM1) I think it is as you say, it is the women with the burkas, and the hum, ladies with the mannequins, and the wigs, there was one there at centre walk the other day that couldn't even speak English.

Is it?

(GM1) you could see she was only there to sell stuff. How can you sell stuff and not even speak English?

7.97 Did she also wear a burka?

(GM1) no she did not. It's about the values.

Yes it is heavy on values.

(GM1) Yes yes.

7.98 So you get that a lot the people must survive and they do things that are against their values?

(GM1) Yes yes.

(GM1) I also think it's about, I was walking past to take a photo at centre walk, and I asked her to move the mannequins, we will move them back shortly, that was a big conversation. I thought to myself how desperate must you be to do this and you cannot even converse?

Yes it is so ...

(GM1) Over here it is also very apparent, you will never on Friday afternoons between 1 and 2 see a women in this parking lot. (Refers to the parking lot of the metro Mosque across the street)

Is it?

(GM2) Yes, they all go in the back and you don't hear or see them.

7.99 Ok so definitely gender segregated spaces?

(GM1) but especially because it is here by the Mosque and they have their own entrance. But yes, I think so.

7.100 So you are not aware of any gender-segregated spaces in your buildings with your tenants?

(GM1) No.

7.101 Ok according to CP what is the gender demographics for CP buildings in the Pretoria CBD, mostly males or females? Do you know?

(GM2) Well there's families and then there's.

7.102 And families vs singles what would you say?

(GM2) no I don't know.

(GM1) Most of our buildings re traditionally geared toward one bedrooms and bachelor pads, and less toward 2 bedroom units.

7.103 Ok so its geared toward singles or two people sharing?

(GM1) Yes and many of them are couples that share a bachelor pad because this can work for them. But I think it's very much 50/50

Is it

(GM1) Or just over 50/50

Ja, more or less ne?

7.104 So you wouldn't say there is an extreme minority of couples?

(GM1) no not at all.

7.105 Ok status related behaviour, it's not just a uniquely African thing, but people use status to garner acceptance. Take the Nigerians for instance with their bright clothes and flashy cars, we call it Flaneuring. There's a lot of literature that shows people, immigrants use status projection to generate acceptance. It actually works in certain places, and cities in Africa, and it's quite a big thing there. So we call it status projection, so do they use status projection in the CBD to garner acceptance? If so how does it influence public space use? It's quite difficult but it can be expensive cars, that are stopped on the pavements, two to three at a time and they open the doors.

(GM1) I think its much more in Sunnyside hey.

Ah ok.

(GM2) I'm trying to think, you will find an A3 and a Bee-em that park here, fancy.

7.106 Yes, I was at the food stall across the Mosque the other day speaking to the lady there and an stopped a Land-Rover between the taxi's and other cars. The guy just sat there and I asked the lady who he is and she said he is a taxi boss. Ok so do you believe that the Pretoria CBD is stratified according to social status, income, education, ethnicity, are you aware of social stratification of people in your buildings?

(GM1) I think there is. I think there are people and I speak purely of what I've seen in the buildings. The cars they drive are.

7.107 Excessively expensive cars?

(GM1) Well yes and new cars. Wherever you are you will find a mixture of our tenants that cannot even afford a car, or they will use public transport and won't have a car. So there are some of them that drive Range-Rovers, BMW's, Mercedes, so there is a type of class system with some of them, but not all.

7.108 So a person will do those things for some sort of reason, so there are a multitude of things they are trying to achieve and one of them is to try and attain a certain status for himself, and among the people where he stays. He wants those people to view him in a particular way.

(GM1) And I think it also has to do with some of the people that work as public servants. Because they obviously get good salaries and we also see more and more of the man and the woman each have a car. So I don't think for those tenants it's about being flashy but more in terms of their disposable income that they can afford those cars.

7.109 So you can say there is a type of income stratification among tenants then?

(GM1) Yes.

7.110 Do you think it influences their behaviour in public space, this is not really a question for you but you can say if you know?

(GM1) No I don't really think so but, and it's very dangerous and irresponsible to say this, but I think many of our tenants are maybe more affluent, and then they are more focused on the Western standard of living, or model, I don't know maybe it is wrong to say this, I don't want to sound bad.

I know what you mean.

(GM1) And yet, many more of them will go to Menlyn over weekends, and hang out there. They don't have to shop here in the CBD. I think its necessarily to do with their disposable income that they can spend.

7.111 U-hum, that makes sense. So would you say these people use visible consumptive behaviour in public spaces to foster inclusion? You know like shopping and those things?

(GM1) Yes.

7.112 So it's quite a big thing?

(GM1) Yes.

7.113 I see that when walking around, the making a show of shopping.

(GM1) Many of them that we find say they will buy something durable and that they like, like a good pair of shoes. They will usually spend more on these shoes, but they will last longer. They won't necessarily buy China-Mall stuff.

7.114 I get the impression that a lot of the African culture is very aware of certain things like what shoes you wear, watches, they know the difference. It seems that these items represent a type of status grading to them. I notice that dress and cars are very important to them. Where example I drive a Panda, and I presume you guys don't have super flashy cars? Most of you anyhow.

(GM1) No (laughs)

So we then have a different mind-set regarding these things.

(GM1) Yes and I think that is why in the past, that expensive shop is not there anymore, but we have fancy, fancy shops here hey.

(GM2) Expensive things that I won't be able to afford

Really?

(GM1) Yes

So for let's say, an affluent market?

(GM1) Yes and maybe, it's also aspirational. There's this place in Centre walk, and I wouldn't buy a jersey there for R500. I'm like I don't even pay that for ... Shucks I must say that. But there's many of them that, if I take for instance those cakes, ha.

I saw those cakes yes.

(GM1) Did you? They are nice

(GM1) it is R5000 for such a cake!

Its near that little Vespa coffee place?

(GM2) It is a status thing for them.

(GM1) It is, and there are two cake shops not far from each other. The one is there in Capital Towers North, and the other there in Centre Walk.

Yes I saw the one in Centre walk.

(GM1) Yes

7.115 So it is definitely some sort of status projection thing then?

(GM1) Yes and I also think its stuff like, it's not just birthdays and weddings, you will see if you go into the shops it's also for graduations, so I think it's part of that. (Culture)

7.116 So these are the things let's say that they attach value to? I see many of the clothes labels sit on the outside. So that you must see the brand.

(They all laugh at this observation)

And even the shoes I see logos on the outside so that people must see, These are Crocket & Jones not PEP Stores shoes.

(GM1) Yes (nods in agreement) and for the first time Queens park opened here again. So the large tenants that move stuff are the Total Sports and the foot gear guys.

Relatively expensive stuff hey?

(GM1) Yes

7.117 So there is definitely an aspirational component to it?

(GM1) Yes, (Nods in agreement) and you can buy a well-known soccer shirt at Total sports. That is also very prevalent.

7.118 Yes so it's also a status thing. So let's go to recreation now. Do they partake in recreational activities in the Pretoria CBD, remember this is public space, and what influence does it have on the public spaces so, do they eat communally in public spaces on the pavements, so the guys in your buildings do they ever eat communally that you are aware of?

(GM1) uh,uh (No)

7.119 Because I don't see it either.

(GM1) No

7.120 StreetSide conversations outside buildings?

(GM1) Yes I think that they do, because it's much more sociable and really talking, yes definitely.

7.121 So that African conversation thing you can see ...

(GM2) Yes.

(GM1) Yes.

7.122 Ok do they partake in ethnic rituals in public space, any kind of ethnic ritual that you are aware of?

(GM1) uh uhh. (No)

7.123 Look it's not just your buildings but any place in the CBD?

(GM1) I know there where I drive home just before fountains at the BMW garages, they play soccer.

7.124 Yes There's various places they told me they play soccer.

(GM1) Also when Church Square was still open they played soccer there.

Ok.

(GM1) there was a restaurant off Church Square that was very social which I always thought were probably more people from Central Africa.

7.125 Ok that kind of spilled onto the public space?

(GM1) Yes. I don't know if they are still there. They mostly ate communally.

7.126 Almost a social type of atmosphere?

(GM1) Yes and it happened a lot, I do not know if they knew each other. But I found it curious the one evening that I saw it.

7.127 Ok that's interesting, so you would say yes and no. Ok organized sport and formal recreation. Mostly I picked up that the Tanzanians like boxing, and most people do gym, and they like soccer. Those three I picked up regarding sport and recreation. They don't seem to do picnics in the park and so?

(GM1) Yes, you say that, but Burghers Park is well supported, the equipment there, the swings for the kids are nice. Its nice to see they bring their kids there. The city looks after it and I think its nice.

Yes, you see that falls outside the study area, I'm looking more at the old CBD

(GM1+2) O, ok.

(GM2) A lot of them jog. Yes here at the union buildings. There are many joggers there and they stretch and do yoga

7.128 So the guys in your buildings do they tend to be sporty? Because I see the gym, culture is now huge.

(GM1) you know some of it yes and some no. In one of our buildings, we have gym in the park area down below.

(GM2) Yes, I heard of that.

7.129 There aren't such things at your other buildings that you see them using?

(GM1) Yes I think they will, but there's much more ...

Like back in the day the guys drummed together, but I see even the soccer is linked to gambling?

(GM1) Yes.

7.130 Like the street hustlers they will go play soccer, but then there has to be gambling linked to it you. understand? You must *betch* as they call it (Betting)

(GM1) Yes just on that you obviously know that at most of our places we make leisure spaces available?

7.131 Ok inside your areas then?

(GM1) Yes inside the buildings.

7.132 Inside the buildings or around?

(GM1) or in a courtyard or on the roof. At Sharron's place, we have our largest leisure area to date which is almost 3000m².

7.133 Ok so its restricted access only for the tenants?

(GM1) Yes and people don't just use it for the kids but adults definitely also use it.

7.134 So what type of thing's that you are aware of do they do there?

(GM1) So we have braai facilities, and now at Sharron's place a small mini soccer field.

Ok.

(GM1) With nets and lights were the kids can play at night.

7.135 Ok and they use it?

(GM1) Yes and there are jungle gyms.

7.136 So that's typically for the people that live there? It's outdoor?

(GM1) It's not public space like the focus of your study but we saw a need for those types of things.

7.137 So I presume safety is big?

(GM1) Definitely.

7.138 Ok and are you aware of any informal recreation at informal areas such as parking lots, pavements, streets, like when guys will sometimes start playing soccer in the streets, you haven't seen this yet?

(GM1) hu, uh. (No)

7.139 Are you aware of any residents that bring recreational patterns from other countries, to the Pretoria CBD? This could be sport or cultural clubs, Like the Nigerians have about 200 of these what they call home-associations or Daira's. They started these in the 1970's already, so if you arrive in the city you go there, almost like the Italian club. You can go there and chat because they like to talk, because the American culture feels very sterile to them. All the whiteys are very reserved no one speaks to one another when they get there it feels like home.

(GM1) I think there must be.

7.140 Not that you are aware of?

(GM1) Not that we are aware of no.

7.141 To what extent are ethnic enclaves present in the CBD? According to you very low? Is there any ethnic clustering in your buildings that you know of?

(GM1) No.

7.142 Your tenants that you speak to with children, how well are their children accepted or assimilated in the Pretoria CBD. Or don't you speak to them?

(GM1) You know what I think and it once again falls outside your study area, but we are involved with Pretoria primary school there on the corner of Nelson MANDELA AND ...somewhere there, and is a large amount of children there of foreign nationalities, as well as local children, and I must say maybe English is not their first language but I can clearly see the integration there. So there's no issue there.

7.143 I see children after 2 in the afternoon floating around waiting for busses and so. Many of them sit by the street traders and know them.

(GM1) Yes.

7.144 So it's a type of safe place but I assume it's pretty dangerous. If tenants are from other African countries do they tend to be 1st 2nd or 3rd generation migrants? Those that I saw were almost all of them 1st generation migrants, there are no children of migrants that you know of or 2nd generation adult migrants?

(GM1) I don't know.

7.145 So first generation people come.

(GM1) Come for opportunities.

7.146 Yes his parents are from Zimbabwe and he is born here. (2nd generation migrant)

(GM1) I don't think so, my gut feel says they come here looking for opportunities and they want to do something.

7.147 So 1st you would say?

(GM1) Yes

7.148 And definitely not 3rd generation then?

(GM1) No

7.149 Places like New York you have little Italy and so forth, there being 5th and 6th generation Italians. So what is the situation with the African migrants in the Pretoria CBD. Do they mostly bring them with them or mostly leave them behind? Many of them leave the children with grandparents or relatives.

(GM1) Are you specifically referring to South African black people?

7.150 Well the African migrants from Zim and so forth, as well as the local people. A typical example would be a woman from say Mpumalanga she will leave her children there, she is here with two or three children with different men. She is not married and does not wish to. They seem to create this new demographic.

(GM1) Yes, we definitely see that. But we also see the guys that come here and try to make something, that stay here and want to bring the family later.

(GM2) Yes and there are also families that come.

Ok

(GM2) Yes, there are quite a few families that come.

(GM1) Yes, I think it's a mixture yes.

7.151 How often do African migrants using CP buildings tend to go home as far as you are aware?
This being your foreign nationals?

(GM1) Well the only one there relevant would be the fields. But once again at the fields it is students that have finished their studies and then leave, and that goes for the local black people as well that leave when they have finished their studies. Some are at UP and then leave on completion. The others I cannot really say.

7.152 Yes the big thing for migrants is going home over December. Generally but sometimes they do not have money to go.

(GM1) Yes.

7.153 So you are not aware of ...

(GM2) Some of the local people go about once a month if they have extra money.

7.154 The Zimbabweans go home maybe once a year if they can afford it. Apparently the Tanzanians as per my discussion with one on the street, says it takes them 4 days to get there. It costs thousands of Rands, and you can't take much with you and you are broke when you get there.

(GM1) I think a lot of that question depends on if he comes in the New Year, because we have a peak period in January and February where we house thousands of people. They come, stay, and start up their things, and when the lease expires at the end of the year, he is gone. That is maybe part of the churn but I can't say it with certainty.

7.155 So that describes trans-national trading exactly. It is cyclical, where one person will go and get housing, and then his friends come and join in the trading and then the cycle ends. Then they go home and maybe return the next year for the cycle to start all over again. This is a typical migratory trading circuit.

(GM1) But I can't tell you 100% for sure what the numbers are.

7.156 I find it interesting that you know about that. Anyway, the next one is movement as identity, where people move around because they are homesick. They have no identity invested in where they stay. They are rootless, regarding space, they drift from building to building, and they never make deep connections with the places that they stay. Do the CP buildings tenants travel around a lot, go on trips?

(GM1) I don't know if trips are a thing?

(GM1) Many of the Nephews and Nieces and brothers and sisters come and visit. The building managers need to draw a line somewhere.

7.157 Interestingly it seems to be a part of that question yes.

(GM1) Yes and we are very strict. You may stay only so long otherwise you must register as a co-habitant.

O is it?

(GM1) Yes it has to do with the overcrowding of these places. Yes they come but whether they are really are nieces I don't know (laughs)

7.158 Are there any other behavioural aspects beyond these issues that come to mind regarding African migrants using CP buildings?

(GM2) I would say the big difference that I notice is the difference between residential and retail tenants.

(GM1) Yes

(GM1) The retail tenants do not always have the savvy or may not even speak proper English, where the foreign tenants that are residential are very well educated, fluent in English and so forth.

7.159 Yes even the street Zimbabweans have good English.

(GM1) And I think that many of the retail guys come and have a small shop, not necessarily with us, they have something to sell, I see it all over the city, you can see they are not South African. I think it's like a tried and tested recipe where if I can get a spot and I have an offset point people will buy my stuff.

Yes

(GM1) Where I think Luna is quite right, the residential people are here for a totally different reason.

Yes

(GM1) I don't want to say a different class, but they can communicate much better and have a higher income.

7.160 Ok so a last question, regarding my travels around the CBD. There seems to be two CBD's, the day CBD and the night CBD. So in the day the guys that live here are out and the street traders are here. then at night they move out at about 6 to 7 in the evening. So there are two sets of people using the CBD. So the day people can be broken down into the drug addicts, and the non-drug addicts. There are really a lot of drug addicts hey?

(GM1) Yes. (Nods her head in agreement)

7.161 And you will be surprised how big the drug problem is in the city.

(GM1) Yes we know.

7.162 And there are two sets of street traders, the drug addicts and the non addicts.

(GM1) Yes.

7.163 Then I think that certain streets tend to have ethnic groupings to them. Example Zimbabweans will be very strong in certain areas if you speak to the people. Then the local people seem to mix most readily with the Zimbabweans.

(GM1) Yes (nods head in strong agreement)

7.164 Then in the evenings when the residents return, there seems to be a strong nightlife. (Researcher mentions certain of the popular clubs that operate at night in the CBD) then I saw the place was really busy. On weekends (day) it was quiet on Sundays and you see little activity on the streets.

(GM1) Yes very. (Quiet)

7.165 Do you think this is an accurate assessment of the CBD this night and day polarisation?

(GM1) Maybe the night and day is not quite that extreme but, I'm thinking of many of our tenants, many of them come from outside and work in the city, as well as many of the government departments.

Ok.

(GM1) Yes and it is the street people, the informal traders, it is definitely Nyaope. Have you been in Brown Street by the way?

7.166 Yes wow. (Referring to a street in the CBD that is taken over by drug addicts that lie everywhere in different states of stupor)

END

ANNEXURE K

Interview Professor Stephan De beer.

Expert on Pretoria CBD for the past 25 years. Professor of theology at the University of Pretoria. Involved with African migrants, people of diverse ethnicity and street people in the Pretoria CBD.

10.1 MS: Are you aware of any co-ethnic networks or ethnic enclaves in certain areas of the Pretoria CBD? Especially centered around a specific building or group of buildings, and the related public spaces around them. If so, which nationality and to what degree would you say they influence the use of public space?

Professor De Beer: Just to clarify, CBD, you haven't clarified where it is?

MS: Alright, yes the target area (of the study) is between Bloed Street down in Marabastad, up to Skinner street, and then from Nelson Mandela to DF Malan, (E'skia Mphahlele).

Professor De Beer: Alright, that's interesting because your question immediately, immediately what came to mind, and I don't know why that happened, hum, but immediately I thought of a couple of spots in Sunnyside.

10.2 MS: In Sunnyside, yes I know Sunnyside...

Professor De Beer: Because of the way you phrased the question of specific enclaves, of buildings or whatever they are, spaces, there are Somali's, Ethiopians and a whole things surrounding that, even churches like that.

MS: Yes that's correct.

Professor De Beer: And then there are some notorious buildings that have been taken over, more or less by drug-lords. That is all Sunnyside, and for some reason, my sense is, but this is not tested, it is not researcher based, but just having been in there, and now living there, I used to live in Burghers Park for a long time, just from being there forever (personally) that somehow the concentrations, so if you look at, but you go up to Skinner Street?

MS: Yes

Professor De Beer: So it really is CBD?

MS: Yes (the) real old CBD.

10.3 Professor De Beer: So if you went just a little South, to Burghers Park, the residential neighbourhoods in Burghers Park tend to be more South African (population), Ok? Whilst in Sunnyside in tends to be much more diverse.

MS: Ok

Professor De Beer: So just that comment.

MS: Yes ok, so...

Professor De Beer: And then of course the CBD itself, after Schubert Park happened (evacuation of a large multi block housing unit by the City Council), residentially it works out quite differently.

10.4 MS: Yes so with the conversions of the old (office blocks to residential)

Professor De Beer: Ja ja, so that has quite changed (the residential demographics)

10.5 MS: So are there any enclaves? (In the old CBD)

Professor De Beer: I think towards Marabastad of course, (northwestern side of CBD), hum you know with home –affairs being there as well, that will be the one obvious spot, where you have all the asylum seekers, and everything around that.

MS: Ok ja, so that is a bit of an open area around there?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

10.6 MS: So regarding residential living units in the Old Pretoria CBD, as demarcated now, would you say that there is a very low level of ethnic enclaving? And clustering of co-ethnics like for instance let's say Somalians or Zimbabweans or whatever?

Professor De Beer: Well I just, it's my immediate perception that I haven't tested myself, but that it is much lower than in Sunnyside and even Arcadia.

MS: Yes.

Professor De Beer: Now I don't know why those dynamics, (are so) but it's almost like what I think happened in Hillbrow, and certain parts of Cape Town. Places like lower Wine-Berg, and those kinds of places, it seems like certain ethnic groups arrive, they feel comfortable, they feel safe, other groups take the que,

10.7 MS: So you say an enclave would start forming?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

10.8 MS: So in your opinion, just to finalise this question, would you say that the current Pretoria CBD AS stated, (demarcated before) would have low levels of ethnic clustering?

Professor De Beer: Ja, in terms of residential.

MS: Yes residential.

Professor De Beer: In terms of informality, informal businesses, in terms of church life, religious life, that's quite different. That's just my perceptions ja.

10.9 MS: So then, also in your opinion, something related to this thing which I picked up on, in my research, is the public spaces use by foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD, similar or dissimilar to the Johannesburg inner city? If so why and in what way?

Professor De Beer: Sjoie, I don't know I will probably make it up.

MS: So no comment there?

Professor De Beer: No. Its good questions these it makes one's mind think.

10.10 MS: Are the foreign national peoples in the CBD, generally well assimilated in the spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Or do they tend to stick mostly to their co-ethnic networks? Any other comments on this indicator and its influence that you may have?

Professor De Beer: Well again it's my sense and It will be interesting to hear what the other people are saying about this, but I think there is assimilation, but I still think because I don't find those enclaves there yet(CBD), in the same way as in the neighbouring areas and surrounds, it seems to

me that the better assimilation, where people take almost a sense of ownership, this is my space, happens around that (area around CBD). My sense is that it is more in and out (people in CBD), although there might be pockets around market places, and I know that there is a deliberate attempt (to foster assimilation) at Zero One Two Central, and those kinds of places, even though not on a permanent basis, to almost celebrate the diversity, and to integrate people the whole time, so I think those kinds of well managed spaces. (there is more assimilation)

10.11 MS: So would you say, that assimilation of foreign nationals except for that area of the CBD, would they tend to be NOT well assimilated into the general population? Do they tend to stick together or to themselves?

Professor De Beer: It seems to me that they stick more to themselves, there is not assimilation in the sense that I think you would mean it. That I find (better assimilation) in other parts of the city. Except again I mean the same thing, hum for example there are buildings in that part and I speak more from some research we've done on religious competition and innovation, and the response to urban change, and we focused on a similar area, we found that certain buildings, Blood Street, those areas, where there would be one building with six churches. When we asked them, those six pastors have never met each other even, they don't speak to each other. Six churches, and those churches tend to be, well sometimes integrated, but mostly ethnic churches.

MS: Ok, so different foreign national areas in Africa?

