

Interface

The search for legibility of urban form for African migrants in Cape Town, South Africa

Kevin Ngumbao Mutia
Dissertation submitted as part fulfillment of the degree
of Masters of Urban Design (MUD)
School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
University of Cape Town
November 2019



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I wish to acknowledge and give thanks to the Almighty God for seeing me through to get to this place, without whom, I would not be here. I am in awe of your wonders.

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"Landmarks", "migrants"

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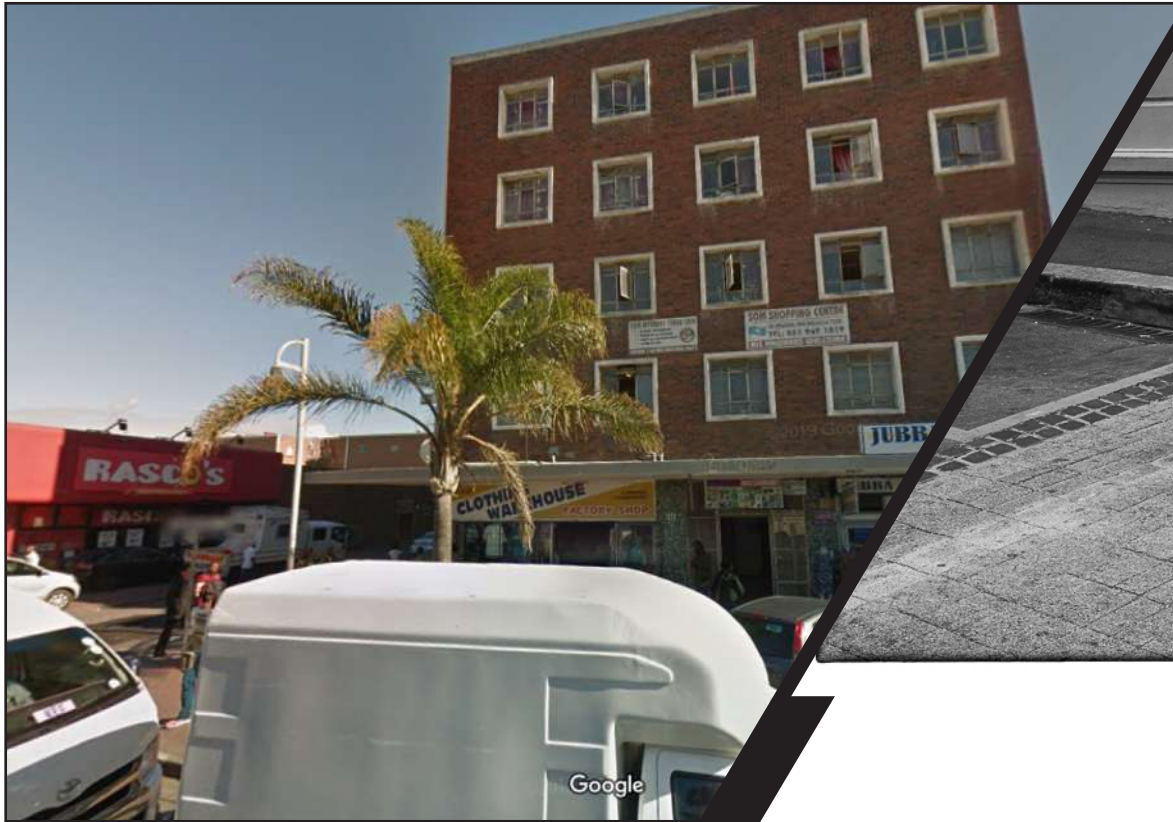
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Aspiration



Precarity

The Migrant Problematique.

NO PLACE TO CALL HOME: DESPERATE FOREIGN NATIONALS LOOK TO FLEE 'HATE' IN SA

Hundreds of foreign nationals from the DRC, Burundi, Somalia, Pakistan and Zimbabwe have been camping at the United Nations Building in Cape Town since last Tuesday, desperate to leave a country they once called home.



Foreign nationals wait at the UN Refugee Agency office in Cape Town for relocation to foreign lands. (AP Photo/Thomson Reuters)

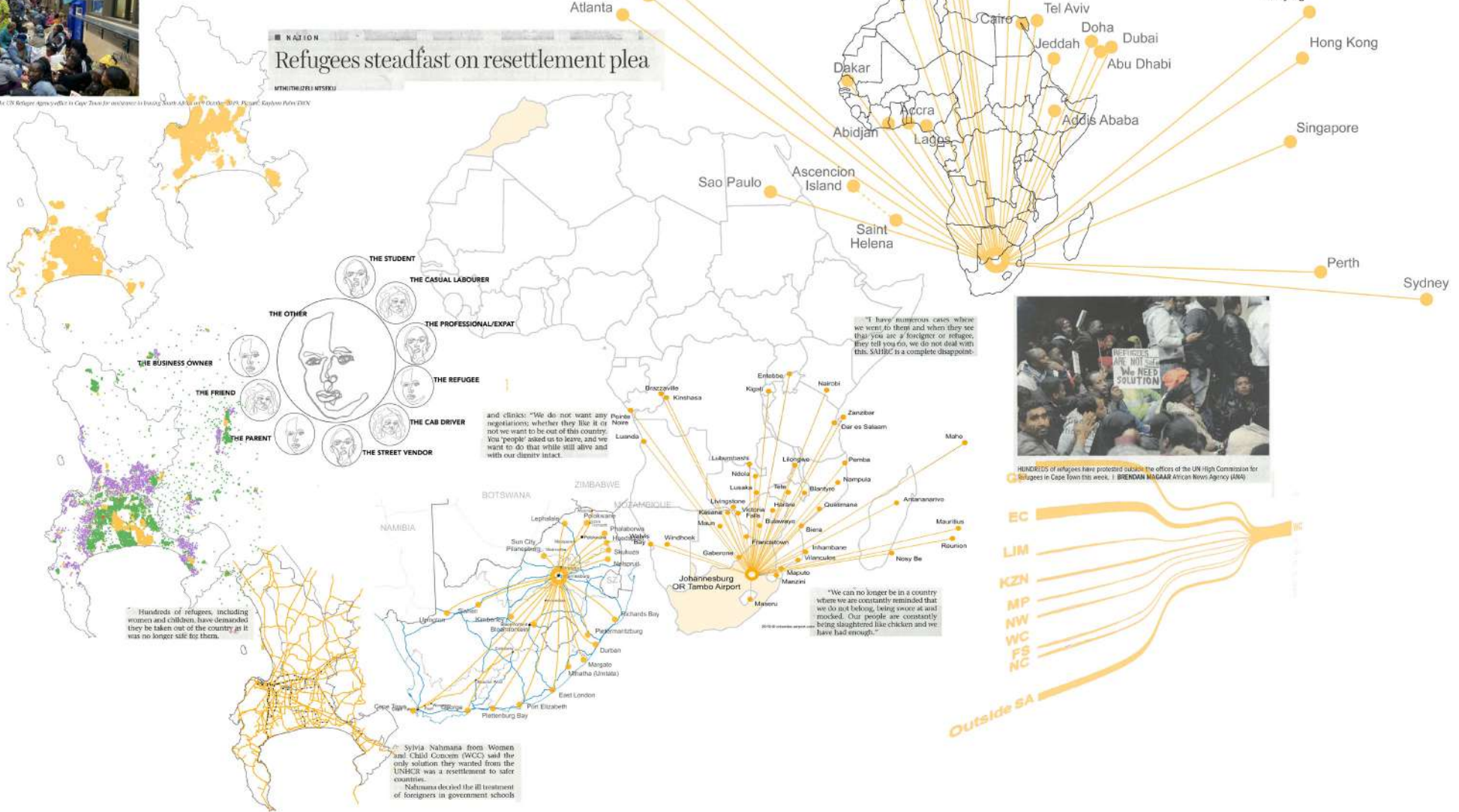
The story of migration in Africa needs to be reset. The reality is that when we talk about African migrations, we are really talking about Africa's young people.

African migrants are predominantly young, educated people seeking better jobs and opportunities. Data show that most migrants are professionals and entrepreneurs whose economic activities support economic growth in host countries, provide much-needed services and products and whose skills are valuable assets.

Migrants' contribution to GDP is estimated at 19% in Côte d'Ivoire, 13% in Rwanda and 9% in South Africa. Moreover, close to 70% of African migration is intra-African.

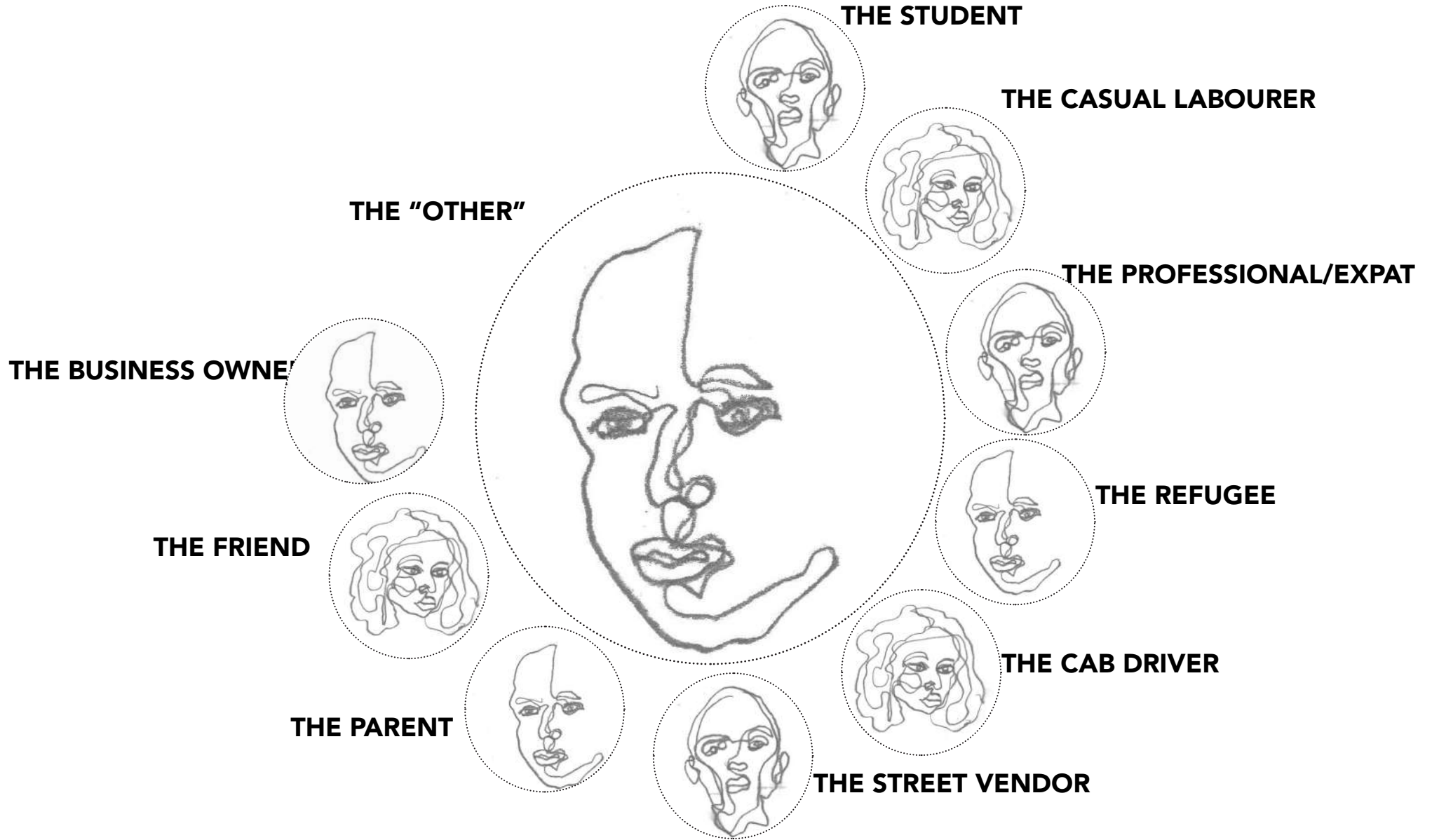
Refugees steadfast on resettlement plea

BY THEHUMANITARIAN



HUNDREDS of refugees have protested outside the offices of the UN High Commission for Refugees in Cape Town this week. (BRENDAN MCGARR African News Agency (ANA))

Who is the migrant?



CHAPTER 1: POSITIONALITY

THE AFRICAN MIGRANT: CAPE TO MELILLA

Migrants the world over have different faces and lived experiences.



Figure 1: Migration, Melilla to Cape Town

In moving, fleeing or travelling to a different country for a myriad of reasons, migrants find themselves in new contexts, new worlds sometimes completely different from the places they come from. This makes them a vulnerable proportion of society in the urban spaces they find themselves in. Further this added complexity in understanding a new context comes as a concern in terms of navigating new urban spaces, seeking shelter, and creating livelihoods in these 'new worlds'.

A plethora of borders and barriers to integration and adaptation exist in the host urban setting. From language barriers, to financial and cultural exclusion, host community xenophobic attitudes, further to being a foreigner in a foreign land with different urban structures and ways of life. In the quest to seek shelter and find settlement and creating livelihoods, migrants find themselves navigating new urban structures and forms which are unlike where they come from. From creating Lynch's mind maps to assist in mental mapping of one's physical spaces, migrants identify paths, nodes, edges, districts and landmarks from their own perspectives that create a layer of urban space that in most cases lacks to be incorporated in urban planning and design consideration for our cities that are 'worlding' (Ong, 2011; 10) by becoming more diverse by the day.

The two outermost tips on the continent of Africa present two different cities with similar themes of exclusion of migrants in accessing the proverbial 'better life'. From Mellila's exclusionary borders, high-fence, razed wire barriers to Cape Town's exclusionary urban structure, migrant narratives from the north to the south of Africa are riddled with stories of exclusion, fear and being 'othered'. In seeking to address notions of acceptance, integration and adaptation. The project aims to provide a leeway in addressing the plights of the African migrant in urban space in cities on the continent by focusing on a case example in Cape Town to assess how strategic interface locations in the city can allow for 'worlding' by celebrating diversity and enabling rights to the city for all including the 'other'. Hence this research project seeks to gain an understanding into the lived experience of African migrants in the production of urban space through everyday migrant urbanism in Cape Town.

'A THEORY OF GOOD URBAN FORM' should support;

Inclusion into the city:

I believe that cities should be inclusive for all regardless of background. The city should be designed to accommodate various ways of life across various strata. An inclusive city is neither exclusive nor does it discriminate. An inclusive city welcomes all to participate in it. An inclusive city is designed to provide spaces that allow for integration of various cultures, ethnicities, religions, genders, races and so forth. These spaces should allow for mingling of the society to generate richness in the city and break down social barriers.

Access to the city for all:

Cities should be accessible for everyone. City structures world over may have some barriers that make it more difficult for everyone to access the city. These barriers include but are not limited to infrastructure, cultural and language differences, economic barriers. These barriers through reflection and redefinition of urban structures can influence the ways in which people are able to access opportunities in cities hence improving everyone's overall quality of life.

Freedom of movement in the city:

Bremner (2010) cites Michel de Certeau, who poses the question 'How can one know the city if one does not walk the city?' This question highlights the importance of freedom of movement in the city in order to understand the city. In some circumstances, our cities hold physical or non-physical barriers to movement. Some of these challenges include poor urban structure design which in turn affects legibility. Our cities need to be designed to allow everyone to move around

comfortably regardless of whether one owns a car or not. Our cities should be designed to celebrate non-motorized transport and the pedestrian experience of space. Public transport systems in cities should be designed to allow easy movement of people across the city at affordable rates. They should be designed to allow for movement of everyone across any part of the city.

This research project hopes to highlight the challenges in the urban structure of Cape Town by presenting a scenario where proportions of the city dwellers are in the city but not of the city. This raises questions on belonging and ways in which culture and social relations shape our cities. The project hopes to understand the legibility of Cape Town drawing from the experience of African migrants to understand how the city's urban structure influences their navigation of the city. In so doing, the research project aims to provide insight into how various groups experience the same space but in different ways. The research project hopes to highlight ways in which we understand and move through our cities to ascertain whether they are inclusive or not. By so doing we can gain insight on how to address our cities' urban structures to improve legibility of urban form for all.

Hence, the research project aims to;

1. Understand Cape Town's urban structure and how it influences navigation of local and international African migrants
2. Understand the lived experience of local and international African migrants in terms of navigating the city
3. Understand how Lynch's urban elements in Cape Town vary with different users and how they influence Cape Town's urban legibility for all.



source: <https://assets.weforum.org>

The story of migration in Africa needs to be reset. The reality is that when we talk about African migrations, we are really talking about Africa's young people. ◉

African migrants are predominantly young, educated people seeking better jobs and opportunities. Data show that most migrants are professionals and entrepreneurs whose economic activities support economic growth in host countries, provide much-needed services and products and whose skills are valuable assets.

Migrants' contribution to GDP is estimated at 19% in Côte d'Ivoire, 13% in Rwanda and 9% in South Africa. Moreover, close to 70% of African migration is intra-African.

source: Daily Maverick



source: [Twitter.com/EWNReporter](https://twitter.com/EWNReporter)

Refugees steadfast on resettlement plea

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THE refugee "sit-in" protest at the Cape Town UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) offices entered its fourth day today, with more refugees vowing not to leave until the UNHCR provided the "right solution".

Hundreds of refugees, including women and children, have demanded they be taken out of the country as it was no longer safe for them.

Sylvia Nahmana from Women and Child Concern (WCC) said the only solution they wanted from the UNHCR was a resettlement to safer countries.

Nahmana decried the ill treatment of foreigners in government schools and clinics: "We do not want any negotiations; whether they like it or not we want to be out of this country. You 'people' asked us to leave, and we want to do that while still alive and with our dignity intact."

"We can no longer be in a country where we are constantly reminded that we do not belong, being swore at and mocked. Our people are constantly being slaughtered like chicken and we have had enough."

Alan Mury from the DRC has been in the country for 19 years. He said he applied for permanent residence six times but failed. He said the govern-



HUNDREDS of refugees have protested outside the offices of the UN High Commission for Refugees in Cape Town this week. | BRENDAN MAGAAR African News Agency (ANA)

ment is mired in discrimination, and also lambasted the issuing unabridged birth certificates to children he said were born in the country.

Jean Pierre said leading up to the protests, the group have exhausted all avenues, including seeking the intervention from the South African Human Rights Commission in ensuring the safety of refugees and asylum seekers.

Pierre also accused the SAHRC of corruption, labelling it as a "collapsed" organisation.

"I have numerous cases where we went to them and when they see that you are a foreigner or refugee, they tell you no, we do not deal with this. SAHRC is a complete disappointment... that I am speaking with fact and proof, that they always dismiss foreigners cases."

NO PLACE TO CALL HOME: DESPERATE FOREIGN NATIONALS LOOK TO FLEE 'HATE' IN SA

Hundreds of foreign nationals from the DRC, Burundi, Somalia, Pakistan and Zimbabwe have been camping at the United Nations Refugee Agency office in Cape Town since last Tuesday, desperate to leave a country they once called home.



source: EWN Witness news

Foreign nationals wait at the UN Refugee Agency office in Cape Town for assistance in leaving South Africa on 9 October 2019. Picture: Kaylynn Palm/EWN

CHAPTER 2: PROBLEM STATEMENT

WESTERN CAPE RECEIVES THE SECOND HIGHEST NUMBER OF IN-MIGRANTS FOR PERIOD 2016 to 2021. Opportunities of employment, study and quality of life play an important role amongst the push pull factors between EC and WC

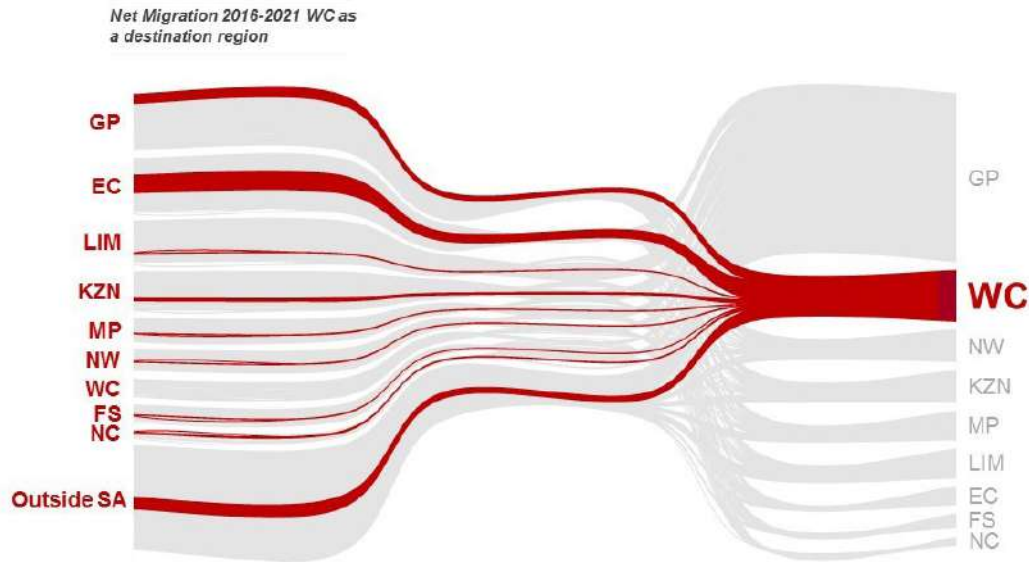


Figure 2: Migration into the western Cape: source: STATS SA

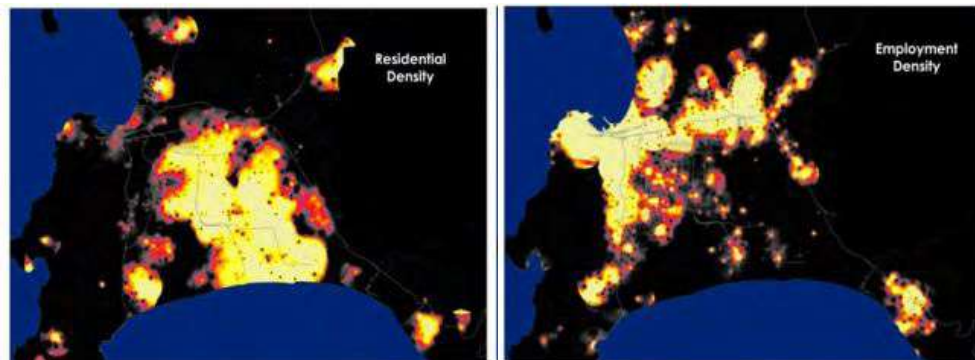


Figure 3: Residential versus employment heat map: source: CTMSDF 2012

In our worlding cities (Ong, 2011; 10), migration has always been a phenomenon that has led to the transformation of urban form. Current unprecedented migration patterns are proving challenging for cities to contend with. In trying to maintain the status quo while still attempting to embrace diversity, our cities are caught in a fix in their quest to incorporate diversity. This however has been somewhat successful in the formation of little Italy's and Chinatowns. This character however creates ethnic enclaves which in most cases do not allow for integration of cultures into the surrounding context. In the case of Peck Ham Street in the UK, migrant urbanism practices have changed the nature of street as public space by incorporating diverse identities and cultural practices that were not in the space previously.

Urban space is being reshaped through practices of migrant urbanism as migrants navigate new contexts to secure settlement, find mobility and etch livelihoods all in all finding identity, adapting and integrating. This is especially not easy due to the various barriers, borders and boundaries faced in new contexts seen through language, cultural and income exclusion. Additionally, in the quest to adapt migrants may face hostile host communities as they seek to navigate these new worlds. Lynch (1960) explains that legibility is important in making our cities easier to understand and traverse. Our cities however being designed for host communities with unique cultural influences end up shaping urban form that is in most cases to migrants which ends up increasing their fears and vulnerabilities in understanding and surviving in these new contexts.

According to the international organization for migration (IOM, 2018) "South Africa remains the most significant destination country in Africa for immigrants". Additionally the IOM (2018) claims that "The number of migrants who moved to South Africa increased by nearly 1 million between 2015 and 2017. Further, According to UNDESA (2017) intra-Africa migration was seen to encompass the highest proportion of migrant stock from Africa. This creates a scenario whereby migrant populations and practices influence production of urban space in South African cities. This can be seen in the resultant ethnic enclaves in inner city Johannesburg as well as growing enclaves in Cape Town as well.

In Cape Town, African migrant influences have been seen in the

production of space in various neighborhoods across the metropole. These remain enclaves however become rather legible spaces with distinct identities but fail to be translated in a continuous manner across the metropole hence resulting in limited navigation of the city limiting access. "Leave no one behind". A notion used in urban discussions around developing countries and the rapid urbanization rates especially in the cities of the global south. The need to leave no one behind expressed by Criqui (2016) presents a scenario to ensure development and transformation for all regardless of socio-economic background. This is aimed to address the vestiges of colonialism which are still evident in the urban structures of post-colonial African cities which affects various people's access to opportunities. Thus African migrants from outside of South Africa have employed adaptive strategies which inform settlement and livelihood patterns across the metropole.

By navigating various challenges of fear, vulnerability and xenophobia, migrants confront the 'Otherness' of their identity as they remain urban shadows yet to be made visible through a politics of recognition (McFarlane, 2008). They do this in order to carve out spaces in the city that feel familiar by appropriating space to create new forms of legibility. Through a redefining Lynch's elements including; landmarks, edges, paths, nodes and districts, African migrants have contributed to a production of urban space through forces of migrant urbanism to make the city more legible for settlement, navigation and livelihood creation. There has been a limited understanding of migrant urbanism practices by planning and design professionals as well as a lack of understanding spatial requirements and strategies in creating spaces that allow for a different production of space led. This has led to inadequate design of spaces that showcase authentic cultural and ethnic diversity hence preventing the city from being legible and easy to navigate by all. This leaves the migrants in a position of reshaping the spaces they find themselves which is valuable yet ignored by professionals hence leading to discontinuous spaces fragmented and limited legibility at a metro scale.