Professor De Beer: Yes. And then of course on the old Bosman street church, there is for example the International Church of Pretoria is there, for the last 25 years. They are there, which is a Francophone church. And I think maybe it will come later, but the function of that place is almost like, it almost becomes like an entry point, a facilitator of peoples access. But people might not live there though. But there are in other words, there are these religious places (churches) for example that becomes facilitators of peoples (migrants) entry into Tshwane.

MS: Into Tshwane ok, and it gives them a foothold into let's call it the culture of Pretoria.

Professor De Beer: Precisely, as I see it they are often commuting in and out, but that becomes a bit of a beacon (church) a bit of a place that...and also often when they come alone that's their point of entry but also it becomes the community that holds them until they are more established.

10.12 MS: Ok, that makes sense. So do foreign nationals tend to view the Pretoria CBD, as described, as a springboard for other destinations? Such as Europe or whatever, and does this influence their use and perception of outdoor space in the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: I think it's a little bit like what we just talked about, do they use some of these churches like springboards, I don't know, this is a good question I don't know, you will have to find it out in your research. I know of isolated cases, and that was more just after Rwanda (genocide) happened. There was quite an influx of people from Rwanda. There was a big family we walked closely with, that from one night to the other, big cars arrives, so I dint know how important they were in Rwanda, and they contacted us saying that within hours they are going to leave for Canada. And they are now Canadian citizens. So this (CBD) was a springboard for them, and some of the other Francophone people as well, but my sense is that South Africa is viewed as the US or Europe.

MS: So they view it like that? (End destination)

Professor De Beer: So that is my understanding and there are many people that we've journeyed with over the years, not through social housing, but let me say like women that were in crisis, or

women that landed on the streets with their children that were foreign nationals, 20-25 years later they are assimilated, their kids speak, I mean they went to Afrikaans schools, and learnt all the other (local) languages that they speak. So this is an assimilation in the sense that they might want to go back to their own places at some point when things have stabilised, but not necessarily looking for Europe or the US, but that's just the people that we dealt with, and then the isolated cases like the one I mentioned.

10.13 MS: Ok so question 3 is called trans-locational positionality, or importing identity. That is regarding people's needs and want for public space from other destinations, so the question is, do foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD bring cultural activities or behaviours with them from their country or area of origin such as song, ritual dance whatever, and if so, what in your experience?

Professor De Beer: Now that's interesting because it seems like people really, and it's a strong sense, so there's a couple of things. Religious rituals, definitely

MS: Religious rituals?

Professor De Beer: Right, so it will be like, you do it like that in that setup and you come to South Africa, and you do it in exactly the same way.

MS: They replicate it?

Professor De Beer: Ja. Food around food and eating, it's an interesting things because often those are small little shops, or spaza shops or whatever (where communal eating happens).

10.14 MS: So are you saying they kind of, hum, giving their own let's call it ethnic grouping, you know the kind of food that they are selling,

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. And sometimes it becomes, its an interesting thing, that one could probably research more, because I think initially one just wants to eat what we like and what we know, and that becomes a glue, place that brings people together (eating). But sometimes it also becomes a place where, I mean I've seen places where, and I can't now pinpoint them, but because there are so many office blocks, office workers and government officials and people in the city and the more adventurous tend to also start to hang pout there (at the ethnic communal eating spaces), so I have a sense that some of these places become also places of assimilation.

10.15 MS: Ok so when you say these places, are you speaking of public spaces?

Professor De Beer: I'm talking of food places,

MS: Ok so physical places or?

Professor De Beer: It could be physical, (inside buildings) it could be on the street it could be informal...

10.16 MS: Ok so it could be semi-private and then even public spaces?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

MS: Alright so you have seen that?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. I mean there are some of the hum, the Tram-Shed is, I haven't been there lately, Barclay Square is in Sunnyside, but if you had to go to Barclay Square, you know those kinds of places you see an Ethiopian restaurant, hair salons, its very, very diverse in terms of African...so I have a suspicion some of that (communal eating) is in Tram Shed, but some of those, especially, it's

interesting the malls that don't work so well anymore, were the prices might drop there's all kinds of new dynamics, and in some of those places, you experience greater diversity.

10.17 MS: Ok, I understand, which is perhaps, let's say not so over traded...

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja, like Sunny Park is typically the big brands you see in Brooklyn,

10.18 MS: Ja, ja I understand what you say. All right that is interesting ok. So to what degree do foreign nationals import ethnic culture, the same question just differently, their identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? we've already determined that you said in Sunnyside and those other places, its much higher. Low medium or high?

Professor De Beer: Well I would say medium (importation of ethnic identity). I mean there is some of that, and again back to religion, even in Marabastad, you have the AIC's, the African Initiated Churches, they have different brands but I mean there's like, you know there are specific spaces, open (spaces) and that is because they often worship under trees. So you would find places that, if they are not there at the moment then you would not know it is a church. I like it when I take students and I say that's a church and they can't see it because there's a tree and some stones around. But if you are there at certain times of the day they all there, and in some cases its South Africans and also Zimbabweans.

10.19 MS: Is it those people that you see often times in these open areas in the white clothes around circles of white stones?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

MS: Are they the AIC African Initiator Churches?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.20 MS: How prevalent are they in the actual CBD of Pretoria?

Professor De Beer: Its interesting I think it's like everything else, you know, before the 90's it wasn't (prevalent) and its quite prevalent (now) and it's also interesting and I think there are different brands and different ..(within the AIC) the AIC is a big umbrella for all kinds of groups, and the also have their own brands, own flavours, so there's large Zimbabwean groups like that and places like Salvokop for example, I know its Zimbabweans, and it's close to the little informal settlement which is mostly Zimbabweans. But in other places if you go up to fountains under the trees it's interesting that it seems to me, although no, there's a guy that was a security guard in our block of flats who is Zimbabwean, and he goes there. But there its interesting because in the past people always walked there because it is poorer economically, but if you now go to the fountains on certain days of the week, and especially Sundays, there is 4x4's and all kinds of things (vehicles).

10.21 MS: So it has changed economically?

Professor De Beer: Economically there is a greater differentiation ja. (Than before)

10.22 MS: So more affluent people have now stated joining those?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. Even Zimbabwean people. And I see your question here of importing ethnic culture and identity, so the whole thing of African Initiator Churches are that they want to reclaim a kind of African sensibility and integrate Christian faith with African tradition. And so in that sense it is to me, its not so much importing because it is here (in South Africa), but it is also Africanising the city, from below through religion.

10.23 MS: And from other African countries (groups) also (Africanising the city), is that what you are saying?

Professor De Beer: Also, yes.

MS: ok so that is very interesting

Professor De Beer: So there's both those guys (African Initiator Churches) as well as the charismatic pastors, in these blocks (CBD Buildings) but also some of the bigger ones (churches), and that's interesting because often those churches become quite integrated. So there are the small ethnic churches, they are for themselves and by themselves...

MS: Such as the AIC and so forth?

Professor De Beer: Well no let me make a distinction between three or four. There's the AIC'S (African Initiator Churches) and then there are these little ethnic groups that meet in buildings or whatever like the example where there are six in one building.

MS: Is this in the actual CBD?

Professor De Beer: In the CBD yes. They are close to Bloed Steet (Marabastad).

10.24 MS: And what ethnicities would they generally be?

Professor De Beer: They could be anyone. It could be Ghanaian, it could be Congolese, it could be Zimbabwean

MS: So generally really everything?

Professor De Beer: Ja. That's the second group, but then there's a third group that I would think more of as the bigger name entrepreneurial pastors. Not necessarily the Bushiri's but you could include them, that are coming from outside,

10.25 MS: Other African countries?

Professor De Beer: Other African countries, with a big local following as well, and so those are interesting spaces that is quite integrated. Not black and white, but black from everywhere. And often the pastors are foreign and so the same people,...

10.26 MS: But it would be in a building not in public space?

Professor De Beer: Yes in buildings.

10.27 MS: But the actual ethnic cultures would integrate there? Local and foreign national?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. Like the showgrounds (west of CBD study area) like with the flight of capital east, empty warehouse spaces, they like those kinds of spaces because it is often big. Like Clement Ibe from Nigeria, he is now building a big church there in Riviera (Pretoria-north, outside study area) for the last hundred years he is trying to finish it. But he is like that, he is a Nigerian, it is interesting also, and this is just an observation, that the same people that you interview maybe about xenophobia, might be xenophobic (local people), but they are big followers of Nigerian pastors.

10.28 MS: So it's almost like a dichotomy then?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.29 MS: So this question is called technology in public space, the influence of technology in public space, so if we can almost set our minds on things like...so let me ask you; do foreign nationals or local people use technology in public space between or outside of buildings parking lots etc. to enact religious ceremony such as live-streamed services from other countries, anything like that? With the focus on public space outside of buildings, have you ever seen evidence of that?

Professor De Beer: That's now specifically using technology?

MS: Yes that would be the typical outdoor space and they would have maybe a screen or something and they could even have like a live service in another country which they then project and they kind of almost import that.

Professor De Beer: Right, well what we just talked about was enacting religious (AIC Churches) ceremony in the outdoor spaces without using any technology, just using nature, hum no I haven't seen it that I could imagine, so no.

10.30 MS: So you would not say it is really prevalent?

Professor De Beer: No no.

10.31 MS: Do church groups ever stream services to other locations

Professor De Beer: I think but that will then be the bigger churches, the bigger charismatic churches.

10.32 MS: So there is a strong link between these religious ethnic groups and churches? And their mother..(sending destination)

Professor De Beer: Well, well no it might not be with their mother (country) but often it would be other similar big brands (churches) it might be in their own places (countries) with prophets, or with the US, or with wherever.

MS: O so they would link up with US churches and...?

Professor De Beer: Ja. So there's a whole thing out there of mostly prosperity religion guys. And it seems like the discernment of you know around those things become different. There's almost this competition of who is more prosperous and if there is a guy in the US that can help us to become more prosperous. So de-coloniality and those kind of things doesn't really feature in those conversations.

10.33 MS: Ok if we can move to any kind of behaviours that you've witnessed in your time in the CBD? In what way does the use of technological communication, that can be cell phones and so forth, influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD? Now this I'm specifically mentioning youth culture because I know...

Professor De Beer: Now this is interesting because I have seen how and especially in the CBD, because, because I think from Stats South Africa you will get, it's like Sunnyside, Burghers Park, those places, Burghers Park slightly higher, they say the average age is around 25, in some of these places. So I've seen how young people, there are places and you wonder why are there so many young people sitting here with their cell-phones but it is because that is where they can best access Tshwane Wi-Fi. So outside the Sunnyside swimming pool, there's a couple of places like that, you know it's like hot-spots. Which is very interesting, because if you can design spaces around that, and also in terms of safety and whatever, because obviously you can only sit there when it's safe and certain times of the day.

10.34 MS: So would you say that there's a need to kind of formalize those spaces for these young people?

Professor De Beer: I think so, I think it's to take, and I think it's what your research tries to do is to take a cue, and that was my example of the skate boards, is to take a cue from them, from how people live already.

MS: Yes actual physical patterns as well?

Professor De Beer: How do they use those spaces and then say how do we actually plan more intentionally around that? Because this is how people use the spaces and clearly that's what's needed, but in our planning from above we have never actually (achieved this), because most architects and planners don't live in those spaces.

10.35 MS: And haven't actually engaged with the actual?(population)

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

MS: So you would say that is a definite one hey? (Youth engaging the use of technology in certain spaces)

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. And of course this is definite because of youth culture and their attachment to technological stuff (devices). Except if you want to wean them from that, but

MS: It would be very difficult...

Professor De Beer: (laughs) Ja ja.

10.36 MS: So the next one is commerce, as an indicator. Are there any trans-national trading networks operating in the Pretoria CBD, at a street level?

Professor De Beer: Well you see that one I can't tell you that from, I would suggest I think there is but I would but I would suggest that you look at them, have you seen the book, Kasinomic Revolution?

MS: No I'm not aware of it.

Professor De Beer: Have a look at it, I'll give you the title before you leave. Kasinomic Revolution speaks about Kasi, or township economies. He devotes a lot of time to how the spaza shop industry has been taken-over by foreign (national) Africans.

MS: Ok foreign nationals.

Professor De Beer: And he discusses, and it's fascinating stuff in terms of this question. Just how those networks operate. So ja, so I would guess, but I suppose because it's, if you think of the Somali's Pakistanis' Bangladeshi's, especially in those groups there is a lot of this (commercial ethnic networks) it's a self-reliant, look after each other economy. So those trading networks according to what he writes is very much, they work with each other. And, it might be trans-national, what do you mean by trans-national?

10.37 MS: That would be African foreign nationals, working trans-nationally into South Africa, this refers to trans-nationals like the Somali's would be good examples, and they would have these kinds of networks all across Africa, which is often times cyclical. So that's what I'm referring to with the trans-nationals its foreign nationals then working in South Africa they get a foothold here (commercially) but they are also supported by their co-ethnic network.

Professor De Beer: Ja right, right. Now I think definitely (present in the Pretoria CBD) but I would say firstly not based on just what one observes the whole time, but also backed up by what this guy is saying (KasiNomic Revolution: GG Alcock; 2018) and is in fact based on great research, shows how it actually happens. So you see these guys trading in the CBD, but what lies behind that is what he kind of helps us to understand. And of course the size of that is what's mind-boggling when he starts to play with figures. And what he argues around that so that might be interesting to appreciate that more and it really takes the xenophobic thing out, because his whole argument is the shops were not foreign nationals who killed off local economies, but its government regulations. But there's a whole thing around that.

10.38 MS: Yes that makes sense because there's one author an African author that states that Senegal for instance, Senegal's economy lies outside of Senegal, due to the remittance system, so something like 80% of the country's economy lies elsewhere, in Europe and the USA. Si in the actual Senegal there is a very low economy,

Do foreign nationals traders, or trans-local traders use commerce in a public space setting that would influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD such as hair salons, food selling etc. Any opinion of yours?

Professor De Beer: I would just confirm that (yes they do, as per above conversation)

10.39 MS: So now were getting to religion, do locals or foreign nationals practise any form of religion in the outdoor spaces of the Pretoria CDB? If not why not? If so where and how? This could include spaces between buildings, parking lots or any of the other spaces deemed to be public spaces. I think your initial remarks about, answers that? (Previous discussion answer was negative) regarding Marabastad and those multinational churches there that. Si I will just use that then? (previous answer)

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.40 MS: Right, do foreign national people use religion as a main entrance vehicle into the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: Definitely.

MS: Yes?

Professor De Beer: Ja. I mean it's because it's also an entrance vehicle in the full sense of the word. So that's where they find their own (people) but also where they find, that's almost the information hub. For anything, from health to economy to housing, to everything ja. Legal assistance, hum paperwork, documentation that's the place where that happens and it happens mostly free.

10.41 MS: And would that largely be, co-ethnics, the same ethnics?

Professor De Beer: Its mixed, well If I think now, the International Church, the common denominator is that they are from francophone African countries, but they can come from 12 to 15 different countries, but they are all French speakers. And that's also an interesting one because they are French speakers, because some of them really don't speak a word of English when they come hum, but it's also in terms of that a place that they get assisted to find ways on how to integrate in the country.

MS: So they kind of naturally know to go there?

Professor De Beer: Yes ja ja.

10.42 MS: And then in a nutshell what are the main demographics for religion in the Pretoria CBD? I'm just naming a few, African Pentecostal, Islam, African Spiritualism, in a nutshell how would you spread it out?

Professor De Beer: Hum, that's a good question, I don't know what would the percentages be I mean I can share with a mapping we've done, it's a bit beyond your hum, because we've done the same area but went up to Scheiding street and Salvokop, but we've done a mapping of actual churches. Its now a bit dated its 2 years ago, but we found that the shift is interesting, so when we started in 1993, there were like 9 churches in that area that you are looking at, now there's about 60 to 65. And those are not the ones under the trees (African Initiator Churches) those are just indoor spaces, and it's also not like house churches were people just worship in their apartment buildings, which is also common. So firstly just, there has been a huge shift in religious demographics, from white to black, but also from more reformed traditional Western Christian expressions, to Charismatic Pentecostal and then African Initiated Religions. And it will still be predominantly different flavours of Christian faith,

10.43 MS: Would you say that the Christian faith is larger than the Islamic faith in this study area?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. Very much so. Probably 85% ja.

MS: O so Christianity would be disproportionately larger than Islam?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja, I mean there will be the pockets of the Somali's Pakistani's, hum that will be Muslim but its smaller pockets. So it will be interesting if you go to home-affairs in that que there, depends where people are from, but your guess will be right, if it's a Somali it's probably a Muslim, if its Bangladeshi it's probably a Muslim,

10.44 MS: And just, this is not one of my questions I would just like to know, do you have any opinion on the influence of Islam as a religion has on the public space in this Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: Ja its an interesting question, I don't think, I don't think much (influence) because most things that happen, I mean there are new Mosques, there were 2 new Mosques built in the last 20 years, one in Du Toit street and the one in a new one in Marabastad. And most activities (religious) happen there, hum but of course if people don't have access to the Mosque there are certain very fixed rituals (Islamic) that people have to observe,

MS: So why wouldn't people have access to the Mosques?

Professor De Beer: Well it could just be that maybe they are late or they and there are certain times that they have to do certain things and I'm just trying to think.

10.45 MS: Would people of the Islamic faith have any barriers to accessing a Mosque or so, they wouldn't be excluded for any reason that you know of?

Professor De Beer: No, no. Also because I think there is a strong proselytizing function in the Islamic faith so they want to have new converts.

10.46 MS: So just a question regarding Islam, would you say there is a very large foreign national Islamic component to the CBD area, the Mosques there, or would it be mostly more local old established Indian families?

Professor De Beer: It's a good question, and I'm not so sure. It might also differ between Du Toit Street and Marabastad, I think in Marabastad, my gues is that Marabastad will be more diverse. Because of the proximity to the, well to the transport hub there, the taxis and the train and

everything, but also the proximity to home-affairs, so if you're from one of the countries were its predominantly Muslim, the Mosque is 2 blocks away, and that will be a place of entry as well. So my guess would be that that that Mosque will have more foreign Africans, and not just foreign Africans, foreign nationals from Asia. As compared to Du Toit Street, the Metro Mosque, but I might be wrong. But that is just a guess.

10.47 MS: Ok and then a very broad question, how does religious activity specifically influence public space use in the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: Very broadly I mean, people tend to be very religious in the CBD and Sunnyside. Well there's all kinds you have in a place like at Salvo-Kop the two fastest growing things, or we see the two fastest growing things are churches and shebeens (taverns), and those co-exist the whole time. And there are many places where you have the shebeen or the liquor store on the ground floor and the new church on top. Hum but public spaces, so there's a spill over the whole time, because many of these churches don't have their own fixed spaces, they might have a space from 9-11 on a Sunday but it's not (outdoor), its indoor space. Because it won't be like a big old Anglican church, that they have spaces for everyday of the week, so for all the other activities like youth groups or choir practise, they need space, and then those kinds of things spill over into public spaces.

10.48 MS: And what kind of public spaces would they then typically use for these periphery activities?

Professor De Beer: It could vary, it could be Burghers Park it could be Princess Park down there it could be...,

10.49 MS: Would they use parking lots, open parking lots, building rooftops anything like that? Spaces between buildings courtyards?

Professor De Beer: I just haven't seen it yet, I'm sure people use all kinds of spaces but I have only seen it in Parks.

MS: In parks? Alright, so they do tend to use the parks?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

10.50 MS: So I think that covers religion more or less, religion does seem to influence most of the indicators, hum ok so gender as an indicator, do the people in the CBD especially foreign nationals have gender prescribed behaviours in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: just help me here,...?

10.51 MS: What I'm referring to here would be more related to perhaps Islam where gender prescriptions, male and females would have to be separate. That would be a typical gender obligation, on an Islamic woman not that I think most of them practise it, but something like that that you are aware of?

Professor De Beer: Well I'm not sure that people's behaviour changes so much necessarily or immediately or whatever. I think they would still, let's say people from Ethiopia, of the Islamic faith would still want to observe or respect or honour their faith. Now obviously in a secular society they have to do it within that hum, ja, I don't know, I think there is a sense of assimilation, because those people have to adapt, so the very strict things they will have to reserve for their home or their Mosque or whatever. Ja I think so ja.

10.52 MS: Do you think inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD suffer from gender related issues in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD or not necessarily?

Professor De Beer: There you have to, there you don't specify foreign nationals in that question?

MS: Well we can split it into local people and foreign nationals, let's start with foreign nationals?

Professor De Beer: I think here it's a broad stroke and its locals and foreign nationals that I, one of the, our sense is that one of the most gendered spaces that has a really where women, and people of different sexual orientations but generally women, hum, public spaces are the spaces to see how patriarchy operates

MS: Ok could you describe, just give a bit more (detail)

Professor De Beer: Well everything from the kind of harassment that takes places the kind of, it could be anything from touch to hum just chatting up people in inappropriate ways to assuming I can do that because I'm a man.

10.53 MS: Ok, so would you say there would be gender challenges to most females in the Pretoria CBD public spaces?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

MS: In terms of harassment inappropriateness, what we would typically the classify as gender...would it be stereotyping?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja no definitely

10.54 MS: Alright. So you seen that and it could be an existing problem?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. We haven't had, just to take it broader than women and men, I don't know of specific incidents in the Pretoria CBD, around LGBTQI groups, so I won't be able to speak on that and whether, I'm not aware of specific incidents, which you often find in small towns in the Karoo or in the Western Cape its quite rife, but I'm not aware of specific incidents where, but that doesn't mean its not the case. But women one hears it the whole time.

10.55 MS: So there would be perhaps a need for safer spaces maybe hum protection from harassment?

Professor De Beer: Right ja ja.

10.56 MS: Right so status projection, I'm not quite sure if this is important, from what you've seen, I thought I'll ask you, so status projection is a way, in some African cultures, I mean it's one of the local things, where people use status projection to garner acceptance in a local setting, so they have expensive cars, expensive clothes shopping and so forth would be made a spectacle of or whatever, in order to gain (acceptance), and a lot of the literature states that this status projection does accelerate acceptance in certain cities, Prague and those eastern European countries after they gained independence or whatever, and a person can see some of this status projection going on in the Pretoria CBD. An example would be groups of cars, what I call car culture and loud music and so forth, and that a way of projecting yourself via status with an expensive car, or whatever, and then you would gain acceptance in a certain strata of the ...

Professor De Beer: I would say to that I mean if I look at all three, I would say to that, my reading of it, if we restrict it to Pretoria CBD, I see that all the time, but I see it as more a local South African expression.

10.57 MS: OK, more than practised by foreign nationals?

Professor De Beer: Not in the CBD, maybe in Sunnyside, but it's different, there it's not so much the big car thing, as that we are strong and we sell drugs and, without stereotyping all foreigners, but you see that if you walk down Steve Biko (Street) or not Steve Biko, Robert Sibukwe (Sunnyside). In the CBD there are pockets often public spaces, often just pavements, car wash spaces, those kinds of places. But then, it's mostly South Africans, young Professional...

MS: Is that your opinion?

Professor De Beer: That's my opinion, young professional South African that show off.

10.58 MS: So you would say they that there is more than just a car-washing going on there, there might be a periphery need for exposure, is that what you're saying?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. And there's also perhaps a bit of socialising, that's were the gang meets, you know, that's the bonding and whatever, on Sunday morning get away from home, that happens often on Sundays,

10.59 MS: Ok and those spaces are quite prevalent in the CBD?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja

MS: Could we call them car wash spaces, but it's definitely to do with vehicles?

Professor De Beer: Its vehicles and music and, drink (alcohol), its all mixed ja.

MS: So they are definitely there for a socialization reason?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. And that's very gendered, its often only men. Sometimes its mixed, but its often men only.

10.60 MS: So your opinion would be that it's mostly a male dominated practise? And it does influence public space use?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. And then sometimes it relates to your previous question of gender as well. If the socializing and the partying goes too long, then that link happens and women walking past there might actually wish they had walked another route, so that often happens, I have witnessed, we talk CBD, I haven't seen that as much (in CBD) because I think, my sense of the CBD and foreign nationals, is that they are still finding their foothold, they want to almost be a little bit discreet. Whilst this is putting them out there. Whilst in Sunnyside if you're a foreign national it's not like you are this little minority, there are many like us. So you can be bolder ja.

MS: Recreation I think is a big one, so must I just quickly go through the questions?

Professor De Beer: Yes you're welcome ja.

10.61 MS: Are you aware of the recreational habits of inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD regarding the use of public space? If so what would you say are the main recreations practised in the public spaces of the CBD?

Professor De Beer: Sjoie hum, there's all kinds of things, I mean, ok public space again, one must think of it broader hey, it will be anything from just using parks for just to hang out, sometimes to study, practise choir as I said before, which is religion but also recreation, hum dating, a lot of the CBD young people don't have money so that's where they go to sit and meet.

MS: What space would that be, a dating space?

Professor De Beer: Probably ja, a romantic space (laughs).

MS: So there's actually a need for that hey?

Professor De Beer: I think so ja. And then, I think the way it also changed, and that's not just there but also it seems like with black culture, and I don't like these (categorizations) but it's different from white people there's much more, they make a big thing of things like kitchen teas, baby showers and so on. So often these spaces are also used for that and it becomes quite interesting because mostly its apartments there's no real space (outdoor) if you want to invite friends, often that happens (groups of friends in outdoor space). So there's all these kinds of activities.

10.62 MS: So you would say for those kinds of social needs, birthday parties, social functions, which are now these non-male dominated, various celebrations, kitchen teas, things like that, there's a need for outdoor public space?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.63 MS: So they use parks and stuff, I saw one of these very expensive cake shops, I the CBD with 2-3 thousand rand cakes, that ties into what you are saying, that there is quite a culture of elaborate kinds of functions.

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. I was with a function at Magnolia Dell, it's a very interesting space (outside CBD) for a study, its like the curtain between white suburbia, and the inner city. We were early, and we watched this woman, and I mean I wouldn't mind having her work here, the way she was organized and putt together this thing (function) then also you start to ask the cost of that, because she went to town there were no costs spared for this thing (function) and it was then a two three hour, what was it, it was a baby shower.

10.64 MS: So that's interesting, so you would, your perception would be that these African cultures tend to hum, be more elaborate regarding these functions

Professor De Beer: Yes it's a ritual, it's an important ritual and people are willing to spend money on rituals, so public spaces are used for rituals.

MS: So would you say that they attach perhaps more prominence or importance than perhaps white culture?

Professor De Beer: Absolutely. And so to understand these spaces to understand ritual in a bigger way than just religious ritual, so its these family rituals, its initiation rituals, there's a baby or now you are getting married, or whatever, people attach a lot of value to that. It's often a reunion of friends and family, so that's important, but then there's also of course the other things, and that is often in the news. There's the other uses of recreational habits, and if you're homeless, I don't know, people who are homeless don't think of recreation, but that is the other use of those spaces, people simply don't have anywhere else to go (homeless people). So they use public spaces, that's where they sit that's where they hope they can sleep tonight.

MS: Well it becomes their living spaces?

Professor De Beer: That's right, it's their living space, and there are I mean opposite TLF (Tshwane leadership Foundation) at night becomes a bedroom, and it's a challenge. So it's that, and of course unfortunately people will link those things, and they can't always be linked and they criminalise homeless people. But public spaces are also the places where street drugs and stuff happen. And this is often where the tension happens in public spaces where people want to have these three thousand rand cake celebrations and then there's a deal (drugs) happening there and

MS: People don't like that perhaps or the homeless people?

Professor De Beer: Precisely.

10.65 MS: So would you say there is a bit of conflict in these public spaces?

Professor De Beer: Ja I am always thinking of spaces in terms of contestations, its contested spaces, the way in which we design it we don't consider that properly (spatial planners), the regeneration of those spaces are contested, because lets now clean it up and put heavy security and push homeless guys out, and we criminalise, so it's always contested, who's space is that? If it's a public space, who does it belong to? And those things in a sense are up for grabs (by all groups)

10.66 MS: So you would say there is still a lot of work to be done regarding these let's call it figuring out how to appropriate these spaces properly hey?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. There's a woman at hum, she's also doing her PhD you might want to share notes with her, Makundani Makavulele at hum, town planning. She is specifically looking not just CBD, but she identified a couple of parks. So she is focusing specifically on parks and the use of public parks.

10.67 MS: So regarding recreation, I have a few indicators and one of them is public eating as you mentioned before; do inhabitants local or foreign national practise communal eating in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? If so where does it usually happen and how does it influence the use of public space?

Professor De Beer: Well I mean some of it I have said, hum because the spaces in which people live are so small, and therefore it spills over the whole time (Need for outdoor space in CBD). So it could be churches, after church they want to eat somewhere but the space is small so they go there (outside) or it could be all these different events, celebrations, rituals, graduations, parties or just picnics, children's parties all of those.

10.68 MS: And would you say the actual inhabitants, the people who stay in the Buildings in the CBD, do they often times eat outside on pavements or as an ethnic tradition or something that they would carry over from their host country?

Professor De Beer: Hum not that I know of. I mean remember way back there was a big commotion in the 90's when a guy slaughtered a thing, there in Sunnyside in his garage. But it seems it doesn't happen too often. But to say about that which means then that in a sense the way that spaces are designed is very Western, and inhibits, there are these unwritten and written rules, that inhibits full expression of what people would have expressed if they lived in their own countries or in a rural area.

10.69 MS: So what you're saying is you think or your gut feel if I can put it that way, is that there might be more of an expression of this public space eating if it was felt that it was appropriate?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

MS: So that's your opinion?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.70 MS: Do inhabitants, especially foreign nationals practise street side conversation as a recreational activity? If so where does it happen and does it influence the use of public space? So this come from my research in other African cities, which there was a strong component of this street-side conversation as a recreational activity.

Professor De Beer: Right, right, ja. I think so and its different things its hum, but it's just informal happenings, it will sometimes happen around street trade, eating you know informal trading, informal eating places, I see there are now a couple of petrol garages where they have added kind of outdoor space where people can buy something outside and, often also cars, where people sit, and it can be all kinds of people, foreign nationals, sometimes its people with suits coming from their offices, and lunch time they would sit there. After work 5 o clock those places are quite busy.

MS: Little groups of people chatting is that what you're saying?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. So it's almost new, informal slash formal public space slash private, its open spaces. Its not necessarily public so it could be open at a garage, sometimes it looks like they may stretch it a bit and move into space that might be a bit more public, and they use it for as long as they are not chased away, there is one or two examples I can think of where that happens, where they have put tables and chairs and people sit and they socialize and they drink and what-not.

10.71 MS: So is there a need for that lets call it talking in a uniquely African way?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.72 MS: Do inhabitants of the CBD practise ritual ethnic activities in the public spaces of the CBD, if so what and where?

Professor De Beer: I think they well, not really I mean that happens if there are festivals or celebrations or whatever, specific things then that would happen. I mean there's one but not in the CBD it's in Burghers Park, where for years we've done this feast of the clowns, then it's quite deliberate about gathering as much diversity as possible so that would happen there and then the artists that perform. But in terms of an informal no, no it would mostly be linked to religious ritual practises. That could be the worship, it could be baptisms in Marabastad, it could be the Spruyt (river) there, those kinds of things. And that will be both locals and also foreigners.

10.73 MS: So would you feel that most of these African ethnic rituals and behaviours as described here would happen outside the Pretoria CBD? Some other location, maybe Sunnyside?

Professor De Beer: No I think, I think where there's an open space, a space that is really open, I mean it is really interesting, these are, the spaces where these (things) happen are not like parks or parking garages or, it's to find those few natural spots (nature), where there are lots of trees and maybe a spruyt or a river or whatever.

10.74 MS: A truly natural area?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.75 MS: And would they need those areas more for these rituals and so forth would you say?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.76 MS: So there would be a need for such spaces in the CBD, but there aren't any that you are aware of?

Professor De Beer: Well I suppose only Marabastad, that part.

10.77 MS: So number ten is birth generation order, that's just first second or third generation migrants, I don't know if you are aware of how when migrants assimilate, are the foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD mostly first second or third generation migrants?

Professor De Beer: Hum I would say , it's a guess but I would say first and second, because its really the last twenty five years.

10.78 MS: So that would place most of them first and second generation?

Professor De Beer: Ja, and then I think it would be different, I think in those beginning years, mostly often those Francophone and Zimbabwean, those waves (of migrants) I think Somalis' followed later. Bangladeshi Pakistani people still came later so I think there are different waves of that. Ja so some would be more first generation, and maybe second, with maybe kids, ja. But you would now have, I mean I know quite a few places like Salvokop, ja there are now many that I know that would be second generation where the kids would have come since they were small and were in our early childhood programmes, and they are adults. Ja but I'm not aware of third generation, except if they brought in, no no.

10.79 MS: So what you're saying is that Pretoria's CBD is, let's call it after independence, there hasn't been enough time to really create third and fourth you know old enclaves where you have little China's and stuff like that, that's not prevalent yet?

Professor De Beer: Ja, no no.

10.80 MS: Ok do these foreign nationals mostly bring their children with them, or do the children stay behind? If they bring them with, how well assimilated are the children in your opinion?

Professor De Beer: That's a good question, firstly I think it's a combination, I know of both, hum most that I know of if a a family came it would be a husband and wife, with the children, hum a couple of cases where it was a woman alone with the children, hum and it seems to me that the children assimilate much quicker, if they can find access.

MS: Access in terms of?

Professor De Beer: For example if they are very small, access into pre-school, or access into a primary school. If they can't find access which is not always easy because of documents of birth certificates, all the requirements of those things. And access I think is a big issue. So once they get access though, it seems they are, I mean I know of this little guy (child) from Rwanda who went to Jopie Fourie Primary School, when he was seven, you know he could speak fluently Afrikaans, he played rugby for the first team when he was grade seven, but he is a Rwandese boy. Hum so my sense and I mean many of my colleagues that worked with me on staff we had, you know they were first generation migrants, from Rwanda from Zimbabwe from Zambia from various places, but their children were fully assimilated.

10.81 MS: So you would say in general, the foreign nationals that you have worked with, children are well established?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja it could also be that, now let me just say that yes, and those are both to make the distinction, there are foreign nationals and foreign nationals. Some come they have the

kind of skills knowledge qualifications that can land them good jobs. So they have different degrees of vulnerability. And yet and give them better access, so they might have a bit of a fast lane. But generally speaking however vulnerable the parents are, once the kids have access it seems to me it becomes an equalizer. The kids use those opportunities and they merge quite well.

MS: Even though their parents might not?

Professor De Beer: I mean like in yeast there's a cleaner that is the one I speak about and the housing manager is also from Rwanda, hum, he has a doctorate in theology now, but all their kids have access to whatever opportunities, and they are quite well assimilated. In fact if they meet, if people don't know hum, that they come from Rwanda because they speak all the local languages, I mean no Afrikaans kid can do that. So people will just assume initially hum that they are South African, but I can't say that for everybody, but I speak black Africans, so if you are I don't know, lighter in complexion, Somalian Ethiopian, does it differ, I don't know, I'm now speaking, so let me qualify that. I'm speaking of black Africans of darker complexion, so if you speak Somali's Ethiopians, and then if you speak Bangladeshi's Pakistani's it might differ. I cant say about that because I don't know.

MS: Alright

Professor De Beer: Sorry and there's also strangely not with Ethiopians so much because they are mostly orthodox Christians, but with the other groups there's also the religious differences, but I suppose the kids because through Islam and the Mosque, they would be assimilated there again.

MS: So it would almost have the same function hey?

Professor De Beer: Ja so the one might be through schools, the other might happen more through religion ja.

10.82 MS: All right, generally speaking, do foreign nationals struggle to assimilate in the culture and spaces of the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: I don't know, I will now guess so I mean it depends which spaces one speaks of.

MS: Ok as people, or individuals do they as human beings, do they find cultural assimilation and acceptance difficult in general? Or is it not a problem in your opinion?

Professor De Beer: Well I mean I guess it depends a lot on language. So if they find like a like a Zimbabwean, with a different language, it might, so I think language plays a big roll. You know I think language and religion will play a big role in answering this question. Those two more so than qualification. Because I know people with great qualifications who struggle to access opportunities here.

10.83 MS: So that would come then from the local population not accepting that particular? (person even though they have good qualifications)

Professor De Beer: What I wanted to say here, of course last year in Pretoria West there were all these incidents with foreigners and locals, but all along, we found that less in the city of Pretoria (CBD) than what people found in some other places with all the xenophobic attack's. I don't know what the reasons are, (for xenophobic attacks). But also it seems to me there was a conversation on land reform, I was part of a while ago and there were grass roots activists from the inner cities and from rural areas, and it was very interesting the difference. The rural activists who are activists I mean they throw the constitution left right and centre, there was much greater xenophobic

sentiments from the rural areas. So it's almost like the inner city guys had to learn to co-habitate with the (foreigners), to live together in the space, so they had a much, they were focusing on the constitution, they were saying all that live in this land. And they included the foreign nationals as well. But of course these were activists, so they think around rights and stuff, but it was for me interesting that there was a marked difference in the conversation

10.84 MS: Any comments on tactical cosmopolitanism and self-exclusion? Because that would have an influence on public space use.

Professor De Beer: Ok ja that's an interesting one, I think so, I do think so I mean if I think how the Somali's and the Ethiopians for example socialize, hum, now whether it's for fear of rejection or, as you can go to Europe and the US everywhere and it's the same, you will find them clinging together. Religious reasons but also the rest (other reasons) So I definitely think that that happens (self-exclusion) the whole time. Cultural superiority, that's an interesting, ja.

MS: Funny enough I found the Rwandans viewed themselves very superior to you know..

Professor De Beer: Ja ja ja.

MS: So there is an element of that you would say?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja ja. And it could be cultural but also religious superiority in a sense and it could be Islam or Christian or it could be certain brand of that. So Ethiopian orthodox Christians for example, would see themselves more as the, that's a very old form of Christianity. So self-exclusion for all these reasons and I think we've seen it play itself out.

10.85 MS: Alright so there would be an element of that?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja.

10.86 MS: Ok so trans-national alienation, which could be called homesickness, can have behavioural causality in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Do you think that trans-national alienation or homesickness affects the foreign national people's engagement with public space in the Pretoria CBD? This is a question specifically for the foreign nationals that live here. I think it links to the previous question of self-exclusion in a sense?

Professor De Beer: I think it will ja, it will affect (public space use) and they probably develop mechanisms, coping mechanisms and that's where I think public space, you ask here how it will affect engagement with public space, I think that's where I think public spaces will become the places where they self-medicate those homesickness, through gatherings, through eating through religious expression,

10.87 MS: So re-creating familiarity?

Professor De Beer: Ja re-creating those connections back to home, ja, ja.

MS: So you would say there would be a need for them to do that?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. There's a Cameroonian woman that lives in Cape Town, and she has done some interesting things I think it's called conviviality, were she looked at some of the practises of migrants in Cape Town and kind of just how do they build resilience and so on around some of these things, the kinds of coping mechanisms and stuff they develop, ja.

10.88 MS: You see these are very periphery issues but I felt in the study that they would perhaps have an influence on public space...

Professor De Beer: Yes yes yes, right.

MS; But it's very difficult to quantify these things, but it's so important I feel if you really want to contribute to (the discourse), so some people question whether these should even be in the study, typically from architecture

Professor De Beer: but these kinds of things seem to me one of the more important ones,

MS: Yes yet my experience was the opposite from the architectural fraternity, hence that's why I am doing this study, because these kinds of things are difficult to grapple with and understand their effects. But each one of these things would be a study on its own,

Professor De Beer: Ja precisely ja.

10.89 MS: but the point of the study is to expose these broad, let's call them indicators and then, for future study of other you know (cities). Ok so if trans-national alienation as described is real for the foreign national population of Pretoria, what kind of influence do you think it will have on them and the kinds of spaces that they use?

Professor De Beer: In a sense my response will be the same to what I just said ja.

10.90 MS: Ok ja that's what I thought. Ok then I'm coming to a bit more tangible issues, you mentioned just now about how law-making influences hum (public space) so I've rolled number 13 all into one here, **regulatory intrusiveness**, that would be from the council side, **participation**, **accommodating spaces**, and **spatial choice**

Professor De Beer: Phew, these are good questions ja.

10.91 MS: Do people in the Pretoria CBD suffer from regulatory intrusiveness in their daily lives? Examples would be over complicated trading licences, cost etc., if so what do you think it could be? So now I'm thinking here of street traders because they are the most obvious ones, hum anything in your experience or opinion that could add some knowledge to this?

Professor De Beer: I think these are issues they are also regulatory intrusiveness but also regulatory irregularity. I mean there are rules that are not implemented, so there are different things, there are rules that are sometimes not implemented, which affects, by the council side.

MS: Or selective?

Professor De Beer: Or selective, yes I think one should make a distinction, sometimes it may be necessary for the well-being of the residents, to not implement it, sometimes it is selective, so there are corrupt practises, you can trade here as long as you pay me, and then a very uncreative bureaucracy, and again exactly what your study is about, not following the patterns. So they might do a study, and even like you are doing now, and say this is an actual need, they don't follow what is actually happening, so they will create something where no one wants to go to, where there are no feet, so they tick it off, we have actually addressed this need that the consultants found in this space, instead of saying well look organically, this is where it already happens, can't we do this or formalise it or regulate it. So I would also say regulatory uncreativity. Or lack of innovation ja, ja.

10.92 MS: Do you think the inhabitants of the CBD have adequate participation in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, I'm thinking of African foreign nationals now, are the spaces of the CBD

accommodating to their needs? Or do they have needs for say ablutions, water etc. that are unfulfilled?

Professor De Beer: Well I would say it depends on what you mean with participation, when I hear participation, I will think of making spaces, I will think of managing spaces, and I will think of living in those spaces.

10.93 MS: Yes and just to add to that, with the word participation would they have, let's call it fair access to participation, or are some people excluded from participating fully, maybe via exclusion...

Professor De Beer: Well so lets me just say when I say making spaces, I don't think there's adequate anything for anybody, around making the spaces, the determining how they will be used, the decisions around their use

10.94 MS: So is that totally inadequate currently?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja. And like a stupid example, certain gates of Burghers Park closed because a previous owner of Burghers Park Hotel and a previous ward councillor were in cahoots and they thought it's a good idea. And the rest of the community we were not at all (consulted), and we kicked and fought and shouted whatever, So I would say in terms of making spaces no, in terms of managing spaces extremely limited. In terms of living in those spaces the access (of them by everyone) in theory yes, everybody can participate, but then there are, I mean ablutions in some cases, and I don't know I can't now (remember) you'll have to check, but I know in some parks for example, because of the hum, issues surrounding, crime, drug-use whatever, ablution facilities are locked. And sometimes permanently so. To keep unwanted elements out, but if that's the space you use and you have thirty people and you have a party or you do whatever. Or you are an asylum seeker and you're not yet settled, you are basically outside the whole time, you need that access to ablutions, so there is a definite issue around this one (ablutions)

10.95 MS: So you would say ablutions in general in the CBD are a problem?

Professor De Beer: Yes yes. And then it would effect of course those with less access and who don't have the right papers even more. But there is definitely (a problem), fortunately were not, although people say it is just a political issue for keeping it soft, that the water issue is not like Cape Town. But I mean in Cape Town when the water thing happened, homeless guys had no access to water. Because all the public toilet6s, sea point all those places where people would go to generally, everything was, the taps where taken off to save water. So it was a huge crisis for them.

10.96 MS: So access to potable drinking water for the whole population, and I'm speaking more of the street people now and the marginalized people, is that a problem would you say?

Professor De Beer: Yes yes.

MS: So ablutions and water remains a (problem)?

Professor De Beer: Ja ja. And then religious needs, I think, I think people use public spaces for that, but its also a matter, you see I think what has happened though in the (CBD) that is fine, but I think it depends on a couple of things. It depends on noise levels, sometimes it's imposing on yourself certain restrictions, because you actually bother people, not enough discipline and how you do it. But then also the whims of if, the Metro has a bad month and they need to make money or just keep themselves busy, sometimes how the Metro police are against selectively implementing things. But I don't think there are, as far as I know there aren't specific rules around, I don't know if there are

rules about gatherings. But I think the water and ablution thing will be the main one. But then there are also issues around walls, in many places that you can't use walls,

MS: That's interesting, could you perhaps elaborate on that?

Professor De Beer: No I just know it I cant remember al the spaces where I, I know there are spaces in the inner city where you can go there and recreate, but you can't use a wall while doing that. And some of that may be archaic rules, but some people think it's important to implement it. And again it's the lack of participation in how the spaces are actually used,

MS: Ja and perhaps even consultation hey?

Professor De Beer: Ja very little consultation. And actually you know there was a time between 94 and 99 where there was this romantic thing of participation, democracy and everybody is part, that's how I met Karel Bakker (head of architecture UP 2009-2014) for the first time, we were together on the inner city partnership, but it dwindled, I don't even know anymore who is on the ward committee, the ward committees are party political in-fighting. Its not really people that have the interest of the community at heart, its more people positioning, often positioning themselves to have either access to resources or the politician. Instead of people that represent constituencies and community people and needs. So those consultative, it links to the, where still on regulatory?

MS: Yes (still on regulatory intrusion)

Professor De Beer: Those legislative mechanisms that are set-up to ensure participation in all levels and consultation, it just to me, doesn't really happen. And also because the populations in the CBD are more mobile. So if it was Muckleneuk, it's the same resident committee for a hundred years, and so they just fight the same fight, but the moment you think you have a group of leaders in the CBD, they have left, so that plays a role in many of these things. And also migrants might, so that's the other thing and you probably picked it up but, that they might move between Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Joburg, depending on where they can find (work) so that's the other, the mobile thing makes it also tricky (transient population).