This appropriation of space through various adaptive mechanisms which reshapes urban form to instill identity and express culture challenges the notion of access and right to the city by appropriating various areas for settlement and livelihoods. This creates more socio-economically diverse spaces which break down the vestiges of apartheid spatial

structuring by allowing people through insurgent urbanism (Holston, 2008) to live and work anywhere regardless of racial demography. Hence an embrace of migrant urbanism holds an important key in unlocking access to the city, from the agency of the most vulnerable group in society desperate, precarious who harbour dreams and ambitions to 'make it' in this new world.

Through a lens of social infrastructure in leading to a production of space in the context of migrant urbanism in Cape Town, the research aims to highlight the various ways in which migrant urban practices reshape urban form and how this valuable information can give insight in the creation of good urban form to improve legibility of the city for all . In the quest to celebrate various identities and cultures, the research projects aims to uncover principles of designing for diversity and design adaptive spaces that cater to migrant urbanism which is always in a state of flux and transformation while creating spaces for all

RESEARCH QUESTION:

How does the interface between built landmarks and socially constructed landmarks influence legibility of urban form for African migrants in Cape Town?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The research is a qualitative study under the constructivism paradigm which embraces a subjectivist point of view. This subjective perspective realizes that there are multiple sources of knowledge from various cultures and realities. Hence this research project utilize an ethnographic approach as a research method resulting in semi structured interviews to get a depth of understanding of African migrants' lived realities regarding how they navigate Cape Town's urban form as well as understand the challenges faced in navigating the city. The interviews using an open ended questionnaire (see appendix A) were undertaken with African students from outside of Cape Town and international African students as well. The interviews provided an insight into the lived experience from the perspective of student African migrants who constitute a part of the migrant strata. Hence to gather more perspectives from more people in the migrant strata, participant observation as a data collection method was carried out to study how African migrants use the public spaces in the identified migrant settlement preferential areas including the Cape Town railway station/taxi rank/ long distance bus terminus, Sea point promenade, Long street, Mowbray taxi rank, Greenmarket Square and the Somerset Hospital precinct. An interview was also carried out by an administrative nurse at the Somerset Hospital precinct to get a better understanding around the conditions in the hospital precinct.

Desktop research was used to offer more insight into the use of spaces and a study of the interface between urban elements in the identified migrant settlement preferential areas including Bellville CBD, Sea point promenade, Long Street, Mowbray taxi rank, Greenmarket Square and the Somerset Hospital precinct. The case study method was used in this study to highlight themes regarding migrant urbanism practices in Cape Town and Nairobi and how they influence a production of space in the contexts. A study of urban migrant patterns in Nairobi was carried out to shed light into assess entrypoints, settlement patterns as well as practices of appropriation through occupation of space.

Visual analysis of Cape Town's legible landmarks from photographic documentation was carried out to ascertain the legible elements in the urban form as used by local and international African migrants. In addition, social mapping was carried out to identify various urban

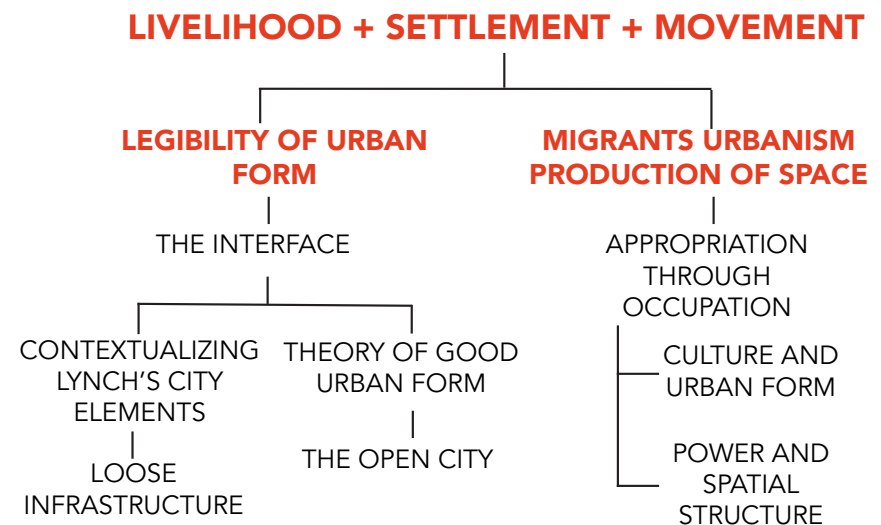
elements and the interface of between these elements in Cape Town from the perspective of African migrants. This was helpful to assess how the urban elements in Cape Town influence the overall experience of the migrants in Cape Town's urban form with varying temporal access to these urban elements in Cape Town.

A literature review was undertaken of African migrant urbanism in various contexts ranging from Somali migrants in Nairobi, West African migrants in New York and Congo Brazaville and African migrants in Cape Town, Johannesburg as well as Peckham in the United Kingdom. This was important to understand various migrant urbanism practices by African migrants to understand themes and ways of life to inform notions of settlement creation, navigation of the city. Highlighting the challenges and opportunities in the production of space by migrants in new contexts.

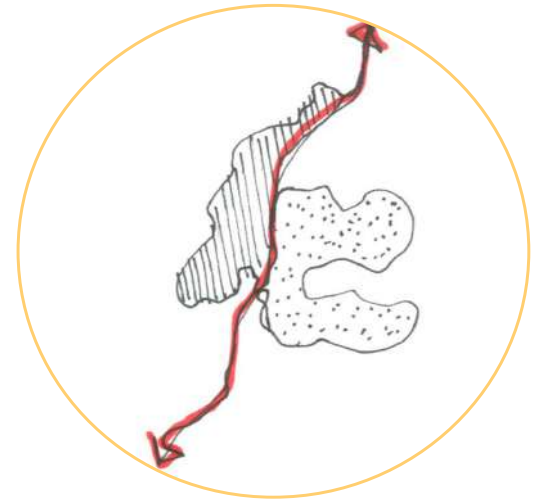
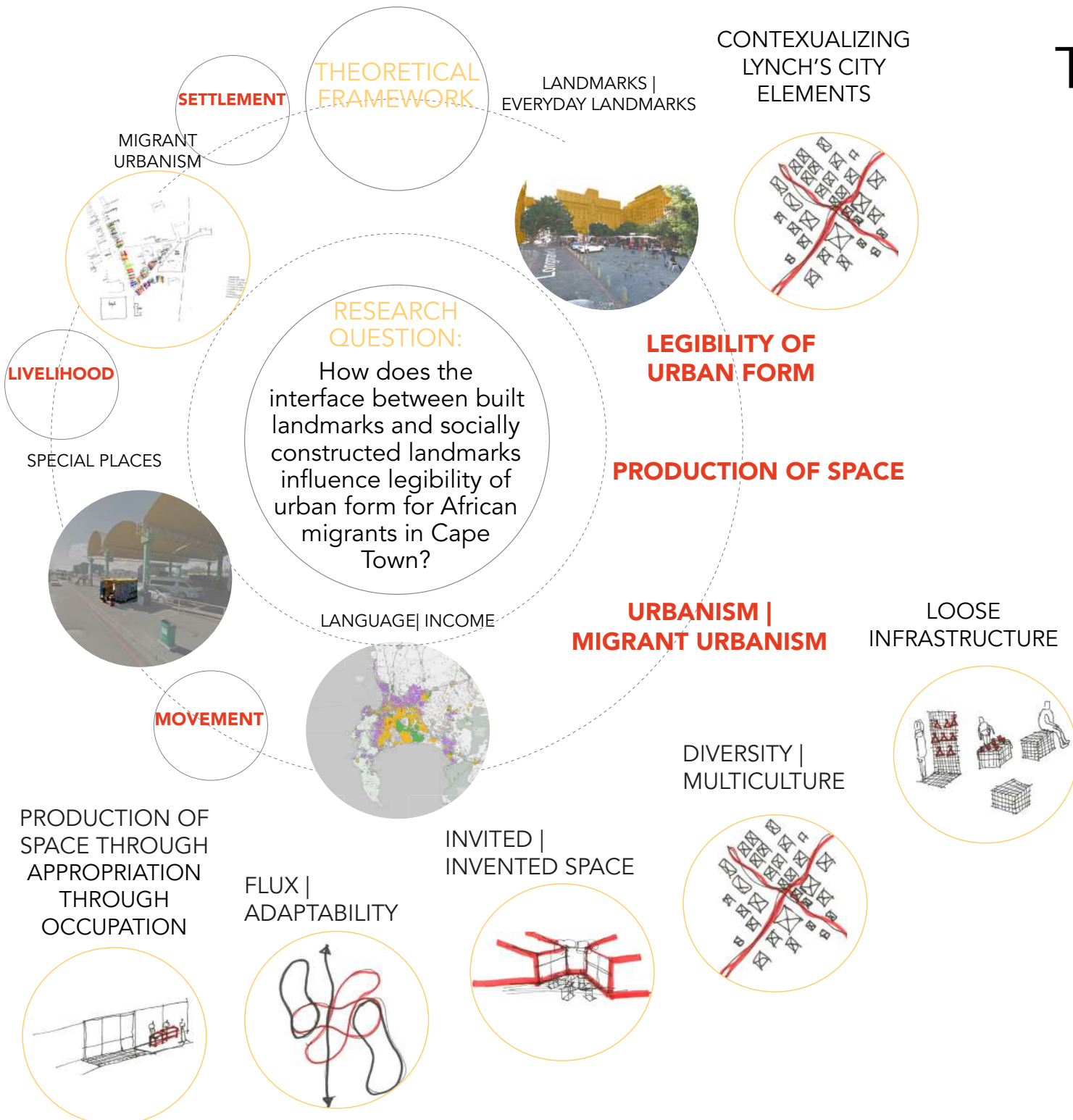
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"What kinds of cities are made through the convergence of diverse cultural and economic practices brought by migrants, and how does the city in turn shape the everyday life and space of urban migration?"

(Hall, 2015)



THE INTERFACE





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FIFTH STREET

Figure 4: Somali Ethnic Enclave, Eastleigh, Nairobi, Kenya. Source:



Figure 5: Somali Ethnic Enclave, Bellville CBD, Cape Town, South Africa. Source: GoogleMaps

The research project aims to derive a theoretical framework that explores the concept of legibility from a northern context while updating the same notions in a southern context through a southern urbanism lens. Further, the research project aims to delve into migrant urbanism patterns through understanding the migrant experience in urban space. Additionally the theoretical framework focuses on literature that explores strategies employed by migrants to create livelihoods and reshape urban form as well as concepts that allow for participation and contribution by migrants to improve city life including Hall's(2015) explorations into migrant urbanism practices in the reshaping of urban space at the street level.

The research project thus draws on the theories of legibility by Kevin Lynch to understand how Lynch's city elements affect mental mapping and allow for navigation in a city from the perspective of an African migrant. The research project however updates the notions of everyday landmarks from a southern urbanism lens. By understanding of theorists work, among them being Mbembe and Nuttal and their writing on constructing an alternative understanding of the post-colonial African city as well as incorporating Simone's understanding of social infrastructure using that as a layer of producing and constructing space. Further the research project incorporates Sennet's (2013) concept of the open city to understand themes that can contribute towards creating an open city that is accessible for all.

LEGIBILITY OF URBAN FORM

Lynch(1960) defines legibility as a 'shape, colour or arrangement which allows for the vivid identification, powerfully structure, highly useful mental images of the environment. Legible cities according to Lynch (1960) should be 'visible, coherent and clear which involve the city dweller in the physical reshaping of his domain' highlights that for spaces to be legible the user either has to be taught to read the imageability of the existing space or the user could appropriate and have power to reshape the imageability of the space to develop their

image of the city through their changing needs by creative means that Lefebvre (1996/1968:103) refers to as the 'Oeuvre'. The Oeuvre according to him is the collective creative process that shapes the city whereby spaces act as a 'work of art' through embracing appropriation. Legibility according to Lynch (1960) is more so an open ended process of continuous development rather than a fixed and final product. This highlights the constant shifting image of the city and how different people hold various images of the same city as different people imbue different meanings to the image that they see.

In exploring the concept of legibility and the interface, Lynch's 5 urban elements that are used for navigation of urban spaces namely; Path, node, edge, district and landmark are of importance. These elements assist in finding one's legibility in the city. They however vary from one user to the next as each person perceives urban space differently. However, standard principles assist in creating legibility of urban form through these elements. Migrants in urban space many a time view legibility of urban form from a different perspective through migrant urbanism practices and livelihoods. This is because the migrants come from different contexts where these urban elements are identified and perceived differently from how the host community perceive the elements in the host urban space.

In understanding legibility from various perspectives, Lynch further explains how an environmental image is composed of identity, structure and meaning. He further iterates that while the creation of cities that allow for all to enjoy regardless of background should allow the city to be adaptable for future purposes it is wise to work on the 'physical clarity of the image and to allow meaning to develop without the designer's guidance.' Meaning is seen as a perceptibility of a physical object with its relation to the user. Identity on the other hand is seen as a 'distinction of an object from other objects'. Structure relates to the 'spatial or pattern relation to the observer'. These themes highlight qualities of imageability that can be identified as users navigate and find legibility in a space. The urban elements that assist in urban legibility include;



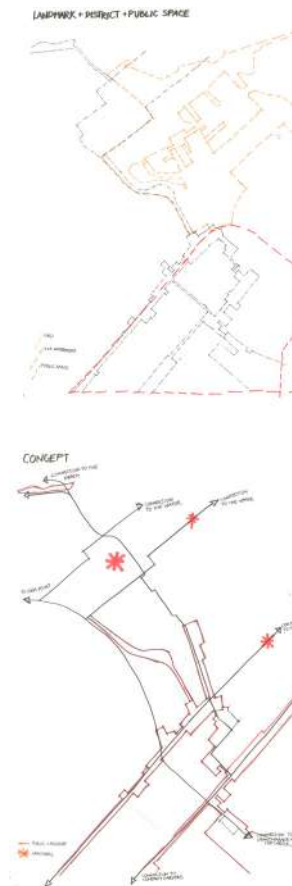
1. **Path:** These are the lines moving through urban space from which the whole can be ordered. Key lines should have singular quality should be clear and distinct and can be seen in movement routes, facades, textures among others. Paths should have continuity to be read as a unified element. They should also provide visual hierarchy to provide clarity of direction. Paths may be made more evident with the incorporation of high landmarks along them.

2. **Node:** These are features that are the confluence of activities and various elements for instance 2 paths. A node is usually a 'distinct unforgettable place' whose intensity of use increases its sense of identity through a creation of visual shapes which are distinctive. It tends to be more defined when it has a closed boundary. Additionally, a node becomes remarkable when it features a coherent spatial form. In its definition aspects such as transparencies, articulations, patterns of motion and sound are utilized.

3. **Edge:** This urban element ensure continuity of form. It is seen as the interface of textures, materials that can function as a seam or a barrier. It is mostly seen as a visual or motion barrier however can have its visibility increased by increasing its accessibility or use.

4. **District:** This is defined as an area with a homogenous character. It is represented through continuous elements throughout its area which are discontinuous outside of its area. These continuous elements may be building features or features of the same colour, texture, scale, detail, silhouette or material. Definition of the districts boundary creates a stronger effect.

5. **Landmark:** A feature across various scales whose main characteristic lies in its singularity. A landmark stands out more if visible over an extended distance. The strength of a landmark additionally occurs when multiple users place association value with the same landmark



REIMAGING THEORY OF GOOD URBAN FORM IN A POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN CITY

According to Lynch and Rodwin (1959) the physical planner benefits from an analytical skill that understands the various effects of different physical forms and the locations of human settlements in relation to these forms. It is only through embracing alternative forms of urbanisation and the production of space as a way of life can urban professionals understand and begin to learn from and assist in designing urban settlements that not only provide shelter, but rather create spaces of "aspiration and inventiveness which offer new possibilities and opportunities" (Ballard, 2014). Lynch and Rodwin (1959) stress the importance of considering both physical form and human activities separately, however they urge that it would be beneficial to consider how they work together. In the quest to reshape space through migrant urbanism practices, a moment is presented in time to consider how social practices, flows and livelihoods and physical form are interrelated. This is beneficial to ensure that cities respond to the concept of 'worlding' as they become more diverse and heterogeneous. Using Lynch's principles of good urban form and applying them to a southern context highlights ways in which migrant urbanism in an African city can be considered as contributing to production of space. In addressing the principles, the focus highlights the interface between urban elements and opportunities to influence urban form. Some principles have been derived to express the notions of good urban form as they relate to migrant urbanism. Hence through an understanding of practices such as appropriation through occupation and informality as migrant practices of reshaping space we can begin to conceptualize an alternative theory of good urban form from the south. Only by appreciating this can urban professionals start acknowledging these alternative methods such as informality as ways of

shaping urban life itself (Simone, 2011:357, Ballard, 220, McFarlane, 2011). Rodman (1993) cites Lawrence and Low (1990; 486) who claim that a shift in focus from the 'nature of the relationship between social form and physical form to how the physical surroundings are produced in the first place'.

MIGRANTS AND PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Migrants contribute to the alteration and production of urban space (Hatziprokopiou et al, 2016). Through utilizing social capital skills including trust and empathy while managing vulnerabilities assist in their quest to adapt to new contexts (Bloch and McKay,2014:Hall, 2015).Anthropological writings by Stoller(2002) highlights how African migrants from West Africa produce a new kind of space in New York City, a different context from where they come from. Migrant everyday practices shape urban form at various urban scales. Trade more so seen as a survival strategy rather than solely a cultural practice has been seen to transform space in both the global north and south. (Hall, 2015: Stoller, 2002). Through De Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (1991/1947) notions of 'everyday resistance' and Stoller(2002) strong social networks, we find the ways in which African migrants navigate the city considering vulnerability, fears, hope and ambition to influence 'an active shaping of new urban spaces while forming notions of citizenship' (Hall, 2015).. African migrants according to Stoller (2002) depend on social networks, religious affiliations as well as navigation the control of the state to create a livelihood and produce an added layer of urban space through temporality and movement. 'Appropriations of the spatial landscape' through African Pentecostal churches in London and Atlanta as seen by Garbin (2013: 677) highlight some of the ways migrant groups shape the urban environment. Additionally through interactions in informal trade with the host community, African migrant populations encounter opportunities to integrate and adapt to a different context.

(Hatziprokopiou et al, 2016) also expresses the importance of understanding migrant economies in urban space as a tool that is used for the production of space. Additionally they claim that migrant economies, inform settlement and setting up of trading functions in the city. These resultant spaces produced by migrant practices, Hall (2015) acknowledges can create 'conviviality' (Gilroy, 2004) and

'commonplace' diversity (Wessendorf, 2014) which shape space positively. Social cohesion however is seen as 'an active process of negotiating diversity in the context of uneven everyday life' (Hall, 2015). This alteration of space is also seen in Simone's (2004) writings on inner city Johannesburg that show the influence of migrants drawing from social networks that draw from transnational connections. The coming together of these various cultures creates a space that fuses to create space that adds a layer of variety, complexity and dynamism in the city. These patterns highlight notions of being global but contextually local. The challenge however as expressed by Simone (2004) is the resultant ethnic enclaves that result from migrant concentration areas which as inner city Johannesburg becomes ungovernable.

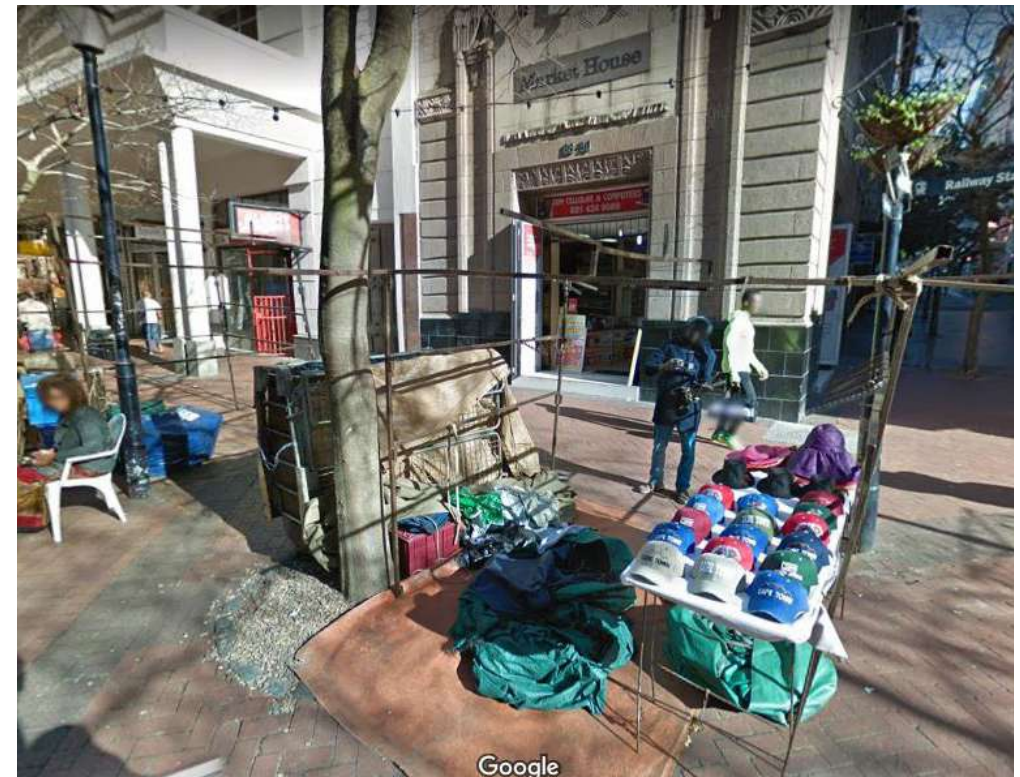


Figure 6: Trading on Greenmarket Square, Cape Town, South Africa.
Source: GoogleMaps

HISTORIC TIMELINE OF MIGRANTS AND PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN CAPE TOWN.

Focusing on migration as part of the lived processes of societal change over time (Hall, 2015), and the shaping of urban form, Berger and Mohr (1975) express how labour migration resulted in the construction of modern Europe. The same contribution to African cities and in Cape Town more so can be seen by the process of immigration and especially labour migration. Cape Town was also transformed and built by migrants, both from the hinterlands as well as by incoming migrant ships from overseas. The Sea point/Mouille point/ green point area, being a significant landmark where a number of batteries and light house was constructed to guide ships arriving along the Atlantic seaboard. Many a time, the ships were wrecked and arrival onto the shores of Cape Town was volatile. Migrants entering the Cape from overseas through Sea Point during earlier periods also faced vulnerability and fears similarly to the current experience faced by migrants entering the Cape. However, Sea Point area currently stands as one for the areas in Cape Town that has a proportionate number of people living there born outside of South Africa. Hence the area remains a welcoming area for diversity of various cultures. Additionally during the apartheid era, as some of the beaches were reserved for the white population, however sunset beach up to Queens Street along the promenade for example was permitted for people of colour to visit (O'Donoghue, 2017). Additionally, according to (O'Donoghue, 2017 and Woorden, 1999) a significant coloured and Indian population who were employees of the Green and Sea Point Tramway Company lived along Tramway Street/ Ilford Road (between Regent and Kloof roads) even during apartheid times. They still lived under crowded conditions and their children were not allowed to go to 'white schools' (Emdon, no date - quoting an erstwhile resident; O'Donoghue, 2017. Hence a tension and a negotiation of space still existed. They were however relocated to other areas when Sea Point was declared a white area. In contemporary times, Sea point as noted by (Fourie, 2010) was seen to be a place whose recreational facilities invite people from various cultures and ethnicities noting that the promenade is used for Ramadan prayers by Muslims. He notes that Sea Point 'is described as one of the few open spaces in Cape Town which seems to evoke the sense that social equality sought by democracy is in fact being fostered here'.

Additionally, today the Sea point area as well as the CBD which is part of administrative boundary ward 54 and ward 115 respectively are seen to have higher numbers of migration. Ward 54 (featuring Sea Point, Bantry Bay, Clifton and Camps Bay) features 69% of the population born in South Africa with 25% of the population born outside of South Africa. In ward 115 (featuring the CBD, Mouille and green point) 56.8% of the population born in South Africa with 19% of the population born outside of South Africa... Other wards average at percentages of over 75. This shows that the area has a more diverse population. Additionally the predominant language in the two wards is English at 69% for ward 54 and 45% for ward 115. Interestingly so, in ward 115 (featuring the CBD, Mouille and green point) 26% of a 'not applicable' language features second suggesting a mix of many languages. A graph showing language distribution across the metropole is shown below.