10.97 MS: Ok so the last one number fourteen, cultural expression, political choice, ethnic division and xenophobia, are inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD free to express their cultural needs in the public spaces of the CBD, especially foreign nationals, if so please elaborate. I think it comes back to many of the things we've touched upon,

Professor De Beer: Ja it does.

MS: Do you want to leave it at that? I think we've pretty much covered it hey?

Professor De Beer: I think so ja.

10.98 MS: Do the foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD have political choice and by definition, any form of political power. If not why not?

Professor De Beer: I don't think they have much of that. Hum well depending on their status, but it takes so long I mean if you are not naturalised, you are here at the grace and the behest of the government of South Africa. If you are not a naturalised citizen, you are not. So the kind of politics you can practise you would do it in a way that is very cautious, not to compromise your position (reveal yourself).

10.99 MS: That would also then by implication mean that those people don't have much, lets call it power over their situation, or needs or wants. They wouldn't have a voice?

Professor De Beer: Well if I take housing for example, which I know quite well, you know social housing for example doesn't include, if you are a foreign national you cannot access it at all. So our subsidy regimes, there have been changes around the children's act and child care grants, but the same fight that was there for foreign nationals accessing child grants, should happen on a number of other fronts. So people don't have access politically and they don't have the political clout to actually inform that so the public interest lawyers and the advocacy NGO's and others don't represent them. So I mean people do mobilise and organise and I mean one of the lawyers, I don't know if you have lawyers for human rights at all in your process if you have spoken to them?

MS: No I haven't

Professor De Beer: Because they have two main legs in their work the one is land and housing rights and the other one is migration and refugees. So they deal a lot with refugee issues legally and human and there is some organizing, some legal education that they also do in terms of, so maybe let me just correct this, it depends it's a big question, there is different groups, also the Catholics have an office, the Zivieri movement, so they educate people in terms of their legal rights and those kinds of things.

10.100 MS: So just to give a voice to the powerless?

Professor De Beer: ja, ja.

10.101 MS: So on their own (without human rights lawyers) they would suffer from low levels of political power you would say?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja.

MS: Much more so than the local natural people?

Professor De Beer: Ja, ja, and if they then understand their rights sometimes, they can exercise those rights, which are still limited in comparison, but at least that helps them to not be bullied or be criminalized. So there are different levels of it, there would be people that have no clue about it (their rights) especially newcomers. And then others that might have landed themselves with the right NGO's and groups or the international churches and those kinds of groupings that would educate them about their political rights.

MS: Ok that makes sense.

Professor De Beer: But still there's not a sense that there is, I think that there are some, and I don't know their names now, but there are organizations that are made up of the people themselves that are trying to speak as a collective voice, so the extent to which they can organize themselves, also helps politically, but it's always limited until they are naturalised.

10.102 MS: Is there ethnic division and xenophobia present in the Pretoria CBD? if so what form does it take and who suffers from it the most?

Professor De Beer: Ja it's tricky, I don't know I can't say that it isn't there, just like racism is alive and well, I think xenophobia is alive and well. But to now trace it so very specific places within the CBD...

MS: Would you say that the foreign national groups in the Pretoria CBD experience xenophobia?

Professor De Beer: Ja, you'll have to ask them. I'm not sure I think they might, whether it's overt or subtle. Then again, it might depend on one's definition of xenophobia, and how far are legislative

measure xenophobic? So is exclusivist legislation xenophobic or is it just rules? In that sense? So you can't trade here because you're not South African.

10.103 MS: From the local population toward the non-local population would you say that (is a problem)

Professor De Beer: Well I think that, I don't know, its guess work. I'm sure they will experience that from time to time, but I don't think, I think if I have to compare it to places in Mamelodi, or in black townships, it will be different, so its back to what I said earlier, that it seems to me that inner city areas have become more cosmopolitan in that sense, there are higher levels of tolerance. So I would say that but it doesn't mean that there's no experience of either overt or subtle (xenophobia) and then the legislative thing, there is an anti-foreign thing often in that.

10.104 MS: Do you think ethnic division and xenophobia influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD?

Professor De Beer: It could be, I don't know, I don't know for a fact but I mean I think people obviously would, people negotiate with themselves around these things, so if they have a hunch that this might be experienced from the other side, as intrusion or whatever, they might withhold (exclude)themselves from using a space in a certain way.

10.105 MS: Then I think then the very last question, do you have any other comments regarding public space use in the Pretoria CBD relating to African migrants and this situation of diverse ethnicity? Anything that you think the study perhaps missed or points that we should touch on, anything that didn't come up in the questionnaire?

Professor De Beer: Just say the question again?

MS: Do you have any other comments regarding public space use in the Pretoria CBD relating to African migrants and the situation of diverse ethnicity?

Professor De Beer: No I mean I think these are very exhaustive, no its just more from a constructing spaces point of view, to be saying you know this lack of innovation.

10.106 MS: Where would you say this lack of innovation lies if you could spread it across role players?

Professor De Beer: I'll start with bureaucrats because I don't like bureaucrats, and politicians, those who especially if you talk public spaces, where its owned by the city or the state, hum not acknowledging firstly who's there, who lives in those places.

MS: Would you say they are in denial?

Professor De Beer: It could be denial, maybe ja, maybe its denial, or its just a lack of creativity, hum or its just hum, we are so caught up in our own little history so that we don't say that actually we have this amazing diversity of people and how do we celebrate that and tap in to that through how we create spaces? And I think places like Joburg, Joburg does that much better.

MS: Yes it's a well known fact that they have achieved that to a larger degree.

Professor De Beer: Yes, I think there's a spirit in Pretoria that we have to chase out.

10.107 MS: So how would you describe this spirit?

Professor De Beer: Well I don't know if its linked to the capitol city status, I don't know but even the changes that took place, waited really till Mandela got inaugurated, I mean by that time places like Hillbrow, Yeoville where all mixed, so its just a strange thing that we are almost waiting to give ourselves permission to be creative, and out of the box, and it happens in so many ways. So I don't know for me its there, but also in Joburg the private sector people that are in the inner city are also, it's interesting where people are investing, now you can, of course gentrification is one of the big things that we are thinking around and the implications for the poor. But at the same time to say that there are adventurous private investors or sector investors in Joburg, that does not always lead to. In some cases it might, but does not always lead to the displacement of people. But it actually really feeds into what is there. So there's some creative stuff. Whilst here the only private sector people are City Property almost that really put money into the inner city, and there's nothing very creative around what they do it's all.

10.108 MS: So just of the record, what is your opinion of the work City Prop does? In terms of public space and...?

Professor De Beer: Well I think it's, in terms of public space?

MS: Well, around their buildings and that kind of thing?

Professor De Beer: Well that I think is great, and I use it always with the yeast guys, to say why does City Property care for their space up to the road, and the pavement, and why does yeast only worry until there? You never worry, pavements are always looking bad. So there's a mind-set there and I appreciate that and although I've met many times with Geoffrey Wapnick, and we could never really strike up, he sees us as the little charity guys, but I have appreciation for that and for the quality of what they do, and the way they maintain it and for taking it seriously. Of course that's profit, but its fine I think that it makes a contribution, but you need all of that, you the yeast's, you need the city properties you need more like that.

10.109 MS: Would you say that there is a low level of private investment in public space in the CBD?

Professor De Beer: Ja, yes. And partly it's because that wouldn't necessarily have return on investment, in the same way, so if you invest in public spaces, it's to contribute to this nice thing, and if you can have happy tenants without, and my argument is if you have good public spaces, you're tenants will stay here and they will be happy about it, but I don't think most private sector guys have invested at all in public space, its return on investment, it is that there is not a huge ownership of the inner city at large. We do our thing, there's not string cross-sectoral partnerships. The NGO's do their thing, the business do their thing. Things like festivals, I mean I believe in festivals, there's a guy in Cape Town who did his masters on community based festivals, and how to sue that as a way to celebrate diversity and build agency in communities, but again private sector doesn't come to the party. We've done our festival for the past twenty years and we never have big, I mean they might give a few rands, but tis not really investment its charity and these kinds of things that you speak about in my mind really investment is required if we want to have decent public spaces. I mean Cape Town, for all the sins of Cape Town, and the segregation of Cape town if you think hum the sea-point promenade, the people who are using it weekends are from the flats, I mean its very diverse weekends, in the week its not. Saturdays and Sundays there are those outdoor Gyms, amazing spaces but there's a different kind of investment. For both public and private. But its ownership but I mean there its white ownership of where traditionally the capital sat. here it moved, capital moved in the 90s to Mennlyn and everywhere, and so even there's no black private sector

companies that come and run into (the CBD) they also run to those spaces (outside CBD) they don't come into the inner city.

END OF INTERVIEW

ANNEXURE L

Interview Dr Tshilenga

9.1 MS: Please introduce yourself.

Dr. Tshilenga : *Myself I am a migrant, for 25 years, I am not a refugee just to be clear. For 25 years in Pretoria, and I have been involved in the life of migrants for a long time. Mostly it is French speaking people from central and West Africa and our purpose was to help the French-speaking people, and therefore it became large (church). In the church sometimes they bring their needs, and therefore we had to help, and for many years we did. For many years we said change is coming, before 1994 it was another situation, but after some years it changed and now we have (represent) more than 22 countries (African migrants) (in the church). Even people from the North Morocco, Algeria and Niger and Egypt. Sometimes they come to ask help.*

MS: Ok.

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja

MS: Ok so I think I will ask you let's call it the expert questions, I will go through them.

Dr. Tshilenga: Even myself I am writing the article, because our church, celebrated last year November our 25th year, I am writing an article about that.

9.2 MS: Are you affiliated with the international organization for migrants? Which is in, I think, Muckleneuk?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes I went there, but we have no relations yet.

9.3 MS: Ok. So maybe we should start the questions as fast as we can. So you don't have to give long answers, just of the top of your head, so I don't want to influence your answers, Ill just ask them to you and then..(you answer) ok?

9.4 MS: Are you aware of any co-ethnic networks or ethnic enclaves in certain areas of the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes many times there were some ethnic groups, sometimes he die, just because the people move, and sometimes new ones are created. Some come and some go, yes ja.

9.5 MS: Alright, if this is so, which nationality and to what degree would you say these ethnic enclaves influence the use of public space in the Pretoria CBD? Are there strong enclaves, how many are you aware of, what nationalities?

Dr. Tshilenga: Do you want me to say only now, or a whole history?

MS: Well you can give a brief history, maybe?

Dr. Tshilenga: A brief history is I know the people from the Comoros was living all of them the same house. Comoros Island.

MS: ja

Dr. Tshilenga: It was (people) living together in house, It was also people from Mali, want to live together. They facilitate to pay together the house the electricity the water. They lived in some house, sometimes.

MS: Ok

Dr. Tshilenga: Sometime for one year, for two years after that he close.

MS: They would go?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes.

9.6 MS: Currently in the Pretoria CBD, if you think of the large buildings, so if I say the CBD I am talking about say Skinner street, down to about Bloed, or one of those at the bottom, and then Es'kia Mphachlele till Nelson Mandela. That's my study area, so it's the old part, the large buildings, also Marabba Stad. A lot of those buildings are being converted to housing units.

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja

MS: By City property?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja

9.7 MS: Within that area are you aware of ethnic enclaves of, you know co-ethnics for instance maybe Zimbabweans or maybe not so much?

Dr. Tshilenga: More in Sunnyside but in this are for this moment no (not many).

9.8 MS: Ja, so you would say it is quite low then?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes.

9.9 MS: All right, now the other question regarding that is the public space use in the Pretoria CBD by foreign nationals similar or dissimilar to the Johannesburg inner city. This question comes from research we did in Johannesburg were there was quite a strong ethnic groupings in certain areas and, but the research seems to indicate that in Pretoria it is not so much? So would you say that Pretoria is different to Johannesburg?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly, it is different, because what I know is that Johannesburg in the past it was more in Hillbrow (enclaving) , but here in this area (Pretoria CBD) we have not, I don't think what is the same places (ethnic groups and enclaving).

MS: Ja

Dr. Tshilenga: They can come to work in the same places but not to live together yes, ja.

9.10 MS: Ok, thank you all right, the foreign national people that are in the Pretoria CBD, are they generally well assimilated in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD or do they rather stick together in their co-ethnic networks? So we have already said that there aren't very strong ethnic enclaves or co-ethnic networks in the Pretoria CBD, but when foreign national people from other African countries come to the Pretoria CBD do they tend to assimilate or absorb into the culture easily or do they rather stay on their own to one side?

Dr. Tshilenga: In the first time, they not come easily (struggled to adapt) they tend to go to churches, and some churches refer them to us. When they come to see me, the first problems may be food but it can also be accommodation, where can I stay for the first time?

MS: ok so it is like an entrance point?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes like an entrance point, they go to, and when he get there he can stay for a short moment (at church) but when he can leave he go, most of the people go to Sunnyside. It give more opportunities for people to live together in same flat, it can be two or three families at a time, Sometimes people are bachelor and they can stay together and minimize the costs yes ja. But CBD not too much.

MS: Ok not so much. Alright so it's more Sunnyside , Arcadia Berea those places?

Dr. Tshilenga: Arcadia yes ja.

MS: So you're saying that you're observing that it is happening outside of that old CBD area?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja.

MS: Ok, alright. Do the foreign nationals tend to view the Pretoria CBD, and I suppose South Africa maybe in general, as a springboard, or like a setting of point for other destinations in Europe?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

9.11 MS: So they don't plan to stay long?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, they not plan to stay long, because there are fear, the reason new people think this (migrants) is that there are attack on the foreigner, there is a xenophobia, and when they come, they are not really sure (if they will stay)

MS: Afraid?

Dr. Tshilenga: Afraid ja, also they are not sure that they will be welcome, and he cannot find a job, and maybe place to stay. This gives sometime a problem for them to be, sometimes they want to be hiding.

MS: To keep one side?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

9.12 MS: So they do do that? (stay to one side)

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes they do.

9.13 MS: So could you say almost that they exclude themselves?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja, you can say sometimes ja.

9.14 MS: Alright that makes sense. Now another question; do foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD bring their, let's call it cultural activities or behaviours, you know from those countries with them from their country of origin? That could be like ethnic rituals, dance anything like that? So the same question differently; to what degree do foreign nationals import ethnic culture and identity into the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Do they want to do that and do they want to if they could?

Dr. Tshilenga: They could (want to), but most of the problem is culture, and language is part of the culture. They, for example our church is French, and they like to come to church because we speak French. That is one part of the culture, and also the clothes, mostly the women, they keep to clothes as women from African countries, Nigeria and other countries. The way the women wear is different than women in South Africa. So this is the culture they bring here.

MS: So it would be dress?

Dr. Tshilenga: Dress yes ja.

MS: so do they want to bring that dress of theirs here?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes.

9.15 MS: But would they be afraid to do it in the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Sometimes yes.

MS: So they would expose themselves as foreigners?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, they would expose themselves.

9.16 MS: Ok I understand alright. And then things like rituals and those kinds of things you wouldn't say they would bring those kinds of things here like dance, singing stuff like that?

Dr. Tshilenga: not too much, but what I know is hum, it is about food. There is some place around Church Square, where a Nigerian sold Nigerian food, the people preferred to come to buy there.

MS: OK

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja, because it's part of their traditional food yes. So they could get together and do the culture ja. (eating)

9.17 MS: Ja that makes sense. So this next one is about the use of technology. Like phones communication technology in public space. Do foreign national peoples, or locals in the (Pretoria) CBD use technology in public space to enact religious ceremonies such as live streaming services from other countries, anything like that? Do church groups ever stream their services to other places in Africa? And then do you think that the use of these technological, lets call it communication devices, influences the use of public space, so what I'm saying is, do people in the Pretoria CBD, regarding religious activity, do they ever do it outside of buildings for instance under trees, parking lots etc. and do they then use cell-phones or tablets or something to either receive a sermon or to send it? What I'm asking is are they linking up with other churches in Africa and are they using communication devices to do that? Or, do they only do it inside of buildings like a traditional church building or then, you know space that they rent.

Dr. Tshilenga: No not so much, what I do know is that many how do you call it hum, the space for his business, places where computer and people can send a message, in the CBD you find it.

MS: Like an internet café?

Dr. Tshilenga: Internet café yes yes, and they do it (communicate home) but things in public space I not see so much

MS: Not so much?

Dr. Tshilenga: No not so much.

9.18 MS: Are there any what we call trans-national trading networks operating in the CBD at street level? That means you know businesses guys that are traders together that would for instance come from Nigeria or whatever, and they got this trading network that they would come to South Africa and do business but they kind of going back so it's like they made this network through Africa. Are you aware of any of these things in the Pretoria CBD.

Dr. Tshilenga: No, what I know in passing is more Malian, it was the people from Mali, that would get together and somebody would bring the clothes from China and give to them, they sell it, and give him back the money. It is a Malian, who do the business here. But I've seen his clothes. In his time it was around Du Toit street (street in study area of CBD).

MS: O Du Toit ja.

Dr. Tshilenga: But now not anymore, many people who come from Africa and need something, (they) go to Sunnyside. Because in Sunnyside there is a shop what is selling specifically African food. Yes ja, but in this place (CBD) not too much.

9.19 MS: So now we are at religion, I've already asked you this about outdoor spaces, so do foreign nationals practise any religious activity in the outdoor spaces of the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: In the Christian religion what I saw last year or two years back, I saw different people come to Church Square, from Benin from Ghana, they do around Church Square the manifestation of rituals, just for one weekend or Sunday.

MS: Ok so it wasn't permanent?

Dr. Tshilenga: Not permanent ja. Churches are permanent; our church has been there for 25 years.

MS: Where is the street your church is in?

Dr. Tshilenga: It is Bosman street. Corner Bosman and Vermeulen.

MS: And what do you call your congregation?

Dr. Tshilenga: International Church of Pretoria.

9.20 MS: International church of Pretoria, that's right ok. So you would say, and where talking about African Pentecostal churches, Christian people the use of any form of church service or religious activity outside actual physical buildings would be very low in the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja very very low.

9.21 MS: OK. Would you say that foreign national people from other African countries, use religion as a main entrance vehicle or a way to get into the Pretoria CBD into the culture in to the, hum would they first go to the church?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes they do, if it is here (their church of choice) they do.

MS: Is that very common?

Dr. Tshilenga: It is very common. Even Catholic churches outside the area assigned (study area)

9.22 MS: Ok. What are the main demographics for religion in the Pretoria CBD? African Pentecostal, Islam, African spiritualism, just you're opinion, you've been here for 25 years, if you take that area which we described (study area), what would you say is the percentage of African Pentecostal, charismatic churches and then, I'm not sure about African spiritualism if there's anything of that?

Dr. Tshilenga: A no not so much, but Islam and Catholic or Christianity.

MS: Isalm and Christianity?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes

9.23 MS: Do you have any idea what the split would be between those two?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, what I observed for many years is that the Pentecostal churches from Schubart to Bosman, we found that, the problem is for these kinds of churches is that they do not do the research before they start. And when they start the church, they run the place for some months, but they have not the income, the people do not have the money to sustain, the congregation even the pastor himself (has no money). There is some Nigerian churches with pastors where money is coming from the country (Nigeria) that pays them, but even they (Nigerian churches) many close. I saw the Congolese church start and close, start and close

MS: Does that happen a lot?

Dr. Tshilenga: A lot, a lot!

MS: Since the last 25 years?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja last 25 years. I can say more than 15 churches I know have closed (like this). Even if you take just Church Street, from Church Square to Schubart, we found many congregations because there is some that rent, but he is too expensive (property rental) and then they close. They maybe expected to get money from the Christians (congregants) but the Christians, they don't have the money, and also they are a foreigner, and they have not a good salary, they cannot sustain to pay the pastors. It is very, very difficult ja.

MS: I understand it is difficult ja.

Dr. Tshilenga: And Muslims it is this place where hum what you call, Vermeulen, just opposite (indistinct) there is Mosque there (Jumma Mosque Queen street), and many foreigners go there, Ghanaians, Comorians, and other, Cameroonian go to this place. Some go to big Mosque, (Metro) yes.

MS: Ok.

Dr. Tshilenga: Some go there during the week, Friday

9.24 MS: So if you take people on the street, I spoke to many street traders, foreign national and local guys, or let's take the population of the CBD in general, would you say there is more Christians than Islamic, or 50/50 or what?

Dr. Tshilenga: Definitely more Christians.

MS: Maybe more like 80/20 something like that?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja definitely more Christians.

MS: Ok.

Dr. Tshilenga: But if we speak only of CBD, there is more Muslims in the east, we jump, hum lets go Church street, there is (Metro Mosque) there is mainly from Eritrea, hum Somalia, but not in the CBD.

9.25 MS: Are you aware of any conflict between these people (Muslims vs Christians) or not?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no no, there is no conflict, because they are in a foreign country, they do not want to cause confrontation with anyone. Very low yes.

9.26 MS: If we come back to these churches, do you think that these churches that open and close all the time, is due to the inability to pay for all the expensive property?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly ja.

9.27 MS: So why don't those guys go outside and hold it outside, does somebody stop them from doing that? Holding an outdoor (gathering) like for instance they go somewhere in a piece of open space (public space) maybe a parking lot or something like that? Why do so few African Pentecostal churches use outdoor space to hold services as they perhaps do in say Johannesburg?

Dr. Tshilenga: In Pretoria, I don't know why, but what I can say is that I suppose they have to go to government to ask the permission. The Metro, that is why many people are scared, they preferred to run (the church) like a business to pay.

9.28 MS: Like a trading licence?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes

MS: So they couldn't just use outdoor space, as the metro police would perhaps stop them? They would need some sort of a permission?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly ja exactly.

9.29 MS: Ok and would you say not having registration papers, because most of the foreign nationals I spoke to on the street did not have registration papers and that was a very big issue for them to do anything. Do you find that is a problem?

Dr. Tshilenga: O yeah it's a problem, as I said many of them don't want to be exposed. Yes the fear part of it.

9.30 MS: And a question regarding Gender, especially for females are you aware of any peoples or groups in the CBD, especially foreign national people that have prescribed behaviours that they must enact or so forth in the Pretoria CBD? That would include Moslem people or people from other African countries, Christians as well. Also, do you think that females in the Pretoria CBD suffer from gender issues?

Dr. Tshilenga: No not at this moment, but in the past it was a problem when people come together in some house, even if they contributed to pay, they had different rooms, and sometimes there is a lady with children and there is a young man and he try to do the sexual attempts.

MS: Was that a problem?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, it was a problem but now I haven't heard about it the last times. Some they finish, some move. What I know is there was one girl who died, she was in the park, Burghers Park, but it was a long time ago.

9.31 MS: Ok. Do you think that females, ladies from foreign nationals countries, any country, when they come to the Pretoria CBD, do you think that they feel perhaps that they feel that the cultural habits where they come from, is it different for females there than here in South Africa?

Dr. Tshilenga: Well yes, it is different it depends from country to country, and culture, just to give you an example, in some culture hey, when the parents go to toilet, children have not to know (shouldn't)

MS: Oh?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes the toilet has to be far it has to be hidden (hidden) and the parents must not be known (to go) but when they come here, they find the toilet is in the middle of the room (house), and now the child knows my father or my mother is now in toilet. This is a cultural shock. And when they come that is a problem, and even when they come, in some house, and the parents are there, they make take a curtain to separate the beds, and the children are sleeping not far from the parents, and this is not acceptable for many African cultures.

MS: Do you have any examples of which cultures those would be?

Dr. Tshilenga: Hum what people from Nigeria told me so Nigeria, some are from Congo,

9.32 MS: So when they now come here to the Pretoria CBD and they have to stay together, the toilet is in the house, do they just accept that, there is nothing they can do?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no, there is nothing they can do.

MS: You can't put a toilet outside or?

Dr. Tshilenga: So the house it does not belong to them, they are renting it is perhaps more than one family.

9.33 MS: So what you are saying is they have to put aside their cultural needs and norms?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

MS: Because they don't have an option?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly yes, they are forced to do it yes.

9.34 MS: Are you aware of status projection as a form of public space activity in the Pretoria CBD? What that means, is you know, this culture of especially males, this kind of car culture where you washing cars making maybe loud music, you know to show your status, are you aware of this? And, it seems to be a culture which is very prevalent in Sunnyside and those places. We call it car culture your car becomes your vehicle for showing that you are wealthy, so we call it status projection. Are you aware of that in the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Not in the CBD. Many people do not live in the CBD. But what I know is in the corner of Bosman and Pretorius, there is many people doing this, if one maybe get a good job, and hum, especially to show the others, because the salary of all of them is very, very small, but maybe more (indistinct) to do with the car.

9.35 MS: Would you say that what I'm talking about (status projection) would be more the local population? Tswana speakers etc. (enacting it)

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja, around there it is more (Ateridegville and local areas outside CBD).

9.36 MS: So not so much the foreign nationals? You do not think the foreign nationals that do have money, use it to kind-of get acceptance, by showing their status maybe or not so much?

Dr. Tshilenga: It's not happening so much, because most of them have not the salary.

9.37 MS: So you would say that (status projection in the Pretoria CBD, would be a local people phenomenon?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

9.38 MS: Alright so recreation it's quite a long one, are you aware of the recreational habits of the inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD, regarding the use of public space? If so, what would you say are the main recreation (activities) practised in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Look, we know it has a smaller population that live there then say Sunnyside and those places, are you aware of people using the outdoor spaces in the Pretoria CBD? For recreation, you know picnics, playing?

Dr. Tshilenga: The only place I can think of in the CBD is just Church Square, some people can come there and picnic and, but (generally) they have to go to Union buildings.

MS: Union Buildings?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja.

MS: So they go outside the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes outside the CBD.

9.39 MS: Then I've got two or three questions regarding African foreign nationals, where I've included communal eating as a recreational practice; do inhabitants, local or foreign nationals, practise communal eating in the public Spaces of the Pretoria CBD? If so, where does it usually happen and how does it influence public space, so this comes from a uniquely African phenomenon where people like to eat...

Dr. Tshilenga: Together...?

9.40 MS: Outside, as kind of form of recreation, outside the buildings and stuff. Are you ware of any of that in the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: We as a church we do it every year, once a year, because in December many people from the city (CBD) go on holiday, and the foreigners cannot go back to their country, so what you organize, is every last Sunday of the year we take the garden of our church, and we sit there and we eat together. After the service we sit there, we stay till five o'clock, but it's more a braai (barbeque).

9.41 MS: so is there a need, do the people want to do that?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly. Ja but they have not the space. If you are not doing it there (church grounds), you have to go outside CBD, place with a garden,

9.42 MS: So the CBD does not really allow for that?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no no, there is no place for that.

9.43 MS: So there is maybe a need for that? (outdoor recreation spaces)

Dr. Tshilenga: There is a need, yes ja.

9.44 MS: So for public spaces (a need) where people can eat and gather, which is maybe unique to African foreign national cultures?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly, exactly.

MS: But currently you have to do it outside the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

9.45 MS: So another one related to eating, in the CBD, do the population, especially foreign nationals, practise street side conversation as a recreational activity in the CBD? I'm thinking of hum,

Cameroon, Douala, there is a culture there for instance which I picked up, of young men they walk around the city all day, looking for conversations. Which is, according to the author, a uniquely African, let's call it the need for conversation, going into public (spaces) speaking, looking for people to have conversations with, do you see that in the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes its really a need, because the people who want to talk, when I was living myself in the city (CBD) for ten years, I was also preparing my PhD in this time, you would see people would come all the time and sit and talk to you, but you're struggling between my need to work (PhD) and to listen to people. They need to have somebody to talk to.

9.46 MS: So would you say that many of the foreign nationals don't have anybody to speak to?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly, yes

MS: And that is a need of theirs?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly yes. And the language barrier is a problem (cannot speak with locals).

9.47 MS: So the language barrier is a big problem then? All the time you hear it. The people say that they are afraid to speak in English, then then the local guys (ask) why is he speaking English?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, ja.

9.48 MS: So I have asked you before, do inhabitants of the CBD practice rituals or customs in the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: No not.

9.49 MS: Ok not? What form does informal sport and recreation mostly take in the Pretoria CBD? Does anybody play informal sport that you know of?

Dr. Tshilenga: It was a place where in (indistinct) where many young people come to play basketball.

MS: An outdoor space?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes outside, where they play the basketball, young people go to play the foot, hum the soccer, you see Madiba drive, when you come to Pretorius, this place there is a stadium there, yes

9.50 MS: So they go the stadium there yes I know that place. So they don't play informally in (public spaces)?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no no, they play there (formal soccer pitch) just outside the study area.

9.51 MS: So even in the western side of the CBD, you know above Marabastad, there is a lot of open ground, but I don't see people using that, is that out of fear?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja , out of fear.

9.52 MS: So the foreign nationals won't use public open space..? (Of the CBD)

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja ja except if he became citizen they can join, but nobody do it, they can't (wont) do it, but some children go to school, and at school they can play there.

9.53 MS: So do you think there is a need for recreational space in the CBD? But it is (participation) withheld because of fear?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly, ja ja.

9.54 MS: So when people get their citizenship, they lose a lot of fear because now they have rights?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes, exactly.

MS: Ok I understand.

Dr. Tshilenga: That I think it is an important one (indicator for formal registration).

9.55 MS: According to you, are the foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD, mostly first second or third generation migrants? Is it children of migrants, and grandchildren or is it only 1st generation migrants, I mean African migrants have been coming to the Pretoria CBD for what 25 years? Since 94 about?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja ja ja, 94, 93 yes.

MS: So do you think some of them have had children and so forth, and even if you look at the demographics of this study area, are they mostly 1st 2nd or 3rd generation migrants?

Dr. Tshilenga: Mostly first (generation), as statistically they are big (1st generation) but now we have people at university, who come with their parents, after university they get a job, and they start to work, there is many now, (2nd generation) they are now part of the, what you call, (well assimilated) they speak the language well, they...

MS: Assimilated?

Dr. Tshilenga: Assimilated yes. Well assimilated.

9.56 MS: So you are saying that the 2nd generation migrants that are here, are well assimilated into the culture of the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes into the culture, exactly.

MS: Because in some areas those 2nd generation children of migrants struggle to assimilate in certain other places.

Dr. Tshilenga: Well yes, it is the language (here) the children learn it, they even speak Afrikaans, at school and English and mostly language is learnt. Some of them (learn) local African languages, but mostly English and Afrikaans. Then they hum, become fluent.

9.57 MS: So that is probably the biggest issue you would say is language (for assimilation and acceptance)?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes, language.

9.58 MS: So when African foreign nationals come here as migrants, do they mostly bring their children with them here to stay, or do they mostly leave children behind and bring them later? How does it work?

Dr. Tshilenga: Most of them they come themselves and wait and when they can they bring, but there is some, it all depends, the reason why, sometimes there is war, Rwanda or Burundi,

MS: Like refugees?

Dr. Tshilenga: Refugees yes. But some have economic problems, and they come themselves and children and wives can follow afterwards.

MS: So first see if they can find...

Dr. Tshilenga: *Something to do, (work) yes.*

MS: Then they would send for their wives etc.?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Yes, that's right.*

9.59 MS: So for the most part, when African foreign nationals come, do they, say more than 50% of them come on their own, what are the demographics for this?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Ja, I think 50/50.*

MS: So you would say half, half?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Ja half.*

9.60 MS: Do you find that foreign nationals struggle to assimilate in the culture of the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Yes, they struggle because as I say, they are not sure if they will get a job to do, if sometimes they (employers) do not accept you to do a job (employment), they are not sure if they are refused is it because they are foreigner? So this kind of shame, does not put you in the position yourself, to be accepted.*

9.61 MS: So they would rather stay withdrawn?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Yes exactly.*

MS: So you say it would be a problem?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Very big problem, yes.*

9.63 MS: Do you think people in the Pretoria CBD, and I'm thinking of street traders, suffer from what I call regulatory intrusiveness, there are too many regulations, from Metro and Council, in their daily lives? For instance, over complicated trading licenses, costs, anything else?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Look, one of the biggest problems, these people they are under pressure to sell, you see what's that place, Lillian Ngoyi (street) they were selling there, selling by foreigners, but Metro (Police) come to chase them away, and they can do nothing to leave (cannot stop trading), because that's where they get the income. And, the regulations make for them big problem to leave, because at same time they have not a job and same time they have to sell some stuff to survive, and Metro (Police) do not care. Some of them carwash, but most of the parking is on this side Pretoria (CBD) north, and they have to pay to get to this place, transport they have to work all day and maybe they can get R50 or something like that. And more than that, some companies exploit them. Let's take, you can wash the car, and you need to make the money to pay the boss who allow you to work.*

9.64 MS: It's like exploitation?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Exploitation yes.*

MS: So it's a bad situation?

Dr. Tshilenga: *Yes ja, every day it is very bad.*

MS: So it is very hard for those people?

Dr. Tshilenga: Very hard ja.

9.65 MS: Do you think the inhabitants of the CBD have adequate, let's call it spatial participation, in public spaces of the Pretoria CBD? Are these spaces accommodating for their needs, or do they have other needs say for instance like religious needs or even sanitation water, toilets things like that, that are not adequate? Regarding the African foreign nationals that you work with would you say the spaces the ablutions? The access to facilities is it adequate?

Dr. Tshilenga: No, I think it was not designed to welcome, to accommodate that ja.

MS: And do you think that is the biggest problem?

9.66 Dr. Tshilenga: Ja it is the biggest problem yes (CBD not designed for new role)

MS: And do you think if we could fix that, what would need to be done?

9.67 Dr. Tshilenga: Oh, well' have to redesign the whole CBD, because it's more of an administrative place, it is a state place (governmental area) so this means it will be very difficult (to redesign), very little public toilets, in general. There are not toilets there. Our church have toilets, many people they come there (public needs for toilets) and now the church must find someone that can keep it (controlled) and clean it.

MS: Protect it almost? (Access control)

Dr. Tshilenga: Protect it ja. And if you must protect it then it means it is a problem for people that need to come there (use toilets). I am talking generally not just foreigners.

MS: Ja everyone.

Dr. Tshilenga: CBD was not designed to welcome (inadequate for) people who sleep on street (street people). There are so many that go to Police station, for toilets, but they were not designed to take all of them. And, they come to sleep even around our church, and there is no toilets for that.

9.68 MS: What do they do for toilets, where do they go these people? What toilets do they use?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no it's a big problem, just to give you an example, the high commission of the refugees, in Prinsloo (street), many people come sometimes to sleep there around, but they can go two days without going to toilet. Because when you go to toilet, it is always private. One day one person told me that they heard one person say that if you can give me R5 you can use our, toilet. But he is with a family, wife and children,

MS: Now its R25?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes R25!

9.69 MS: So they are exploiting them?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, exploiting.

MS: And these (exploiters) are the guys looking after the toilets?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, for looking after toilets.

MS: So they would exploit people to use the toilets, because R5 is a lot?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes for them it's a lot. And sometimes some, can use any places when its late at night behind bushes ja.

9.70 MS: Do you find that a problem in the CBD? (Public urination and defecation)

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes in parts of it, not everywhere. Some use the places (other than toilets)

MS: because there is nowhere else to go?

Dr. Tshilenga: Nowhere else to go yes.

9.71 MS: Why do you think the authorities don't do anything about this?

Dr. Tshilenga: O well, what I think about it is that the authorities in South Africa said we already have a main problem, for the citizens (own people) we cannot take the burden for the people from outside. Just to give an example, we (church people), and others discussed to use some of the buildings 5th and 6th floors which were empty, to make it available for people who have less income. But we think also it's also about being foreigners. But when government give the money to fix this place they say no, no foreigners for South African people only with less salary (low income). And this is why the government say we have not a lot of money, to fix the property for the foreigners, it is only for the citizens.

9.72 MS: So they won't give funding to help foreigners?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

MS: So if there is a problem, they would just ignore it?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja.

9.73 MS: Are inhabitants of the Pretoria CBD, free, do they have the freedom to express their cultural needs in the public spaces of the CBD, especially foreign nationals?

Dr. Tshilenga: It is very difficult (for them), except the Zimbabweans, who would beg in the street (indistinct)

9.74 MS: So you saying that they won't feel free to express themselves?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes, ja (they don't).

9.75 MS: Do most of the foreign nationals in the CBD have political choice? And by definition any form of political power?

Dr. Tshilenga: No, they would not. Not for now.

MS: Not?

Dr. Tshilenga: No. Even if it was his own embassy, they won't accept him. Just as example some years ago I went to, one lady was here a Ghanaian, and I brought groceries to her she had cancer, and she went to hospital, and they say can you go to embassy because our hospitals here the South African government cannot pay for foreigner.

9.76 MS: For health services. Is that a common problem?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes it's a common problem I went to the embassy to tell them that this lady she has cancer, she has to be treated, can you please help her? They said no, if she is here that means she is illegal.

MS: So that lady?

Dr. Tshilenga: Well she just died, no one help her.

MS: Its terrible ne?

Dr. Tshilenga: Terrible, terrible. But now they go to hospital and be helped.

MS: Do they get helped now, is it better now than it was?

Dr. Tshilenga: More so yes.

MS: These last few years?

Dr. Tshilenga: These last few years yes.

MS: Why is that?

Dr. Tshilenga: I think government he become open to foreigners, but I heard they start to talk about it in parliament, to say we have to help the foreigners.

MS: So maybe it has changed a bit?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes it has changed some.

9.77 MS: Is there ethnic division and xenophobia present in the Pretoria CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, it happens in some behaviours, of the local population.

MS: Do you have any examples?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, there is one man who is working in the embassy, legally and he's a member of our church. He went to the bank and he wanted to do some transaction, and the man asked him for his ID, the teller. He said I have no ID but a passport, when he saw the passport, he said are you coming to take our jobs? And this man replied I have never worked in the bank. So this kind of reaction.

9.78 MS: So you're congregation, is it mostly foreign nationals?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly exactly ja.

9.79 MS: So it's a Francophone church. Is it a common experience of your congregants to experience this kind of xenophobic attitude towards them in places like that?

Dr. Tshilenga: Exactly.

9.80 MS: And on the street as well?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, yes there too.

9.81 MS: What do you think is the cause for ethnic division and xenophobia in the CBD?

Dr. Tshilenga: Well Xenophobia I think, comes into the mind (of the locals) that the foreigner comes and takes our jobs, this is common. But the ethnic groups even people from the same country don't love each other, so even among ethnics.

MS: So there would be trouble among those for instance guys from Nigeria and the DRC?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes, ja from time to time but not a lot. My total experiences from the past was people from the Comoros and also Rwanda, the Tutsi's and the Hutsi's, the same country was also struggling here (to reconcile).

MS: O so they would...

Dr. Tshilenga: Bring that problem here, yes ja.

9.82 MS: But would the main problem in South Africa and the CBD especially be from the local population towards the foreign nationals?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes yes.

9.83 MS: Do you think that this xenophobia, does it influence the way that foreign nationals use public space in the Pretoria CBD? fear of xenophobia or that they have experienced?

Dr. Tshilenga: Ja, they, as I said before is hum, is they are afraid, something can happen if you use a public place.

9.84 MS: So basically they would avoid using these places out of fear?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes ja ja.

9.85 MS: So last comments do you have any other last comments regarding public space in the Pretoria CBD relating to this study? Anything else that you would like to add to the conversation

Dr. Tshilenga: Well I think if the government can think about, you know when Pretoria was designed, they did not think about foreigners. But Pretoria has to know one thing, Pretoria is the second city in the world with the most embassies after Washington. That means for many years, many of the coming years, Pretoria will received foreigners (migrants). People go to Joburg for the business, but Pretoria has more than four universities, so many people will come to do their PhD here from African countries. There will always be immigrants here. There will always be embassies here, as well as international aid organizations such as the UN, that means there will be foreigners constantly. So why can't Pretoria as a city not organize it in such a way that it is welcoming to the foreigners, because we cannot avoid it, and. How can the city be structured to take account of that? And they should also know that the foreigners are not always a burden. We have people with skills, who can contribute to the economy. And why not give us the opportunity to bring those skills?

9.86 MS: Do you have any opinion on how the Pretoria CBD can be more accommodating to all the residents needs?

Dr. Tshilenga: What I think is hum, if there is a free space, where everybody can arrange it according to their own culture, for example there is a place here, it is a business (owned),

MS: So is it a recreations space?

Dr. Tshilenga: A recreation space yes. This place there is a swimming pool and children they can come to play together, and the parents they are maybe talking discussing and when hum, there are some places like this in Sunnyside, where Congolese come together and discuss politics of particular countries, most and every day, when he come to work, and in the CBD you have not this kind of place.

MS: Hum ok,

Dr. Tshilenga: When people come together just to discuss,

9.87 MS: So you would call it, maybe a multicultural space?

Dr. Tshilenga: A multicultural space, yes yes. And they discuss most of the problem of politics, some of them, some of them maybe sports.

9.88 MS: Ok, and many different cultures come there?

Dr. Tshilenga: Come together yes.

MS: And you don't think that will be a problem? From the local population, they not...?

9.89 Dr. Tshilenga: Because we have, in places like Sunnyside the locals cannot attack them. If we put same place in CBD it would be very good (such a multicultural space).

MS: Will it be only foreign nationals that use that space?

Dr. Tshilenga: No no no, it will be for everybody, so it will be the first time to integrate the foreigner (and the locals) it can be for everybody. There are such Congolese people in the suburbs that are following the politics what is happening in South Africa now. So a place where people can talk. About everything, even religion. In DRC in the Ivory Coast, there is a big place (area) between 12 and 2 (time) somebody can come to bring one topic,

MS: Like a public conversation?

Dr. Tshilenga: Yes like a public conversation. He can come and speak about any topic, and people listen, and some of them ask the questions. Talking and asking questions and he go. It can be religious things, anything. It can be architecture, this and this (can be discussed) and make it understandable for everybody and people discuss. So we have not a place like this in Pretoria (CBD).

MS: So theres a need for that?

Dr. Tshilenga: There's a need for that.

END.

ANNEXURE M

Moulana Queen Street Mosque

MS: 11.1 Are some of the people that attend this Mosque, especially African foreign nationals, members of a co-ethnic network? Are there groups of people from the same country that can be considered a co-ethnic network that are present in your Mosque? If so from which country and do they live in the Pretoria CBD?

Moulana: In answering this question, I would like to inform you that there is no group of certain people from one country. Many African countries, national people, they are attending here, from India, Pakistan as well, and those who migrated to South Africa a hundred years back, they are also coming and hum, and all neighbouring countries citizens.

MS: African nationals?

Moulana: Ja, African nationals, black people, coloured, even some white people from African countries they are coming.

MS: 11.2 Of these people that are from let's say Somalia or something, do those people tend to stick together? If they are people of the Islamic faith do they also have like almost like a societal, they tend to stay together?

Moulana: Yes, there is societies and communities, like Nigerians, they have their own community and committee, hum group.

MS: 11.3 In the CBD, or do they mostly live outside the CBD?

Moulana: Some of them are outside some live inside, but every alternate Sunday they are gathering here, from morning until one o'clock. They have their own programmes in their own language. They remember God almighty, and they do their religious rituals and practises (at the Mosque). But Somalian and Ethiopian they are very few, here in CBD. But they have their own community in Pretoria west around Kit-Kat you know that place?

MS: Yes, I know it.

Moulana: Ja so they are there, but here very few Somalian and Ethiopian they are coming here.

MS: 11.4 Regarding the African national peoples in your Mosque, what would you say are the most prevalent group, from which country in Africa? Were excluding outside, its only countries in Africa.

Moulana: In Africa? Those who are attached to the religious activities?

MS: I would say there are a few Mosques, but I would say this specific one?

Moulana: No, no they are all the same (equal), because especially CBD is not residential area, so afternoon this prayer and the next prayer five o'clock. They are a good crowd, and when it's shut-down, the businesses are closed after that the attendance they are very few (dwindles). So you can't say this countries people specifically (broad spectrum of African migrants present) they are very attentive and you know active.

MS: 11.5 Ok I understand so in your opinion are most of your congregants are they, do they live outside the Pretoria CBD?

Moulana: Ja most of them they are living outside of the CBD

MS: So they come here to work in the day and so forth?

Moulana: Ja, ja, ja.

MS: 11.6 Do people that attend this Mosque in your opinion generally tend to be well assimilated in the culture and the places of the CBD, hum you know well assimilated in the culture, or do they tend to stick only to their own familiar ethnic networks? Especially regarding the African nationals.

Moulana: Yes in this regard Muslims you know, they follow commonly the Islamic teachings, how to dress, how to sit and eat and drink and how to talk. They give priority to the commands of Allah and God. They stay away from you know alcohol. Adultery intoxication those who are coming here is ninety-nine percent. They follow the religion properly ja.

MS: 11.7 So you would say that most of your congregants are serious followers of Islam?

Moulana: Ja, ja.

MS: 11.8 Do people that attend this Mosque from other African countries, tend to import or bring with them specific behaviours or practises from their countries where they are from?

Moulana: No not at all.

MS: 11.9 Not so? Ok. Do any of the people in this Mosque ever use communication technology, devices such as cell phones or tablets or whatever, to share or import religious content from other countries, what I'm saying is some African people tend to link the country where they come from religiously with their home country, so they will sometimes have a service in their home-country that they watch here or they will send it home, do any of your congregants ever do that?

Moulana: No they do, but they do it individually.

MS: 11.10 So do they ever do it in the public spaces of the CBD?