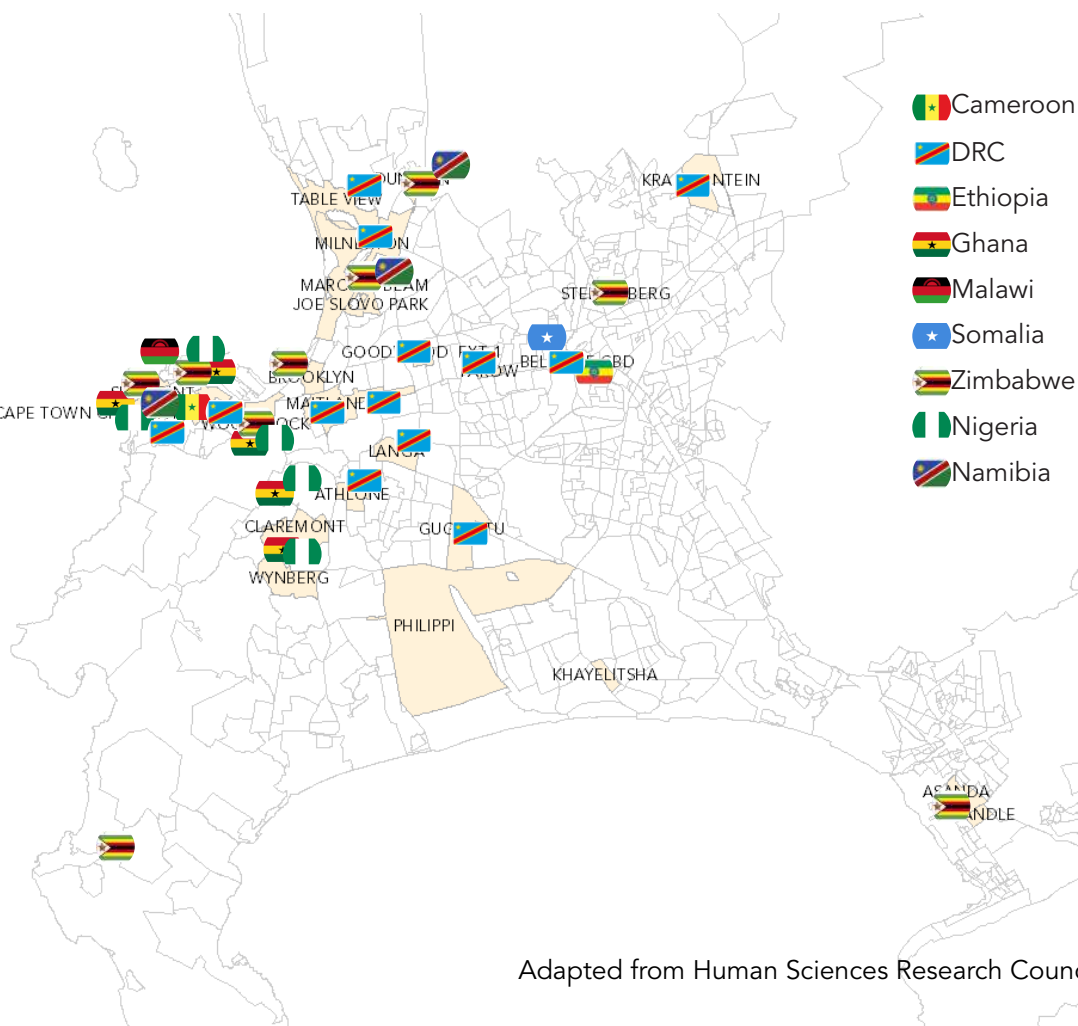
SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED LANDMARKS AND PHYSICAL LANDMARKS

Production of space in a contemporary post-colonial African cities also occurs through social networking and social capital (Simone, 2004). "People as infrastructure" provides a lens to conceive how various cultures influence the production of urban space as seen in inner city Johannesburg being a confluence of cultures from all over Africa which leads to production of unique urban spaces. According to Lefebvre (2000:1242) "spaces are linked to specific identities, functions, lifestyles and properties so that the spaces of the city become legible for specific people, actions and things" in the quest to declare representation in space. This logic highlights the formation of ethnic enclaves seen across the globe from Little Italy's to Chinatowns to other ethnic districts. This gives an understanding to how social networks link people sharing cultures, languages, and ancestries to similar settlement areas allowing access opportunities through recreating familiar legibility thereby creating culturally specific spaces.

A landmark according to Lynch (1960; 78) is a feature that is identifiable easily in the built and natural environment and that could occur across various scales. Additionally Rodman (1993) cites Lynch (1981; 36) who offers insight into understanding form and function through integrating aspects of socially constructed and experienced space. Lefebvre (1979) explains the concept of social space as "space

that arises from use values produced by residents in their pursuit of everyday life". Hence socially constructed landmarks are a layer of landmarks that are represented by places in the urban and natural form that become landmarks through various social interactions within the space that claim them as landmarks. They occur as a result of the social interactions that take place on them. Simone's (2004) 'people as infrastructure' sheds light in constructing social landmarks. Simone expresses how social networks lead to a production of space beyond built form that characterizes the space.

Figure 7: Distribution of African nationalities across Cape Town adapted from the Human Sciences Research Council



Adapted from Human Sciences Research Council

In understanding migrant urbanism, Stoller (2002) highlights how West African migrants in New York City referred to landmarks such as mosques, markets, consulate buildings of West African countries where they would interact with West African expat customers and prominent street corners where footfall would attract hawkers and other informal traders. In addition, they also referred to buildings which were known to house other West African migrants. These landmarks influenced their movement and settlement patterns. Focusing on Somali migrants in Nairobi, Rahbaran and Herz (2014) highlight how Garissa lodge, a guest house in Eastleigh, east of Nairobi in a Muslim quarter of the city offered a location to settle and while the refugees of war lingered in limbo, they participated in trade that saw them thrive and generate a global trading hub in Eastleigh. The presence of mosques in the area as well as the presence of people of a similar culture to the Somali, having being related to the Cushitic tribes in Kenya assisted in adapting to the locality. These served as landmarks in assisting in informing places to settle in the city.

PRODUCTION OF SPACE BY APPROPRIATION THROUGH OCCUPATION AND INFORMALITY IN A POST-COLONIAL AFRICAN CITY

Lefebvre (1991/1974:165) explains that a city is like 'a work of art' and that the 'highest form of expression of appropriation is the work of art'. This 'work of art' that is the city is 'a place where different groups participate in a collective formation of creativity through interactions, negotiations and conflict.' Additionally, Ballard (2014:214) highlights the tension between "uncoordinated appropriation of space for living and working at a scale which invalidates, to varying degrees, efforts by elites to control and exclude". These efforts address the scenario where people "appropriate spaces where they were not allowed before" Holston (2008:204). This tension has fragmented urban space in African cities among others. The result of this fragmentation has led to segregated spaces creating enclaves of wealth and disparity. Additionally, Ballard(2014) highlights that this practice through appropriation is a tool that is used to transform society offering avenues into the creation of a more just city where people redefine their own rights in the city(Scott, 2012). Thus by so doing, allowing ordinary people access 'crucial social spaces'. (Bayat, 2010:65, Ballard,

2014:220)

Occupation movements, according to (Mottiar, 2013) are seen both in the north and in the south. This different method of appropriation through occupation which results in space production is used whereby new forms of social movements which according to Ballard (2014: 217) are seen as "radicalization of democratic participation. These movements go beyond the "invited spaces" organized by the state but rather "invented spaces" are created by people (Miraftab, 2006) who by employing agency, use tactics, tools and practices that work for them (Guyer, 2004:8). In so doing people take responsibility for their development through self-help mechanisms thereby reshaping urban spaces through addressing inclusion themselves (Ballard, 2014).

The production of space in post-colonial African cities highlights themes from Caldeira's (2017) 'peripheral urbanisation' and 'autoconstruction' highlights the practice of appropriation through occupation which is a process whereby the subaltern produce space through building livelihoods and creating urban space through various processes which aim to locate people close to areas of opportunities by claiming and occupying highly sought out spaces across the city and constructing spaces to support their livelihoods. Appropriation through occupation is seen according to Caldeira (2017) as being the process of building from the available resources one has at the moment through a period of time to construct a livelihood. In Nairobi, this notion of auto construction in the post-colonial contemporary is primarily seen through occupation of spaces by the subaltern near higher income suburbs where they were not allowed previously. This led to the formation of informal settlements or slums. According to Hernando De Soto (2000) "the manifestation of the informal represents the grassroots rebellion of the poor against bureaucracy" (Roy, 2011:233). This suggests that this process of claiming, occupying and appropriating shows a resistance to state planning which has failed to highlight the plight of the subaltern since the setting up of Nairobi as a town during the colonial period as seen in mapping by White et al (1948). In the colonial planning scheme the native African population was placed in locations far away from opportunity and resources. Hence this 'rebellious' process against state rules of appropriation through occupation seeks to give people agency in deciding to settle in areas close to opportunities. However due to lack of support from the state in the form of infrastructural development and notions of co-production with the people these spaces where the

subaltern were placed were never envisioned to be notable centres (Simone, 2010:40). Hence the formation of these 'slums' or informal settlements seek to change the functionality and urban form of the postcolonial African city through a process of production of space that the state had not previously conceived which Simone (2004a) expresses provide "a source of innovation and adaptation which potentially destabilize the centre".

In Cape Town, appropriation through occupation is being seen in various ways. The first process is seen in the occupations of various abandoned state owned hospitals in strategic areas in the inner city and surrounds. These occupations have been led by activist group Reclaim the City who champion that "land is for the people not for profit" (Reclaim the City). Through these occupations Caldeira's (2017) "auto construction" is seen in the process of livelihood making. This creates a very interesting scenario in light of Roy's (2011) subaltern urbanism where the subaltern derives agency to dictate urban form and processes. The process of occupation through appropriation evokes a 'politics of recognition' (McFarlane, 2008:341) which he describes seeks to make the 'urban shadows' visible are in this Cape Town case though advocacy and activism that seeks to produce urban space. Similarly, in Cape Town, appropriations through occupation takes place through the manifestation of backyard dwelling units next to formally planned RDP housing units. This has increased densities, creating extremely fine grained urban form so intricate, it proves a problem for the state to formally intervene. This appropriation through occupation however begins to change the previous apartheid planning structures in allowing a different form of urbanisation and appropriation of space where people were previously not invited. This process, also has created a scenario that challenges notions of the duality between formal state provided housing units and this new emergent space produced through Simone's (2010:40) 'interventions of humanitarianism, urban restructuring, capital flows, policing and control.

CULTURE AND URBAN FORM

(Rodman, 1993) expresses that cultural expressions of urban form and the dictation of urban form is highly dependent on the cultural group with the most power. Rodman (1993) expresses that 'formation of meaning within culture and the formation of cities have looked to built

form to inform culture'. Hence urban form in that case responds to the culture of the cultural group in power. In so doing, places end up representing a mono culture and other cultures negotiate their own expression in the space as well. This is clearly seen in African cities which were designed by the colonial powers that created them. Hence urban function, urban structure and the character of cities ended up represented the colonial lifestyle that was similar to the lifestyle found in the western countries from which the concepts came from. After post-independence, African. There still lacks a dignified representation of diverse African culture in African cities. Desperation, vulnerability and precarity is what manifests as a representation of African culture in African cities. This is seen through informal settlements, informal trade among others which still lie in a binary over the formal and regulated which characterize the tension and negotiations between the whiteness of legality/approval/safety and the blackness of eviction/destruction/ death (Yiftachel, 2009a:88). Additionally, Lefebvre warns against an 'abuse of reductionism '(1991/1974:106)' whereby those in power have the power to decide what is important and what can be left out in the representation of the city.'

Migrant urbanism tend to occur in ONG's (2006) 'zones of exception'.

COLONIAL PERIOD NAIROBI

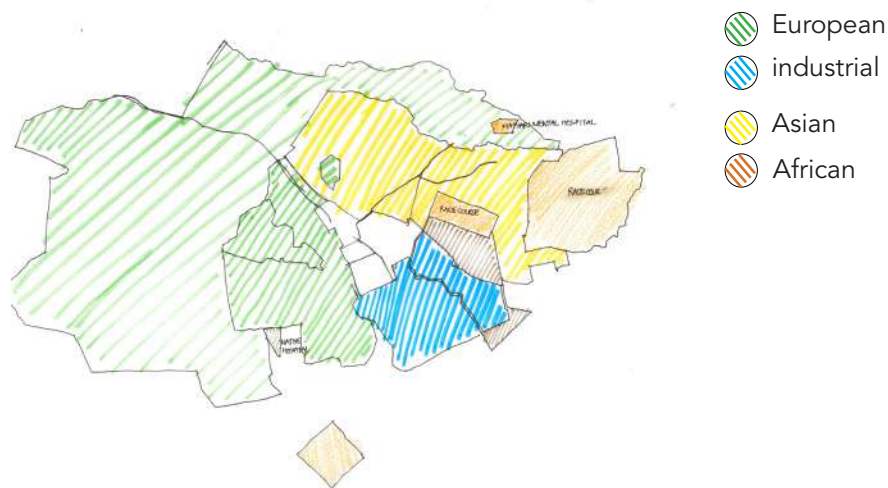


Figure 8: Distribution of racial demographics in Colonial Nairobi adapted from Colonial masterplan for Nairobi (White et al. 1948)

According to (Yiftachel, 2009) these 'grey spaces' are the manifestations of 'the everyday' rather than as an exception. This 'grey space' sheds light on Hall's (2015; 854) notions of migrant urbanism as 'everyday movement, mixing and exchange that saturates and transforms urban spaces'. This is an embrace of the ordinary, the everyday life of migrants as 'participatory and having a diversification impact' rather than being 'foreign or invasive' in urban space. Migrant urbanism practices according to Hall (2015; 856) is made up of 'ingenuity and agility as tactics to navigate precarity and prejudice'

Myers (2011) advocates for "informal urban development as being economically viable, socially legitimate and culturally embedded seen in many African cities. "Hence it would be beneficial to investigate the manifestation of dignified African culture on a metropolitan scale in urban space especially in the post-colonial, post-apartheid context, it would be good to appreciate as Rotenberg and McDonogh (1993) claims that "all meaning and all culture itself are constantly in flux". Hence a realization that spaces change based on culture and over time explains why African cities should be allowed to evolve and morph from their former colonial urban structures.

POST-COLONIAL PERIOD NAIROBI

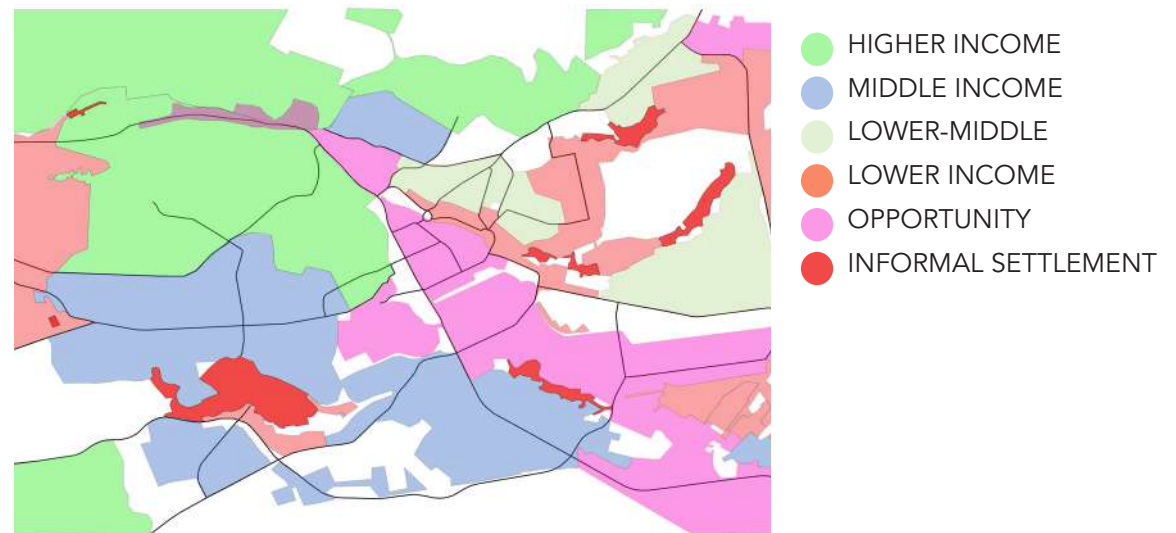


Figure 9: Distribution of settlement in post-colonial Nairobi adapted from Google maps

(Rodman, 1993) claims that “built form may indeed be shown to represent knowledge crucial to the identity of a people”. However in the quest of cities to attain standards of the ‘World Class City’ (Roy, 2011), diversity of urbanisation processes have become invisible’ (Robinson, 2002). Municipalities much so being more interested in attracting foreign direct investment (Huchzermeyer, 2014). This competitiveness embraces global markets and leads to exclusion



Figure 10: Helen Bowden Nursing Home, Greenpoint. Source (left): Reclaim the City

(Bremner 2004) of micro-enterprise and informal trade. Alternatively, cities could borrow from Ong’s (2011: 10) concept of ‘Worlding cities’ by using transformative and creative practices of making cities through participation. This practice would utilize diversity through migrant populations to build dynamic cities.

Hall (2015:858) expresses how migrant urbanism shapes the street space through incorporation of elements through shop dimensions, signage and materiality. She also shows how dynamic shop interiors can be playing host to a number of businesses and activities whereby hair salon merges and house cleaning services occur in the same shop while cell phone trade, internet services and money transfers occur in another shop. Additionally Hall (2015) highlights the scale to which trading practices are dependent and they can be as small as a table or a chair that serves as a trading space or a salon respectively. This she refers to as ‘loose infrastructure’. This ‘loose infrastructure’ also allows for spaces to change rapidly at any given time. This highlights the hybridity, temporality and flux of activities that make up the everyday practices of migrant urbanism which can be informed by precarious living conditions...

BARRIERS, BORDERS AND BOUNDARIES POWER + SPATIAL STRUCTURE

Cooper (1993) state that powerful groups change the meaning of places to suit their interests. Neoliberalism in the wake of post-colonialism dictated new powers in dictating urban form. High capital and private investment along with foreign direct investment dictate how African cities are structures. This affects settlement patterns whereby higher income groups create enclaves of wealth which are separated from poverty. This is seen in various forms of exclusion including economic inclusion which creates these ‘Palaces of desire’ (Marks and Bezolli, 2001) which are inaccessible to many, especially lower income populations. In the case of South African cities, private equity and investment is seen in creating lifestyles that celebrate and accommodate wealth. This is seen in the various mall developments, including the V&A waterfront, Century city as well as Montecasino in Johannesburg to name a few. Additionally enclaves of wealth adjoin these precincts making them very exclusive and impenetrable to many.

Figures 11 ,2 and 13: Peripheral urbanization + zones of exception+ grey space



Masiphumele | Lake Michelle ,
Cape Town, South Africa
source: Unequal Scenes



Loresho | Kibagare,
Nairobi, Kenya
source: Unequal Scenes



Loresho-Kibagare, Nairobi
Source: Unequal Scenes



Wolwerivier, Cape Town.
Source: Unequal Scenes

Additionally, Harvey (1973) portrays the concept of the Abstract space which he claims manifests from state intervention that seeks to provide for “private investment and capital accumulation”. Gottdeiner(1985) explains further that abstract space is seen as homogenous, hierarchical and fragmented which seeks to create a ‘closed system’(Sennett, 2013). This limits peoples’ right to the city and access to the city. Abstract space has been seen to be different from social space which is a concept of egalitarian design. Lefebvre (1979) explains the concept of social space as “space that arises from use values produced by residents in their pursuit of everyday life”

TOWARDS THE OPEN CITY

Sennet (2013) proposes a view of ‘the open city’ as a representation of an open society and the manifestation of freedom by all members in the society. Open cities he says unlike the homogenous closed cities, celebrate open systems which allow for diversity which propagate the notions of the city of a thousand designers (Crane 1960).

“The cities everyone wants to live in should be clean and safe, possess efficient public services, be supported by a dynamic economy, provide cultural stimulation, and also do their best to heal society’s divisions of race, class, and ethnicity. These are not the cities we live in.”

Sennett (2013)

Cities are places of opportunity for all, however this is not the case in many cities in Africa especially having colonial urban structures some of whose vestiges remain to date. In considering the various ways in which African cities serve a huge range of ethnic and income groups, some with extreme disparities over others, it would serve the cities better to be more accessible offering opportunities to all regardless of background. Sennett (2013) explains that cities in themselves by having a mix of people, ethnicities and cultures in an open system doesn’t make the city coherent. In exploring ways to achieve the open city a consideration of an ambiguous edge is important to factor. This ambiguous edge addresses a zone of exception (ONG, 2006) as well as the grey spaces that characterize the midpoint between various intersections of ethnicity, income, and language among others. The

interface lies in the grey area between containment and openness (Sennett, 2013) and lends itself as a tool to achieving integrative space. The interface therein lies an opportunity to produce space in a post-colonial, post-apartheid African city that celebrates people from various backgrounds.

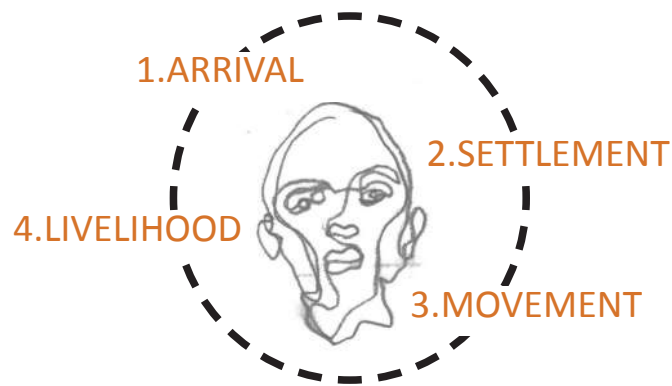
PERFORMANCE CRITERIA OF PHYSICAL URBAN SPACE

The urban elements can be used in urban design to influence the physical characteristics of space to make them more legible. Lynch highlights some qualities of urban space that a designer needs to consider that can be implemented in design of the interface between urban elements. Focusing on the interface between socially constructed landmarks and physical landmarks, adapting Lynch's principles through migrant urbanism practices offers an insight into the qualities of urban form to enhance legibility. They include;

- **Sense** is the observer's perception of physical form highlights various performance criteria for example identity, legibility and transparency. Identity is the ability of form to be perceived by the observer as being distinct by having a unique set of characteristics. The interface specifically highlights an articulation of urban form through facades and thresholds which are characteristic of migrant urbanism practices of openness, ambiguous edges of private/semi-public and public space. This is especially seen in trading activities on the face of shops whereby wares and signage are exposed on the interface between private and public space without clear definition.
- **Transparency** is the ability for the observer to perceive the activities and social activities taking place within private and semi-private spaces. This is characteristic of migrant urbanism spaces especially commercial spaces whereby glass facades or roll up facades make it possible for one to perceive the internal space as one walks in public space.
- **Legibility** is the ability of the observer to perceive and comprehend their surroundings via its symbolic physical features (Lynch 1986; Patil, 2016).
- **Form simplicity**: Forms should be clear and simple and allow the observer to break down the form from the whole and still understand the parts.
- **Continuity**: In improving legibility by creating harmony and unity across a complex physical area, repetition of elements in a rhythmic fashion through pattern, surface are employed. These qualities provides a single density to the form.
- **Clarity of joint**: The joints and intersection between various urban elements should be highly perceptible to the user to increase legibility. This interface provides a strategic moment to define form.
- **Names and Meanings**: This concept relates to non-physical characteristics which may improve imageability of an element. It arises from the scenario whereby urban form contains building types that are simple, common, and continuous and singular across the city but which serve various functions, making them difficult to tell apart. Hence naming systems which evoke meaning and relations to social, historical, cultural and individual associations which lie outside of the physical quality of form are important to incorporate. In so doing they provide a structuring of elements.
- **Accessible**: Patil citing Lynch claim that access is the ability for goods and services to be easily within reach with minimum time and effort. Huchzermeyer(2014) cites (Kipfer 2002:118,127,132) who explains that the post-colonial growth has been seen as an intensification of capitalism in the urban everyday through consumption. Consumption and trade occur at various scales and between the formal and informal economy. Hence settlements should be designed to provide decentralized access to these economies and opportunities.
- **Allow for flux**: production of urban space in African cities and through migrant urbanism practices are seen to be temporal and in constant change. Therefore spaces should be designed to allow for transformation, appropriation and change over time. This ensures that spaces are flexible
- **Variety**: According to Lynch (1984) a good environment offers obvious and easy access to a moderate variety of people, goods, and scenes. Variety allows for one to find experiences in the urban form that are pleasing to the individual.

- **Diversity:** Lynch (1984) expresses that diversity is the availability of choice users in various aspects including access, activities, and spaces. Areas should allow for diversity.
- **Identity** according to Lynch (1984) is the ability of user to recognize a place through intense familiarity as being distinct from other places and having a strong character. They create memorability of a place.

CHAPTER 5: THE AFRICAN MIGRANT



EXPERIENCE IN CAPE TOWN

ARRIVAL:

African migrants arrive in Cape Town through a variety of means from various other African nations through long distance buses, trains and airplanes. On arrival to the city, a number of landmark features are seen. By air, one notices the ocean which marks that one has reached the coastal town. However upon descending, it quickly gets illegible as one is now in a different context. A cab ride, my Citi bus, collection at the airport by kin among other ways of entering the city reveal more and more of the city and its most famous landmark, the table mountain. Still, the migrant hasn't yet referenced his arrival to the location of the mountain. They could be anywhere.

Shifting focus to the arrival of the migrant using long distance buses which have an intermediary stop in Bellville (still, whose location in relation to the CBD could be unknown to the migrant). Finally the long distance bus and train arrive at the main transport termini in Cape Town city Centre. Large buildings, over scaled spaces and the lack of the familiar spaza, kiosk, and small shop to ask for directions or buy a small refreshment quickly asserts that the city is not for everyone. Glitzy, Clean and Ordered remind you that this is Cape Town. The mountain is somewhat visible through slithers of tall buildings assuring the migrant that they indeed have arrived. Social landmarks like these small shops come secondary in Cape Town's urban space however the appropriation of sidewalks on Heerengracht Street is familiar and provides a landmark that you are at the transport termini. One must now find a way to getting to place to stay.