Moulana: No no.

MS: 11.11 Not, so it would only be inside the Mosque?

Moulana: Inside the Mosque and they do individually (at home).

MS: 11.12 Do any of the people that attend your Mosque have commercial businesses on the streets outside shops in the public spaces of the CBD and are they according to you part of a larger African co-ethnic trading network? If so do they rely on these networks to get business?

Moulana: Some of our brothers, you know, they are doing business on the street, in the CBD, but they don't have any group or any, what you call, organization or anything that can connect people or help them increase, or they do extra business, nothing is like that. But they do business on the streets some of them.

MS: 11.13 Ok, do any of the people that attend this Mosque, enact faith based, this would now let's call them principles, in the Pretoria CBD? This would now be, and I'm not so knowledgeable about Islam, so according to you do your congregants in the public space anywhere in the CBD ever do faith based acts of worship outside of buildings?

Moulana: No, no. Only they do inside the Mosque or at their home. Not outside in the street.

MS: And that is something you perhaps see in other African cities, and I'm not so sure about Islamic people but certainly African Pentecostal people they would sometimes do things outside under trees, or prayers outside of...

Moulana: No no no, Muslims they don't do like this, but Hum yearly in some other areas, but not in Pretoria CBD they are having their assemblies, 100 000 people are coming there, two days or three days, it is happening but once a year.

MS: 11.14 Does your faith prescribe any gender specific behaviour for your congregants that attend this Mosque in the public spaces of the CBD? Between males and females, if so what are these things they should do, and do the people do them?

Moulana: Ja people, those who know that, know what they do when some strange woman comes in front of them, so they don't stare at them they don't look at them you know, try to bring their attention. And you know what silly things some people in the streets they do, they don't do that they are (indistinct) and they stay away because they know it is not permissible in our religion. Ja so the men tend (to) these teachings and behaviour.

MS: 11.15 So in public space as well?

Moulana: Ja in public space as well.

MS: 11.16 Are there any prescriptions that the Islamic faith places on the ladies?

Moulana: Ja females, specifically they should cover themselves, not expose their body parts, don't wear the tight clothes that can you know, can expose, and hum and without any valid reason, they shouldn't come out from their house.

MS: I understand ja

Moulana: You understand, just to roam around, just to walk around in the street and go shop to shop just to see what is you know, not good.

MS: 11.17 I understand ja, so would you say in this area of the CBD for the few people that do stay here, Islamic followers, would the females from Islam would they need, is there a need for specific spaces for them to be maybe separate?

Moulana: 11.18 Ja ja, there is a separate section for the ladies, Muslim sisters, where they are coming and they are praying as well.

MS: Ok but not outside the Mosque?

Moulana: Not outside, inside like this next door, this is ladies section, There is inside everything, toilet wash room and what they need.

MS: 11.19 So do you think the CBD as a whole, for the lady followers of Islam, is there enough spaces for them for recreation to come together or do they only do it inside their homes? Is there a need for outdoor spaces for them where they can be separate from the men and of course the non-Islamic people?

Moulana: No it is not necessary, as long as every Mosque has this facility (separate genders) for the ladies, if they want to do any activity outside of the house, so it should be in a room where the other people will not be able to see them, and it shouldn't be easily accessible.

MS: 11.20 I understand alright, do people that attend this Mosque partake in public recreation, in the Pretoria CBD, do they ever eat together communally in the public spaces of the CBD, do they perhaps have communal conversations on the streets, that you know of, do they perhaps partake in any kind of sports, soccer or whatever. Are there any recreational habits of your congregants that you are aware of that happen in the Pretoria CBD?

Moulana: In the Pretoria CBD I don't know, because they are not eating in public space, we are providing sometimes food inside the Mosque, and hum soccer or any sport or any of these kinds of activities, I'm not aware of. If they are doing so maybe, they are doing so individually.

MS: And outside (CBD)?

Moulana: Outside the CBD I don't know. But some of my friends they play cricket, and ja.

MS: 11.21 But not inside the CBD?

Moulana: No, not inside CBD.

MS: So it would be very low?

Moulana: Ja ja.

MS: 11.22 Are your congregants from other African countries, which are migrants here, generally are they first second or third generation migrants? Meaning do they have children here that have grown up. So a first generation guy would be a guy that comes here from wherever, and if he has children it would be a second generation and then grandchildren third, so most of the African migrants that are in your Mosque are they first second or third generation migrants?

Moulana: There are some from first generation, from second generation, even some they are from third generation.

MS: 11.23 What would you say statistically, which would be the most?

Moulana: In Pretoria, spatially this Mosque, before the Muslim community from Laudium they used to live here, so now they have moved there (Laudium) a long time ago, in those kinds of suburbs I just mentioned yes, so here the numbers of those kinds of people (second and third generation) is very low, very few.

MS: 11.24 Do your congregants generally, African migrants, struggle to adapt culturally in the Pretoria CBD? Do they often wish to go home, you know home-sickness, what is your experience of the African foreign nationals in the Pretoria CBD in general regarding acceptance by the local people, adaptability in the CBD, that kind of thing? Does being of the Islamic faith help them in any specific way to be more to adapt to the culture of the Pretoria CBD?

Moulana: I don't think they are struggling, and hum it is upon them, totally, you understand? Whatever good our religion command us to do, and whatever is bad, so we are ordered to stay away. So if the culture of the Pretoria's CBD is good, and it is not evil, some people they adopt, some people they don't like so I don't see them as struggling. And we are not helping any of our Muslim congregants to get the what you call, the paper-work (legal residency documentation) and all this. We don't do, we don't get involved in all this.

MS: 11.25 Is it a problem for them, that paperwork?

Moulana: Some people they face problems, some people they don't. It depends how he came here. (Legally or illegally)

MS: 11.26 Are your congregants from other African countries, generally well treated by the population of the CBD, do they suffer from harassment or exclusion, maybe the authorities or the local population, any other thought on this topic?

Moulana: You see five fingers are not equal, you know some people they are good, so there is no racism in his mind, some people they are racist, so when they see he is not a South African so they cause problems and you know?

MS: 11.27 Ja ja xenophobia ne? So you are aware of that in the CBD?

Moulana: Ja. But I didn't hear anything from my congregants, but in general ja I'm talking about this.

END

ANNEXURE N

Interview Property administrators

(Original Afrikaans)

The researcher interviewed two staff that work with inner city housing for a large property administrator in the Pretoria CBD. The researcher questions are in black and the two respondents are referred to as Group Member1 and Group Member2 or GM1 and GM2. The first paragraph is in Afrikaans in which the interview took place and the translation is in Green below each paragraph.

Hierdie interview werk as volg. Ek vra julle vrae en ek transkribe dit dan na die tyd. (They laugh as we speak). So ek kyk na die fisiese fenomeen van verandering met die mense wat in die satd bly en werk. Julle is die experts wat met die fenomeen werk elke dag. Julle het te doen met die geboue, so daar is n stratification en ons is nie seker wie bly in die geboue, baie van die mense soos Zimbabweers bly eintlik op straat so hulle move rond. Soos die ou daar onder (researcher points to man who is a street hustler in the street below) al daai sake is gepak om die boom, so hulle beweeg rond daars geen stabiliteit, daai oop stuk grond daar by die riveir met die oops tuk veld?

(GM1) Yes

Hulle slaap daar. Daars altyd hierdie rivalry daars altyd ethnic tension tussen die Zimbabweers en ander. Hulle create omtrent weekliks wat n ou kan noem uhm..wats die word uhm..alliances tussen (mekaar) maar daai ethnic tension bly altyd daar jy verstaan, when theres a real fight dan stick die zimbabweers saam

(GM1) Ja

Jy verstaan daai tipe goed, so that all has an influence on hoe hulle public space gebruik tot op die kleinste level. Ons dink nie daaraan want ons dink aan geboue.

(GM2) Yes

Ok so kom ons gaan deur die vrae dan..

(GM1) Dit klink interessant

Researcher gives them the question schedule as approved by ethics committee with questions, which would be relevant to them.

Julle kan hierna kyk as julle wil, of ek sal dit vir julle aanstuur. So daars die motivation vir die vraag in rpooli end an die ngoed wat ek hulle vra (researcher points to the different research indicators on the page before them) So ek gaan dit maar net vra en dan kanm julle maar net loosely praat en..

(GM1) ok ...

Is jy happy askies ek wil jou nou nie op die spot sit nie, da tons hier deur gaan en antwoorde gee? (GM2 asks GM1 which is the main respondent in the interview working with the phenomenon under study. GM1 nods her head in acknowledgement)

(GM1) Jae n ek dink as daar iets is waaroor ons nie honderd present seker is nie sal ons vir jou kyk waarf ons vir jou inligting kan gee en..want ons, ek dink daar is baie van dit wat nier noodwendig so relevant is wat ek van weet nie.

Ja ja

(GM1) Maar ek kan miskien vir jou probeer uitvind.

Ja obviously die studie gaan oor public spaces maar julle is probably, certainly die grootste investor in geboue waar mense in bly so julle het seker more or less n idee avn die demographics van wie die ouens is en julle werk partykeer as julle na die geboue gaan sien julle hy sit buite doen goed whatever so dis maar net daai tipe avn goed as jy nie daarvan weet se maar net, dink maar daar oor

(GM1) Ons maak so

Ok so question 1 is die vraag wat ek wil vra is die ouens deel van n co-ethnic social network, dit is nou iets wat mense heeltemal onbewus van is, is dat die ou se hele lewe bestaan uit sy co-ethnic network, so as hy n Zimbabweer is dank om hy op hierdie newterk in Suid Africka, hy kan nie op sy eie hier kom nie.

(GM1) Yes

So hy maak 100% staat op hierdie co-ethnics van hom hierdie ouens al along the way daars stede to in Suid Africka they need money hulle het support nodig. So eerste ding wat hy deon as hy heir kom is hy soek sy network van kin, dis of in n kerk of n..so dis wat n co-ethnic social network is. Dit is iets wat n huge invloed op public space het, dit veroorsaak naderhand ethnic clustering in geboue en ons sal nog by daai vraag kom. So dit is maar net waar die vraag vandaan kom. Julle sal sien baie van die vrae is ge link aan daai topic alright?

(GM1) Ok

So ek gaan maar in Engels lees en dan ...

(GM1) Ja ja

Are you aware of any co-ethnic social networks in your buildings, this could be called ethnic enclaves or ethnic clustering so wat dit beteken is vind julle in julle geboue dat Zimbabweers of kom ons se enige co-ethnic groeperings tend to like congregate in een geboue? FAIND JULLE groot contingents van ouens wat clustering maak bv Zimbabweers of Tanzaniers of watookal? Of Local ouens?

(GM1) Nee, ek dink dit is abie meer demographic representative en miskien nie in terme avn ras wit of swart of so nie maar dis baie meer integrated daars n diversity van ouens wat gewoonlik in ons geboue bly

OK so ek sal se not really ne?

(GM1) Ja

Wasntg ek sien op straat ook in Joburg is baie van die geboue mos vreeslik, dit word mos die amper soos n ethnic ghetto..

(GM1) N konsentrasie ja

Hulle noem dit n ethnic enclave waar dei Nlgeriers vat die hele gebou oor..

(GM1) Yes (GM1 nods approvingly die to the fact that se knows what Ijm talking about.

En ek sien dit glad nie in Pretoria nie

(GM1) Nee

So daai phenomenon is lyk my nie baie sterk hierso nie

(Now the interview must move venues and the researcher and the respondents move to another venue, which is more comfortable)

Are most of the residents van julle geboue ne, van locval South African areas of is dit foreigners van ander African(areas?)

(GM1) Local. Local mostly, daar is n there is a percentage that is foreigners but the majority is South African.

Can you give a thumbsuck?

Og ek sal moet uitvind. Ek sal kyk of ek vir jou daai stads kan kry.

Maar mostly local ouens?

(GM1) Mostly local

Ok What is roughly estimated you're most prolific ethnic group using the cp buildings for local people en dan vir African migrants. So as julle dei geboue moes n thumbsuck vat ne, local ouens wat die goed beset, sal dit mense wees wat dan Pretoria local, Zulus of het julle enige idee van die ethnicity van die local ouens wat julle geboue gebruik?

(GM1) Daar is baie van die ouens wat plaaslik is met ander woorde baie van die uhm gewone bevolking wat rondom Pretoria is. Maar daars ook baie van die ouens wat kom van Mpumalanga, Polokwane, daars n hele paar wat kom van uh..van KZN, maar daars ook en ek dink dis hoekom dit miskien n bietjie disjointed is in terme van as hulle hier is om te swot dan verander daai dynamic daai opmaking van die stat n bietjie.

U hu.

(GM1) Baie van hulle kom bv soos van Mpumalanga kom van daar af om hier te swot.

So wie si dei grootste gebruikers van julle geboue studente?

(GM1) Nee studente is net 33%

Ok

En wie is die ander ouens werk hulle hier?

(GM1) Werk in die stad.

Ek het gevind dat as jy op straat loop, mense wat ek mee gepraat het was baie van die local ouens bly nie in die CBD nie hulle bly in Pretoria Wes Atteridgeville,

(GM1) Hammanskraal ja

Mamelodi so dit lyk na n resistnce om te bly in die CBD?

(GM1) Nie noodwendig n resistance nie dis baie meer n ding van wat is affordable, en jy moet ook, baie van hulle, bv nou ons activation centre in Hammanskraal Soshanguve en daai tipe areas is dit nog steeds meer affordable vir hulle om daai kant van die, ag daai areas te bly en dan hier te..selfs al werk hulle in die stad (thus many of the local people tend to travel from these outlying periphery areas to the Pretoria CBD for daily work)

Ok selfs met die transport?

(GM1) Self's met die transport. Die ouens sal bv in die stad werk en hulle bly in die Ooste, Moreletta Park daai kant toe. Hulle het n extra taxi wat hulle moet vang en en dit is miskien meer jou outjie wat meer affluent is wat daai kant kan bly maar hy werk dan nog steeds in die stad.

Ok

(GM1) Maar hy moet dan twee of drie taxis kry om tot hier te kom, waar baie van die ander ouens van Soshanguve se kant af hulle vat een tot hier en hulle is hierso. Die ander ouens wat hier is die majority van hulle, hulle werk hier en dis hoekom hulle hier wil bly.

Ok ja so dis maar vir daai redes. Ek moet se wat ek wel optel die ouens wat wel indie CBD bly veral die lcoals, omtrent almal verkies die CBD bo Sunnyside en daai plekke.

(GM1) Ja

Daars hierdie bad connotation aan Synnyside

(GM1) daars n groot influx, especially Nigerians in Sunnyside. Definitief ja.

Ja dis so.

(GM1) En dis probably ook in Arcadia an daars dit ook n bietjie meer mixed maar ek dink nie dis so baie Nigerian nationals soos daar in Sunnyside is nie.

Voor ek vergeet moet ek julle ook vra, dis nou nie een avn hierdie vrae nie maar die laaste kom ons se tien jaar ne, wat is julle opinie, is daar n groot influx van mense wat kom bly en is daar meer en meer aanvraag van mense om in die CBD te bly? Is dit hoekom julle so baie geboue try omskep?

(GM1) Ja dit is so ja definitief. Dit is een van hoekom ons in die laaste drie jaar het ons groot developments gedoen, One on mutual was 160 apartments en sharrons place is 399 apartments en basies sharrons place is daar n handie vole k dink daars 30 units oor. Bo en behalwe dit is het ons die ding begin van conversions van offices na residential. Dis as gevolg van daai need.

So julle sal se die demand uitstrip dei supply van housing? So housing daars definitief n shortage?

(GM1) Ja en ek dink dis as jy kyk na al die ek kan nie eers onthou wie het hulle ge quote nou nie, maar dis definitief en ons kan dit sien, die need vir housing word net meer en meer.

In die CBD?

(GM1) Ja

Ok ja dit antwoord dan n groot vraag. So African migrants van ander lande wat sal julle se is julle grootste demographic wat julle geboue gebruik? Van watter land? Kom ons se die top drie

(GM2) Ons het al baie uitlanders gehaat maar uitlanders wat winkeltjies het.

(GM1) Ja. Baie van hulle het retail shops.

Ok

(GM1) As ons praat met ander woorde hulle is nie noodwendig n residential tenant nie maar hulle is n commercial tenant

Ja

(GM1) Uhm definitief ouens van Etiopie, daai kant baie meer ..

Die ouens wat julle residential actuall geboue in bly

(GM1) Van hulle bly ook by ons maar van hulle weet ek bly ook daar Marabastad se kant toe daar waar...meer Pretoria Wes se kant toe. Dis mos waar al dei drama dis die begin van hierdie jaar ..

Ja ja

(GM1) Daars n groot compliment van hulle wat daai kant bly.

So as julle sou se julle residential units ne, van al julle geboue in die CBD en jy vat African nationals, Zimbabwiers, Malawi wat sal jy se is julle mees prolific groep wat in julle actuall units bly?

(GM1) Ek sal by hulle moet hoor

Het julle geen idee nie?

Ek het glad nie n idee nie.

Is it?

Ok so ek wil net weereens een is South African vs Foreigner stats en dan inner city die most Afrcian nationals in CP geboue.

(GM1) Net ook wat gebeur baie, ons het the fields daar in Hatfield en daar is baie avn daai student wat ook kom.

Ok

(GM1) Uhm ek kan kyk in n e mail of in n meeting erens het hulle genmoem dit is nie baie nie maar baie van die student wat foreigners is kom bly in die fields want hulle swot noodwendig by tuks.

Ok ja

(GM1) So dit is ook n proximity ja

Ok. Alright ja as julle daai goeters een of ander styd kan kry sale k dit waardeer

(GM1) Yes dit sal ook indetresabt wees dan wee tons ook.

Ok so assimilation and permanence... so ek sal elke keer die ding vir julle lees dan.. is the respondent well assimilated in the spaces and culture of the CBD or has he only kept to his own ethnic network, what implications could tjhis have for the public nspaces...so dit beteken maar net tipies n die ou kom heir dan soos back in the dau die portugeese taannies wat nooit leer engels praat het dan, hulle het altyd net met mense uit hulle eie co-ethnic groep gemeng. So dis waar die vraag vandaan kom vir die vraag twee ne. So as on skan se more or less how long do most residents stay in the CP buildings. Do they tend to move around a loty?

(GM1) Ja so ons het n high churn ja soos hulle bly on average 18 months Uhm maar baievan hulle want kyk hulle sign n 12 month lease, dis spesifiek in die residential space. Dan maar die average is 18 maande maar baie van hulle is, skuif uit na die 12 maande. Want ook gewoonlik is daar n increase na 12 maande.

Van rebntal?

(GM1) Ja, van rental dan is daar n increase en in daai gevak skuif hulle. Wat ons baie keer ook vind is hulle bv by n, as hulle se nou maar in n p[lek gebly het dan skuif hulle na sharrons palce toe want hulle gaan dan vir laer rente. So ek dink dit is abie avna daai ekonomies faktore wat wel tog n invloed jhety op.

Ja so ek dink dit sal indirek dan lei tot n tipe van n form of rootlessness. Die ou float maar daar rond in die CBD. Hy het sy groep vriende maar die local public space word nooit regtig hul eie nie.

(GM1) Ja (clear definte agreement) En ons probber om bietjie meer van n loyalty ding ons het nou vir diee eerste keer dit begin doen, dit is op die oomblik in die pilot phase en dit werk goed. Uhm, net as die ouens dan nog n jaar teken kry hulle dan n sekere discount.

Dit maak dit maklik vir almal

(GM1) Jae n ek dink ook wat osn vind is dat uh men ek dink dis so waar wat jy se, in terme van dis nie ssos ek en j yen Luna wat sal wil trek ie. Ek gaan dood as ek moet trek. (laughs)

Ja nee

(GM1) Hulle is baie mobile en hulle trek.

Jy sien dis presies eintlik kritiek deel van hierdie studie is daai exact alck of attachment to place , ne wat so invloed het op public spoace.

(GM1) U uhm (yes)

Jy weet want as ek as ons in die CBD bly en ons bly tienjaar hierso, ons bly in n gebou, ons begin daai public sapces rondo mons, ons eie maak. Jy weet jy ken die plekke jy ken die mense, maar hierdie rootless tipe van moving around wat so tipies aan African migrants is het n huge, volgens my invloed op die use van public..(space) en ek dink tot n mate dat dis hoekom van die Afrika stede so chaotic is, so uhm ja nobody takes ownership want niemand is regtig invested in hulle mind in die plekke nie jy sien. Dis maar net waar kry jy die cheapste, jy skuif rond. Hulle maak local short term alliances met local ethnic mense wat nab yen om hulle is net om oor die weg te kom maar as hy uit is dan change dit weer. So dis net n survival tipe van..jy sien so dit is eintlik waaroor die studie gaan.

(GM1) Nee ek dink dis heeltemal...

So ek sal in elk geval vir julle n copy stuur as julle belang sou stel..

(GM1) O ja ek sou dit graag wou he

Nee virseker ek sal dit vir julle stuur end an as

Ok so according to CP do they view SA as permanent or do they move along to Europe of enige ander ...volgens julle nou, dis daai waaroor ek netnou gepraat het,

(GM1) Sjoe dis moeilik om te se ek dink nie ek kan...

Julle weet nie waar heen hulle gaan nie ne?

(GM1) Nee

So jy se hulle churn maar hulle churn nie noodwendig uit die stad nie?

(GM1) Nee en hulle churn ook nie nnoodwendig uit ons uit die company yuit nie hulle churn na n ander gebou toe of van hulle skuif aan. Baie van hulle wel ek praat nouoor die algemeen, is hulle sal

bevordering kry. So hulle sal nie noodwendig in die stad werk nie. Dan gaan bly hulle in Moreletta park want hulle kan in Mennlyn main werk of whatever

Ja ek verstaan

(GM1) Dia baie die outjies wat jong professionals is en even more so in JHB. In Joburg vind ons dat die ouens wat um daar is dit baie meer professionals, hulle het n internship of n beurs wat hulle moet watsenaam en hulle is defintief meer gekonmsentreerd daar as young professional up-coming

Ok ja dit maak sin.

So sal jy se, ons praat nou van die black population jy weet die locals ons kyk na jy weet net African migrants en people of diverse ethnicity so dit sluit nou Europeans uit, so meeste van die ouens wat hier in julle geboue bly in die CBD is dit swart mense?

(GM1) Ja

Sou jy se?

(GM1) Ja

Die groot groot peresntaise van hulle?

(GM1) Ja as jy n umbrella ja, ja

So dink jy hulle view die Pretoria CBD ook as n, soos jy se hulle kry nou bevordering, so baie van huille is nou tipe van public servants en sulke goed, wat dan nou bevoorering kry, so sal jy se die general gevoel onder die young black middle class workers wat julle geboue gebruik, is dat hulle wil eintlik uitgaan na die suburbs en na al die outlying areas of wat is jou?

(GM1) Ek dink ja en nee maar ek dink dat van hulle baie tog bly. Dar is van die tenants wat ons het wat long standing tenant si wat oor die 10 15 jaar hier is.

So jy sou se hulle hou van die CBD?

(GM1) Ja

Ander wil weer Moreletta en so heen gaan

(GM1) En ek dink dit is n uhm dis nogal eintlik n nice uhm, ek wil nie se balans nie maar ek dink dit bring tog n ding van n bietjie stabiliteit.

Ja

(GM1) Die ouens wat inkom om te kom swot en dan terug gaan huis toe end an daar gaan werk jy gaan hulle altyd kry. Maar daar si wel van hulle wat bly in die stad.

Yes nee ek verstaan so dit is, so jy het vgeen idee o die split tussen daai twee nie ne? Van die wat wil bly en die wat nie wil nie.

(GM1) Nee

Are CP aware of any ethnic clustering in their buildings?

(GM1) Nee

Ok translocational positionality dit is waneer people are importing identity

(GM1) Ja

Does he/she import the sending destination culture into the Pretoria CBD? Jy weet dis nogal n groot ding in van die ander Afrika stede maar dit lyk of Pretoria has got its own..So do you see CP tenants importing social texture and ritual from the sending destination into the PRETORIA cbd public spaces? These could be rituals or cultural habits. Is julle aware van enige sulke goed in julle geboue wat by wat mense van Zimbabwe doen of mense van Ghana, uhm

(GM1) Nee ek dink nie in ons geboue nie ek weet wel daars uhm, ons het n plek met n tenant gehaad wat by ons in 102 central gehaad het maar maar n hele ruk terugen dit was genome, hulle was genome dei social market. Nou ek weet nie of dit nog aan die gang is nie, maar hulle het op die ou einde geskuif daar na oorkant khara...

Die social market?

(GM1) Ja

Ja

(GM1) uhm definitief nie n standard ethnicity goed nie,

Uhm

(GM1) Maar very creative en hulle het wel hierdie social connection met mekaar maar ek dink dit is net omdat hulle very artsy is en daar is definitief n ietsie betrokke (refers to smoking pot) Maar ek dink in terme van wat hulle opm daai stadium gebied het vir die mense van die stad is dit was regtig baie inclusive gewees. Dit is glad nie van jy pas nie want jy is dit ...so google hulle miskien en kyk of jy ietsie kry. Ek net dis ja iets van hulle het dreads maar dis pienk dreads.

Jae k sal dit bietjie gaan kyk

(GM1) Ja dit kan dalk iets wees waarna jy kan kyk in terme van , hoekoen ek daaran dink is in terme van die festivals en die cultural habits en that. End an daai kara sentrum kan miskien ook vir jou details gee of hulle nog enige iets doen. Ek dink dis daar by Sophie de Bruin straat rond

Ok, ek sal bietjie daar gaan check. Die CBD is groot ne mens dink jy gaan vining gou, maar as jy begin stap dan besef jy.

(GM1) Yes

Ok so do CP tenants blend workplace and home area in public space such as hair braider salons spilling onto the pavement cooking etc.

(GM1) Ek dink definitief so, ek dink daar spesifiek aan die commercial tenants

Ok

(GM1) Ons het n groot klomp van hierdie ouens wat inkom is tenants wat haar salonne het. En hulle tout naels en hulle tout vir besigheid op die straat.

Mhhh met die pruike ens o ek het dit gesien ja

(GM1) ja

Maar dis meestal Nigerians wat dit doen ne?

(GM1) Ja. En hulle doe nook baie en die braiding ons een gebou het ons spesifiek vir uhm hair salons. En jy kan letterlik 2.5 of 5m2 huur en die besigheid is tough.

Ja wat ek gesien het die metro is hard op die ouens ook ne want ek het van die Nigerians ouens op straat ge interview wat die mannequin dan loop hulle daar rond, as daai metro cops daar verby ry almal hol so weg, want dit gaan oor die trading licences

(GM1) Yes, hulle mag nie en hulle mag nie in die strate wees vir touting nie. Ook in terme van oor daar nie meer n CID is hier in Pretoria nie, so die CID I side central improvement district en omdat dit nie meer daar is nie is dit rerig n free for all so hulle almal verkoop. Maar amazing house is waar die gebou vir die hair is maar dis maar cut throat

(GM2) Ja. Maar hier is dit nie vir my so erg en so baie soos dit in JHB is nie waar jy val amper oor die mense so baie is daar.

Ja

(GM2) En die building managers se baie van die vrouens verkoop nie net noodwendig die hare nie.

ek het gesien ja. En die street traders verkoop ook blykbaar in die aande drugs onder die merchandise ne.

(GM1) Ek dink ook en dis miskien in ons geval in Pretoria, omdat ons hier pockets het, bv ons sal hierdie hele block he en ons het dan baie meer geleenthede om daai blok mooi skoon te hou, te manage.

En in Joburg is dirt baie meer verspreid. En ek dink ook dis waar die issue inkom van jy het die commercial tenant die shop en reg langs hom doen die ou net wat hy wil en Joburg het ook wat Pretoria nie het nie is joburg het daai weird als het twee vlakke van commercial space voor jy eers die ander goed kry.

Pretoria is net een ne

(GM1) Yes Pretoria is tradisioneel baie meer dei een vlak end an die goed bo op so.. dit raak aan daai busyness

Ja wat Pretoria betref is die julle is basies dei enigste real players wat hierdie housing betref ne? Is daar enige ander groepe?

(GM1) Daar is daars ander jy kan kyk na midcity jy kna kyk na huurkor jy kan kyk na ..

Maar hulle is ike op julle skaal nie is hulle?

(GM1) nee

Hulle het iets soos een gebou of..

(GM1) Hule het n paar maar ek dink in terme van die hoeveelheid wat ons het is ons die grootste in Pretoria nie so groot in Joburg nie maar ook in terme van die kwaliteit van die offerings is ons ook...

Hulle is eintlik minor playwers in Pretoria ne?

(GM1) Ja

Dis hoekome almal altyd se CP Cp

(GM1) Ja

Ok so die volgende ding is to determine in what way does he/she use technology in public space that directly influences their use. So dit beteken dan net op n kol was daar die Wi-Fi masts is daai goed nog daar?

(GM1) dit was nog aan die gang ek het gehoor daars altyd isseus wat die nuwe adminstrasie het dit oorgeneem by die ou administrasie en daars isues daar maar apparently werk dit nog

Waar is die goed?

(GM1) Orals ek meen as jy jou Wi-Fi aanhou soos jy loop of whatever in die stad sal jou Wi-Fi sal jy die Wi-Fi optel. Al die parks, met ander woorde selfs as ek in die aande huis toe ry tel my foon die state theatre op. Church Square Uhm

Oop spasies

(GM1) Oop spasies, Burgers park

Want hulle congregate daar op seker tye?

(GM1) Ja definitief

Watse tye sal jy se

(GM1) Ek dink dis die heel tyd. Dis een van hierdie hulle is altyd deesdae op hulle fone, en mense gebruik daai free –Wi-Fi. Op n stadium het hulle vir hulle 500MB per dag gegee en op n stadium dit weer af na 250MB toe. En jou moet ook onthou dei skole het, daars n paar skole in die midde astd, en die skole het hulle ook ge enable met dit. Die library byvoorbeeld die national library

So dit het maar n invloed op public space use dan nie?

(GM1) Absoluut. Ek dink net in terme van en dis n stupids example, net hier agter by, ek noem dit jou Instagram wall (refers toe GM2) Jy het mos daai gedoen?

(GM2) Watse Instagaram wall?

(GM1) Hier by Bosch, jy het mos Bosch gedoen?

(GM2) Ja

(GM1) Ons het nou n student ding oraait wat hierso in Johannes Ramogoase straat is, dis n college vir Luna het hierdie een gebou wat ons besiot waar ek basies parker dis reg daar op die hoek het sy hierdie pargitge easy grass op gesit en plante geplant en net n bietjie mooi gemaak en goeters. Ek noem dit Luna se Instagram wall.

(GM2) Laughs

(GM1) Want daai student hang nou daar deesdae rond

Hmm ok

(GM1) En dit is waar hulle fotos neem, netnou toe staan daar een en pose..

Waars dei plek?

(GM1) Net hier om die hoek

So op die hoek van...

(GM1) So as jy nou hier om ry en dan as jy uit Du toit uit draai in Johannes Ramagoase voor jy bby Sisulu kom,

(GM2) So tussen Du Tpoit en Sisullu.

Want dit is iets wat ek definitief sal gaan uitcheck,

(GM1) En weet jy wat dit is iets wat ons baie, ons vind dit selfs met 012 Central, baie van die voet verkeer wat daar by 012 central verbyloop is meestal dei studente en dis omdat al daai colleges in daai straat is e nook omdat baie van die taxi pick up en drop off points is in daai straat. So dit het n groot invloed oor hoeveel mense want dit is massas wat daar verby loop.

Ok

(GM1) En ek dink miskien die skole ook, hulle is msikien vir n jaar daar want hulle hetv registrasie van die nationale registration department maar hulle skuif.

Ja dis maar daai fly by night goed ne?

(GM1) En dis hulle skoof ook...

O soos wat hulle rental kry

(GM1) yes yes so dit het bv n groot invloed en soos daai groot hoeveelheid mense by 012 central is nie byvoorbeeld wat ons graag wil sien nie. (What GM1 is referring to here, is the unplanned and perceived chaotic use of public space by the people especially the students on the street. They have for instance made the Instagram wall that is used via technology by yo9ung peple extensively but they use the public nspace around 012 central more chaorically and unplanned to a level that annoys the property administartors)

Ok so dis interestant. Does he/she do this use of technology in public space outside of his/her residence?

(GM1) Ek dink hulle doen dit meer en meer deesdae en die vraag vir bv en ek weet dis nie major nie maar daar is definitief mense wat as hulle intrek by plekke wil hulle weet hulle het Wi-Fi connectivity nie net vir die huis nie maar vir hulle decoders, hulle almal wil hulle explores he. Dis hoekom ons projects team hulle werk daaraan en hulle wire ons geboue dat dit half geared is vir daai tipe goed.

U hhm. So gebruik hulle ooit hierdie technology soos bv n goeie voorbeeld en ons sal nou kom by religion maar uhm soos heirdie church services stream ne, so hulle sit almal buite en

(GM1) Ja

HULLE kom ons se dit kom uit Etiopie a fen kom onsse dis Islamic ouens van aan Nigeire en dan sal hulle of hulle ding terug stuur wat dan letterlik hulle connect daai plek met hierdie plek met technology...

(GM1) Oh wow...

Jy verstaan dan is daar n klompm ouens wat n church service het en hulle sing, of hulle project dit op n muur en almal luister na die pastor in Nigeria, so dis wat ek dan bedoel met hierdie invloed van tegnologie...

(GM1) Ok

Hulle link letterlik daardie Afrika stede met hierdie ...

(GM1) Ek is nie bewus van dit nie.

Julle weet nie avn dit niene?

(GM2) Nee on sweet daar is baie groot kerke ...

(GM1) Ja maar dis nie in die publiek rerig nie

Ja ek het hier rond gery op Sondaie en die enigste goed is daar daai groot ZCC ding wat so daar bo Marabastad le end an verder die Shembe ouens

(GM1) Yes...

Die ouens wat die wit rokke

(GM1) Ja hulle is in die public

So julle sien nie regtig public gatherings seivices of rituals in dei Pretoria cbd Nnie? No net really ne?

(GM1) Nee

Do they keep in touch with co-ethnics via technology do they thus plan outdoor meetings via technology?

(GM1) Nee ek dink nie

Kyk as dit nie so is nie dan is dit nie dis fine

(GM1) Ja

Commerce is n grote, dis seker die grtootste een wat ek nog gesien het

(GM1) Yes

To determine If the respondents commercial or business interests happen in public space and what influence do they have on public space? Ek dink wat ek julle wil vra is does he/she mix social gratherins or co-ethnic gatherings with commerce in the CBD, such as hairsalons playing boardgames, sidewalk conversations while selling merchandise sulke goed Bv ek het baie daarvan gesien bv hierdie carwashers bv is geneig om baie games te , maar dis eintlik gambling ne

(GM1) Dit is daai mense se kopietjies en bekkertjies (referring to the sidewalk games with dice and cups)

Ek dink dis rerig soos jy se ek dink dis na werk. Daars van daai ouens wat hierdie ouens hard dryf vir trade. So as dit is is dit definitief na ure . Dit is nie asof dit hierdie idilise ding is soos hierdie ou Griekse omie wat sit en games speel terwyl hy sy koffietjie drink ..

So julle commercial winkels of commercial properties ne, dit is die ouens wat on shier van praat? Die ouens in die residential areas hulle is nie geneig om sulke klas van commerce te gebruik, is daar ouens wat soos binne die geboue trade met goed soos trade...

(GM1) Ons laat dit glad nie toe nie

Glkad nie?

(GM1) Ja nee

Alright not allowed. En op julle city prop geboue, in julle commercial geboue is die ouens heavy geneig om dit te doen ne? So in die aande sit die ouens daar on den hulle cook end it word soos n social sulke goeters?

(GM1) Nee dis streng trading hours en die building manager's wayt ons op site het sal nie dit toelaat nie.

Ok

(GM1) Ek dink die bestuur wat ons het is baie goed omdat

So julle laat nie toe in die nagte in..

(GM1) Ait hang af van hulle licence so bv van die ouens is n trader tot se agt uur of whatever ek meen ek praat nou onder korreksie maar dan...maar jy moet ook onthou omdat baie van die geboue residentieel bo het sal hulle nie sulke tipe goed toelaat

Ok

(GM1) Uhm dit is streng volgens die lease condition, so is dit om te trade dan trade jy dit tot daai tyd niks anders nie.

Mens kan van dit bv ek was nou vrydag aand daar by so plek af van die groot catholic kerk af wats daai straat is dit Visagie wat gaan daar af

(GM1) Die katoelike kerk

Ja die groot een net bo Skinner..

(GM1) yes ja as jy daar afkom, is dit nie Lilian Ngoyi nie?

Wel die een wat nie slef parallel met skinener is maar wat

(GM1) Ja Lilian Ngoyi

Nou net daar is daar n gebou end it was n hairsalon omtrent agt uur die aand, wat ook op die grond vloer was. Ek weet nie wie se gebouo dit is maar toe praat ek daar met die ou wat ek ge interview het die carguard, toe se hy nee die ouens daars baie keer groot gatherins van die Nigerians jy weet maar ek dink nie dis julle gebou nie..

(GM1) Ek weet nie ek twyfel of dit sal wees.

Wat jy dan se as CP dit nie doen nie sal ouens tot twaalf uur daar bly?

(GM1) Jae k dink dalk so, en dis n extra manier vir hulle om extra geld te maak.

Ja. Ok religion ne to determine if religion has an infliuence on public space use, kyk ek weet daars baie African Pentecostal kerke end it lyk of, en ek weet daars n groot contingent African Islamic sook in die midestad ne

(GM1) Ja da

Ja veral die Tanzaniers en Nigerians is groot end an die Southern African mense is geneig om groot te wees en dan kom ons noem dit nou meer die North African mense van Nigerie af is geneig om 50/50 te wees

(GM1) Ja en ek dink oor ons die mosque heir oorkant die pad het kan jy dit duidelik sien, jy kan eintlik die mix sien

Ja ja

En volgens julle wat is die mix, het julle enige idee? Wat die religious mix vir die Africans is in die CBD?

(GM1) Nee ek het geen idee nie.

Ja dit is n moeilke ding om te () want as jy die ouens vra dan se hulle nee hy is Islamic, soos een van die ouens wat ek mee gepraat het van Tanzanie bv hy pak sy goed elke dag daa aan die ander kant van Kerk straat en hy loop letterlik Pretoria Noord toe met daai duffel bag end an kom hy terug die volgende dag. So hy is Islamic en daar is geen public toilets wat hy kan gebruik nie, so daar is pay toilets maar vir die Islamic ouens is daar geen toilette wat hulle kan, so hy gaan nie toilet toe die heel dag nie.

(GM1) Ja sjoe

So hy staan maar in die midde satd heel dag end an vanaand dan gaan hy huis toe. Sio dis n huge problem vir die Islamic ouens ne en mense besef dit nie.

Al right does he she use temporary available ritual spac in the Pretoria CBD and does he share this ritual space with other ethnic groups? Nouo dit kom van in Johannesburg bv, hulle sal open parkling lots sulke goed, daar sal partykeer tot drie kerke langs mekaar in die ope lug wees ne, Ek het niks daarvan gesioen in die Pretoria CBD nie?

(GM2) Ek dink ook nie so nie

So al die kerke is in die geboue, niemand waarvan julle bewus is ..

(GM1) Of in n winkel of

Ja dit is

(GM1) Of alternatief wil ek die ouens uhm wat jy nou nou gese het met die wit rokke daar by fountains, maar hulle is, ek het nog nooit as ek op n Sondag in die stad was so iets tee gekom nie.

Ja ek het baie Ondae in gery en al wat ek kon sien van ouens wat in public psace freligious activity...is daar bo in Marabastad is daar die ZCC. Daar is omtrent 2000 ouens wat die plek wat toegespan is ek dink dis n building site ek weet nie wat dit is nie, met skadu net. En jy mag nie fotos neem nie, dis n ander ding wat ek gesien het jis jy sukkel...

(GM1) hmmm jis hulle hou nie daarvan nie.

(GM2) n ander ding ne as dit een of ander fetive ding is met die Muslims soos wat mens kry as jy in die stad in ry in die oggende vroeg, dan sit hulle en bid daar aan die linker kant.

Waar is dit nou?

(GM1) Dit is veral ook as dit Eihd is

Eihd ja

(GM1) So as dit Eihd is

(GM2) So as jy in die stad in kom die eerste straat dink ek is Rissik, nie Rissik nie ek dink amper dit is die tweede robot van hom af. Dit is daar waar Nanna Sita en Skinner as ek dit nou so kan noem

O ok ja daai

(GM2) Dis in Nanna Sita en dan daai robot

Wat doen hierdie ouens daar?

(GM2) So dit is die Moslems wat gaan bid dan daar.

Bid hulle in die open air?

(GM2) Ja ja.

(GM1) Waaso is dirt want as jy afkom hier is Skinnner en daars die slipway..yes(they discuss a map of the CBD and pin point the location. Oo ok ek weet nou presies waar dis meer Sunnyside se kant

(GM2) Nee.

(GM1) O nie rerig nie

Dit moet gelink wees aan hiedie Mosque (researcher mentions the Metro Mosque as seen through their office window)

(GM1) Ek dink so en as baie van hulle as dit op Eidh is sal hulle...(pray in the open)

Ja

(GM1) Ja

(GM2) Ek dink dit raak net te veel mense om almal te akkomodeer hierso want dit raak nogal hectic...

(GM1) Praat jy van die area? (points to map. Another dispute arises over the exact location on the cbd map is meant)

(GM2) Jy is reg ja

Is dit, waars dit?

(GM1) Daar by Kotze straat,

O hierso, staan hulle letterlik daar?

(GM2) Hulle het uhm wel seker maar danger tape dan span hulle die danger tape en hulle elkeen bring hulle Matjie en hulle ...(pray)

Regtig

(GM2) Ja net so ...

Hoeveel keer per jaar gebeur die Eidh?

(GM1) Dis een keer per jaar

En vir hoe lank?

(GM1) Dis gewoonlik n groot prayer die oggend van, ek weet npu net van my vriende, dis van uhm sons opkoms tot ondergang dan breek die vast, dan ek dink dit gaan an tot 8 9 uur die oggend.

(GM2) Ja dit hulle is vreeslikk vroeg daar.

Ok so dis interessant. So dis al wat julle van weet in outdoor space behalwe die ZCC en die shembe ..mostly Zimbabwiers.

(GM1) Ja

Ok ek weet nie of julle heirdie gaan weet nie maar what are the main demographiscs for CP buildings are they mainly Afrcian Pentecostal or Islamic? Volgens julle?

(GM1) Og dis moeilik om te se. Ek dink as ek thumbsuck, ek weet ons het baie uhm, ek dink dit sal predominantly seker meer wees African.

Pentecostal?

(GM1) Hey Luna?

(GM2) U hu...(Nods agreement)

So daar is n groot Islamic contingent

(GM1) Definitief, ja ja ja

So sal jy se meer as 50% is probably African Pentecostal?

(GM1) ja ek sal so se

Ok. Do you ever see the tenants using CP buildings outdoor spaces for religious purposes such as praying evangelizing, Islamic Zikhr or so

(GM1) shakes head and indicates a no

Laat julle dit nie toe nie?

(GM1) Nie die public psaces wat ins ons area is

Julle het dit nie gesien nie?

(GM1) Dit sal nie voor ons geboue gebeur nie

Ok gender to determine if the sending destinations culture prescribes any gender related behaviour to the respondents in the public spaces of the Pretoria CBD, en julle het geraai dit gaan Islamic wees, segregation of the sexes, public dress codes, any such type of behaviour. Sien julle iets van dit in julle geboue?

(GM1) Ek dink dis soos jy se dis die vrouens met die Burkas en die uhm, en ek dink baie van die bv nou die dames met die mannequins en die koppe en alles dan, daar was een nou die dag daar by centre walk sy kon nie eers Engels praat nie...

Is dit?

(GM1) En jy kan sien sy is letterlik net daar om die goed te verkoop. Hoe verkoop jy die goed en jy kan nie eers Engels praat nie?

Het sy ook n Burka gedra?

(GM1) Nee, nee dis net in terme van sex en die vrouens, dis net

Ja ja dis heavy op beginsels

(GM1) Ja ja

So mens kry dit seker baie baie, van die ouens moet survive en iets doen maar dis teen hulle religious beginsels?

(GM1) Yes yes

(GM1) En ek dink ook dis n, want toe ek daar verby loop en ek vra haar, ons het toe n foto geneem by centre walk, en ek vra haar toe kan jy net die poppe n bietjie net skuif ons gaan nou weer terug skuif, dis n groot conversation, en ek dink by myself hoe deperaat moet jy wees om dit te doen maar jy kan nie eers converse nie?

Ja dis nogal sjo...

(GM2) Hierso is di toek baie apparent, jy sal nooit op vrydae middag tussen 1 en 2 n vrou in hierdie parking lot sien nie (refers to the parking lot of the metro Mosque across the street)

Is dit

(GM2) Ja hulle gaan almal hier agter in en jy hoor of sien hulle nie

Ok so dis definitief gender segregated spaces ne?

(GM1) Ma veral omdat dit hier by die mosque ook is en hulle het hulle eie ingang en alles maar ek dink ja.

So julle is nie aware van any gender segregation in julle geboue met julle tenants nie ne?

(GM1) Nee

Ok according to CP what is the gender demographics for CP buildings in the Pretoria CBD, mostly males or females? Weet julle

(GM2) Sjoer daars baie gesinnetjies maar jy het ook jou ..