Figure14: Arrival to Cape Town at Bellville



Natural feature used as landmark

Over-scaled urban fabric

Figure15: Arrival to Cape Town at the transport terminus, CBD





Over-scaled urban fabric

Poor landmark features and legibility of surrounding

Contrasting colour,height and scale of building used as a landmark feature

lack of intensified activity of various scales signaling entrance



Figure 16: Arrival to Nairobi at the long distance bus station



long distance bus stop

Informal market as landmark and structuring element for legibility

Scale of landmark illegible in context



"I came to Cape Town in a truck that went from Congo, through Zambia and then Namibia. I met many people along the way. They helped me get to Cape Town." Kamutshape (2017)



Informal market interfaces with informal market to encourage continuity of legibility

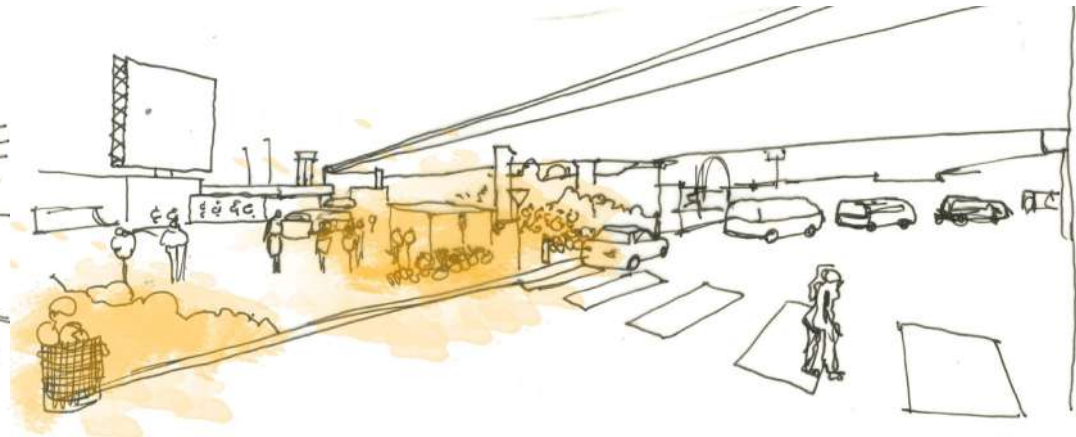
Contrasting colour, height and form used as landmark feature

LANDMARKS IDENTIFIABLE BY MIRGRANTS ON ARRIVAL TO CAPE TOWN

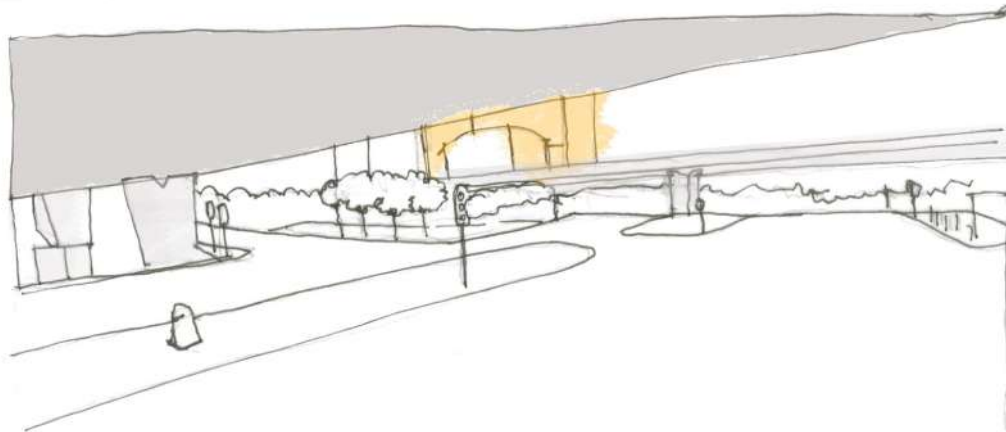
ACCOMODATION



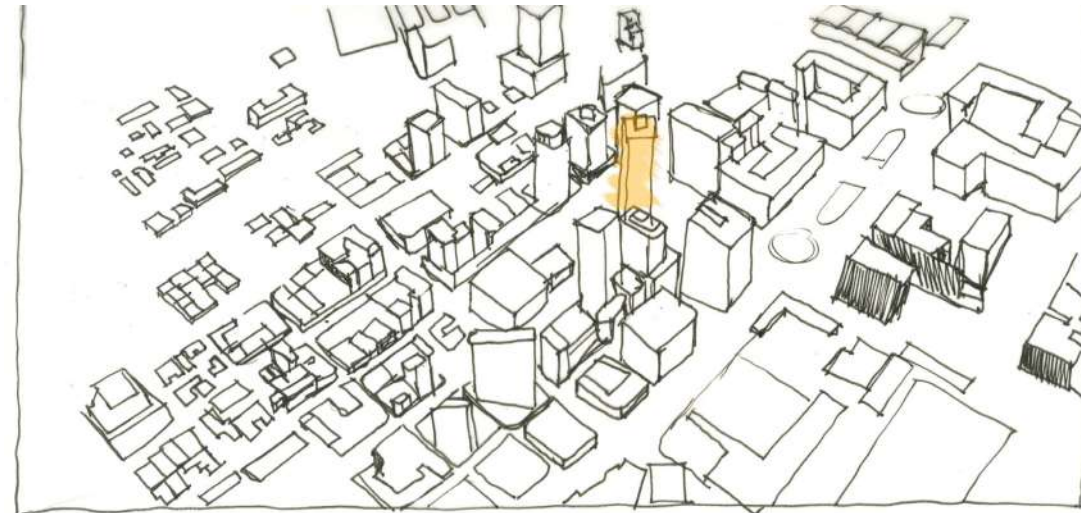
FOOD MARKETS



CUSTOMS BUILDING



VISA OFFICE



"He got us to the Skyland building that night. We slept for just a few hours. At 4 am, they took us to the station to take a train to Langa. At Langa we got a room and paid R50 per month. On Monday 24th of November we went to Home Affairs to register ourselves..." Maria (2017)

SETTLEMENT

African students from outside of Cape Town and South Africa according to the interviews used cabs to get to their places of residence and other accommodation hence having secured a shelter. Other African migrants as seen through literature review mapping tended to exhibit strategies to inform settlement patterns. A good number of African migrants from outside of South Africa tended to settle in areas with proportionate numbers of other migrants from outside SA as well. Ethnic enclaves result reproducing forms of segregation. African migrants tended to settle in Areas with better transport connections where multimodal circulation was available offering choice.

Additionally they were seen to settle in areas where English was the predominant spoken language. Further, a proportion of migrants tended to prefer settling away from the informal settlements which had higher densities and were characterized by higher levels of IsiXhosa. This could speak to vulnerabilities of language and fear of xenophobia that mostly occurs in informal settlements where majority of lower income host residents live who see the migrants as a threat as they reckon migrants steal their livelihood opportunities. Also, the migrants seemed to prefer to settle in areas closer to consolidated areas of commercial opportunity versus industrial opportunities. Additionally, migrants preferred to settle in 'more expensive and mixed neighbourhoods: outside of the townships 'as well as 'ambiguous places in the city' with mixed racial demographics.

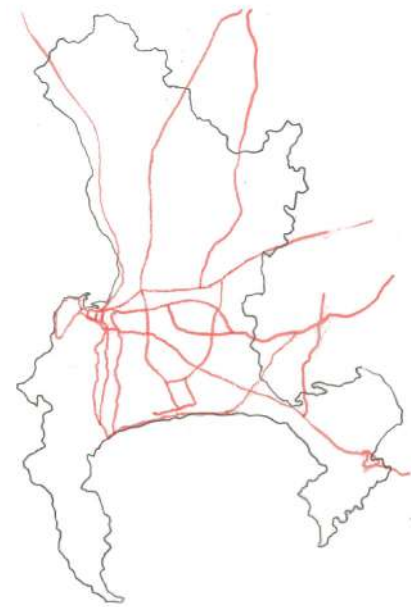
Local African migrants tended to settle in areas with higher proportions of IsiXhosa which were also areas with higher proportions of informal settlements. These areas were further out from the city core however they were closer to decentralized industrial opportunities. In terms of preferred housing typology there was a range of preferences, from university residences to apartment buildings where unit sharing was common to row houses where sharing was also done to informal dwelling options. Since government provided housing is only applicable to South African citizens, it would be much harder to find African migrants from outside of Cape Town owning RDP housing and getting government assistance in terms of housing. Hence the migrants have to find alternative ways of accessing housing from the private sector.

The city of Cape Town is faced by spatial economic imbalances that

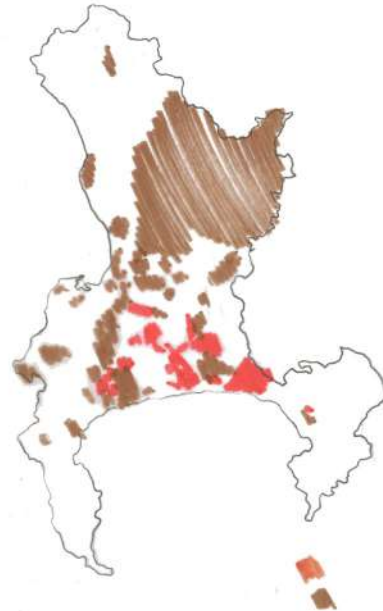
affect settlement patterns within the city and more so for vulnerable populations seeking to access the city, migrants being some of the most vulnerable groups. The municipal government is focusing on strategies to address this imbalance by identifying land for land reform and publicly led housing delivery programs. Some of the criteria the city look into is identifying land that is close to economic, social and public transport opportunities. These reforms for the most part benefit the host community, hence the migrant communities are once more left out of state considerations and in most cases left out of private developers concerns. In terms of housing opportunities on arrival to the city, affordable short term, temporary accommodation was also seen to be lacking.

The proportion of short term stay options five kilometers from the central business district were seen to be financially exclusive hence excluded newly arrived, financially vulnerable migrants with needs to access opportunities and rights to the city. Hence, the research project looked into developing an adaptive framework that will provide low cost, affordable short term and temporary accommodation closer to the city core to provide access to the city and to its opportunities. This framework identified parcels of land where residential land use intensification would allow more promote and benefit current transport infrastructure as well to ensure viability.

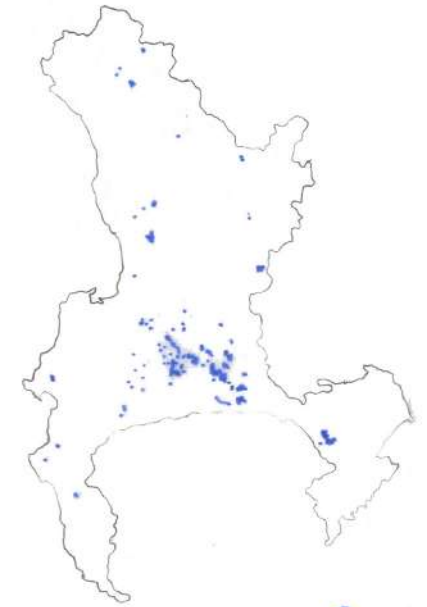
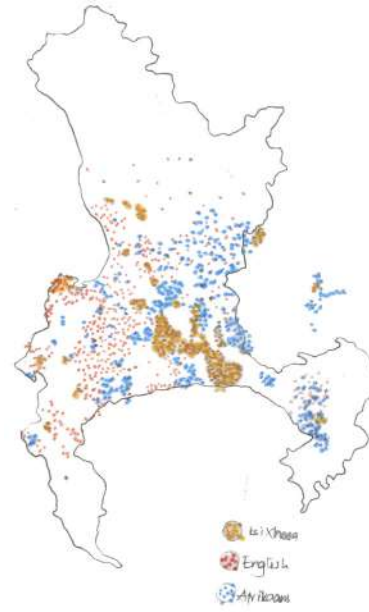
According to UN-Habitat, with urban areas in the Republic of South Africa featuring the highest degree of income inequality in the world (WCR,2008). In this situation with high inequality indices, settlement options reflect the same. Hence settlement options for migrants which depend on economic capability tend to be extremely limited. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD ,2018), expresses that migrant household tend to be larger than native households. This leads to overcrowding in migrant accommodation conditions. Further, this contributes to the proportion of backyard shacks in many informal settlements in Cape Town where migrants are found. Additionally, housing typologies that are preferred by migrant communities as seen in migrant enclaves in Cape Town for instance in Mowbray include mixed use typologies that allow for living on the upper levels as trading can be done on the lower levels which flow out into the street. The use of the vertical nature of buildings on all levels is seen as crucial. This takes advantage of all floors and allows for various land use activities to take place within the same building, saving space and cutting down on rent costs.



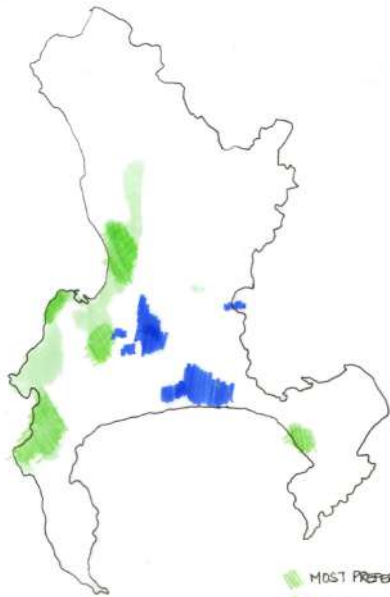
POPULATION DENSITY



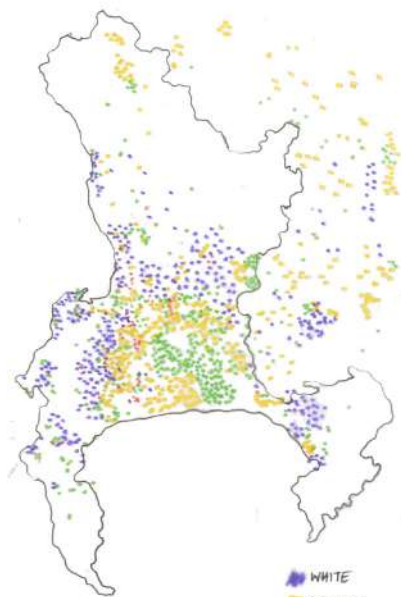
INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS



PREFERRED SETTLEMENT AREAS



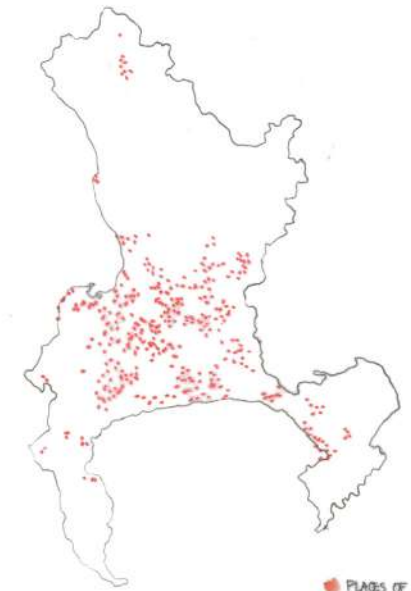
DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION



MIGRANT SETTLEMENT PREFERENCE
AFRICAN
FOREIGN



PLACES OF WORSHIP



- MOST PREFERABLE
- MORE PREFERABLE
- LEAST PREFERABLE

- WHITE
- COLOURED
- BLACK
- ASIAN

- INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

- PLACES OF WORSHIP

Figure 17: Settlement determinants for African migrants in Cape Town

ADAPTIVE SETTLEMENT FRAMEWORK

LOW COST, SHORT STAY HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES AT THE SITE

ARCHICAD EDUCATION VERSION



MOVEMENT

The minibus transport is familiar to the transport system back home but the routes are all different. How many stops are there between here and my destination? How will I communicate in a foreign language? Can I communicate in English? Is there xenophobia? Fears and vulnerabilities quickly take hold of the migrant as they begin to navigate this new city. Feelings of being a foreigner in a foreign place with a reputation of xenophobia strike. Dependent on the income level of the migrant, various transport options become applicable. Cab? Train? Minibus taxi? Walking. Orientation of one's location and relation to their destination follows. On their way they go.

Migrant mapping reveals that international African migrants settle in areas with multimodal circulation systems which provide choice and options in transport means to ensure that they are able to access opportunities easily and avoid being stranded by inefficient or inadequate transport options. Local African migrants are seen to settle in areas where there is a higher proportion of Xhosa speakers. In these areas which are predominantly on the south-eastern part of the metropolitan, there are limited multimodal public transport options. Hence more people get stranded and limited in access to opportunities during infrastructure failure.

Some of the barriers that affect movement of migrants towards the central business district include non-pedestrianized elevated highways as well as high order roads that make it difficult for pedestrians to have a continuous comfortable walk to their destinations. Additionally these elevated highways such as the Helen Suzman Boulevard with the unfinished Foreshore freeway bridge creates unfriendly and unsafe spaces underneath them which increase vulnerabilities to a marginalized group who are navigating a new city. Hence, legibility of urban form through a clear, safe pedestrian friendly activity street is preferred to ensure that the migrant experience in navigating the city is made to feel safe, easy and clear. An incorporation of everyday landmarks which are relevant and familiar to the migrant livelihood



will go a long way in activating the street by incorporating a layer of diversity on the street.

Additionally, according to the MSDF(2017) there are a number of identified sites close to the central business district which should be prioritized in order to support current transport networks. The identified site at the Somerset hospital precinct is one of the areas, whereby intensification of both residential and employment generating land uses would support existing transport networks.

In terms of public transport accessibility, the Somerset hospital precinct is served by the MyCiTi route and a taxi route. The corner of Portswood road and Beach road currently serves as a taxi stop however the population using the stop are using it as a taxi rank however the current infrastructure does not support it. In order to make the area more accessible, an established taxi rank would serve as a gateway to allow people to connect further along the Atlantic sea board making it more accessible.

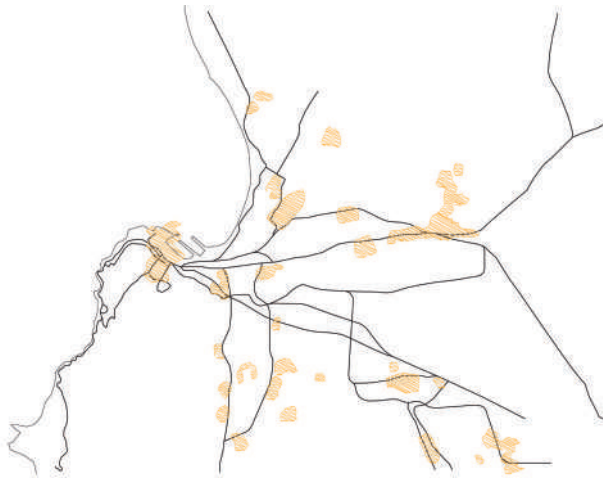


“Don’t come here like me, because I used a bus and it was difficult to pass the border..” Hadidja (2017)



AREAS OF LAND USE INTENSIFICATION
INDICATING WHERE DENSIFICATION WILL
OPTIMIZE THE EXISTING MOVEMENT
PATTERN

Adapted from the Cape Town Municipal Spatial
Development Framework Review 2017 Council
Approved



AREAS OF LAND USE INTENSIFICATION
INDICATING WHERE THE ADDITION OF
MORE RESIDENTIAL LAND USE WILL
OPTIMIZE THE EXISTING MOVEMENT
PATTERN

Adapted from the Cape Town Municipal Spatial
Development Framework Review 2017 Council
Approved



AREAS OF LAND USE INTENSIFICATION
INDICATING WHERE MORE EMPLOYMENT-
GENERATING LAND USE (NON-RESIDENTIAL)
WILL OPTIMIZE THE EXISTING MOVEMENT
PATTERN

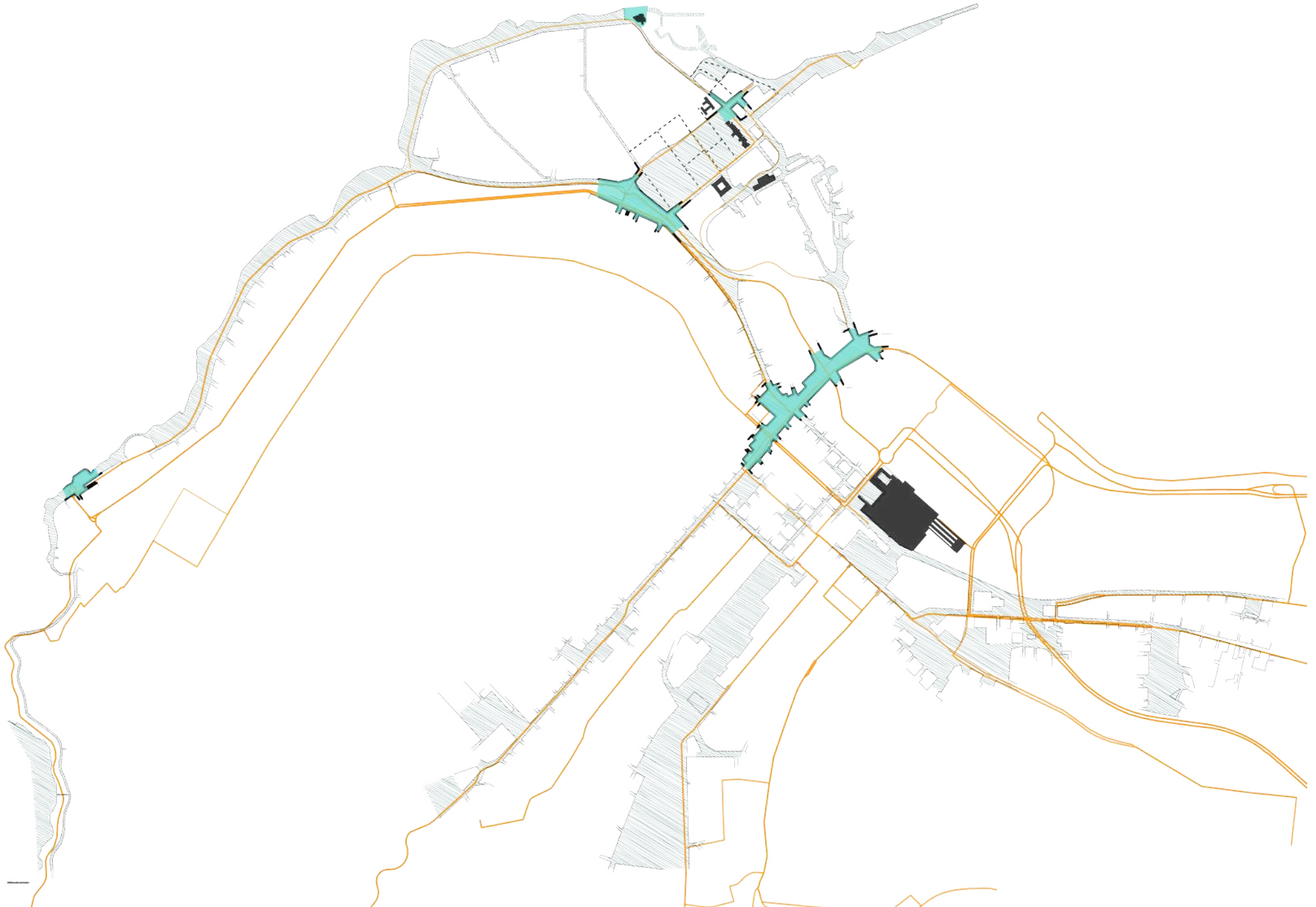
Adapted from the Cape Town Municipal Spatial
Development Framework Review 2017 Council
Approved



ADAPTIVE MOVEMENT FRAMEWORK

ENTRY WAYS AND GATEWAYS

ARCHICAD EDUCATION VERSION



LIVELIHOOD

Migrants travel to different places to source for opportunities hoping to 'make it' in a different place whereby home was limited in opportunities. Hence a driving force in the migrant experience is the creation of livelihoods. Hopefully meaningful and better than the one they had back home. Sometimes this is not the case. In making a living, the different strata of migrants found opportunities in both the formal and informal sector. In educational opportunities, formal employment and informal employment. African migrants from outside of Cape Town and South Africa consolidated in areas of opportunity that were closer to the city core. It was also seen that a proportion of informal traders around the city core were migrants. This was seen in the Bellville CBD area, Wynberg taxi rank, Claremont train station area, parts of the CBD, Mowbray. In essence the southern corridor as well as Voortrekker corridor were seen as suitable areas for migrants to settle as well and participate in the economy of the city. These areas where migrant set up had particular urban qualities and performance criteria that would inform the legibility of urban form in migrant districts. From an analysis of these districts, everyday landmarks and an alternative way of reading the city and reshaping urban space through migrant urbanism practices provided insight in how to articulate the interface between urban elements and between private-semi-public and public space.

In terms of recreation, the interviews carried out with African students from outside of Cape Town and South Africa highlighted that recreational time occurred mostly once in a fortnight and popular places to recreate in Cape Town were the V&A waterfront area, Sea Point, CBD, hiking the table mountain and lion's head. All the recreational activities mostly occurred closer to the city core. Additionally, transport to these places was seen to be adequate based on proximity and the variety of multimodal mobility options to the city core. The V&A and sea point area were seen to be more diverse and offered culinary options from different parts of the world. This was seen as a positive aspect in celebrating and experiencing different cultures and diversity. Sea Point area was also seen to be more inclusive, welcoming and offered opportunities to enjoy nature and public space at no cost. It was seen as being a pleasurable area to be while celebrating diversity.

The V&A waterfront was identified as a landmark by African student migrants and the respondents urged that they would advise visitors to Cape Town to visit the waterfront as well. However the same respondents did say that whilst they like going to the waterfront, they remarked at how exclusive it felt. They reckoned that they felt that they are not invited nor did they feel like they belong in the precinct. This was partly because of economic exclusion from the prices of commodities and experiences in addition to not having landmarks that are approachable, familiar and affordable. Adjacent to the V&A waterfront precinct is the Somerset hospital precinct of which the Helen Bowden nursing home is occupied by housing activists claiming to have access and right to the city. Hence this moves through appropriation through occupation highlights the contention of being in the interface between public and private spheres, economic exclusion and disparity, invented and invited spaces.

The occupied nursing home is in a derelict and poor condition to house people and has in the recent past been linked to stabbing scandals of 2 occupants. This speaks to poor settlement conditions which should be looked into considering people want to be close to places of opportunity and access a dignified existence seen in the 'room with a view' outlook on occupying the former nursing home, now named after political activist and prisoner of Apartheid, Ahmed Kathrada.

Hence the research project looked into preferred African migrant settlement precincts to identify qualities and performances of urban space especially factoring in the concept of appropriation through occupation to reshape urban form through celebrating, inclusivity, diversity and identity to inform on urban form strategies. In addition the analysis led to an exploration of everyday landmarks that were seen in these precincts to derive how the interface was articulated that allowed for a sense of identity to improve legibility of these spaces. It was seen that the precincts had similar features such as being close to a multimodal transport node like a railway station and taxi rank, they featured ethnic food restaurants, trading outlets of various scales, financial institutions like banks and forex bureaus, language centres, cellular shops, legal aid offices, places of worship.

AFRICAN MIGRANT LIVELIHOOD + URBAN FORM

In Cape Town, the study focused on studying 4 areas with a significant migrant population. The four areas were the area around the Bellville shopping Centre and taxi rank, greenmarket square, beach 302 parking near sunset beach which serves as a taxi rank as well, and long street. The analysis of the 4 areas borrowed from Halls (2015) analysis of migrant urbanism patterns on the streetscape. Hence the analysis looked into the interface of socially created spaces and built form. Additionally, the analysis looked into the conditions and performance of urban form that were similar to assess landmark features that were prominent in the different areas. Hence the analysis found out that there were similar features that had landmark quality in the different areas.

St. Georges Mall and Greenmarket Square

It was seen that many African migrants participated in trade along the mall, hence an understanding of the layout and interface between this activity and the built form it functioned in was important to derive an understanding of the interface between the socially created landmark and the built form. The mall features various ethnicities and nationalities. In terms of preferred trading areas, streets with narrow sidewalks as well as wide car-oriented streets were also avoided. Most of the formal and informal trade occurred along St. George's mall and few vendors set up on main streets such as Long Street, however they were next to African themed shops. The interface of the buildings where African migrants traded were rather transparent and active allowing for visibility and activity. In terms of trading facilities, Hall's (2001) 'loose infrastructure' was seen whereby traders set up their trading area from a wheeled mesh structure that unfolded to be used as panels for trading, this was set up in the morning and dismantled in the evening and stored in crevices in buildings. It was noted that there was continuity of activity though varied (Between snacks, foodstuffs, clothes, artefacts) however it was continuous until the intersection of Adderley and St. Georges mall... This could be assisted by the fact that the trading bay markers were aligned along St. George's mall. Side streets which had consistent paving with the paving on the mall were also used for

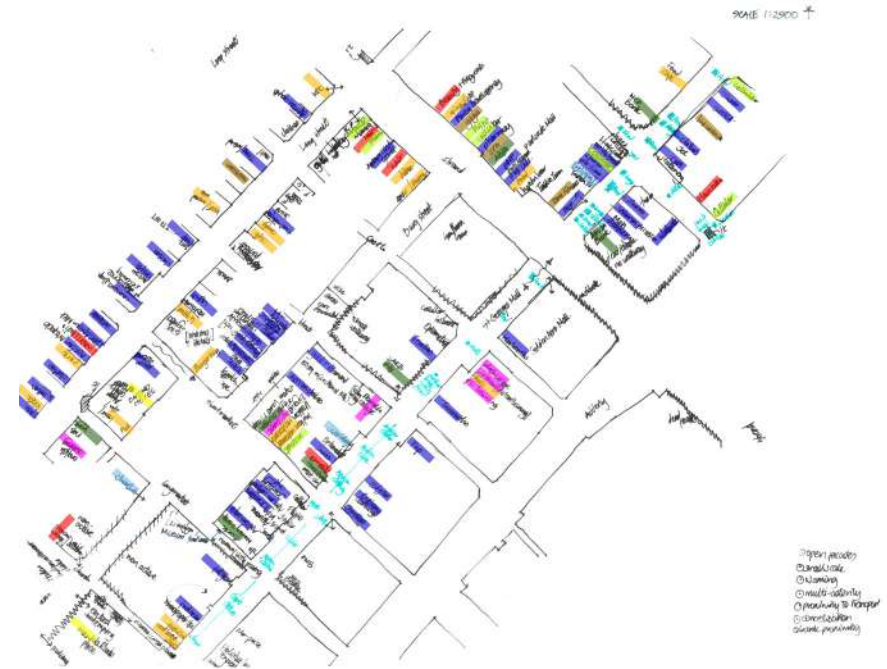


Figure 19. St. Georges mall, Cape Town, South Africa.

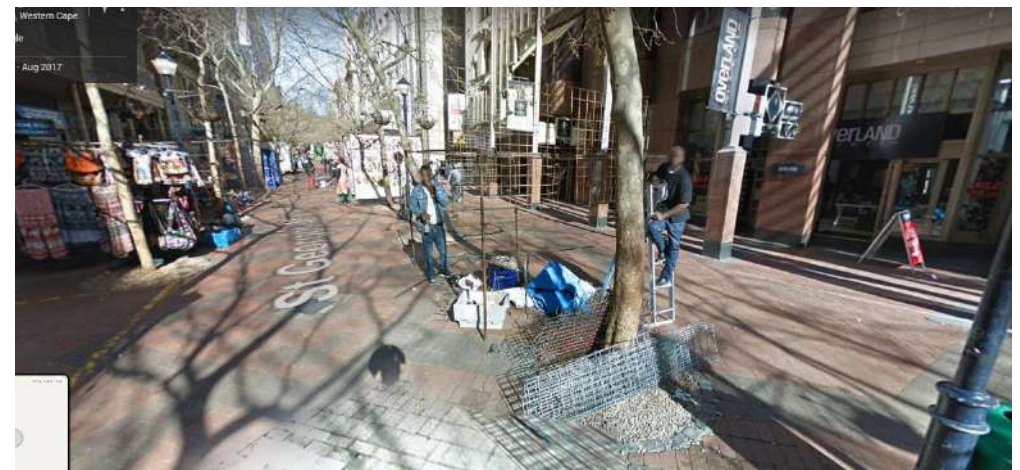


Figure 20. Trading structures at St. Georges mall, Cape Town, South Africa. Source: Google Maps

trading. On approaching the train station plaza, informal trade ended probably due to a lack of formally laid out trading bays in the plaza. The abrupt end however was assisted by direct sightlines to the railway and taxi station. It was noted that some streets such as the intersection of Adderley and strand were poorly articulated for pedestrians hence limiting movement to the mall, capitalizing on footfall. The presence of the transport station being close to areas preferred for trade was important. Additionally, it was seen that migrants preferred to be located in areas with mixed used buildings where the ground floors were active and upper floors were used for hotels, residential and offices.

Bellville terminus

At the Bellville terminus, African migrants, both local and international were seen to engage in trade at different scales. There was a mix of ethnicities also participating in formal regulated and informal trade. It was seen that African migrants as well were positioned close to a transport terminus allowing for mobility of self and goods. Additionally the footfall from transport users is a likely guarantee for customers. Hence shops were positioned on active and busy streets. The scale of the termini was rather over scaled hence large open spaces were appropriated by small scale informal traders hence affecting continuity of legibility as one walked from the terminus. Additionally, the immediate traders sold foodstuffs with similar 'loose infrastructure' seen at St. George's mall in town. The structure was easy to dismantle and put away. Additionally, there were other small scale shops in the terminus. There were a couple of landmark features that were seen in the Bellville area. In addition there was an open air market with allocated trading bays as well similar to that found at St. George's mall.

It was noted that the scale of shops was highly varied and encouraged a mix of various levels of income. Additionally, the facades were very active allowing for visibility as one walks outside the store. Also, it was seen that goods and wares as in St Georges mall and Greenmarket square were displayed openly allowing for potential customers to view the merchandise. Additionally the interface between existing



Figure 21 and 22. Bellville terminus, Cape Town, South Africa.

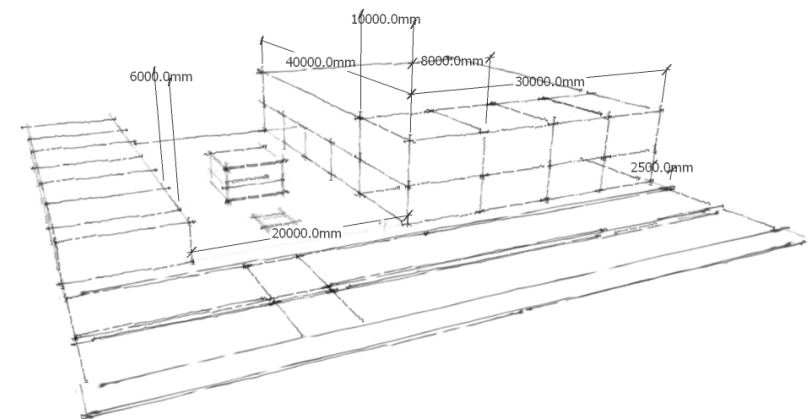




Figure 23-27. Urban form in Bellville CBD, Cape Town, South Africa.

Source: GoogleMaps

the taxi rank allowed for connection to other parts of Cape Town as well. It was also seen through the analysis that mixed use typologies dominated the area where African migrants were found. This was also accompanied by small scale trading shops which served various functions even in a single shop. These occurred on the ground floor and had active and transparent facades. There was little appropriation by informal trade on active facades however. There were also larger setbacks on corners that were appropriated by informal trade. It was noted also that there significant changes in ownership through resale of lots and buildings. This shows the aspect of flux and change in urban form brought about by migrant urbanism.

Sea Point (Near parking 302 and sunset beach)

The block size in Sea point area was significantly larger than the other areas. This enabled a mix between larger scale residential and mixed use developments. The large scale residential developments which had rather dead but transparent facades. These were continuous over

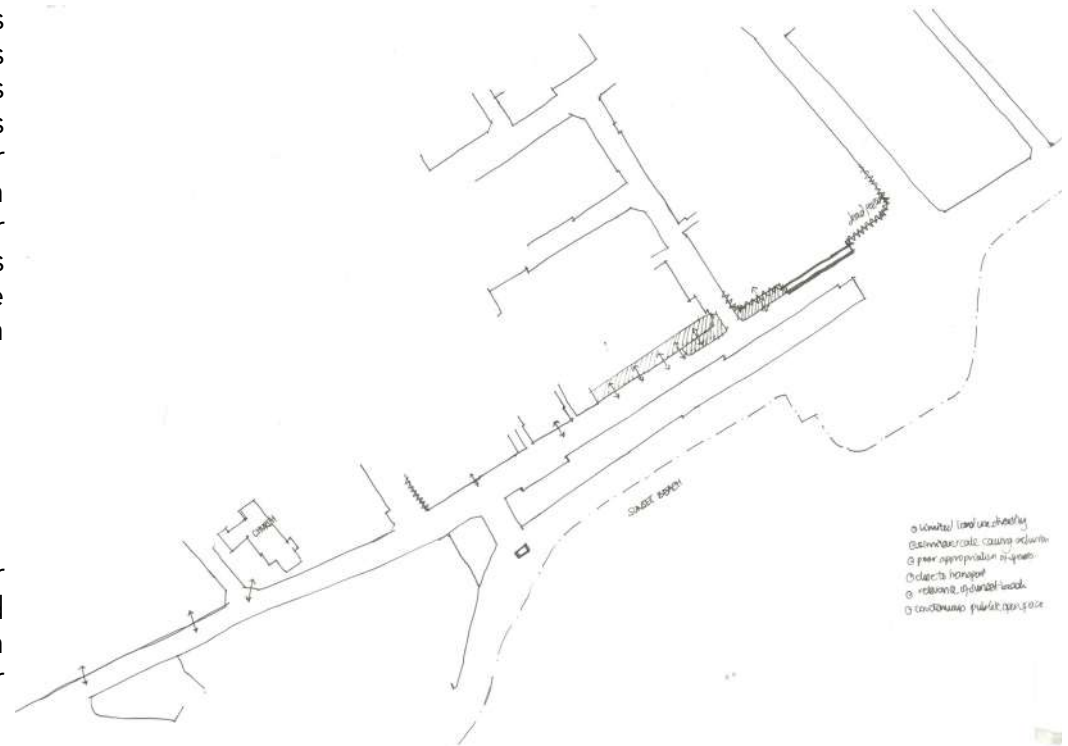


Figure 31. 302 Beach Road Parking, Cape Town, South Africa.

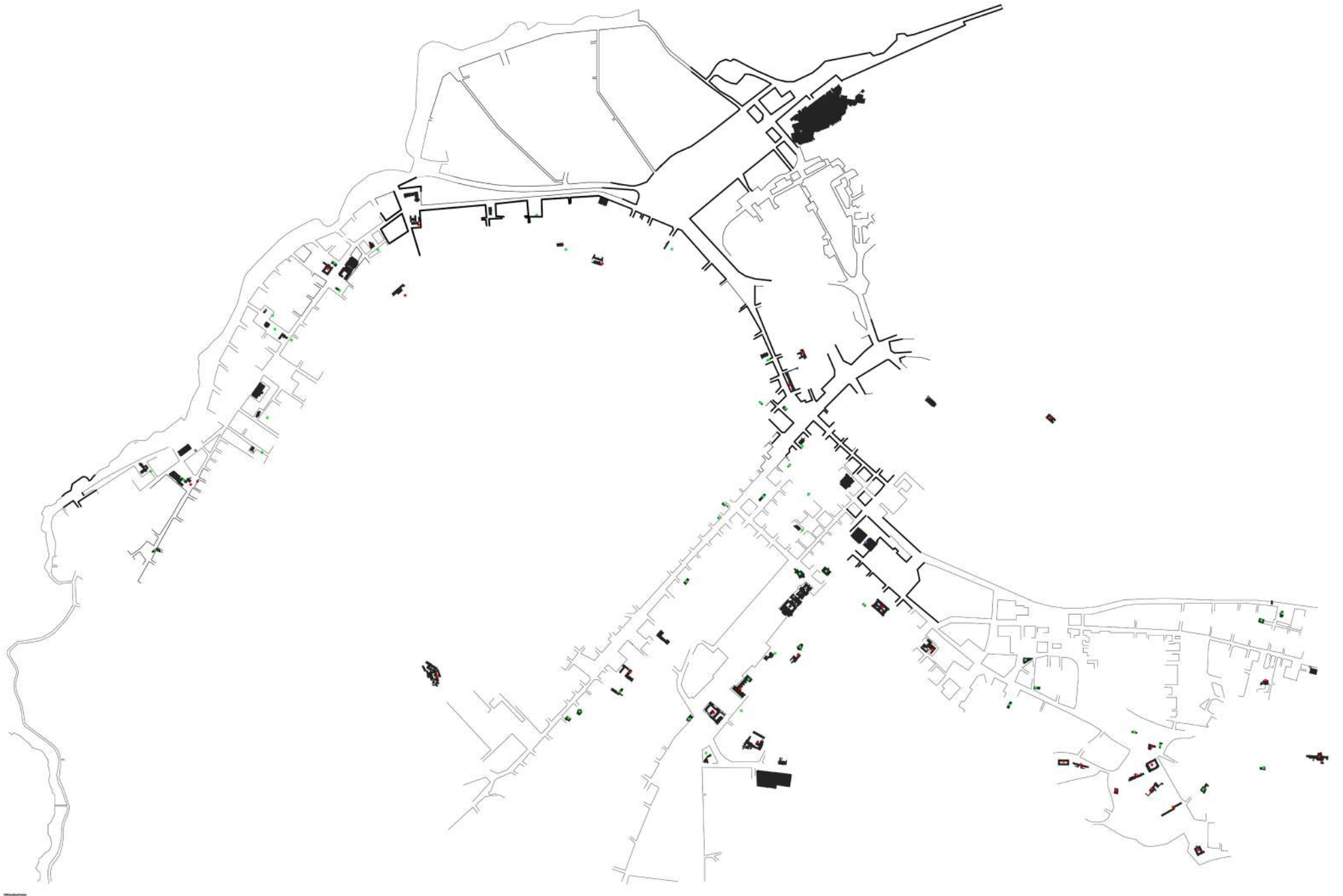


Figure 32,33 Beach Road Parking, Cape Town, South Africa. Source: GoogleMaps

ADAPTIVE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK

ACCESS TO CIVIC FACILITIES AND EVERYDAY LANDMARKS

ARCHICAD EDUCATION VERSION



a long walk and didn't allow for interaction of the user (walker) with the threshold. There was also a lack of mixed use developments on beach road which limited the activities that would take place at the interface of the residential buildings. The 302 beach car park which also served as a taxi rank lacked the 'loose infrastructure' that was seen in other precinct analysis where African migrants preferred to create livelihoods. The sunset beach which was marked as a non-white beach during the apartheid period served as a landmark in the area. The sunset beach was also close to the Sea point pool which is also a landmark in the area. Beach road additionally had a church which was also seen as a landmark feature in the other precincts as well.

CHAPTER 6: SITE SUITABILITY CRITERIA

Huchzermeyer (2014) expresses how cities today face uneven competition for limited land, a scenario that influences different people's access to resources in the city. This speaks to Lefebvre's (DATE) right to the city whose views the city as 'an instrument and a means' 'identify the site, analysis was done considering a variety of factors that aimed to analyse Cape Town's urban structure from the perspective of local and international African migrants. Each of the push and pull factors were established through the mapping. It was seen from the mapping that local African migrants, mostly from the Eastern Cape settled in areas where isiXhosa was the predominant language. Additionally, as Cape Town's industrial opportunities are spread out across the metropole, settlements were seen to be close to these areas. Informal settlements especially were seen to crowd areas close to industry in a way, appropriating through occupation to be closer to opportunities allowing walkability to work and creating decentralized access to areas of opportunities. These conditions meet the themes expressed that were also seen in Nairobi in its contemporary post-colonial state. However the aspect of interface was not quite strong as these areas

remain quite homogenous in ethnic, income and language markers.

Focusing on international African migrants, we find a rather different settlement pattern whereby language, ethnicity, income, connection to transport infrastructure, fear and vulnerability. Hence it was seen that international African migrants preferred to stay in areas that were further from informal settlements as well as places with higher proportions of English as the predominant language. This could be attributed to the fear of encountering xenophobia and steering clear from areas with predominantly black or coloured ethnic groups. In addition, it was seen that international African migrants settle in areas with more ethnic and income diversity. These areas were some of the most ethnically diverse wards in Cape Town. Additionally, international African migrants were seen to settle in areas which had better transport connections for example the southern corridor, the Voortrekker corridor as well as the central business district and the Atlantic seaboard. They avoided areas closer to the metro south east which is not served so well by interconnected and a variety of transport options. Also the metro south east are further from the city core where a concentration of commercial opportunities lie.

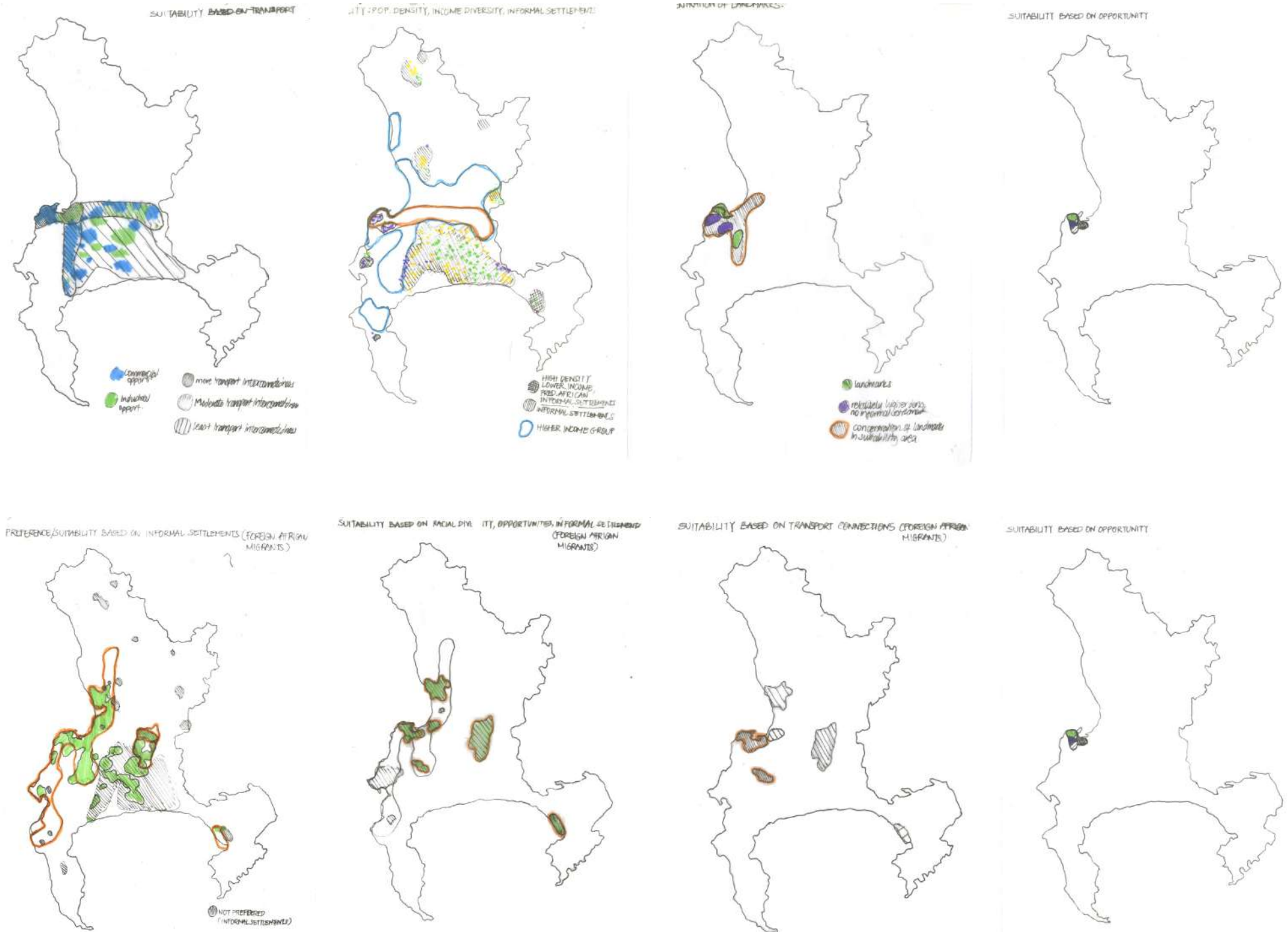
Therefore the following areas were seen as preferable include the CBD, sea point. These 2 areas had a mixed racial demography, income as well as mixed language demographic statistics. They represent an interface between language, ethnicity, income among others hence presenting an opportunity to encourage integration and diversity in the city of Cape Town. The CBD and the V&A waterfront according to the interviews carried out were identified as landmarks. The waterfront however was seen as being exclusive in nature and the local and foreign African migrants interviewed claimed that they felt economically excluded as the high private capital was not accessible to their income levels. Hence, this presented a case whereby a landmark was identified but was somewhat inaccessible to many because of



"Regarding my hobbies, I like singing Gospel songs, eating my traditional dishes and I usually go jogging on weekends..."