En families vs singles wat sou julle se?

(GM2) Nee dit weet ek nie

(GM1) Kyk baie van ons geboue is tradisioneel meer uhm of laat ek so se ons het minder two bedrooms as wat ons het one bedroom en one and a half bachelors.

Ok so dis meer geneig na die single, of twee mense wat saam deel of so iets ne?

(GM1) Ja maar baie van dit is ook, jy kan bv n couple he wat in n bachelor bly want hulle sal fine wees daarmee, maar ek dink dis very much 50/50.

Is it

(GM1) Or just over 50/50

Ja more or less ne?

So jy sal nie se daars n extreme minority van couples nie ne

(GM1) Nee glad nie

Ok status related behaviour, dis nie net n unieke African ding nie maar ouens gebruik status om anvaarding te generate so hulle sal soos die Nigeriers is mos leif vir dit die vreeslike dress code en karre en flashy goed ons noem dit flaneuring, daai culture van af-show basies om, kyk daars baie literatuire wat actually wys dat mense, immigrants gebruik baie status om uhm anvaarding te kry, jy weet and it actually does work in sekere stede in Afrika stede is dit nogal n groot ding, hulle doen dit vir versekie redes so al wat ons rerig wil weet is uhm. Ons noem dit status projection ne so uhm ..do they use status projection in the CBD in order to garner local acceptance ? If so how does it influence public space use. Dis n moeilike een maar dit sal nou wees hierdie duur blink karre wat hulle sal stop langs die pad, twee of drie van hulle en die deure dan oopmaak...

(GM1) Ek dink dis baie meer in Sunnyside hey.

Ahh ok

(GM2) Ek prober nou dink hierso jy sal kry n A3 kry n Bee em wat hier park fancy...

Yes ek was nou die dag hier by die kos stal oorkant die mosque en praat met die vrou daar en heir kom so duur land drover so tussen die ander taxis en karre en die ou sit net daar en ek vra toe vir die vrou wie is di ten sy se nee hy is die taxi boss,

Ok so do you believe dat die Pretoria CBD is stratified according to social status, income education ethnicity, is julle aware van social stratification van mense in julle geboue jy weet soos uhm...

(GM1) Ek dink tog daar is. Ek dink daar is van die ouens en ek praat nou net suiwer van wat ek al gesien het van wat in die geboue is. Die karre wat die mense ry is

Excessively duur karre?

(GM1) Wel en nuwe karre. Waar jy ook kan kry daar sal n mengsel van ons tenants wees wat glad nie eers n kar kan bekostig nie. Of hulle sal se nee shucks ek sal eerder public transport gebruik en sal nie eers n kar he nie. Uhm daars van hulle wat daai Range Rovers ry, Bmw's Mecedese so daar is n tipe van n klas ding by van hulle, maar nie almal nie.

So om daai goed te doen, n mnes doen dirt vir some sort of reason ne, so daars multiple goed that bthey try to achieve, maar een van hulle is om miskien n sekere ja status vir homself vas te pen, en die mesne by wie hy bly, hy wil he die mesne moet hom so en so view..

(GM1) En ek dink ook dit het baie te doen met baie van die ouens wat as public servants werk, want obviously hy verdien n goeie salaris dan so hy en wat on sook sien dit dit word meer en meer dat die man en die vrou het miskien elkeen n kar. Uh men ek dink vir daai klas van tenant uhm is dit miskien nie noodwendig n ding om te se kyk hoe flashy is ek en hierdie is my area of so iets nie maar, dit is in terme van hulle disposable income dat hulle wel sulke tipe karre kan bekostig.

Ja so jy kans se daar is n tipe van n income stratification van tenants ne?

(GM1) Ja

Dink julle dit beïnvloed hulle behaviour in public space of uhm maar dis nou nie eintlik n vraag vir julle nie maar as julle weet kan julle se?

(GM1) Ons, ek dink nie rerig so nie ek dink wel dat baie van en dis og seker vreeslik gevaarlik en onverantwoordelik om dit te se maar ek dink baie van hulle wel wat wat in ons geboue is die wat

baie meer miskien affluent is, is baie meer dan gefokus op n meer westerse model as n n . Ag ek weet nie ek is dalk verkeerd om dit te se ek wil nie he dit moet verkeerd klink nie..

Ja nee ek weet wat jy bedoel..

Ek tog hulle is baie meer van hulle sal Menlyn toe gaan op n naweek en daar gaan uithang. Hulle hoef nie noodwendig heir in die stad te shop nie. Uh men ek dink noodwendig is dit net weer agv van hulle bekostigbare inkomste wat hulle kan bestee.

Uh huu. Dit maak sin. So sal jy se hierdie ouens use visible consumptive behaviour in public space to foster inclusion? Jy weet soos shopping daai goeters

(GM1) Ja

So dit is nogal n groot ding?

(GM1) Ja

Dit sien e kook as jy net rond stap, making a show of shopping,

(GM1) Baie, baie van hulle wat ons vind ook wat ek al gehoor het is dat hulle se is dat hulle sal bv iets koop wat hulle weet sal duursaam wees waarvan hulle hous soos n goeie paar skoene, Hulle sal nodwendig meer spandeer op die skoene uhm, maar die skoene sal langer hou. Hulle sal nie noodwendig china mall goed koop.

Dit lyk my baie van die African culture is vreeslik bewus jy weet hulle weet daai is duur skoene en nie cheap skoene hulle kan daai tipe goed en nhorlosies en goed, so dit is vir hulle baie soos n indicator of grading of status, soos ek kom agter vir hulle is dress en karre baie belangrik waar bv ek ry n panda en ek neem aan jule ry nie supoer flashy karre nie, meetse van julle nie?

(GM1) Nee (laughs)

So ons het nan der mind set wat hierdie goed betref

(GM1) Yes, en dis hoekom dit in die verlede ek dink uhm daai (expensive shop) hy is nie meer daar by centre walk nie, maar ons het fancy fancy winkels hoor,

(GM2) Duur goed wat ek nie sla kan bekostig nie

Rerig ?

(GM1) Ja nee .

So vir n kom ons noem dit maar affluent mark ne?

(GM1) ja e nook net dalk is dit aspirational. Daar is weer in centre walk heirdie plek en ek sal nie n jersey daar gaan koop vir R500 nie. Eks soos fok ek betaal nie eers dit vir ..shucks ek moet nie dit se nie ..maar ek dink daars baie van hulle wat, en as ek vat soos daai koeke..haaa.

Ek het daai koeke gesien ja

(GM2) Het jy? Jis dis nice...

(GM1) Dis R5000 vir so n koek!

Dis langs daai klein Vespa koffie ding ne?

(GM2) Dit is n status ding vir hulle..

(GM1) Dit is, en daars twee koek winkels nie ver van mekaar af nie. Die een is daar in Capital towers North, en die ander ene is daar in centre walk.

Jae k het dei een gesien in centre walk ja

(GM1) Ja

So dit is definitief some sort of status projection ding ne?

(GM1) En ek dink ook dis goed soos, dis nie net verjaarsdae en troues nie, as ju instap in die winkels jy sal sien dis soos graduation, en en so ek dink dis deel van daai

So dit is die goed kom ons se wat hulle waarde aan heg ne? So ek sien baie van die klere se labels sit buite sodat jy moet sien daai is n watookals trui, die logo sit hier hy sit nie heir binne in die kraag vas nie.

(They all laugh at this observation)

En die skoene selfs sien ek logos aan die buite kant so dat jy moet sien hey, daai ding is n...crocket & Jones, dis nie n PEP stores paar nie...

(GM1) Ja, ja (nods in agreement) en vir die eerste keer het daar weer n queenspark hier oopgemaak hier in die stad, so jy kan sien net in terme van die offerings is die groot tenants wat goed doen is die total sports en die foot gears en

Redelike duur goed ne?

(GM1) Ja daai goed ja.

So dis definitief gelink aan n aspirational iets ne?

(GM1) (Nods her head in agreement) En bv as jy by totalsport n well known soccer shirt koop dit is ook baie here...

Ja dit is ook maar n status ding ne

So kom ons gaan nou recreation toe. Ok so recreation ne. Do they partake in recreational activities in the Pretoria CBD, onthou dis nou public space ne, and what influence does it have on the public spaces so, do they eat communally in public spaces jy weet op dei pavement, so die ouens in julle geboue eet hulle commubnally wat julle bewus is van ooit?

(GM1) UH UHH (no)

Want ek tel di took nie op nie

(GM1) nee

Streetside conversations buite die geboue

(GM1) Dit dink ek doen hulle, want dis baie meer sociable en rereg gesels, yees definitief

So daai African conversation ding can jy ..

(GM2) uhhm ja

(GM1) yes

Ok do they partake in ethnic rituals in public space, any kind of ethnic ritual wat julle van bewus is?

(GM1) uh uhh. (no)

Kyk dis nie net julle gebou dis enige plek in die CBD?

(GM1) Ek weet daaso as ek huis toe ry daar net voor jy by fountains weer kom daar by die bmw garages is waar hulle soccer speel.

Yes daar various plekke waar hulle soccer speel. Wat hulle vir my gese het

(GM1) Ook toe church square nog oop was het hulle baie daar ook soccer gespeel.

Ok

(GM1) uhm daar was n restaurantjie net off church square wat baie social was wat ek altyd gedink het was baie meer van die ouens van central afrika.

Ok wat so half gespill het uit op die (public space)

(GM1) yes u huu. Ek weet nie of hulle meer daar is nie. Hulle het meestal maar ge-eet.

Amper n social tipe atmosfeer?

Jae n dit was baie en ek weet nie of hulle mekaar geken het nie maar dit was vir my half snaaks die een aand toe ek dit gesien het toe ek in die stad was net so off church square.

Ok dis interessant. So ek sal se yes and no ne?

Ok organized sport and formal recreation, meeste wat ek nou opgetel het is die Tanzaniers hou van Boks, ne en almal lyk dit my doen nou gym erens, end an soccer. So dis die drie goed wat ek opgetel het van kom ons noem dit sport en recreation in daai opsig. Kyk die ouens gaan nie parkies en picnics hou en sulke goed.

(GM1) Ja jy se dit maar Burgers park is redelik goed ondersteun, die equipment daar die swaaie vir die kinders is nice. Dis nice om te sien hulle bring hulle kinders soontoe. So dis goed na gekyk deur die stad so ek dink dis baie nice.

Ja jy sien daai val buite die studie area. Ek kyk meer na die ou CBD.

(GM1+2) Oo ok.

(GM2) Baie van hulle draf. Yes ja hier by die unie gebou. Jis daars baie joggers en hulle strek en Yoga...

Ok en die ouens in julle geboue is hulle geneig om sporty te wees? Want ek sien die gym culture is nou so huge dis amper

(GM1) Weet jy ek dink van dit ja en nee, Bv in een van ons geboue het ons n gym in die park daar onder kant (indistinct)

(GM2) Jae k het gehoor daarvan.

Daars nie by ander geboue so iets wat julle sien nie wat hulle gebruik?

(GM1) Ek dink hulle sal maar daars baie meer ..

Maar soos back in the day het die ouens maar saam gedrom, maar selfs die soccer is linked to gambling.

(GM1) Yes

So die straat ouens ne hulle gaan speel soccer, maar dan there has to be gambling linked to it jy verstaan? Jy moet betch hulle noem dit betting?

(GM1) Ja ook net op dit jy weet obviously wat ons het, die meeste van ons plekke maak ons leisure spasie available.

Ok binne in julle area ne?

(GM1) Binne in ons gebou ja

In die gebou of om..

(GM1) Of in n courtyard of op die dak om iets te bied. Ons het by sharrons place is ons grootste leisure are to date is amper 3000m2.

Ok, dis nou ook toegespan tipe van, access so dis net vir as jy daar bly?

(GM1) Ja ja en ek dink baie van die mense gebruik dit nie net miskien vir die kinders nie maar ek dink definitief vir die adults ook.

So waste tipe goed is julle van bewus, doen hulle in daai spesies van julle?

(GM1) So daars braai fasiliteite en ons het nou by sharrons is daar so klein mini soccer field...

Ok

(GM1) Met nette en ligte waar die kinders kan jol iin dei aand.

Ok en hulle gerbuik dit?

(GM1) Ja end an is daar klim en klouter rame

So dis maar tipies vir die mense wat daar bly soos dis nou outdoor...

(GM1) Dis nie public space soos wat jou focus is nie maar ek dink dis ons het n need gesien vir daai tipe goed

So ek neem aan veiligheid is n groot..?

(GM1) Definitief

Ok en is jullebewus van enige informal recreation by informal areas soos parking lots, pavements strate, waard ieouens partykeer so begin soccer speel in die strate, Julle het nog nie dit gesien nie ne?

(GM1) hu uh..(no)

Is julle bewus van residents wat ander recreational patterns van ander lande bring in die Pretoria CBD nie? This could be sport or cultural or cultural clubs, soos die Nigeriers het in new York uhm daar is iets soos 200 van wat hulle noem home associations of Daira's ne, wat die nigerians al in die 70's begin om wat hulle die home-associatins het, so as jy daar aankom in die stad dan gaan jy, dis n plek, soos die Italian club, dan gaan jy daar en begin dan gesels want hulle like daai geselsery daai

American culture voel vir hulel vreeslik gevrek. Almal is so reserved en hierdie whiteys, niemand praat met mekaar, waar as hulle daar kom dan voel dit soos home...

(GM1) Ek dink daar is seker maar

Nie wat julle van bewus us nie>

(GM1) Nie wat ons van bewus is nie, nee

To whate extent are ethnic enclaves present in the CBD? Volgens julle very low ne? In julle geboue daars nie ethnic clustering of weet jy van concentrations of Zimbabwiens of whatever?

(GM1) Nee

Julle tenants ne, hulle kinders wat julle praat met die ouers, hoeveel van hulle kindes word well ge accept of is well assimilated inn dei Pretoria CBD of praat julle nie rerig so met die mense nie?

(GM1) Weet jy wat ek dink end it vak nou weer buite jou area maar ons is baie nou betrokke by Pretoria primary school, wat daar op die hoek van Nelson Mandela en ...ek weet nie erens is, en daar is n groot, klomp kinders wat van foreigners is e nook local kinders en ek moet se dis uhm miskien is engels nie eers hulle eerste taal nie, Frans en, en ek kan duidelik die integration daar sien. So daars nie n issue of

Ek sien die kinders van na 2 in die middae float ronde n wag vir busse, en baie van hulle sit by van die street traders hulle ken hulle.

(GM1) Ja

So dis n tipe van n veilige plaek maar ek neem aan dis pretty dangerous eintlik?

If tenants are from other African countries do they tend to be 1st 2nd or 3rd generation migrants?

Die wat ek gesien het was amper almal eerste generation, dis nie kinders van migrants wat hierheen gekom het nie ne?

(GM1) Ek weet nie

So eerste generation ouens kom...

(GM1) Kom vir n geleentheid

Ja sy Pa is nie van Zimbabwe of sy ouers en hy is heir gebore? (2nd generation migrants)

(GM1) Ek dink nie so nie, my gut feel is hulle kom hierheen, hulle soek n geleentheid en hulle wil iets prober doen (1st gen migrants)

So 1st dan sal jy se?

(GM1) Ja

Em definitief nie 3rd generation nie?

(GM1) Nee

Plekke sos in New York en so het jy mos plekke soos little Italy en daar is al 5e en 6e generasie Italianers

What is the situation with African migrants in the Pretoria CBD, do they mostly bring them with them or mostly leave them behind? Want baie van hulle los mos die kinders by die uhm grand parents of relatives en goed.

(GM1) Praat jy spesifiek van in Suid Afrika swart mense of ...

Well die African migrants wat van Zim en goed kom en dan die local ouens, want n tipiese voorbeeld wat jy sal sien is bv n swart vrou van Mpumalanga bv, sy los haar kinders daar, sy is hier sy het twee drie kinders by verskillende mans, is nie getroud nie, daar is n resistance teen trou ek weet nie hoekom, dan create hulle nou dan hierdie nuwe demographic jy sien.

(GM1) Yes dit definitief sien ons, ek dink ook ons sien baie van die ouens wat en probeer om iets hier te maak en dan

Wat hier bly end an wil hulle die fam later bring

(GM1) Yes end an is daar ook families wat kom.

Ok

(GM2) Ja hier is nogal baie gesinnetjies wat kom

(GM1) Ja ek dink dit is n mixture ja

How often do African migrants using CP buildings tend to go home as far as you are aware? So dis nou jou foreign nationals...

(GM1) Sjou so die enigste een daar wat ek dink ons oor kan gesels is the fields, maar weereens by the fields as dit student is wat klaar geswot het gaan hulle huis toe end it geld maar vir die plaaslike swart bevolking ook die ouens watv klaar geswot het gaan maar huis toe. Van hulle wat by UP swot en as hulle klaar is gaan hulle huis toe. EK dink die ander kan ek nie eintlik se nie.

Kyk die groot ding is mos altyd Desember gaan hulle huis toe. Die migrants. Oor dei algemeen maar paartykeer het hulle nie geld nie.

(GM1) Yes

So julle is nie bewus van

(GM2) van die local ouens gaan miskien once a month as hulle extra geld het

Waar die Zimbabweers miskien een keer per jaar sal gaan as hy dit kan bekostig. Apparently die ouens van Tanzanie, hy is nou van die straat, hy se dit vat hom 4 dae om daar te kom. Dit kos duisende rande. So jy kan nie regtig veel saam vat en as jy daar kom is jy heeltemal broke.

(GM1) En ek dink ook baie van daai vraag hang van die af, se nou hy kom in die nuwe jaar, want ons het n peak period in Januarie en Februarie waar ons duisende mense voor huisvesting gee. Hulle kom en hulle bly en hulle begin hulle dingetjie op die kant, dan as daai lease aan die einde van die jaar verval dan is jy nie hier nie, end it is miskien wat deel is van die churn maar ek kannie dit vir jou 100% bevestig nie.

So dis exactly waar hulle praat van trans-national trading, is dis cyclical, die ouens sal, en die een ou sal gaan en hy sal n blyplek gaan anker, gaan huur, dank om sy buddies en hulle trade met hulle goed en dis dan n cycle wat klaar maak. So hulle gaan dalk huis toe en vat als terug, end an volgende jaar is dit die nuwe ding wat dan weer opstart. Dit is n tipiese migratory trading circuit.

(GM1) Maar ek kan nie 100% vir jou se wat ons nommer is.

Dit is vir my interessant dat julle weereens daarvan sal weet. Anyway die volgende een is movement as identity, die ouens move rond want hulle is homesick, hulle het kom ons noem dit geen identity investment in waar hulle bly nie. So hulle is rootless ne, wat space betref, hulle drift rond van gebou tot gebou, en hulle maak nooit regig deep connections met die plekke en mense waar hulle bly nie.

Do the CP buildings tenants travel around a lot, go on trips

(GM1) Ek weet nie of trips n ding is nie ?

(GM2) Baie van die Niggies en nefies en boeties en sussies kom kuier. End an weet ek die building managers moet iewers n streep trek want anders...

So dis interessant n mens kan amper dit haak aan daai vraag dis n vorm van dit.

(GM1) Jae n ons is ook baie streng ook. Jy mag net vir so lank bly anders moet hulle jou registreer as n co-habitant.

O is it?

(GM1) Jae n dis te doen met daai hele ding van die oorbevolking in die plekke. Ja hulle kom wel en ek dink of hulle regig Niggies is ek weet nie (laughs)

Are there any other behavioural aspects beyond these issues that come to mind regarding African migrants using CP buildings?

(GM2) Eak sal se die groot verskil wat ek nou al agter gekom het. Residential vs retail.

(GM1) Ja

(GM2) Die retail tenants het nie altyd die savvy of praat dalk nie eers engels nie, waar die tenants wat by ons huur wat van die buitelande af kom is baie wel educated, fluent in Engels, en so aan.

Selfs die straat bly veral Zimbabwiers se engels is baie goed.

(GM1) En ek dink ook hulle kom baie van die retail ouens en hulle het n klein winkeltjie en hulle het ietsie om te verkoop, nie noodwendig in ons space nie maar regoor die stad as ek hulle so sien, jy kan sien hulle is nie Suid Africkaans nie, uh men ek dink baie van dit is dis half soos its tried and tested as ek n plekkie kan kry en ek het n offset point sal mense goedjies by my koop.

Ja

(GM1) Waar ek dink Lunais heeltemal reg dei residentiële ouens is hier vir n heeltemal ander rede in n sin.

Ja

(GM1) Ek wil nie se n ander klas maar hulle kan darem baie beter kommunikeer, kry bietjie meer inkomste en ...

Ja so net op n laaste vraag wat ek aware is van die wat ek nou gesien het ne, in my travels around the CBD nou, is die CBD is n snaakse ding in terme van daars twee CBD's daars die dag CBD en dan is daar die nag CBD? So in die dag is die ouens wat hier bly geneig om uit te wees en gaan werk, dan is die street traders en so hierso en hulle tend to move out so 6 7 uur die aand. So daar is 2 stelle mense wat dei CBD gebruik. Die dag ouens kan jy weer afbreek in die street drug ouens, jis daars

baie drug addicts in die stad hoor. Ek se jou meeste van die Zimbabwiers wat karre was en lap swaai is Nyaope addicts.

(GM1) Ja (nods her head in agreement)

En jy sal verbaas wees watter groot problem daar is met dwelms in hierdie stad

(GM1) Nee ons weet.

As n ou praat met die mense. So daars ook twee stele street traders. Daars die drug addicts, end an is daar die non drug addicts.

(GM1) Ja.

Dan is daar wat ek voel sekere strate is geneig om ethnically groeperings te he. Bv Zimbabwiers sal bv baie sterk wees op sekere areas, as jy so praat met die ouens. Dan is die local ouens die meeste geneig om te mix met die Zimbabwiers. Hulle view die Zimbabwiers as amper dieselfde as hulle want hulle is Ndebele's en Tsonga's ne.

(GM1) Yes (nods head in strong agreement)

Dan in die aand dank om die ouens wat hier bly en daars n sterk night life as mens daar omgaan met daai Blue room (researcher mentions certain of the popular clubs that operate at night in the CBD) Toe sen ek die polek is regtig aan die gang. Naweke Sondae is dit baie stil mens sien rerig min aktiwiteit op straat.

(GM1) Baie ja

So is dit n accurate assessment min of meer van julle ondervinging van die CBD? Hieride twee kante met die dag en die nag,

(GM1) Ek dink miskien dag en nag ek dink nie miskien so extreme, ek dink dalk bv soos baie van ons tenants soos bv ons, ons kom van die buitewyke a fen werk in die satd, en ek dink baie government departments is dieselfde ook.

Ok

(GM1) Uhm, Ja dis die ouens op die straat, dis die informal traders, dis die definitief Nyaope, was jy by the way al in Brown street gewees?

Ja nee jis