Jean (2017)

Figure 34: Preferential areas based on migrant experiences of African migrants in Cape Town



EVERYDAY LANDMARKS AS SEEN IN THE MIGRANT PREFERENTIAL AREAS

everyday landmark	Bellville	St. Georges Mall	Green market square	Mowbray	302 beach road, Sea point
language/ career college		•	•		
jewellery store		•	•	•	
banks		•	•	•	
forex bureau		•	•		
computer training		•	•		
internet cafe	•	•	•		
superettes		•	•	•	
ethnic restaurant	•	•	•	•	
fast food restaurant		•	•	•	
cellular shop	•	•	•		
barber/hair salon/ cosmetic	•	•	•	•	
meat/fish market	•				
clothing stores	•	•	•	•	
cash and carry store	•				
laundromat	•			•	
home decor store	•			•	
international call sentre	•				
Prayer room	•			•	
Advocates	•				
health services/traditional	•			•	
taxi rank	•	•		•	•
Betting shop				•	

EVERYDAY AFRICAN MIGRANT LANDMARKS

- atm
- banks
- church
- fisheries
- forex
- internet
- kfc
- mosque
- meat mart
- forex
- taxi
- salon

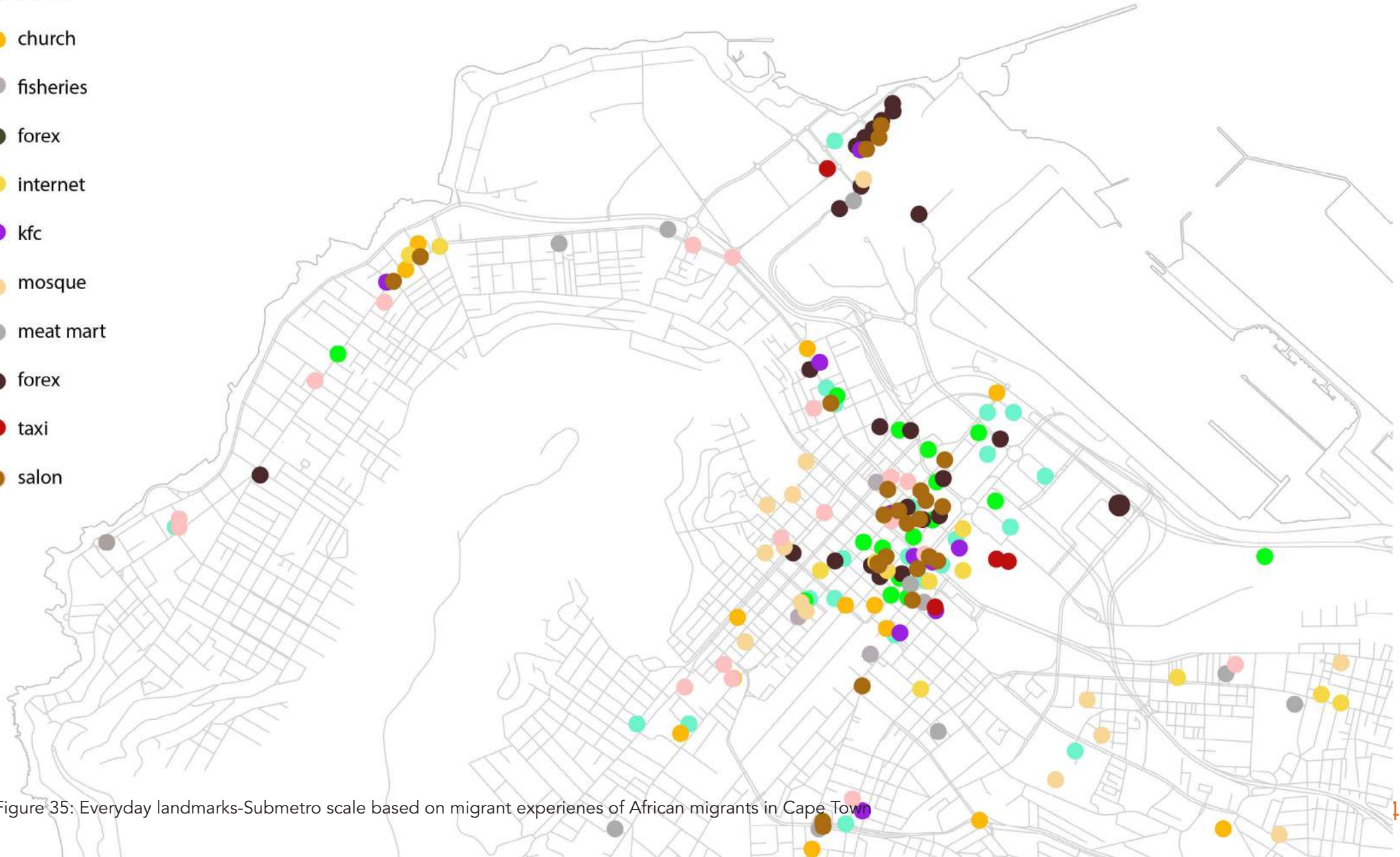
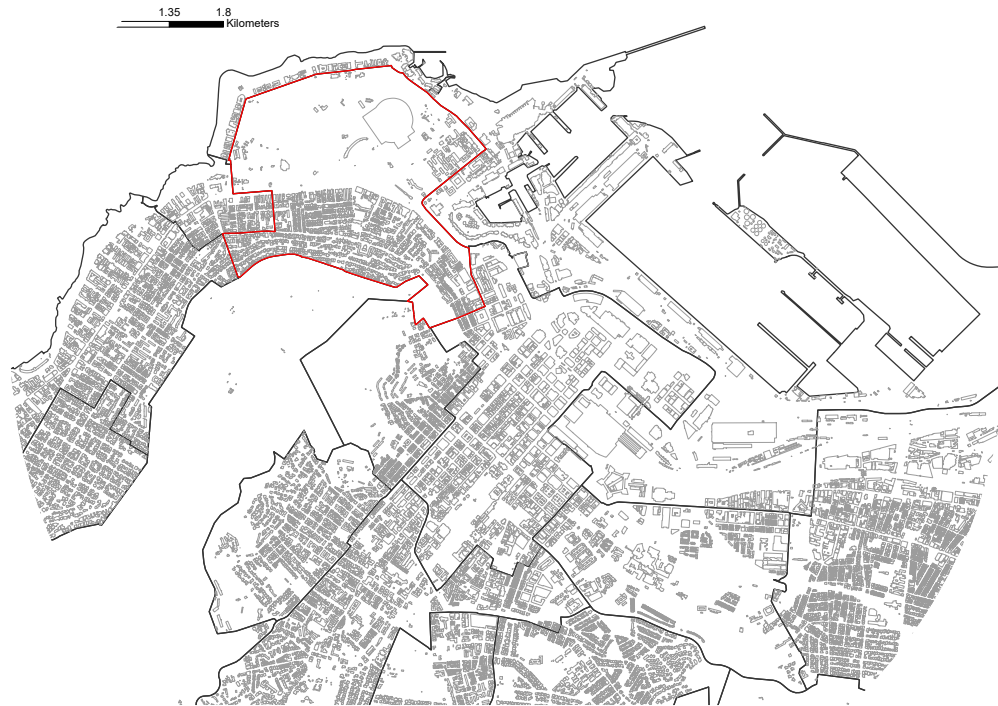


Figure 35: Everyday landmarks-Submetro scale based on migrant experiences of African migrants in Cape Town

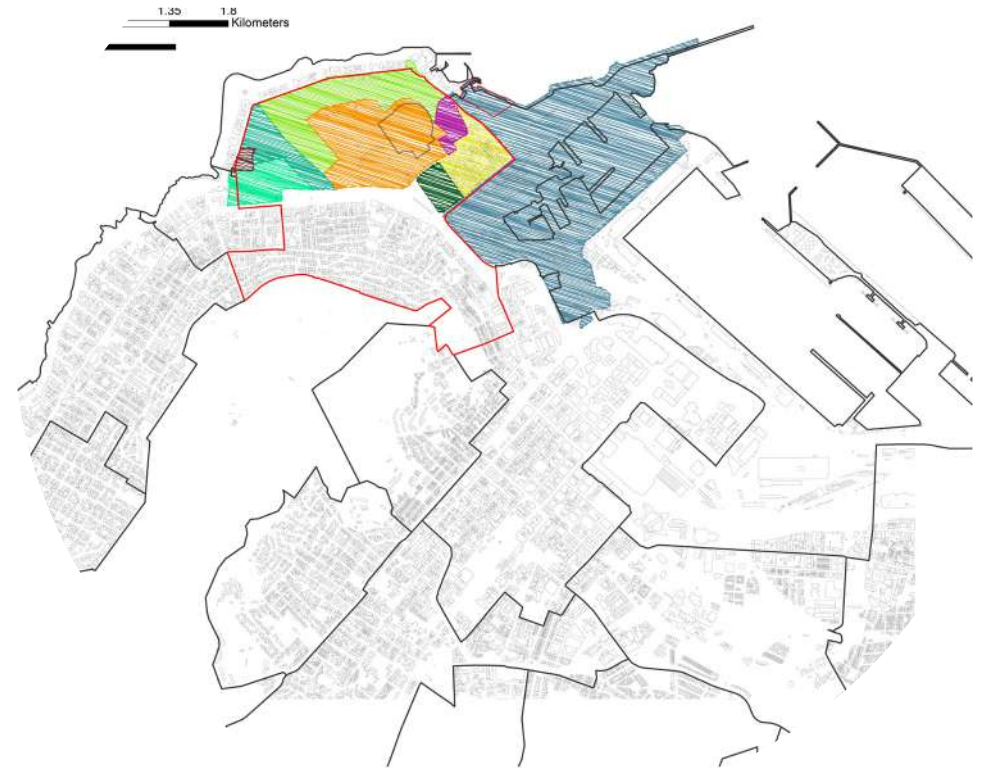


Figure 18. Greenpoint, Cape Town, South Africa. Source:

THE INTERFACE



OWNERSHIP



SUB METRO CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

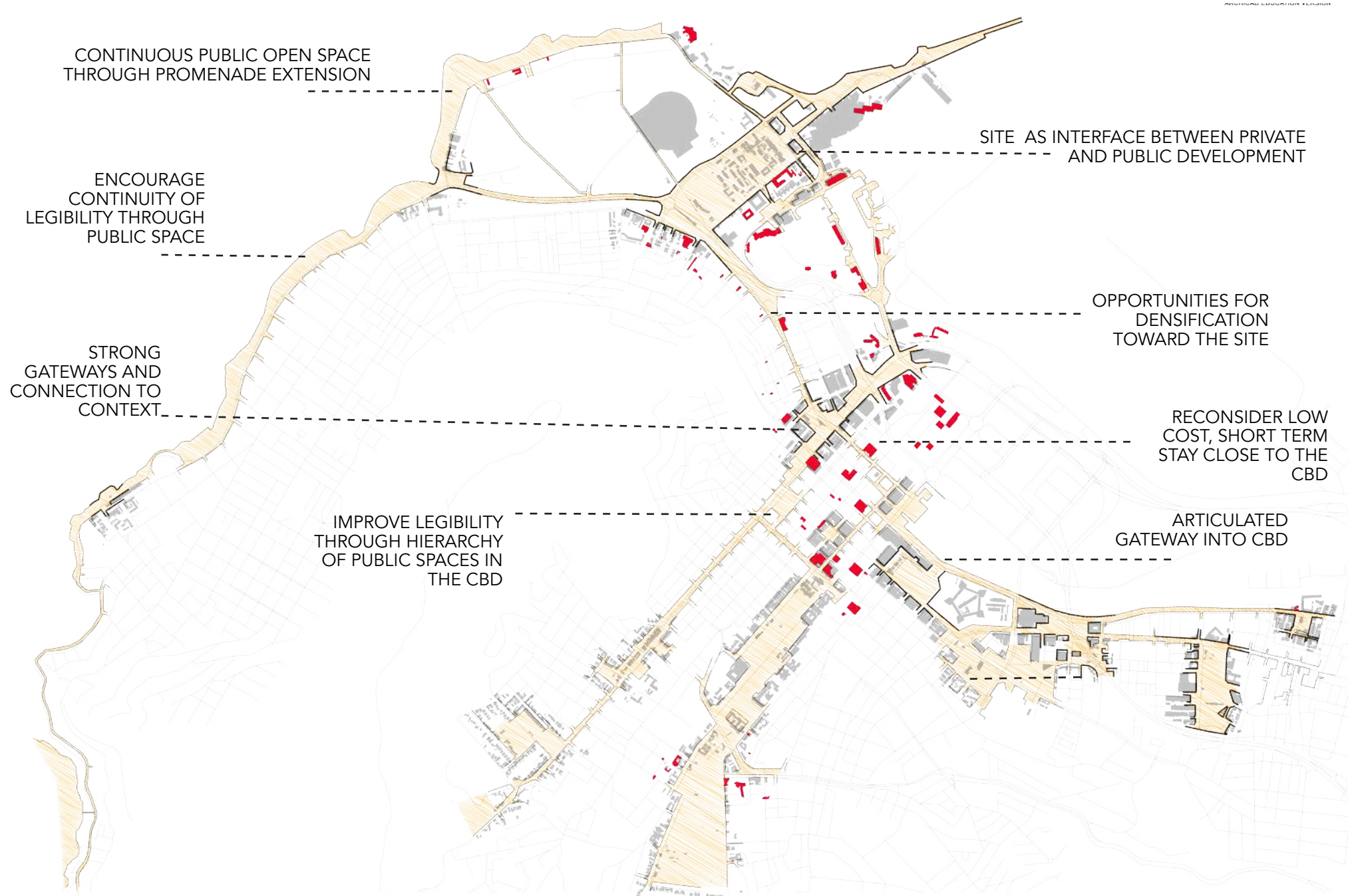
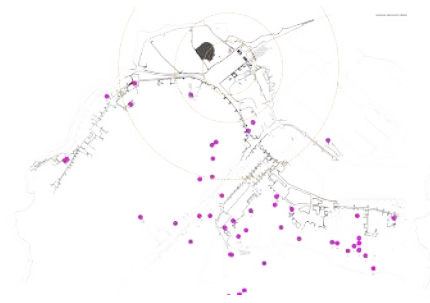


Figure 36: Submetro conceptual framework 48

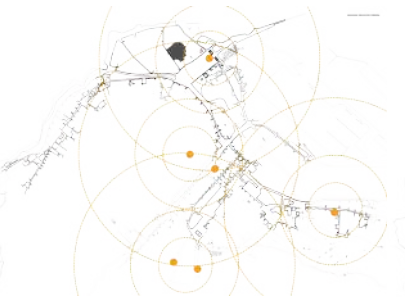
CONTEXT ANALYSIS

OECD MIGRANT INCLUSION INDICATORS

ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE SKILLS ANALYSIS



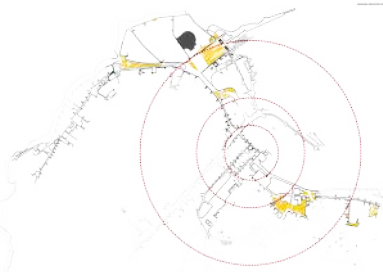
ACCESS TO HEALTH AND WELL-BEING



ACCESS TO EMPLOYMENT



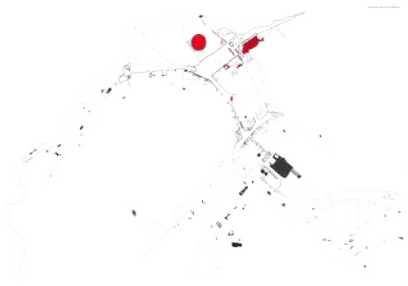
ACCESS TO HOUSING



SOCIAL INCLUSION



LANDMARK ANALYSIS



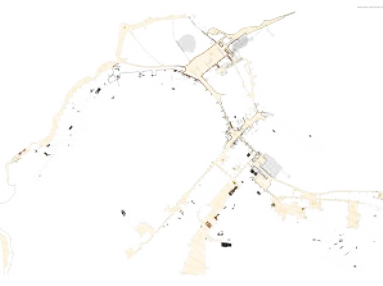
VISUAL ANALYSIS



THRESHOLD ANALYSIS



OPEN SPACE ANALYSIS

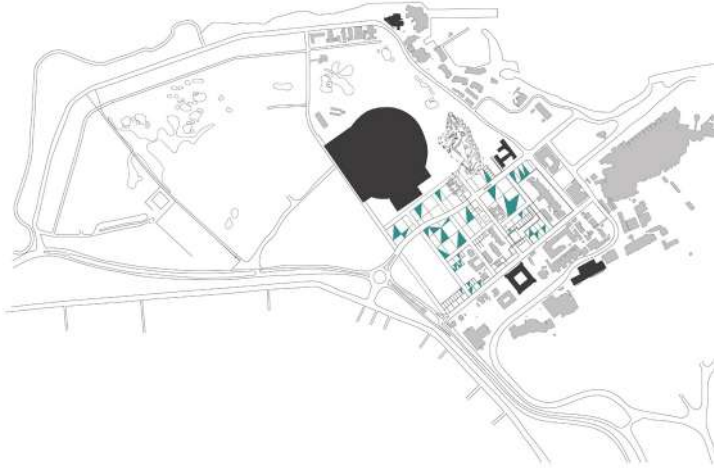


MOVEMENT ANALYSIS

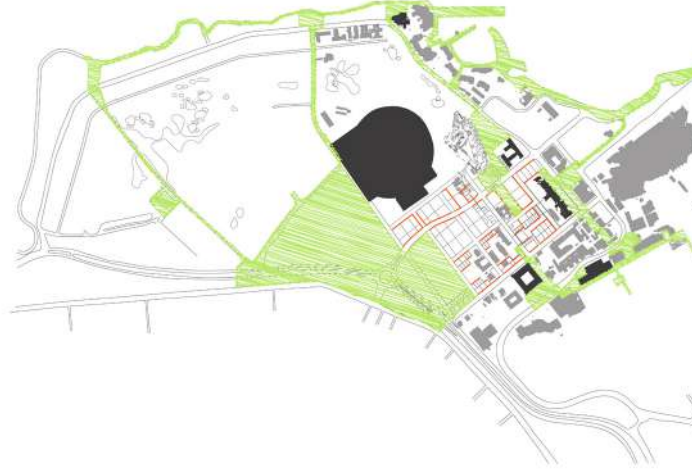


SPATIAL CONCEPTS

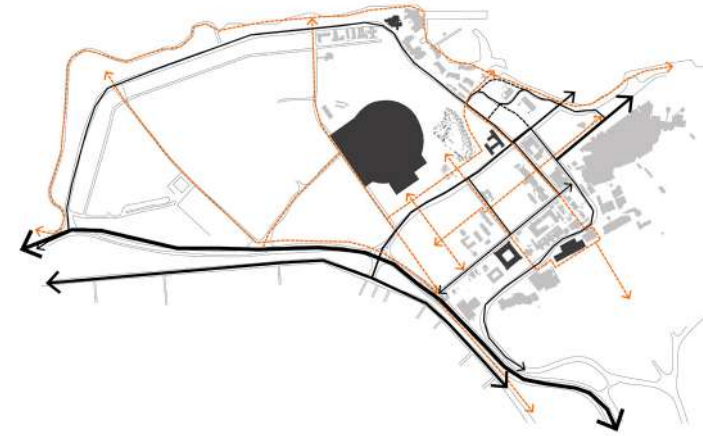
DIVERSITY | MULTI CULTURE



ARTICULATED INTERFACE



CONNECTORS



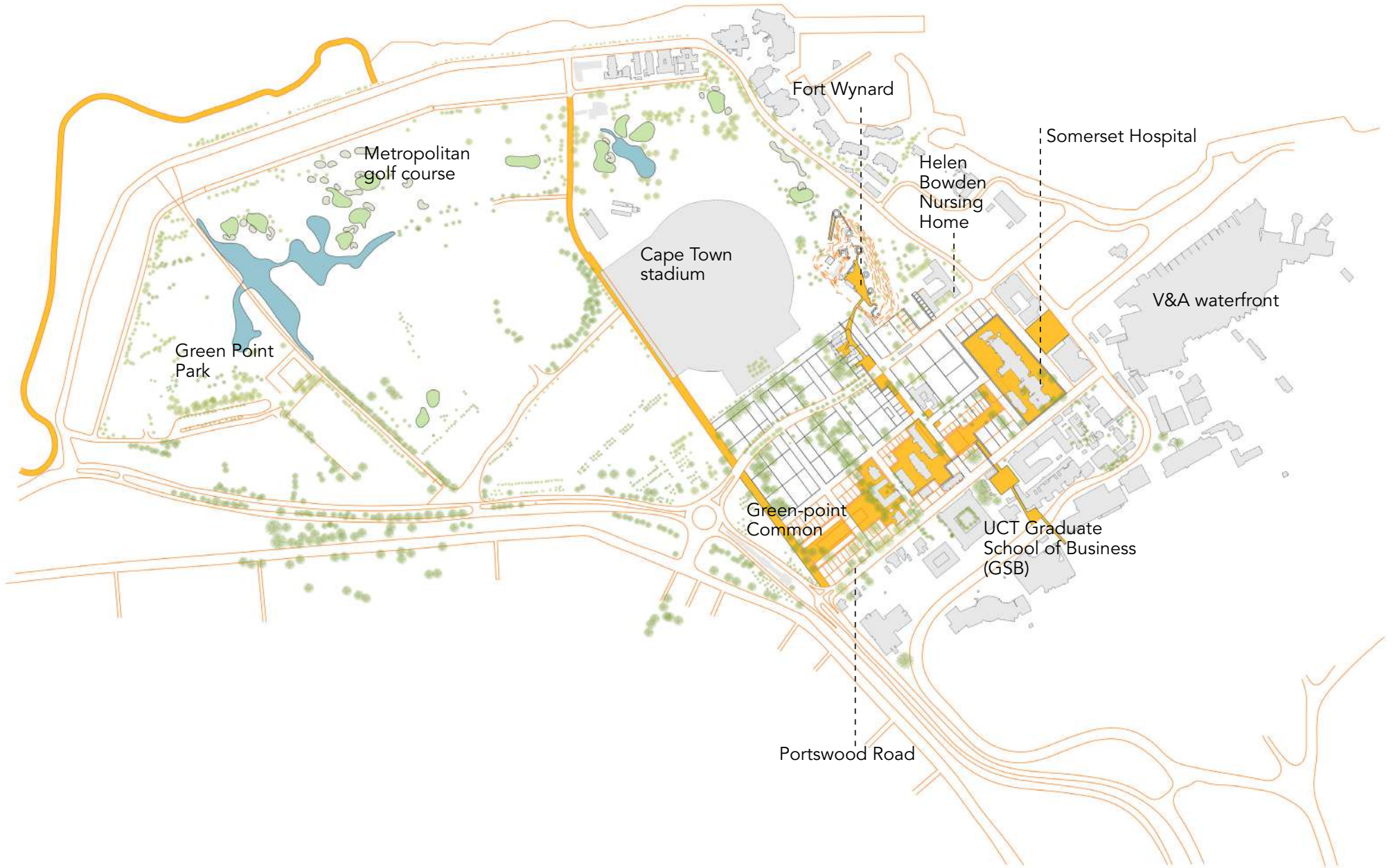
FLUX | ADAPTABILITY



INVITED | INVENTED SPACE



PUBLIC SPACE STRUCTURE SUB-METRO SCALE



SUB-METRO SCALE

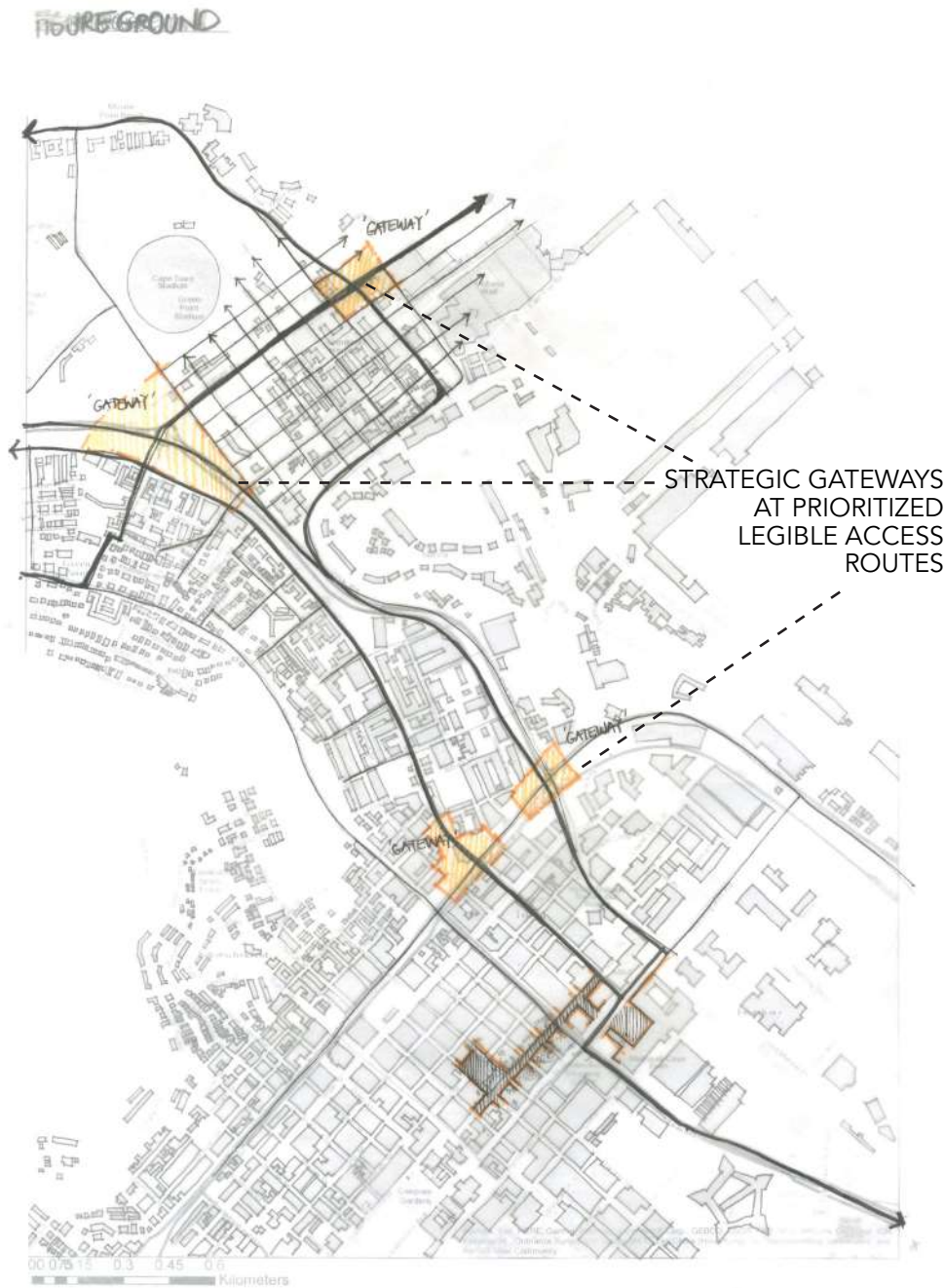


Figure 37: Transport Terminus to Precinct connection conceptual framework

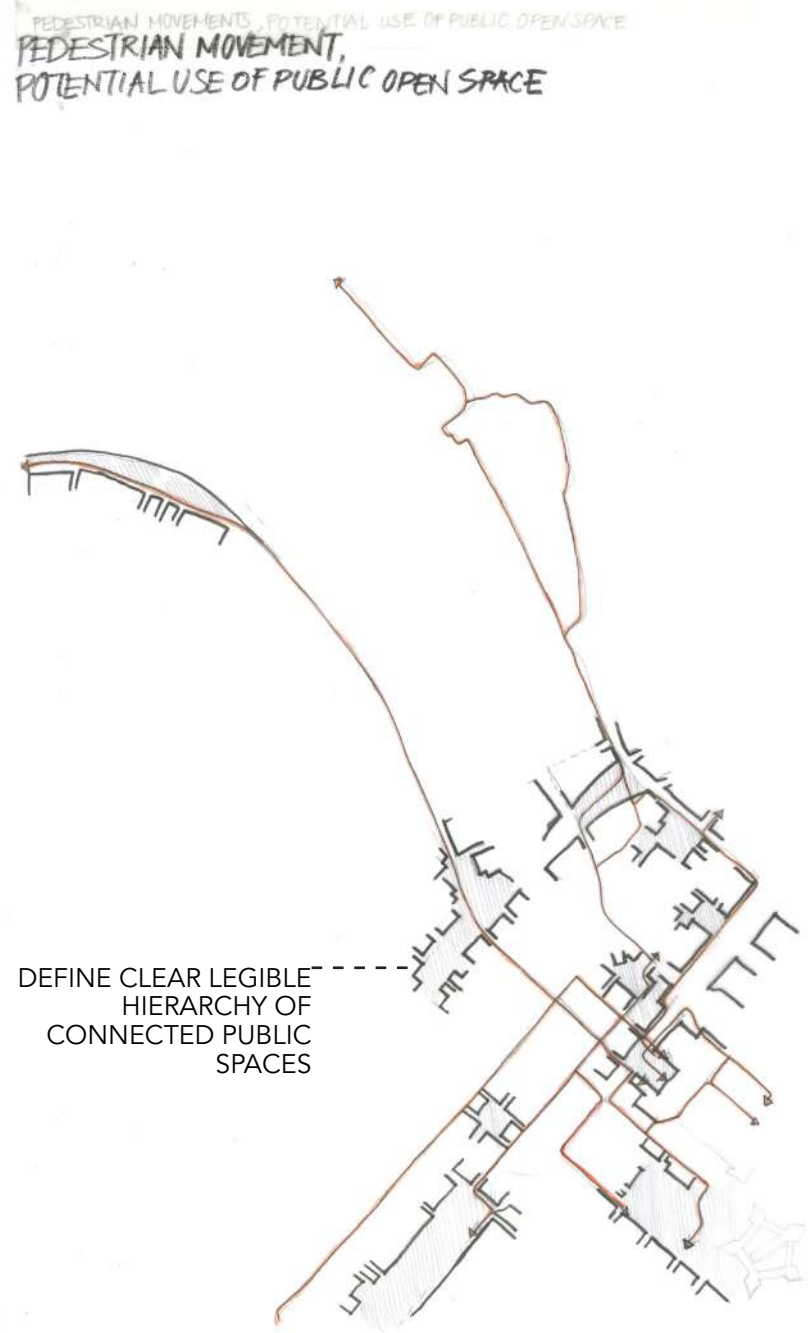


Figure 38: Transport Terminus to Precinct pedestrian access conceptual framework 52

FACADE/THRESHOLD/ACTIVITY ANALYSIS



Figure 39: Transport Terminus to Precinct edge analysis

OPEN SPACE DEFINITION



Figure 40: Transport Terminus to Precinct Open space typology 53

economic exclusion. Hence the same areas having seen occupations of state owned hospitals in both the CBD and in Sea point highlight a case whereby people want to access these spaces and belong in them as well. Pithouse (2013:333) has expressed the struggle of the right to the city in the South African context. Hence the research project would like to address the right to the city through the 'urban everyday' migrant's lens in a contemporary context in post-apartheid Cape Town. Focusing on migrant urbanism practices leading to a production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) and a shaping urban space will inform how urban professionals can design for spaces that address the 'everyday life of migrants.

CHAPTER 7: URBAN DESIGN FRAMEWORK AND PRECINCT DESIGN

Setting up the conditions to promote a flexible and adaptable urban structure that can transform and be appropriated over time. The framework incorporates active streets on the proposed Somerset precinct which align with the longitudinal axis leading to the water's edge. The higher order mobility route of Granger Bay Boulevard that juts out from the Helen Suzman Boulevard would contribute as a structuring element would be activated by intensified activity along it that celebrates diversity and a variety of cultures. The activation of the Granger bay boulevard provides an opportunity to connect the surrounding context to the waterfront as a public open space through a strong visual and functional axis. A strong public space which connects to the Sea point promenade offering access to continuous public open space extending from the V&A building through beach road to the sea point promenade.

Additionally a secondary activity street- Portswood road was identified as holding secondary or lower order activities though still maintaining to be an active street. A public space structuring element that incorporates the heritage buildings that are recommended to not be demolished according to the Somerset Hospital HIA report will be carved out as the main public space where a formal grid will interface it however the space will overflow into the context allowing for growth and change over time to incorporate more development

around it. East-west connections running across the precinct including the higher order Beach road and Helen Suzman Boulevard as well as the lower order Fritz Sonnenberg road, Dock road, Granger Road and Fort Wynard Street allow for choice and increases connections in the precinct. The Fritz Sonnenberg road as well as the pedestrian walkway through the Green Point Park remain strong connecting pedestrian routes to beach road.

The Somerset hospital precinct having undergone a heritage impact assessment was identified as having buildings with various scales of heritage protection. These need to be considered carefully when working on the precinct development.

CHAPTER 8: DESIGN PRINCIPLES, URBAN DESIGN THEMES

THEORY OF GOOD URBAN FORM INFLUENCED BY MIGRANT URBANISM

The street

- It was seen that the street as used by migrants featured some qualities;
- They accommodated intensive trade,
- They had active ground floors with open and transparent facades
- They had a variety of scale of shops
- They featured multiple activities in one shop
- They had a variety of wide and moderately sized setbacks which were used for pedestrians served as an extension of the trade
- They included 'loose infrastructure' for example chairs, street advertising.
- Wider streets with adequate pedestrian walkways were preferred.
- Flexible streets that allowed for a variety of uses and served various

functions were preferred

- Backs of buildings which had active ground floors and were turned into pedestrian thoroughfares were preferred.
- Narrow streets that didn't encourage pedestrian use were not preferred.

Blocks and walkability

- Block sizes ranging from (60x60) to (LIMIT) were preferred for walkability and continuity of activity
- Oversized blocks that encouraged mono-functional land use activities were not preferred.
- A flexible super block was preferred as it allowed for division into various smaller scale land use activities encouraged mixed use developments
- Blocks abutting higher order car-oriented streets were prevented.
- Blocks abutting lower order activity streets were preferred.

Edge conditions (the interface)

- The edge of the street where migrants created livelihoods were transparent and had active thresholds which allowed for vibrancy
- The edge of the street in some cases was blurry in the event that advertising and goods displays flowed out into the street.
- 'Loose infrastructure' for example was used as a transitory element into the street.
- Colonnaded streets weren't preferred compared to streets that allowed for the different building floors to be seen.
- Appropriation by informal trade occurred on both dead facades and active facades and were preferred especially where footfall was guaranteed

Scale and grain

- Blocks that allowed for multiple building scales were preferred

- Buildings and individual shops of various scales were preferred
- Over scaled open spaces and buildings were not preferred.
- Trading activities at different scales broke down over scaled spaces into smaller scaled spaces
- Consistent scale of buildings compared to the surrounding were preferred.

Materiality

- Streets that had contrasting paving compared to the surrounding context were preferred for concentrated outdoor trade (Greenmarket Square, Bellville outdoor trading areas, St. Georges Mall)
- Materials defining spaces for instance pedestrian walkways versus roads were important to define space extents
- Glass facades were seen to allow for transparency and active thresholds in the event that roll down facades were not in place
- In terms of informal trade, various traders used floor placements to demarcate their space as well as lay out their wares.

Land use activities and landmarks

- African migrants were drawn to landmark features that represented everyday livelihood activities like forex exchange, internet cafes, salons, banks, rail and taxi stations, computer training institutions, clothing shops
- Land use activities occurred at small scales. This was seen in religious activities, trading and training institutions occurring at small scales
- Multiple land use activities occurred together in one trading spot, one shop, one building, and one block. The range of scales of land use activities was broad and small scales.
- Mono zoned land use activities on blocks and buildings were not preferred.

URBAN FRAMEWORK: PRECINCT SCALE

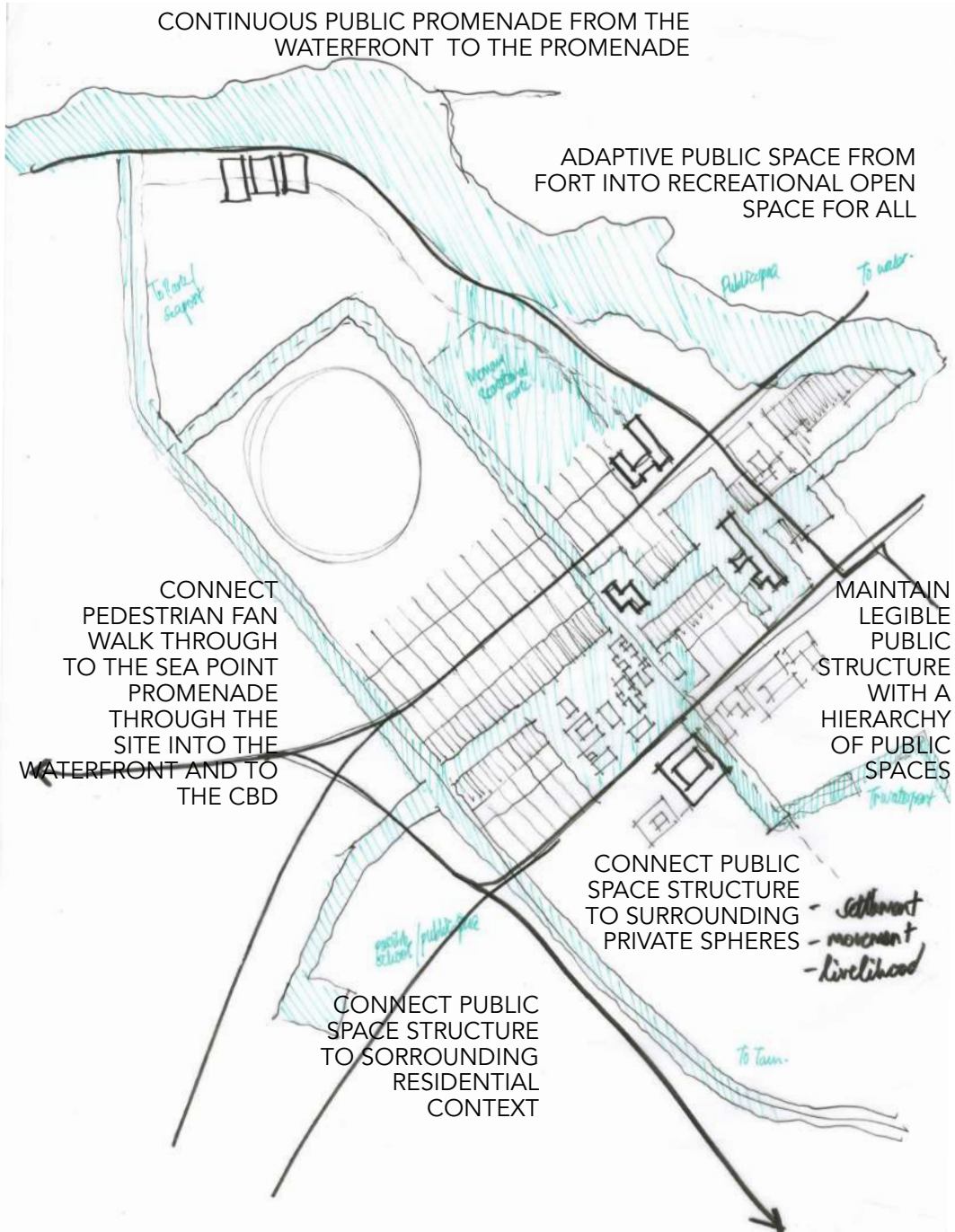


Figure 41: Precinct Conceptual framework

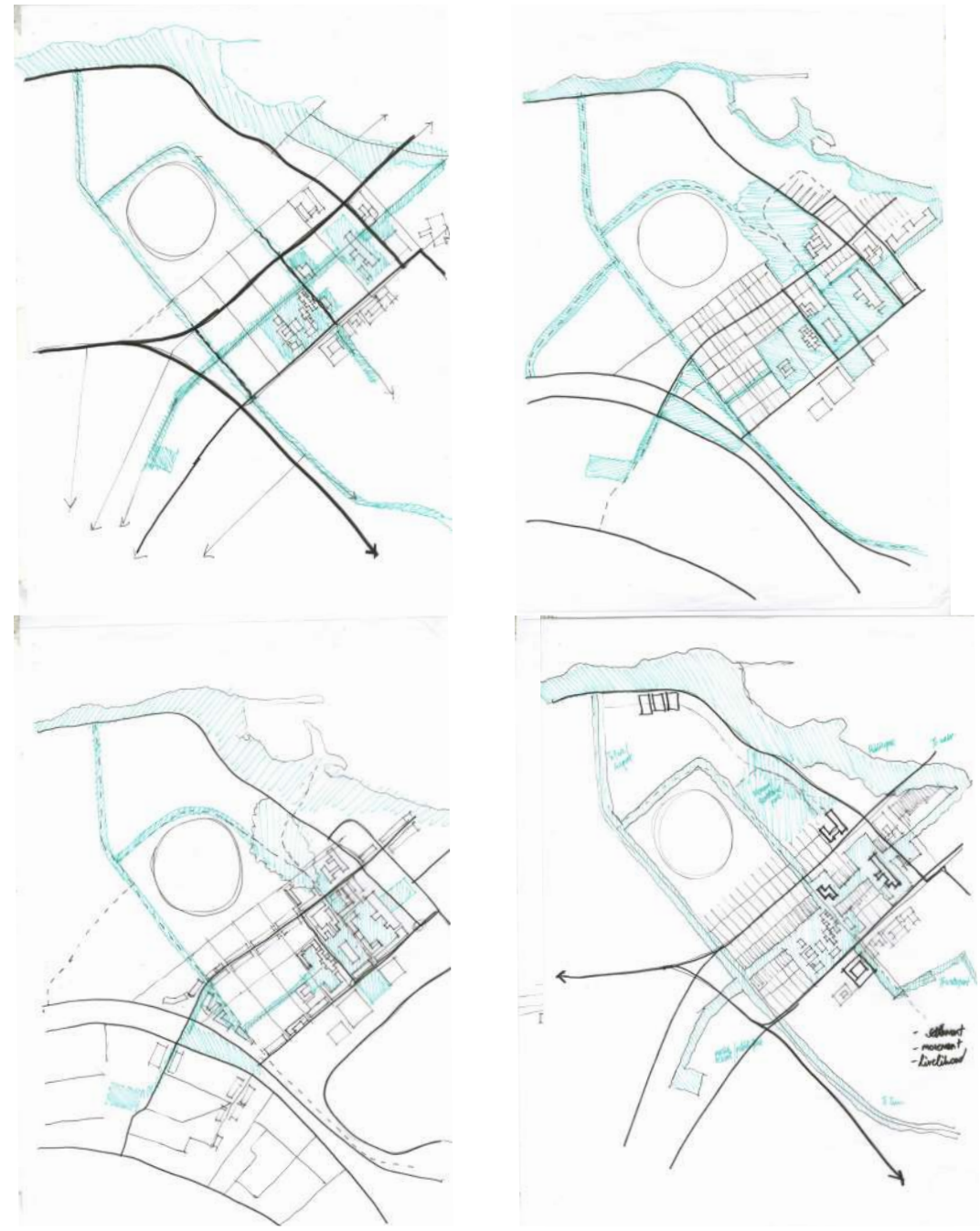


Figure 42-45: Precinct Conceptual framework explorations

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK EXPLORATIONS TO ACHIEVE AN ADAPTIVE STRUCTURE

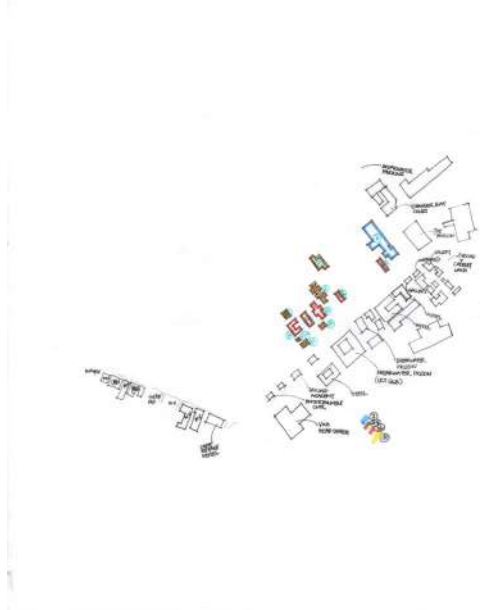
DEFINE PUBLIC STRUCTURE AS STRUCTURING ELEMENT



DEFINE BLOCKS AS STRUCTURE



CONSIDER HERITAGE BUILDINGS AS SPECIAL PLACES



ARTICULATE AN ADAPTIVE GRID THAT ACCOMMODATES FLUX

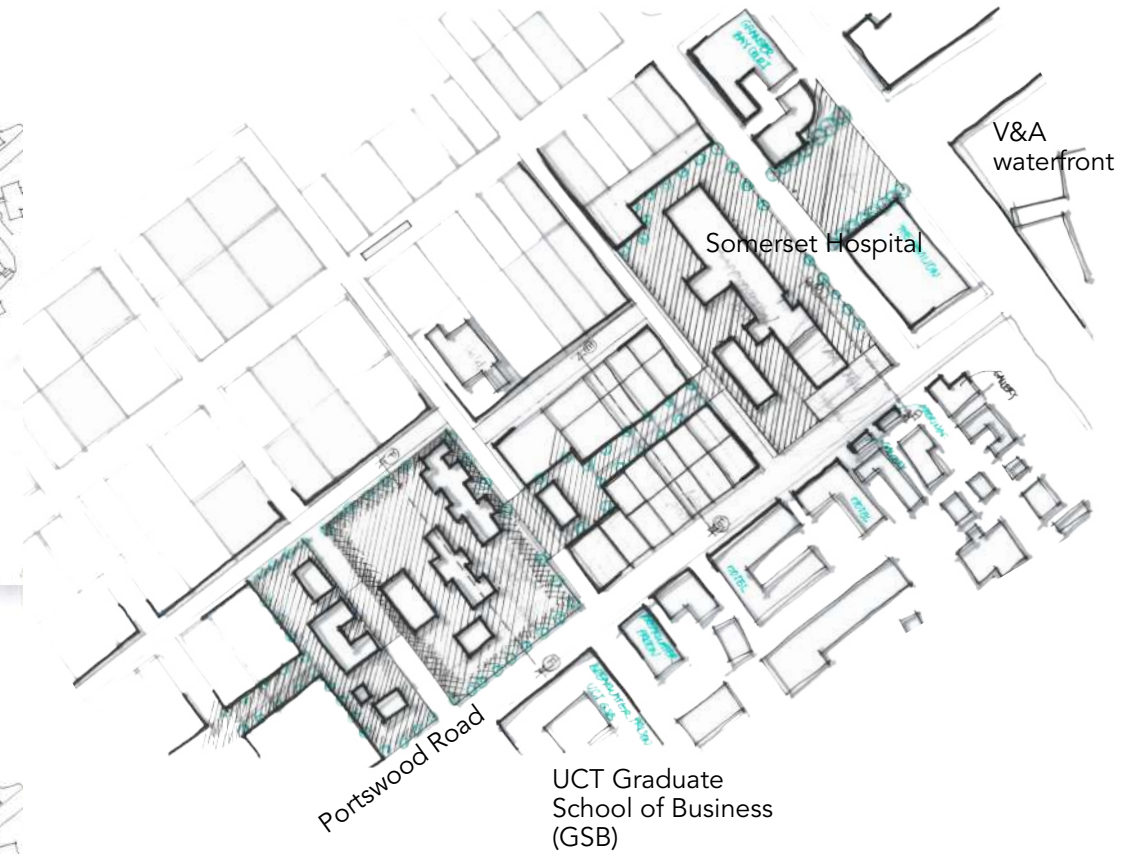


Figure 46-51: Precinct Conceptual framework explorations

URBAN FRAMEWORK- SHARED PUBLIC SPACE





Shared public/private space

THE INTERFACE_PRODUCTION OF SPACE



CHAPTER 9: PRECINCT DESIGN-PRODUCTION OF SPACE

THE PROPOSED SHARED PUBLIC/PRIVATE SPACE

The precinct design incorporated the design of a variety of spaces. From public space, Public space and the interface of these 2 spaces which is the crucial semi public/private space that is useful for migrant practices and livelihoods as it lies in the interface between invited and invented space. The semi private/public space offers a chance for the migrant to participate in activities that encourage entrepreneurship and allow a form of income generation. These spaces lie in that interface between privacy and surveillance hence they allow the migrants to stay away from the strict eye of the state but allow them to participate in the society.

THE PROPOSED CULTURAL EXHIBITION SPACES

The production of space envisioned include areas which celebrate African artisans and crafts. This will occur in the cultural exhibition area which features art workshops where artisans from all over Africa can converge and create artefacts that they can sell to at the workshop outlet, the watershed and beyond. These cultural exhibition areas will also feature open displays of the crafts that will attract tourists and the host population to the precinct to be immersed in cultural explorations of art and artefacts from all over Africa in a celebration of African art.

THE PROPOSED CAPE TO CAIRO MALL

Additionally, The Cape to Cairo mall will feature ethnic restaurants serving foods from all over Africa in a quest to celebrate the diversity of African cultures through food. These restaurants on the Cape to Cairo mall will allow more migrants to express their identity through food while also creating spaces where other African migrants can relate to and get a sense of home, Further these spaces can act as avenues of income creation to the migrants while being spaces of integration where the host population as well as tourists can indulge in and enjoy as well by immersing themselves in a cultural experience.

INTERFACE TO THE UCT GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

The interface between the UCT Graduate School of Business is proposed to feature a public promenade that will allow for gatherings of different groups sizes for various functions round the clock. The

programme should allow for open air movie screenings while taking advantage of the built form of the (GSB). The promenade breaks the private enclave by allowing access into the V&A owned land which will form a direct connection to the watershed-an entrepreneurship space offering opportunities for African migrants to sell crafts and artefacts from all over Africa.

THE INTERFACE OF THE SOMERSET HOSPITAL

The Somerset hospital also functions as a catalyst in the area. Being the only public hospital in the area, it serves that it should remain a functional hospital. However it will be downgraded into a public clinic which will allow a diverse programme to exist around it. It should also have open thresholds that allow for people to move freely around the block. The spaces around the proposed clinic will feature landscaped gardens accessible to the public as well as spaces that can be appropriated for an open air market. It should also have an extension retrofitted to incorporate a taxi rank on its north-west corner where Beach road intersects with Portswood road. This will allow people to stay longer at the site and engage more with it. Additionally, the taxi rank will open up opportunities for small and medium enterprises at the expansive plaza around the Somerset hospital.

THE INTERFACE OF THE FORT WYNARD MUSEUM

The Fort Wynard museum which is currently closed off from the public for security reasons is proposed to be converted and appropriated into a children's thematic play park by incorporating the infrastructure in the Fort to create innovate and fun spaces where a historic layer of the site can be expressed in a light manner featuring play. This recreational space will provide opportunities for interactions and integration between the migrant children and their parents and the host community. The forecourt that introduces one to the proposed play park will also serve as an open area to be appropriated by markets as it is placed at a footfall area next to the my citi bus stop and the pedestrian walkway to the stadium from the stop. This plaza will come alive more so on match days when the population increases. It can however host a diverse programme.

THE INTERFACE OF THE PROPOSED BREAKWATER PROMENADE

Direct viewlines to the water are prioritized. In so doing, the

breakwater parking that was a visual barrier has been replaced by 2 storey buildings that allow for clearer views to the water. Additionally the arc of fire from the fort has been respected as a 30m view line to the water. Additionally, to ensure a continuous public sphere, the proposed breakwater promenade linking the V&A waterfront to Sea Point promenade has been designed to disrupt the private enclaves that interface with the water's edge to reclaim public space to allow to free movement across the Atlantic Seaboard. This allows for greater navigation of Cape Town by African migrants through public space.

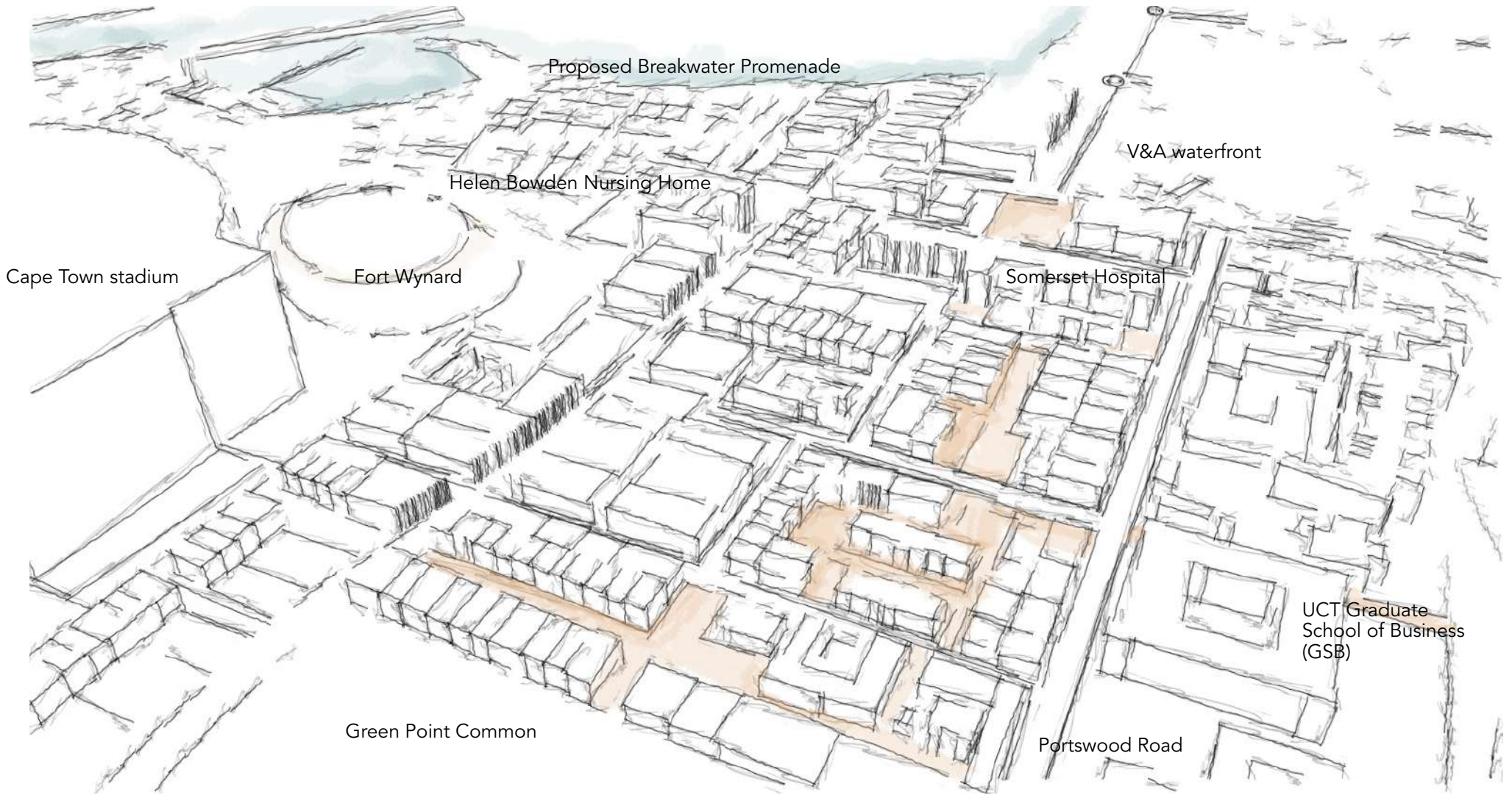
THE INTERFACE TO THE GREEN POINT COMMONS

The Green point commons is currently under heritage assessment to declare it a heritage site. The green point commons is under pressure to be developed for social housing. The research project identified the green point common as being a crucial green open space that should be retained as such. This is to allow the open space to have a diverse programme. The public can use the open space for a variety of activities. The space is crucial in creating a hierarchy of public spaces as one moves across the fan walk into the stadium and beyond.

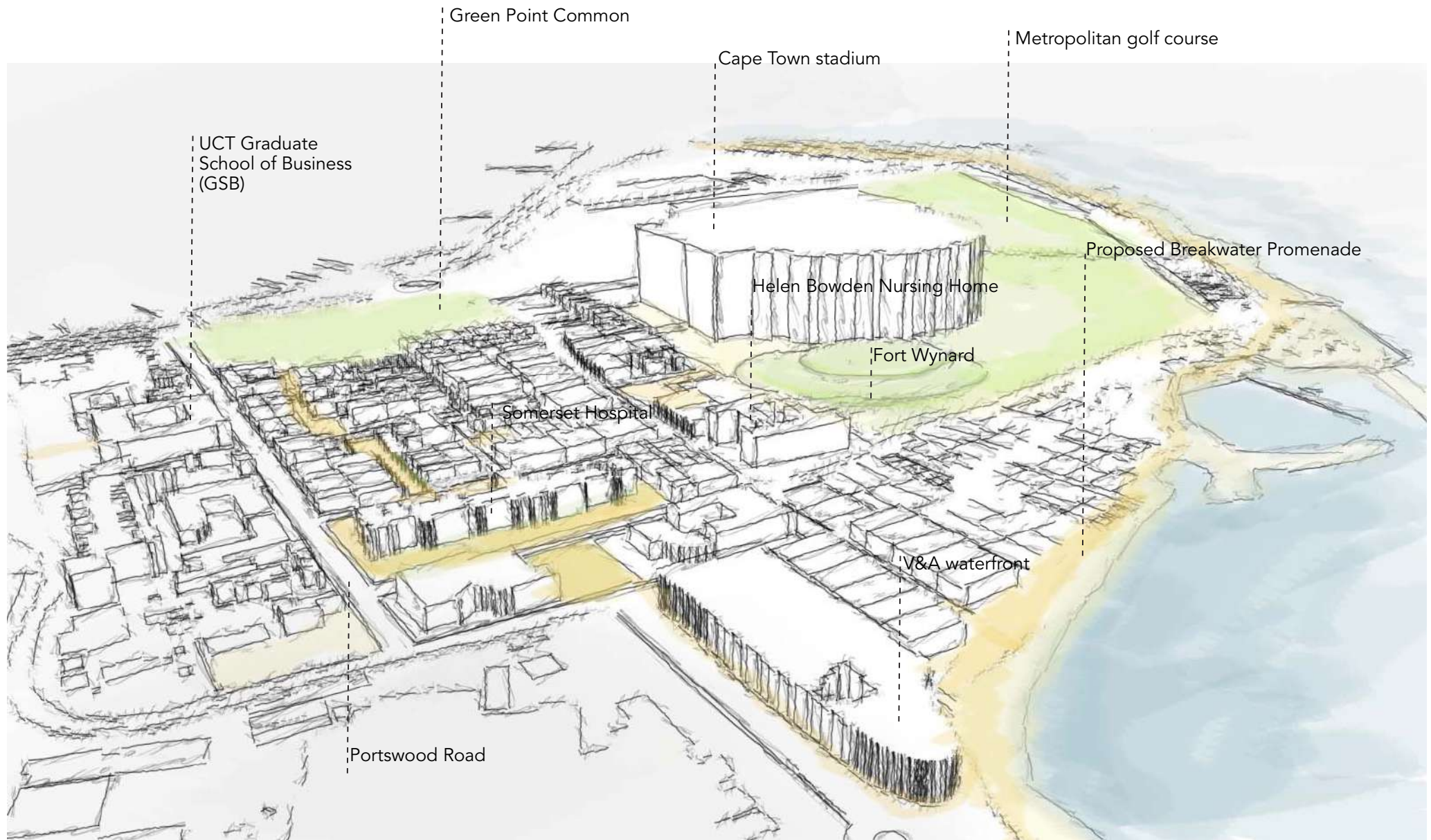
THE INTERFACE TO THE CAPE TOWN STADIUM

The interface to the Cape Town stadium is currently not active which creates a sense of fear around the stadium which gets used sparingly across the year. In the quest of activating the area, an activity street on the street adjacent to the stadium that is proposed to be pedestrianized . This activity street will feature a small scale, mixed typology and mixed income mixed use development that encourages residential living on the upper floors and commercial land-use activities on the lower floors. This allows for an extended surveillance on the street for longer hours ensuring safety. Transparent thresholds seen in many commercial land use activities in migrant enclaves across Cape Town is preferred.

PROPOSED CAPE TO CAIRO MALL



PROPOSED BREAKWATER PROMENADE

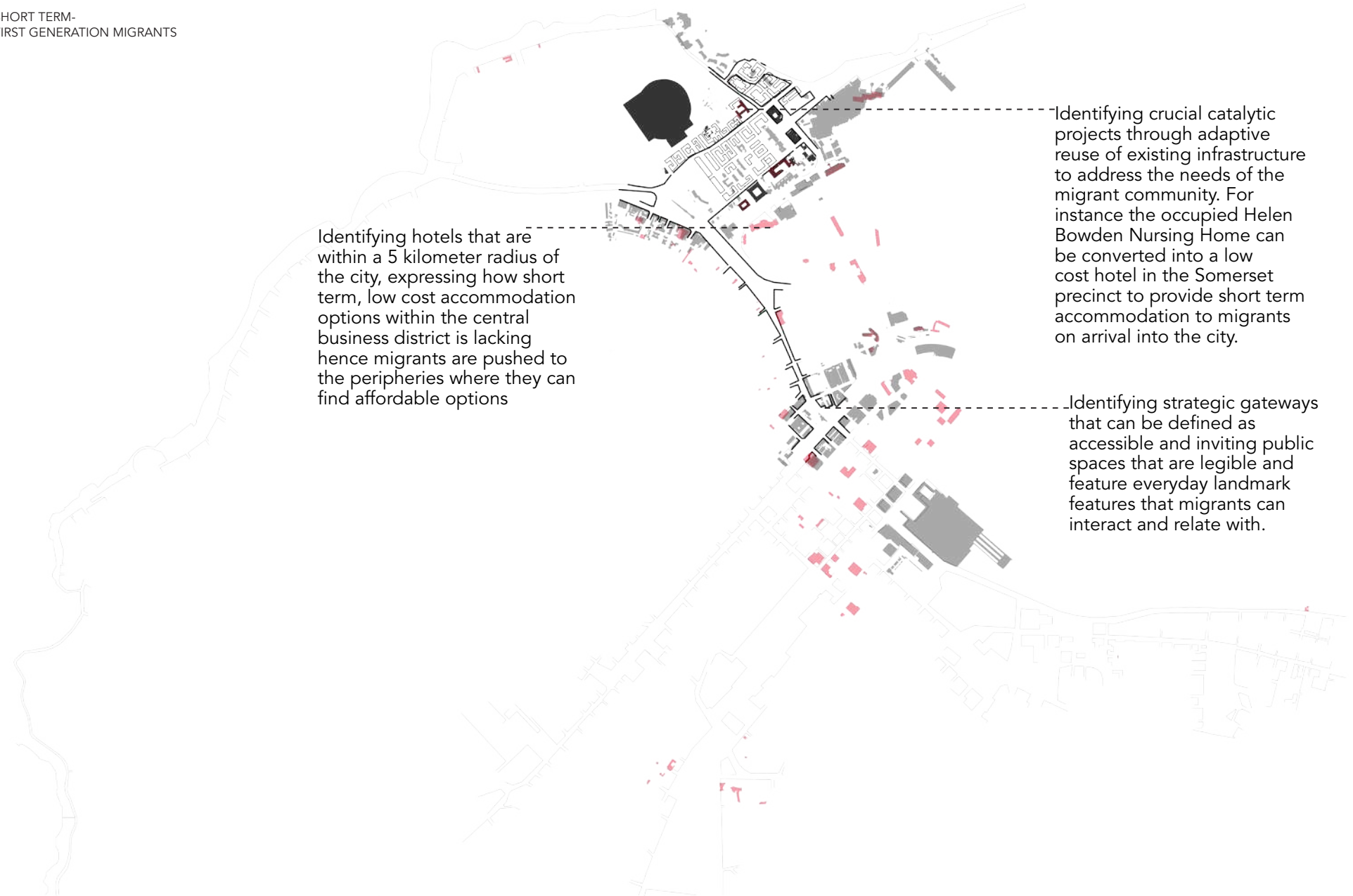


PROPOSED CULTURAL EXHIBITION SPACES AND AFRICAN ART WORKSHOPS





SHORT TERM-
FIRST GENERATION MIGRANTS





Creating opportunities for migrants to access various other parts of the city through public transport and the definition of everyday landmarks for instance a taxi rank along the Atlantic Seaboard to allow for better navigation of the city by migrants

Identifying integrative institutions for migrants such as schools that allow for interactions between the host community and the migrant community.

Identifying strategic institutions that be used for cross learning between migrant communities and the host community. Where migrant knowledge can be shared and used to ensure a co-production of knowledge and access to income generating opportunities.

Identifying areas for trading possibilities where migrants can access income opportunities such as the Grande parade

Well located land that is served by various civic institutions hence being strategic for integration of migrant communities in areas of opportunity

Strategic, well located land suitable for affordable housing schemes that allow migrants to settle and invest in the housing market after a while.

Looking for opportunities for affordable housing within a 2 km radius from the central business district by leveraging municipally owned land.

identifying and maximizing strategic vacant land within a radius of 5km from the central business district.



PHASING:



The first phase consists of developing the immediate adaptive framework that identifies a 2km clear pedestrian walkway from the Cape Town railway station to the site which is located at the Somerset Hospital Precinct. An initial gateway at the intersection of Buitengracht street and Somerset road where the fan walk begins would create an opportunity for a legible pedestrian walkway through Waterkant street that is already pedestrianized.

Additionally the strategic buildings that would be considered to catalyze the precinct would be the UCT Graduate School of Business which could incorporate courses into their curriculum which offer a co-learning programme to empower the migrants about aspects of entrepreneurship in running a small and medium enterprise(SMME) business in a South African context by offering technical support to ensure a soft landing in doing business as a SMME in South Africa.

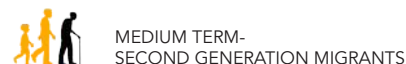
The Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) hospitality campus in Granger bay is also an important catalyst in providing opportunities for cross learning, skill development and employment opportunities in the area of hospitality. The campus benefits from an incorporation of ethnic African food preparation skills from all over Africa which is beneficial for the tourist market in Cape Town. Additionally the African migrants benefit from training, exposure to the job market and possible entrepreneurship opportunities in the hospitality field in the area of ethnic restaurants and catering.

Additionally the Watershed located at the V&A Waterfront provides an opportunity for African migrants to supply vendors at the watershed with African artefacts and handmade crafts. This provides an opportunity for income generation in order to make a living in the city while living close to places of opportunity.

The Somerset hospital also functions as a catalyst in the area. Being the only public hospital in the area, it serves that it should remain a functional hospital. However it will be downgraded into a public clinic which will allow a diverse programme to exist around it. It should also

have open thresholds that allow for people to move freely around the block. It should also have an extension retrofitted to incorporate a taxi rank on its north-west corner where Beach road intersects with Portswood road. This will allow people to stay longer at the site and engage more with it. Additionally, the taxi rank will open up opportunities for small and medium enterprises at the expansive plaza around the Somerset hospital.

Also, the Helen Bowden nursing home which has currently been occupied by Reclaim the City, should be retrofitted into a low cost, short term hotel and a primary destination for people looking for cheap and accessible settlement options close to the central business district. The hospital was the first nursing institution where the first person of colour was trained hence. Hence it lends itself to diversity, acceptance and hospitality. The trained African migrants who have completed a training course at CPUT hospitality campus could gain employment at the hotel.



The second phase incorporates an incorporation into the everyday practices of society that would bring the host community and the migrants closer together at the local scale but on a more sub-metropolitan level. Through an adaptive framework that incorporates everyday places that foster integration for instance schools where migrant children can interact with students from the host community. The parents and teachers of both migrant children and the host community now get a chance to interact.

Everyday facilities that are relevant to the migrant livelihood such as banks and supermarkets, post offices and trading areas are of importance to allow for avenues of income generation to the migrants. Additionally the development and infill of the site with footprint that allows for a shared public space is important at this stage to allow for spaces which endorse migrant practices of entrepreneurship and a participation in the economy through small

and medium enterprises. Additionally, footprint that encourages mixed use typologies where migrants can live on upper floors and trade on lower floors is preferable. Additionally, migrants could establish ethnic restaurants celebrating food from all over Africa. This will attract the local population as well as tourists to Cape Town to enjoy cuisines, cultures and diversity from all over Africa. This allows for integration and a breakdown of cultural barriers.

Additionally, recreation spaces such as the proposed Fort Wynard museum which is proposed to be open to the public and converted into a children's thematic park will allow for a retelling of history but in a way that incorporates children play to lighten the traumatic past that the fort is associated with. This play park will allow for opportunities for migrant children to interact with children from the host community in a light environment. Additionally, parents of the children can also interact. The plaza adjacent to the MyCiTi stop will allow for an open air market that will flow in-between the fort and the Helen Bowden hotel into an open air vegetable market where African migrants can sell organic vegetables that are locally grown as well as those sourced from other African countries. This allows for other migrants to identify the market as a landmark in the area where they can source for vegetables from their home countries.

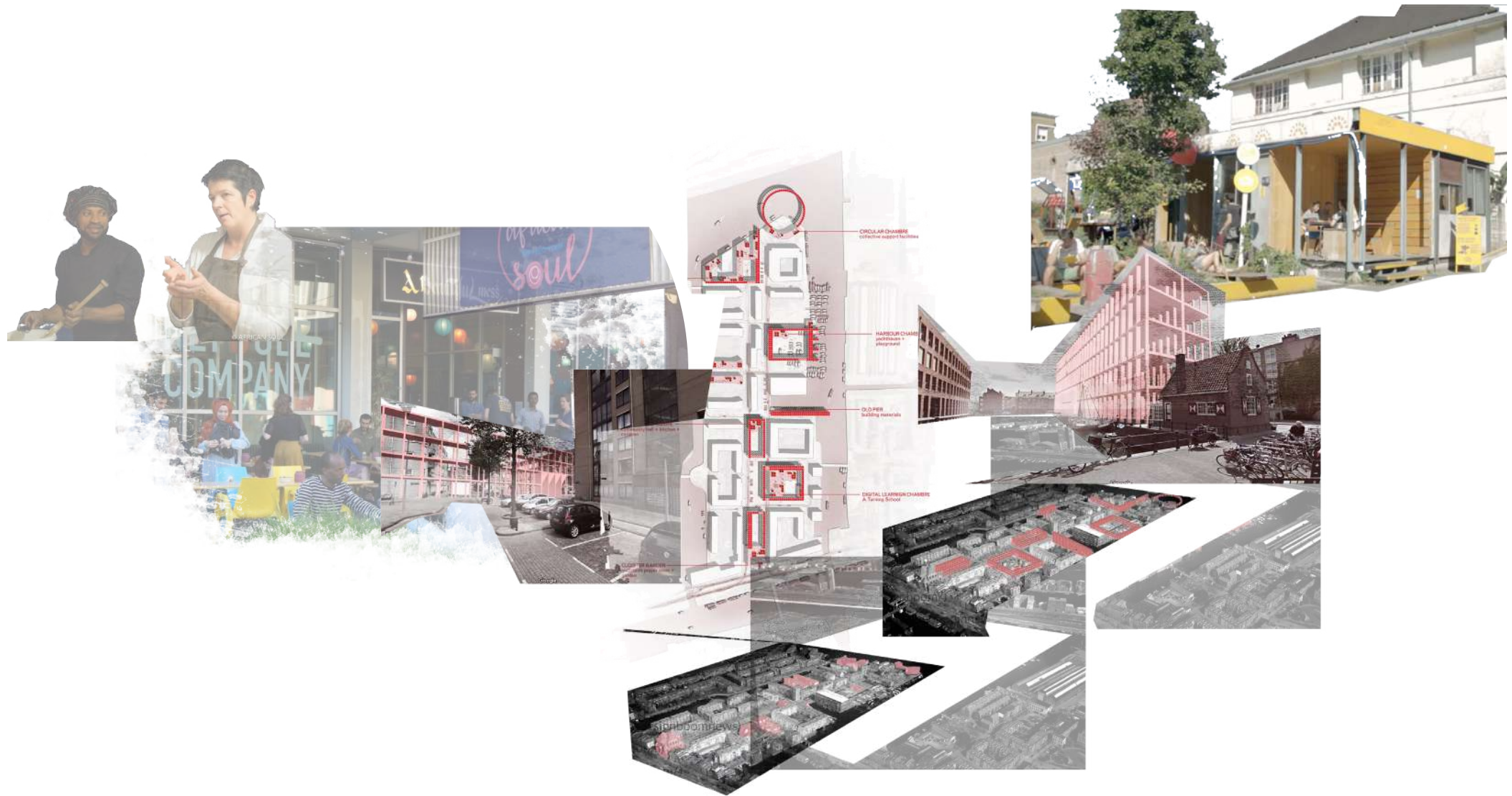
Recreation capabilities that link African migrants to other parts of the Atlantic seaboard includes the proposed breakwater promenade that seeks to connect the site and its environs where the V&A Waterfront meets the ocean. A proposed public promenade linking the V&A to the Sea Point promenade will allow for a public sphere that challenges the exclusivity of the private developments in the area allowing people to move around more through a legible continuous public open space. This will disrupt the enclaves of wealth that are found along the Atlantic seaboard.

livelihood for themselves. They are integrating into the society by taking their children to the local schools and by working alongside the host population creating bonds and relationships. In establishing themselves in the city, migrants would want to secure a future by acquiring long term properties. The research project identified potential areas that are suitable for affordable housing situated 5 kilometers from the city centre. This will provide opportunities for incoming migrants and settled migrants to gain access to accommodation at strategic points within the central business district and surrounds. The proposed development at the Somerset precinct will provide a living and working environment that supports migrant livelihoods and encourages integration with the local population. The site being in the interface between the central business district and the Atlantic seaboard will allow migrants further gain rights to access to the city. Other well located lands that stand vacant are identified for possible densification to allow for a maximizing of space in crucial areas where intensification can support current transport systems. These sites are also well served by civic institutions including police stations, libraries and schools.



The third phase in developing the adaptive framework recognizes that migrants would like to settle on a long term basis. At this point it is expected that migrants have started businesses and created a

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION



In exploring the legibility of urban for African migrants in Cape Town, South Africa, the research project revealed the everyday lived experiences of migrants who make up a vulnerable group in society. Having to move away from what an environment which they know into an environment that is markedly different from where they come from. In the process of arrival into the city of Cape Town and their first sense of finding landmarks that are similar to landmarks they recognize back in their home locations. In framing legibility, the migrants are faced with vulnerabilities through language barriers, xenophobia, economic exclusion in a new city as well as infrastructure barriers which limit their right and access to the city. Hence through social ties and social connections, migrants build livelihoods in migrant enclaves, a factor that prevents them from accessing various other parts of the city. This factor limits integration with the host community.

Hence an opportunity lies in accessing strategically located land close to the central business district such as the Somerset hospital precinct that allows migrants access rights to the city by allowing them to create livelihoods amidst an interface of wealth exclusivity, language and income. The Somerset hospital precinct aside from being close to the popular Victoria and Alfred Waterfront which was seen as a landmark feature through interviews, is also a social landmark through the recent occupation of the Helen Bowden Nursing Home which creates an added layer of complexity in accessing rights to the city for various demographics. The migrant population being one of the most vulnerable groups find themselves in an opportunity to integrate within the context of the site as it is served by various civic institutions to support a livelihood.

The interface however is the exploration of this project. In identifying everyday landmarks that are relevant to the livelihood of the migrant experience, the project seeks to define urban space that is legible for African migrants in meeting their needs for movement, navigation and settlement. In addressing the various intricacies of the migrant experience from these 3 aspects, the research project was able to develop adaptive frameworks that provide crucial foundations and urban structures to allow for adaptation and appropriation practices by migrant communities as they create livelihoods. The adaptive framework lent itself through a further development of the precinct framework that allows for a production of space in the interface of

the private and public spheres. The semi private/public space is crucial to the migrant experience as it provides the interface between Miraftab's (2009) invited and invented spaces. This interface between state surveillance and evasion of the state remain crucial for migrant livelihoods. Further, the production of space allows for public spaces that are able to change over time and serve various uses. They adapt to the constant state of flux that migrants find themselves in. All in all the project seeks to define urban form that explores the interface at various scales to derive ways in which diversity and integration can be used through the lens of the migrant experience in space to shape space that defies exclusivity through linking various prioritized and key resources to allow for social connections to be made in urban space through strategic urban restructuring.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

MASTERS IN URBAN DESIGN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW-QUESTIONNAIRE

KEVIN MUTIA | MTXKEV001

INTERFACE:

The search for legibility of urban form for African migrants in Cape Town, South Africa.

The topic of my research is on legible landmarks in the city of Cape Town and how they influence how African migrants navigate Cape Town. I would like to understand how landmarks affect how African migrants navigate through Cape Town to assess if they hinder movement or aid movement within Cape Town. I would like to interview African migrants from outside of Cape Town as well as outside of South Africa to understand how these landmarks affect how African migrants move within Cape Town.

QUESTIONS

1. Locating yourself within Cape Town

- What do you use as reference points when moving through Cape Town?
- What means of transport do you primarily use to move within Cape Town?
- What are some of the places you pass through regularly within Cape Town?

- What are some of the places you regularly visit in Cape Town?
- Where would you like to visit in Cape Town and why?
- Where have you always wanted to go within Cape Town and why?
- Where in Cape Town have you always wanted to go and why?
- Is it easy to go to your favourite place in Cape Town?
- If you had to tell someone to visit Cape Town, where would you want them to go and see?
- What are some of the factors that hinder your moving to your favourite places in Cape Town?

2. Meet ups and hang outs

- Which social circle do you meet with regularly in the week/ weekend?
- Where are some of the places you meet friends/colleagues/ family?
- What are some places you visit regularly in the week?
- How often do you visit these places?
- Where would you organize to meet up with friends?
- What are some of the activities you do alone? With friends?
- What are some of the activities that you would need to go outside of your 'normal' areas and routine?

3. Socially created landmarks

- Do you meet up with fellow African migrants in Cape Town?


APPLICATION FORM**Please Note:**

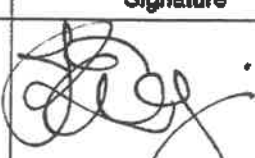

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the EBE Ethics in Research Handbook (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	KEVIN MUTIA	
Department	ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS	
Preferred email address of applicant:	Mtxkev001@myuct.ac.za	
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	MASTER IN URBAN DESIGN
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	60
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	DR. KATHRYN EWING
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	N/A	
Project Title	AFRICANIZING CAPE TOWN: THE SEARCH FOR LEGIBILITY OF URBAN FORM FOR AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN	

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	KEVIN MUTIA		05 Apr 2019

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	DR.KATHRYN EWING		05 Apr 2019
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	A/Prof N. Odendaal		26/4/2019
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.			